

- 2014 – „Körmöczi János kéziratának jegyzéke” (The list of János Körmöczi’s manuscripts), (co-author BALÁZS Mihály) in *Keresztény Magvető* 3–4. sz. (2014): 231–251.
- 2015 – „Egy kolozsvári festőművész a nagy háborúban. Tóth István első világháborús levelei Kelemen Erzsébethez” (A painter from Kolozsvár in the Great War. István Tóth’s letters to Erzsébet Kelemen during WWI), (co-author LŐRINCZI Dénes) in *Keresztény Magvető* 4. sz. (2015): 439–457.
- 2016 – „A kolozsvári Unitárius Kollégium matriculái a Magyar Unitárius Egyház Gyűjtőlevéltárában” (School enrollment of the Unitarian College of Kolozsvár in the Hungarian Unitarian Church Archives) in *Keresztény Magvető* 4. sz. (2016): 453–457.
- 2017 – „A püspöki vizitáció rítusa és rendszabályai az erdélyi unitáriusoknál a 17. században” (The regulations and rites of the Unitarian bishop’s visitation in the 17th century) in *Keresztény Magvető* 2–3. sz. (2017): 331–344.
- 2017 – BALÁZS Mihály, *Hitújítás és egyházalapítás között. Tanulmányok az erdélyi unitarizmus 16–17. századi történetéről* (*Between innovation of faith and foundation of a church. Studies on the History of the Transylvanian Unitarianism in the 16th and 17th century*. Book review), The Archives and Library Series of the Hungarian Unitarian Church 8 (Kolozsvár: Hungarian Unitarian Church 2016) 340, , in *Keresztény Magvető*, 2–3. sz. (2017): 454–459.
- 2019 – „»Hazája történetét írván e kőnél maradandóbb emléket állított magának«, Emlékezés Kőváry Lászlóra születésének 200. évfordulóján” („»Writing the history of his country, he set for himself a more lasting memory than this gravestone«, Remembering László Kőváry on the 200th anniversary of his birthday), in *Művelődés* 11. sz. (2019): 9–12.

University of Szeged Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences  
Doctoral School of Literary Studies

MOLNÁR LEHEL

## THE UNITARIAN BISHOP’S VISITATION SYSTEM IN THE EARLY MODERN AGE

DOCTORAL (PHD) DISSERTATION THESIS

Supervisor: Dr. Latzkovits Miklós, Associate Professor

Kolozsvár–Szeged 2020

## I. Introduction

After completing my studies at the Protestant Theological Institute in 1995, then Bishop, Rev. Dr. János Erdő assigned me to head the Archives of the Hungarian Unitarian Church in Kolozsvár, (Cluj) Romania. I had visited the Archives previously as a researcher. After starting my job as its Archivist, putting in order and processing some of its historical documents, I came to realize that – in spite of the destruction due to our stormy history and the forced nationalization by the communist dictatorship, this small institution had managed to maintain an extremely rich and highly significant collection, preserving Unitarian materials from the 16th century forward.

Prior to my employment, Lajos Kelemen was the last qualified Archivist of the Unitarian Church (1908–1918). Known for collecting, analyzing and publishing sources, he was decidedly not preoccupied with putting the Archives in good order. Professor Dr. Zsigmond Jakó is quoted as having said of his famous predecessor, that Lajos Kelemen's most important, and only organizing principle was his incredible memory.

Lajos Kelemen played a decisive role in determining the direction of Unitarian church historiography even prior to WWI. His intent was to publish all Unitarian resources that passed through his hands, but personal problems forced him to abandon his plan. Later, the censorship of the Romanian authorities made such publishing impossible. For this reason, researchers did not have access to the documents preserved in the Unitarian Archives at Kolozsvár and, even today, we are confronted with the residual, stereotypical assumption that Unitarians do not own any manuscripts other than those transferred to the nearby Romanian Academy Library in Kolozsvár (Cluj). It is, further, often stated

- 2007 – „A pályakezdő Kelemen Lajos” (Lajos Kelemen at the beginning of his career), in *Keresztény Magvető* 4. sz. (2007): 420–427.
- 2008 – „A Diploma Leopoldinum és a háromszéki unitárius püspöki vizitáció” (Diploma Leopoldinum and the Unitarian bishop’s visitation in Three Seat), in *Keresztény Magvető* 4. sz. (2008): 483–489.
- 2008 – „Az Unitárius Lelkészek Országos Szövetségének rövid története” (A short history of the Unitarian Ministers Association), in *Erdélyi Múzeum* 3–4. füzet (2008): 89–93.
- 2009 – „Nevék és korok, Az Erdélyi Unitárius Egyház egyházköreibek 1948 és 2009 közötti változása; esperesei és felügyelő gondnokai” (Names and times. Changes in the Unitarian church districts between 1948–2009; deans and district lay presidents), in *Keresztény Magvető*, 2. sz. (2009): 287–310.
- 2011 – „Krizsa János és az 1868. évi emléksínat” (János Kriza and the Memorial Synod from 1868), in *Keresztény Magvető* 4. sz. (2011): 426–437.
- 2012 – „A háromszéki unitáriusok 17. századi történetéhez, Toposz és valóság közt” (The history of the Unitarians in Three Seat in the 17th century. Between topos and reality), in *Keresztény Magvető* 3. sz. (2012): 245–275.
- 2013 – „Brassai Sámuel, a százal haladó” (Sámuel Brassai, the forward-thinking), in *Művelődés* 6. sz. (2013): 8–10.
- 2014 – „Körmöczy János szerepe az unitárius egyházi levéltár kialakulásában” (The role of János Körmöczy in the formation of the Unitarian Church Archives), in *Keresztény Magvető* 3–4. sz. (2014): 221–230.

