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RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE REFLECTED IN THE GRANTS OF ARMS ISSUED BY THE PRINCES OF TRANSYLVANIA (1570–1765)¹

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Historical Background

A land of myth and legend to most,² Transylvania's identity first began to coalesce in the eleventh century, when the region was ruled by a voivode or warlord as a voivodeship – a quasi-autonomous province within the Kingdom of Hungary.³ Following the defeat at Mohács in 1526, Hungary was split between the Habsburgs and the Ottomans, with the western part being ruled as a kingdom by the Habsburgs, most of today's Hungary being totally incorporated into the Ottoman Sultanate and divided into pashaliks, and the eastern part ruled as an autonomous principality under Ottoman or Habsburg suzerainty,⁴ depending on its ruler's political interest.

At first, its sovereigns ruled as voivodes, with the title of Prince of Transylvania having been settled only in 1570, when Prince John Sigismund Zápolya, a former King of Hungary, had his title recognized by both the Habsburgs and the Ottomans.⁵ Transylvania was thus ruled as an elective principality from 1570 until 1765, when it became a grand principality under Princess Maria Theresa of Habsburg.⁶ In total, the small Carpathian entity was ruled by 25 princes during that time, with some ruling two or three times, some ruling without being elected, and some being elected without ever ruling.

As mentioned above, Transylvania was fought over by two empires that were constantly at war during that time: the Habsburg Empire and the Ottoman Sultanate. As such, the Carpathian region was, for most of its existence, a border province; a buffer state between the West and the East, between two different worlds. This, in turn, transformed it into a melting pot of cultures, ethnicities, and religions. Besides the native Romanians⁷ and the Hungarians that conquered the region around the tenth and eleventh centuries, one should also mention the Szeklers, who helped the Hungarians in their conquest,⁸ the Saxons who were invited as colonists during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries,⁹ the Armenians, who were first attested in the late thirteenth century; and finally, the Jews, who first appear in the historical record in the fourteenth century.¹⁰

From a political point of view, Transylvania was ruled by the Prince and the legislative assembly or Diet, which comprised three estates. This went back to 1438, when, following a peasant revolt, these ruling estates signed a mutual aid pact, in order to keep the *status quo*. This arrangement, called *Unio Trium Nationum*, provided political rights to three nations: the nobility that ruled over the counties, the Szekler seats (or regions), and the Saxon seats. Back then, all three estates followed the Catholic Church. Although they made up most of the population,¹¹ the Romanians – who followed Orthodoxy – were mostly excluded from political life¹² unless they converted to Catholicism.¹³ Things would only change later, during the time of the principality. If they decided on embracing the Catholic faith, they could become part of the Hungarian nobility, which would give them political and social privileges.¹⁴ This was the case for the families of many important figures in Transylvanian history, such as Ianco Hunniate,¹⁵ Voivode of

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Figure 1: Ornate Transylvanian grant of arms. National Archives of Hungary
HU-MNL-OL-P 491-II.-XII.-22

Transylvania, and father of King Matthias I of Hungary; Nicolaus Olahus,¹⁶ Primate of Hungary; and Stephanus Maylad,¹⁷Voivode of Transylvania.

Religious Divisions

The religious policies in Transylvania became even more interesting after the Reformation. During a time when Europe was fighting its wars of religion, Prince John Sigismund Zápolya – then King of Hungary – issued the Edict of Turda (1568), the first document in European history that ensured freedom of religion. This act stated that communities could freely elect their priests, and that no living soul was to be disadvantaged by his religious convictions, nor should anyone be pressured into changing faith. Three years later, in 1571, the Edict of Târgu Mureş settled the four received (official) denominations in the Principality of Transylvania: Catholicism, Lutheranism, Calvinism, and Unitarianism. The latter was a local Antitrinitarian faith, conceived by Franz David, a Transylvanian Saxon from Cluj.¹⁸ Orthodoxy was not mentioned, or ever granted official status, since the laws only dealt with the evolution of the former Catholic communities. However, the edict was an unprecedented act of tolerance in Europe's history.

As befits a tolerant entity, Transylvania's rulers were of many ethnicities and faiths, although the law did end up stipulating that only Calvinist Hungarians could become princes. Transylvania's first ruler, the aforementioned Prince John Sigismund Zápolya, was born a Catholic in 1540, converted to Lutheranism in 1563, then to Calvinism in 1564, and died an Unitarian in 1571.¹⁹ After his death, Transylvania came under the rule of the Báthorys, a Catholic family of Hungarian nobles which counted a cardinal amongst its members: Prince Andrew Báthory of Transylvania; as well as a King of Poland, who also ruled as Prince Stephen Báthory of Transylvania.²⁰ Around 1600, the principality was conquered by Michael Pătrașcu *the Brave*, Prince of Wallachia, who was Romanian and Orthodox. It is worth mentioning that during his short rule, Orthodoxy also became an accepted faith, alongside the other four.²¹ In 1603, Pătrașcu's ally and second in command, Moses Székely, was elected Prince of Transylvania. He was the second Unitarian and the only Szekler to ever rule over Transylvania.²² After him, all Princes of Transylvania were Calvinist and Hungarian by law, culminating with Prince Francis Rákóczi II, who ended up losing his title in favour of the Habsburgs, who were Roman-Catholic.²³ An interesting case is that of Prince Acathus Barcsay, who ruled between 1658–1660. His father, a Romanian noble from Hunedoara County,²⁴ converted from Catholicism to Calvinism, thus allowing for his son to be elected as Prince of Transylvania. Taking all into consideration, it is fair to say that the small Carpathian principality was – for its time – a bastion of tolerance and multiculturalism.

