

A Church-Building Community in Teiuş in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century

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THE MARKET town of Teiuş/Tövis, located to the north of Alba Iulia/Gyulafehérvár, the seat of the Principality of Transylvania, played an important economic role on the territory of the princely estate established in the second half of the sixteenth century. Before the secularization of the possessions of the Catholic Church (1556), the settlement was part of the estate of the Diód Castle of the Balassa family, which Queen Isabella had allowed to remain in the possession of her follower Menyhárt Balassa, even after she returned from Poland to the country in 1556.¹

After Balassa switched sides (1561), King John II destroyed the castle of Diód and gave in donation the possessions of the castle,² and also most probably annexed Teiuş to the estate of Alba Iulia in 1562. In the title register written around 1560, Teiuş was not recorded as a possession in Alba/Fehér County;³ it only appeared in the 1587–89 register, where it was mentioned that it belonged to the Alba Iulia Court,⁴ therefore we can conclude that it was a princely possession.

During the Middle Ages, Teiuş became a market town, which was mostly due to its location on the trade route going north-west. As its charter from the year 1468 has been preserved, we know that Teiuş was included into the collective database of medieval Hungarian market towns, scoring 12 points based on its urban indicators. On the basis of this, it was ranked on the fifth level, that of partial-function market towns, of the seven levels set up by András Kubinyi.⁵ After 1556, this market town had to fulfil its role in the new Transylvanian state and within it on the estate of Alba Iulia, under new circumstances.

After the fall of the castles in the Banatul de Câmpie (Temesköz) region—Timișoara/Temesvár and Lipova/Lippa—in the mid-sixteenth century, a large number of Serbian (i.e., *rác* in Hungarian) and Romanian refugees moved to Teiuş, escaping from Ottoman domination. There are indications that the refugees were settled there by the Serbian lord Nikola Cserepovith/Crepović and Gianbattista Castaldo, the governor of Transylvania.⁶ As a military leader of the Serbs, Crepović had asked Castaldo already during the siege of

The writing of this study was supported by a grant of the Romanian Ministry of Education and Research, UEFISCDI, GUTEPOL – project number PN-III-P4-PCE-2021-0376, and by the HTMKNP FAEK MTA National Programme of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

Timișoara (1552) to settle the fleeing Serbs somewhere in the country,⁷ while right after the fall of Lipova, Castaldo reported to Archduke Maximilian that the inhabitants of the regions occupied by the Turks had fled to Transylvania.⁸ Many of the refugees flowing into Transylvania found a new home in and around Alba Iulia,⁹ and this was also the time when the Serbs began to settle down in Teiuș.

The street network of the market town—*Enyed* street, *Fehérvár* street, *Gyógy* street—suggests that the settlement was of greater importance in the second half of the sixteenth century.¹⁰ The Romanians had a separate street in the town (*Oláh* street).¹¹ However, there was no *Rác* (Serbian) street, probably because the Serbs lived in all parts of the town, and the names of the town dwellers suggest that the Serbs were the majority. This Serbian community, owing to its size and to its leaders who faithfully served the princes of Transylvania, managed to build an Orthodox church in Teiuș by the end of the sixteenth century.

There is an abundance of sources on the nobles of Serbian origin settled in Teiuș.¹² Many members of this nobility had gained experience in the battles against the Turks, and served the rulers of Transylvania as battle-hardened soldiers,¹³ while others, thanks to their knowledge of Turkish, Serbian and Romanian and their experience in dealing with the Ottomans, were of great service to the princes of Transylvania and played a major role in their diplomacy in the East.¹⁴ The Racz family, or more precisely, Racz *families*, commissioners of the Orthodox (today Greek Catholic) church of Teiuș, were representatives of these two groups. Their careers and the fate of their family members will be discussed in what follows based on data from Transylvanian archival sources. Romanian scholarship to date has established that the church was built in the sixteenth century by Mihai Racz and Petru Racz, members of the same family. However, their family relations have not been clarified yet.¹⁵

The inscription in Serbian above the entrance to the church provides information on the identity of the church builders. Nicolae Iorga was the first who interpreted the inscription in 1906, and his Romanian translation, which has since been quoted in Romanian literature unaltered, is as follows:

*Eu... Raț Mihai, cu mila lui Dumnezeu Slugear, am zidit în numele Domnului Dumnezeu; Domnul să ierte... (...I Rac Mihai, by the grace of God Slugear, built [this church], in the name of Our Lord God. May the Lord forgive...)*¹⁶

