



**The Role of the Dissenter in Western Christianity:
From Jesus Through the 16th Century**

with John Dominic Crossan and Other Scholars

Edited by Alicia McNary Forsey

Chronology of the Radical Reformation in Transylvania

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1510

In Kolozsvár, Transylvania, birth of Dávid Ferencz, known in English as Francis David (1510-1579), leader of the Radical Reformation in Transylvania, then the easternmost province of Hungary. In his personal faith journey, he mirrored the times by being born a Roman Catholic, then becoming a Lutheran, then a Calvinist, and at last formulating his own interpretation of liberal Christianity, which is now called Unitarian.

The twentieth-century Transylvanian Unitarian minister and scholar Imre Gellérd describes Dávid's oratorical personality thus: "From both the study of his sermons and other contemporary sources, we can establish that he had been born an orator, . . . gifted, for all practical purposes, with such an eloquence that masses of people were persuaded. And even more abundantly he had spiritual quali-

ties indispensable for a preacher . . . a gift for improvisation, and a sense of style in rhetorical language. . . . Another component of his oratorical talent was his incomparable theological and historical education. Dávid knew not only the Bible but also the entire corpus of the theological literature of fifteen centuries."¹ Francis Dávid was brilliant – he could endlessly quote Bible passages from memory in extemporaneous speaking or formal debate, whether in Hungarian, German or the scholarly language Latin, and he also read Hebrew and Greek.

1511

Birth in Spain of Miguel Serveto [*Lat.* Michael Servetus] (1511-1553), physician and lay theologian, author of *On the Errors of the Trinity* (1531) and *The Restoration of Christianity* (1553). Servetus's writings, which strongly influenced later antitrinitarians,



Tomb of Queen Isabella, St. Michael's Cathedral, Transylvania. Photo courtesy of Bill Hamilton-Holway

made him, precisely for fear of that on the part of the orthodox, regarded with alarm as a dangerous heretic. He was hunted by both Catholics and Protestants, and finally burned at the stake by Calvin.²

1515

Birth in France of Sebastian Châtillon³ [Lat. Castellio] (1515-1563), described by Voltaire as “a far greater scholar than Calvin.”⁴ Castellio publicly protested Calvin’s capital punishment of Servetus for his theological opinions, and published eloquent pleas for religious tolerance. For this Calvin hounded him until he died in poverty at age 48, and was thus “by God’s help, snatched from the claws of his enemies.”⁵

c. 1515/1516

Birth in Italy of Giorgio Biandrata [Lat. Blandrata] (c. 1515/1516-1588), court physician to both Queen Bona Sforza of Poland and her daughter Queen Isabella Zápolya of Hungary/Transylvania, and to Isabella’s son King John Sigismund of Transylvania. Biandrata was also an influential lay theologian and church leader, deeply involved in critical turning points of the antitrinitarian Radical Reformation in both Poland and Transylvania.

1516

Antitrinitarianism first appeared in Poland.⁶

Erasmus published his scholarly edition of the New Testament with Greek and Latin text. Of special interest was the fact that he had chosen to omit (on the basis that it was added at a later date) the trinitarian part of the verses (1 John 5:7-8) long cited as the biblical proof text for the doctrine of the Trinity: “There are three that testify: ~~in heaven: the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit, and these three are one. And there are three that testify~~

~~on earth:~~ the Spirit and the water and the blood, and these three agree.”⁷ It seemed that the doctrine of the Trinity could no longer be supported by the Word of God, but had to be accepted on faith or tradition.⁸ This historical consciousness of sequential layerings of writings in the Bible became critically important to Francis Dávid, who wished to think, reason, argue and debate strictly from the most accurate biblical texts of his time, and wished to avoid later additions from the church fathers.

1517

The Roman Catholic monk Martin Luther, angry at what he judged to be corruption in the church, wrote up 95 theses for formal debate about it among his fellow churchmen and, following usual practice, nailed the list to the front door of his church in Wittenberg, Germany. But copies of the document started appearing all over Europe thanks to the new mass media of the movable-type printing press, and the Protestant Reformation was launched and out of control, splitting into many factions.

Lutheranism soon appeared in Transylvania (part of Hungary until 1556). Its Saxon population, descendants of the Germans from Saxony invited to populate southern Transylvania in the 12th century, soon converted, and have remained Lutheran ever since. Its Hungarian-speaking populations (the Szeklers, said to be descended from 5th-century followers of Atilla the Hun; and their kindred the Magyars, whose ancestors came from southeastern Russia in the 9th century) largely accepted the Lutheran faith also, but soon went beyond it to accept Calvinism, and it was some of those who became the Transylvanian Unitarians under Francis Dávid.⁹

1517-1579

Alicia Forsey writes: “Within the last thirty years, interest in the Radical Reformation, a brief period

of history dating from 1517-1579, has increased dramatically. Research now credits the Radical Reformers as leading promoters of ideas that made way for separation of church and state, vocational choice, pacifism, congregational polity, participation of the laity within the institution of the church, and more.”¹⁰ Among the subsets of the Radical Reformation were: Anabaptists (including the Mennonites, followers of Menno Simons, 1469-1561), who objected to infant baptism as unscriptural; various antitrinitarians; so-called Arians, who agreed with the Christology of the 4th-century priest and theologian Arius, that Christ was not “God the Son”; the Bohemian Brethren (Hussites, followers of Jan Hus, martyred in 1415 for opposing indulgences and challenging the church hierarchy by permitting the laity to drink from the chalice during the communion sacrament); the Polish Brethren, officially the Minor Reformed Church of Poland, who were later called Socinians; and the Transylvanian Unitarians (followers of Francis Dávid).

1520

Saxon merchants from Transylvania returning home from Germany brought Luther’s books, which they had found at the Leipzig fair. These were eagerly read, and two monks returning from Wittenberg preached the Reformation.

1525

Rise of Anabaptism. Earl Morse Wilbur writes: “Nor can any influence upon this movement [of Unitarianism in Transylvania] be ascribed, as [it can be] in Poland, to the Anabaptists; for although they did somewhat creep into Hungary proper before the middle of the century, they were soon expelled from there, and none of them settled in Transylvania until well in the seventeenth century.” He notes Francis Dávid’s own belief near the end of his life: “Infant baptism was rejected as unscriptural” – that is,

rejected for the same reason the Anabaptists rejected it, but Dávid wanted to reject anything unscriptural. Right after Dávid’s death, however, it was restored to church practice in the Transylvanian Unitarian churches order to avoid an innovation that would attract persecution under then-existing law.¹¹

1526

The Turks under Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent defeated the Hungarians at the Battle of Mohács, on the Danube 150 miles south of Budapest. Among the 200,000 casualties was King Louis II of Hungary. Transylvania was one of the divisions of his kingdom, locally governed by its own Hungarian Viavode, then John Zápolya, the wealthiest and most powerful of the Hungarian nobility. “He had from his youth been so highly esteemed by the nobility that all eyes turned toward him as successor to the throne in case it should fall vacant.” Three days after the funeral of Louis, John Zápolya was elected King of Hungary by the Hungarian nationalist leaders, who wanted their country free of foreign influences, especially the powerful German-speaking Hapsburg empire. The rival Saxon party, however, believed Hungary would be safer from the Turks by being allied with the Hapsburgs, so they elected as King of Hungary the Arch-Duke Ferdinand of Austria (brother of the Hapsburg Emperor Charles V). John and Ferdinand fought intermittently until 1538.¹²

1530

Diet of Augsburg (Germany): The Augsburg Confession declared the Lutheran faith, which was widely accepted by German-speaking populations, including the entire Saxon population of Transylvania.

