

Armenians from Moldavia in Transylvania, Hungary and the Larger World. A Case Study

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Abstract: The same family name - **Gorovei** - was common in the principality of Moldavia (Neamț county, then Dorohoi and others), from the beginning of the seventeenth century, and in the principality of Transylvania (at Gherla / Armenopolis / Szamosújvár, then also in other locales in Banat and in Hungary), from the beginning of the eighteenth century. Those who carried the name in Moldavia (then Romania) were Orthodox Romanians. Those from Transylvania (then Hungary) - whose name took the form **Gorove** - were Catholic Armenian (united with the Church in Rome). From among these, the best known are Gorove László (1780-1839) and his son Gorove István (1819-1881, minister in 1867-1871), members of the Hungarian Academy, as well as Gorove Antal (1822-1881), a military man and lawyer. Artur Gorovei (1864-1951) - writer and folklorist, member of the Romanian Academy, and passionate genealogist - initiated research on his family history, trying to find an answer to the question of whether the bearers of the same patronym could, somehow, share a common distant ancestor. Due to the lack of documentary evidence, but also due to how the issue was understood as a whole, he did not reach a firm conclusion, oscillating instead between a hypothetical assertion and an uncertain denial. Continuing this research into family history, the author of the present study also reached the same "enigma" relative to which he initially maintained a reluctant position. He then proposed to address the issue within a wider context with an emphasis on the name (patronym) itself. On the one hand, this led to the formation of a program of researches focused on the *bearers of the name Gorovei*. On the other hand, a recent discovery has guided the research in a more reliable direction. A document found in the Vienna archives mentions a group of Armenians from Gherla in 1759, including **senator Abagarus Gorovei** and **senator Christophorus Gorovei** (the ancestors of the two family branches knighted by Empress Maria Theresia in 1760-1761).

These Armenians declare that they belong to those **who came to Transylvania from Moldavia** (*nos aequae e numero illorum Armenorum esse, qui [...] e Moldavia in Transylvaniam venerunt*). The author believes that this testimony is decisive in establishing an answer to the “enigma”: he advances the hypothesis that the bearers of the name Gorovei from Moldavia and Transylvania (Hungary) are **two branches that descend from a common ancestor of Armenian origin**. Given the genealogical and chronological correlations between the two branches, this hypothetical common ancestor had to live in Moldavia in the middle of the sixteenth century. This period coincides with the great persecution of the Armenians ordered by the prince Ștefan VI Rareș (1551–1552). In the author’s hypothesis, an Armenian Gorovei accepted to convert, under those circumstances, to Orthodoxy. He would have been the ancestor of the Gorovei whose history unfolded in the principality of Moldavia. At the same time, one of those who resisted the pressures and preserved the faith would be the ancestor of those who crossed the Carpathians and established in Gherla, either toward the end of the seventeenth century or the beginning of the eighteenth century. The second part of the study (*Addenda*) is devoted to the clarification of several controversial genealogical connections – the family branch of Gorove Antal and that of Gorove Viktor, both closely interwoven in the history of Transylvania during the nineteenth century.

Keywords: family history, genealogy, Armenians, Moldavia, Transylvania, Gorovei/Gorove, common ancestor

Rezumat: *Armeni din Moldova în Transilvania, Ungaria și-n lumea largă. Un studiu de caz.* Un același nume de familie – **Gorovei** – a fost purtat, în principatul Moldovei (ținutul Neamț, apoi Dorohoi și altele), de la începutul secolului XVII, iar de la începutul secolului XVIII în principatul Transilvaniei (la Gherla / Armenopolis / Szamosújvár, apoi și în alte localități, în Banat și în Ungaria). Purtătorii numelui din Moldova (apoi România) erau români ortodocși. Cei din Transilvania (apoi Ungaria) – al căror nume a devenit cunoscut sub forma **Gorove** – erau armeni catolici (uniți cu Biserica Romei); dintre aceștia, cei mai cunoscuți sunt Gorove László (1780–1839) și fiul său Gorove István (1819–1881, ministru în 1867–1871), membri ai Academiei Maghiare, precum și Gorove Antal (1822–1881), militar și jurist. Artur Gorovei (1864–1951), scriitor și folclorist, membru al Academiei Române, genealogist pasionat, a inițiat cercetări privind istoria familiei sale, în cadrul căroră a încercat să găsească un răspuns și la întrebarea dacă, în aceste condiții, purtătorii aceluiași patronim aveau, cumva, și un îndepărtat strămoș comun. Din cauza insuficienței materialului documentar, dar și prin felul cum a fost văzută problema în ansamblu, el nu a ajuns la o concluzie fermă, oscilând

între afirmarea ipotetică și negarea nesigură. Continuând aceste cercetări de istorie familială, autorul prezentului studiu s-a lovit și el de aceeași “enigmă”, față de care a păstrat, inițial, o poziție reticentă, propunând însă abordarea problemei într-un cadru mai larg, în care accentul să fie pus pe numele (patronimul) însuși. Aceasta a dus la configurarea unui program de cercetări privind *purtătorii numelui Gorovei*. Pe de altă parte, o descoperire recentă a îndrumat cercetările respective pe o cale mai sigură. Un document identificat în arhivele din Viena menționează, la 1759, un grup de armeni din Gherla, între care **Abagarus Gorovei senator** și **Christophorus Gorovei senator** (strămoșii celor două ramuri înnobilate de împărăteasa Maria Theresia în 1760-1761); acești armeni declară că ei fac parte dintre aceia care **au venit în Transilvania din Moldova** (*nos aequae e numero illorum Armenorum esse, qui [...] e Moldavia in Transylvaniam venerunt*). Autorul crede că această mărturie este decisivă în aflarea unui răspuns la respectiva “enigmă”: el avansează ipoteza că purtătorii numelui Gorovei din Moldova și Transilvania (Ungaria) reprezintă **două ramuri care descind dintr-un strămoș comun de origine armeană**. Date fiind coordonatele genealogice și cronologice ale celor două ramuri, acest ipotetic strămoș comun a trebuit să trăiască în Moldova pe la mijlocul secolului XVI; or, această perioadă coincide cu marea persecuție a armenilor ordonată de principele Ștefan VI Rareș (1551-1552). În ipoteza autorului, un Gorovei armean a acceptat să se convertească, în acele împrejurări, la Ortodoxie; el ar fi strămoșul Goroveilor a căror istorie s-a desfășurat în principatul Moldovei, în timp ce unul dintre cei care au rezistat presiunilor și și-au păstrat confesiunea ar fi strămoșul celor care, la sfârșitul secolului XVII sau la începutul celui următor, au trecut Carpații stabilindu-se la Gherla. Partea a doua a studiului (*Addenda*) este consacrată clarificării unor conexiuni genealogice controversate – ramura lui Gorove Antal și cea a lui Gorove Viktor, ambele interesând îndeaproape istoria Transilvaniei în secolul XIX.

Cuvinte-cheie: istorie familială, genealogie, armeni, Moldova, Transilvania, Gorovei/Gorove, strămoș comun.

*La généalogie est simplement le reflet
de la plus mouvante, de la plus fluctuante des aventures: la vie¹.*

Genealogical studies and those of family history reveal the existence of two families bearing the same name in Romania and Hungary. Both contributed outstanding personalities to cultural life (literature and politics),

¹ Yves du Passage, *La généalogie pour tous*, Hachette (Guides société), (Paris, 1989), p. 11.

honored by their selection as members in the Academies of the two countries: Gorove László (1780–1839) and his son, Gorove István (1819–1881) (**Fig. 1**), members of the Hungarian Academy (to which they also made significant donations), and Artur Gorovei (1864–1951), honorary member of the Romanian Academy (**Fig. 2**). The present case study brings together the histories of these two families under the **question** of whether they are both branches of a common family line, yet with different destinies.

The two families became acquainted with the existence of the other about 150 years ago when a brother of my great-great grandfather, Nicu I. Gorovei (1834–1886) (**Fig. 3**), while on a holiday in Karlsbad (Karlovy Vary), visited Gorove István, then serving as a minister² in the government of Count Andrassy. From that point onward, the news about the Gorovei of Romania passed on to another illustrious family member, Gorove Antal (1822–1881), army man and lawyer and the first president of the Notary Chamber in Budapest (**Fig. 4**), as well as to the other relatives still in Transylvania, in Dumbrăveni (Erzsébetváros, Epersdorf, Ebesfalva, Ibașfalău). Therefore, when my grandfather addressed the Gorovei of Budapest (in 1888) and those of Dumbrăveni (in 1919) in the context of his research into family history, he received identical answers: the existence of the Gorovei from across the Carpathian Mountains was known to them and they did not have any doubt about their common origin³ (**Fig. 5, 6**). But could this be proven?!

Artur Gorovei was concerned with the history of his family for most of his life and almost to the very end (d. 19 March 1951), and for the past half a century I have continued this research. Thus, we gather in total about **120 years of work** toward the rebuilding of the family history in its entirety. With the research experience of the past few decades in the field of Romanian medieval genealogy, I initiated in 2013 *the project of global genealogical research* with the title *Those with the Name Gorovei*. This project is undertaken

² At Agriculture, Industry, and Commerce from 1867 until 1870, then at Public Works and Transportation in 1871.

³ The letter of János Gorove de Gättaja, from 9 August 1888 (“notre famille, en origine prochaine de la votre”); the letter of János Gorove from Ibașfalău/Dumbrăveni from 31 December 1919 (“Originea noastră comună familială și strămoșii mei au știut-o. Eu de la tatăl meu [...] am înțeles că noi avem rude în Moldova, dintre cari pe unii tatăl meu i-a chiar și cunoscut” / “My ancestors knew our common family origin. I knew it from my father [...] I understood that we have relatives in Moldavia, some of whom my father even knew.” (I cannot specify who exactly János’s father knew; it is possible that it could be a false memory or a courtesy). In the first letter, János Gorove de Gättaja mentioned that he knew about the Gorovei from Romania not from his adoptive father, the former minister, but from “une des célébrités de ma famille [...] un soldat, qui m’était un autre parent”. This military “celebrity” could not be any other than Gorove Antal, hero of the Revolution of 1848. For the family relations with this figure, v. **ADDENDA** from the end of this study.

within the context of the National Commission of Heraldry, Genealogy, and Sigillography of the Romanian Academy in Iași [CNHGS-I], and under the aegis of the “Sever Zotta” Genealogy and Heraldry Institute of Romania. The first results of my research on various aspects of the history of the Gorovei in Romania have already been published or are currently in the works⁴.

