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ABSTRACTS

József Tibor Kurta: *The 18th Century Liturgical Shift in the Transylvanian and Hungarian Reformed Church Mirrored in the Use of Graduals and Church Hymnals*

Plain chant in the native Hungarian tongue survived and was kept in ceremonial use by the Reformed Church in Hungary and Transylvania up to the end of the 18th century. The traditional 'gradual' manuscripts also remained in daily use. (The term 'gradual' has a special connotation for Hungarian Protestants. It is a liturgical book, which consists of chants or hymns selected from the Antiphonale, Responsoriale, Passionale, Psalterium, as well as some Kyrie, Gloria, Sanctus, Credo, but not including Graduale or Benedictus.)

The article provides an overview of the liturgical transition in the Transylvanian and Hungarian Reformed Church in the 17–18th centuries.

Keywords: 17th century; 18th century; chant; gradual; Hungarian Reformed Church; liturgy; plain chant; Transylvanian Reformed Church

Gabriella H. Hubert: *Beginnings of Unitarian Singing*

Besides the results of the history of Unitarian ideas and Church, the rich heritage of Unitarian singing has recently gained more recognition. This heritage shows unique signs compared to that of other Protestant denominations, such as its dogmatic aspect, the conscious selection of songs, that singing was controlled by the Church and the poetical form of songs.

This study is a further exploration of well known sources. It attempts to discover whether there was a Hungarian language printed Unitarian congregational hymnal in the 16th century, and what Unitarian congregations might have been singing during that period (see the tables of types of hymnals and hymns).

It is only certain about the first quarter of a century that a manuscript gradual (Hungarian liturgical songs) and a manuscript rhymed Psalter existed. It is impossible to prove or to refute the existence of a congregational hymnal

between 1567 and 1592 based on existing data. A dogmatic analysis of Unitarian songs may bring us closer to the answer.

Singing developed a lot during the time of György Enyedi. The first known printed hymnal (1616) was meant to be used by Believers, because it had a small format (12"). Based on the printing of the first, liturgical part we can suppose that, while the choir was singing from a large size, manuscript gradual, the Believers were following the liturgy from a small hymnal in their hands. By 1616, the Hungarian congregation of Kolozsvár had achieved a high degree of singing. This development started during the last decade of the 16th century.

What did Believers sing? Invocations, hymns before and after the sermon, hymns in the order of the ecclesiastical year, catethetical songs, thematically structured thanksgivings and praises, just as in other Protestant churches. The largest group of songs contains psalms. Our hypothesis is that György Enyedi took part in creating this group of psalms.

Keywords: Unitarian church singing; Unitarian congregational hymnal; conscious selection of songs; Enyedi, György (1555–1597)

Anette Papp: Hungarian Antiphons Derived from the 17th Century Transylvanian Saxon Protestants

While the Hungarian variation of the Gregorian chant perished as a result of the reforms of the Council of Trent (1545–1563), its new, strange life was begun by Hungarian Protestants. Hundreds of melodies were transposed into Hungarian texts, and these new, vernacular liturgical chants were set in books called graduals, which were used into the 17th century, and occasionally into the 19th century.

The vernacular antiphon repertory of Lutheran and Calvinist sources is the largest corpus and the most interesting for scholarly study. There is an old, common Protestant heritage, which is related to the medieval Hungarian rite, but, at the same time, shows the individual characteristics of the different denominations.

This article compares the Unitarian sources in Hungarian language with the material of the Saxon Unitarian source used in Kolozsvár, the *Graduale oder Geistliche geseng vnnd Psalm sampt ihren Antiphonen vnnd Hymnen*, 1622, Kolozsvár (Cluj, Klausenburg).