1531

Michael Servetus published *De Trinitatis Erroribus* (*On the Errors of the Trinity*). He had first learned to

read Latin, Greek, and Hebrew thanks to his Renaissance education. When he was in law school and able to find a Bible to read the gospels, he was amazed to find no explicit mention of the doctrine of the Trinity (one God in three persons: the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost), or the doctrine of the Incarnation of God in Jesus Christ. To make sure, he read it again, with the same result. As a Spaniard, he was well aware of the Inquisition's recent crack-down on Jews and Muslims in his homeland, and he thought that tolerance and peace could perhaps be attained if only the Christians could be persuaded to give up their unscriptural idea of a Trinity, and, like the Jews and Muslims, believe in a strict monotheism, that there is only one god, and God (the Father) is one, not three-in-one, as in the Athanasian Creed. But this was not to be. As soon as the book became known, Servetus became notorious as a heretic, wanted by both the Catholics and the Protestants.

1532

Servetus published *Dialogues on the Trinity*, in an attempt to defend himself from persecution. He went underground for twenty years, living in France under an assumed name, earning his living by editing and practicing medicine, but still thinking about the Trinity conundrums which would lead to his later publication of *Christianismi Restitutio* (*The Restoration of Christianity*).

1536

First publication of *Christianae religionis Institutio* (*Institutes of the Christian Religion*), by John Calvin (1509-1564), French theologian and reformer. He wanted to take Luther's reforms further, and also

had "two unique doctrines that ran contrary to [Renaissance] Humanist thought: that of the innate sinfulness, even depravity, of humanity, and that of election, whereby only certain people were predestined for salvation, with the rest condemned to destruction."¹³

1538

The two rival kings of Hungary, John Zápolya and Ferdinand of Austria, signed a treaty providing that if John should die without male issue, all Hungary would be ruled by Ferdinand; but if John had a son, the son should keep only his father's

hereditary possessions, including Transylvania. A few months later, John, now secure in his royal title, was able to marry Princess Isabella, daughter of King Sigismund I and Queen Bona of Poland. John's sister Barbara Zápolya had been the first queen of King Sigismund I.¹⁴

1539

Birth in Italy of Fausto Sozzini [*Lat.* Faustus Socinus] (1539-1604), nephew of Laelius Socinus. He became the theologian of the Polish Brethren, who were then also known as Socinians, although they, like the Transylvanian Unitarians, preferred to



Grave of Erasmus. Photo by Darrel Richey.

be known simply as Christians.

Order of Jesuits founded. The Jesuits became prominent in Roman Catholic efforts to counteract the Protestant reformers.

1540

July 7: Birth of Prince John Sigismund (1540-1571), son of King John Zápolya and Queen Isabella, in the city of Buda (later half of Budapest), Hungary. This is the son who grew up to become the first and only Unitarian king in history. He was named John after his father, and Sigismund after his maternal grandfather. Two weeks later, King John Zápolya died of a fever, leaving instructions that no one except his son was to be King of all Hungary. On August 15, the infant Prince John Sigismund was elected and crowned King of Hungary by a majority of the leading men and all the nobility present.¹⁵

Thus King John Zápolya violated his agreement with Ferdinand, that if he (John) had male issue, the son was to keep only his father's hereditary possessions, not all of Hungary; but Ferdinand also violated it, by demanding all of Hungary including Transylvania, in spite of the fact that John now did have a son.

1542

June: The Diet at Torda invited Isabella to come live in Transylvania with her son at the deceased bishop's vacant palace at Gyulaférvár (*Lat.* Alba Julia).

The Italian Inquisition was established. Italians interested in church reform became unsafe in their native country, and many of those who could afford it moved north to centers of Reformation activity elsewhere in Europe. Biandrata was later one of them.

1543

Transylvania declared itself independent, claiming the right to choose its own rulers (this was in force until 1691). It did also, however, at this time pay an annual tribute to Turkey to acknowledge its suzerainty and guardianship, particularly to fend off the Hapsburg empire.

1544

Transylvania's Saxon Synod (a special assembly of church leaders) adopted the Augsburg Confession. The Hungarian populations soon also accepted the Lutheran Reformation, and most Catholics left the country. The Lutheran churches organized with a single bishop but in two sections, one German-speaking for the Saxons, and the other Hungarian-speaking for the Szeklers and the Magyars.

1544-51

Biandrata served Queen Isabella as court physician.

1545-48

Wealthy patrons, recognizing Francis Dávid's abilities, supported him to study for four years at Wittenberg, heart of the Lutheran Reformation.

1547

Laelius Socinus (*Ital.* Sozzini, uncle of Faustus), a well-to-do Sienese who had studied law and had a skeptical, inquiring mind committed to the Reformation, left Italy and visited many of the leading Reformers before settling down in Zurich.

1551

Queen Isabella and her young son Prince John Sigismund had to leave Transylvania, due to her political situation, and with suitable escort including Biandrata returned to Poland to live. Biandrata then accompanied Queen Bona on her return to Italy. Biandrata was still a Catholic at this point,

but left that faith in the next seven years, reaching a cautiously antitrinitarian belief while living in Italy and Switzerland.¹⁶

1552-60

Over 1,500 Transylvanian students attended the university at Wittenberg under Lutheran influences.¹⁷

1553

Servetus published *The Restoration of Christianity*. As Charles Howe points out, “In giving his *magnum opus* the title *The Restoration of Christianity*, Servetus was siding with the Anabaptists against the leading Reformers; for while Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin were attempting to reform the sixteenth-century Christian church, the Anabaptists were attempting to restore primitive Christianity in actual congregations.”¹⁸ In addition, the book’s Latin title, *Christianismi Restitutio*, could be interpreted as alluding directly to Calvin’s *Institutio*, to challenge it.

