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Far Away from Mount Ararat

Armenian Culture in the Carpathian Basin

Far Away from Mount Ararat

Armenian Culture in the Carpathian Basin

Joint exhibition of the Budapest History Museum and the National Széchényi Library
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Contents

Foreword 7

Judit Pál
Armenians in Transylvania: From Settlement to Integration 9

Kornél Nagy
The Church-Union of the Armenians in Transylvania:
A Portrait of Uniate Bishop Oxendio Virziresco 17

Armenuhi Drost-Abgarjan
"Between God's Flame and Hell's Fire":
Armenian Written Art and Book Culture 29

Meliné Pehlivanian
It Began in Venice:
A Brief History of Early Armenian Book Printing from 1512 to 1800 35

Péter Perger
The Armenian Types of Miklós M. Tótfalusi Kis 44

Bálint Kovács
Armenian Book Culture and Armenian Literary Treasures in the Carpathian Basin 53

Máté Tamáska
The Synthesis of Cultures in the Armenopolis Townscape 65

Emese Pál
The Sacral Art of Transylvanian-Armenians 73

Iván Bertényi, Jr.
Hungarian Politicians of Armenian Descent in the Dual Monarchy Period 85

Péter Pál Kránitz
The New Homeland:
Armenian Refugees in Hungary after the Armenian Genocide 104

CATALOGUE 109

Abbreviated References in the Catalogue 182

Contributors 184

Foreword

Mount Ararat as a permanent point of reference and a refuge for all times is a dual emblem of the exemplary respect the Armenians have for their tradition. What the Armenian diasporas reveal all over the world is how community culture and identity can be retained even far from the homeland and despite the loss of the mother tongue. Besides the Caucasian region, where Armenian culture is endemic, its presence in the Carpathian Basin can also be traced back many centuries. This exhibition serves to foster the appreciation of the historical, cultural, and artistic values of the Armenians in the Carpathian Basin. Its main objective is to bear witness to the preserving power of culture and the fruits of Armenian and Hungarian coexistence.

The exhibition was conceived a few years ago, after historian, armenologist Bálint Kovács met with the experts of the National Széchényi Library. The special pretext for the event was the fact that the first five Armenian printed books were produced 500 hundred years ago in Venice, 1512/13. In 2011, while the preparations were going on, the initial idea, focusing solely on books and history, was expanded to incorporate all fields of Armenian culture in the Carpathian Basin. As a result of the collaboration with the Budapest History Museum, the co-hosted exhibition was finally installed in the large temporary halls of the Castle Museum of the latter institute.

It was in the 17th century that the first major wave of Armenian immigration to the Carpathian Basin reached Transylvania, with primary settlements in Armenopolis (Gherla/Szamosújvár/Hajakałak/Armenierstadt), Gheorgheni (Gyergyószentmiklós/Niklasmarkt), Elisabethopolis (Dumbrăveni/Erzsébetváros/Yelisabet'owpolis/Elisabethstadt) and Frumoasa (Szépvíz/Sibviz); several towns were actually raised by the Armenians. In subsequent centuries, their diasporas spread all over the Carpathian Basin, merging the heritage of the Armenian fatherland with the local culture. Their cities, their constructed environment, as well as their book culture and the characteristic works of Hungaro-Armenian art are all worth showing to the broader Hungarian and international public, to the exhibition visitors in Budapest. Furthermore, a valuable segment of the Armenian treasures from the Carpathian Basin here displayed has so far been inaccessible not only to lay art-lovers but even to the scientific world. This exhibition hosts a number of artworks and documents that have before lain hidden in forgotten attics and parish archives, awaiting professional cataloguing and treatment. Therefore, the exhibition was realized with the active participation of a research programme launched by the GWZO Institute of the University of Leipzig, whose crowning achievement was the international scientific conference concomitant with the opening ceremony of the exhibition in the National Széchényi Library (April 5–6, 2013).

The exhibition and the present catalogue, coming with additional explanatory papers written by expert researchers, has been funded by the two host institutions as well as the Hungarian National Cultural Fund and the GWZO Institute in Leipzig, with considerable sponsorship from the Armenian minority councils in Hungary. A substantial part of the exhibits were loaned from Armenian parishes in Transylvania as a result of the partnership with the Roman Catholic Archbishopric of Alba Iulia. Further items were provided by the Armenian Catholic Chaplaincy in Budapest and public collections in Budapest and Nyíregyháza. We wish to express our gratitude for all our partners' generous assistance, as well as for the contribution of Professor Stefan Troebst (University of Leipzig) and the two curators of this exhibition, historian Bálint Kovács and art-historian Emese Pál.

Budapest, June 2013

László Boka
Director of Research and Academic Affairs
National Széchényi Library

Péter Farbaky
Deputy Director-General
Budapest History Museum

Armenians in Transylvania: From Settlement to Integration

Judit Pál

Armenian Settlement in Transylvania

A substantial part of the Armenians has lived in a diaspora since the Middle Ages. They emigrated at different times and in different directions. There are hardly any important commercial centres in Europe and Asia where there should have been no Armenian families in past centuries. In our region, Crimea was their first site of settlement, from where they later moved on, primarily towards Poland. After Caffa (present-day Feodosiya, Ukraine) was taken by the Turks in the late 15th century, most Crimean Armenians fled to Poland, where they enjoyed significant privileges and gradually took over the commercial routes leading to the East. Their wealth was based primarily on the central role they played in the spice trade. In Galicia, Armenians have been present uninterruptedly since the 13th century; their centre was Lemberg (present-day Lviv, Ukraine), seat of the Armenian bishop. The subsequent spraying out of Armenians in the region presumably started from Galicia.[1]

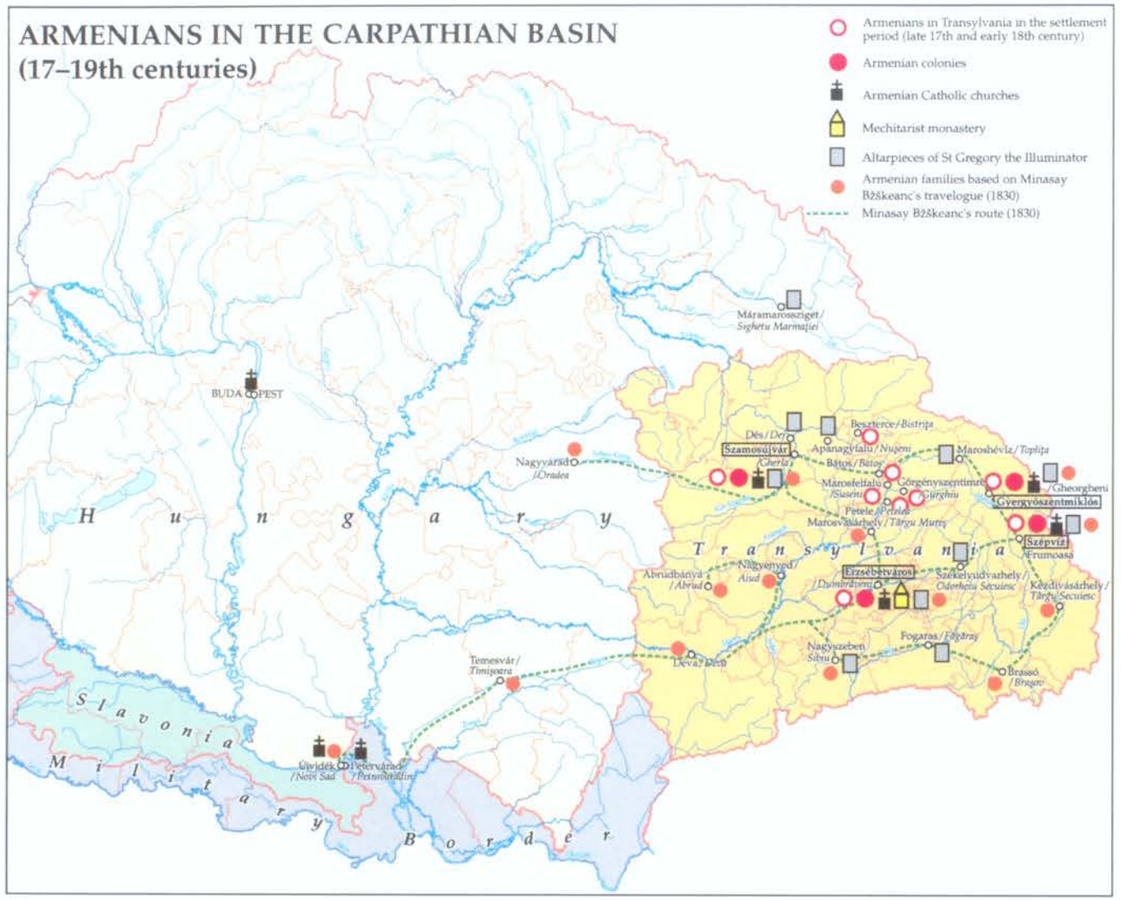
In Moldova, the Armenians appeared at a very early stage; by the 14th century, they had probably been established as an important factor in the newly-emerging state, with particular reference to trade. Yet the Transylvanian settlement of the Armenians is attributed by some to the religious persecutions; others see the main motives as primarily political or economic. In 1672 and the years immediately leading up to it, the hostilities between the Ottoman Empire and Poland lashed out into the realm of Moldova as well, and the ensuing devastation may have played a part in the resettlement of Armenians. What is more, the Ottoman onslaught forced the commercial traffic between the Black Sea and the Baltic Sea temporarily to relocate to Transylvanian territory.[2]

Historical traditions mark 1672 as the date of Armenian settlement in Transylvania. It was at that time that, in consequence of the above events, a larger group of Armenians from Moldova moved to Transylvania. But their new home was far from unknown to them, with their first commercial connections with Transylvania recorded much earlier. As early as 1399, Pope Boniface IX had mentioned (among other "heretics") the Armenians of Braşov, who had probably trafficked with those Saxon merchants who had an interest in the Levant. Following the Ottoman expansion in the Balkans, the Armenians would take an ever growing part in the foreign trade of Transylvania. Besides the Armenians in Poland and Moldova, substantial Armenian groups based in Constantinople also emerged; their investors played a central part in acquiring a monopoly on cattle trade.[3] From 1529–30, several Armenian names can be found in the account-books of Braşov, referring to people involved in foreign trade.[4]

During the Transylvanian Principality, Armenians were mentioned ever more frequently. On 4 November 1600, the Transylvanian Diet passed a law against "Greeks, Vlachs, Dalmatians, and Armenians," threatening to punish those merchants from the mentioned ethnicities who sold their goods anywhere else than the sites appointed to them. In 1632, another law regulated the participation of Armenian, Greek, Serbian, Bulgarian, Dalmatian, and other merchants in the commerce of the Principality.[5]

Immigration, then, cannot be connected to one exclusive date; it had started long before 1672 and for some time taken the form of slow infiltration. After such prehistory, probably a larger Armenian community arrived in 1672 or shortly before. They came via the

1. Armenian church founders: members of the Simay family (Solomon ew Asvatowr Šimayean) on the mural at the first Armenian Catholic stone church in Transylvania, Solomon's Church (1723–25)

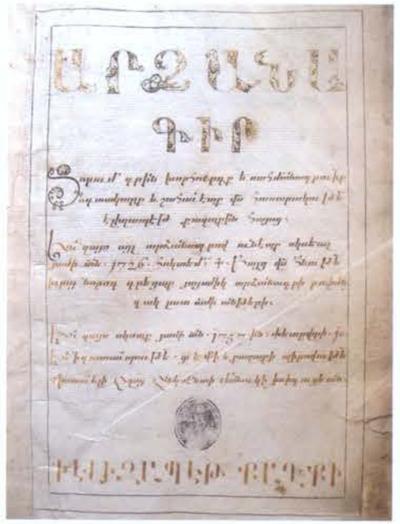


well-known passes and initially settled in their vicinity: Bistriţa (Beszterce), Gheorgheni (Gyergyószentmiklós), Frumoasa (Csíkszépvíz), Gurghiu (Görgényszentimre), Petelea (Petele), Suseni (Marosfelfalu), and the Apafi Estate, Dumbrăveni (Ebesfalva), keeping in touch with their Moldavian relatives. Prince Michael Apafi welcomed them; some were settled on his estate in Dumbrăveni, receiving various privileges from him and his son, Michael II Apafi: the right of the free election of a judge, freedom of commerce, and the Greek Company as a court of appeal in commercial disputes.[6] From Bistriţa, however, where the leaders of the Armenians including Bishop Minas had settled, the Saxons used the pretext of the plague of 1712 to expel all unwanted competition.[7] The Armenians there, together with their leaders, removed to Armenopolis (Gherla, Szamosújvár), where they founded the "Armenian metropolis" of Transylvania, which remains the only Transylvanian city built on the basis of city planning. Its Baroque houses and churches also represent a special approach, attesting the prosperity of their erstwhile citizens.[8]

Although the Armenians had enjoyed certain privileges from the outset, they were denied a general privilege. In the early 18th century, they made an attempt to be accepted as a separate entity besides the three political nations, but they failed in the royal court. The deeds

of privilege for Armenopolis and Dumbrăveni were issued by Emperor Charles VI in 1726 and 1733, respectively; at the same time, the latter town was renamed Elisabethopolis. In 1736, Armenopolis obtained a mortgage on the remnants of the estates in Armenopolis, while in 1758, Elisabethopolis purchased the estates of Dumbrăveni from Chancellor Gábor Bethlen – amidst vehement protestations from the political estates.

Though unified initially, the autonomous Armenian company was soon divided into an inner (Armenopolis) and an outer (Elisabethopolis) company, with the latter further fragmented in the late 18th century. The Armenians of Szeklerland were for a long time subjected to the Armenian judge of Elisabethopolis, but as early as the 1715 census, the Armenian judges of Gheorgheni and Frumoasa earned separate mentions; up until the end of the 18th century, however, their court of appeal would remain the council of Elisabethopolis. Although these two smaller settlements did not succeed in acquiring privileges on par with those granted to Armenopolis and Elisabethopolis (the latter two promoted to the rank of free royal cities by Emperor Joseph II), their relative independence from the county was acknowledged.[9]

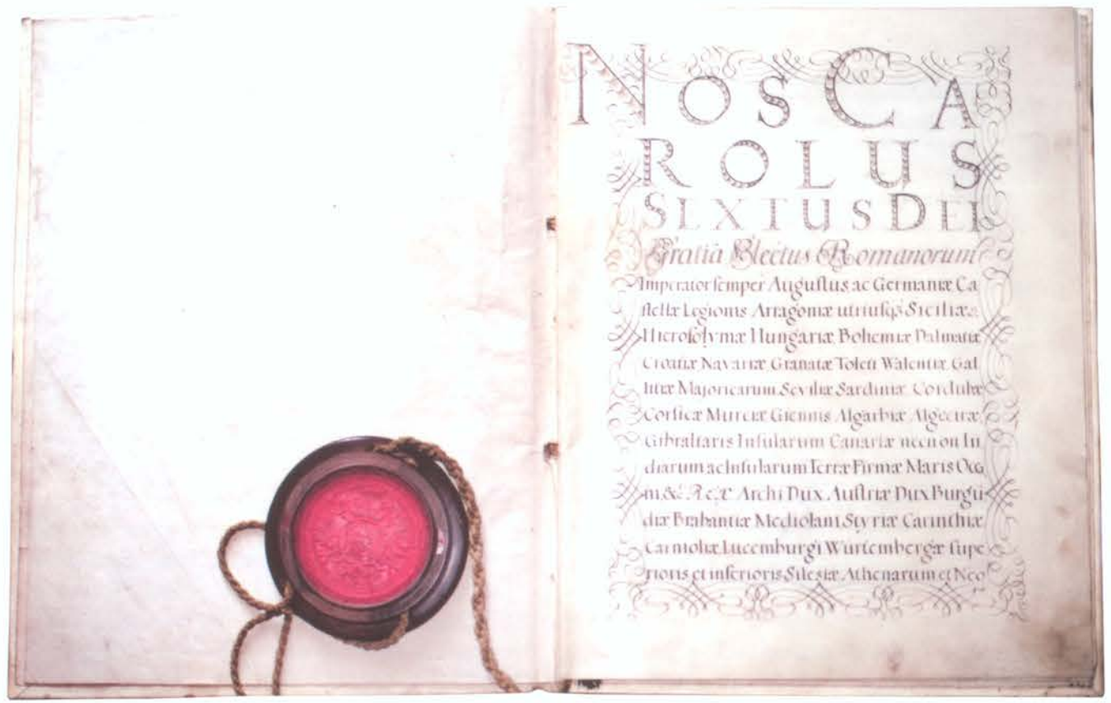


2. "Arjanagir": the legal code of Elisabethopolis from the 18th century
(Armenian Catholic Collective Archive of Armenopolis, 88/g, Box 1)

The Armenian Population in Transylvania

Tradition has it that 3,000 Armenian families settled in Transylvania. Even very recent works give the same number, or its "rationally" toned-down version. Sadly, no census records are extant from the settlement period, so we have to estimate the initial figures from early-18th-century censuses. Without aiming to mitigate the role the Armenians played in the economic life of Transylvania, the above figure must be radically decreased; the number of immigrant families must have been below 300 – even as late as 1715 there were but some 220 to 240 Armenian families in Transylvania, and that number would never exceed 3,000.[10] In connection with that it may be of interest that the number 3,000 appears in other mythical stories as well. In keeping with the chronicles of Simon of Kéza, for instance, the Hun origin myth of the Szeklers also records the 3,000 Hun warriors of Prince Csaba, who, after their lost battle, hid in the field of Csigla, subsequently issuing forth the Szekler people.

The fluctuation of the Armenian population was quite high at the outset. The devastations in the wake of Prince Francis II Rákóczi's fight for freedom (1703–1711) led to a decline. Elisabethopolis burnt down and according to oral traditions, some of the Armenians moved back to Moldova. Rumour had it that in the late 17th century, Frumoasa was pillaged by the Tartars, carrying away the population, too. At around 1700, the demographic changes must have been rather violent, remaining so until the mid-18th century. While at the turn of the century, those fleeing back to Moldova may well have been the majority, after the restoration of peace, the opposite direction must have prevailed in migration. Immigration into Transylvania probably peaked in the first third of the 18th century but continued up until the middle of the century and, sporadically, even beyond that time, while emigration must have fallen to an almost insignificant level by 1710. The vast majority of newcomers originated from Moldova, revealing probable family ties, with some immigrants coming from Poland.[11]


NOS CA
ROLUS
SIXTUS DEI
Gratiâ Electus Romanorum
Imperator semper Augustus ac Germaniæ Ca
stellæ Legionis Arragoniæ utriusq; Siciliæ
Hierosolymæ Hungariæ Bohemiæ Dalmatiæ
Croatiæ Navarræ Granatæ Toleti Valentiæ Gal
liæ Majoricarum Sevilæ Sardiniæ Corduba
Corsicæ Murciæ Giennis Algarbiæ Algeciræ
Gibraltaris Insularum Canariæ necnon In
diarum ac Insularum Terræ Firmæ Maris Oce
ani &c. Rex Archi Dux Austriæ Dux Burgu
diæ Brabantiæ Mediolani Styriæ Carinthiæ
Carniolæ Luxemburgi Wurtembergæ Supe
rioris et inferioris Silesiæ Athenarum et Neo

3. Deed of privilege issued for Armenopolis by Hungarian King Charles III / Holy Roman Emperor Charles VI (1711–40)

It is also of interest to mention in this context that in 1768–69, plans emerged in Empress Maria Theresa's court to the effect that Armenian refugees fleeing from the Turkish–Russian War should be settled in Maramureş (Máramaros) County. In the beginning, the court succeeded in attracting Armenians to the region, with a few Armenian families from Poland settling in Maramureş towns. Vienna, however, had more ambitious plans, and to draw Armenian refugees to other territories, too, the queen promised significant privileges to them. They found particular favour with the court, partly because they fitted very well into the Austrian mercantile policies of economy and partly because they were Catholics.[12] Besides, the Hapsburgs were making all effort to force Jewish and Turkish merchants out of Eastern trade. The Transylvanian Treasury also discussed the question, but they refused to receive more Armenian immigrants due, as they claimed, to the threat of overpopulating the Armenian settlements. At long last, the settlement initiatives did not bear fruit apart from those minor successes early on, partly because the Armenians' motivation to resettle in larger quantities decreased dramatically once peace had been established and partly because the authorities exercised a passive resistance.[13]

Armenians in the Economic Life of Transylvania

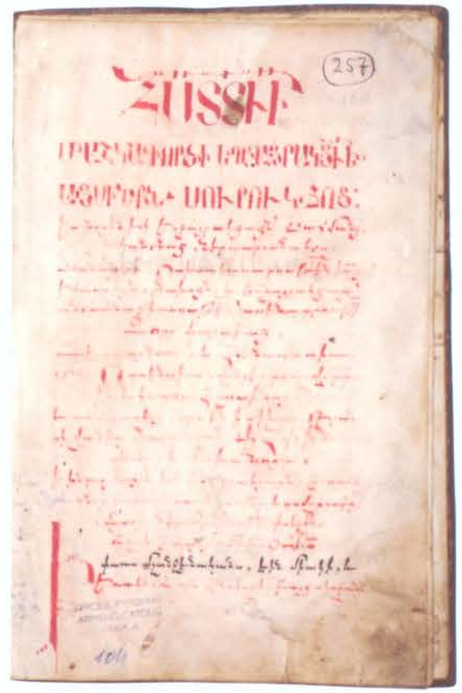
Just like in other East European territories, in Transylvania the Armenians would first and foremost pursue trade and handicraft, especially as tanners. Within the Armenian community in Transylvania, there was a thin but rich and prosperous layer of businessmen, a substantial middle layer consisting primarily of furriers and merchants, while some heads of families led a more modest life of trade or craftsmanship. Many were proficient in two or even three vocations as the tanner's and the butcher's trades are intimately linked to dealing in livestock and leather.[14]

In first place, however, their specialty was cattle trade; they hoarded horned cattle from Transylvania as well as, to a good extent, from Moldova and Wallachia in order to fatten them up and sell them to buyers in Pest or even more in Vienna, thus playing an important role in supplying meat to the Austrian capital. Some sources even record Armenian cattle dealers reaching as far as Southern Germany and Italy. The sporadic data from the foreign commerce of early-18th-century Transylvania reveal that more than half of all export was that of livestock, and 90% of that meant cattle, by and large a monopoly of the Armenians.[15] In the rather underdeveloped layer of Transylvanian merchants, most of whom focused on foreign trade, Armenians constituted a significant segment. Their capital also weighed in substantially throughout the 18th century; in 1700, soon after they had settled, they were already paying taxes that equalled those of the Greek company in Sibiu (Nagyszeben/Hermannstadt) and ran to three times those of the Greeks in Braşov (Brassó/Kronstadt).

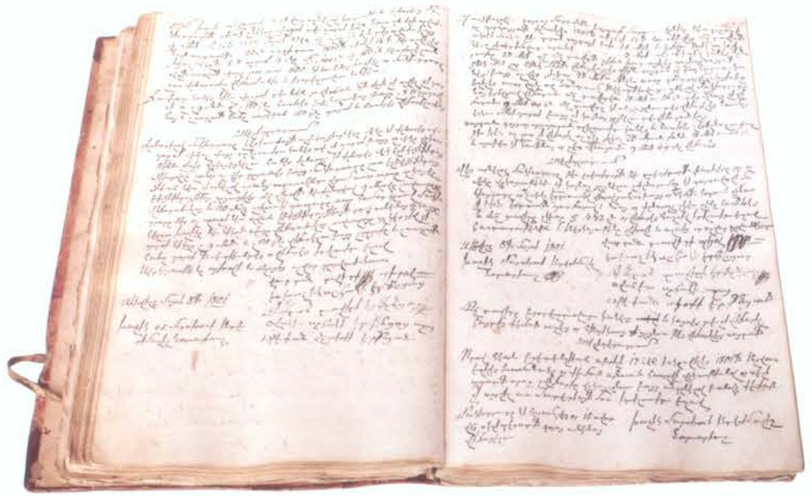
The Armenian trading methods are illustrated by an early-19th-century author, who reported that the Armenians would buy up cattle partly in Moldova, fatten them up on their own or rented grazing grounds in Transylvania and the Hungarian Plains, and finally sell them primarily in Vienna in exchange for short bills and bonds, which they would use, in turn, to purchase goods. Those who specialized exclusively in cattle trading, passed their bills to other Armenian merchants who would do the buying in Vienna, sell their newly acquired goods back home, pay back the cattle dealers, ultimately financing their purchase of new livestock. This meant a competitive advantage for several reasons. To begin with, people did not need to carry much ready money, while having immediate access to larger sums if required, without taking out any loan. Moreover, their stocks exceeded any they might have had, had they had to rely on their own resources alone.[16]

In the retail sector, their regional role was at least as important. The poorer Armenians toured the country as itinerant vendors, carrying goods obtained in Pest or elsewhere. In Szekler Land especially, the words "Armenian" and "trader" became synonymous, but the phenomenon is known from other areas of Transylvania as well. In 1755, Baron Ádám Kemény requested that the mayor of Armenopolis should announce the new fair of Cămăraşu (Pusztakamarás), "since the soul of the fairs usually consists of the Armenians."[17] In the mid-19th century, Károly Benkő noted that Gheorgheni has "more than forty stores packed with goods sold by the yard and other wares – its trading is run mostly by Armenians."[18]

Soon after their settlement, the Armenians sprayed out or, as the 19th century ethnographer and historian Balázs Orbán formulates it, "spread over all the cities of the country; and as the Hungarian was a cultivator nation and was inept and maladroit in commerce, they picked up trading almost everywhere and gained great wealth and grew thick with money."[19] Armenian merchants had rented grazing-grounds on the Hungarian Plains to feed up cattle as early as the 18th century; often they would also purchase the land and, subsequently, obtaining



4. The fundamental rule (1700) of the tanners' guild in Armenopolis (Armenian Catholic Collective Archive of Armenopolis, 339/f, Box 1)



5. Records of the Mercantile Forum in Gheorgheni (Armenian Catholic Collective Archive of Armenopolis, 612/d, Box 1)

a promotion to nobility. And from the early 19th century, more and more of them would even relocate to Hungary, which meant that the Armenian community lost its richest and most mobile layer.

The other main area of professional interest among the Armenians was tanning. Armenian tanners created their guild very soon; their Transylvanian association is mentioned as early as 1709. Their guild was modelled on an Armenian society in Poland, and although they were not granted a patent, they operated as a guild in its own right. In the mid-18th century, the guild of Armenian tanners in Gheorgheni acted "as though they had a real privilege"; they elected the warden annually and regulated the purchase and sale of leather as well as the number of leather items permitted for any given fair, and so forth. Most Armenians in Gheorgheni were tanners, so they could rival those from Armenopolis.[20] In around 1760, more than a hundred Armenians pursued that trade, which grew to 160 by the end of the century. In about 1800, the number of tanners' fabrics employing 10 or more workers exceeded 20, with further smaller workshops in addition. In the 19th century, however, their numbers started to dwindle, with only ten remaining workshops in 1820. The main cause of that decline was a change in fashion, the world "growing all slippers," as the records of the Mercantile Forum vividly declare.[21]

Besides the cattle trade, especially after that also began to decline, the Armenians of Gheorgheni took an interest in timber trade. The forests of the Eastern Carpathians provided an excellent opportunity for that. As early as the Transylvanian Principality Era, floatage down the Mureş (Maros) River had been documented, but from the late 18th century onwards, the Armenians took over the timber trade of Gheorgheni to an increasing extent. They used their own or rented sawmills to process the timber. They also bought a huge amount of wood from peasants and floated their timber either on the Mureş to Arad and Săvârşin, or on the Little Bistriţa towards Moldova, or on the Siret (Szeret) and the Danube to Galaţi, where they would sell it, often collaborating with Greek, Turkish, or Romanian traders. Planks from Gheorgheni would often come as far as Constantinople.

As a consequence of their commercial activities, the Armenians were among the pioneers of modern monetary circulation in Transylvania, where economy was still largely based on agriculture and natural resources, particularly in Szekler Land. In 1803, the Gubernium (the Transylvanian central authority) warned the people of Gheorgheni to protect the Armenians as best they can, "who assist the circulation of money in that county in no small degree."[22] In 1834, the Mercantile Forum of Gheorgheni addressed the Szekler community, expressing

their hopes that the Szeklers will understand that their "settlement in these parts is not to the disadvantage of the local landowners, but rather to their benefit: for whatever the noble public may have to sell, it is bought first and foremost by the Armenian inhabitants living off clean money."[23]

That the Armenians also fostered urbanization through their economic operations is best exemplified by the same two settlements in Szekler Land. This is how the Ethnographer Balázs Orbán described Frumoasa in the mid-19th century: "Szépvíz is but a village of throngs and weekly fairs, though its externals are much more townish than the self-styled 'town' of Csík-Szereda [Miercurea Ciuc], in its squared marketplace more storied houses and shops, and intense trading, which is occasioned by the Armenians living and enterprising here."[24]

If we are to summarize what position the Armenians held in the economic life of Transylvania, the best conclusion perhaps is one taken from Michael Lebrecht's late-18th-century characterization: "The Greeks and the Armenians are such in the Transylvanian body of the state as the blood vessels in the human body. They characterize both its fullness of blood and its fervour. From their facial expressions one can clearly read whether the state is wholesome or plagued by corruption."[25]

The Integration of the Armenians and Their Identity

Thus the Armenians successfully integrated into the Transylvanian society from the late 17th century. They contributed to the invigoration of the Principality's economic life and its urbanization. Although the Armenians first appeared as an "middleman minority" in Transylvania, the course they took proved rather individual. After their mass settlement in the last third of the 17th century the process of their integration was prolonged right through the 18th. Supported by the central government, they attempted an integration into the dominant group while retaining their cultural identity. Within the primarily agrarian society of Transylvania, they were a kind of "alien body" as merchants and craftsmen, occupying an intermediate position between the nobility and the masses of the peasantry. Not only were they aliens in terms of ethnicity, language, and customs, but also in terms of their profession and mentality. Their foreignness raised suspicion and fear. It is a well-known fact that traditional societies are wary of merchants who, according to popular misbeliefs, do not do anything useful, merely "exploiting" the work of others. Although they cohabitated mostly peacefully with the other nationalities in Transylvania, initially they were received with quite some suspicion. Even our 18th century sources abound in negative stereotypes like the above. Step by step, however, the Hungarians developed a positive appreciation towards the Armenians, who, in their eyes, lost those negative characteristics of theirs which are normally attached to ethnicities involved in distribution.

Their integration was doubtlessly strengthened by their religious union.[26] The causes for that should be sought in the decomposition of the closed group of the Armenians as well as the beginning of their assimilation. Of the wealthier Armenians, more and more gained titles of nobility, consequently adapting to the lifestyle of Hungarian nobility. An important impulse came from the Transylvanian Diet of 1791, where the Armenians or, rather, their two free royal cities, Armenopolis and Elisabethopolis, were incorporated into the Hungarian nation[27]. The people of Armenopolis remarked that their predecessors had first been received out of respect for "the pursuit of the happiness flowing from the country and from its population as well as the flourishing of commerce," and due to their merits they asked to be

6. View of Frumoasa in the early 20th century

annexed to the Hungarian nation, "in whose districts we dwell, whose customs we have striven to follow, costumes to wear, laws to abide."[28]

As early as the late 18th century, the Armenian communities of Szekler Land had begun to switch to the Hungarian language, though in the two free royal cities that process would not be completed until the 19th century, due to the more populous communities, the privileges, as well as the Armenian-language schools. During the 19th century, cultural and structural assimilation was followed by the process of the assimilation of identification; the Armenians of Transylvania adopted a Hungarian national consciousness, which helped demolish still existing prejudices between those ethnicities. In the first half of the 19th century, the Hungarian Reform Age, the liberal Hungarian nobility and intellectuals recognized the Armenians as a natural ally to corroborate the meagre Hungarian middle-class. That process was brought to full fruition by the 1848/49 Revolution and Hungarian fight for freedom. Prior to that, the Armenians had been integrated into the unique Transylvanian system of three political nations and four religions as part of the Hungarian order. In 1848, the Armenian community, too, lost its feudal privileges, which washed away further traces of their separation. In lieu of a feudal identity, however, the Revolution of 1848 offered the experience of belonging to a common nation.[29]

Notes

[1] Schünemann, Konrad, "Die Armenier in der Bevölkerungspolitik Maria Theresias," in *A Gróf Klebelsberg Kuno Magyar Történetkutató Intézet Évkönyve*, III (1933), 214–216. For a historiographical background of the question, see Bein, Daniel, "Armenier in Siebenbürgen," *Zeitschrift für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, 21.2 (92) (1998), 143–167.

[2] Moldova saw periods of religious intolerance against the Armenians, as recorded in the verse chronicles of Minas Tokati, for instance. Cf. Selian, Sergiu, "Un manuscris inedit şi o controversă istorică," *Revista istorică*, NS, IV/5–6 (1993), 561–571, as well as Edroiu, Nicolae's supplements, *ibid.*, V/5–6 (1994), 579–583. See also Schünemann, 219–220; Tarisznyás, Márton, "Gyergyószentmiklósi adatok az erdélyi örménység történeti néprajzához," in *Gyergyó történeti néprajza* (Bucharest: Kriterion, 1982), 215.

[3] Schünemann, 217.

[4] *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Kronstadt in Siebenbürgen: Rechnungen aus dem Archiv der Stadt Kronstadt*, Vol. II (1526–1540) (Kronstadt, 1889), 172–174; 218–222.

[5] *Approbatae Constitutiones*, Lit. LII; Cicanci, Olga, *Companiile greceşti din Transilvania şi comerţul european in anii 1636–1746* (Bucharest: Academiei, 1981), 20.

[6] Ávedik, Lukács, *Szabad királyi Erzsébetváros monográfiája* (Szamosújvár, 1896), 61; Szongott, Kristóf, *Szamosújvár szab. kir. város monográfiája 1700–1900*, I (Szamosújvár, 1901), 98–99.

[7] Ghiţan, Teodor, "Expulzarea populaţiei armeneşti din Bistriţa cu ocazia epidemiei de ciumă din 1712," *Ani: Anuar de cultură armeană*, NS, I (1994), 109–118. See also Szongott, I, p. 110–116. Some Armenians would stay in the city though.

[8] B. Nagy, Margit, "A barokk Szamosújvár születése," *Építés–Építészettudomány*, XV (1983), 27–39; Pop, Virgil, *Armenopolis: oraş baroc* (Cluj-Napoca, 2002).

[9] Incidentally, Armenopolis and Elisabethopolis were not represented at a Diet until 1841–43.

[10] See Pál, Judit, "Az erdélyi örmény népesség számának alakulása és szerkezete a 18. században," *Erdélyi Múzeum*, LIX/1–2 (1997), 104–120.

[11] *Ibid.*

[12] For details of the religious union, cf. Kovács, Bálint, "Az erdélyi örmény katolikus egyház és a Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide a 18. század első évtizedeiben," in Őze, Sándor–Kovács, Bálint (ed.), *Örmény diaszpóra a Kárpát-medencében* (Piliscsaba: Pázmány Péter Katolikus Egyetem Bölcsészettudományi Kar, 2006), p. 47–68; Nagy, Kornél, *Az erdélyi örmények katolizációja (1685–1715)* (Budapest: MTA Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont Történettudományi Intézete, 2012).

[13] Schünemann, 224–242.

[14] Cf. Pál, Judit, *Armeni în Transilvania: Contribuţii la procesul de urbanizare şi dezvoltare economică a provinciei / Armenians in Transylvania: Their Contribution to the Urbanization and the Economic Development of the Province* (Cluj-Napoca: Romanian Cultural Institute, Center for Transylvanian Studies, 2005), 115–146.

[15] Trócsányi, Zsolt, "Új etnikai kép – új uralmi rendszer (1711–1770)," in Köpeczi, Béla (ed.), *Erdély története*, II (Budapest, 1987), 991.

[16] Marienburg, Lucas Joseph, *Geographie des Großfürstenthums Siebenbürgen*, I (Hermannstadt, 1813), 132–133.

[17] Szongott, II, 322.

[18] Benkő, Károly, *Csík Gyergyó és Kászon leirások*, II (Kolozsvár, 1853), 62.

[19] Orbán, Balázs, *A Székelyföld leirása történelmi, régészeti, természetrajzi s népismei szempontból*, II (Pest, 1869), 75.

[20] Hungarian National Archive, Fiscal Archive of Transylvania, F 234, Cab. V, fasc. 377.

[21] Tarisznyás, 99.

[22] Hungarian National Archive, Fiscal Archive of Transylvania, F 234, Cab. V, fasc. 377.

[23] Romanian National Archive, Harghita County Affiliate, F 1, II, 75.

[24] Orbán, II, 74.

[25] Lebrecht, Michael, *Über den National-Charakter der in Siebenbürgen befindlichen Nationen* (Wien, 1792), 98.

[26] See Nagy; Kovács.

[27] Hungarian nation not in an ethnic sense but a political one ("feudal nation").

[28] Historic Document Archive, in *Armenia* I (1887), 252–256.

The Church-Union of the Armenians in Transylvania: A Portrait of Uniate Bishop Oxendio Virziresco

Kornél Nagy

The question of the church-union of Armenians fleeing to Transylvania from a series of pogroms and military campaigns in Poland as well as Moldova between 1668 and 1672 has long been known to Hungarian and international church historiography. The Armenians of Transylvania have themselves borne it in mind, although more often than not inauthentic legends and myths were appended to historical fact. Equally true is the statement that this church-union remained outside the realm of domestic and international research for a long time. The church-union of the Armenians in Transylvania is usually associated with the singular person of Bishop Oxendio Virziresco[1] (1654–1715) and his missionary and organizational operations encompassing some thirty years (1685–1715), largely overlapping with the integration of the Transylvanian Principality into the Hapsburg Empire.[2]

The question arises why scientific research has not yet addressed the question of the union of the Armenians in Transylvania. One manifest reason lies in the fact that the church history of the Armenians in Transylvania has always been treated as a marginal issue by ecclesiastic historiographers. To make matters worse, the vast majority of sources concerning the confessional composition of the Armenians in Transylvania are found not in Hungarian but in foreign archives.

A separate difficulty is raised among the Armenians in Transylvania by the process of the church union itself. Namely, the few and rather outdated writings that are available on the matter have embellished the above process of church history with many myths, which has proved a great obstacle when one tries to subject the issue to thorough and nuanced scientific research. Archival investigations in recent years have, however, clarified once and for all the circumstances under which the Armenians in Transylvania carried out their church unification.

The question of religious union can be interpreted in two ways. Firstly, the Armenian Apostolic Church has, since the 5th to 7th centuries, kept a rather large distance from both Constantinople and Rome, firmly protecting its independence. The controversial Armenian reception of the teachings of the Council of Chal-

1. The memorial tablet for the construction of the Armenian Catholic church in Gheorgheni (1733)

2. Armenian and Latin inscription on the former Elisabethopolis church of the Armenian Catholic Mechitarist Order (c. 1795)

cedon (451), however, raised suspicion within the universal Orthodox Church of the time, leading to the not infrequent accusation that the Armenians fell victim to Monophysitism. From the early Middle Ages, down to the end of the Early Modern Period, many church officials tried to talk the Armenians into an ecclesiastic union, with varying success.[3] Thus the church-union of the Armenians in Transylvania should actually be seen as the early modern version of an early medieval policy of church-union. Furthermore, the problem is made particularly poignant by the historical fact that the Armenians lost their state independence very early on. The term 'Armenia' itself had, by the 14th century, been relegated to the level of a mere geographical denomination. In that fragile historic situation, the significance of the Armenian Apostolic Church increased; after all, that church and its head, the Catholicos embodied the Armenian nation itself and the national consciousness both in the diasporas and in the parent-state territories of Armenia, now under foreign occupation. What is even more, the concepts of church and nation merged nearly inseparably together at the time. Therefore, during the Middle Ages, the Armenians would be rather hostile towards any church negotiation with even the vaguest objective of unification, whether it came from Constantinople or from Rome.[4]

Secondly, the process of church unification which started during the last decades of the 17th century among the Armenians in Transylvania practically coincided with the period of Counter-Reformation or Catholic Revival in Hungary and Transylvania. Within the southern, northern, and eastern regions of the historic Kingdom of Hungary, the Holy See provided instrumental assistance to the Roman Catholic Church, which achieved spectacular successes. Indeed, the process of re-Catholicization gained new impetus among the Orthodox Romanians in Transylvania and the Ruthenes in Upper Hungary. The latter were substantially supported not only by the apostolic missions and the leaders of the Hungarian Catholic Church but also by the Catholic Hapsburgs. Thus, the church-union of the Armenians in Transylvania is not merely an issue for Armenian Studies but, in fact, a cardinal question of universal missionary history.

For nearly twenty years, the idea of Catholic missions among the Armenians who had found refuge in Transylvania between 1668 and 1672 under the leadership of Moldovan Bishop Minas Tokhatetsi (1610?–1686) could not come on the agenda at all. Although Bertalan Szebellébi (1631–1707), the Roman Catholic Episcopal Vicar in Transylvania and the Observant Franciscans in Şumuleu Ciuc (Csíksomlyó) attempted to convert them to Catholicism, it was to no avail due to the effective resistance of Bishop Minas and the Armenian clergy in Transylvania.[5]

Not until 1683 could the lately converted Armenian Uniate Archbishopric in Lemberg (Lwów, L'vov, Lviv) and the Holy See initiated a Catholic mission among their ranks.[6] Lemberg attempted to support its positions by stating that the Armenians fleeing to Transylvania had always been subject to the ecclesiastic administration of that archiepiscopacy, which lawful right should be enforced even after the religious union that had taken place in the first third of the 17th century. What is more, Archbishop Francesco Martelli (1633–1708), Apostolic Nuncio at Warsaw, and Theatine Fr. Francesco Bonesana CR. (1651–1709), Prefect of the Lemberg-based Armenian College (Collegium Armenum, Collegio Armeno) founded in 1664, also reported to the Holy See that the Catholic mission among the Armenians in Transylvania would be of primary importance.[7] The main co-ordinating body of the Apostolic See, the Sacred (Holy) Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide) did not object to this request or motion.

The officials of the Holy See soon found a person suitable for converting the Armenians in Transylvania. Armenian Uniate Priest Oxendio Virziresco (1654–1715) was the ideal choice: he was a Moldova-born Armenian who had studied at the Urbanian College (Collegium Urbanum, Collegio Urbano) of Sacred Congregation in Rome and spoke many languages fluently, besides his native Armenian.[8] His election was partly motivated by the fact that his family had fled from Moldova to Transylvania back in 1668, together with Bishop Minas. For Oxendio Virziresco, the aim of his mission was simple: to bring about the church-union of the Armenians and organize the Armenian Uniate Church in Transylvania.

Oxendio set out from Rome via Vienna, Warsaw, and Lemberg, and arrived in Transylvania in autumn 1685. Soon he managed successfully to convert many of the Armenians of Gheorgheni (Gyergyószentmiklós).[9] Nevertheless, the newcomer priest was not unanimously welcomed by the local Armenians as the beginning of his mission was marked by heated conflicts with Bishop Minas and his clergy. It was reported that Oxendio was physically insulted on at least two occasions.[10] Such vehement reactions resulted from the fact that the Armenian priests in Transylvania at the time still vividly remembered the violent and scandal-marred unification of the Armenians of Lemberg under the leadership of Archbishop Nikol Torosowicz (1603–1681).[11]

Within a brief period of time, however, Oxendio stabilized his positions in Transylvania. The fact that he successfully converted his own family played no small role in that. At the very outset of his missionary work, he had realized that a church-union among the Armenians in Transylvania might only prevail if the elderly Bishop Minas and the Armenian clergy were to be won over for the cause.[12] This recognition proved of key importance as Bishop Minas had established a well-functioning church in Transylvania after the Armenians' settlement in 1668.

Be it as it might, his family helped Oxendio contact Bishop Minas. Although the aged bishop would never consent to a church union, in autumn 1686 Oxendio persuaded him to travel to Lemberg in order to negotiate with Vardan Hunanean (1644–1715), Armenian Uniate Archbishop and then Cardinal Opizio Pallavicini (1635–1700), Apostolic Nuncio at Warsaw. For a long time it was accepted as a historic fact that in Lemberg, due to Oxendio's background operations, Bishop Minas finally consented to the church-union of the Armenian community in Transylvania with Rome, in confirmation of which he was said to have deposited the Confession of Faith (Confessio Fidei) into the hands of Nuncio Pallavicini and Archbishop Hunanean.[13] Subsequently, the bishop left Lemberg and prepared to return to his fold in Transylvania. In December 1686, however, on his way home, he died under unclear circumstances. Recent archival research has meanwhile revealed that Bishop Minas did not proclaim the union; nor did he take the Confession of Faith. Moreover, he did not even meet Nuncio Pallavicini personally. Contemporary documents unanimously confirm that Bishop Minas entered theological debates with Archbishop Hunanean in Lemberg, in defence of the Armenian Apostolic Church's dogma.[14] A report issued by Oxendio in early 1687 even informs us that Bishop Minas passed away not as a Uniate (Catholic) but a faithful Apostolic Armenian Bishop (a heretic, in Oxendio's formulation).[15]

Nevertheless, the death of Bishop Minas facilitated Oxendio's mission in Transylvania. His strongest adversary was now out of the way, so he could turn to the task of converting the Eastern Armenian Christian population and priesthood, who had lost their spiritual leader. As an

3. The erstwhile Mechitarist monastery in Elisabethopolis

4. Armenian Catholic church in Frumoasa (1762–1785)

early result of his missionary work, February 1689 saw a large delegation arrived in Lemberg, led by three Transylvanian-Armenian priests, namely Elia Mendrul, Vardan Potoczky, and Astuacatur Nigošean. On behalf of the whole Armenian community in Transylvania, the group formally accepted the church-union and placed the Catholic Faith of Confession into Archbishop Hunaean's hands. The Armenians also consented to the church authority of the Armenian Uniate Archbishopric in Lemberg.[16] At the same time, the delegation requested that Archbishop Hunanean and Giacomo Cantelmi (1645–1702), Apostolic Nuncio at Warsaw, intercede with the Holy See's authorities to appoint Oxendio Virziresco as a Uniate Bishop as soon as possible.[17] This petition proved particularly urgent in terms of the church-union because after Bishop Minas's death, Armenian Catholicos Eliazar I (1682–1691) appointed the Polish-Armenian Theodor Wartanowicz (1652–1700) as an Apostolic Bishop of the Armenians in Moldova and Transylvania.[18] The newly appointed Armenian Apostolic Bishop, however, did not come into his seat; namely, the Armenian Uniate Archbishopric and the Holy See in a joint effort succeeded in hindering Wartanowicz from ever treading on Transylvanian soil.[19]

Still, the church-union of the Armenians in Transylvania remained an imperfect and unelaborated affair. The church-union entered in Lemberg contained a multitude of unanswered questions in itself. The documents attesting the union merely acknowledged the proclamation of the church union and the ecclesiastic legal authority of the Armenian Uniate Archepiscopacy in Lemberg and the Roman Pope's supreme primacy. This act, however, did nothing to settle the Transylvanian-Armenians' recognition of the Eucharist, the Filioque-prayer (Armenian *ew yOrduoyn*), the Purgatory (Armenian *K'awarann*), the doctrines of the Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon (451), the new calendar use, and the legal as well as marital status of converted Armenian priests. In the wake of the church union, therefore, as could be predicted, a whole battlefield of conflicting interpretations would emerge in the forthcoming years.

According to the mainstream scientific opinions, the church union was primarily motivated by the idealistic notion of restoring religious unity. In the act, no role was played by the Viennese Court, the Hungarian Catholic Church, or the Jesuit Order. The Holy See surmised that the church-union might, with the passing of time, foster the restoration of the unity of Christian faith that had characterized the two churches at the dawn of Christianity, during the reign of Pope Sylvester I (314–335) and Saint Gregory the Illuminator (287–325), the Apostle and first Catholicos of the Armenians. In view of the Roman Catholic Church, it was the unworthy and heretic successors of Saint Gregory who had caused the Armenian Apostolic Church's divergence from the once unified Catholic and Orthodox doctrines, moving down the alley of Monophysitic heresy.[20] Thus, the Holy See considered the religious union of the Armenians in Transylvania as a second important milestone after the conversion of the Armenian community in Poland. Namely, the church-unions thus entered could form an important "stepping stone" for the future unification with Rome of the Armenian Apostolic Church in Armenia proper. Behind the church-union of the Armenians in Transylvania, no economic considerations or objectives may be discerned. After all, Prince Michael I Apafi (1661–1690) had already provided the Armenians with highly favourable economic privileges years before the religious union through his decrees of 1680 and 1681.

The church union in 1689 greatly contributed to Oxendio Virziresco's appointment by Pope Alexander VIII (1689–1691) as a titular bishop and apostolic vicar of the Armenians in Transylvania on 2 October 1690. A yearly stipend of 100 scudi was granted to him by the Holy See.[21] Concurrently, the Holy See drew the Armenians in Transylvania under its own direct ecclesiastic jurisdiction, in spite of the vehement protestations of the Armenian Uniate Archbishopric in Lemberg.[22] The consecration was held in the Archbishop's Cathedral in Lemberg on 30 July 1691. The ceremony was celebrated according to Latin and Armenian Uniate rites by Archbishop Vardan Hunanean and Archbishop Antonio Santa Croce (1656–1712), Apostolic Nuncio at Warsaw (later in Vienna).[23] Cardinal Giacomo Cantelmi, former Apostolic Nuncio at Warsaw, had also played an instrumental role in bringing about Oxendio Virziresco's consecration; in 1689 and 1690, he relentlessly pursued this cause and used effective means of persuasion to convince the influential Cardinals at Holy See to support Oxendio's appointment.[24]

It was a deliberate decision that the Apostolic See appointed Oxendio as a titular bishop (of Aladia in Ireland). The main reason was that Rome also considered the interests of the Hungarian Catholic Church, with particular regard to the fact that the Hungarian Church was doing everything in its power to restore the shattered reputation of the Roman Catholic Episcopacy in Transylvania, whose seat had been unoccupied since 1601.[25] Another reason was that the missionary reports kept the Holy See well-informed about the position of the Catholics in Transylvania. After the political shift in Transylvania in 1690 (Diploma Leopoldinum), Rome observed the fact that due to the continuing political influence of the Protestants it would be unwise to appoint an openly Catholic bishop to lead the Uniate Armenians as yet. Among other factors, these explained Oxendio's appointment as a titular bishop; moreover, he was specifically ordered to act incognito in his Transylvanian community, concealed as an ordinary priest or monk.[26]

As it has been mentioned above, the church-union of the Armenians in Transylvania left a lot of questions open, which led to innumerable tensions and conflicts within the Armenian Church in Transylvania. One reason can be found in the differences between the Latin and the Armenian church traditions. Oxendio Virziresco, once consecrated, strove for an unconditional Latinization, while his priests were converts who had been raised within the cultural ambience of the Armenian Apostolic Church. Oxendio had studied at Urbanian College, where Western theological training was preferred at the time. In spite of his Armenian descent, he had always considered himself a man of the Roman Catholic Church. A crucial constituent of that identity must have been the fact that in Rome, on 9 August 1681, he had been ordained in the Latin rite by Edoardo Cybo (1619–1705), titular Archbishop of Seleucia and then Secretary of the Sacred Congregation.[27] So he would celebrate mass and administer the sacraments in the Latin rite; his missals were also Latin. In contrast, the Armenian priests continued to celebrate mass in the Armenian rite even after the church union. For them, church-union consisted in no more and no less than acknowledging the supremacy of the Roman Pope.

In autumn 1691, a conflict emerged in Bistrița (Beszterce) due to the divergent interpretations of church-union. During his visitations among the Armenians in Transylvania, Bishop Oxendio learnt that most Armenian priests were living in wedlock, whereas he would have considered celibacy preferable for them, too. He therefore accused them of heresy in the court of the Holy See. The clergy tried to defend themselves by claiming that they had married before the church-union, which could not therefore be an obstacle to their practice of priesthood. The question was settled by the Holy See in favour of the priests; still, the atmosphere within the Armenian Uniate Church remained sense. Nay, it was aggravated by the fact that Oxendio's immediate aides were Polish-Armenians formerly educated in the Armenian College of Lemberg, where they not only

learnt the Latin but also the Armenian Uniate rite extensively. What is more, the Armenian Uniate Church in Poland celebrated mass according to an Armenian rite adapted to Latin standards, while Bishop Oxendio stubbornly insisted on the pure Latin rite. So he came into conflict with his immediate assistants as well.[28]

At the turn of the year 1691 and 1692, another dispute came about between Bishop Oxendio and the Armenian priests in Bistrița. Two converted monks, Vardan Potoczky and Astuacatur Nigošean, began to preach against the church union among the Armenians of Bistrița. They had namely grown to consider the church union an increasingly disadvantageous process that was beginning to push Armenian identity into the background. Also, while the Armenians had, in 1689, hoped that the church-union, that is, their Catholicization, would broaden their economic privileges, they now found the situation to be just the contrary: after the union, their taxes were repeatedly raised by the secular authorities. This bred dissatisfaction, for which many blamed Bishop Oxendio and the church-union he had brought about. This also came handy for the Protestant elite in Transylvania, for they could now manipulate the Armenians, saying that upon revocation of their Uniate confession, they would second them, were they to ask for an extension of their former economic privileges in the Hapsburg Court in Vienna. The Protestants considered the Armenian Uniate bishop not only a man of Rome but also of Vienna.[29]

The case was eventually settled by Vardan Potoczky, Astuacatur Nigošean, and their followers revoking the church union. Many of them (some 100 Armenian families) returned to Moldova under the leadership of Astuacatur Nigošean.[30] The bishop launched an investigation in response, asking for the assistance of the Holy See, the Court in Vienna, and the political elite of Transylvania. But Bishop Oxendio's efforts were in vain. The leading Transylvanian political forces would not aid him, the Viennese Court was taken up by their war of liberation against the Ottoman Turks, while Transylvania is very far from Rome (Holy See). What is more, Michael II Apafi (1672–1713), Prince of Transylvania and Count Miklós Bethlen (1642–1716), Chancellor of Transylvania, sided with the renitent Armenians. Vardan Potoczky and some 60 Armenian families refusing the church-union moved from Bistrița to Ibașfalău (Ebesfalva; present-day, Dumbrăveni). The Prince Michael II Apafi guaranteed special economic privileges and a free practice of religion for them.[31]

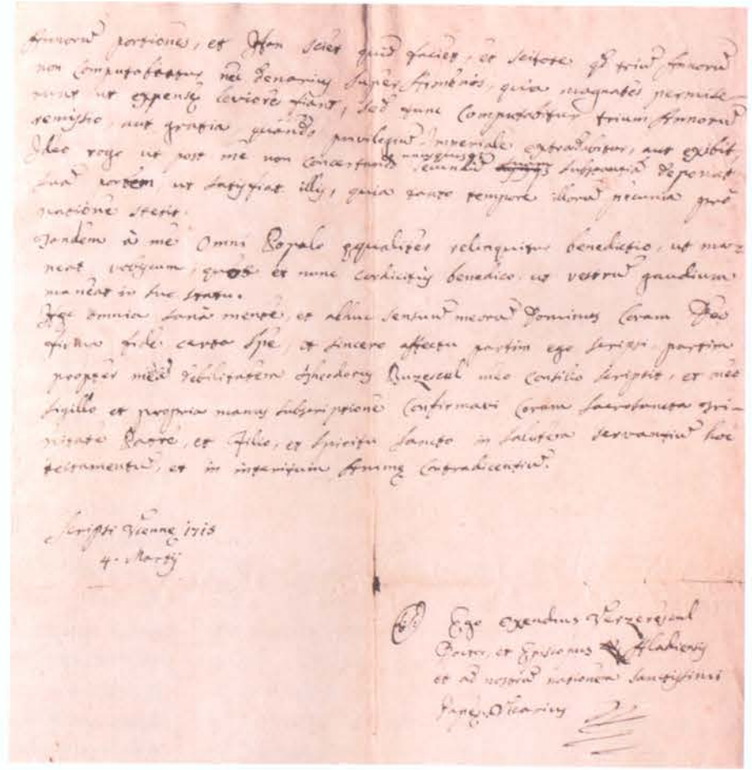
Because of Astuacatur Nigošean, Bishop Oxendio left for Moldova without any consent from the Holy See, in order to persuade the Armenian monk and his followers to return to Transylvania and the Uniate confession.[32] The bishop's self-styled mission bore no fruit, and upon his return to Transylvania, his reputation was badly damaged. For fairness' sake, Astuacatur Nigošean also soon came back from Moldova, once again taking up anti-union preaching in Bistrița. This time, the bishop wasted no time in having the renitent priest and his followers arrested by the imperial army. Astuacatur Nigošean was imprisoned in Sibiu (Nagyszeben) and accused of apostasy. The trial was not concluded because the Armenian priest had died under unclear circumstances in prison before the end of 1693.[33]

In 1697, Bishop Oxendio caused yet another scandal in Bistrița, concerning the interpretation of the church-union. Just as in 1691, he blamed the Armenian priests in Transylvania for most of them living in wedlock in spite of the church-union. Among the main culprits, he named Vardan Potoczky, the apostate of Ibașfalău, and Archdean Elia Mendrul of Bistrița.[34] In return, the accused priests took the issue of the bishop's acting in tyrannical and corrupt ways to the Holy See's authorities and the Armenian Uniate Archbishopric in Lemberg. The claim for corruption derived from the fact that in 1696, Bishop Oxendio had appropriated the property of a recently deceased wealthy Armenian merchant in Transylvania, and within the same year, he had purchased a substantial estate in Gurghiu (Görgényszentimre) for himself.[35] Incidentally, this also raised the attention of the secular authorities in Transylvania. Count István Apor (1638–1704), Treasurer of Transylvania, was particularly outraged as documents attested that there had been a regular delay in the bishop's obtaining the annuity of 100 scudi granted by the Holy See, and hence he had repeatedly begged the treasurer for financial aid.[36] Count Apor wanted to investigate the bishop's new-found wealth and seconded the Armenians in accusing him of fraudulence.[37] In addition, the conflict with Elia Mendrul was exacerbated by a problem of corruption. In contrast, the Holy See, the Observant and Conventual (Minorite) Franciscan monks, as well as the Jesuit Fathers stepped up in defence of Bishop Oxendio. Over two years, several investigative bodies were authorized, all of them proving biased and deciding in Bishop Oxendio's favour. Upon this, Elia Mendrul and his followers revoked the church union, most of them, some 400 Armenian families, moving to Moldova.[38]

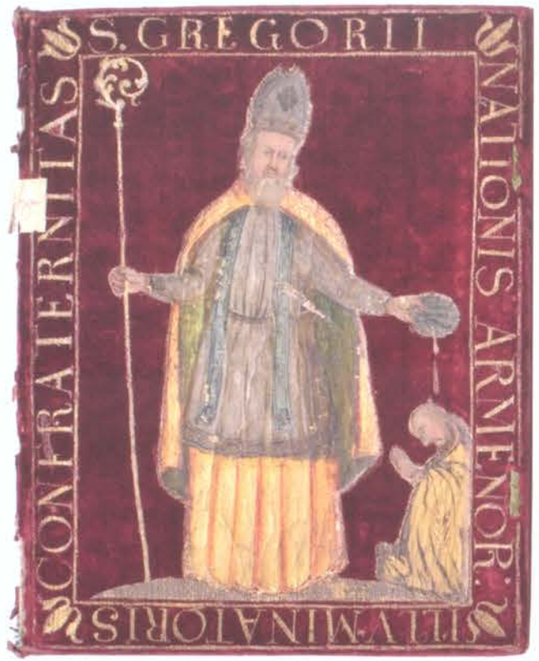
Soon enough, Elia Mendrul found himself in dire straits. At the end of 1698, the Holy See commissioned an investigative body led by Zsigmond Vizkeleti[39] (1648–1718) and István Halászi[40] (1648–1705), Jesuits Fathers and missionaries in Transylvania, which took a more aggressive approach, aided by the imperial military, to the Armenian communities in Transylvania. Many Armenians were forced to take up the church-union again. In the course of the events, Vardan Potoczky was also arrested in Ebesfalva and sentenced to life imprisonment for apostasy.[41] Not seeing any other way out, Elia Mendrul took his remaining followers out of Transylvania, resettling to Moldova and ultimately revoking his oath of church-union taken in Lemberg, 1689.[42]

The Elia Mendrul case was a turning point in the church history of the Armenians in Transylvania. With the strife settled, the church-union of the Armenians came to full ripeness. Not that Bishop Oxendio had expected his mission to stumble on such extreme conflicts. But this series of obstacles eventually led to the irreversible unification of the entire Armenian community in Transylvania. On the other hand, the population of the Armenians in Transylvania had severely decreased. Their weight within society fell back significantly, primarily because many members of Oxendio's church opposition moved back to Moldova between 1691 and 1700. On the whole, however, the tensions paid off for the Uniate Bishop. Although the number of Uniate Armenians in Transylvania had fallen conspicuously, Oxendio could now govern a smaller but confessionally more homogeneous community. Throughout the strife, he had enjoyed the almost incessant support of the Roman Catholic Church, while Elia Mendrul's party had continuously weakened due to many Armenians moving out of or away from the area.

