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Universitatis Babeş-Bolyai
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Church and Society in the Past Century (1918–2018)

The Department of Reformed Theology and Music of Babeş–Bolyai University in Kolozsvár/Cluj-Napoca in joint venture with the Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church in Hungary headquartered in Budapest and the Reformed Public and Cultural Centre Foundation [*Református Közéleti és Kulturális Központ Alapítvány*] held a conference featuring the title above in Kolozsvár/Cluj-Napoca on 7–8 June 2018. The volume contains the written material of the joint conference in English.

The peace treaties concluded around Paris after World War I were seen rather as peace awards by historians and political scientists. This labelling suggests that the losers' only right was to accept them. It is also well known that the victors considered neither ethnic-linguistic boundaries nor previous political traditions or historical antecedents. The goals were fuelled by emotional and economic motivations: to completely humiliate the enemy defeated in the war, to prevent it from recovering as much as possible, and to keep economically important geographical areas under the Allies' control. The consequence of this was, among others, that the Kingdom of Romania, which had been established for less than half a century, had to face a radical internal change in several respects with the annexation of Transylvania in 1918. The post-World War II changes in the region as well as the years of the communist dictatorship resulted in tremendous ordeals and challenges in the lives and co-operation of different ethnic groups and denominations.

The historical, political events of the last hundred years have resulted in various changes in the relationship between church and state as well as in the majority–minority relations. The scientific debates covered the following topics: churches in the role of the victims, church history in resistance, the process of diasporization, the church and the totalitarian system, resistance of churches, school versus church – counter-actions – secularization, ecumenical approaches, national-religious identity in the process of change, and the possibility of processing the past.

The speakers presented the events, processes, and documents that meant the changes in the theological, social science, historical, legal, and ecclesiastical-sociological approaches, which have had a significant and decisive impact in the last hundred years. The conference was also characterized by denominational diversity: Orthodox, Greek Catholic, Roman Catholic, and Reformed speakers, each seeing events from their own perspectives.

The speakers are renowned local and foreign experts in the relevant fields (literary history, history, theology, art history, social history).

The aim of the conference was to provide a clear picture of the "ecclesiastical and historical perspectives" of the different cultures and denominations living together in Transylvania, in order to get to know and understand each other's historical and cultural identity, learn from each other, not only accept but respect each other's views and pursue the process of mutual reconciliation across generations effectively, starting off from each other's historical grievances and pain.

Speakers from Hungary also attended the conference. The organizers aimed to avoid any language sensitivity; so, with the help of simultaneous interpreters, everyone could deliver their presentations in their respective language.

The conference material is intended for a wide readership. We are grateful to the Committee of National Remembrance in Hungary [*Nemzeti Emlékezet Bizottsága*] for having sponsored the translation of the conference materials into English and the leaders of Károli Gáspár University and the Cultural Centre Foundation for having supported the conference financially.

This dialogue and conference enjoyed the support of the historic Churches. We would like to express our gratitude for the continued patronage by the Right Reverend Béla Kató, Bishop of the Transylvanian Reformed Church District; His Eminence Andrei, Archbishop of Vadu, Feleac, Cluj and Metropolitan of Cluj, Maramures and Sălaj; His Eminence Crihălmeanu Florentin, Greek-Catholic Bishop of Cluj-Gherla; and the Right Reverend Ferenc Bálint-Benczédi, Bishop of the Hungarian Unitarian Church, all of whom have advocated for the creation of a common, peaceful future. We would like to thank the leadership of Babeş-Bolyai University, with special consideration to Vice-Rector Dr. Anna Soós, who has taken a personal interest in establishing this forum.

The conference organizers and volume editors strongly believe that the studies that reflect each other's views on history, religion, and national identity will lead to a better mutual understanding, bringing us all closer to understanding each other, encouraging patience, and serving brotherly love and rapprochement.

In the name of organizers, Olga LUKÁCS

KOCSEV Miklós[1]:

Church and Society in the Past Century (1918–2018)[2]

Honourable Participants!
Ladies and Gentlemen!

First of all, I would like to thank you for this wonderful opportunity to speak before you. I am grateful for this possibility, being fully aware that neither of the greeters knew what the others would say. And this is really not a problem as we are all different and we perceive the agenda of this two-day conference held in Kolozsvár/Cluj from different perspectives.

That is why I can speak only through my own spectacles and my own endowment in life.

