

CHURCH ORGANS IN THE 17TH–18TH CENTURY ARCHDEACONRIES OF CSÍK AND GYERGYÓ

GÁL HUNOR¹

Abstract. The organ has adorned Western Christian worship for over a millennium, though this was not always the case. It took centuries for it to become an instrument officially recognized by the Church. Today, some organs have even reached monumental proportions.² The history of these instruments – especially from the 17th and 18th centuries – remains largely unknown in the Archdiocese of Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia).³ This study presents the organs of the archdiocese, focusing on those from three districts, based on archival sources and physical research methods.

Keywords: Church organ, organ builder, organs of Transylvania, Archives of the Archdiocese of Alba Iulia.

The Beginnings and Traces of Organ Use in Transylvania and in the Archdiocese of Alba Iulia

This study does not provide a detailed discussion of the instrumental or structural development of the organ,⁴ as that has already been covered by numerous researchers (these discuss its ancient Greek origins, its use in the Roman Empire,

- 1 Hunor Gál is PhD student at the Religion, Culture, Society Doctoral School of the Faculty of Roman Catholic Theology, Babeş-Bolyai University Cluj. E-mail: hunor.gal@ubbcluj.ro. ORCID 0009-0002-6070-6032
- 2 ADOLPH, Wolfram, “Die größten Orgelwerke der Welt. Eine tabellarische Auswahl nach Ländern”, *Organ. Journal für die Orgel* 3 (2000) 21.
- 3 The Archdiocese of Transylvania, later Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia), founded in 1009, is a Roman Catholic particular church in Romania. Its territory roughly corresponds to historical Transylvania.
- 4 Here we refer to traditional, classical pipe organs.

Article history: Received 03.05.2025; Revised 05.05.2025; Accepted 15.05.2025

Available online: 26.06.2025. Available print: 30.07.2025

©2025 Studia UBB Theologia Catholica Latina. Published by Babeş-Bolyai University.



This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-Non Commercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International License

and its eventual spread within the Christian Church).⁵ Similarly, experts and researchers in this field⁶ have in recent decades thoroughly examined the role of organs in Transylvania, from their appearance and the impact of the Reformation onward. Several initiatives have also aimed to present comprehensive overviews of the organ inventories of various denominations – an ongoing effort to this day.⁷ This study presents only a few essential historical and research-related facts concerning organs specifically within the Archdiocese of Alba Iulia.

Very few records remain regarding the musical life or the history of musical instruments during the time of Christianisation of the Hungarian population in

-
- 5 József GEYER, *Az orgona*, I., Budapest–Szeged: Szegedi Katolikus Tudósító, 1931; István DÁVID, *Műemlék orgonák Erdélyben*, Kolozsvár – Budapest: Polis, 1996, 11–28; Gábor LEHOTKA, *Az én hangszerem az orgona*, Budapest: Oltalom Alapítvány 1993, 6–13; Otilia Valéria OROSZ, *Műemlék orgonák az Érmelléki Református Egyházmegyében*, (Partiumi Füzetek 5), Nagyvárad: Partiumi és Bánsági Műemlékvédő és Emlékhely Társaság – Királyhágómelléki Református Egyházkerület – Nagyvárad Római Katolikus Püspökség 2008, 44–48; Ferenc SOLYMOSI – Attila CZÁR, *Magyarország orgonái*, Kiskunhalas: Magyarországi Orgonák Alapítvány, 2005, 8–19; István ENYEDI, *Orgile istorice din judetul Satu Mare-Szatmár Megye műemlék orgonái*, Szatmár: Muzeul Sătmărean, 2004, 9–11; Csaba CSÍKY, *Kolonics. Orgonaépítészet a 19. századi Erdélyben*, Marosvásárhely: Marosvásárhelyi Színművészeti Egyetem Kiadója, 2007, 19–23; Dávid SÍPOS, *Orgonáknak zengések - A történelmi dési, széki és görgényi református egyházmegyék orgonái* (Erdélyi Református Egyháztörténeti Füzetek 26), Kolozsvár: Komp-Press Kiadó – Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 2019, 17–34; Izabella K. DEDINSZKY, *Az orgonáról-esztétikai tanulmány*, Budapest, 1942, 1–17.
- 6 I will omit further aspects related to different instruments and historical considerations, as these have already been collected and published by Hermann Binder, Dávid István, Csaba Csíky, Erik Türk, Steffen Markus Schlandt, Tünde Molnár, Pál Enyedi, Attila Márk, Erzsébet Windhager-Geréd, Sebestyén Pécsi, and Dávid Sipos. SÍPOS, *Orgonáknak zengések*, 18–19.
- 7 Erich TÜRK, *Die Orgellandschaft dreier nordsiebenbürgischer Landkerise: Cluj, Sălaj und Bistrița-Năsăud. Három észak-erdélyi megye orgonátája: Kolozs, Szilágy és Beszterce-Naszód megye*, Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Múzeum Egyesület, 2014, 25–29; ENYEDI Pál – MÁRK Attila, *A Magyar unitárius egyház orgonái I. A Háromszék-Felsőfehéri és a Székelyudvarhelyi Egyházkör*, Kolozsvár – Budapest: Magyar Unitárius Egyház – Liszt Ferenc Zeneművészeti Egyetem Egyházzenei Kutatócsoport, 2021, 11–12; SÍPOS, *Orgonáknak zengések*, 17–34; CSÍKY, *Kolonics*, 23–31; József CSÁKI, “Szendrei József, az ismeretlen 18. századi erdélyi orgonaépítő”, *Református Szemle* 95.1 (2002) 106–125.

Transylvania. Documents from the late 14th century already mention organs or organ builders in Transylvania, but such data can only be considered reliable through thorough and well-documented archival research.⁸ Later, more in-depth research has sometimes yielded different information on this topic.⁹ In the Archdiocese of Alba Iulia, historical changes – both minor and major – brought about religious and political shifts that also marked turning points in the development of organ building.¹⁰

The oldest currently active organs in the archdiocese date back to the late 17th century¹¹, preserved thanks to various “instrument migrations” and successful reconstructions in recent times. Although no medieval organs have survived in the Archdiocese of Alba Iulia, a few depictions do remain, allowing us to draw some conclusions about the former organ culture. For example, in Péterfalva (Petersdorf, Petriș) in Bistrița County, above the western entrance of the now Evangelical church, there is a stone carving of an organ (with a figure holding a portative organ), and in the Reformed church of Nagygálambfalva, there is a late 14th-century fresco showing an angel playing a portative.¹²

8 The earliest source referring to an organ mentions the instrument of the Marienkirche in Sibiu (Nagyszeben) in the mid-14th century, though its exact dating requires further investigation. See more in the study of Pál ENYEDI, “Legende und Wirklichkeit Anmerkungen zu den frühesten Angaben zur Orgelgeschichte Siebenbürgens“, *Studia Musicologica* 63.1–2 (2022) 151–171 (158–164, 170).

9 ENYEDI, “Legende“, 158–164, 170. It should be noted that the organ builder Stephanus Renispolgar, mentioned in 1367, worked in Esztergom, not Sibiu, contrary to the view widely spread in Transylvanian organ history literature over the past quarter-century. Dávid SIPOS, “A három opponensi vélemény”, *Magyar Egyházzene* 24.1 (2016/2020), 99; SIPOS, *Orgonáknak zengések*, 18–19; ENYEDI, “Legende”, 152–156, 169–170.