Of the three principalities that would end up forming Romania (Transylvania, Wallachia and Moldavia), grants of arms were only ever issued in Transylvania, with its princes continuing a tradition set by the Kings of Hungary, who had been granting arms since the Angevin times, when the practice was brought to the country by King Charles I.²⁵ All grants of arms issued by the Princes of Transylvania followed a distinct Transylvanian pattern that was inspired by the one used in Hungary, with the coat of arms painted in the upper left corner of the diploma (**Figure 1**).²⁶ Not all diplomas, however, had the miniature painted, as that would accrue further costs, which the grantees could not always pay.²⁷

Clerical grants of arms

The subject of Transylvanian grants of arms has been covered, in detail, by both Romanian and Hungarian researchers,²⁸ but three things are important when dealing with Transylvanian nobility and personal heraldry: firstly, there was only one noble class in Transylvania, with no titles of nobility,²⁹ and with the prince being *primus inter pares*, as he was elected from the aristocracy; secondly, like much of the continent, Transylvanians had familial, not personal, arms, as every grantee was raised into the nobility and received arms for himself and all of his descendants; thirdly, it was a way of repaying someone or recognising their merits, so people from all walks of life were ennobled, in order to give them and their descendants political power and privileges.³⁰

This study analyses 83 grants of arms issued to clerics.³¹ Of the 25 successive princes of Transylvania only eleven granted arms to men of the cloth (**Figure 2**). Other princes might have also ennobled priests or pastors, but in this region of conflict, many such diplomas were lost. It is worth mentioning that the first grants were made during a time when Transylvania was not stable, being fought over by the Habsburgs and the Ottomans in the Long Turkish War. During Cardinal Andrew Báthory's reign in 1599,

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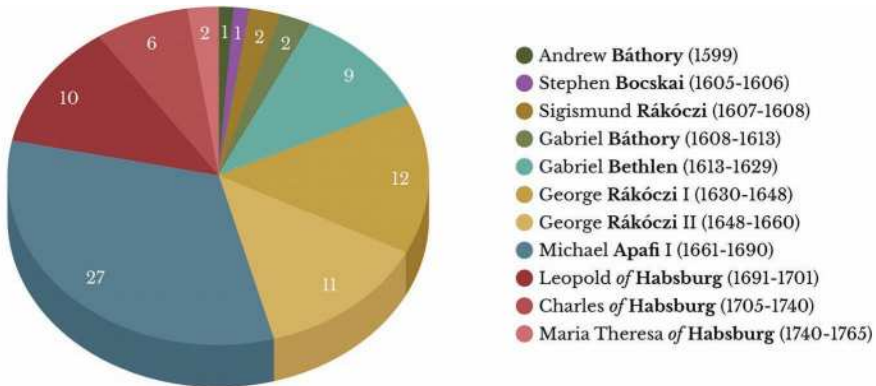


Figure 2: Number of grants issued to clerics by each Prince of Transylvania.

Transylvania aligned itself with the Ottoman Porte, although its prince was a high-ranking Catholic cleric. Once the country became a clear vassal of the Ottomans, the Transylvanian princes had the power to take care of religious matters. Thus, starting with Gabriel Bethlen (1613–1629), continuing with the two Rákóczis (1630–1657), and ending with Michael I Apafi (1661–1690) – all Calvinists –, many grants were issued to clerics. This not only had to do with their long reigns, but also with their religious policies, as they were all fervent supporters of the Reformation. This trend of ennobling priests was carried on by the Habsburgs, when they took control of the principality, at the start of the eighteenth century, during a time of Counter-Reformation. Although the new monarchs were ardent Catholics, they had to uphold the laws instituted by the Edict of Turda if they were to rule in peace.³²

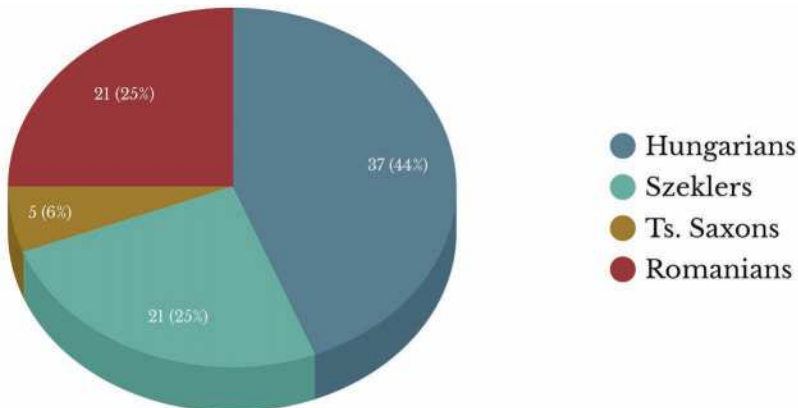


Figure 3: Number of grants by ethnicity.

From an ethnic point of view, the 83 grants were issued to 37 Hungarians, 21 Szeklers, only five Transylvanian Saxons, and – oddly enough – to 21 Romanians (**Figure 3**). Interestingly, Romanian priests were granted as many arms as were granted to their Szekler counterparts, who were part of the ruling elite, unlike Romanian clerics, who had to work the fields like any other peasant, and whose religion was only tolerated. This just goes to show that, when it came to recognising certain merits, the Princes of Transylvania truly had an open mind. They did, of course, try to convert the local Romanian population to Calvinism, an endeavour that proved successful, in part, with the princes funding the translation into Romanian of many religious works. This ultimately backfired, since the Orthodox population could not relate to the ideas of the Reformation: they had no Pope, their priests had to marry, there were no indulgences to be paid, etc.³³

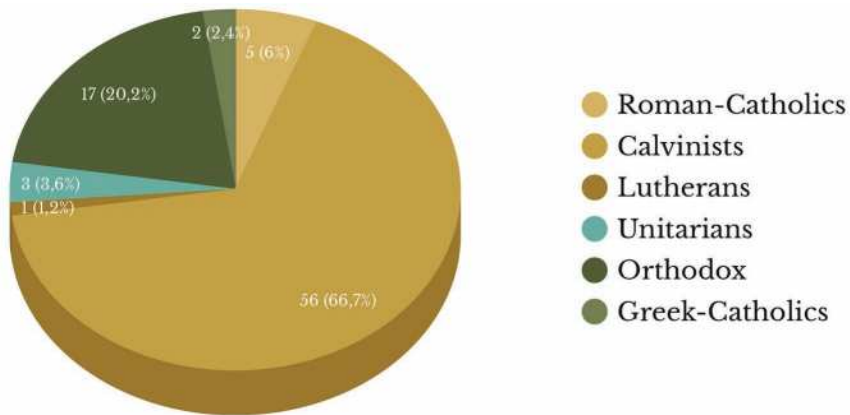


Figure 4: Number of grants by Christian denomination.