The evolution of this research brought me to the same point that interested my grandfather: namely, the possibility that both families have a common and unique lineage, dating back many centuries. This relationship has sometimes been affirmed by Armenologists, but never demonstrated. Rather, always presented as an axiom, as an undeniably acceptable truth. Thus, Vlad Bănățeanu (1900–1963)⁵, observing the existence of the toponym Gorovei(ul) – village and monastery⁶ in the former Dorohoi county, today in

⁴ *Mobilitatea populației reflectată în istoria unei familii: purtătorii numelui Gorovei (sec. XVI–XXI)*, in “Carpica”, XLII(2013): 373–385; *Mobilitatea populației reflectată în istoria unei familii. II. Purtătorii numelui Gorovei în ținutul (județul) Bacău*, in “Carpica”, XLIV(2015): 287–306; *Un romașcan la Bacău: locotenentul Iacovache Gorovei și întâmplările vieții sale*, in “Carpica”, XLV(2016): 239–258; *Doi boieri dorohoieni și ctitoriile lor*, in **Monumentul XVII. Lucrările celei de-a XVII-a ediții a Simpozionului Internațional “Monumentul – Tradiție și viitor”**, Partea 1, volume edited by Aurica Ichim and Lucian-Valeriu Lefter, Editura “Doxologia”, (Iași, 2016), pp. 173–199; *O carte, o ghicitoare și o judecată*, in “**Prutul. Revistă de cultură**”, s.n., VI (XV), 2016, 2 (58): 31–37; *(De)misticări genealogice. Familia Buzne*, in “Analele Științifice ale Universității «Alexandru Ioan Cuza» Iași, s.n., Istorie, LXII(2016): 53–84; *Radomirești. Contribuții genealogice pentru istoria unui sat băcăuan*, in “Carpica”, XLVI(2017); *Tradiție familială și memorie genealogică*, in “**Ioan Neculce. Buletinul Muzeului de Istorie a Moldovei**”, s.n., XXIII(2017): 31–51; *Din istoria unui sat nemțean. Răzeșii Gorovei de la Bârgăuani*, in “Analele Științifice ale Universității «Alexandru Ioan Cuza» Iași, s.n., Istorie, LXIII(2017): 223–259; *Ctitori mici – ctitorii uitate*, in **Monumentul XIX. Simpozionul Internațional Monumentul – Tradiție și viitor, Ediția a XIX-a, 28 septembrie – 1 octombrie 2017**, volume edited by Lucian-Valeriu Lefter and Aurica Ichim, Editura “Doxologia”, (Iași, 2018), pp. 267–306; *“Intimitatea” cotidiană: accidentul biografic și reacția socială (familială)*, in “**Acta Bacoviensia. Anuarul Arhivelor Naționale Bacău**”, XIII(2018): 47–66; *Mobilitatea populației reflectată în istoria unei familii. III. Răzeșii Gorovei de la Ghigoiești (Neamț)*, in “Carpica”, XLVII(2018): 279–314; *Istorie culturală – istorie familială. Un “cerc literar” de la cumpăna veacurilor XVIII și XIX*, in “Analele Științifice ale Universității «Alexandru Ioan Cuza» Iași, s.n., Istorie, LXV(2019) (in press); *Artur Gorovei – cercetător al istoriei sale familiale*, in “Carpica”, XLVIII(2019) (in press).

Three studies remain unpublished: *Un proiect de cercetare genealogică globală: purtătorii numelui Gorovei* (CNHGS-I, 15 January 2013); *Numele unei istorii. O nouă ipoteză* (CNHGS-I, 13 October 2015); *Un neam din Moldova: Gorovei* (CNHGS, Bucharest, 9 December 2015). Only a part of the material gathered and presented in these studies has been published.

⁵ For the personality of this researcher (his true name: Włodzimierz Paszkiewicz) and his work: Bogdan Căuș, *Figuri de armeni din România*, second edition (revised and enlarged), (București: Editura “Ararat”, 1998), pp. 74–75.

⁶ The monastery dated to the middle of the eighteenth century: Artur Gorovei, *Despre Mănăstirea Gorovei*, in “Mitropolia Moldovei”, XII (1936), 11: 421–426; Ștefan S. Gorovei, *Doi boieri dorohoieni și ctitoriile lor*, cit. (*supra*, note 4). A recent work (Father Vasile Irimia, *Mănăstirea*

Botoșani county – included it without any argument in the category of those of Armenian origin since “it is known that the *Gorovei* family from Moldavia is of Armenian origin. The name is explained from an adjective that became a nickname and then a patronym, namely *korovi*, with the meaning “strong, brave”, alongside which is the noun *korov*, *-i*, *-iv* “force, bravery,” etc. [...] The Armenian word likely formed a nickname, and then, with the help of the suffix *-ei*, the patronym *Gorovei*”⁷. In this context, the genealogical work of Kristóf Szongott⁸, and the parallels with the name *Gorove* (with the form *Gorovian*) could not be avoided. In the 1962 version of this study published in Armenia, the author also added the name of his grandfather, affirming that “the *Gorovei* family from Moldavia, and also the most famous Romanian folklorist [Artur] *Gorovei*, were of Armenian origin”⁹. The only argument of Vlad Bănățeanu was the existence of the Armenian family from Transylvania and Hungary, to which were added the suggestions communicated orally by H. Dj. Siruni (1890–1973). When I met him in August 1972, this father of Romanian Armenology shared the same views with me.

But to say something is not the same as to demonstrate it! And the more delicate and complicated the problem is, the greater the reluctance. We ought to seek the most solid and convincing arguments for a demonstration that must avoid as much as possible its transformation into a controversy. This is precisely why I propose this study, in the hopes that the participation of my Hungarian colleagues will facilitate my efforts to approach the correct solution.

The matter seems to be like an unsolvable puzzle. On a superficial level, everything seems to separate the two groups of bearers of the same

Gorovei. Contribuții monografice, (Pătrăuți: Editura “Heruvim”, 2015) is of no use from a historic point of view. The village of the same name developed much later, around the monastery.

⁷ Vlad Bănățeanu, *Armenii în toponimia românească și toponimice românești de origine armeană*, in “Studii și Cercetări Lingvistice”, XI, 1960, 2: 208.

⁸ Kristóf Szongott, *A magyarhoni örmény családok genealógiája, tekintettel ezeknek egymás között levő rokonságára, s a vezeték és keresztnévek etymológiai értelmére, eredeti, kiadatlan kútforrások felhasználásával*, Todorán Endre “Aurora” könyvnyomdája, (Szamosújvár, 1898); recently edited and translated into Romanian (used in the subsequent notes): Kristóf Szongott, *Genealogia familiilor armene din Transilvania luând în considerare înrudirea dintre ele și etimologia numelor de familie și a celor de botez, utilizând izvoare originale și inedite*, translated from Hungarian and with notes by Andrea Ghiță, forward by Lucian Nastasă-Kovács, (București: Editura “Ararat”, 2016).

⁹ Vlad Bănățeanu, *Армянские колонии на территории Румынии по данным румынской топонимии*, in “Patma-Banasirakan Handes” [Historical-Philological Journal], (Erevan, 1962), 1, pp. 171–191; v. p. 181: “Известно, что фамилия *Gorovei* из Молдовы, а также самый известный румынский фольклорист *Gorovei*, были армянского происхождения.”

family name (patronym), pointing toward divergent lines of research. The Gorovei from Moldavia appear in documents from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; those from Transylvania in sources of the eighteenth century. From their documented beginnings, the family from Moldavia is Orthodox, and that from Transylvania, Armenian (then Armenian-Catholic). As far as the name is concerned, in Moldavia it was believed to have derived from a Slavic root, and in Transylvania from an Armenian one.

Investigating this type of problem excludes the appeal to traditional sources used in genealogical research – documents, censuses, church records, cadastral inventories, etc. – since they are completely missing for Moldavia during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, regardless of whether one is concerned with the Romanian or Armenian population of the principality. On the other hand, regarding those from Transylvania, the documents of the Armenians from Gherla (Szamosújvár) are remarkable. Moreover, apart from the linguistic barrier, an anthroponymy one appears as well: the genealogies of the Armenian Gorovei, as much as they exist, offer all the first names, even for the early generations, in an already Magyarized way (for example, János instead of Hovhannes, etc...).

Therefore, we have to imagine, even invent, a **special methodology** specific for this case study.

From a chronological standpoint, the beginning should be noted with the Gorovei from Moldavia, attested in documents in 1591/1592¹⁰. However, the rules of the demonstration require us to begin with the known facts, so I will begin with the Gorovei from Transylvania and Hungary who are of uncontested Armenian origin. They flourished in Gherla (Szamosújvár), from where they spread in the nineteenth century but maintained a conscious familial unity. The official genealogies¹¹ begin with a János (1715,

¹⁰ *Documente privind istoria României*, XVI/4, (București: Editura Academiei R.P.R., 1952), p. 38, nr. 43 (and photo on p. 325) document dated to 7100 (1 sept 1591 – 31 august 1592), kept in Biblioteca Academiei Române, *Documente istorice*, LVII/1. With the same dating, the Slavic text and its translation were re-edited in *Documenta Romaniae Historica*, VIII (1585–1592), volume edited by Ioan Caproșu, (București: Editura Academiei Române, 2014), pp. 637–638, nr. 519 (and photo on p. 1037). A careful analysis of the content and the circumstances to which it refers makes me think that the 7100 dating is *incomplete*, and that the document should be placed in the first decades of the seventeenth century. But this finding, which would make a difference of a few years, does not affect the details of the problem.

¹¹ Nagy Iván, *Magyarország családai czimerekkel és nemzékrendi táblákkal*, IV, (Pesta, 1858), pp. 422–425; Temesváry János, *A magyar-örmény nemes családok czimerlevelei*, (Gherla, 1896), pp. 57–61 (for the **Gorove** branch) and 61–64 (for the **Gorovei** branch); Lendvai Miklós, *Temes vármegye nemes családjai*, II, (Budapest, 1899), pp. 143–145 (genealogical line on p. 144); Kempelen Belá, *Magyar nemes családok*, IV, (Budapest, 1912), pp. 336–338 (genealogies on p.

1716¹²), the father of brothers László, Kristóf, and Antal; only the first two were knighted, receiving the same coat of arms by Queen Maria Theresia (1760, 1761) (**Fig. 7**). Those genealogies only concern their posterity, omitting both the third brother (Antal) and the brothers of János himself, Gergely and Márton, documented at Gherla in 1721 and 1728¹³: on these dates all three were wealthy merchants, masters of houses in Gherla.

As already noted, the genealogical literature mentions these initial Gorove(i) with the first names already in *the Hungarian form*. It is thus up to the modern genealogist to reclaim their names in *the Armenian form* in order for the interpretations to correspond with the sources: *Ohanes* (or *Hovhannes*), *Krikor*, and *Mardiros*¹⁴, as the possible sons of a certain Andreas¹⁵. From the other Gorovei, who were not knighted, descend the numerous bearers of the name attested during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The rebuilding of their genealogy is a difficult task, unattainable

337); Gudenus János József, *Örmény eredetű magyar nemesi családok genealógiája* (Javított, bővített kiadás) / (*Genealogia familiilor nobile maghiare de origine armeană*, ediție corectată și augmentată), edited by Asociația Culturală Rădăcini a Armenilor Transilvăneni (*Erdélyi Örmény Gyökerek Kulturális Egyesület*), (Budapest, 12000, 22010), pp. 260–273. The first four works contain fragmented and incomplete information, and omit not only numerous individuals but also entire family lines. The fifth work substantially enriched the existing information by mentioning some of the previously omitted family lines; however, for some sections, I can say that I have already accumulated more additional details. The book of Baron Gudenus is for me, at the current juncture in my work, the starting point, **the safe basis**, for further investigations.