- 2004 – „Kultúra, történelem, írás. Kulturális, történelmi örökségünk írott emlékeinknek megőrzése és védelme, mint a lelkeszi szolgálat fontos része” (Culture, history and writing. The preservation of the written memories of our cultural and historic legacy, as part of ministry), in *Keresztény Magvető* 1. sz. (2004): 59–67.
- 2005 – „Pákei Lajos és a dévai Dávid Ferenc-templom” (Lajos Pákei and the Ferenc Dávid church in Déva) in *Keresztény Magvető* 1. sz. (2005): 45–51.
- 2005 – „Újabb adatok a »medgyesi mozgalomról« Pál Tamás tollából” (New data about the Medgyes movement from Tamás Pál) in *Keresztény Magvető*, 3. sz. (2005): 228–235.
- 2005 – *Vademekum. Contemporary History Romania. A Guide through Archives, Research Institutions, Libraries, Societies, Museums and Memorial Places*, edited by Stejărel OLARU and Georg HERBSTTRITT, (Berlin: Bucharest: Stiftung zur Aufarbeitung der Sed-Dictatur, 2004) 108 Sieten, recenzió in *Zeitschrift Fur Siebenburgische Landeskunde* 28, (99.) Heft 1. Jahrgang (2005): 85–86.
- 2005 – „Aranyosmenti unitárius egyházközségek”(Unitarian congregations in the Aranyos valley), in *Művelődés* 10. sz. (2005): 25–28.
- 2006 – „Scholae Militantes. Ismeretlen epizód a tordai unitárius iskola történetéből” (Scholae Militantes. An unknown episode in the history of the Unitarian school in Torda), in *Keresztény Magvető* 4. sz. (2006): 418–430.
- 2006 – „A kulturális örökség történelmi szempontú megközelítése” (The cultural legacy from a historical viewpoint), in *Keresztény Szó* 10. sz. (2006): 30–31.

that the Unitarians did not maintain the practice of bishop’s visitations and therefore have no records of such proceedings.

To compensate for these misconceptions and to honor the legacy of Lajos Kelemen by continuing his work, I launched with Rev. Dr. Sándor Kovács in 2001 a publication series entitled *The Archives and Library Series of the Hungarian Unitarian Church*. By the year 2018, we had published nine volumes, among them the monumental work of Kénosi–Uzoni–Kozma: *The History of the Transylvanian Unitarian Church* comprising three volumes.

My personal ambition, moreover, was to provide national and international research access to the Archives and – in addition to bringing order to its extensive holdings – to reveal and publish previously unknown segments of Unitarian church history. In parallel, my aim was to reexamine, based on new sources, some of the assertions rooted in the Unitarian identity that have become mythic, in order to establish a more nuanced perspective on the institutional system and the history of the church.

The Doctoral School of Literature at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences of the University of Szeged provided a great opportunity to focus my research on the early modern bishop’s visitation system of the Unitarian Church, a subject not well known by researchers. One unanticipated product of the organizing work I began in the 1990s was visitation records kept by bishops and deans remembered, but thought to have been lost. These records give us from the second half of the 17th century a glimpse into both the financial and the moral/spiritual circumstances of the historic Unitarian church, as well as of contemporary litigation systems and practices.

The Unitarian visitation records encompass centuries and comprise several volumes. The first visitation record, which is almost complete, includes all the congregations associated with Bishop Rev. Mihály Homoródalmási-Gergely. The Bishop visited

all salient congregations between 1692–1725, among them the Háromszék (Three seat) District which, from the time of prince Gábor Bethlen, were under the jurisdiction of the Calvinist bishops for about 70 years. These particular congregations returned to Unitarian jurisdiction only after the termination of the Transylvanian Principality. I have appended the voluminous record written during Bishop Rev. Homoródmási's visitations to this dissertation.

## II. Theme and Research Method

First, I proposed to give an account of the historical background of the visitations as they occurred over several decades of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century. I was curious to discover the political nature of the moving force that allowed Calvinist Bishop Rev. János Keserői Dajka to supervise the Unitarians in the Háromszék (Three seat) District. I examined the topos according to which, following the Transylvanian reformation up until the 17th century, all Protestant congregations in Háromszék (Three seat) were Unitarians. Conversion to Calvinism took place only after the proselytizing of Rev. Keserői in 1619.