10 SIPOS, *Orgonáknak zengések*, 17–34.

11 Old instruments from the 17th–18th centuries, still in use today, can be found within the Archdiocese in the following locations: Csíkbánkfalva, Újtusnád, Abafája, the seminary chapel in Alba Iulia (Gyulafehérvár), Saint Michael’s Church in Cluj-Napoca (Kolozsvár), Szék, Retteg, Bodola (now in the Holy Cross Church in Brașov), Kide, Gelence, Sáromberke, and Sárfalva. See. Hunor GÁL, *Orgona a másik karzatban – A gyulafehérvári főegyházmezgye „hangszervándorlásairól” a 17. századtól napjainkig*, in: Szárnyra kelnek, mint a sasok, *Teológiai tanulmányok* Editor: Endre Kiss, in: *Studia Theologica Transsylvaniae Supplementum 3. Series Doctorandorum 1.*, Budapest–Kolozsvár: Szent István Kiadó – Verbum, 2024, 97–121.

12 SIPOS, *Orgonáknak zengések*, 19.

The first presumed written traces of liturgical organ use appear precisely in the episcopal see of Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia) in the 14th century, found in the lists of Roman Catholic cathedral cantors.¹³ “From a document dated 1258, we know that a cantor named Gregory served in Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia); and a letter from Bishop András Szécsi in 1350 reports on the presence of a cathedral choir.”¹⁴ However, art historian András Kovács offers a noteworthy observation:

It is beyond doubt that the singing/chanted canon-cantors of the Transylvanian Chapter played a role in executing the musical components of medieval liturgy. However, I dare say that the mere mention of these canon-cantors – whose roles were nearly as old as the bishoprics themselves – does not yet allow us to conclude that organs were present. In those early times, liturgical singing mostly meant vocal ‘productions’ by liturgical confraternities.¹⁵

In the 13th–14th centuries, small, portable (portative) instruments were already in use.¹⁶ By the 15th–16th centuries, numerous documents and accounting records inform us of the spread of organs, not only among the Saxons but also among the Hungarians. Even in the period immediately preceding the Reformation, sources may refer to organists. For instance, in Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia), an organist is recorded as early as 1520; in Cluj, Bonaventura Kassai is first mentioned in 1534 as the Franciscan organist. In other locations – Braşov in 1429 and 1499, Sibiu in 1441 and 1506, Mediaş in 1535, Sighişoara in 1511, Biertan in 1520, Bistriţa in 1523, and Târgu Mureş in 1525 – records indicate the presence of organs and organists.¹⁷ In Csíksomlyó, Ferenc Bányai is mentioned in 1535 as a cantor and also

13 Some have mistakenly referred to the figure playing a portative organ in the initial of the later Bratislava – Gyulafehérvár Codex (1367) as the earliest example of Transylvanian organ history. However, neither the origin and content of the Codex nor its medieval use is linked to the beginnings of Transylvanian organ history. ENYEDI, “Legende”, 156–157.

14 Vilmos GERÉD, *A gyulafehérvári székesegyház orgonái*, Kolozsvár: Verbum, 2009, 4. Before the mid-14th century, there is no evidence of a pipe organ in Transylvania. And even then, only in Sibiu. Not even the cantor or the choir attest to this

15 SÍPOS, *A három opponensi vélemény*, 99.

16 Tamás KNECHT (ed.), *Élő múltunk A gyulafehérvári Szent Mihály-székesegyház és érseki palota*, Kolozsvár: Verbum, 2012, in GERÉD, *A gyulafehérvári székesegyház orgonáinak története*, 142.

17 Hermann BINDER, *Orgeln in Siebenbürgen: Ein Beitrag zur siebenbürgischen Orgelgeschichte von den Anfängen bis zur Mitte 19. Jahrhunderts*, Kludenbach: Gehann-Musik-Verlag, 2000 Kludenbach: Gehann-Musik-Verlag, 2000, 11–20; DÁVID, *Műemlék orgonák Erdélyben*, 15.

the confessor of the Beguines.¹⁸ Returning to Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia), according to the Benedictine monk Kilián Szigeti, it was likely the well-known Tamás who “played the organ”¹⁹ during a Te Deum celebrated by Bishop János Gosztonyi of Transylvania, commemorating King Ferdinand I’s expulsion of John Zápolya from Buda in 1520. When the furnishings of the cathedral were inventoried in 1565 after its destruction, two excellent organs were reported to have been burned. The repertory compiled by István Dávid and Csaba Csíky’s book *Kolonics* confirm the existence of an organ as a matter of fact. However, it is unlikely that Csíksomlyó, then considered one of the smaller monastic houses, had its own organist. It must also be noted that during this period, the organ did not accompany liturgical singing directly but rather alternated with it or played preludes. The cantor, who was responsible for directing the singers in the choir (at the front of the sanctuary), could not have sat at the organ – usually located high on the wall of the sanctuary or nave – as it would have prevented him from fulfilling his duties. Standing out from this period are the towns of Sibiu and Braşov, which possessed organs, and to which Bistriţa also sought to catch up – indeed, in 1570, it commissioned a new organ from a master craftsman in Lemberg (Lviv).²⁰ Beyond ecclesiastical settings, organs became favoured instruments in royal courts as well. Educated statesmen, such as John Hunyadi and King Matthias Corvinus, are known to have owned organs – likely small, portative types.²¹

In the 15th–16th centuries, the organ had already assumed a significant role in church music. The Catholic liturgy required it to a great extent, and thus organ playing – gradually becoming an independent art – flourished in Transylvania as well. New musical genres emerged, as they did throughout Europe, and the organ slowly began to sound not only within liturgical settings but also as a solo instrument. It is noteworthy that during the princely period of Transylvania, musical life reached a European standard. Girolamo Diruta’s publication *Il Transilvano (The Transylvanian)*, the first organ method book, appeared with the

18 János KARÁCSONYI, *Szt. Ferencz rendjének története Magyarországon 1711-ig II.*, Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1924, 27–28; DÁVID, *Műemlék orgonák Erdélyben*, 16; CSÍKY, *Kolonics*, 21.

19 Kilián SZIGETI, “Orgonálás a középkori Magyarországon Budavár elestéig, 1541-ig”, *Magyar Zene* 16.4 (1975) 380–388 (382).

20 SIPOS, *Orgonáknak zengések*, 19; CSÍKY, *Kolonics*, 21.

21 TÜRK, *Orgellandschaft*, 25–26.

support of Zsigmond Báthory, Prince of Transylvania.²² Subsequently, the era of the Reformation had a particularly strong impact on organ-building traditions both in Europe and in Transylvania, especially in regions where the Reformation process had largely taken hold. In Transylvania, while church music and organ building flourished among the Saxons reformed in the Lutheran spirit, the Calvinist Reformation and the decrees of the Hungarian Unitarian denomination led to the removal of altars, images, and organs from many Hungarian medieval churches.²³ The use of the organ was only resumed by the Protestant denominations starting from the early 18th century.²⁴

Regarding the number of instruments in the archdiocese, the study published in 2010 by Vilmos Geréd, the former choir director of Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia), can be considered authoritative.²⁵ According to Geréd's research, 269²⁶ traditional organs are recorded, of which 243 are functional, 26 are non-operational, but

22 István DÁVID, Az orgonaépítés története Erdélyben I., *Magyar Egyházzene* 1.4 (1993/1994) 467–476 (467).

23 At the Synod of Debrecen in 1567, they spoke against the use of the organ: „Az Antikrisztus táncoltató miséjéhez alkalmazott hangszereket pedig, a képekkel együtt, kihányjuk, mivel azoknak semmi hasznok nincsen az egyházban, sőt jelei és alkalmi a bálványozásnak.” SIPOS, *Orgonáknak zengések*, 21 [“We cast out the instruments used for the Antichrist's dancing mass, along with the images, for they are of no use in the church, but are rather signs and occasions for idolatry.”].