Being aware that these presentations featuring rigorous and valuable content cannot replace or erase the past one hundred years, but they can surely Kinfluence the trend of the following century.

… 100 years, which was not a time of solitude but rather impregnated with life, feelings, and ideas and heated by them more than once.

Life and a turning point in the lives of peoples, nations, families, and individuals. In this situation, one thing is certain: *I can only be grateful that this event could take place.* It can happen to those who can look back and draw all the lessons with the right sense so that the next hundred years are as different as possible, and also more liveable.

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[1] Dean of Faculty of Theology at Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church in Hungary
[2] Opening speech on 7/06/2018, held in Kolozsvár/Cluj-Napoca.

This is our responsibility as well. As a matter of course, this common responsibility cannot be assigned to everyone. Thus, I can bear responsibility mainly for myself in evaluating the past 100 years behind us and in creating the expected conditions for the 100 years to come.

Of course, it would be a shame to sit here and listen to each other by turning off the reality of the *facts* affecting this very day that still exists during the time we are here. Not to mention what it has done to the *souls*, lives, and destinies of two or three generations. And keeping silent even more about what kind of communication they all led to, what ethical norms the past one hundred years were guided by and filled with. That is why I pay tribute to those who have somehow made it possible for us to be here now.

Church and society. The issue for me is the correlation of this relationship in the last 100 years. Has the church determined the life of society? I do not think so! Do I rather believe that the inner social changes have determined the life of the church? Facing a secularized world in which the individual is individualized, and the church is pluralized.

If I (could) look(ed) at this period from above, I would see a larger European correlation before me:

- The century with the most human sacrifices as a result of the two devastating World Wars as the effect of the great "isms"(I am thinking here about nationalism, fascism and communism);
- This period meant the shift and change of physical boundaries and human norms/values;
- At the same time, it is still the century when democracy grew stronger, which has led many to a safe(r) way of life.

Not denying that we (including myself) are touched by the idea put forward by E. Lange, according to which: is it not high time for us to step out of our little "provincial" world when we speak about these 100 years?

If we can, we shall see:

• our obligation, duties to others from the tiny life to the destiny of entire communities;

• at the same time, admitting that this has caused serious cracks in the reality of a dignified human existence;

• that we constantly spoil the other by not being "satisfied" enough, and we constantly want more (we do not know what the approach "enough – wealth" means);

Finally, taking the essence of this two-day event seriously: many things are political, but politics is not all (said Kuitert). By this, he meant that we must not politicize things that do not pertain to politics. Meanwhile, realizing that I dare to be an individualist – namely, to take individual responsibility for understanding what has happened and in order not only to bandage the wounds but also to ensure that the next generation leads a happier life.

Wishing you a meaningful and constructive conference!
Thank you for your kind attention!

BENKŐ Levente[1]:

A Narrow Breathing Space.
The Issue of Prisoners in Bishop János Vásárhelyi's Correspondence between 1944 and 1945[2]

Abstract.

In his study, the author focuses on analysing how the issue of war prisoners and of Reformed civilians dragged away from their homes is presented in the correspondence of Bishop János Vásárhelyi, the leader of the Reformed Church District of Transylvania. He also discusses the steps the bishop could take to obtain the release of the captives.

The author lists a number of examples illustrating the measures implemented in September 1944 at first by the Hungarian military authorities leaving northern Transylvania and then by the Romanian and Soviet military authorities marching in and whisking along Hungarian ecclesiastical personalities and also members of the congregation.

One can find out from the study the efforts Bishop János Vásárhelyi made to convince the Hungarian authorities to release the members of Romanian Greek Catholic and Orthodox high clergy they had in their custody, and afterwards how

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[1] Doctoral candidate, Babeş–Bolyai University, Faculty of Reformed Theology, Ecumenical Doctoral School, Email: benkolevente@gmail.com. Levente Benkő (born in 1961, Nagyajta/Aita Mare) – graduated from the Faculty of History and Philosophy of Babeş–Bolyai University (2006); currently 1st year doctoral candidate. Research interests include prisoners' life during World War II and the effects and consequences of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution and fight for freedom in Romania. Author of several historical books and studies.

[2]

he attempted to obtain the release of the Reformed Church's clergymen, teachers, and professors and also of one of his family members imprisoned by the Romanian authorities in Romanian lagers.

Furthermore, the study points out the fact that in that period many Hungarians who were transported to the Soviet Union in large prisoner trains via Kolozsvár/Cluj asked for help too, and the bishop tried to help within the narrow margins and with the few means that he had.

