

HISTORY OF THE LIBRARY OF BÁTHORY UNIVERSITY IN KOLOZSVÁR / CLUJ FROM 1579 TO 1607

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The concept of education and library are inseparable. Just as the letter written to Lestár Gyulafi so aptly states: "To apply yourself to knowledge without the help of books is like raising water out of a well with a sieve." Therefore it is quite understandable that, thanks to the vision of the founders and supporters and donations of former students as well, all our long - standing educational institutions have owned famous libraries. To mention just a few: the library of the Bethlen College of Nagyenyed (Aiud), the book collections of the Reformed, Unitarian, Piarist colleges in Kolozsvár (Cluj) and that of the college of Székelyudvarhely (Odorheiu Secuiesc). The selection of books available here, arriving mainly from foreign stocks indicates that there have been steady dealings with the more Westernized parts of Europe which have made it possible for Transylvanians who had no opportunity for peregrination to get access - even if somewhat belatedly - to these values.

Apart from their everyday role in education, these libraries taught students to recognize and appreciate the importance of books in a society in which illiteracy prevailed. On leaving school, the students of these colleges often become themselves enthusiastic collectors of books for their own benefit and that of their communities. These libraries with long - standing traditions, which were continuously maintained and expanded by their owners until 1948 are still today relics of the Transilvanian bookculture.

This book collection offers the oldest unique, organically developed research material on book history in our country. For example, the István Báthory Jesuit Academy collection, which has become part of the Piarist College library, has a past full of vicissitudes. Little is known among historians regarding the origins of this collection, though a recent investigation has proved the existence of 490 volumes at its foundation.

During his Padova studies and Vienna Court service, István Báthory (1533 - 1586), Prince of Transylvania, later King of Poland

recognized the importance of the Jesuits as protectors of the faith and educators. From 1567 on he often thought of inviting the Order to Transylvania. At first he wished them to settle on his private estate in Szilágysomlyó (Șimleul Silvaniei), in an abandoned monastery. However, after his election as Prince of Transylvania (1571) he considered Várad (Oradea) and Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia) as suitable locations. However, he only received the “full blessing” from the Society of Jesus after his election to the Polish throne, becoming a key figure in Eastern Europe during the struggle of the newly increased church efforts of Rome against the influence of Eastern Orthodoxy and the Turkish Empire. It was István Báthory who combined the Order’s Catholic mission with the efforts of raising higher education standards in Transylvania¹. This is how the Jesuits’ Kolozsvár (Cluj) College became not only the forefront bastion of Catholicism in South - Eastern Europe but the most up-to-date educational institution and library-organizing force in 15 century Transylvania.

Báthory made the decision in Vilnius on 17 July 1579 to use the estates of an old Benedictine Monastery in Kolozsmonostor (Cluj - Mănăștur) to establish a Jesuit college which adequately catered for by additional properties and a supply of books, could house at least 20 students at his own expense². He declared that in addition to grammar and rhetorics, philosophy and theology (subjects of higher education) should also be taught. The first group of priests from Poland arrived in Kolozsmonostor (Cluj - Mănăștur) at the end of September 1579. By the 20th December they already had started teaching in the freshly renovated buildings and on 11th January 1580 work in earnest began³.

¹ MonAntHung I, p. 25 - 29; Endre Veress, *Giovanni Argenti jelentései magyar ügyekről, 1603-1623*; Adattár XV - XVIII. századi szellemi mozgalmaink történetéhez. 7. Szeged, 1983, p. 222.

² MonAntHung I, p. 901 - 904.

³ From the literature on the history of the Kolozsvár (Cluj) college: Erdélyi Károly, *A kolozsvári római katolikus főgymnasium története, 1579 - 1898*, Kolozsvár, 1898; Endre Veress, *A kolozsvári Báthory - egyetem története lerombolásáig, 1603-ig*, in Erdélyi Múzeum 23/1906, p. 169 - 193, 249 - 263; Zsigmond Jakó, *Négy évszázad a művelődés szolgálatában*, in Korunk 38/1979, p. 545 - 555.

Instructions for future development were the topics of two charters by the King dated 18 May 1580 and 12 May 1581 in Vilnius. In these he expressed his wish that the Order should develop the school into an academy, so that students attending the faculty of arts and theology - just like students of similar Italian, French, Spanish and German institutions - could be awarded degrees of baccalaureus, magister and doctorate⁴. In order to achieve this - in complete agreement with Prince Kristóf Báthory - he gave the Order the buildings of the former Franciscan monastery and convent in Farkas street (Kogălniceanu now), Kolozsvár (Cluj), and other properties lying on both sides of the church. With the help of his Italian architect he built a double storey monastery and school in 1580 - 1581. The new boarding school opened on 13 February 1583. It was also on Farkas street (Kogălniceanu), just across from the monastery, next door to the school. 150 students had full board here, their expenses covered by István Báthory and the Pope. Both of them gave a thousand pieces of gold each year to cover the costs of the students' upkeep⁵. Báthory was also generous when it came to the expenses of the school. For this purpose he donated to the Jesuits remnants of properties of the former Kolozsmonostor (Cluj - Mănăştur) Abbey, namely: Kolozsmonostor (Cluj - Mănăştur), Bács (Baciu), Jegenye (Leghia), Tiburc (does not exist any more), Kajántó (Chinteni), Bogártelke (Băgara)⁶. This generosity made possible the rapid increase in the number of students. At the beginning there were only 50 students, from 1581 onwards 150 to 200, by 1587 230 and later 356 young men attended the Jesuits school. 15 members of the Order did the work of teaching and education in 1587 and 1598⁷.

The students were selected by the Order from all parts of Europe. Apart from Hungarians, Poles and Germans, there were also Italians, French and Spanish. The Kolozsvár (Cluj) college had initiated an important role from the point of view of the religious mission of the Order, thus they employed the best tutors here. These tutors, who came from the

⁴ MonAntHung III, p. 61 - 66, 112 - 118.

⁵ MonAntHung II, p. 393 - 395.

⁶ MonAntHung II, p. 116.

⁷ Ladislaus Lukács, *Catalogi personarum et officiorum provinciae Austriae S. I.*, I (1551 - 1600), Romae, 1978, p. 426 - 429, 461 - 463.

traditional, well-known cultural centers of Europe, like Rome, Vienna, Cracow, Graz or some other place, had to be well informed. As in all the schools of the Order - irrespective of country borders - the educational system worked according to unified rules and methods. The question of documentation also created similar problems and suggested similar answers. Financially the Kolozsvár (Cluj) College was well provided for by Báthory so from the very beginning it was able to satisfy the criteria generally applied within the Order.