24 SIPOS, *Orgonáknak zengések*, 20–30; ENYEDI – MÁRK, *A Magyar unitárius egyház orgonái* I, 11–12; TÜRK, *Orgellandschaft*, 27.

25 Within the Archdiocese of Alba Iulia, no detailed summary of organ historical research has yet been published either in print or in online databases. A pioneering work in this regard is the short study *The Protection of Our Organs* by Vilmos Geréd, published in 2010. Vilmos GERÉD, *Orgonáink védelme*, in Mózes NÓDA – Korinna ZAMFIR – Dávid DIÓSI – Márta BODÓ (eds.), *Ideje az emlékezésnek, Liber amicorum: A 60 éves Marton József köszöntése*, Budapest-Kolozsvár: Szent István Társulat – Verbum, 2010, 497.

26 The foundational and most comprehensive work to date in the literature on Transylvanian organs remains the 1996 book *Monumental Organs in Transylvania* by István Dávid. This monograph lists 256 organs used by the Catholic denomination. Undoubtedly, in the decades since then, more data have surfaced on various instruments. Within the Archdiocese of Alba Iulia alone, the number of previously unknown organs likely exceeds this figure, especially in the southern regions – Gyulafehérvár, Hunyad, and the Szeben-Fogaras archdeaconries – where many of the instruments are located in depopulated villages or filial churches. DÁVID, *Műemlék orgonák Erdélyben*, 36.

19 could become functional with repairs and restoration. Seven instruments require complete restoration, and among them, three are particularly valuable 17th and 18th-century pieces, which are unique even within the archdiocese and are exceptional instruments. Among the approximately 300 individual instruments, there are European-level organs that, together, are significant supplementary elements to the pan-European organ-building palette. Transylvanian organ building, including the instrument collection of the Archdiocese of Alba Iulia, has followed the Central European style. These instruments, despite the fact that the majority of authentic material remnants of our musical culture and cultural history consist of small rural organs, still represent a significant cultural-historical value alongside churches, public buildings, cemeteries, and sacred objects.

Methods and Sources of Archdiocesan Organ Research

The history of organs – their construction circumstances, usage, related expenses, maintenance – can be uncovered through financial account books, various written archival documents, and ultimately, the surviving instruments themselves. By examining church historical sources and contemporary written records, it becomes clear that during the aforementioned turbulent historical periods, the Telegd archdeaconry suffered great losses due to various military campaigns, wars, epidemics, and uprisings. A vast number of valuable church and organ-related documents were destroyed, not to mention the instruments themselves. The Telegd archdeaconry, in particular, was heavily ravaged by Turkish-Tatar invasions between 1661 and 1694. However, even the 20th century was no exception, marked by the devastation of two world wars.

The idea of providing a more detailed description of organs as historical and artistic monuments first emerged in Hungary in the second half of the 19th century. Within the three archdeaconries, organ-related historical accounts, references, or notes appear only sporadically, and usually only in the monographs of certain settlements. Among these, the organ history of the Franciscan pilgrimage church in Csíksomlyó stands out.²⁷ Interestingly, from a research and instrument history perspective, World War I marked an important turning point, as tons of organ pipes were mobilized for the war effort.²⁸ After collecting church bells and other

27 Fortunát BOROS, *Csíksomlyó, a kegyhely*, Kolozsvár: Szent Bonaventura, 1943, 109–115.

28 DÁVID, *Műemlék orgonák Erdélyben*, 26,

metal objects for military industry purposes, the removal of organ façade pipes made of tin or tin alloys was ordered in the final year of the war. Parishes and clerical offices could request exemption from this measure in accordance with a bishop's decree. Instruments considered significant from a musical standpoint, or those made before 1850 with particular historical or artistic value, could be exempted from requisition based on the opinion of an expert committee. Despite hundreds of instruments existing in the Archdiocese of Alba Iulia at that time, only 30 had old records or known data resurface through these submitted exemption requests.²⁹

In the mentioned reports, only one exemption request was made by the episcopal authority: for the organ donated³⁰ in 1720 by György Mártonffy³¹, Bishop of Transylvania, to the settlement of Karcfalva in the Upper Csík region, asking that it be spared from requisition.

Some of the documents concerning pipe requisitions in Csík County, prepared by the Angster company, are preserved in the Baranya County Archives in Pécs. These descriptions and inventories hold significant value in the field of organ history.³² Later, in 1977, a ministerial directive required a report on church organs and bells of historical value within Hargita County, covering the three archdeaconries in the region. This was the first known, more detailed data

29 In the reports submitted by parish priests, exemptions from pipe requisition were requested for 16 organs. ARCHDIOCESAN ARCHIVES OF GYULAFEHÉRVÁR (ALBA IULIA), Num. 7812–1917.

30 ARCHDIOCESAN ARCHIVES OF GYULAFEHÉRVÁR (ALBA IULIA), *Canonica Visitaciones*, (AAGY. Can vis.) 1743, box 2, vol. 5, p. 728.

31 Baron György Mártonffy, bishop, was born around 1663 in Csíkkarcfalva. He was ordained a priest in Vienna in 1691. From February 18, 1716, to September 5, 1721, he served as the bishop of Transylvania. He is buried in the crypt of Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia). During his episcopate, he repeatedly supported the church of his native village. in. Sándor FERENCZI, *A Gyulafehérvári (Erdélyi) Főegyházmegye történeti papi névtára*, Budapest – Kolozsvár: Szent István Társulat – Verbum, 2009, 337.

32 Paradoxically, the first mapping of Hungary's organ inventory began due to a decree issued by the Minister of Defense in 1917. Ferenc Solymosi published valuable data about this in the journal *Hungarian Church Music*. Ferenc SOLYMOZI, "Az 1918-as orgonasíp-rekvirálás és az Angster-féle 'Rekvirált orgonasípok lajstroma'" I, *Magyar Egyházzene* 2.3 (1994/1995) 341–354; Ferenc SOLYMOZI, Az 1918-as orgonasíp-rekvirálás és az Angster-féle 'Rekvirált orgonasípok lajstroma' II, *Magyar Egyházzene* 2.4 (1994/1995) 473–497.

collection effort concerning the organ inventory in Harghita County, which includes the Csík and Gyergyó archdeaconries. However, it concluded merely with the submission of clergy reports and, in some cases, photographs.³³ After the political regime change, the body of Transylvanian literature dealing with organs grew significantly. By the turn of the millennium, organ research was not only being published in print but also became accessible through online databases, which now contain the results of surveys of several hundred organs.³⁴ István Dávid began a denomination-independent data collection project on the history of Transylvanian heritage organs. His pioneering book and doctoral dissertation, published in 1996, presented the inventory of 256³⁵ instruments belonging to the four Roman Catholic dioceses of Transylvania. His work remains the only comprehensive historical overview and repertory of the entire organ inventory of Transylvania.³⁶

33 The organ and bell reports received were preserved by Márton Tarisznyás (1927–1980), the museum director of Gheorgheni, who in 1979 passed them on to the engineer László Márton. In 2023, Márton handed the materials over to the author of these lines for preservation. According to the manuscript, reports were received from the following deaneries: 19 from Lower Csík, 17 from Upper Csík, 22 from Gyergyó, 15 from Székelyudvarhely, and 41 from the Székelyudvarhely Unitarian Church circle. These reports came from the Catholic, Orthodox, and Unitarian parish offices. The manuscript's reference code is: *Orgona, harang és csengők összeírása 1977, alcsíki, felcsíki, gyergyói kerület*, manuscript.