When it comes to religion, out of those ennobled, five were Roman-Catholic, 56 were Calvinists, one was Lutheran, three were Unitarian, seventeen were Orthodox, and two were Greek-Catholic (**Figure 4**). To put this into perspective, we need to look at the religious policies of the Princes of Transylvania. At first, when the principality was ruled by the Catholic Báthorys, it was mainly Roman-Catholic priests who were ennobled. When Calvinist princes came to power, in a bid to grant privileges to their own clerics, the emphasis was placed on Calvinist pastors, with some grants also to Orthodox priests. Following the Edict of Turda, which prohibited the conversion of Catholics, Lutherans, and Unitarians, the conversion of the local Orthodox population was seen as a way to bolster the number of Calvinist souls. When the Habsburgs – Catholic monarchs by definition – began to rule over the country as Princes of Transylvania, they began ennobling not only Roman-Catholics (these were newly-created Greek-Catholics – which I will cover below), but also members of the other legally recognised denominations.

From an heraldic point of view, the coats of arms granted by the Princes of Transylvania to their country's clerics can be divided into seven categories: 1, Arms granted to Calvinist preachers, mainly Hungarians and Szeklers; 2, Arms granted to Roman-Catholic priests, mainly Hungarians and Szeklers; 3, Arms granted to Lutheran

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preachers, mainly Transylvanian Saxons;⁴ Arms granted to Unitarian preachers, mainly Hungarians and Szeklers; 5, Arms granted to Orthodox priests (Romanians); 6, Arms granted to Greek-Catholic priests (Romanians); and 7, Notable exceptions, meaning those arms granted to clerics whose ethnicity did not match the faith of the majority of his peers.

1. Arms granted to Calvinist preachers

The most interesting case of clerical ennoblement is the diploma issued by Prince Gabriel Bethlen in 1629, by which he grants the same coat of arms – along with the noble status – to all descendants of Transylvanian Calvinist preachers (**Figure 5a**).³⁴ This famous collective grant of arms follows a practice quite common during the time of the principality.³⁵ These same arms were later nominally recognised and confirmed by Prince George Rákóczi I in 1642, for the descendants of two preachers ennobled by Bethlen with the grant of 1629. One was a bishop, and the other a pastor (**Figure 5b**).³⁶ From the remaining 55 grants made to Calvinist preachers, I will present the ones that best exhibit the heraldic traits of Transylvanian heraldry. One needs to keep in mind that, in this part of the world, it was the basic image that mattered. If one was a priest, one would get canting arms in most cases. People needed to be able to quickly figure out what the coat of arms was meant to represent. So, most of the arms granted to Calvinist preachers followed a simple rule, with few exceptions: they would show either preachers, angels, doves, Bibles, or divine images. For example, the arms granted to János Nagy of Milota³⁷ show the image of a pastor holding a Bible, accompanied by angels (**Figure 5c**).³⁸ We also find a preacher reading from the Bible in the arms granted to Lukács Bagdy, (**Figure 5d**), as well as in the arms granted to Balázs Bartalyus, where the pastor is standing on a defeated dragon (meant to represent the Devil), while reaching for the sun (meant to represent the Divine) (**Figure 5e**).³⁹ Doves (representing the Holy Spirit) appear in the arms granted to János Dayka of Chesereu,⁴⁰ (**Figure 5f**), as well as in the arms granted to Ferenc Soós⁴¹ (**Figure 5h**), and to János Lukáts of Boroşneu,⁴² Bishop of Transylvania, where we also find Bibles (**Figure 5g**). Most Calvinists were either Hungarians or Szeklers.

2. Arms granted to Roman-Catholic priests

With regard to Roman-Catholic clerics, I could only find five examples. All of them show the sign of the cross, as well as priests, divine allegories, angels, or cult objects. Thus, the arms of János Szilvássy show a pelican in her piety (representing the idea of salvation through sacrifice), as well as an angel bearing the cross on its head and using a thurible (**Figure 5i**).⁴³ The cross is also present in the arms granted to János Ropán of Súdovce,⁴⁴ where it is being held by a priest in his right hand, while the left holds a lit candle (**Figure 6a**). The arms granted to Sámuel Halmágyi of Etfaláu⁴⁵ show the head of a stag with a cross between its antlers, in clear reference to the legend of Saint Hubert (**Figure 6b**).⁴⁶ Lastly, the cross is also present in the arms granted to Baron János Antalfy of Sânmartin,⁴⁷ Bishop of Transylvania, where it is being held by a lion issuant from a coronet, in typical Hungarian fashion (**Figure 6d**).⁴⁸ Most Roman-Catholics were either Hungarians or Szeklers.



Figure 5: Numbering from top left to bottom right, **5a**: Arms granted to all the Calvinist preachers from Transylvania, 1629, image from Tamás, *Armales Transylvanorum*⁴⁹; **5b**: the confirmation of arms issued to Mihály Molnár alias Szánthay and József Milipao Geönczy, 1642, image from *Siebmacher*; **5c**: arms granted to János Nagy of Milota, 1624, National Archives of Hungary HU-MNL-OL-R 64-1.-244; **5d**: arms granted to Lukács Bagdy, 1618, image from the Bagdy family site; **5e**: arms granted to Balázs Bartalyus, 1617, image from *Liber Armorum Hungariae*⁵⁰; **5f**: arms granted to János Dayka of Cheşereu, 1617, image from *Armales Transylvanorum*; **5g**: arms granted to János Lukáts of Boroşneu, 1758, image from *Liber Armorum Hungariae*; **5h**: arms granted to Ferenc Soós, 1702, National Archives of Hungary HU-MNL-OL-F 21-S no. 34; **5i**: arms granted to János Szilvássy, 1599, National Archives of Hungary HU-MNL-OL-R 64-1.-962.