Though Bishop Oxendio was eventually found not guilty of corruption, he would never completely succeed in clearing his name.[43] The shadow of suspicion was cast upon him until his dying days, and after the Elia Mendrul case, the secular elite in Transylvania would never again fully trust the Armenian Uniate Bishop.



5. Copy of Oxendio Virziresco's will and last testament (March 4, 1715) (Armenian Catholic Collective Archive of Armenopolis, 339/b, Box 1)



6. Cover of the deed of foundation of St Gregory the Illuminator's parish society in Elisabethopolis (1729)

Last, but not least, in view of the Elia Mendrul case in particular, it must be stated that after the church-union, the serial conflicts must shatter the formerly held public opinion of both Hungarian and international scholarship that the religious union of the Armenians in Transylvania should have been a calm and peaceful process with no strife or tension.

Between 1700 and 1711, after Elia Mendrul and his followers had fled, Oxendio Virziresco attempted to launch a mission to Moldova in order to (re-)Catholicize the Armenians there. His efforts failed due to conflicting interests between the Holy See, the Apostolic Nunciature at Warsaw, and the Armenian Uniate Archbishopric in Lemberg, as well as the active resistance of the secular and ecclesiastical authorities of Moldova.[44] Bishop Oxendio's Moldovan mission was conclusively shattered by the fact that during Rákóczi's War of Independence, he fell captive to the so-called Rákóczi's soldiers in 1704; after three years' imprisonment in Munkács (Mukacheve, Mukačevo, now in Ucraine), he was expelled from the country, though he could eventually return to Transylvania in 1709, once the tides of war started to ebb away.[45]

Following the failure of the Moldovan mission, Bishop Oxendio and his aides were constantly afraid that as time passed, the Armenian Catholicos would order Eastern Armenian priests to come to Transylvania in order to reconvert the Uniate Armenians. This fear, apart from two unsubstantial and isolated cases, proved unfounded.[46] Their anxiety was surely heightened by the example of the Uniate Romanians in Transylvania, who were successfully reconverted after the Metropolitans of Bucharest, incited the Patriarch of Constantinople, sent Greek and Roman popes and monks to preach against the Romanian union in Transylvania.

Upon his final return in 1710, Bishop Oxendio focused on the re-organization of the Armenian community in Transylvania. His main task was to build and privilege the estate of Armenopolis. The question of Armenopolis had already plagued him back in the 1690s. Straight after Vardan Potoczky's apostasy trial, the bishop realized that the Armenians in Transylvania could only be kept within the church union in the long run if they were granted privileges. He was also faced with the urgent problem that despite the church union, many Armenians were resettling to Moldova. Therefore, he was planning to bring together the Armenians scattered all over Transylvania into one city. In 1696, he visited Vienna and asked for assistance. He requested that Emperor and King Leopold I (1657–1705) let the fiscal estate of Armenopolis (Gherla, Szamosújvár) to the Armenians at a reasonable price. In order to promote the motion, he contacted Cardinal Leopold von Kollonich (1631–1707), Primate-Archbishop of Esztergom.[47] His background operations yielded dividends fairly quickly; on 20 August 1696, Leopold I approved Bishop Oxendio's request and appointed Armenopolis as the site for a future Armenian settlement.[48] Nevertheless, because of the Elia Mendrul's affair, Bishop Oxendio's conflict with Treasurer Apor, and the breakout of Rákóczi's War of Independence, the issue would not be concluded until 1712, when the Armenians of Bistrița and the neighbouring villages could finally move into Armenopolis.

Oxendio felt that, due to the obstacles raised by the hostile local authorities, the Armenians could not benefit from the commercial privileges bestowed upon them by the Transylvanian Prince back in 1680. On 10 November 1711, he wrote a memorandum and submitted it to the Viennese Court, reminding them of the estate of Armenopolis, which he had obtained in 1696. The document was written in Latin and its 14 points requested, among other things, that the Armenians should be exempted from all taxes for three years and placed under the protection of the military commanders in Transylvania. He explained this with the severe damages the Armenians had suffered due to Rákóczi's War of Independence. In effect, the bishop wanted to acquire a so-called Armenian Diploma (Diploma Armenum) for Armenopolis from the secular authorities.[49]

For many months, the memorandum yielded no result. In summer of 1712, therefore, Oxendio went to Vienna in order to obtain privileges for Armenopolis, the largest continuous Armenian settlement in Transylvania just then under construction, as well as to enforce his memorandum.[50]

Bishop Oxendio spent nearly three years in Vienna, but his cause was not moving forward despite innumerable audiences in the Court. This administrative delay, however, took its toll on his health (having passed the age of 60 years, he was no young man any more), which was gradually worn away by so much time spent in uncertainty and frustration. On 7 March 1715, he suddenly collapsed and was transferred to Saint John's Hospital in Vienna. He suffered from high fever, fits of ague, and before the day was out, he lost his consciousness. The hospital leader asked for the help of the court doctor, but the bishop's illness could not be diagnosed.[51]

Bishop Oxendio died three days later, on 10 March.[52] His death was very probably caused by a cerebral haemorrhage.[53] His curious collapse occasioned rumours that the Uniate Bishop might have been poisoned by the Viennese Court, at the instigation of the Hungarian Catholic clergy. This claim was founded on the notion that Bishop Oxendio had too much influence among the Armenians and Catholics of Transylvania. Such supposition and guesswork were probably completely factitious; after all, why should a pontiff be murdered if he has always been a loyal servant of both Catholicism and the Imperial Court throughout his office? The deceased bishop was buried in Saint Barbara's Church in Vienna.[54]

Shortly before his collapse, the bishop had written a will in which he not only settled the issues of his bequest, but also named his relative, the Polish-Armenian Uniate Stefano Stefanowicz Roszka (1670–1739), Titular Bishop of Hymeria, as his intended successor.[55] His death, however, left the seat of the Armenian Uniate Bishop vacant. While the Holy See negotiated Roszka's Transylvanian tenure on a number of occasions, the Hungarian Catholic Church eventually managed to hinder his appointment.[56] Thus the Uniate Armenians in Transylvania were left without a pontiff.

Bishop Oxendio Virziresco's death in 1715 marked the end of an important period in the history of the Armenians in Transylvania. The archives of the Holy See still house a large number of unpublished documents about the further history of the Armenian Church in Transylvania. The disputes that surrounded the vacant seat of the Armenian Uniate bishop, the tensions concerning church authority, the aggressive enforce-

7. Stephano Stephanowicz Roska (1670–1739), Armenian Catholic provost of Stanisławów was sent on an apostolic visitation to Transylvania in 1729 by Archbishop Tobia Augustinowicz of Lemberg. There he founded several parish congregations (elbayrowt'iwn). His signature can be seen on the last page of the deed of foundation of St Gregory the Illuminator's society in Elisabethopolis (1729)

ment of Latinization, as well as the relations with the Uniate Romanian Episcopacy of Făgăraș (Fogaras) installed in 1721, markedly demonstrate that the church-union or Bishop Oxendio's achievements were far from the end of the church-history of the Armenians in Transylvania. All these separate areas must be subject to further research through the analysis of archival sources in Rome concerning the period following 1715 as well as the introduction of new batches of sources into the research.

NOTES

[1] The name of the bishop has been handed down to us in many different spellings. This paper keeps the form Virziresco as the bishop himself almost invariably signed his letters thus.

[2] Cf. NAGY, Kornél, "Az erdélyi örmény egyházi unió vitás kérdései (1685–1715)," *Történelmi Szemle*, 51.1 (2009), 91–125; NAGY, Kornél, "The Catholicization of Transylvanian Armenians (1685–1715): Integrative or Disintegrative Model?" in *Integrating Minorities: Traditional Communities and Modernization*, ed. Barszczewska, Agnieszka & Peti, Lehel (Cluj-Napoca, 2011), 33–56; NAGY, Kornél, "Az erdélyi örmények katolizációja, 1685–1715," *Magyar Történelmi Emlékek: Értekezések* (Budapest, 2012).

[3] See, e.g., GARSOÏAN, Nina, "L'église arménienne et le Grand Schisme d'Orient," *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*, 574, *Subsidia Tomus* 100 (Lovanii, 1999); DORFMANN-LAZAREV, Igor, "Arméniens et byzantins à l'époque de Photius: Deux débats théologiques après le triomphe orthodoxe," *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*, 609, *Subsidia Tomus* 117 (Lovanii, 2004), 96–130.

[4] Cf. MAKSOUDIAN, Krikor H., "Armenian Church, Doctrines and Councils," in *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, I (Aachen–Augustinism), ed. STREYER, Joseph R. (New York, 1982), 498–502; PAPADAKIS, Aristeides–MEYENDORFF, John, *A kereszténység Kelet és a pápaság felemelkedése*, trans. Bódogh-Szabó, Pál (*Varia Byzantiana – Bizánc Világa*, 6) (Budapest, 2002), 163–174.

[5] Archivio storico della Sacra Congregazione per l'Evangelizzazione o de "Propaganda Fide", Rome (= APF) Scritture riferite nei Congressi (= SC) Fondo Moldavia Vol. 1, 155r–156v.; *ibid*. Vol. 2, Fol. 41r–46v.; Eötvös Loránd University Book and Manuscript Archive, Budapest (= ELTE EKK) Collectio Hevenesiana (= Coll. Hev.) Cod. 15, p. 248; *ibid*. Cod. 16, p. 33; *ibid*. Cod. 21, pp. 81–82.

[6] APF SC Fondo Armeni Vol. 3, Fol. 378r–381v.

[7] APF SC Fondo Moldavia Vol. 2, Fol. 126r–127r., Fol. 134r–135v.

[8] APF SC Fondo Armeni Vol. 3, Fol. 418r.; see also PETROWICZ, Gregorio, *La chiesa armena in Polonia e nei paesi limitrofi*, III, 1686–1954 (Studia Ecclesiastica 17 - Historica 10) (Roma, 1988), 81–82.

[9] APF SC Fondo Armeni Vol. 3, Fol. 462r–v., Fol. 434r–v., Fol. 498r.; ROŠK'AY, Step'anos, *Žamanakagrut'iwn kam tarekank' ekełec'akank'* [Chronology, or Ecclesiastic Annals] Aśx. Hamazasp Oskean (Vienna, 1964), 185.

[10] APF SC Fondo Armeni Vol. 3, Fol. 468r–469v.

[11] For more detail, see PETROWICZ, Gregorio, *L'unione degli Armeni in Polonia con la Santa Sede*, I (1626–1681) (Orientalia Christiana Analecta, 135.) (Roma, 1950).

[12] APF SC Fondo Armeni Vol. 3, Fol. 469v.

[13] This was not reported until after the death of Bishop Minas, in documents from 1693, 1695, and 1700, which, however, have recently been disproved as unreliable in their information. Cf. APF Scritture Originali riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali (= SOCG) Vol. 537, Fol. 418r–v.; Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Rome (= ARSI) Fondo Austria, Historia, Vol. 155, Fol. 81v.; ELTE EKK Coll. Hev. Cod. 16, p. 32.; *ibid*. Cod. 21, p. 82.; *ibid*. Cod. 29, p. 346.; ELTE EKK Collectio Kaprinayana, A. Cod. 11, p. 112.; MOLNÁR, Antal, *Lehetetlen küldetés? Jezsuiták Erdélyben és Felső-Magyarországon a 16–17. században* (TDI Könyvek, 8) (Budapest, 2009), 222; see also NAGY, Kornél, "Did Vardapet Minas Tokhatetsi, Bishop of the Armenians in Transylvania, Make a Confession of Faith in the Roman Catholic Church in 1686?" *Haigazian Armenological Review* 31 (2011), 427–442.

[14] APF SOCG Vol. 532, Fol. 456r–457r.; APF Lettere e Decreti della Sacra Congregazione (= Lettere SC) Vol. 76, Fol. 33r–34r., Fol. 90v–91r.; APF SC Fondo Armeni Vol. 4, Fol. 13r–v., Fol. 374r–375v.; Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Vatican City (= ASV) Archivio della Nunziatura in Vienna (= ANV) Vol. 196, Fol. 219r–220r.

[15] APF Collegio Urbano Vol. 3, Fol. 472r–v.

[16] APF Acta Sacrae Congregationis (= Acta SC) Vol. 59, Fol. 165r–169r.; APF SOCG Vol. 504, Fol. 103r.; *ibid*. Vol. 506, Fol. 66r.; APF Congregazioni Particolari (= CP) Vol. 29, Fol. 610r–v., Fol. 630r–631v., Fol. 651r.; APF Lettere SC Vol. 78, Fol. 36v–38r., Fol. 102r–v.; ELTE EKK Coll. Hev. Cod. 15, p. 251.; *ibid*. Cod. 16, p. 34.; *ibid*. Cod. 21, p. 77.; *ibid*. Cod. 21, p. 82.

[17] APF CP Vol. 29, Fol. 644r., Fol. 645r–646v., Fol. 647r–v., Fol. 648r–v.; NAGY, Kornél, "Two Letters of the Armenians in Transylvania to the Holy See from 1689," *Revista Arhivelor–Archives Review* 86.2 (2009), 226–243.

[18] APF Acta SC Vol. 60, Fol. 78r–81v.; APF Lettere SC Vol. 79, Fol. 7r–8v., Fol. 22v–23r., Fol. 129r–132r.; APF SC Fondo Armeni Vol. 4, Fol. 51r., Fol. 69r., Fol. 82r–83v., Fol. 86r–87v., Fol. 100r., Fol. 129r., Fol. 174r.; for more detail about Wartanowicz see also PETROWICZ, *La chiesa armena*, 92–93.

[19] APF Acta SC Vol. 60, Fol. 125r–127v.; APF SOCG, Vol. 507, Fol. 87r–88v., Fol. 89r., Fol. 90r., Fol. 91r–v., Fol. 92r., Fol. 93r–94v.; *ibid*. Vol. 509, Fol. 112r–v.

[20] APF CP Vol. 29, Fol. 613r–v., Fol. 628r–629v.

[21] APF Acta SC Vol. 59, Fol. 165r–169r.; *ibid*. Vol. 60, Fol. 14r–19v.; APF SOCG Vol. 510, 94r.; *ibid*. Vol. 512, Fol. 179r–v.; APF SC Fondo Armeni Vol. 4, Fol. 215r–v.; ELTE EKK Coll. Hev. Cod. 15, p. 252.; *ibid*. Cod. 16, p. 34.; *ibid*. Cod. 21, p. 83.

[22] APF SOCG Vol. 506, Fol. 61r–v., Fol. 63r–64r.; *ibid*. Vol. 507, Fol. 87r–88v.; APF Lettere SC Vol. 79, Fol. 80v–81r., Fol. 82r–v.; APF SC Fondo Armeni Vol. 4, Fol. 221r.; LUKÁCSY, Christophorus, *Historia Armenorum Transsilvaniae a primordiis usque nostram memoriam e fontibus authenticis et documentis antea ineditis elaborata* (Viennae, 1859), 70; PETROWICZ, *La chiesa armena*, 94–96.

[23] APF Acta SC Vol. 61, Fol. 84r–87r.; APF SOCG Vol. 510, Fol. 97r.; APF Lettere SC Vol. 80, Fol. 65r–v., Fol. 74v–v., Fol. 86v–87v.; APF SC Fondo Armeni Vol. 4, Fol. 140r., Fol. 146r–v.; Primatial Archives, Esztergom (= PL) Archivum Vetus Ecclesiasticus (=AEV) Sub Primatae Széchényi (= SPSZ) No. 273/4.2; see also Rošk'ay, 187.

[24] APF CP Vol. 29, Fol. 636r–v.; APF Lettere SC Vol. 79, Fol. 129r–132r.; APF SC Fondo Armeni Vol. 4, Fol. 221r.

[25] For more detail cf. GALLA, Ferenc, *Ferences misszionáriusok Magyarországon: a Királyságban és Erdélyben a 17–18. században*, ed. Fazekas István (Collectanea Vaticana Hungariae, 2) (Budapest & Rome, 2005), 256–286.

[26] APF Lettere SC Vol. 79, Fol. 134v.

[27] APF Acta SC Vol. 51, Fol. 81r.; Fol. 154r–v., Fol. 232r., Fol. 255v.; APF SOCG Vol. 490, Fol. 110r.; *ibid*. Vol. 492, Fol. 313r.; *ibid*. Vol. 493, Fol. 30r+31v., Fol. 376r+377v., Fol. 378v., *ibid*. Vol. 497, Fol. 335r.; APF Lettere SC Vol. 70, Fol. 42r., Fol. 54v.

[28] APF Acta SC Vol. 61, Fol. 84r–87r.

[29] APF SOCG Vol. 512, Fol. 178r–v., Fol. 179r., Fol. 180r+183r., Fol. 181r+186v.; for more detail, see NAGY, Kornél, "Emlékirat az erdélyi örmények egyházáról: Az 1693. évi Fidelis relatio," *Történelmi Szemle* 50.2 (2008), 251–285; NAGY, Kornél, "Az erdélyi örmények hitvallása 1692-ből," *Történelmi Szemle* 53.2 (2011), 283–313.

[30] APF SC Fondo Armeni Vol. 4, Fol. 263r.

[31] APF SC Fondo Armeni Vol. 4, Fol. 262r., Fol. 265r–v., Fol. 266r.; ELTE EKK Coll. Hev. Cod. 21. P. 84.; ELTE EKK Res Transylvanica (= G) Cod. 522, Fol. 96r.; PL AEV SPSZ No. 274/4.1., No. 274/8.3., No. 274/8.4.

[32] APF Acta SC Vol. 63, Fol. 68r–70v.

[33] APF Acta SC Vol. 65, Fol. 263r–266v.; APF SOCG Vol. 514, Fol. 495r–496v., Fol. 499r–v., Fol. 500r–v., Fol. 501r–v., Fol. 502r.; APF Lettere SC Vol. 82, Fol. 100r–v., Fol. 110v–111r., Fol. 119r–v., Fol. 147r–v.

[34] APF SC Fondo Armeni Vol. 4, Fol. 522r–v., Fol. 523r–v.; ASV ANV Vol. 196, Fol. 159r–160v.; for more detail, see NAGY, Kornél, "Az Elia Mendrul-ügy: A besztercei örmény egyházi viszály története (1697–1700)," *Századok* 143 (2009), 945–974.

[35] ASV ANV Vol. 196, Fol. 177r+180v.

[36] APF SOCG Vol. 529, Fol. 272r–273v.; ASV ANV Vol. 196, Fol. 160r–161v., Fol. 163r.

[37] APF SOCG Vol. 532, Fol. 449r., Fol. 459r–v.; ÉBLE, Gábor, *A szamosújvári Verzár család* (Budapest, 1915), 15.

[38] APF Acta SC Vol. 69, Fol. 108r–v.; APF SOCG Vol. 532, Fol. 434r–440r.

[39] His real name was ISTVÁN Csete; cf. APF SC Fondo Ungheria e Transilvania Vol. 3, Fol. 46r.–52v.; TÓTH, György István (ed.), *Litterae missionariorum de Hungaria et Transilvania (1572–1717)*, IV (Bibliotheca Academiae Hungariae – Roma, Fontes 4) (Rome & Budapest, 2005), 2923–2931.

[40] His real name was Tamás Merczis; cf. Molnár, 225–248.

[41] APF SOCG Vol. 532. Vol. 466r., Fol. 467r–468r., Fol. 469r., Fol. 470r–471v., Fol. 472r.; ASV ANV Vol. 196, Fol. 192r–v., Fol. 194r–v., Fol. 195r–v.

[42] ASV ANV Vol. 196, Fol. 203r–v., Fol. 204r., Fol. 206r–v.

[43] APF SOCG Vol. 532, Fol. 461r–463v.

[44] APF Acta SC Vol. 70, Fol. 103r–105r., Fol. 341r–345v.; APF Acta SC Vol. 71, Fol. 177r–179v.; *ibid*. Vol. 72, Fol. 237r–240v.; *ibid*. Vol. 73, Fol. 41r–v.; APF SOCG Vol. 535, Fol. 346r–v., Fol. 347r–350v., Fol. 352r–v.; *ibid*. Vol. 537, Fol. 412r–414v., Fol. 416r–417r., Fol. 418r–419v.; *ibid*. Vol. 539, Fol. 180r., Fol. 182r–183v.; *ibid*. Vol. 545, Fol. 243r., Fol. 244r–v., Fol. 245r–v.; APF SC Fondo Armeni Vol. 4, Fol. 613r–614r., Fol. 615r–v., Fol. 670r., Fol. 708r–v., Fol. 709r.; ELTE EKK Coll. Hev. Cod. P. 8. P. 61.

[45] APF SOCG Vol. 558, Fol. 20r–v., Fol. 21r–22v., Fol. 23r.; *ibid*. Vol. 572, Fol. 278r–280v.; APF Lettere SC Vol. 96, Fol. 29r.; Hungarian National Archive (= MOL) Archive of Prince Francis II. Rákóczi (= G 16) I. 2. d. No. 520.; MOL Archive of Prince's Chancellery (= G 19) II. 2. c/A.

[46] APF Acta SC Vol. 77, Fol. 279r–280v.; APF SOCG Vol. 559, Fol. 570r–v., Fol. 571r., Fol. 574r., Fol. 575r–v.

[47] APF SOCG Vol. 520, Fol. 286r–287r.; APF SC Fondo Armeni Vol. 4, Fol. 268r.

[48] APF SOCG Vol. 525, Fol. 111r–v., Fol. 112r–v.; APF SC Fondo Armeni Vol. 4, Fol. 406r–v., Fol. 407r–v.+ 410v., Fol. 408r–409v., Fol. 411r–v.; Fol. 434r.; ANV ASV Vol. 196, Fol. 152r.; MOL Gubernium Transilvanicum Archive: Files (= F 46) 1698: 238; Éble, 16.

[49] APF Acta SC Vol. 82, Fol. 144r–147v.; APF SOCG Vol. 580, Fol. 560r–565v.; MOL Transylvanian Fiscal Archive (=F 234) XII ½, Fasc. 2, Litt. A.; for the latest research, see BERNÁD, Rita & KOVÁCS, Bálint, *The Armenian Catholic Collective Archive: Repertory* (Erdélyi Római Katolikus Levéltárak, 4) (Budapest, Alba Iulia & Leipzig, 2012), 23–38.

[50] APF Acta SC Vol. 82, Fol. 443r–v.; APF SOCG Vol. 583, Fol. 211., Fol. 212r.

[51] APF SOCG Vol. 598, Fol. 267r–v.

[52] APF Acta SC Vol. 85, Fol. 170r–v., Fol. 582r.; APF SOCG Vol. 598, Fol. 264r., Fol. 265r–266v.; APF SC Fondo Armeni Vol. 6, Fol. 544r–545v., Fol. 552r–553v., Fol. 588r.; Rošk'ay, 197–198; PETROWICZ, *La chiesa armena*, 103.

[53] APF Lettere SC Vol. 104, Fol. 57r–58v.

[54] APF SOCG Vol. 598, Fol. 265r–266v.; APF Lettere SC Vol. 104, Fol. 57r–58v.

[55] BÁRÁNY, Lukács, "Verzirescul Auxendius III," *Arménia* 4.5 (1888), 139–141.

[56] APF Acta SC Vol. 85, Fol. 582r.; APF Lettere SC Vol. 104, Fol. 231r–v.; APF SC Fondo Armeni Vol. 6, Fol. 642r–643v.

"Between God's Flame and Hell's Fire": Armenian Written Art and Book Culture

Armenuhi Drost-Abgarjan

"... and I, laden with the paper sheets and the manuscript book, with quills and ink on my shoulders, wandered with him [Hovhannes Vorotnetsi, his teacher] [...] and there, where we arrived, I wrote this Holy Book in anguish and suffering. And there, where I began, to complete it I never could..."

(Scribe Hakob, 14th century)

2. The first letter of the Armenian alphabet: A/Ayb (sources, l to r: OSZK, Quart. Armen 1; OSZK, Duod. Armen 2; Girk' jamakargut'ean or koč'i, I Marsiliay k'alaki [Marseilles], 1673)

The history of Armenian literature begins in 405 with the Biblical epigraph "To know wisdom and instruction; to perceive the words of understanding" (Proverbs 1:2), the first sentence written down in Armenian.

The Armenian alphabet created by Mesrop Mashtots (360–440) is the hallmark of Armenian Christian literature as well as the fundament of all medieval and modern literacy.

Thus the Armenian people reacted to Eastern (Persian) as well as Western (Byzantine) threats of identity loss. The programme of ethnoculturally redeeming the Armenians through a decision to create an autonomous alphabet and introduce a national written language was the peaceful response of an ancient cultural nation to its neighbours' militant aggression.

1. Khoran (xoran) on the first page of a late-16th-century manuscript missal (Pataragamatoyc') (National Széchényi Library [OSZK], cat.nr. Quart Armen I.)

The West Armenian poet Daniel Varujan, who, at age 31, was one of the hundreds of Armenian intellectuals brutally murdered during the infamous Constantinople spring night of April 24, 1915, which led up to the Armenian genocide, had the following to say on the 1500th anniversary of the Armenian alphabet, 100 years ago, in Constantinople:

"Who will be in the position to write the history of these characters? – They have fixed the existence of our people with fiery nails onto the eternal firmament of parchment leaves. Starting with A/Ayb, which, like one in prayer, stretches its arms against the heavens over the head of an Armenian through the centuries, up to the introverted F/Fe, the last letter of the alphabet, swallowed up in the cover of hope, proceeding with an open heart towards the first blush of dawn of the future. All these letters, like a caravan, have led our existence, our Armenian identity, to the threshold of this century."

3. The Evangelists St Matthew and St Mark on the erstwhile Evangeliary of the Armenian parish in Frumoasa (Direcţia Judeţeană Cluj a Arhivelor Naţionale, Colecţia de manuscrise armeneşti, Nr. 1 [11] fol. 22 & fol. 168)

Mesrop Mashtots, originally a high registry official and military commander in the court of the Armenian Arshakide kings, later withdrew from worldly life as a monk and was commissioned by Catholicos Sahak Parthew of Great Armenia (387–439) and King Vramshapuh (388–413/414) to carry out the highly responsible task of creating the Armenian script. He gathered young men around himself, who had, like him, received good education in the erstwhile centres of Athens, Caesarea, Edessa, Constantinople, and Alexandria, and together they travelled to Edessa, Amida, and Samosata, in order to carry out this cultural political program.

The Armenian alphabet, which is still used in its original form today, is witness to an enormous linguistic achievement; namely, it was no easy task to identify the phonemes of the Armenian language and to create a grapheme for each letter according to the 1-to-1 principle. The writing systems of the time consisted of an average 22 to 24 letters. The Armenian phonetic system numbered 36 sounds (three more came later, in the 12th century). Hence some 14 new phonemes had to be defined and fixed to the script.

In his choice of direction (left to right) and the order of letters, Mesrop followed the model of the then most modern phonetic system, that of the Greek alphabet. The calligraphy of the characters otherwise quite different from Greek script was created in collaboration with a Greek calligrapher called Hropanos.

With his newly created alphabet, Mesrop Mashtots came to Etchmiadzin, the spiritual centre of the Armenians, where the King, the Catholicos, and the entire people had been waiting for his arrival. Mesrop's biographer, Korjun, compares his arrival from Mount Ararat to that of Moses from Mount Sinai, who had brought the tablets of the Ten Commandments from God. Mesrop carried the sacred letters, the wonderful characters of the independent Armenian alphabet. They were consecrated by the breath of the Holy Spirit. "God's Breath," *Astvatsashunch* is the name of the Armenian Scripture, which Mesrop and his disciples translated in the mid-5th century and which the European researchers have anointed "Queen of Bible Translations." Hence the special cult of books in Armenia. The authors of these books likewise enjoy great fame hardly comparable to any other country. Mesrop and his disciples were canonized by the Armenian Church. Three holidays are dedicated to them in the church calendar; the most famous, the

"Feast of the Holy Translators" (*Targmantshats Ton*) is an Armenian festival of the founders of Armenian literature and their followers, celebrated both in the Republic of Armenia and in the diaspora worldwide.

Every book there was venerated like a Bible; it was believed that books had the power to heal. For example, they would be placed under the pillow of the bed of an ill person. Today, Armenians from all over the world go on a pilgrimage to the "Sacrosanct" of their culture, the *Matenadaran* "book temple" in Yerevan, named after Mesrop Mashtots, in order to seek certain manuscripts from their long-lost native villages and towns. This book palace houses more than 18,000 manuscripts from the Armenian centres of written culture: Etchmiadzin, Saghmosawank, Tatew, Sanahin, Haghpat, Geghard, Ketsharujk, Gladsor, Hovhannawank (in East Armenia); Waspurakan, Wan, Aghtamar (in West Armenia); Sis, Hromlka, Bardsraberd, Akner, Drazark, Grner (in Minor or Cilician Armenia); as well as India, Italy, Egypt, Palestine, Romania and Transylvania, Poland, and many other countries, where the memories of Armenian intellectual history are still cultivated.

In Armenia, too, the multiplication of books took place mostly in the scriptoria of monasteries, "under the protection of the cloister's patrons," where they were often bound in fabulous covers of gold and gemstones, ivory and silver. These codices were painted in fascinating colours taken from plants and insects. Ultramarine, crimson, and golden yellow were the favourite colours of the famous Armenian book painters, with which they so lovingly ornamented their volumes.

In the magical pictures of Armenian miniature painting, where East and West combine in a unique way, the typically Armenian, Christian oriental traditions melt together with the imperial church art of Eastern Rome, of Byzantium.

Within a short period after the making of the Armenian alphabet, which is also known as the "golden age" of Armenian literature (405 to *c.* 451), through the extraordinary efforts of the chief figures of that literature, i.e. patriarchs Mesrop and Sahak and their disciples, the translations of the most important theological and patristic works of the Christian world literature of the time as well as translations of the works of Greek antiquity were produced, relevant for a reflected elaboration of the Christian cultural treasures. Especially the philosophical and theological writings of

4. The Evangelists St Luke and St John on the erstwhile Evangeliary of the Armenian parish in Frumoasa (Direcţia Judeţeană Cluj a Arhivelor Naţionale, Colecţia de manuscrise armeneşti, Nr. 1 [11] fol. 270 & fol. 442)

5. Bindings of Armenian manuscripts and early prints in Transylvanian collections

the Greeks (both in the original and in translation) inspired the Armenian culture and science so much that the writings of Aristotle, Plato, Proclus and Iamblichus as well as their numerous, to a great deal indigenous explications (e.g. by the Armenian philosopher David "the Invincible") were copied over and over by generations of scribes in the many monastery scriptoria. A number of works by Greek authors that have gone missing have barely been saved for posterity by their Old Armenian translations.

These books have, over more than a millennium, partaken of the destiny of their people: cultural peaks

6. Marginal illumination from the former Evangeliary of the Armenian parish in Frumoasa (Direcţia Judeţeană Cluj a Arhivelor Naţionale, Colecţia de manuscrise armeneşti, Nr. 1)

7. Marginal illumination from a 17th-century Evangeliary in Suceava (Direcţia Judeţeană Cluj a Arhivelor Naţionale, Colecţia de manuscrise armeneşti, Nr. 11)

8. Khoran (xoran) tables from the erstwhile Evangeliary of the Frumoasa parish (Direcţia Judeţeană Cluj a Arhivelor Naţionale, Colecţia de manuscrise armeneşti, Nr. 1; above: Gospel according to Matthew [fol. 12r] and Mark [85r]; below: Gospel according to Luke [fol. 147r], Khoran (xoran) fol. 10r)

and catastrophes, wars and happy times of peace. They carry the scars of wounds and injuries, the marks of fire and plunder, the traces of devastation and slavery. They are not treated as lifeless objects but as "fellow citizens" and "soldiers" of the people. They were on many occasions written by people fleeing from foreign tyrants. In their colophons (the brief memoires in the back of the book) one can read many a moving story.

The greatest catastrophe for these "fellow sufferers" and Armenian literacy at large came about in 1170. The Seljuk Turks besieged the fortress of Baghaberd in Syunik (Southern Armenia) and burnt 10,000 manuscripts, among them the Armenian translations of Climachus, Andronicus, Olympiodorus, and Heraclitus, as well as erstwhile historical works that contained precious information about the neighbouring peoples and the mediaeval political situation between East and West.

Once again, the Armenians' response to the terror of destruction came in the redoubling of inexhaustible creative energies. They reacted to the burning and annihilation of the manuscripts by diverse conquerors (Persians, Arabs, Mongols, Seljuk, or Turk) by lovingly cultivating the books and book art in general, either in the peaceful calm of scriptoria or as refugees hiding in the inaccessible regions and caverns of the Armenian highlands.

The high esteem, nay, sanctity, accorded the written letters in antique literacy and religious practices inspired the Armenians to follow suit with other carriers of Eastern Christian culture in seeing their new alphabet as a protective and sacred token of God's covenant with his chosen people.

In these literatures, one finds interesting concepts about the transcendental character of the script and of God's Word embodied in the book; explications of the hidden symbolism and allegories of the letter and the syllable; of the word and its meaning; of the colour of the text; of the line; of the edge of a manuscript sheet and even its pagination, which all remind us of the proto-kabbalistic, post-Judean, post-pagan, and Gnostic veneration of the alphabet as a repository of unspeakable secrets.

On the handwritten sheet, we meet the heavenly and the earthly world, where the three dimensions of sacral time, the past, the present, and the future unite. A much-loved element of Armenian book illumination, the khoran [xoran], this arched or tempietto-shaped Eusebian canon table, is a wonder of the Armenian master's craftsmanship which the initial chapters of books, or entire manuscript pages were fashioned with; they symbolize in this sense the sacral textual space, the "sacrosanct" within the "temple book," just like a superb portal leading into the secrets of wisdom.

The conscious connection between the new Christian doctrine and the new script substantiates the fact that the Armenians are the first Christian ethnicity in the world, having adopted Christianity nearly a century before it was proclaimed the state religion of Constantinople by Emperor Theodosius (380), when King Trdat III announced it to be the official religion of Armenia; that link is manifested in the literary parallels between the spiritual baptism of Armenia through Grigor Lusaworitch (the Illuminator) and the invention of the Armenian alphabet. Both events mark the rebirth of the Armenian people.

The rebirth of the people and the rebirth of the letters, the protective power of the sign of the cross and the force of the written word stand parallel one another, at the same rank. It is no coincidence that the last character of the Armenian alphabet is drawn after the Christogram and represents the first letter of the name "Christ/Christos." The first letter in the Armenian alphabet is the first letter of God's name ("Astwats"), too. *Ayb* (the first letter) and *K'e* (the last), the Armenian equivalents of alpha and omega, are understood as an abbreviation for God Christ. Thus Mesrop places his creation, the new alphabet and the new literacy, under God's protection.

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It Began in Venice:
A Brief History of Early Armenian Book Printing from 1512 to 1800

Meliné Pehlivanian

It was in Venice, 1512 that a certain Hakob Meghapart (Jacob the Sinner) produced the first Armenian books printed with movable type. Hardly anything else is known about this pioneer of book printing apart from the fact that he brought out five Armenian titles within three years. Three of those included magic spells, dream interpretations, and practical advice; the other two were a missal and a collection of devotional poetry. With this, the Armenians became the first Oriental people to make use of Gutenberg's epoch-making invention.[1] Although Jewish printers in Italy had begun book printing as early as 1475, their story is part of the European printing history.

After Hakob Meghapart, the Armenian printing presses would remain idle for the next 50 years.[2] During the 16th and 17th centuries, Armenia underwent one of the hardest periods of its history. The Armenians had no state any more, and their settlement area was struck by constant wars and devastation.[3] In this apocalyptic situation, the Armenian Apostolic Church with its head, the Catholicos of Etchmiadzin, was the last remnant of Armenian national institutions. The clergy soon re-

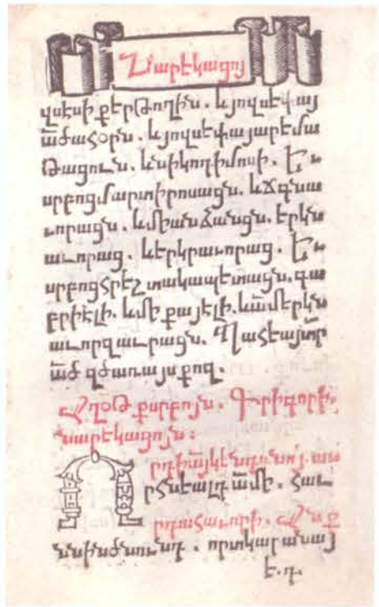
1. Khoran from a synaxarion from Constantinople (Yaysmawowrk', Konstandnowpolis, 1706)

alized the potential in Gutenberg's printing technology for the preservation of Armenia's religious and cultural heritage. There were some texts that had only survived in one last manuscript copy under the constant threat of final annihilation by fires or the plundering of monasteries. At the same time, the sheer existence of the stateless Armenian people was in perpetual danger, whose language and national church were to be protected. But that required books – missals, gospels, psalters, and the Bible, as well as historical and grammatical works – and in greater numbers. Up until the late 17th century, therefore, most Armenian book printing initiatives originated from the clergy, whose strivings were unflinchingly supported by the Armenian merchant-diaspora in the commercial centres of Europe and Asia. Thus in the Armenian case, the clergy, whose members normally belong to the conservative layers of society, became a prime representative of a phenomenon of enlightenment and cultural renaissance.

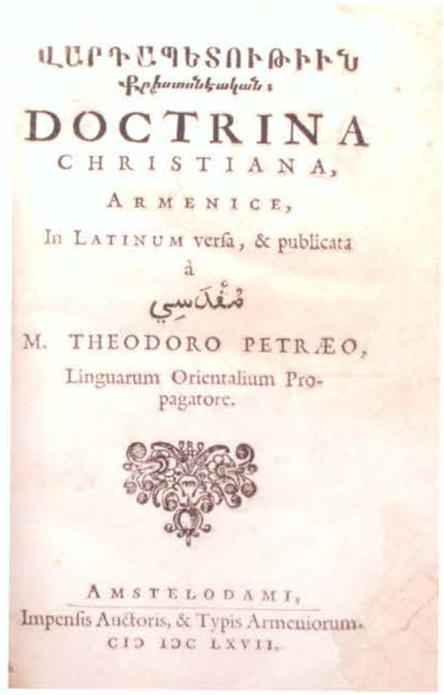
In the early times of the Armenian book printing history, printers and publishers were in many cases themselves members of the clergy – priests or even bishops. Only they could have the necessary qualifications required to lead a printing house; after all, one not only needed to master the technical challenges of book production but also to embody, in one single person, the publisher, the corrector, and the editor.[4]

Up until the 18th century, only Europe could provide the prerequisites for the continuous operation of Armenian printing presses. In 1565, the second Armenian printer, Abgar Tokhatetsi received papal permission to print a calendar and a psalm-book in Rome. In the long run, however, the strict papal censorship would not allow the Armenian printers to breathe freely; they moved to liberal Amsterdam instead. Here Bishop Oskan Erevantsi managed the first printed edition of the Armenian Bible between 1666 and 1668.[5] The learned Vanandetsi family also published the first editions of important historical and scientific works in Amsterdam (1685–1718).[6]

It was from the late 17th century that Venice developed into a stronghold of Armenian book printing. Besides two ambitious merchants, Gaspar Shehrimanean and Nahapet Agulets'i, who founded a printing house in 1686/87, the Venetian printers also recognized the business perspectives in Armenian book printing.[8] In this, Antonio Bortoli would prove the most successful. He even sued the Armenian Catholic Mechitarists in San



2. Pages from the first book printed in Armenian; Owrbat'agirk' ("Friday Book") (Venice, Hakob Meghapart, 1512; no pagination)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Քրիստոնէական ։
DOCTRINA
CHRISTIANA,
ARMENICE,
In LATINUM versa, & publicata
à
مُنْعَمِ سِي
M. THEODORO PETRÆO,
Linguarum Orientalium Propagatore.
AMSTELODAMI,
Impensis Auctoris, & Typis Armeniorum.
CIↃ IↃC LXVII.

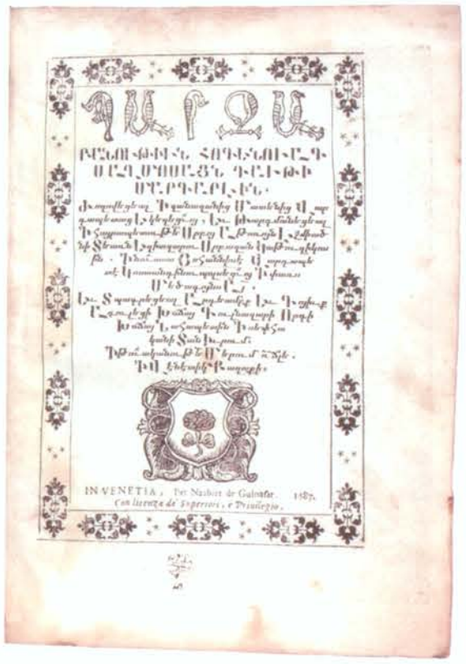
3. Early Armenian print from Amsterdam; Armenian Catechism (Petraeo, Theodoro M: Vardapetowt'iwn K'ristonēakan: Doctrina Christiana, Amstelodami, 1667)

Lazzaro for the publication rights of their work. Not until 1789 did the learned monks manage to found their own publishing house. Still, they dominated the next hundred years of Armenian intellectual life, promoted the Armenian renaissance (Veratsnunt) of the 18th century and became the most productive Armenian printing house worldwide.[9]

In the Armenian homeland printers could find neither satisfactory technological infrastructure nor political stability to establish a printing press. Nevertheless, there were early Armenian attempts in the East as well to utilize the innovation: in 1567–69, Abgar Tokhatetsi printed the first Armenian books in Constantinople.[10] In 1638, the Armenian monks of the Holy Saviour's Monastery in Nor Jugha managed to print for the first time in Persia – and without any technical assistance from the West.[11]

But it was only in the early 18th century that Armenian book printing was firmly established in the Orient. Constantinople, seat of the patriarchate, where some 40,000 Armenians were settled around 1700, became the second centre of Armenian typography after Venice. More than twenty printing houses are documented there in the 18th century. Some of those only existed for a few years, but others (such as Grigor Marzvanets'i's or the Astvatsatur–Arapean dynasty's) operated successfully for several decades.[12]

Political unrests, wars, and devastations launched ever newer waves of Armenian emigration, and there emerged a populous Armenian diaspora in all corners of the world. Armenian colonies began to print their own books and later also their daily papers and periodicals. The printing press, the church, and the school formed the "holy trinity" of Armenian survival in the Diaspora.



4. Explanations of David's Psalms (Yovhannes Kostandnowpolsec'i: Parzabanowt'iwn Dawt'i, In Venetia, 1687)

5–6. The Venetian edition of David's Psalms (Salmos Dawt'i..., I Venetik, 1733.)

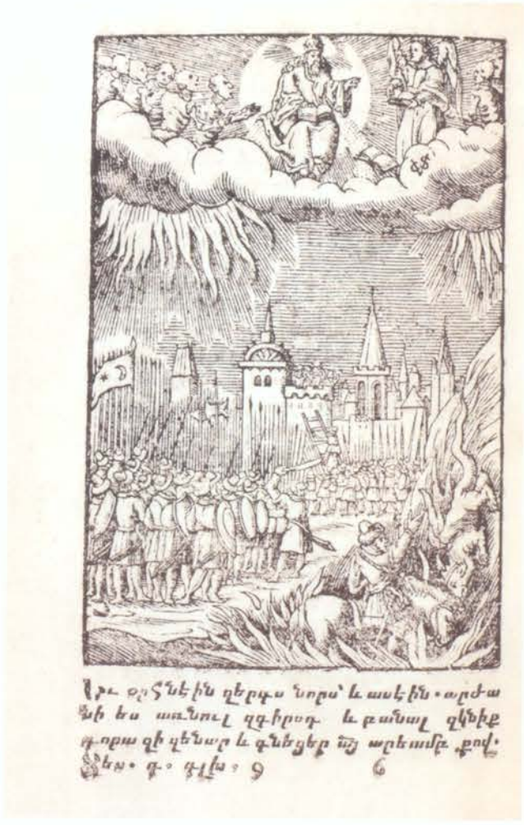
In Russia, Armenian printing presses were established in Rostov-on-Don (1789), Astrakhan (1796), and St Petersburg (1781). In Madras, Armenian emigrants from Persia launched the first non-European printing press of India in 1772; in 1796, their compatriots in Calcutta followed. In the Ottoman Empire, the Armenians added Smyrna (Izmir) to the capital in terms of book printing (1759). In 1772, Gutenberg's technology finally reached Etchmiadzin as well, the seat of the Catholicos, Head of the Armenian Apostolic Church.

Independent of their place of origin, the Armenian prints of the time, up until the turn of the 19th century, share much in common. This concerns, on the one hand, the contents of the publications: religious books were mostly printed, to which were added geographical, historical, linguistic, or literary works. The predominant publication language remained Old Armenian (Grabar), the written language of scholars and clerics. Although the first book in modern Armenian (*Ashkharhabar*) was printed in 1675 in Marseilles, the modern spoken language would not break through in the book until the 19th century. On the other hand, there were eye-catching aesthetic parallels, too, with the printed volumes retaining elements of the manuscript art of Armenia. In some sense, this continuity seems natural; after all, printed and handwritten books coexisted in Armenian culture, and it was only during the 19th century that the manuscript tradition became extinct.

Just like Armenian manuscripts, Armenian early prints also include colophons (hishatakaran, "memorial script"). They report the circumstances and hardships of printing, mention the names of the printer and the sponsors, and end in prayers and implorations.

But there were different approaches too: Armenian books printed in Europe displayed, as a rule, eclectic mixtures of Armenian and Western elements of book art. Full-page woodcuts and engravings always came from Western masters, such as Christoffel van Sichem, just like frame decorations and ornamental vignettes. Conversely, text and chapter initials were most often decorated in the style of Armenian manuscripts, with ornamental letters, headpieces, and borders.

The Armenian printing presses in the East, those of Constantinople, for example, display a more homogeneous, Armenian-Oriental formal language. Here one could and had to go back to local Armenian artists, who had delivered the templates for the woodcuts and the ornamental elements, having partly implemented them as well, such as the significant printer and woodcutter Grigor Marzvanets'i. The front page is either nearly undecorated or modelled on the canon tables of Armenian manuscripts. In contrast, in keeping with manuscript gospels, emphatically ornamented is the beginning of texts or chapters. These consist of richly decorated headpieces, often with the images of animals or ornamental



7. Christoffel van Sichem's woodcut in an Armenian print from Constantinople (Girk' meknowtean yaytnowt'eann..., 'i, 1700)

8. Chapter initial modelled on manuscript Evangeliaries in The Imitation of Christ by Thomas à Kempis (Girk' T'ōmayi Gembec'woy..., I Kostandinowpolis, 1700)

*Ի՝սահմանեալսն աբէ՛ր իսահ՛ակ եւ յակո՛բ. 10

9. Internal page of the Armenian hymnal printed by Astwachatur's Press in Constantinople (Jaynk'a Šarakan..., I Kostandnowpolis k'alak'i... i Tparani Karapeti ordwoy Mahtesi Astowacatowri, 1743)

*Կանոն հրամայեալ Մաշտոցիս Տէրունական կատարածոյ Մատուռս ի Ծովինոյ և Ծանոյք.

*Օրհնութիւն (գ.կ)

ԵՐԳԵՑԻՔ

ԶՐԳՈՒՔ ԱՒՕՆԻ

ԼՐԳՆՈՒՐ ԻՆՆԵԱՆԳՆԱԼԱՆ ՄՕՐՏ.
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ՏՈՒՈՂԸՆ ՄՆՉՕ ԸՆՕ ՄՏՅԱՐՐՆ ԱՄԵՆՍՈՅՆ.

Յընծայեցէք որդիք մարդկան այսօր ծնեալ Նազարեթեցւոյ Տեառն. քանզի որ տարաւ զանառնելին յարգանդէ անեռքնապէս այսօր ելանէ յարմատոյն յեսսեայ. ամէն օրհ.

Ողջախոհութիւն աշխարհի ծնաւ զմարիամ ամուսին առնէ առեալ զաւարհնոյն. որ ընդ ծոցն ծնանի ծնաւ մարմնով պարգեւիչ հոգւոյս կենդանի. ամէն օրհ.

10. Internal page of the Armenian hymnal printed by Astwachatur's Press in Constantinople (Jaynk'a Šarakan..., I Kostandnowpolis k'alak'i... i Tparani Karapeti ordwoy Mahtesi Astowacatowri, 1743)

11. The most important elements of Armenian cultural and religious history on the woodcut of an 18th century Armenian calendar: Noah's Ark on the top of Mount Ararat; St Gregory the Illuminator (bottom left); Mount Aragats in Armenia. The Trinity can be seen in the upper part of the woodcut, with Jesus Christ pointing at the cathedral of Echmiadzin, underpinning the genesis legend of the Armenian Church. Echmiadzin means "the place where the Lord descended" (Tōnac'oyc', Ējmiacin, 1774)

foliage; ornamental initials in the shape of humans, animals (often birds), or plants; and ornamental vignettes in various forms. Vis-à-vis is a full-page woodcut depicting the author, some saints, the Virgin, the Crucifixion, or another Bible scene.

The early Armenian book printing (16th to 18th centuries) did not launch a "printing revolution" within the Armenian community comparable to the one that swept over Europe after the introduction of book printing in 1450. In Europe, the printed book almost completely replaced manuscripts within fifty years. The spreading of knowledge and opinion through printing had profound effects on the intellectual and political scenes. In the Armenian case, one might rather speak of a "printing evolution," whose period of incunabula lasted for three hundred years.[13]

Not until the 19th century did the radical emancipation of the printed Armenian book from manuscript traditions take place. Henceforth, books followed the modern European prototypes, new themes emerged quite apart from theology, the publishing industry and book printing were irreversibly separated, professional booksellers began to control the circulation of books, while the number of printed copies multiplied. The printed book began deeply to influence the Armenian community, having become a carrier of political and cultural discourses and the commodity of a broad layer of readers.

From the period between 1512 and 1800, 1154 Armenian prints are known. In the first half of the 19th century alone, more Armenian titles were printed than during the previous three centuries.[14]

Although the changes brought about by the printing press came slowly, one cannot overestimate their impact on the Armenian people. It is perhaps through the printing press itself that the Armenians have saved their cultural and spiritual heritage from dispersion and annihilation. Thanks to printing, the dispersed and stateless Armenian people could at long last constitute a nation in the modern sense of the word. Printing standardized the national language, printing fixed the national memory, printing transmitted and strengthened the beliefs of the national Armenian Apostolic Church in a hostile Moslem or Catholic environment, printing created a common Armenian national consciousness and a Pan-Armenian discourse via the press and political pamphlets, and printing made the Mechitarist Armenian renaissance possible. Therefore, printing was also in the Armenian case an "agent of change."[15]

NOTES

[1] Syrian and Arabian Christians followed in 1610 and 1706, respectively. The Muslim peoples of the Orient would long continue in an exclusively handwritten culture. In 1727 the Ottomans were the first Muslim folk to utilize Western innovations, while the Persians and the Arabs followed suit in 1817 and 1819, respectively.

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[5] Išxanyan (1981), p. 63.

[6] Kévorkian (1986), pp. 58ff.

[7] Kévorkian (1986), pp. 102ff.

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[9] ZĒKIYAN, Levon, "Mekhitar et les Mekhitaristes", in: *Roma-Armenia*, ed. Claude Mutafian (Roma: DeLuca, 1999), p. 269 and SARGISEAN, Barsեġ, *Erkhariwrameay grakanakan gorcownēowt'iwn ew nšanawor gorcič'ner Venetkoy Mxit'arean Miabanowt'ean* (Venedig: S. Ġazar, 1905), p. 42.

[10] ZARBHANALEAN, Garegin, *Patmowt'iwn haykakan tpagrowt'ean* (Venedig: S. Ġazar, 1895), pp. 37f.

[11] OSKANYAN, Ninel, *Hay girkę 1512–1800 t'vakannerin. Hay hnatip girk'i matenagitowt'yown* (Erevan, 1988), pp. 21ff.

[12] KORKOTYAN, K'narik, *Hay tpagir girk'ę Kostandnowpolsowm: 1567–1850* (Erevan, 1964), pp. 31ff. and T'ĒODIK, *Tip ow tar* (Konstantinopel: Ter-Nersesean, 1912), pp. 56–65.

[13] By "period of incunabula" one means those transitional decades during which the printed book established itself and became emancipated from handwriting. In Europe this lasted from 1454 to 1500. The beginning of the 16th century coincides with the birth of modern book printing in Europe.

[14] OSKANYAN, Ninel, *Hay girkę 1801–1850 t'vakannerin. Matenagitowt'yown* (Erevan, 1988) and DAVT'YAN, Hayk, *Hay girkę 1801–1850 t'vakannerin: matenagitowt'yown* (Erevan, 1967).

[15] EISENSTEIN, Elizabeth L., *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early-Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2009).

The Armenian Types of Miklós M. Tótfalusi Kis

Péter Perger

A special landmark in Hungarian-Armenian cultural connections was the font produced by the famous Hungarian typesetter Miklós M. Tótfalusi Kis for the Armenian Press in Amsterdam in the 17th century. My paper focuses primarily on the history of these Armenian types, inevitably casting a fleeting glance on Tótfalusi's career inasmuch as it is necessary for a better understanding of the motives and professional reasons accounting for the creation of these types.[1] It is not my aim to present new research findings, nor to sketch out the history of Armenian book printing in Europe or specifically in Amsterdam. It is rather a summary of existing information and some of the heretofore unanswered questions.

Miklós M. Tótfalusi Kis[2] (*b.* Tăuții de Jos / Alsósmisztótfalu, 1650?; *d.* Cluj /Kolozsvár / Klausenburg, March 3, 1702) is commemorated as a typographer, printer, publisher, and author in Hungarian cultural history.[3] He arrived in Amsterdam in 1680 in order to study Calvinist theology. He was also commissioned by the Transylvanian bishop to effect the publication and proofing of a Hungarian-language Bible in Amsterdam, a gap-filling undertaking in the Transylvanian context. Recognizing the significance of this mission, Tótfalusi resigned his university studies and devoted himself entirely to studying the techniques of book printing. His primary interest lay in the least accessible crafts demanding the highest expertise, namely letter-cutting and type-founding. He was presumably Dirk Voskens' apprentice.

In terms of the Bible edition, he found that the news coming from Transylvania were both contradictory and unreliable, so he decided to print the Bible in the Netherlands without any aristocratic or court patronage, which was totally out of the ordinary in the practice of Hungarian book printing. He wanted to raise funds by letter-cutting. He went private in 1683, cutting Roman, cursive, and Hebrew types. By 1685, his Armenian types had definitely been completed too. To put these in context, it must be mentioned that he was also the first to cut a Georgian font in 1686. Moreover, discussing these feats in his correspondence, he mentions in passing that he had also already produced Syrian, Samaritan, Coptic, and Egyptian types besides his Latin, German, Hebrew, Rabbinic, German-Hebrew, and Armenian fonts.[4] These enterprises enabled him to create the letters needed for his Bible, while the sales of this enormous variety of types were meant to cover his other expenses. This forced him also to turn towards cutting types collectively denoted as "exotic," which demanded a skill limited to but a handful of masters and hence yielded more substantial profit.[5]

His efforts bore fruit in 1685, when his full Hungarian-language was completed, followed by two different-format editions of the Psalms and the New Testament. It was after this that his career as a letter-cutter really took off, turning him into an internationally acclaimed master of the art of typography. As testified by his specimen sheet, he developed the prototype of the so-called transitional (Baroque or Dutch) Roman type, creating its definitive form.[6]

Tótfalusi returned to Transylvania in 1690, where he took over the leadership of the Calvinist press in Cluj and continued his educational programme whose first step had been the printing of the Bible. His domestic afflictions and difficulties, however, do not pertain to the history of his Armenian types. Let us now turn to this topic, then, summarizing what is to be known on the basis of scholarly research today.

For a long time, we only had Tótfalusi's own account recorded in his *Mentség* [Apology], an otherwise reliable and authentic source in which he prides himself upon his exquisite craftsmanship and "international fame": "Where is Armenia compared to Amsterdam? I did them ample favour."[7]

Ferenc Pápai Páriz wrote his *Életnek könyve* [Book of Life] to commemorate Tótfalusi's death. This scholarly verse was reprinted in 1767 by Péter Bod, whose explanatory note attests that Tótfalusi's services for the Armenians were remembered throughout the 18th century as well.[8] Two decades earlier, in *A Szent Biblia históriája* [The History of the Holy Bible], Bod had also made an allusion to this fact.[9]

Among modern scholars, it was Lajos Dézsi who first noted the above remark in *Mentség*, as well as a letter addressed to István Pataki, which will be discussed in more detail below. Dézsi even drew the attention of our "Armenian compatriots" to this information and suggested investigating whether Tótfalusi is mentioned at all in Armenian literature.[10] He did not, however, pursue this line of research himself.

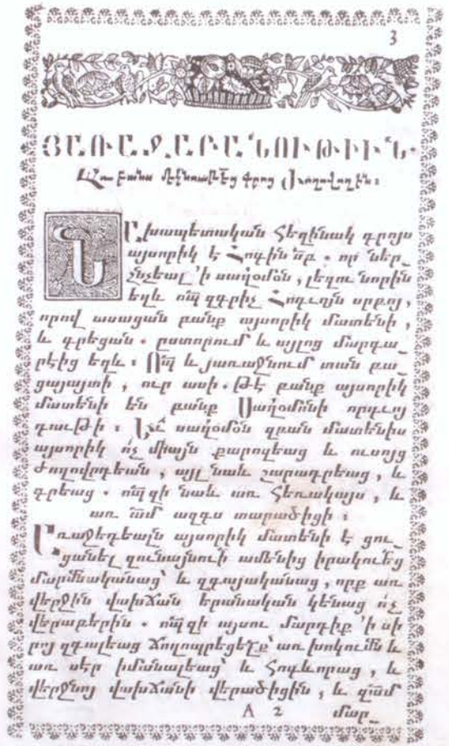
A detailed account of the case of Armenian printing types was first presented by Ödön Schütz.[11] Thorough typographical examinations were then conducted by György Haiman, who, following Schütz's report, briefly touched on Tótfalusi's Armenian letters in his monograph on Tótfalusi's operations as a letter-cutter and printer.[12] A decade later, the expanded English version of his book gave a somewhat more substantial account of the question and also included an appendix summarizing Haiman's more recent findings regarding the Armenian types, based on substantial new research.[13] The latter work has also appeared in Armenian translation.[14]

From the accessible documents and scholarship we can glean the following. In 1685, Mattheos Vanandetsi printed his *Sharaknoc' (Hymnal)* in Amsterdam, whose colophon reads as follows: "here [in Amsterdam] I have found an excellent master who is called Nikolaios, and I got him to make, with much effort, the letters of the alphabet and also other types of notrgir [italic] and bolorgir [rounded bold] letters."[15]

As for Master Nikolaios' identity, little doubt is left if we consider the record authorized by Amsterdam public notary Fr. Tixeraudet signed on December 2, 1694, in which three bookbinders as witnesses testify that Armenian book printer "Matteo Joannes" (Vanandetsi) ordered a certain font, whose types were of an undefined number and character.[16]

1. Tótfalusi's bolorgir type (IV.N.K.) in the Armenian hymnal printed with his letters (Šaraknoc'. Eraźštakan ergec'mownk' bogeworakank'. Tpec'eal Yamsdelowtamowm k'alak'i, 1685).