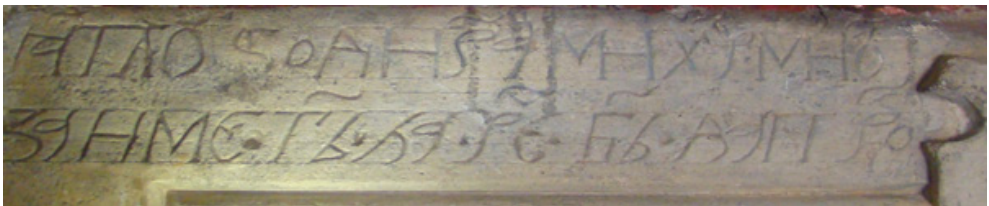


FIG. 1A. INSCRIPTION ON THE ENTRANCE LINTEL IN THE CHURCH OF TEIUȘ

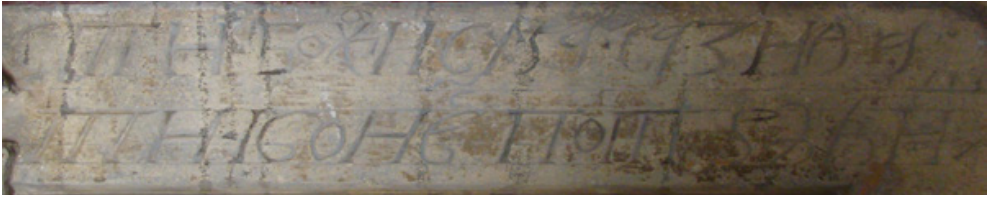


FIG. 1B. INSCRIPTION ON THE ENTRANCE LINTEL IN THE CHURCH OF TEIUȘ

Since there is a coat of arms in the middle of the inscription, which does not match the coat of arms of the person mentioned in the inscription, I asked my colleagues from Serbia, historians Neven Isailović (Institute of History, Belgrade) and Milena Davidović (Institute for Balkan Studies of the Serbian Academy), to decipher and re-translate the inscription:

Њ(К)О ПЛО(Д)ОРОДИ РАЦ(Ь) МИХАИ • МИЛОСТИЮ • БОЖИЮ • С(Ь) ХРАМЬ •
САЗИДА
ЗА ИМЕ • Г(ОСПОД)Ь • Б(ОГ)А • РЕЧ(Е) • Б(ОГ)Ь • ДА ПРОСТИ • КОИ ЕС(ТЬ)
ПОТРУДИ(ВЬ)Ш(Ь)

ЊА(К)О ПЛО(Д)ОРОДИ РАЦ(Ь) МИХАИ • МИЛОСТИЈУ • БОЏИЈУ • С(Ь)
ХРАМЬ • САЗИДА
ЗА ИМЕ • Г(ОСПОД)Ь • Б(ОГ)А • РЕЧЬ(Е) • Б(ОГ)Ь • ДА ПРОСТИ • КОИ
ЕС(ТЬ) • ПОТРУДИ(ВЬ)ШЬ(Ь)

*I (/When) Plorodi/Plodorodi Rac Miha(i) built this church by the grace of God, in the name of Our Lord God. May the Lord forgive the one who invested himself (or: made the effort).*¹⁷

Before moving on to the reasons behind the confusing differences in the inscription, first we will introduce the person mentioned in it, Mihai Racz, to whom the first construction work on the church can be attributed.¹⁸ It is apparent that there are no major differences between the interpretations of Iorga, on the one hand, and those of Isailović and Davidović, on the other hand, except for Mihai Racz's nobiliary particle. He appears in the sources with the nobiliary particle *Pródi/de Prod*, as he and his family had their origins in Pród, a village near (Hajdú)Böszörmény, in the medieval county of Szabolcs, a territory under Ottoman occupation.¹⁹ In 1572, according to the Ottoman treasury *defters*, there were 18 heads of family living in Pród, most of whom (ten or eleven) were Serbs.²⁰ Another confirmation of the family's origins in Pród in Szabolcs County is the fact that they were related to Petru Racz of Dorog,²¹ and Dorog is also located near Böszörmény and Pród.

Probably, Mihai Racz was an experienced soldier under the command of both John II and Stephen Báthory and made his fortune with his sword. Giovan Andrea Gromo described him as a tried and tested soldier of John Sigismund in 1566, when he was one of the commanders of the king's personal guard and had over 300 horsemen in his unit.²² As a reward for his merits, John II left him a sword with a silver sheath and 100 gold pieces in his will.²³

In the light of his later career, we put forward that Mihai Racz was held in high regard among the Szekler soldiers, which is why, in a trial between Szekler noblemen, Stephen Báthory appointed him as a judge on 28 October 1571, alongside court master (*magister curiae*) Menyhárt Margay and councilor György Bánffy.²⁴ Racz accompanied Stephen Báthory to Poland, where he commanded 100 men as a captain in 1576, and was still in the king's army in 1581. After the siege of Pskov (Plescovia),²⁵ in reward for his faithful service and upon his intervention, on 16 October 1581 Stephen Báthory granted nobility to three of Mihai Racz's brothers: Ioan, Caspar and Ladislau, and granted them a coat of arms as a sign of their nobility (fig. 2 and fig. 3).²⁶ Mihai was already a nobleman by then.²⁷



FIG. 2. THE NOBILITY CHARTER OF STEPHEN BÁTHORY ON BEHALF OF THE RACZ BROTHERS

Meanwhile, he was captain of Várhegy castle in Transylvania from the spring of 1578²⁸ to the spring of 1580,²⁹ and probably held also the connected office of royal judge of the Szekler seats of Háromszék (Sepsi, Kézdi, Orbai), but evidence in this respect only exists from 1579.³⁰ For his services, Mihai Racz was granted a partial estate at Petreni in Hunedoara/Hunyad County,³¹ and in 1578 Christopher Báthory granted him one third of the tithes of the village of Jidvei/Zsitve in Târnava County, in perpetuity.³² In 1582, in his old age and in poor health, he complained that he had lost his eyesight, therefore he could not manage the estates gained through his services. Since he had no children, Mihai Racz sold his part of in the estate of Jedd/Livezeni (Iedu) in Mureş/Maros Seat to the prefect of Făgăraş castle, Kozma Petricević Horváth, for 1500 florins.³³ Mihai Racz appeared for the last time in sources in 1585 with the nobiliary particle *de Olábszűlvás*, when, having no descendants, he bequeathed his part in the estate of Nagylak/Noşlac, Alba County to his brother's daughter, Teodora.³⁴