Keywords: 17th century; 19th century; antiphon; Council of Trent (1545–1563); gradual; Gregorian chant; Hungarian Unitarians; Saxon Unitarians; vernacular liturgical chant

Tímea Benkó: Repentance and Prayer Days: Possible Occasions of Litany and Te Deum

Die *Litanei* und das *Tedeum* sind zwei liturgische Sonderformen die unter Protestanten in Siebenbürgen des 16–17. Jahrhunderts zurecht als ökumenisches liturgisches Erbe bezeichnet werden können. Fast alle s.g. protestantische Graduale und Gesangbücher enthalten bis in das 18. Jahrhundert beide liturgische Stücke, die bislang vor allem musikgeschichtlich gründlich erforscht wurden. Es blieb aber bis heute die Frage nach einer liturgischen Stelle dieser besonderen Elemente des christlichen Gottesdienstes offen. Der Buß- und Betttag stellte doch jahrhundertlang eine außerordentliche Gelegenheit zur Verwendung beider oben genannten liturgischer Stücke dar, wobei die Litanei besonders in Zeiten der Gefahr als allgemeine Fürbitte, das Tedeum am Ende solcher bedrohlichen Ereignisse, oder im Fall längeres Ausbleibens von solchen Gefahren als Danksagung ihren Platz in der Liturgie gefunden hat. Luther hatte in der Zeit der Türkengefahr 1528/29 für die Gemeinden die Allerheiligen-Litanei umgeformt. 1541 stellte der Reformator sogar eine kurze Ordnung für einen Gebetsgottesdienst zusammen, in der auch die Litanei zu finden ist.

Jean Calvin betete im November 1545 an zwei nacheinander folgenden Buß- und Betttagen für die deutschen christlichen Brüder, die von der Seite des katholischen Heinrich von Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel erneut bedroht wurden. Wahrscheinlich wurde nach der Benachrichtigung über die Beseitigung des Konfliktes am zweiten Betttag das Tedeum gesungen, da 1546 wurden außer den beiden an diesen Betttagen von Calvin gehaltenen Predigten auch einige neue Psalm-Übersetzungen, sowie ein *Te Deum laudamus* herausgegeben.

Im ungarischen Sprachraum wurde bislang das Thema Buß- und Betttag wenig erforscht. In den letzten Jahren hatte sich Tamás Gergely Fazekas vor allem aus literaturgeschichtlicher Sicht mit diesem Thema befasst. Die Protokolle der im 16–18. Jahrhundert in Siebenbürgen abgehaltenen Landtage und Synoden der einzelnen protestantischen Kirchen belegen u.a. eine große Zahl der in Siebenbürgen angeordneten Buß- und Betttage. Weitere regionale Buß- und Betttage sind durch die Protokolle der Städte dokumentiert. In einigen Anordnungen wurden explizit nicht nur der Buß- und Betttag, sondern auch das Singen vom Tedeum an Buß- und Betttagen angeordnet. Handschriftliche Agenden, Briefe und weitere Dokumente sprechen darüber, dass der Buß- und Betttag wirklich gefeiert, und das Tedeum und die Litanei tatsächlich auch in Siebenbürgen in Bittgottesdiensten gesungen oder gesprochen wurden.

Schlüsselwörter: Litanei, Tedeum, Danksagung, Buß- und Bettagen, 16–18. Jahrhundert, Siebenbürgen

Anna Farmati: *Catholic Identity Reconstructing Ceremonies of the Holy Trinity Association of Saint Michael's Church in Kolozsvár*

L'étude essaie de reconstituer quelques aspects de la paraliturgie et la pratique liturgique de la *Confrérie de la Très Sainte Trinité* fondée en 1751 par l'évêque Sztojka Zsigmond justement après qu'elle fut retournée à la communauté catholique: après un usage unitarien s'avère nécessaire la reconstruction non seulement de l'intérieur, mais aussi des coutumes, des rites, des communautés des croyants plus dévoués ayant une influence remarquable dans la société. Une manuel d'instructions et de prières sera édité même deux fois à l'usage des membre de la confrérie mentionnée dont les textes traces les plus importants éléments des coutumes religieux introduites pour renforcer l'identité catholique et approfondir la spiritualité trinitaire des croyants. La *Rosaire des Angeli* avait été présentée déjà par une autre étude de l'auteur, ici on analyse surtout les litanies et les chants empruntés des recueils officielles ou même composés à l'usage des confréries similaire très à la mode d'ailleurs en ces temps-là au territoire de la monarchie austro-hongrois grâce à l'évêque Padányi Bíró Márton qui ne cachait point son intention de constituer ainsi une apologie du culte de la Très Saint Trinité ou même convertir des croyants.