Servetus had previously sent Calvin many letters containing the ideas in his new book. Calvin wrote to a friend, “If I consent, he will come here, but I will not give my word, for should he come, if my authority is of any avail, I will not suffer him to get out alive.”¹⁹ Servetus, on his way to Italy, did pass through Calvin’s Geneva, unfortunately on a Sunday, when anyone not in church would be highly suspect. He was recognized in church, and arrested and imprisoned. After eleven weeks of legalistic and theological trials, Servetus and his book were burned at the stake on October 27. He died with a prayer on his lips: “O Jesus, Son of the eternal God, have pity on me!” Howe records that Calvin’s close friend Guillaume Farel, who had accompanied Servetus to his death, “pointed out that if Servetus had only shifted the position of the adjective and invoked the ‘eternal Son of God,’ his

soul would have been saved.” But, faithful to his own beliefs to the end, he managed not to recant, even in the flames.²⁰ Vehement efforts to stamp out his ideas by destroying his book were so thorough that, of the 1,000 copies of *Restitutio*, only three survived to our time. This book has finally been translated from Latin into English in the 21st century.²¹

1554

A public outcry of revulsion and indignation over Servetus’s death had arisen against Calvin, subjecting him to bitter attacks, even in Geneva. He wrote, “the dogs are now barking at me on all sides.”²² So Calvin published *Defensio Orthodoxae Fidei (A Defense of the Orthodox Faith on the Holy Trinity, against the Prodigious Errors of Michael Servetus)*, a tract in which he tried to justify his actions by defending the capital punishment of heretics in general, and by continuing to attack Servetus.

A month later, Sebastian Castellio, a professor at the University of Basel in Switzerland, published *De Haereticis (Concerning Heretics, Whether They Are to be Persecuted)*, arguing for tolerance: “Who would wish to be a Christian, when he saw that those who confessed the name of Christ were destroyed by Christians themselves with fire, water, and the sword without mercy . . . ?”²³ Then he issued a closely reasoned book, *Contra Libellum Calvini (Against Calvin’s Book)*, not to defend Servetus or his views, but to attack Calvin and his actions: “To burn a man alive is not to defend a doctrine; it is to kill a man. . . . [W]hen Servetus fought with reason and writings, he should have been repulsed by reason and writings.”²⁴ Castellio also wrote *The Art of Doubting*.²⁵ The controversies stirred up between these and other disputants long spread awareness of Servetus’s views, as well as awareness of the need for tolerance.

1555

Even before King John Zápolya's death in 1540, "Transylvania had become so generally Protestant that he let it go without opposition," and the Transylvanians had yielded only unwillingly to their new ruler, the Hapsburg-allied King Ferdinand, who was not only Austrian, but Roman Catholic. Hoping to have his position confirmed by the Sultan, Ferdinand sought peace with him, but the Sultan insisted that Isabella first be restored to her kingdom in Transylvania, and threatened war if she were not. A Diet was convened in late 1555 to arrange the return of Isabella and the young prince Sigismund, and it appointed Isabella's longtime faithful counselor Petrovics, who was a kinsman of her late husband King John Zápolya, to be Regent until their return.²⁶

By this time, Protestants far outnumbered Catholics in Transylvania, but even so, Petrovics, a committed Protestant convert since early in the Reformation, wanted to maximize its hold now that he had political power. So, "as soon as he was placed in authority, even before the Queen had returned, he vigorously carried out church reform, lest the Queen returning should take occasion to interfere with the Protestant movement. Thus he cleared the churches of images and the parishes of their priests, melted the sacred vessels and coined them into money, and pressed the priests to adopt the new faith. The Diet also took formal measures to the same end. The Papal religion with all its orders and professors was with general

approval done away the same year, the church properties and revenues were confiscated and applied to the support of the Crown, and all church colleges and cloisters but two were converted into state schools."²⁷ The Protestant Reformation to bring the Lutheran faith into Transylvania

was complete. Francis Dávid had become a Lutheran pastor and was appointed Rector of the Lutheran school at Kolozsvár.

1556

The first Transylvanian pastor to accept Calvin's view of the Lord's Supper and apply it directly to further reforming the (now Lutheran) doctrine of the church he served was the pastor at Debreczen, Martin Kálmáncsehi. The Roman Catholic view was that the sacrament became the body and blood of Christ; the Lutheran view was that the

sacrament was to be taken corporeally as containing the real presence of the body and blood of Christ; and the Calvinist view was that the sacrament was to be taken spiritually, as a symbol only. This controversy had divided the churches of Germany and Switzerland for twenty years, and by 1550 it had gradually spread eastward until many in Hungary were embracing Calvinism. Now it was threatening Transylvania.²⁸

Francis Dávid, now Superintendent of the Hungarian-speaking Lutheran churches in Transylvania, became champion of the Lutheran view against the encroaching Calvinism.²⁹ As Wilbur says, he "won



Likeness of John Zápolya. On display at Buda Castle, Budapest, Hungary. Photo by Alicia Forsey.

universal admiration for his learning, eloquence and skill in debate,"³⁰ whether in Latin, German, or Hungarian. Of such disputations themselves Wilbur writes: "In the era of the Reformation public debates of important questions were as popular as tournaments and jousts had formerly been; and no subjects made a more lively appeal than those of religion. Debates were carefully planned, theses to be defended were published in advance, officers from both sides were chosen to preside, champions confronted each other often for days at a time, and the auditors pronounced their verdict, which though it might settle nothing was taken as a measure of approval or disapproval."³²

October 22: Isabella and the teenaged prince John Sigismund returned to Transylvania. Petrovics, as Regent, had renounced the protection of Ferdinand, reclaimed the capital city and palace at Gyulafehérvár, and convened a Diet at Kolozsvár to make proper arrangements. It appointed delegates to go to the Queen at Lwów in Galicia, request her return, and offer their loyal submission. "She and the Prince were escorted to the border by a thousand Polish troops, and there were met by two splendid companies of Turkish troops and picked Wallachian [Romanian] soldiers who escorted them the rest of the way. The whole journey was a triumphal procession, and she entered Kolozsvár on October 22, 1556, five years after her exile, amid demonstrations of the greatest joy."

Within the year, Petrovics died, leaving her his sole heir, but bereft of her one faithful friend and counselor since her husband King John Zápolya's death, as well as the appointed guardian of the young prince. She was Queen in title but vulnerable to the many men who coveted the power of her position. During this year also, Transylvania definitely separated from Hungary.³³

When Laelius Socinus's father died, the Italian inquisition impounded his inheritance and was persecuting his family back in Italy. The Italian inquisition had also become suspicious of the views of Giorgio Biandrata, then age 40, who escaped from Lombardy and went to Geneva, where he joined the Protestant congregation of Italian exiles. He became one of its church elders and began to raise doctrinal questions, some directed at Calvin, who at first responded patiently but gradually became annoyed and termed Biandrata a troublemaker.³⁴

1557

June: One of Isabella's first acts at the Diet of Torda of 1557 was to issue a decree providing equal toleration to both Catholics and Protestants. Given the proportions between them now, however, Wilbur judges that it seemed intended to secure the Catholic minority from further attacks by the Lutherans. It provided that "every one might hold the faith of his choice, together with the new rites or the former ones, without offence to any . . . and that the adherents of the new religion should do nothing to injure those of the old."³⁵