Even Tótfalusi himself elaborated on his Armenian letters in more detail in two letters sent from Amsterdam to a Swedish diplomat, Johann Gabriel Sparwenfeld. Sparwenfeld was the middleman between Tótfalusi and his commissioners concerning his Georgian types. In his letter dated November 12, 1686, accom-



2. The same bolorgir type (IV.N.K.) used in Venice, at the beginning of Abbot Mechitar's volume (Mxitar Sebastac'i Meknowt'iwn groc' žołowolin. I Vēnētik, I tparani Antōni Port'ōli, 1736).

panying the sample prints of his newly cut Georgian letters, Tótfalusi proudly refers to the fact that he has already produced a number of Oriental fonts: "In this [i.e. the cutting of special letters] I have in no small degree been assisted by the practice that I have gained in the alphabets of various peoples [...] particularly in cutting Armenian letters." From the same letter, we can learn beyond all doubt that he produced three font scales: "The Armenians themselves have before had letters made in some sizes, that is, small, gradually larger, and larger ones."[17] In another letter, dated January 17, 1687 and attached to another sample print for his emerging Georgian type, Tótfalusi also mentioned how useful it had been that the Armenians had sent him an aide, who was well-versed in terms of their alphabet and could thus assist him with his typographical work: "Of the Armenians, a bishop, a most prominent man came here to adjust such work."[18]

There is one more archival document contributing to Tótfalusi's reports on his letters cut for the Armenians. On September 19, 1685, he complained to István Pataki, a professor in Cluj, that in connection with the renovation of the types at the college press they had consulted the Armenians without waiting for him to return home: "The Armenian nation sought me and begged that I should satisfy them in the making of their letters; Transylvania, conversely, turned to Armenians, seeking her satisfaction in the making of her letters through and by them."[19]

From all the above it is evident that Miklós Tótfalusi Kis had, indeed, cut Armenian letters, in at least three varieties. They first appeared as the text type (bolorgir) in the above-mentioned Armenian *Hymnal* printed in Amsterdam.

After considering the first-hand accounts, György Haiman examined the documents and the original types themselves, studying the Armenian prints made in Amsterdam between the installation of the press in 1661 up until 1698. Within twelve publications produced by consecutive workshops, he identified eleven types. In his opinion, four of those were the work of Tótfalusi: two text types (bolorgir), two upright italics (notrgir), and three majuscule series linked to the above. The remaining seven types are older, with two of them undoubtedly coming from the prominent Flemish lettercutter Christoffel van Dyck.[20] When a decade and a half after the termination of the previous Armenian press, Vanandetsi decided to restart the business, apparently he needed a new set of types. Tótfalusi's letters can be paired up with four older fonts, similar in tracing and sketching, with their sizes nearly identical, too. Clearly, in producing the new types, Tótfalusi must have relied on the publications of the earlier press.

Haiman identified the following types in the Amsterdam prints:[21]

1.[22] Majuscule and bolorgir. Size: 86 x1.1 H4.0~4.1 mm.[23] This font served as the text type of the above-mentioned *Sharaknoc'* and can also be found in the Khorenatsi printed by Vanandetsi in 1695.

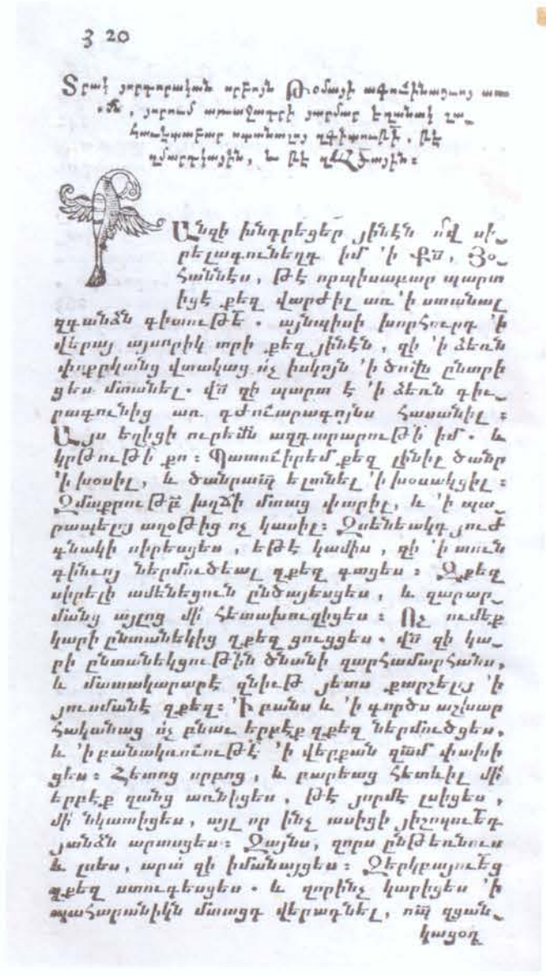
2.[24] Majuscule and bolorgir. Size: 62 x0.8~0.9 H2.7~2.8 mm. Extant in 1695 and 1698 prints made by Vanandetsi in Amsterdam.

3.[25] Notrgir type. Size: 84 x1.1 H4.0~4.1 mm. First appeared in the 1685 *Sharaknoc'* and then in a number of further prints by Vanandetsi. Tótfalusi's authorship cannot be asserted with full certainty, but the case is strengthened by the fact that it was first used for the above *Hymnal*, whose colophon reports that "Master Nikolaios" had also cut notrgir letters.

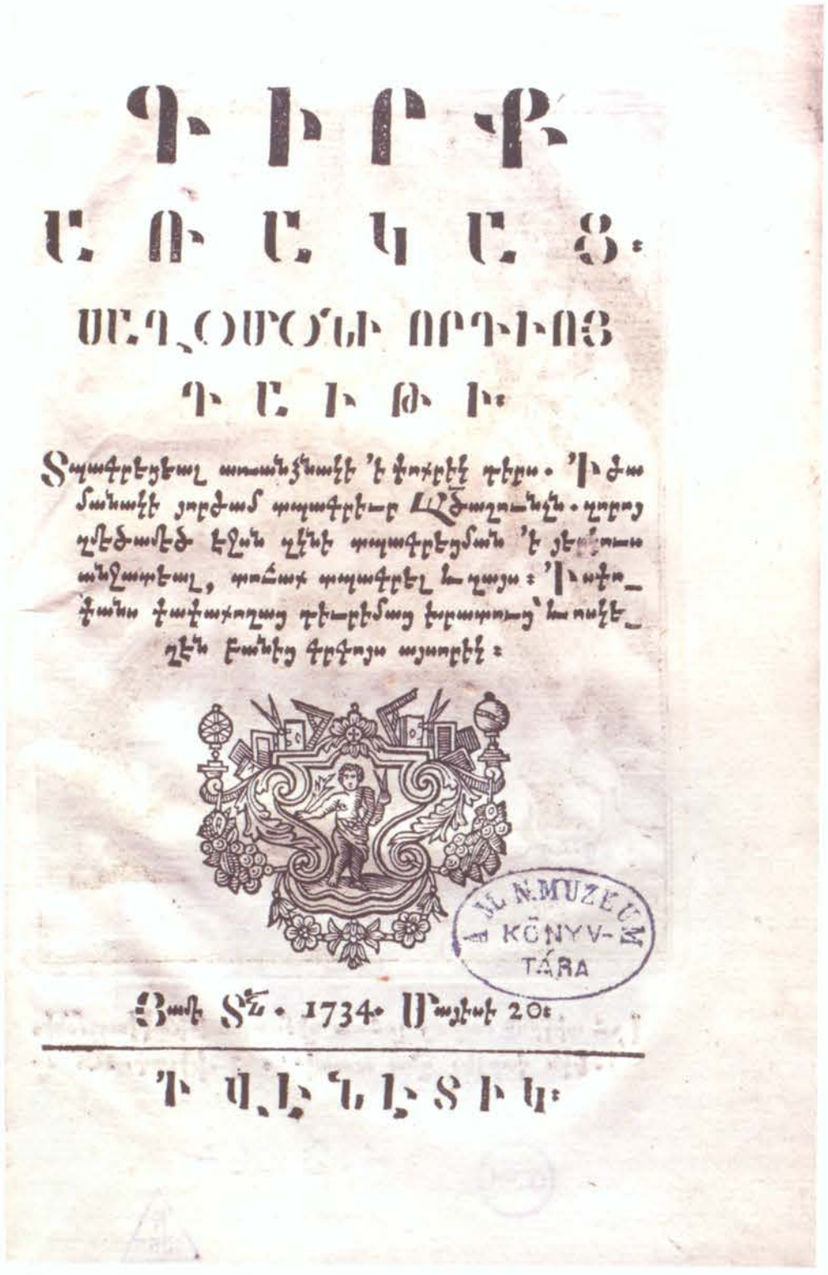
4.[26] Equally uncertain is Tótfalusi's authorship of another, even smaller notrgir type. The only Amsterdam publication in which Haiman could trace it was the *Nor ktakaran (New Testament)* printed by Vanandetsi and Thovmas in 1698. Thus it cannot originate from any of Tótfalusi's predecessors. Size: 62 x0.9 mm.

After printing its first two publications, Mattheos Vanandetsi's press faced such financial crises that its operations became rather intermittent; his era ended with the church songbook printed in 1692. In 1695, Mattheos' cousin, Bishop Thovmas of Goghtn restarted the printing workshop, which would then continue operation up until 1717, when it was taken over by creditors due to the enormous debt the press had accumulated over time. This meant the demise of Armenian book printing in Amsterdam. As Haiman's research attests, until the termination of the press, they continued using Tótfalusi's types.

It was Garegin Zarbhanaljan's historical work about Armenian book printing that drew Ödön Schütz's attention to the fact that in the late 1720s the assets of the Amsterdam press were relocated to Venice. Abbot Mechitar, founder of the Armenian Uniate congregation on the isle of San Lazzaro, was informed about the fonts by an Armenian merchant visiting Amsterdam. The periodical of the Mechitarist congregation reported the arrival of the assets in Venice in 1727 as follows: "the copper matrices of the press letters have arrived with the punching irons for each one of them. [...] There are three series; large-size, small-size, and medium-size. For each series, there are the corresponding capitals; furthermore, there are the matrices for all the diacritical points, accent marks, and all other signs



3. Tótfalusi's smaller bolorgir text type (V.N.K.) and the smaller notrgir (VII.N.K.) also attributed to him (in the middle of the type-area) (Rodriguez, Alonsos: Krt'owt'iwn katarelowt'ean ew kronaworakani arak'inowt'ean. I Vēnētik, I tparani Antōni Port'ōli, 1741 – at the end of the volume).



4. The larger-size notrgir type that presumably comes from Tótfalusi's workshop (VI. N.K.). Girk' aṙakac'... I Vēnētik, 1734.

which are important for book printing. All of them are immaculate, flawless."[27]

György Haiman unearthed two more archival sources from the holdings of the monastery on the isle of San Lazzaro. The first, dated September 17, 1728, is addressed to Fr. Harutyun in Amsterdam. It discusses the purchase of a font and mentions 100 punches and matrices,[28] respectively, which would be worth 550 to 800 guilders each for the buyer. It also touches on the sales of lead types, wooden types, and printing ornaments. The other letter by Mechitar is dated April 21, 1729; in it the abbot informs Fr. Elijah that all the Amsterdam types (including punches and matrices) not to be found anywhere else have arrived in Venice and he would find it wise to conceal this fact from the world.[29]

Miklós Fogolyán also reveals that the fonts had to be ordered because although Bortoli's printing press had been privileged at the monastery in Venice, Bortoli's whims became increasingly irritating, so they wanted to change their contractor. The Armenian community cheered the proposal to acquire the tools of the Vanandetsi press, which had been shut down no less than 12 years before. Thus Tótfalusi's types found their way on the isle of San Lazzaro together with all other fonts, where a typesetting specialist would carry out the composition of the texts, which were then printed at one or another external press.[30]

It can also be seen that although the Amsterdam types were transferred to Venice, Tótfalusi's name remains suppressed throughout.[31] In addition to ample archival sources, a thorough investigation of the publications themselves may provide indubitable evidence for the transfer of the types.

Continuing the examination of the Amsterdam prints, György Haiman also categorized the types used in Venice. He surveyed ten publications made at three different presses by Antonio Bortoli, Stephanos Orlandyan, and Demetrios Teodosyants, respectively.[32] He concluded that several of the Amsterdam fonts were reused in Venice, including all four attributed to Tótfalusi.[33]

1. The larger-sized majuscule and the bolorgir[34] first appeared in Bortoli's press in 1731. From this, Haiman concludes that the Armenian congregation, after acquiring Tótfalusi's types in 1729, passed them on to Bortoli, then in a monopoly position. From 1751, they were allowed to have their works printed elsewhere; between 1751 and 1772, Tótfalusi's types were also used in both other presses as well.
2. The smaller majuscule and bolorgir[35] appeared at Bortoli's press in 1741 and Teodosyants' in 1772.
3. The notrgir type[36] was applied in shorter passages by Bortoli and Orlandyan from 1731 up until 1753.
4. The even smaller notrgir, whose Tótfalusi attribution is somewhat doubtful, only took a few lines in one of the Amsterdam publications; it recurred in one 1741 publication printed by Bortoli.[37]

Thus we have objective proof that Tótfalusi's Armenian letters were transferred to the isle of San Lazzaro in Venice in the 18th century and became the property of the Mechitarist congregation there, put to good use by the monastery.

Questions concerning their subsequent history arise. The monastery launched its own printing press in 1789[38] which continued to operate – with the addition of new and renovated types – up until the second half of the last century. Ödön Schütz mentions that according to Neumann, the Amsterdam types were still in use at San Lazzaro in 1836.[39] Even in 1908, they were reported as applicable by Charles Enschedé. Haiman writes that Tótfalusi's types were in use up until the first half of the 19th century.[40] Their further destiny could be revealed by a broader investigation of Armenian publications from Venice than the one carried out by Haiman. The matrices remain latent as of the present day. While Fogolyán, who lived at San Lazzaro for a long time, reported that older printing devices were still stored on the island, it would be rather difficult to single out Tótfalusi's types from among them.[41] Thus nothing certain can as yet be known about their subsequent history.

Abbot Mechitar held the Amsterdam types in high esteem. Zarbhanaljan goes as far as to suggest that the Amsterdam printers introduced a glorious period in Armenian book printing unsurpassed until the 19th century.[42] It is no exaggeration to state that in ushering in those centuries of glory, no small role was played by Hungarian letter-cutter Miklós M. Tótfalusi Kis.

*

NOTES

[1] However instructive it might be for those familiar with both peoples' cultures, it is beyond the scope of this paper to compare the similarities, parallels, and occasional antitheses between the Armenian printers and Tótfalusi, both striving under difficult circumstances for the well-being of their national culture far away from home.

[2] There is some scholarly controversy surrounding his name, known both as Tótfalusi and Misztótfalusi; internationally, he is usually referred to as Nicholas Kis. He himself, however, nearly always signed his imprints as "M. Tótfalusi Kis Miklós," so this is the form I have adopted throughout.

[3] His life is recorded in a number of biographies. These include, but are not restricted to, *Erdélyi főnix: Misztótfalusi Kis Miklós öröksége* [The Transylvanian Phoenix: The Heritage of Miklós Misztótfalusi Kis], ed. JAKÓ, Zsigmond (Bucharest: Kriterion, 1974); the knowledgeable but popular rather than scholarly volume by József Molnár (*Misztótfalusi Kis Miklós* [Budapest: Balassi; Berlin: Európai Protestáns Magyar Szabadegyetem, 2000); as well as the most recent encyclopaedia entry in *Magyar Művelődéstörténeti Lexikon*, Vol. XII (Budapest: Balassi, 2011), 90–95. Henceforward, these volumes are not referenced in my survey; further papers and monographs are cited in the notes.

[4] Linköping, Stifts och Landsbiblioteket Br. 33 No. 15. Published: BJÖRKBOM, Carl, "Henrik III Keysers georgiska stilprov," *Nordisk Tidskrift för Bok- och Biblioteksväsen* (1935), 97–98; Latin original and Hungarian translation in Jakó, 325 and 327. For further editions cf. Jakó, 476.

[5] Such undertakings were not restricted to the sales of cast lead types but also of the copper matrices used for recasting those types, as well as, in certain cases, of the steel moulds, punches or stamps. Evidently, the latter items had far greater commercial value.

[6] Tótfalusi's career as a letter-cutter is detailed in HAIMAN, György, *Nicholas Kis: A Hungarian Punch-Cutter and Printer 1650–1702* (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1983), 66–212.

[7] Tótfalusi Kis, Miklós, *Mentsége*, ed. HAIMAN, György (Budapest: Helikon, 1987), 101.

[8] Of the publication originally intended as Tótfalusi's obituary, no copies are extant today; its text is preserved in Péter Bod's print. Cf. *Erdélyi Féniks: Tötfalusi Kis Miklós, avagy profes. Pápai P. Ferentznek a' könyv nyomtatás' mesterségének találásáról, és folytatásáról, a' Tötfalusi Kis Miklós emlékezetére irott versei, Melyeket szükséges és emlékezetes dolgokkal bővítvén ki-botsátani kívánt F. Tsernátomi Bod Péter* (Cluj: Ref. Koll., 1767), C2b.

[9] "Likewise he made letters for the Armenians, for which labour he received many great treasures paid to him" (BOD, Péter, *A' szent Bibliának historiája* [Szeben: Sárdi, 1748], 161).

[10] DÉZSI, Lajos, *Magyar iró és könyvnyomtató a XVII. században [Misztótfalusi Kis Miklós]* (Budapest: Magyar Történeti Társaság, 1899), 203.

[11] SCHÜTZ, Ödön, "Misztótfalusi Kis Miklós szolgálatai az örményeknek" ("Miklós Misztótfalusi Kis's Services for the Armenians"), *Magyar Könyvszemle* (1957), 335–346.

[12] HAIMAN, György, *Tótfalusi Kis Miklós a betűművész és tipográfus: Élete műve betűinek és nyomtatványainak tükrében* (Budapest: Magyar Helikon, 1972), 335–346.

[13] HAIMAN, *Nicholas Kis*, 108–109, 405–414; Haiman, by the way, considered his findings transitory.

[14] In *Parmabanasirakan Handes* [Publications on Historiography].

[15] Schütz, 342. Another Hungarian translation, with a few orthographic changes and alternative words, is given in FOGOLYÁN, Miklós, "Tótfalusi Kis Miklós örmény betűi," *Tötfalusi Kis Miklós: Az amszerdami Biblia kiadásának háromszázadik évfordulója alkalmából Debrecenben 1985. ápr. 25–27-én megtartott konferencián elhangzott előadások / Reports of the Conference on the Tricentenary of the Amsterdam Edition of the Bible by Nicholas Kis Tötfalusi: Debrecen, Hungary, 25–27 April 1985*, ed. GOMBA, SZABOLCSNÉ & HAIMAN, György (Debrecen: KLTE, 1985), 60–61. Bolorgir is a text type, while notrgir denotes an upright italic type.

[16] Cf. KLEERKOOPER, M. M. & van STOCKUM, W. P., *De boekhandel te Amsterdam voornamelijk in de 17e eeuw* (S'Gravenhage, 1914), 773–774; SCHÜTZ, 342–343; JAKÓ, 341–342. Hungarian translation: ORSZÁGH, László, "Misztótfalusi Kis Miklós és az első magyar könyv Amerikáról," *Magyar Könyvszemle* (1958), 30; Jakó, 342–343.

[17] For the bibliographical details of this letter, cf. note 4 above. In the same document, Tótfalusi, who was always very circumspect and well-informed in his communication, made a very telling reference to van Dyck, a most significant precursor of his as well, who had been so universally respected "that the master who formerly made letters for the Armenians, although not the first in time but surely that in rank, desired and won the high reward from them that upon all those books which are today printed with those letters, as a reminder – as for a second Evander – his name should be inscribed."

[18] Linköping, Stifts och Landsbiblioteket Br. 33, No. 16. Published: BJÖRKBOM, 98–99; Országh, 32–33; Latin original and Hungarian translation in Jakó, 329 and 331. For further editions cf. JAKÓ, 476. Perhaps it was Mattheos Vanandetsi's uncle, Bishop Thovmas Vanandetsi of Goghtn that Tótfalusi referred to. Cf. Molnár, 164.

[19] Archives of the Teleki family in Târgu Mureș (Marosvásárhely), P 659, Miss. 26, fasc. 716. Published: JAKÓ, 323; further editions in JAKÓ, 474. Jakó adds that there may have been Armenian letter-cutters or type-casters among the printers hired to reorganize the Romanian press in Alba Iulia; they may even have included Antim Ivireanul, a significant figure in the history of Romanian book printing, who was registered alternatively as Georgian or Armenian. Perhaps such a person was approached by the Calvinist congregation in Cluj as well.

[20] HAIMAN, *Nicholas Kis*, 405–413. The author's conclusions are presented in a table as well, besides a list of the publications he has examined. Here I omit repeating this list.

[21] For their detailed description and illustration, see HAIMAN, *Nicholas Kis*, 408–410.

[22] HAIMAN, *Nicholas Kis*, 409, described as nr. IV. N.K.

[23] In typographical research, the first figure stands for the twenty-line height of the type, while the "x size" denotes the height of minuscules ("lower-case letters") and the "H size" that of majuscules ("upper-case letters").

[24] HAIMAN, *Nicholas Kis*, 409, nr. V. N.K.

[25] HAIMAN, *Nicholas Kis*, 409–410m VI. N.K.

[26] HAIMAN, *Nicholas Kis*, 410, VII. N.K.

[27] ZARBHANALJAN, G., *Patmuthiwn hayakakan tpagruthean* (Venice, 1895), 159; Hungarian translation in SCHÜTZ, 345; English translation in HAIMAN, *Nicholas Kis*, 405.

[28] The small casting moulds for lead types and the steel tool for the production of those moulds.

[29] Haiman cites Fr. Miklós Fogolyán's oral communication and reprints the letter in English; HAIMAN, *Nicholas Kis*, 405.

[30] FOGOLYÁN, 63. See also SCHÜTZ, Ödön, "Régi örmény nyomtatványok az Országos Széchényi Könyvtárban," *Az Országos Széchényi Könyvtár Évkönyve* (1960), 167.

[31] In all probability, the Mechitarists did not even recognize or find this information important half a century later, several thousands of kilometres from the fonts' place of origin. From the *Libri Domus* at Venice, Fogolyán conjectures that these types were catalogued under prominent Armenian printer Oskan's (Voskan's) name as "vosganyan" fonts, although his stocks had probably nothing to do with Vanandetsi's reorganized press (FOGOLYÁN, 59). In his paper and the notes appended to it, Fogolyán also reviews the Armenian and international research up until 1985, with special regard to Tótfalusi references.

[32] After their lawsuit against Bortoli had ended, the Mechitarists were permitted to employ two other presses as well. Haiman investigated the contemporary Venetian publications available in the National Széchényi Library in Budapest. These are catalogued in HAIMAN, *Nicholas Kis*, 414. For further information on this topic, cf. SCHÜTZ, "Régi örmény," 166–173.

[33] HAIMAN, *Nicholas Kis*, 406–414; these are also included in the list, together with the Amsterdam types; cf. 412–413.

[34] HAIMAN, *Nicholas Kis*, 409, nr. IV. N.K.

[35] HAIMAN, *Nicholas Kis*, 409, nr. V. N.K.

[36] HAIMAN, *Nicholas Kis*, 409–410, VI. N.K.

[37] HAIMAN, *Nicholas Kis*, 410, VII. N.K.

[38] FOGOLYÁN, 63.

[39] SCHÜTZ, "Misztótfalusi," 345. Evidently, Neumann's remark (cf. *Versuch einer Gechichte der armenischen Literatur* [Leipzig, 1836], 241) at best refers to the letters from Amsterdam as he could not know Tótfalusi's types individually.

[40] Enschedé, Charles, *Fonderies de caractères et leur matériel dans lers Pays-Bas du XVe au XIXe siècle* (Haaerlem, 1908), 215; Haiman, *Nicholas Kis*, 109.

[41] FOGOLYÁN, 63; József Molnár also made an effort to find them, cf. MOLNÁR, 168; Haiman suggests they might still be retrieved, cf. HAIMAN, *Tótfalusi Kis*, 72.

[42] FOGOLYÁN, 63; Zarbhanaljan, 160.

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Armenian Book Culture and Armenian Literary Treasures in the Carpathian Basin

Bálint Kovács

Before and after the Union Ruminations concerning the Armenian manuscripts in the Carpathian Basin

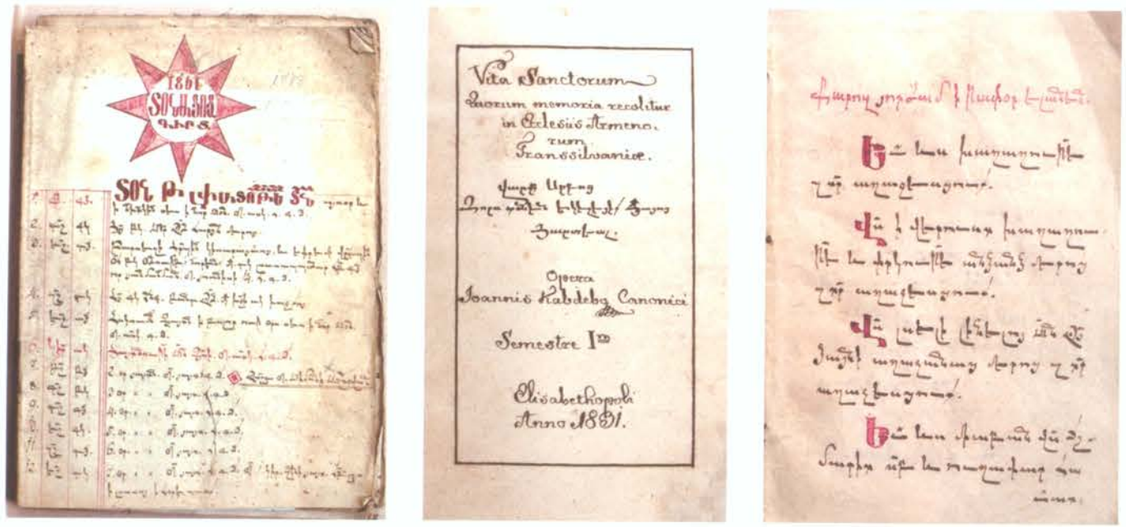
Whether from the Caucasian area or Cilicia, the Crimean or Suceava, Armenian manuscripts were the utmost repository of science and culture in the Middle Ages, ranging over theology, historiography, law, and even medicine. Besides their scientific qualities, the artistic value of Armenian miniature painting must also be appreciated. Rather than being examples of provinciality, the Armenian copy workshops of Crimea, Suceava, Lemberg, or Kamyanets-Podilsky were top-quality carriers of Armenian culture, finding their way as far as the Carpathian Basin. Their manuscripts evince that interregional web of connections that Armenian merchants, missionaries, and priests maintained over the centuries. What was known in Erzurum was also known in Lemberg; if someone wanted to read a text by Grigor Narekatsi in Aleppo, the same was available in Suceava as well. In Armenian scientific history, the East European Armenian communities and scholarly workshops were no extraordinary institutions but extraterritorial facilities of Armenian culture and science. Though far away from the main block of Armenians, their contents were organic to Armenian culture and society.

Such cultural links meant a bilateral relationship between Armenian culture and Central and Eastern Europe. On the one hand, there were the works of Armenian authors from Asia Minor and the Caucasus, with Armenian literature and science spreading in Eastern Central Europe; on the other, Western philosophy, culture, and theology became known to Armenian communities. One can discern several layers and directions of reception in this context: the reception of antique *auctores* as well as the appearance of Catholic writings and theological discourses in Armenian manuscripts, which were read, copied, and interpreted in the scriptoria of these regions at the dawn of Early Modernity. Whatever the case might be, the common fundament was Christian culture rooted in the heritage of antiquity.

Examining the manuscripts from after the union with the Catholic Church, we can see a shift in their content and structure. The enormous Latin influence in the 17th and 18th centuries did not leave Armenian manuscripts intact. The manuscripts deriving from this period cannot be compared to their pre-union counterparts either in their miniature art or their content. Although liturgical manuscripts had been known before, their proportion increased significantly after the union; besides these, the major types of Armenian manuscripts included Catholic theological treatises, Bible copies, and supplementary works for science. These manuscripts were no longer such prominent carriers of Armenian literature and science. Rather they manifested theological doctrine coming from Catholic (mostly Jesuit) workshops.

This is perhaps best reflected in the Carpathian Basin in the manuscript *Makula nélkül való tükör* [Mirror without Macula] from Frumoasa. Although Galician copy workshops produced several Polish texts

1. Detail of the Armenian library in Armenopolis



2. Typical examples of post-Union manuscripts from collections in the Carpathian Basin. (A) Armenian Catholic church calendar (Tōnac'oyc', Armenopolis, 1861), Armenian Catholic Collective Archive of Armenopolis (ACCAA), 399/h, Box I; (B) Lives of the Saints (Vita sanctorum / Varg srboy, Elisabethopolis, 1831), Frumoasa, Armenian Catholic Parish; (C) Armenian prayer-book, Budapest, Armenian Catholic Chaplaincy.

in Armenian transcription, this is thought to be the only such manuscript in the Hungarian language. It presents a work of popular religion, whose original was translated from the Czech by Clarissa nun Judit Újfalusy.[1] The source text, *Weliky Záwot Pána a Spasytelé Nassého Krysta Gežisse A geho neyswétěgssy ... Matky Marye Panny* appeared in Prague in 1698 as the translation, in turn, of a German book, *Das große Leben Christi* by Martinus Linus, originally printed in 1677 in 300 copies.[2] Its impact was immense in terms of popular devotion, affecting the Carpathian Basin to a great extent as well.[3] The Hungarian version, ***Makula nélkül való tükör***, is no mere translation of the Czech volume but reveals Judit Újfalusy's editorial influence: in certain places she shortened, elsewhere she expanded the text. Her Hungarian edition grew to great popularity as well, numbering over 10 editions in the 18th and 19th centuries, imprinting its trace onto popular devotion as well as religious literature. As Norbert Medgyesy-Schmikli has revealed, it exerted a lasting impact on the school plays at Şumuleu Ciuc (Csíksomlyó / Schomlenberg).[4]

Cover	
Original Armenian in Latin transcript	*Hungarian*
1. Mōgowlō nilgowl vōlow	1. Makula nélkül való
2. Dowy Gowyr	2. Tükör
3. Mējll	3. mely
4. Ōz owytvoizidoiy	4. az Üdvözítő
5. Jezus Grizdowsnōg	5. Jézus Krisztusnak
6. Is	6. és
7. Sēnd siyliinēg ilēgid ojk	7. szent Szülőjének
8. Gēsērvēs ginsēnvetisie is hōlalai ōt	8. Keserves Kinszenvedései és halálait
9. Kiō[...] ēlowj zēj nielvłow, I mokiōyr nielvrē fōrti	9. Adj elő cseh nyelvből, magyar nyelvre
10. Dōddōd.	10. fordítatott
11. Mosd bētik owyeōnnōn sōg gērēsdin lēlēg	11. Most pedig újonnan sok keresztény lélek
12. Powzkowy givansakaroj nēkieszaer gi	12. buzgó kívánságára negyedszer ki
13. Niōmtōttōtōt	13. nyomtatott
14. Nōyk Sōnmpōtōn	14. Nagy Szombatban
15. ō Jezus tarsōsakōj agat gōlēk pētowivēl	15. A Jézus Társaság betűivel
16. 1765. Eztēntowłēn	16. 1765. Esztendőben

"Mirror Without blemish [macula] which of the Saviour Jesus Christ and His Holy Birth Mother's terrible torments and deaths are presented, from Czech language to Hungarian translated. And now at many Christian souls' devout begging for the fourth time newly printed in Nagy Szombat. With the letters of the Society of Jesus. In Year 1765"

The manuscript in Frumoasa runs to some 828 pages and contains, in strict Armenian transliteration, the Hungarian translation printed in Trnava (Nagyszombat / Tyrnau) in 1765. It is thus a valuable source for linguists as it enables the examination of phonetic history in terms of which letters of the Armenian alphabet were deemed equivalent with which Hungarian phonemes by the copier. The manuscript was probably produced for ministers, intellectuals, and general believers who read the Armenian alphabet but spoke Hungarian. Unfortunately, research has not yet established where this carefully bound manuscript was created and who copied it. Its handwriting, however, suggests that it was made by one person and it includes the entire work published in Nagyszombat.

3. Ex libris stamp of the Armenian library in Armenopolis: "Matenadaran S. Errordowt'ean I Hayak'alak' " (Library of the Holy Trinity in Armenopolis)

4. Parish Archdeacon Antal Patrubány (1791–1814), founder of the library in Elisabethopolis

School Plays with Armenian Subject Matters in the Carpathian Basin

School drama was a new, originally Latin theatrical genre in the Early Modern Era, emerging from the second half of the 16th century. Such plays did not have too high literary merit, but their importance cannot be denied as they serve as rich sources concerning aristocratic as well as popular theatres. Their aim was not so much the creation of lasting artworks as the education, indoctrination, and entertainment of the younger generations.[5] The tradition of school drama drew from a large number of mainly Biblical, apocryphal, and legendary sources. The above-mentioned *Mirror without Macula* was the prose manifestation of perhaps the most substantial life of the Virgin Mary.[6]

The first Armenian school theatre (dprat'atron) was founded by Aloisius Pidu at the Collegio Armeno et Rutheno in Lemberg. Its objective duly followed that of the mother institution: to strengthen the Catholic faith and to popularize the idea of the Armenian Church Union.[7]

Among the 18th century school plays in the Carpathian Basin, several have Armenian subject mat-

5. Furniture of the Armenian library in Elisabethopolis

ters.[8] The first such work representing an Armenian theme was *Tigranes Armenorum Rex*, performed in Nitra in 1726. Its cast of characters, revealing the plot and the actors of the drama, was printed in Nagyszombat. It was staged at the Piarist School in Pest four years later as *Joannes Armeniae Rex, dein Asceta*; the playbill was printed by Georgius Nottenstein.[9] 1735 saw yet another staging of the play under the latter title in Bistrița (Beszterce / Bistritz), evidently with a new cast. Finally, in 1788, the school play *Leonis Armenias infelix vitae exitus* was performed in the Pest seminary.[10]

The plots generally revolve around the Armenian kings' fights against Turkish and Persian rulers. Thus it is not the fact that Armenia was the first Christian nation that is most emphatic here but that they were in constant conflict with the Ottomans for many centuries, which may well have been presented in an Apocalyptic light during the 18th century.

Armenian Book Bequests in the Carpathian Basin

Examining the literature connected with the Armenians in the Carpathian Basin, of primary significance are their libraries and book bequests which served to preserve Armenian literacy from the late 17th century up until the present day. The libraries related to the Armenians as well as the Armenian-language book holdings constitute a quite unique and special treasure in Eastern Central European cultural history. The old prints coming from all corners of the world found their way into the Carpathian Basin via the Armenian network of

connections, be they of a commercial, ecclesiastic, or cultural nature.

At present, there are Armenian church libraries in Armenopolis (Gherla / Szamosújvár / Armenierstadt), Elisabethopolis (Dumbrăveni / Erzsébetváros / Elisabethstadt), and Gheorgheni (Gyergyószentmiklós / Niklasmarkt), but nearly as important are the books stored in Frumoasa (Szépvíz). Further early Armenian prints can be found in the State Archives in Cluj (Kolozsvár / Klausenburg) and in Budapest, at the Armenian Catholic Parish in Orlay Street. The stocks now in Cluj were transferred there from the former holdings of the Armenian Museum in Armenopolis.

The earliest information concerning these libraries come from canonical visitations. In Armenopolis, for instance, Archdeacon János Jakobffi enclosed a list of 109 books with the proceedings of the 1787 visitation.[11] Though such canonical visitations gave a rather rich and vivid picture of Armenian communities in Transylvania during the 18th century, they sadly provide no information about the library or any other book holding in Elisabethopolis. The best documented visitation (1766) repeatedly affirms the wealth of the Armenian parish in Elisabethopolis but makes no mention of books.[12]

Minas Bžškyanc', on the other hand, does refer to the library in Elisabethopolis as a public library located in the room above the left-side vestry of the church.[13] A manuscript fragment, surviving presumably from the 19th century, started to process the stock of the library in a systematic manner. The collection was going to be rendered under thematic labels such as dictionaries, biographies, lexicons, geographical works, and so on, also recording the number of volumes and

6. The Armenian Bible published by Abbot Mechitar in Venice, the third complete Bible edition in the Armenian language (Astowacaշownč' Girk' Hnoc' ew Noroc' Ktakaranac'... // I Venetik k'alak'i, I Tparani Andoni Portoli, 1733)

7. Cross-section of a copy of Abbot Mechitar's Armenian Bible from the Armenian library in Elisabethopolis (Astowacašownc' Girk' Hnoc' ew Noroc' Ktakaranac'... // I Venetik k'alak'i, I Tparani Andoni Portoli, 1733)

copies. Sadly, the work was never completed, as demonstrated by blank and half-filled-in charts.[14] A Latin description from the 19th century also survives, which refers to the Armenian church as a "basilica." The library was already situated above the vestry, with no catalogue available. Antal Patrubány, the Armenian parish archdeacon of Elisabethopolis was here named as the founder of the library; its assets expanded through the bequests of the local ministers. The source tells us that the registries and the documents of the state and church government of the city were also deposited here.[15] Imre and János Csíki's book inventory was made in 1855. They list 1012 titles in their catalogue following the alphabetical list of authors; they state how many volumes each item consists of, and what format (how many folds) was used in printing them.[16] In the late 19th century, city historiographer Lukács Ávedik dedicated but a few sentences to the Armenian library:

"In this city the largest library is that of the main church, incorporating 2200 works. This library is placed in the lower oratory on the east side of the church, in glass cabinets. Its first foundation was laid by archdeacon Antal Patrubány, that learned man. There are works of Christian morality, law, linguistic science, medicine, surgery, geography-history, and natural science, commentaries on the Apostolic Fathers; in a word, more than one valuable book draws the scholarly attention."

The *Historia Domus* of the Armenian parish of Elisabethopolis gave this account in 1918:

"For a year and a half, so to speak, not a little effort has been expended in the regular reordering of the library in possession of the Armenian Church according to languages and sizes in the oratory above the vestry, made a library room. These library books were stamped at that time with the circular stamp *Ex Libris Bibliothecae Ecclesiae Armenae Elisabethopolitanae*. The library inventory was completed on the 26th day of May, exactly on Holy Trinity Sunday, of this year."[17]

This is followed by a chart describing the library, accurately marking which call-numbers can be found in which cabinet, and which language the individual volumes were written in.[18] On the basis of this chart, a total of 3101 volumes in 13 languages were contained in the library.

Data Concerning Armenian-Language Book Holdings

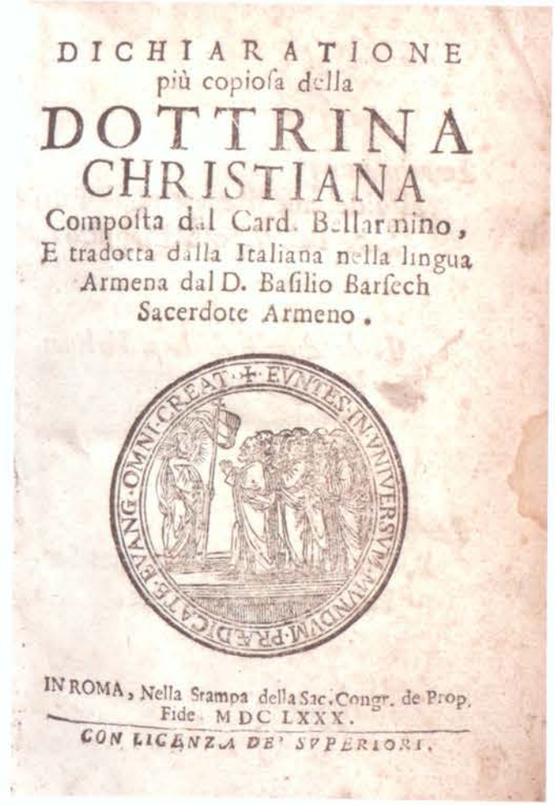
Perhaps the most valuable and precious part of the library is the stock of books in Armenian, which incorporates volumes from between the 17th and 19th centuries. The presses chiefly involved are the Armenian presses of Venice, Constantinople, Rome, Trieste and Vienna, but there are publications from St Petersburg, Tiflis (Tbilisi), Marseilles as well. The theme of the volumes is primarily centred on religion and theology. If a common denomination were to be found, the idea of "Armenian missionary literature" would be the most fitting for these Armenian prints. This term covers not only the volumes printed by the Rome-based Sacra

Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, but even more importantly the literature written in the wake of the 1691 reform initiatives formulated by Vardan Hunanean, the Armenian Archbishop of Lemberg. His purpose was to acquaint the Apostolic Armenians with the new ideas and dogmatic terminology. In addition to encouraging the translation of theological works, he laid great emphasis on writing commentaries on works of philosophy and natural history, treatises on Biblical and philosophical matters, polyglot works of lexicography, dictionaries and, last but not least, essays on ethics, grammar, and logic.

An important part of the Armenian stocks came to Transylvania from the *Typographia Polyglotta*, the printing press of the Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide. As a rule, Armenian seminarists from Transylvania studied in the Collegio Urbano, the Roman College of the Propaganda Fide congregation, and evidently they played a decisive role in transporting these prints to Transylvania. At the same time, the logistical background highlights an interesting piece of information. In a letter, Parson Márton Pápai of Elisabethopolis, requested that Giuseppe Garampi (1772–1776), the papal nuncio in Vienna deliver the Armenian missal and rites, probably deposited at the curia of the nuncio, to the "noble Ludovicus," an Armenian trader from Elisabethopolis, who would then bring them from Vienna directly to the city.[19] So it is clear that many of the books were taken to Elisabethopolis by the local Armenians, who would traverse Europe on commercial routes.[20]

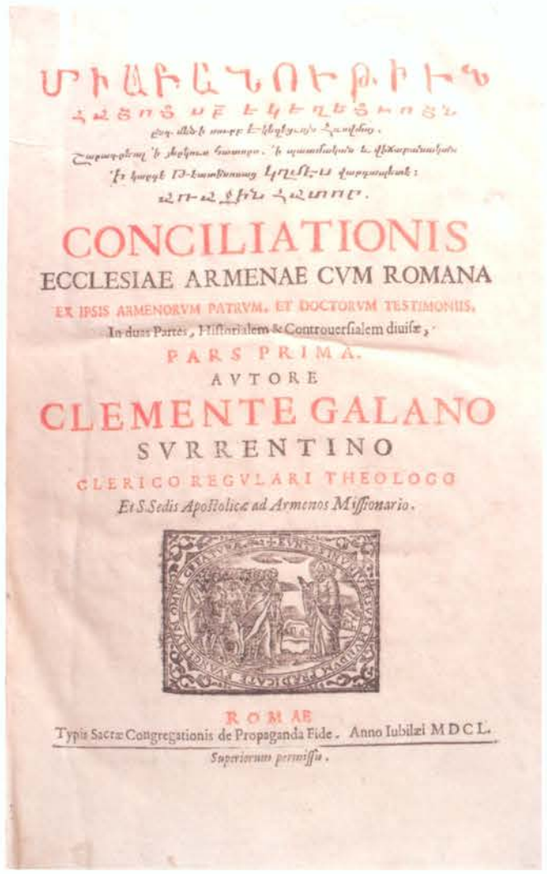
In order to promote the missions with any hope for success, it was indispensable (as stated above) to use both dictionaries and language textbooks. In the Armenian libraries, a number of textbooks and dictionaries can be found. The Grabar textbook *Ztowt'iwn Haykabanowt'ean* (Latin *Puritas Linguae Armenicae*) can be mentioned, whose author, Hovhannes Holov (Johann Agop, Yovhannēs Kostandnowpolsec'i Holov),[21] spoke excellent Latin and attempted to construct Armenian syntax modelled on Latin patterns. Carl Friedrich Neumann, however, was extremely critical of this approach and proposed to rename Agop's work *Perversitas Linguae Armenicae*, claiming it to be totally incorrect and violent in its forcing of alien theories on the Armenian language.[22]

Dictionaries and textbooks immensely facilitated the missionary work based on the Armenian Bible translation. The existence of an Armenian Bible in Transylvania was already mentioned during the canonical visitations. After Mesrop Mashtots created the Armenian alphabet, the translation of the Bible into Armenian became a top priority, and the project was completed as early as the 5th century.[23] The Armenian translation of the Old Testament is practically


DICHIARATIONE
più copiosa della
DOTTRINA
CHRISTIANA
Composta dal Card. Bellarmino,
E tradotta dalla Italiana nella lingua
Armena dal D. Basilio Barsech
Sacerdote Armeno.

IN ROMA, Nella Stampa della Sac. Congr. de Prop. Fide. MDCLXXX.
CON LICENZA DE' SUPERIORI.

8. Prints by the missionary congregation of the Roman Catholic Church frequently emerge in 18th century Transylvanian-Armenian libraries. They encouraged the Latinization of the newly united Armenian Church (Bellarmino, Roberto: Dichiaratione più copiosa della dottrina christiana // Vardapetowt'iwn k'ristoneakan ... t'argmanec'eal i Barsēł Vardapetē Kostandinowpolsec'woy // Romae, Typis Sacrae Congregationis De Propaganda Fide, 1680)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CONCILIATIONIS

ECCLESIAE ARMENAE CVM ROMANA

EX IPSIS ARMENORVM PATRVM, ET DOCTORVM TESTIMONIIS,

In duas Partes, Hiſtoricalem & Controuerſialem diuiſæ,

PARS PRIMA.

AVTORE

CLEMENTE GALANO

SVRRENTINO

CLERICO REGVLARI THEOLOGO

Et S. Sedis Apoſtolicæ ad Armenos Miſſionario.

ROMÆ

Typis Sacræ Congregationis de Propaganda Fide. Anno Iubilæi MDCL.

Superiorum permiſſu.

9. Galanus' treatise on the theological background of the Armenian Unions (Galano, Clemente // Klemes Galanos: Miabanowt'iwn hayoc' Sowrb Ekełec'woyn. // Conciliationis ecclesiae armenae cum romana ... Pars prima // Romae, Typis Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, 1650)

one of the first foreign-language renderings of the Scripture, due predominantly to Mesrop Mashtots and Movses Khorenatsi (Movses Xorenac'i). Their transliteration was so felicitous that it eminently resembles the original Greek. The Armenian translation of the New Testament is equally meticulous; Maturin [Benissere] la Croze called it "the queen of all translations."[25] The first complete printed Armenian Bible, a veritable rarity created in Amsterdam between 1666 and 1668,[26] one copy each is extant in Armenopolis and Gheorgheni. At the request of Catholicos Jacob IV, Vardapet Voskan Yerevantsi (Oskan Erewanc'i) of Echmiadzin travelled to Europe to prepare a Bible edition. Amsterdam seemed the ideal place because of the vicinity of wealthy Armenian merchants and a safe distance from Rome with the Vatican's overwhelming greed for religious control. Voskan's Bible became so successful that at length he became known as the father of Armenian book printing.[27]

The second stage of the publication of the Bible in Armenian took place in Constantinople, where the Armenian Scriptures appeared in 1705; the 3rd edition came out in Venice in 1733. The latter print belonged to the Mechitarists' enterprise. Also based on Voskan's Bible, it was printed on higher-quality paper and illustrated with more beautiful pictures. The frontispiece of the Venetian version also informs us that the original edition was commissioned by the Catholicos of Echmiadzin. This fact demonstrates that, in addition to their affiliation with the Catholic Armenians, the Mechitarists were also willing to serve the Armenian people and their culture worldwide.

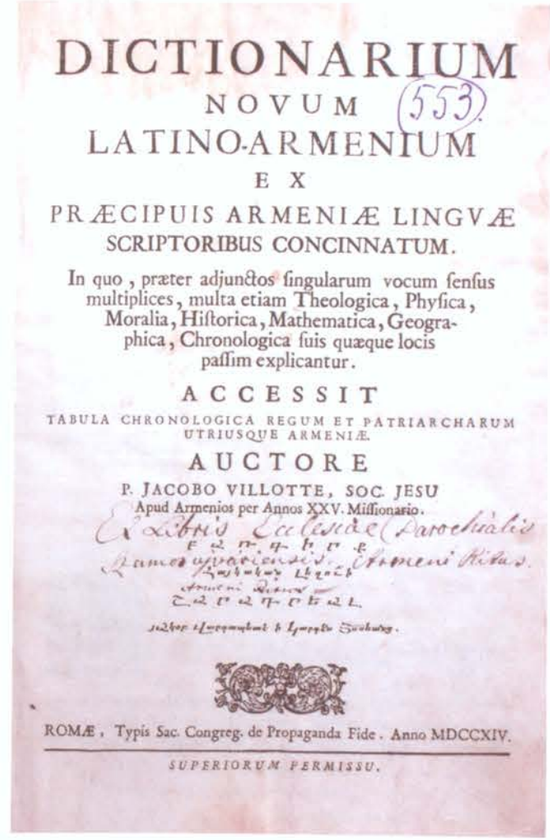
Besides the Bible translation, the Armenian hymnal or Sharaknoc (Šaraknoc') was the other devotional genre which played a central role both in the Apostolic and the Catholic Church of the Armenians. Armenian hymns were written in eight tones and connected to the Byzantine tradition. The canons were introduced to the Armenian Apostolic Church by Archbishop Stepanos Siwnetsi (Step'anos Siwnec'i), and they had probably gained currency in the entire Armenian Church by the 10th century, the time of Khosrov Anyewatsi (Xosrov Anjewac'i). The ultimate redaction of the Armenian hymnal was executed by Grigor Tatevatsi (Grigor Tat'evac'i, 1346–1409). In addition to the canonized hymns, Armenian manuscripts also often include apocryphal hymns, which were subsequently examined and compiled by Vardapet Sahak Amatuni.[28] Countless copies of Armenian *Sharaknoc'* from Amsterdam, Constantinople and other contemporary printing presses are available in Transylvanian-Armenian book collections.

Among the Armenian-language publications from the 17th and 18th centuries, three authors have the chief prominence: Clemens Galanus, Jacobus Villotte, and Khachatour Erzrumetsi, whose works are amply represented in the Armenian libraries in Transylvania.

Clemens Galanus (1611–1666) was born in Italy. He journeyed through the territories of Armenia before settling in Lemberg as a Theatine monk.[29] His works continue to be standard references for both the theological and the historical aspects of Armenian Catholic unions. Galanus is also known as the author of grammatical, historical and philosophical as well as theological treatises.

Jacobus Villotte (1656–1743), a French-born Jesuit, spent 12 years in Isfahan, diligently learning the Armenian language.[30] He visited several places; from the letters he sent to Rome, it is clear that he was active in Constantinople and Erzurum as well as in Isfahan.[31] Nevertheless, he was summoned back to Europe by his superiors, where he was placed in charge of several colleges in France. He died in Saint-Nicolas in 1743, at the age of 87.[32] Villotte's output can primarily be assessed in the light of his bulky written oeuvre. The Jesuit order acknowledges nine works that were written by him. His texts were composed in Latin, Armenian, and French, and their themes cover theology, history, and linguistics, including handbooks and treatises.[33] For historians and armenologists, his most exciting work is perhaps the account of his travels, which he wrote in French upon his return to France. This consists of a kind of mémoire on the subject of the 18th century Armenian territories and colonies in Asia Minor, although it is written from a somewhat "Catholic" perspective.[34] In the Armenian libraries in Transylvania, almost all of Villotte's works are available.

Khachatour Erzrumetsi (Xač'atowr Ērzrowmec'i, Cacciadurus Arachiel, Chatchadur Arhakel Garin, 1666–1740) was also a missionary. As opposed to Galanus and Villotte, however, he was Armenian by birth and also worked in Transylvania. He was born in Erzurum and studied in the Roman College (Collegio Urbano) of the Propaganda Congregation.[35] As he had obtained a doctorate in theology, he was entitled to the designation *vardapet*.[36] From his extensive correspondence, which sometimes almost borders on mania, we can gain an insight into the publishing history of his works. In 1729, he reported from Rome to Venice that he was doing a lot of preaching and had written a 50-page Armenian work, which he wished to have printed. In several of his letters, he expressed a wish to publish his works before his death – works he had composed for no other purpose than to illuminate his people, the Armenians. Carl Friedrich Neumann, however, is not a fraction less disparaging towards this than he is concerning Erzrumetsi's language


DICTIONARIUM

NOVUM

LATINO-ARMENIUM

E X

PRÆCIPUIS ARMENIÆ LINGVÆ

SCRIPTORIBUS CONCINNATUM.

In quo, præter adjunctos ſingularum vocum ſenſus multiplices, multa etiam Theologica, Phyſica, Moralia, Hiſtorica, Mathematica, Geographica, Chronologica ſuis quæque locis paſſim explicantur.

ACCESSIT

TABULA CHRONOLOGICA REGUM ET PATRIARCHARUM UTRIUSQUE ARMENIÆ.

AUCTORE

P. JACOBO VILLOTTE, SOC. JESU

Apud Armenios per Annos XXV. Miſſionario.

ROMÆ, Typis Sac. Congreg. de Propaganda Fide. Anno MDCCXIV.

SUPERIORUM PERMISSU.

10. Villotte, Jacques: Dictionarium novum latino armenium ex praecipuis armeniae linguae scriptoribus concinnatum // Yakob Villot: Bararan Latin-Hay // Romae, Typis Sac. Congreg. de Propaganda Fide, 1714.

competence: his prose works, he writes, are ridiculous, while the new works he wrote and published in Venice had no sooner come off the press than they disappeared into oblivion.[37] But his correspondence paints quite a different picture. The Armenians of Armenopolis, apparently, were content with him; they not only read his books and written sermons but were also curious to read the biography he had in mind to write. On May 13, 1730, he reports that his works have been ordered by five Armenian priests. In his literary enterprises he could rely on two aides as well: "Dominus Elias Ancirensis" and "Dominus Petrus Erzurumensis." These two, as their names reveal, came from Ankara and Erzurum, respectively, and in addition to proofing Erzrumetsi's texts, they also participated in the liturgy as a deacon and a subdeacon.[38]

Cultural Transfer

The presence of Armenian literature in the Carpathian Basin has several segments. Investigating these, we may glance at the shifts within local Armenian communities. An important factor in cultural transfer is the interaction between cultures, which manifests itself in a certain internal transformation. This nuance can very well be examined within the Armenian book collection in Transylvania: a clear piece of evidence for this is provided by the reception of Western Christian works in Latin translated into Armenian as attested by various early prints; their later emergence in Transylvania; the consecutive editions of volumes; and the simultaneous presence of Latin and Armenian editions.

It can also be traced how the material treasures (manuscripts and prints) carrying the elements of culture interacted to alter the receiving society and how they promoted the complete cultural integration and language assimilation of the local Armenian community. As is well known, the Apostolic Armenian Christian group entering the Carpathian Basin in the 17th century would enter into a union with the Catholic Church. Subsequently, their social integration was completed as early as the 18th century, while they would by and large switch to the uniform Hungarian language by the 19th. These processes are conspicuous in the library holdings as well, while the accumulation of church bequests also raises other important concerns within the examination of the stocks. In the event of integration, it had practically been the church (via the Armenian liturgy) that symbolically represented the Armenian language for the local community, while the Latin turn following the union also accelerated the eventual loss of the Armenian tongue.

Notes

[1] Vida, Tivadar, "Makula nélkül való tükör," *Magyar Könyvszemle* 83.3 (1967), 250–251.
[2] Cohem, Martin von, *Das grosse Leben Christi: oder Beschreibung deß bittern Leydens und Sterbens unsers Herrn und Heylands Jesu Christi und seiner glorwürdigisten Mutter Mariae.*
[3] Vida, 252.
[4] Medgyesy-Schmikli, Norbert, *A csiksomlyói ferences misztériumdrámák forrásai, művelődés- és lelkiségtörténeti háttere* (Piliscsaba & Budapest, 2009), 62–63.
[5] Nagy, Szilvia, *Két csíksomlyói iskolai színjáték kritikai szövegkiadása és szövegtudományi vizsgálata*, doctoral dissertation (Miskolc, 2010), 4.
[6] Medgyesy-Schmikli, 52–186.
[7] Barseł̆jan, Bella, *Lehahayowt'yan mšakowt'ayin kyank'ə ev grakanowt'yowə XIV–XIX darerowm* (Yerevan, 1992), 98.
[8] I am grateful for this information to Gábor Horváth, who drew my attention to these plays.
[9] Cf. Kilián, István, *A magyarországi piarista iskolai színjátszás forrásai és irodalma 1799-ig* (Budapest, 1994), 447–449.
[10] Cf. Kilián, István, Pintér, Márta Zsuzsanna, & Varga, Imre, *A magyarországi katolikus tanintézmények színjátszásának forrásai és irodalma 1800-ig* (Fontes Ludorum Scenicorum in Scholis Institutisque Catholicis Hungariae) (Budapest, 1992), 234–235.
[11] Alba Iulia, Archiepiscopal and Capitular Archives, Canonica Visitatio, visitation of the Armenian Parish in Armenopolis, 1787. Cathalogus Librorum Ecclesiae Parochialis Elisabethopolitane.
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The Synthesis of Cultures in the Armenopolis Townscape

Máté Tamáska

The townscape of Armenopolis (Gherla / Szamosújvár / Armenierstadt / Hayakałak) constitutes an outstanding architectural treasure not only in the Transylvanian context but for entire Europe. Its special art historical significance lies primarily in its Baroque character.[1] It is a well-known fact that the Baroque style and attitude in 18th-century Transylvanian architecture directly derived from Vienna.[2] The Armenians immigrating in several waves from the late 17th century onwards, in contrast, came from the Eastern territories of Moldova rather than from the West.[3] This seeming contradiction can be reconciled through the strategies of integration within the emerging Armenian diaspora; they attempted to secure the feudal privileges they had acquired by demonstrating their loyalty to the House of Hapsburg.[4] A solid pillar for this approach was their church union, which reformed the entire religious and cultural life of

2. The grand church dominating the townscape epitomizes the powerful religious commitment of the Armenians in Transylvania (historic photograph from the turn of the 20th century)

1. The erstwhile merchants' hall standing by the side of the church fell victim to Socialist urban development planning (historical postcard)

3. One of the earliest surveys of the city, with an oblong main square (18th century)

ured out on a "goose meadow" at the very beginning of the 1700s.[6] Its rapid growth is best exemplified by the fact that within half a century, it had become one of the 10 most important centres in Transylvania.[7] The success of the city raised the interest of contemporary viewers. In his ground-breaking monograph, Kristóf Szongott cited a manuscript from 1775, which evinced that Armenopolis "with its select and decorative buildings, rectangular marketplaces, and straight streets, became the envy of the entire princedom; its beautiful plan is worth all inspection."[8]

The "beautiful plan," that is, the basic gridline design, is the first significant area where the foreign Baroque influences and the local Transylvanian patterns merge. The first conception of urban design had been based on the vision of an episcopal seat. An early 18th-century map reveals that the bishop's representative buildings were about to be placed in the so-called

4. The Gothic gate frame of Solomon's Church was transferred from the nearby Unguraș

the Armenians.[5] By the mid-18th century, the Armenians in Armenopolis had grown into an advanced fortress of the Western Catholic Church within a predominantly Protestant region. In these terms, then, the Armenian Baroque was a special artistic manifestation of Re-Catholicization. What made it unique was the fact that it was not the self-expression of the aristocracy or the clerical orders but of an urban community of merchants. The specific housing and economic needs of the bourgeoisie explain another characteristic feature of the contemporary architecture of Armenopolis besides its Baroque style, establishing a link towards the traditions of urban society, the nobility, and the gentry. On this assumption, we shall now interpret the Armenopolis townscape in the 18th and 19th centuries as an amalgamation of local building traditions and the Baroque taste imported from Vienna.