Mot-clefs: paraliturgie et pratique liturgique, *Confrérie de la Très Sainte Trinité*, apologie du culte de la Très Saint Trinité, conversion

Balázs Pap: *New Findings Regarding the 1602 Hymnal of Imre Újfalvi*

The first part of this article offers new insights into the relationships among church hymnals. The example of the Váradi hymnal (*Váradi énekeskönyv* (1566)) shows that books can be directly related to one another, without assuming intermediate manuscripts. The second part proposes the rumored Unitarian hymnal of bishop Enyedi György (George Enyedi) (1555–1597) as a source for Újfalvi Imre's (Imre Újfalvi) (1565–1616?) 1602 hymnal.

Keywords: church hymnal; lost source; Váradi Hymnal; Enyedi, György (1555–1597); Újfalvi, Imre (1565–1616?)

Andrea Hevesi: *The Poems by Bálint Balassi in the Tradition of Unitarian Hymnals*

Some of the religious poems by Balassi Bálint (Valentine Balassi) (1554–1594) appear in the Unitarian hymnals in the first three decades of the 17th century. These are the earliest known variants. This article focuses on Balassi's poems found in the Unitarian hymnal from around 1616 and manuscripts from the early 17th century.

The early variants of *Ó, én kegyelmes Istenem... (Oh, my gracious God...)*, *Pusztában zsidókat... (Jews in the wilderness...)*, *Bocsásd meg, Úristen... (Forgive me God...)*, and *Adj már csendességet... (Give me peace...)*. are compared to the later variants included in the printed edition of the *Istenes énekek** (*Divine Songs (1669-1677?)*). The sources from the first three decades of the 17th century contain such variants turned into collective, sung poems which are not featured in any of the subsequent editions of the *Istenes énekek*. Therefore, the early variants cannot be regarded as a source of those in the *Istenes énekek*.

The article proposes that the majority of the rare sources are directly or indirectly connected to the Chancellery operating in Kolozsvár in the first third of the 17th century, and to the Unitarians of Kolozsvár. Therefore, it may have been Petki János (John Petki) (1572–1612), Transylvania's cultured Chancellor from 1607–1608 who acquired several texts by Balassi and perhaps also some by Rimay János (John Rimay) (1573–1631?).

Keywords: 1616; 17th century; hymn; Kolozsvár; poem; Unitarian hymnal; Balassi, Bálint (1554–1594); Petki, János (1572–1612); Rimay, János (1573–1631)

Mihály Etlinger: *Miklós Bogáthi Fazekas and the First Unitarian Hymnal*

This article examines a Unitarian hymnal, and its textual variations from the beginning of the 17th century. While the sources of the hymnal have not been entirely mapped, this article explores the influence of the works of Miklós Bogáthi Fazekas (Nicholas Fazakas Bogáthi) (1548–1592?/1598?).

His psalm-translations are important indicators of the material (the hymns), because his psalter was propagated through hand-written copies of the hymnals (manuscripts) which have been thoroughly examined by the Pécs-based Bogáthi research team.

Definitive conclusions cannot be drawn about the sources, the rewriting processes, and the editorial intentions based solely on the relationships between

the printed textual variations in the hymnals and the Bogáthi manuscripts. The article also explores the relationship between the lost *Toroczkai-gradual* and some of the hymns in the 1616 Unitarian hymnal.