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ROPÁN de FELSŐ SZUD.



ENYETTER.



ZAJKAS alias PAP de NAGY-SZEGH.



Figure 6: Numbering from top left to bottom right: **6a**: arms granted to János Ropán of Súdovica, 1649, image from *Siebmacher*; **6b**: arms granted to Sámuel Halmágyi of Etfaláu, 1742, image from the National Archives of Hungary HU-MNL-OL-P 491-II.-XII.-22; **6c**: arms granted to Martin Enyedi alias Enyetter, 1699, image from *Siebmacher*; **6d**: arms granted to Baron János Antalffy of Sânmartin, 1724, image from *Liber Armorum Hungariae*; **6e**: arms granted to Ioan Zoba of Vinț alias Pop, 1664. Reconstruction by Mrs Bettina-Evelin Basarabă-Varga; **6f**: arms granted to Ștefan Stoia of Ciugud, 1649, image from the Union Museum of Alba Iulia; **6g**: arms granted to Toader Aron of Bistra, 1701, National Archives of Hungary HU-MNL-OL-F 9-Cista 2. - Fasc. 7. no. 14; **6h**: arms granted to Ioan Fonai, 1658, Library of the Romanian Academy P. 605; **6i**: arms granted to Dumitru Zoicaș of Noțig alias Pop, 1673, image from *Siebmacher*.

3. Arms granted to Lutheran preachers

The only grant of arms issued to a possible⁵¹ Transylvanian Saxon who was also a Lutheran preacher, Martin Enyedi alias Enyetter, was made not in his capacity as a man of the cloth, but rather for his military deeds against the Ottomans, as we can clearly see by studying the shield and crest, where a Turk's head is impaled in a scimitar (**Figure 6c**).⁵² Very few arms were ever granted to Transylvanian Saxons in the Principality of Transylvania,⁵³ which might seem counterintuitive, since they were part of the ruling estates. The explanation is that they either freely assumed arms⁵⁴ – as they were a noble nation by law – or their elite was already armigerous, as a result of them migrating from the Holy Roman Empire. Such was the case of the Haller of Hallerstein⁵⁵ family, of Bavarian origin. After settling in the Kingdom of Hungary the Hallerstein became one of the most important Transylvanian 'Saxon' families.⁵⁶ On the other hand, the Saxon elites did not necessarily want to become part of the nobility, since experience showed them that those who did soon went through a process of natural Magyarization. Most Lutherans were Transylvanian Saxons.

4. Arms granted to Unitarian preachers

When it comes to the Unitarian faith, we have another singular coat of arms granted to a Hungarian (or Szekler) for prowess in battle against the Ottomans. It just so happened that the valiant Transylvanian soldier was a Unitarian preacher. His name was Mihály Kövendi of Chiend alias Nagy⁵⁷ and his coat of arms is described as having a lion issuant holding a scimitar with a Turk's head impaled at its end.⁵⁸ Most Unitarians were either Hungarians or Szeklers.

5. Arms granted to Orthodox priests

From seventeen examples, I chose six that best represent the thought process behind granting arms to an Orthodox priest. As expected, the coats of arms mainly show priests, crosses, Bibles, divine allegories, military allegories, or possibly even ethnic allegories. One coat of arms that might reference the grantee's ethnicity and religion is that of Ioan Zoba of Vinț alias Pop,⁵⁹ (**Figure 6e**) on which the eagle holding a cross in its beak could be a nod to the coat of arms of the Principality of Wallachia⁶⁰ – the main Romanian state in the region – while the double cross is widely used in Orthodoxy.⁶¹ Other arms simply show priests reading from the Bible, as is the case for the achievements of Ștefan Stoia of Ciugud⁶² (**Figure 6f**) and of Ioan Fonai (**Figure 6h**).⁶³ A most interesting case is that of Toader Aron of Bistra,⁶⁴ whose arms show a snake and a dove, in clear reference to the Gospel of Matthew: "*so be wise as serpents and innocent as doves*" (**Figure 6g**).⁶⁵ Furthermore, as seen in the arms of Ioan Zoba of Vinț alias Pop, we also find examples of arms showing soldiers, weapons, or even priests holding weapons; for instance, the achievement of Dumitru Zoicaș of Noțig alias Pop⁶⁶ (**Figure 6i**) or that of Grigore Drăguș of Dejuțiu alias Pop (**Figure 7a**).⁶⁷ All Orthodox were Romanians.

6. Arms granted to Greek-Catholic priests

As mentioned above, many Romanians in Transylvania recognized the Pope as their head of faith, in order to gain more political and social rights. They were allowed to keep the Byzantine tradition of worship, but united with the Catholic Church. This was part of the Counter-Reformation, with the Habsburgs trying to get as much of the population from

the newly acquired Transylvania as possible under the obedience of the Pope.⁶⁸ Although oppressive at times,⁶⁹ this turned out to be an immense opportunity for Romanians, who could now hold public offices and even study abroad.⁷⁰

I could only find two examples of priests who were granted arms under the Habsburgs up till 1765, both showing the sign of the cross, the Bible, or both. The only coat of arms that was also painted is that of Ștefan Pop alias Timandi, with an arm in robes, holding a Bible with a cross on it (**Figure 7b**).⁷¹ The other coat of arms, granted to Ionașcu Monea alias Popa, has a similarly garbed arm holding a cross.⁷² It is worth mentioning that all coats of arms issued to Roman-Catholics and Greek-Catholics alike bear the sign of the cross in one way or another, in stark contrast to the arms granted to Reformed pastors of all denominations. The only other faith that has priests with crosses in their armorial achievements is Orthodoxy. All Greek-Catholics were Romanians.