In a Jesuit college the establishment of the library is part of the organization of a school; sometimes it even precedes it. For example in Nagyszombat (Trnava) the existence of the library can be established before the organization of the monastery. Similarly, in Znióváralja (Kláštor pod Znievom) the library was founded before they opened their school⁸. It is quite clear from the unified educational criteria of the Order and the educational work carried out in their institutions - that teaching, the work of student and tutor was based everywhere on books of their well - equipped and thoroughly organized private libraries.

Only a year after the Pope's sanctioning of the Order (1541) the first *Ratio Studiorum* was published which commands colleges to establish libraries wherever possible and to put in charge somebody whom the rector judges right. Those who need it for their work must have access to books⁹. *Ratio studiorum* (1586) emphasizes that members of the Order without the abundance of books are like troops without arms. Therefore monasteries must have a yearly budget for the expansion of their libraries particularly¹⁰. There were strict rules for the usage of library material and banned books, so smaller reference - libraries were established, consisting of more frequently used volumes in the colleges. The major part of the

⁸ Dezső Dümmerth, *A budapesti Egyetemi Könyvtár állományának alapjai*, in Magyar Könyvszemle 80/1964, p. 294, 296.

⁹ G. M. Pachtler, *Ratio studiorum et institutiones scholasticae Societatis Jesu. I.*, Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica, V. Berlin, 1887, p. 178.

¹⁰ G. M. Pachtler, *op. cit.*, II, Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica, V. Berlin, 887, p. 178.

library was closed access. Only tutors and teachers of theology were admitted there; students were not¹¹.

The list of banned books had to be on hand in the library, but only the most heretical books were banned. However, these books had to be kept in a secret store; only the rector had a key to it. Even professors of theology, philosophy and humanistic studies could only have access to them if they could prove to the rector that they wanted to “correct” the content of these. The books, corrected and purified, were put back on the shelves of the library¹². Many classical masterpieces were also banned because of the frivolous parts they contained. Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius, Ovidius, Plautus, Terentius Martialis and for a while even Horatius¹³ was under a ban.

There was the same standard cataloguing and accession system in all the colleges. The following text had to be written on the first page of each book, indicating in which monastery collection the book was: “Collegii XY cathalogo inscriptu”¹⁴. The library catalogue was alphabetical according to authors, irrespective of topics¹⁵. The rules of library usage were set down. Borrowing was permitted only with the advance knowledge of the prefects: general or special permission of superiors was necessary. The title of the work and name of the borrower had to be registered on the board set aside for this purpose on the library wall. The loan period was 8 days and thereafter the book had to be replaced safely. The borrower took full responsibility. It was prohibited to visit the library purely out of curiosity and consult works considered outside one’s specific interests¹⁶.

A long list of the library’s rules and regulations could be appended but it is perhaps enough to show how seriously the Jesuits took the value of the written word and also the libraries themselves. When in 1579 the

¹¹ Ladislaus Lukács, *Monumenta Paedagogica - Societatis Jesu*. IV. Romae, 1981, p. 375 - 376, 420.

¹² Lukács, *op. cit.*, X, p. 355 - 356.

¹³ Lukács, *op. cit.*, X, p. 577.

¹⁴ Lukács, *op. cit.*, X, p. 420.

¹⁵ Lukács, *op. cit.*, X, p. 356.

¹⁶ Lukács, *op. cit.*, X, p. 452.

Kolozsvár (Cluj) monastery and school was founded, the library and the rules for using its facilities had already been established with decades' experience. The founding of the college and library in Kolozsvár (Cluj) happened at the same time and were carried out parallel to one another. The question of acquiring books for the new institution had already been a topic for discussion between István Báthory and the Pope's *nuncio* in Poland when they debated the establishment of the Transylvanian college. Out of the twelve points of the 17 July 1579 agreement with the Jesuit Order in Vilnius, two alone concern books. One of them states that the provincial assigned to Poland and his company, who had been sent to Transylvania for a preparatory mission should carry books with them bought at the King's expense. The second is regarding Báthory's promise that he took care not only the question of books but also the equipping of the monastery with objects of devotion and necessary liturgical vestments. He further promises that he will get all those valuable church reliquaries, books, ornaments, paintings and sculptures restored to good condition which have been kept in the Prince's warehouses since the time of reformation and hand them over to the Order¹⁷.

In his annual report of 1579 the Polish provincial who was involved personally in the Transylvanian project records that the first group of Jesuits purchased books for a large sum of money in Cracow and arrived in Kolozsvár (Cluj) with a considerable number of volumes¹⁸. They were more than likely religious books for the protection of the faith and only a few in number supporting school educational needs. This comes to light in the letter sent to Prince Kristóf Báthory by the Polish provincial urging him to start construction work as soon as possible and emphasizing the need to obtain indispensable books necessary for education. According to him there are hardly any books for teachers to prepare from, there is no reference material and all those authors whose works are prescribed by the curriculum are missing. The Prince answered that all necessary books must be purchased or printed at his expense¹⁹. They acted accordingly. On 27

¹⁷ MonAntHung I, p. 903 - 904.

¹⁸ MonAntHung I, p. 1005.

¹⁹ MonAntHung II, p. 4 - 5.

January the Prior reported to the general of the Order that all necessary books had been ordered from Cracow and Germany²⁰.

From then on István Szántó is considered as the main organizer of the library²¹. Being a literary man he was personally interested in the expansion of the library. Moreover, he was in contact with the Pope's Library and its prefect²², he was able to enrich the Vaticana from Kolozsvár (Cluj). For example he was engaged in attempting to obtain the old Slavonic manuscript of Nikephoros' church history for the Vatican Library from a Bulgarian monastery²³. He was of the opinion that a well - equipped library is the essential tool for the fight against heretics. It is quite probable that he fulfilled the promise made by István Báthory that old Catholic books and church reliquaries (stored since the time of Reformation) would be given to the Kolozsvár (Cluj) Jesuits. On 28 June 1580 the Prior was able to report to the centre of the Order in Rome that they had received all that had been contained in the former library of Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia) church. This approximately 200 volume collection consisted mainly of old books predominantly of jurisprudence but also some scholastic literature works. The humanities studies were very old and outdated so they would have had only little use for them. The basic works of theology, the so called "Doctoral works" were hardly represented in the collection. Apart from the books, big quantities of liturgical vestments were also sent from Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia), expensive pieces woven in golden threads, but many of them damaged²⁴. The old Catholic book collection that was left in Kolozsvár (Cluj) arrived at the then nearly completed school building at the same time. The annual monastery report of 1580 describes it as "rich material"²⁵.