The building sites for the later city of Armenopolis, located a mere 40 kilometres from Cluj, were meas-

church garden, on the plot behind the present-day church.[9] However, all hopes for an independent Armenian Catholic bishopric would at length prove illusory.[10] Thus by the 1720s and 30s it had become unrealistic to dream of an oblong main square as the monumental portal to an imposing Baroque church centre. The city was eventually built by the bourgeoisie, shaped in its own image. Its dimensions (apart from the church) shrunk substantially, compared to a potential bishop's seat. By the end of the 18th century, the marketplace was dominated by the rhythm of neatly proportionate middle-class houses, with the city hall and the arcaded market-house in the middle. The closed small-town architecture continued that colonizing tradition that the Armenians had encountered in more than one city on their long journey, notably in Lemberg and Bistrița.

An even more striking stylistic shift van be observed in the town's 18th-century architectural remains. Margit B. Nagy's research has revealed that the Baroque style would not conquer Armenopolis before the 1750s, tightly connected with the construction of the cathedral.[11] Up until that period, the Armenians hired local building masters. A case in point is Solomon's Church on the border of the present-day Old Town. Curiously enough, it was named after the founding family, rather than its patron saint. The mass treatment of the building reflects Late Gothic trends, while the Gothic main portal transferred from nearby Unguraș, reflects the urge to reconcile the construction with the local traditions.[12] The architectural profile of Armenopolis was also affected by the highly sophisticated Late Renaissance stone-carving culture that had emerged in the wake of the castle building enterprises a century before and continued to flourish ever since. The most spectacular creation of that workshop is the ornamented window-framing at 12, Szabadság Square.[13]

The emphatic local Late Gothic and Renaissance styles would not vanish, regardless of the fact that Armenopolis developed into one of the most important centres of the Transylvanian Baroque in the second half of the 18th century. The tradition of Renaissance space management survived primarily in the arched

5. The spacious porch is an inalienable part of the Armenian house; its prototype is the loggia of Renaissance palaces

porches attached to the houses. Such porches were the simplified urban middle-class versions of aristocratic loggias and earned special popularity in 17th and 18th-century Transylvania.[14]

The question of porches leads us on to the question of the base form in Armenian Baroque architecture, which allows several concurrent interpretations. Geographer Miklós Aldobolyi Nagy, for instance, visualizes full-fledged forms: "The Armenian core of the city of Armenopolis convinces all those in doubt that no rudimentary experimentation was carried out here [...] by the Armenians, but they cast the accumulated experiences of a long cultural past into the shape of a town."[15] In terms of architectural history, however, the notion of such ready forms does raise some doubt. An Armenian house, indeed, took its classical form from the combination of several cultural influences.

Popular or folk architecture belongs to such influences. Kristóf Szongott gave currency to the notion that the Armenian house developed directly from popular architecture.[16] He assumed that prior to the great

6. The recently ennobled Karátsonyi family adapted the traditions of vernacular palace architecture to an urban milieu (historical postcard)

fire of 1728, Armenopolis consisted mainly of three-room wooden houses. Later the same type of houses were built from stone and a further row of rooms was added to them. Szongott took the popular dwelling places of his own time as his point of departure; in the 18th century, however, in the region of the Someș (Szamos) River the two-room farmer's houses consisting of a "house" and a "porch" predominated.[17] This theory of the appropriation of popular architecture is all the more problematic as the Armenians newly settling in Transylvania aimed at a far higher status than that of bondservants.

Virgil Pop, an architect from Cluj, attempted to establish a comprehensive typology of Armenian houses in his dissertation. He concluded that the Armenian house is a simplified and urbanized variety of vernacular central-axis palace constructions.[18] Due to the oblong plots, the axis of symmetry was rotated by 90 degrees, so the arcades were relocated to the courtyard. This procedure is evident in the case of the storied Karátsonyi Palace or the Lászlóffy House. Pop,

7. The Armenian Baroque style in Transylvania was most elaborate, as attested by such window frames

however, goes on to state that besides the storied palaces, the long single-floor houses can also be considered the reduced versions of country palaces.

Pop stresses that in addition to the strivings to imitate upper-class architecture, the influence of local architecture also remained quite powerful. Such

8. The sophistication of Armenian commissioners is reflected in the stone ornaments carved chiefly by foreign masters

impressions, however, did not mean the traditions of folk architecture but rather the effect of neighbouring cities. For although the Baroque base form of the architecture of Armenopolis borders on the rural from a 21st-century viewpoint, in 18th-century terms the spacious long houses consisting of one or two wings were still clearly urban forms.

To sum up the above, we can say that in terms of its fundamental form, the Baroque architecture of Armenopolis absorbed several impacts simultaneously: Renaissance relicts, basic principles of contemporary palace constructions, feudal models of private apartments, and, to a smaller extent, local popular traditions.

A further specialty of Armenian Baroque architecture follows from the nature of Armenopolis as a consciously founded city. While those towns that had been organically developing since the Middle Ages became extremely crowded during the 18th century with their closed and multi-storied façades, Armenopolis, freshly designed, boasted a far airier, looser townscape. Studying the evolution of West European cities, Lewis Mumford pointed out that the 16th and 17th centuries saw the emergence of a new type of a city characterized precisely by such airiness as well as the emphatic presence of open spaces and garden areas.[19] In such a townscape, the garden was organically attached to the house but, quite unlike the peasant towns amply analyzed in the Hungarian specialist literature.[20] For the Early Modern town retained its vernacular aspect while the occupational structure of its population was overwhelmingly urban. Quite typically, Armenopolis had a proportion of some 50 to 60% of non-agricultural population in this period, an outstandingly high figure in Transylvania.[21]

Although the base plan and the house mass played a crucial role in shaping the townscape of Armenopolis, its markedly Baroque character was due rather to the ornaments applied to portals and window frames, as well as the guard-posts, statuette niches, and further

9. In keeping with the organic nature of the Armenian Baroque, even such functional items as this guard-post were created with utmost aesthetic care

10. The Dragoș Vodă street nr. 8. (Martaian house). Compared to the rich ornamentation, the mass form of the houses remained vernacular, which resulted in the gate living a life separate from the house, appearing as an individual mass form

supplementary items of minor architectural design. The connections between these decorations transcend the borders of Transylvania. Master stone-carvers arrived from the main Monarchy areas, chiefly from Lower Austria and Moravia.[22] As patrons and commissioners, the Armenians of Armenopolis had a leading role in introducing the Baroque style to 18th-century Transylvania. In this context, Csaba Miklósi Sikes, who conducted monument evaluations in the 1970s and 80s, had the following to say: "Sümeg is barely 150 kilometres from Vienna, and yet the latter's impact is present much more powerfully in the Baroque architecture of Armenopolis, though it lies some 800 kilometres away."[23]

It is not only in the comparison with Sümeg but also with other, neighbouring towns that the Baroque character of Armenopolis is immediately conspicuous. The stone-carvings evoking Lower Austria, Southern Bohemia, and Southern Moravia are all the more striking if we consider the otherwise vernacular, small-scale form of the houses. In the late 18th-century city, there were but a handful of storied palaces rising above the horizontal texture of the settlement. On the relatively narrow wall areas of single-storey buildings, there was no room for the standard impact deriving from the reiteration of decorative elements, which was inevitable in the case of the taller palaces erected in larger Transylvanian cities, where up to six or eight windows could be lined up on a single façade. The small-town dimensions emphasize the portal ornaments as well. In the market squares of traditional mediaeval cities, storied façades had become a necessity by the 18th and 19th centuries, swallowing up the portal decorations, so to speak. In Armenopolis, however, the portal remained separated from the main mass of the building, attracting the viewer's glance as an architectural item in its own right, as though it were a statue.

The bigger picture constituted by Armenian Baroque architecture as a synthesis of a variety of cultural influences has survived in many of its aspects down to the present day. This is due by and large to the fact that from the late 19th century Armenopolis lost the societal fundaments for organic development.[24]

Due to fin-de-siècle architectural interventions, the townscape changed significantly, while the dimensions remained more or less unaltered. In consequence, the Baroque style could retain its characteristic function besides newer, historicizing constructions. The wars and social crises of the 20th century brought even those rather modest architectural shifts to a halt. And although the reconstruction of the inner city was on the local agenda between 1970 and 1990, only the axis leading towards the railway was broken. The two decades since the fall of the previous regime have not brought about any spectacular change in any direction, be it positive or negative. Nevertheless, some hope may be cherished if we consider that the art historically authentic rehabilitation of several old buildings has commenced in recent years.

NOTES

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[7] SONKOLY, Péter, *Erdély városai a XVIII–XIX. században* (Budapest: L'Harmattan, 2001), 279.

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[11] B. NAGY, Margit, "A barokk Szamosújvár születése," *Építés–Építészettudomány* XV (1983), 32.

[12] B. NAGY, "A barokk," 29.

[13] B. NAGY, "A barokk," 30.

[14] BALOGH, Jolán, *Az erdélyi renaissance* (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Tudományos Intézet, 1943), 107.

[15] ALDOBOLYI NAGY, Miklós, "Örmény Szamosújvár – magyar Szamosújvár: Szamosújvár története, az örmények betelepítése, népesedési adatok 1880–1941," *Hitel* (1944/2), 106.

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The Sacral Art of Transylvanian-Armenians

Emese Pál

Standing in front of the Armenian Catholic churches in Transylvania and beholding their furniture, nearly everyone is tempted to ask the same question: what is Armenian here? Some illegible inscriptions or a few unfamiliar saints may draw our attention, but all the rest is well known from the Baroque church architecture in other parts of Hungary. In what follows, I discuss the peculiar church relations among the Armenians who immigrated to Transylvania in the second half of the 17th century, their integration, their connection networks, and how all these found a way into their particular artworks. This might perhaps illuminate the reasons behind the Catholic character of Armenian sacral art in Transylvania. In 1689, a few decades after their settlement, Oxendio Virziresco effected their union with the Roman Catholic Church. This merging proved instrumental for the Armenians' integration, the construction and furnishing of their churches, as well as the veneration of their saints.

Churches and Chapels

We have but few data concerning where and how the "heretic" Armenians had celebrated mass prior to the union. Although Prince Michael I Apafi granted free commercial rights to them, they were not permitted publicly to practice their religion. Therefore at the outset they celebrated the Armenian Apostolic liturgy, the Patarag, in private homes. In 1680, the Armenians in Gheorgheni (Gyergyószentmiklós, Niklasmarkt) managed to rent the wooden chapel in the *Alien cemetery* established by Archdeacon György Ferenczfy, upon the condition that should they return from Transylvania to Moldova, "all those tools and church garments which they are about to obtain [...] shall not be taken away but left behind for use at the chapel."[1] From this measure, one can gather that the tendency recorded in Oxendio Virziresco's memorandum addressed to the Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide had prevailed, i.e. the Armenians had had no intention to remain in Transylvania; they were planning to return home to Moldova.[2] Kristóf Lukácsi's Latin summary of the history of Transylvanian-Armenians notes that the Armenians in Gheorgheni and Frumoasa (Szépvíz) acquired the permission to celebrate the liturgy in their own rite from Bertalan Szebelébi, the parson and episcopal vicar of Sânzieni (Kézdiszentlélek).[3] Although Lukácsi does not reveal the date of that permission, Szebelébi was vicar between 1678 and 1707, so the certificate must also have been signed in that period.

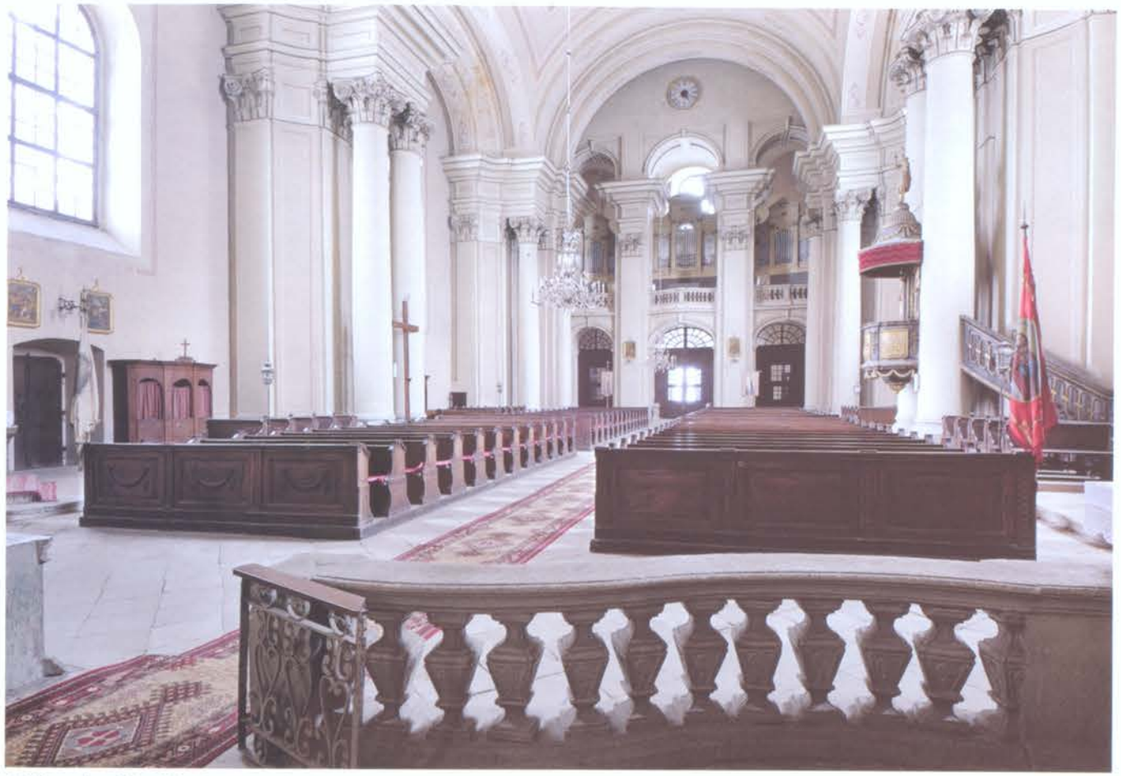
The lack of a separate Armenian church continued to be a problem well after the union with the Catholic Church. Oxendio Virziresco's reports to the Sacred Congregation attest that the new-baked Uniate Armenians had but a handful of miserable, decrepit wooden chapels in Frumoasa, Suseni (Marosfelfalu, Prazdorf), and Batoş (Bátos, Botsch); in most places, their services were held in Roman Catholic churches or private homes.4 In Armenopolis, a settlement developed into a city around 1700 by Oxendio himself, the bishop had his own house, to the right of the parish church, transformed into a chapel.5 According to the visitation of 1731, the main altarpiece of the small wooden church depicted the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, the northern side altar the Birth of Christ, while on the southern side altar there was a copy of the Black Madonna of Częstochowa.[6]

1. The Armenian Catholic parish church in Armenopolis (1748–1804) at the beginning of the 20th century (Photo Archive of the Forster Gyula National Office of Cultural Heritage, Budapest)

2. The inscription commemorating the foundation of the Alien Cemetery above the entrance to the cemetery wall of the Armenian Catholic church in Gheorgheni

Armenopolis (Gherla, Szamosújvár, Armenierstadt), Elisabethopolis (Erzsébetváros, Dumbrăveni, Elisabethstadt), Gheorgheni, and Frumoasa were canonized as Armenian colonies from the early 18th century, due not so much to the mere number of the Armenians there as to the presence of the Armenian Catholic Church. It was in these townships that their first, rather modest stone churches and then their monumental cathedrals were erected. It is worth investigating what models they tried to follow in constructing their first stone churches. While they had built characteristically Armenian churches back in Moldova, in Transylvania they made all effort to adapt

3. The entrance to Solomon's church in Armenopolis, with the Late Gothic portal from Unguraş and the statues of St Gregory the Illuminator and Pope St Sylvester; photograph from the mid-20th century (Collection of the Armenian Catholic Parish in Budapest)



4. The main aisle of the Armenian Catholic parish church in Armenopolis scene from the sanctuary

to the local traditions. The ground plan and some other features of the first Armenian Catholic church in Armenopolis (and entire Transylvania) are a case in point. Solomon's church, raised upon Salamon Simai's funds by 1723, follows the ground plan of the Late Gothic rural churches in the region. That the model was consciously chosen is confirmed by the fact that a Late Gothic portal was purchased from the castle of Unguraş in 1729 and inserted into the recently erected tower base. The authentic portal thus connects the church to local traditions.[7] The same strivings characterized the construction of other Armenian Catholic churches in Transylvania as well. In Gheorgheni (1730–1734) and Frumoasa (1762–1785) the walls typical for Szekler Land were used to encircle the churches. On the other hand, the two monumental Armenian churches in Elisabethopolis (1766–1791) and Armenopolis (1748–1804), respectively, were worthy of the rank of the free royal cities, not only serving as sites of worship but also as repositories of the wealth and artistic sophistication of the Armenians. Although the Armenopolis church was planned by an anonymous architect, its formal solutions suggest that he belonged to the Viennese rather than Transylvanian Baroque circles. The protracted construction works were carried out mainly by local craftsmen, while the finishing touches and "corrections" were made by József Jung, who was contracted in 1792 and played an instrumental role in shaping the ultimate form of the church as familiar to us today. In Elisabethopolis, the construction was co-ordinated by Ferenc Gindtner, a master builder born in Prague and living in Cluj at the time. 6,000 florins were contributed by Empress Maria Theresa. It is probably due to this fact and the

5. Armenian Catholic parish church, Elisabethopolis (1766–1791)

Armenians' proverbial loyalty to the Hapsburgs that St Elisabeth's portrait on the main altar bears the facial features of the Empress herself.

Church Furnishings

In procuring the church equipment, the Armenians tried to hire the best Transylvanian craftsmen, such as Simon Hoffmayer, the most eminent Transylvanian sculptor of the transition between the Baroque and the Neoclassical Period.[8] He contributed to the parish churches in Armenopolis and Elisabethopolis as well as the Mechitarist church in the latter city. The decline in the quality of the side altars in Armenopolis is accounted for by Hoffmayer's death in 1800. The plan for the altarpieces can be attributed to him, while their execution was done by his apprentice, Antal Csűrös. It cannot be accidental that Hoffmayer, Antal Csűrös, and the painter József Csűrös worked both in Elisabethopolis and in Armenopolis. It may indicate a tight connection between the various Armenian colonies (recommending artists to one another) as well as a shortage of reliable masters available in Transylvania at the time. That the link between Armenian centres was not limited to mutual recommendations but also manifested itself in terms of actual donations is exemplified by the fact that the 18th-century main altar of the church in Frumoasa was bestowed upon the parish by Vártán Jordán, an Elisabethopolis citizen.[9] The altar still bears the Armenian initials as well as the merchant's emblem associated with Vártán Jordán.

It was probably also Hoffmayer's idea to model the baldachin altar of the grand church in Armenopolis upon the Franciscan church in Eger. Although this conception had emerged as early as 1797, the master's death, Antal Csűrös's incarceration, and the exhaustion of funds delayed its implementation until 1842, by which time baldachin altars had long gone out of fashion. The city council and the local clergy, however, insisted on the original plans quite rigidly. At long last, on February 17, 1841, the priests of Armenopolis addressed the following request to County Court judge Gergely Jakabffy, residing in Budapest: "Partly of traditions handed down to us but chiefly from our records, we have learnt that the late ancestors of Your Honour were exemplarily magnanimous and generous in contributing to the execution of the projected grand church in our mother town [...] hence we have come to be of the opinion that of the notable members of our deeply loved nation, no one but Your Honour may enjoy the pleasure and high esteem of raising an altar evincing Your devotion to God and decorating by Your glorious contribution to our shining church built over nearly 70 years to grace our nation and native city and to uphold, in the offerings there presented, with due pomp, the utmost glory of God."[10] The meek judge, of Armenian descent, could not resist. He commissioned Ferenc Uhrl, a Moravian sculptor then active in Pest to create the altar, while the altarpiece of the Trinity is the work of Diamanti Laccatari, a Macedonian painter also residing in Pest. The monumental baldachin altar was consecrated on October 1, 1842. Half a century later, however, Archdeacon Lukács Bárány was already arguing for the removal of the baldachin: "The present main altar built in 1842 is hardly fitting for the style of the church, as the large dimensions of the altar cover out the large windows and the column-caps." He underpinned the necessity of the deconstruction by referring to János Fadrusz and other authorities confirming the stylistic incongruity of the baldachin.[11] The main altar was eventually removed at a large-scale interior reconstruction in 1930. Today, no memory even of the erstwhile main altar is alive, although behind the tabernacle, one can still discern the Jakabffy coat-of-arms formerly gracing the baldachin, while the Neoclassicist angels of adoration made by Ferenc Uhrl are also visible on the choir. The image of the altar, which represented an outstanding quality in Transylvanian terms, is only preserved on a few photographs from around 1920.

The artistic tastes of the Armenian public in Armenopolis is highlighted by the paintings commissioned for the side altars. In March 1799, at Archdeacon Klemen Korbuly's initiative, the city assembly established the placement of the altars as well as the saints to be depicted. Next, presumably upon a recommendation from Elisabethopolis, they invited Friedrich Neuhauser,[12] a painter from Sibiu (Nagyszeben, Hermannstadt) to sketch out the drawings for the 6 side altars. Neuhauser presented "the forms of four small pictures" in March 1800, which failed to find favour with the elders of Armenopolis. Instead, the altarpieces were ordered from Vienna, assuming that "the Pictors thence will make a more splendid work."[13] The side altars were thus created in Vienna but the names of the painters are suppressed in all our sources.

6. Baldachin altar in the Armenian Catholic parish church in Armenopolis; Ferenc Uhrl, 1842 (removed in 1930); photograph from the 1920s (Armenian Catholic Collective Archive of Armenopolis, 612/k; Box 1)

7. St Gregory the Illuminator Baptizes King Trdat; unknown painter from Vienna, c. 1800 (Armenian Catholic parish church, Armenopolis)

The Veneration of Armenian Saints

The union with the Catholic Church not only affected the religious art of Transylvanian-Armenians in terms of the churches built and furnished in keeping with local Roman Catholic traditions but also the veneration of their own saints. The artistic representations of only three characteristically Armenian saints are extant in entire Transylvania: St Gregory the Illuminator, who had first Christianized the nation; the martyr virgin St Hripsime; and St Mesrop Mashtots, the creator of the Armenian alphabet. But the veneration of these three saints is far from unified as well. St Hripsime is merely depicted on one painting from Armenopolis, 1778, while Mesrop Mashtots appears on a votive picture from late 18th-century Armenopolis. St Gregory the Illuminator, on the other hand, boasts at least 13 extant altarpieces known today, in addition to a number of statues, stained-glass windows, flags, and murals.[14] His place is nearly constant among Transylvanian-Armenians; his festival is commemorated with ample feasting. The function of his veneration, however, has changed over the centuries, now waning, now waxing. St Gregory's altarpieces broke out of Armenian Catholic churches and entered many a Roman Catholic one. Still, it must be noted that all these instances were linked to Armenian commissioners and he was not venerated by Roman Catholics. Thus the spreading of the portrayals of St Gregory the Illuminator also highlights the places where there were fairly wealthy Armenian families besides the best-known Armenian centres. Investigating the Transylvanian distribution of St Gregory's depictions, one may notice that apart from the Armenian Catholic churches, he was most prominent in various Franciscan churches in the area. Thus he had a separate altar in the Franciscan churches of Sibiu and Dej (Dés). In the Franciscan churches of Odorheiu Secuiesc (Székelyudvarhely) and Făgăraş (Fogaras), his portrait appears on the pediment of an altar each. Of the altarpieces in the above Franciscan churches, two were commissioned by two brothers, Gergely and Antal Issekutz. Their wealth and commitment to the church are also indicated by the fact that they also sponsored the church to be built in Elisabethopolis as well as the Roman Catholic church in Sibiu. Their achievements are proved by the fact that at the completion of the towers of the Armenian grand church in Elisabethopolis, a document was placed into the tower-button, highlighting the following feat among the Armenians who had settled in Transylvania: "that in Sibiu, the right of citizenship has been won by Squires Antal and Gergely Issekutz, two blood brothers, and Squire Márton Patrubán."[15] The two brothers had altars erected in honour of their own patron saints: on the greater altarpiece in Sibiu there is St Gregory, in the smaller one St Anthony of Padua; in Fogaras, the placement is reversed.

The spreading of the iconography of St Gregory the Illuminator, as well as its prototypes and parallels may help us examine the Transylvanian-Armenians' network of connections. Research by Bálint Kovács has revealed that up until the end of the 18th century, the Armenians in Transylvania belonged to the intellectual and cultural network overarching the individual Uniate communities.[16] Initially, this system was managed by the missionaries, later by the Transylvanian members of the Mechitarist order. The interaction of various portrayals of St Gregory the Illuminator is most perspicuous in engravings. The depictions circulating in books or separate prints led to the emergence of identical or highly similar types in churches otherwise far from one another in geographical terms.

In the context of Transylvanian altarpieces, there are two main iconographic types. The first, simpler category comprises the altarpieces representing the baptism of King Trdat, while in the second category are paintings where the scene of baptism is surrounded by a narrative frame summarizing the tortures of St Gregory. The former group includes the altarpieces at the great Armenian church in Armenopolis, the Armenian Catholic churches in Elisabethopolis and Frumoasa, the Franciscan churches in Dej, Sibiu, and Odorheiu Secuiesc, as well as the Roman Catholic church in Nuşeni (Apanagyfalu). The latter category consists of only two pictures: the altarpiece at the Armenian Catholic church in Gheorgheni and an oil painting in the collection of the Trinity church in Armenopolis. The portrait of St Gregory to be found on the pediment of St Anthony's altar in the Franciscan church in Fogaras belongs to neither type; it is rather a magnified version of a scene from medallion compositions. One example will be sufficient to show how each type spread in the area. In St Gregory the Illuminator's biography published at the press of the Venetian Mechitarists in 1749, an engraving served as the immediate prototype for the altarpiece dedicated to St Gregory in the Franciscan church in Sibiu (*c.*1775). That engraving, however, is strikingly similar, in turn, to Francesco Zugno's oil painting created for the Venetian monastery of the Mechitarists. It is not only the enormous columns in the background and the "celestial sphere" that are composed similarly (including clouds, heads of cherubs, and the Dove of the Spirit) but also the arrangement of the figures follows a scheme clearly akin to Zugno's work. Due to its mediating effect, the engraving printed in 1749 resulted in the fact that the composition of St Gregory's pictures in Venice and Sibiu, respectively, are nearly identical with each other.

The type that includes the narrative frame characteristically relies on texts. In order to *read* the picture, one must be familiar with the legend of the saint; the small-scale scenes are mere "props of memory."[18] The altarpiece in Gheorgheni establishes an evident link between

8. Side altar of St Gregory the Illuminator, 1752 (Armenian Catholic church, Gheorgheni)

image and text, with Armenian inscriptions explaining each moment of the legend under the individual medallions, while in their upper part, terse Latin summaries are given. Local legends claim that this painting came to Gheorgheni from Venice, but no extant sources have as yet confirmed this statement. Due to the quality of detail and richness of iconography, it cannot be ruled out that the painting was made outside Transylvania, in another Armenian Catholic centre. A painting identical in all of its details can be found in the Mechitarists' museum in Vienna, while we know several engravings in which the vast majority of details coincide with the composition of this image. It is conceivable that both painters followed a common engraving as a model.

From the 19th century, we know far fewer pictures of St Gregory the Illuminator in Transylvania. One reason might lie in the progress of Armenian assimilation. In the second half of the century, with the birth of the ideology of Armenism and the rediscovery of Armenian origins, St Gregory's position strengthened once again. It was also revaluated: instead of his miracles, which had been emphasized in the 18th-century medallion pictures in Gheorgheni and Armenopolis, his historical role came to the foreground. Interestingly (parallel with the shifting image of King St Stephen of the Hungarians), they began to focus on St Gregory's missionary achievements, without which the Armenian nation might well have become extinct. Instead of surveying the rich textual heritage, let us turn to the altarpiece in the Roman Catholic church in Apanagyfalu. The picture painted by György Vastagh, Sr. in 1868 omits the clouds and the Dove of the Holy Spirit and thus desacralizes the theme, presenting the christening of the Armenian nation as a real historic event. This effect is enhanced by the markedly Oriental costumes. The historicizing tendency is emphatic also in the queen, whose facial features are typically Armenian, as well as the African deacon standing in the foreground. Although the altarpiece from Apanagyfalu follows the St Gregory's 18th-century iconography, its attitude is akin to the Orientalist paintings[19] increasingly popular in Hungary from the 1830s. The painter attempts to comply mainly with the most recent criterion of the religious art of the period, namely historical authenticity, which is meant to be corroborated by the Oriental scenery and costumes, among other things.

9. St Gregory the Illuminator Baptizes King Trdat; György Vastagh, Sr., 1868, detail (Apanagyfalu, Nușeni, Roman Catholic church, right-hand side altar)

The Veneration of the Virgin Mary

Besides the Armenian saints, certain aspects of the veneration of the Virgin Mary must be pointed out. The Virgin Mother was the most important saint for the Armenians. Her special veneration is reflected by the overwhelming number of her pictures and statues in the Armenian churches all over Transylvania. Solomon's church in Armenopolis was consecrated to the Blessed Virgin of the Annunciation, the Armenian Catholic church in Gheorgheni to the Lady of the Assumption. Among the conspicuous multitude of Marian images, we find the glorious portrayals most popular in the Baroque Era (the Assumption, the Coronation of the Virgin Mary) as well as more intimate representations reflecting popular devotion (Queen of the Rosary, the teaching of the Virgin Mary, the Holy Family) and miraculous paintings (such as Madonna of Mariazell).

In Armenopolis, there was a substantial cult of the Queen of the Rosary. The 1781 visitation of the grand church mentions two altars, dedicated to the Trinity and the Madonna of the Rosary, respectively.[20] The church had already had two vestries at that time, with the northern one dubbed the chapel of "Regina Sacratissimi Rosarii," probably housing the altarpiece of the Madonna of the Rosary installed by the Karácsonyi family. From the 1770s onwards, the Queen of the Rosary was venerated with extraordinary zeal. Five votive icons were, for instance, commissioned in her honour, still to be found in the parish collection. They painted made in the last quarter of the 18th century, with two of the pictures inscribed "1780." Their common denominator is that they were dedicated to the Madonna of the Rosary. In addition, a large wooden box with a glass door in the church collection includes 56 votive objects made of silver, all representing various human body parts (legs, arms, eyes, breasts, fingers, heads) as well as kneeling women and men, infants, and busts. Most kneeling figures hold Rosaries in their hands. Our sources, however, indicate an even larger number of votive objects.

In 1802, the Armenopolis church acquired an imperial donation, the altarpiece of the *Descent from the Cross*, which was for a long time attributed to Rubens; it was installed in the former chapel of the Queen of the Rosary. It was probably at that time that the first painting with the Rosary, commissioned by the Karácsonyis, was taken down. In 1804, a Marian icon is mentioned in a glassed frame on the tabernacle of the main altar, with 92 votive objects all around it. This painting, carrying functions similar to devotion, is probably identical with the painting currently located in on the altar of the Madonna of the Rosary, installed in a richly ornamented frame. Perhaps it was in 1842, when the baldachin altar was installed, that it found its way to its new place on the side altar designed by Zakariás Gábrus. In a photograph from 1920, there are still a number of votive objects on the altar.

In and of themselves, however, the votive objects do not prove the devotional function of the icon. Indeed, the inventories of individual Armenian Catholic churches documented votive items next to other altars as well, even if there were somewhat fewer of them. In the 1781 inventory of Solomon's church, for instance, 32 silver votive objects were recorded next to the main altar of the Annunciation; 33 at the altar of St Joachim and St Anne; 22 next to the icon of St Gregory the Illuminator;

10. Side altar of the Queen of the Rosary (1840s), with a late 18th-century altarpiece and the votive objects removed since; photograph from the 1920s (Armenian Catholic Collective Archive of Armenopolis, 612/k; Box 1)

Societies in both towns, but these were not founded by Stefano Stefanowicz Roska, the Armenian Catholic Apostolic Visitator, who had established most other Armenian religious societies in Transylvania. The foundation of Rosary Societies is emphatically linked to the Roman Catholic Church; the one in Elisabethopolis was launched by Bishop Gergely Sorger of Transylvania in 1733,[23] while that in Armenopolis was installed by Dominican monk Antal Bremond in 1751.[24] Even this sketch of the veneration of the Queen of the Rosary is a fine example of how intensely the image of the Virgin Mary was present in the Armenian Apostolic Church as well, and to what extent

11. Queen of the Rosary with St Dominic and St Catherine of Siena; late 18th century (Armenian Catholic parish church, Armenopolis)

and 4 at the altar of the Trinity.[21] More surprisingly, there were no less than 340 votive items surrounding the altar of the Virgin Mary in the chapel of St John the Baptist in Elisabethopolis, which was built in 1771/2.[22] The *ex voto* icons undoubtedly confirm that the icon of the Queen of the Rosary in Armenopolis was venerated as a miracle-working object, but it is unclear whether this attitude was limited to the area or attracted pilgrims from elsewhere as well.

It must be mentioned that the Armenian Catholic church in Elisabethopolis also included an altar dedicated to the Madonna of the Rosary. There were also Rosary

the Armenian-rite Catholics encountered and profited from the veneration of the Virgin Mother among the Roman Catholic communities of the Hungarians. The cult, present in both religions, provided an opportunity for the recently united Armenians more easily to accept Catholic doctrines and to find their place in the religious traditions of the Carpathian Basin. What better proof for this is needed than the fact that such a profoundly Catholic iconographic type and devotional practice could reverberate so forcefully within the popular religiosity of the Armenians.

Having considered some few characteristics of the sacral art of the Armenian Catholics in Transylvania, we may conclude that this was a "success story" of no ordinary adaptation. The "heretics" first moving into Transylvania took an impressive route from private homes and shabby wooden chapels to establish their own huge, distinguished churches. Whether we prefer to call them "Armenian" or "Catholic," their artworks indubitably belong to the most lasting and precious cultural remains in Transylvania.*

Notes

[1] Szongott, Kristóf, "A Gyergyó-Szent-Miklósi örmény kath. templom," *Armenia* (1904), 226. The foundation of the cemetery for aliens is probably connected to those few Armenian families who had entered Gheorgheni by the early 17th century. The inscription commemorating the establishment of the cemetery was inserted into the gate to the cemetery of the present church: "Hoc cemeterium Georgius Ferenfi [!] sacerdos in sepulturam peregrinorum fieri curavit. Anno 1637 9 May."

[2] Nagy, Kornél, *Az erdélyi örmények katolizációja*, doctoral dissertation. http://doktori.btk.elte.hu/hist/nagykornel/diss.pdf, accessed January 28, 2013.

[3] Lukácsi, Kristóf, *Historia Armenorum Transsylvaniae* (Vienna, 1849), 67. Lukácsi mistakenly called him John (Joanne) nevezi. Kornél Nagy believes Szebelébi relinquished the two chapels under pressure from the Prince. Cf. Nagy, 90.

[4] Nagy, 159.

[5] Szongott, Kristóf, *Szamosújvár szabad királyi város monográfiája 1700–1900*, Vol. I (Armenopolis, 1901), 281.

[6] Kovács, András & Kovács, Zsolt, ed., *Erdélyi római katolikus egyházlátogatási jegyzőkönyvek és okmányok (1727–1737)* (Kolozsvár: Entz Géza Művelődéstörténeti Alapítvány, 2002), 77–78. The inscription of the altar-stone preserved in the church collection (Altare hoc consecratum est a Rev. P. Oxendio V. Eppo Al. et Vic. aplico, cui inclusae sunt reliquiae SS. M.M.....et... ..1695 2. 7-bris) questions the date of the construction of the wooden chapel as well as the foundation of Armenopolis as, according to current beliefs, no Armenians had lived in present-day Armenopolis before 1695.

[7] B. Nagy, Margit, "A barokk Szamosújvár születése," *Az örmény Szamosújvár*, ed. Sztranyiczki Mihály (Pro Armenia, 2009), 110.

[8] For further details, see B. Nagy, Margit, "Hoffmayer Simon szobrász élete és munkássága," *Stílusok, művek, mesterek* (Bucharest: Kriterion, 1977), 94–113.

[9] Fáraó, Simon, "A szépvízi örmény telep, II," *Armenia* (February 1888), 47.

[10] Szongott, Vol. II, 35.

[11] Bárány, Lukács, "Nagytemplomunk restaurálása," *Armenia* XVII/6 (1903), 162–163.

[12] Although the magistrate's records in Armenopolis list a certain Friedrich Neuhauser, that might be a mistake as no painter by the first name Friedrich is known from the Neuhauser family. Who was meant was probably Franz Neuhauser, Jr. (1763–1836), who created the altarpiece dedicated to St Anthony in the Mechitarist church in Elisabethopolis.

[13] "Acta Sessionis Diei 29ae Martii 1800," *Protocollum Magistratuale pro anno 1800*, State Archive of Cluj (Direcţia Judeţeană Cluj a Arhivelor Naţionale), Primăria Oraşului Gherla, II/111.

[14] For more detail see Pál, Emese, "Világosító Szent Gergely ábrázolásai Erdélyben," *Liber Discipulorum: Tanulmányok Kovács András 65. születésnapjára*, ed. Kovács, Zsolt, Sarkadi Nagy, Emese, & Weisz, Attila (Cluj, 2011), 239–254.

[15] Ávedik, Lukács, *Szabad királyi Erzsébetváros monográfiája* (Armenopolis, 1896), 98.

[16] Kovács, Bálint, "Az erdélyi örmények interregionális kulturális kapcsolatai a 17–18. században," *Örmény diaszpóra a Kárpát-medencében*, ed. Őze, Sándor & Kovács, Bálint (Piliscsaba, 2007), Vol. II, 30–46.

[17] *Vark' srboyn Grigori Lowsaworčin*. (Life of St Gregory the Illuminator) (Venice, 1749).

[18] Belting, Hans, *Kép és kultusz*, trans. Schulcz, Katalin & Sajó, Tamás (Budapest: Balassi, 2000), 270. [Cf. *Bild und Kult* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1990).]

[19] Cf. Kissné Sinkó, Katalin, "Orientalizáló életképek," *Művészet Magyarországon 1830–1870*, ed. Szabó, Júlia & Széphelyi, F. György (Budapest, 1981), Vol. I.

[20] *Canonica Visitatio, Armenopolis, 1781.* Alba Iulia, Archiepiscopal and Capitular Archives (henceforth AIACA), Box 10, Vol. 12.

[21] *Ibid.*

[22] *Canonica Visitatio, Elisabethopolis, 1781.* Armenian Catholic Collective Archive of Armenopolis, 88/b, Box 1.

[23] *Ibid.*

[24] *Canonica Visitatio, Armenopolis, 1781*, AIACA 10/12.

[25] For further detail, see Kovács, Bálint, "Az erdélyi örmény társadalom szenttiszteletének rétegei az újkorban," *Népi vallásosság a Kárpát-medencében 7*, ed. S. Lackovits, Emőke & Szőcsné Gazda, Enikő (Sepsiszentgyörgy, 2007), Vol. I, 197–212.

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Hungarian Politicians of Armenian Descent in the Dual Monarchy Period

Iván Bertényi, Jr.

Lajos Aulich, János Damjanich, Arisztid Dessewffy, Ernő Kiss, Károly Kneziæ, György Láhner, Vilmos Lázár, Count Károly Leiningen-Westerburg, József Nagysándor, Ernő Poeltenberg, József Schweidel, Ignác Török, Count Károly Vécsey. The names of the thirteen "Martyrs of Arad," executed on 6 October 1849 by the Hapsburg Court are recited at every commemoration of the defeat of Hungary's War of Independence. Many people also know that two of the rebels killed in the Transylvanian city of Arad were of Armenian descent. This paper attempts to demonstrate that although Ernő Kiss and Vilmos Lázár provided a high representation of the Armenian nation among the Glorious Thirteen, this was far from unexpected in the period because the Armenians had been overrepresented within the 19th century Hungarian elite in view of their overall demographical proportion. We will now take a closer look at the political elite of the Dual Monarchy Period (1867–1918) and focus on the Armenian-born MPs during those decades.

Although the historic Hungary was a characteristically multi-national state where ethnic Hungarians (Magyars) constituted a mere half of the population during the 19th century,[1] within the elite it is difficult fully to establish a politician's ethnic background. The reason why that is so is because the general ideology, particularly in politics, would not admit anything but a unified Hungarian nation. Up until 1848, the legal unity of the *Natio Hungarica* covered up the ethnicity of individual noble families; after the liberal transition during the Revolution Era (1848/49), this system was also modernized but still provided equal rights to every citizen regardless of any ethnic, confessional, or other difference. The national liberal elite in Hungary held the belief, due primarily to the example of the French Revolution, that their free nation would prove as strong and unified as "the gates of hell shall not prevail against it" as Lajos Kossuth exclaimed in a famous speech of his in summer 1848.[2] That conviction derived from the hope that in exchange for their liberty, social advance, emancipation, and their resulting prosperity, the nationalities would willingly and gratefully become loyal Hungarian citizens of the common Hungarian fatherland.[3]

Although Wesselényi, Kossuth, and their peers would not see the complete fulfilment of their hopes, the Armenians in Hungary fully accepted this concept of nation and joined the ranks of the Hungarian nation. Although this process was not entirely smooth, by the mid-19th century, their Magyarization had progressed beyond an irreversible phase. The Armenians settling in Transylvania in the late 17th century had already been admitted to the Hungarian nation there (out of the three political nations). Their diaspora existence and small numbers would not have allowed for their real national autonomy, anyway, and once their linguistic assimilation and social integration seemed inevitable, they thought it best to join the majority Hungarians, then in a dominant position. During the first century of their presence in Transylvania, many of them obtained such wealth and social prestige that they could become a part of the elite of feudal society, and hence they were members of the older, political nation, while the creation of the modern liberal nation promised to be favourable to their majority because it promised to wash away those discriminations that might previously have hindered that social advance.

The vocal, liberal layers of the Hungarian majority also enthusiastically welcomed the Magyarization of the

1. Royal Hungarian guard Károly Szongott (1860–1898)

Armenians. Having forgotten the frequent 18th-century tensions due to economic conflicts of interest,[4] the 19th-century representatives of the Hungarian elite hailed the merging of the Armenians.[5] It was not only the prospective increase of the Hungarian population that explained that favourable attitude (after all, the Armenians were relatively few), but rather those "national characteristics" that had formerly caused strife. According to the Romantic, 19th-century concept of nations, the Armenians' experience in commerce, their financial and economic expertise complemented the Hungarian nation, which may have had other strengths, but not these. The emerging modern and free Hungarian nation would be invested with these important modern virtues through the Armenians as well as the Jews. Moreover, Armenians were never to blame for separatist tendencies; thus their "loyal" and "patriotic" community deserved the benevolence of the majority society, the old receptive feudal nation of the Hungarians.[6]

This strategy of assimilation, cheered from both sides, resulted in the fact that among the elite of the Hungarian political nation, a much larger body of Armenian politicians emerged than what their demographical proportion might explain. At the same time, in political terms the Hungarian elite of the Dual Monarchy Period firmly insisted on the unified Hungarian character of the nation. Thus everybody would have counted as Hungarian within the nationwide political life since we are talking about the citizens of the unified Hungarian state, all of whom possessed equal rights. Although this was unacceptable for the nationalist parties of the various ethnic minorities, the Armenians accepted the dogma of the unified Hungarian nation and identified themselves as Hungarians in all of their statements. The leaders of the Armenians in Hungary considered their assimilation to the Hungarian nation the key to the future of their people; at the most, some of them noted the ultimate frontiers of integration in features of Armenian culture (their language, traditions, and religious rite) which they proposed to preserve.[7] Thus on the level of declarations and political theory, the Armenian-born politicians were Hungarians and not Armenians.

The Hungaro-Armenians, on the other hand, tried to keep track of one another, while the *Armenia* periodical published in Armenopolis also paid much attention to the notabilities of the Armenian community; among other items, it usually provided the lists of newly elected Armenian MPs.[8] Sadly enough, it was not registered who were to be considered Armenian and upon what criteria. Very clearly, neither the knowledge of the Armenian language, nor the confession of the Armenian rite could be among the requirements. By the late 19th century, these fundamental elements of Armenian cultural tradition had become the exception rather than the rule even within the Armenian community, particularly within the Armenian elite, which had already submitted itself to comprehensive Magyarization. In all probability, Armenian descent or some blood relation, i.e. an MP's coming from an Armenian family, was the basis on which such categorization became possible. For us, however, Armenianness is not primarily a question of descent but of the adoption and preservation of Armenian cultural traditions, that is, a freely chosen and not necessarily exclusive national cultural identity. Regrettably, not all politicians involved have handed down such utterances or data to us that would evidence their active and committed belonging to the Armenian community. Nay, what we have is just the contrary: such declarations of identity reveal more of identification with the Hungarian nation and are thus useless in attempting to set the Armenian minority apart. So we have had to resort to establishing the Armenian character of the politicians involved on the basis of their surnames, with particular regard to the male line, which is the easiest to trace.[9] In consequence, there are also such politicians among those considered Armenian here who, on their mother's side, are not of Armenian origin.[10] Even so, quite much genealogical research was required to confirm beyond all doubt the Armenian descent of certain personages.[11] This method allowed us to ascertain the Armenian origin of 68 Members of Parliament (their chief data are listed in the **Appendix**), which, however, does not mean that the figure might not rise a little even higher, should new sources emerge.[12]

First, we examined whether the number of Armenian-origin MPs showed an even distribution between 1848 and 1914. In **Diagram 1**, we have summarized

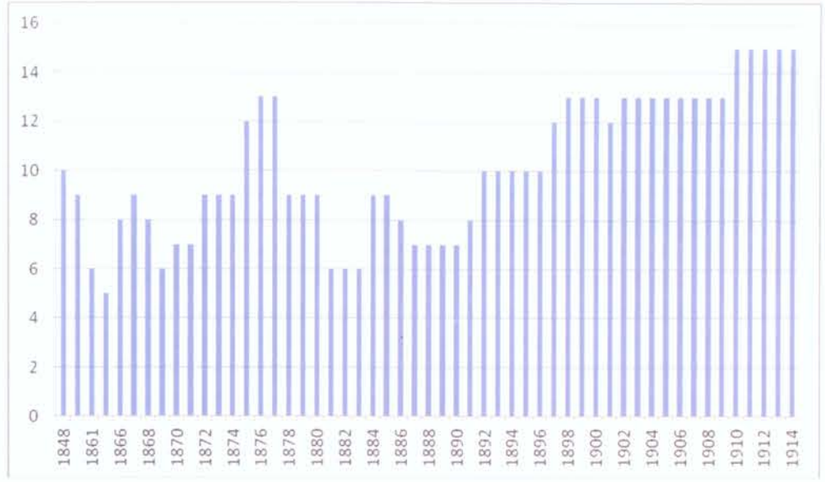

Diagram 1: Number of Armenian-born MPs

the number of Armenian-born representatives for each calendar year.[13]

Considering the rather low figures, smaller fluctuations of one or two people may often be accounted for by random events such as the resignation, death, or unexpected election defeat of an Armenian representative. Therefore, it is only from broader tendencies that we have ventured to draw conclusions. The most important fact, in any case, is the relatively high number of Armenian-born politicians. In the early 1900s, even the

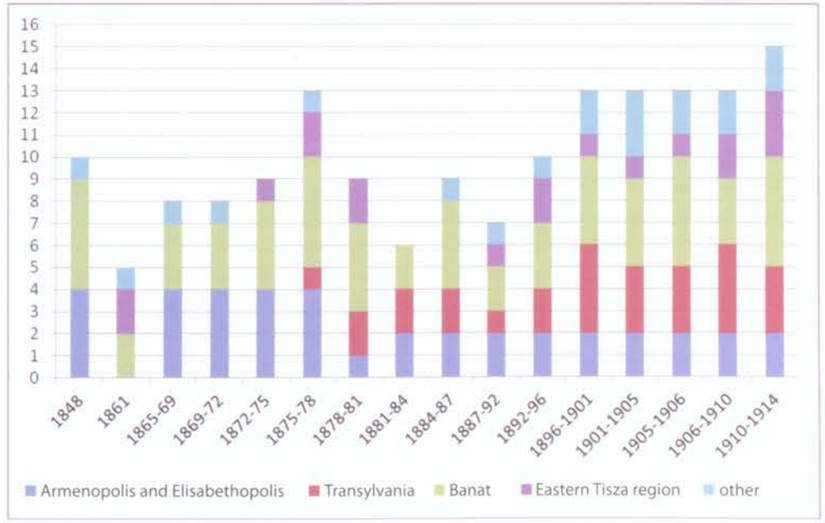

Diagram 2: The regional distribution of Armenian-born MPs

most optimistic estimate for the Armenian population would not exceed 10–15,000, which amounted to less than 0.1% of the total population at the time.[14] In contrast, some 3% of the Hungarian MPs were of Armenian descent, which is equivalent to a 30-fold overrepresentation. In our view, this implies that the Armenians managed successfully to integrate into the Hungarian political elite. Their advanced assimilation, not disapproved by the majority either, may explain the fact that it was in the last parliamentary cycle that the number of Armenian MPs had risen to its highest peak.

An interesting supplement to the assimilation of the Hungaro-Armenians as well as the geographical distribution of their elite is provided by the data revealing in which part of the country the given politicians won their electoral mandate. **Diagram 2** lists the number of Armenian representatives according to regions,[15] in keeping with parliamentary cycles.

The diagram reveals that over the entire era, most Armenian representatives came from the two Armenian centres and the Banat area, yielding the majority of eligible MPs in these cycles. It comes as no surprise that the Transylvanian-Armenians are especially highly represented. After all, the Armenians who had fled from Moldova in the late 17th century, found refuge in the then independent Principality of Transylvania, and it they established their first settlements under the prince's protection. So much so that up until the mid-19th century, the majority of Hungaro-Armenians were living in Transylvania,[16] primarily in the four historic Armenian towns. Nevertheless, from the townships of Armenopolis, Elisabethopolis, Gheorgheni (Gyergyószentmiklós), and Frumoasa (Csíkszépvíz), emigration had commenced as early as the 18th century, so that by the Dual Monarchy Period, personages of Armenian descent were to be found in all corners of the country. Resettlement involved mainly the wealthy and intellectual leaders of the Armenian community, whose erudition and/or economic status allowed them to make their living in other areas as well, with special regard to up-and-coming centres of prosperity. Their first target settlements were the cities of Transylvania, especially Kolozsvár (Cluj),[17] but they also came to Hungarian cities near Transylvania, such as Nagyvárad (Oradea) or Máramarossziget (Sighetu Marmației). The process culminated in the immigration to the capital, since Budapest was the national centre for politics, economy, as well as culture.

The fact that an increasing number of Armenian representatives were sent to Parliament from areas further off from Transylvania, is concomitant with the general assimilation tendencies of the Armenians, as well as their migration. Among the ranks of the Armenian elite, the latter trends, also characteristic of other minor communities, was complemented substantially by the role the Armenians settling in the second half of the 18th century in the Banatus Temesiensis played. It is well known that this area of Southern Hungary would not be liberated from Ottoman rule until 1718, whereas the consecutive wars and plagues had almost completely eradicated the region. The Viennese Court placed the Banat under military administration, attempting to move several waves of settlers to the Treasury's estates so that the Serbs, the Romanians, and the newly arriving Germans (the Swabians) should recover the badly damaged territories. Their long and desperate efforts eventually bore fruit; within a hundred years, the Banat was turned into Hungary's perhaps most abundant agricultural region.[18] Wealthy Transylvanian-Armenians also partook of the undertaking. Initially, they grazed their cattle in the wasteland hired from the Treasury; after the Court, short of funds (especially after the termination of the military administration in 1778) was forced to sell these areas, much land was purchased by Armenians, which – according to feudal legislation – automatically meant their ennoblement, unless they had already been promoted (e.g. in exchange for loans granted to the Court). But the Armenians in the Banat region represented a rather thin layer.[19] The first and wealthiest families included the Karátsonyis (purchased Beodra [present-day Ново Милошево / Novo Miloševo in Serbia] in 1781), the Lázárs (Écska estate, now Ечка / Ечка in Serbia), and the Kiss family from Elisabethopolis (vast Torontál lands).[20] Due to the continuing sales of the Crown estates, new proprietors would come to Banat for several more decades. These included some Armenians as well, notably the Gyertyánffy family, the Kabdebó brothers (purchased Baracháza, present-day Bărăteaz), the Lukács brothers, and the Dániels and the Goroves immigrating from Armenopolis in the early 19th century.[21]

By the mid-19th century, the character of the Banat region and especially of the wealthiest county, Torontál, had been formed: the large, modern, market-oriented estates were owned by foreign (e.g., Armenian) proprietors who had, however, adopted the customs and patriotic attitudes of the Hungarian nobility. This explains the marked representation of the Banat region among the Armenian MPs: the wealthy Armenian families that had relocated from the Transylvanian-Armenian centres to Banat became a part of the life of the local elite and managed to translate their local influence into nationwide political representation. Small wonder, then, that these families gave the Armenian MPs coming from Banat, as the many Dániels, Karácsonyis, Goroves, Paps and Kiss's appearing on the lists attest.

If one considers the number of electoral victories as well as the mere number of MPs, an even clearer image of regional differences emerges. Our data reveal that the 68 Armenian-born MPs won a total of 177 election ballots. 76 victories (ca. 43% of the total) came in Transylvania (including Armenopolis and Elisabethopolis). There were 60 elections won by Armenian politicans in the Banat region (ca. 34%); together, then, these two regions provided more than three quarters of all Armenian election victories. In third place is the Eastern Tisza region (23 victories, 13%), while a mere 18 Armenian victories are documented in the rest of the country.

On the level of individual counties, our data reveal that out of the 63 counties at the time, only in 27 were elections won at least once by Armenian-origin candidates, and in only 13 (barely one-fifth of all counties) did this happen more than 3 times. The high concentration is also demonstrated by the fact that the five counties topping the list yielded 65% of all Armenian victories altogether. In light of the ruminations concerning the wealthy Armenian noblemen of Banat, it may not be so surprising that Torontál County is in first place with 45 victories, while the 28 victories of Szolnok–Doboka County and the 20 in Kis-Küküllő County are explained by Armenopolis and Elisabethopolis, respectively.

Taking a closer look at the individual constituencies, it makes sense to extend our analysis over the number of victories by all the American politicians because an above-the-average figure may well be the result of a mid-term election necessitated by the death or resignation of an MP. Thus the Armenian dominance within a constituency may also be reflected in the proportion of Armenian victories among all the elections.

Contemporary accounts emphasized that in Armenopolis and Elisabethopolis, all the ballots were won by Armenian candidates. Indeed, the 27 elections held in Armenopolis were all taken by Armenian-born politicians, whereas only 2 out of a total of 22 elections in Elisabethopolis were won by non-Armenian candidates. This shows that in those centres where both the population and the constituents were predominantly Armenian (early on they formed an objective majority), no candidate of non-Armenian origin had had any realistic chance for victory.

Besides the two Armenian centres, however, it is equally conspicuous that there were other characteristically Armenian constituencies elsewhere in the country, in the Banat region, of course. Zichyfalva (Plandište, Torontál County) and its neighbourhood boast the same proportion as Armenopolis: all ballots held in the period were won by Armenian-born politicians.[22] An absolute majority of election victories were numbered in two more Torontál County constituencies: 14 out of 18 in Bégaszentgyörgy (Žitište) and 7 out of 13 in Pancsova (Pančevo).

There is still a significant difference to be discerned between the two Armenian townships in Transylvania and the above-mentioned constituencies of Banat. While Armenopolis occasionally saw fierce political fights over the mandate,[23] it was practically an internal affair of the Armenians: in Armenopolis, the Armenian voters had absolute majority, so by default, non-Armenian candidates would not stood a chance. Therefore, the defeated party was also invariably Armenian. Elisabethopolis campaigns were, as a rule, somewhat milder, but the Armenian element was no less dominant, which by and in itself explains the nearly exclusive Armenian victories.

In the Banat constituencies, however, the elections reflected the personal or familial interests of the local

landowner. In the case of Zichyfalva, Pál Dániel de Szamosújvárnémeti[24] (1822–1895) won all ballots starting from the first parliamentary elections; after his death, his son was offered the mandate. And although the latter did not keep the post too long as the government appointed him lord lieutenant of Nógrád County, his successor was an Armenian nobleman as well: Count Jenő Karátsonyi de Beodra, who would hold the mandate of the constituency from 1896 down to the end of the Dual Monarchy Period some two decades later. Thus we see that it was not the Armenian community in general but one or two local Armenian landlords whose personal influence settled the matters.

An even clearer personal impact can be noted in the Pancsova elections. This Serb-majority town on the Southern border of Hungary used originally to belong to the Military Frontier region. The first two parliamentary elections were won by Mihajlo Polit-Desančić (1833–1920), a Serbian opposition-party politician, who could only be defeated if all "state-loyal" powers gave their unanimous support to one candidate countering the Serbs. In the second half of the period, that candidate was Ernő Dániel, who won all mandates but one (in 1906) from 1884 onwards – but not as an Armenian but as a representative of the Hungarian state ideal as opposed to the Serbian nationalistic party denying the idea of a political nation.

Thus the most Armenian-biased constituencies were in Transylvania and in Banat. Elsewhere, it was a rarer phenomenon if Armenian candidates won several separate elections; these exceptional cases would normally suggest that a politician possessing local popularity and influence earned consecutive victories. For instance, in the constituency of Rum (Vas County), very far from the more densely populated Armenian region, it was surely not the Armenian descent that helped Ferenc Buzáth de Sziget win four ballots in a row from 1896 onwards, but the support of the Catholic People's Party.[25] It is no less difficult to decide whether the Armenian birth of Zoltán Lengyel, who was MP for Zilah (Zalău), Szilágy County from 1901 up until 1918, had increased his local popularity, for he was a vehement speaker of the opposition in the early-20th-century Parliamentary debates, whose 1848 participation might alone have made him famous and renowned.

As we have seen, most Armenian-born MPs were elected in Transylvania and Banat. Since the constituents of those regions were by and large pro-government people favouring compromise, it comes as no surprise that the vast majority of Armenian representatives also belonged to the governing party. If one was going to have any success at the ballots, one would be categorically warned against taking sides with the opposition. Contemporary political journalism as well as the historical works dealing with the elections in the Dual Monarchy have concurred that while in the middle regions of the country, of predominantly Hungarian ethnicity, the Independence Party was favoured above all, while on the periphery, the pro-government parties supporting the 1867 Compromise proved more successful, so much so that the political sustenance of the regime ultimately depended on the latter regions.[27] And as the Armenians were settled primarily in these areas, it is evident that they would launch their career as MPs, which was synonymous with representing the political side in keeping with their broader local community.

But there is another, more profound factor as well. The Armenians, a minority declaring itself to belong to the Hungarian political nation, could also express its faithfulness, its political loyalty by opting for the governing parties. In Transylvania and Banat, where many ethnicities lived side by side, pro-government attitudes counted as patriotic and loyal political statements as the chief political rivals were the nationalist opposition movements of the Romanians or Serbs. And since the Armenians considered themselves Hungarians, at least in the political sense of the term, in such a situation, they would evidently choose the governing party of the Hungarians, which also functioned as a state-sustaining body as well in these regions. Moreover, the political alignment of the Armenians can also be accounted for by the fact that this late-comer community, which had achieved significant (mainly economic) successes in spite of its rather meagre numbers, depended on the protection of the regime at all times, so its interests lay in the established order, which had, after all, resulted in their prosperity and stability.