7. Notable exceptions

Although one could fairly accurately describe the Romanians as Orthodox or Greek-Catholics, the Hungarians and Szeklers as Calvinists, Roman-Catholics, or Unitarians; and the Transylvanian Saxons as Lutherans, I also found a few cases that do not follow this rule. Firstly, Petru Orășteanu of Lugoj alias Pop,⁷³ the Calvinist preacher for the Romanian Calvinist community in Hațeg⁷⁴ bore a coat of arms exhibiting the pastor trampling a dragon while reaching for the sun (**Figure 7c**).⁷⁵ We find another Romanian Calvinist serving as preacher at the princely court during the reign of Prince Michael Apafi I. His name was Tămaș Chiș of Făgăraș⁷⁶ and his coat of arms is a classic example of seventeenth century Transylvanian ecclesiastical heraldry, showing a kneeling pastor who is reading from the Bible (**Figure 7d**).⁷⁷

Next, we have two Transylvanian Saxons who were Calvinist pastors: a preacher from Brașov, Jakob Gothard of Dalnic,⁷⁸ whose arms do not have any religious symbols,⁷⁹ (**Figure 7e**) and Gregor Gothard, whose armorial achievement shows a lit candle (**Figure 7f**).⁸⁰ I could find no proof that the two Gothards were related. Finally, we have the interesting case of Andreas Textorius of Idiciu.⁸¹ He was a Transylvanian Saxon, but Unitarian. This tells us that he must have been from Cluj, the only place where such a community existed.⁸² There was an interesting Unitarian community of Transylvanian Saxons in Cluj which, unlike their brethren in the rest of the principality, embraced this local Antitrinitarian faith, probably on the grounds that it was founded by another Transylvanian Saxon from Cluj, Franz David. Andreas Textorius of Idiciu received two grants of arms: one in 1688,⁸³ from Prince Michael Apafi I (**Figure 7g**), and one in 1703,⁸⁴ from Prince Leopold of Habsburg, it being not uncommon for the Habsburgs to confirm arms granted by the earlier princes (**Figure 7h**).⁸⁵ His two grants are clearly different, although the 1703 version purports to be just a confirmation of the one from 1688. It might be that the imperial chancellery was not too fond of the busy Transylvanian heraldic style, with a shield in which one can find a pastor praying, the hand of God holding a Bible, as well as a lit candle, among others.

To present all 83 grants in this paper would be impractical, and I have therefore made a list of all the heraldic charges that appear in these achievements, in order to best demonstrate how the princely chancellery functioned in the Principality of Transylvania with regard to ecclesiastical heraldry. Thus, we find 41 images of the Bible, 39 images of priests or pastors, 21 lilies, 20 images of soldiers, 18 weapons of various kinds, thirteen

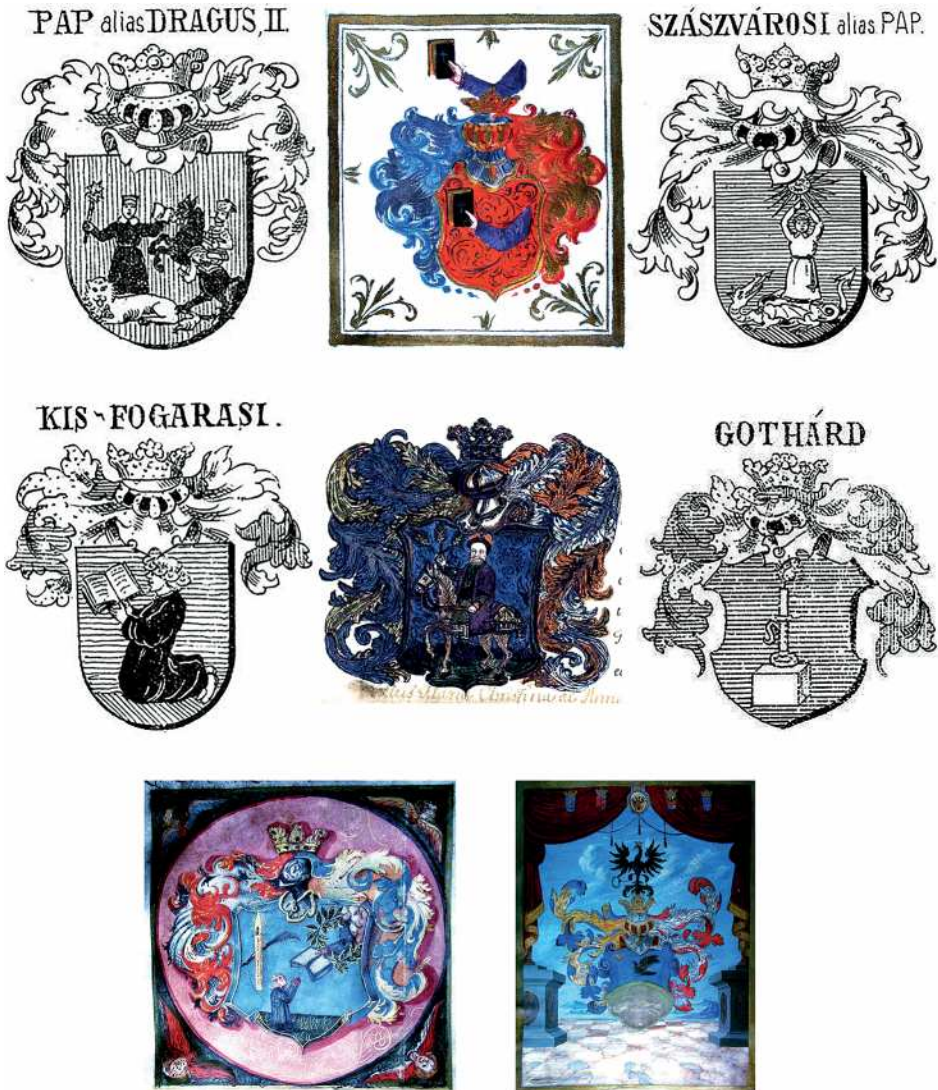


Figure 7, numbering from top left to bottom right: **7a**: arms granted to Grigore Drăguș of Dejuțiu alias Pop, 1649, image from *Siebmacher*; **7b**: arms granted to Ștefan Pop alias Timandi, 1723, National Archives of Hungary HU-MNL-OL-F 21-T no. 13; **7c**: arms granted to Petru Orășteanu of Lugoj alias Pop, 1644, image from *Siebmacher*; **7d**: arms granted to Tămaș Chiș of Făgăraș, 1699, image from *Siebmacher*; **7e**: arms granted to Jakob Gothard of Dalnic, 1676, National Archives of Romania BV-F-00001-1-744; **7f**: arms granted to Gregor Gothard, 1654, image from *Siebmacher*; **7g**: arms granted to Andreas Textorius of Idiciu, 1688, National Archives of Hungary HU-MNL-OL-F 21-T no. 8; **7h**: arms granted to Andreas Textorius, 1703, National Archives of Hungary HU-MNL-OL-F 21-T no. 7.