1558

Protestants with a Calvinist view of the communion sacrament continued to press their further reform within Lutheran assemblies. In debate at a Lutheran synod at Torda, the Lutheran Francis Dávid won a decisive victory over the Calvinist Kálmáncsehi, who soon afterward died. He was replaced by Peter Mélius (*Hung.* Juhász), who in many debates won great numbers of Hungarians and Szeklers to Calvinism.³⁶

In Geneva, the members of the Italian congregation were asked to subscribe to a confession of faith composed to exclude then-current heretical views of

the Trinity and the nature of Christ. Biandrata refused to sign; he was banished from the city and left for Poland. Calvin wrote to a Polish friend: "Warn the good brethren, before they learn by experience what a monster Giorgio Biandrata is, or rather, how many monsters he fosters, to beware of him."³⁷

1558-63

Biandrata was promoting Antitrinitarianism in Poland.³⁸

1559

Francis Dávid, having an open mind, from being the chief debating opponent of Peter Mélius, became his convert.³⁹ Even so, he still hoped that the differences between the Protestant camps could be overcome and the two united.⁴⁰ But the schism continued to grow between the Lutherans and the Calvinists.

Queen Isabella unexpectedly died on September 15, shortly after the death of Queen Bona her mother.

1560

The Lutheran church leaders of Transylvania continued discussion in assembly at Megyes, with the Saxon ministers on one side, and on the other, Dávid and Kaspar Helt, minister at Kolozsvár. Because after long discussion the latter persisted in their Calvinist view of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, they were by vote excluded from the Lutheran churches and no longer recognized as brethren.⁴¹ The young King John Sigismund, believing debate far preferable to intolerance and civil disorder, ordered a formal disputation held.

1561

By decree of the Diet, early in the year a Protestant synod met at Megyes, with heated debate for three

days, but neither side would yield and no agreement could be reached. The King ordered a report including the writings of both parties to be submitted to the leading German Universities for their judgment.⁴²

1562

Laelius Socinus died in Zurich at age 37. His nephew Faustus at once came and took possession of his extensive library and writings, which subsequently greatly influenced Faustus's own theological thinking. Thus Laelius Socinus can be considered the source of the Socinianism of the Polish Brethren.

1563

Biandrata came from Poland to Transylvania to be court physician to King John Sigismund, whose confidence he soon gained, as well as that of Francis Dávid. In discussions of reforms in religion, he presented his antitrinitarian views to them both.

Another Diet at Torda renewed and confirmed the decree of 1557, and extended toleration to Calvinists.

1564

Calvin died in Geneva.

April: Synod of the disputing Transylvanian Lutherans at Enyed, with Biandrata representing King John as moderator. Neither side would yield its view of the sacrament, so the church divided. The Saxons continued as Lutherans under their old Superintendent, Matthias Hebler. The Hungarian-speaking Transylvanian Calvinists, now known as the Reformed Church, went on under a separate administration, keeping Francis Dávid as their Superintendent. Wilbur notes that by 1568 it became evident that "the Calvinists in Transylvania

had almost entirely followed Dávid.”⁴³ Howe reminds us that “No creedal standards had as yet been set for the Reformed churches, and thus the way lay open for theological change under Dávid’s leadership.”⁴⁴ Thus far, in Transylvania, there had been no contention over the doctrine of the Trinity.⁴⁵

Biandrata, impressed by Dávid’s debating skills and clear thinking at the Enyed synod, soon persuaded King John to appoint Dávid court preacher.

1565

The Minor Reformed Church in Poland (whose members became known as the Polish Brethren, or, later, Socinians) was founded. This confirmed the split between the orthodox (the major) Calvinist Reformed church there, and the many people in it whose beliefs had become antitrinitarian.

1566

January: Dávid began his open opposition to the doctrine of the Trinity by preaching his first antitrinitarian sermon in the main church at Kolozsvár, and soon thereafter he was debating trinitarian Protestants.⁴⁶ Such debates were the epitome of the widespread concern with doctrinal matters among the whole population, described thus by one chronicler: “One heard all over Transylvania in the villages and in cities, even among the ordinary people, the great disputes during meals, during drinking, in the common talk and

from the pulpits, even accusations and fights between the representatives of the two religions.”⁴⁷

February 24: First public discussion in the bitter Unitarian controversy within the Hungarian Reformed church: the Trinity was debated in Latin in a

synod at Gyulafehérvár, a very heated interchange that raised many questions to be settled later. Peter Mélius, then head of the Hungarian orthodox Calvinists, was considered victor.⁴⁸

March 15: A provincial synod at Torda, to prepare for further debate. Dávid and Biandrata presented a brief confession about the Trinity, giving a simple scriptural statement that avoided scholarly terms, and Biandrata explained seven propositions.

April 25: In another synod at Gyulafehérvár, in the presence of the King, the

above texts were offered for critique by the ministers who had come from Hungary.

May 19: At a synod at Maros-Vásárhely, a *Consensus* was adopted and published. But it was inconclusive, and left many terms undefined, thus satisfying neither party. Biandrata had been cautious in stating his positions, and the orthodox Calvinists conceded nearly all that he proposed, agreeing with him as far as he went; in a sincere effort to arrive at enough agreement to avoid further schism, both sides had avoided and postponed the real questions at issue.



Buda Castle chapel, 16th century. Photo, Alicia Forsey.

So the separation of the Unitarians from the Calvinists in Transylvania came later.⁴⁹

1567

Publication, on the press King John had provided Dávid and Biandrata, of the book *De falsa et vera unius Dei Patris, Filii, et Spiritus Sancti Cognitione, libri duo* (*The False and True Knowledge of God, in two volumes*), of which Wilbur remarks that “the responsible editors were evidently Biandrata and Dávid. . . . In many places the influence of Servetus is unmistakable.”⁵⁰ The chapter presenting eight pictorial representations of the Trinity, taken from impeccably orthodox sources, “chiefly paintings and sculptures in existing churches, through which artists had done their best to make the holy mystery intelligible to common folk,”⁵¹ created a sensation of shock and outrage. “The orthodox at once took these as ‘dreadful and abominable pictures,’ intended to show that ‘the Trinity is not unlike the fabled three-headed Cerberus, or the many-headed Hydra, more monstrous than the Gorgon,’ and thus hold the doctrine up to ridicule.”⁵² . . . These pictures continued to scandalize the Trinitarians so much that when the government changed, every effort was made to have all copies destroyed that could be found, and unmutated copies are extremely rare.”⁵³

1568

Unitarianism began in Transylvania under the leadership of Francis Dávid, though the actual word for “Unitarian” is not found in an official public document until the year 1600, when the “unitario religio” is named as one of the four received religions in a decree of the Diet of Léczfalva.⁵⁴ (For a thorough discussion of the name “Unitarian,” see this reference.)

