

ISSN 2545-3823

# Orthodoxi Evrópi

Studia do dziejów  
Kościoła prawosławnego  
w Europie Wschodniej

Rocznik

Pracowni Historii Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej UwB

vol. 6/2023

vol. 6/2023

Studia do dziejów Kościoła prawosławnego w Europie Wschodniej

Orthodoxi Evrópi

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Studia do dziejów  
Kościoła prawosławnego  
w Europie Wschodniej

vol. VI / 2023

**Православная Европа**

Исследования по истории Православной Церкви  
в Восточной Европе

**Orthodox Europe**

Studies for the history of the Orthodox Church  
in Eastern Europe

**Ορθόδοξη Ευρώπη**

Μελέτες για την ιστορία της Ορθόδοξης Εκκλησίας  
στην Ανατολική Ευρώπη



Białystok 2023  
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ISSN 2545-3823

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Предыдущие тома „Православная Европа”

Previous “Orthodox Europe” volumes;

Προηγούμενοι αριθμοί „Ορθόδοξη Ευρώπη”

[https://kamunikat.org/orthodoxi\\_evropi.html](https://kamunikat.org/orthodoxi_evropi.html)

Wolumen ukazał się dzięki wsparciu finansowemu  
MAŁGORZATY PAWLUCZUK, EUGENIUSZA MAKAREWICZA, IRENY BARAN

The volume was released thanks to the financial support of  
MAŁGORZATA PAWLUCZUK, EUGENIUSZ MAKAREWICZ, IRENA BARAN

Том выпущен благодаря финансовой поддержке  
МАЛГОЖАТЫ ПАВЛЮЧУК, ЕВГЕНИЯ МАКАРЕВИЧА, ИРЭНЫ БАРАН

## Spis treści

Wprowadzenie ..... 7

Foreword ..... 9

ARTYKUŁY / ARTICLES / СТАТЬИ:

Antoni Mironowicz: The Orthodox Church in Poland during the reign of the two last Piasts kings ..... 11

Sándor Földvári: The Ostrih Bible in Hungary and Its Role in the Confessionalization. To the Question about Migration of Books between the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the Habsburg Empire ..... 47

Marcin Mironowicz: Life of St. Athanasius, Brest Ihumen ..... 87

Олександр Федчук: Матеріальний розвиток зимненського жіночого монастиря на початку ХХ століття ..... 94

Feofan Kiriliuk: Volhynia Clergy in the Orthodox Mission in Galicia (1914–1915) ..... 106

Urszula Pawluczuk: Монастырь свт. Николая в Мельцах на Полесье (1918-1939) ..... 118

Павел Бочков: К вопросу о тайных рукоположениях в «Андреевской иерархии». Эксплуатация образа тайного епископства на примере хиротоний епископа Андрея (Ухтомского) и в работах Амвросия (Сиверса) ..... 130

Святлана Сілава: Да пытання падрыхтоўкі святароў ў Мінскай духоўнай семінарыі (1947 – кан. 50-х гг. ХХ ст.) ..... 154

Piotr Fiedoruk: Государственная политика в отношении православного духовенства в 1944-1980 гг. .... 173

Никодим Пашков: Внутренний конфликт в Республике Кипр в 50-70 гг. ХХ века и роль политики Архиепископа Макариоса в его нарастании ..... 182

Publikacje członków redakcji periodyku „Orthodoxi Evrópi” za 2022 r.  
Publications of editorial staff of the “Orthodoxi Evrópi” periodical for 2022  
Публикации редакции журнала „Orthodoxi Evrópi” за 2022 год ..... 193

SÁNDOR FÖLDVÁRI

## The Ostrog Bible in Hungary and Its Role in the Confessionalization: The Question about Migration of Books between the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the Habsburg Empire

Słowa kluczowe: Biblia ostrogska, handel książkami, Cesarstwo Hasburskie

Keywords: Ostrog Bible, Book Trade, Habsburg Empire

Streszczenie

### **Biblia ostrogska na Węgrzech i jej rola w konfesjonalizacji: Pytanie o migrację książek między Rzeczpospolitą Obojga Narodów a Cesarstwem Habsburgów**

W artykule podano przegląd pięciu egzemplarzy Biblii ostrogskiej, które są przechowywane w kościelnych i państwowych księgozbiorach na Węgrzech. We wschodnich Węgrzech dwa egzemplarze należały do Rusinów Zakarpackich, którzy byli wiernymi Kościoła greckokatolickiego. Księgi te zostały opisane w pracach Ester Oitozi. Obecne opracowanie zawiera omówienie i opis starych drukowanych ksiąg cyrylickich, które znalazły się na wschodnich ziemiach Węgier. Autor udowodnia, że 80% ksiąg liturgicznych drukowanych cyrylicą pochodziło z Rzeczpospolitej a nie z Księstwa Moskiewskiego, jak to wcześniej błędnie podawał A. Hodinka. Uczeń E. Oitoziego S. Földvári rozszerzył badania archiwalne i ukazał, że dwa egzemplarze *Biblii Ostrogskiej*, które były przechowywane w ówczesnym klasztorze bazylianów w Máriapócs, mogły zostać zakupione od mnichów poczajowskich w XVIII w. Należy też wziąć pod uwagę darowizny Lwowskiego Bractwa Prawosławnego. Trzy pozostałe kopie *Biblii Ostrogskiej* trafiły na Węgry poprzez Serbów. Egzemplarz o szczególnym znaczeniu jest obecnie przechowywana w Bibliotece Narodowej Węgier. Księga należała do różnych kolekcjonerów. Ostatecznie otrzymał ją serbski biskup L. Branković w prezencie od unickiego metropolity kijowskiego Józefa Welamina Rutskiego. Zamiast zniszczonej oryginalnej strony tytułowej, nowa strona została wykonana ręcznie, w oparciu o ramkami rumuńskiej książki, który został wydrukowany w Jassach 1646 roku. *Biblia Ostrogska* odegrała ważną rolę w życiu religijnym narodów słowiańskich zamieszkujących Imperium Habsburgów. Koncepcję podziału kultur słowiańskich na „Slavia Orthodoxa” i „Slavia Romana”, zaproponowaną przez Riccardo Picchio, należy zmodyfikować, biorąc pod uwagę silne słowiańskie enklawy Kościoła prawosławnego wśród społeczności zachodniego chrześcijaństwa.

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<sup>1</sup> Sándor (Alexander) Földvári, Historian, linguist, and philosopher. Lecturer of the University of Debrecen, Centre of Arts.

## Abstract

## **The Ostrog Bible in Hungary and Its Role in the Confessionalization: The Question about Migration of Books between the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the Habsburg Empire**

An overview of the five copies of Ostrog Bible is given in the paper, those are stored in church and state book collections in Hungary. In East Hungary, two copies belonged to Transcarpathian Rusyns-Ukrainians of the Greek Catholic (Uniate) confession, were described by Esther Oitozi, who took the lion's share of the disclosure and description of old printed Cyrillic books, mainly on the eastern part of Hungary. Her meaningful result was the evidencing that the 80% of the liturgical books, printed by Cyrillic letters, came from the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, but not from "Muscovia", despite the earlier falsely propagating views of A. Hodinka. Her pupil and younger colleague, S. Földvári by further research in archives came to the maintenance that two examples of the Ostrog Bible, which were held in a former Basilian Monastery in Máriapócs, might put there via the book-trade activity of the Pochaiv Basilians in the 18 c, albeit the donations by the Lviv Orthodox brotherhood are to be considered, too. The provenance of the other three copies relates to the Serbs. A copy of special significance has now been being held in the National Library of Hungary. It belonged to various collectors, and it is maintained that the Serbian Orthodox Bishop L. Brankovič received this book as a gift from the Uniate Metropolitan of Kiev Joseph Veliamin Rutsky (according to K. Bor and X. Golub). Instead of the lost original title, a new title page was made by handwriting, written in the framework of engravings of a Romanian book had been printed in Iași, 1646. In a conclusion, the Ostrog Bible played a noteworthy role in the confessionalization of Slavic peoples that lived on the territory of the Habsburg Empire. The lesson learned that the conception elaborated by Riccardo Picchio of dividing the Slavic cultures into "Slavia Orthodoxa" and "Slavia Romana", is already to be modified, by considering those Slavic enclaves of the Orthodox confession which lived among of the sea of Western Christianity.

**T**he main problems and the background. A cultural background to the provenance, migration and place in the local cultural processes of the five copies of Ostrog Bible is described in this paper<sup>2</sup>, those are stored in church and state book collections in Hungary.<sup>3</sup> In Eastern Hungary, two copies are being held, which earlier belonged to Transcarpathian Rusyns-

<sup>2</sup> Two technical remarks seem to be necessary. As for the spelling: according to the Ukrainian forms of the place names, and to the fact the local vernacular in the region of Ostrog was already in the 1580-ies much more closely to the contemporary Ukrainian than to the recent Russian (which is irrelevant), we follow those English-language authors in the field, who use the Ukrainian form in their English papers: "Ostrih" instead of the Russian "Ostrog", cf. R. Mathiesen, *The Making of the Ostrog Bible: Bohdan Krawciw Memorial Lecture, 1980* „Harvard Library Bulletin” vol. XXIX, 1981, no.1, pp. 71-110. The second, as for the online sources. All electronic resources, which are referred in this paper, were retrieved as latest on January 13, 2023. Therefore, we do not give any dates of latest accesses to the referred links, respectively, in the further footnotes, in order to avoid the enlarging our text with unnecessary pieces.

<sup>3</sup> The first version of this paper has been delivered in Ukrainian as an opening keynote lecture in Kyiv, Ukraine, cf. the published abstract: Фьольдварі Ш., *Конфесіоналізація і міграція книг*

Ukrainians of the Greek Catholic (Uniate) confession, and these two copies were described in the works of Esther Oitozi, who took on herself the lion's share of the description of old printed Cyrillic books, mainly on the eastern land of Hungary.

As for the Rusyns, they seem to constitute – yet – a special ethnic group of the Ukrainians, with several special dialects, and much effort has lately been taken for shaping a different codified literary language as their own, albeit it has not yet resulted in any doubtless, clear outcome but internal discourses within them.<sup>4</sup> Noteworthy, there are two villages located in the recent territory of Hungary, in which the Rusyn dialect has yet lately been being spoken as a mother tongue, namely Komlóska and Mucsony at the North, next to the border with Slovakia, and their idiom belongs to the Slovakian dialect of the Rusyn. Hence, there is no special “Hungarian” Rusyn dialect (according to I. Udvari), and those who attempt to prove it, are doing nothing else but cultivating some political propaganda or tricks for gaining some grants.<sup>5</sup> Professor I. Udvari was a great provider of the Rusyn identity and trusty researcher of the Rusyn dialects and cultural anthropology, yet in his earlier works used the *terminus technicus* “Carpatho-Ukrainians” – even in such a paper which was written in the Rusyn dialect of Vojvodina, Serbia, and published in their Rusyn literary

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між східними і південними слов'янами в Карпатському басейні – у дзеркалі долі примірників Острозької Біблії”, [in:] Міжнародна науково-практична онлайн конференція «X Міждисциплінарні гуманітарні читання» 21 жовтня 2021 року Київ, Київський будинок вчених НАН України – Тези доповідей, eds. А. В. Блануца, Г. В. Боряк, В. П. Кононенко, В.В. Сегеда, Київ 2021, pp. 12,13. Then, still two conference-lectures were presented in English, at the Ukrainian conferences in Melbourne, Australia, focusing on the Serbian book-collections, and in Bloomington, Indiana, USA, focusing on the Carpathian Greek-Catholic Collections; these are referred below at the relevant subtopics. This paper is the published version of those three conference presentations altogether.

<sup>4</sup> For the book-import by the Submountain, Transcarpathian Greek-Catholics concerns the identification of The Rusyn, we should make here our point of view to be clear. As for summarizing and describing the Rusyn-question, cf. A. Danylenko, *Carpatho-Rusyn*, [in:] *Encyclopedia of Slavic Languages and Linguistics Online*. A. Danylenko, *Between an imagined language and a codified dialect* „Acta Slavica Iaponica” vol. 35, Sapporo 2014, pp. 135-145; Л. Белей, *Русинський сепаратизм: Націєтворення in vitro*, Київ 2017; N. Kushko, *Literary standards of the Rusyn language: The historical context and contemporary situation*, „The Slavic and East European Journal”, vol. 51, Columbus 2007, no.1, pp. 111-132; P. R. Magocsi, *The Language Question Among the Subcarpathian Rusyns*, Carpatho-Rusyn Research Center, New Jersey 1979; P. R. Magocsi, I. Pop, *Encyclopedia of Rusyn History and Culture*, University of Toronto 2002; *Українці–русини: Етнолінгвістичні та етнокультурні процеси в історичному розвитку*, ed. Г. Скрипник, Київ 2013; А. Дуличенко, *Письменность и литературные языки Карпатской Руси (XV-XX вв.)*, Ужгород 2008; S. Földvári, *Rusyns in the aspect of security policies* „Cultural Relations Quarterly Review”, vol. 1, Budapest 2014, no. 2, pp. 43-54.

<sup>5</sup> I. Udvari, *Rusyns in Hungary and Hungarian Kingdom*, [in:] *The Persistence of Regional Cultures. Rusyns and Ukrainians in their Carpathian Homeland and Abroad*, ed. P. R. Magocsi, (Classics of Carpatho-Rusyn scholarships, 5; East European Monographs, 365), New York 1993, pp. 105-138.

and cultural journal, and he wrote about the ‘Rusyns’ in Szabolcs County, East Hungary, albeit he named them “Ukrainians”.<sup>6</sup> Another trusty scholar, Eduard Winter, the well-known historian of ethnicities in the Hungarian Kingdom, mostly of the Germans, named this people simply ‘Ukrainians’ living in Hungary, while writing about the social and cultural benefits (and problems) of the Union in Užhorod and the processes it implied.<sup>7</sup> This is clear evidence against the maintenance that the Carpatho-Ukrainian ethnonym would be pushed in the Soviet times under the influence of the Soviet socialist regime. E. Winter, the former Roman Catholic priest, worked as a professor in Prague, where so Russian as Ukrainian emigres were cumulated and managed their prolific scholarly life, therefore, it would be barely believable that he could write under some ‘Soviet’ impact between the two world wars. Winter could also be contacted with the great researcher of the Rusyn, Aleksei Petroff, the Russian emigre in the mid-wars Prague, and the latter maintained the strong difference of Rusyn from the Ukrainian, and classified it as one belonging to the Russian, although this was a blind alley<sup>8</sup>. Winter did not share Petroff’s views, but he accepted the Ukrainian conception. How the ‘Carpatho-Ukrainian’ as a term could be appear as belonging to ‘Sovietophilic’ or ‘socialist-thinker’, if the German professor in the bourgeois Prague before the Second World War used it, and, why and how could be ‘Sovietophilic’ or ‘socialist-thinker’ that professor Udvari, who was the founder of the “Rusyn [sic!] and Ukrainian” department in Nyíregyháza (Eastern Hungary), but he named the Rusyn ethnographic group as ‘Ukrainians’ in that article of him, which was published by the Rusyns in the Rusyn literary language of Vojvodina in Serbia – all these are clear evidences. Last but not least, a question often raised, according to the dilettante approach of the average people: ‘Can the Rusyn “understand” the Ukrainian language, or not?’ Let us quote here a witness, an average Ukrainian tourist, without any philological education, nor any university degree, who has visited the aforementioned village Komlóska in the North of Hungary, and has published in her travelogue, that their hospitable host in Komlóska understood their Ukrainian language, “because he was a Rusyn person”, and they spoke to him in their Ukrainian mother tongue spoken in Kyiv, enjoying a fully clear communication<sup>9</sup>. Following strictly the criteria of objectivity in the science, author of the paper cannot put into debates about the existence of any “independent Rusyn nation” unless the Rusyn clearly produce such an unequivocal,

<sup>6</sup> *Прилоги гу историй українских островов XVIII вѣку у комитату Саболч* [in:] „Шветлосц: часопис за литературу и культуру”, vol. 35, Нови Сад 1986, no. 6, pp. 850-862.