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quill pens, ten crosses, ten doves, nine eagles, eight angels, seven roses, five snakes, five lions, four altars, four images of stars, four clouds representing Heaven, four suns, four palm trees or palm leaves, four wheat sheaves, three Turk's heads, three dragons representing the Devil, three lit candles, two pelicans in their piety, two swans, two stags, two crescents, two storks, two griffins, one thurible, one unicorn, one sheep, one anchor, one tree, one vine, and one organ.

As expected for an eastern European principality, the list above only goes to show how highly the figurative image was regarded, since we find so many heraldic charges directly linked to priesthood, such as literal priests or pastors, Bibles, crosses, or other liturgical objects. The same thought process went behind using lilies, doves, angels, snakes, clouds, palm leaves, dragons, pelicans, etc., albeit these symbols require some theological knowledge in order to be deciphered.

Not all ecclesiastical arms are filled with religious imagery, as we also see many military charges. The Orthodox clergy had both to work in the fields and to fight when needed, just like any other peasant or serf. The occurrence of writing quills in thirteen coats of arms reflects the fact that most priests doubled as local scribes, since they were usually the only ones who were able to write. The arms were designed with scant regard for western heraldic rules; here, it was the essential imagery that mattered, not the rule of tincture or abstractly shaped heraldic charges.



Figure 1: detail.

Conclusion

Transylvania, as a melting pot of nationalities and religions, was the first European state to allow freedom of religion, in a time when Christian blood was spilled throughout the continent for these same causes. This perfectly reflects in the grants of arms issued to men of the cloth during the existence of the Principality of Transylvania, when members of every nationality and Christian denomination were ennobled. Even though ethnic Romanians did not have political power, and Orthodoxy was barely tolerated, they did receive many grants of nobility and arms for faithful service or courage during times of war. Many Romanians then converted to Greek-Catholicism in 1698, in the times of Counter-Reformation, in order to gain some political and social power; and so their priests also received grants of arms. We do not find many grants of arms among the Lutheran Transylvanian Saxons, but not because they were being discriminated against. They certainly bore arms, which had been freely assumed, some in medieval times. Their reluctance to engage with new grants of arms might have been a reflection of their reluctance to become Magyarized. In contrast, both Hungarian and Szekler clerics received many grants of arms, as they mainly embraced Calvinism, the religion of the princes, or remained Roman-Catholic, the religion of the Báthorys and the and the Habsburgs.

¹ I would like to thank Mrs Bettina-Evelin Basarabă-Varga (Timișoara), Mrs Ana Dumitran (Alba Iulia), as well as Mr Anton Avar (Budapest), and Mr Tudor-Radu Tiron (Bucharest) for helping me finish this study.

² See Bram Stoker's *Dracula*, as well as Jules Verne's *The Castle of the Carpathians*, both set in Transylvania.

³ Constantin C. Giurescu, Dinu C. Giurescu, *Scurtă istorie a românilor pentru tineret îndeosebi* (București, 1977), p. 96.

⁴ *Idem*, pp. 124–125.

⁵ Călin Felezeu, 'The International Political Background (1541–1699); The Legal Status of the Principality of Transylvania in Its Relations with the Ottoman Porte', in Ioan Aurel Pop, Thomas Nägler, András Magyar (edd.) *The History of Transylvania*, vol. 2 (From 1541 to 1711), Romanian Academy, Centre for Transylvanian Studies (Bucharest, 2018), pp. 22.

⁶ Csáky Imre, *Erdély nagyfejedelemség aranybullás címereslevele, 1765* (Budapest, 2001), pp. 24–27.

⁷ P. I. Cernovodeanu, 'Călătoria lui Pierre Lescalopier în Țara Românească și Transilvania la 1574', in *Studii și materiale de istorie medie*, IV, Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Române (1960), pp. 444.

⁸ Szekeres Attila István, Pál-Antal Sándor, Mihály János, *Simboluri istorice secuiești*, (Odorheiu Secuiesc, 2017), p. 137.

⁹ Constantin C. Giurescu (ed.), *Istoria României în date* (București, 1972), p. 62.

¹⁰ Constantin Rezachevici, 'Evreii din țările române în evul mediu', in *Magazin Istoric*, September 1995, p. 59.

¹¹ Ioan Aurel Pop, 'Testimonies on the Ethno-Confessional Structure of Medieval Transylvania and Hungary (9th-14th centuries)', in *Transylvanian Review*, XIX, Supp. no. 1 (2010), pp. 9–41.

¹² Ioan Aurel Pop, 'Religiones and Nationes in Transylvania During the 16th Century: Between Acceptance and Exclusion', in *Journal for the Study of Religions and Ideologies*, vol. 12, no. 34 (2013), pp. 209–236.

¹³ Neagu Djuvara, *O scurtă istorie ilustrată a românilor* (București, 2013), p. 129.

¹⁴ Ioan Aurel Pop, *Din mâinile vlahilor schismatici* (București, 2011), p. 19.

¹⁵ Liviu Cîmpeanu, 'Diplome regale de danie ca izvoare pentru biografia lui Iancu de Hunedoara', in *Anuarul Institutului de Cercetări Socio-Umane Sibiu*, XXVI (Sibiu, 2019), p. 67, footnote 1; RO: Ioan/Iancu Huniade/de Hunedoara; HU: Hunyadi János.

¹⁶ Tonk Sándor, 'Diplomele de înobilare ale lui Nicolaus Olahus', in *Revista Arhivelor*, 12, 1, pp. 13–31; RO: Nicolae Valahul; HU: Oláh Miklós.