January: The 1568 Diet of Torda renewed and strengthened the previous royal decrees of religious toleration passed in 1557 and confirmed in 1563. Francis Dávid eloquently and successfully pled for full toleration, resulting in the Diet’s unanimous approval for the Act of Religious Tolerance and Freedom of Conscience:

His Majesty, our Lord, in what manner he — together with his realm [that is, the Diet] — legislated in the matter of religion at the previous Diets, in the same manner now, in this Diet, reaffirms that in every place the preachers shall preach and explain the Gospel each according to his understanding of it, and if the congregation like it, well; if not, no one shall compel them, for their souls would not be satisfied, but they shall be permitted to keep a preacher whose teaching they approve. Therefore none of the superintendents or others shall abuse the preachers, no one shall be reviled for his religion by anyone, according to the previous statutes, and it is not permitted that anyone should threaten anyone else by imprisonment or by removal from his post for his teaching, for faith is the gift of God, this comes from hearing, which hearing is by the word of God.⁵⁶

The dramatic high point of this 1568 Diet of Torda is memorialized in the painting by Aladar Körösfői-Kriesch portraying Dávid, his arm raised, reaching the climax of his speech to the King and all the dignitaries assembled. This painting hangs in the town hall at Torda, and in photogravure has an honored place in homes, churches, and seminaries in Transylvania and wherever else Unitarians love and remember Francis Dávid.

February 2: A quiet day, though this date had been proposed by Mélius, calling the Calvinist ministers

of Hungary to meet in a synod at Debreczen, which lay in Hungary beyond King John's dominions, to take action against heresies like those of Arius.

Mélius claimed that their antitrinitarian adversaries in Transylvania had already been defeated in the recent synods, and challenged the Transylvanians to appear or else be proclaimed as defeated. Biandrata did not accept the challenge, suspecting that once outside the legal protections of King John's territory, his party could be seized and imprisoned as heretics, as others had recently been.⁵⁷

March: "The greatest debate in the entire history of Unitarianism," in the great hall of King John's palace at Gyulaféhevár. The ministers of the Hungarian-speaking churches in Transylvania defending the Unity of God had invited the Trinitarian (Calvinist and also Saxon Lutheran) ministers of Upper and Lower Hungary to attend a formal disputation specifically addressing whether the doctrines of the Trinity and the eternal deity of Christ were taught in the scriptures. Seventeen theses which proposed various objections to the doctrine of the Trinity were debated for ten days, with the two sides speaking alternately, beginning at five o'clock in the morning, in Latin. The argument centered mostly on interpretations of the relevant Scripture texts, with little reference to the Creeds or the Church Fathers. An orthodox historian sums up the whole episode in the often quoted laconic statement that "the disputation began with heat, lasted not too temperately for ten days, and closed without any profit accruing to the church of Christ."⁵⁸ King John adjourned the disputation without rendering a judgment as to who had won, and strictly charged both sides not to abuse or quarrel with each other further. One of Dávid's opponents later "recorded in the archives of the Chapter of the Reformed Church at Megyes that 'certainly the whole trinitarian Christian world

could have furnished no man who could cope with the Unitarians, not in abuse but on grounds of Scripture and reason that could by no means be refuted.'"⁵⁹

Then, as Wilbur records it: "Despite the contrary claims of Mélius and his friends, the disputation at Gyulaféhevár was generally regarded as a signal victory for Dávid and his followers. The news of it reached Kolozsvár before him, and on his return thither a great throng of his people were awaiting him where the Torda road enters the town, and hailed the victor with loud acclamations. The tradition is that he thereupon mounted a large boulder at the street corner and proclaimed the simple unity of God to them with such persuasive eloquence that they took him on their shoulders and bore him to the great church in the square to continue the theme, and that the whole city accepted the Unitarian faith then and there."

[Wilbur's note: "The boulder is preserved as a sacred relic and stands, suitably inscribed, in the vestibule of the Unitarian church at Kolozsvár."]⁶⁰

Mélius and his followers, however, kept attacking, abusing and slandering Dávid's party, even hinting at the righteous application of the death penalty for heretics. Some ministers sympathetic to Dávid's views were also being persecuted or deprived of their positions unless they would violate their consciences. The Unitarians responded with a stream of publications, but it was not enough. "It was proposed therefore to carry the campaign to the enemy's territory, and have a disputation conducted in Hungarian, which the common people might understand, since the previous ones had been in Latin, hence intelligible only to the well educated." King John authorized it, to be held under his policy of safe, free, and tolerant discussion, in Várad (later known as Nagyvárad), one of the most important cities in his dominions, though situated in one of the Hungarian counties outside of Transylvania

proper. The Reformed ministers in the Hungarian counties were not subject to Dávid's authority, and were not enthusiastic, but agreed to come to this great national debate.⁶¹

1569

October 20-25: Debate in Hungarian on the Trinity at Várad, six full days of formal disputation restricted to these four points: Who is the one God? Who is the only-begotten Son of God the Father? Of the Holy Spirit; Of the divinity of Christ. Mélius led the

Trinitarians, and Dávid made a powerful speech in defense of his own side and of liberty of conscience, and made the usual arguments against the Trinity and the dual nature of Christ as unscriptural and unreasonable. This was the last important debate within the bosom of the Reformed Church in Transylvania.⁶² "By this time, the King and most of his court had been won over to Dávid's side. . . . Many Transylvanians were quite ready to follow their king into accepting Dávid's position, and Unitarianism with its rallying cry of 'Egy az Isten' ('God is One') soon became the leading faith of the land."⁶³

From the press at Gyulafehérvár, Dávid published a work in two books, *De Regno Christi* (*Of the Kingdom of Christ*) and *De Regno Antichristi* (*Of the Kingdom of the Antichrist*), each followed by a tract opposing infant baptism. About 265 pages out of about 350 closely reprinted about 180 pages of Servetus's *Christianismi Restitutio*, of which Biandrata evidently

possessed a copy. [If he did, it was one of very few left in Europe.] Wilbur writes, "The formative influence of Servetus upon Unitarianism in Transylvania in the time of Biandrata and Dávid, as already noted, was thus strongly marked."⁶⁴



"Workhouse" at fortress in Salzburg. Photo by Alicia Forsey.