¹² Kristóf Szongott, *Szamosújvár szab. kir. város Monográfiája (1700–1900)*, Todorán Endre “Aurora” könyvnyomdája, (Szamosújvár, 1901); Romanian version: *Orașul liber regal Gherla, I. Generalități*, volume edited by Lucian Nastasă, translated by Andrea Ghiță, (București: Editura “Ararat”, 2014), pp. 165, 369–370. He still lived in 1738 when he was regarded among “the important citizens of the city” / “cetățenii importanți ai orașului” (*főbb városi polgárok*): Kádár József, *Szolnok-Dobokavármegye monographiája*, VI, (Deésen [Dés=Dej], 1904), p. 198. Also, here, for the years 1758–1761 are mentioned **Gorovei** Kristóf and **Gorovei Abag[ar]** among the counselors (tanácsosok) from Gherla (*ibidem*). The son of Abagar, named also Kristóf, was a counselor in 1787, with a salary of 200 florins (Kristóf Szongott, *op. cit.*, p. 322), becoming *judex primarius* on 3 January 1797 (*ibidem*, p. 288). In the verbal process of the selection, he is named *Chácsig Ábkári Goroveján*, Cristofor, son of Abkar [= Abagar] Gorovei (*ibidem*).

¹³ Kristóf Szongott, *Orașul liber regal Gherla, I. Generalități*, cit., pp. 168–170 (for the census of 1721) and 177–178 (for the census of 1728).

¹⁴ For the parallels between Martin (Márton) = Mardiros (Márdirosz), v. Kristóf Szongott, *Genealogia familiilor armene din Transilvania*, cit. (*supra*, note 8), p. 185, 187, 288 and *idem*, *Orașul liber regal Gherla, I. Generalități*, cit., p. 284 și 301, note 1. The equivalence between the names Márton and Vartan appears to be an error, as Szongott noted.

¹⁵ Mentioned only by the great genealogist Iván Nagy, *Magyarország családai czimerekkel és nemzékrendi táblákkal*, cit. (*supra*, note 11), p. 423.

without appeal to archival sources and living representatives, today spread in Hungary, Slovakia, and perhaps even in Ukraine and the United States.

From the two knighted branches, that of **László** (I still name him as such although his Armenian name was different) garnered the greatest wealth (following trade with large cattle); it offered the primary judge of Gherla, **Kristóf** (1752–1801), after the Armenian name *Chacsig*, whose son was the writer *Gorove László* (1780–1839). He acquired, together with his brothers **Lajos** (1784–1830) and **Károly** (1785–1872), the territory of **Gáttaja** (*Gătaia*), in Banat, which brought them (1824) the name *de Gáttaja (gáttajai Gorove)*, granted by Emperor King Francis I. The domain and the title were inherited by his son, **István**, minister from 1867 to 1871. Without children, he adopted the husband of a sister-in-law (**Stefánia Noszlopy**), **János**, a *Gorove(i)* from the other noble family line. He granted him his lands in Banat (*Gătaia*), **Bihor** (**Pișcolt**), and **Ungaria** (**Varsány**, **Rákóczifalva** with the mansion called also a castle), as well as his title. Along *the masculine line*, this family branch disappeared with their son, **Gorove László** (1868–1938); *along the feminine line*, this family branch continued through the families of baron **Uray** and **Szinyei-Merse**.

The other noble family left Gherla around the end of the eighteenth century and settled in **Dumbrăveni** (**Erzebetváros**, **Ebesfálva**, **Ibașfalău**)¹⁶. The tomb of **Jakab** was located there, whose family name is **Gorovei**. He was born in 1762 and passed away in 1829 (**Fig. 8**). Married twice (**1^o** **Szenkovits Mária**, † 1799¹⁷; **2^o** **Gyertyánffi Anna**, 1781–1859¹⁸), he had no less than 14

¹⁶ In the letter of 31 December 1919 (cf. *supra*, note 3), **János Gorove** showed **Artur Gorovei** that his *great-grandmother*, **Hankovics Mária**, came to **Ibașfalău**. She was the wife of **János** and daughter-in-law of **Kristóf**, who was knighted in 1761. This **János** had two brothers, **Antal** and **Tivadar**, who are not mentioned by genealogists. Did they have a future? Did they die *en bas âge*?! The same unexplained silence is the case with two of his sons, **Antal** and **Kristóf**.

In August 1923, my grandfather visited the **Gorove** family in **Dumbrăveni/Ibașfalău**. He copied the diploma of **Maria Theresia**, and received from **János** – his congener: both were born in 1864! – a genealogical tree and a drawing after their coat of arms (both are still preserved in the **Gorovei** family archive). For this visit: **Artur Gorovei**, *În târgul Sibiului*, in “*Lumea*”, Iași, an. VI, 31 August 1923, p. 2 (I thank Dr. **Liviu Papuc** for sharing with me this text). The epistolary relations continued until the beginning of the war, maintained through the intercession of two of **János**’s sons-in-law, namely, **Aurel Vlad** and **Mircea Demetrescu**. I am now in contact with some of their decedents.

¹⁷ She died on 1 January 1799 and was buried in the Armenian church in **Dumbrăveni** – **Ávedik Lukács**, *Erzsébetváros monográfiája*, **Todorán Endre** “*Aurora*” könyvnyomdája, (Szamosújvár, 1896); I cite after the Romanian edition: *Orașul liber regal Elisabethopolis*, translated by **Mihail Szabo**, (București: Editura “*Ararat*”, 2014), p. 118.

¹⁸ She died on 8 June 1859 and was buried in the Armenian cemetery in **Dumbrăveni** (photograph courtesy of Dr. **Liviu Cîmpeanu**).

children (9 boys and 5 girls), from which emerged family branches with different destinies. One of the sons, Gergely (1807–1881; ∞ Kabdebo Mária), was the father of that János who became through adoption the heir of István Gorove de Gáttaja. The legacy of another son, Lajos (1816–1884), who remained in Ibașfalău/Dumbrăveni, evolved in Transylvania, finally arriving in Hungary in the circumstances of the Second World War. From there, before and after the Revolution of 1956, several emigrated to the United States; among them, the most famous is known by the name of *Space Gorove*: Stephen (Steve) Gorove (1917–2001), the first space law specialist. His children also have legal careers and are active in this field. His brother, Dr. Gorove László (1927–2000) (**Fig. 9**), is the father of the doctor of the same name, very active and well-known today in Budapest. Through him and his brother, István, this family branch is well represented in Hungary with grandchildren who today resume the typical Armenian names: most recently, Abel Arakel Gorove was born on 30 June 2016¹⁹. In Dumbrăveni, the last member of his family line was Gorove Katalin, not married (* 25 July 1882 – † 10 December 1951). From this branch from Dumbrăveni, some descendants through women resumed the patronym Gorove in the nineteenth century. Descendants are in Romania to this day²⁰.

By the nature of their professions (military men, lawyers, merchants, officers, etc.), the members of this family have known greater mobility, until some of them have attached themselves to a particular place as landowners. This has favored their spread in vaster spaces, and, at the same time, renders more difficult pursuing their movements and restoring their kinship

¹⁹ Dr. Anna Gorove-Mohácsi (Strasbourg), daughter of Dr. Gorove László *junior*, shared this information, along with other details related to her family line. I am grateful for the courtesy with which she accepted to help me in my research on the Hungarian family lines.

²⁰ A group of Gorove from Târgu Mureș. In 1930, **Gorove István** from Iernut (Radnóth) attended a ceremony at the Armenian church in Gherla, along with the brothers Gorove János and László from Dumbrăveni. He is, I believe, that **Gorove István** (1878–1942) married to Kazatsay Emilia (1881–1965), the parents of Emilia Gorove (1902–1977), wife of Szálassy Ferenc; Gorove Emilia was buried in the cemetery in Odorheiu Secuiesc. V. and János József Gudenus, *Örmény eredetű magyar nemesi családok genealógiája*, cit. (*supra*, note 11), p. 267. This Gorove István is said to have had three sisters (*ibidem*, pp. 266–268): **Mária** (1858–1942, ∞ Nyárády Gerő), **Jolán** (∞ Izmael Domokos) and **Kornélia** (1860–1941, ∞ Pap Elek). The author shows (p. 266) that Mária (only her or all those mentioned?) could have had as parents Gorove Gergely and his wife, Becássy Josefa. V. **ADDENDA** from the end of this study.

I believe the posterity of the brother who was not knighted in 1760–1761 (Gorove Antal) belongs to a family branch that existed in Baia Mare, from where a Gorove Miklós left (around 1950s, it appears) for Hungary. His descendants settled in Gödöllő, but with an extension in Slovakia (some of the information about this group I gathered with the help of Dr. Anna Gorove-Mohácsi). A family line still exists in Gheorgheni. I will make known on another occasion the genealogical material gathered with reference to those who carry this name.

relations. They are found moving toward the eastern counties of Hungary, where the successors of some of them have remained until today.

The brothers Jenő (1892–1936) and István Gorove from Sarkad (Békés county) belong to one of these branches. They took over their mother's patrimony, a Rzihovszky adopted by a Gorove. Under circumstances that are unknown to me, István's followers arrived in... the Soviet Union²¹! *Sabina Ištoanovna Gorove* (born in Sarkad on 25 December 1923) was honored for participating in the defense of Leningrad (**Fig. 10a-b**). After the war, she studied at the Pedagogical Institute and became a Professor of History and Collaboration at the Marxism-Leninism Institute. Through marriage, she changed her name to *Balmaşnova*²². Her sister, Katalin (Katerina) Gorove, graduated the Russian Academy of Ballet in 1945 and was a renowned ballerina in the company of Ludmila Melnikova. To this day, in Russia, there are men whose family name is in this form: **ГОРОВЕ**.

Before concluding this section, I must mention here that among the Gorovei briefly discussed in this study, some have attributed (or were attributed) the title *de Gáttaja* (*gáttajai*); it is evident that we are dealing with impostures (intentional or accidental, but accepted)²³.

*

The Gorovei from Moldavia have their beginnings in the central area of the old principality, in Neamţ county. From there, even before the end of the seventeenth century, they spread through marriages in the lands of Bacău, Tecuci, and Iaşi. Their destinies were different: some ascended and some descended in society. The five Gorovei groups that exist today in five counties have remained unknown to the family history until my research in recent years. In all instances, bearers of the name still exist in the villages of origin, but many others have migrated to cities all over Romania, from Dobrogea to Banat (others are found in other countries, from Spain to Russia, and from the Nordic countries to Italy and the Orient). Internet searches identifies them without difficulty, and the genealogical survey I conducted

²¹ I learned about the possible existence of this family line in a letter dated 10 December 1989 from Dr. Gorove László *senior* from Budapest; v. **ADDENDA** from the end of this study.