In summarizing the statistical results, we learn that nearly 80% of the 166 Armenian victories with a clearly identifiable party alignment[28] (129 occasions altogether) represented the current governing party, while 15 belonged to an opposition party supporting the 1867 Compromise, and merely 22 Armenian representatives stood for the so called 1848 opposition. If we also break down the data into regions, it becomes clear that the pro-government dominance is greatest in the "core territories" of the Armenians, i.e. the two Armenian townships in Transylvania and in Banat, while the less characteristically Armenian constituencies brought the best relative results for the 1848 opposition. In Armenopolis, 22 MPs were pro-government, while 2 won as representatives of the opposition of 1867, while in the Armenian centre in South Transylvania, the respective ratio was 15 to 3; that means that in the two Armenian towns in Transylvania, 88% of all MPs supported the current governments. In the Banat area, an even heavier preponderance of government parties can be discerned: all 55 elected MPs won with a pro-government programme, so their proportion runs to a full 100%. In contrast, neither the Tisza region, nor the rest of the country displayed such a prevalence of pro-government candidates. The Tisza region boasted the strongest opposition, where the parties of 1848 had an absolute majority among the Armenian MPs, which is rather conspicuous in view of the overall political orientation of Armenian representatives in general, but then, this region was one of the most powerful nationwide bases of the 1848 opposition.

The final section of this paper presents a few of the Armenian-born politicians who, due to their consecutive victories, belonged almost unintermittedly to the Hungarian House of Representatives. The aforementioned Pál Dániel deserves first place, who first won an election at the age of 26, after which, whenever a Parliamentary election was held in the constituency of Zichyfalva, Torontál County, he entered and won, so that up until his death, he would always hold the mandate of his district. Dániel's reputation is reflected by the fact that besides himself, several relatives of him also managed to win at the ballot. His immediate successor as MP for Zichyfalva, as has been indicated above, was his (fourth) son, László Dániel (1855–1929), who resigned, though, after a brief period, to be appointed lord lieutenant. After holding that position in Nógrád County for a short spell, László Dániel re-entered party politics, winning the Armenopolis mandate for the Parliamentary cycle of 1905 through 1910 under the banner of Dezső Bánffy's

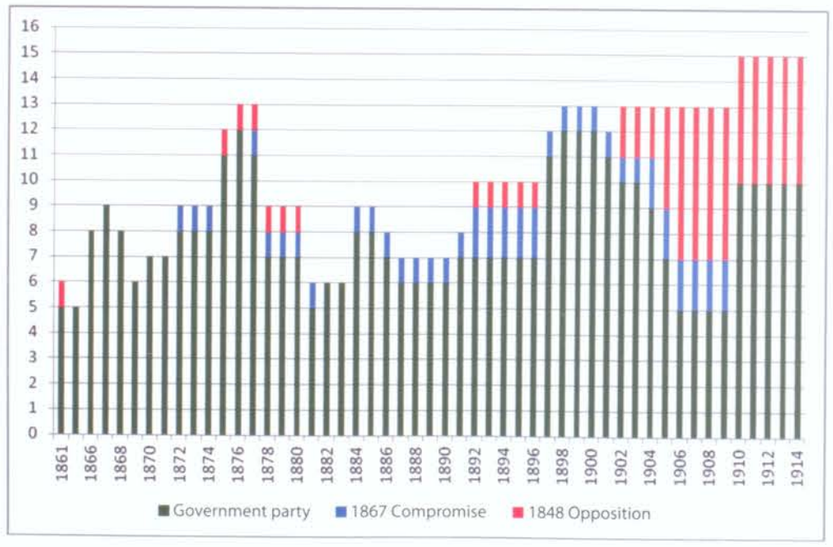

Diagram 3: Distribution of Armenian-origin MPs according to chief political alignment[26]

2. László Dániel, deputy lieutenant of Torontál County, lord lieutenant of Nógrád County, MP for Armenopolis

career was exceptional in that it spanned half a century. The relentlessly pro-government Ernő Dániel was Minister for Commerce under Dezső Bánffy's regime, and although an anecdote says he attributed his appointment to sheer coincidence,[29] his long political career would have destined him for glory in the ranks of the Liberal Party, anyway. Just like his distant relative, he also came from a family that provided several generations of MPs representing the Banat region. His father, János Dániel (1812–1888) was a Deák Party MP for Nagyszentmiklós (Sânnicolau Mare), Torontál County; his mother, the daughter of the exorbitantly rich Military General Ernő Kiss, landowner in Torontál County, who had been martyred at Arad. Ernő Dániel's second son, Baron Tibor Dániel (1878–1951) also represented his constituency, Párdány, during the Parliamentary cycle of 1906 through 1910.

Besides his personal eminence, Béla Lukács's (1847–1901) political success was also promoted by his family support. Although he passed through several parties early on in his Parliamentary career commencing in 1872, by and by he abandoned the opposition and his

3. Gergely Simay (1823–1890), Lord Mayor of Armenopolis, MP, Chairman of the Court of Armenopolis

New Party. Pál Dániel III (1876–1939), grandson of Pál Dániel, Sr., was MP for Párdány (Međa), Torontál County, from 1906 up until the end of the Dual Monarchy. He subscribed to the programme of 67, of course, first as a member of the Constitution Party, and then of the Party of National Work.

Both Pál Dániel's son and grandson were thus MPs from Banat, while another branch, the so-called baron line of the family included 11-time winner Ernő Dániel, who was first elected in the mid-term elections of 1870, and although he dropped out between 1881 and 1884 and again between 1906 and 1910, his Parliamentary

4. Dr. Antal Molnár (1847–1902), Member of Parliament

turning pro-government resulted in a rocketing of his fortunes. Evidently, his father-in-law, Salamon Gajzágó de Apanagyfalu (1828–1898), played an instrumental role in that: the MP for Armenopolis between 1866 and 1870, he then became the first president of the National Audit Office and would explicitly resign his high post in order to resolve any potential family incompatibility that might hinder his son-in-law from rising to the office of Minister of Commerce.[30] Besides his achievements, Béla Lukács's entire life was overshadowed by tragedy: his parents had been murdered by Romanian rebels in 1848, while he committed suicide in 1901.

The political career of László Lukács, beginning with his election victory in Alsó-Fehér County in 1878, rose to even greater heights. As a financial expert, he was elected for MP 9 times, but even more important was the course that he ran in the Ministry of Finance, where he was first under-secretary of state and then minister from 1895 until 1905. Although he dropped out from

5. Salamon Gajzágó (1830–1898), MP for Armenopolis, first President of the National Audit Office

6. László Lukács (1850–1932), Minister of Finance, Prime Minister (April 1912 to June 1913)

the cycle of 1906–1910, as a leader of the former liberal MPs in the National Circle, he played a crucial role in establishing the Party of National Work in 1910, and remained one of the representative figures of this new governing party. Once again he was appointed Minister of Finance before he went on to become Prime Minster in 1912, indicating that Armenian birth was no handicap even in winning the highest political office in Hungary. His Prime Ministry, however, came to a disgraceful end when he was accused of grafting by an opposition MP; even though he eventually cleared his name, he was forced into resignation due to corrupt practices during the election campaign of 1910.

Antal Molnár (1847–1902), who had also enjoyed great family support initially, came out victor in eight different elections. His father-in-law was Gergely Simay (1823–1890), a decision-maker in Armenopolis politics, who served now as a mayor, now as a magistrate, and now as an MP in this North Transylvanian town. At the outset, Molnár (first elected MP for the period between 1871 and 1878) was undecided about siding with either the pro-government powers or the opposition. Although he never gained nationwide fame, after his commitment to the Liberal Party, he won every ballot in Armenopolis between 1885 and his death, where he had no opponent. Even more importantly, he grew to be a central agent in the cultural life of the Armenians; as one of the most prolific authors of the *Armenia* periodical, he greatly contributed to the continuity of the ancient Armenian identity in Hungary.

What Molnár was to Armenopolis, Márton Dániel de Szamosújvárnémeti was to Elisabethopolis. Although in 1881, the latter unflinchingly pro-government politician had represented Segesvár (Sighişoara) for a few months, he scored his next six election victories in his native Elisabethopolis. István Gorove de Gattája (1819–1881), on the other hand, "only" won six ballots in various constituencies. Still, even far from his family estate in Temes County, he played an important role in national politics. He was born in Pest and a book he wrote on the theory of nation in his youth gained him early recognition.[31] Subsequently, he joined the inner circles of Ferenc Deák; after the Compromise of 1867, he became a minister in Andrássy's government, leading first the Ministry of Economy, then that of Transportation.

Although this investigation has focused mainly on MPs, it is essential to mention those Armenian-origin politicians who helped shape the national policy of Hungary. Besides the legislative branch, the Armenians were also well-represented in the executive; moreover, as has been mentioned, there was also an Armenian-born Prime Minister, László Lukács. (The most important data concerning the Armenian-origin ministers are summed up in Table I of the **Appendix**.[32])

It is conspicuous that all five Armenian ministers headed one or another branch connected with economy or commerce, rather than ministries in relation to power politics or culture. On the one hand, this suited the personal interests and expertise of the given politicians; on the other, however, it underscored that model of assimilation which assumed that the Armenians were needed as economic specialists within the free Hungarian nation that was willing to integrate other ethnicities as well.

The chronology of the five Armenian ministries also deserves particular note. While Gorove became a member of the government in the early period of the Dual Monarchy, the others came in the second half of the era, which once again attests that the Armenians had by then fully integrated into the Hungarian political elite. It is quite spectacular that Bánffy's government (1895–99) included not one but two Armenian-born ministers simultaneously: Finance Minister Lukács and Minister of Commerce Dániel. While the Armenians constituted but some thousandths of the overall population, two out of ten ministers were Armenian. This hundredfold overrepresentation may of course be accounted for in terms of the personal attitude of the Prime Minister. Bánffy, fiercely combating the nationalities that denied the Hungarian ideal of state, welcomed any and all elements ready to integrate into the liberal nation he had envisioned, be they Armenian, Jewish, or of any other ethnicity. His slogan concerning the Jews may also be adapted to the Armenians: "Who is with us is part of us!"[33]

Within the Hungarian political elite of the Dual Monarchy, the Armenians played a highly significant role both in their number and their proportion. This was far from a unique phenomenon, though, as it is enough to browse through the contemporary issues of *Armenia* to see that high-ranking Armenians lived in as diverse places as the Ottoman Empire,[34] Egypt,[35] Tsarist Russia,[36] Romania,[37] or Galicia,[38] then part of the Austrian Empire.

The Armenians in Hungary ran a course similar to the Galician-Armenians,[39] only much faster. Just as the Armenians in Galicia and partly also those in Bukovina became Polish, so the Armenians in Hungary merged into the Hungarian nation. It was not only the framework of the state that they accepted; they identified with the majority nation as a cultural entity. Phases of that assimilation are reflected in the three basic forms of Parliamentary representation. The MPs of Armenopolis and Elisabethopolis were elected by their own Armenian communities in order to foster their own autonomous causes; they represented the entire community. This was a consequence of the collectively privileged status of the formerfeudal system: Armenians had been delegated in like manner to the Diet of Transylvania prior to 1848, received as local members of the Hungarian nation, one of the three approved political bodies in Transylvania, which granted them a say in matters political.

The MPs from Banat, in contrast, exemplify the individual assimilation of the noblemen, for they left behind their original Armenian ethnic community, exchanging part of their wealth for land and automatically gaining promotion to the ranks of the Banat nobility. They had thus been assimilated into the general feudal Hungarian nation, the *natio Hungarica*, whose members they became, Magyarized to the full, even sharing the identity of the Hungarian nobility.

The third type of Hungarian-Armenian MPs is adjacent to the second; some of them belonged to the gentry, but generally of a less wealthy background. Rather than in the ancient Armenian communities, they dwelt far away, in complete isolation. As opposed to the Armenians in Banat, they integrated into the local social elite differently, in many cases not even as noblemen. As middle-class intellectuals, they could become acknowledged members of the Hungarian bourgeoisie, and – in keeping with the general trends of the 19th century – they would adopt its Hungarian consciousness as well. Although this is the least numerous group of Armenian MPs, it can be taken as the manifestation of the third and final stage in the Magyarization and assimilation of the Hungarian-Armenian population. The free and modern Hungarian state, which consisted of citizens having equal rights, admitted into its ranks the Armenians, who could and did become Hungarians, regardless of whether they were wealthy or noble or not.

Notes

[1] According to the census results of the Dual Monarchy Period, of all the civilian population of Hungary (excluding Croatia), 46.58% spoke Hungarian as their native language in 1880, 51.38% in 1900, and 54.43% in 1910. Cf. *A magyar Szent Korona országainak 1910. évi népszamlálása*, Hatodik rész, Végeredmények összefoglalása (Budapest: Magyar Kir. Központi Statisztikai Hivatal, 1920), 116–117.

[2] Kossuth's speech in the House of Representatives, 11 July 1848. In: SINKOVICS, István (ed.), *Kossuth Lajos 1848/49-ben*, Vol. II, *Kossuth Lajos az első magyar felelős minisztériumban, 1848. április–szeptember* (*Kossuth Lajos Összes Munkái, XII*) (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1957) 424–438, 438.

[3] GERGELY, András, "A nemzetté válás programjai," in *Egy nemzetet az emberiségnek* (Budapest: Magvető, 1987), 99–120; KATUS, László, "Kossuth és a nemzetiségi kérdés," in *Kossuth Lajos, a „magyarok Mózese,"* ed. Hermann, Róbert (Budapest: Osiris, 2006), 45–74.

[4] PÁL, Judit, "Az örmények integrálódása és az örménységkép változásai Erdélyben a 18–19. században," in *Örmény diaszpóra a Kárpát-medencében*, II, ed. ÖZE, Sándor & KOVÁCS, Bálint (Piliscsaba: PPKE BTK, 2007), 77–94, see esp. 78–84.

[5] Baron Balázs Orbán, for instance, had the following to say about the economic role played by Armenians: "taking commerce into their own hands well-nigh everywhere, they enriched themselves, combed themselves, as the Szeklers are wont to say, in the beehive of their new patria giving so much sweet honey, where they gathered all the honey they had collected from the flowers of the lovely fatherland; but we envy not that of them, nay, we rejoice in their promotion, for this fragment of a nation was not ungrateful to this fatherland, has not become a viper grown upon the bosom of the sweet mother, as it happened to some other guests welcomed with like favour, like hospitality, and like brotherhood; they have felt what they owe this homeland, for which they have upon all occasions proved themselves worthy that this homeland should count them among her own sweet sons. They have taken up our language and culture, they have allied themselves with our interests and thereby become our veritable relations. [...] Let us not begrudge them their superiority won by their own diligence, for they are guests among us, and moreover they abuse not this homeland's hospitality, which has sheltered them during their most miserable torments and persecutions, providing the fugitives with a fatherland and hearth" (ORBÁN, Balázs, *A Székelyföld leírása történelmi, régészeti, természetrajzi s népismei szempontból*, Vol. II [Pest, 1869], 75).

[6] Lord lieutenant Baron Dezső Bánffy summed it up in these words in a 1887 document sent to Prime Minister Kálmán Tisza: "The city of Armenopolis [Szamosújvár] has demonstrated a remarkable patriotism and sacrifice towards all issues Hungarian. [...] While that land belongs to the Armenians – it is Hungarian land, but as soon as it should be taken out of the hands of the Armenians – it shall cease to be Hungarian land!" (SZONGOTT, Kristóf, *Szamosújvár szab. kir. város monográfiája* [Szamosújvár, 1901], Vol. II, 433). For an Armenian statement about the harmony between their identification with the Hungarian nation and the preservation of their Armenian characteristics, cf. ESZTEGÁR, László, "A magyarországi örményekről," *Armenia* (1890), 368–370. In parallel, it is worth citing the opinion of a Hungarian journalist, who made a clear-cut distinction between the Armenians and the other ethnicities in Hungary, claiming that "The Armenians in no way constitute a separate element within the Hungarian society; they are the best patriots"; and although "the Armenians in Hungary as a race have their own historic development [...] the Armenians are valiant citizens of the fatherland" (Károly Vadnai's article in *Fővárosi Lapok*; cited in "Vadnai Károly az örményekről," *Armenia* [1891/6], 213–214).

[7] Let us consider two typical examples. Kristóf Lukácsy, Armenian Catholic Parish Priest of Armenopolis, had the following to say in defence of his strivings to establish an Armenian bishopric and to promote the Armenian identity: it would be of utmost importance "to save and keep the Armenian nationality for the Hungarian interests," for "the country and the Hungarian nation can only count on Armenopolis and Elisabethopolis as long as these cities retain their original character" and they can withstand the swarming in of those elements which are not to be accused of pro-Hungarian sentiments (i.e. the Romanians) (LUKÁCSY, Kristóf, *Adalékok az erdélyi örmények történetéhez* [Kolozsvár, 1867], 76–77). Antal Molnár, MP for Armenopolis and frequent contributor to the *Armenia* periodical, argued for the promotion of the Armenopolis grammar school to the rank of a *Hauptgymnasium* on the basis of the interests of the Hungarian state. Cf. MOLNÁR, Antal, "Főgymnasium Szamosújvártt," *Armenia* (1891/6), 207–209.

[8] See, e.g., "Örmény eredetű képviselők," *Armenia* (1896), n.p. After the parliamentary elections of 1892, the periodical issued a retrospective overview about the former representatives of Armenopolis; cf. SZONGOTT, Kristóf, "Szamosújvár országgyűlési képviselői (1842–1892)," *Armenia* (1892), 1–15. Unfortunately, these data have a limited applicability for our purposes partly because of their fragmentary nature (*Armenia* was launched in 1887) and partly because of the numerous inaccuracies they contain.

[9] It follows quite naturally that our samples do not include those politicians who were of Armenian descent on the mother's side, even if the person concerned is Dezső Szilágyi (1840–1901), a major politician of the middle period of the Dual Monarchy, who began his career as a member of the Moderate Opposition subscribing to the *Ausgleich* (Compromise of 1867) and was later appointed Minister of Justice (1889–1895) and President of the House of Representatives (1896–1901). The father of this eminent orator and liberal politician had belonged to the Calvinist middle-class of Bihar County, while his mother was an offspring of the Armenian Lukács family. On her side, Szilágyi was related to several Armenian-born politicians.

[10] For instance, György Lukács (1865–1950), who became Minister of Religion and Education, whose family tree provided in his memoirs reveals that his male ancestors would, for many generations, marry gentlewomen of Hungarian rather than Armenian pedigree; cf. Lukács, György, *Életem és kortársaim*, Vol. I (Budapest: Pantheon, 1936), 10. Please note that he is not identical with the Marxist philosopher, who was born twenty years later into a Jewish family.

[11] In some cases, the Armenopolis or Elisabethopolis residence of the ancestors, the Armenian nature of the funeral services documented in the obituaries, or the clearly Armenian origin of direct blood relations provided the sole evidence for Armenian descent.

[12] The main sources we have used to recover the biographical data of the representatives are as follows: TÓTH, Adalbert, *Parteien und Reichstagswahlen in Ungarn 1848–1892* (München: Oldenbourg, 1973); *Új Országgyűlési Almanach 1887–1892: Rövid életrajzi adatok a főrendiház és képviselőház tagjairól*, ed. STURM, Albert (Budapest, [1888]); *Országgyűlési Almanach 1892–1897: Rövid életrajzi adatok a főrendiház és képviselőház tagjairól*, ed. STURM, Albert (Budapest: Pesti Lloyd, 1892); *Országgyűlési Almanach 1897–1901: Rövid életrajzi adatok a főrendiház és képviselőház tagjairól*, ed. STURM, Albert (Budapest: Budapesti Tudósító, 1897); *Országgyűlési Almanach 1901–1906: Rövid életrajzi adatok a főrendiház és képviselőház tagjairól*, ed. STURM, Albert (Budapest: Budapesti Tudósító, 1901); *Sturm-féle országgyűlési almanach 1905–1910: Rövid életrajzi adatok az országgyűlés tagjairól*, ed. FABRO, Henrik & UJLAKI, József (Budapest: Pesti Lloyd, 1905; *Sturm-féle országgyűlési almanach 1906–1911: Rövid életrajzi adatok az országgyűlés tagjairól*, ed. Fabro, Henrik & Ujlaki, József (Budapest: Wodianer, 1906); *Sturm-féle országgyűlési almanach 1910–1915: Rövid életrajzi adatok az országgyűlés tagjairól*, ed. VÉGVÁRY, Ferenc & ZIMMER, Ferenc (Budapest: Pázmáneum, 1910; *Az 1848–1849. évi első népképviseleti országgyűlés történeti almanachja*, ed. PÁLMÁNY, Béla (Budapest, 2002); microfilm copies of obituaries housed in the National Széchényi Library, Budapest; relevant national and local press; various issues of *Armenia*; an abundance of further literature about the Armenians, which we cannot enumerate here, due to a lack of space.

[13] In case the figures changed, the data typical of the greater part of the given year are printed.

[14] Cf. TÓTH, K. József, "Örmény identitás a dualizmuskorban," in *Örmény diaszpóra a Kárpát-medencében*, II, ed. ÖZE, Sándor & KOVÁCS, Bálint (Piliscsaba: PPKE BTK, 2007), 132–137.

[15] Although the Hungarian statistics for the Dual Monarchy Period also adopted a regional approach, we have modified their geographical areas to suit our specific purposes. Transylvania, the centre of Hungaro-Armenians has of course been kept as an independent region, just like the historic Bánság (Banat), termed "Tisza–Maros-köze" in obsolete statistical listings. As we shall see, many Armenian-origin representatives were elected in the latter region as well. The data have made it clear that it is unnecessary to divide the country proportionately, so we have established two more categories: first, the counties between Transylvania and the Tisza, including the entire counties on both sides of the river, and second, the rest of the country – in the Transdanubian region, the counties between the Danube and the Tisza, and in Upper Hungary (further divided in contemporary statistics), rather few Armenian representatives were elected, anyway. The two major Armenian centres in Transylvania, however, Armenopolis and Elisabethopolis, constitute a separate statistical category, since these constituencies almost invariably sent Armenian MPs to the assembly.

[16] According to the 1881 census, 94% of the men and 95% of the women reporting their mother tongue as Armenian were living in Transylvania. Cf. *A magyar korona országaiban az 1881. év elején végrehajtott népszámlálás eredményei némely hasznos háziallat kimutatásával együtt*, Vol. I (Budapest: Athenaeum, 1882), 224–233

[17] Cf. EGYED, Ákos, "Örmény származású kereskedők a kolozsvári Kereskedelmi és Iparkamara vezetőségében," in *Erdélyi Örmény Gyökerek* (20 to 22 May 2009).

[18] SCHWICKER, Joh[ann] Heinr[ich], *Geschichte des Temeser Banats*, 2nd ed. (Pest: Ludwig Aigner, 1872), 1.

[19] According to a census from 1770, there were only 363 Armenians living in Banat, whose total population ran to some 300,000 people. Grisellini's data reprinted in Gulyás, László, "A Bánság a török kiüzésétől 1918-ig," in *Dél-Erdély és Bánság*, ed. HORVÁTH, Gyula (Pécs & Budapest: MTA RKK & Dialóg Campus, 2009), 28; Schünemann, Konrad, "Die Armenier in der Bevölkerungspolitik Maria Theresias," *A Gróf Klebelsberg Kuno Magyar Történetkutató Intézet Évkönyve* I (1933), 212–242.

[20] KOVÁCH, Géza, *A Bánság demográfiai és gazdasági fejlődése 1716–1848* (Szeged: Csongrád Megyei Levéltár, 1998) 276–277 and Bodor, Antal, *Délmagyarországi telepítések története és hatása a mai közállapotokra* (Budapest: Stephaneum, 1914), 21.

[21] KOVÁCH, 276–287.

[22] To be fair, the number runs only to 17 rather than 27 as there were fewer mid-term elections here, and the area consisted of only one constituency before 1878 as well.

[23] Cf. BERTÉNYI, Iván, Jr., "Szamosújvári országgyűlési képviselő-választások a dualista korszak elején," in *Örmény diaszpóra a Kárpát-medencében*, II, ed. ÖZE, Sándor & KOVÁCS, Bálint (Piliscsaba: PPKE BTK, 2007), 95–126.

[24] His biography, abounding in praise, can be found in ESZTERGÁR, László, "Dániel Pál," *Armenia* (1890/3), 65–68.

[25] His constituency was dominated by conservative Catholic traditions, anyway; cf. TÓTH, 159.

[26] Pro-government = 1861: Address Party; 1865–1875: Deák Party; 1875–1906: Liberal Party; 1906–1910: Constitution Party; 1910–: Party of National Work. Opposition of 1867: Centre-Left, Right Conservative, United Opposition, Moderate Opposition, National Party, Catholic People's Party, New Party, etc. Opposition of 1848: 1861: Resolution Party; 1865–1874: the so-called Far Left; later the factions of the Independence Party.

[27] As soon as after the 1869 elections, György Szomjas, a Centre-Left MP remarked: "Transylvania means the guarantee for the government majority"; cf. citation and detailed analysis in GERŐ, András, *Az elsöprő kisebbség: Népképviselet a monarchia Magyarországán* (Budapest: Gondolat, 1988), 18–29 and 62–68.

[28] In 1848, no steady parties fitting in with our investigation existed, hence the total below 177.

[29] Allegedly, Bánffy had wanted to appoint Gyula Ludvigh, executive chairman of the Hungarian National Railway Company (MÁV) Minister of Commerce, but when he summoned him, it turned out that Ludvigh was away in Nagyszombat (Trnava) testing a new American snowplough. So Bánffy called for Ernő Dániel and another MP; the former won simply because his wife had instinctively forbidden him to dine, so he arrived at the Sándor Palace (then the Prime Minister's residence) before his satiated rival; see "Bánffy Dezső miniszterelnöksége és bukása," *Budapesti Hírlap* (28 May 1911), 35.

[30] "Gróf Szapáry Gyula m. kir. miniszterelnök felségelőterejesztése Ferenc Józsefnek, Budapest, 1892. július 8.," *Österreichisches Staatsarchiv. Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv. Kabinettsarchiv. Kabinettskanzlei. Geheimakten*, carton 19 (Denkschriften und Berichte, etc. 1887–1894), fl51–158.

[31] GÖRÖVE, István, *Nemzetiség* (Pest: Heckenast, 1842).

[32] Main source: BOLONY, József, *Magyarország kormányai* (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1987).

[33] Bánffy's speech was delivered after he had been elected President of the Casino of Leopoldstadt (Lipótváros), Pest. Quoted in Vermes, Gábor, *Tisza István* (Budapest: Századvég, 1994), 73.

[34] *Armenia* (1890), 365; or "Kisebb közlemények: A sztambuli örmények," *Armenia* (1891/1), 28.

[35] "Estély Kairóban," *Armenia* (1887/4), 127; *Armenia* (1887), 364; "Mi újság az örmény világban? Új miniszterek," *Armenia* (1891), 320.

[36] "Mi újság az örmény világban? Deljanov lemondása," *Armenia* (1891/3), 96; and SZONGOTT, Kristóf, "Lorisz-Melikov Mihály gróf," *Armenia* (1893/6), 161–165.

[37] "Kisebb közlemények: Örmény képviselők Romániában," *Armenia* (1892/8), 257; and "Kisebb közlemények: Az új romániai kormány tagjai között," *Armenia* (1901/3), 126.

[38] "Abramovics, Csájkovszki, Romáskán báró és Khéseeshunovics Kornél: Örmények az osztrák képviselőházban," *Armenia* (1889/3), 96.

[39] BIHL, Wolfdieter, "Notizen zu de ethnischen und religiösen Splitter-, Rest- und Sondergruppen in den Habsburgischen Ländern," in *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848–1918*, Vol. III, *Die Völker des Reiches*, Part 2 (Wien: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1980), 954–955.

APPENDIX

(1) Armenian-born ministers in the Dual Monarchy Period

Name	Date and Place of Birth	Date and Place of Death	Ministry	Ministry	
				start	end
DÁNIEL Ernő (Baron from 1896)	Elemér (Torontál Co.), May 3, 1843	Balatonfüred (Zala Co.), July 24, 1923	Minister of Commerce	January 15, 1895	February 26, 1899
GOROVE István	Pest, August 23, 1818	Budapest, May 31, 1881	Minister of Agriculture, Industry, and Commerce	February 20, 1867	May 24, 1870
			Minister of Public Work and Transportation	April 21, 1870	June 21, 1871
LUKÁCS Béla	Zalatna (Alsó–Fehér Co.), April 27, 1847	Budapest, January 7, 1901	Minister of Commerce	July 16, 1892	January 15, 1895
LUKÁCS György	Nagyvárad, September 10, 1865	Budapest, September 28, 1950	Minister of Religion and Public Education	June 18, 1905	March 6, 1906
LUKÁCS László	Zalatna (Alsó–Fehér Co.), November 24, 1850	Budapest, February 23, 1932	Minister of Finance	January 15, 1895	June 18, 1905
			Minister of Finance	January 17, 1910	April 22, 1912
			Minister of Commerce	May 5, 1911	October 18, 1911
			Prime Minister	April 22, 1912	June 10, 1913
			Interior Minister	April 22, 1912	June 10, 1913
			Minister about the Body of the King	April 22, 1912	June 10, 1913

(2) Armenian-born Members of Parliament between 1818 and 1914

	Name	Party	Constituency	County	MP	
					from	to
1.	BOCSÁNCZY Adolf	left-centre, Liberal Party, independent MP	Szilágysomlyó	Szilágy	1872	1878
2.	BOGDANOVICS Vilibald of Pojen	…	Párdány	Torontál	1848	1849
		Address Party	Bégaszentgyörgy	Torontál	1861	1861
		Deák Party	Párdány	Torontál	February 3, 1870	1872
3.	BUZÁTH Ferenc of Sziget	Catholic People's Party	Rum	Vas	1896	1910
4.	CAPDEBO Ferenc of Baraczháza	Liberal Party	Újarad	Temes	1896	1901
5.	CSÍKY (Csíki) István of Elisabethopolis	Deák Party	Elisabethopolis, District 1	Elisabethopolis	March 20, 1866	1869
		Deák Party	Elisabethopolis, District 1	Elisabethopolis	1872	1875
		Liberal Party	Elisabethopolis, District 2	Kis–Küküllő	1875	1878
6.	DÁNIEL Béla of Armenopolis	Deák Party	Bánátkomlós	Torontál	1872	1875
7.	DÁNIEL Ernő of Armenopolis	Deák Party, then Liberal Party	Bégaszentgyörgy	Torontál	May 13, 1870	1878
		Liberal Party	Nagybecskerek	Torontál	1878	1881
		Liberal Party	Pancsova	Torontál	1884	1906
		National Work Party	Pancsova	Torontál	1910	(1918)
8.	DÁNIEL János of Armenopolis	Deák Party	Nagyszentmiklós	Torontál	September 30, 1867	1869
9.	DÁNIEL László of Armenopolis	Liberal Party	Moravica	Temes	1875	1878
10.	DÁNIEL László of Armenopolis	Liberal Party	Zichyfalva	Torontál	May 31, 1895	1896
		New Party	Armenopolis	Szolnok–Doboka	1905	1910
11.	DÁNIEL Márton of Armenopolis	Deák Party	Elisabethopolis, District 1	Elisabethopolis	1869	1872
		Liberal Party	Elisabethopolis, District 1	Elisabethopolis	1875	September 15, 1877
		Liberal Party	Segesvár	Nagy-Küküllő	March 14, 1881	1881
		Liberal Party	Elisabethopolis	Kis–Küküllő	1881	1892
		Liberal Party	Elisabethopolis	Kis–Küküllő	1896	1901
12.	DÁNIEL Pál of Armenopolis	…	Zichyfalva	Torontál	1848	1849
		Address Party	Zichyfalva	Torontál	1861	1861
		Deák Party, then Liberal Party	Zichyfalva	Torontál	1865	May 10, 1895

	Name	Party	Constituency	County	MP	
					from	to
13.	DÁNIEL Tibor [Jr.], Baron	Constitutional Party, then National Work Party	Párdány	Torontál	1906	(1918)
14.	DÁNIEL Tibor, Baron	Constitutional Party (?)	Lippa	Temes	? (after 1906)	1910
15.	FEJÉR Antal	Liberal Party	Csikkarcfalva	Csík	1901	1905
16.	GAJZÁGÓ Ferenc of Apanagyfalu	Liberal Party	Armenopolis	Szolnok–Doboka	1881	January 26, 1885
17.	GAJZÁGÓ Salamon of Apanagyfalu	Deák Party	Armenopolis District 2	Armenopolis	March 5, 1866	August 2, 1870
18.	GOROVE István of Gattája	...	Orczyfalva	Temes	1848	1849
		Address Party	Pest, Constituency District 3	Pest	1861	1861
		Deák Party	Pest, Constituency District 3	Pest	May 7, 1867	1869
		Deák Party	Bobró	Árva	1869	1872
		Deák Party	Kishegyes	Temes	1872	1875
		Liberal Party	Orczyfalva	Temes	1875	May 31, 1881
19.	ISSEKUTZ Győző of Elisabethopolis	National Party	Elisabethopolis	Kis–Küküllő	1892	1896
		Liberal Party, Constitutional Party, National Work Party	Elisabethopolis	Kis–Küküllő	1901	(1918)
20.	ISSEKUTZ Marcell of Elisabethopolis	Liberal Party	Pécska	Arad	1896	1901
21.	JAKABB Bogdán	Liberal Party	Armenopolis	Szolnok–Doboka	1878	1881
22.	JAKABFFY Elemér	National Work Party	Németbogsán	Krassó–Szörény	1910	(1918)
23.	JAKABFFY Ferenc	National Work Party	Budapest District 9–10	Budapest	1910	(1918)
24.	JAKABFFY Imre	Liberal Party	Szászhermány	Brassó	1898	1901
		Liberal Party	Karánsebes	Krassó–Szörény	1901	1906
		National Work Party	Budapest District 8	Budapest	1910	(1918)
25.	JAKABFFY István of Somosköz	moderate opposition, National Party	Szálka	Hont	1884	1896
		Liberal Party	Szálka	Hont	1901	1905
26.	KABDEBO Gergely of Talpas	Liberal Party, then independent	Csákova	Temes	1905	1906
		Constitutional Party	Lippa	Temes	1906	? (before 1910)
27.	KARÁCSONYI Antal of Beodra	...	Nagyszentmiklós	Torontál	1848	1849

	Name	Party	Constituency	County	MP	
					from	to
28.	KARÁCSONYI Ferenc	Deák Party	Bégaszentgyörgy	Torontál	1865	1869
29.	KARÁCSONYI János	...	Elisabethopolis District 2	Elisabethopolis	1848	1849
		Deák Party	Elisabethopolis District 2	Elisabethopolis	1866	1869
30.	KARÁTSONYI Aladár, Count, of Beodra	Liberal Party	Bégaszentgyörgy	Torontál	1884	1887
		Liberal Party	Armenopolis	Szolnok–Doboka	1902	1905
31.	KARÁTSONYI Guidó, Count, of Beodra	Liberal Party	Bégaszentgyörgy	Torontál	March 27, 1879	1884
32.	Count KARÁTSONYI Jenő of Beodra	Liberal Party, Constitutional Party, National Work Party	Zichyfalva	Torontál	1906	(1918)
33.	KISS Miklós of Elemér and Ittebe	...	Rittberg	Temes	1848	March 1, 1849
34.	KISS Miklós (Jr.) of Ittebe	Liberal Party	Bégaszentgyörgy	Torontál	1878	February 17, 1879
35.	KORBULY Bogdán of Lompérd	...	Armenopolis District 2	Armenopolis	1848	1849
36.	KÖVÉR Gábor of Réthát	Liberal Party	Lippa	Temes	December 8, 1875	1878
37.	KÖVÉR Károly of Gyergyószentmiklós	Liberal Party	Szolnok	Jász–Nagykun–Szolnok	1875	1881
38.	LÁSZLÓ László, Sr.	Constitutional Party	Nagyiklód	Szolnok–Doboka	1906	1910
39.	LÁSZLÓFY Antal	Deák Party	Armenopolis District 2	Armenopolis	October 22, 1870	February 22, 1872
40.	LÁZÁR Ernő	Liberal Party	Lippa	Temes	1884	1887
41.	LÁZÁR Menyhért	Liberal Party	Gyergyószentmiklós	Csík	1896	1901
42.	LENGYEL Zoltán	Independence Party	Zilah	Szilágy	1901	(1918)
43.	LUKÁCS Béla	Deák Party, then Liberal Party	Armenopolis District 2	Armenopolis	March 26, 1872	September 19, 1877
		independent liberal	Elisabethopolis, District 1	Kis–Küküllő	September 19, 1877	1878
		united opposition, independent, then Liberal Party	Gyulafehérvár	Alsó–Fehér	1878	1886
		Liberal Party	Marosvásárhely District 1	Maros–Torda	1887	January 7, 1901
44.	Squire LUKÁCS Ignác	far-left	Nádudvar	Hajdú	1872	1872

	Name	Party	Constituency	County	MP	
					from	to
45.	Squire LUKÁCS György	Address Party	Nagyvárad	Bihar	1861	1861
		Deák Party	Nagyvárad	Bihar	1865	December 2, 1867
46.	Squire LUKÁCS György (Jr.)	Liberal Party	Abrudbánya	Alsó–Fehér	1896	1901
47.	Squire LUKÁCS László	Liberal Party	Magyarigen	Alsó–Fehér	1878	1887
		Liberal Party	Abrudbánya	Alsó–Fehér	June 15, 1891	1896
		Liberal Party	Eger	Heves	1896	1901
		Liberal Party	Körmöcbánya	Bars	1901	1906
		National Work Party	Nagyenyed	Alsó–Fehér	1910	(1918)
48.	Squire LUKÁCS Sándor	...	Győr	Győr	1848	1849
49.	MARKOVITS Antal of Terpest	Address Party	Battonya	Csanád	1861	1861
		Deák Party	Battonya	Csanád	1865	March 20, 1868
50.	MARKOVITS Kálmán of Kisterpest	Liberal Party	Tenke	Bihar	1887	1896
51.	MÁRTONFFY Márton	National Work Party	Armenopolis	Szolnok–Doboka	1910	1917
52.	MÁSVILÁGI István	...	Elisabethopolis, District 1	Elisabethopolis	1848	1849
53.	MOLNÁR Antal	Deák Party, Liberal Party, independent liberal, united opposition	Armenopolis District 1	Armenopolis	November 21, 1871	1878
		Liberal Party	Armenopolis	Szolnok–Doboka	February 23, 1885	January 1902
54.	NOSZLOPY Gyula of Noszlop	Independence Party	Hoszúpályi	Bihar	1892	1896
55.	NOVÁK Dániel of Szentmiklós	Independence and 48 Party	Técső	Máramaros	1906	1910
56.	PAP Géza (Baron from 1912)	Liberal Party	Bégaszentgyörgy	Torontál	1892	1906
		National Work Party	Bégaszentgyörgy	Torontál	1910	(1918)
57.	Squire PATRUBÁN(Y) Gergely	Deák Party	Elisabethopolis District 2	Elisabethopolis	1869	1975
58.	PATTANTYÚS–ÁBRAHÁM Dezső of Dancka	Independence (Justh) Party	Karcag	Jász–Nagykun–Szolnok	1906	(1918)
59.	SÁROSI Ferenc	...	Armenopolis District 1	Armenopolis	1848	July 1848
60.	Squire SIMAY Gergely	...	Armenopolis District 1	Armenopolis	July 29, 1848	1849
		Deák Party	Armenopolis District 1	Armenopolis	March 5, 1866	October 28, 1871
		Liberal Party	Armenopolis District 2	Szolnok–Doboka	October 31, 1877	1878
61.	SZONGOTH Jakab	Independence Party	Tasnád	Szilágy	1875	1881

	Name	Party	Constituency	County	MP	
					from	to
62.	TUTSEK Sándor	Independence and 48 Party	Bánffyhunyad	Kolozs	1906	1910
63.	URMÁNCZY Nándor	Liberal Party, National Party, Independence Party	Szászrégen	Maros–Torda	1902	(1918)
64.	VERTÁN Endre of Szombatság	Resolution Party	Cséke	Bihar	1861	1861
65.	VERTÁN Endre [Jr.?] of Szombatság	Independence Party	Torda	Torda–Aranyos	1901	(1918)
66.	VERTÁN Etele of Szombatság	Independence (Justh) Party	Battonya	Csanád	1910	(1918)
67.	ZABULIK László	Liberal Party	Kolozs	Kolozs	1875	1878
68.	ZAKARIÁS / ZACHARIÁS János	Independence and 48 Party	Kovászna	Háromszék	1905	1906

	Name	Party	Constituency	County	MP	
					from	to
63.	URMÁNCZY Nándor	Liberal Party, National Party, Independence Party	Szászrégen	Maros–Torda	1902	(1918)
64.	VERTÁN Endre of Szombatság	Resolution Party	Cséke	Bihar	1861	1861
65.	VERTÁN Endre [Jr.?] of Szombatság	Independence Party	Torda	Torda–Aranyos	1901	(1918)
66.	VERTÁN Etele of Szombatság	Independence (Justh) Party	Battonya	Csanád	1910	(1918)
67.	ZABULIK László	Liberal Party	Kolozs	Kolozs	1875	1878
68.	ZAKARIÁS / ZACHARIÁS János	Independence and 48 Party	Kovászna	Háromszék	1905	1906

The New Homeland:
Armenian Refugees in Hungary after the Armenian Genocide

Péter Pál Kránitz

The history of Armenian diasporas dates back as far as the 4th century AD. Diasporas were first called *gaghout*, a derivative of the Hebrew *galut*, or "fleeing." This term was applied in the 11th century, when the Seljuk Turks invaded Armenia and many thousands of Armenians fled to Cilicia, where they founded the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia[1] (1198–1375). Catholicos Nerses Shnorhali (1101–1173) called the diaspora *tz'rvyalk*, but this term never gained wide-spread currency. The modern term for Armenian diasporas is *spyurk*, which denotes the diaspora created worldwide by the waves of emigrants fleeing from the atrocities of the Armenian Genocide[2] carried through during World War I in the Ottoman Empire and its successor, Turkey. *Spyurk* is an Armenian word, whose consonant cluster (*spr*) can be found in synonyms in most Indo-European languages (*spray*, *sperm*, *spore*).[3]

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Inhalt: Was ist geschehen? (Fortsetzung.) — Berichte über das Vertrauenswerk in Urfa. — Goltzke. — Orient-Nachrichten. — Auszüge aus Konsularberichten über das Schicksal der deportierten Armenier. — Quittungen.

Was ist geschehen?[1]

(Fortsetzung.)

Die Geschichte der Deportation des armenischen Volkes in der Türkei durchläuft die folgenden Perioden:

I. Vom Eintritt der Türkei in den Krieg 1. November 1914 bis zur Erhebung von Wan 20. April 1915.

II. Vom Beschluß der allgemeinen Deportation 20/24. April 1915 bis zu ihrem vorläufigen Abschluß Dezember 1915.

III. Vom Einbezug der systematischen Massenverschickung der Reste des armenischen Volkes Dezember 1915 bis zu den Ausgängen ihrer Vernichtung Oktober 1918.

IV. Kaukasischer Schauplatz: Vom Frieden von Brest-Litowsk 3. März 1918 bis zur Einnahme von Baku 15/17. September 1918.

4. Wie es zur Deportation kam.

1. Zilizien.

Die gräßlichen Ereignisse nahmen ihren Ausgang von Zeitun, einem Bergnest in den Hochtälern des Taurus, das in der Luftlinie 120 Kilometer von der Küste entfernt liegt. Die Armenier von Zeitun und den umliegenden Dörfern erfreuten sich noch bis in die 70er Jahre einer Unabhängigkeit gleich der der tributpflichtigen seßhaften Kurden. Zur Zeit der Abdul Hamidschen Armeniermassakers 1895/96, denen 80–100 000 Armenier zum Opfer fielen, hatte sich Zeitun in Verteidigungszustand gesetzt und durch die Intervention der Mächte Amnestie erlangt. Der fremde Intervention unrief, galt als Reichsfeind. Die erste Gelegenheit, die sich nach Ausbruch

[1] Was: „Deutschland und Armenien 1914–1918." Sammlung diplomatischer Aktenstücke. Herausgegeben und eingeleitet von Dr. Johannes Lepsius. Potsdam 1919, Tempelverlag.

Der Orient 49 4

1. The violent atrocities of the Armenian genocide were reported by German Lutheran theologist Johannes Lepsius (1858–1926) in, among other forums, the monthly periodical Der Orient, which found its way to the Armenians in Budapest (Der Orient: Monatsschrift für die Wiedergeburt der Länder des Ostens, 1919/4–5)

Subsequent to the Armenian Genocide, some 250,000 survivors fled to Russia. There were also 240,000 Armenians scattered in the Middle East, and most of them merged into the majority population or wandered farther away.[7] Between 1923 and 1962, some 200,000 diaspora Armenians moved to Soviet Armenia, but since the 1970s, roughly 1,200,000 Armenians have left the country for one or another diaspora community. Today, there are some 40,000 Armenians in Canada, 30,000 in Australia, 60,000 in Argentina, and 15,000 in further Latin American countries.[8] In 1914, there were 50,000 Armenians living in the US; meanwhile, their number has risen to approximately 800,000 as a result, once again, of the mass emigration of the Armenians fleeing from the genocide.[9] After the First World War in France there were some 300,000 Armenian refugees and around 100,000 in other European countries. As the main destination of Armenians escaping to Europe, Marseilles ought to be named; during the war, the ships coming to its harbour would refill the rather shattered labour market of the French economy with thousands of Armenians day by day.[10]

Another, less frequented route led across the Black Sea down to the Romanian harbour of Conastanţa. Many of the refugees arriving there would move on to Bucharest, or leave for West Europe, although there were quite a few who, learning about the Armenian communities in Transylvania, decided to settle in one or another Armenian township there. Even though Transylvania has meanwhile been annexed to Romania, they have, ever since, enriched the culture of the Transylvanian-Armenians and, indirectly, of the entire Carpathian Basin. They represent a special Armeno-Hungarian community whose identity is shaped by the Hungarian language and an Armenian way of thinking.

This paper, however, does not account for the Transylvanian-Armenians of "Old Hungary." At the end of World War I, Hungary recovered its sovereignty after four centuries and was entitled to its own independent politics. Hungary's foreign policy was also reorganized, which included providing shelter to masses of Armenian refugees. The Interior Ministry paid special attention to them; in September 1925, "the Armenian refugees were exempted from the existing passport obligation in order to facilitate their settlement in Hungary."[11] Although most newly arriving Armenians left Hungary and headed farther West, quite a few of them settled in the country, primarily in Budapest. We have no accurate data about their numbers, though. Eghia Hovhannesian (1884–1948), Armenian-born lawyer practising in Gödöllő, became a key figure in the community and cultural life of the Armenians;[12] he published extensively about the history of Armenia,[13] the historical role of Hungaro-Armenians,[14] and his hometown, Gödöllő.[15] Among other things, his book, *Armenia népe* (The People of Armenia) also reveals that at that time (in 1934) there were some 1,800-2,000 Armenians in Budapest, while the country had an Armenian population of approximately 4,500 to 5,000. Regarding the number of Armenians fleeing to Budapest because of the genocide, this is what he wrote:

DR. HOVHANNESIAN EGHIA

SZEMELVÉNYEK AZ ÖRMÉNY IRODALOMBÓL

1942

Nyomatott a Kalántai nyomdában Gödöllőn.

2. Hovhannesian, Eghia: A Reader of Armenian Literature (Gödöllő, 1942)

"After the war, many Armenians left Turkey for Budapest; in 1922, their number rose to 80–90, then going back to 40–50, where it is still right now. Among them, we find a doctor, a language teacher, and a painter (Levon Aznavurian), while one of them works as a lawyer. The others are mostly involved in the commerce of Eastern carpets, of carpet weaving, and carpet reparation."[16]

Currently we have no accurate data about the initial number of Armenian refugees in Hungary; it is likely, however, that the figure was much higher than that given by Hovhannesian. When he wrote that their number had decreased "to 40–50," he meant the further

migration of Armenians into the Western world. By mentioning their integration into the labour market ("mostly involved in the commerce of Eastern carpets, of carpet weaving, and carpet reparation"), he touched on one of the typical features of the inter-war Armenian diaspora in Hungary. Namely, the vast majority of refugees took up jobs in the textile industry, exploiting the ethnic connection network that, besides their common origins, language, and culture, also built on the shared memory of the Armenian Genocide, tying its members so tightly together that not only their job prospects but also their social integration took a flying start compared to other immigrant minorities. Their specific interest, of course, lay in carpet manufacturing. Between the two World Wars, the Armenian carpet-man was a central character in the everyday life of Budapest, rushing to the workshop with one or more carpets on

3. Historic photograph of the Armenians' headquarters in Budapest, Orlay Street

his shoulders. They had shops in the posh areas of the city: in Ferenciek tere (the yard of the Kárpátia Restaurant), in Váci utca, in Irányi utca, in Kossuth utca, in Cukor utca, in Régiposta utca, and in Eskü tér. They polished their expertise acquired in Anatolia and West Armenia to such brilliance that even the reparation of the antique carpets in the Hungarian National Museum were entrusted to an eminent Armenian, Szerkisz Rsduni Hrant. His father actually came to Budapest with the explicit purpose of utilizing the inherent potential of the Budapest carpet industry, of which he had heard from a fellow traveller on their way to the Armenian towns in Transylvania. The daughter of Szerkisz Rsduni Hrant passed on the story as follows:

"He left Turkey in 1909, travelling towards Transylvania, for he had heard that the Armenian refugees were well received there. On the way, he met a carpet-man, and he advised that they should rather come to Budapest, as it was easier to find work here. So they came to Hungary together."[17]

For the Armenians, the carpet industry in Budapest established a sufficient existential background for a new life and a socially active Armenian community in Budapest. "Until 1920, the Hungaro-Armenians in Budapest lived without any community or organization," Eghia Hovhannesian wrote, marking 1920 as a turning point. On April 18 that year, namely, the Association of Hungarian Armenians was founded by Dr László Gopcsa, Dr Gyula Simay, Dr Félix Ávedik, József Tutsek, Dr János Zakhariás, and Eghia Hovhannesian.[18] In his Armenological survey published in 1942, Domonkos Korbuly, an Armenian-born employee of the Hungarian Commercial Bank in Pest, wrote that the association united "the Armenians fleeing from Transylvania to Mangled Hungary after the war."[19] In actual fact, it consisted of the elite of the Hungaro-Armenian community, incorporating another Hungarian Armenian organization, the Maszisz Union. Dr Félix Ávedik was elected President of the association; under his auspices, many well-frequented meetings were held. On 24 April 1921, for instance, there was a Hungarian-Armenian concert in the Lloyd Palace in Pest.[20] Among the objectives of the association was the convivial coexistence with the majority society; in order to foster that,

they donated 100 Hungarian Crowns to the National Movement for the Alleviation of Penury in December 1922.[21]

Dr János Zakhariás, Péter Duducz, and Dr László Gopcsa initiated the Armenian-Hungarian Commercial Share Company. Besides its commercial profile, within two years of its establishment, it founded grants for such Hungarian-Armenian youths who wanted to pursue their studies in the Murad Rafaelian College of the Mechitarist Congregation in Venice.[22]

Meanwhile, the Maszisz Union launched the short-lived but highly influential *Nor Dar* (New Century) periodical, whose three Armenian-language issues informed the Hungarian-Armenians about the life of the Armenians within and outside of Hungary, as well as about the Armenian Genocide and the afflictions of the newly established Armenian Republic. Its author-editor was Szerkisz Rsduni Hrant, who also wrote about the Hungarian-Armenians in foreign periodicals.[23]

The social status of the Armenian community in Budapest showed a steep advancement between the world wars; the up-and-coming generation made a helpful contribution to the intellectual and administrative layers of Hungary. The *Nagy Budapest* (Great Budapest) weekly, published in the inter-war period, dedicated several issues to the Armenian community; in its March 22, 1940 issue, it printed a "list of Armenians," enumerating the Armenian elite in Hungary.[24] No less than 142 of the 366 persons whose name had been listed possessed a doctorate. One may learn of forty lawyers, ninety-eight officers in the administration, twenty-eight doctors and pharmacists, fifteen bankers, eighteen teachers, fourteen artists (among them sculptors, musicians, handicraftsmen, authors, and actors), not to mention a number of engineers, military officers, landowners, and merchants.[25]

In the self-organization of the Armenian community, a central task was the clarification of church relations. A significant body of Armenian-rite Catholics had been present in Hungary since 1690,[26] but although they had always been registered as an established church on those grounds, the Peace Treaties of Trianon and the ensuing readjustment of the Hungarian borders annexed all Armenian Catholic Parishes to

4. Armenian liturgy celebrated by Dániel Antal Kádár (1916–1988), leader of the Armenian Catholic parish

Romania. During the 1920s, the Armenian community in Budapest, increased by the wave of refugees from Turkey, spared no time and energy from establishing their own parsonage (1922) and chapel (1924). In 1932, their outstanding efforts were rewarded by the Primate-Archbishop's[27] authorization for the Armenian Catholic Parish of Budapest. At that time, 290 families applied for membership in the parish, whose secular President was Curial Judge Dr Gyula Simay.[28] Later the parish erected a chapel in Orlay utca (Nr. 6), on whose upper floor there is an exhibition room open to the public down to the present day.[29]

Although in the aftermath of World War I, the Transylvanian-Armenian community was cut from the circulation of Hungary, the Armenians who escaped from the terrors of war and genocide and settled in Hungary managed to sustain the millennial tradition of Hungarian-Armenian conviviality and to preserve this special tint of the Hungarian cultural circle. The Hungarian society has once again demonstrated that its barge is strong enough to receive ever newer ethnicities, defying the tempestuous waters of the 20th century, following King St Stephen's admonitions to his son, St Emeric: "a country of one language and one custom is weak and fallible. Therefore, I order and command, that thou, my son, shalt benevolently honour and succour all new-comers, that they dwell in your house rather than dwell any where else."[30]

Notes

[1] This was a medieval (12th to 14th-century) kingdom in Cilicia, at the border of Anatolia and Syria, established in 1198 by the first wave of Armenian refugees driven away by the Seljuk conquest of Armenia. Cf. Tololyan, Khachig, "Armenian Diaspora," in *Encyclopedia of Diasporas*, ed. Ember, Melvin, Ember, Carol, & Skoggard, Ian (New York, 2004), 38.

[2] The Armenian genocide took place in the dying days of the Ottoman Empire, during World War I and the Kemalist "patriotic war" between 1915 and 1923. Its official start is usually dated 24 April 1915, when the arrestation and execution of the Armenian political elite commenced at the command of the Interior Ministry. The next catastrophe struck the Armenian men conscripted to the army, who were killed in 50 to 100-strong groups. The rest of the Armenian population was eradicated through deportations leading to such natural causes of death as starvation, drying out, and complete exhaustion. There is no agreement concerning the number of genocide victims, but the most widely accepted scientific estimates vary between 1 and 1.5 million people. The Turkish government has denied charges of genocide down to the present day; as "an insult to Turkish consciousness," the Turkish Criminal Code sanctions any admittance of the genocide with detention and a fine. Turkish historiography has dubbed the deportation of the Armenians a "relocation" concomitant with the Great War; nay, a redeeming move on the part of the Young Turkish government that had allegedly served to remove the Armenians from the war zone. This statement, however, might only be true if the Armenians had lived only in the border regions of the Ottoman and the Russian Empires, in the Balkans, and near the Syrian border. Their relocation and subsequent deportation, however, took place from nearly all corners of Anatolia, including Istanbul, and resulted in the eventual eradication of the Armenian population. To date, twenty-one states have acknowledged these events officially as a genocide, including France, Russia, Canada, Greece, Argentina, and the Vatican. Perhaps the most exhaustive sources concerning the Armenian genocide are as follows: Hovannisian, Richard G. (ed.), *The Armenian Genocide: History, Politics, Ethics* (London: Macmillan, 1992); Kloian, Richard D. (ed.), *The Armenian Genocide: New Accounts from the American Press (1915–1922)* (Richmond, 2000); Melson, Robert F., *Revolution and Genocide: On the Origins of the Armenian Genocide and the Holocaust* (Chicago, 1992); Lepsius, Johannes, *Deutschland und Armenien, 1914–1918* (Potsdam, 1919); Miller, Donald E. & Miller, Lorna Touryan, *Survivors: An Oral History of the Armenian Genocide* (Berkeley, 1993); Terson, Merrill, *Starving Armenians* (Charlottesville, 2004); Teron, Yves, *Les Arméniens, Histoire d'un génocide* (Paris, 1977); Kévorkian, Raymond: *The Armenian Genocide: A Complete History* (London, 2011). For the Turkish approach, cf. Feigl, Erich, *A Myth of Terror* (Salzburg, 1986); Günes Ergole, Münevver, *Armenians in the Ottoman Empire according to Ikdam 1914–1918* (Istanbul, 2003); Lewy, Guenter, *The Armenian Massacres in Ottoman Turkey: A Disputed Genocide* (Salt Lake City, 2005); Server Aya, Sükrü, *The Genocide of Truth* (Istanbul, 2008).

[3] Tololyan, 35–37.

[4] Cohen, Robin, "Diasporas and the Nation-State: From Victims to Challengers," *International Affairs* (Royal Institute of International Affairs) 72.3 (1996), 512.

[5] Assmann, Jan, *A kulturális emlékezet* (Budapest, 2004), 30.

[6] From an interview I have conducted with Artin Diramerján.

[7] In 1914, there were only 5,000 Armenians living in Lebanon, while their number had risen to 210,000 by 1974. Today, there are only 70,000 of them, due to emigration and successive wars. Syria had 110,000 Armenian inhabitants in the 1920s, and again there has been a decrease to some 70,000 since. In the Iran of the 1940s, there were 225,000 Armenians – today, that figure is not more than 70,000. Out of a former 40,000 Armenians, only 7,000 now remain in Egypt. Cf. Tololyan, 37.

[8] Kaprielian-Churchill, Isabel, *Like Our Mountains: A History of Armenians in Canada* (Montreal & Kingston, 2005), 179.

[9] Tololyan, 45.

[10] Mandel, Maud, *In the Aftermath of Genocide: Armenians and Jews in Twentieth-Century France* (Durham, 2003), 20–32.

[11] Announcement of the Hungarian Telegraphic News Agency (MTI), 12 September 1925. I am grateful to Barnabás Pálinkás, who first drew my attention to the documents in the online archives of MTI.

[12] For further information about Eghia Hovhannesian's life, see Réti, László, "Egyén és polgárosodás: Gödöllői adalék a hazai polgárosultság 20. századi sajátosságaihoz," *Egyetemi Ujság* 7.6 (retrieved on 17 January 2013) <http://www2.szie.hu/ujsag/vii_6/17.html>.

[13] Hovhannesian, Eghia, *Armenia népe* (Gödöllő, 1934).

[14] Hovhannesian, Eghia, *A hazai örmények a Nemzet szolgálatában* (Gödöllő, 1940).

[15] Hovhannesian, Eghia, *Gödöllő a múltban és most* (Gödöllő, 1933).

[16] Hovhannesian, *Armenia népe*, 276.

[17] The interview has been imparted to me by Alex Avanesian.

[18] Hovhannesian, *Armenia népe*, 273–274.

[19] Korbuly, Domonkos, *Az örmény kérdés a magyar közvéleményben* (Budapest, 1942), 138.

[20] Hovhannesian, *Armenia népe*, 274.

[21] Cf. MTI, 21 December 1922.

[22] Hovhannesian, *Armenia népe*, 274.

[23] Szimonjan, Anahit, *A magyarországi örmény sajtó XIX–XX. századi története* (Budapest, 1996).

[24] It is worth noting that although the paper had a markedly pro-German tone during the disastrous early years of World War II, it never treated the Armenian minority with anything but friendship, which reveals a lot about the relations between the Armenians and the majority society.

[25] "Örmények névsora," *Nagy Budapest* 3.12 (22 March 1940), 10.