The remainder of the old books from previous Reformation times in Várad (Oradea) was sent to Kolozsvár (Cluj), thanks to Szántó probably. The fact that Szántó sent all this old material to Kolozsvár (Cluj) although

²⁰ MonAntHung II, p. 20.

²¹ MonAntHung II, p. 35, 183.

²² MonAntHung II, p. 32 - 33.

²³ MonAntHung II, p. 213.

²⁴ MonAntHung II, p. 70, 81.

²⁵ MonAntHung II, p. 102.

he was given the job to establish a centre for the Order in Várad (Oradea) in February 1584 suggests that either he himself or the leaders of the organization believed that the Koložsvár (Cluj) college was to be the center for all mission documentation material for Transylvania and for the territories beyond the Carpathian Mountains. Thanks to Szántó's good relationship with the Polish King, István Báthory gave "the old library" of Várad (Oradea) - which was valued at 2000 florins - to the Jesuit Order in August 1585²⁶.

All these books, copper candelabra and carpets were stored in the chapel of the Várad (Oradea) fortress since the majority of the population of Várad (Oradea) had been converted to the "new faith". Szántó had the Saint Giles church restored and brought all the books on two carts. Then he sent them on to Koložsvár (Cluj). This was only a small and battered portion of the once famous library of Várad (Oradea). The real bibliophile treasures were mostly scattered earlier. However, we know from Szántó's letter to Claudio Aquaviva Jesuit general, written on 30 October 1587, that a few precious volumes were left. He mentions with the enthusiasm of a book lover nine enormous volumes - antiphonariums and graduals - written in golden ink characters, the like of which he had never seen before. This is a remarkable statement as Szántó was a frequent visitor at the Vaticana and therefore knowledgeable of its collection. Szántó also mentions in his letter that one of these highly decorated codices was worth alone 600 pieces of gold, which was an enormous sum²⁷. Even if Szántó exaggerated somewhat the real value of these books from Várad (Oradea) to emphasize the importance of his deeds to his superiors, it is certain that he himself considered this act of his successes during his Transylvanian work.

However, the Jesuits generally collected in their libraries not rarities but educational and religious works for the protection of the faith, books which were necessary for their work. The duty of the protection and collection of the remaining old Transylvanian books was probably "forced on them" by a sense of responsibility from István Báthory. Their aim was to continuously expand their libraries by acquisition of the latest foreign

²⁶ MonAntHung I, p. 863.

²⁷ MonAntHung III, p. 80 - 81.

books. The publication dates of these books still available to us today prove that they were successful in this aim to their well - organized and centralized system. Despite obstacles created by wars, distance itself and other difficulties, those current foreign publications they considered so important were able to appear on the shelves of the Kolozsvár (Cluj) library surprisingly quickly. The "book route" had been already laid but from western Europe via Cracow during the year 1580, as Vienna was further away from Transylvania and more difficult to contact because of changeable politics. Jesuit leaders saw the importance of a well organized Cracow monastery to keep the Kolozsvár (Cluj) college in existence. Transylvania had to be supplied with books and clothing from Cracow. In order to maintain the continuous and uninterrupted supplies of books to Kolozsvár (Cluj), four horses had to be purchased²⁸. As mission areas and educational needs increased, the demand for newer and more current books grew and there was a continuous pressure to have them sent on time. For example, Father Wujek wrote to the general of the Order on 18 August 1581 that if they wanted him to write to the Catholic Postilla to counter the Postilla of the Polish Protestants, he would need to have a lot of books, as not all works are obtainable in Transylvania²⁹. It should also be mentioned that most of the professors were from Western Europe and their placements were temporary, so they kept with their foreign contacts and wanted to keep in touch with new information and to have it as soon as it was obtainable in print. The bill for the purchase of foreign books (which was not negligible) was partly paid by the Prince. The Order also used the annual donation of 1000 florins which was sent from the Pope's treasury to their Kolozsvár (Cluj) seminary. In March 1583 Father Antonio Possevino gave 550 florins from the Pope's yearly sum in cash to the prefect of the Kolozsvár (Cluj) seminary and of these 50 florins were accounted for in the value of purchased books³⁰. When Possevino sent a consignment books from Cracow, among them there were his own works purchased at István

²⁸ MonAntHung II, p. 161.

²⁹ MonAntHung II, p. 160.

³⁰ MonAntHung II, p. 439 - 440.

Báthory's cost - in which he urged the wider use of the Gregorian calendar³¹.

Reading Possevino's 1583 code of regulations for the seminary, which controlled the usage of books by students, we can get a glimpse of life in the Kolozsvár (Cluj) library, built and equipped with great expense, attention and professionalism. According to this code of rules, nobody could have a book without the permission of his teacher. It was prohibited to draw, make remarks or scratch in or on the books borrowed from the seminary. If somebody had a banned book, he had to hand it over to the rector and needed his permission to read such topics in the future again³². Within a few years, the Jesuits established a well-equipped, rich collection of books in the promising college of Kolozsvár (Cluj), a collection which was listed and catalogued according to their system. We only know about this from the markings in each volume as the first library catalogue was either destroyed or has still not been found. The collection of the Kolozsvár (Cluj) Jesuit college, which was gradually raised to maturity as a university was undoubtedly the best in library development produced in Transylvania till the end of the 16 century.

Further steady development of the library was interrupted by the 1586 plague. The Jesuits took refuge in the remote Kővár (Chioar), but 24 out of the 45 works perished anyway. However, the temporary abandonment of the monastery did not inflict any loss or damage to the library, because the respected scribe Márton and the young István Kakas, who had just returned from Italy supervised it well and protected it from possible pillaging by the hostile Protestant population. István Kakas's close connection with the Jesuits and his character as a bibliophile was well known³³.

After being so well established and organized it only required continuity for the first Transylvanian university and library to become consolidated and their presence permanent. During the 1585 - 1586 school term, philosophy and theology teaching also started in addition the

³¹ MonAntHung II, p. 524 - 525.