<sup>7</sup> E. Winter, *Die Kämpfe der Ukrainer Oberungarns um eine nationale Hierarchie im Theresianer Zeitalter* [in:] „Kyrios: Vierteljahresschrift für Kirchen- und Geistesgeschichte Osteuropas”, vol 4, Berlin 1939-40, no. 2, pp. 129-141.

<sup>8</sup> А. Петров, *Предълы угорурской рѣчи в 1773 году. По оффициальнымъ даннымъ*, Series: „Материалы для истории Угорской Руси”, t. VI, Санкт-Петербург 1911.

<sup>9</sup> Н. Курдюкова, *Невипадкова Комлошка*, [in:] online resource: <https://theheartofwine.com/nevypadkova-komloshka> (19-10-2021)



matured literary language, such as Ivan Kotlyarevsky in his *Aeneid*, which was written in the countryside and remained in manuscript for a long time, and/or the poetry of Taras Shevchenko written in the exile and prison, and published much later. These Ukrainian poets created their works in cruel, inimical circumstances, devoting themselves to the serving of their nation, but they did not gain any support for “creating the literary language” from some “background powers”. *Heroism is clear evidence*. Nevertheless, the recent situation of the Rusyn is nothing else but discourses around an “imagined language” with attempts toward codification some literary language, which has yet been being a *dialect* that has codified under the false title of ‘literary’, according to Danylenko.<sup>10</sup>

It is not only the principle of exclusivity that applies here. The Canadian historian Paul Robert Magocsi raises the acceptance of multiple identity; thus, for the question ‘Ukrainian or Rusyn?’ the answer must not be ‘or’ but ‘and’<sup>11</sup>. However, in our view, the problem does not mainly consist in the multiple identity but rather in the divergences between the groups of the Rusyns: on the one hand, that Russophiles accept it for a fact, that the Vojvodinian Rusyn in Serbia is identical with the Lemko Rusyn in Poland, despite of their great differences in language and cultural heritage as well, on the other hand, they cannot accept that these idioms and peoples are identical with the Ukrainian, thus the differences in languages/dialects and heritage are not considered, when it disturbs their concept about the unique and independent Rusyn language, but they do consider the dialectological and cultural divergences when it is an argument against the links to the Ukrainian. If someone overemphasizes that the Hungarian cultural and historical impacts occurred to the Hungarian Rusyn during the centuries, and these impacts made the Hungarian Rusyn to be different from the Ukrainian (although Rusyns came from the Eastern Ukrainian territories, in different waves and different times) than the Lemko Rusyns in Poland underwent such great impacts, too, by the Polish, hence Lemkos in Poland can differ from the Rusyns in Vojvodina also from Transcarpathian Rusyns in such a measure, as all those can differ from the Ukrainians as well; not more and not less. Therefore, if the Rusyns form an independent nation, then they must consist of three independent nations, which seems already to be grotesque. As A. Danylenko, in his referred papers, describes these divergences and their measures.<sup>12</sup> *We spoke about Rusyn-Ukrainians, because in the*

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<sup>10</sup> A. Danylenko, *Between an Imagined Language and a Codified Dialect*. Pugh, Stefan M., *The Rusyn Language: A Grammar of the Literary Standard of Slovakia with Reference to Lemko and Subcarpathian Rusyn* (Munich, 2009) [in:] „Acta Slavica Iaponica”, vol.35, Sapporo 2014, pp. 135-145.

<sup>11</sup> P. R. Magocsi, *A Borderland of Borders: The Search for a Literary Language in Carpathian Rus*, [in:] *The Palgrave Handbook of Slavic Languages, Identities and Borders*, eds. T. Kamusella, M. Nomachi, C. Gibson; New York 2016, pp. 109-111.

<sup>12</sup> A. Danylenko, *opera cit.*, 2009, 2014, and 2020.

*historical times they had been that.* Moreover, the recently going, politically heated debates are overflows beyond the frameworks of the clear science.<sup>13</sup>

The origin (provenance) of the rest three copies of the Ostrog Bible relates to the Serbs.<sup>14</sup> A copy of special significance is now kept in the National Library of Hungary, which belonged to various collectors (all documented by marginalia), and it is maintained that the Serbian Bishop L. Brankovič received this book as a gift from the Uniate Metropolitan of Kiev Joseph Veliamin Rutsky. Moreover, all those copies are now being held in the Serbian collections, were gained directly from Ukrainians as well, not only because the Ostrog Bible was printed in Ostrog – thus it must come from there-, but in more particular, the Ukrainian-Serbian connections were intensive enough, as it is proved by the marginalia of all those copies. The most important item is that of the National Library of Hungary. Not only because of the new title page was made by handwriting, written in the framework of engravings of a Romanian book had been printed in Iași, 1646, but also of a lot of marginalia, those prove that this book belonged to various collectors. It is also proved by a long handwriting, that the Serbian Orthodox Bishop L. Brankovič received this book as a gift from the Uniate Metropolitan of Kiev Joseph Veliamin Rutsky (according to K. Bor, who firstly described and investigated this book, then the trips by Brankovič in the Rzeczpospolita were still more evidenced by X. Golub, see in further paragraphs). The other copies belonged to the Serbian Communities in Komárom and Győr, and a copy with a valuable Ukrainian marginal inscription has been held by the Serbian Orthodox parish in Pomáz (according to X. Golub). Still a sixth copy was held in Serbian collections in Hungary, albeit it has already taken out from Hungary to Serbia. The Serbs had rich communities of tradesmen; therefore, their book-import went consciously,

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<sup>13</sup> We spoke about these ambiguities yet carefully more than ten years ago: S. Földvári, *Rusyns...*, 2014. Recently, however, the lately happened processes urged us to speak in a more clear style and to demonstrate that the politically heated movements for creating new and new artificial literary languages for the poor Rusyns are going beyond the frameworks of serious scholarship, therefore the literary languages must be “created” by the writers and poets themselves, but must not be imposed by those who pay much for “purchasing” the Rusyns neither by those who use the financial benefits from the government with political purposes (the case of Hungary). As for the latest, our completed but yet unpublished conference paper contains much more references than the previous one: S. Földvári, *The Rusyn Question in the Frameworks of Ethnic Minorities – Rusyns in Different Positions in Ukraine, Slovakia, and Serbia*, [in:] *Fourth Annual Tartu Conference on Russian and East European Studies June 10, 2019*, manuscript, 2019, online resource: <https://www.academia.edu/39484244/>

<sup>14</sup> These three copies, which are being held in various Serbian collections, were presented in our lecture: S. Földvári, *Copies of the Ostrog Bible in Hungary: Witnesses of Confessionalization, and Migration of Books Between Eastern and Southern Slavs*, presented at the „Conference of the Ukrainian Studies Association of Australia and New Zealand”, at the Univ. of Melbourne as a hybrid event, 3-5 February 2022, Session 1. The presentation-text with slides is accessible at <https://www.academia.edu/70431082/>. The abstract is accessible in the online-booklet of the conference: [http://www.ukrainianstudies.asn.au/wp-content/uploads/2022/01/Conference-2022-Abstracts\\_v3.pdf](http://www.ukrainianstudies.asn.au/wp-content/uploads/2022/01/Conference-2022-Abstracts_v3.pdf), pp. 67, 68.

and the data of possessors are often documented. On the other hand, the Carpatho-Ukrainians, thus the Rusyns, were poor serfs therefore they could not purchase these books, hence they had to be donated by books.<sup>15</sup> We here give an overlook of the works by the mentioned above authors, then we outline and summarize our possible answers for the questions: why and how the poor Carpathian Rusyn-Ukrainians gained such large books of expensive price; why the Serbs preferred the book-import from the Ukrainian lands of the Rzeczpospolita; and how can it contribute to the confessionalization of Slavic Peoples those followed the Byzantine rite.<sup>16</sup>

**The ethnic background in special aspects.** In then-Hungarian Kingdom, there lived various Slavic peoples, such as the Slovaks<sup>17</sup>, Slovenes<sup>18</sup>, Croats<sup>19</sup>, Serbs<sup>20</sup>, and Transcarpathian Rusyns-Ukrainians<sup>21</sup>, as well.

<sup>15</sup> These two copies, were being held in Rusyn church collections, with the questions of the provenance, were presented in the lecture: S. Földvári, *The Ostrog Bible in Hungary: To the Migration of Books between Transcarpathia and Galicia*, presented at the “Third Ukrainian ‘Shevchenko’ Conference”, which was held at Indiana University in Bloomington, March 25-27, 2022, in the session which was organized by the author S. Földvári, “In Honour of Yaroslav Isayevich” with the participation of F. Sysyn, A. Yasinovskiy and P. Yermieiev. The text with slides is accessible: <https://www.academia.edu/74580705/>. For a previous presentation, cf. footnote no. 2 above.

<sup>16</sup> These questions will be dealt with in more detail furthermore, thus the references will be given at the respective paragraphs, in particular.

<sup>17</sup> L. Holotík, *Die Slowaken*, „Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848-1918”, Hrsg. A. Wandruszka and P. Urbanitsch, Band III: „Die Völker des Reiches”, Wien 1980, Teilband 1, pp.775-800. The presence of the Slovak ethnicity in the territory of present-day Hungary dates back to the Middle Ages: P. Kršák, *Ottov historický atlas – Slovensko: Zdroj poučenia, poznania a pochopenia našich dejín*, Bratislav 2009, p. 75.

<sup>18</sup> J. Pleterski, *Die Slowenen* „Die Habsburgermonarchie...”, Band III/2, pp. 801-838. F. Zwitter, *The Slovenes and the Habsburg Monarchy* „Austrian History Yearbook”, vol. 3, 1967, no. 2, pp. 159-188.

<sup>19</sup> To our sorrow, references on the international level are missing on the Medieval Croats in Hungary (if they existed). While the literature is rich on the Serbs, Romanians, and Slavs in the North of Hungary in the Middle Ages, the Croatian-Hungarian contacts in those earlier times are less researched unless regarding the recent enlighteners of Croats in Hungary. For the latter: D. Soksevits, *Horvátország a 7. századtól napjainkig*, Budapest 2011. This book gained a warmly welcoming review by a Roman Catholic historian, recent director of the Institute of History in Budapest, who speaks Croatian and is professedly committed to Catholic views and approach to history, cf. A. Molnár, *Horvátország története magyar szemmel – Gondolatok Soksevits Dénes... könyvéről*, [in:] „Történelmi szemle”, vol. 54, 2012, no. 2, pp. 347-355. The determining role of Catholic tradition in the ‘Croatian’ was reflected by the presence and active usage of the Croatian Glagolitic printing, too, which was only used in the local practice of the Roman Catholic Church. Cf. “*The Croats are distinguished from the Serbs by two characteristics – they are Roman Catholics and use the Roman alphabet, while the Serbs are members of the Eastern Church and use Cyrillic characters. In the early censuses, the only official method of separating Serbs from Croats was based upon their religion; one of the many refinements of the later censuses is to separate them on the basis of mother tongue and to distinguish the Sokacztes and Bunyevacztes of South-Slav Hungary separately from the Serbs, mainly on the ground that they are Roman Catholics. For purposes of historical comparison, it is necessary to group the Serbs and Croats*

As for the ethnic identity of Rusyns in the aspect of the language, we have already spoken in the above.<sup>22</sup> Now some words as for their territorial identity and immigration into the Eastern Hungarian lands, which concerns Máriapócs village as well.<sup>23</sup> The immigration went in different waves and in different times. The Rusyn-inhabited area in Hungary dates to the 13<sup>th</sup> c., earlier it was uninhabited. However, some settlements had already been located along the country, in various places, with the nametag ‘orosz’ which referred to the Ruthenian, thus ‘of origin from Kievan Ruś.’<sup>24</sup> After the conquest of the recent country, the Hungarians left a wide strip within the borders uninhabited, behind which roadblocks and obstacles were set up for defence purposes, therefore, the sub mountain Transcarpathia was uninhabited as well. Later, when these lands were donated by the kings to newcomers, no cultivated lands but forests were mentioned in the donation diplomas, so Transcarpathia was also an uninhabited, uncultivated area before.<sup>25</sup> After the catastrophe occurred by the Mongol/Tatar invasion to Kiev, from the territories recently inhabited by Ukrainians, some East Slavs were resettled at different times and from different regions to their current residences, thus the settlement of Rusyns had been continuous since the Middle Ages up to the 18<sup>th</sup> c. and they came from Ukrainian-inhabited lands, hence they language and ethnicity were formed under the local Hungarian impacts much later than their original language and heritage. According to the

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together as Serbo-Croats. *The Roman Catholic Serbs live in Baranya and the Bácska. It is not clear how the Serb is distinguished from the Croat on the basis of speech, as both peoples use the same language.*” B. C. Wallis, *The Slavs of Southern Hungary*, “Geographical Review”, vol. 6, New York 1918, no. 4, pp. 341-353.

<sup>20</sup> With the Serbs we still will deal furthermore. For their immigration to Hungary, in various waves: F. Szakály, *Serbische Einwanderung nach Ungarn in der Türkenzeit*, [in:] *Ethnicity and society in Hungary*, ed. F. Glatz, Budapest 1990, pp. 21-39; Д. Поповић, *Велика сеоба Срба 1690: Срби сељаци и племићу*. Београд 1954; E. Picot, *Les Serbes de Hongrie, leur histoire, leurs privilèges, leur église, leur état politique et social*, Prague 1873; J. H. Schwicker, *Politische Geschichte der Serben in Ungarn*, Budapest 1880; M. Palić, *Srbi u Mađarskoj-Ugarskoj do 1918*, Novi Sad 1995; S. Földvári, *Cross-cultural Contacts between the Serbs Lived in the Former Hungarian Kingdom and West-Ukrainian Territories – As Reflected in the Import of the Liturgical Books*, [in:] *A Kárpát-medence, magyarság és Bizánc – The Carpathian Basin, the Hungarians and Byzantium*, eds. T. Olajos, Sz. Kovács, P. Szabó, Szeged 2014, pp. 43-59. For the establishing of the Eparchy of Buda: Г. Васин, Н. Нинковић, *Историја Будимске епархије*, Сремска Митровица 2018, pp. 9-12.

<sup>21</sup> As for the ethnic identity of Rusyns, cf. the footnotes no. 3-12.

<sup>22</sup> cf. the footnotes no. 3-12.

<sup>23</sup> As for the territory inhabited by Rusyn-Ukrainians: P. R. Magocsi, *Mapping Stateless Peoples: The East Slavs of the Carpathians*, „Canadian Slavonic Papers. Revue Canadienne des Slavistes”, vol. 39, 1997, no. 3/4, pp. 301-331 with rich footnotes about the further literature on maps and historiography.

<sup>24</sup> E. Mályusz, *A középkori magyar nemzetiségi politika I-II*, „Századok”, vol. 39, Budapest 1939, no. 7, pp. 259-294, no. 8, pp. 385-448. As for the ‘orosz’ toponyms: op. cit., pp. 264-267.

<sup>25</sup> А. Петров, *Древнейшие грамоты по истории Карпато-русской церкви и её епархии 1391-1498*, Praha 1930, p. 9; А. Ходинка, *А munkácsi görögkatolikus püspöksége*, Budapest 1909, pp. 66,67.

romantic nationalism, a legend was propagated that King Louis the Great settled Orthodox Ruthenians in Transcarpathia in 1350-60-ies, those came under the leadership of Prince Theodor Koriatovič of Podolia.<sup>26</sup> Aleksei Petroff proved it by uncovering a forgery of diploma, that the prince Koriatovič, who was forced to flee Podolia due to political strife, did not receive the manor and grange of Munkács/Mukačevo in accordance with the treaty concluded with Louis the Great in 1351 nor did he settle his entourage of legendary tens of thousands there, but in reality, he received Munkács/Mukačevo from King Sigismund, and no settlement of any single village can be verified by the sources.<sup>27</sup> Noteworthy, A. Petroff was a member of the Palaeographic-Diplomatic Institute in Vienna, too, beyond his professorship in Saint-Petersburg. Following Petroff's work, the Hungarian historian A. Hodinka introduced this correction to his monograph,<sup>28</sup> and he evaluated it as such a significant that published in that same year also an offprint on this question.<sup>29</sup> In larger masses, the Rusyn-Ukrainian serfs were settled in the 15th-17th cc., and their migration continued even in the 19th century. These later processes will be dealt with below, concerning the settlement of Máriapócs.