After his death in Teiuş on 28 June 1589, Mihai's goods were divided into five parts by his relatives,³⁵ so that each of them received 110 florins' worth of minted gold coins, the same amount in cash, and various clothes. The document containing the division of

Mihai Racz's estate also reveals that original name of the family was Olaiosić. Nevertheless, unlike the rest of the family members, Mihai Racz seems to have been attached to Teiuș, because he ordered in his will that his silverware worth 150 florins should be used to build a Serbian stone church in town (*ad aedificationem delubrei Rasciani in eodem oppido Teowis lapidibus extructi*).³⁶ These are therefore the beginnings of the Orthodox (now Greek Catholic) church of Teiuș.³⁷ This document is also important for the history of the church because it indicates the starting date of the construction work. The expenses for the building of the church were certainly not covered by the sum left in Mihai Racz's will, therefore they had to be covered from other sources. This brings us to the coat of arms on the inscription in the church.



FIG. 3: DETAIL SHOWING THE COAT OF ARMS OF THE RACZ FAMILY

The coat of arms of the Racz family of Pród, as shown in figures 2 and 3, is a dagger rising from a crown with two naked crossed swords, but the inscription from Teiuș shows the coat of arms with an arm embowed in the shield, holding a sword that pierces the head of a Turk (Fig. 4). This is none other than the coat of arms of the Racz family of Gâlgău/Galgó,³⁸ whose first known member was Petru Racz of Teiuș. So, we have in fact an inscription which refers to Mihai Racz as the builder, and a coat of arms which belongs to a different family.



FIG. 4: COAT OF ARMS ON THE DOOR LINTEL IN THE CHURCH IN TEIUȘ

Apart from Mihai Racz, the literature lists Petru Racz and his wife, Zamfira Logofăt, as the ktetors and builders of the church. Petru Racz, who appears in sources as Petru Racz of Teiuș, was extraordinary envoy in 1575, 1581, 1588 and 1591, and permanent envoy (*kapitula*) to the Porte in 1587.³⁹ Several data indicate that because of his proficiency in many languages, Petru Racz was sent as an envoy to Moldavia in 1581, 1583 and 1585,⁴⁰ and in 1595 to Wallachia as well.⁴¹ The list of this missions is probably not complete, but the data on Petru Racz shows that throughout his life he was one of the diplomats to the East for the Báthory princes. The first donation we know he was granted came also in reward for his services in 1579, when Christopher Báthory donated to him a part of possession at Tăuți/Tóalja in Alba County for his activities as an envoy to the Porte.⁴² Since he was described as being around 35 years old during an interrogation in 1586, he must have been only 24 years old in 1575, when his first mission as a Transylvanian envoy was mentioned.⁴³ Petru Racz's possessions in Teiuș are first mentioned in a charter from 1583, when Sigismund Báthory gave him a two-wheeled mill on the Teiuș river, on the territory of the market town, as a reward for his faithful services at the Porte.⁴⁴ Some years later, before 6 July 1597, the prince took the mill back and returned it to the Franciscan monks whom he had called back to Teiuș in the meantime.⁴⁵ At the same time, Petru Racz was compensated with a quarter of the title of the Dobârca possession in the Saxon seat of Miercurea Sibiului for the rest of his life, without paying rent for it.⁴⁶ It is likely that Racz received his nobiliary land and house in Teiuș in 1587 for his services as a princely envoy.⁴⁷

His acquisitions indicate that Petru Racz was in close contact with the princely envoys at the Porte. In 1585, Ilona Csuka, widow of the late Miklós Kusdi of Ciugud,⁴⁸ also of Serbian origin and also an envoy at the Porte till the end of his life, mortgaged her part of the Henig possession to Petru Racz for 500 florins.⁴⁹ At that time, Petru Racz was already married to the daughter of Ivan/Ioan Logofăt de Pitești,⁵⁰ Zamfira. The family of Ivan Logofăt was of noble extraction and is well-known in Romanian historiography.⁵¹ Nevertheless, the family's history was researched only until 1600, although two of Ivan Logofăt's daughters, Velica and Zamfira, lived well into the seventeenth century. Ivan Logofăt's wife, Stanca, was the daughter of Wallachian Voivode Mircea the Shepherd (*Ciobanul*), while he was the chancellor of Peter the Younger before his exile to Transylvania.⁵² Ivan Logofăt is also known to have converted to Catholicism towards the end of his life (he was already dead before 7 June 1599),⁵³ having been entrusted by Sigismund Báthory to convert Wallachia to Catholicism. Logofăt married off his other daughter Velica to a Catholic nobleman, Fabio Genga.⁵⁴ In the light of this familial context, Zamfira's role in the building of the church of Teiuș becomes all the more interesting.