²² Information gathered from the site www.polkmoskva.ru/people/775365 (indicates her birth in Leningrad) and www.polkmoskva.ru/people/775365 (indicates her birth in Sarkad). I thank Dr. Ioan-Augustin Guriţă for directing me to these sources, in addition to many others that I found very useful to my studies.

²³ V. şi János József Gudenus, *op. cit.*, p. 264: "Egyesek még a "gáttajai" előnevet is használták, pedig arra csak Gorove László, Lajos és Károly testvérek illetve leszármazottaik voltak jogosultak".

led to the conclusion that **all of these name carriers are from Moldavia**, originating in one of the five centers from which their parents left, or even they themselves departed.

We thus have, *under the same patronym*, a family of Armenians in Transylvania (then in Hungary and the wider world) and a family of Romanians in the center of Moldavia, today spread to the wider world. *Did they begin from the same lineage?!*

This is the question my grandfather also sought to answer, oscillating between hypothetical affirmation and uncertain denial. In reality, as I have noted, nothing seems to lead to an affirmative answer. The only common element – and perhaps the one capable of opening the path for plausible explanations – remains **the name itself**.

I first sought to explain the **uniqueness** and **persistence** of this name in the Romanian space: it appears in central Moldavia toward the end of the sixteenth century and remains attested in the following centuries **only in the territory of the former principality of Moldavia**. This finding led me to investigate **its significance**. Philologists explain it through Slavic connections (Ukrainian), deriving it either from the word *gora*, “mountain”²⁴, or from the word *gorobei*, “sparrow”²⁵. But to these explanations I posed a question that my logic as a historian and genealogist considers to be unavoidable and irrefutable: if the name *Gorovei* derives from a Slavic word, how come it does not appear in other areas in which the Ruthenian influence is recognized as having been much stronger than in central Moldavia, as for example in northern Moldavia (Bukovina) or in Maramureș? **The philologists could not offer me a satisfactory answer to this question. Darkness descended when I brought together the name of the Romanians in Moldavia with that of the Armenians in Transylvania.** That is how I started.

Unfortunately, the Gorovei from Transylvania and Hungary do not retain a history of their family, not even comparable to what survives for those in Romania after 120 years of research. This explains why it became necessary for part of my project to be devoted to the reconstruction of the Armenian Gorove(i) genealogy and history. This was accomplished despite

²⁴ The explanation offered to my grandfather by the great linguist H. Tiktin (1850– 1936) (postcard from 13 April 1899 in the family archive): “Your name seems to mean ‘muntean’ from the slav. *gora*, ‘mountain’. Indeed, in Ruthenian I find the word *goroviï* with this meaning” (significance). Recently, I was able to check in Ukrainian dictionaries the validity of Tiktin’s explanation in which the emphasis on the penultimate vocal is as important as in the patronym Gorovei.

²⁵ The explanation of another great linguist, Iorgu Iordan (1888–1986), in his *Dicționar al numelor de familie românești*, (București: Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1983), p. 229.

the fact that I do not know either the Hungarian or Armenian languages and had no access to the archives. Nevertheless, I studied publications, information from the virtual space of the Internet, and the details offered with much graciousness by some members of this family.

One fact is known. In the two knighting documents, the name is written differently: in the source from 28 July 1760, for the wife and children of László, the name **Gorove** appears; in the source from 25 October 1761, for Kristóf (with his wife and boys), the name **Gorovei** is written. In order to explain the difference marked by the final **i**, Szongott proposed that the name "Gorovej was made up of Gorove to which the Armenian possessive form **was added**"²⁶. But this explanation, on the one hand, was based on the assumption that *the original form of the patronym* was known, and, on the other hand, it was formulated under the impression of the form that at the time was current and became unique in Hungary: *Gorove*. Or, as it is known, this form was not a unique one from the beginning. Rather, on the contrary, the two forms coexisted for more than a century, carried by members of the two knighted family lines.

In fact, Szongott offered a more elaborate explanation of this patronym in general. He noted that he found in the Gherla baptismal registry three contemporaries (in 1715) with the name *Hohannes*, surnamed *Ázbej*. "All three carried the name János [Ioan] *Ázbej* and were distinguished by their nicknames: the first was called *Gorove*, the second *Dşokăbin*, and the third *Făşfăş*. These nicknames were used as family names"²⁷. From this premise came the conclusion: "*Gorov, gorovi* is an Armenian word [...] that means: skilled, brave, competent, courageous, smart, powerful. It is the family name of the *Ákoncz* family. [...] *Gorove = Ázbej*. *Ákoncz, Ázbej, Gorove* are from the same family. *Gorovej* was formed from *Gorove*, to which the Armenian possessive form was added"²⁸.

I am of the opinion that the explanation offered by Szongott suffers from a logical point of view, as it misses an essential detail: the circumstances under which an Armenian could have received a Romanian nickname *in an Armenian context*, as is *Dşokăbin* or *Djokăbin*. Szongott notes that "it derives from the Romanian words for 'plays well', that is, dances well, good dancer"²⁹. On the other hand, as I have already noted, it begins from the premise that the original name took the form of **Gorove**.

²⁶ Kristóf Szongott, *Genealogia familiilor armene din Transilvania...*, cit. (*supra*, note 8), p. 119; my emphasis.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, pp. 40–41.

²⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 119.

²⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 89 (family *Dşokăbin, Djokăbin*).

Perhaps if he had knowledge of the Gorovei from Romania, Szongott would have been more cautious in formulating these explanations. Nevertheless, I find fascinating that the explanations of the specialists for the same patronym used by the Romanians in Moldavia and by the Armenians in Transylvania were offered, in each case, without noticing the parallels between the two contexts!

I also have to mention a newer opinion about the name Gorovei among the Armenians, unfortunately unsubstantiated and undocumented: "With this name the family came to Moldavia, where the Armenian form "Gorovi" = "Son of Gorov", was transformed into the Romanian "Gorove". Sometimes, it is written as "Gorovei". In Transylvania, the name took the form of "Gorovei", which in the Hungarian language means "from Gorov". Later, the name was written in its modernized form of Goroveji, retaining its meaning"³⁰.

In Kristóf's family line (the one with the diploma from 1761), the name continued in the form of *Gorovei* or *Gorovej*. The fact is unanimously accepted and indisputable, since in 1886 *Gorovej* János from Ibașfalău, the adoptive son of the former minister, received (by imperial decision) the right to change his name to *Gorove* and to adopt also the phrase *de Gătaia* (găttajai) (**Fig. 11**). From that moment onward, the entire family line from Ibașfalău adopted the shorter form of the name, assumed previously, quietly, by the Gorovei of other family lines. For the intermediary generations, there is enough evidence to prove the use of the patronym in the form of *Gorovei* or *Gorovej*. On the funerary monument of Jakab (Kristóf's nephew) from the Armenian cemetery in Dumbrăveni (Ibașfalău) is written the name **Gorovei** (**Fig. 8**). The same form is found for his children as well: Gergely-Kristóf (1808–1881) is named in 1832 *Gregorius Gorovej*³¹, and Lajos (1816–1884) is shown as "nobilis *Ludovicus Gorovei*"³². Their sister, Katalin (Katica) (1807/1808–1877, Békés), married with Kiss Antal³³, is named *Catharina*

³⁰ Nicolae Gazdovits, *Istoria armenilor din Transilvania (de la începuturi până la 1900)*, (București: Editura "Ararat", 1996), p. 390. The author maintains (also without evidence) that "a family branch modified its name to 'Akonz', which derives from the similarity of the name 'gorov' in Armenian".

³¹ *Calendarium novum et vetus ad annum bissextilem MDCCCXXXII [...] in usum M. Principatus Transsilvaniae et Partium Adnexarum...*, (Typis Lycei Regis, Claudiopoli), p. 147: among the officials from "Elisabethopolis L. R. Civitatis", was one of the six "Collectores Regiae Contributionis".

³² I thank Mr. Ovidiu Demetrescu (București), descendant of János Gorove from Dumbrăveni, for this information. János was the son on Gergely-Kristóf (*Gregorius Gorovei* from 1832).

³³ Héjja Juliana Erika, *Békés vármegye archontológiája és prozopográfiája 1715–1848*, (Gyula, 2009), p. 336, despre Kiss Antal (1801–1877): "Az erzsébetvárosi születésű Gorove Katalinnal (1807 k. – 1877) kötött házasságot; fiuk, József (* 1835)".

Gorovei³⁴ at the baptismal registration of their son József (20.XII.1835, Békés). Even the adoptive son of the minister was recorded at birth (1864), as *Ioannes Nepomuc Martinus Gorovei*³⁵, which made necessary the name change by that decision in 1886.

But not only this. Even Kristóf, the son of Gorove László (who died before receiving the diploma of 1760) and the grandfather of the future minister, was still named *Gorovei*. As such, on 26 March 1788, when he was a counselor at Gherla, he was mentioned as *Gorovej Kristóf*³⁶. In 1791, when the Armenians from Gherla and Dumbrăveni addressed the Transylvanian Diet about their rights, the first city was represented by *Gorovei Kristóf* and Novák Theodor³⁷. His name was similarly written, but in Armenian (*Gorovejan*), when he was elected *judex primarius* (1797)³⁸.

With these findings in mind, I believe it is the right moment to ask the question: **was the name *Gorovei* (*Gorovej*) formed by adding a letter or was the name *Gorove* created by removing that letter?!**

In search for an answer, we need to look at the older sources dealing with the beneficiaries of the 1760 and 1761 diplomas in the years prior to the issue of these documents. As such, we find that the document issued by

³⁴ "Hungary, Catholic Church Records, 1636-1895," Database, *FamilySearch* (<https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:XKB5-CFQ>: accessed 19 June 2015), Catharina Gorovei in entry for Carolus Joannes Josephus Kiss, 20 Dec 1835, Baptism; citing Gyula, Békés, Hungary, Tolna Megyei Levéltár, Budapest (National Archives, Budapest); FHL microfilm 639,535. This Katalin is also shown as being born in 1808 and dead on 7.IV.1877 in Békés. On the site *search.ancestry*, she is found on the genealogical tree of Kemeny, and on *trees.ancestry.com.au*, she appears as Lisa Gorove (*Lisa Family Tree*), together with Anna Gorove.

Also on the site *familysearch*, I found a *Jakab* (Jacobus) *Gorovei*, married with Josepha Czinker, and with parents *János Jakab* (Johannes Jacobus) *Gorovei* baptized on 3 January 1865 in Debreczen: "Hungary, Catholic Church Records, 1636-1895," Database, *FamilySearch* (<https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:XZG8-N9S> : accessed 19 June 2015), Johannes Jacobus Gorovei, 03 Jan 1865, Baptism; citing Debreczen, Hajdu, Hungary, Tolna Megyei Levéltár, Budapest (National Archives, Budapest); FHL microfilm 639,499.