34 We do not provide a detailed description here of the results of organ research published so far, as these have already been summarized in the research of Dávid Sipos. Dávid s, *A történelmi dési, széki és görgényi református egyházmegyék orgonái*, Doctoral Thesis, Cluj, 2016, 11–18.

35 István Dávid published data on 238 Catholic church instruments in his repertory. Of these, 220 instruments are located within the Archdiocese of Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia); the remaining 18 are found in the dioceses of Satu Mare, Oradea, and Timișoara. The distribution of the 220 instruments across the 15 archdeaconries is as follows: 10 in I. Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia), 8 in II. Hunyad, 7 in III. Szeben-Fogarás, 6 in IV. Erzsébetváros, 9 in V. Covasna-Brassó, 26 in VI. Kézdi-Orbai, 16 in VII. Kolozs-Doboka, 16 in VIII. Inner-Szolnok, 7 in IX. Torda-Aranyos, 7 in X. Küküllő, 21 in XI. Maros, 19 in XII. Lower Csík, 25 in XIII. Upper Csík, 12 in XIV. Gyergyó, and 31 in XV. Székelyudvarhely. Altogether, data were published on 220 instruments. DÁVID, *Műemlék orgonák Erdélyben*, 47–153.

36 The published data compile the instrument inventory up to 1996; since then, further data have emerged on both old and new instruments.

The Location, Division, and Historical Overview of the Csík-Gyergyó Archdeaconry

Following the establishment of the Diocese of Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia) in 1009, a major step in the development of its organizational structure was the creation of the archdeaconries, a process that took place during the 11th to 13th centuries.³⁷ In the medieval diocese, there were 13 archdeaconries, which roughly corresponded to the territories of the royal counties.³⁸ The present-day regions of Lower Csík (Alcsík), Upper Csík (Felcsík), and Gyergyó together formed the historical Telegd Archdeaconry. For most settlements in historical Hungary, the first written archival reference is found in the records of papal tithe collectors, which for the Transylvanian diocese date from 1332 to 1337. In these papal tithe registers, the Csík region is listed under the names Chyk and Chik. Unfortunately, no medieval archival sources have survived that specifically document the Csík churches as ecclesiastical administrative units. The medieval ecclesiastical administrative structure began to change during the Reformation, especially after 1556, when the diocese was left without a bishop. From 1592, the regions of Csík, Gyergyó, and Kászton were merged into a single archdeaconry, which was divided into three (sub)deaneries, a structure that remained until the time of the Catholic renewal. During the Reformation, all three regions of this archdeaconry remained predominantly Catholic, with only a few settlements temporarily adopting the new faith. After the restoration of the Transylvanian bishopric in 1716, more detailed archival records began to appear concerning the ecclesiastical organization and parishes of the Csík and Gyergyó archdeaconries.³⁹ On August 8, 1744, the Csík deanery was formally divided into two separate entities: the Archdeaconries of Lower Csík and Upper Csík.⁴⁰

37 Rita-Magdola BERNÁD, *Plébániai levéltárak I. A Gyulafehérvári-, a Sepsiszentgyörgyi-, a Szamosújvári- és a Gyergyószentmiklósi Gyűjtőlevéltárak repertóriumai*, Gyulafehérvár-Budapest: ELTE Egyetemi Levéltár, 2009, 11–15.

38 József MARTON – Tamás JAKABFFY, *Az erdélyi katolicizmus századai: Képes egyházmegye-történet*, Kolozsvár: Gloria, 2007, 13.

39 Rita-Magdolna BERNÁD, *Plébániai levéltárak III. A Csíkszeredai Gyűjtőlevéltár repertóriumai*, Gyulafehérvár-Kolozsvár: ELTE Egyetemi Levéltár, 2021, 17.

40 Károly VESZELY, *Erdélyi egyháztörténelmi adatok*, Kolozsvár, 1860, 372., BERNÁD, *Plébániai levéltárak III. A Csíkszeredai Gyűjtőlevéltár repertóriumai*, 19.

The territorial boundaries of the Telegd Archdeaconry, and later those of the two Csík and the Gyergyó Archdeaconries, largely coincided with the historical regions of Csík and Gyergyószék, and from 1876 onward, with the administrative divisions of Csíkvármegye, including the districts of Lower Csík (Alcsík), Upper Csík (Felcsík), Gyergyó, and Kászon.⁴¹ Consequently, the organ-related regions examined in this study encompass and cover the entire geographical area of “Csíkvármegye” as it existed under the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. Following the administrative reorganization of Romania in 1968, a restructuring of the archdeaconries became necessary. Today, the three archdeaconries extend roughly across the northeastern and southern parts of Harghita County, which was established in 1968. Additionally, two Armenian Catholic parishes – Gyergyószentmiklós and Szépvíz – are affiliated with the Felcsík and Gyergyó archdeaconries, along with two Franciscan churches and monasteries, as well as a Catholic-founded high school (main gymnasium) in Csíkszereda. Therefore, this study collects organ-related historical data according to the historical boundaries of the three archdeaconries, which, for the reasons mentioned above, can be regarded as a unified research area from the perspective of organ history during the 17th and 18th centuries.

With a few exceptions, the three ecclesiastical administrative regions correspond to the previously mentioned administrative boundaries of Harghita County.⁴² The data presented regarding the organ inventory found in the three discussed archdeaconries includes information that has so far been little known or entirely unknown to professionals and those interested in the topic. Furthermore, previously published inaccurate data has been corrected or clarified. As a result, this study offers an entirely new and accurate picture of the subject, providing a valuable reference point for future research into other deaneries during this historical period.

According to the 2023 Archdiocesan *Schematism*, the Alcsík–Kászon Archdeaconry consists of 16 parishes.⁴³ The Felcsík Archdeaconry is made up of 26 parishes, one Franciscan monastery, and one Pauline monastery,⁴⁴ while the

41 An exception was Maroshévíz, or Oláh-Toplicza, which already belonged to the Maros-Torda County.

42 The parishes of Gyimesbükk and Kostelek belong to Bacău County, while the parishes of Gyergyóbékás and the Háromkút filial belong to Neamț County.

43 *A Gyulafehérvári Főegyházmegye név- és címtára 2023*, Kolozsvár: Verbum, 2023, 155.