Around 1580,⁵⁵ however, Ivan Logofăt was certainly still Orthodox, since an inquiry from 1585⁵⁶ shows that Bishop Ghenadie was living in his house in Sebeș/Szászsebes at the time, and that he had received valuable relics from Zamfira, daughter of the late Voivode Moses of Wallachia. Moreover, the witnesses told that the daughter of Voivode Moses had given an icon to Ivan Logofăt's daughter, Zamfira, which they described as a foldable winged altar.⁵⁷ The interrogation also sheds light on the close contact between the envoys to the Porte,⁵⁸ since the story told here claimed that Zamfira, the daughter of Voivode Moses, Ivan Logofăt and his entire family,⁵⁹ Petru Racz presumably included, all attended the wedding of Miklós Kusdi at Ciugud (who had died since), held before 1580. The daughter of Voivode Moses even gave a small mantle (*mentéske*) as a gift to Zamfira

Logofăt,⁶⁰ one that she had worn at the wedding. The description of the piece of clothing suggests that Zamfira must have been young at the time, almost a child.⁶¹

Returning to the estates acquired by Petru Racz, it is important to note that the first source about his possessions at Gâlgău in Inner Solnoc County comes from 1585,⁶² when his son Ádám built a house most likely after the turmoil of the Fifteen Years War. The place gave the family's nobiliary particle: Racz of Galgó, or Racz de Galgo. In 1588, as a further reward for Petru Racz's services as an envoy, Sigismund Báthory granted him half of the estate of Odverem/Vadverem in Alba County.⁶³ An interesting detail about the donation is that the other half of the estate was inherited by the second husband of Zamfira, Ioan Bálintitt, as a paternal inheritance. Because of his duties at the princely court, Petru Racz had to spend time in the Transylvanian capital every once in a while, so he also owned a house on Vinc Street in Alba Iulia.⁶⁴ He managed to expand his estate in Gâlgău in 1591 by exchanging his share of the Tăuți property for the prince's share in Gâlgău. The last time he appeared in the sources as being alive was in 1597, but on 7 June 1599, before the battle of Șelimbăr, both he and his father-in-law were already mentioned in the sources as "the late."⁶⁵

His widow, Zamfira, married again some time before May 1602, but not later than 1601, since in May 1602 she had already had a daughter named Eva with her second husband.⁶⁶ Her second husband was the abovementioned János Bálintitt, a Serbian native whose father, Teodor Bálintitt, was also an envoy to the Porte in the 1560s and 1570s.⁶⁷ The Fifteen Years' War left its mark on the life of the family as well. In 1602, Zamfira claimed that she had spent 3000 florins of her husband's money for her own needs, which she could not pay back. Therefore, she pledged to her husband, János Bálintitt, half of her paternal possessions in Târlîșua/Kisilosva in Inner Solnoc County and in Cetea and Tăuți in Alba County for 1500 florins, possessions bought with her own money from her brother and sister. In the event of the death of her son, Adam Racz, without descendants, she pledged the remainder of the said possession together with its benefits and accessories, for 3000 florins. Out of her love for her daughter Eva Bálintitt, born to the second husband, she pledged the other part of her property in Cetea to her for 700 florins.⁶⁸ On the same day, according to another deed, Adam Racz and János Bálintitt mutually pledged their estates to each other.⁶⁹ It should be noted here that Zamfira redeemed the share from Târlîșua from her late brother Petru, and her share of Cetea first from Petru and then from her sister Velica.⁷⁰ Later records (1614 and 1616) show that the family managed to keep their possessions in Cetea, Odverem, Târlîșua, and Teiuș, although they had also suffered heavy losses during the war.⁷¹ In a charter dated 1616, Zamfira claimed that she had suffered a great loss of property as a result of the war and destruction of Transylvania: her valuables, which she had moved to Sebeș, were destroyed by the soldiers of Voivode Michael, while her goods taken to Cluj/Kolozsvár were destroyed by the plundering troops of Giorgio Basta. Her current husband, however, not only protected the estates of her late husband, Petru Racz, at his own expense, but also, out of sincere conjugal love, gave a share of his own estates to her son from her previous marriage, Adam Racz.⁷² In January 1617, Zamfira claimed that, because of the perilous times, she could not get hold of her late father's possessions in Wallachia, bequeathed in his testament.⁷³ At the same time, Zamfira also inherited the assets of her younger sister, Velica Logofăt,⁷⁴ who had died a couple of days before, but due to the long distance, the difficulty of the journey and her fe-

male feebleness, she was unable to get hold of these personally. Consequently, Zamfira authorized her husband, János Bálintitt, to recover the movable and immovable Wallachian properties inherited from her father and younger sister.⁷⁵ In 1628, both spouses were still alive, and in addition to Adam Racz, Zamfira had three more children by her second husband, two daughters, Eva and Zsuzsanna, and a son, György.⁷⁶ She made her will on 17 December 1638.⁷⁷ Although there were many wills written in Hungarian during this period, this one was written in Latin, so we can assume that Zamfira's will was originally written in Romanian or Serbian. Being a widow after her second husband at that time, in old age and poor health, but with a clear mind, Zamfira bequeathed her property and possessions to her children as follows: the entire estate of Târlișua, which she had bought from her beloved brother, the late Petru Logofăt, for 600 Hungarian florins, was bequeathed to her son György Bálintitt and her daughter Zsuzsanna Bálintitt, widow of the late Márton of Szombathely, but in such a manner that György and Zsuzsanna had to pay half the value of the estate, which amounts to 300 forints, to their brother Adam Racz and sister Eva Bálintitt. Should they both die without heirs, the estate would be inherited by Adam Racz and Eva Bálintitt. The share in the Cetea estate, which she had inherited from her father, and a part of which she had bought from her younger sister Velica Logofăt, she ordered to be divided equally among her four children. Zamfira did not leave it unsaid that she gave Adam Racz his due share of all her belongings, even a little more than to her other children. She ordered that if any of her children failed to act according to her last will or broke it, they should be deprived of their share of both estates mentioned. She stipulated that her children could not sell the possessions left to them without each other's knowledge. Zamfira probably died shortly afterwards, as she was no longer alive in 1643.⁷⁸ She was buried next to her first husband in the church she had patronized in Teiuș.