³⁵ Information shared by Mr. Ovidiu Demetrescu (București).

³⁶ Dr. Kapronczay Károly, *Adatok a magyarórmény orvosok és gyógyszerészek történetéhez*, (Budaörs, 2002), p. 62.

³⁷ Cf. Kovács Bálint, *Armenii în Transilvania (de la stabilirea lor în secolul XVII până în secolul XX)*, the page of Internet *Gyulafehérvári Főegyházmegyei Levéltár / Archivum Archidioecesanum Albae Julienne*.

³⁸ Cf. *supra*, note 12. I found the name **Gorovian** carried by Dr. **Nina Gorovian-Zenios** from Cyprus College, who participated in 2004 at a *Workshop* in the context of *Cyprus Entrepreneurship Competition*. Cf. <http://www.cs.ucy.ac.cy/cyec/WorkshopProgramme.pdf> Her husband, Prof. Stavros A. Zenios, was president of the University of Cyprus between 2002 and 2010. There may be a mistake in the Armenian writing of the patronym because in all other citations on the Internet the name appears as *Gorovaia*.

Maria Theresia on 17 April 1758 for the Armenians in Gherla (Armenopolis) mentions two *senatores* (advisors) from this family: *Christophorus Gorovej* and *Abagarus Gorovej*³⁹. Both occupied this dignified position in that city between 1758 and 1761⁴⁰. Both names are similarly offered in two documents recently discovered by a former student of mine, Dr. Arcadie M. Bodale. He found in the Vienna archives two petitions addressed to the Empress in 1759 by a group of ten Armenians from Gherla who requested the urgent release of the knighting documents promised based on the consistent donations they had made⁴¹ (we are here during the Seven Years War). Among the signatures are the names **Abagarus Gorovei senator** and **Christophorus Gorovei senator (Fig. 12a)**. The petitioners of 1759 must be the beneficiaries of the 1760 and 1761 diplomas. As such, *Abagarus Gorovei* is one and the same person as the one posthumously named **Ladislaus** (recte, László) **Gorove**⁴².

These documents reveal the answer to another question: *Did the Gorovei from Transylvania and Hungary originate in Moldavia?* In principle, it is known that the Armenians from Gherla came from Moldavia⁴³. But for a study such as this one it is necessary to carry out a particular test, not a

³⁹ *Liber Regius*, LIII, p. 431. In the privilege of Iosif II from 9 October 1786 (in which it is reproduced also the privilege from 1758), among the Armenian representatives in Gherla are cited *Christophorus Gorove, ordinarius orator (ibidem, p. 430)*. Document identified at <https://archives.hungaricana.hu/en/libriregii/hu> (Kyrályi Könyvek - 53.279/a).

⁴⁰ Cf. *supra*, note 12. There is justification for completing the name *Abag* in *Abag[ar]*.

⁴¹ Arcadie M. Bodale, Claudia Tărnăuceanu, *Două documente din veacul al XVIII-lea de la Finanz- und Hofkammerarchiv din Viena, referitoare la înnobilarea armenilor plecați din Moldova la Gherla*, in "Cercetări Istorice", s.n., XXXIV(2015): pp. 161-168. Dr. Arcadie M. Bodale had the graciousness to entrust me with images and transcriptions of these documents early as the spring of 2015.

⁴² I do not know how to explain the equivalence drawn between the names *Abagar* and *Ladislaus* (László). According to the opinion of Szongott *Genealogia familiilor armenie din Transilvania...*, cit. (*supra*, note 8), p. 24: "Ábkár. This is the short version of the Armenian word *Abagar* [...], which means a brave man: magnus, magnates, in Turkish *agha*". However, I think we have here instead a reference to the name of the King of Edessa, *Abgar al V-lea* († c. 50), famous for his attitude toward Christianity, in whose care the mandylian was kept." The name was also used by the Armenians from Romania - the artist *Apcar Baltazar* (1880-1909) and the Junimist *Abgar Buiucliu*: *Bogdan Căuș, Figuri de armeni din România*, cit. (*supra*, note 5), p. 68 and 87.

⁴³ Regarding the emigration the Armenians from Moldavia, v. Nicolae Gazdovits, *Istoria armenilor din Transilvania (de la începuturi până la 1900)*, cit. (*supra*, note 30), pp. 77-80; Marius Chelcu, *Cauze ale părăsirii Moldovei de către armeni la sfârșitul secolului XVII, în Istorie și societate în spațiul est-carpatic (secolele XIII-XX)*, volum editat de Dumitru Ivănescu și Marius Chelcu, *Omagiul profesorului Alexandru Zub*, (Iași: Editura "Junimea", 2005), pp. 73-81. A rich bibliography on the subject (with all connections and conclusions) developed in Hungarian historiography. On the union of the Armenians with the Church of Rome: Nagy Kornél, *Az erdélyi örmények katolizációja (1685-1715)*, MTA Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont, Történettudományi Intézet, (Budapest, 2012).

general one! Or, as the ten Armenians – including the two Gorovei – declared frankly:

nos aequae e numero illorum Armenorum esse, qui Augustissima Domo Austriaca rem Transylvanicam sub imperium accipiente vicina Svavis Dominationis oportunitate vocati, misso Turcico jugo e Moldavia in Transylvaniam venerunt. (Fig. 12b)

This is explicit and definitive proof that **the Gorovei from Transylvania and Hungary have their origins in Moldavia.**

*

With this, we arrived at the most delicate juncture of my research, that is, at the question: were there in Moldavia, **at the same time**, two families bearing **the same name** but absolutely different (both in ethnicity and religion), without belonging to the same family line?!

The experience that I have gained during several decades of genealogical research has revealed that a negative answer is most apt in this regard: at a certain social level, **the family name is part of the spiritual heritage** that is difficult to give up and only under certain circumstances. Among the noblemen of Moldavia, the bearers of the same patronym are most likely descendants of a common ancestor. In the case of the Armenians, the same reality is valid: there are Armenian families in Transylvania that have identical names with Armenian families in Moldavia. For me, the closest example is that offered by my mother's side of the family: Pelealb exists as much in Suceava (then Botoșani and Roman) as in Gherla⁴⁴. I also identified several Armenian families bearing names that are also found among the Romanians of Moldavia: among these, the most unexpected is the name Galimász⁴⁵, registered as such by Father Ávedik Lukács. It is the same as that of the family to which the historian Aurel H. Golimas (1908–1995) belonged.

The specialist in historical anthroponymy, Prof. Mircea Ciubotaru, offered an essential explanation for these genealogical-historical findings: if the family name Gorovei appears in Moldavia in 1591/1592, it is very likely that it was established there around the middle of the century. This is precisely the moment of the great repression that the Armenians of Moldavia suffered during the rule of Ștefan VI Rareș (1551–1552).

⁴⁴ Kristóf Szongott, *Genealogia familiilor armene din Transilvania*, cit., (*supra*, note 8), pp. 218–219.

⁴⁵ Ávedik Lukács, *Orașul liber regal Elisabethopolis*, cit. (*supra*, note 17), p. 285.

The reasoning with which I end is this one.

Premises:

- 1) The antecedence of the Gorovei from Moldavia (end of sixteenth century);
- 2) The Gorovei from Transylvania arrived from Moldavia (end of seventeenth century);
- 3) Someone who is Orthodox cannot become an Armenian, but an Armenian can become Orthodox.

Conclusions:

- 1) The Gorovei from Moldavia and Transylvania are very likely branches from the same genealogical line.
- 2) In the middle of the sixteenth century, in Moldavia, an Armenian Gorovei converted to Orthodoxy, and his descendants constituted the family with this name to the east of the Carpathian Mountains.
- 3) The Gorovei who retained their ancestral faith left for Transylvania at the end of the seventeenth century or the beginning of the next.

Regarding the name (patronym), the conclusion that the family (*das Geschlecht*) with its two major branches is of Armenian origin can be an explanation for its uniqueness (both in the Romanian and Hungarian lands), but also for its power of perseverance in foreign environments. The pathway from either the alleged Slavic or Armenian roots, or whether an Armenian word was transformed or not with a Slavic one, is up to the specialists to deliberate and decide. As far as I am concerned, I do not have any reluctance at this stage of the research to assert that the hypothesis of the Armenian root of the patronym seems to be most likely for both large family lines that evolved to either side of the Carpathian Mountains.

“Accepter ses ancêtres s’est se donner une chance de mieux être soi-même”⁴⁶.

⁴⁶ Yves du Passage, *La généalogie pour tous*, cit. (*supra*, note 1), p. 32.

ADDENDA

For the memory of Dr. Gorove László (1927–2000)

On 10 December 1989, Dr. Gorove László – a follower of the Gorovei from Dumbrăveni (Ibaşfalău) – generously responded to the letter through which I asked for genealogical details about his family line (marriage dates for the last generations). In addition to that information, he sent an article about Gorove Antal, cut from a newspaper:

der im Freiheitskrieg von 1848 der erste gewesen sein soll, der die Mauer der Budaer Burg eroberte und die ungarische Fahne darauf hißte.

The same letter carried additional information, communicated to me only as a curiosity, but obviously also in the hopes of learning from me further details:

Zufälligerweise erfuhr ich, daß ein Gorove István, der 1849 als Leutnant gefallen ist und auf dem Friedhof in Köröshát /Komitat Békés/ ruht, 8 Enkelkinder, 2 Urenkel und 4 Ururenkel in der Sowjetunion haben soll. Wissen Sie darüber Bescheid?

I happened to find out that Gorove István, who fell as lieutenant in 1849 and now rests in the cemetery in Köröshát (Békés county), supposedly has 8 grandchildren, 2 great-grandchildren, and 4 great-great-grandchildren in the *Soviet Union*. Are you informed about this?

It took almost a quarter of a century for me to discover the information Dr. Gorove László expected from me then. After gathering the sources with a lot of toil during my years of research on the history of the Gorovei/Gorove(i) family, and adding other details about a descending branch of the same family line as his, I present them to the audience of specialists as a tribute to his memory. Both of the following excursions illustrate the difficulties of such genealogical research.

1. Gorove Antal

On 28 January 2013, János Kocs, a genealogist from Sfântu Gheorghe, sent me with kindness, for which I thank him to this day, a fragment from the genealogy of certain Gorove, descendants of an unknown individual born in 1797, who would have had the following children:

- **Antal**, * 1822 – † 27.XI.1881 Budapest, married (1861) with Ullmann Terez, * 1826 – † 12.II.1917 Budapest⁴⁷;
- **István**, † post 1881;
- **Sárolta**, † post 1881, married with Csotka Károly;
- **Anna**, † post 1881⁴⁸, married with Kiss Peter.