[26] For more detail about the immigration of the Armenians, their union with the Catholic church, and their ecclesiastic reorganization, see Kovács, Bálint & Bernád, Rita, *A Szamosújvári Örmény Katolikus Gyűjteményi Levéltár / The Armenian Catholic Collective Archive of Armenopolis* (Budapest & Leipzig, 2011).

[27] Jusztinián Serédi, Archbishop Primate of Esztergom (1927–45).

[28] Cf. Avedikian, Viktória & Krajcsír, Piroska, *Magyarországi örmények* (Budapest, 1998), 8.

[29] Szám, László & Avanesian, Alex, *Az örmény egyház története* (Budapest, 2010), 154.

[30] Kurucz, Ágnes (trans.), "Szent István király intelmei Imre herceghez," in Érszegi, Géza (ed.), *Árpád-kori legendák és intelmek* (Budapest, 1983), 59.

CATALOGUE

I. At the Foot of Mount Ararat

"*And the waters returned from off the earth continually: and after the end of the hundred and fifty days the waters were abated. And the ark rested in the seventh month, on the seventeenth day of the month, on the mountains of Ararat.*"

(Genesis 8:4)

The snow-covered double peak of the holy Mount Ararat of the Armenians (in present-day Turkey) is a site of memory (*lieu de memoire*) for Armenian identity. It is still in the centre of Armenia's coat of arms, epitomizing the Armenian people's escape from persecution, oppression, and dispersion. According to Biblical geography, it was on Mount Ararat that Noah's ark foundered. Tradition considered this region a part of the Garden of Eden; the name of the ancient Armenian province of Nakhichevan (in present-day Azerbaijan) means "*place of descent*," for it was here that Noah and his sons, together with all the animals of the world, finally descended. Noah's great grandson, Haik is thus hailed as the ancestor of Armenians, assumed to have settled beside Mount Ararat.

The Armenians are the first Christian people in the world. Their independent national church is the Armenian Apostolic Church, often referred to as the Gregorian Church. Behind the idea of the Apostolic Church lies the legend that many of the Armenians were converted directly by Apostles Bartholomew and Thaddeus. An Early Christian legend has it that King Abgar Ukkama of Edessa, also known as a king of the Armenians, upon learning of the miracles worked by Jesus, summoned him to his court, but Jesus sent Thaddeus instead of himself. As a consequence of the apostolic origin of the Armenian church, St Thaddeus is recorded as the first in the long line of the possessors of the patriarchal seat of all Armenians, the Catholicoi of Echmiadzin. The term Gregorian derives from St Gregory the Illuminator, who baptized King Trdat III. According to tradition, Trdat III had announced Christianity as the state religion as early as in 301, thus making Armenia the first Christian state in the world. Scholars of history, however, find that date less than convincing; it is not impossible that the conversion took place even earlier, in the late 3rd century, or some time during the first half of the 4th. There is a third legend concerning the Christianization of the Armenians to the effect that after his Ascension into Heaven, Jesus appeared once more, specifically to the Armenians, in order to establish the Armenian Christian Church. Hence the name of the millennial seat of Echmiadzin, literally "*where the Lord descended*."

The Armenian language belongs to the Indo-European family. The subsequent Western and Eastern Armenian language families derived from its "classical" variety, *grabar*. Tradition has it that the Armenian alphabet was created by Mesrop Mashtots in 405 AD; he is venerated as a saint within the Armenian Church. He is also credited with the first Armenian translation of the Bible.

B. K.

I.1.

St Gregory the Illuminator Baptizes King Trdat (with Scenes from the Tortures of the Saint)

Unknown Transylvanian painter, first half of the 18th century
Oil on canvas; 104×77 cm
Unsigned
Armenopolis, Armenian Catholic Parish
Inv.nr. VIII.13.00.31.

In the centre of the oil painting, we see the baptism of King Trdat, while the medallions running on its three sides depict the tortures of St Gregory. Beyond doubt, the picture is modelled on an engraving held by the Armenian Catholic Parish in Budapest (Inv. IV.14) or a closely related work. The iconography of the saint and the type surrounded by a narrative frame were canonized around the turn of the 17th and 18th centuries; hence several engravings follow a very similar structure, making it difficult to trace the prototypes. A closer relationship with the aforementioned engraving is suggested, in addition to the parallel construction, the accurate representation of most small details such as the baptismal pool, the pot, the royal crown on the ground, the shape of the queen's crown, and the seashell in St Gregory's hand. The unskilled Transylvanian painter left out the backdrop of the central scene except for the Dove of the Spirit, as well as the frame of the folded drapery with the head of the cherub. As opposed to the engraving, the medallions are placed on but three of the sides of the picture (keeping the order of events), while the composition of the tortures and some background elements are faithfully retained. A few figures are left off here and there, which would have required a subtler elaboration and made the composition more dynamic. All in all, the oil painting depicts mostly stiff, flat, and rather uncouth figures, while St Gregory's face reflects no pain and dynamism is replaced by broad gestures.

To our knowledge to date, this painting is the earliest Transylvanian representation of St Gregory the Illuminator. It must probably have stood on one of the side altars in Solomon's Church in Armenopolis, so we can assume that it dates back to the early 18th century. During the church's restoration in 1898/99 it was removed and later installed in Trinity Parish Church, near the right-hand side altar.

E. P.

Source: Drăgoi 2010, 119–121; Pál 2011, 249–252.

I.1.

I.2.

I.2.

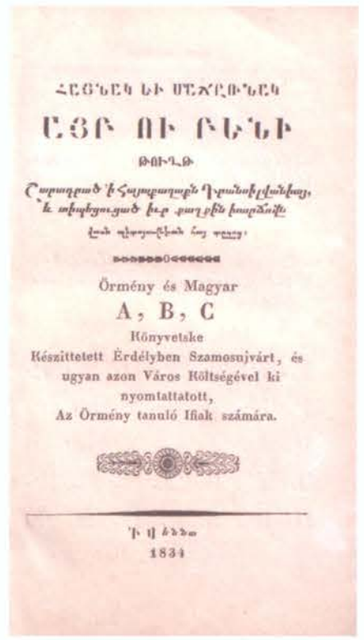
Letters of the Armenian Alphabet

Second half of the 20th century
Painted metal plate; 30×54.5 cm
Budapest, Private Collection
Unpublished

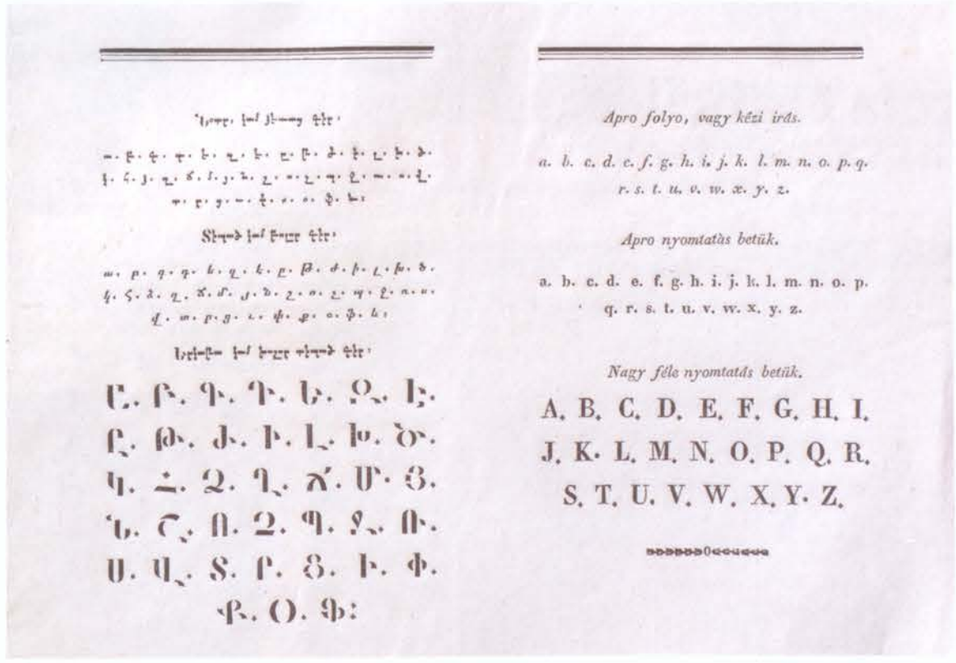
I.3.

Armenian-Hungarian Alphabet Book

Haynak ew maćařnak ayb ow beni. Örmény és Magyar A,B,C Könyvetske. Készittetett Erdélyben Szamosujvárt, és ugyan azon Város költségével ki nyomtattatott, Az Örmény tanuló Ifjak számára. [Armenian and Hungarian ABC Booklet. Made in Transylvania, in Armenopolis, published from the funds of the same City, for the Armenian school children.] Vienna. 1834.
19×12.5 cm
Budapest, Armenian Catholic Parish, inv.nr.: 297.



I.3.



I.3.

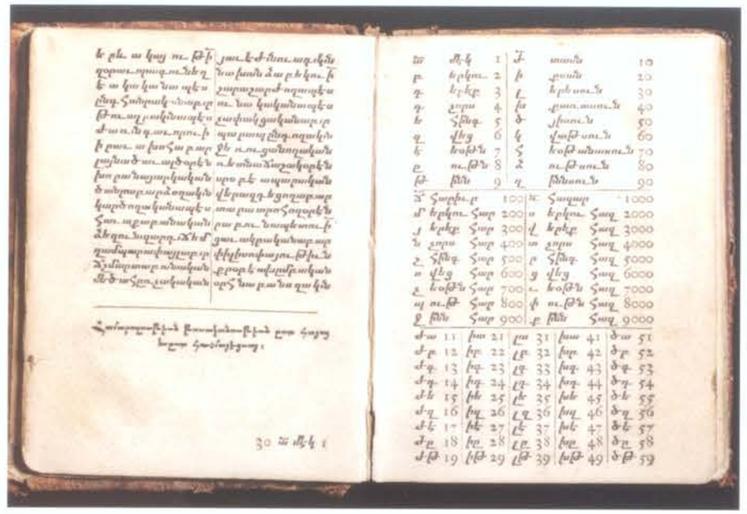
I.4.

Armenian Alphabet Book

Girk' ajb ow benic', Amsterdam, 1666.
Budapest, National Széchényi Library
Cat. nr.: 319.273.

The letters of the Armenian alphabet also work as numbers. Armenian calendars used Armenian letters instead of Arabic numbers. At the Second Synod of Dwin (551), an Armenian calendar was introduced; thus old Armenian dates can be transcribed to the Gregorian calendar by adding 551. The ABC Book printed in 1666 reveals the numeric values of Armenian letters.

E. P.



I.4.

I.5.

Belt with the views of Armenian towns (Varagavank, Van, Echmiadzin, Aghtamar)

Unknown craftsman, end of 19th century
Gilt silver and brass, inlay of gems, cast, carved, filigreed, granulated; 87 × 4 cm
Budapest, Armenian Catholic Parish
No inv.nr.

In all representations, the church is the most emphatic. Within Armenian society, the church is not only a cult place but also an emblem of national unity.

Unpublished

I.5.

I.6.

Fragment of cross-stone (khachkar)

Armenian, 12th–14th centuries (?)
Red stone carving, 23 × 27 × 24 cm
Budapest, Armenian Catholic Parish, inv.nr.: 07651.

Unpublished

I.6.

II. Transylvania: The New Home

As early as the Middle Ages, Armenian merchants were documented in the Carpathian Basin. Their more massive immigration took place in the 17th century. According to tradition, 3,000 Armenians came from the Voivodeship of Moldova in 1672, though historical data warrant a far more modest wave of immigrants. Rather, a continuous infiltration ought to be assumed.

By the 18th century, four townships had managed to raise their own Armenian Catholic churches, retaining strong and independent Armenian communities in Gherla (Armenopolis, Szamosújvár, Armenierstadt, Hajakałak), Gheorgheni (Gyergyószentmiklós, Niklasmarkt), Dumbrăveni (former Ebesfalva, Eppesdorf, Paspalof, later Erzsébetváros, Elisabethopolis, Elisabethstadt), and Frumoasa (Szépvíz, Sibviz).

In Transylvania, as elsewhere in East Europe, the Armenians specialized in trade and craftsmanship, especially leather processing. They played a particularly important role in long-distance commerce, their operation ranging from Isfahan to Amsterdam and from Gheorgheni to Constantinople in the Modern Era. The Armenians in Transylvania specialized primarily in the trade of live stock, purchasing cattle in Moldova and Wallachia and subsequently selling their stock forward at the markets of Pest and Vienna.

From the 18th century, Armenopolis and Elisabethopolis were privileged as free royal cities of the Armenians. They could send MPs to the national assembly. The mere existence of Armenopolis was due basically to the fact that the Armenians expelled from Bistrica resettled here and historic tradition has it that around 1700 an Italian architect called Alexa was commissioned to design the entire city plan. The unified Baroque cityscape was well-nigh unique in Central Europe with its parallel streets, diagonal alleyways and symmetrically arranged central marketplace.

The Armenians had always had the benefits of internal autonomy, first represented by the Armenian Company. In 1795, the Mercantile Forum was established, embodying the inner legal stability of the Armenian community and also protecting them vis-à-vis other groups. Basically a commercial court, the Forum also administered the social and, to a lesser extent, the religious life of the Armenians.

B. K.

II.1.

Travelling chest of the Verzár family

Unknown Transylvanian craftsman (?), 1776
Fir, calfskin, cow-skin, brass plate ornaments, wrought-iron lock and handles, cloth and parchment inserts; interior: colour printed diaper, colour printed paper; 125 × 63 × 55.5 cm
VK initials, 1776
Budapest, Hungarian National Museum, inv.nr.: 1962.151.

Once such leather-covered, richly decorated chests did not use to be very rare in Hungary. Their use, the aging of their materials, and the changing vogue, however, together with the appearance of travelling trunks, led to their disappearance by the 20th century. The remaining items are now possessed by private owners or stored in museums.

The inventory files for the chests housed in Hungary usually have Transylvania as place of origin. Most chests known to us today carry their date; they were manufactured within 28 years from 1762 to 1790, possibly in a single workshop. Three chests have come into the museum collection from Armenian families. Two further items housed in Armenopolis and Gheorgheni suggest that they once used to belong to Armenian owners. Kristóf Szongott, a 19th-century scholar of Hungarian-Armenian history claimed that the double-headed eagle in the coat of arms of Armenopolis was an ancient Armenian emblem. Among the heraldic animals, however, the double-headed eagle was widely used throughout Europe. Thus the question arises whether the chests once owned by Armenians carry the eagle as an ornamental motif or hint at the owner's nationality or at some other meaning. One must not, however, disregard the fact that the eagle-ornamented chests were manufactured between 1776 and 1790. In the second half of the 18th century, a number of Armenian families were ennobled (some even raised to aristocracy) and received a coat of arms. Hence it is more likely that the Armenians awarded with nobility due to their military or financial assistance expressed their loyalty to the Hapsburg monarchy in this way. The double-headed eagles on the chests with their halo, sword, and crown are doubtless closer to the Hapsburg coat of arms than the Armenopolis emblem published by Szongott.

The seller's information claims that the chest, whose lid is divided into eight smaller and two larger fields (the former decorated with flowers, the latter with a double-headed eagle with laurels on and a crown between its heads) used to belong to the Verzár family. The initials (V K) may refer to Khatun (b. 1748) or Kristóf (b. 1757), as recorded in Gudenus' genealogy. At present, no more data are confirmed by scientific scholarship. If alive at the time of the chest's production (1776), they must have been 28 and 19 years old, respectively. The item may have belonged to either of them. The top of the drawer is inscribed Klementina Miller. According to genealogy, she was born in Armenopolis in 1856. She may have inherited the chest from her mother, Veronika Verzár, who was of Verzár descent both on the father's and the mother's side. Khatun and Kristóf Verzár had been the brothers of Veronika Verzár's paternal grandfather.

P. K.

Source: Kovács 2009, Kovács 2010

II.1.

II.2.

II.2.

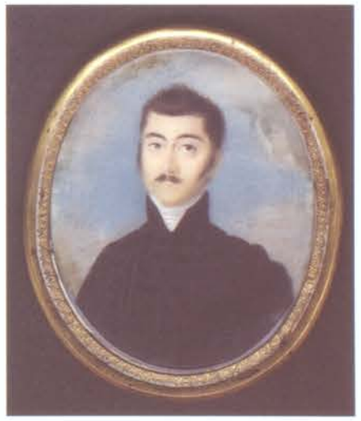
Travelling chest / Rebeka Issekutz's trousseau chest

Unknown Transylvanian (?) craftsman
Second half of the 18th century
Fir, goatskin and calfskin, brass plate ornaments, wrought-iron lock and handles, cloth and parchment inserts; interior: colour printed diaper, colour printed paper; 115 × 58 × 52 cm
Unsigned
Budapest, Museum of Ethnography, inv.nr.: 64.41.1.

This chest, with a double-headed eagle on its lid, is traditionally considered the trousseau chest of Rebeka Issekutz, an Armenian girl born in 1813 and married in 1831. The lid is damaged; its first board which probably had the date on it was has been destroyed; more than half of its decorations have disappeared. Its stylistic features, however, align it with the other items manufactured in Transylvania between 1762 and 1790. It cannot thus have been made for Rebeka's wedding. The chest is not mentioned in the dowry letter issued by the bride's father the day after the wedding either. That section of the lid that had probably carried the initials is also fragmentary. Thus we cannot trace whether Rebeka had inherited it from her father or mother or, perhaps, acquired it via her Armenian husband, Jakab Lászlóffy. This item exemplifies the way chests were inherited over the generations, also shifting their function. Rebeka Issekutz had received a used "trousseau chest" and, as we learn from a letter of her grandson, Gyula Lászlóffy, her daughter used it for the laundry, while her grandchild rescued it from the dusty and dirty attic as a family treasure; it was only later taken to the museum.

P. K.

Source: Kovács 2009, Kovács 2010



II.3.

II.3.

Miniature portrait of Jakab Lászlóffy

Unknown Transylvanian artist, *c.* 1831
Watercolour on ivory; 68 × 57 mm
Budapest, Hungarian National Museum, Historical Picture Gallery, inv.nr.: 61.186.

M. G.

Source: Buzási 1988, Kat. C. 58.

II.4.

Miniature portrait of Mrs. Rebeka Issekutz, the wife of Jakab László ffy

Unknown Transylvanian artist, *c.* 1831
Watercolour on ivory; 67×55 mm
Budapest, Hungarian National Museum, Historical Picture Gallery, inv.nr.: 61.187.

Jakab László ffy, steward of Bogdán Hollósy in Ghertenis (Gertenyes), Temes County (in present-day RO), married Rebeka Issekutz in 1831. Most probably, this was the occasion for the creation of their miniature portraits which, following the tradition of bridal portraits, depict the couple in their most beautiful attire. The man wears a high-collared, black braided woven pelisse and a short fur-lined coat, while his beloved wears a laced white dress and a light blue Hungarian bodice with a corset. The hairstyle of the bride, tied up and combed into curly locks on either side adapts the vogue of the Viennese Biedermeier; her pearl necklace and her pendant, worn on a longer chain, represents the fairly modest status of the gentry.

M.G.

Source: Buzási 1988, Kat. C.59.

II.4.

II.5.

Census of the livestock of Armenians in Gheorgheni, Frumoasa, Canta, and Elisabethopolis, 1735

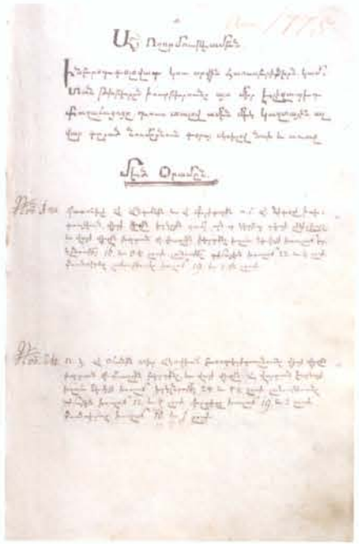
Manuscript in Latin (facsimile)
Budapest, Armenian Catholic Parish, inv.nr. 07.789

II.5.

II.6.

Land-register of Armenian landowners in Elisabethopolis, 1775.

Manuscript in Armenian
Budapest, Armenian Catholic Parish, 07.792



II.6.

II.7.

Deeds of privilege for Armenopolis, at the erstwhile Armenian Museum exhibition

Photograph, 1943.
Armenian Catholic Collective Archive, Armenopolis.

II.7.

II.8.

Fence of the Armenian Catholic parish church in Armenopolis, with St Peter and Paul (centre) and busts of the 12 apostles (around) (pulled down)

Photograph, first half of the 20th century.
Armenian Catholic Collective Archive, Armenopolis.

II.9.

The turret of the Armenian church in Armenopolis went up in flames, 12 April 1960

Photograph, 1960.
Armenian Catholic Collective Archive, Armenopolis.

II.9.

II.10.

Armenian Catholic church, Gheorgheni

Photograph, first half of the 20th century.
Photo Archive of the Forster Gyula National Office of Cultural Heritage, Budapest.

II.8.

II.10.

II.11.

Armenian Catholic parsonage, Gheorgheni

Photograph, mid-20th century.
Armenian Catholic Collective Archive, Armenopolis

II.11.

III. Armenian Book Culture

From the beginning up to the 19th century, the system of motifs in Armenian book printing would largely rely on medieval Armenian manuscripts. The centuries between 1500 and 1700 produced very little change in terms of book technology; printers continued to use the graphic elements and miniatures of Armenian manuscripts.

In 1452, Johann Gutenberg established the framework for book printing in Mainz; 60 years later, in 1511/1512–13, Armenian Hakob Meghapart (Hakob Mełapart) printed the first five Armenian books in Venice, of which the first one is of special interest. Urbatagirk (Owrbat'agirk', "Book of Friday," 1511/12) is a book on some sort of medieval medicine, a collection of various spells, prayers, and gospel readings, containing recommendations for curing illnesses and dispelling demons.

The first Armenian prints had two colours: black with red inserts. Of the types known in Armenian palaeography, the "bolorgir" (the so-called round type, a category of minuscule writing), and the "glkhagir" (glxagir) were used. The books were printed in octavo format, with the colophone including the specifications of Meghapart's press.

Within the Armenian stocks of books in the Carpathian Basin, practically all corners of the world are represented – Amsterdam, Venice, Constantinople, Rome, Paris, Marseilles, Tbilisi, Jerusalem, St Petersburg. These volumes found their way into the area through the Armenians' system of commercial, ecclesiastic, and cultural connections. Their detailed examination may well-nigh lead to an understanding of the complete history of Armenian printing. Hakob Meghapart, the father of the first printed Armenian book, was succeeded by Abgar Tokhatetsi (Abgar Toxatec'i), who later moved his workshop from Venice to Constantinople. The national book printing of the Armenians thus remained in the "diaspora."

Though Armenian-language books were printed in Rome as early as the 16th century, not until the mid-17th century had greater quantities (printed by the newly established Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith) found their way into Transylvania, thanks to the Armenian Catholic priests studying in Rome.

B. K.

III.1.1.

Armenian hymnal (sharaknoc / šaraknoc') from Asia Minor, 1563

ff. 512, 13×9 cm. Bolorgir script
Budapest, National Széchényi Library, inv.nr.: Duod Armen 2.

III.1.1.

The Armenian hymnal, the so-called sharaknoc traditionally plays a profound role in the Armenian church. The Armenian hymns (sharakans) were composed for 8 tunes, with the canon introduced by Archbishop Stepanos Sivnetsi. This canonical order had most probably been established by the 10th century, the era of Khosrov Andzevatsi (Xosrov Andjewac'i). In the 13th century, Grigor Khul (Grigor Xowl) composed tunes for the hymns, whose ultimate edition was created by Grigor Tatevatsi (Grigor Tat'evac'i, 1346–1409). A good deal of sharaknoc can be found in Transylvania as well, partly because their use was permitted both by the Armenian Apostolic and by the Armenian Catholic Church.

In the manuscript on display here, the song titles were written in red; special holidays are preceded by small ornaments. The manuscript dates back to 1563, which we can unravel from the following lines of the memorandum: "*Glory to the most Holy Trinity, the Father and Son and Holy Spirit. Amen*," and then: "*concluded is this sacred book, which is called Saraknoc*, [copied] *from good and select samples by him whose name is Gregory known by the side name of Karvarrem, in the year 1012* [=1563]. *I therefore pray all those who find upon this book, reading or copying it, or singing from it, to remember me, who have written down this book, and my parents, Mordjig and Maria, and my brother Sahak, and all my relatives, and whoever remembers and says this from his heart, may they receive the mercy of Christ, and may they be remembered by Christ our God. Amen.*"

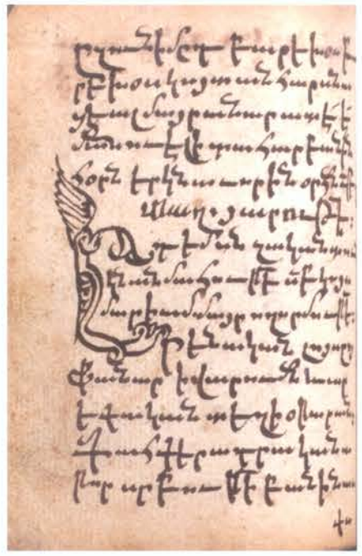
B. K.

Source: Fogolyán 1943, 19-20.

III.1.2.

Collection (Žołovacu / Miscellany) Prayers about the Rosary, devotional and moral poems notated by Manuk Czecz Vartanian of Armenopolis, 1767

ff. 348, 10×8 cm.
Budapest, National Széchényi Library, inv.nr.: Duod Armen 3.



III.1.2.

Simple manuscript, titles written in red letters. The book begins with exhortations and instructions concerning the rosary, followed by the joyful, the sorrowful, and the glorious mysteries and some other prayers (in connection with the rosary). After the prayers related to the rosary, there are further prayers, the creed, and the prayers of confession and absolution. The next and final section consists of poems, devotional songs, and two tales.

The book was written by Manuk Czecz Vartanian in Armenopolis in 1767, as stated on f. 47: "*Concluded are all the exhortations about the profoundly venerated holy rosary. Written in Armenopolis in the year 1767, by the hands of the sinner Manuk Czecz Vartanian.*" From f. 124 we can surmise that the poems were also collected by him, for after an Italian poem, we read the following comment: "*Manug! Why hast thou wrote these hard and lamentable words, when thou graspest not what they signify? I Gregory wrote this, I wrote but little, but do thou understand much of it.*"

Among the poems are some written by Mechitar of Sebaste (Mxit'ar Sebastac'i), but many derive from the Middle Ages, such as the life of the hermit Alexanios (f. 59), whose last words read as follows: "*Stupid John Thulguranczi wrote this hermit's life, this is the way of Heav'n, who knoweth not, learn it.*" John Thulguranczi (1450–1525) was a well-known poet, his poetry went through several editions. (The adjective "stultus" [stupid] is a marker of modesty similar to Middle Latin indignus, dictus, solo nomine, etc.)

B. K.

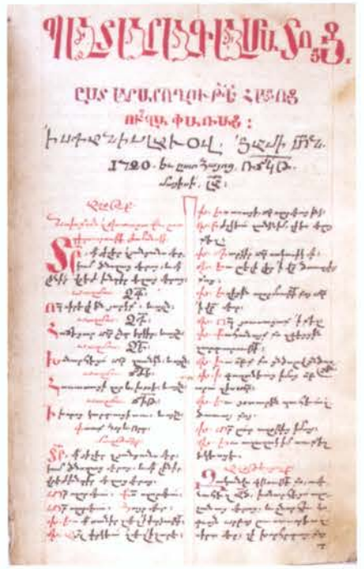
Source: Fogolyán 1943, 20-22.

III.1.3.

Armenian manuscript missal from Ivano-Frankivsk (Stanisławów), Galicia (1720)

ff. 212 (16) 31,5×20 cm
Armenian Catholic Parish of Gheorgheni, inv.nr.: 257.

The missal was presumably brought to Transylvania by Apostolic Visitor Stephano Stephanowicz Roska of Stanisławów.



III.1.3.

III.1.4.

The Gospels according to St John and St Matthew, 17th century

Presumably from Transylvania or Moldova, 17th century, ff. 178, 29×19.8 cm, Bolorgir script.
Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Fol Armen 1.

The manuscript includes the gospels according to St John and St Matthew (the first page of the latter is missing). Illustrations include the figure of St John and marginal miniatures presenting the given gospel passage. The capital letters (initials) introducing the verses are red and blue, respectively; the first line of each passage is blue, the second red. On the basis of the drawing style and the paint used, the volume is presumably from Transylvania or Moldova.

B. K.

Source: Fogolyán 1943, 18.

III.1.4.

III.1.5.

"Mirror without Macula": a unique Hungarian-language manuscript transcribed with Armenian letters (1802)

ff. 828, 23×19 cm;
Roman Catholic Parish of Frumoasa, inv.nr.: 206.

For further information on this manuscript, cf. Bálint Kovács, "Armenian Book Culture and Armenian Literary Values in the Carpathian Basin".

III.1.5.

III.1.6.

III.1.6.

Notebook of an Armenian child from Armenopolis (17th century)

ff. 166, 14.5×10 cm.
Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Duod Armen 1.

The texts in the notebook are written in German, Hungarian, Italian, and Turkish; all of them come in Armenian transcription. The volume incorporates songs, poems, and literary prose, as well as pictures since the owner copied the objects of observation as well, including sculptures, icons, engravings, and animals.

B. K.

Source: Fogolyán 1943. 18-19.

III.1.7.

Armenian-language missal (Pataragamatoyc') from Asia Minor (?), 1557

ff. 116, 20.5×14 cm.
Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Quart Armen 1.
See its picture on page 28.

Initials are written in red, the passages for the congregation and the deacons in smaller black letters. The missal dates back to 1557 (see f. 115), according to the following quotation:

"Oh fathers and brethren, priests of holiness, when you say mass for sinful souls or deceased sinful souls, then remember me, the deplorable scribe... who was a servant to you, priests, together with my parents and all my relatives, please remember us in your holy prayers and may Christ the God, on His second coming, have mercy on you, who remember me; Amen. Wherefore this holy [missal] was wrote in the year 1006 [=1557], on the 11th day of the month October... God be blessed."

In this volume, the text of the mass comes together with the parts for the congregation and the deacons.

B. K.

Source: Fogolyán 1943. 22-23.

III.1.8.

III.1.8.

Fragment of an Armenian church songbook from Frumoasa (1890)

Frumoasa, 1890. ff. 18, 18.5×23 cm
Roman Catholic Parish of Frumoasa, inv.nr.: 176.

The Transylvanian-Armenian songs come in phonetic transcription in Latin letters. The manuscript is basically a

III.1.8.

19th century notebook begun in ink but abandoned after page 18. The manuscript includes 17 songs with 1 to 4 stanzas each, as well as their tunes.

B. K.

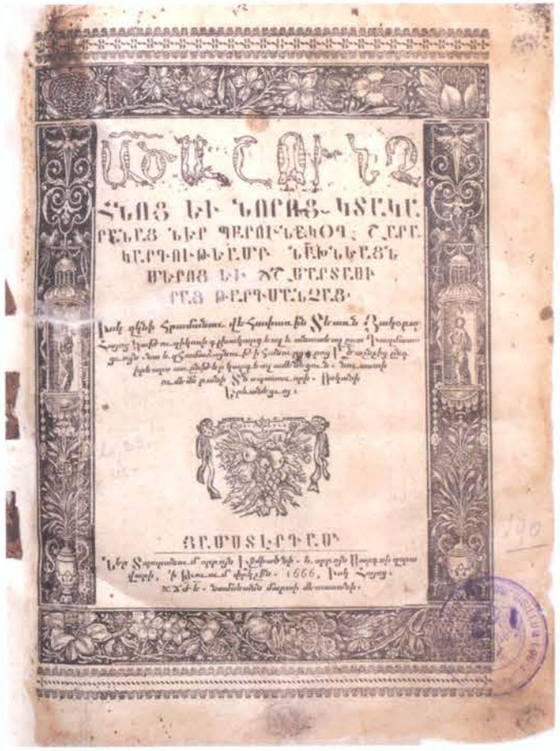
Source: Zsigmond 2007, 258-277.

III.2.

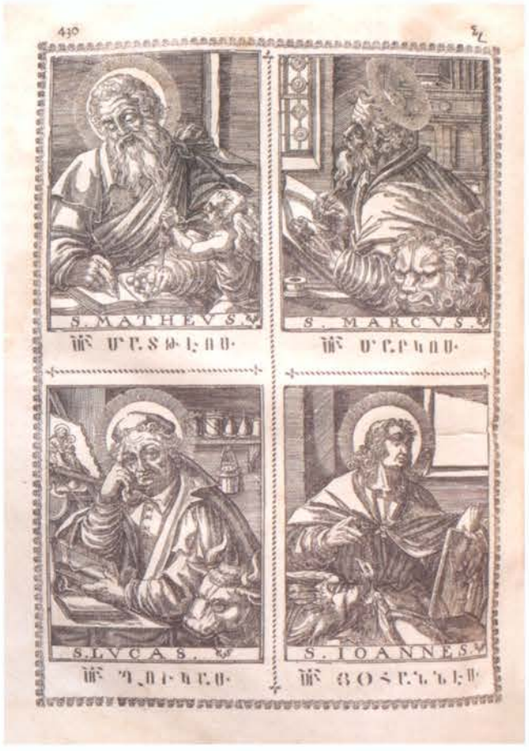
The first printed Armenian Bible in the world, published in Amsterdam

Oskan <Erevanc'i>: Astowacašownč' hnoc' ew noroc' ktakaranac', Yamstērdam, Sowrb Ējmiacin ew Sowrb Sargis Zorawar, 1666–1668, 1470 pp.
Armenopolis, Armenian Catholic Parish, inv.nr.: 498.

The Armenian translation of the Scripture, the Astvatsashunch (Astowacašownč') had been completed by the early 5th century. The development of Armenian script was itself motivated



III.2.



by the efforts to translate the Bible into Armenian. Book printing served the same purpose. In spite of this, as seen above, the first printed Armenian book was not the Bible. The first scriptural section to be printed in Venice in 1565 was the Book of Psalms. The first full printed Armenian-language Bible was published in Amsterdam in 1666.

Voskan Yerevantsi (Oskan Erewanc'i, 1614–1674) was a driving force behind Armenian book printing; he operated in the Netherlands, Italy, and France. In 1656, he accompanied Matteos Caretsi (Matt'ēos Carec'i), a cleric from Echmiadzin, to Europe, in order to study the technology of printing. In 1666 Voskan took over the Surb Echmiadzin and Surb Sargis Zoravar ("Sowrb Ējmiacin ew Sowrb Sargis Zoravar") printing press, which had been founded in 1658 by the emissaries of the Catholicos. The publication of the Bible was begun in 1666 and lasted for 2 years. The basis for Voskan's Bible was a manuscript commissioned by Armenian King Hethum in Cilicia in 1295. In addition, Voskan also prepared the world's first concordance for the Armenian Bible and for the reading of the Latin Scriptures. Voskan's Bible was richly illustrated, coming with 159 woodcuts by Christoffel van Sichem (mostly modelled on Albrecht Dürer) and would remain the etalon for Armenian book printing in general and, up until the 19th century, for Bible editions in particular (Constantinople, 1705; Venice, 1733; St Petersburg, 1817; Serampore, India, 1817). In Voskan's press in Amsterdam 10 titles were published. He then relocated to Leghorn, Italy, where he printed 3 books in 1669/70, before moving to Marseilles, where he continued his operations.

M. P.

Source: Pehlivanian 2001, 57-58.

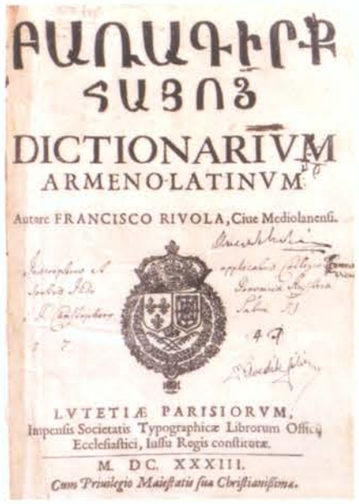
III.3.1.

The first printed Armenian-Latin dictionary in the world

Rivola, Francesco: Barǎgirk' Hayoc'. Dictionarium Armeno Latinum. Lutetiae Parisiorum, 1633, 396 pages.
Budapest, Armenian Catholic Parish, inv.nr.: 273.

The first printed Armenian-Latin dictionary in the world was compiled by Francesco Rivola, a philologist from Milan. Possessors' entries evince that this 17th-century volume belonged to Jesuit Christophoro Sabni in 1741; in the early 20th century, Budapest citizen Félix Ávedik acquired it.

B. K.



III.3.1.

III.3.2.

Joachim Schröder's Armenian language encyclopaedia

Schröder, Johann Joachim: Thesaurus linguae armenicae, antiquae et hodiernae cum varia praxios materia, cujus elenchum sequens pagella, Amstelodami, 1711, 410 pages
Armenopolis, Armenian Catholic Parish, inv.nr.: 467.

III.3.2.

Joachim Schröder (1680–1756) was a professor of Oriental Studies at the University of Marburg. In addition to classical Old Armenian (Grabar) grammar, his work ranges over Armenian music and theology, as well as examples of the spoken language of the 18th century. Thus his "thesaurus" is also a piece of linguistic evidence. It was printed at his associates Tomas and Lukas Vanandetsi's (Łukas Vanandec'i) high-quality press. The volume also attests to the fact that Vanandetsi's family entertained good connections with the European intelligentsia.

M. P.

III.3.3.

III.3.3.

2nd edition of the complete Armenian Bible from Constantinople

Astowacašownč' hnoc' ew noroc' ktakakranac', ... Stampōl, 1705.
Budapest, Armenian Catholic Parish, inv.nr.: 07.852.

The second edition of the Armenian Bible appeared in Constantinople, in Petros Latinatsi's (Petros Latinac'i) press, who was a relative of Voskan Yerevantsi's (Oskan Erewanc'i, 1614–1674). The 1705 Constantinople Bible is basically a reprinting of Voskan's Bible from Amsterdam; in contrast, however, it came with smaller type and fewer illustrations. Besides the richly ornamented cover page, there are 16 woodcuts as well as vignettes and ornamental letters.

B. K.

III.3.4.

III.3.4.

Armenian liturgy of the hours from Constantinople.

Žamagirk' hayoc'. Kostandnowpōlis, 1772.
Budapest, Armenian Catholic Parish, inv.nr.: 07.862

III.3.5.

Turkish-language New Testament printed in Armenian letters

Rapp vê xelas êtičimiz Yisows K'ristosown eêni ahte ki inčili Šerif. St'ampōlta, 1856.
Armenopolis, Armenian Catholic Parish, inv.nr.: 655.

III.3.5.

New Testament in Armenian-Turkish language (i.e. dačkeren). This script made it possible that the Armenians reading Armenian letters but speaking the Turkish language should be able to access the Bible as well as other literary works. The decline of West Armenian culture and the genocide commencing in 1915 made this script and language form thoroughly extinct.

M. P.

III.3.6.

Armenian liturgy of the hours from Voskan Erevantsi's press in Marseilles

Girk' Žamakargowt'ean or koč'i ateni, I Marsiliaj k'ałak'i, Sowrb Ējmiacin ew Sowrb Sargis Zoravar, 1673
Armenopolis, Armenian Catholic Parish, cat.nr.: 735

This volume is one of but 17 printed in the Marseilles-based press of Bishop Voskan Erevantsi (Oskan Erewanc'i, 1614–1674). The cover page very emphatically dedicates it to "King Louis of the French" (presumably Louis XIV), acknowledging the privilege granted by him to enable Armenian-language book printing in Marseilles. Bishop Voskan was one of the most spectacular figures in Armenian cultural history and the first ever to print the Armenian Bible in full (Amsterdam, 1666–68). It was due to taxation conflicts that he had to leave Amsterdam and move to Marseilles in 1672.

This book, comprising "the liturgical hours of the Holy Armenian Church" was phrased by "the Patriarch Sahak, Mesrop, Giwt, and Jovhannes Mandakowni." This volume is the third edition of the text, coming from the Marseilles-based "Sowrb Ējmiacin ew Sowrb Sargis Zoravar" press. The first two were printed in Amsterdam in 1662 and 1667, respectively.

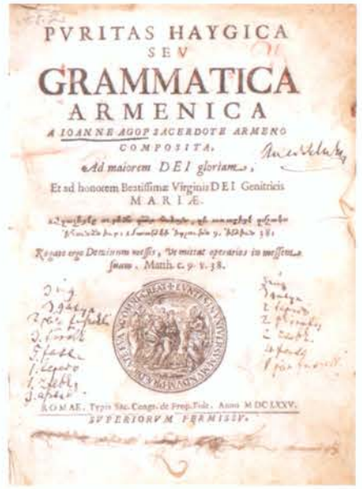
M. P.

III.3.6.

III.4.1.

Armenian grammar book printed by the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith

Agop, Ioanne: Puritas haygica seu grammatica Armenica. Romae, 1675.
Budapest, Armenian Catholic Parish, inv.nr.: 07.858.



III.4.1.

III.4.2.

Armenian-rite Roman Catholic book of liturgy published by the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith

Xorhrdatetr – Liturgia Armena. Romae, 1677.
Armenopolis, Armenian Catholic Parish, inv.nr.: 725.

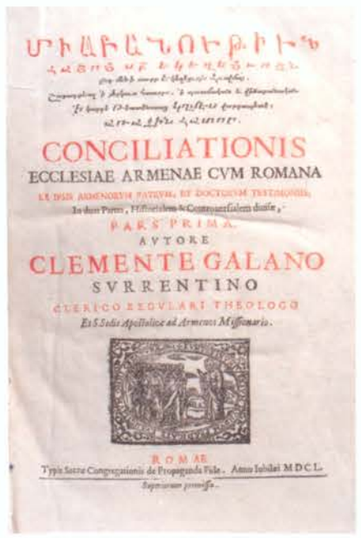
Patarag (Surb Patarag) is the name of the festive liturgy in the Armenian Apostolic Church, only applicable on Sundays. In Armenian Catholic usage, patarag means the High Mass. *Patragamatoyts* is the Armenian book of liturgy, whose Latin-rite equivalent is called *Missale Romanum*. Its simplified form is the Khorhrdatetr (Xorhrdatetr). The first Armenian Catholic missal was created when Dominican monks entered Nakhichevan Province. It was the Uniate Brethren branch of the Dominicans, particularly interested in the Armenian mission, that moved to Nakhichevan. They found it instrumental to transplant the Armenian liturgy into Catholic practice. It was this missal that was subsequently used when the Arme-

III.4.2.

nian Catholic book of liturgy was eventually reprinted in Rome and then in Venice and Vienna.

Barseł Holov (aka Barseljan or Polsec'i; *d.* 1693) and Ioanne Agop collaborated in editing for the press the Armenian Khorhrdatetr, or liturgical guide, printed in Rome in 1677.

B. K.

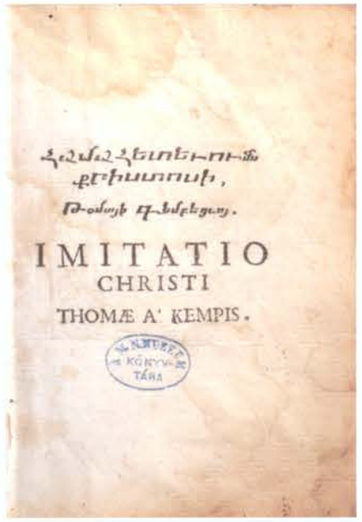


III.4.3.

III.4.3.

Theatine monk Clemens Galanus' presentation of Armenian-Catholic church unions

Galano, Clemente (Klemes Galanos): Miabanowt'iwn hayoc' Sowrb Ekełecoyn. / Conciliationis Ecclesiae Armenae cum Romana. Romae, 1650.
Budapest, Armenian Catholic Parish, cat.nr.: 07.849



III.4.4.

III.4.4

Armenian translation of The Imitation of Christ by Thomas à Kempis

T'oma Gembac'i: Girk' Tōmayi Gembec'woy ... Yałags hamahetewmann K'ristosi... // Roma, 1705
Budapest, National Széchényi Library, cat.nr.: 319.271

Thomas à Kempis was very popular with the Armenians as well; his *Imitatio Christi* saw numerous Armenian-language editions in Amsterdam, Constantinople, Rome, and Venice.

B. K.

III.4.5.

III.4.5.

Armenian-language gospel commentary by Jacobus Villotte, a French Jesuit active in the Armenian missions

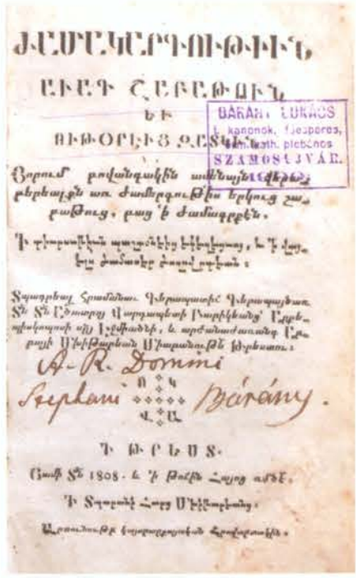
Villotte, Jacques: Commentarius in Evangelia // Meknič' Srboy Awetaranin, ... Romae, 1714.
Budapest, Armenian Catholic Parish, 07.822

III.5.1

Book of the liturgical hours from the Mechitarist press in Trieste

Žamakargowt'iwn awag sabat'own...I T'rest, 1808.
Armenopolis, Armenian Catholic Parish, inv.nr. 397.

After the death of Abbot Mechitar, a controversy emerged within the Venetian Mechitarist Order, leading to a number of monks moving to Trieste in 1773. Here they founded a book press on a privilege obtained from Empress Maria Theresa. This was practically the first truly Mechitarist press. Between 1776 and 1810, they published some 70 titles, after which the branch relocated to Vienna. The Trieste press printed mainly Armenian-language books, but they also published works in Latin, Greek, French, and Italian. These were primarily devotional volumes and prayer-books dedicated to private use, but they also included missals, psalteries, and breviaries. During their Trieste period, the Mechitarists printed no scientific works.



III.5.1.

This volume has the possessor's inscriptions of cleric Lukács Bárány and Armenopolis school teacher Zachariás Gábrus.

B. K.

III.5.2.

Armenian-Turkish dictionary from the Mechitarist press in Vienna

Č'agečean, Ep'remi: Nor barbaṙaran hayeren – tačkeren. I Viēnna, 1850.
Budapest, Armenian Catholic Parish, inv.nr.: 07.854.

III.5.2.

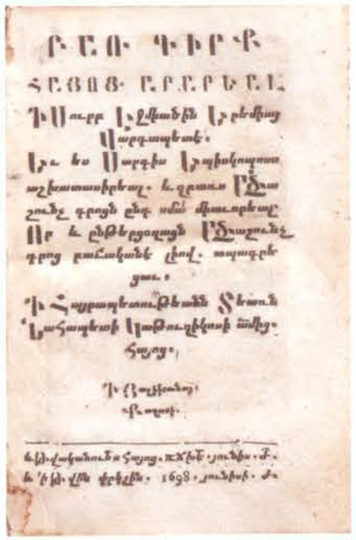
III.5.3.

Armenian dictionary from Leghorn

Eremiay <Mełrec'i>: Bar girk' hayoc'. Livorno, 1698., 344 pp.
Armenopolis, Armenian Catholic Parish, inv.nr.: 632.

Eremiay was a Vardapet of Echmiadzin; his dictionary, in collaboration with Bishop Sarkis, was dedicated to Nahapet, Catholicos of all Armenians. On the frontispiece of the volume, an engraving can be found, with the initials of Christoffel van Sichem.

B. K.



III.5.3.

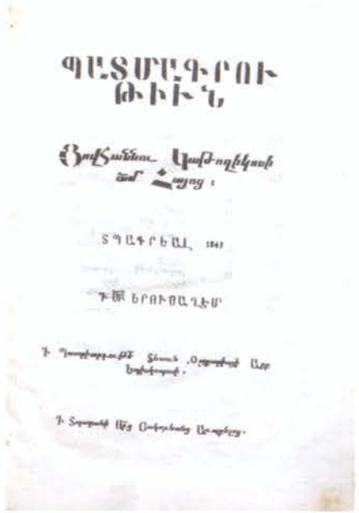
III.5.4.

Catholicos Hovhannes' book on history published in Jerusalem

Yovhannēs <Drasxanakertc'i>: Patmowt'iwn Yovhannow katołikosi Amenayn Hayoc'. - Erowsałēm: Tp. Srboc' Hakobeanc', 1843
Armenopolis, Armenian Catholic Parish, inv.nr.: 685.

Hovhannes Draskhanakertsi (Yovhannes Drasxanakertc'i, 845–929) was Catholicos of all Armenians from 897. His book presents Armenian history from the beginning to 924, thus serving as one of the most important sources of Armenian history as well. In the section starting from the second half of the 9th century, he records King Smbad I and Ashot Yerkat; as an eye-witness and active protagonist, he accounts for the events creditably. This volume was published in Jerusalem, by the press of the Armenian Apostolic patriarchate, established in 1833.

M. P.

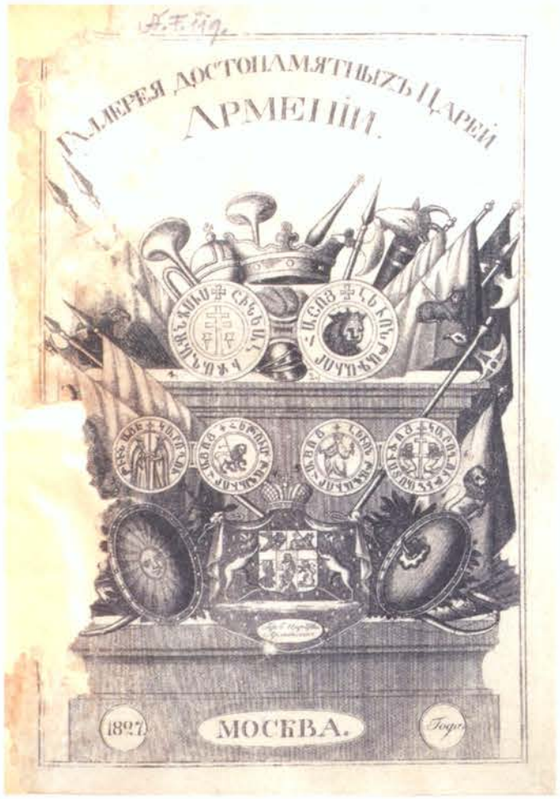


III.5.4.

III.5.5.

Travels in Greater Armenia: a travelogue about Armenia

J̌alaleanc', Sargis: Čanaparhordowt'iwn I Mecn Hayastan. I Tp'xis, 1853.
Armenopolis, Armenian Catholic Parish, inv.nr.: 676.



III.5.6.

III.5.5.

III.5.6.

Portrait gallery of Armenia's memorable monarchs

Galerya dostopamyatnyx C'arey Armenii. Moskva, 1827.
Budapest, Armenian Catholic Parish, cat.nr.: 07.709

III.5.7.

Collection of Armenian poems from St Petersburg

Miansareanc', M. M.: K'nar Haykakan. S. Peterbowrg, 1868.
Armenopolis, Armenian Catholic Parish, inv.nr.: 718.

III.5.6.

The press in St Petersburg was founded by Grigor Khaldareants an Armenian merchant from Nor Jugha (Nor Jułа, New Julfa), who printed 16 titles within 7 years. The early history of Armenian book printing in Russia, however, was not restricted to St Petersburg; Armenian volumes were also printed in Nor Nakhichevan and Astrakhan.

B. K.

In Venice, the Mechitarists established their own printing house in 1789, where they published hundreds of works in nearly 40 languages, ranging from Hebrew to Arabic. The monks cherished a lively connection with the diaspora and the Armenian booksellers, so their books found their way to the provinces of the Ottoman Empire as well.

B. K.

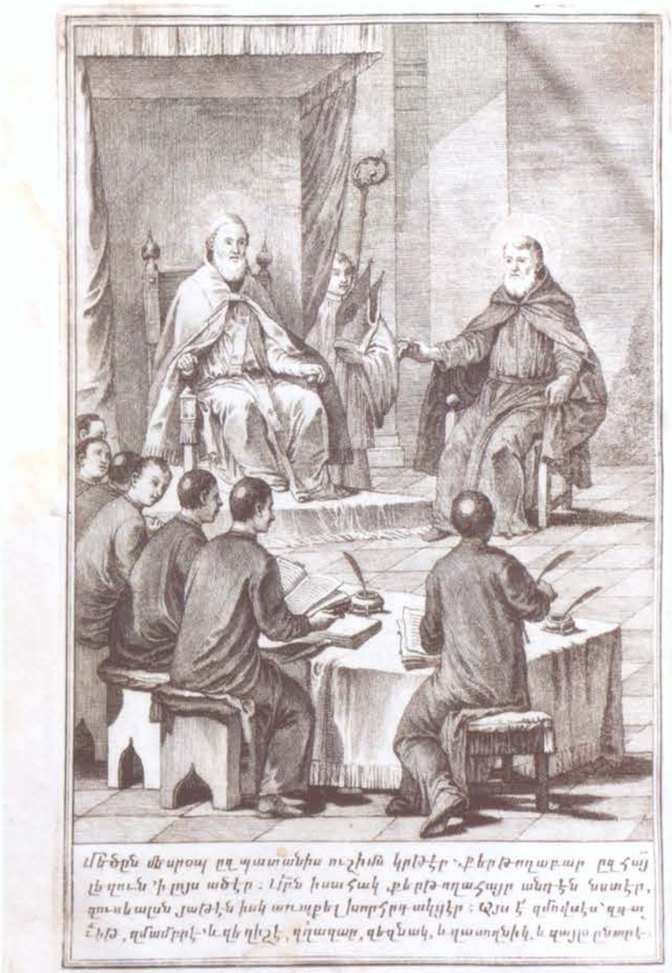
III.5.7.

Works by the founder of the Mechitarist Order, Mechitar of Sebaste

Abbot Mechitar ushered in the period of Renaissance in Armenian literature, harmonizing Armenian tradition with Catholic doctrine. Abbot Agagianian later dubbed Abbot Mechitar "the second illuminator of the Armenians."

The Mechitarists in Venice and Armenian book printing

It was in Constantinople in 1701 that Mechitar of Sebaste (Mxit'ar Sebastac'i, 1676–1749) founded a religious order, which moved to the Isle of St Lazarus in Venice (the former leprosarium) in 1715. The Armenian order followed the Benedictine rules at first, so they came to be known as the Armenian Benedictines. The Mechitarists have since played a pioneering role in the promotion of Armenian culture and science; in the 18th and 19th centuries, they belonged to the elite of Armenian historians and philologists (Armenologists). Their Armenian books were initially printed in various Italian presses. They most frequently employed Antonio Portoli, whose workshop printed Armenian books from 1694 to the second half of the 18th century.



III.6.1.

III.6.1.

III.6.1.

Old Armenian (Grabar) textbook by Abbot Mechitar of Sebaste

Sebastac'woj, Mxit'aray: K'erakanowt'iwn grabari lezowi hajkazan seri. I Vēnētik, 1730.
Budapest, Armenian Catholic Parish, cat.nr.: 277.

III.6.2.

The didactics of prayer by Abbot Mechitar of Sebaste

Sebastac'woj, Mxit'aray: Krt'owt'iwn alōt'ic'. I Vēnētik, 1772.
Budapest, National Széchényi Library.

III.6.3.

The first, richly illustrated lectionary of the Mechitarists in Venice

Ćašoc'girk', gełec'katip ew vayelowč'. I Vēnētik, Xojay Sahrati Ordi Paron Gaspar ew T'adēos Hamazaspean, 1686. Armenopolis, Armenian Catholic Parish, inv.nr.: 321.

The first edition of the printed lectionary of the Armenian Church. This liturgical book contains readings for church services. This volume is one of only three titles that were published by Gaspar Sehrimanean, a rich businessman based in Nor Jugha / Isfahan (Nor Jułа, New Julfa). His extreme wealth enabled him to have this wonderfully luxurious lectionary printed in Venice, creating perhaps the most beautiful Armenian early print. The whole-page left-hand-side woodcut

III.6.3.

III.6.4.

depicts the Immaculate Conception in a European style; on the right-hand side, we see an Armenian-style text indentation with a header and human-shaped ornamental initials.

M. P.

III.6.4.

Khachatur Erzrumetsi (Xač'atowr Ērzrowmec'i): Hamarōtowt'iwn Baroyakani Astowacabanowt'ean. I Vēnētik, 1709.

Budapest, National Széchényi Library, inv.nr.: 608.763.

III.6.5.

Xač'atowr Ērzrowmec'i: Bank' ew Karozk' yałags Terownakan Tōnic' ew Awowrc' Ałowhac'ic'. I Vēnētik, 1710.

Armenian Catholic Parish of Gheorgheni, inv.nr. 96.

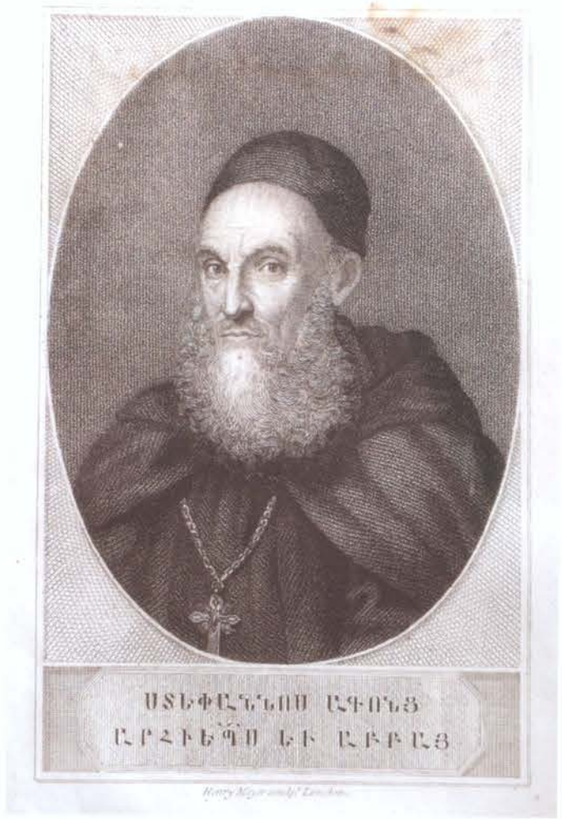
The work of István Ákoncz Kövér (Step'annos Agonc' Giwvēr, 1740–1824)

István Ákoncz Kövér is hailed as one of the most highly acclaimed and most creative personages of the Mechitarist Order. He was the third arch-abbot and first archbishop of the Venetian branch of the Mechitarists.

He was born in Gheorgheni on 20 November 1740. He professed himself in the order in Venice in 1758; he was ordained in 1763. He was interested in science, with special regard to theology,

III.6.6.

linguistics, and geography. Most of his mission time was spent in Elisabethopolis, Transylvania; he spoke the Transylvanian-Armenian dialect. He substantially contributed to the eventual construction, in 1795, of a new monastery and a nice church in Elisabethopolis, modelled on the buildings on the Isle of St Lazarus. Ákoncz Kövér spent a total of 9 years in Transylvania. He was recalled from the mission in 1799, following the death of the Arch-abbot of Venice; he



III.6.6.

was among the potential successors. The Bishop of Transylvania said the following words of farewell: "*May the lord reverend just go! For if he is not elected Pope, he will surely be elected Arch-abbot.*" He is credited with the second foundation of the order. He established Mechitarist institutes in Rome, Constantinople, and Astrakhan. His geographical works ran to no less than 11 volumes and took nearly 5 years to complete. Unfortunately, the volumes dealing with the Eastern Armenian territories have been destroyed.

A. D. A. – B. K.

III.6.6.

István Ákoncz Kövér's posthumous biography

Ŗafayelean, Alek'sandri: Nkaragir varowc' Step'anosi Agonc' Giwvēr... I Vēnētik, 1825.
Budapest, Armenian Catholic Parish.