The population of the Hungarian Kingdom never consisted of only Hungarians, but of different ethnicities together.<sup>30</sup> However, the number and the kind of these ethnicities always changed, during the centuries. In the Árpád-epoch, when the founder of the Hungarian state, (Saint) Stephan I (István, in Hungarian) was followed by his dynasty (which took its name from the great-great-grandfather of István, the Grand Duke Árpád, who lead the Hungarians to the Carpathian Basin), the ratio of the different ethnicities was already significant, and even that is a subject of questions, if Árpád brought some "clear" Hungarian people across the Carpathians or not.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>26</sup> А. Кралицький, *Народное чтение*, Унгвар 1869.

<sup>27</sup> А. Петров *О подложности грамоты князя Феодора Корятовича 1360 г.*, „Материалы для истории Угорской Руси“, vol. 3, Санкт-Петербург 1906.

<sup>28</sup> A. Hodinka, *Történet...*, 1909, pp. 91-107.

<sup>29</sup> A. Hodinka, *Tanulmány Koriatovics Tódor munkácsi herceg 1360. évi oklevelének hitelességéről*, Budapest 1909. To sorrow, it often appears in the discourses of Hungarian historians as a "record" gained by Hodinka, forgetting he same quoted Petroff; moreover, Hodinka stood on a much lower level of scientific correctness and erudition, than such serious contemporaries of him, as Petroff. Although we, neither the lately publishing Rusynophil authors already do not accept Petroff's maintenance about the identity of Rusyns with the Russians, it does not diminish Petroff's merits in the field of diplomatic.

<sup>30</sup> B. C. Wallis, *The Peoples of Hungary: Their Work on the Land* [in:] „Geographical Review“, vol.4, New York 1917, no.6, pp.465-481. <https://doi.org/10.2307/207396>; E. Mályusz, *Középkori nemzetiségi*, 1939.

<sup>31</sup> *A honfoglalás és az Árpád-kor népessége: Az 1995. február 16-án Budapesten megrendezett Népesedéstörténeti Konferencia előadásai* [“Population of the Arpad period: 1995. Presentations of the population History Conference held in Budapest on 16 February” in Hungarian, ed J. Kovacsics, Budapest 1995.

The local Slavic inhabitants in the Middle Ages were of significant ratio, and they were assimilated by the ruling Hungarians (if so). Later, the invasion of the Mongols (Tatars) in 1241-1242 destroyed Hungary much, the population decreased, thus it was a new opportunity to accept foreign peoples. Although the continuity at the Serbs and Romanians was a fact, but – as we have already seen above – the new waves of immigration brought newcomers who had already less connection to the earlier settlements (for some exceptions at the Serbs, whose early settlements had sometimes connections to the new waves, but it was the minority of the cases).

Here we are talking about the historical Hungarian Kingdom.<sup>32</sup> After the Trianon peace treaty<sup>33</sup> (which was signed on 4 June 1920 in Versailles, France, and has been effective since 31 July 1921) in Hungary, which had already a significantly smaller area, the proportion of nationalities changed already very low.<sup>34</sup> The Trianon Treaty and its impacts are relevant to our topic in methodological aspect, because the recent Hungarian historiography can sometimes underestimate the role of nationalities during the centuries of Hungary, and the recent Slavic neighbours can sometimes overestimate it. Thus, the lately happened historical events may influence the views of those researchers who are not enough careful to take into considerations every aspect. A bright case: Slovakia was born in a result of the Trianon treaty, thus a country inhabited mostly by Slovaks (but also Hungarians, Rusyn-Ukrainians, Poles, and Germans, too), really can celebrate its birthday on the anniversaries of the Trianon Treaty. While the conservative, national Hungarian mainstream discourses give such an evaluation it as a “historical tragedy”, which “broke Hungary into large pieces joined to ‘strange’ neighbours”.<sup>35</sup> Really, numerous conflicts were occurred, because the former Hungarian intelligentsia did not find its place in the new states, because the former Hungarian middle-class lost its privileged position of the ruling nation, and these former officials did not want to acquire

<sup>32</sup> A useful overview of the historical geography: P. Teleki, *The Evolution of Hungary and its Place in European History*, New York 1923, pp. 1-24. To be distinguished from modern monographs on Hungarian history in European languages: *Mil ans d'histoire hongroise: histoire de la Hongrie de la conquête jusqu'à nos jours*, ed. Tóth, István György, Budapest 2003.

<sup>33</sup> *Trianonská smlouva: devadesát let poté*, eds. D. Jindřich –Loužek, M. Cep, Praha 2010. It is to be mentioned a reliable reference, written by a classical scholar of the 20th century, who did not belong to the lately dominating right-wing elite of the authoritarian Orbán-regime in Hungary: I. Romsics, *Trianonská mierová zmluva*. prel. K. Borbášová, Bratislava 2009. The same book in German: I. Romsics, *Der Friedensvertrag von Trianon*, aus dem Ung. von Tibor Schäfer, (Studien zur Geschichte Ungarns, vol. 6), 2005. That same in English: Romsics, I, *The dismantling of historic Hungary: the peace treaty of Trianon, 1920*, transl. M. D. Fenyő. (CHSP Hungarian authors series, 3. – East European monographs, 607), New York 2002.

<sup>34</sup> A useful handbook for those requiring a general survey: I. Romsics, *Hungary in the twentieth century*. transl. Tim Wilkinson, Budapest 1999; 2nd ed., ibid, 2010.

<sup>35</sup> I. Romsics, *The Trianon peace treaty in Hungarian historiography and political thinking*, [in:] *Hungary's historical legacies: studies in honor of Stephen Béla Várdy*, ed. by D. P. Hupchick and R. W. Weisberger, New York 2000, pp. 89-105.

the new state language – however, they could learn the Slavic languages already earlier, too albeit the “large Hungary” propagated that official doctrine, that the Hungarian was a “supreme-nation” and the other ethnicities were “culturally lower” ones, which racist doctrine did not give much happiness to the non-Hungarian ethnicities. Consequently, it was no wonder, after the Trianon Treaty the newly enlarged states (Romania) and newly born states (Yugoslavia, Slovakia) did not approach to the representers of the former Hungarian ruling class with some “humility” but demanded them to take an oath of fidelity to the recent (Slavic or Romanian) state. Those refused it, were able to move. Though it would be a complete nonsense to allow some citizens of any state to live and work there without any commitment to that state they live in. Hence, the Hungarian “sensibility” for Trianon and the Slavic (founded) resentment for the earlier approach to them by the historical “large” Hungary, sometimes may result one-tack-mind conclusions and statements in the historical research, concerning the earlier past, too. This methodological maintenance must be considered in our topic, too.<sup>36</sup>

**The orthodoxy.** The latest two, that is, Serbs and Transcarpathian-Ukrainians followed the Byzantine confession. Beyond them, still followed the Byzantine Christianity the Romanians, too, who were certainly not Slavs, but used the Church Slavonic language in the liturgy.<sup>37</sup> Noteworthy, Petro Mogila from Kyiv sent liturgical books to the Romanians, when the Romanian printing opportunities decreased in the 17<sup>th</sup> century<sup>38</sup>; although, on the other hand, already in the 16th century the Romanians laid down their printing houses.<sup>39</sup> It is

<sup>36</sup> И. Ромшнич, *О причинах распада Габсбургской империи в 1918 г. и падения династии Романовых в 1917 г.*, [in:] *Судьба двух империй: Российская и Австро-Венгерская монархии в историческом развитии от расцвета до крушения*, ed. А. Н. Сахаров, Российская Академия Наук: Институт Российской Истории, 2006, pp. 244-256. For the efforts of Hungary to solve this question in a peaceful way and interpreting the Trianon in the collective memory peacefully and as impartially as possible: *Geopolitics in the Danube region: Hungarian reconciliation efforts, 1848-1998*, eds. Romsics I. and K., Béla; transl. by Nóra Arató; Budapest, New York 1999. To our sorrow, such an impartial work barely can already be published by Hungarian authors, due to the nationalist mainstream of the lately ruling authoritarian regime in Hungary, although academician Romsics has yet been working as a professor emeritus, as well.

<sup>37</sup> B. C. Wallis, *The Rumanians in Hungary*, [in:] „Geographical Review” vol.6, New York 1918, no. 2. pp. 156-171. The first written record about Romanian settlements was written in Bihar County from 1283, under the Hungarian name ‘oláh’ meaning ‘Romanian’ +telük (dial. < ‘telek’) meaning ‘ground’: „*Item possessiones Ujtlak Kuesd et Olahteluk vocate in Comitatu Byhorien*”, G. Fejér, *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*, vol.7, Buda 1831, p. 100.

<sup>38</sup> D. J. Deletant, *Slavonic Letters in Moldavia, Wallachia and Transylvania from the Tenth to the Seventeenth Centuries*, [in:] „The Slavonic and East European Review”, vol. 58, London 1980, no. 1, pp. 1-21; D. J. Deletant, *Rumanian Presses, and Printing in the Seventeenth Century: Part First*, [in:] „The Slavonic and East European Review”, vol. 60, London 1982, no. 4, pp. 481-499; *Part Two* [in:] „The Slavonic and East European Review”, vol. 61, London 1983, no.4, pp. 481-511.

<sup>39</sup> L. Demény, L. Demény, *Carte, tipar si societate la români în secolul al XVI-lea*, Bucuresti 1986.

necessary to overview here the peoples living in the Hungarian Kingdom, in order to evaluate the role played by the Ostrog Bible among the various Slavic peoples shaping Byzantine enclaves in the Roman Catholic surroundings.

The extinct of the ethnicities inhabited Hungary in the Middle Ages and replacing the by newcomer ethnicities in the Early Modern Age, as it was explained in above, was like the case of Byzantine-rite Christianity in Hungary: it had already been existing during the Middle Ages, albeit those Orthodox believers inhabited Hungary in the Early Modern Age, already immigrated later, as for most of them. Almost no connection between the Byzantine Christianity existed in Hungary yet in the Árpád-epoch (9-14 cc.) and those Orthodox believers immigrated in the Late Middle Ages (14-16 cc.) and mainly Early Modern Age (16-17 cc.). Some efforts were done to prove some “thousand-years continuity in Hungary” have not come to any evidence.<sup>40</sup> Undoubtedly, Hungarians got known the Byzantine confession much earlier than the Roman, “Latin” Christianity.<sup>41</sup> The first king, Saint Stephen I, definitely turned to the Western (Roman, Latin) form of the Christianity, with purposes to stabilize and strengthen his power, because the western form of the Christianity appeared much more state-building and strengthening that time, than the Byzantine one, in that place and that epoch.<sup>42</sup> He requested and got the crown from the Roman Pope, founded a system of eparchies on the pattern of the Western church, with clergy of German and – in a less ration – Italian origin, and preferred in his laws the Catholic Church.<sup>43</sup> Albeit he lived and worked under the cultural impacts of

<sup>40</sup> There has no such work yet been published which could overlook the Byzantine-rite Christianity at the Hungarians on the monographic level. A promising paper but not a monograph: E. Révész, *Die Orthodoxie im frühen árpádenzeitlichen Ungarn. Der derzeitiger Stand der Forschung*, [in:] *Българският език и литература в европейското културно пространство: традиции и перспективи. Международна научна конференция, Сегед 26-27 май 2011 г.*, eds. L. Balázs, M. Gábor-Farkas, Szeged 2015, pp. 215-223.

<sup>41</sup> G. Moravcsik, *Byzantium and the Magyars*, Rev., eds. M. Szegedy-Maszák, S. R. Rosenbaum, Budapest 1970; G. Moravcsik, *The Role of the Byzantine Church in Medieval Hungary* [in:] „American Slavic and East European Review”, vol.6, no. 3/4, 1947, pp.134-151; G. Moravcsik, *Byzance et le christianisme hongrois du moyen âge*, [in:] „Corso di Cultura sull’Arte Ravennate e Bizantina”, vol.16, Ravenna 1969, pp. 313-141. The Hungarian-language literature is rich, albeit we are focusing here on those references accessible for our readers in greater European languages, and those involved in this field may find a further list of relevant works in the here-referred papers.

<sup>42</sup> The motivation of stabilizing the royal power as a reason to introduce and strengthening Christianity, in its Western version, is emphasized by N. Berend as well (with a rich further bibliography): *Central Europe In the high Middle Ages: Bohemia, Hungary and Poland c. 900-c. 1300*. eds. N. Berend, P. Urbańczyk, P. Wiszewski, Cambridge 2013, pp. 111-113, 128-135.

<sup>43</sup> G. Györffy, *König Stephan der Heilige*, Dt. M. Knopp; Corvina 1988; G. Györffy, *King Saint Stephen of Hungary*, transl. Peter Doherty; (Ser.: East European monographs; 403. Atlantic studies on society in change; 71.) New York 1994. Prof. Györffy was the most recognized and most researched on Stephen’s statebuilding activity, and his monograph published in Hungarian was only partly published in German and English. Those involved in the topic may find his Hungarian works and further references in the field in these two books, published in greater European languages. After Györffy (1917-2000), numerous new authors dealt with the epoch and explained



the Byzantine church, too.<sup>44</sup> Nevertheless, the first king István (Stephen), grand-grandson of Duke Árpád, was in opposite of his grandfather Gyula because the remaining of some former pagan rank as of ‘military leader’ might cause a risk to the centralized new royal power; on the other hand, it proves the role of the Byzantine Christianity as a tool in fighting against the new royal state: the leading conservators of the former pagan tribunal society wore the robe of the earlier-known form of the Christianity, thus the Byzantine confession, and argued by that against the newly introduced western, Roman Christianity, because the latter was the tool of strengthening the new royal power. Hence, the Byzantine Christianity never played any state-building role in Hungary, differently from the Kyivan Ruś, and Byzantium itself, but a secondary and opposing role. Consequently, it had not been also never could be some “national religion” of Hungarians, differently from such states as the Kyivan Ruś and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, too.<sup>45</sup>

Then the Byzantine-Hungarian relations culminated in the time of reign Béla III, who grew up in Constantinople. Byzantine Emperor Manuel I received the Hungarian Prince Bela as his adopted son to raise him as a successor to the throne. Then but his own son was born to the emperor Manuel and Prince Bela was supposed to leave Byzantium, but at that time the Hungarian throne was empty, and Bela received troops from Manuel so that his position would be strong in Hungary. Indeed, Bela III King of Hungary 1172-1196 was strong,

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new views on some questions of details, but nobody completed any new synthesis, hence the monograph of Györfly has yet to be ground, which is always referred to as the basic reference in the field. – His contemporary colleague, Gyula Kristó was of different opinion on some matters, such as the role and rank of Árpád as a military leader, and some others. Kristó, Gy., *Hungarian History in the Ninth Century*, tr. Gy. Novák and E. Kelly, Szeged 1996, pp. 159-173; Kristó, Gy., *Honfoglaló fejedelmek: Árpád és Kurszán*, Szeged 1993; Kristó, Gy., *Le temps des Arpads*, trad. du hongrois par Chantal Philippe; (Histoire de la Hongrie médiévale: T. 1.), Rennes 2000.

<sup>44</sup> B. Stojkovski, *The Greek Charter of the Hungarian King Stephen I* [in:] „Зборник радова Византолошког института”, vol. 53, Beograd 2016, pp. 127-140.