44 *A Gyulafehérvári Főegyházmegye név- és címtára 2023*, 155–156.

Gyergyó Archdeaconry comprises 20 parishes and one Franciscan monastery.⁴⁵ Over time, the centers of the archdeaconries have operated in various settlements.⁴⁶

Sources of 17th–18th Century Organ Data in the Two Csík and Gyergyó Archdeaconries

The detailed research findings presented regarding the 17th–18th century organ inventory in the two Csík and Gyergyó archdeaconries reveal information that has previously been either largely unknown or inaccessible to professionals and enthusiasts of the subject, or that previously published inaccurate data has now been corrected or clarified. As a result, this study provides an entirely new and accurate picture of the topic, which serves as an important reference point for the research of 17th–18th century organ history in the Csík and Gyergyó regions.

In terms of ecclesiastical historical sources and contemporary written records, during the tumultuous periods, many valuable documents mentioning organs were destroyed due to campaigns, wars, and conflicts in the three archdeaconries. As a result, in most cases, beyond local parish archival sources, the Archiepiscopal Archive in Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia) has provided significant, valuable, and essential organ historical data. Similarly, the visitation protocols from the 18th and 19th centuries serve as primary sources, as parish records from this period have rarely been preserved, whether in the Archdiocesan Archive or in parish archives. Additionally, other document-worthy sources can be mentioned.

Over time, in most cases, churches and chapels have been rebuilt, which means the fate of the instruments within them is closely intertwined with the construction history of these churches and chapels. In the three archdeaconries, it is fortunate that the Reformation did not take hold, with only a few villages experiencing brief periods of Protestant influence, and even then, only for a short time. As a result, the surviving ecclesiastical documents allow for the tracking of the presence and evolution of organs. Regarding the organs' dates of manufacture, the instruments in the three archdeaconries date back to the 17th century, that is, the Baroque period, and extend to the present day.

45 *A Gyulafehérvári Főegyházmegye név- és címtára 2023*, 156–157.

46 Rita-Magdolna BERNÁD, *Plébániai levéltárak I. A Gyulafehérvári-, a Sepsiszentgyörgyi, a Szamosújvári- és a Gyergyószentmiklósi Gyűjtőlevéltárak repertórium*, 287.

In the Csík and Gyergyó archdeaconries, the surviving records from the 17th and 18th centuries frequently mention the existence of organs in the larger parishes, as well as the cantors who were capable of playing them. Thanks to the Catholic restoration, from 1716 onwards, the regular episcopal visitation records (*canonica visitatio*) in the churches of the three studied archdeaconries began to specifically list organs among the liturgical instruments. Later, the visitation records from the 19th and 20th centuries provide more detailed information about the size and condition of the organs. References to the makers of these organs are rare, and with a few exceptions, their names remain anonymous.

The organs and organ builders of the Csík and Gyergyó archdeaconries in the 17th and 18th centuries

Based on the archival sources available to us, as well as the few existing instruments, we can establish that a form of organ culture clearly existed in the Csík and Gyergyó archdeaconries from the mid-17th century.⁴⁷ In the 17th century, archival sources from all three districts reference existing organs in the following locations: Csíksomlyó, Franciscan church (1650?, 1659), Gyergyószentmiklós (1662, 1677), Csíkszereda, Mikó Castle (1694), Gyergyóalfalu (1697), and Csíkszentgyörgy (around 1690).

The 17th-century organs of the three districts were made in Braşov, as well as outside Transylvania, likely in Poland, possibly in Kraków. Braşov stands out as a sought-after organ-making center, as evidenced by the organ purchased for the Şaşnád church in 1629, or for Csíksomlyó in 1659, both of which were later repaired by Kájoni, as well as the organ purchased in 1677 for the Gyergyószentmiklós church.

The organs of the 17th–18th centuries (smaller positive instruments) were primarily equipped with bellows operated by leather straps.⁴⁸ This is supported by numerous expenditure entries in the cash registers and account books, as the “organ straps” quickly wore out, necessitating the purchase of replacements.

47 The memories of the Saxon organ culture from the 14th to 16th centuries were summarized by Hermann Binder in his indispensable book on the subject. BINDER, *Orgeln in Siebenbürgen*, 11–23.

48 Even today, organs that can still be operated with strap-pulling mechanisms can be found in places such as Csíkbánkfalva, the Roman Catholic church in Gelence, and the Reformed church in Marosvécs.

Organ builders or repair masters known by name only appear in this region from the late 18th century. Apart from János Kájoni and the deacon István Abos from Alfalva, there is no record of local masters operating in the districts, but due to the brevity of 17th–18th-century sources, we cannot rule out the possibility of other local masters being active.

The oldest known 17th-century organ builder is P. János Kájoni, a Franciscan monk, who was also a prominent figure in the early history of organ building in Transylvania. He left behind a Hungarian-Latin inscription from 1664 on a prepared wooden plank (wooden tablet) in the Somlyó organ, stating that he had built organs in Csíksomlyó, Szárhegy, and Mikháza, and had also made “et alia multa instrumenta” (many other instruments). The aforementioned Hungarian-Latin inscription⁴⁹ is one of the significant sources and memorials of the 1661 Tatar invasion of Csík and the 17th-century ecclesiastical music history of Transylvania.

According to the chronicle of Leonárd Losteiner, the organ was discovered in 1759 when P. Bocskor Paulin, the guardian of the Somlyó Franciscan monastery, had the Kájoni organ in the church repaired.⁵⁰ Later, in 1779, Ádám Bocskor, the regent of the Seminary, recorded that in May, together with János Raab from

49 The referenced manuscript was published multiple times with some variations in translation. It first appeared in Losteiner’s handwritten work in 1777, and later in the *Scientific and Artistic Journal of Music* on February 11, 1927, as well as in P. Boros Fortunát’s 1943 publication *Csíksomlyó, the Shrine*. Leonárd LOSTEINER, *Cronologia Topographico-Corographica, seu sub specie Annual felicitatis et calamitatis Provinciae Transilvanicae et Siciliae descriptio pervetusti Monasterii Csiksomlyovinensis 1777*, Manuscript, CSÍKSOMLYÓ FRANCISCAN MONASTERY LIBRARY., 591., p. 742–744, Zene, 8.9 (1927) 173, BOROS, *Csíksomlyó, a kegyhely*, 110–111.

50 According to museologist Erzsébet Muckenhaupt’s description, the paper document was rediscovered in 1985 within the wall of the Franciscan monastery in Șumuleu (Csíksomlyó), along with 123 other old books. It was subsequently restored in the laboratory of the National Library of Bucharest. The Hungarian and Latin inscription is on paper glued to a wooden board (257×94 mm). The board’s dimensions are 302×134×29 mm. A hanging ring is visible on the back. It was framed, placed under glass, and hung on the side of the new organ by the Franciscans. The manuscript is currently part of the collection of the Csíki Székely Museum in Miercurea Ciuc and is available for research. Inventory number: 6249. Erzsébet MUCKENHAUPT, Kájoni János: A csíksomlyói ferences templom régi orgonájának felirata. Szárhegy, 1664, Kájoni János emlékére, halálának 330. évfordulójára, in: *Csíksomlyó Üzenete*, XI/ 2, 2017, 35–36.