Keywords: *Bishop, János Vásárhelyi, World War II, Reformed Church District of Transylvania, prisoner, Groza.*

The church and the faithful suffered severe damage and loss in the fronts and transit areas of northern and southern Transylvania during the final phase of World War II. During the fights, churches, clergy houses and cantor dwellings, church school buildings were damaged, relics, artefacts were destroyed or disappeared, and church archives as well as libraries were partially or completely destroyed or scattered. In several cases, believers fell victim to atrocities committed by soldiers and civilians.

According to the latest research on the territory of Greater Hungary, the number of prisoners can be estimated at 960,000–1,026,000.[3] This included soldiers taken prisoners during hostilities and civilians deported from their homes. Documents have been preserved about the fate of various Hungarians deported to concentration camps in Romania and the Soviet Union in the records of the Reformed Church District of Transylvania of the time. As part of an ongoing project to explore the 1944–1945 war chronicle of the district, including the above-mentioned losses, we will examine how the issue emerges in Bishop János Vásárhelyi's (1888–1960) correspondence and how the bishop assessed the situation and the information he received.

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[3] See more in: BOGNÁR, Zalán (2017): 960 ezer vagy több mint 1 millió (hadi) fogoly? Az 1941–1945 között szovjet (hadi) fogságba vetett magyar állampolgárok (katonák és civilek) létszáma és halálozási arányuk. In: *Emberek az embertelenségben. A Gulág és a Gupvi. A Gulágkutatók Nemzetközi Társaságának évkönyve, 2015–2017*. Budapest, Gulágkutatók Nemzetközi Társasága–Kairosz Kiadó. 66–98.

1. Bilateral Romanian–Hungarian Detentions
during the Retreating Front

János Vásárhelyi already faced the imminent threat of war at the beginning of October 1944. This was the period between 13 September and 7 October when Hungarian and German troops stopped the Soviet and Romanian troops attacking from southern Transylvania for almost a month in the Torda/Turda area.[4] In the existing war situation, Iuliu Hossu[5] Greek Catholic Bishop of Kolozsvár-Szamosújvár/Cluj-Gherla sent a letter to János Vásárhelyi.[6] The Greek Catholic bishop informed his Reformed peer, among others: in his submission, he reported to government commissioner Count Béla Bethlen[7] that the Hungarian authorities kept Romanian intellectuals in house arrest in Szamosújvár and had Greek Catholic priests dig trenches, while practising priests and theologians in pastoral care were summoned to labour. Hossu also informed Vásárhelyi that the Dean of Nagysármás/Sărmaşu, Liviu Stupineanu, and the old, retired pastor of Nagysármás/Sărmaşu, Alexandru Micu, were interned in the detention centre in Kolozsvár/Cluj[8] and from there they were sent away on foot with several others to Zsibó/Jibou. He also reported that Dr Alexandru Russu,[9] his fellow bishop in Nagybánya/Baia Mare

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[4] See more in: RAVASZ, István (1999): Az erdélyi hadműveletek 1944 késő nyarán – kora őszén. In: *Hadtörténelmi közlemények* 112, 1999/4. 756–784.

[5] Iuliu Hossu (1885–1970): Romanian Greek Catholic priest, Bishop of Kolozsvár-Szamosújvár/Cluj-Gherla, cardinal.

[6] Episcopal Archives under the Central Archives of the Reformed Church District of Transylvania (Ep. A. CARCDT), collection A21, registered documents, no. 1423/1944. (Description of the original Hungarian source: *Az Erdélyi Református Egyházkerület püspöki levéltára az Erdélyi Református Egyházkerület Központi Gyűjtőlevéltárában, fond A21, iktatott iratok, 1423/1944* [as the documentary material of the episcopal archives have no box or folio numbers, only file/dossier numbers]).

[7] Count Dr Béla Bethlen (1888–1979) of Betlen, Transylvanian landowner, jurist, politician. Supreme comes of Szolnok-Doboka/Solnoc-Dăbâca and Beszterce-Naszód/Bistriţa-Năsăud counties between 1940 and October 1944, Government Commissioner of Northern Transylvania between September and October 1944.

[8] Since 1974 in Romanian: Cluj-Napoca.