³² MonAntHung II, p. 435.

³³ MonAntHung II, p. 935, 969, 972. - FontRTrans II, p. 180.

humanities studies and purchasing books for these subjects became even more urgent³⁴. Undoubtedly, the rapid development of the would-be university and its library was due to the Jesus Society, a highly organized international society in the 16 century cultural and spiritual life of Europe. As its fate was connected to that of the Jesuits in the predominantly Protestant and Orthodox populated Transylvania, this also determined the future of many brilliant initiations.

On 8 December 1588 the Medgyes (Mediaş) diet began and it was here that the Protestant Estates forced the still infant Prince Zsigmond Báthory (1581 - 1602) to consent to their decree of banishing Jesuits from Transylvania³⁵. The Jesuits did protest and demonstrated with figures to show the large sums they spent on the building of schools and churches, but to no avail. They were given 25 days to leave Transylvania³⁶. Despite receiving instructions on the 27th December that “all books, church valuables and all others handed over to them from here [Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia)] from Várad (Oradea) and from Kolozsvár (Cluj) should be returned the same way and in the same manner to the above mentioned places”, the Jesuits took a lot of their valuables with them most probably with the help of the devoted captain of Kővár (Chioar), Kristóf Keresztúri, and left Transylvania³⁷. According to the viceprovincial’s official report to Rome it seems that they managed to leave with many valuables, mainly from Kolozsvár (Cluj), to Hungary and Poland, probably right after the first expulsion order of the November partial diet in Enyed (Aiud)³⁸. The Jesuits from Kolozsvár (Cluj) left their monastery on the 19th January 1589 after handing it over to the Prince’s representative. On the 29th January the rector solemnly protested to the convent of Lelesz (Leles) about of their expulsion³⁹. Some of them departed from Kővár (Chioar) to Moldavia to be among the “csángó”-s and also took the necessary books with them.

³⁴ MonAntHung II, p. 847, 858.

³⁵ EOE III, p. 238 - 240; Ştefan Pascu, *Istoria Clujului*, Cluj, 1974, p. 147.

³⁶ EOE III, p. 239; MonAntHung III, p. 236.

³⁷ MonAntHung III, p. 274 - 275, 303; FontRTr II, p. 252.

³⁸ MonAntHung III, p. 303, 379.

³⁹ MonAntHung III, p. 304, 382, 385 - 386.

The collection of the library was very badly affected by the evacuation, which caused outrage and chaos. Father Alfons Carillo, who reorganized the Transylvanian mission, wrote in 1591 that those who had left should not have taken anything more than the bare essentials with them. Then they could have avoided the impression that they came to Transylvania for financial profits instead of to save people's souls⁴⁰. Carillo's caustic remark was prompted by the irresponsible handling of the evacuated and owner-lost valuables. This is why the Polish provincial wrote a letter to the general on 31 July 1589 in which he asked him to compel all members of the Order who left Transylvania to account for any valuables being taken with them. According to him those who left for Austria with 6 horses and a wagon had large amounts of money and valuables with them⁴¹.

Indeed it must have been quite a fortune with which the Jesuits evacuated from Transylvania. According to the Polish provincial's official the amount of cash only, must have come to 5000 florins, not to mention the large quantities of silver, relics, religious objects and books that were taken to Austria and Moldavia⁴². All these became bases for a certain amount of rivalry between the Austrian and Polish provinces of the Order. The Austrian provincial wanted to have the books, religious objects and liturgical vestments for Znióváraľja (Kláštor pod Znievom) in Turóc county where a new monastery was being organized. He promised to assure Transylvanian colleges the right of restoring these goods⁴³. The Poles however were of the opinion that the Transylvanian mission and the Kolozsvár (Cluj) college belonged to the Polish province of the Order and they were concerned whether the Austrians would embezzle the evacuated treasures.⁴⁴ Claudio Aquaviva, the general of the Order supported the opinion of the latter, but ordered on 1 March 1589 the Polish province take custody only of the Transylvanian treasures⁴⁵.

⁴⁰ MonAntHung III, p. 613.

⁴¹ MonAntHung III, p. 470.

⁴² MonAntHung III, p. 426.

⁴³ MonAntHung III, p. 398.

⁴⁴ MonAntHung III, p. 518.

⁴⁵ MonAntHung III, p. 401.

However, most of the evacuated books never arrived in Poland but remained in Hungary. Just a few special bibliophile rarities reached Austria, mainly to Vienna. Two years later, the vast majority of Transylvanian books were still in Lelesz (Leles), though István Szántó - acting on his own accord - sent some to Znióváralka (Kláštor pod Znievom), Vágsellye (Šalá) and Turóc (Turiec), where new monasteries were being established. It would be impossible to say today how many books might have gone astray from the original Kolozsvár (Cluj) collection, during these uncertain times. We may have some information coming to light from the Lelesz (Leles) archival research or perhaps from the results of the Hungarian or Slovakian research.

Prince Zsigmond Báthory acted reluctantly under political pressure when he expelled the Jesuits and considered this only a temporary measure. Estates of the Jesuits were not given to anyone else but were managed separately from the treasury accounts by István Kakas who was educated by the Jesuits. He reported directly to the Prince himself. Clear income from the estates was set aside for the Jesuits and the collected amount had come to quite a large sum by the spring of 1590⁴⁶. Also those students of the Kolozsvár (Cluj) college who have not left were kept at Kolozsmonostor (Cluj - Mănaștur) on the expense of the Prince⁴⁷. He never severed his contacts with the Order, merely concealed them. Already in the autumn of 1590 he had asked Rome to send Jesuits again to Transylvania.

The general of the Order trusted Alfons Carillo, a Spanish Jesuit, endowed with an excellent political sense and diplomatic experience, with the delicate work of preparation for their return. Carillo arrived at Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia) in March 1591; he was the personal confessor and theological adviser of the Prince. From the moment of his arrival he worked on preparing for the return of the Order, staying in the background, undergoing systematic diplomatic and political work. Within a few years he gained the complete trust of the easily influenced Prince Zsigmond Báthory. By the beginning of May 1595 the Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia) diet

⁴⁶ MonAntHung III, p. 535, 539; *Istoria României*, II, p. 1038.