¹⁷ Ioan Aurel Pop, 'Ștefan Mailat și Țara (cu cetatea) Făgărașului', in *Medievalia Transilvanica*, II, 1, 1998, pp. 243–244.; RO: Ștefan Mailat; HU: Majláth István.

¹⁸ Neagu Djuvara, *O scurtă istorie ilustrată a românilor* (București, 2013), pp. 158–160.

¹⁹ Csepregi Zoltán, 'Egyházi irodalom és reformáció a Szapolyai-uralkodók országországában (1526–1570)', in Fodor Pál és Varga Szabolcs, *Egy elfeledett magyar király dinasztia: a Szapolyaiak*, Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont (2020), pp. 243–260.

²⁰ Nagy Iván, *Magyarország családai. Czimerekkel és nemzékrendi táblákkal*, első kötet, Kiadja Friebeisz Istvan, (Pest, 1857), pp. 216–234.

TRANSYLVANIAN ARMS

- ²¹ Ana Dumitran, *Religie ortodoxă - religie reformată: ipostaze ale identității profesionale a românilor din Transilvania în secolele XVI-XVII* (Oradea, 2015), pp. 71–72.
- ²² Szekeres Lukács Sándor, *Székely Mózés. Erdély székely fejedelme* (Székelyudvarhely, 2017), p. 4.
- ²³ Mihai Bărbulescu, Dennis Deletant, Keith Hitchins, Șerban Papacostea, Pompiliu Teodor, *Istoria României*, (București, 2007), p. 237.
- ²⁴ Sorin Bulboacă, 'Acațiu Barcsai de Bârcea Mare, ultimul ban al Lugoșului și Caransebeșului (26 decembrie 1644 - 14 septembrie 1658)', in *Banatica*, 21, (Reșița, 2001), p. 105.
- ²⁵ Nyulászi-Straub Éva, *Öt évszázad címerei - A Magyar Országos Levéltár címereslevelein* (Szekszárd, 1999), pp. 9–10.
- ²⁶ Szálkai Tamás, 'Allgemeine Übersicht: Wappenverleihungen der Fürsten von Siebenburgen', in *Acta Terrae Fogarasiensis*, V, Editura ALTIP (2016), p. 239.
- ²⁷ Tudor-Radu Tiron, 'Despre dreptul la stemă în Transilvania secolului XVII', in *Studii și materiale de istorie medie*, XXIV (2006), p. 228.
- ²⁸ See the works of Oscar Bárczay, Dan Cernovodeanu, Victor Coroianu, Géza Csergheő, Costin Feneșan, Éva Nyulászi-Straub, Ioan Pușcariu, Constantin Reichenauer, Imre Sándor, József Sebestyén, Tamás Szálkai, Attila István Szekeres, Tudor-Radu Tiron, etc.
- ²⁹ There have been two extraordinary grants of a barony in Transylvania, for Lupașcu Alia of Crocna (HU: koroknai Alia Wolfgang) in 1597 and for János Petky in 1607. These were exceptions, however.
- ³⁰ Tudor-Radu Tiron, *op. cit.*, p. 229.
- ³¹ This study is based on coats of arms extracted from multiple sources, such as: The National Archives of Romania, The National Archives of Hungary, The Library of the Romanian Academy, The Archives of the Reformed Diocese of Transylvania, The *Siebmacher* for Transylvania (*Der Adel von Siebenbürgen*), *Czimerlevelek, Magyarország címeres könyve (Liber armorum Hungariae)*, *Armales Transylvanorum*, *Diplome de innobilare și blazon din Banat*, and other papers on this topic.
- ³² Tudor-Radu Tiron, *op. cit.*, p. 235.
- ³³ A more in-depth analysis of the religious identity of the Romanian communities in Transylvania during the Reformation can be studied in Ana Dumitran, *Religie Ortodoxă - religie reformată. Ipostaze ale identității profesionale a românilor din Transilvania în secolele XVI-XVII* (Oradea, 2015).
- ³⁴ Tonk Sándor, 'Bethlen Gábor címeres nemeslevele a lelkipásztorok utódai számára', in *Cselekvő hit. Emlékkönyv Csiha Kálmán püspöki szolgálatáról* (Kolozsvár, 2000), pp. 225–234.
- ³⁵ Tudor-Radu Tiron, *op. cit.*, pp. 231–232.
- ³⁶ Constantin Reichenauer von Reichenau, Géza von Csergheő, Oscar von Bárczay, *Der Adel von Siebenbürgen*, Verlag von Bauer und Raspe (Nürnberg, 1898), p. 195, table 133.
- ³⁷ *National Archives of Hungary*, HU-MNL-OL-R 64-1.-244; RO: János Nagy *de Milota*; HU: *milotai Nagy János*.
- ³⁸ Szálkai Tamás, *Armales Transylvanorum. Válogatás az erdélyi fejedelmek címeradományából*, (Attraktor, 2009), p. 72.
- ³⁹ von Reichenau et. al., *op. cit.*, p. 120.
- ⁴⁰ Sándor Imre, *Czimerlevelek*, I. Füzet (1551–1629), (Kolozsvár, 1910), pp. 69–70 ; RO: János Dayka de Cheșereu; HU: *keserűi Dayka János* ; RO: János Dayka de Cheșereu; HU: *keserűi Dayka János*.
- ⁴¹ *National Archives of Hungary*, HU-MNL-OL-F 21-S no. 34.
- ⁴² von Reichenau et. al., *op. cit.*, p. 133 ; RO: János Lukáts de Boroșneu; HU: *borosnyói Lukáts János*.
- ⁴³ *National Archives of Hungary*, HU-MNL-OL-R 64-1.-962.
- ⁴⁴ von Reichenau et. al., *op. cit.*, p. 213 ; RO: János Ropán de Súdovice; HU: *felsőszudi Ropán János*.
- ⁴⁵ RO: Sámuel Halmágyi de Etfaläu; HU: *etfalvai Halmágyi Sámuel*.
- ⁴⁶ *National Archives of Hungary*, HU-MNL-OL-F 7 no. 11/2.
- ⁴⁷ RO: Baron János Antalfy de Sânmartin; HU: *csikszentmártoni báró Antalfy János*.
- ⁴⁸ von Reichenau et. al., *op. cit.*, p. 101.
- ⁴⁹ Szálkai Tamás, *Armales Transylvanorum* (Máriabesnyő - Gödöllő, 2009).
- ⁵⁰ Gyula Andrásy gróf, *Magyarország címeres könyve (Liber armorum Hungariae)*, I (Budapest, 1913).
- ⁵¹ He also might have been Hungarian, as all former Catholics that lived in the Saxon seats followed the Lutheran faith, regardless of ethnicity.
- ⁵² von Reichenau et. al., *op. cit.*, p. 152.
- ⁵³ The *Siebmacher* armorial for Transylvania only mentions few arms granted to Saxons: Samuel Miller of Brașov (HU: brassói Miller Sámuel) in 1605, Michael Herman in 1653, Martin Closius in 1680, as well as Andreas Conrad de Heidendorff (HU: *heidendorffi Conrad András*).
- ⁵⁴ Tudor-Radu Tiron, *op. cit.*, pp. 225–226.
- ⁵⁵ RO: familia Haller de Hallerstein; HU: *hallerkői Haller család*.
- ⁵⁶ Nagy Iván, *Magyarország családai. Czimerekkel és nemzékrendi táblákkal*, ötödik kötet, Kiadja Ráth Mór, Pest, 1859, pp. 26–38.
- ⁵⁷ RO: Mihály Kövendi *de Chiend zis Nagy*; *kövendi Kövendi* alias Nagy Mihály.