To conclude, the research presented in this study has reexamined the inscriptions and the coat of arms found in the (now Greek Catholic) church of Teiuș. Based on extant Transylvanian archival material, our investigation has shown that the coat of arms of the ktetor mentioned by name in the inscription was not identical with the coat of arms on the plate of the same inscription on the church door lintel. The differences in the layout of the two coats of arms clearly indicate that we are dealing with two separate families. Since the inscription bears the name of Mihai Racz of Pród, the most likely version is that the building of the church was started around 1589 with the money that Mihai Racz of Pród had left for this purpose in his will, and was completed by 1599 thanks to Petru Racz of Teiuș and his wife, Zamfira Logofăt. Since the coat of arms of the Bálintitt family, whose member János was Zamfira's second husband, does not exist in the church, we can assume based on our current knowledge that the church must have been finished by 1599, at the time of the death of Péter Rác, all the more so since he was buried there. Thus, the two main patrons of this church were these two unrelated families, the Racz of Pród and the Racz of Teiuș, who nevertheless had a similar background and careers.



Notes

1. Emőke Gálfi, *Gyulafehérvár és uradalma a 16. század második felében* (Alba Iulia and its estate in the second half of the 16th century) (Erdélyi Tudományos Füzetek 295) (Cluj-Napoca: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 2021), 117–118.
2. E.g., the possession of Cetea/Csáklya or Meșcreac/Meggykerék in 1562. Serviciul Județean al Arhivelor Naționale (The National Archives of Romania) (SJAN) Cluj. Fond familial Bálintitt (Archive of the Bálintitt family), no. 31., 85.
3. SJAN Sibiu. Episcopia Bisericii Evanghelice C. A. din Transilvania. Colecția de documente episcopale. (Bishopric of the Transylvanian Lutheran Church A. C. Collection of episcopal documents.) No. 173.
4. Zsigmond Jakó, *Adatok a dézsma fejedelemségkori adminisztrációjához* (Data on the administration of the tithe in the age of the Principality) (Cluj-Napoca: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 1945), 24.
5. András Kubinyi, *Városfejlődés és vásárhálózat a középkori Alföldön és az Alföld szélén* (Urban development and fair networks in medieval Alföld and the borders of Alföld), (Dél-alföldi évszázadok 14), (Szeged: Csongrád Megyei Levéltár, 2000), 15.; Bálint Lakatos, *Mezővárosi oklevelek. Települési önkormányzat és írásbeliség a késő középkori Magyarországon, 1301–1526.* (Charters from the market towns. The self-government of settlements and literacy in Late Medieval Hungary, 1301–1526) (Budapest: Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont Történettudományi Intézet, 2019), 14, 609.
6. Nikola Crepović was one of the main military leaders of the Serbs living in the Temesköz area from around 1542 to the fall of Temesvár and Lippa (the summer of 1552). His epitaph calls him *capitaneus Alfeldensis*. After the return of Queen Isabella, he was a councillor probably until his death (1556–1562), in 1559 he was Ban of Lugoj and Caransebeș. Nenad Lamajić, “The Serbian Population of the Banat and the Western Mureș Basin in the 15th and 16th Centuries (and its Local and Military Leaders),” in *The Cultural and Historical Heritage of Vojvodina in the Context of Classical and Medieval Studies* Novi Sad (2015): 212–213. Adrian Magina: *Nikola Crepović. A Serbian Nobleman and His Family in 16th-Century Transylvania.* ИСТОРИЈСКИ ЧАСОПИС, КЊ. LXXII (2023): 320–329. Florin Nicolae Ardelean, “Foreign Mercenaries and Early Modern Military Innovations in East Central Europe. The Army of Castaldo in Transylvania and the Banat 1551–1553,” in *Mozgó Frontvonalak. Háború és diplomácia a várháborúk időszakában 1552–1568.* (Moving frontlines. War and diplomacy in the time of castle wars, 1552–1568.) (Studia Agriensia 35), edited by Györgyi Bujdos Pap, Ingrid Fejér, H. Ágota Szilasi (Eger: Dobó István Vármúzeum, 2017), 119.
7. 8 July 1552. “Nicolaus Cherepwith mihi scribit circa duo rascianorum millia cum ux-
oribus et familiis servasse et versus Lippam duxisse, ubi munitionem arcis non parum
adiuvant, *pro quibus petit aliquem locum in regno isto ubi habitare possunt.*” Österreichisches
Staatsarchiv (=ÖStA), Hungarica, Fasc. 66. Konv. A. f. 58.v. Conf. Magina, “Crepović,”
326.
8. He claimed the number of fleeing Serbs with their wives and children was around 100000 (centum mille), escaping in 13000 carts. ÖStA, Hungarica, Fasc. 66. Konv. B. f. 23–24. Contemporary sources from this period attest to the large-scale flight not only of the Serbian inhabitants, but of the Southern Slavic population in general. Florin Nicolae Ardelean and Neven Isailović, “From Croatia to Transylvania: War, Migration,