From this list, the only one with followers is Antal, whose children include:

- **Rozalia**
- **Gizella**
- **Arpad**, * 1864 – † 17.IV.1935 Pásztó, married with Olah Margit (sons: Antal and István)
- **Ilona**

This is how I learned about the family of Gorove Antal (I will call it the Pásztó branch), the revolutionary from 1848, the first president of the Notary Chamber in Budapest, an officer and famous lawyer. My efforts to gather more details from the Chamber of Notaries⁴⁹ led to a result that seems to me unclear: Antal would have been the son of a certain Gorove László, a landowner in Bihar⁵⁰.

One of the sources consulted revealed that he was the son of Gorove László and his wife, Rácz Mária Magdolna⁵¹, which is **absolutely impossible** because in such a case he would be the brother of Gorove István, the famous politician and minister, a position that no genealogist had claimed! In many instances, including in the book of Dr. Rokolya, Antal is accompanied by the

⁴⁷ Tereza Ullmann's Jewish heritage explains the registration of two of her daughters at Kempelen Béla, *Magyar zsidó családok* [reprint of *Magyarországi zsidó és zsidó eredetű családok*, Budapest, 1937–1939], I, (Budapest: Makkabi kiadó, 1999), p. 100 (here, the husband is named *Gorove Adolf*, a mistake corrected in *ibidem*, II, p. 31).

⁴⁸ Setting the dates of death "post 1881" surely signifies the presence of the respective names in a *faire-part* for the announcement of Antal's death.

⁴⁹ For information, I sent (without much hope) an electronic message to the Chamber of Notaries in Budapest in January 2015. I joyfully received a response from Ms. Vera Várkonyi who forwarded information from Dr. Gábor Rokolya together with the page from his work (v. next note) dedicated to Gorove Antal. I ask both of them to find here the expression of my gratitude.

⁵⁰ Rokolya Gábor, *A polgári közjegyzőség emlékezete 1875–1949*, Magyar Országos Közjegyzői Kamara, (Budapest, 2009), p. 169. In a message from 28 January 2015, Ms. Vera Várkonyi wrote that the author of the book found in Oradea the birth certificate of Antal, proving this filiation: "M^{re} Rokolya a trouvé l'extrait de naissance de Gorove Antal à Nagyvárad (Oradea, en Roumanie). Le père de Gorove Antal était M. Gorove László, propriétaire des terrains".

⁵¹ Habermann Gusztáv, *Személyi adattár a szegedi polgár-családok történetéhez*, Kiadja a Csongrád Megyei Levéltár és a Móra Ferenc Múzeum, Szeged Város Önkormányzata és a Szegedért Alapítvány támogatásával, (Szeged, 1992), p. 94: "Szülei valószínűleg László földbirtokos és neje Rácz Mária Magdolna voltak".

term *gáttajai* (of Gáttaja/Gătaia), which also seemed strange to me since the title **was not given in 1824 to all those carrying the name Gorove**. Only the three brothers received the name, of whom only one had a son (the future minister). If Antal really carried this title, it would have meant that he could only be the son of one of the uncles of the minister (Lajos † 1830 or Károly † 1872), and thus his primary cousin.

On the other hand, I found that an earlier work, from a time closer to that of Gorove István and Gorove Antal, links the latter not to the branch with the title *gáttajai*, and neither to the other noble line, without a title, but to that Antal who in 1760-1761 was not knighted⁵².

With this, the suspicion that *Gorove Antal did not have the noble title and was not the son of a László* (even less of the one married to Rácz Mária Magdolna) began to turn into a fact, even though it lacked (yet!) the necessary evidence.

The funerary monument from the cemetery in Budapest, photographed by Dr. Teodora Artimon, also brought forth a confirmation: one finds there only the names and dates of birth (29.X.1822) and death (27.XI.1881), without any noble title. Even the death certificate, also consulted by Dr. Artimon, lacks this title, and, unfortunately, also the names of his parents, including that of his father⁵³.

In the important volume of genealogies of the Armenians in Hungary, organized by Baron Gudenus, I found⁵⁴ supplementary information regarding this family branch, including Antal and his brother and sisters, the children of an unknown individual. The supplementary information consists of several dates for marriages of Antal's followers, and it is quite important for the details it offers about the husbands of his daughters: **Roza** ∞ Zakariás; **Gizella** ∞ Karátson Lajos; **Ilona** (1860–1918⁵⁵) ∞ Varjassy Dezső. These

⁵² Lendvai Miklós, *Temes vármegye nemes családjai*, cit. (*supra*, note 11), p. 143 (“Antal nem kapott nemességet”) and note 7 afferent: “Ennek leszármazója volt Gorove Antal budapesti kir. közjegyző, sz. állom. Honvéd-ezredes (megh. 1881. nov. 27. Budapest), a ki 1848/49-ben a 3. sz. (vörös sipkás) honvéd-zászlóalj őrnagya és parancsnoka volt”.

⁵³ Message from 7 March 2016. The death Certificate [Römisch-Katolisches Pfarramt, Szentistvánváros, 19. Band, 1-482 Folio (1873-1883), microfilm A109] records in place of the names of the parents, that of the wife, Ullmann Terez. The death occurred as a result of cardiac problems. The city of Salonta (Nagyszalonta) is indicated as the birthplace, which differs from other sources that note the village of Kisgyán in Bihar county (today Coşdeni). I warmly thank Dr. Teodora Artimon for the goodwill with which she responded to my inquiries, offering invaluable research help.

⁵⁴ János József Gudenus, *Örmény eredetű magyar nemesi családok genealógiája*, cit. (*supra*, note 11), pp. 264–265.

⁵⁵ Kempelen Béla, *Magyar zsidó családok*, II, cit. (*supra*, note 47), p. 31.

details have allowed me to reorient my studies in the multitude of information found also with the help of the Internet.

Therefore, in a work devoted to the prosopography of Békés county, I found several decisive details. There is mentioned a Kiss Péter (1807–1871) married with **Anna**, daughter of Gorove Vince: “Kiss Péter 1840 március 14-én Gyulán vette feleségül a sarkadkeresztúri Gorove Vince lányát, Annát”⁵⁶. There is no doubt that this **Gorove Anna** is the same as Antal’s sister⁵⁷. Among the children of this Anna, a daughter was named *Sarolta* (* 1846), and another Maria *Rozalia* (* 1841).

In the same book⁵⁸, I found Antal’s another sister, **Sárolta**, married to Csátka: “Csátka Lajos († 1863 előtt). Gorove Saroltával (1810 k. – 1888) kötött házasságot”. One of her four sons was named *Vince*. After the records in *FamilySearch*, he had a daughter, *Rozalia*, baptized on 22 April 1845 in Sarkad⁵⁹.

It seems to me that this information quite clearly indicates that Anna and Sárolta Gorove are not only sisters (as indicated also in the genealogies that I know⁶⁰), but also the daughters of a certain *Gorove Vincent*. Internet searches have testified to the existence of this figure whose wife was named *Rozalia*. One of their sons, János (Joannes) was baptized on 12 December 1810 in Püspökladány (Hajdu county). In the baptismal record, the family name of the mother is Czistra⁶¹. This patronym does not exist and so it should probably be read as *Cziffra*.

It is evident that both Antal and his sisters gave the name **Rozalia** to one of their daughters, and one of the Csátka boys was named **Vince**. The repeating of a name always constitutes a decisive argument for establishing or controlling a familial connection: in the present case, these names offer strong evidence for accepting that **Vince and Rozalia**, the parents of Anna and Sárolta Gorove, are also the parents of **Antal**.

⁵⁶ Héjja Juliana Erika, *Békés vármegye archontológiája és prozopográfiája 1715–1848*, cit. (*supra*, note 33), p. 339.

⁵⁷ János József Gudenus, *op. cit.*, p. 265; genealogy of János Kocs.

⁵⁸ Héjja Juliana Erika, *op. cit.*, p. 255.

⁵⁹ “Hungary, Catholic Church Records, 1636-1895,” Database, *FamilySearch* (<https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:XCYPQ-HJB>; accessed 27 June 2015), Sára Gorove in entry for Rozalia Csotka, 22 Apr 1845, Baptism; citing Sarkad, Bihar, Hungary, Tolna Megyei Levéltár, Budapest (National Archives, Budapest); FHL microfilm 642,641.

⁶⁰ János József Gudenus, *op. cit.*, p. 265; genealogy of János Kocs.

⁶¹ “Hungary, Catholic Church Records, 1636-1895,” Database, *FamilySearch* (<https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:XCPG-NCN>; accessed 27 June 2015), Joannes Gorove, 12 Dec 1810, Baptism; citing Püspökladány, Hajdu, Hungary, Tolna Megyei Levéltár, Budapest (National Archives, Budapest); FHL microfilm 623,283.

So, what is Gorove Antal's place in the known genealogy? As Lendvai Miklós proposed, or as the current information reveals?

In this stage of research, I propose a hypothesis that is based on his first name and two collateral pieces of information. I present the latter first:

1^o. In a letter addressed to my grandfather in 1888, János Gorove de Gáttaja notes, as I mentioned from the beginning of this genealogical study⁶², that he knew about the Gorovei from Romania from one of the family celebrities, not the minister, but an army man *who is also a relative of his*. During the second half of the nineteenth century, the Gorovei from Hungary had only two celebrities: the minister **István** and the law officer **Antal**. It seems to me that János Gorove could only refer to the latter, who seems to have been a close relative of his (from his circle of relatives).

2^o. It was stated that "the initial name of the predecessors" of Antal was *Gorovej*⁶³. The author did not offer a bibliographic reference to this statement, and I cannot confirm it. Therefore, I must accept it as it was formulated. As mentioned above, this form of the patronym was kept in the family branch of Kristóf, *Christophorus Gorovei*, knighted in 1761 with his sons *Ioannes, Antonius, and Theodorus* (János, Antal, Tivadar). The first sits at the root of the family branch from Ibaşfalău (to which also belongs the adoptive son of the minister). Nothing is known of the other two brothers in the genealogical works I have consulted to date. It would be possible that Gorove Antal belongs to this family line, named initially *Gorovei*. Therefore, I make the hypothesis that **Gorove Vince was the son of Antal** from 1761, and in his father's, memory gave one of his sons this first name (another son was named, as shown above, *Ioannes, János*).

In the case of this hypothesis, the law officer was a third-degree cousin of the minister and a second-degree cousin of János's father, the adoptive son of the minister: a familial relation quite close.

Another argument comes from the research into the Gorovei from Sarkad. The name of this village has appeared already in the information presented up to this point⁶⁴. One of the genealogical fragments published by Baron Gudenus deals precisely with this family line⁶⁵ to which Sabina Iştvánovna Gorove (Balmaşnova) belongs. A certain Gorove István, married to Lukáts Katalin, had as heir his wife's niece: Szabina (daughter of

⁶² Cf. *supra*, note 3.