III.6.7

The geography of Africa by István Ákoncz Kövér

Step'annos Agonc' Giwvēr: Aśxarhagrowt'iwn č'oris masanc' aśxarhi, I Vēnētik, 1802.
Armenopolis, Armenian Catholic Parish,
Inv. nr: 663. 17×11 cm, 627 pages.

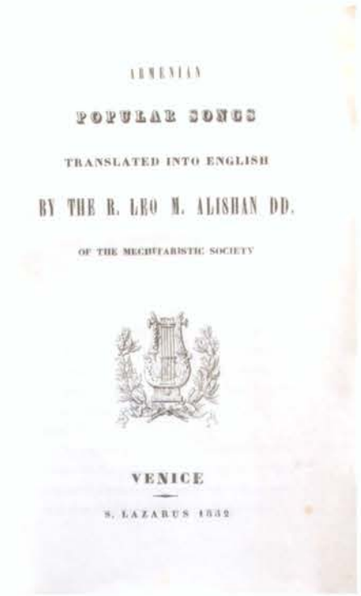
III.6.8.

Collection of Armenian folk songs in the English translation of one of the most excellent Mechitarist scholars, Levon Alishan

Armenian popular songs / transl. into Engl. by the R. Leo M. Alishan . - Venice : Lazarus, 1852. - 83 pp. ; 8", 22×14 cm
Armenopolis, Armenian Catholic Parish, inv.nr. 689.
Texts in English and Armenian

Levon Alishan (Łewond Ališan, 1820–1901) is one of the most productive and influential Armenian intellectuals and poets. He became a member of the Armenian Catholic Order of Mechitarists in Venice in 1838. He is also considered the founder of Armenian folklore studies. In this bilingual work of his, he attempts to present Armenian folk poetry in English translation as well. In his preface he addresses the English-language public, appealing to Britain's "excited-enterprising spirit" and interest in the

III.6.7.


ARMENIAN

POPULAR SONGS

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

BY THE R. LEO M. ALISHAN DD.

OF THE MECHITARISTIC SOCIETY

VENICE

S. LAZARUS 1852

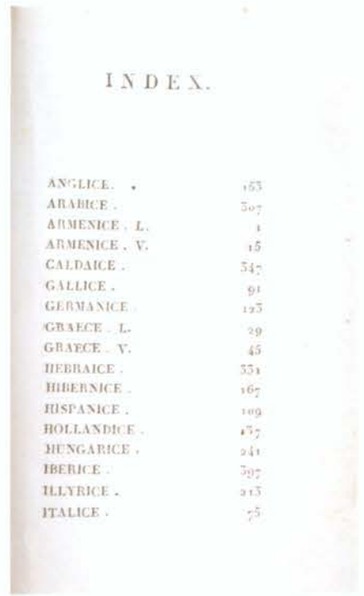
III.6.8.

PRECES

Venetiis

1823

III.6.9.


INDEX.

ANGLICE.	163
ARABICE.	307
ARMENICE. L.	1
ARMENICE. V.	15
CALDAICE.	345
GALLICE.	91
GERMANICE.	123
GRAECE. L.	29
GRAECE. V.	45
HEBRAICE.	331
HIBERNICE.	167
HISPANICE.	109
HOLLANDICE.	257
HUNGARICE.	241
IBERICE.	297
ILLYRICE.	213
ITALICE.	75

III.6.9.

Oriental world. He also adds that though the Armenian people, due to their captivity and constant threat of barbarian invasion could not soar very high in their literature, this fragmentary collection is expected to raise some friendly sentiments in Britain.

M. P.

III.6.9.

St Nerses Clajensis' prayer in 40 different languages

Nerses <Clajensis>: Preces S. Niersis Clajensis Armeniorum Patriarchae viginti quatuor Linguis editae. - Venetiis In Insula S. Lazari, 1823. - [4] Bl., 422 S., [1] Bl. : Frontisp. (Portr.).
16,5×10,5 cm
Armenopolis, Armenian Catholic Parish, inv.nr.: 638.

Polyglot edition of prayers by 12th-century church doctor and poet St Nerses Snorhali (Sowrb Nersēs D. Klajec'i Šnorhali, 1102-1173). The volume was printed in 1823, at the Mechitarist press established in 1789 on the Isle of St Lazarus, Venice. At the time, this press played a leading role in Armenian book printing. In addition to Armenian, many other Western and Oriental languages were technically manageable as well, epitomized by this volume among others.

M. P.

IV. Church and the Veneration of Saints

The Armenians broke away from the Catholic Church in the 5th century. Attempts at a union between the Armenian Apostolic and later the Roman Catholic Church would fail repeatedly. The Armenians immigrating to Transylvania had followed the Armenian Apostolic (or Gregorian) confession, but after their settlement, they adopted the "model" of the Armenians in Lemberg and united with the Roman Catholic Church.

Within the Armenian society, the bishop was also a secular leader. It was Bishop Minas Tokhatetsi (Minas Toxatec'i, 1610?–1686) of the ancient Gregorian rite who had led them into Transylvania. Their union with the Catholic Church, on the other hand, was occasioned by Oxendio Virziresco (1654–1715), the first uniate bishop, who came from the Moldovan Voivodeship. In the decades following Oxendio's death, missionaries from Erzurum and Constantinople entered Transylvania, but conversely, Armenian Catholic priests from Transylvania are also recorded in foreign missions (Bucharest, the Crimean, etc.). Oxendio was the last autonomous apostolic vicar, his post ceasing after his death. From 1741 to 1930, the four Armenian Catholic parishes of Transylvania (Armenopolis, Elisabethopolis, Gheorgheni, and Frumoasa) belonged to the Roman Catholic diocese of Transylvania, just like today.

The Armenians' union with the Catholic Church also affected their veneration of saints. The cult of the most important saints of the Apostolic Armenian Church (St Gregory the Illuminator, St Gayane, St Hripsime, etc.) gradually declined, while the saints of the Roman Catholic Church gained increasing prominence. Consequently, only three characteristically Armenian saints continued to be represented in Transylvania: St Gregory the Illuminator (an "ecumenical" saint), Early Christian virgin martyr St Hripsime, and St Mesrop Mashtots, the creator of the Armenian alphabet.

The most highly esteemed saint of the Armenians has always been the Virgin Mary, whose special place is attested by her many icons and statues in the Armenian churches of Transylvania. Among this throng of representations, not only the popular Baroque images of the Glorious Virgin (her Assumption or her Coronation in Heaven) but more intimate and familiar elements of popular devotion are also to be found (Queen of the Rosary, the Teaching of Mary, the Holy Family), as well as copies of popular votive icons (e.g. the Madonna of Mariazell). The merging of the Armenians into the Roman Catholic Church is reflected by the cult of the Queen of the Rosary in Armenopolis from 1770 onwards. The votive (*ex voto*) icons presented here mark this feature, suggesting that the Queen of the Rosary icon in Armenopolis was venerated as a miracle-working picture.

B. K. – E. P.

IV.1.

Portrait of Stephano Stephanowicz Roska (?)

Unknown artist, second half of the 18th century
Oil on canvas; 104×71 cm
Written into the book lying on the table: "Iesu Christo Dei Filio Seculoru(m) Liberatori De Sacros A. Christi Incarn...". To the left under the picture: "AETATIS SUAE 63" On the top volume: „Thesaurus Lingvae Arme(nicae)"
Armenopolis, Armenian Catholic Parish, inv.nr.: VIII.13.00.58.

IV.1.

The sheet glued to the back of the picture before its restoration bore the following inscription: "Paulus Firomalli (sic), dominicanus professor linguae lat. in Etsmiadzin, Archiep. Nachicsevanensis. Nat. in Calabria. (1623). Inscribi Curavit Lucas Bárány parochus 1905"; on the back of the canvas stretchers, in ink: "Paulus Firomalli, dominicanus, professor linguae lat." Although his name was misspelled, the writer, Lukács Bárány must have thought of Archdeacon Paulus Piromallus, born in Calabria, Southern Italy, in 1591. Piromallus had joined the Dominican Order before being sent by Pope Urban VIII on a mission to Armenia. He acted in Constantinople, Echmiadzin, and Lemberg, then moving to Nakhichevan, where he was appointed titular bishop in 1655. Of his literary output, his Armenian-Latin dictionary and his treatise on the dual nature of Christ deserve special mention. Since his life preceded the Transylvanian settlement of the Armenians, he never visited Transylvania.

Although Lukács Bárány's identification is at present our only source to confirm that the portrait is, indeed, the Dominican monk Piromallus. This claim is made even more doubtful by the fact that he could not have any connection with the Armenians in Transylvania. Moreover, the open book on top is entitled *Thesaurus linguae armenicae*, which makes no sense in Piromallus' context as he is not credited with any such work. Stephano Stephanowicz Roska, on the other hand, authored several unpublished manuscripts either written by himself or translated from a foreign tongue. Such are his Armenian-Latin and Latin-Armenian Dictionaries which, according to Armenian literary history, include visual etymologies, so the above title would be far more adequate to his output. The identification of the character as Roska is further underpinned by the coat of arms above him to the left, in which a Greek cross, an upside-down lunar crescent, three stars or lilies appear in a red background. The same heraldic composition occurs on the stamp sealing the articles of association of several Transylvanian-Armenian religious societies founded by Roska, such as the Society of St. Gregory the Illuminator in Armenopolis. Besides, in this portrait, next to the coat of arms to the left, a capital letter R is discernible.

Stephano Stephanowicz Roska (1670–1739) was an apostolic missionary, provost of the Armenians in Stanisławów (present-day Ivano-Frankivsk, Ukraine), and apostolic visitor. He was born in Kamyanets-Podilsky and studied at the Urbanian College, the Catholic missionary seminary in Rome. In 1729, Archbishop Tobia Augustinowicz of Lemberg sent him to Transylvania, to visit the parishes of the Armenians there. Concomitantly, he founded several religious societies at the four Armenian parishes, some of which continued to be active down to the 19th century. Stephano Stephanowicz Roska is thus more closely tied to the Transylvanian-Armenians and their centre, Armenopolis, than Piromallus. For this reason, as well as because of the above factors, we find it more likely that he is portrayed in the man sitting in the voluted armchair wearing a barret and a white collar.

E. P.

Unpublished

IV.2.

Portrait of Oxendio Virziresco

Unknown Transylvanian painter, second half of the 18th century
Oil on canvas; 133×97 cm
Inscription at the bottom of the picture: "OXENDIVS VERZELLESCVS ARMENO MOLDAVVS / COLLEGII VRBANI DE PROPAGANDA FIDE / ALVMNVS EPISCOPVS ALADEN ANN. D. MDCXCI"
Armenopolis, Armenian Catholic Parish, inv.nr.: VIII.13.00.99

The portrait of the first and last bishop of the Transylvanian-Armenians, Oxendio Virziresco, is here presented in a broad, gilded frame. The long-bearded, dark-haired bishop is wearing a laced rochet and a black pelerine, a large cross is hanging from his neck on a gilded chain. In his ringed right hand he is holding a document, presumably Pope Alexander VIII's brief appointing Virziresco titular bishop of Aladia and vicar of the Armenians in Transylvania. On the table covered in red draperies there are quills and Oxendio's mitre decorated with pearls and a rosette; the bishop's staff is leaned against the table. In the centre of the inscription at the bottom of the picture is the coat of arms of the Verzár family (swordsman treading on a Turk's head and a griffin holding a cross and a sword). The date at the end of the inscription is often assumed to be the date of the portrait's completion although it merely hints at the appointment of Bishop Oxendio. The coat of arms of the Verzárs suggests that the picture was painted in the second half of the 18th century, for it was in 1760 that the family gained nobility from Empress Maria Theresa.

E. P.

Source: Drăgoi 2010, 115; Sabău 2005, 385-386.

IV.2.

IV.3.

Portrait of Jacob Stephan Augustinowicz

Unknown painter, second half of the 18th century
Oil on canvas; 74×56 cm
Unsigned
Armenopolis, Armenian Catholic Parish, inv.nr.: VIII.13.00.112

Up until 1877, the portrait of Jacob Stephan Augustinowicz would recur again and again in the inventories of the Armenian Catholic Parish of Armenopolis; in that year, however, an unknown person crossed out the name Augustinowicz and wrote beside it, in pencil, the name of Stephanowicz Roska. This suggests that from the last quarter of the 19th century, this painting was increasingly considered to be Roska's portrait. It also appears thus in Kristóf Szongott's monograph of Armenopolis (Vol. I, 352; Vol. IV, 105) and in the monthly periodical *Armenia* (September 1900, 257). Until very recently, the person portrayed here has always been identified as Roska. The picture from Armenopolis, however, can be associated with two other paintings from the bequeaths of Galician-Armenians, with the man depicted here bearing an eerie resemblance to the man in those portraits, whose name, Jacob Stephan Augustinowicz, is also given in the inscription there. The similitude of the portraits as well as inventory data confirm beyond all doubt that this portrait from Armenopolis depicts Jacob Stephan Augustinowicz rather than Stephano Stephanowicz Roska.

IV.3.

Jacob Stephan Augustinowicz studied in the Urbanian College of the Propaganda Fide Congregation in Rome, obtaining his doctorate there in 1737. From 1752 to 1783, he served as the Armenian Catholic Archbishop of Lemberg. Making all effort to preserve the purity of the Armenian rite, he was in constant connection with the Armenian Catholic clergy in Transylvania. The Collective Archive in Armenopolis houses a certificate he issued for Jakab Korbuly, a student of the Collegio Armeno et Ruteno in Lemberg.

E. P.

Source: Drăgoi 2010, 115-116; Sabău 2005, 386.

IV.4.

IV.4.

X-ray image of the portrait of Jacob Stephan Augustinowicz

An X-ray examination of Jacob Stephan Augustinowicz's portrait revealed that another picture is hidden under the present layer of paint. The earlier image of a man with a moustache was painted over in the second half of the 18th century. Such economical recycling of canvases has been common practice down to the present day.

E. P.

IV.5. Portrait of Mihály Theodorovicz

Unknown painter, second half of the 18th century
Oil on canvas; 80×64 cm
Inscription on the book lying on the table: "Time Deum et Serva mandata ejus"
Armenopolis, Armenian Catholic Parish, inv.nr.: VIII.13.00.113.

IV.5.

Mihály Theodorovicz (*b.* Bistrița, 1690; *d.* Armenopolis, 1760) was an Armenian merchant's apprentice in Sibiu, before advancing to the level of cantor, Armenian parson, and, finally, Archdeacon of Armenopolis. He saw the construction of Solomon's Church and the replacement of the Julian with the Gregorian calendar. He was appointed bishop by Maria Theresa, but he did not receive church canonization. Thus it was decided that from then on the Transylvanian-Armenians would be headed by the Latin-rite Roman Catholic bishop of Transylvania. Theodorovicz was sent to Vienna on several occasions in order to obtain privileges for the Armenians in Armenopolis; in 1725, he brought along Charles III's deed of privilege. With his help, Armenopolis managed to incorporate the village of Gherla as well as the town precincts.

His portrait depicts a man with large eyes and long brown beard. Sitting by his table, his hand rests upon a document inscribed "Time Deum et Serva mandata ejus" (Fear God and keep his commandments; Ecclesiastes 12:13). He is wearing a black cassock with red buttons and lining; on his arm, a floral attire, on his finger, a ring can be seen. In the background, we can spot a bookshelf.

E. P.

Source: Drăgoi 2010, 116; Sabău 2005, 387-388.

IV.6.

Queen of the Rosary

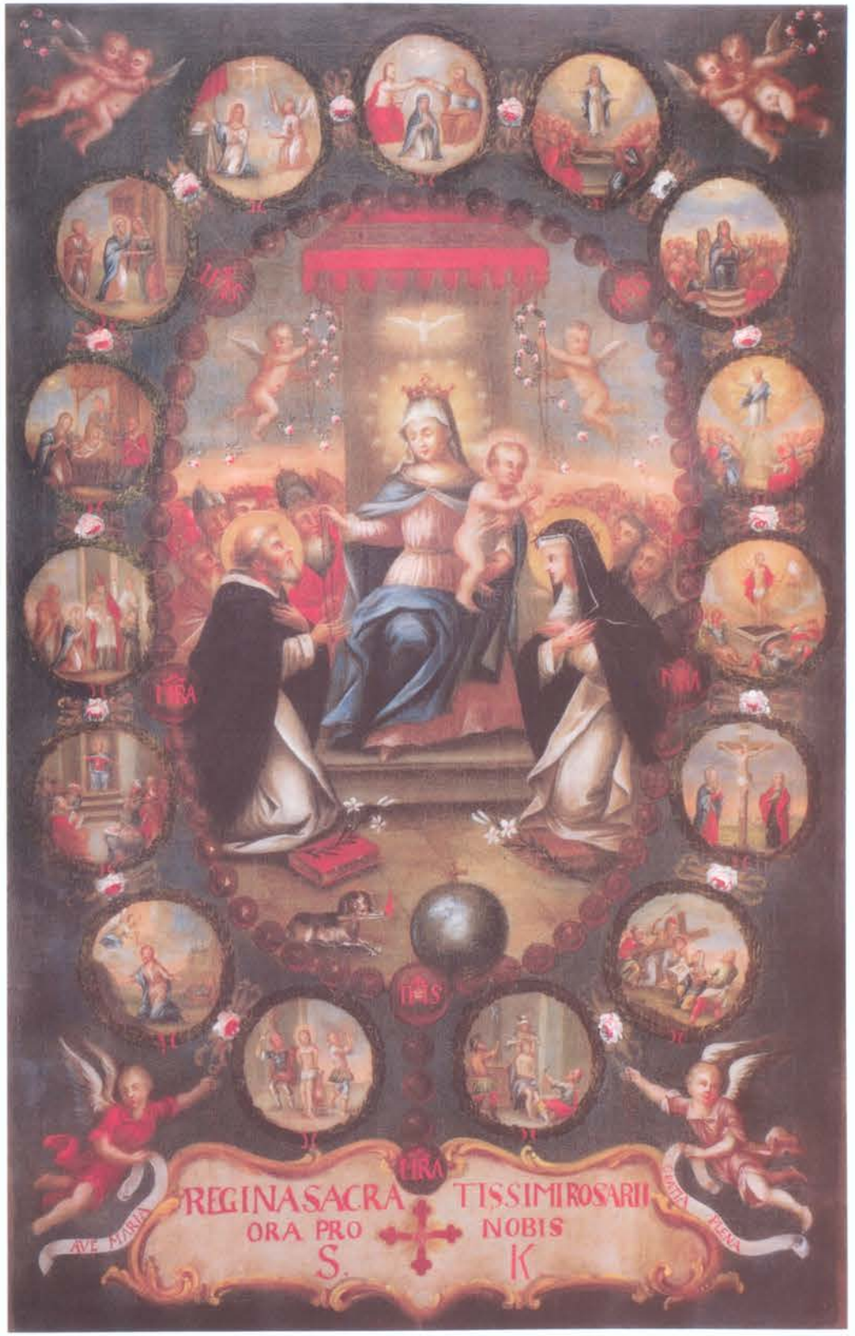
Unknown painter, second half of the 18th century
Oil on canvas; 155×99 cm
Text banner held by angels at the bottom: "AVE MARIA GRATIA PLENA"; Baroque cartouche at the bottom of the picture: "REGINA SACRATISSIMI ROSARII ORA PRO NOBIS; S. K."
Armenopolis, Armenian Catholic Parish, inv.nr.: VIII.13.00.32.

The central field of the picture follows one of the most common iconographic type of the Queen of the Rosary: the Virgin hands the Rosary over to St Dominic and St Catherine of Siena. In front of Dominic are his attributes, the book and the lily; the dog in the foreground of the central field, with a torch in its muzzle, as well as the globe can also be linked to him. To the right of Mary's throne, St Catherine is kneeling in her Dominican habit, with a crown of thorns on her head and stigmata on her hands. Characteristic is the multitude kneeling in the background of St Dominic and St Catherine, including quite a few figures with crowns or typically Armenian liturgical vestments, suggesting Armenian saints, kings, or queens. The central scene is surrounded by a full rosary consisting of five decades, whose large beads bear the initials of the Virgin Mary. All around, 15 medallions survey the 15 "mysteries" of the rosary, also imitating its beads, connected by small roses. To the left, from the upper register of the picture downwards, we see the Annunciation, Mary's Visitation of Elizabeth, the Birth of Jesus, the Presentation of Jesus, the Finding of Jesus in the Temple of Jerusalem; Jesus on the Mount of Olives, the Scourging of Jesus, the Crowning with Thorns of Jesus, the Carrying of the Cross, the Crucifixion; the Resurrection of the Christ, the Ascension into Heaven, the Coming of the Holy Spirit, the Assumption of the Virgin, and the Coronation of the Virgin Mary.

The altar dedicated to the Queen of the Rosary in the northern chapel of the church of Armenopolis is first documented in the records of the 1781 visitation; however, it had already been hinted at during the 1777 visitation. It seems most likely that the oil painting displayed here was the first altarpiece depicting the rosary, commissioned by the Karácsonyi family. The initials (S K) at the bottom of the picture must belong to the commissioner and can be connected to another Baroque cartouche related both in its date and its style. The latter one is in the parish collection, says "L K 1761" and has the Karácsonyi family coat of arms. Although it is only the surname initials that coincide, it is most plausible that the latter cartouche also belonged to the rosary altar, commissioned by various members of the same family. It must have been removed in 1806, after *The Descent of the Cross*, long attributed to Rubens, replaced the former altarpiece.

E. P.

Source: Drăgoi 2010, 118-119; Sabău 2005, 162-163.



IV.6.

IV.7.

Votive icon

Unknown Transylvanian painter, end of the 18th century
Oil on canvas; 77×66 cm
Baroque cartouche in the bottom left-hand corner: "EX WOTO ANNO 1780"
Armenopolis, Armenian Catholic Parish, inv.nr.: VIII.13.00.37.

In all probability, this icon was commissioned by a wealthy Armenian family to give thanks to the Madonna for her intercession that apparently saved them from the lightning that struck their house and the ensuing fire. Apart from the servant, who is spinning, all figures in the picture turn towards the Virgin in prayer. St Anthony of

IV.7.

Padua, appearing on her right, and the angel (perhaps a guardian angel) to the left serve as interlocutors between the heavenly and the earthly realms. St Anthony's presence does not surprise as he is one of those helper saints whom the faithful have always implored. The detailed portrayal of the tiled house, the clothes of the figures, and the nature of the "accident" is in keeping with the genre of the work. The icon was dedicated to the icon of the Queen of the Rosary in the parish church of Armenopolis; this is evinced by the Virgin of the Rosary who also appears among the clouds, and the Infant Jesus, also holding the Rosary in his hand.

E. P.

Source: Drăgoi 2010, 122-124; Sabău 2005, 259-260.

IV.8.

Votive icon

Unknown Transylvanian painter, end of the 18th century
Oil on canvas; 87×69 cm
Armenopolis, Armenian Catholic Parish, inv.nr.: VIII.13.00.35.

In the upper part of the picture, the Virgin Mary is sitting on a cloud with the Infant Jesus on her arm. They both hold a rosary in their hands and turn towards the figures in the earthly sphere. The city in the bottom part of the picture is merely hinted at by three simple shingle-roofed houses. The narrative frame places scenes from different points of time into a single space, probably telling the story of a miraculous healing. The first scene, to the left, shows a sick woman in green lying in bed, with two relatives, a man and a woman, lighting candles over her. The seriousness of her case is indicated by her lifelessly hanging arm. The next stage occupies the central field: two prominent men carry the woman on a stretcher, probably to see the doctor, who appears in the third scene, giving medicine to the woman. The dark-clad man in the background is probably a priest, while a third man can also be seen in the room. The convalescence of the sick woman is not, however, attributed to the doctor's science but to the intercession of the Virgin Mary, whom the woman in pink and the young boy in the foreground have implored. Both of them (probably the woman's children) hold rosaries in their hands.

E. P.

Source: Drăgoi 2010, 122-124; Sabău 2005, 259.

IV.8.

IV.9.

IV.9.

Votive icon

Unknown Transylvanian painter, *c.* 1780
Oil on canvas; 75×60 cm
Unsigned
Armenopolis, Armenian Catholic Parish, inv.nr.: VIII.13.00.36.

In the lower part of the picture, a landscape with trees and a watermill can be seen; above, the horseman in the water is the commissioner of the painting. He credited the Queen of the Rosary with his rescue from the flood; this is why he had the picture painted. The style of the icon seems to suggest that the artist is the same as the one who created the votive icon listed as IV.8. The simple and lucid composition, the blue background, and the conspicuous similarity of the clouds support this view along with the posture of the Madonna, the execution of the faces, and the occasional lapses in perspective.

E. P.

Source: Drăgoi 2010, 122-124; Sabău 2005, 259-260.

IV.10.

Votive icon

Unknown Transylvanian painter, end of the 18th century
Oil on canvas; 67×48 cm
Baroque cartouche to the left: "1780 EZ VOTO"
Armenopolis, Armenian Catholic Parish, inv.nr.: VIII.13.00.96.

On the semi-arched clouds in the top register of the picture is the Madonna, wearing a blue mantle; on her knee is the Infant Jesus; behind them are rays of light. On Mary's left St Dominic appears among the clouds, wearing the Dominican habit. In one hand he is holding a lily, in the other he gives blessings. In the earthly register, the members of a family are kneeling; to the left is the moustached father with his two sons, to the right, the mother and her daughter. A swaddled infant is lying in the middle. All members of the family wear uniform dark blue clothes; both the men's and the women's garments look very similar. Apart from the baby, all figures hold rosaries in their hands. The icon can be interpreted as an offering for the health and prosperity of the newborn baby and the other family members. The artist must have been a local provincial painter, representing children as if they were smaller-sized adults, as was customary at the time. Their posture is depicted in a rather uncouth manner.

E. P.

Source: Sabău 2005, 259.

IV.10.

IV.11.

Copy of the devotional statuette in Mariazell

Unknown sculptor, end of the 18th century
Linden, painted and gilt; height: 55 cm; diagonal at base: 18×11 cm;
Unsigned

IV.11.

Armenopolis, Armenian Catholic Parish, inv.nr.: VIII.13.00.27.

The Madonna of Mariazell was very highly esteemed among the Armenians in Armenopolis. Whoever could afford went on a pilgrimage there, while many believers commissioned copies of the devotional statuette to be placed in a niche on their own façade. Almost all Baroque houses in Armenopolis had such a niche, housing the patron saint of the commissioner or another saint of special veneration. Predominant were copies of the Mariazell statuette. In the 20th century, these artworks would gradually disappear from the façades; some of them, including this folk-styled soft-wood sample, are stored in the collection of the parish church. The Virgin Mary is presented on her throne, wearing a blue attire with a gilt-edged mantle and a wave-shaped veil on her head. The Infant Jesus is sitting on her lap; he wears a long gilt-edged tunic dyed blue. His small bare feet can be seen under his clothes. Jesus has an apple in his hand, while Mary is giving him a pear.

E. P.

Source: Sabău 2010, 95.

IV.12.

Mesrop Sonkot (Meszrop Szongott) and His Patron St Mesrop Mashtots

Unknown Transylvanian painter, end of the 18th century
Oil on canvas; 69×62 cm
In the open book held by the two cherubs: "S[UR]BN MESROP' VAR[DAPET]:"On the book at the feet of the kneeling youth: "MESROP SON/KOTI" Circular field on the chest of the saint: "A. B. G. D."
Armenopolis, Armenian Catholic Parish, inv.nr.: VIII.13.00.97.

St Mesrop Mashtots (Surb Mesrop Maštoc') , the forefather of Armenian literature and science and creator of the Armenian alphabet, was born around 362. His disciple, Korjun wrote his biography, *Vark Mastotsi (Mashtots' Life)*, as early as the 5th century. After embracing Christianity, Armenia was faced with the severe problems of not having a native written culture and not being under-

IV.12.

stood by Syrian, Greek, and Roman missionaries and priests. Thus Christianity would not easily strike root among the lower layers of society. In order to meet this challenge, Catholicos St Isaac Partev (387–436) – a relative of St Gregory's – and King Vramshapuh (389–414) commissioned the learned monk, Mesrop Mashtots, to produce a very own alphabet for the Armenians. The life of Mesrop abounds in legendary elements. His biographer claimed he had first seen the alphabet in his dreams, as a celestial vision; other traditions tell us that while living as a hermit, Mesrop saw a heavenly hand carve the letters into the wall of his cave. Mesrop's doctrinal and didactic achievements are also recorded; he was canonized soon after his death in 440.

In this picture from Armenopolis, St Mesrop is wearing his habit, sitting in an armchair. In his hand is the kavazan, the staff that belongs to a vardapet, which ends in two facing shells, symbolizing Armenian science. Similar to other depictions, the first four letters of the Armenian alphabet are inscribed on his chest: "A. B. G. D" The kneeling youth is wearing a noble Baroque attire; a rosary is hanging from his hands, knitted in prayer. Between the saint and the young man is an altar table with the liturgical book containing the text of the Holy Mass, as well as a quill and some ink. They indicate the most important acts in Mashtots' life: the creation of the alphabet and the Armenian translation of the Christian liturgy. The letters of the grabar script created by Mashtots also occur in front of the young man's feet and the open book held by the two cherubs. The dove above the cherubs and the hand pointing forward from the clouds suggests the divine origin of Armenian writing. Behind the kneeling youth, a "mysterious figure" can also be spotted: he has long white hair and beard; his facial expression is sad. He is holding a rosary in his hand. Compared to the other figures in the picture, the placement of the older man is rather peculiar, making the impression that Mashtots and the youth are located on a podium, behind which the weird old man emerges from. His posture resembles that of hermit saints; his head is surrounded by a very dim halo.

The inscriptions help us date and interpret the picture. The book held by the cherubs bears the name of the saint himself: "S[ur]bn Mesrop Var[dapet]" ("Saint Mesrop Vardapet"), while the book lying on the ground is insribed "Mesrop Sonkoti." Thus the icon apparently makes an offering of the life and destiny of the young Mesrop Sonkot (Meszrop Szongott) of Armenopolis, begging the saint's intercession on his behalf.

E. P.

Source: Drăgoi 2010, 116-117; Sabău 2005, 389-390.

IV.13.

The Martyrdom of St Hripsime

Unknown painter, 1778
Oil on canvas; 119×83 cm
Inscription at the bottom of the picture: „MARTIROSOWT'[IWN] S[R]B[O]C' HRIP'SIMEANC' 1778"
Armenopolis, Armenian Catholic Parish, inv.nr.: VIII.13.00.111

St Hripsime (Surb Hrip'sime) is one of the earliest and most important saints in the Armenian Apostolic Church. The first version of her legend was documented in Agathangelos' History summarizing the impact of St Gregory the Illuminator and the Christianization of the Armenian people. According to this account, Hripsime had been born into a Roman patrician family in the 3rd century. A beautiful virgin, she vowed chastity together with her female companions but raised the interest of Emperor Diocletian, who wanted to marry her by force. This drove Hripsime and her 36 companions desperately to run. They came to Armenia, hiding in the vineyards surrounding the then capital of Vagharshapat. King Trdat III also noticed the beauty of Hripsime, so much so that he offered to make her his queen. The young Christian woman resisted, keeping her vow of chastity, for which she was cruelly tortured and eventually killed. Her 35 companions and Gayane, the mother superior were also executed.

In the upper register of this picture from Armenopolis, Hripsime appears standing on the clouds, wearing the habit of Clarissa nuns, according to contemporary conventions. The lily in her hand symbolizes her chastity, while the laurel and the palm of martyrdom are held above her head by a cherub. The two registers of the painting are connected by the cherubs holding laurels and palm branches, whose mission is to give the wreath of martyrdom to the saints at the very moment of their passing. The contorted composition of the earthly dimension, the naturalistic representation of the slaughter is in stark contrast with the Baroque depiction of the virgin standing on the clouds and evokes mediaeval narrative techniques. In the front, to the left, is the canopied throne of King Trdat III. The "nun" standing before the ruler, held down by the two turbaned soldiers is none other than Hripsime, who is taken to be executed after her denying the king's wishes. Hripsime also reappears in the second tableau in the foreground. She suffers the severest torments of all. Her arms and legs are tied to a stake in the ground; one soldier is just plucking out her eyes, while another touches a burning torch to her heart. The executions of various means and methods are presented in smaller groups. Near the brook, several decapitated virgins can be seen in nun's habits, while some severed heads are lying all about. Near the bridge, turbaned men are cutting the throats of three nuns fixed to the ground, with blood gushing forth from their mouths and necks – their suffering is very vividly captured by the painter. Behind the group executing Hripsime, soldiers are killing nuns at prayer, to the left lie decapitated corpses. In front of the small Baroque chapel, Christian women are lined up, awaiting beastly execution; their faces reflect the fear of death. Under the palm tree, a cruel soldier is throttling a nun with his bare hands. The Arabic number 1778 helps us date the picture, while the Armenian inscription provides the theme of the picture: The Martyrdom of St Hripsime. This is the one and only painting extant in Transylvania that shows the martyrdom of Hripsime and her fellow virgins.

E. P.

Source: Drăgoi 2010, 121-122; Sabău 2005, 282-284.

IV.13.

IV.14.

St Gregory the Illuminator Baptizes King Trdat (with scenes of the saint's tortures)

Unknown engraver, 1714
Engraving, etching, paper; 58.5 × 48 cm
Budapest, Armenian Catholic Parish, inv.nr.: 07.423.

In the central field of the engraving, we see the baptism of King Trdat III. The figure of St Gregory the Illuminator fills almost the entire height and width of the composition, thus becoming far more emphatic than the royal family kneeling before him. The medallions surrounding the main scene are of particular interest, depicting the various tortures of St Gregory. Starting in the upper right-hand corner: (1) his legs are squeezed between rods; (2) his feet are nailed through; (3) a leather bag full of hot ash is tied to his head; (4) he is submitted to forced rectal lavage; (5) his body is torn with iron claws; (6) he is laid on throns; (7) iron pipes are nailed to his legs; (8) hot lead is poured onto him; (9) St Gregory heals King Trdat turned into a boar; (10) he is cast into a deep well, where he survives for 14 years; (11) a rope (bridle) is put into his mouth; (12) stone salt is put on his back; (13) his head is squeezed with a press; (14) he is hung upside down and cudgelled. The edge of each medallion contains a brief description of the given torment in Latin and in Armenian; at the bottom of the engraving, we see a Latin résumé of the life of St Gregory the Illuminator.

E. P.

Unpublished

IV.14.

IV.15.

The Stoning of St Stephen

Unknown Transylvanian painter, 1728
Oil on canvas; 125 × 88 cm
White banner at the bottom of the picture: "YIŠATAKĒ PATKERK'S EŁBAYROWT'E [AN] COWRCOVOW TIRAC'OWNEROWN: T'VIN ṚCHĒ 1728"
Armenian Catholic Parish of Gheorgheni, inv.nr.: XIV.11.00.68.

According to the Armenian inscription at the bottom, this painting was commissioned by the Society of St Stephen in 1728. Visitation records attest that the society (Congregatio Sancti Stephani Prothomartyris) was founded in Gheorgheni in 1727. Religious societies played an important role in uniting lay Christians. In the four Armenian Catholic parishes, 20 parish societies were active during the 18th century. Their social activities, besides supporting the poor and the orphaned, included the funding of new churches to be built and carrying out other community tasks. They had a significant budget to allocate, from which the local Armenians could take out loans with interest. In 1873, the Society of St Stephen in Gheorgheni merged with the Congregation of the Blessed Virgin; this twin union would continue operation up until the first half of the 20th century.

St Stephen, the first Christian martyr, is kneeling in the centre of the painting. On his right, two men are preparing to cast stones at his head. On his left, two more men can be seen; one of them is holding an enormous rock in both his hands, while the other is bending down to pick up another stone. As opposed to the timeless garment of the saint, his assailants are depicted in 18th-century clothes, with the figure on the far right having a characteristic moustache. The background is rather uncouth, consisting of a few houses and rocks. In the sky, the Trinity appears. The style of the painting is quite primitive; the lack of perspective and the unelaborated details suggest that it was created by a local, unskilled painter.

E. P.

Unpublished

IV.15.

IV.16.

Back of a Chasuble

Fabric: Ottoman Turk; design: Hungarian, end of the 16th century
Fabric with silk warp and gold thread weft (*kemha*); 126 × 66 cm
Budapest, Museum of Applied Art, Collection of Textiles and Attires, inv.nr.: 7375.

This chasuble was made of *kemha*, an Ottoman Turkish silk fabric with a metal weft running through it. It is ornamented with round medallions ("beads" or *chintamani* motifs) in shifting lines. The areas between the medallions are covered in ornamental foliage bearing tulips, carnations, rosebuds, and pomegranates woven of gold thread against a white background. The gold-on-blue crescent within each medallion, decorated with lotus flowers and saw-toothed leaves, encompasses a smaller medallion with a pattern of blue stars on gold.

During the 16th and 17th centuries, a number of Turkish kaftans made of luxurious kemha fabric – so-called *hilats* – found their way into Transylvania and the Kingdom of Hungary as diplomatic gifts. Apart from audiences, Transylvanian and Hungarian aristocrats would never wear these ceremonial kaftans, so their precious fabric was recycled into chasubles, antependia, skirts, pelisses, linings, or duvet wrappings. This chasuble is assumed to have been made from the fabric of such a Turkish hilat as well.

This item was purchased by the Museum of Applied Art from art collector Simon Kohn in 1893. Its Transylvanian-Armenian origin was only revealed in 2006, during the József

IV.16.

Huszka exhibition at the Hungarian Museum of Ethnography. On his collecting trip to Transylvania in 1881, József Huszka made watercolours of, among other items, the holdings of the Armenian Catholic church in Gheorgheni. These include a detail identical with the patterns on the present chasuble, whose copy is inscribed "Casula Gyo Szt. Miklós [Gheorgheni]" Armenian church (cat.nr. IV.17.1). The identity of the texture of the chasuble and the watercolour proves that the item comes from Gheorgheni and was acquired by Simon Kohn between 1881 and 1893, from whom it was eventually purchased.

E. Pá.

Source: Im Lichte des Halbmonds 1995, 152, 161. cat.nr.; Batthyányak 2005, 77, III. 75. cat. nr.; Mátyás király öröksége, 2008, 145, IV.13.

IV.17.1.

Chasuble ornament from the Armenian church in Gheorgheni

József Huszka (1854–1934), Gheorgheni, 1881 "casula Gyo. Szt. Miklós örménytemplom" ["Chasuble Gheorgheni, Armenian church"] Pencil drawing, watercolour, paper; 20×28.5 cm Museum of Ethnography, Ethnology Archive, Drawing Collection, inv.nr.: R 9411.

József Huszka was an art teacher, author, and researcher of Hungarian ornamentation. In 1881, he won a scholarship from the ministry to go on a trip to collect art relics, archaeological, historical, and ethnographical objects in Szekler Land; these were meant to include drawn records and copies of church murals, interiors, textiles, as well as folk embroideries. Huszka considered churches as an important site of research, not only because of his interest in murals depicting Hungarian saints but also because he was looking for Oriental, "Ancient Hungarian" motifs on the decorations of older church fabrics as well. He visited Catholic, Calvinist, Unitarian, and Greek Orthodox churches, monasteries, and chapels so as to go back as far in time as possible. Thus he came to Gheorgheni and Elisabethopolis, where he recorded the embroideries of Armenian

IV.17.1.

churches as well. The drawing of this chasuble ornament shows carnations, pomegranates, rosebuds, and tulips within a gold pattern on a yellow-and-blue background, interspersed with a multitude of tiny leaves.

Z. T.

Source: Fejős 2005, 117.

IV.17.2.

Armenian ecclesiastic embroideries, Mechitarist church in Elisabethopolis

József Huszka (1854–1934), Elisabethopolis, 1885 "Nyakba akasztható szalag alakú miséző ruha részlet az erzsébetvárosi szerzetes templomban, zöldbársony alapon. Kéztörlő kendő az erzsébetvárosi szerzetes templomban HJ. 1885 VII/9." ["Detail of a missal garment in the Elisabethopolis monastic church, green velvet base. Handkerchief in the Elisabethopolis monastic church HJ. 1885 VII/9"] Pencil drawing, watercolour, paper; 39×27.5 cm Museum of Ethnography, Ethnology Archive, Drawing Collection, inv.nr.: R 9523.

IV.17.2.

Z. T.

Unpublished

IV.17.3.

Armenian ecclesiastic embroideries, Mechitarist church in Elisabethopolis

József Huszka (1854–1934), Elisabethopolis, 1885 Pencil drawing, watercolour, paper; 39×27.5 cm "Corporale sarok hímzése. Az erzsébetvárosi örmény szerzetes templ. tul. 9/12 t. n. α. β = Hímzett övek bársony és selyem alapon. t. nagyság. ε. η. = részletek egy zöld bársony pluviale fölvarrott díszítéséből. (A díszek fehér vászonra hímezték s csak utólag varrták fel. Az erzsébetvárosi örmény szerzetes templom tul.) HJ 1885. VII/9." ["Embroidery of the corner of a corporale. Prop. of the Elisabethopolis Armenian monastic ch. 9/12 r. s. α. β = Embroidered belts on velvet and silk base. r[eal] size. ε. η. = details of a sewn ornament of a green velvet pulviale. (Ornaments embroidered on white cloth, sewn later. Prop. of the Elisabethopolis Armenian monastic church) HJ 1885, VII/9"]

IV.17.3.

Museum of Ethnography, Ethnology Archive, Drawing Collection, inv.nr.: R 9522

Z. T.

Source: Fejős 2005, 132.

IV.17.4. Armenian ecclesiastic embroideries, Mechitarist church in Elisabethopolis

IV.17.4.

József Huszka (1854–1934), Elisabethopolis, 1885 "Oltárterítő hímzési részletek. Kékalapon eredetileg fehéren volt, utolag van ren(d) szernélkül átvarva. Az erzsébetvárosi örmény szerzetes templ. tulajdona. ½ t. n., HJ 1885. VII/8 Erzsébetváros" ["Altar-cloth embroidery details. Original white on blue base, subsequently sewn over irreg[u]larly. Property of the Elisabethopolis Armenian monastic ch. ½ r. s., HJ 1885 VII/8, Elisabethopolis"] Pencil drawing, watercolour, paper; 39×27.5 cm Museum of Ethnography, Ethnology Archive, Drawing Collection, inv.nr.: R 9526.

Z. T.

Unpublished

IV.17.5.

Armenian ecclesiastic embroideries, Mechitarist church in Elisabethopolis

IV.17.5.

József Huszka (1854–1934), Erzsébetváros, 1885 "Kendősarok (selyemhímzés lánczöltéssel tüll alapon). Az erzsébetvárosi mechitarista szerzetes templom tulajdona. 17/24 t. n. Oltárterítő szegély az erzsébetvárosi örmény szerzetes templomban (Fehér hímzés lyukakkal és fátvolbetétekkel vászon alapon). HJ 1885, Erzsébetváros július 8." ["Corner of kerchief (silk embroidery, tulle base, looped stitch). Property of the Mechitarist monastic church in Elisabethopolis. 17/24 r. s. Altar-cloth edge in the Armenian monastic church in Elisabethopolis (White embroidery with holes and gauze inserts on linen base). HJ 1885, in Elisabethopolis, July 8"]
Pencil drawing, watercolour, paper; 39×27,5 cm Museum of Ethnography, Ethnology Archive, Drawing Collection, inv.nr.: R 9525

Z. T.

Unpublished

IV.17.6.

Armenian ecclesiastic embroideries, Mechitarist church in Elisabethopolis

IV.17.6.

József Huszka (1854–1934), Elisabethopolis, 1885 "α. Misemondóruha hímzése fehér selyem alapon az erzsébetvárosi örmény szerzetes (mechitáris) templomban. 7/10 t. n. β. Oltárterítő hímzése (szegély) az erzsébetvárosi örmény szerzetes templomban. ½ t. nagyság. HJ. 1885. jul. 12., Ebesfalván" ["α. Missal vestment embroidery on white silk base from the Armenian monastic (Mechitarist) church in Elisabethopolis. 7/10 r. s. β. Altar-cloth embroidery (edge) in the Armenian monastic church in Elisabethopolis. ½ r. size. HJ, July 12, 1885, in Ebesfalva/Elisabethopolis."]
Pencil drawing, watercolour, paper, 39×27.5 cm, Museum of Ethnography, Ethnology Archive, Drawing Collection, inv.nr.: R 9531.

Z. T.

Unpublished

IV.18

Cope (pluviale)

Fabric: French, late 17th century; embroidered ornament: Transylvanian-Armenian, 1725; laced edge, metal buckle, 19th century
Fabric: watered silk, broached gros de Tours; ornament: silk velvet, gilt silver embroidery and silver thread relief embroidery; length: 122 cm
Inscription of cross-shaped ornament:
TR YISTĒ: SOWR[...]AS: OŁORMAC: HOGI: K'OSAVORDANIN: ƆNKEROĆ' MARGƆRTIN: EW [YSI] ORDOYN: SIMĒONIN: I SK' P'OXELOYN OR: [...] K'S EW IWR HAMŌREN: NƆ Ć'[...]E C'ELOC'N HOGOWN ƆRĆHD 1725 AC

God (the Holy Father), this Chasuble is a memory for the meek soul of Khosa Vardan and his friend Margar and his son Simeon, who died in the Christ and a memory for all souls who rest in the Christ (1725).
["Memorial mantle by Vártán Korza and his wife Margit and their late son Simon deceased in the Christ from the Lord's year 1725"]
(Transylvanian Art Exhibition, Cluj-Napoca, 1941, 136. cat.nr.)
Armenian Catholic Parish of Gheorgheni, inv.nr.: XIV.11.00.018.

The semi-circular mantle is 66 cm broad. It is made of burgundy silk fabric. The ribbed surface of the textile is ornamented with moiré resembling

IV.18.

IV.19.

wood grain, flowers swaying in alternating directions, woven of gilt silver threads, as well as tiny rosettes scattered all over. Applied in the middle of the back of the mantle is a cross-shaped ornament embroidered in metal thread onto a dark green velvet base; according to the description, it comes from 1725, i.e. later than the textile itself. The linen lining, the gilt-threaded, braided edge, and the star-shaped metal buckle of the mantle were produced in the 19th century.

According to the catalogue of the Transylvanian Art Exhibition held in Cluj in 1941, the pluviale was used on the feast of St Gregory the Illuminator; its donor's inscription was first translated into Hungarian for the same catalogue.

E. Pá.

Source: Erdélyi Művészeti Kiállítás 1941, cat.nr. 136.

IV. 19.

Cross on pedestal

Unknown Transylvanian (?) artist, end of the 17th century, remodelled 1717.
Partly gilt silver, beaten, cast, chiselled, chased; height: 39.5 cm; diagonal at base: 15 cm.
Armenian inscription carved into the back of the cross: SRB XAČ'S YIŠATAKĒ EKEŁEC'PAN YOVANĒSIN KIN ANNAYIN ORDI ƤTOSIN AR ƆN TATASTANIN M LOSOVN MEZ P'RKĒ AC VARPET XAČ'ER (This cross is a memory for the church warden Hovanne, Annar, Tos son. May the love of God's son protect him through the light at the judgment...) Filigreed Armenian inscription on the front: T'IVIN RĆKZ 1166 (1166 AD, 1717)
Armenopolis, Armenian Catholic Parish, inv.nr.: VIII.13.00.109

Eight-foil fundament with a spreading brim. Plain and floral fields alternate on the convex back of the base. The gilding of the base shows the goldsmith's efforts to achieve contrast; the ornaments evoking the decorations of Turkish weapons are richly gilded as opposed to the silver of the plain surfaces. The cylindrical shaft bears a filigreed arabesque ornament and embraces the flattened orb of the node, whose cast metal ornament reveals the masks of a child, a youth, and an aged man. Further Renaissance elements (lion's mask and medallion) decorate the cast metal plate below the large-size knob, which may originally have been the part of a secular goblet, just like the node. The knob is divided by a profiled belt; below is a row of acanthus leaves, above three flower stems in horizontal position. The cross itself is modelled on mediaeval reliquary crosses, but from its double cross plates the relics are gone as it is a 17th-century creation. The shorter hands of the cross consist of trefoils, with the central foils ending in sharp points. The lower part of its back is covered by an Armenian inscription, the hands in a haphazard pattern with large floral ornaments. On top of the filigreed, granulated frontal plate rendered into five panels, there is a cast metal corpus, while angel's heads appear in each of the branches of the cross. The corpus and the angel's heads are fastened with long screws. The side plates are covered in cast metal arabesque ornaments. At the foot of the cross, as opposed to the customs of earlier centuries, two praying women replace the conventional figures of the Virgin Mary and St John the Apostle. The quality of the cast metal details (the corpus and the two female figures) is below that of the subtly elaborated, carved and embossed cross, being less successful copies.

The pedestal cross fits well among the Transylvanian goldsmith's products made in the late 17th century, mixing Gothic and Renaissance elements. The lasting after effects of Gothicism can be traced in the shape of the cross proper. The form of the artwork, composed of Renaissance elements, was finalized in 1717; subsequently, it was donated to the Armenian Catholic church in Elisabethopolis. It was transferred to its present-day location, Armenopolis, in 1958.

M. M. K.

Unpublished

IV.20.

IV.20.

Reliquary

Unknown, first half of the 19th century
Gilt and silvered brass, glass, textile, cast, hammered, filigreed, chased; height: 29 cm; diagonal at base: 13.5 × 10.5 cm.
Armenopolis, Armenian Catholic Parish, inv.nr.: VIII.13.00.110

On the demi-semi-circular division on the oval base of this monstrance-shaped reliquary is a row of embossed leaves, repeated on the short leg. The node has the shape of a decorative vase. The decoration starts very moderately from the base, coming to full completion on the oval upper part of the reliquary, whose composition consists of two repositories wreathed with rose branches. The shield-shaped, glazed lower repository contains St Gregory the Illuminator's bone relic, enshrined in silver wires and gilt plates. In the oval upper part, surrounded by palm leaves, St John of Nepomuk's relic appears on a textile embroidered with metal threads. In the relic cases, we find hand-written inscriptions on paper slips: *S. Gregory E.* and *S. Ioannis Nep.* The composition is crowned by acanthi ending in a volute. The clasped back of the reliquary, which holds the certification of authenticity, is surrounded by sunrays.

Such reliquaries, imitating monstrances, spread widely in the Baroque Era. During the 18th and 19th centuries, a single church could be dedicated to more than one patron saint, which necessitated the acquisition of several relics. St Gregory's relic was obtained in Rome by Péter Novák, an Armenian priest in Armenopolis in 1767. It was probably in the early 19th century that Armenian patron saint Gregory the Illuminator's relic was placed side by side with that of St John of Nepomuk, who was usually implored as the protector of travellers, of special importance for the Armenians, a

merchant nation. During the 18th and 19th centuries, the veneration of St John also expressed the loyalty to the Hapsburg Dynasty.

M. M. K.

Unpublished

IV.21.

Monstrance

Fabian Sebastian Feyerwary, Vienna, 1759
Gilt silver, ruby, stained glass, rock crystal; hammered, cast, chased, punched, chiselled; height: 57.5 cm; diagonal at base: 19.5 × 14.5 cm.
Armenian inscription carved into the bottom part of the base: "YSTKÉ AYS MOSDRANCIN: O. H. A. ABGARN ÓVANNESI KOROVEMEAN 1760" (This monstrance is a [memorial] souvenir for O.H. A. Abgar Ovannesi Korovemean 1760)
Armenopolis, Armenian Catholic Parish, inv.nr.: VIII.13.00.108

IV.21.

Foiled, indented, curved fundament, with Baroque ornaments on the geometrical base divided into four fields by auricle motifs. The vase-shaped cast metal node is decorated with stylized shells and garlands. The upper part with its haloed back plate is dominated by the Trinity composition typical of Baroque monstrances: the host symbolizing the body of Christ, embraced by a lunula, is incorporated into a house of cut glass surrounded by shells and floral ornaments, with the whole ensemble emphasized by the figure of God the Father and the Dove of the Spirit. The composition is enclosed by a haloed cross on the Baroque sill above the figure of the Father, who has a triangular halo above his head and the Globe in his left hand. The house of the host is embraced by two adoring angels. The upper part of the monstrance is enriched with mounted rock crystals and red glass-stones, while the crescent-shaped lunula is covered in five rubies and several rock crystals.

During the century of Re-Catholization, Viennese goldsmith's items became ever more popular in Transylvania, with sunray monstrances (Sonnenmonstranz) being particularly fashionable. The donation (1760) of this Armenopolis monstrance is tightly connected to the construction of the local Trinity church, which was completed around 1759. The next year saw Agbar Ovannesi Korovean purchase a goldsmith's item made in 1759. In choosing the "pre-manufactured" artwork, it must have been of some importance that the composition of the monstrance fit the concept of Trinity church as well as the main altar well.

M. M. K.

Unpublished

IV.22.

Small Office for Bishop St Gregory the Illuminator, Converter of the Armenian Lands. Made by the Special Venerators of the Holy Bishop. Cluj, 1834

KIS OFFICIUM,
VILÁGOSITÓ
SZENT GERGELY
PÜSPÖKRŐL,
AZ ÖRMÉNY ORSZÁGOK'
MEGTÉRITŐJÉRŐL.
KÉSZITTETETT
A' SZENT PÜSPÖKNEK
KÜLÖNÖS TISZTELŐJITŐL.
NYOMTATTATOTT
A' SZAMOSUJVÁR VÁROSSA KERESKEDŐ
TÁRSASÁGA' KÖLTSÉGÉVEL
1834. ESZTENDŐBEN.
KOLOZSVÁRT A' KIRÁLYI LYCEUM' BETŰIVEL.

IV.22.

Budapest, Armenian Catholic Parish, inv.nr.: 07.860

This breviary, containing prayers concerning St Gregory the Illuminator, was published in Cluj, 1834, with the support of the Merchants' Society in Armenopolis.

E. P.

Unpublished

IV.23.

Church flag with St Gregory the Illuminator and the Virgin Mary

Unknown Transylvanian painter; oil painting: second half of the 18th century, silk damask: 20th century
Silk damask, oil on canvas; 200 × 120 cm.
Inscription in the upper margin of the portrait of St Gregory the Illuminator: "S. GREGORIUS. PATRONUS. ARMENORUM". Inscription in the upper margin of the portrait of the Virgin Mary: "S. MARIA. ORA. PRO. NOBIS"
Armenian Catholic Parish of Gheorgheni, inv.nr.: XIV.11.00.060

On the front and the back of this red silk damask flag, there are oil paintings depicting St Gregory the Illuminator and the Virgin Mary, respectively. In one of the pictures, the christening of King Trdat and the tortures of St Gregory are closely reminiscent of items I.1 and IV.14. The representation of the christening of King Trdat and the tortures of St Gregory follows the composition of the altarpiece in the Armenian Catholic Parish Church of Gheorgheni (see p. 79.); the local, unskilled artist presumably modelled his painting on that representation in painting the icon on the flag.

On the other side of the flag, the Virgin is depicted, sitting on clouds, holding the Infant Jesus in her arms, while she is crowned by two cherubs. Of particular interest are the rose motifs running through the gilt frame, which allude to the Madonna of the Rosary, attesting to the intensity of the cult of the Rosary among Transylvanian-Armenians.

The commercial emblem of the Gheorgheni family or families that commissioned the flag can be found on both sides in the upper right and upper left-hand corners, respectively. One is well known throughout Transylvania (an anchor plus cross composition with a closure resembling the number 4), probably not restricted to one family. It can be seen on the main altar of the Armenian Catholic church in Frumoasa, on St Joseph's side altar in the Armenian church of Elisabethopolis, and on the portals of several houses in Armenopolis. The other emblem is a scale.

The real significance of this flag consists in uniting the two most important aspects of the veneration of saints among the Armenians in Transylvania, that of St Gregory the Illuminator and of the Virgin Mary. It was presumably used for the ceremonial processions on St Gregory's Feast. Its cultic role is reflected by the fact that only devout men were allowed to carry it.

E. P.

Unpublished

IV.23.

IV.23.

V. Hungarian-Armenian

Armenians in the Hungarian Revolution and War of Independence (1848/49) and in 19th Century Hungarian Politics

Of all the ethnicities in Hungary, relative to their population, perhaps the Armenians were most heavily represented in the Revolution and War of Independence (1848/49). Two of the Martyrs of Arad, Lieutenant-General Ernő Kiss and Colonel Vilmos Lázár were of Armenian descent. Two more colonels came from the ranks of Hungarian-Armenians: János Czetz, one of the best-known generals of the era, and Dénes Lukács, national commander-in-chief of the Hungarian artillery. Of all participants in the War of Independence, two lieutenant-colonels, six majors, 18 lieutenants, and 25 sub-lieutenants were Armenian. In addition to the military, Armenians also contributed financially to the case of independence; in June 1848, for instance, the issue of Kossuth Notes was supported by the two Armenian centres, Elisabethopolis and Armenopolis. The Armenians were also involved in revolutionary politics; we need only remember István Gorove, who, after the Compromise of 1867, became Minister of Agriculture, Industry, and Commerce, and later Minister of Public Works and Transportation in Andrássy's government. Together with Lajos Kossuth, Antal Hunkár, and Imre Szacsvay, he contributed to phrasing the Declaration of Independence issued on April 14, 1849.

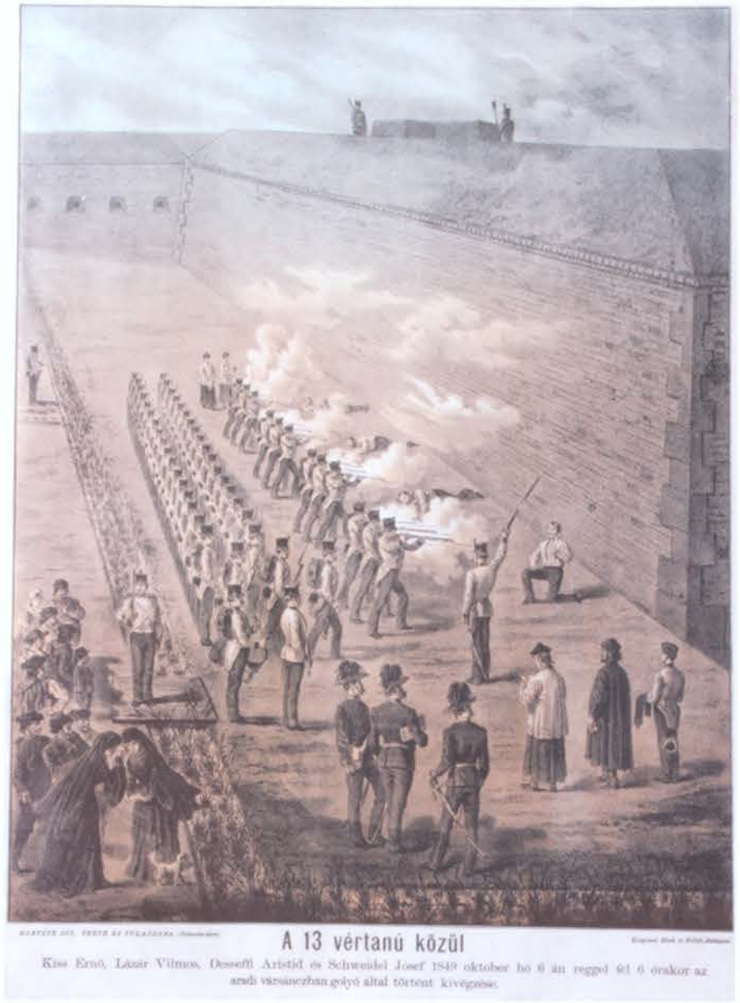
The role that Hungarian-Armenians had played in the events of 1848/49 became imbibed into Hungary's cultural memory; Armenians were often described as the main allies of Hungarians. This attitude had been present from the beginning of the revolution. When the Diet of Transylvania was called in order to prepare for the Diet of Pest, due to the administrative difficulties concerning the two Armenian centres, Armenopolis and Elisabethopolis (at the Diet of Pozsony, the old assembly documents were used to summon the representatives to the Diet of Transylvania, which had not yet included the two relatively recent Armenian settlements), the Hungarians unanimously supported the Armenians. This included Representative József Zeyk, who made the following address: "among all those nationalities which the Hungarians have embraced into their bosom, the Armenians are those who have always shown the most familial connection towards us."