Braşov, they repaired the organ, with Raab replacing several pipes and the worn pedal of the mixture with new ones.⁵¹

Regarding the Csíksomlyó organ, P. Simon Jukundián, Kájoni's first discoverer, wrote in 1879 to one of his friends: "I played the organ for 8 years (in Somlyó, Mikháza, and Szárhegy) on the organs he built with his own hands."⁵² If Kájoni's organ in Csíksomlyó truly remained in existence until the second half of the 19th century, it was dismantled by István Kolonics. In Szárhegy, however, an organ that Kolonics had rebuilt remained in use until 1904, and in 1910, it was moved to the Catholic church in Sáromberke, where it is still in use today.⁵³ The further fate of Kájoni's other instruments is unknown.⁵⁴ However, it can be proven that Abos István, originally from Alfalva, learned organ building from Kájoni and later repaired an organ in Csíkszenttamás.⁵⁵

Subsequently, in the first half of the 18th century, a document found in the archive of the Endes family from Csíkszentsimoni also refers to the organ in Csíkszenttamás, stating that on July 28, "1724, Sándor Abaffy made an agreement with Péter Meneges, a citizen of Braşov, to have an organ built for 80 forints."⁵⁶

At the end of the 18th century, among the masters of Szeklerland, one of the most notable was Mátyás Velter from Sepsiszentgyörgy, who worked in Csíkcsicsó, Csíkszentdomokos, and later in Gyergyóalfalu. Similarly, in the Gyergyó and Csík

51 BOROS, *Csíksomlyó, a kegyhely*, 112.

52 Vegyesek, *Új Magyar Sion Egyházirodalmi Folyóirat* 10 (1879) 398–399.

53 The instrument located in Sáromberke is attributed by organ builder Albert M. Balogh, based on stylistic features, to Johannes Hahn, an 18th-century organ builder from Sibiu, rather than to Kájoni.

54 In Mikháza, it is noted in 1707 that the old Kájoni organ was removed and replaced with a new organ and choir gallery commissioned by Governor Count Zsigmond Kornis. The Kornis organ was repaired and expanded by organ builder Ignác Takácsy in 1893. In 1910, it was replaced by a M+P/7 pneumatic organ from the Rieger company worth 2,800 crowns, considered "a pious relic of the 17th century". *HISTORIA DOMUS SEU CONVENTO MIKHÁZA* I. volume, 1707–1877, 15., *MIKHÁZI FERENCES ZÁRDA DOMUS HISTÓRIÁJA* II. volume, 1877–1990, 37, 119.

55 CSÍKSZEREDA COLLECTION ARCHIVES, (hereinafter referred to as CSCA.) *A Csíkszenttamási parish records*, 565/e. Economic documents, 1. box, 1721 year, AAGY. Can viz, 1723, box 1, vol 1, p. 193.

56 Imre SÁNDOR, "A csíkszentsimoni Endes család levéltára, 1660–1725", *Genealógiai Füzetek-Családtörténeti Folyóirat*. 5 (1907) 46–48.

districts, the Upper Hungarian organ builder Lőrincz Rózsa appeared in 1774, among others. At that time, he lived in rented accommodation (“comorált”⁵⁷) in Gyergyóújfalu and worked in Csíkszentmiklós.

Conclusion

In the former Telegdi area, now part of the Lower and Upper Csík, as well as the Gyergyó districts, organs are already mentioned in archival sources from the 17th century. However, these sources also suggest the presence of other instruments in the church communities that are not documented due to the lack of archival records. Although this period was historically a difficult time for Transylvanian Catholicism, it is certain that in larger churches and monasteries, the sound of the organ accompanied hymns praising God.

In the early 18th century, and especially after the Catholic restoration, church visitation records and parish documents began to provide more detailed information about the increasingly widespread, yet smaller mechanical slider-chest organs, often with only 4 to 6 stops, and occasionally with bellows-operated mechanisms. Similarly, the visitation records also list the names of cantors who were able to play the organ.⁵⁸

57 Organ builder Lőrincz Rózsa’s rental of accommodation (*comorálása*) in Gyergyóújfalu is known in connection with the organ repair in Csíkszentmiklós. CSCA: *Csíkszentmiklós parish records*, 564/e. Thematically arranged documents, box 2., vol. 3: Records and orders of property lawsuits (Ferenc Balogh lawsuit) /1627/ 1756–1765 (3 volumes) 138.

58 Based on the research of historian János Szócs, it can be stated about the musical life of the era that: „Vélhetően, nem működött itt olyan iskolamester, kántor a 16., a 17. és a 18. században (1571-1800), aki ne értett volna a kottaolvasáshoz és íráshoz. Áll ez leginkább a 18. századra. Amint az 1731-es vizitáció okmányai jól mutatják, a legtöbb iskolamester, kántor udvarhelyi és kolozsvári középiskolában tanult, és jól tudott orgonán játszani.” [“Presumably, there was no schoolmaster or cantor functioning here in the 16th, 17th, or 18th century (1571–1800) who did not understand music notation reading and writing. This was especially true in the 18th century. As the documents of the 1731 visitation clearly show, most schoolmasters and cantors were educated in the secondary schools of Odorheiu Secuiesc (Székelyudvarhely) and Cluj-Napoca (Kolozsvár), and were proficient in organ playing.”] János Szócs, “Elemi oktatás Csíkszéken 1571–1800” I, *Csíki Székely Múzeum Évkönyve 2007–2008*, Csíkszereda: Csíki Székely Múzeum, 2008, 302.

Considering the musical needs of the parishes in the three districts during the 17th and 18th centuries, we can conclude that in that political and economic situation, the communities made full use of every opportunity and made significant financial sacrifices to ensure that the liturgies were accompanied by the sound of the organ.

*A detailed report on the 17th-century organs of the three archdeaconries*⁵⁹

Place Name	Builder/ Installer	Year Built/ Installed	Size	Remarks
Csikszentgyörgy	1.	Around 1690	M/4	Later moved to the chapel in Csikszenttamás.
Csikszenttamás	1.	1690	M/4	Purchased from the church in Csikszentgyörgy, repaired by István Abos in 1721.
Csiksomlyó, Franciscan Shrine	Echárd Brassai	1650?		Brought from Kraków.
	János Eperjesi?	1659		Purchased by Miklós Somlyai from Braşov, repaired and expanded by János Kájoni in 1664. Repaired in 1759, and again by János Raab in 1779.
Csiksomlyó, Saint Anthony Chapel	1.	1629	M/4	Purchased from Braşov for the Şaşnăd church, repaired in 1779 in Odorheiu Secuiesc and moved to the St. Anthony Chapel. It has disappeared from the chapel.
Csikszereda, Mikó Castle Chapel	1.	1694 1831	M/4	General Bajkó János had the organ installed in 1694 to commemorate his release from Turkish captivity. It was destroyed.
Kászonújfalú, Chapel	1.	16??		Positive organ, over 400 years old.
Gyergyószentmiklós, Saint Nicholas Church	1.	1662		Purchased a duplex regal from Csiksomlyó.
	2.	1677		Purchased from Braşov.

⁵⁹ The report was largely compiled based on episcopal visitation records and various parish documents.

GÁL HUNOR

Place Name	Builder/ Installer	Year Built/ Installed	Size	Remarks
Gyergyóalfalu	1.	Before 1697		The organ was repaired at this time.
Szárhegy, Franciscan	János Kájoni	16--?		