Keywords: 17th century; Toroczkai-gradual; Unitarian hymnal; Bogáthi Fazekas, Miklós (1548–1592?/1598?)

Mihály Balázs: *Two Perspectives on 16th Century Nonadorantism in Easter-Central-Europe (Martin Seidel and Szymon Budny)*

The international literary history focusing on the antecedents of the enlightenment era has a particular interest in nonadorantism, the most radical branch of antitrinitarianism. This article focuses on research about Martin Seidel (?–?, 16–17th century) and Szymon Budny (1533–1593). In Seidel's case new documents have been discovered in the archives which reveal new relations and connections in his work life which make it possible to date the origins of nonadorantism to a significantly earlier time. The article sums up the English, German, Spanish, Polish and Italian papers, and while doing so, Budny and Seidel are repositioned on the Eastern-Central European religious map. The article sketches the relations between the works of Budny and Seidel, as well as those of Francis David (Dávid Ferenc) (1510?–1579), Jacobus Palaeologus (1520?–1585) and Matthias Vehe-Glirius (1545?–1590).

Keywords: 16th century; nonadorantism; radical antitrinitarianism; Budny, Szymon (1533–1593); Seidel, Martin (?–?, 16–17th century); Dávid, Ferenc (1510?–1579); Palaeologus, Jacobus (1520?–1585); Vehe-Glirius, Matthias (1545?–1590)

Gizella Keserű: *Double-binding: 17th Century Polish–Hungarian Connections*

The study of 17th century Polish–Hungarian connections began in the 19th century, but an objective, nuanced approach had always been hindered. There is an almost complete lack of 16th century archive data, so the 17th century material, although richer than the previous century's, has led to misinterpretation. Additionally, nationalistic prejudices and hagiographic perspectives of 19th century scholars are clearly evident in their writings.

This article contributes to the elimination of these anomalies by focusing on several important events. The appendix reviews some sources discovered by

Polish researchers that refer to the Polish Antitrinitarians arriving in Transylvania by the winter of 1660–61. These documents show the mistrust of the newcomers, and their segregation from their host community. The article also identifies the mingling of the additional religious trends from England and the Netherlands contributing to a multifaceted Transylvanian Unitarianism.

Keywords: 17th century; England; Netherlands, Poland; Polish–Hungarian; connections; Polish Antitrinitarians; religious trends; Transylvania

Lehel Molnár: *The Rites and Regulations of Canonical Visitation of 17th Century Transylvanian Unitarians*

There is a lack of a broad synthesis focusing on the history of canonical visitation rites and regulations in Hungarian special literature. The last Unitarian summary of visitation rites history was compiled in the 1930's by bishop Boros György (George Boros) (1855–1941). In the 21st century only Dániel Bárh (1976–) pioneered again on this topic. But none of the above-mentioned focused on visitations performed by deans or bishops. This article focuses on the history and contents of the 1614 canonical visitation (*canonica visitatio*) orders compiled by bishop Toroczkai Máté (Matthew Toroczkai) (1553–1616), revised in the 1690's, and then used until 1741, when bishop Szentábrahámi Lombárd Mihály (Michael Lombárd Szentábrahámi) (1683–1758) and his contributors edited a new visitation regulation.

Keywords: 17th century; 20th century; *canonica visitatio*; canonical visitation; regulation, Unitarian visitation; Bárh, Dániel (1976–); Boros, György (1855–1941); Szentábrahámi, Mihály Lombárd (1683–1758); Toroczkai, Máté (1553–1616)

Hermina Gesztelyi: *Textiles of the Reformed Community in a Unitarian Context. The Confessional Importance of Kata Bethlen's Church Textiles from 1735*