During the research phase and throughout most of the dissertation, I applied qualitative methodology, but completed the analysis using quantitative strategies as well. I examined the tradition of the bishop's visitation that can be traced back to apostolic times, with qualitative methods, using native and international literature in order to achieve an in-depth understanding of the similarities and differences between the Catholic and the Protestant visitations. In the process of problem formulation, I undertook the analysis of an interrogation document from 1630, which clarified to some extent the number of Unitarian congregations in Háromszék (Three seat) at the turn

- 1997 – „Kelemen Lajos önéletrajza” (The Autobiography of Lajos Kelemen), in *Keresztény Magvető* 3–4. sz. (1997): 228–236.
- 1998 – „1848 márciusa a kolozsvári Unitárius Kollégiumban” (The March of 1848 in the Unitarian College) in *Művelődés* 10. sz. (1998): 1–2.
- 1998 – „A szentlélekről szóló tanítás unitárius hittantörténeti áttekintése” (A summary of the Unitarian teachings about the Holly Spirit) in *Keresztény Magvető* 2. sz. (1998.): 142–155.
- 1999 – „Az Erdélyi Unitárius Egyház anyakönyvei” (The Family record books of the Unitarian Church in Transylvania), in *Keresztény Magvető* 1–2. sz. (1999): 23–27.
- 1999 – „Az Udvarhelyköri Unitár[ius] Ekk[ész]i[ják] javainak conscriptiója 1715. dec. 10–én” (The census of goods of the Unitarian congregations in the Udvarhely District on the 10th of December 1715), in *Keresztény Magvető* 3–4. sz. (1999): 150–168.
- 2000 – „Emlékezés Kőváry Lászlóra” (Rememberig László Kőváry), in *Művelődés* 5. sz. (2000): 28–30.
- 2001 – „Az Erdélyi Unitárius Egyház Gyűjtőlevéltárának rövid története” (The short history of the Transylvanian Unitarian Church Archives), (társszerző, M. BODROGI Enikő), in *Korunk* 9. sz. (2001): 50–58.
- 2001 – „The Transylvania Archives Project: Documenting the History of a Unitarian Community”, (co-author Deborah J. YOUNGMAN) in *The Journal of Unitarian Universalist History*, Volume XXVIII, Part 2., (2001): 1–8.
- 2003 – „Unitarian Heritage in Transylvania. Digitizing the Documents at the Unitarian Archives and Library in Cluj”, (co-author Deborah J. YOUNGMAN) in *Zeitschrift Fur Siebenburgische Landeskunde* 26, (97), Heft 1. Jahrgang (2003): 83 87.

- 2014 – „Unitarians in Háromszék Seat (Trei Scaune) in the 17th Century. Between Conventional Rhetoric and Reality” in *Sacred Space in Central and Eastern Europe from Middle Ages to the Late Modernity: Birth, Function, and Changes*, edited by Daniel DUMITRAN, Ileana BURNICHIOIU, Annales Universitatis Apulensis, Series Historica 18/I (Alba Iulia: Editura Mega, 2014) 251–266.
- 2017 – „A Diploma Leopoldinum és az erdélyi unitárius elit kizorítása az ország vezetéséből” (Diploma Leopoldinum and the exclusion of the Unitarian elite from leadership), in *Non videri, sed esse. Tanulmányok a 60 éves Buzogány Dezső tiszteletére*, szerk. KOLUMBÁN Vilmos József, Church History Booklets of the Transylvanian Calvinist Church 22 (Kolozsvár: Protestant Theological Institute, 2017) 69–77.
- 2017 – „A Magyar Unitárius Egyház intézményrendszere” (The institutional system of the Hungarian Unitarian Church) in *A reformáció kincsei III, A protestáns kisegyházak Magyarországon*, szerk. KOLLEGA TARSOLY István, KOVÁCS Eleonóra, (Budapest, Tarsoly Kiadó, 2017) 34–38.

### Studies, Reviews in periodicals

- 1993 – „Az őszi hálaadási úrvacsoraosztás időpontja” (The date of the Thanksgiving communion), in *Keresztény Magvető* 4. sz. (1993): 235–236.
- 1996 – GAAL György, *Magyarok utcája, A kolozsvári egykori Bel-és Külmagyar utcák telkei, házai, lakói* (The Magyarok street, the residents, plots and houses of the former Bel and Külmagyar Street in Kolozsvár) Erdélyi Tudományos füzetek 221, (Kolozsvár: Transylvanian Museum Society, 1995), recenzió in *Keresztény Magvető* 1. sz. (1996): 74–75.
- 1997 – „Balázs Ferencnek egy levele” (A Letter of Ferenc Balázs), in *Keresztény Magvető* 2. sz. (1997): 107–108.

of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. I provide an historically contextualized discussion of the events described.

The quantitative method was used to examine population statistics of the visitation record, comparing them with similar demographic sources from the same period, the most important among them being the census of paterfamilias and widowers in the Unitarian Church in 1766.