A detailed report on the 18th-century organs of the three archdeaconries

Place	Builder/ Installer	Year Built/ Installed	Size	Remarks
Csatószeg		1735	M/6	
Csikmenaság		1776	M/6	Indicated as M/6 in 1786. Rebuilt by Kolonics in 1861.
Csikmindszent		1721	M/6	First record from 1735. Changed to M/6 in 1786.
Csikbánkfalva	Johannes Baumgartner	1700? from 1883	M/2	Brought here from Sepsiszentiván by Kolonics. Repaired in 1959 by Ignác Páll, in 1997 by Albert Péter, and in 2001 by Zoltán Pap, and in 2016 by László Bors.
Csikszentkirály		1721		Positive organ in 1735, M/3 in 1823.
Csikszentlélek	1.	1721		Positive organ in 1735.
	2.	1743		New organ recorded in 1743, M/6 version in 1823.
Csikszentimre	1.	1628? 1721		First noted in 1721, M/5 in 1743, I/6 in 1817. Sold to Mikóújfalu in 1838. Used until 1890.
Csikszentmárton	1.	1721		Set up in the nave of the church
	2.	1743	M/6	
Kozmás	1.	1712	M/4	Organ in good condition noted in 1717 and 1721. Classified as M/4 in 1735. Repaired in 1759.
	2.	1817	M/6	
Kászonjakabfalva	1.	1783	M/5	M/6 version noted in 1826.
Kászonújfalu	1.	1735	M/6	M/5 version listed in 1786
Nagykászon	1.	1721	M/5	Recorded in 1735, indicated as M/5 version in 1743.

CHURCH ORGANS IN THE 17TH-18TH CENTURY ARCHDEACONRIES OF CSÍK AND GYERGYÓ

Place	Builder/ Installer	Year Built/ Installed	Size	Remarks
Kászonimpér, Lord's Chapel	1.	1782	M/4	It was in use until 1877. A harmonium was purchased from József Nagy.
Tusnád	1.	1729	M/5	Rebuilt and expanded by Kolonics in 1885. Currently located in Újtusnád.
Csikcsicsó			M/3	In 1791, the old organ was sold to Taploca.
	Mátyás Velter	1791	M/6	In 1839, its old organ was moved to the Chapel of the Lord in Csíkdelne.
Csíkdelne, Saint John Church	1.	1743		At that time, it was in poor condition. In 1753, a positive organ was installed.
Csíkdelne, Lord's Chapel	1.	1753	M/4	It was in use until 1840.
	Mátyás Velter	1791	M/6	Purchased from Csikcsicsó in 1840.
Csikmadaras	1.	1759	M/6	From 1817, it is recorded as M/6 version; repaired by József Beer in 1849.
Csikszenzmihály	1.	1753	M/3	Indicated as M/3 in 1817, and as M/4 in 1831.
Csikrákos	1.	1721	M/6	Indicated as M/6 in 1817.
Csikszenzdomokos	1.	1735	M/2	Positive organ with 2 versions recorded in 1743.
Csikszenztamás	1. Péter Meneges	1724		There is no definite data confirming when the organ was built.
Csiksomlyó, Saint Peter and Paul Church	1.	1714		New organ.
	2.	1743	M/7	New organ for 239 forints, repaired by Kolonics in 1862 and sold to Taploca.
Csiktaploca	1.		M/3	Purchased from Csicsó in 1791.

GÁL HUNOR

Place	Builder/ Installer	Year Built/ Installed	Size	Remarks
	2.	1745	M/6	In 1862, István Kolonics installed the old organ from the St. Peter and Paul Church in Csíksomlyó. The previous organ was sold from Taploca to Delne.
Csíkszereda, Holy Cross Church	1.	1753	M/4	Recorded as M/4 in 1817.
Csíkszentmiklós	1.	1711		The organ is noted.
	2.	1735		A new, good organ is reported. Repaired by Lőrinc Lose in 1774.
Csíkborzsova, Saint Joseph Chapel	1.	1700?	I/4	Purchased from Szederjes by István Kolonics in 1878, then bought again in 1880. After 1966, it was transferred in damaged condition to Csíkszentmiklós. Currently awaiting restoration.
Gyimesfelsőlok, Saint Andrew Church	1.	1735	M/6	Purchased from Szentegyháza in 1903, and was in use until 1911.
Karcfalva	1.	1721	M/6	A gift from Bishop György Mártonffy, destroyed in 1917.
Szépvíz, Chapel of Our Lady of the Snows	1.	1753	M/4	Repaired by István Kolonics in 1869, used until 1879.
Szépvíz, Armenian	1.	1776	M/7	An old organ is mentioned, marked as M/7 in 1784.
Ditró, Saint Catherine Church	1.	1711	M/5	Elegant organ in 1732, indicated as M/5 in 1775. In 1846, it was moved to Csíksomlyó, and later handed over to Kolonics.
Gyergyóalfalu	1.	1725		A new organ was built in 1760, indicated as M/6.
	2.	1776	M/6	New organ indicated as M/6 in 1786.
Gyergyócsomafalva	1.	1728	M/4	Marked as M/4 in 1735.
	2.	1779	M/5	A new organ is noted.
Gyergyóremete	1.	1735		A positive organ is indicated in 1735.
	2.	1775	M/6	Indicated as M/8 version in 1786.
Gyergyószentmiklós, Armenian	1.	Around 1730?	M/6	First mentioned in sources in 1786.

CHURCH ORGANS IN THE 17TH-18TH CENTURY ARCHDEACONRIES OF CSÍK AND GYERGYÓ

Place	Builder/ Installer	Year Built/ Installed	Size	Remarks
Gyergyótölgyes	1.	1731	M/5	Built around 1731 in Gyergyóújfalu, repaired by Lőrinc Rosa in 1775, transferred to Tölgyes in 1873. Used until 1943.
Gyergyóújfalu	1.	1721		A small organ is noted.
	2.	1731	M/5	New organ, repaired by Lőrinc Rosa in 1775, then moved to Tölgyes in 1873.
Kilyénfalva		1778	M/6	
		1782	M/6	
Szárhegy, parish church	1.	1711	M/5	An old organ is recorded in 1743. Marked as M/5 in 1766.
	2.	1780	M/8	A new organ is recorded.
Szárhegy, Franciscan	Johannes Hahn?	1752?		Marked as M/8 in 1830; rebuilt by István Kolonics in 1869. Since 1910, located in Sáromberke.
Tekerőpatak	1.	1735		Two organs are recorded: M/6 in 1766, M/4 in 1775.
	2.	1743		A well-preserved organ is installed.
	3.	1783	M/6	An old organ is recorded in 1743. Marked as M/5 in 1766.

Bibliography

Archdiocesan Archives of Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia), Num. 7812–1917.

Archdiocesan Archives of Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia), *Canonica Visitationes*, 1723: box 1, vol. 1, p.193; 1743: box 2, vol. 5, p. 728.

Csíksomlyó Franciscan monastery Library:

Leonárd Loseiner, *Cronologia Topographico-Corographica, seu sub specie Annual felicitatis et calamitatis Provinciae Transilvanicae et Siciliae descriptio pervetusti Monasterii Csíksomlyovinensis 1777*, Manuscript.