<sup>45</sup> Noteworthy, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was not some pagan state but a really Christian one, with a written administration managed by the clerks from the clergy, as in the western Latin Christian states: here the Orthodox clergy gave the clerks for the state, and the Church Slavonic played such a role as the Latin in West; moreover, the Lithuanian Dukes often married on Ruthenian – thus Orthodox – princesses and formally followed the Orthodoxy themselves, too. Jogaila/Jagello himself was baptized by the Orthodoxy, too, before he was requested to be re-baptized by the Roman Catholic faith as Władysław; also, Vytautas/Witold the Great was baptized by the Orthodoxy as well. In our view, the marriage of Jadwiga with Jagello did not create any “new” Christian state from some former “pagan” one, but weakened a powerful Orthodox state, the GDL, and subjugated it under the rule of the smaller Latin-Christian Poland, as a result of the greedy eagerness of the Roman Pope. This does not here concern the topic of our recent paper, albeit we are going to write about it in another work of ours. Here this is given as an example of how Orthodoxy can also shape such a state as Roman, Latin Christianity, albeit, in the case of Hungary, it never occurred. Ch. our forthcoming paper: S. Földvári, *The Beginnings and Unfolding of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania*, [in:] *3rd International Black Sea Modern Scientific Research Congress: March 23-24, 2023*.

and Byzantine influences were strong at that time thanks to Emperor Manuel.<sup>46</sup> This King Bela III built the Porta Speciosa gate with a mosaic in Hungary, which accurately followed the Byzantine mosaic in Hagia Sophia, which is visible in the south vestibule. The central motif is the Mother of God, in both mosaics, in the role of the patron of the state power, and the rulers offer her their countries.<sup>47</sup>

As it was said in above, the Byzantine Christianity was totally extinct by the end of reign of Árpád-dynasty. However, it was necessary to overlook, because some views appear sometimes about the continuity of the Byzantine rite in Hungary. That is not correct. On the other hand, the Byzantine Christianity was not a strange phenomenon to Hungary, but an integral part of it, albeit in different forms in respective times.

**The Early Modern Age.** So, the Turkish conquest not only resulted in the disintegration of the country, but also in the fact that its national composition changed.<sup>48</sup> New waves of Serbs settled in from the Balkans. In the northern part, in today's Slovakia, the proportion of Germans increased. In the east, in the Principality of Transylvania, the proportion of Romanians was significant, as was that of Germans, hence this ratio became relatively higher, when it was related to the smaller territory of Transylvania, than to the earlier existed "great" Hungary. While the Germans (Saxons) in the Northern part of Hungary and Transylvania, too, represented a smaller part relating to the dominating Hungarian nation in the entire "great" Hungary earlier, but now, after the partition of Hungary, their ratio automatically increased when it was related already to a smaller part of the Hungarians. This was because Transylvania was then named as a "country of three nations", for the Saxons (Germans) and the Romanians were not such a very significant part of the earlier existing entire Hungary, but in Transylvania their number remained, while the local Hungarian nation was, of course, much less than that of the earlier greater Hungary altogether.<sup>49</sup>

In the central part of Hungary, the number of inhabitants was significantly decreased, on the territory of the Turkish conquest, yet the Serbs immigrated here, because their circumstances were here relatively better than on the Balkan Peninsula. Though the Serbs attempted to move toward North, to the smaller, new Hungarian Kingdom, which remained on the Western and Northern parts of the former great Hungarian Kingdom, some Serbs settled on the territory of

<sup>46</sup> F. Makk, *The Árpáds and the Comneni: Political relations between Hungary and Byzantium in the 12th century*, Budapest 1989.

<sup>47</sup> E. Marosi, *Az esztergomi Porta Speciosa*, [in:] *Ezer év Szent Adalbert oltalma alatt*, eds. A. Hegedűs, I. Bárdos, Esztergom 2000, pp. 155-163; eadem, *Még egyszer az esztergomi Porta Speciosáról*, [in:] *Lux Pannoniae*, ed. I. Horváth, Esztergom 2002, pp. 47-56.

<sup>48</sup> F. Szakály, *The Early Ottoman Period, including Royal Hungary*, [in:] *A History of Hungary*, ed. by P. Sugar, Bloomington 1990, pp. 83-85.

<sup>49</sup> E. Winter, *Die Deutschen in der Slowakei und in Karpatorußland*, Münster 1926.

“Turkish Conquest”, too (this was the name of those territories were occupied by the Turks in the central part of the country), such as the founding of Ráckeve town and the monastery in Grábóc.<sup>50</sup> Then, in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, very significant settlements occurred, after the Turks were expelled by the Habsburg armies, and the Habsburg Crown ruled over the whole Hungary.<sup>51</sup> (Transylvania remained a different province of the Habsburgs, albeit it was subordinated to the Habsburg Crown, too, and the Transylvanian dukes stopped to exist in the 18<sup>th</sup> c.) Hungarians became definitely a minority in their country (thus undoubtedly, while the ratio in earlier epochs can be a subject of debate), since the 18<sup>th</sup> c, when the state was reunited and the various ethnicities were related to the Hungarians altogether, and the number of non-Hungarian ethnicities increased by the new settlements as well. Although it less concerns our topic, it is still of significance, because the copy in the former monastery in Máriapócs, was dated by archival sources since the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and the copy of Serbs, now being kept in the National Library, has significant marginalia from known possessors from the 18<sup>th</sup> c. as well.

**The Ostrog Bible in the confessionalization.** Based on the above, therefore, Byzantine Christianity was the second, subordinate, but tolerated confession that existed in the Middle Ages, that was also followed by Hungarians, like the second Confession after the dominating Roman Christianity. Kings of the Árpád-dynasty cultivated some links to the Orthodoxy, in various forms, albeit after the extinction on the Árpád-dynasty, the Byzantine-rite confession was already not tolerated but some inapprehensible phenomenon by the Anjou's, and then kings of various origin (thus of Hunyady/Corvinus, then of Jagello) did already not pay attention to the remains of the Orthodoxy, if there remained any such. Then, by the time of the Early Modern Age, the Byzantine Christianity became the religion of nationalities, Slavic peoples, and Romanians<sup>52</sup>.

At that time, the Reformation appeared, and with the development of different denominations, the *confessionalization* took place as well, that is, the institutionalization of cultural and religious life as independent economic and social segments of the society. (It is very simplistic to describe the confessionalization as “formation of denominations”, for it covered much more.)<sup>53</sup>. Because the Ostrog Bible appeared as a result of the confessionalization, in

<sup>50</sup> D. Davidov, *Spomenici Budimske eparhije*, Beograd 1990.

<sup>51</sup> D. Davidov, *Srpske privilegije carskog doma habzburškog*, Beograd 1994.

<sup>52</sup> *Kirchen als Integrationsfaktor für die Migranten im Südosten der Habsburgermonarchie im 18. Jahrhundert*, eds. R. Bendel, N. Spannberger, Berlin 2010.

<sup>53</sup> М. В. Дмитриев, *Православная конфессионализация» в Восточной Европе во второй половине XVI века?* [in:] „Дрогобицький краєзнавчий збірник”, vol. 16, Дрогобич 2012, pp. 133-152.

several aspects, it can be paralleled with the Protestant national bibles, too<sup>54</sup>. The first complete Bible translation in Hungary was the Vizsolyi Bible, produced by Gáspár Károli, which was published in 1590<sup>55</sup>. Barely a decade, only nine years after the Ostrog Bible (1581).

Complete Bible translations in both cases were brought by confessionalization: the Hungarian translation of the Bible was an achievement of the Reformation, because Calvinist citizens have already read the Bible independently of priests, and they bought it, so the printing of the great book was financed by secular, bourgeois capital. Similarly, on the Orthodox (Pravoslav) Ukrainian and Belarusian land (collectively “Ruthenian”), the translation of the Bible was due to the patronage activities of the Orthodox bourgeoisie and the Orthodox aristocracy in the Ukrainian lands, as well. This was an even more significant step in the field of confessionalization than that of the Hungarian reformed church. Because, while the Calvinist pastor preaches based on biblical texts, the Orthodox priests perform the complicated Byzantine liturgy. The Bible, as a single book, does not play a role in it; nor does it play a role in Catholics. For the latter, the Missal works in the liturgy, the Missale Romanum (Missal of the Roman liturgy) or the Missale Ambrosianum (a liturgy preserved in the Diocese of Milan and thus different from the Roman liturgy attributed by pious tradition to Saint Ambrose), and their local versions, which the Council of Trent (1545-1563) sought to standardize; likewise in the process of confessionalization: besides institutions and dogmas, the crystallization of the liturgy is also a characteristic and condition of the “confessionalization” – but there was no mention of Catholics reading the Bible, they never did it. In Orthodox liturgy, the situation is more complicated; it is necessary, first, to have the Liturgikon (Služebnik), then the Apostle, which organizes the Apostolic letters and acts according to the order of the daily liturgical readings (i.e., it is not related to the order of the biblical texts), and, above all, the Gospel (Evangelion, Yevangelje), which organizes the texts of the four Gospels, mixed and cut apart, in order of the daily liturgical readings (i.e., it has no relation to the order of the Gospel texts), further, with regard to the day Saints, the Menea, in twelve volumes according to the twelve months, and in the Byzantine liturgy, because of the intricate chants, the Triodion, in common and “floral”, i.e. fasting versions, as well as Oktoich (Greek: Oktoëkhos) used from Easter to Pentecost.<sup>56</sup> The complicated Byzantine liturgy can be performed for a lifetime by any pious

<sup>54</sup> S. Földvári, *Ukraine in Europe: for the Historical Roots of European Peculiarities of the Ukrainian Culture* [in:] *Україна і Центральна Європа: Історія, політика, культура – Матеріали VI міжн. «Формат розвитку відносин України та країн Центральної Європи...»*, eds. О. Бертолон, О. Шафраньош, Ужгород 2021, pp. 346-350.

<sup>55</sup> G. Károlyi, *Szent Biblia, azaz Istennek Ó- és Új-Szövetsége szerint való szent-írás*, Vizsoly 1590; J. Szabó, *Károlyi Gáspár élete és jellemrajza*, Sárospatak 1890.

<sup>56</sup> H. G. Beck, *Kirche und Theologische Literatur im Byzantinischen Reich*, München 1959, pp. 242-246. With an extremely rich bibliography. For the Russian Orthodox liturgy: *Православная энциклопедия*, vol. 41, pp. 263-278.

priest without taking the Bible as a book in his hands or even seeing it. Moreover, one cannot know the Old Testament even from the liturgical readings in the temple, because it was not read at all just as there were no Old Testament readings in the Roman Catholic Church before the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965), i.e., before the mid-twentieth century; the Old Testament stories, however, were somewhat familiar from the Orthodox chants, in which the Byzantine liturgy is rich, and the text of which is bound, thus, from the creation of the world to salvation and eschatology, the most important doctrinal information is sung – according to Eastern Christians. However, this is a rather poor knowledge of the Old Testament, which is the largest part of the Bible and, through the Jewish cultural tradition, still an essential part of European culture. In the age of confessionalization, it was discovered the significance of the entire Old Testament, thus it was printed, not just the Gospels. Significant, the first printer, Gutenberg, printed the entire Bible in 1454-55, although it was not the first book he printed. Until that time, there was no question of a wider distribution of the Bible, although the few hundred copies in which it was printed by Gutenberg (recently there are known one and a half hundred surviving copies) were still scarce.

Similar processes went on the eastern lands of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, where the Orthodoxy played such a role than the Reformation in the West, and this Orthodoxy was much able to renew and follow the new trends of civilization.<sup>57</sup> Revising the peculiarities of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the civil development seems to be significant under the circumstances of a constitutional monarchy but almost impossible in the Russian authoritarian state. The printing houses of Orthodox Confraternities and their schools were phenomena of the civil (bourgeois) society that have adopted European cultural influences – as even some Russian historians are of this opinion. In historiography, these processes of cultural development of the early modern era are named “confessionalization”; which took place on Polish, Ukrainian and Lithuanian (in the broad sense) lands but never took place on Russian lands. Therefore, the European civil culture has its roots in the Ukrainian lands, thus, on the terrene of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth but much less in Muscovy.<sup>58</sup>

The ground of the confessionalization was the system of institutions, the institutionalization.<sup>59</sup> Thus, it is able to speak about the confessionalization

<sup>57</sup> *Гуманістичні і реформаційні ідеї на Україні (XVI – початок XVII ст.)* eds. В. С. Горський, В. М. Нічик, В. Литвинов, Я. М. Стратій, Київ 1990; J. Tazbir, *Reformacja – kontr-reformacja – tolerancja*, Wrocław 1996.

<sup>58</sup> S. Földvári, *Ukraine in Europe...* 2021.

<sup>59</sup> “Под конфессионализацией понимается, во-первых, становление и развитие специфически конфессиональных дискурсов, специфически конфессиональных институтов и специфически конфессионального самосознания в протестантских и католических культурах нового времени (эти процессы описываются как первая и базовая стадия конфессионализации – *Konfessionsbildung*); во-вторых, новый симбиоз церковных и государственных

there, where the autonomy of the civil religious institutions existed, about which one can speak in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, but to a much less extent in the tsarist Russia. Also, the religious polemic is necessary to shape the dogmas in the controversies – it took place up to the bloody stage, as the controversies between the Uniates and Orthodoxies led to the martyrdom.<sup>60</sup> Also, it is necessary the impact of the the state to increase and decrease, too (depending on what may provide the building of institutions of the religious culture) – the increase was reflected in the providing the union by the king of Poland (providing the institutions of the Uniates; at the same time, the role of state was decreasing, too, by the activity of civil religious organizations, i.e., the brotherhoods, whose activity led to the spreading of the independent, thus to civil to some extent, institutions of the religious culture.<sup>61</sup> Hegemons and statesmen appeared in this aspect, too. For instance, the archbishop Zhochowsky who maintained the typography and book-culture,<sup>62</sup> or the prince Ostrogorsky, or those were in debates and fighting with the confraternities, too.

On the Ukrainian lands, already in the 16 c. a local elite of Old-Ukrainian language had unfolded, to some extent, which was of Ukrainian-consciousness, anti-Polish, Orthodox gentry, in a contrary to the Polish Catholic gentry, and this elite provided the building of Ukrainian identity, providing the book-printing, playing role in the early development of the Ukrainian language, and shaping the national consciousness.<sup>63</sup> The full translation of the Bible (apart from the early editions were partially translated) appeared as a result of the processes of “confessionalization” on the orthodox Ukrainian lands, by the activity of the orthodox bourgeoisie, together with the noble local elite, was translated and printed the whole Bible in Ostrog, 1581.<sup>64</sup>

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*инстанций, религиозной и светской политики, процессы, механизмы и институты совместного воздействия церковно-конфессиональных и государственно-конфессиональных институтов и факторов на социальную, политическую, культурную, экономическую жизнь католических и протестантских обществ Европы в раннее Новое время. В своем совокупном эффекте конфессионализация противостоит процессам секуляризации и оказывает – тем не менее! – важнейшим аспектом и перехода к модерности, и самого генезиса новоевропейской цивилизации.” М. В. Дмитриев, Православная конфессионализация..., op. cit., 2012, p. 137.*

<sup>60</sup> А. Ф. Хойнацкий, *Православие и уния в лице дву своих защитников, преподобного Иова Почаевского и Иосафата Кунцевича*. Киев 1882; Г. Я. Киприанович, *Исторический очерк православия, католичества и унии в Белоруссии и Литве, с древнейшего до настоящего времени*, Минск 2006.

<sup>61</sup> A. Mironowicz, *Bractwa cerkiewne w Rzeczypospolitej*, Białystok 2003; Cf. His earlier overlook on the topic: A. Mironowicz, *Geneza bractw cerkiewnych* „Białoruskie Zeszyty Historyczne”, 1996, № 2 (6), pp. 22-30.

<sup>62</sup> Сyprіan Żochowski was born about 1635 in East Poland. He studied in Rome 1658-1664 in the Greek College, and got the doctoral degree there. M. Cubrzyńska-Leonarczyk, *Oficina supraska 1695-1803*, Warszawa 1993, pp. 14-18. Listed rich further literature in the field.

<sup>63</sup> V. D. Lytvynov, *Ukraine: Seeking Its Identity. The 16th – Early 17th Centuries*, Київ 2012.

<sup>64</sup> М. Бойко, *Острозька та Дерманська друкарні. Ostrogian and Dermanian printing shops*, Bloomington 1980; eadem, *Острозька Біблія – королева українських книг. Ostrogian Bible the*

As we can see, those copies put into the Hungarian Kingdom, evidenced the impacts of the Confessionalization, by their migration, marginalia, possessors as documented.