### III. The structure of the Dissertation

The dissertation is composed of ten chapters, the last two being case studies. Both case studies are based on the visitation record from 1692–1737, appended to the dissertation.

In the first chapter, the literature of the international, as well as Hungarian and Transylvanian research history of the “*canonical visitatio*” is reviewed. Analysis led to the conclusion that, while the research of these European resources has a long history, not until the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century were such efforts made in Hungarian-speaking areas. Early Catholic researchers had taken the lead but, in the 1920s, Gyula Szekfű promoted this type of research. Unfortunately, after the installation of the communist government in 1948, the publishing of church history sources ceased almost entirely. Following the change of political system in 1989, new research organizations were initiated and old ones reorganized, making more common the research of church visitation documents. This revitalized interest was reflected across the range of Protestant churches (Calvinist and Lutheran) in Hungary.

The research and publishing of visitation records in Transylvania, however, has been insignificant compared to modern research thus dedicated in Hungary. The reason for this discrepancy is that ongoing Romanian censorship did not allow

the publishing of such records – not (as often supposed) because these records were missing in church collections and archives. The volumes published after the “*revolution*” in 1989 provide evidence that the work was begun and has continued, as possible, since then. From the Unitarian side mainly, Lajos Kelemen was who processes these visitation records, but nothing to date has been published from this multivolume collection.

Discussed in the second chapter are the visitation records of the renewed Catholic Church after the Tridentine (1545–1563). The Council of Trent decided to entrust the bishops with enforcing discipline in the church districts, and the bishop’s visitations played an important role in implementing the reforms imposed by the Synod. The visitations in Hungary and throughout territories under Turkish rule are mentioned, briefly, as well. Confessionalism and the visitations of the other Protestant churches in Europe (Lutheran, Calvinist) are also described.

Presented in the third chapter is a more textured discussion of Confessionalism, as embraced by Transylvanian Protestants. Following is a comparison to the visitations mentioned earlier within the system of the Unitarian bishop’s visitations. The focus has been on those church polity strategies important in setting up the institution of the bishop’s visitations. After outlining the historical background, an assessment of the first visitation regulation of 1614 is provided. Efforts were made to discover the sources which comprised its basis.

In the fourth chapter, the persecution of the Sabbatarians under the reign of Gábor Bethlen is discussed in light of the fact that Calvinist Bishop Rev. János Keserői Dajka received permission, instead of the Unitarians, to visit the Sabbatarians and force them to convert. The Calvinist Bishop took advantage of the situation and started an attack against Unitarians in 1619, setting off on a general visitation in Háromszék (Three seat). During that

*gyűjtemények szolgálatában. În slujba colecțiilor ecleziastice*, szerk. BERNÁD Rita, (Kolozsvár: Verbum, 2010) 133–136., 291–294.

2013 – „Die Sammlungen des Zentralarchivs der Unitarischen Kirche Sibenburgens” in *Radikale Reformation. Die Unitarier in Sibenburg*, herausgegeben von Ulrich A. WIEN, Juliane BRANDT und András F. BALOGH, (Köln: Böhlau Verlag, Wien: Weimar, 2013) 379–386.

2013 – „The Transylvanian Unitarian Church”, (co-author Sándor KOVÁCS) in *Transylvania Today: Diversity at Risk*, Editor, Csaba K. ZOLTÁNI. (Budapest: Osiris Publishing, 2013) 207–214.

2013 – „A Diploma Leopoldinum és annak vallásügyi határozatai” (Diploma Leopoldinum and its religious decrees) in *Az Egység tükröződései. Unitárius teológiai tanulmányok*, szerk. CZIRE Szabolcs, (Kolozsvár: Protestant Theological Institute, 2013) 235–257.

2013 – „A Diploma Leopoldinum hatása az erdélyi unitáriusokra” (The effects of the Diploma Leopoldinum on the Transylvanian Unitarians) in *Az Egység tükröződései. Unitárius teológiai tanulmányok*, szerk. CZIRE Szabolcs, (Kolozsvár: Protestant Theological Institute, 2013) 259–290.

2014 – „Bethlen Gábor papja, Keserői Dajka János és a háromszéki unitáriusok” (Gábor Bethlen’s minister, János Keserői Dajka and the the Unitarians in Three Seat), in „*Eklézsiáknak egyházi szolgáknak egyetlenegy dajkája*” *Tanulmányok Bethlen Gábor egyházpolitikájáról*, szerk. DÁNÉ Veronka, SZABADI István, Speculum Historiae Debreceniense 17, (Debrecen: The History Institution of the Unisversity of Debrecen, The Archives of the Tiszántúl Calvinist District, 2014) 31–57.