- and Adaptive Strategies in the Case of the Perušić Family (15th-17th Centuries)” *Povijesni prilozi*, no. 60 (2021): 213–256.
9. Emőke Gálfi, “A gyulafehérvári Lippa fertály és a lippai menekültek a 16. század közepén (The Lipova district of Alba Iulia and refugees from Lipova in the mid-16th century),” in *Testimonio litterarum*, edited by Veronka Dáné, Mária Lupescu Makó and Gábor Sipos (Cluj-Napoca: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 2016), 143–150.
 10. *Az erdélyi káptalan jegyzőkönyvei 1222–1599* (Protocols of the Transylvanian Chapter 1222–1599), (Erdélyi Történelmi Adatok VIII. 1.) (= ErdKápJkv VIII. 1.), published in excerpts with indexes and annotations by Zsolt Bogdándi and Emőke Gálfi, (Cluj-Napoca: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 2006) 1. no. 850, 818, 842; *Az erdélyi káptalan jegyzőkönyvei 1600–1613* (Protocols of the Transylvanian Chapter 1600–1613), (Erdélyi Történelmi Adatok VIII. 2.) (= ErdKápJkv VIII. 2.), published as excerpts with indexes and annotations by Emőke Gálfi (Cluj-Napoca: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 2016) no. 227; Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára (The National Archive of Hungary=MNL OL) Protocolla (F 2) III, 211–213.
 11. *Az erdélyi fejedelmek Királyi Könyvei I. Báthory Zsigmond Királyi Könyvei (1582–1602)* (Royal Books of Transylvanian Princes I. The Royal Books of Zsigmond Báthory). (Erdélyi Történelmi Adatok. VII. 3.) (=ErdKirKv VII. 3.), published as excerpts with indexes and annotations by Fejér Tamás, Rácz Etelka, Szász Anikó (Cluj-Napoca: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 2005) no. 1336, MNL OL Protocolla (F 2.) V, 343.
 12. A few examples of Serbian families living in Teiuș: Ivancović (Iwankowit), Racz/Olaisiőc (Olaisiőth), Racz/Zteolić (Zteolyt), ErdKápJkv VIII. 1. no. 275, 390, 520, 647, 649, 818, 854; ErdKirKv VII. 3. no. 676, 1207, 1222–23, 1225.
 13. Ardelean, “Foreign Mercenaries,” 118–120; Magina, “Nikola Crepović,” 320–329; Lamajić, “The Serbian Population,” 210–216.
 14. Klára Jakó, “Mihály vajda magyar secretariusairól (On the Hungarian secretaries of Voivode Mihai),” *Erdélyi Múzeum* 77, 1 (2015): 116–124; Klára Jakó, “Sources and officials of the Transylvanian Principality’s Eastern foreign policy in the Báthory-era,” forthcoming.
 15. Ileana Burnichioiu, *Biserici parohiale și capele private din comitatele Alba și Hunedoara 1200–1550* (Parish churches and private chapels in Alba and Hunedoara Counties), (Cluj-Napoca: Mega, 2018), 278.
 16. Nicolae Iorga, *Scrisori și inscripții ardelenene și maramureșene II. Inscriptiții și însemnări* (Letters and inscriptions from Transylvanian and Maramureș II. Inscriptions and notes), (Studii și documente cu privire la istoria Românilor XIII., Studies and Documents on Romanian History XIII.) (Bucharest, 1906), 192.
 17. The transcription and English translation of the inscription is the work of Neven Isailović and Milena Davidović, for which I am thankful.
 18. More on him in Emőke Gálfi, “Báthory István kísérete 1572. évi szászöldi látogatása idején. (Egy fölöttébb szükséges kora újkori archontológia margójára) (Stephen Báthory’s entourage during his visit to the Saxon towns in 1572. Towards a much-needed early modern archontology),” *Erdélyi Múzeum* 86, 1 (2024): 79–80.
 19. Today Hajdú-Bihar County.
 20. István Győrffy, *Hajdúböszörmény települése* (The settlement of Hajdúböszörmény), (Szeged: Szegedi Városi Nyomda és Könyvkiadó, 1927), 6.
 21. ErdKápJkv VIII. 1. no. 828.