[9] Alexandru Rusu (1884–1963): Romanian Greek Catholic priest, bishop, the first Greek Catholic Bishop of Maramureş Diocese starting from 1930.

was still in house arrest; he also brought to his attention the fate of Dr Emil Haţieganu,[10] leading personality of the Romanians in Northern Transylvania, who was in restricted residence in the Bishop's Palace in Győr. Bishop Hossu also said that the army had unlawfully taken his Packard brand car from him, for which he turned verbally and in writing to "His Excellencies the Mayor of Kolozsvár and the Supreme Comes and the Hungarian Royal Chief of the Police" but still did not get his vehicle back; finally, he mentioned that the army looted their family farm and family house in Nagynyulas/ Milaş, and "the soldiers took everything that could be taken away from the Romanian villages in the area".[11]

The case of Greek Catholic Bishop Liviu Stupineanu, who was deported from Nagysármás/Sărmaşu, was first encountered in early 1945. On 18 January, Károly Gergely, a Reformed pastor in Nagysármás/Sărmaşu, wrote a letter to János Vásárhelyi, as it reads, for his own peace of mind and his followers' peace, he should inform his bishop: "when the Hungarian army was here, the camp gendarmerie arrested and took away Greek Catholic Dean Dr Liviu Stupineanu (with many others, border police, etc.), although I took personal responsibility for him and his release". Minister Gergely's attempt failed although, as he put it, Dean Stupineanu "was mild-mannered, harmless for the Hungarian community". That is why the Reformed pastor asked for Bishop Vásárhelyi's help to find out the whereabouts of the abducted Greek Catholic bishop and his fellow clergymen.[12] In a letter dated 9 February, János Vásárhelyi asked Imre Révész, the Transtibiscan Reformed Bishop, to "clarify the matter via the Ministry of Defence and send out a notice to him about Dr Stupineanu", as "it would be a true gift and a great relief for the clergy of Southern Transylvania in a similar situation to finally launch a powerful movement in the Hungarian authorities and help such pastors as Dean Dr Stupineanu who were dragged away despite their innocence", as was the case of Pál Csia and many of his fellow clergymen, who were in turn detained by the Romanian authorities. According to János Vásárhelyi, "it would be a great benefit if the measures taken, now meaningless or insignificant, were dissolved by the Hungarian party".[13]

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[10] Emil Haţieganu (1878–1959): Romanian jurist, politician, leading figure of the Transylvanian Romanian National Party and its successor, the National Peasant Party.

[11] Ep. A. CARCDT, collection A21, registered documents, no. 1423/1944.

[12] Ep. A. CARCDT, collection A21, registered documents, no. 75/1945.

[13] Ep. A. CARCDT, collection A21, registered documents, no. 76/1945.

Simultaneously with the internment of the Romanian ecclesiastical leaders in Northern Transylvania and the Hungarian civilians in Southern Transylvania, especially after the withdrawal of the Hungarian authorities from Northern Transylvania, János Vásárhelyi received information about the flood of atrocities affecting the Hungarian community during the transition period, as proven by his correspondence. Since the atrocities proper are not the subject of this study, we will not address them now, but we will only examine the issue of abductions. According to this, on 27 November 1944, Ferenc Csulak, Reformed minister in Hátszeg/Haţeg, sent a letter to János Vásárhelyi, informing him that from among the ministers of Hunyad/Hunedoara County, pastor Sándor Soó from Vulkan/Vulcan and Dr Ferenc Simon, a Levite minister in Petrozsény/ Petroşani, were dragged away to the Târgu Jiu internment camp, while from Nagyenyed/ Aiud József Nagy and several other teachers of the city were among the prisoners.[14] Here we encounter the first letter from which János Vásárhelyi had learned about the imprisonment of ministers and believers.

At the end of January 1945, Reformed pastor József Csiky of Marosvásárhely/Târgu-Mureş forwarded a brief note from Nagyenyed to János Vásárhelyi, containing a prisoner's message listing three names (pastor Pál Csiky, Márton Paizs, and Mihály Szabó), which read as follows: "Reverend Father Pál Csiky's brother-in-law is here in captivity in Nagyenyed on the Fischer Estate",[15] on the site where one of the Romanian prison camps operated in the fall of 1944.