⁴⁷ MonAntHung III, p. 555.

annulled the expulsion decree of the Medgyes (Mediaș) diet, restored full ownership to the Order and permitted the opening of their schools again⁴⁸. Scribes Márton and István Kakas, representatives of the Prince, handed back all the Kolozsvár (Cluj) buildings of the Jesuits with all their belongings to Carillo on the 10th May. We know from the official report during the handover that a part of the library, which was left behind in the building, was also unharmed⁴⁹. What we do not know exactly is the size of this collection, as the number of books, which were returned were not included in the list. The fact that those books remained in Kolozsvár (Cluj) must have been beneficial and supported Carillo in his efforts to reopen the school on 14 May with the help of 11 Jesuits who had stayed on in Transylvania as clergymen⁵⁰. Carillo was well prepared for this. Ever since his arrival in Transylvania he had corresponded and fought a hard battle to get back everything that had been taken away from the local monasteries. He was well aware of the importance of books for their work here. Therefore the question of returning what was taken away but also the acquisition of new books was a recurrent topic of his letters. In his 11 May 1591 letter to the general of the Order he drew attention to the large amount of books and money, which had been taken to Poland and Austria at the time of the expulsion. He asked Acquaviva to direct principals of both provinces of the Order to keep goods and valuables originating in Transylvania in good condition so that they would be ready to be returned any time in the future. Meanwhile both provincials were to send back those Transylvanian books that he asked for, or if they were not available, use the Transylvanian funds in Poland "to purchase them because here they have hardly any books available to them." He also complained about Father Szántó, saying that he would not cooperate and was acting on his own behalf regarding the books and other valuables stored in Lelesz (Leles) and was not willing to authorize the return of some much required volumes to Transylvania. His opinion was that everything that had been

⁴⁸ EOE III, p. 472.

⁴⁹ Endre Veress, *Carillo Alfonz jezsuita atya levelezése és iratai*, I-II; MonHungHistDipl. XXXII, XLI, Budapest, 1906, 1943, I, p. 500 - 501; II, pp. 172 - 174, 191.

⁵⁰ Veress, *Carillo*, II, p. 175.

taken away must be brought back because they could not burden the Prince with the purchasing of any more books and other equipment, so that the Order could settle down anew⁵¹.

A few days later Carillo asked the Polish provincial to send at the first given opportunity a volume of the Concordance of the Bible and also Commentaries to the Bible by Didacus Stella and Benedictus Perera, some works by Thomas Aquinas, Hieronymus and other patriarchs, also works by Petrus Canisius, the documents of the Council of Trent and the catechism worked out there, the preachings of Ludovicus Granatensis, works of antyheresy by Alfonsus de Castro and Gabriel Prateolus, works by Plutarch and the multilingual dictionary by Hadrianus Iulius. Furthermore he asked Father Wujek, the ex - Transylvanian viceprovincial to write to Lelesz (Leles) to ask him to send him whatever he asks for from the many books and other things left there⁵². We can see from later correspondence that neither the Polish, nor the Austrian provincials of these territories hurried in any way to satisfy Carillo's requests and he was still waiting in vain for the commentaries of Perera and Stella a year and a half later⁵³. It seems that both the Poles and the Austrians wanted to keep all these Transylvanian valuables for themselves. On 30 November 1591 Carillo was still required to urge Szántó to send the requested authorization to Lelesz (Leles) so that the necessary books and goods could be sent for⁵⁴. In his letter dated 23 January 1592 he reports again to the general in Rome that all his previous efforts have failed and nothing had been returned to him. However, if they are allowed to start teaching again in Transylvania they can not lack all those books and equipment that had been evacuated to Poland, Moldavia and Austria⁵⁵. In spite of all his efforts, this problem remained unsolved. In December 1592 Carillo still was complaining about the lack of books to his immediate superior, the Austrian provincial, demanding those volumes that Szántó had taken without permission and rightful reason from Transylvania and from Lelesz (Leles). He found out

⁵¹ Veress, *Carillo*, II, p. 12 - 14.

⁵² MonAntHung III, p. 620.

⁵³ MonAntHung II, p. 848.

⁵⁴ MonAntHung III, p. 697; Veress, *Carillo*, II, p. 47.

⁵⁵ MonAntHung III, p. 752; Veress, *Carillo*, I, p. 9.

that nearly all of these are to be found in Turóc (Turiec) and a few in Vienna⁵⁶.

Carillo's efforts to regain possession of the taken books seemed to gain momentum when the Order got its monasteries and schools back. As the Transylvanian mission was transferred over to the Austrian province of the Order, all Carillo's further battles for the books had to be fought with the Austrian provincial⁵⁷. During the first days of May 1595 he wrote many letters exerting pressure for this singular aim. On the 3 May he let the general know that he was demanding all the money, silverware, religious objects and books back from Poland and Austria. He also wished that the Fathers of Turóc (Turiec) should transport back all those books to Lelesz (Leles) on their own expense that had been taken without his knowledge when he had been in Transylvania. He asked Acquaviva to instruct the general accordingly⁵⁸. In his letter written on the same day to the Austrian provincial, Carillo asks now for the return of all those volumes not only in Turóc (Turiec), but in Vienna, Vágsellye (Ňalá) and Znióvárálja, declaring that a refusal would be unlawful⁵⁹. Two days later he repeated his request adding that the provincial should purchase new books, breviaries, missals, rule books and send them along with those members of the Order who had been sent to Transylvania⁶⁰.

⁵⁶ MonAntHung III, p. 848.

⁵⁷ MonAntHung III, p. 806 - 807; Veress, *Carillo*, II, p. 67 - 68.

⁵⁸ Veress, *Carillo*, II, p. 163 - 164, 167.

⁵⁹ Veress, *Carillo*, II, p. 166.

⁶⁰ Veress, *Carillo*, II, p. 169.