**The Bazilian monastery in Máriapócs and its ethno-geographic background.** The ethnic migrations and changes in ethnicity are relevant to the complex question of the provenance and migration of the Ostrog Bible. The village of Máriapócs [read: Mariapooč] is located in the eastern part of Hungary. For three centuries it served as the spiritual centre of the Catholics of the Byzantine rite, that is, Uniates. The monks of Basilian Order lived there and served pilgrims with Holies and spiritual services. The icon of the mother of God of Máriapócs flew tears three times, in 1696, 1715, and 1905.<sup>65</sup> As the number of pilgrims increased significantly over time, church feasts have become grandiose, of course, books came here both for the purpose of worship and for the spiritual food of monks. Several folklore traditions developed due to pilgrimage holidays. As the saying conveyed the lively atmosphere of the place: “who does not get married during the pilgrimage to Mariapócs, remains a maiden”.<sup>66</sup> Significant local innovations appeared in the religious cult.<sup>67</sup>

The earlier inhabitants in Máriapócs were Hungarians who belonged to the Catholic confession, and turned to the Protestantism in the break of the 16/17 cc. Those earlier decades then were indifferent for the Cyrillic liturgical books. Those Hungarians were extinct by the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> c., with the Turkish conquest and raids of Ottoman troops.<sup>68</sup> The vacuum called new settlers who were Rusyns. These Rusyn newcomers had earlier moved from the Carpathian region to the Grate Plate of the Hungarian Kingdom, according to István Udvari’s papers, due to the poor opportunities of living in the sub-mountains area, in a comparison with the prolific, reach-in-corps Grand Plate in the middle

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*queen of Ukrainian books*, Bloomington 1981; Я. д. Исаевич, *Першодрукар Иван Федоров і виникнення друкарства на Україні*, Львів 1975; І. Крип’якевич, *Іван Федорович – перший український друкар. В пам’ять 350-ліття появи першої української друкованої книжки у Львові*, Львів 1924; A. Mironowicz, *Hryń Iwanowicz, drukarz i grawer*, Białystok 2021.

<sup>65</sup> Katalin Földvári, *Aller Sieg in Ungarn kommt durch Mariam*” *Die Ikone „Maria Pocs” im Marienkult der Habsburger*, [in:] „Folia Athanasiana”, vol. 17, Nyiregyháza 2015, pp. 93-117; J. Kiss, *Vera relatio super fletu Lachrymatione secundae sacrae imaginis Pocsensis Beatae Mariae Virginis...*, Košice 1776; S. Földvári, „Dicsőségbe öltözött”: A görög katolikus identifikáció tükröződése a máriapócsi (nemzeti) kegyhely irodalmi ábrázolásaiban, [in:] *Lét-és önértelmezés a Biblia tükrében*, eds. Páli-Nagy, V.; Pafkó, T.; Nagy, M. K. (Arianna Books 5.), Budapest 2012, pp. 31-42.

<sup>66</sup> И. Удвари, *Марияповч – дакедишині вирски и културни центер Русинох* [in:] „Народни Календар”, Нови Сад 1989, pp. 222-235; I. Udvari, *Máriapócs, a ruszinok hajdani vallási, kulturális központja*, [in:] eadem, *Ruszinok a XVIII. században. Történelmi és művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok*. Nyiregyháza 1992, p. 123-133.

<sup>67</sup> Ю. А. Лабынцев, *Марие-Повчанский кириллографичный молитвенный цикл*, [in:] *Sacrum et Profanum. Языковые, литературные и этнические взаимосвязи христианской культуры*, Москва 2012, pp. 224-235.

<sup>68</sup> E. Tóth, *A Tiszakönyök történelméhez*, Miskolc 1974.

of Hungary.<sup>69</sup> Therefore, when the Turks conquered the middle of Hungary, that earlier rich region lost its prolificacy, hence those relatively new migrants, whose grandfathers lived still in the sub-mountain regions, were able and likely to move again, toward the County Szabolcs (where Máriapócs was and has been located), on the place of the extinct Hungarians. These newcomers resulted the first written data about Máriapócs, of March 17, 1666: the “senior” (archi-presbyter) of the Lutheran evangelical – thus Protestant – dioceses of Mándok, nearby to Máriapócs, reported to the Council of Szabolcs County: the “Ruthenians” of Máriapócs [those were Orthodox] wanted to acquire by force the Protestant temple of the village, and he requested the secular, state organs of the County as for defending that real estate of the Protestant church.<sup>70</sup>

Hence in the 1660-ies the number of Rusyn inhabitants already appeared in Máriapócs, albeit still they did not have any parish neither real estate possession, thus the gathering of the liturgical books might yet be poor, limiting on the mostly necessary service-books at least, and the Bible did not belong to them. For the Bible it is not necessary to be had by performing an Orthodox liturgy, but the Book of Gospels and Apostle, which ones contain the fragments of the Holy Scripture in chronological order of the daily services. The founding of a library and gathering those books belonged to the “unnecessary, luxurious” strata of the liturgical books in the Orthodoxy, requires the existence of a middle stratum of the society, which stratum appeared and strengthened due to the processes of the Confessionalization, threatened in above. The significant immigration of books in Cyrillic letters began and strengthened in the 18<sup>th</sup> c., in a connection of the establishing a Basilian monastery. This seems to make weak the argument by I. Udvari about the providing the contacts with the Carpathian, sub mountain terrenes by the landlords Rákóczi: the first Greek-Catholic temple of Máriapócs was built on the land of Rákóczi family, and this great and rich aristocratic, Protestant family had many lands in Carpathian sub mountain region, too, therefore – as Udvari says – “it implies the closer contacts of the village with the sub mountain Carpathian terrenes” which may be a hypothesis but not more than a speculation.<sup>71</sup> The local community of the parish gained its books in such ways as they could do it, and regardless the owners of that particular territories.

On the other hand, the Protestant landlords Rákóczi provided the Reformation on their lands, in such a measure, that one of the causes of the Union (in Užhorod, 1646) could be the choice between the (Roman) Catho-

<sup>69</sup> I. Udvari, *Rusyns in Hungary and the Hungarian Kingdom*, [in:] *The Persistence of Regional Cultures. Rusyns and Ukrainians in their Carpathian Homeland and Abroad*, ed. P. R. Magocsi, New York 1993, pp. 105-138.

<sup>70</sup> A. Komáromy, *Levéltári kutatások* [in:] „Történelmi Tár”, 1899, pp. 483-506. Letter of András Patay, senior of the Lutheran dioceses, to the County of Szabolcs, Mándok, March 17, 1666. *ibidem*, pp. 501-503. It refers to the Szabolcs County Archive, fasc. 84, no. 74.

<sup>71</sup> I. Udvari, *Máriapócs...*, 1992.



licism and the Reformation; for those poor Orthodox people who did not have any “own” establishment – as we have already mentioned, also the priests in Orthodoxy were serfs, and for avoiding the way of Reformation and for keeping their identity, they chose the Union – as Tamás Véghseő emphasizes it.<sup>72</sup> We barely agree with it, because we do maintain the impacts of the Brest Union, and the role of the Jakusich family of Eger, too, beyond the Drugeth family.<sup>73</sup> The Protestantism increased, strengthened, and spread in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, too, then it decreased and were almost extinct there, giving the room for the Union. As for the Hungarian territories, the Protestantism was bond to the ethnicities: the Calvinism was “the Hungarian confession” and the Lutheranism “the Saxons’ Confession”, due to not only the local peculiarities of the history of Hungarian Kingdom, but also the peculiarities of the Protestantism itself. And, the role of book-trade in the Protestantism was axial, as it has highlighted by Benedict Anderson.<sup>74</sup> As for the Orthodox Carpathian Rusyn-Ukrainians the “national” religion would be some local Byzantine-rite confession with service-books on the local “redactio” (edition) of the Church Slavic, toward which some attempts resulted the printing of the Bacsinszky-Bible one and half of a century later, but in the epoch of the recent problems the complexity of language situation in the usage of the service books and the economic poorness of the Orthodox believers did not give so wide room for any Reformation among the Rusyn-Ukrainians.<sup>75</sup> Even the Orthodox Confessionalization happened in the Galician and Volhynian regions of the Polish-Lithuanian State, thus the printing of the Ostrog Bible, and its oeuvre, the Apostle by Ivan Fiorodoff printed, and his Bukvar, too, and then the establishing of the Orthodox Confraternity in Lviv (The Stauropegian Brotherhood)<sup>76</sup> – all these would even more provide some Orthodox

<sup>72</sup> T. Véghseő, *Die Union mit der katholischen Kirche an der Wende vom 17. zum 18. Jahrhundert*, [in:] *Kirchen als Integrationsfaktor für die Migranten im Südosten der Habsburgermonarchie im 18. Jahrhundert*, eds. R. Bendel, N. Spannenberger, Berlin 2010, pp. 309-316.

<sup>73</sup> S. Földvári, *Eger szerepe a ruszin papképzésben*, [in:] *Tanulmányok az ukrán és ruszin filológia köréből. Naukovi doslidžennja v haluzi ukrajínskoji ta rusynskoji filologiji*, ed. I. Udvari [“Studies in the Foeld of Ukrain and Rusyn Philology”], G. Bessenyei, Nyíregyháza 1997, pp. 203-212.

<sup>74</sup> B. R. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London and New York 1991.

<sup>75</sup> L. Szöke, *A liturgikus egyházi szláv nyelv Északkelet-Magyarországon (XVI–XIX. század)*, Eger 2002; V. Boháč, *Ószláv nyelvű könyvek Bacsinszky püspök korából*, [in:] *Bacsinszky András munkácsi püspök: halálának 200. évfordulóján rendezett konferencia tanulmánya*, eds. T. Véghseő, Sz. Athanasios, Nyíregyháza 2014, pp. 137-148. We criticize the usage of the term “Old Slavic” because that was already “Church Slavic/Slavonic” in that time, appearing in different redactions.

<sup>76</sup> Y. Isaievich, *Voluntary Brotherhood: Confraternities of Laymen in Early Modern Ukraine*, Edmonton 2006; Ю. Э. Шустова, *Документы Львовского успешного ставропигийского братства (1586-1788): историко-ведческое исследование*, Moscow 2009; Л. ТИМОШЕНКО, *Ставропігійя церковних братств у контексті Берестейської унії. Історіографічний аспект*, [in:] *Confraternitas. Ювілейний збірник на пошану Ярослава Ісаєвича*, ed. О. Серєда, Львів 2006-2007, pp. 250-267.

Confessionalisation in the sub mountain Carpathian lands; however, poor links were kept within peoples of those territories, and not much more in the 18<sup>th</sup> c, after the union. As aforementioned Véghseő highlighted it, the Carpathian Rusyn Orthodoxy did not have enough strong links with the greater background country of the Orthodoxy in the Rzeczpospolita. Though we would like to modify this statement, too –by the ordination of Orthodox bishops, and by the book-migration as well–, that is fact, those poor Orthodox people did not have any different way for the social improving than the church Union. The social mobilization, the improvement of their social and economic status, it was the main motivation of the Union, so in Brest, as in Uzhorod.

**Reconstruction of the destroyed library in Máriapócs.** In the 50-ies of the twentieth century in Hungary (as in other countries of socialism) there was a dispersion of various monastic orders of the Catholic Church, including Greek Catholic Basilians, too. After this “scattering” the monks of Catholic orders, some of the Basilian monks continued to work as secular priests (they switched to the “white clergy”), and some of them were forbidden to continue any spiritual activity, but the latter also operated clandestinely in a significant number, even accepting novices who studied and ordained secretly. After the Soviet invasion to Hungary, the Hungarian Greek Catholics were expected to share in the fate of their brothers in Transcarpathia, Ukraine and Slovakia, so they expected to face persecution and dissolution. And yet it didn’t happen. This probably occurred because of the fact that there was no single Orthodox church in Hungary to which Hungarian Greek Catholics could be united. Bulgarians, Hungarians, Serbs and (already Hungarian-identified) successors of the Greeks composed different Orthodox churches, each of them was independent and did not want to hear about any ties with others – and the number of all Orthodox Christian souls even together did not reach the number of Greek Catholics.<sup>77</sup> White Greek-Catholic Clergy continued to exist within a narrow framework, but everything was forbidden to the black clergy. So, with any difficulties, Bishop Miklós (Nicholas) Dudás [read: Dudash] had a building in which he also assigned a place to seminarians.<sup>78</sup> Consequently, some of the books could be saved – these were included in the fund of the Greek Catholic Theological Academy, about which Oitozi – with whom we still will deal below – also published a monograph. And where did the majority of books from the Basilian monastery of Máriapócs disappear? Thanks to God, not everything went to the trash. Secularization meant that church libraries became the property of state

<sup>77</sup> Unfortunately, almost no work has so far been published in foreign languages about the (new) history of all Hungarian Orthodox Churches. Albeit in Hungarian, the current state of research is well represented by the collection of articles: *A keleti kereszténység Magyarországon*, eds. Doncsev, Toso-Szőke. Lajos, Budapest 2007.

<sup>78</sup> „Egyházamért kész vagyok meghalni”: P. Dr. Dudás Miklós szerzetes-püspök emlékére, ed. Török, István Izsák; Nagy Szt. Bazil Rend, Máriapócs 2005.

libraries. Oitozi (with whom we still deal later) noticed that a special stamp is visible in some old-printed Cyrillic books in the National Library of the University of Debrecen.<sup>79</sup> This stamp indicates that this book belonged to the “library of the monastery of the Mariapovchan Basilians”. It turned out that books with such a stamp are also available in the National F. Széchenyi Library in Budapest, too. She received a scholarship to move from Debrecen to the capital Budapest for a month and worked there on old-printed materials. All those books from the former Basilian monastery which were held in the [“first”] National Library have been thoroughly studied and fully described by her. Moreover, despite the atheistic system of socialism, a significant proportion of these books were transferred to Debrecen, because the “second” national library had the official right to keep those books, which belonged to the funds of the eastern (“over-Tisza”, beyond that river) region of Hungary. So, the former books of Máriapócs got closer to their original place.<sup>80</sup>

Hence here is the place to get known with the findings of Eszter Ojtozi, who took the lion’s share of the disclosure and description of old printed Cyrillic books, mainly on the eastern part of Hungary. The destroyed library was reconstructed by Esther Oitozi.<sup>81</sup> Among the books, as Oitozi stated: “...more than half of them are from Ukrainian typographies (Kiev, Chernihiv), Galician and Volyn (Lviv, Pochaev, Univ and small short-lived printing houses), as well as from Lithuania and Belarus.”<sup>82</sup> The role of the Pochayiv monastery was of great importance, because in the book collections of Basilians of Eastern Hungary, which were described by Mrs. Esther Oitozi, the ratio of liturgical books of Pochayiv origin is as high as possible.<sup>83</sup> Work made by

<sup>79</sup> There are two libraries in Hungary with the rank of “national” – the first one is the Hungarian Ferenc Szécsényi National Library which works in Budapest, and the other one is located in the eastern part of the country, in the second largest city – Debrecen. Both equally carry the rank of “national library”, which means much more than receiving deposit copies, because these are received in Hungary by four libraries, and there are only two in the category of “national”. For the Debrecen National Library: G. Korompai, *Schwere Zeiten im Leben der Universitätsbibliothek*, Debrecen 1982; G. Korompai, *A debreceni Egyetemi Könyvtár története évi jelentések tükrében*, 1916-1948; L. Kossuth, *Tud.egyetem Könyvt.*, Debrecen 1998. Any monograph has not been completed yet, but an MA thesis: M. Tamás, *A Debreceni Egyetem Egyetemi és Nemzeti Könyvtár története megalakulásától napjainkig*, Debrecen 2009.

<sup>80</sup> Ojtozi’s preface in her book: E. Ojtozi, *A máriapócsi baziliták cirillbetűs könyvei – Книги кириловской печати мариаповчанских базилиан*, Debrecen 1982.

<sup>81</sup> E. Ojtozi, *Kirchenslavische Bücher aus der Klosterbibliothek zu Máriapócs*, part 1, Debrecen 1977, p. 2, *ibid.* 1979; E. Ojtozi, *A máriapócsi baziliták cirillbetűs könyvei – Книги кириловской печати мариаповчанских базилиан*, Debrecen 1982.