In Poland, Raków was established as an antitrinitarian center. "The wife of a wealthy Calvinist, Jadvice Gnoinskiej, herself an ardent 'Arian,' had become concerned with the plight of her fellow religionists, many of whom were suffering persecution. Deter-

mined to address the problem, she persuaded her husband to establish a new town where religious toleration would be guaranteed. Pleasantly situated in the country about seventy miles north of Kraków, the town was named Raków, for the *rak* or crab on the benefactress's coat of arms. Antitrinitarians and Anabaptists, including members of the nobility and ministers, were at once attracted to this 'New Jerusalem,' and the town grew rapidly."⁶⁵

1571

January 6-14: The Diet of Maros-Vásárhely extended the legal rights of the Unitarians, granting the churches adhering to Dávid "formal recognition as one of the 'received religions,' enjoying equally with Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists the constitutional right of freedom in public worship and of access to public honors and offices." Other existing religions in Transylvania were "tolerated," but "any rights they were allowed to exercise might at any

time be withdrawn without protection from the law." This legal protection, King John's last public act, as it turned out, was achieved by the Unitarians in the nick of time; and "it barely saved those churches from the extinction that was later to overcome their brethren in Poland. On the next day, after the members of the Diet had departed, he [John] went, accompanied by Dávid, Biandrata and a few close friends, to seek relaxation in a hunting expedition in the neighboring forests of the Szeklerland. . . . as they were turning into a side road, the spirited horses [of his carriage] accidentally ran off the side of the road so violently that he was shaken up and seriously hurt." He became quite ill for two months, and then complications set in from which he was unable to rally.⁶⁶

March 15: King John Sigismund died at age 30. This meant the end of his sympathetic protection for the followers of Francis Dávid. Dávid himself lost his position as court preacher, and most of the other Unitarians at the court were displaced as well. Biandrata was allowed to stay on as a court physician. The new ruler, Stephen Báthory, a Roman Catholic, "proved himself a fair, just, and impartial man and a wise and firm ruler. . . . he was broad-minded, . . . and while resisting all efforts . . . to convert him, refused to abridge the religious liberty decreed by the Constitution, and showed himself under the law impartial toward the several religions." But as a Catholic, he did arrange for the ruling Vaivode, or prince [he gave up claim to the title of king] of Transylvania "henceforth to be the acknowledged vassal of the [Roman Catholic Hapsburg] Emperor," rather than protected from him by the Turkish Sultan.⁶⁸

Wilbur says of King John: "Whatever may be judged of John Sigismund as a civil ruler, . . . in one respect he stands preeminent over the other rulers of his

time; for he was throughout his reign a resolute champion of freedom of conscience and of liberty in the choice and exercise of religion. . . . as contrasted with all the other nations of the time, the four main religions of Transylvania were by law bound together to maintain complete religious freedom for themselves and entire toleration for one another, while the minor religions practically enjoyed equal toleration if not equal privileges. . . . Nay more, at a period when his own religion through open debate had won a sweeping popular victory, and when it was espoused by the great majority of the members of his government, no advantage was taken of the opportunity to secure especial privileges for it, but equal rights and privileges were secured for all four received religions. In the year when King John issued his final charter, guaranteeing full religious liberty to even the most bitterly opposed of all the reformed sects, Protestant theologians were still praising Calvin for having burned Servetus alive, the Inquisition was shedding Protestant blood in the Netherlands, the massacre of Protestants in France on St. Bartholomew's eve was still a year and a half in the future, and more than forty years were still to pass before persons ceased to be burned at the stake in England for holding wrong religious opinions; while in Poland it was not until more than two years later that Catholics and Protestants agreed in the common interest not to shed each other's blood. . . . Thus under his leadership in his short reign the Reformation was consistently carried out without bloodshed; and although the principle of religious liberty for all was often infringed in later generations, the four received religions have never renounced it, and it has been their proud tradition for nearly four hundred years."⁶⁹

Francis Dávid, through his innate character, as well as long habit under the religious liberalism of the Unitarian King John Sigismund (who had

proclaimed at the 1569 Várad debate, “we demand that in our dominions there shall be freedom of conscience”⁷⁰), continued to refine his ideas about reforming the Christian religion. His insatiably curious mind was still probing, trying to ascertain from scripture the truth about God, Jesus, and the way to Christian salvation. He came to the conclusion that since only God was God, it was no more proper to pray to Jesus than to the Virgin Mary or the saints, or to adore any of them as if they were God. To him, this was idolatry. These issues became known as the adorationist controversy, and those who held Dávid’s view were called non-adorants. Dávid’s final position is ultimately the Unitarian view of Christology (the theology of the nature of Christ) – that Jesus is not God, because God is One, a unity, not any version of a Trinity as elaborated by ancient church councils. Dávid’s own authority was the Gospels, where he saw no support for Jesus himself having regarded God as anything other than “Abba, Father.” So he concluded that Jesus was indeed the Son of God (“God poured his divinity into him,” Dávid said in a sermon⁷¹), but not “God the Son,” second person of the Trinity. This is the same distinction that Servetus had made. Dávid regarded Jesus as the perfect example of what humanity is capable of in its ever-evolving process of rising to higher spiritual states; in another sermon he said, “Jesus uplifted humanity to Christian dignity.”⁷²

Francis Dávid published, at the printing house in Kolozsvár, a book whose title translates from Hungarian as *True confession of faith about God the Father, and his holy son Jesus Christ’s divinity, based on the true meaning of writings of the prophets and apostles, has been written by Dávid, the servant of the crucified Jesus Christ.*⁷³ In it he writes: “Scripture commands us to pray to the Father through Christ . . . It is wrong to

pray to the man Christ, because God says, Isa. xliii, that his honor should not be given to another; . . . else we become idolaters . . . The man Christ can not be prayed to, because he is not God in essence, and because he is not God eternal, and not creator of heaven and earth.”⁷⁴ This published text substantiates that Dávid held this view in 1571, before the 1572 law was passed prohibiting further reforms or “innovations” in religion in Transylvania. But “the time of King John,” referred to in that law, ended on March 15, 1571.

Wilbur observes: “While there had been, both a few years before John’s death and in the years since, some sporadic and more or less tentative instances in which the invocation of Christ in prayer had been called in question, yet this practice . . . was still the one generally prevailing and no doubt deeply cherished. For while the Protestant reformers had abandoned the Catholic practice of worshiping the Virgin Mary and invoking the saints, they still continued to adore and invoke Christ as the author of their salvation; and this was deemed the outward sign most sharply marking the distinction between Christianity and Judaism. To abandon or oppose the practice would thus be taken as indicating a relapse into the Jewish religion.”⁷⁵ Yet Dávid’s 36 sermons dealing specifically with “the great question of the [16th] century: Who was Jesus?” leave no doubt that Dávid preached Jesus Christ as the Messiah promised in the Hebrew scriptures, a belief that no Jew would accept unless he or she intended to convert to Christianity.⁷⁶

1572

May: At the Diet at Torda, Prince Stephen “confirmed King John’s decree of religious freedom; but in the same breath gave warning that if anyone [among the Unitarians] introduced any innovation in religion he should be investigated, and if found

guilty of preaching a different faith from that of the late King, he should be excommunicated or otherwise punished according to his deserts. . . . The idea seems to have been that the surest way to avoid religious dissension was to require each of the received religions to maintain the *status quo* unchanged, and thus to discourage any further development of the Reformation.”⁷⁷ This was in the hope of providing safety and peace in Transylvania and avoiding the religious civil strife that plagued much of the rest of Europe. Though the new monarch was a relatively mild and reasonable ruler, Biandrata knew that the Unitarians were now at risk and would have to keep a low profile in order to avoid challenging the “no more innovations” rule under which they were now living.