Csíkszereda Collection Archives

A Csíkszenttamási parish records, 565/e. Economic documents, box 1, 1721.

- Csíkszentmiklós parish records*, 564/e. Thematically arranged documents, box 2, vol. 3.: Records and orders of property lawsuits (Ferenc Balogh lawsuit) /1627/1756–1765 (3 volumes)
- Historia Domus Seu Convento Mikháza vol. I., 1707–1877.
- Mikházi Ferences Zárda Domus Históriaja vol. II., 1877–1990.
- Orgona, harang és csengők összeírása 1977, alcsíki, felcsíki, gyergyói kerület*, manuscript.
- Adolph, Wolfram, “Die größten Orgelwerke de Welt. Eine tabellarische Auswahl nach Ländern”, *Organ. Journal für die Orgel* 3 (2000) 21.
- Bernád Rita-Magdolna, *Plébániai levéltárak I. A Gyulafehérvári-, a Sepsiszentgyörgyi-, a Szamosújvári- és a Gyergyószentmiklósi Gyűjtőlevéltárak repertórium*, Gyulafehérvár – Budapest: ELTE Egyetemi Levéltár, 2009.
- Bernád, Rita-Magdolna, *Plébániai levéltárak III. A Csíkszeredai Gyűjtőlevéltár repertórium*, Gyulafehérvár – Kolozsvár: ELTE Egyetemi Levéltár, 2021.
- Binder, Hermann, *Orgeln in Siebenbürgen: Ein Beitrag zur siebenbürgischen Orgelgeschichte von den Anfängen bis zur Mitte 19. Jahrhunderts*, Kludenbach: Gehann-Musik-Verlag, 2000.
- Boros Fortunát, *Csíksomlyó, a kegyhely*, Kolozsvár: Szent Bonaventura, 1943.
- Csáki József, “Szendrei József, az ismeretlen 18. századi erdélyi orgonaépítő”, *Református Szemle* 95.1 (2002) 106–125.
- Csíky Csaba, *Kolonics. Orgonaépítéset a 19. századi Erdélyben*, Marosvásárhely: Marosvásárhelyi Színművészeti Egyetem Kiadója, 2007.
- Dávid István, *Az orgonaépítés története Erdélyben I.*, *Magyar Egyházzene* 1.4 (1993/1994), 467–476.
- Dávid István, *Műemlék orgonák Erdélyben*, Kolozsvár – Budapest: Polis, 1996.
- Enyedi István, *Orgile istorice din judetul Satu Mare – Szatmár Megye műemlék orgonái*, Szatmár: Muzeul Sătmărean, 2004.
- Enyedi Pál – Márk Attila, *A Magyar unitárius egyház orgonái I. A Háromszék-Felsőfehéri és a Székelyudvarhelyi Egyházkör*, Kolozsvár – Budapest: Magyar Unitárius Egyház – Liszt Ferenc Zeneművészeti Egyetem Egyházzenei Kutatócsoport, 2021
- Enyedi Pál, “Legende und Wirklichkeit Anmerkungen zu den frühesten Angaben zur Orgelgeschichte Siebenbürgens”, *Studia Musicologica* 63.1–2 (2022) 151–171.
- Ferenczi Sándor, *A Gyulafehérvári (Erdélyi) Főegyházmegye történeti papi névtára*, Budapest – Kolozsvár: Szent István Társulat – Verbum, 2009.
- Gál Hunor, “Orgona a másik karzatban – A gyulafehérvári főegyházmegye „hangszer-vándorlásairól” a 17. századtól napjainkig”, in Kiss Endre (ed.), *Szárnyra kelnek*,

- mint a sasok, Teológiai tanulmányok* (Studia Theologica Transsylvaniensia Supplementum 3. Series Doctorandorum 1.), Budapest–Kolozsvár: Szent István Társulat – Verbum, 2024
- Geréd Vilmos, *A gyulafehérvári székesegyház orgonái*, Kolozsvár: Verbum, 2009.
- Geréd Vilmos, “Orgonáink védelme”, in Nóda Mózes – Zamfir Korinna – Diósi Dávid – Bodó Márta (eds.), *Ideje az emlékezésnek, Liber amicorum: A 60 éves Marton József köszöntése*, Budapest-Kolozsvár: Szent István Társulat – Verbum, 2010.
- Geyer József, *Az orgona I.*, Budapest – Szeged: Szegedi Katolikus Tudósító, 1931.
- K. Dedinszky, Izabella, *Az orgonáról-esztétikai tanulmány*, Budapest, 1942.
- Karácsonyi János, *Szt. Ferencz rendjének története Magyarországon 1711-ig II.*, Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1924.
- Lehotka Gábor, *Az én hangszerem az orgona*, Budapest: Oltalom Alapítvány, 1993.
- Marton József – Jakabffy Tamás, *Az erdélyi katolicizmus századai: Képes egyházmegyei történet*, Kolozsvár: Gloria, 2007.
- Muckenhaupt Erzsébet, “Kájoni János: A csíksomlyói ferences templom régi orgonájának felirata. Szárhegy, 1664, Kájoni János emlékére, halálának 330. Évfordulójára”, *Csíksomlyó Üzenete* 11.2 (2017) 35–36.
- Orosz Otília Valéria, *Műemlék orgonák az Érmelléki Református Egyházmegyében*, (Partiumi Füzetek 5), Nagyvárad, 2008.
- Sándor Imre, “A csíkszentsimoni Endes család levéltára, 1660–1725”, *Genealógiai Füzetek-Családtörténeti Folyóirat* 5 (1907) 46–48.
- Sipos Dávid, “A három opponensi vélemény”, *Magyar Egyházzene* 24.1 (2016/2020), 91–102.
- Sipos Dávid, *A történelmi dési, széki és görgényi református egyházmegyék orgonái*, Doctoral thesis, Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj, 2016.
- Sipos Dávid, *Orgonáknak zengések - A történelmi dési, széki és görgényi református egyházmegyék orgonái* (Erdélyi Református Egyháztörténeti Füzetek 26), Kolozsvár: Komp-Press Kiadó – Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 2019.
- Solymosi Ferenc, “Az 1918-as orgonasíp-rekvirálás és az Angster-féle ‘Rekvirált orgonasípok lajstroma’ II”, *Magyar Egyházzene* 2.4 (1994/1995) 473–497.
- Solymosi, Ferenc – Czár Attila, *Magyarország orgonái*, Kiskunhalas: Magyarországi Orgonák Alapítvány, 2005.
- Szigeti Kilián, “Orgonálás a középkori Magyarországon Budavár elestéig, 1541-ig”, *Magyar Zene* 16.4 (1975) 380–388.
- Szőcs János, “Elemi oktatás Csíkszéken 1571–1800” I., *Csíki Székely Múzeum Évkönyve 2007–2008*, Csíkszereda, 2008, 279–333.

Türk, Erich, *Die Orgellandschaft dreier nordsiebenbürgischer Landkerise: Cluj, Sălaj und Bistrița-Năsăud. Három észak-erdélyi megye orgonatája: Kolozs, Szilágy és Beszterce-Naszód megye*, Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Múzeum Egyesület, 2014.

Veszely Károly, *Erdélyi egyháztörténelmi adatok*, Kolozsvár: R. kath. lyceum ny. 1860.