- 2005 – „Unitarian Heritage in Transylvania. Digitizing the Documents at the Unitarian Archives and Library in Cluj”, in *Acta Transylvanica. Anuarul Centrului de Istorie a Transilvaniei*, vol. II, (București: Editura Scriptorium, 2005) 177–184.
- 2005 – „God’s Works”, in *Report of the Meeting of ministers and Scholars of the Transylvanian Unitarian Church in Romania and of the Remonstrant Brotherhood, in the Netherlands, April, 18–25*. (The Netherlands: 2005)
- 2006 – „Unitárius püspöki vizitációs jegyzőkönyvek és néhány Aranyos menti unitárius egyházközség ezek tükrében” (Unitarian bishop’s visitation records and some congregations in the Aranyos valley in the light of these records), in *Aranyos-vidék magyarsága, Aranyosszék, Torda és vidéke a változó időben*, szerk. KESZEG Vilmos, SZABÓ Zsolt, (Kolozsvár: Kriterion Könyvkiadó, 2006) 131–135.
- 2007 – „Erdő János egyházunk és népünk szolgálatában” (Erdő János in the service of God and people), in *Isten és Ember szolgálatában, Erdő János emlékezete*, szerk. Szabó Árpád, (Kolozsvár: Hungarian Unitarian Church, 2007) 9–36.
- 2010 – „Note asupra formării Unitarianismului în Transilvania și problemei toleranței religioase” (Notes on the formation of Unitarianism in Transylvania and the problem of religious tolerance), in *Geneza și semnificațiile ideii de toleranță religioasă în Principatul Transilvaniei (Secolele XVI–XVIII)*, Annales Universitatis Apulensis, Series Historica, (Alba Iulia: Editura Altip, 2010) 137–145.
- 2010 – „Levéltári gyűjtőmunka az Erdélyi Unitárius Egyházban, Activitatea de colecționare în Biserica Unitariană din Transilvania” (Archival Collecting Works in the Transylvanian Unitarian Church), (Bilingvis magyar, román kiadás, Bilingual Hungarian, Romanian edition) in *Egyházi*

time, the Unitarians and Calvinists in Háromszék (Three seat) coexisted peacefully together. They had agreed that, if the congregation had a Calvinist minister, the school master had to be Unitarian and vice versa. The Bishop ended this peaceful symbiosis and, according to tradition, after his fierce proselytizing, the Unitarians lost 62–70 congregations. This tradition has since become a topos, and a critical analysis is therefore offered.

In the fifth chapter's further review of the historical context, the Unitarian *Disciplina Ecclesiastica* (1626) and its decision about visitations is discussed.

In chapter six, the historical background of the *Complanatio Desiana* of 1638 is analyzed. As a result of this edict, the Unitarian Church was gradually marginalized. A censorship decree was established against Unitarians, and they were forced to sign a pact leading to a dogmatic unification, which, on the surface, meant the giving up of core Unitarian beliefs. (Unitarians were forced to believe in the divinity of Jesus and to pray to Jesus; they were also required to baptize in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit). Also discussed is the visitation mandate issued in 1642 for the Unitarian Bishop Rev. Dániel Beke, following the *Complanatio*.

Chapter seven includes a review of all the complaints made by the Unitarians after the *Complanatio*, for which they sought legal remedy. One of these complaints was that the Unitarians from Háromszék (Three seat) were still under the jurisdiction of the Calvinist bishop and they want to forcibly convert the Unitarian believers of Szeklerland to their own religion. Those who defied it were imprisoned.

Highlighted in chapter eight are the hopes of the Unitarian Church that, after the termination of the Transylvanian Principality (1690) and integration into the Habsburg Empire, the

rights guaranteed them in the *Diploma Leopoldinum* would contribute to the consolidation of their church. After some initial years of optimism, it became clear, however, that the principle of the *recepta religion* was only formally maintained and the Unitarian denomination became merely tolerated.

Nonetheless, the legacy of the consolidation process was the return of the Unitarians in Háromszék (Three seat) to the jurisdiction of their own bishop in November of 1692, after more than 70 years of forced interruption. Then the Bishop, Rev. Mihály Homoródalmási-Gergely, started off for visitation immediately in the whole Church and, in February of 1693, he arrived in Háromszék (Three seat). In ten days, he visited all of the ten congregations in Háromszék (Three seat) that had preserved their Unitarian identity.

The visitation record appended to this dissertation is a result of this visit, and this is the first document in the history of the Unitarian Church to give a full account of the financial and moral/spiritual situation of the congregations.

Chapters nine and ten each include a case study, based on data from the record, highlighting the value of these documents as sources of value.

The first case study's processed demographic data are presented. Employing mathematical-statistical methods, these data were compared to other similar Unitarian sources to determine the demographic tendencies from the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century to the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The reason these seemingly insignificant data are examined is because no known similar processing, either in Unitarian church history or in other church historiography, has been published.

The second case study encompasses the investigation of a disciplinary action in the Unitarian School at Torda in 1719. This was during the time of the Catholic restoration; several

*Erdélyi unitáriusok 1848–49-ben*, szerk. Gaal György, (Kolozsvár: Unitarian Church, 2000) 345–349.