Title page of the Bible printed by
Kis Miklós in Amsterdam, Blaeu's printing shop. 1687

But even his commanding presence failed to bring results yet again. So on 4 and then on 10 June 1595 Claudio turned to General Acquaviva again to speed things up with the Austrian and Polish leaders of the Order in order to gain the rapid return of money, books and other church accessories⁶¹. In his answer dated on 15 July the General let Carillo know that he not only had urged the Poles and Austrians to do as they were asked to, but had also instructed them to send books which they had extra copies of, books that could be used in Transylvania⁶². Despite this Carillo had to report on the 2nd August that the Poles had returned nothing till then⁶³. So on the 28th August he sent Father Gaspar Krizkovski to Cracow for the Transylvanian goods⁶⁴. The envoy returned on the 10th October in the company of the would-be Prior, the Polish Father Jakab Wujek, who brought with him silverware and furthermore, “part of the money and other goods” from Poland⁶⁵. It is somewhat strange that in his report to Rome Carillo did not mention books, the return of which he had urged, on so many occasions. It is most probable that there was at least a certain number of these among the returned items. However, we know nothing about those books which ended up in Hungary and Austria. Future volumes of the archives of the Hungarian Jesuits may provide us with information on the books that were regained from monasteries for the Kolozsvár (Cluj) library or those that were lost forever.

The reorganization of the Order in Transylvania which was energetically carried out by Carillo also benefited the library of the Kolozsvár (Cluj) college. According to certain information it seems probable that new books were now registered in the catalogue of the library. This is probably the time when the collection obtained its own prefect. In 1596 they mention Johann Leinberer and in 1598 Antonio Marietti from Rome as the person in charge of the library⁶⁶. Professors from abroad formed a sort of scientific workshop around the library which

⁶¹ Veress, *Carillo*, II, p. 176, 178.

⁶² Veress, *Carillo*, II, p. 184.

⁶³ Veress, *Carillo*, II, p. 185.

⁶⁴ Veress, *Carillo*, II, p. 190, 196.

⁶⁵ Veress, *Carillo*, II, p. 202 - 203.

⁶⁶ Veress, *Catalogi*, I., p. 560 - 561, 583.

was considered as such by other intellectuals of different faiths as well. It is known from the historian István Szamosközy that he was in contact with Antonio Marietti, the scholar guardian of the library. He even lent to him the most precious treasure of his private collection, a highly decorated codex - work of Flavius Proculus Iustinus about the beginnings of empires and their rulers - which was written on parchment from the library of Matthias Corvinus in Buda⁶⁷. We can even see that after 1595 the rehabilitation of the Order's book deliveries from Rome and the book purchases from the West became more frequent. The extension of the Kolozsvár (Cluj) library and Transylvania becoming part of the Austrian province of the Order in 1592, meant closer contact with the publications of German printing which changed the character of the collection. Vienna now took over from Cracow the mediating role. The years after 1595 were undoubtedly the "golden age" of the college and library but this advancement was soon to be followed by a depression.

The Jesuit Order and Carillo personally had a decisive role in Zsigmond Báthory's severance of ties with the Turks and the following more Hapsburg oriented policies. While these policies were successful, the influence of Jesuits was to grow and their institutions flourished. When they failed, wars and uncertain moves of leadership affected the principality and the general feeling turned against the Jesuits. Their institutions also had to suffer a share of the decay which affected the country. Fighting the Turks emptied the coffers of treasury, so the Jesuits could not count on solid financial support any more. In 1600 Mihai Viteazul took away part of their estates and income⁶⁸. They could hardly purchase books with their declining incomes. During the first years of the new century the biggest and most valuable addition to their library was the Wolphard - Kakas collection, which was given to them by István Kakas when he left Transylvania (1602). So after a few years of development hard times came to the Jesuits' Kolozsvár (Cluj) college and library. These ruined István Báthory's original plans concerning the university.

⁶⁷ István Szamosközy, *Erdély Története*, Budapest, 1963, p. 274.

⁶⁸ Veress, *Carillo*, II, p. 216, 308, 315, 317.

All those feelings of antagonism, which fed on their mistaken policies and their forceful efforts for religious conversion turned against the Jesuits with the abdication of Zsigmond Báthory and his departure from Transylvania. After Basta's terror and the ravaging of his mercenaries which distanced Transylvania from the Hapsburgs, the Estates of the Realm elected Mózes Székely in May 1603 to be Prince. With the help of Turkish troops he chased the hated imperials out. When the Unitarian Mózes Székely occupied Kolozsvár (Cluj) on 9 June 1603, it was not too difficult for the Protestant preachers to incite the mostly Unitarian population against the Jesuits who were looked upon as the "quartermasters" of the Hapsburgs. This was also induced by the clumsy and hostile behaviour of the Prior, as we find out from Father Giovanni Argenti's confidential letter to the general of the Order dated on 16 August 1603⁶⁹. When he was asked by the mayor of the town to give some grain from the plentiful grain supplies of the monastery, he refused, even though the population of the town suffered from hunger during the siege. With his tactless behaviour, he himself incited the rage against the Jesuits. The enraged mass of people attacked the Jesuit missionary and the church in the afternoon of 9 June, breaking and pillaging everything that lay in their way. According to Szamosközi, "after ravaging the monastery and taking everything with them, the crowds turned their anger against the walls (...) They were not satisfied with breaking and damaging walls; even the remaining ruins were made completely uninhabitable. That a few ruins were nevertheless left was only due to the strength of solid stone walls which could resist further destruction. The wooden parts of the roof structure were so thoroughly destroyed almost as if they had been gutted by fire." The church itself "whose arches rose into the sky, was stripped of all its tiles, rafters, beams including its complete roofing. Only the thick bare walls were left. They destroyed even the images of saints with their picks and axes, and even the tombstones were not spared. All the internal

⁶⁹ Veress, *Argenti*, p. 107 - 114; Constantin Daicovicu, Ștefan Pascu, Victor Chereșteșiu, *Din istoria Transilvaniei*, I, București, p. 207 - 209.

furnishing was destroyed because whatever they found in their way, they devastated immediately⁷⁰.

Other Jesuit writers also mention the destruction of the monastery, perhaps in more colourful details and possible exaggeration their serious losses. Researching the history of the library, new facts appeared come to light about the events of 9 June 1603 and what followed after. The picture depicted in literature has to be now somewhat "corrected". The uncontrolled destruction was carried out on 9 June and on the following day. On the night of 10 June Mózes Székely sent guards to the monastery. It seems that these stories blur events that happened over a much longer period of time. One day not a full month till the death of Mózes Székely (17 July 1603) or a month and a half till the return of the imperial forces would have been enough to achieve the destruction that Szamosközy described⁷¹. Statements from the Jesuits that the crowds destroyed their buildings is an exaggeration in the sense that this could not have been done in June 1603, but later, over a long period of time⁷². The population and even the leaders of the town treated the monastery and seminary buildings damaged by the June attacks as a stone quarry: stones required for the repair of the city wall, tower and other buildings were taken from there in 1614⁷³.