Im 18. Jahrhundert ist Olthévíz ein spezieller Ort der konfessionellen Streite geworden. Die Autobiographie von Kata Bethlen (1700–1759), sowie die unitarische und die kalvinistische Kirchengeschichten sind die Hauptquellen, aus denen man erfahren kann, wie das Ehepaar die Bevölkerung des Dorfes bekehrt hatte, um das Kirchengebäude in Besitz zu nehmen. Trotz aller Versuche

wurden aber die Calvinisten nicht zur Mehrheit, so behielten die Unitarier das Gebäude. Deshalb gründete Kata Bethlen mit ihrem Mann die reformierte Kirche in der unitarischen Olthévíz und schenkte danach der Kirche Textilien und Goldschmiedearbeit. 1735 wurde eine Tischdecke mit den Symbolen des Agnus Dei und der Evangelisten gefertigt und der Pfarre gespendet. Das Evangelistensymbol kommt in der Ikonographie der kirchlichen Kunst nicht häufig vor, nur einige Beispiele sind bekannt. Die Bildsymbole von Matthäus, Markus, Lukas und Johannes haben in diesem speziellen konfessionellen Kontext eine polemische Bedeutung, womit die Tischdecke eine besondere Rolle in der Bekehrung gewinnt. Kata Bethlen hatte mehrere Unitarier in der Familie z. B. ihre Mutter, die die Einheit Gottes betont und die Lehre von der Trinität verwirft. Aber die Motive der Tischdecke können auch als die Symbole der Dreifaltigkeit interpretiert werden.

Schlüsselwörter: Kata Bethlen (1700–1759), Olthévíz (Hoghiz), Reformierte Tischdecke, Bildsymbole von Matthäus, Markus, Lukas und Johannes

Sándor Kovács: *Unitarian Martyrology and the Veneration of Dávid Ferenc*

The memory of Dávid Ferenc (Francis David) faded out in the 17th and 18th centuries. Under the reformed rulers and later under Habsburg domination, the Unitarian community did not evoke the memory of their church's founder. The cult of Dávid Ferenc started in the 19th century, and has thrived continuously ever since. During public commemorations speakers often cite poems and epitaphs ascribed to the bishop: he must have written these while imprisoned in the Déva castle. Balázs Mihály (Michael Balázs) (1948–) confirmed that neither the elegy nor the epitaph can be ascribed to Dávid Ferenc. This article proposes that the elegy previously ascribed to Dávid Ferenc (*Servivi patriae bis denos impiger annos...*) was probably written between 1668 and 1686, and that the author was probably somebody from Christoph Sand's (1644–1680) circle. The article describes the way the elegy became known amongst 17th century unitarians and in the 20th century how it became ascribed to Dávid Ferenc. The article's appendix includes the Unitarian Confession printed between 1698–1701 which contains the epitaph that was later ascribed to Dávid Ferenc (*Epitaphium ex manuscripto Anonymi cujusdam*). The article also includes all the translations of the epitaph.

Keywords: *Confessio Fidei Exulum Christi...*; cult of Dávid Ferenc; Déva castle; epitaph of Dávid Ferenc; Balázs, Mihály (1948–); Dávid, Ferenc (c. 1510–1579); Sand, Christoph (1644–1680)

Dávid Molnár: *Johann Ludwig von Wolzogen's Unknown Letter to Ferenc Bethlen*

Zwei Briefe werden in meiner Studie veröffentlicht und analysiert. Der eine wurde von dem bisher unbekanntem Eugenius Baro, der andere von Johann Ludwig von Wolzogen verfasst. In beiden Fällen ist der Adressat der Kanzler von Siebenbürgen, Franz Bethlen. In der Studie argumentiere ich dafür, dass – Aufgrund des Schriftbildes der Handschriften – Eugenius Baro und Johann Ludwig von Wolzogen ein und dieselbe Person sind. Wolzogen war ein berühmter sozinianischer Denker und schrieb eine kurze Kritik über Descartes' *Meditationes*. In einem der hier analysierten Briefe berichtete Wolzogen dem Kanzler über den Synkretischen Streit, über die Hinrichtung der König von England (Karl I.) und über ein nicht identifizierbares Werk. Im anderen Brief wollte Wolzogen eine Antwort auf die Frage finden, ob die politische Beziehung zwischen Pfalz, Brandenburg und Siebenbürgen nach dem Tod der Prinzessin von der Pfalz (Henriette Marie von der Pfalz), die 1651 den jüngeren Sohn (Sigismund) des Fürsten von Siebenbürgen (Georg I. Rákóczi) geheiratet hatte, abgebrochen wird oder nicht.