2000 – „A kolozsvári Unitárius Kollégium szabadságharcos diákjai” (The freedom fighter students of the Unitarian High School in Kolozsvár), in *A szent szabadság oltalmában. Erdélyi unitáriusok 1848–49-ben*, szerk. Gaal György, (Kolozsvár: Unitarian Church, 2000) 372–376.

2001 – „Vázlatpontok a Magyarországon és Erdélyen kívüli unitarizmus történetéről” (An Outline of the History of Unitarians Outside Transylvania and Hungary), in *Unitárius Naptár*, szerk. ANDRÁSI György, (Kolozsvár: Unitarian Church, 2001) 99–118.

2001 – „Role of the Unitarian Church of Transylvania, Romania, (társszerző, SZABÓ Árpád), in *Centennial Reflections. International Association for Religious Freedom 1999–2000*, (Assen: Royal Van Gorcum, 2001) 107–111.

2003 – Tiboldi István, (magyar és angol nyelven), in *Tiboldi István (1793–1880), Szentgerice 1819–1844*, (Marosvásárhely: 2003) 2–15.

2003 – „Kelemen Lajos és az Unitárius Múzeum gondolata” (Lajos Kelemen and the idea of a Unitarian Museum), in *Emlékkönyv Kiss András születésének nyolcvanadik évfordulójára*, szerk. PÁL-ANTAL Sándor, SIPOS Gábor, W. KOVÁCS András, WOLF Rudolf, (Kolozsvár: Transylvanian Museum Society, 2003) 380–392.

2004 – „Az Erdélyi Unitárius Egyház szerepe az Unitárius Világszövetség megalakulásában, és részvétele a szövetség munkájában” (The Role of the Transylvanian Unitarian Church in the formation of the International Association of Unitarians and its tasks), in *Acta Transylvanica. Anuarul Centrului de Istorie a Transilvaniei*, vol. I, (București: Editura Scriptorium, 2004) 163–170.



The Archives and Library Series of the Hungarian Unitarian Church 8 (Kolozsvár: Hungarian Unitarian Church, 2016)

2018 – UZONI FOSZTÓ István, KOZMA Mihály, KOZMA János, *Az Erdélyi Unitárius Egyház története III/I (The History of the Unitarian Church in Transylvania III/I)*, fordította MÁRKOS Albert, a fordítás a latin eredetivel egybevetette és kiegészítette BALÁZS Mihály, sajtó alá rendezte HOFFMANN Gizella, KOVÁCS Sándor, MOLNÁR Lehel, The Archives and Library Series of the Hungarian Unitarian Church 4/3/1, (Budapest – Kolozsvár: Hungarian Unitarian Church – Hungarian Unitarian Church in Hungary – National Széchényi Library, 2018)

2018 – TÚRI Tamás, *Textustól a kontextusig. Unitárius Apokalipszis-kommentárok Erdélyben a 16–18. század között (From the Bible Text to Context. Transylvanian Unitarian Commentaries of the Apocalypse in the 16–18 centuries)*, The Archives and Library Series of the Hungarian Unitarian Church 9 (Kolozsvár: Hungarian Unitarian Church, 2018)

### Studies published in different volumes

1999 – „Kelemen Lajos történész munkássága”(The Works of historian Lajos Kelemen), in *Lakiteleki unitárius emléknep*, szerk. ANDRÁSI György, (Kolozsvár: Unitarian Church, 1999) 29–33.

2000 – „Szentmihály vértanúi kettős tükörben” (Szentmihály’s martyrs in double reflection), in *A szent szabadság oltalmában. Erdélyi unitáriusok 1848–49-ben*, szerk. Gaal György, (Kolozsvár: Unitarian Church, 2000) 195–237.

2000 – „Szigety Csehi Miklós önéletrajza”(The Autobiography of Miklós Szigety Cseh), in *A szent szabadság oltalmában*.

church and school buildings were taken from the Unitarians, and drought, plague disease, and famine swept everywhere. There remained few teachers at the school, when some students who had been expelled from the Unitarian College in Kolozsvár incited three students from the Torda School to disobey their teachers and the school regulations. Their aspiration was to have the school break away from congregational authority. Examination of this second case has yielded insight into the address of a local disciplinary circumstance aimed at avoiding disruption to the denomination. Contemporary litigation procedures involving the church are also exposed and explained.

### IV. Thesis Results

1. This study of the Unitarian bishop’s visitation system has revealed sources contradicting several of the (erroneous) claims consistent in the literature. The position that the Unitarian Church was not conversant with the practice of bishop visitations or, if such visits were indeed made, there exists no written proof of them having taken place prior to 1750, is simply untrue. The oldest visitation records date to the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, and in these we find references to visitations made in 1620. There is further evidence that Bishop Rev. Máté Toroczkai visited congregations as early as 1614.