22. Giovan Andrea Gromo, *Compendium di tutto il regno posseduto dal re Giovanni Transilvano et di tutte le cose notabili d'esso regno* [Descrierea mai amplă a Transilvaniei (Broader description of Transylvania)], in *Călători străini despre țările române* (Foreign travellers about the Romanian countries), vol. II, edited by Maria Holban, (Bucharest: Editura Științifică, 1970), 368.
23. Gusztáv Heckenast, “János Zsigmond végrendelete (1567) (The last will of John Sigismund [1567]),” *Keresztény Magvető* 111. 4 (2005): 323.
24. Károly Szabó, ed., *Szekely oklevéltár* (Charter collection of the Szeklers), vol. III. (Cluj-Napoca: A Magyar Történelmi Társulat Kolozsvári Bizottsága, 1890), no. 655.
25. Today Pskov (Псков), Russian Federation.
26. Description of the coat of arms: “Scutum videlicet triangulare coelestini coloris in cuius ima parte corona regium decus gemmis unionibusque ornata conspicitur, per quam mediam mucro capulotenus transacta eminet, mucronique duo gladii incurvi nudi transversim positi cohaerent.”
27. MNL OL, Kolozsmonostori Konvent Országos Levéltára (The Archive of the Convent of Cluj-Mănăștur), Protocolla, libri regii et stylionaria (F 15), Protocollum (maius) Balthasari Rakosi III. 1694–1717, 409–410. and MNL OL, Kolozsmonostori Konvent Országos Levéltára (The Archive of the Convent of Cluj-Mănăștur), Armales (F 21) R. no. 2. <https://adatbazisokonline.mnl.gov.hu/imgview/cimereslevel-adatbazis/3042/1> and <https://adatbazisokonline.mnl.gov.hu/imgview/cimereslevel-adatbazis/3042/4>
28. In March 1578, the captain of Várhegy was János Cseffey, but on 15 May it was already Mihai Racz. Károly Szabó, ed., *Szekely oklevéltár* (Charter collection of the Szeklers), vol. IV. (Cluj-Napoca: A Székely Történelmi Pályadíj-alap Felügyelő Bizottsága, 1895) no. 698–699.
29. Lajos Szádeczky, ed., *Székely oklevéltár* (Charter collection of the Szeklers), vol. V. (hereinafter SzOkl V.) (Cluj-Napoca: A Székely Történelmi Pályadíj-alap Felügyelő Bizottsága, 1896) no. 979.
30. SzOkl V. no. 977.
31. SJAN Cluj, Fond familial Barcsay (Archive of the Barcsay family), no. B. 15.
32. Elek Jakab, “Kocsárdi Gálffy János és a Báthoriak (János Gálffy of Kocsárd and the Báthoris),” *Századok* 29. (1895): 790.
33. SJAN Cluj, Colecția de documente, cu peceti atârnată (Document collection with pendant seals), Series 1, no. 25.
34. ErdKÁP]kv VIII. 1.doc. no. 412.
35. ErdKÁP]kv VIII. 1. doc. no. 649.
36. ErdKÁP]kv VIII. 1. doc. no. 649.
37. For the construction history of the church, see I. Burnichioiu, *Biserici parohiale*, 277–278.
38. Siebmacher’s großes und allgemeines Wappenbuch, Bd. 4 (Habsburgermonarchie), 12. Abt. Der Adel von Siebenbürgen, (Nürnberg, 1898), 210 ff. Taf. 147.
39. Vencel Biró, *Erdély követei a portán* (Transylvanian envoys at the Porte) (Cluj-Kolozsvár: Minerva Irodalmi és Nyomdai Müintézet Részvénytársaság, 1921) 115.
40. Eudoxiu Hurmuzaki, ed., *Documente privitoare la Istoria românilor* (Documents regarding the history of Romanians), vol. XI. (= Hurmuzaki, *Documente* XI.) (Bucharest, 1900), 821, 826, 830. See Gorgeta Totoiu, “Rolul Logofătului Ivan Noroccea în viața politică a Țărilor Române în a doua jumătate a sec. al XVI-lea (The Role of Logofăt Ivan Noroccea

- in the political life of the Romanian Principalities in the second half of the 16th century),” *Studii – Revistă de istorie* 16, 2 (1963): 418.
41. SJAN Cluj. Colecția generală. Series I. -ANR, II. Documente, no. 196.
42. “(...) attentis et consideratis fidelitate et fidelibus serviciis egregii Petri Racz, aulae nostrae familiaris quae ipse nobis et huic regno in obeundis legationibus ad excelsam portam potentissimi Imperatoris Turcarum (...)” SJAN Cluj, Fond familial Balintitt (Archive of the Balintitt family), no. 80.
43. For this reason, he is definitely not the Petru Racz who was mentioned in 1557 as an envoy sent to Pătrașcu the Good. Hurmuzaki, *Documente* XI, 867, 869. Conf. Totoiu, “Rolul Logofătului,” 418.
44. SJAN Cluj, Fond familial Balintitt, no. 80, 103. ErdKirKv VII. 3. 297.
45. The Franciscans were chased away again in 1610, when they lost the monastery in Teiuș. Szilágyi Sándor, ed., *Erdélyi országgyűlési emlékek: Monumenta comitialia regni Transsylvaniae*, vol VI. (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1880) 34, 170–173.
46. SJAN Cluj, Fond familial Balintitt, no. 173.
47. Balázs Orbán, “Tövis és környéke” (Teiuș and its surroundings), *Századok* 20. (1886): 311.
48. In 1584 Nicolae Kusdi received a donation from Sigismund Báthory as a reward for his services as envoy to the Porte, and he was certainly related to the Serbian diplomat mentioned by the name Gheorghe Guzdsi, who was also an envoy to the Porte in the service of George Martinuzzi. ErdKirKv VII. 3. 519.; Bartha Gábor, *Vájon kié az ország? (Who does the country belong to?)* (Budapest: Helikon, 1988) 121.
49. ErdKápJkv VIII. 1. 409.
50. The literature refers to him as Ivan/Ioan Noroceca de Pitesti, but the Transylvanian sources mention him as Ioan Logofăt de Pitesti or de Szaszsebes (Sebeș). E.g.: SJAN Cluj, Col. cu peceți atârnate. Series I. ANO. No. 5–6.; SJAN. Cluj. Fond fam. Balintitt, no. 186.
51. A not comprehensive list: Ștefan Meteș, *Satul ardelean Cetea și logofătul Ioan Noroceca din Pitești* (The Transylvanian village of Cetea and the Logofăt Ioan Noroceca of Pitești), (Cluj, 1933), 4–42.; Totoiu, “Rolul Logofătului,” 409–428; Dorel Țuinea, “Dregători și dregătorii. Evoluția componenței sfatului domnesc al Țării Românești în timpul domniei lui Mihai Viteazul” (Court offices. The evolution of the composition of the Princely Council of Wallachia during the reign of Michael the Brave), *Revista Istorică*, serie nouă, tomul 28, 5–6. (2017): 425–427; Ștefan Andreescu, “Boierii lui Mihai Viteazul” (Michael the Brave’s Boyars), *Studii și materiale de istorie medie* 12 (1994): 69–71; Radu Mărza, “Public și privat la sfârșitul secolului al XVI-lea. Logofătul Ivan Noroceca și fiica sa Velica – contemporanii lui Mihai Viteazul” (The public and the private at the end of the 16th century. Logofăt Ivan Noroceca and his daughter Velica – contemporaries of Michael the Brave), in *Studii de istoria Transilvaniei. Omagiu profesorului Pompiliu Teodor* (Studies on the history of Transylvania. Festschrift for Professor Pompiliu Teodor), edited by Valentin Orga and Ionuț Costea, (Cluj-Napoca: Accent, 2000), 301–304; Andrei Kovács, “Date privind viața Zamfirei, fiica lui Moise-vodă” (Data on the life of Zamfira, daughter of Voivode Moise), *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie*, 27 (1986): 352.
52. SJAN Cluj, Colecția cu peceți atârnate. Series I. ANR, no. 6.; MNL OL Protocolla (F 2.) V. 143–144.
53. SJAN Cluj, Fond fam. Balintitt, no. 186.