<sup>82</sup> E. Ойтози, *Книги мариаповчанских базилиан...*, 1982, p. 19.

<sup>83</sup> E. Ojtozi, *Kirchenslavische Bücher...*, vols. 1-2, 1977-79, E. Ойтози, *Книги мариаповчанских базилиан...*, 1982; eadem, *A Görögkatolikus Hittudományi Főiskola Könyvtárának szláv és román cirillbetűs könyvei. Славянские и румынские книги кириловской печати библиотеке Грекокатолической духовной академии*. Debrecen 1985; E. Ojtozi, *Slawische und Slawen betreffende alte Drucke der Universitätsbibliothek zu Debrecen – A debreceni egyetemi könyvtár szláv nyelvű és szláv vonatkozású régi nyomtatványai*, vol. 1-2, Debrecen, 1987, 1989.

Oitozi in the field of old printed books of Cyrillic letters is unsurpassed. She reconstructed the libraries destroyed by the communists, like The Book Collection of the Basilians, and other collections, too.<sup>84</sup> Her research covered the Romanian book in Cyrillic letters, too.<sup>85</sup> She completed annotations and descriptions of books at the contemporary international level of the book-studies; cooperated with academician Ya. Isaevich, and others<sup>86</sup>; and she came to the conclusion that 80% of old printed books, which are stored in Hungary, were imported from Ukrainian printing houses.<sup>87</sup> Two copies of the Ostrog Bible were described by Esther Oitozi, which now belong to the Greek Catholic (i.e. Uniate) book collections and enrich the cultural heritage of Transcarpathian Greek Catholic (i.e. Uniate) Ukrainians-Rusyns. Earlier these copies moved much, and their migration is richly documented by the marginalia.<sup>88</sup>

**The marginalia in the copy which was held in the Greek Catholic Monastery in Máriapócs.** The recent Theological Academy of Byzantine Rite in Nyíregyháza holds a copy of the Ostrog Bible, which belonged to the monastery of the Basilian in Máriapócs. Esther Oitozi published the photocopy of the Latin-language marginalia which proves, that the Basilians got the book before 1777, but because this year they already catalogued this book. We raised a theory on a past conference in Kyiv, that the Pochayiv Lavra provided the book-import in Máriapócs, too.<sup>89</sup> The copy with the stamp of the Máriapócs monastery put into Transcarpathian villages much earlier than the monastery was destroyed by the communist “comrades” after the Second World War. The inscriptions on the marginal fields prove that this book was used in various villages of Transcarpathia. Therefore, those Basilian monks who lived in Máriapócs, had to be in close connections with the Transcarpathian Greek

<sup>84</sup> Ш. Фёльдвари, *Воспоминания об Эстер Ойтози (1935-2006)*, [in:] „Православная культура вчера и сегодня” Series: Fontes Slavica Orthodoxa, vol 2, Olsztyn 2015, pp. 347-360. With a rich bibliography of the works by E. Ojtozi.

<sup>85</sup> E. Ojtozi, *A Görögkatolikus Hittudományi Főiskola Könyvtárának szláv és román cirillbetűs könyvei. Славянские и румынские книги кирилловской печати библиотеке Грекатолической духовной академии*, Debrecen 1985.

<sup>86</sup> Я. Д. Исаевич, *Українське книгодання: витоки, розвиток, проблеми*, Львів 2002.

<sup>87</sup> E. Ojtozi, *Доля українських стародруків у Східній та Північно-Східній Угорщині „Український археографічний щорічник”*, vol.1. Київ 1992, pp. 295-299, that same: E. Ojtozi, *Доля українських стародруків у Східній-Північно-Східній Угорщині*, [in:] *Українське Барокко: Матеріали I конгресу Міжнародної асоціації українців (Київ 27 серпня – 3 вересня 1990 р.)*, ed. О. Мишанич, Київ 1993, pp. 195-198.

<sup>88</sup> E. Ojtozi, *Az Ostrogi biblia két példánya a Nyíregyházi Görögkatolikus Hittudományi Főiskola könyvtárában – Два экземпляра Острожской библии в библиотеке Грекатолической духовной академии (г. Ньиредьхазы) – Zwei Exemplare der Ostroger Bibel*, [in:] „Könyv és könyvtár: könyvtártudományi és bibliográfiai tanulmányok és közlemények: a Debreceni Kossuth Lajos Tudományegyetem Könyvtárának évkönyve”, vol. 13, Debrecen 1982, pp. 121-135.

<sup>89</sup> Ш. Фйольдварі, *Українські книги в Угорському королівстві у світлі архівних джерел – тези*, [in:] „IX Міждисциплінарні гуманітарні читання 21-22 листопада 2020 року Київ, Тези доповідей”, eds. Г. В. Боряк, А. В. Блануца, Київ 2020, pp. 20-21.

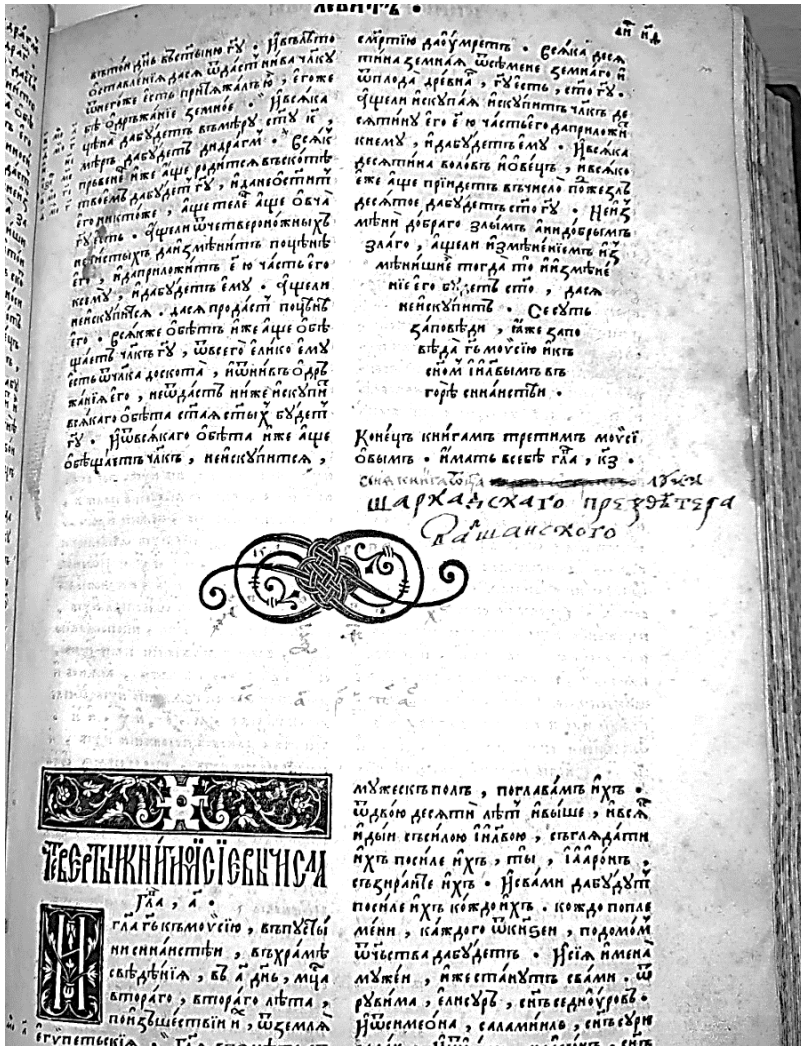
Catholic villages, according to the witnessing of the marginalia. And inhabitants of those villages were not only Hungarians but also, and even mostly, Carpatho-Ukrainians, that is, Rusyn-Ukrainians in their local ethnographic name. Máriapócs had intensive contacts with the Ukrainian-speaking people, therefore, Máriapócs was and had to be, a multicultural center of pilgrimage for various people of the Greek-Catholic confession.

All these are proved by the work of Ivan Paňkevič, who published his research on the marginal inscriptions in the second half of the last century, but his research was conducted already before the Second World War and a bit after this, too.<sup>90</sup> Having the data from Paňkevič's work, the Hungarian Eszter Ojtozi was looking for this copy, and she found it among the books were stored in the Greek Catholic Theological Academy of Nyíregyháza. Thus, this book was much earlier held in Máriapócs, and later put to Transcarpathian villages, and from there it returned to the region of Máriapócs, somehow. Albeit nor Paňkevič nor Ojtozi, neither any other author did not pay attention to the structure of the inscription referring to Sarkad, a Rusyn-Ukrainian village in Transcarpathia.<sup>91</sup> The part of the text is deleted and a new name of the priest of the local parish is written by a stronger ink, in much stronger form, thus it must be the later part of this inscription. Therefore, an earlier priest wrote his name previously to the book, and later a new priest of Sarkad wrote his name. Thus, it is not clear that it would be the place where the earlier priest wrote his name. That earlier place could be Sarkad but could be any other place, too. Thus, the structure of this inscription proves the migration of this book. We photographed those marginalia were described by Paňkevič, and the physical view in reality proves much more than the printed text. In this picture it is undoubtedly visible, the name "Luka Ralshansky" was put much later by new ink. Moreover, Ojtozi was wrong while maintaining this copy were of Sharkad. In reality, the possessor was of Sharkad. Paňkevič described the marginalia only. No evidence the book was from Sharkad – it was not sure, but possible. Not excluded, nor evidenced. Because the liturgical books of the church were possession of the parish, the community, not of the priest, who could move from there. This possessor, however, marked his own possession, even more, erasing the previous possessor's name from the inscription. I proved that we have said in above, i.e., the Ostrog Bible was a result and a tool of the Confessionalization. Liturgical books were printed for liturgical use, but the Bible for spiritual use.

<sup>90</sup> І. Паňкевич, *Покрайні записи на підкарпатських церковних книгах*, ч. 1., „Науковий збірник товариства «Просвіта», т. 6, Ужгород 1929, pp. 129-196. Marginalia of the copy of Ostrog Bible from the former Basilian monastery of Máriapócs: p.150. We are giving here original photocopies of the marginalia quoted by Paňkevič in modern transcription, thus it is not necessary to repeat his work in further footnotes and write always "ibidem".

<sup>91</sup> Recently Gorbok, a village in the Mukachevo urban community of the Mukachevo district of the Transcarpathian region of Ukraine. The recent inhabitants are Ukrainians. Historically was named Kissarkad ("Small Sharkad"), Oroszfalu ("Ruthenian village"). Never was inhabited by Hungarians but Rusyn-Ukrainians.

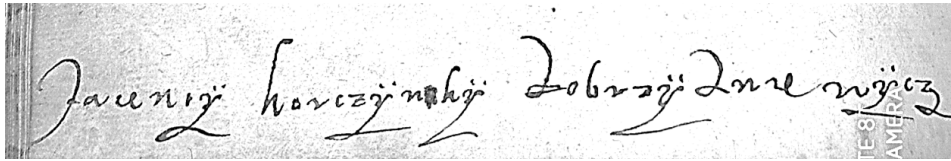
Hence the possession of the priest proves that priest was learned enough and read the Bible outdoor of the church, too. Such evidence of the processes of Confessionalization. Even more evidenced the Confessionalization by other marginalia. (Figure no.1.)



1. Figure Bible of Ostrog, 1581, Former Library of Basilians in Máriapócs, letter № 59 recto: Сия книга о(т)ца Луки Шаркадскаго, презбѣтера ралшанскаго (Панькевич 1970. р. 150) Photo: Author.

Another inscription in Latin letters proves that this copy belonged to the Galician village Opir. In Polish, a possessor in the letter no. 49 verso: Jacenty Krczynsky Dobrzydnieuwycz. This might be a polish person. He marked his

possession by his name; thus, he owned this book at himself, not in the church. He might be a Uniate, Greek Catholic person, for his Polish name. Nevertheless, in no case Orthodox. Because Poles never belonged to the Orthodoxy, but those Ruthenians wanted to increase their social status, often followed Polish manners. Hence, this possessor could be a Ruthenian person, too, but Polonised in his behaviour as he wrote his name in Polish form, however, this name is rather Polish than Ruthenian. Hence the possession of this Polish person proves that the Bible was used outdoor of the church, too, for evidence of the Confessionalization. (Figure no.2.)



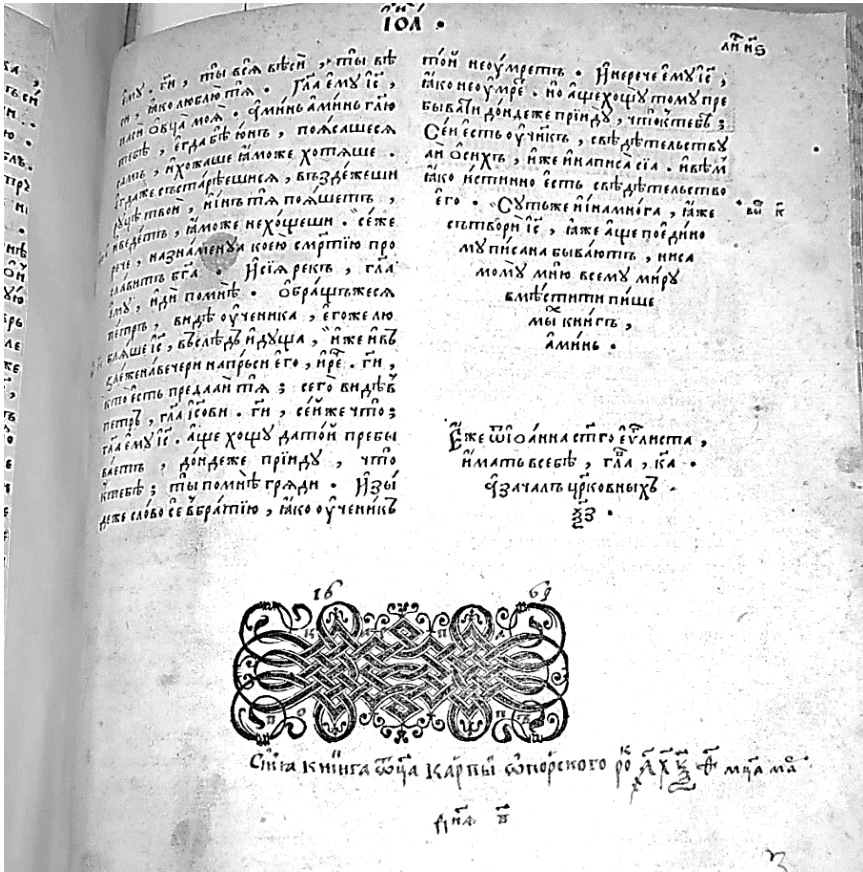
2. Figure Bible of Ostrog, 1581, Former Library of Basilians in Máriapócs, letter № 45 verso: Jacenty Krczynsky Dobrzydniewicz (Панькевич 1970, р. 150) Photo: Author

Even more significant, another marginalia with dating, much earlier, and a place again: Сія кни́га о(т)ца Карпы(й) Опорского. Рок 1669, мца мар, дня 2 (letter № 56, verso). What can it prove? First, the conclusions coming from the date: this book belonged to possessors in Galicia, for a far distance from Máriapócs, at the time when the poor village Máriapócs put in debate with the Protestants for the building of the church. We told on it in above. Thus, the marginalia of this Ostrog Bible proves it: while the poor Rusyns in Eastern Hungary suffered with the poverty, some well-to-do people purchased expensive books, and for private use. This happened on a much higher place, the Opir river flows near the Volovets Pass (Ukrainian: Воловецький перевал). Noteworthy, the village Opir was located on the way from the far Volhynian lands toward the Transcarpathian lands.<sup>92</sup> Noteworthy, the Church union had already happened there almost a century ago (the Brest Union in 1596, this marginalia from 1669), albeit in Transcarpathia yet heated debates went around the union.<sup>93</sup> (figure no.3.) – It is brilliant evidence that copies of the Ostrog Bible were put to those regions, which yet belonged to the Lviv (Lwów) region, thus those lands where the bourgeois development, the confessionalization-processes, the rich enough middle class was already evolved, and they purchased the Ostrog Bible as a great symbol of their confessional identity. Those copies put on the edge of these lands were later able to be moved toward the Eastern Hungarian lands, where the followers of the Byzantine rite were

<sup>92</sup> Now Oporets – village in Skole Raion, Lviv.