2. During the period in which Rev. Máté Toroczkai served as Bishop, in 1614, visitation regulations were created and have been determined here to be one of the oldest such regulations proclaimed in Hungarian-speaking territories. No previous researcher has addressed the origin of this regulation system or the circumstances that contributed to its creation, nor raised the issue of the sources reporting it. The Diet of Medgyes issued a decree concerning the bishop’s visitations, namely that the

bishops and deans could visit their congregations without constraint. This accommodation was made under the reign of Gábor Bethlen, in 1614, and became the legal basis for Toroczkai's visitations, but the Unitarians needed to create a regulation that provided a specific framework for the visitation. Concluded here is that, in creating the regulation, the Unitarians used the work of the 16th century Calvinist theologian, Wilhelm Zepper: *De politia ecclesiastica* .... The reception of Zepper's works in Transylvania is not yet known; we provide momentum for researchers interested in undertaking this work.

3. In Unitarian church historiography – from the time of Bishop Rev. Mihály Szentábrahádi in the 18<sup>th</sup> century to that of Rev. Kénosi-Uzoni, Rev. János Körmöczi, Rev. Sándor Székely, Ferenc Kanyaró and Bishop Rev. Dr. János Erdő in the 1990s – it has been accepted that, during his visitation in 1619, Calvinist Bishop János Keserői Dajka converted almost all of the Háromszék (Three seat) District, encompassing 62–70 Unitarian congregations, to Calvinism. Initially curious to discover what led to the idea that Háromszék (Three seat) was Unitarian, I discovered a passage in Rev. Mihály Szentábrahádi's church history manuscript that quotes a sermon of Bishop Enyedi György, delivered in 1595, claiming that there were *more* than 62 Unitarian congregations in Háromszék.

4. After this clarification, the next goal was to find out how many Unitarian congregations there could have been in Háromszék (Three seat) at the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Based on the analysis of an interrogation record that investigated the circumstances of Keserői's visitation in 1630, it became possible to demonstrate that, at the given time, only 14 of the 70–71 Protestant congregations in Háromszék (Three seat) had a Unitarian history. Reckoning with the topos that the entire Háromszék (Three seat) was Unitarian and that Bishop Rev. János

tanulmánnyal közléteszi Balázs Mihály, The Archives and Library Series of the Hungarian Unitarian Church 5 (Kolozsvár: Unitarian Church of Transylvania, 2006)

2009 – KÉNOSI TÖZSÉR János, UZONI FOSZTÓ István, *Az Erdélyi Unitárius Egyház története II (The History of the Unitarian Church in Transylvania II)*, fordította MÁRKOS Albert, a fordítás a latin eredetivel egybevetette BALÁZS Mihály, sajtó alá rendezte HOFFMANN Gizella, KOVÁCS Sándor, MOLNÁR B Lehel, a térképeket készítette Elekes Tibor, The Archives and Library Series of the Hungarian Unitarian Church 4/2, (Kolozsvár: Unitarian Church of Transylvania, 2009)

2012 – SZAKÁL Anna: „Így nőtt fejemre a sok Vadrózsa...” *Levelek, dokumentumok Kriza János népköltészeti gyűjtőtevékenységének történetéhez* („This is how many wild roses grew on my head...” *Letters, documents to Kriza János' folk collection work*) szerkesztette JAKAB Albert Zsolt, The Archives and Library Series of the Hungarian Unitarian Church in Kolozsvár 6 (Kolozsvár: Kriza János Néprajzi Társaság – Hungarian Unitarian Church, 2012)

2015 – MOLNÁR Dávid: „...az nagy tengerből való folyóvíznek sebessége...” *Kolozsvári levéltári dokumentumok és nyomtatványok gyűjteménye Bethlen Gábor és I. Rákóczi György fejedelmek korából (1613–1648)* („...the velocity of running water from the great sea...” *The collection of archives and printed materials from Kolozsvár from the period of Bethlen Gábor and Rákóczi György I. 1613-1648*), The Archives and Library Series of the Hungarian Unitarian Church 7 (Kolozsvár: Hungarian Unitarian Church, 2015)

2016 – BALÁZS Mihály, *Hitújítás és egyházalapítás között. Tanulmányok az erdélyi unitarizmus 16–17. századi történetéről (Between reformation/innovation of faith and foundation of a church. Studies on the History of the Transylvanian Unitarianism in the 16th and 17th century)*,