1574

In Lower Hungary, for denying the doctrine of the Trinity the Unitarian preacher George Alvinczi was “hanged by order of the Calvinist Bishop. Upon this a wealthy Unitarian at the risk of his life brought the matter to the attention of the Turkish government at Buda and demanded satisfaction. The governor gave ear, and ordered the Calvinist Bishop to appear. A new disputation was ordered and was held before a great crowd. The Governor gave judgment that the execution of Alvinczi had been inhuman, and the Bishop and his two fellows were sentenced to death as murderers. The Calvin-

ists were thunder-struck; but the Unitarian preacher at Pécs interceded for them, saying that his people did not seek revenge. The sentence was therefore remitted, and in lieu of it a heavy annual tribute was imposed on the whole province.”⁷⁸

1576

Viavode Stephen Báthory was elected King of Poland, and though retaining the title of Prince of Transylvania and still signing important documents concerning it, he moved to Poland and his brother Christopher Báthory was chosen to govern Transylvania as Viavode in his absence.⁷⁹

The Unitarians greatly improved their ecclesiastical organization by getting authorization for a lawful Superintendent of their own. In response to their petition, the Diet at Megyes decreed “that



Rare books in the Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek in Vienna, Austria. Photo by Alicia Forsey.

those brethren that are of the religion of Francis Dávid may have Francis Dávid for their Superintendent, and if he dies or becomes ill, or is for any other reason replaced, they may replace him and have another with the same authority; provided only that in the matter of religion he shall introduce no innovation, but it shall remain in the state in which he found it.”⁸⁰

1578

Dávid was trying to further refine his movement’s doctrinal system by acting within his church. A

Unitarian synod passed a resolution “which gave all the ministers liberty without danger to discuss with one another and to investigate matters that have not yet been decided and settled by the general synod.”⁸¹ Thinking they were protected by this resolution, Dávid began meeting with other ministers in his home to discuss questions about the nature of Christ, whether he could be invoked in prayer, and even whether the doctrines of justification and predestination as taught by Luther and Calvin were believable. When Biandrata found out about this, he wrote to Dávid, advising him not to bring up such questions at the next synod lest he be accused of innovation. Dávid complied, but still raised them at home and also in his Kolozsvár pulpit, preaching that since Christ was not God, he should not be invoked in prayer. Biandrata disagreed, but Dávid held firm. Biandrata, now alarmed, called upon the outstanding young theologian Faustus Socinus to come from Krakow (not Basel⁸²) to Kolozsvár, all expenses paid, to be a house guest with Francis Dávid and persuade him to give up his most recent innovations. Socinus arrived in November.⁸³

1579

After more than four months of courteous discussion, logic, and oral and written argument back and forth over proof texts from the Bible, Faustus could not make Dávid change his mind about nonadoration, or drop his rejection of the practice of praying to Jesus. They then agreed with Biandrata that all these written materials (described by Wilbur as a discussion “carried on earnestly but in good spirit”⁸⁴) would be forwarded to the Polish Brethren for their judgment, and finally placed before a general synod for a final decision. But Dávid convened a synod for February 24, even before the materials were sent in May, and it adopted articles stating that it was not innovation to refine existing doctrines by freeing them of error and superstition,

and that the natural consequence of belief in the one God was that he alone should be worshiped. Biandrata was very angry and accused Dávid of breaking their agreement, and the 12-year-long deep friendship between the two men was over. Biandrata sent word to Dávid that he had declared himself to the Prince as Dávid’s open enemy. When Dávid heard that the Prince had ordered him put under house arrest pending an investigation, he decided to preach one last sermon. On the Sunday following the synod, Dávid boldly declared to his Hungarian congregation in the great church in Kolozsvár, and also to the smaller Saxon church in the public square, that invoking Christ in prayer was no better than the Catholic practice of worshiping the Virgin Mary or the dead saints. He told the people why he was to be arrested, and concluded by declaring, “Whatever the world may yet try to do, it will nevertheless become clear to the whole world that God is one.”⁸⁵

In early June, Dávid, then about 68 years old, had to travel three days from Kolozsvár to Gyulafehérvár, where Prince Christopher Báthory had convened a Diet to try Dávid’s case in the great hall of the palace. He arrived so ill and weak he could hardly stand. Biandrata, leading the prosecution, professed great regret at having to assume this role, but stated that he had repeatedly warned Dávid for a year not to continue on his course. Dávid’s defense was led by his son-in-law Lucas Trauzner, who kept objecting that what was at issue was not the validity of Dávid’s teachings, but whether they were new. When the trial resumed the next day, Dávid was so weak he had to be carried in on a chair, but was able to speak in his defense and submit evidence that he had held the views under dispute long before the innovation law was passed in 1572, and that many of his accusers, including Biandrata, had as well. The defense rested its case and withdrew. Biandrata and some 25 of the

accusers solemnly swore they had never held Dávid's view, and that it was new and blasphemous. One trinitarian Hungarian dissented, saying that it had been publicly expressed at the Várad disputation in 1569. When Dávid and his companions came back in, most of the accusers begged the Prince to spare his life, though one Calvinist minister made a long speech to the Prince urging the death penalty. The Prince said so great a crime should not go unpunished, and he would decide on a suitable punishment as a warning to others. Dávid was led away by soldiers and held incommunicado. Three days later, condemned to life imprisonment, he was taken away to the isolated castle at Déva, on a high hill.⁸⁶

Francis Dávid died in mid-November 1579, and no one knows where he is buried. Inscribed on the wall of his dungeon cell was found this message: "Neither the sword of popes, nor the cross, nor the image of death – nothing will halt the march of truth. I wrote what I felt and that is what I preached with trusting spirit. I am convinced that after my destruction the teachings of false prophets will collapse."⁸⁷ Thus began the struggle of his followers to live without him for the next 425+ years.

Why wouldn't Francis Dávid submit to the political situation and avoid innovation in his public pronouncements? Dávid once declared, "Whom God enlightened by His spirit must not be silent and must not hide the truth."⁸⁸ And Imre Gellérd observes that, unlike other Protestant reformers who "stopped once they discovered treasure," Dávid was "among the first to recognize that the law of the spirit was eternal movement . . . an everlasting series of stages, a process – the continuous self-evolving, irresistible progression of the spirit. . . . Each step was a precondition for the next one. He was one in whom the human spirit had liberated itself much earlier than its historically ordained time."⁸⁹ Perhaps

Francis Dávid, once he had experienced living in freedom of conscience, freedom of thought, and freedom of speech – freedom of religion – would not, or could not, give it up.

As the most prominent lay leader of the antitrinitarian church he had helped found and had saved, Biandrata took strong initiatives to organize its demoralized followers and ministers, and corral them within the restrictions prohibiting innovation. Although most complied (some left for Hungary), many blamed him for the loss of their beloved leader Dávid. Biandrata soon pulled back from religious matters and concentrated on being the court physician among the Catholic courtiers, who tried to convert him back to Romanism. But "at length they gave him up as incorrigible, and he remained to the end steadfast in his heresy. He led a lonely life, but at the end he had the companionship of his nephew and namesake, whom in his last will he made heir of all his property, on condition that he remain steadfast in the Unitarian faith."⁹⁰ Biandrata died in 1588, age 72, at the Transylvanian court.