All this is important to us, because it questions the narrative sources of the history of the library itself. According to Szamosközy the pillagers damaged the foodstores first, then they broke into the library "and started to cut and damage ecclesiastical and secular works of literature with their swords and axes in a barbaric way that was unusual even for Turks and Tartars"⁷⁴. Father Argenti made similar comments in his report dated

⁷⁰ Szamosközy, *op. cit.*, p. 275.

⁷¹ Endre Veress, *Basta György hadvezér levelezése és iratai*, II, p. 263.

⁷² Veress, *Báthory - egyetem...*, Erdélyi Múzeum, 23/1906, p. 261 - 262; Veress, *Argenti*, p. 95 - 106; Ö. Szabolcs Barclay, *Vázlat a jezsuita "Missio Transylvanica" tevékenységéről és könyvtárának sorsáról (1571 - 1603)*, Könyv és könyvtár 12/1979, p. 121.

⁷³ Veress, *Argenti*, p. 178, 185, 187, 195.

⁷⁴ Szamosközy, *op. cit.*, p. 274.

15 August 1603⁷⁵. We get a completely different picture from the official reports written at the time of the events and from an eyewitness-account of the bibliophile printer Gáspár Heltai Jr. It seems that on 9 June the crowd performed its destruction and pillaging mainly in the church and they did not reach the library that day. Though Heltai himself found books cut up and trampled in the mud of the cloister of the monastery, he has stated adamantly that the breaking, reckless crowd, which went wild, did not get into the arched premises protected by steel bars and into the chapel (sacellum) where the books were kept. At the request of Heltai two jurymen, Miklós Radnóti and Márton Seres, spent the night of the 9th June till the early hours of the morning on the scene to guard the books so that they would not be destroyed⁷⁶. The library did not suffer any damage during the first attack and the destruction. There were bibliophiles, learned citizens, who were aware of the importance of the collection and did not leave them unprotected. The books were protected on the following day as well. Heltai himself spent the night in the library. But by this time Prince Mózes Székely had also sent guards and from the 11 June the mayor of the town assumed care of the protection of books⁷⁷.

Heltai's account is justified by the inventory of the valuables of the college, drawn up by the representatives of the Prince and the town, on 12 June. This is how we are aware that three days after the pillaging by the crowd, they still had all the untouched coffers full of money and valuables belonging to the nobility, which had been put into custody here, including the golden and silver religious objects, expensive vestments for the priests, richly decorated chasubles, a collection of carpets worth a fortune, kitchen equipments, crockery, food stocks and wine - casks in the cellar⁷⁸. Of course, all of these would not have been left untouched if the attack on the monastery had happened the way it was described by the narrative sources. The respectable committee taking stock of the library stated that "the majority of those books are also there"⁷⁹. Only the majority, because

⁷⁵ Veress, *Argenti*, p. 98.

⁷⁶ Veress, *Argenti*, p. 170 - 171.

⁷⁷ Veress, *Argenti*, p. 171, 180, 187, 193.

⁷⁸ Veress, *Argenti*, p. 162 - 170.

⁷⁹ Veress, *Argenti*, p. 169.

the Chancellor of the Prince, Johannes Jacobinus made Mózes Székely give him all those books which were sent to the college by his relation István Kakas. Though the books were separated in the presence of Heltai on 11 June, Jacobinus sent them to his own quarters on 12 June, in the morning, before the inventory had been taken. Heltai thinks it is possible that Jacobinus, who was a bibliophile, added some other, important works to the Kakas collection, volumes which did not belong to him and took them away from the library which had an uncertain future. From 12 June, all listed valuables and books were handled by this committee - without much of a sense of responsibility. When Heltai saw that the leader of the committee, István Kendi handled the books as if they were his own, he himself asked for volumes from the library. That's is how he came in possession of a *Breviarum Romanum* written on parchment, another folio-size parchment - manuscript, an index of works by Aristotle, the *Oratorum sententiae* by Seneca and a folio-size, somewhat damaged volume containing the works of Thomas Aquinas⁸⁰. It is beyond doubt that those pillagers cut up and trampled books into the mud in their first storm, that they stole and destroyed volumes, but these were mainly the ones that the monks borrowed and kept in their cells. When investigation began in earnest all over the town for stolen goods from the monastery after 22 October 1603, only 40 or 50 books were found. Thus the dismembering of the library was not caused - in my opinion - by the treasure - hunting pillagers, but by those educated bibliophiles who knew the value of books and collected them⁸¹. So the more serious damage was not inflicted during those moments on 9 June, but later, in the period of the death of Mózes Székely (17 July) or even later, on the return of the Jesuits (22 September)⁸². According to the Order's viceprovincial for Transylvania, Father Argenti, damage would not have been so great if the Prior in Kolozsvár (Cluj), Petrus Maior had been a more suitable person for leadership⁸³. The systematic destruction of buildings was also partially the result of his unfortunate decision whereby he walled money, religious

⁸⁰ Veress, *Argenti*, p. 172.

⁸¹ FontRTr.V, p. 156.

⁸² FontRTr. V, p. 277.

⁸³ Veress, *Argenti*, p. 107 - 114.

objects, valuables, coffers into many places within the monastery⁸⁴. As soon as some of these hiding places were discovered by the looters, the treasurehunt began. As a result the building was systematically dismembered. Local superiors of the Order tried to cover their negligence by exaggerating the size and force of the attack and the whole process of destruction.

Summing up, it is reasonable to say that, thanks to the feeling of cultural responsibility of the town's educated citizens, the events of 9 June 1603 did not cause such damage to the library as has been believed up till now. Apart from the loss of certain individual volumes and the "pickings" of certain intellectuals, the biggest loss would have been the giving away of the Kakas collection. But Johannes Jacobinus died together with his Princely Lord in the Brassó (Braşov) Battle, and three months later the returning Jesuits were able to reclaim all those books that he has taken from their library on the night of 12 June⁸⁵. The most decisive argument in support of my opinion that all the reports of losses suffered by the Jesuits' monastery in Kolozsvár (Cluj) cannot be applied to the ultimate fate of the library is a reconstructed catalogue - the result of my research. It proves that at least 500 works from the 1603 collection still exist today. As a result of my reconstruction it can be asserted that the library of the Báthory University, despite all the adversities and its present incomplete form is still the biggest 16 century book collection in the country and as such it is recommended for research purposes. This reconstruction of the old library stock would have been completely impossible, had the fate of the Kolozsvár (Cluj) library turned out to be indeed what had been considered until recently⁸⁶. The statement which was written probably in October 1603 puts the value of the appropriated goods at about 2000 florins, not taking into account losses suffered by the manuscript collection⁸⁷. Checking the inventory of 12 June it seems that the sum of losses have been exaggerated for the sake of greater compensation and cannot be relied on as true facts.