## V. List of selected publications

### Edited volumes (Series co-edited by Sándor Kovács and Lehel Molnár)

- 2001 – *Boros György unitárius püspök naplója 1927–1941 (The Diary of Unitarian Bishop György Boros 1927–1941)*, bevezető tanulmánnyal és jegyzetekkel ellátta, KOVÁCS Sándor és MOLNÁR B. Lehel, The Archives and Library Series of the Transylvanian Unitarian Church 1 (Kolozsvár: Unitarian Church, 2001)
- 2002 – *Két könyv az Egyedülvaló Atyaistennek, a Fiúnak és a Szentléleknek hamis és igaz ismeretéről (Two Books on False and True Knowledge of the One God, the Son, and the Holy Spirit)*, fordította PÉTER Lajos, a fordítást az eredetivel összevetette és a bevezető tanulmány írta BALÁZS Mihály, The Archives and Library Series of the Hungarian Unitarian Church 2 (Kolozsvár: Unitarian Church, 2002)
- 2003 – GÁL Kelemen, Káli Nagy Elek élet és jellemrajza (*The Life and Character of Elek Káli Nagy*), a kötetet sajtó alá rendezte KOVÁCS Sándor és MOLNÁR B. Lehel The Archives and Library Series of the Hungarian Unitarian Church 3 (Kolozsvár: Unitarian Church, 2003)
- 2005 – KÉNOSI TÖZSÉR János, UZONI FOSZTÓ István, *Az Erdélyi Unitárius Egyház története I (The History of the Unitarian Church in Transylvania I)*, fordította MÁRKOS Albert, a bevezető tanulmányt írta és a fordítás a latin eredetivel egybevetette BALÁZS Mihály, sajtó alá rendezte HOFFMANN Gizella, KOVÁCS Sándor, MOLNÁR B. Lehel, The Archives and Library Series of the Hungarian Unitarian Church 4/1, (Kolozsvár: Unitarian Church of Transylvania, 2005)
- 2006 – *HELTAI Gáspár imádságos könyve (1570–1571) (The Prayer book of Heltai Gáspár 1570–1571)*, bevezető

Keserői Dajka converted them to Calvinism, Keserői managed to ascertain that Unitarians in Háromszék (Three seat) lived under the jurisdiction of the Calvinist bishop until the termination of the Transylvanian Principality.

5. Following the assertion of the *Complanatio Desiana* in 1638, the Unitarians submitted several letters of complaint, or *gravaminas* to their respective sovereigns. It is important to note that in these letters they refer back to earlier offenses that were not resolved. When they refer back, they always add extra information about the offense and, if they sense injustice, they include that in the *gravamina*. Based on research reported here, the last and most complete letter of complaint was submitted to the newly elected prince, Ákos Barcsay, at the beginning of 1659. It becomes clear that there had been continuous complaint about the situation in Háromszék (Three seat), in particular that the Unitarian bishop was not allowed to visit there. Some of the abuses of the Calvinists are presented as well: the taking away of the church in Hídvég and the proselytizing of the Unitarians in Bölön. Those who were in opposition, e.g., the Unitarians from Bölön, Kissolymos and Szentersébet, faced retribution and were imprisoned in the castle of Görgény and Fogaras.

6. In the *gravamina* of 1659 was discovered a published tract about the Unitarian communion. It is possible that references made are to Bishop Rev. Valentinus Radecius's book published in 1638: *Formula administrandi Coenam Dominicam*.... If this is the case, the probable publishing date can be narrowed to the period between the 23rd of May and the 1st of July.

7. After the termination of the Transylvanian Principality, an important effort of the Unitarians was to bring back the congregations from Háromszék to the jurisdiction of their own bishop. It became clear from this research that a request pertaining to this matter was submitted to the Gubernium and the

leaders of the Calvinist Church. The Gubernium, a lay authority, some of whose members were also typically lay leaders of the Calvinist Church, placed Háromszék (Three seat) under the jurisdiction of the Unitarian bishop. The Calvinist bishop, on the contrary, opposed both this decision as well as the idea of Unitarians having their own printing press. This process explains the supremacy of the lay authority over the Church; the Calvinist Church did not have the power to override the equitable decision taken by the lay authority. This could be interpreted as beginning evidence for Foucault's theory of the division of church and lay authority/power.

8. The 170-page manuscript that is the visitation record of Bishop Rev. Mihály Homoródalmási-Gergely between 1692 and 1725 covers every existing Unitarian congregation. In 1922, Lajos Kelemen wrote that, "*it is a highly precious and complete volume that in better times [a reference to Trianon when Transylvania was annexed to Romania] would deserve to be published*". Almost a hundred more years has passed; through publication of this dissertation's appendix, this invaluable visitation record finally has been made universally accessible.

9. There is a visitation regulation copied in the record; after analysis, it is concluded that it is the rewritten copy of the regulation from 1614 with minor variation. The comparison of the two offers an insight into the development of the Unitarian bishop's visitations.

10. No one else previously has undertaken the analysis of historic Unitarian demographic data. Appreciating this novel opportunity, comparisons of data from 1692 to similar, later Unitarian data (1726, 1731–1734 and 1766), as well as to Catholic data from 1763, Calvinist and Orthodox data from 1766, and Greek-Catholic data from 1767 were all pursued. By this inclusive method, not only were the denominational, but also the ethnic data

illuminated. Based on this more comprehensive data, it was noted that only 38 out of 200 places (19%) were completely Hungarian, and only 17 places (8.5%) were homogeneous Unitarian in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. There were 25 villages in which the Unitarians were the only Hungarians. In parallel, there were 44 places where the Hungarians formed a minority.

11. Inclusion of the disciplinary case recorded in Torda (1719) contributes to enhanced knowledge of the history of that institution.