Faustus Socinus left for Poland, where he became the theological leader of the Antitrinitarians there, particularly at Raców, and influenced their beliefs to the point that they became known as Socinians all over Europe. He died in 1604, age 64. ■

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Notes

- 1 Imre Gellérd, *A History of Transylvanian Unitarianism through Four Hundred Years of Sermons*, tr. Judit Gellérd (Chico, CA: The Center for Free Religion, 1999), 11-12.
- 2 The standard biography is by Roland H. Bainton, *Hunted Heretic: The Life and Death of Michael Servetus* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1953).
- 3 Earl Morse Wilbur, *Our Unitarian Heritage: An Introduction to the History of the Unitarian Movement* (Boston: The Beacon Press, 1925), 99.
- 4 Quoted in Stefan Zweig, *The Right to Heresy: Castellio Against Calvin*, tr. Eden and Cedar Paul (Boston: Beacon Press, 1951). Cf. also Thomas S. Vernon, *Great Infidels* (Fayetteville, AR: m & m [sic] Press, 1989), 7-16.
- 5 Vernon, *Great Infidels*, 16.
- 6 Wilbur, *Our Unitarian Heritage*, vi.
- 7 *The HarperCollins Study Bible*, New Revised Standard Version, ed. Wayne A. Meeks (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1993), 2298.
- 8 Charles A. Howe, *For Faith and Freedom: A Short History of Unitarianism in Europe* (Boston: Skinner House Books, 1997), 9.
- 9 Earl Morse Wilbur, *A History of Unitarianism* [Vol. II]: *In Transylvania, England, and America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1952), 6-8, 16.
- 10 Forsey, in the introduction of "A Mind of Her Own: 16th-century Radical Women," in this volume.
- 11 Wilbur, II, 24, 82, 86-87.
- 12 Wilbur, II, 9-11.
- 13 Howe, *For Faith and Freedom*, 12.
- 14 Wilbur, II, 11-12.
- 15 Wilbur, II, 12.
- 16 Wilbur, II, 14-15.
- 17 Wilbur, II, 18.
- 18 Howe, *For Faith and Freedom*, 29.
- 19 Earl Morse Wilbur, *A History of Unitarianism* [Vol. I]: *Socinianism and Its Antecedents* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1945), 144; Howe, *For Faith and Freedom*, 30.
- 20 Howe, *For Faith and Freedom*, 35, 40.
- 21 A project led by Alicia Forsey under the auspices of the Earl Morse Wilbur Project, Starr King School for the Ministry. It will be published early in 2005 by Blackstone Press in collaboration with the Unitarian Universalist Historical Society.
- 22 Wilbur, *Our Unitarian Heritage*, 98.
- 23 George Huntston Williams, *The Radical Reformation*, 3rd edition (Kirkville, MO: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1992), 961.
- 24 Wilbur, I, 203; Vernon, *Great Infidels*, 15; Howe, *For Faith and Freedom*, 46.
- 25 Vernon, *Great Infidels*, 14.
- 26 Wilbur, II, 18-19.
- 27 Wilbur, II, 20-21, with Wilbur's reference to his notes 20 and 21.
- 28 Wilbur, II, 22, 24.
- 29 Wilbur, II, 25.
- 30 Wilbur, II, 23.
- 31 Wilbur, II, 31.
- 32 Wilbur, II, 19-20.
- 33 Wilbur, II, 16.
- 34 Howe, *For Faith and Freedom*, 58.
- 35 Wilbur, II, 22.
- 36 Wilbur, II, 25.
- 37 Howe, *For Faith and Freedom*, 58-59; Wilbur, I, 225..
- 38 Wilbur, II, 14.
- 39 Wilbur, II, 25.
- 40 Howe, *For Faith and Freedom*, 97.
- 41 Wilbur, II, 25.
- 42 Wilbur, II, 25.
- 43 Wilbur, II, 37, n. 28.
- 44 Howe, *For Faith and Freedom*, 97.
- 45 Wilbur, II, 26-27.
- 46 Howe, *For Faith and Freedom*, 97.
- 47 Howe, *For Faith and Freedom*, 97, quoting John Erdö, *Transylvanian Unitarian Church: Chronological History and Theological Essays*, tr. Judit Gellérd (Chico, CA: Center for Free Religion, 1990), 7-8.
- 48 Wilbur, II, 32.
- 49 Wilbur, II, 32-33.
- 50 Wilbur, II, 34-35.
- 51 Wilbur, II, 35; for descriptions of the art works, see Wilbur's n. 22.
- 52 Wilbur, II, 35, including n. 23.
- 53 Wilbur, II, 35, n. 24.
- 54 Wilbur, II, 47, n. 12. Cf. Wilbur, II, 100, n. 1.
- 55 Howe, *For Faith and Freedom*, 99; Wilbur, II, 38.
- 56 Wilbur, II, 38.
- 57 Wilbur, II, 36.
- 58 Wilbur, II, 36-37.
- 59 Wilbur, II, 43.
- 60 Wilbur, II, 38, including Wilbur's n. 33.
- 61 Wilbur, II, 38-40.
- 62 Wilbur, II, 39-41.
- 63 Howe, *For Faith and Freedom*, 101.
- 64 Wilbur, II, 41-42, including Wilbur's n. 42.
- 65 Howe, *For Faith and Freedom*, 67.
- 66 Wilbur, II, 48-49.

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- 67 Wilbur, II, 55.
68 Wilbur, II, 57.
69 Wilbur, II, 52-54.
70 Wilbur, II, 40.
71 Gellérd, *A History of Transylvanian Unitarianism*, 29-30, with reference to Dávid's 7th sermon on God.
72 Gellérd, *A History of Transylvanian Unitarianism*, 30, with reference to Dávid's 28th sermon on Christ.
73 Gellérd, *A History of Transylvanian Unitarianism*, 63.
74 Wilbur, II, 66, n. 37.
75 Wilbur, II, 66-67.
76 Gellérd, *A History of Transylvanian Unitarianism*, 28-29.
77 Wilbur, II, 59.
78 Wilbur, II, 83-84.
79 Wilbur, II, 61.
80 Wilbur, II, 61.
81 Howe, *For Faith and Freedom*, 103.
82 Wilbur, II, 70, n. 50.
83 Howe, *For Faith and Freedom*, 103-104.
84 Wilbur, II, 74.
85 Wilbur, II, 71-73.
86 Wilbur, II, 75-77.
87 Erdö, *Transylvanian Unitarian Church*, 15; quoted in Howe, *For Faith and Freedom*, 109-110.
88 Erdö, *Transylvanian Unitarian Church*, 7; quoted in Howe, *For Faith and Freedom*, 95.
89 Gellérd, *A History of Transylvanian Unitarianism*, 47.
90 Wilbur, II, 89-90.