DRĂGAN-GEORGE BASARABĂ

- ⁵⁸ *National Archives of Hungary*, HU-MNL-OL-R 64-2.-419.
- ⁵⁹ RO: Ioan Zoba de Vinț zis Pop; HU: oláhalvinci Zoba alias Pap János.
- ⁶⁰ It could also be a simple coincidence, as Ioan Zoba was known to dislike everything that had to do with the Principality of Wallachia. See Ana Dumitran, Ioan Mircea, Gúdor Botond, 'Noblețe prin cultură: Ioan Zoba din Vinț', in *Apulum*, XXXVII/2, 2000, p. 19.
- ⁶¹ *National Archives of Hungary*, HU-MNL-OL-R 64-1.-516.
- ⁶² Ioan Mircea, Ana Dumitran, 'Noblețe prin cultură: Ștefan Stoia din Ciugud', in *Anuarul Institutului de Cercetări Socio-Umane «Gheorghe Șincai» al Academiei Române*, III-IV, 2000-2001, Târgu-Mureș, pp. 365-371; RO: Ștefan Stoia de Ciugud; HU: csügedi Sztoja István.
- ⁶³ *Library of the Romanian Academy*, P. 605.
- ⁶⁴ RO: Toader Aron de Bistra; HU: bisztrai Áron Tódor.
- ⁶⁵ *National Archives of Hungary*, cota HU-MNL-OL-F 9-Cista 2. - Fasc. 7. - No. 14.
- ⁶⁶ *National Archives of Hungary*, HU-MNL-OL-F 21-Z - no. 1. Also, von Reichenau et. al, op. cit., p. 254; RO: Dumitru Zoicaș de Noțig zis Pop; HU: nagyszegi Zajkás alias Pap Dömötör.
- ⁶⁷ von Reichenau, et al, op. cit., p. 204 ; RO: Grigore Drăguș of Dejuțiu alias Pop; HU: décsfalvai Dragus alias Pap Gergely.
- ⁶⁸ Aurel Dragne, 'Biserică și societate în secolul al XVIII-lea. Situația clerului român din Țara Făgărașului', in *Acta Terrae Fogarasiensis*, V, Editura ALTIP, 2016, pp. 53-54.
- ⁶⁹ Constantin C. Giurescu (ed.), op. cit., p. 153.
- ⁷⁰ Neagu Djuvara, *O scurtă istorie ilustrată a românilor* (București, 2013), pp. 182-185.
- ⁷¹ *National Archives of Hungary*, HU-MNL-OL-F 21-T - no. 13.
- ⁷² *National Archives of Hungary*, HU-MNL-OL-F 4-Alba - Cista 2. - Fasc. 3. - no. 9.
- ⁷³ Costin Feneșan, *Diplome de înnobilitare și blazon din Banat (secolele XVI-XVII)*, (Timișoara, 2007), pp. 130-134 ; RO: Petru Orășteanu de Lugoj zis Pop; HU: lugasi Szászvárosi alias Pap Péter.
- ⁷⁴ Ana Dumitran, 'Petrus Szászvárosi alias Pap de Lugoj. Considerații asupra statutului social-economic al preotului român calvin în secolul al XVII-lea', in *Annales Universitatis Apulensis*, Series Historica, 4-5, 2000-2001, pp. 67-72.
- ⁷⁵ von Reichenau et. al., op. cit., p. 224.
- ⁷⁶ RO: Tămaș Chiș de Făgăraș; HU: fogarasi Kis Tamás.
- ⁷⁷ *National Archives of Hungary*, HU-MNL-OL-F 21-F - no. 13a.
- ⁷⁸ RO: Jakob Gothard de Dalnic; HU: dálnoki Gothárd Jakab.
- ⁷⁹ *National Archives of Hungary*, HU-MNL-OL-R 64-2.-346.
- ⁸⁰ von Reichenau et. al., op. cit., p. 109.
- ⁸¹ RO: Andreas Textorius de Idiciu; HU: jövedicsi Textorius András.
- ⁸² The fact that the Transylvanian Saxon community from Cluj adhered to the Unitarian faith resulted in the city being expelled from the *Universitas Saxonum*.
- ⁸³ *National Archives of Hungary*, HU-MNL-OL-F 21-T - no. 8.
- ⁸⁴ *National Archives of Hungary*, HU-MNL-OL-F 21-T - no. 7.
- ⁸⁵ Tudor-Radu Tiron, op. cit., pp. 235-236.