⁶³ Habermann Gusztáv, *Személyi adattár a szegedi polgár-családok történetéhez*, cit. (*supra*, note 51), p. 94: "Elődeinek családneve eredetileg «Gorovej» volt".

⁶⁴ Cf. *supra*, note 59.

⁶⁵ János József Gudenus, *Örmény eredetű magyar nemesi családok genealógiája*, cit. (*supra*, note 11), p. 266.

Rzihovsky Vilibald, married to Lukáts Anna). From her marriage with Kolb Kálmán (1859–1923, buried in Sarkad-Köröshát), Szabina had two sons who took up the names of their adoptive grandparents: Gorove Jenő⁶⁶ (1892–1936, buried in Sarkad, in the cemetery Köröshát) and Gorove István. The latter, married with Elena Egerov, was the father to two daughters: Szabina and Katalin (mentioned already above). From the information offered on the site *Myheritage*, I found out that a certain M. Sudarev from Russia is looking for information about a *Gorove István born in 1828*. He was also interested in information about the following individuals: Řihovská, Kalman Kolb, Istvan Gorove, Rozalia Cziffra, Sabina Gorove married to Rzihovski (1862–1954), Iren Milian, Sara Gorove and Vincent (Vincentius, Vinse, Venze) Gorove. These names constitute indices for identifying the family branch to which they belong: that from Sarkad (Millián Irén is the second wife of Gorove Jenő, buried also in 1985 in the cemetery at Sarkad-Köröshát). It is evident that Mr. Sudarev was (is) searching for information about the family line to which Sabina Iștvanovna Gorove belonged, as he demonstrates great interest in the mention of the names **Gorove Vincze** and **Cziffra Rozalia** alongside the others known from the genealogy of the same branch. Vincent (Vincze) was probably the most distant known relative and noted as such by the descendants from Russia. On the other hand, the search launched by Mr. Sudarev also proves the existence of the descendants of Gorove István and Elena Egerova in Russia.

I think that if we really have a *Gorove István born in 1828*, he could be the brother with the same name of Gorove Antal, of whom the genealogists do not say a word. If these details and circumstances prove true, then it means that two groups of scattered Gorove(i)⁶⁷ – that from Pásztó (Antal) and that from Sarkad (István) – can now be attached to the genealogical tree, and, through this, become integrated within the family history losing the *stray* “status”.

⁶⁶ During the school year 1907–1908, he was in the fifth year of high school in Cluj – cf. *Az Erdélyi román. kath. státus hegyes rendiek vezetése alatt álló kolozsvári főgymnázium – ának Értesítője az 1907-1908 tanevről*, (Kolozsvár, 1908), p. 101 (he was moved to the Evangelical Gymnasium); I found this book on the site <http://library.hungaricana.hu/hu/kolozsvar>. After the information from the Military Archive in Budapest (I warmly thank the Director, Dr. Bonhardt Attila) communicated through Dr. Teodora Artimon, Gorove Jenő participated in the First World War as a lieutenant in a battalion of Mountain Hunters and was subsequently honored. In some data on the Internet, he also appears with the title *gáttajai!*

⁶⁷ In this case, I also applied a “method” I used in my research of the Gorovei from Moldavia, grouping in the category of “stray” all those for whom I could not yet identify the link with the established genealogy. The list of these “strays” decreases during each stage of the research.

2. Gorove Viktor

The kind courtesy of Mr. János Kocs also provided me with a *faire-part* through which the Royal Court in Alba Iulia, the Court of Appeal, and the members of the Royal Prosecutor's Office announced that **gáttajai Gorove Viktor**, judge of the Royal Court, passed away "after long suffering" on 31 October 1917 in Budapest⁶⁸. The announcement is printed in Alba Iulia (Schäser Ferencz printing house) in November 1917. I trust the printed word⁶⁹ and I began to look for other information about this supposed forgotten member of the family from Gătaia. I found him, but always without the title *gáttajai*, as a district judge (*járásbíró*) at Hațeg in 1904 and in Deva in 1909. Sometime, at the beginning of the century, he also worked at Petroșani (Petrozsény).

On the other hand, from the information provided by Mr. Gabriel Gorovei (Lugoj) – for whose goodwill I express my thanks also here – I found out about the existence of a certain **Victor-Ștefan Gorovei** at Hațeg at the beginning of the twentieth century. He and his wife Blanca were the parents of **Ioan-Ladislau Gorovei** (* 22.III.1907, Hațeg, † 15.V.1967, Arad) and **Maria-Blanca** (* 22.V.1908, Hațeg, † 25.II.1977, Hațeg). Ioan-Ladislau, or simply Ladislau (Ladislav), a doctor⁷⁰, married Yolanda Porkolab (* 1908, Reșița) in 1932 in Bucharest. Their son, **Ioan-Armand**, born in Bucharest on 17 September 1932, followed a military career. In all the documents shared by Mr. Gabriel Gorovei, the family name is **Gorovei**. Only in the death certificated of Maria-Blanca appears the name **Gorove**. This detail raised the question of whether Victor-Ștefan belonged to a family line from Transylvania, without excluding, in this case, the possibility of an error in the writing of the patronym.

My hypothesis was confirmed when Dr. Teodora Artimon saw at the Hungarian State Archives the death certificate of our protagonist, identified after the date of death (31 October 1917). The 42-year-old judge in Alba Iulia (Gyulafehérvár)⁷¹ was inscribed with the Hungarian name – **Gorove Győző**

⁶⁸ I thank Dr. Liviu Cîmpeanu for the proper interpretations of the formulations from this old *faire-part*.

⁶⁹ János József Gudenus also figures as *gáttajai Gorove Viktor, Örmény eredetű magyar nemesi családok genealógiája*, cit., (*supra*, note 11), p. 266.

⁷⁰ Certainly, the same as **Gorove Vasile dr.**, mentioned in Ghețea during the interwar period and (without the title Dr.) at Curtuișeni. The Romanianization of the first name was common during the period. Even Mr. Gabriel Gorovei, during our first phone call, told me that his grandfather was named Vasile.

⁷¹ In reality, Gorove Viktor was born in 1875 in Târgu Mureș: cf. *A Marosvásárhelyi Evang. Reform. Collegium Értesítője az 1883–84-ik iskolai*, Kiadia: az igazgatóság, Tg. Mureș (Marosvásárhely), 1884, p. 58. I found this volume on the site <http://library.hungaricana.h>

- and accompanied by all genealogical references that we would have wanted: his wife's name was Thodossy Blanka, and her parents were Gorove Ignacs and Veszély Lujza⁷². His identification with the judge from Hațeg and Deva, and with the father of Ioan-Ladislau and Maria-Blanca (both born in Hațeg) is entirely confirmed. The genealogy is complete not only with the family name of his wife (Thodossy), but also with the necessary link to connect him to the rest of the family.

The mention of the parents as Gorove Ignác and Veszély Lujza could be misleading if we did not know that the latter was actually married with **Fark** Ignác, whose mother, Maria (1805-1857), was the daughter of the spouses Gorovei Jakab and Gyertyánffy Anna from Dumbrăveni⁷³. Therefore, we have here, as in the case of the Gorovei from Sarkad, a transfer of the patronym through women⁷⁴. It is definite proof that in the circles in which the respective marriages were made, *this* patronym carried more weight and was more important, being "better rated". A similar phenomenon is found in the family branch from Moldavia, undoubtedly with the same motivation. In a research project that focuses on *the bearers of the name*, the transmission of the name through women is of no importance⁷⁵.

A Post Scriptum

The first part of this study elaborates on the paper, of the same title, presented on 22 September 2016 at the XXIII meeting of the Joint Committee of Romanian-Hungarian History held in Alba Iulia (reported in "Turul," 89, 2016, 4, p. 153). The second part (**Addenda**) was added for the publication. The study was published in Romanian in the volume *Istorie, genealogie. Transferuri culturale / Történelem, genealógia. Kulturális transzfer. Lucrările celei de a XXIII-a Reuniuni a Comisiei Mixte de Istorie Româno-Ungară (Alba Iulia, 21-22 septembrie 1916)*, edited by Nicolae Edroiu, Remus Câmpeanu & Laura Stanciu, Editura "Mega", Cluj-Napoca, 2017, p. 53-85.

u/hu/marosvasarhely. Gorove Jenő is recorded in the same place. He was born in Târgu Mureș in 1873 (both were students in the same class in third grade). It is, without a doubt, an older namesake of that from Sarkad (cf. *supra*, note 66).

⁷² Information communicated in the message of 13 May 2015. I was unable to acquire a digital image or a copy of this important document.

⁷³ The genealogical tree of the descendants of this pair, posted by Mr. János Kocs on the site <https://www.radixforum.com>, and the genealogical tree recorded by János Gorove from Dumbrăveni for Artur Gorovei (Gorovei archive).

⁷⁴ Possibly the same as Gorove Ignác, registrar of the National Assembly in the revolution of 1848-1849 - http://hu.metapedia.org/wiki/ttires_ormenyek.

⁷⁵ It is also of interest the adoption of the patronym by representatives of other ethnicities (the Jews in Hungary, or the Gypsies in Romania): each case could have its own explanation.

Professor Nagy Levente from the University of Budapest kindly translated this study into Hungarian – *Moldvai örmények, Erdélyben, Magyarországon és a nagyvilágban (Esettanulmány)*. This was published (not without editorial interventions) in the well-known journal of genealogy and heraldry “Turul” (XCI, 2018, 2, p. 52–63).

At the time, when the Hungarian translation of this study was nearing completion, our colleague Mr. János Kocs – the famous genealogist of Sfântu Gheorghe (Sepsiszentgyörgy) – gave me, at the occasion of the 18th National Genealogical and Heraldic Congress (Iași, 10-12 May 2018), a great family tree comprising many of the descendants of Gorove János (1715, 1716) from Gherla (Szamosujvár), both on the male line and, above all, the female one. In this genealogy, of particular value is the information about the members of the first generations of the family, whose names appear in Armenian. I could not use them here, but I will certainly make use of them in future studies. I warmly thank Mr. János Kocs for his very friendly gesture.

In addition, my research in recent years (added in note 4), offers, in some respects, corrections and nuances to statements made in the text published here. These are, however, collateral issues and details that do not modify nor affect the overall lines of argument. That is why I chose to keep the text as it was conceived in 2016. I would also like to express here my cordial thanks to Dr. Alice Isabella Sullivan (University of Michigan) who willingly accepted to translate the text into English, despite the difficulties she already recognized from a similar previous experience. (**Şt. S. G.**, Vienna, 30 June 2019).

Illustrations



Fig.1 István Gorove (1819-1881)



Fig.2 Artur Gorovei (1864-1951)



Fig.3 Nicu I. Gorovei (1834–1886)



Fig.4 Antal Gorove (1822–1881)



Gorove János (Budapest)

Pékholt 888 VIII g.