<sup>93</sup> T. Végheő, *Die Union...*, 2010. More detailed, updated version: T. Végheő, *Reflections on the Background to the Union of Uzhhorod/Ungvár (1646)* [in:] „Eastern Theological Journal”, 2015, no. 1, pp. 147-181.

poor and did not have any middle class or establishment. It is more than logical that the heydays of the Basilian monastery in Máriapócs in the 18<sup>th</sup> century acquired the donors and helpful brothers from Galicia to help this newly flourished pilgrimage center and provide it with books as well. Evidencing the confessionalization, the large and very expensive Ostrog Bible was probably donated to the monastery in Máriapócs in order to keep and express their confessional identity, while the Bible itself was not necessary for performing the liturgy nor for the monks, nor for the pilgrims at fests of saint holydays. Owning this huge Bible was a prestigious act, thus a famous monastery cannot exist without a Bible although really can perform its liturgies without it.

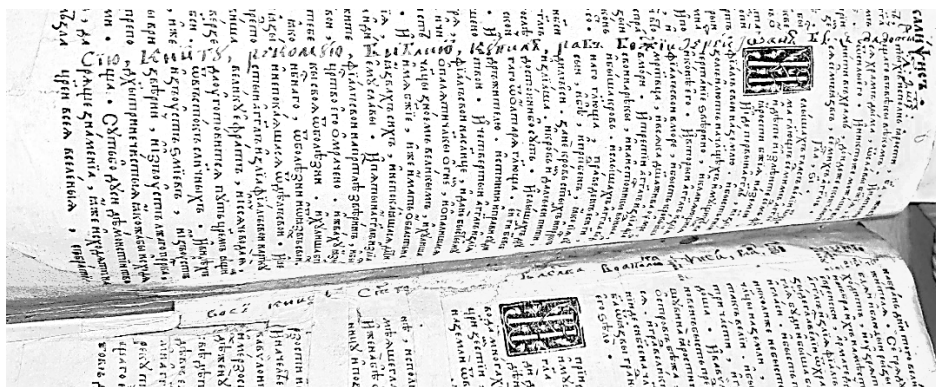


3. Figure Bible of Ostrog, 1581, Former Library of Basilians in Máriapócs, letter № 56 recto, Сія книга о(т)ца Карпы(й) Опорского. Рок 1669, мца мар, дня 2 (Панькевич 1970, р. 150)  
Photo: Author

Last but not least, a clear source of purchase and abilities for purchasing on the Galizian lands. Bible of Ostrog, 1581, Former Library of Basilian in



Máriapócs, letters № 68 verso – 69 recto: Сію книгу, рекомую Быблию, купиль рабъ божіи іереи Іоанъ Б. Р. за золотых 30 і шест. И кто бы ей малъ взяти албо вкрасти, нех тых язв не мине, которы положены. – The price is written in Church Slavonis letters, thus л with a ‘titlo’ which refers to 30 then the ‘six’ by a word. Where it happened and when, it is yet not clear. We are of the opinion it might have been happened “over there”, thus, on Transcarpathian lands or, rather, in Galicia, but in no case in Máriapócs nor on the lower lands of the Mukachevo Greek Catholic eparchy. (Figure no.4.) – Still more marginalia are in the book, even more than Paňkevič described. We gave these three in his transcription with photocopies of the originals, respectively.

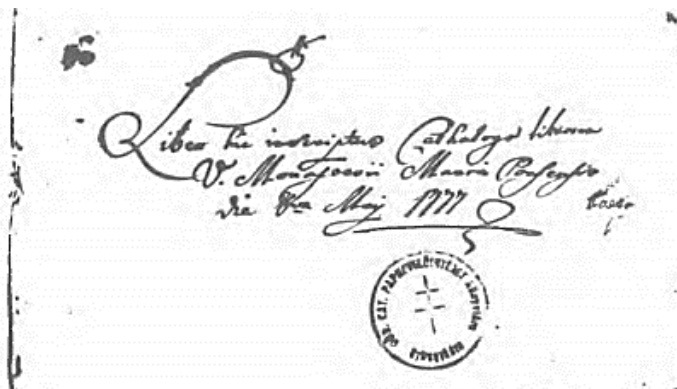


4. Figure Bible of Ostrog 1581, Former Lib. Basilians Máriapócs, letters № 68 verso – 69 recto: Сію книгу, рекомую Быблию, купиль рабъ божіи іереи Іоанъ Б. Р. за золотых 30 і шест. И кто бы ей малъ взяти албо вкрасти, нех тых язв не мине, которы положены Photo Author

The flyleaf, recto contains a modern stamp of the Greek Catholic seminary [in Nyíregyháza] which refers to the value-saver activity of bishop Dudás, whom we have already told in above. That same letter, on that recto page, has an inscription in Latin language, which reports about the inventory in 1777. It proves all which has been said, the Basilians in the 18<sup>th</sup> century owned a rich monastery due to the miracles of the Tearing Virgin Mary, therefore their library got enriched, thanks to donations and migration of pilgrims. Noteworthy, the marginalia in Latin, therefore, the Slavic culture was limited on the liturgy and the communication of the Rusyn serfs, while the administration went in Latin, according to the contemporary official matters in Hungary, where the advocates at court of law spoke in Latin and the fluent speech in sophisticated Latin was excepted from all those wanted to build any carrier. This inscription was already published by Ojtozi.<sup>94</sup> The book studies in Hungary focused on the cataloguing of the rare books, while nobody paid attention the former

<sup>94</sup> E. Ojtozi, *Ostrogji...*, 1982.

descriptions by Paňkevič would be subject of further research in the intellectual history. (Figure no.5)



5. Figure Bible of Ostrog 1581, Former Library of Basilians in Máriapócs, first flyleaf: Liber hic inscriptus Cathalogus librorum V[asilianorum] Monasterii Maria Potsiensis diae 6-ae Maii 1777

Source: Oitozi, 1982a

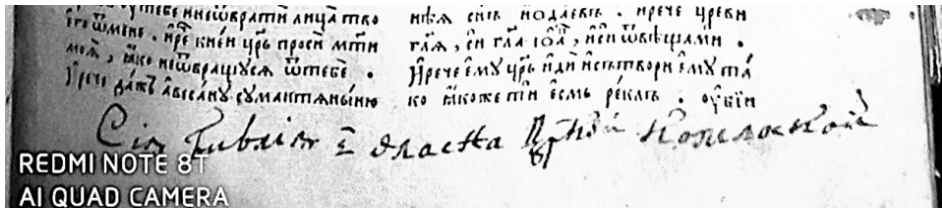
We raised a theory at a past conference in Kyiv, that the Pochayiv Lavra provided the book import in Máriapócs, too, as it has in the above-mentioned.<sup>95</sup> But more. It should be considered that the Pochayiv Lavra was in the hands of Catholics, that is, Uniate, Greek Catholic Basilian in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and Máriapócs in the 18<sup>th</sup> century became a very significant centre of pilgrims, too, such as the Pochayiv Lavra, because there the icon of the Mother of God shed tears and due to her tears miracles happened, their sick people became healthy, etc. – as it usually happens where Our Lady tears. There, in Máriapócs, the Basilian monks were brothers of the Pochayiv Basilian monks, and of course, the monks could also move between monasteries, also pilgrims could move between monasteries as well. So, we have a theory that the Pochayiv Lavra gave books to its brother, the Basilian monastery in Máriapócs, seems very logical. Still in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and because the inventorial inscription was dated in 1777.<sup>96</sup>

**The other copy is from Komlóska.** Esther Ojtozi in the same article described another copy of the Ostrog Bible, too, which is also being held there at the Greek Catholic Theological Academy, in Nyíregyháza in Eastern

<sup>95</sup> Ш. Фйольдварі, *Українські книги...*, 2020.

<sup>96</sup> Cf. our forthcoming longer paper on this question: S. Földvári, *Encounters of Pochayiv and Máriapócs: Two Pilgrimage Centres of Basilians as Reflected in the Heritage*, [in:] *Ідентичності в умовах пограниччя – Identity in Borderland. Proceedings of the conference held at the Uzhorod National University on 9 January 2023*, ed. Petro Lapo et al. To be published still in 2023.

Hungary. Albeit this book belonged to the parish of the poor village of Komlóška in Northern Hungary.<sup>97</sup> This copy raises even more questions, and we will not deal with all those within the frameworks of the paper. Komlóška is a small village on the North part of present-day Hungary, and we have already mentioned it with connection to the Rusyn-question in Hungary. The first written mention of the settlement dates from 1396. During the 16-17 cc. it was part of the Regéc manor, where Ruthenian serfs came from the Rákóczi estates in Sáros and Zemplén to compensate for the human losses of the 15-year war. Then it was depopulated again; the ancestors of today's residents settled here after 1720.<sup>98</sup> Due to the seclusion of the village, it lived as a single Rusyn-speaking, Greek-Catholic community until the 1960s.<sup>99</sup> Inhabitants of the village still understand the Ukrainian language there because it is a Rusyn village, as evidenced by Ukrainian tourists on the internet, that there is a family hotel there and Ukrainians go there to relax and drink wine.<sup>100</sup> Esther Ojtozi herself suggested that the then Greek Catholic bishop of Nyíregyháza, in Eastern Hungary, should keep books printed by Cyrillic letters from rural parishes, because in the city it is better to keep the eparchial centre and she could describe these books better if there. So, until the 1970s, this book was kept in the poor village of Komloshka, this is evidenced by the record, so you can see the word “Komlóška” in Cyrillic, Church Slavic form. – Very significant possessory inscription: the owner here is the parish, not a single person! All what we have in above said, proves that this poor parish was donated by the huge and expensive Ostrog Bible, and they were proud of it.



6. Figure Bible of Ostrog 1581, from the parish of Komlóška, letter 38 recto: Сія Библия є власна Цркви Комлоской. Photo: Author

How did this copy could get there? As it was already mentioned, the price of a Liturgicon, thus the Sluzhebnik, was equal to the price of two cows, while the yearly income of a Greek Catholic parish in that region was equal to the

<sup>97</sup> E. Ojtozi, *Ostrogski...*, 1982.

<sup>98</sup> I. Udvari, *Ruszinok...*, 1994, p. 323.

<sup>99</sup> E. Tamás, *Bevezető gondolatok* [in:] „Acta Regionis Rurum”, 4, 2010, pp. 8,9.

<sup>100</sup> Н. Курдюкова, *Невпадкова Комлошка Серцевина* – online blog: <https://theheartofwine.com/nevypadkova-komloshka>

price of one cow.<sup>101</sup> Then, a Liturgicon, thus the Sluzhebnik, is not as large a book as the Ostrog Bible. Also, it has already been mentioned the price of a copy of Ostrog Bible was 36 golds in about the late 17<sup>th</sup> c. The only possible way was the donation. Worthy to mention, that academician Isaievych highlighted the donation by the Lviv Orthodox Confraternity to the Mukachevo bishop. Two hypotheses about the possible ways of donation are maintained, but none of them seems enough convincing. Let's pay a look at these two ideas.

Maintenance by Volodymyr Moroz. A gifted young Ukrainian scholar, Volodymyr Moroz, wrote in 2020 that all these copies of the Ostrog Bible might put into the Hungarian villages from the Orthodox bishop Sergy in the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>102</sup> – His new article represents an investigation of the Mukachevo bishop Sergius's mission in Kyivan Metropolitanate during the first quarter of the XVII century. He consulted Belarussian, Hungarian, Romanian, Russian and Ukrainian sources and ascertained that the bishop had exactly been to in Volhynia and Belarus in those periods while there were no fixed mentions of him in documents from the Mukachevo eparchy and historical Hungarian Kingdom. This is the weak point of Moroz's theory: if we do not know, when and where this bishop had any activity in Transcarpathia, then how we can know he donated the copies of the Ostrog Bible to Transcarpathian parishes? Moreover, these Hungarian Greek Catholic parishes were established much later, than the activity of that Orthodox bishop occurred, because no Slavic inhabitant settled in this territory, which we investigate, but from the late 17<sup>th</sup> century and rather in the 18<sup>th</sup> c. This is the benefit of our long introductory treatise about the ethnic background and settlement of the Rusyn. Volodymyr Moroz argues Sergius had his residence in St. Michael monastery in Volhynian town Stepani, Ukraine. His paper shows Sergius had significant support from the powerful Ostrogski and Zasławski families. And it was not only one the Orthodox magnate Konstany-Vasyl Ostrogski who helped the bishop but also those of other Ostrogski's and Zasławski's who already were Catholics. On the other hand, Volodymyr Moroz concerns the influence of Sergius's mission in the Kyivan Metropolia on the Mukachevo Eparchy. Thus, Moroz is of the opinion that Sergius owned books from the Ostrog typography and those books then migrated to Zakarpatia. We cannot accept this maintenance undoubtedly. On one hand, it may be possible but hardly evidenced. On the other hand, if there are no sources about the activity of this Sergy in Trancarpatia, how can we go so far, that we could accept for a fact such a particular step of him, as the book-carry? Volodymyr Moroz's maintenance seems to be a possibility but of less probability.

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<sup>101</sup> A. Hodinka, *Történet...*, 1909.

<sup>102</sup> V. Moroz, *Мукачівський єпископ Сергій в маєтностях Острозьких і Заславських та його невідома місія в Київській митрополії першої чверті XVII ст.*, [in:] „Науковий вісник Ужгородського університету. Acta Universitatis Uzhorodiensis, Sectio Historica”, vol. 2, 2020, pp. 10-21.

Maintenance by Yaroslav Isaievych. The father of the book studies in Ukraine, Yaroslav Isaievych wrote in his early book on the Ukrainian brotherhoods that the Lviv Orthodox Confraternity donated books to the Transcarpathian Greek Catholics, too. Referring to the 17<sup>th</sup> century, Isaievych mentioned the bishop of Mukachevo in particular.<sup>103</sup> He refers to the sources in the Lviv Historical State Archive.<sup>104</sup> Thus, it would be of great significance, that the Orthodox Stauropeg Brotherhood of Lviv provided the Greek Catholics of Transcarpathia by liturgical books. However, this epoch of the 17<sup>th</sup> century was still the epoch of the Orthodoxy in Transcarpathia, still that epoch when the above-mentioned bishop Sergy exercised his activity, thus everything seems logical. Albeit even the information given by Isaievych may recall some doubt. Last year, when a gifted young scholar, Mihajlo Tupytsa presented his paper at the Ukrainian Catholic University in Lviv, about the book migration in Transcarpathia, we contributed to the discussion and raised the question about the statement of Isaievych. Then some Ukrainian colleagues checked that archive and they said lately that there were no such sources to which Isaievych referred to. Maybe, Isaievych meant another place in that archive, because he had been working in Lviv for his entire life, and some sources must be held in the Lviv archive about the donation of books to the Mukachevo bishop, or there is absolutely nothing and Isaievych made a failure with this. We cannot accept it. Isaievych was much more serious and recognized scholar, and we can maintain that the failure of the colleagues recently checking Isaievych's sources does not prove anything as for Isaievych. Nevertheless, further investigations are required and planned, too; thus, our personal intention is to visit Lviv and study that archive now. But with the war now even Lviv is a hardly accessed territory to us, therefore our research will be completed in Lviv in that time when the war ends, and all academic institutions works normally. We cannot wait with publication of our works until that.

A brief look must be paid here at copies about Serbian copies of the Ostrog Bible in Hungary, too, although those are more researched and more publications have been published.

**The copy in the National Library of Hungary.** A copy of special significance has been kept in the National Library of Hungary, under signature Ant.989 in the Rare Book Department, which belonged to various Serbian collectors (all documented), and it is known that the Serbian Bishop L. Brankovič received as a gift from the Uniate Metropolitan of Kyiv Joseph Velyamin Rutsky. The title page is unique, since instead of the lost Ostrog title page, a new title was made by handwriting, and it is written as part of the title

<sup>103</sup> Я, д. Ісаєвич, *Братства та їх роль в розвитку української культури XVI-XVIII ст.*, Київ 1966, р. 188.