54. Mârza, “Public și privat”, 303-304.
55. The date was established based on the death of Zamfira, the daughter of Voivode Moses. Ioan Pușcariu, “Două Zamfire domnițe române din secolul XVI. trecute în Transilvania” (Two Romanian princesses named Zamfira in the 16th century who moved to Transylvania), *Analele Academiei Române*, Series II. Tome 29 (1906–1907): 588–589; Kovács, “Date privind viața Zamfirei,” 349, 353, 355.
56. ErdKápJkv. VIII. 1. 417; Kovács, “Date privind viața Zamfirei,” 349–374.
57. Kovács, “Date privind viața Zamfirei,” 352.
58. Klára Jakó: *Sources and Officials*.
59. Ioan Pușcariu discusses the two aristocratic ladies separately from each other, in parallel. Pușcariu, “Două Zamfire,” 587–592.
60. ErdKápJkv VIII. 1, 417.
61. Probably Péter Rácz was Zamfira’s first husband, whom she probably married at around 14 years of age, as was customary at the time. Our first evidence of this is from 1585, so at this point Zamfira could have been 14 or somewhat older. Based on these calculations, in 1579 or 1580 she was at least eight years old, or a little older, which corresponds to the small size of the piece of clothing described in the source. On the early marriage of girls, see *Werbőczy István Hármaskönyve (Tripartitum)* (Werbőczy István’s Hármaskönyv [Tripartitum]), trans. and ed. Sándor Kolosvári and Kelemen Óvári (Budapest, 1897), Partis I. Tit. 111, 194–96; Zsuzsanna J. Újvári, “Polgári szokások és erkölcs a 16–17. századi Magyarországon” (Townsppeople’s customs and morals in 16th-17th century Hungary), in *Amor, álom és mámor* (Cupid, dreams and pleasure), edited by Géza Szentmártoni Szabó (Budapest: Universitas, 2002), 71, 80–81.
62. SJAN Cluj, Fond fam Kornis I, Documente medievale (Archive of the Kornis family I, Medieval documents), no. 219.
63. ErdKirKv VII. 3, 783.
64. ErdKirKv VII. 3, 1219; ErdKápJkv VIII. 1, 755.
65. SJAN. Cluj, Fond fam. Balintitt, no. 186.
66. 4 May 1602. ErdKirKv VII. 3. 1926.
67. SJAN. Cluj, Fond fam. Balintitt, no. 42., 50; Klára Jakó: *Sources and Officials*.
68. ErdKirKv VII. 3. 1626.
69. ErdKirKv VII. 3. 1627.
70. SJAN Cluj, Fond fam. Balintitt, no. 186.
71. MNL OL Protocolla (F 2.) V, 91.
72. MNL OL Protocolla (F 2.) V, 109–110.
73. MNL OL Protocolla (F 2.) V, 143–144.
74. The meaning of Velica’s name is ‘great,’ although she was Zamfira’s younger, not older sister, as emphasized in the document: “soror sua quaedam minor natu generosa Velika Logofeth”. MNL OL Protocolla (F 2.) V. 143.
75. Although Zamfira was the granddaughter of Mircea Ciobanul, she called herself in the charter the daughter of the late Ioan Logofeth, chancellor of the late Petru, son of the late Voivode Mircea of Wallachia, probably because she held estates inherited from her father: “Generosa domina Zamphira Logofeth, filia generosi quondam Joannis Logofeth, alias tempore illustrissimi quondam Petri, filii olim Myrcze vaivodae Transalpinensis summi in regno Transalpinensi cancellarii.” MNL OL Protocolla (F 2.) V, 143.
76. MNL OL Protocolla (F 2.) VI, 80. v.

77. MNL OL Protocolla (F 2.) XI, 29v.-30v.

78. MNL OL Protocolla (F 2.) IX. 150r-v.

Abstract

A Church-Building Community in Teiuș in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century

After the fall of Timișoara and the surrender of Lipova in 1552, many refugees arrived in Transylvania from Banat. The refugees were a mixture of Serbs, Romanians and Hungarians, who settled mainly in southern Transylvania. The market town of Teiuș was one of the host settlements, and the Serbian- and Romanian-speaking population became the majority in Teiuș. This community, owing to its size and its leaders who faithfully served the princes of Transylvania, managed to build an Orthodox church in Teiuș by the end of the sixteenth century. The study presents the ktetors of the church and clarifies the erroneous information on the noble families who patronized the building of the place of worship.

Keywords

market town, Teiuș, ktetors, Serbian nobility, Romanian nobility, Transylvania