⁸⁴ Veress, *Argenti*, p. 171, 179, 187.

⁸⁵ György Bónis, *Jacobinus János erdélyi kancellár formuláskönyve (1602)*, Kolozsvár, 1947, p. 12.

⁸⁶ Barlay, *op. cit.*, Könyv és könyvtár 12/1979, p. 111 - 133.

⁸⁷ Veress, *Argenti*, p. 198.

In the report made just after the looting they mention 150 bushels of wheat missing, whereas this latter list of demands registered 260 bushels. It is also interesting to note that on this damage list the wheat and flour bushel price are equally 24 florins⁸⁸. Judging the price of books has always been difficult. This estimation of the losses in the library should be considered with great caution.

Basta compensated the returning Jesuits in Kolozsvár (Cluj) on 13 September 1603 for the loss of their buildings with the church of the Unitarians in the Main Square with its rectory and school building⁸⁹. He brought all valuables found during the investigations there. The reorganization of the library probably started with the visit of Carillo in January - February 1604⁹⁰. The collected volumes were catalogued again. Inscriptions of this calendar year made it possible for me to establish which books were part of the oldest collection of the library. So in 1604 the library was ready to be used again, contradicting earlier beliefs about the degree of damage.

The cruel revenge taken on the town and the enormous 70.000 thaler ransom that the citizens of Kolozsvár (Cluj) had to pay, was an example of deterrent set by Emperor Rudolf. Not only did it destroy "kincses Kolozsvár" ("treasure city Kolozsvár/Cluj"), but made the coexistence of Jesuits and the Protestant population impossible for a long time⁹¹. The Unitarian population having lost its religious institutions now waited for the first opportunity to shake off the aggressive Jesuits acting under the protection of General Basta, who was also being held responsible for all the tragedies caused by the Hapsburg-friendly policies. As soon as the troops of Bocskai cleared imperial forces from Transylvania, the citizens of Kolozsvár (Cluj) turned against the Jesuits. The town council hoping for the support of Bocskai returned the church, rectory and school to the Unitarians and instructed the Jesuits to leave the city and move to their property in Kolozsmonostor (Cluj - Mănăştur)⁹². The Jesuit fathers

⁸⁸ Veress, *Argenti*, p. 169, 197.

⁸⁹ Veress, *Basta*, II, p. 292, 310.

⁹⁰ Veress, *Argenti*, p. 223; FontRTr. V, p. 94.

⁹¹ Veress, *Basta*, II, p. 255, 289.

⁹² FontRTr V., p. 129 - 150.

transported part of their books there and later to the property of their patron, Zsigmond Sarmasági, his castle in Gerend (Luncani)⁹³. They also evacuated some of their valuables to Kassa (Košice). There could be no further development of their school and library due to the changed political climate. Their expulsion was constantly obvious. Survival and the safe evacuation of their valuables was their main preoccupation in this period. They had learned by their experiences in 1588 - 89.

On 20 September Bocskai ordered the viceprovincial to gather all Jesuits in Kolozsmonostor (Cluj - Mănăştur), and on 23 October the order came that all Jesuits had to leave the Principality by the demand of the population⁹⁴. The Fathers did not think any more of evacuating the library as they did in the past. Rector Argenti decided to distribute part of the books and religious objects among Szeklerland priests, estimated around 40, so each and everyone should get something. This is why in Catholic parishes in Szeklerland one might come across Jesuit books from Kolozsvár (Cluj). Afterwards Argenti had three carts loaded with their valuables and two carts with books placed in barrels. He did this in an elaborate, demonstrative way so that the Protestant preachers and others who coveted their books would believe that everything had been taken and would not search for the valuables of the Order after their departure. He even gave some books to the secretary of the Prince (probably Simon Péchy), in order to gain his goodwill⁹⁵. His last act was to distribute religious books among the Catholic believers of Kolozsvár (Cluj)⁹⁶. However, the most valuable part of the library was not moved from Kolozsvár (Cluj), but was hidden in the houses of trustworthy coreligionists. We still have the list of books left with András Ötvös on 9 November⁹⁷. The Jesuits left Kolozsvár (Cluj) with their carts on 11 November 1606, in full view of the town⁹⁸.

⁹³ FontRTr V., p. 165.

⁹⁴ FontRTr V., p. 159, 161 - 162.

⁹⁵ FontRTr V., p. 166 - 169.

⁹⁶ FontRTr V., p. 169.

⁹⁷ FontRTr V., p. 267.

⁹⁸ FontRTr V., p. 170.

Thanks to the wise decision of Father Argenti, the library of the Báthory University of Kolozsvár (Cluj) was not taken from Transylvania and scattered, but was left in Kolozsmonostor (Cluj - Mănăştur). Catholic religious education and the 18 century reorganisation of the Jesuit library has been based on it. Even though the 10 - 24 June 1607 diet banned the Jesuit Order in Transylvania, the presence of individual priests and their work was overlooked in respect of the Catholic Estates of the nobility⁹⁹. Calvinist Princes did not even object to the Jesuit school in Kolozsmonostor (Cluj - Mănăştur), which insured the continuous supply of Catholic priests¹⁰⁰. Over the years books hidden in Kolozsvár (Cluj) were to find their way here. The inventory of 17 century purchases proves that not only did they take care of the book inheritance of earlier better times in Kolozsmonostor (Cluj - Mănăştur), but they regularly enlarged it mainly with the help of the Jesuit centre in Vienna.

The period between 1604 and 1700, that is, the Kolozsmonostor (Cluj - Mănăştur) period is a brand new chapter in the history of the library. The collection became no more the ideological arsenal of an organization striving for political influence, but served the self - protection of the Catholic church forced into minority.

⁹⁹ EOE V., p. 493.

¹⁰⁰ Bertalan Bagossy, *Az erdélyi katolicizmus múltja és jelene*, Dicsőszentmárton, 1925, p. 63 - 82.