<sup>104</sup> Я, д. Ісаєвич, *Братства...*, 1966 – footnote no. 43, as follows: Центральний державний історичний архів України у м. Львові, ф. 129, по. 1, спр. 1181, стор. 2, 7, 13.

engravings of the Romanian book, which was printed in Iași 1646. As for this, research and study of sources were made by the specialist of the National Library, Kálmán Bor. Here we see but a white spot: it is difficult to say that after losing the original title page, a “new” title page with different ornaments was attached – but how would the Serbs know the exact text of the original title of the Ostrog Bible, if the original was lost? – In the picture, we can see the title page of the original from Ostrog and the artificially made title page. (Figure no.7.)

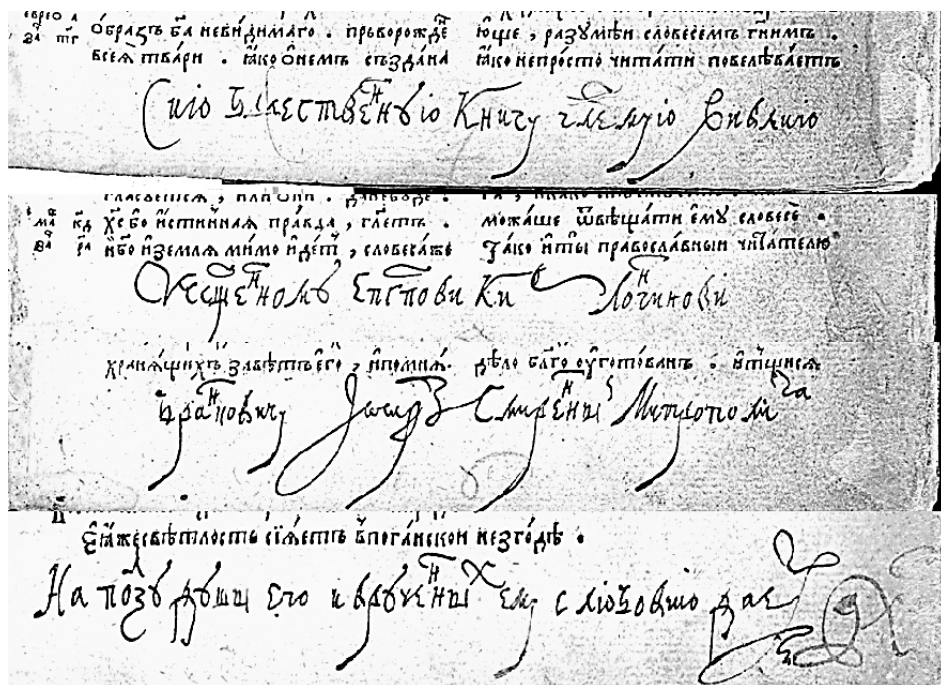


7. Figure. The special title page of the Ostrog Bible in the Hungarian National Library (right) in comparison with the original. Photo: Hung. Nat. Library

Kálmán Bor described the special rarity of the Ostrog Bible in the National Library of Hungary, which is a unique copy, since a new title was made as a manuscript instead of the lost Ostrog title, and it accurately conveyed the original text of the Ostrog title, and it was written within title engravings of a Romanian book which was published in Iași 1646.<sup>105</sup> – Then Xenia Golub, a student of Kálmán Bor, a research associate of the National Library of

<sup>105</sup> К. Бор, *Старе штампане ћирилске књиге из Земальске библиотеке Сечењи и Универзитетске библиотеке у Будимпешти*. [in:] „Археографски прилози”, vol. 28, Београд 2006, pp. 201-278.

Hungary, proved that the Serbian Bishop L. Branković received this as a gift from the Uniate Metropolitan of Kiev, Joseph Velyamin Russky.<sup>106</sup> What we know about the background of it? The Serbs did not accept the church Union, but kept their Orthodox confession because they had their own self-government, which combined both ecclesiastical and secular governance. They did not accept books from the printing houses in Vienna – although Queen Maria Theresa ordered that Serbs should use Viennese books. But the Serbs imported their books from Ukrainian printing houses, which is proved, on the one hand, with the works of Isaievych, on the other hand with marginalia inscriptions in Serbian books.<sup>107</sup> As well as a lot of marginalia inscriptions in three copies of the Ostrog Bible from rich book owners of Serbian origin who deliberately kept liturgical books for Serbs, from Ukrainian printing houses.



<sup>106</sup> X. Golub, *Serbian Monks as Documented by the Handwritten Inscriptions in the Early Printed Cyrillic Slavonic Books from the Territory of the Serbian Orthodox Eparchy of Buda*, [in:] *Српски монаси у записима старих штампаних књига са подручја Будимске Епархије Градови и грађани византијског света: Cities and Citizens in Byzantine World : симпозиум, Ниш 3-5 јун 2015*, ed. Миша Ракоција, Ниш 2016, pp. 603-616.

<sup>107</sup> Ш. Фюльдварі, *Впливи української еліти на національне відродження сербів: книжковий видання українських братств у культурі слов'янських народів Габсбурзької імперії*, [in:] „Українознавчий альманах”, 17, Київ 2014, pp. 86-91; S. Földvári, *Cross-cultural Contacts between the Serbs Lived in the Former Hungarian Kingdom and West-Ukrainian Territories – As Reflected in the Import of the Liturgical Books*, [in:] „The Carpathian Basin, the Hungarians and Byzantium”, eds. T. Olajos, Sz. Kovács, P. Szabó, Szeged 2014, pp. 43-59.

8. Figure. A long possessory inscription along a few pages in the Ostrog Bible of the Hungarian National Library, Signature Ant-989 Photo: Hung. Nat. Library

The longest and most valuable marginal inscription has been continuing across a few pages: „*This holy book called the Bible, To His Holiness Bishop Longin Brankovich the humble Metropolitan Joseph (“Josiph”) for the benefit of his soul and the believers donates with love*”. (Figure No. 8.) And this Metropolitan *Joseph* must be Josiph Rutsky. The aforementioned Bor has already described and published this inscription, and Bor proved that the owner, Longin Brankovich, a Serbian Bishop, traveled through the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and he wanted to go to Moscow, to establish ties between the Serbs and the Moscow Patriarchate in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century. For bureaucratic reasons, he was not allowed to enter the Moscow Tsardom, so he attempted to gain something from the Kyiv Metropolitan. Kálmán Bor’s disciple and successor, Xenia Golub, maintained that this Metropolitan Joseph was Joseph Velamin-Rutski 1614-1637). Bishop Longin has been to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (in the sources: to ‘the Land of Lithuania’) twice and enjoyed for three months the hospitality of Josif Rutski (1613-1637), the Uniate Metropolitan of Kyiv.<sup>108</sup>

There are even maintenances about that the Serbian bishop turned toward the Uniate confession, however, he later lived in Mount Athos, too. Therefore, Kálmán Bor's maintenance doesn't seem likely, that Bishop Longin would travel to Moscow and only with bureaucratic causes remain the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. He would consciously visit the Metropolitan Rutsky, as well. The Serbian contacts with the lands of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth had been close relations in the Early Modern Age. The Russian Tsar became the patron of “all the Orthodox” on the Balkan Peninsula only after the Kuchuk Kainarji peace treaty in 1774,<sup>109</sup> albeit before the last quarter of the 18<sup>th</sup> century the Russian Tsar did not and was not able to influence the Serbian culture in such a measure it is projected by some anachronistic retrospective methods. Those came from the Balkan Peninsula toward the Eastern Slavic region, encountered as much in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth as in the Moscow Tsardom, or even more. The “Russian” influence and “Russian contacts” are often interpreted in a misleading way in the literature. Because it must be interpreted in most cases as “Ruthenian encounters”. Pay attention, the *ruška mova* refers to the *Ruthenian* was used as ‘*prosta mova*’ in the Polish-

<sup>108</sup> Р. Тричковић, *Митрополит Лонгин Бранковић: Прича Борђа Бранковића*, [in:] „Историјски часопис – Historical Review”, vol. 34, Beograd, 1987, pp. 139-166.

<sup>109</sup> The Peace Treaty of Kuchuk Kainarji (Küçük Kaynarca) was signed on 21 July 1774, (today in Bulgaria), it ended the Russo-Turkish War of 1768-1774 and marked a defeat of the Ottomans in their struggle against Russia. Е. И. Дружинина, *Ключук-Кайнарджийский мир 1774 года (его подготовка и заключение)*, Москва 1955.



Lithuanian Commonwealth but not in Moscow.<sup>110</sup> The *ruśky* is not *rosijsky*. The cultural and/or ethnic identity of the Eastern Slavs in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was much different from the identity of those in Moscow. Therefore, encounters in Kyiv and in the “Lithuanian Rus” must not be evaluated as encounters with the Russians. This proved as well by provenance of this copy of the Ostrog Bible at the Serbs in Hungary, too. How did it put into the National Library?

Xenia Golub also suggests that Serbian Bishop Longin Brankovich gave this Bible to the Serbian Orthodox parish of town Komárom. (On the northern border of today's Hungary, on the banks of the Danube.) Her conclusions are based on logical conclusions and indirect data, thus not on primary sources. And it is fact that the book in the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century belonged to those Serbs who lived in Komárom, and then the Slovak collector Juraj Ribay bought this book from them in 1789; who supported the great Czech Slavist Josef Dobrovský with books and advice. This copy later became the subject of purchase by the Serbian book collector Nikolai Jankovich, whose heritage was transported to the “library of the National Museum”, which collection was later re-formed into a separate institution, and this is the National Library of Hungary.

**Further copies held in Serbian collections.** In the western part of Hungary there is a large city Győr, which was never subject to occupation by the Turks, so the Serbs who moved from under the Ottoman yoke here, formed here a significant separate colony of the population. Another copy of the Ostrog Bible was held there, which was transported to the Serbian museum of church art in the town Szentendre, (Serb. Сентандреја), and the marginal inscription shows the previous place of storage in a Serbian colony of Győr. (In Serbian: Ђур, in their inventory. № 13), as evidenced by the large monograph of these collections from the pen of three Serbian authors, Sindik and colleagues.<sup>111</sup>

Lately, Xenia Golub revealed the third “Serbian” copy of the Ostrog Bible in Hungary. It has recently been held on the bookshelves of the Serbian Orthodox parish warehouse of the village Pomáz which is in the vicinity of the capital-Budapest. This book also previously belonged to the Serbian colony of town Komárom, as it has already earlier evidenced by the Serbian authors.<sup>112</sup> This is proved by the owner's handwriting, which is marginalia of the possessor,

<sup>110</sup> A. Danylenko, *On the Name(s) of the Prostaja Mova in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth*, [in:] „Studia Slavica Hung”, vol. 51, (2006), pp. 1-2, 97-121; A. Danylenko, *On the names of Ruthenia in early modern Poland-Lithuania*. [in:] „Essays in the history of languages and linguistics: Dedicated to Marek Stachowski on the occasion of his 60<sup>th</sup> birthday”, eds. M. Németh, B. Podolak, M. Urban, Kraków 2017, pp. 161-173.

<sup>111</sup> Н. Р. Синдик, М. Грозданови-Пајић, К. Мано-Зиси, *Опис рукописа и старих штампаних књига Библиотеке Српске Православне епархије Будимске у Сентандреји*, Београд–Нови Сад 1991, Catalogue no. 8.

<sup>112</sup> X. Golub, *Serbian Monks Documented...*, 2016, for this question: pp. 608,609.

being dated from 1765. We are now presenting this problem according to the paper by Xenia Golub, which was published in both Serbian and English and her paper has already been referred above. However, she published only the Serbian-related inscriptions, that is, those marginalia text were written in the Serbian edition of the Church Slavonic. Albeit she mentioned in another paper of her, that “the book contains a very early, Ukrainian-edited Church Slavonic entry from the 1600s, too”.<sup>113</sup> She has not published that Ukrainian marginal inscription, on the other hand, the Serbian parish in Pomáz is a private institution under the jurisdiction of the eparchial office in Szentendre, as we mentioned above. Thus, access to this collection is limited and available for those belong to the Serbian Orthodox Church. Nevertheless, all the copies of the Ostrog Bible, which have recently been held in Serbian collections in Hungary, have written evidence of the Ukrainian-Serbian cultural encounters.

We also have information about another copy that previously belonged to the Serbian museum of church art in Szentende, but then was donated to the Serbian Academy of Sciences in Beograd, Serbia.<sup>114</sup> Perhaps that sixth copy would evidence the Ukrainian-Serbian cultural encounters, too. As for the owners’ rights of the Serbian heritage, The *Serbian Museum of Orthodox Art in Szentendre/Sentandreja* and/or the orthodox eparchial offices of the Serbs can take out the items of the Serbian heritage from Hungary to Serbia, therefore, it would be worthy to conduct research for the Ukrainian-Serbian encounters in Beograd, too.

**Conclusions.** First, the migration and marginalia of these copies of Ostrog Bible in Hungary, prove that we have said in connection to the types of books. “Liturgical and service books” means, on the one hand, what *is* used during the service – albeit on the other hand what is *not* used during the service, as for instance the Trebnik (Требник), “Breviary”, or the Часослов, “Horology”. The Bible itself is not a “liturgical book” at all, because the relevant chapters of the Bible are read from the liturgical book “Gospel” and from the book “Apostle” – in which books the texts are divided into separate small pieces according to the requirements of daily liturgy, that is, passages. – Hence, the printing of the entire Bible was already necessary for the “confessionalization” and not for the mere “religiosity” in the sense of Middle Ages. Those purchased these books were conscious citizens, in the sense of the bourgeoisie of the Early Modern Age, who devoted much of their private property for the cultural and religious heritage. This latter general statement is also proved by the copies of Ostrog Bible in Hungary, too. In a conclusion, it is proved, what Benedict Anderson has stated about the ‘nations’ as for ‘imaginary communities’ that were formed

<sup>113</sup> X. Golub, *Adalékok a pomázi szerbek 17-18. századi történetéhez*, [in:] *Bizánc vonzásában*, ed. G. A. Nacsinák, *Görögkatolikus Metropólia*, Debrecen, 2018, pp. 49-71; as for the Ukrainian marginalia: p. 59.

<sup>114</sup> Н.Р. Синдик, К. Мано-Зиси, *Старе ћириличке штампане књиге у Архиву Српске академије наука и уметности*, [in:] „Археографски прилози”, vol. 6-7. 1984-1985, pp. 291-325.

thanks to the printing; namely, because the revolution of printing unfolded the market of not only books but mostly of ideas and views, too, that is, a cultural market. Civic consciousness along this path resulted the unfolding of nations, in the early-modern sense.<sup>115</sup> Last but not least, as for the Orthodoxy in Europe and the outdated of earlier views. While Riccardo Picchio divided Slavic cultures into “Slavia Orthodoxa” and “Slavia Romana”,<sup>116</sup> it is necessary to study those Slavic enclaves of the Byzantine confession that lived amid the sea of Western Christianity, as well.

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<sup>115</sup> B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London and New York 1991. He relies a lot (as for the numerical data and historical soil) on the English edition of the monograph Febvre, Lucien-Martin, Henri-Jean: *The Coming of the Book: The Impact of Printing 1450-1800*, London, 1997. Mainly in the chapter: «*The Book Trade*» 216-247 C. та «*The Book as a Force for Change*», pp. 248-332. The French original; *L'apparition du livre*, M. Albin, Paris 1958, (2nd ed. 1971, 3rd 1999).

<sup>116</sup> P. Пикцио, *Slavia Orthodoxa: Литература и язык*, Москва 2003, cf. the chapter: “Slavia orthodoxa и Slavia romana” *ibidem*, pp. 3-81; Н. И. Толстой, “Slavia orthodoxa и Slavia latina. Общее и различное в литературно-языковой ситуации (опыт предварительной оценки)”, „*Ricerche slavistiche*”, vol. 42 (1995): pp. 89-102.

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# Orthódoxi Eyrópi

STUDIA DO DZIEJÓW KOŚCIOŁA PRAWOSŁAWNEGO  
W EUROPIE WSCHODNIEJ

Rocznik

Pracowni Historii Kościoła Uniwersytetu w Białymstoku

vol. 6/2023