Schlüsselwörter: Unbekannte Briefe von Johann Ludwig von Wolzogen, Sozinianismus, Synkretischer Streit, politische Beziehungen zwischen Pfalz, Brandenburg und Siebenbürgen

Tamás Túri: *Sermon and Apocalypse: Pál Karádi and the Protestant Tradition*

This article explores the Unitarian superintendent/bishop of the Partium, Pál Karádi's (1523–1590) exegetical method, his historical approach and the eschatological roles of the ministers and preaching in his *Commentary on the Apocalypse* (1580). Karádi mainly focused on the *sensus litteralis* (literal meaning) but he also considered a spiritual meaning, based on an empirical resemblance to the *sensus litteralis*, combined with consideration of the actual historical context. On this 'historical allegory' Karádi constructed a cyclical

historical approach, which widens the horizon of its application, making possible connections to other protestant interpretations.

Regarding pastoral theological thoughts, the role of the ministers and the preaching about the last days, there are many similarities between Karádi's commentary and that of the Calvinist bishop, Péter Melius Juhász (1532–1572) in the interpretation of Revelations 10–12.

Additionally, Karádi probably used Heinrich Bullinger's (1504–1575) *A hundred sermons upon the Apocalypse...* and the meaning of the Apocalypse, Paul's eschatology, the characteristics of the sermon as genre, and pastoral theology in his own writings, resulting in similarities with the reformed tradition in Zürich.

Karádi's and Melius' common explanation about the pregnant woman, the son and the dragon in Revelations 12 is similar to the interpretation pattern of Antoine du Pinet (1510–1584), who combined the works of Sebastian Meyer (1465–1545), François Lambert (1486/87–1530), Beda Venerabilis (672/673–735), Joachim von Fiore (1135–1202) and Victorinus of Pettau (?–303/304).

Keywords: apocalypse; exegesis; Calvinism; Commentary on the Apocalypse; cyclical historical approach; Partium; Revelations; sermon; Zürich Beda Venerabilis (672/673–735); Bullinger, Heinrich (1504–1575); Du Pinet, Antoine (1510–1584); Joachim von Fiore (1135–1202); Lambert, François (1486/87–1530); Melius, Juhász Péter (1532–1572); Meyer, Sebastian (1465–1545); Pál, Karádi (1523–1590); Victorinus of Pettau (?–303/304)

Borbála Lovas: *Bible Translations in Enyedi György's Sermons*

This article examines the use of biblical quotations in the sermon collection of Enyedi György (George Enyedi) (1555–1597), the third bishop of the Transylvanian Unitarian church. Prior to his incumbency, in addition to Hungarian translations of parts of the Bible (particularly the New Testament and the Psalms), a full translation of the bible by the Calvinist Károli Gáspár (Charles Károli) (1529?–1591) was published in 1590. Enyedi's sermon collection, surviving in various manuscripts (and currently being published for the first time), shows that he behaved like Pázmány Péter (Peter Pázmány) (1570–1637), translating the Bible himself when using a quotation in his sermon rather than relying on contemporary translations. Study of Enyedi's treatment and deployment of Biblical quotations shows how the Unitarian Church managed to

analyze and study the Bible for everyday preaching and for their own theological stances, while lacking their own complete translation.

Keywords: manuscript; sermon collection; manuscript; Unitarian bible translations; Enyedi, György (1555–1597; Károli, Gáspár (1529?–1591); Pázmány, Péter (1570–1637)