Monsieur,

J'ai accepté votre lettre datée juillet le 30 et par vos lignes j'étais tantôt plus agréablement frappé, car je désirais depuis informe de vous par un des célébrités de ma famille (pas l'ex-ministre, qui était mon oncle, mais un soldat, qui m'était un autre parent) de faire une connaissance avec vous cordiale.

Cependant, malgré moi, il m'est impossible pour cette fois de vous offrir des explications complètes, tant sur l'histoire ancienne de la famille, à révolution en 1848) avait rédigé le plus grand part de mes documents. à autre partie, et dans l'archive d'un de mes autres biens. Avant quelques années j'ai fait la quelques études, mais les documents avant 1785 sont arméniens et ils m'étaient incompréhensibles, mais une autre fois avec le temps je les ferai lire par quelqu'un qui comprend l'ancienne langue de notre famille, en origine (prochaine) de la votre.

Vous pouvez être assuré que je serais aussi heureux de pouvoir faire avec vous, Monsieur et avec la branche de la famille Gorove en Roumanie une connaissance bien souhaitée de mon part, que je tâcherais, espérant, qu'il me serait possible (et il ne passerait pas beaucoup de temps jusqu'à) de vous visiter.

Et par attendant permettez-moi d'espérer d'être honoré par votre visite; pendant l'hiver je suis ici, l'hiver à Budapest avec ma famille.

Agreez l'assurance de ma considération cordiale

Gorove János

Fig.5a-d János Gorove de Gáttaja (1838–1912) and his letter from 9 August 1888

Subita mea Rudeiic!

Scitola Ta me-a Casari
o surpriza de tot placuta.
Originea noastra comuna a familiei
noa; si stramosii mei au stat o.
Eu dela tatal meu care
murise inainte de-aceasta cu -
un' o 36 ani, am inceput cu noi
arom puca in Moldova, dintr
cari pe unii, tatal meu s.a
chiar s' cumasut.

Noi cu totu ne tragem originea
dela Ghula. Ioan Gorove s'
fiul lui Vasile, cumasut de
Tine de prin Budapesta, si
stiu si eu, doar deasdo se
mutase strabuna mea aici la
Iasfalau (Eliopetopol) ear
dupa moartea ei a lasat
pe mozul meu (bunicu) -
caruia unul dintre nepotii e
aui Ioan Gorove pe care l
sti tre din Budapesta, s'
acului fia Vasile a fost si
deputat distal.

Stramosii nostri s' aici sau
distins prin prioritatea s'
religiozitatea lor, despre care
luam dovada sattele
vechi bisericesti, cari vorde
despre domnia lor.

Ramura dela Budapesta
e si acum f. bogata. Pe noi
cei de aici nu ne prea imbul.
Trec averile, dar suntam bogati
f. bogati in dragostea Gata
de rudenile noastre. Si eu
dragosti de ueam astoptam
cu ueraldare proclata

Te veditu cat mai
in graba

iubitoarele Tale
rudenii

Ioan Gorove
s' fan.

Iasfalau la 31-XII. 1919.

Fig.6a-d Letter of János Gorove from Dumbrăveni, 31 December 1919

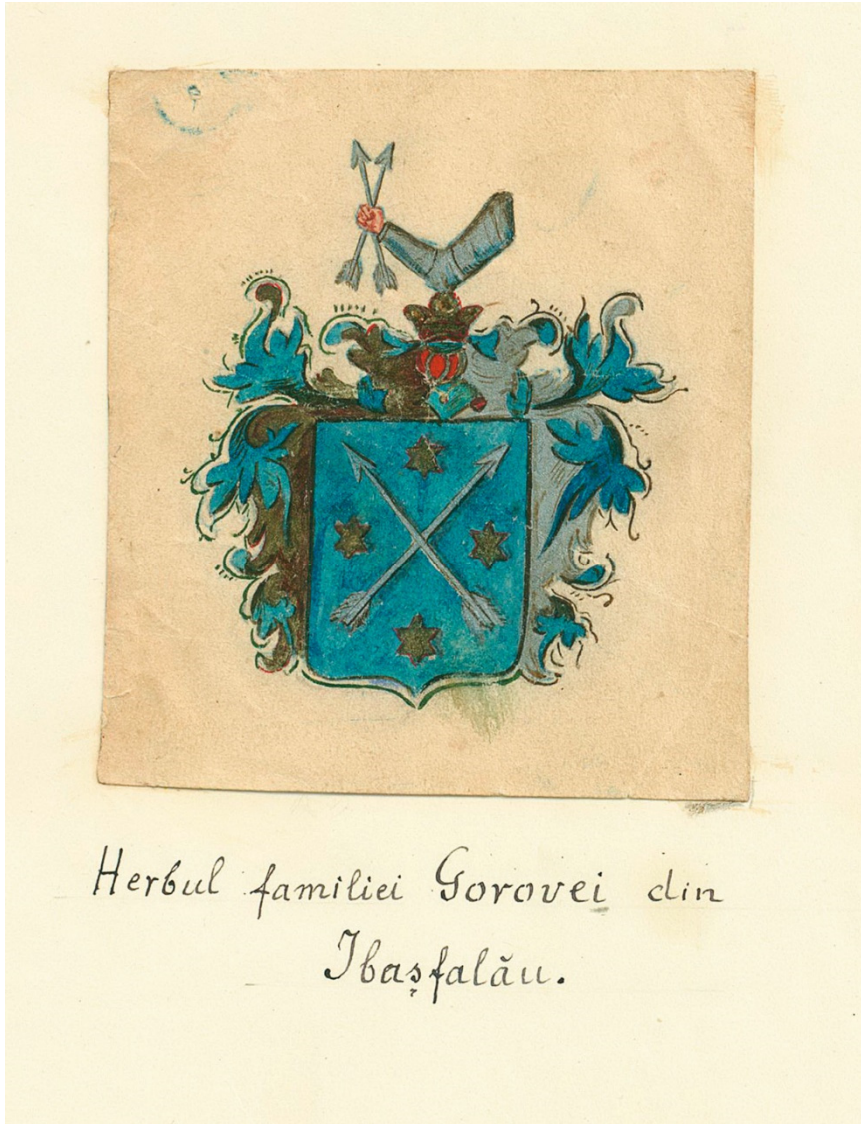


Fig.7 The Coat of Arms of both branches of the Gorove(i) Family



Fig.8 Funerary monument of Jakob Gorovei from Dumbrăveni

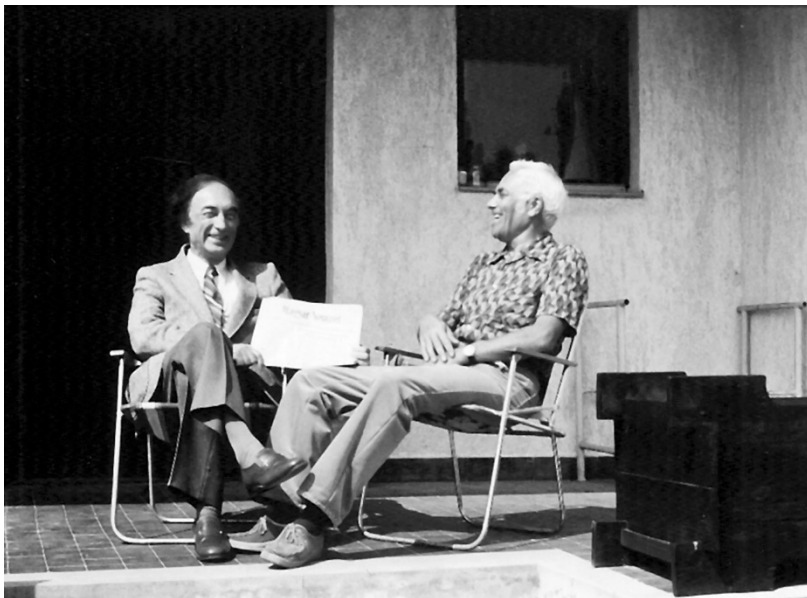


Fig.9 The brothers Stephen and László Gorove

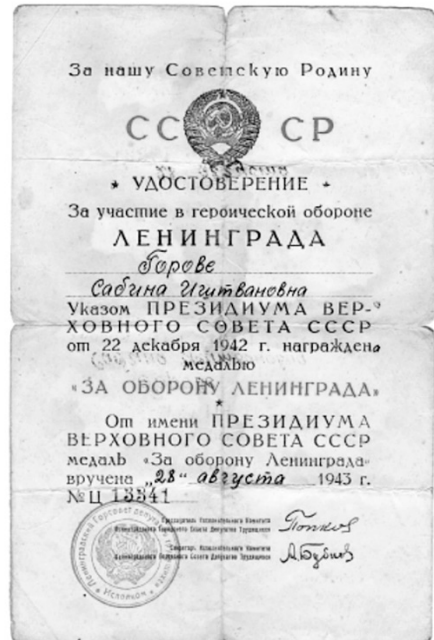


Fig.10a-b Sabina Gorove and the patent for the medal received

816 ex 1886
chr

Imperial rescript of 1886 for the change of patronym

Imperial rescript of 1886 for the change of patronym. The text is written in Hungarian cursive script. It mentions the name Gorovj Sinos and the change to Gorove. The text is dated 1886, July 3rd.

Imperial rescript of 1886 for the change of patronym. The text is written in Hungarian cursive script. It mentions the name Gorovj Sinos and the change to Gorove. The text is dated 1886, July 3rd.

Fig. 11 The Imperial rescript of 1886 for the change of patronym

Summissimi Imperatoris fidelis, hōis
 Martinus Weresax Judex, Simon
 Christoff Supremus Curator Ecclesiarū,
 Nicolaus Christoff Senator, Lucas
 Simai Senator, Christophorus Porocui
 Senator, Abagarus Porocui equi Senator,
 Martinus, et Petrus Balta Vidua
 Anna Georgii Weresax, Vidua Martii,
 ni Kovzig.

Fig. 12a Document of 1759: the petitioners

et devotissime desegere videamus; nos opte e' nu-
 mero Moxum Armenorum esse, qui Augustissima
 Domo Austriaca rem Transylvanicam habuerunt
 accipiente ruina hanc Dominationis oportunitate
 vocati, multo Turcico jugo e' Moldavia in Fran-
 sylvaniam venerunt, in qua hancorujaximi sedem
 figentibus Divina Bonitas sudori, et indefessis in-
 dustriae nostrae in tantum benedixit, ut subinde
 in comodum Patriae, ac quā Inestores, et Contribuere

Fig. 12b Document of 1759: the Moldavian origin of the petitioners

Image sources: Internet, diverse websites (1, 10 11); Dr. Rokolya Gábor (4); Gorovei Archive (2, 3, 5, 6, 7); Dr. Liviu Cîmpeanu (8); Dr. Anna Gorove-Mohácsi (9); Dr. Arcadie Bodale (12a, 12b). I am indebted to Dr. Alexandru Pinzar who prepared these illustrations prior to their publication.

(English translation: Dr. Alice Isabella Sullivan)