P. P. K.

V.1.

The Execution of Ernő Kiss, Vilmos Lázár, Arisztid Dessewffy, and József Schweidel

Unknown artist, second half of the 19th century
Colour lithography on paper; 63.5 × 48.3 cm
Inscription: "A 13 vértanú közül / Kiss Ernő, Lázár Vilmos, Desseffi Aristid és Schweidel József 1849 október hó 6 án reggel fél 6 órakor az aradi várárokban golyó által történt kivégzése." ["Of the 13 martyrs / the execution by shooting of Ernő Kiss, Vilmos Lázár, Aristid Desseffi and József Schweidel at half past 5 o'clock on the 6th of October 1849."]
Signed bottom left: "HORVÁTH JÓS., TERVE ÉS TULAJDONA. (Utánzás tilos.)" ["Designed and owned by József Horváth. (Imitation prohibited.)"
Signed bottom right: "Könyomat Bloch és Pollak, Budapest." ["Stone print Bloch and Pollak, Budapest."]
Budapest, Hungarian National Museum, Historical Picture Gallery, inv.nr.: 5082.



V.1.

On August 25, 1849, within less than two weeks of the Surrender at Világos (August 13), summary processes were launched against the Honvéd officers and colonels. Lieutenant General Ernő Kiss came first; after his hearings, he was sentenced to dismissal, confiscation of property, and death due to his participation in the war and high treason. While most colonels were hanged, he and his three companions were "mercifully" granted execution by shooting, carried out outside the fortifications at the castle of Arad at dawn on October 6. They died worthy of military men. According to an eye witness, Lázár's last words mentioned his wife, while the elegant Ernő Kiss refused to have his eyes blindfolded with a dirty cloth; he used his own silk handkerchief instead. He did not die immediately after the gunfire, so he was shot in the head subsequently. Although his military talents were disputable, his courage was undoubted. The martyrs were recorded on many different depictions, but the lack of reliable witnesses often made these portrayals inaccurate. This lithograph is of the better ones, presenting the theme with fine insight and due respect for the heroes involved.

L. V.

Source: Jókai-Bródy-Rákosi 1898, 381.

V.2.

Honvéd Lieutenant General Ernő Kiss (1799–1849)

Unknown artist, second half of the 19th century
Oil on canvas; 69 × 57 cm
Budapest, Museum of Military History, inv.nr.: 1076/Kp

Ernő Kiss (1799–1849) came from a wealthy Armenian family. He studied at the Theresianum in Vienna and served in the imperial army. He began his Honvéd career as a major general and commander of the Banat corps; after a brief spell as Honvéd lieutenant general, he became the leader of the Hungarian Army Corps Headquarters. After the Surrender at Világos, he was "mercifully" sentenced to death by shooting instead

V.2.

of being hanged. He was executed on October 6, 1849. The unknown 19th-century artist portrayed Ernő Kiss in his Honvéd colonel's tunic, wearing the temporary badge of the 2nd class of the Hungarian Military Order of Merit of 1848/49.

N. S.

V.3.

Honvéd General János Czetz

Unknown artist, second half of the 19th century
Oil on canvas; 70,5 × 57,5 cm
Budapest, Hungarian National Museum, Historical Picture Gallery, inv.nr.: 736

V.3.

The memorial museum founded by Béla Kreith was to house the relics connected to the war of independence, including portraits of the colonels, the youngest of whom was János Czetz. He was appointed due to his assistance to József Bem. His idealized portrait bought in 1895 for the Picture Gallery is perhaps the best of those painted in retrospect. On his uniform, he is wearing the 3rd class of the Hungarian Military Order of Merit. His ingenuous face reflects courage and pride, with that realistic view of life which helped him thrive in the subsequent years of emigration as well.

L. V.

Unpublished

V.4.

Ceremonial sabre of Honvéd Colonel Vilmos Lázár, 1830s and 40s

Unknown craftsman, 1830s or 40s
Carbon steel, brass, silver, velvet "putty." Forged, filed, burnished, cast, chased, etched, silvered, woven, glued (no sheath); full length: 954 mm, blade length: 816 mm, curve depth: 84 mm, breadth of blade stem: 29 mm, cross-guard: 158 mm, mass: 787 g
Budapest, Museum of Military History, inv.nr.: 0489/Fe

This item was obtained by the Museum of Military History in 1936, as a free acquisition from the Hungarian Museum of History. It is of a characteristically

V.4.

Hungarian ("jurátus" or "law-student") shape, which became a typical emblem of the revolution of 1848 and the subsequent war of independence. After the dethroning of the emperor, its stylized form also found its way on regimental standards.

Vilmos Lázár (*b.* Nagybecskerek, 1817; *d.* Arad, 1849) was born into a noble family of Armenian descent. Between 1833 and 1844, he served as a sub-lieutenant in the 61st and 34th line infantry regiments; later he worked as a railway treasurer. In 1848, he was an officer of the 39th Honvéd battalion. After several promotions, he became a major in February 1849 and a brigade commander in late April. At the end of the war, he was the commander of the 9th corps, appointed colonel in the dying days of the revolution. He was sentenced to death by shooting by the Austrian court-martial in Arad and executed on October 6.

V. J.

Source: Lugosi – Temesváry 1988, item 249; Cs. Kottra 1999, item 3.105.

V.5.

Temporary 2nd class of the Hungarian Military Order of Merit of 1848/49

Silver, with gilded middle; 35.7 × 38.9 mm
Budapest, Museum of Military History, inv.nr.: 75.692.1./E.

Stylized two-branch laurel made of silver and a gilt triple hill in the central field complete with an open-leaf crown and a double cross. On the back is a

V.5.

broad vertical hinge without a band.

This item belonged to Honvéd Lieutenant-General Ernő Kiss (1799–1849), who was decorated on March 9, 1849, for his deserts in the Banat fights as first commander of corps for Hungary. The badge is certified by the document written on August 11, 1853, by Ernő Kiss's father, Mihály Kiss of Ittebe (HTM 75.692.2./É).

G. S.

Armenian-born Politicians in Hungary in the Dual Monarchy Period

Before World War I, a meagre 0.1% of Hungary's total population was Armenian, yet the country's political elite included quite a few personages of Armenian birth. Besides PM László Lukács, five ministers, nearly seventy MPs, and five lord lieutenants testify that the Armenian community had successfully merged into the Hungarian nation (e.g. István Gorove, Salaom Gajzágó, and Ernő Dániel). This was facilitated by the fact that at the time, in keeping with feudal conventions, everyone could be a member of the unified Hungarian political nation, regardless of their mother tongue.

The number of Armenian-born politicians peaked in the years shortly before World War I, with some 3% of all MPs coming from their community at the time. They originated from Transylvania in the first place, but many represented the Banat, sent to Parliament by the local Armenian landowner families. In the second half of the era, however, most Armenian-born MPs actually won their mandate in other regions of the country, which evinces their successful political integration throughout the country. Besides the main Armenian centres in Transylvania (Armenopolis and Elisabethopolis), certain constituencies in the Banat (Zichyfalva/Plandište, Bégaszentgyörgy/Žitište, or Pancsova/Pančevo) were also almost always taken by Armenian-born politicians.

The vast majority (ca. 80%) of Armenian-origin representatives sided with the governing party at all times, although the nationwide strengthening of the Opposition of 48 in the early 20th century could also be sensed among them. On the basis of their party affiliation and place of election, we may surmise that those who had been living farther away from the old Armenian centres became more assimilated to the majority Hungarians, subscribing to the Opposition of 48, a rather nationalistic party of ethnic Hungarians.

Certain MPs would not leave the Hungarian Parliament for decades, while the representation of Armenians was easily dominated by a handful of families and their broader relations.

Among the Armenian-descent ministers, László Lukács even served as PM for a brief spell (1912/13). Quite characteristically, all but one minister had led a department connected with economy and commerce. Though this was in keeping with the given politicians' personal interest and expertise, it also corroborated that stereotypical pattern of assimilation which saw Armenians mainly as economy specialists and thus integrated them into the open and receptive free Hungarian nation.

I. B.

V.6.

Portrait of István Gorove

Miklós Barabás (1810–1898), 1887
Oil on canvas; 73×58 cm
Signed bottom left: "Barabás M. 1887"
Budapest, Hungarian National Museum, Historical Picture Gallery, inv.nr.: 2291.

At the end of 1886, Gábor Baross became Minister of Traffic and Public Works. Shortly after his appointment, he commissioned a series of portraits by Miklós Barabás, completed the next year. The eight paintings depicted Baross's predecessors; finally, Barabás also painted the portrait of Baross, the "Iron Minister." The representative portraits share a uniform size and include this picture of István Gorove, a politician holding the Grand Cross of the Order of Leopold as well as of the

V.6.

Iron Crown, who had led the ministry in 1870/71, as recorded by the painter on the back of the picture.

L. V.

Source: Szendrei–Szentiványi 1915, 116.; Barabás 1944, 292.

V.7

Portrait of Salamon Gajzágó

Mór Than (1828–1899), 1890
Oil on canvas; 150×90 cm
Signed bottom left: "Than M. 1890"
Budapest, Hungarian National Museum, Historical Picture Gallery, inv.nr.: 1930

Mór Than was mostly abroad during the 1880s, a rather unsuccessful period in his career. He returned to Hungary in 1890, taking over the leadership of

V.7.

the Gallery of the National Museum. This consumed most of his energy and left him with few commissions. Before that would happen, however, he painted this representative academic portrait for the first President of the National Audit Office of Hungary. Even beyond its conventional setting, this painting is a fairly clear allusion to the similarities connecting the painter and the model, who were nearly of the same age. They both participated in the war of independence, wielding the sword and the paintbrush, respectively. Than died a mere two years after Gajzágó.

L. V.

Source: C. Wilhelmb 1982, Kat.137.

V.8.

Portrait of Ernő Dániel

Gyula Stetka (1855–1925), 1898
Oil on canvas; 156×98 cm
Signed bottom right: "Stetka Gyula 1898ban"
Provenience: Acquired by the National Museum from the Statistical Bureau in 1949.
Budapest, Hungarian National Museum, Historical Picture Gallery, inv.nr.: 2031.

This representative painting is an bureaucratic version of the conventional aristocratic portrait, dropping the immediate environment, focusing solely on the model against a neutral, dark brown background. The Minister of Commerce, turning slightly aside, is wearing a deep purple ceremonial attire, with a gemstone-inlayed ceremonial sabre in his left hand and his right against the table next to him, upon which lies his fur-lined, feathered cap. On his pelisse, he is wearing the

V.8.

1st-class star of the Order of the Iron Crown, while the yellow-and-blue bandolier of the same crosses over his dolman. After studying at the Art Academies of Vienna and Munich, Gyula Stetka returned home to elaborate his style in Gyula Benczúr's master-school, whose meticulously brilliant academic style in portrait painting he also adopted.

M. G.

V.9.

Portrait of Count Jenő Karátsonyi

Gyula Benczúr (1844–1920), 1907
Oil on canvas, 140×100 cm
Signed bottom left: "Benczúr Gyula 1907 Budapest"
Signed top left: "karácsonyfalvi és beodrai gróf Karátsonyi Jenő" ("Count Jenő Karátsonyi of Karácsonyfalva and Beodra")
Nyíregyháza, Jósa András Museum, inv.nr.: K.73.6.2.

Gyula Benczúr returned from Munich in 1883 to Hungary, where he became head of the Master-school, commencing the most successful period of his career as a portrait painter. Almost 200 of his 270 portraits were created after his repatriation. He was commissioned by Prime Ministers, bank presidents, members of the royal family, magnates, and renowned aristocrats to paint their quality images. Among a number of notabilities, he portrayed Gyula Andrássy, Kálmán Tisza, István Tisza, Ágoston Trefort, and even Queen Elisabeth and Archduke Rudolf. He es-

V.9.

tablished their types with such power of liveliness that we might hardly imagine the dominant figures in the period

following the Compromise of 1867 without his assistance.

Jenő Karátsonyi was of Transylvanian-Armenian origin. His portrait was first exhibited in the Palace of Art (Winter 1907/8). Subsequently, it was also shown in Benczúr's memorial exhibition in 1921, before vanishing from the public eye for several decades. It was finally acquired by the Jósa András Museum in 1973.

G. B.

V.10.

V.10.

Caricature of Károly Khuen-Héderváry and Armenian-origin László Lukács

Antal Gáspár (1889–1959)
Indian ink and pencil on paper; 26 × 20.8 cm
Signed bottom left: "GÁSPÁR"
Budapest, Hungarian National Museum, Historical Picture Gallery, inv.nr.: 55.728

L. V.

Unpublished

V.11.

V.11.

"Looking at Me! Looking at Me!" Caricature of Ferenc Kossuth, Gyula Justh, István Tisza, and László Lukács

Gyula Éder (1875–1945), 1912
Pencil, watercolour, and whitewash on paper; 31 × 26.8 cm
Signed bottom right: "Éder Gy"
Published in the April 28, 1912 issue of *Kakas Márton*.
Budapest, Hungarian National Museum, Historical Picture Gallery, inv.nr.: 55.827

In this cartoon published within 6 days of László Lukács's appointment as Prime Minister, we see the representatives of three different political directions, Ferenc Kossuth, Gyula Justh, and István Tisza seeking his favour. The representative, elaborate portrait of the PM reveals that Gyula Éder was first and foremost a painter; hence his caricature is not only a satirical depiction of contemporary politicians but also a critique of the state art commissions.

M. G.

V.12.

Caricature of László Lukács

Jenő Jeney (1874–1942)
Indian ink on paper; 28.2 × 24.1 cm
Inscriptions in the picture: "A pénzügyminiszter pénzt ad a generálisoknak, / a bosnyákoknak / Fiuméknak, / csak a tisztviselőknek mutat – figet." ("The Minister of Finance gives money to generals, / the Bosnians / Fiume, / only thumbs his nose – at the clerks.")
Budapest, Hungarian National Museum, Historical Picture Gallery, inv.nr.: 55.1141.

V.12.

Jenő Jeney, one of the most prominent figures among Hungarian caricaturists, had drawn for the most famous comic papers from his adolescent years on. He studied with Károly Lotz and then at the Munich Academy, developing into an eminent graphic artist. At the fin-de-siècle, he made rather peculiar compositions, dividing the image into separate fields, placing the main character in the middle, connecting them rather directly to all the other figures.

Although it is unsigned, this drawing can be attributed to Jeney. He made several caricatures about then finance minister Lukács, one of the most controversial politicians of the time. He applies the above-mentioned technique in this picture as well. It is somewhat simplified but addresses a universal theme: all areas are covered by the state budget except the salaries of the most helpless clerks (civil servants).

L. V.

Unpublished

V.13.

"The Indemnity." Caricature of László Lukács

Gyula Éder (1875–1945), 1911
Pencil, Indian ink, and whitewash on paper; 31.5 × 26 cm

V.13.

Signed bottom right: "ÉderG"
Published in the June 25, 1911 issue of *Kakas Márton*.
Budapest, Hungarian National Museum, Historical Picture Gallery, inv.nr.: 55.831.

As a finance minister, it was Armenian-origin László Lukács who motioned for the indemnity proposal for the rates and taxes as well as public expenditures of 1910, by which Parliament would have authorized the government to follow the previous year's budget until the new one was passed. This authorization enabled the state to cash in on duties and taxes and cover their expenses without a budget approved by Parliament.

M. G.

Armenian-born Artists in the Carpathian Basin

V.14.

Portrait of Kornélia Hollósy

Mihály Kovács (1819–1892)
Oil on canvas, 160 × 116 cm
Budapest, Hungarian National Museum, Historical Picture Gallery, inv.nr.: 211

In the late 1850s, Mihály Kovács was planning to travel to Paris, but the French capital's internal uncertainty discouraged him, so he opted for Pest-Buda instead. He portrayed many notabilities, including Kornélia Hollósy, the world-famous opera singer, also known as "the nightingale of Hungary." The celebrated artist is here depicted in one of her precious stage costumes, in a representative setting, with the background hinting at the old Hungarian

V.14.

V.15.

National Theatre. The picture dates back to two years before her retirement; it was commissioned by a "company of Pest," who donated it to the National Picture Gallery in 1860.

L. V.

Source: LUDÁNYI 1987, Kat. 222.

V.15.

Self-Portrait

Simon Hollósy (1857–1918), 1916
Oil on canvas; 105×87 cm
Unsigned
Hungarian National Gallery, Division of 19th and 20th-Century Collections, Department of Painting, inv.nr.: 63.108 T.

This legendary self-portrait by Transylvanian-Armenian Simon Hollósy reflects the passionate, charismatic character of the founder of the Artists' Colony in Nagybánya (Baia Mare). As an excellent art pedagogue of his time, Hollósy employed all his temperamental enthusiasm to teasing out the maximum from his disciples. In his company, everyone could feel especially important, "seeming to shine from his light, sizzling with his power to boil" (István Réti, *A nagybányai művésztelep* [Budapest, 1994], 68).

His dramatically charged painting from 1916 is one of the chefs d'oeuvre of his late period. Its creation traced the turning points in Hollósy's career. As a founder of the artists' colony, he left Nagybánya in 1901 with the intention never to return. Deeply insulted and disillusioned with his imagined future, he led his multinational circle of disciples away from the place. It was in Técső, near Hollósy's Máramarossziget (Sighetu Marmaţiei) birthplace that they spent the longest time. The upper reaches of the Tisza River, with the picturesque Nereszen Hills, offered ample sources for landscape painting. But Hollósy only worked on those themes intermittently; he was in self-scrutinizing pain, working on his grand composition, the expressively tumultuous tableau of *Rákóczi March*, cutting up the previous versions one after the other. Meanwhile, the Russian intrusion in the wake of the Great War scattered his handful of followers. Hollósy grew ever more lonesome, exiled, under constant financial pressure.

Such sentiments are expressed in his self-portrait completed two years before his death. The artist-model is standing in an impoverished atelier, perhaps in an attic. He is staring at the viewer, with half of his face in semi-darkness. His hopelessness is as emphatic as it can be.

The colours reflect extremely careful composition. The bluish grey of his painter's cloak is in stark contrast with the intense red of the floor or a curtain. The green screen of the wall lamp is reiterated on the flower stand devoid, however, of all vegetation, beneath a painting whose theme cannot be discerned.

It is small wonder that this art historically acclaimed painting, due to its qualities, found its way to the cover of Lajos Németh's Hollósy monograph (1956).

J. M.

Source: NÉMETH 1956; RÉTI 1994.

V.16.

Portrait of Countess Berta Nákó, née Gyertyánffy

Friedrich von Amerling (1803–1887), 1855
Oil on canvas; 128×107 cm
Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts, Post-1800 Collection, inv.nr.: 572.B
Signed bottom left: F. Amerling 1855

In the second quarter of the 19th century, portrait painting retained its prestige and popularity in the artistic life of Vienna, the trend-setting axis of Central Europe. From the 1830s, the most prominent portraitist, Georg Friedrich Waldmüller was increasingly approached in fame by Friedrich von Amerling, who borrowed his virtuoso technique from English portrait painting; his vivid colours were critically acclaimed. Amerling was popular with the Hungarian aristocracy; he even painted a life-size portrait of Count István Széchenyi. His portraits not only give a realistic depiction of facial features but also radiate with individuality and material richness.

The model for this portrait, Berta Gyertyánffy (1819–1882) was born into an Armenian landowner family in Bobda (former Torontál, present-day Temes County, Romania). In 1842, she married Count Kálmán Nákó, who was of Greek origin. Berta was one of the most erudite women of her age, possessing many artistic talents. The beauty of the countess was famed, while she could receive tuition from several masters, due to the relative liberty of education extended to noble ladies. Due to her sex, she was always considered an amateur, but her talents ranged over several fields of the arts. She was also a virtuoso pianist, mostly performing at charity concerts with her orchestra of gypsy musicians.

E. K. A.

V.16.

Source: Gróf Nákó Kálmánné festményeinek kiállítása, 1906. PROBSZT 1927, 883. CIFKA 1996, 100-102. A XIX. századi osztrák és német művészet 1994, 137. The 19th Century European and Hungarian Paintings from the Budapest Museum of Fine Arts and the Hungarian Gallery 1994, 148., Kat. 3. Rejtett szépségek 2006 12–14.

V.17.

V.17.

Portrait of Count Guido Karátsonyi (1817–1885)

Josef Kriehuber (1800–1876), 1860
Coloured lithography on paper; 35.3×26.3 cm
Signed bottom left: "Kriehuber 860"
Signed bottom right: "Nyomt. Reiffenstein & Rosch."

V.18.

Inscription: "Beodrai Gróf Karátsonyi Guidó"
Budapest, Hungarian National Museum, Historical Picture Gallery, inv.nr.: 53.450.

V.18.

Karátsonyi Palace, Buda

It was one year after his promotion as an Austrian count that Guido Karátsonyi, one of the most generous patrons of the arts was portrayed by the Vienna lithographer Josef Kriehuber. The count is wearing the cross of the Order of Christ, the highest Papal decoration donated by Pope Pius IX, while on his dolmen is the star of that order of merit. Later, his nobility was Magyarized and Emperor Francis Joseph appointed him imperial and royal chancellor, as well as real internal secret councillor. He was also awarded the grand cross of the Order of the Iron Crown. Besides the exorbitant donations he made to the Academy and the National Museum, he was also famous for his Romantic palace built in Budapest's Krisztinaváros after the plans of József Pán. Its gallery was one of the richest private collections of the time.

M. G.

The Armenian-origin family of the Karátsonyis from Transylvania received nobility from Charles III in 1718, promoted to Austrian counts in 1858 and Hungarian counts in 1878. Count Guido Karátsonyi (*b.* Pest, 1817; *d.* Buziás, 1885) was a member of the House of Lords and a patron of Hungarian culture. Ha made several foundations and also funded the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

The former Baroque palace, which had had a ceremonial court back in the 18th century, was partly demolished to make room for the semi-arched Romantic palace based on architect József Pán's plans. In 1938, the palace was pulled down and a German imperial school was erected in its place.

The new two-storied wing had a representative coach gangway with an arcaded central projection and two side projections. The gangway opened into a diagonal rectangular hallway, with an octagonal colonnade leading into a recessed space via a short flight of stairs. Thence a three-arm main staircase led on through the main axis; the broader central arm merged with the two side arms, leading up from the landing; external stairs took the visitor from the landing platform down to the park.

The interior design of the palace, conceived in the Neo-Baroque style, was not completed before the late 19th century. Its most important rooms were photographed by György Klösz around 1900. These included the representative ball-room above the ground-floor hallway, opening through the three upstairs windows of the central projection, the ground-floor library, the refectory, and the theatre hall. Karátsonyi's famous art collection included, among other items, *The Fall* by Jordaens.

The park behind the palace opened into Koronaőr Street via the former Baroque portal.

P. F.

Source: Horler 1955, pp. 777-780; Hidvégi 1987, pp. 193-228.

V.18.

V.19.

V.19.

Armenian Man

Ferenc Eisenhut (1857–1903), 1882
Oil on canvas; 40.4×30.5
Signed bottom right: „Eisenhut F. 1882 München"
Budapest, Hungarian National Gallery, Division of 19th and 20th-Century Collections, Department of Painting, inv.nr.: 4345.

Ferenc Eisenhut, an ethnic German painter from Bačka, created in the late-19th-century Oriental mood. He studied painting in the Hungarian Royal Drawing School as well as the Academy of Arts in Munich, where he was tutored by Gyula Benczúr between 1877 and 1883. His Oriental tableaux were based on his travels through Caucasian and North African territories. He first visited the Caucasus as an academic student in September 1883; later he gained experiences in Tunisia, Algiers, and Cairo as well. He studied the local moralities, lifestyles, and customs. He made a number of sketches; from these, as well as the accessories purchased on site, he created his paintings back in his Munich studio. He was highly acclaimed from the outset, his chief merit being the elaboration of his own real experiences, uncharacteristic of other Orientalists. His correspondence reveals that he had been interested in Eastern culture since his early childhood. Before his first Caucasian journey, he had already painted Oriental themes. These early works include the portrait of this young man, painted in Munich in 1882. The Oriental atmosphere is established by the flamboyant shawl upon the head of the man, whose brilliant texture makes it the most emphatic item in the entire picture.

E. P.

Source: Ninkov Kovačev 2007, cat. nr. 9.

Új korszakok
New Eras

VI. New Eras

Armenism and the Armenian Museum

By the second half of the 19th century, the Armenians in Transylvania had by and large assimilated into the Hungarian society. Most of them had forgotten their language, which would be used in church liturgy at best. The ideology of Armenism, emerging in the late 19th century, aimed to counterbalance this by reviving and strengthening the Armenian identity. Both the name and the ideological system of Armenism came from a Hungarian-Armenian ethnographer, Gyula Merza (1861–1943). The Armenians considered the lack of an autonomous church leader as one crucial reason for their Magyarization; thus the reinstallation of the Armenian Bishopric became a central concern of Armenism.

In Armenopolis and Elisabethopolis, research into local history commenced, on the basis of the recent tenets of Positivism gaining currency in Hungary at about the same time. The Armenian ecclesiastic archives constituted the main source for investigation. In Armenopolis, Mechitarist Arch-Abbot Gergely Govrik (1840–1931), Parson and Archdeacon Kristóf Lukácsy (1804–1876), and college teacher Kristóf Szongott (1843–1907) must be mentioned; in Elisabethopolis, research was led by Gergely Govrik and Parson Lukács Ávedik (1847–1909). The main venue for the propagation of Armenism was *Armenia*, a monthly review of Hungarian-Armenians (1887–1907). The periodical catalyzed the emergence of a circle of Armenian intellectuals; its contributors included some 50 people.

In connection with Armenism, the early 20th century saw the emergence of the idea of an Armenian museum with the explicit purpose of preserving, accumulating, and presenting the "Armenian treasures." The implementation began under the auspices of ethnographer Antal Hermann (1851–1926), whose speech on 1 November 1904 heralded the Armenian Museum Union eventually established in February 1905. Kristóf Szongott (1843–1907) was elected director of the projected museum, who promoted the enterprise in the *Armenia* monthly periodical.

After World War I, the Armenian Museum was disbanded. With far more modest aims, it was re-established on 21 June 1942. Amid the hostilities in 1944, 10 chests with valuable museum objects were relocated to the Benedictine Abbey of Bakonybél. Thence, they were taken to the Museum of Applied Arts in Budapest, not returning to Armenopolis until 1952. They were then nationalized and handed over to the State Museum of History in Armenopolis. After 60 years of waiting, the Armenian Catholic church in Armenopolis finally regained the former possessions of the Armenian Museum in March 2013.

E. P.

VI.1.1.

Armenian Archdeacon Kristóf Lukácsy (1804–1876) of Armenopolis argued for the establishment of an independent Armenian Catholic bishopric in Transylvania

Lukacsi Christophorus: Historia Armenorum Transsylvaniae. Viennae, 1859.
Budapest, National Szechenyi Library, cat.nr.: 217.027

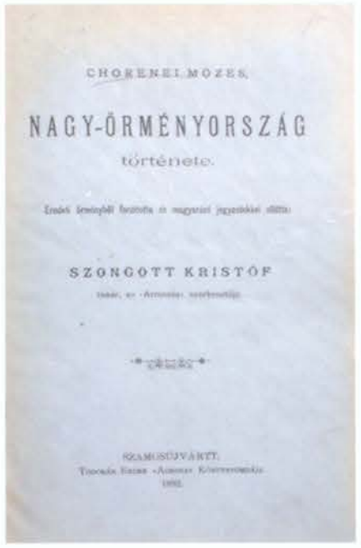
HISTORIA
ARMENORUM TRANSSILVANIAE
A PRIMORDIIS GENTIS USQUE NOSTRAM
MEMORIAM E FONTIBUS AUTHENTICIS
ET DOCUMENTIS ANTEA INEDITIS
ELABORATA
PER
CHRISTOPHORUM LUKACSI
VIENNAE, 1859.

VI.1.1.

VI.1.2.

The historical work of Movses Khorenatsi (Movses Xorenac'i), the "father of Armenian historiography," appeared in Kristóf Szongott's Hungarian translation

Chorenei Mózes: Nagy Örményország története, Szamosújvár, 1892.
Budapest, National Széchényi Library, cat.nr.: 260.156


CHORENEI MOZES
NAGY-ÖRMÉNYORSZÁG
története.
SZONGOTT KRISTÓF
SZAMOSÚJVÁRTT.

VI.1.2.

VI.1.3.

Arch-Abbot Gergely Govrik (1840–1931) of the Mechitarists summarized the history of Elisabethopolis in his monograph (Volume 1)

ՀԱՅԱՀ
ՅԵԼԻՍԱԲԵԹՈՒՊՈԼԻՍ
1780—1925.
1925

VI.1.3.

Grigor Govrikean: Hayk' Yelisabet'owpolis Dransilowanioy, Hator B.1680-1825. Vienna,1899.
Budapest, National Széchényi Library, cat.nr.: 816.991

VI.1.4.

A monograph of Armenopolis by Kristóf Szongott

SZAMOSÚJVÁR,
A MAGYAR-ÖRMÉNY METROPOLISZ
IRÁSBAN ÉS KÉPEKBEN.
Irta
SZONGOTT KRISTÓF
SZAMOSÚJVÁRTT.

VI.1.4.

Szongott Kristóf: Szamosújvár, a magyar-örmény metropolis írásban és képekben. Szamosújvár, 1893.
Budapest, Armenian Catholic Parish, cat.nr.: 0778

VI.1.5.

Kristóf Szongott's "genealogy"

Szongott Kristóf: A magyarhoni örmény családok genealogiája. Szamosújvár, 1898.
Budapest, National Széchényi Library, cat.nr.: 52.674

This is a veritable curiosity for those interested in the genre; instead of presenting the ancestry of Armenian families, Szongott undertook to analyze the names of Transylvanian-Armenians on the basis of thorough research into registry records.

B. K.

A MAGYARHONI ÖRMÉNY CSALÁDOK
GENEALOGIÁJA,
tekintettel ezeknek egymás között levő rokonságára, s a vezeték- és keresztnevek etymologiai értelmére.
ERDELYI, KIADATLAN KÚTFORRÁSOK FELHASZNÁLÁSÁVAL
IRTA:
SZONGOTT KRISTÓF

VI.1.5.

Scientific theories of the joint descent of the Armenian and the Hungarian peoples (VI.1.6. and VI.1.7.)

In the 19th century, a central issue in Hungarian historiography and linguistics was the origin and ancestry of the Hungarian people. Transylvanian Armenologists such as Kristóf Lukácsy and Kristóf Szongott studied Armenian sources in their research and developed their own hypothesis about the shared origins of Armenians and Hungarians. Their suggestion was taken seriously by Hungarian scientists, especially by the Hungarian Academy of Science. Géza Kuun, secretary of the Academy, even commissioned Szongott to present his thesis in a book-length treatise, while Lukácsy came close to being elected member of the Academy. The authors' approach highlights the linguistic wars and prehistoric debates between the Ugric and the Turkish branches. From our point of view, these theories may seem mere myths; at the time, they must have been taken seriously. It was not for self-entertainment or the promotion of some Romantic view of Armenian-Hungarians that these works were published but they were wholeheartedly encouraged by the Academy. As it is well documented, Lukácsy and Szongott were both tightly connected personally to the most prominent Hungarian scholarly circles.

B. K.

VI.1.6.

Kristóf Szongott, On the Origin and Ancient Home of Hungarians

Kristóf Szongott: A magyarok eredete és őslaka. Szamosújvár, 1906.
Budapest, National Széchényi Library, cat.nr.: MC 147.301

A MAGYAROK
EREDETE ÉS ŐSLAKA
SZONGOTT KRISTÓF
— A SZERZŐ KIADÁSA —

VI.1.6.

VI.1.7.

Kristóf Lukácsy, Ancient Forefathers, Erstwhile Names, and Dwelling Places of the Hungarians

Kristóf Lukácsy: A magyarok őselei, hajdankori nevei és lakhelyei. Kolozsvár, 1870.
Budapest, National Széchényi Library, cat.nr.: 225.315

VI.1. 8.

Lukács Ávedik, The Origin of Armenian Christianity.

Lukács Ávedik: Az örmény kereszténység eredete. Erzsébetváros, 1904
Budapest, Armenian Catholic Parish, cat.nr.: 300

AZ ÖRMÉNY
KERESZTÉNYSÉG
EREDETE.
Irta:
ÁVEDIK LUKÁCS
erzsébetvárosi főesperes, plébános.
4367/1903. sz. főpásztori engedély alapján kiadva.
ERZSÉBETVÁROS,
WUGRINETZ MÁRTON KÖNYVNYOMDÁJA.

VI.1.8.

VI.2.1.

A Concise Christian Doctrine/ Catechism

Karčarot K'ristoneakan Vardapetowt'iwn. Venna, 1834.
Budapest, Armenian Catholic Parish, cat.nr.: 07.823

The Armenian-language Catholic Catechism (in the dialect of Transylvanian-Armenians) was printed in Vienna, at the Mechitarist press, commissioned by the Armenians in Armenopolis.

VI.2.1.

VI.2.2.

The first Armenian-Hungarian Grammar Book

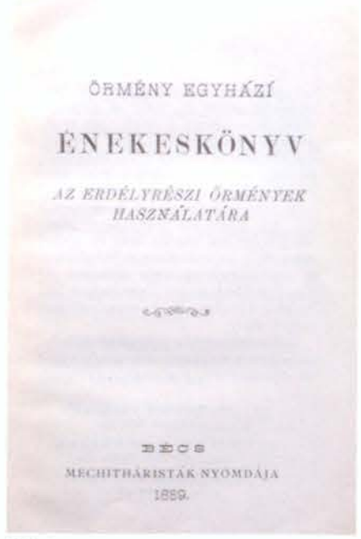
VI.2.2.

P. Verthanesz, Jakutgián & Vásady, Gyula: Gyakorlati örmény nyelvtan egy új tanmódszer alapján, mely szerint örmény nyelven olvasni, írni és beszélni a legrövidebb idő alatt alaposan megtanulhatni [Practical Armenian Grammar Based on a New Teaching Method by Which One Can Learn to Read, Write, and Speak Armenian Thoroughly in the Shortest Time]. Venice, 1876.
Budapest, Armenian Catholic Parish, cat.nr.: 298

VI.2.3.

Armenian Songbook for the Armenians in Transylvania

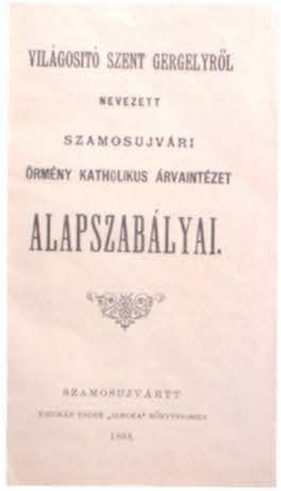
Örmény egyházi énekeskönyv az Erdélyrészi örmények használatára. Vienna, 1889.
Budapest, Armenian Catholic Parish, cat.nr.: 302



VI.2.3.

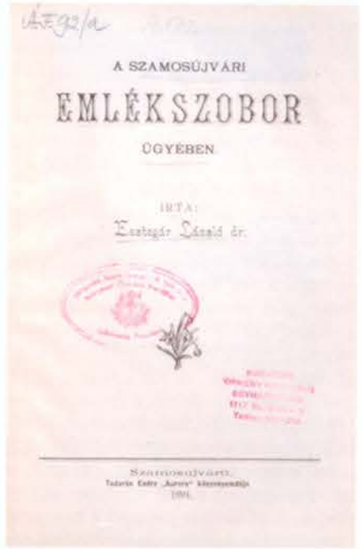
Commissioned by the Armenians in Transylvania, this devotional songbook incorporating their own liturgical traditions was typeset in Latin characters and Hungarian phonetic transcription in Vienna.

VI.2.4. Constitution of the Armenian orphanage in Armenopolis



VI.2.4.

Világosító Szent Gergelyről elnevezett árvaintézet Alapszabályai. Szamosújvártt, 1888.
Budapest, Armenian Catholic Parish, cat.nr.: 283



VI.2.5.

VI.2.5.

Pamphlet printed in support of the installation in Armenopolis of a statue of Bishop Oxendio Virziresco

Esztegár László: A szamosújvári emlékszobor ügyében. Szamosújvártt, 1894.
Budapest, Armenian Catholic Parish, unsigned

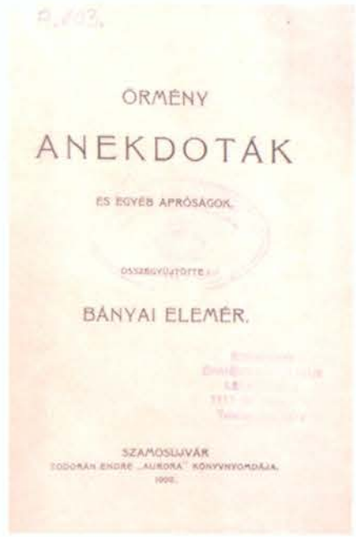
Hungarian literature presenting Armenian humour (VI.2.6. and VI.2.7.)

Armenian humour, especially in Post-Socialist countries, is stereotypically represented in jokes about what "the Yerevan Radio reports." The Armenians' serenity and sense of humour is, however, far more complex and variable than that – and much older too.

Hakob Paronyan (1843–1891) was the greatest satirical author and comedian in the history of Armenian literature. He lived in Constantinople, where he founded a monthly periodical and published many writings. The comic theatre in Yerevan bears his name today. This selection of his works in Hungarian translation was compiled by Armenian Catholic Parson Márton Kapatán.

Elemér Bányai (1875–1915), who was born in Armenopolis, was a prominent journalist friend of Endre Ady's, publishing mostly under the pseudonym Zuboly. As an Armenian and a literary man, he collected the humorous anecdotes concerning the Armenians in Transylvania.

B. K.



VI.2.6.

VI.2.6.

Bányai Elemér: Örmény anekdoták [Armenian Anecdotes]. Szamosújvár, 1902.

Budapest, Armenian Catholic Parish, unsigned.

VI.2.7.

Hágob H. Báronián: Szatírák (Szerk. Kapatán Márton) [Satires. Tr. & Ed. by Márton Kapatán]. Szamosújvárt, 1914.

Budapest, Armenian Catholic Parish, unsigned.

VI.2.7.

VI.2.8.

László Gopcsa: Örmény regék [Armenian Tales]. Budapest, n.d.

Budapest, Armenian Catholic Parish, unsigned

László Gopcsa (1865–1933) was born into an Armenian family in Armenopolis. He studied law in Cluj and became a ministry employee in Budapest. From

VI.2.8.

1922, he acted as an alderman of the Armenian Catholic Parish in Budapest. He published a number of articles and papers about law, Armenian ethnology, and stenography. They appeared in specialist periodicals as well as the Pallas Great Encyclopaedia.

B. K.

Armenians in the Carpathian Basin after the Armenian Genocide

The Armenians escaping from the genocide found shelter in Budapest and in other towns in the Carpathian Basin, where they established hospitable connections with the previously assimilated Hungaro-Armenians. In *The People of Armenia*, Eghia Hovhannesian revealed that between the two World Wars there were some 1,800–2,000 Armenians in Budapest, while Hungary had a total Armenian population of approximately 4,500 to 5,000. Regarding the number of Armenians fleeing to Budapest because of the genocide, this is what he wrote:

"After the war, many Armenians left Turkey for Budapest; in 1922, their number rose to 80–90, then going back to 40–50, where it is still right now. Among them, we find a doctor, a language teacher, and a painter (Levon Aznavurian), while one of them works as a lawyer. The others are mostly involved in the commerce of Eastern carpets, of carpet weaving, and carpet reparation."

On April 18 that year, namely, the Association of Hungarian Armenians was founded by László Gopcsa, Gyula Simay, Félix Ávedik, József Tutsek, János Zakhariás, and Eghia Hovhannesian. In his Armenological survey published in 1942, Domonkos Korbuly, an Armenian-born employee of the Hungarian Commercial Bank in Pest, wrote that the association united "the Armenians fleeing from Transylvania to Mangled Hungary after the war." In actual fact, it consisted of the elite of the Hungaro-Armenian community, incorporating the Maszisz Union, another Armenian organization founded sooner.

During the 1920s, the Armenian community in Budapest, increased by the wave of refugees from Turkey, spared no time and energy from establishing their own parsonage (1922) and chapel (1924). In 1932, their outstanding efforts were rewarded by the Primate-Archbishop's authorization for the Armenian Catholic Parish of

VI.3.

Budapest. At that time, 290 families applied for membership in the parish, whose secular President was Curial Judge Gyula Simay.

Armenian carpet-men had shops in the most upscale areas of Budapest: in Ferenciek tere (the yard of the Kárpátia Restaurant), in Váci Street, Irányi Street, Kossuth Street, Cukor Street, Régiposta Street, and Eskü Square. They polished their expertise acquired in Anatolia and West Armenia to such brilliance that even the reparation of the antique carpets in the Hungarian National Museum were entrusted to an eminent Armenian, Szerkisz Rsduni Hrant.

P. P. K.

VI.4.1.

VI.3.

The symbols of Armenia

Colour lithography, 72×50,5 cm
Budapest, Armenian Catholic Parish,
inv.nr.: 07412

VI.4.1.

Identification documents for the Armenians fleeing from the genocide and settling in Budapest – the so-called Nansen passport

Budapest, private collection

VI.4.1.

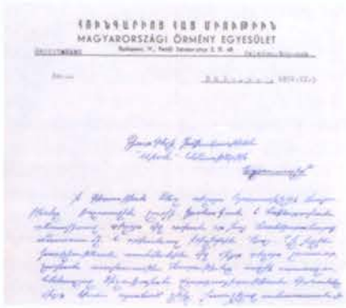
Nansen passport carries the name of Fridtjof Nansen (1861-1930). Originally the passport was created for the war prisoners in Russia. Nansen's efforts and contribution on providing refuges with "Nansen certificates" also served to repatriation and settlement of Armenians. The power and the worth of the passport were highly dependent on the host countries.

H.M.

VI.4.2.

Stationery for the Association of Armenians in Hungary (founded in 1920)

Budapest, private collection



VI.4.2.

VI.4.3.

Nor Dar – Armenian-language periodical published in Budapest, 1919

Budapest, National Széchényi Library,
cat.nr.: H.524.722

VI.4.3.

Although it only saw three issues, *Nor Dar* ("New Century") was a crucially important periodical. Published by the Maszisz Union in Armenian, it informed the Armenians in Hungary about the life of their people all over the world, including the Armenocide and the afflictions of the emerging Armenian Republic. The chief editor and contributor was Szerkisz Rsduni Hrant, who wrote articles about the Armenians in Hungary for both this and other, foreign periodicals.

P. P. K.

VI.4.4

Tableau of Armenians who fled to Hungary after the Armenian genocide

Budapest, private collection

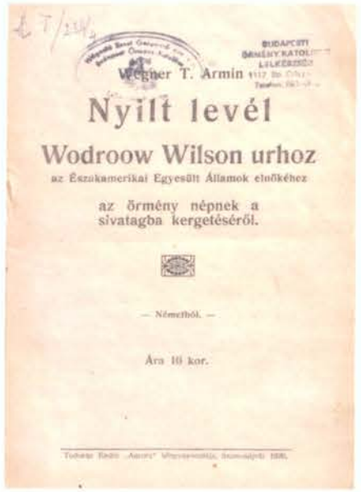
VI.4.4.

VI.4.5.

Open letter regarding the Armenian genocide from T. Armin Wegner

T. Armin Wegner: Nyílt levél Woodroow Wilson urhoz az Északamerikai Egyesült Államok elnökéhez az örmény népnek a sivatagba kergetéséről. Szamosújvárt, 1920.
Budapest, Armenian Catholic Parish, unsigned

As a doctor, Armin Theophil Wegner (1886–1978) was a member of a German medical team arriving in the



VI.4.5.

Ottoman Empire in 1915, where he became an eye-witness of the cruel violence of the genocide carried out against the Armenians, which he recorded both in the form of photographs and in his written works. The former remain the most authentic documents of these atrocities against the Armenian nation. Later Wegner became an active pacifist; in a letter to Hitler (1933) he spoke up against the persecution of the Jews. He was captured and taken to a concentration camp, but upon his escape, he emigrated to Italy. His writings were banned in Nazi Germany, but he was later awarded with a number of prizes and has lent his name to many humanitarian societies.

B. K.

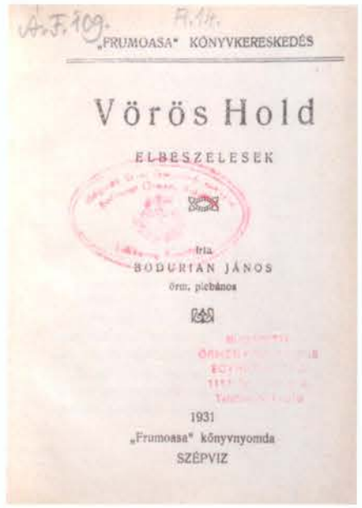
VI.4.6.

Share of the Armenian-Hungarian Commercial Company. Budapest, 1926.

Budapest, Armenian Catholic Parish, no inv.nr.

The Armenian-Hungarian Commercial Company was established at the initiative of János Zakhariás, Péter Duducz, and László Gopcsa. The Great Depression caused a serious crisis for the company as well. Besides its commercial portfolio, from the second year of its operation, the company also funded scholarships for Armenian youth living in Hungary desiring to study at the Murad Rafaelian College of the Mechitarist Congregation in Venice.

VI.4.6.



VI.4.7.

P. P. K.

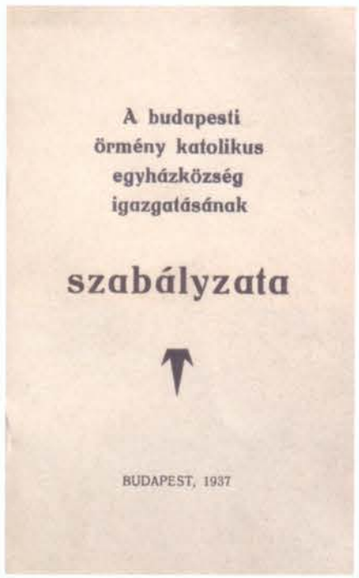
VI.4.7.

János Bodurián's literary account of the Armenian genocide

János Bodurján: Vörös hold. Szépviz, 1931. Budapest, Armenian Catholic Parish, unsigned

János Bodurián O.Mech. was born in Bardizak, the Ottoman Empire, in 1881. He studied in Venice. From 1911 to 1920, he worked in Elisabethopolis, before voluntarily moving to Bucharest. After his 1928 return to Transylvania, he became a minister in Frumoasa, where he established a printing press and published his novel, *The Red Moon*, a literary record of the Armenian genocide written in Hungarian. In 1958, Boduján moved to Armenia, where he died the following year. His calm serenity was anecdotal throughout Transylvania.

B. K.



VI.4.8.

VI.4.8.

The fundamental rule of the Armenian parsonage in Budapest

A budapesti örmény katolikus egyházközség igazgatásának szabályzata. Budapest, 1937. Budapest, Armenian Catholic Parish, unsigned

VI.4.9.

Eghia Hovhannesian, A Reader of Armenian Literature.

Eghia Hovhannesian: Szemelvények az örmény irodalomból. Gödöllő, 1942. Budapest, Armenian Catholic Parish, unsigned
See its picture on page 105.

VI.4.10.

Postcard issued by the Lepsius Agency in Budapest

Budapest, private collection

This postcard issued by the Budapest-based Lepsius Agency operated by Domonkos Korbuly presents the parallels between Great Armenia and the historic Hungary.

VI.4.11.

Aram Harutiun Martaian's weaver's workshop in Armenopolis, with the master and his assistants

Budapest, private collection

Many of the Armenians fleeing to the Carpathian Basin from the genocide would settle in the Armenian colonies in Transylvania. They included the Martaian family (from Nigde), the Kurusians (from Caesarea), the Horenians (settling in Armenopolis), the Kozanlians and the Yamgosians (leaving Caesarea for Cluj), as well as the Bodurian family (from Smyrna). The first institutions to receive them were the Armenian orphanages in Armenopolis. The Armenian-language gravestones in the Armenian cemetery in Armenopolis attest to the presence of all those who fled there from the Armenian genocide.

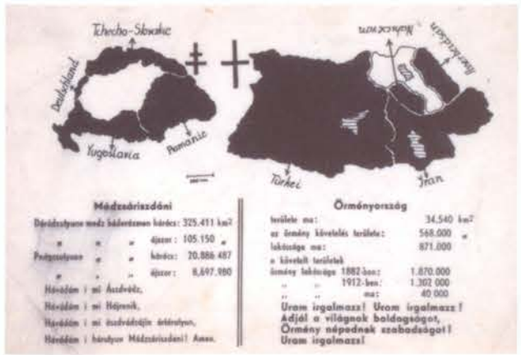
B. K.

VI.4.11.

VI.4.12.

Advertisement for Szerkisz Rsduni Hrant's carpet store in Ferenciek tere. He was entrusted the reparation of the antique carpets in the Hungarian National Museum.

Budapest, private collection



VI.4.10.

VI.4.12.

Scientific and Cultural Connections between Hungarians and Armenians in the 20th Century

Lukács Patrubány's (1861–1924) scholarly work (VI.5.1–VI.5.2)

Philologist Professor Lukács Patrubány taught Armenology at the Royal Hungarian Pázmány Péter University (present-day ELTE) in Budapest. He was the pioneer of adding this discipline to university education.

B. K.

VI.5.1.

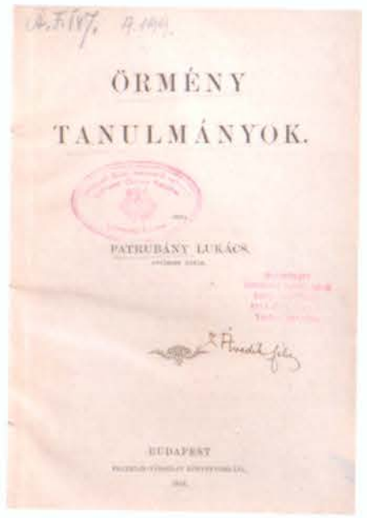
Lukács Patrubány, Sprachwissenschaftliche Abhandlungen. Budapest: Franklin, 1897–1902.

Budapest, National Széchényi Library, cat.nr.: H 81.162

VI.5.2.

Lukács Patrubány, Örmény tanulmányok. Budapest, 1884.

Budapest, Armenian Catholic Parish, unsigned



VI.5.2.

VI.5.3.

The Armenian translation of Géza Gárdonyi's Eclipse of the Crescent Moon

Kartoni, Keza: Ekëri astlero. Venetik, 1962
Budapest, Armenian Catholic Parish, unsigned

One of the most popular Hungarian historical novels. The novel itself is focused on highlighting the historical events of siege of Eger by the Turks in 1552. Though the Turks had bigger army forces but the heroes of Eger obtained the victory.

VI.5.3.

Ödön Schütz's (1916–1999) scholarly work (VI.5.4. and VI.5.5.)

Ödön Schütz was the father of Oriental Studies in Hungary. He conducted his research first as an associate of the Institute of History at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, and then, from 1969, of the Department of Inner Asia at ELTE. He had memberships in the American Oriental Society, the Türk Dil Kurumu, and the Armenian Academy of Sciences. His two main research areas covered Armeno-Kipchak sources and the Armenian sources of early Hungarian history.

B. K.

VI.5.4.

VI.5.4.

Ödön Schütz, An Armeno-Kipchak Chronicle on the Polish-Turkish Wars in 1620–1621.

Budapest, National Széchényi Library, cat.nr.: MC 54.139

VI.5.6.

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VI. 6.

The transnational relations of the Armenians in Budapest, on the basis of the Armenian periodical collection at the Armenian Museum in Orlay Street

Budapest, Armenian Catholic Chaplaincy, no inv.nr.

VI.7.

Knotted carpet

Caucasus, Yelizavetpol Region (Ganja, in present-day Azerbaijan), 1821
Woollen warp thread and weft yarn, Gordian knotting; 430 × 100 cm
On one of the narrower ends of the carpet, black-on-yellow knotted Armenian inscription and Arabic date:
"OSKANIN 1821 ASIN" (for Voskan in the year 1821) [Tigran Sayadyan's reading]
Budapest, Museum of Applied Art, Textile and Costume Collection, inv.nr.: 86.392.1.

The narrow, pile carpet style, the lively yellow, cyan, green, and red colouring, and the geometric patterns are characteristic of early, classical carpets from Genje. The yellow-base make-up area is ornamented with a net of octagons, filled with stars whose colours (red, green, dark blue, and blue) shift diagonally. In the raw-coloured main stripe of its fringe, colourful rosettes and quadruple leaf motifs alternate. In the outer and inner edging, rows of black reciprocal lilies run against a green and a blue base, respectively. Of special importance is the fact that the carpet is dated and the name of its Armenian owner (Voskan) is known.

This item was purchased by the Museum of Applied Art from Mrs Sándor Barcsay in 1986. According to the seller's family traditions, it had once ornamented the proscenium before the altar in Bishop Ottokár Prohászka's (1858–1927) private chapel in Székesfehérvár. This might explain its uneven fraying.

E. Pá.

Unpublished

VI.8.

Dragon Zilli carpet

Caucasus, Artsakh (Nagorno-Karabakh), Jabrail District, second half of the 19th century
Wool, cotton, Soumak weaving technique; 221 × 290 + 24 cm tassel
Budapest, Museum of Applied Art, Textile and Costume Collection, inv.nr.: 20883.

VI.8.

This carpet, originally intended as a bedspread, was woven in two pieces sewn together in the middle. Also known as "Dragon Zilli" rugs, these type of carpets were mainly woven by the Armenians in the Jabrail District of Artsakh (Nagorno-Karabakh), using the Soumak technique. Their characteristic pattern consists of stylized dragons in the shape of an S aligned in horizontal and vertical rows. The colour of the dragons alternates; their bodies are filled with tinier S motifs; the spaces in between with human, animal, and geometric patterns. In Middle Eastern and Russian literature, such items are called Verni bedspreads.

This Dragon Zilli carpet was donated to the Museum of Applied Art by Dr Ottó Fettick in 1949. Its specialty lies in the fact that the direction of the S-shaped dragons in the bottom row of the right side is opposite the rest.

E. Pá.

Source: Gombos 1979, 157-176.

"ARMENIA," Marseille (1920)

"VERATSNUND," Paris (1921)

"HAYASTAN," Philippopolis (1921)

"TCHAKATAMART," Pera (Constantinople) (1920)

"AREV," Alexandria (1920)

"HUSABER," Cairo (1921)

"AZAT KHOSK," Sofia (1938)

"HAY MAMUL," Bucharest (1938)

"AZDAK," Beirut (1938)

"NOR OR," Athens (1938)

"ARAKS," Alexandria (1938)

"HAYRENIK," Boston (1939)

"NOR OR," Fresno (1947)

"THE ARMENIAN MIRROR–SPECTATOR," New York (1951)

"SPYURK," Beirut (1978)

"SOVETAKAN VRASTAN," Tbilisi (1985)

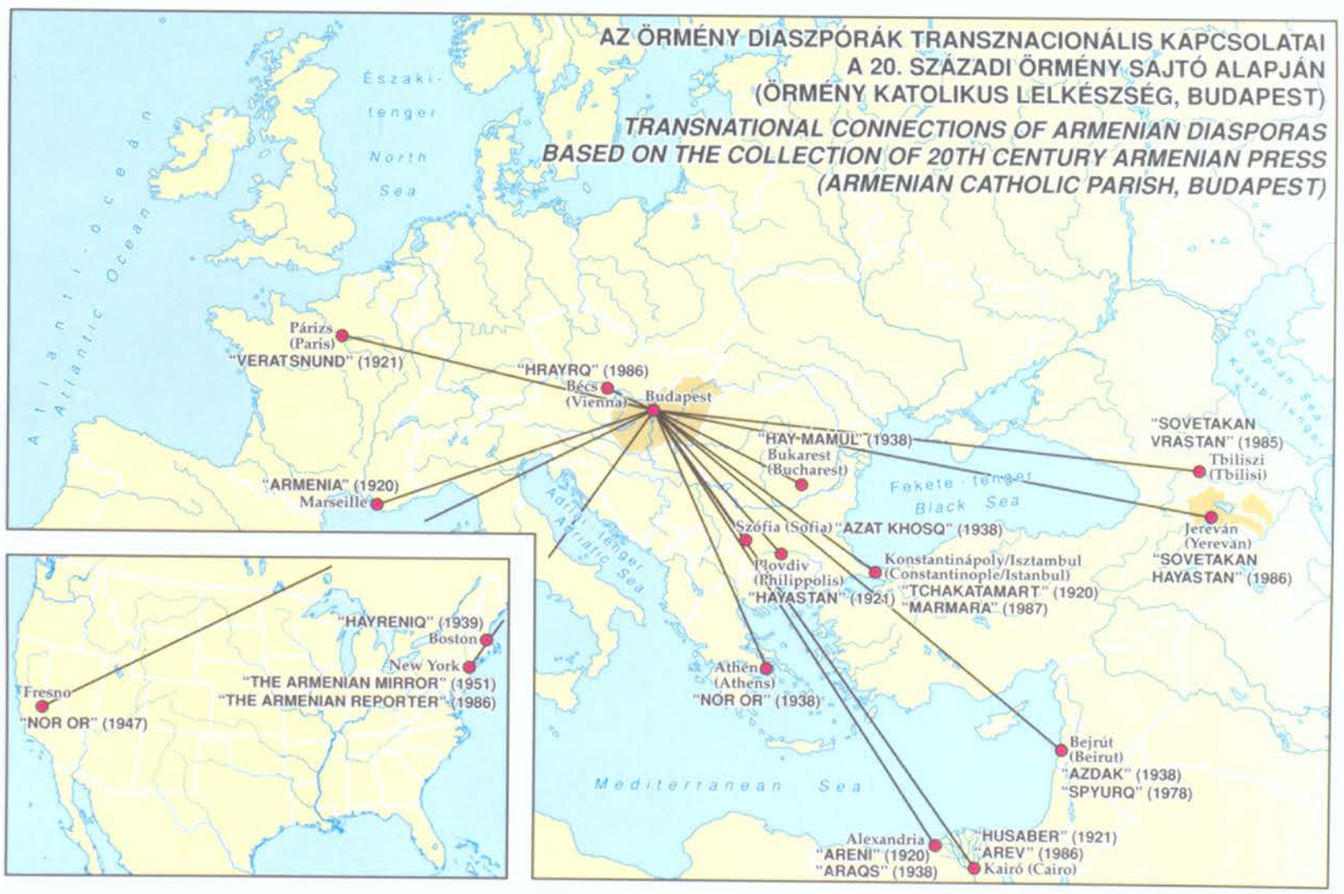
"HRAYRK," Vienna (1986)

"THE ARMENIAN REPORTER," New York (1986)

"AREV," Cairo (1986)

"SOVETAKAN HAYASTAN," Yerevan (1986)

VI.6.6.



The connections and transnational relations between the Armenian diasporas are reflected in the Armenian periodicals in the Armenian collection housed in Orlay Street, Budapest. The venues of 20th-century media transmitted reports concerning local Armenian communities from California to Cairo, from Yerevan to Vienna, but also informed the Armenians living in Budapest. This was no one-way communication, as the status of the Armenians in the Carpathian Basin was also known to Armenians farther away. This is exemplified, among other things, by the 1921 report on Hungaro-Armenians published in the Paris weekly *Veratsnund*. These relations among the communities serve not only for making develop Armenian Diaspora network and possibilities of cooperation but also for sharing their different experience on keeping their identity, collective mythology of the homeland, relationship with host-lands, ongoing relationship with homeland, and what is more crucial the experience of using measures for keeping their own Armenianness.

H. M.

VII. Mirror Fragments

Historic photographs of Armenian people from collections in the Carpathian Basin

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