Ferenc Nagy, Vice-Bishop of the South Transylvanian district formed after splitting the church district pursuant to the Second Vienna Award, reported to János Vásárhelyi in a lengthy account on the deportations in Southern Transylvania, the situation there in general, including the situation in the Nagyenyed Reformed College. In his undated status report filed with the bishopric on 19 March 1945,[16] he summarized, among other things, the serious maintenance issues that the secondary school in Nagyenyed, which had suffered war damages, was struggling with during the time. Additionally, he reported that since 26 August 1944 several teachers of the College, Viktor Elekes, József Nagy,

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[14] Ep. A. CARCDT, collection A21, registered documents, no. 1385/1944.

[15] Ep. A. CARCDT, collection A21, registered documents, no. 59/1945.

[16] Ep. A. CARCDT, collection A21, registered documents, no. 165/1945. The undated report was registered by the bishopric's registrar as no. 165 on 19 March 1945.

Zsigmond Vita, Zoltán Horváth, and Zoltán Jarosievitz, "had been taken hostage and transported to Gyulafehérvár/Alba Iulia on 17 September and then to Târgu Jiu; so, they were kept in an internment camp". In addition to them, Árpád Bakó, Gyula Szathmáry, Ferenc Deák, Lajos Rácz, Gyula Csáky, István Veress Jr, teacher of economics, and Dr Miklós Könnyű, office manager and part-time teacher, were called in to military labour camps. At the end of October, the Soviets took Ernő Donáth, a lower secondary school teacher, from Torda with an interned group to Brassó/Braşov; the chief curator of the secondary school and President of the Transylvanian Hungarian Economics Association, Dr Pál Szász, was interned at his residence in Gáldtő/Galţiu; "and now, when his actions would be needed every hour, there is no possibility for him to come to Enyed/Aiud". In addition to them, at the time of the report, Árpád Péterffy from Gyulafehérvár and Dr Ferenc Simon, a Reformed teacher from Petrozsény/Petroşani, were at the prisoner camp in Târgu Jiu, while Viktor Dániel, Director of the School of Commerce in Brassó, István Sisak, a teacher at the School of Commerce, and Gyula Turó, a Reformed elementary school teacher from Brassó were in the Brassó internment camp. Ferenc Nagy noted that "in addition to these, it is possible that several of our teachers are interned, but only these have been reported," adding that older students were also called in to labour camps, and some of them were still there. According to the report, after 23 August 1944, Reformed pastors Béla Hamar from Bucharest, József Nagy from Balázsfalva/Blaj, István Régeni from Gyulafehérvár, Mihály Tar from Abrudbánya/Abrud, and Mihály Nagy from Tompaháza/Rădeşti were taken from Nagyenyed to Gyulafehérvár on 18 September 1944 and then to Târgu Jiu. In addition, Pál Csia, Reformed Bishop of Brassó, and Ádám Geréb, Reformed curate in Brassó, were interned there. Ferenc Nagy described that in the case of the above ministers "no objection was raised regarding their political conduct, but rather "they were "arrested as hostages". Ferenc Nagy added that the "internment of pastors released from internment camps in the meantime actually lasts longer because they are <u>interned in their respective houses</u>[17] that they could not leave", and they were also told that "the pastors released from the internment camps cannot hold Sunday celebrations, go to church, or perform funeral services because the police officer interprets home internment as the priest not being allowed to exit the parish gate". Ferenc Nagy also listed that

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[17] Highlight in the original.

Reformed minister Ferenc Gilyén from Tordatúr/Tureni fled to Nagyenyed during the battle of Torda, but he could not return home to his place of service because the police of Nagyenyed would not allow him to. Ferenc Nagy himself was in a similar situation as he had not received a permit to return home to his parish in Tövis/Teiuş; however, when he did so on foot on 26 October, he was called in and questioned by the local gendarmerie, threatening him not to leave Nagyenyed because otherwise he would be handcuffed and taken to the gendarmerie.

Ferenc Nagy also reported that Áron Márton, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Gyulafehérvár and Dr Pál Szász, Chief Curator of the Reformed college came to Nagyenyed on 3 November on a carriage – the former for visitation, the latter for the issue of the Bethlen college –, but the gendarmerie took statements from them the next morning and escorted them to Gyulafehérvár. According to Ferenc Nagy, at the same time, József Szőcs, a teacher in Kutyfalva/Cuci, was taken to the internment camp in Hídvég/Hăghig,[18] and "many of our elementary and secondary school teachers were called in to <u>labour duty</u>",[19] and "there is a special provision that Hungarians may not be released." According to the report, Sándor Szécsi, a teacher at the commercial school in Brassó, János Bálint, a Reformed teacher from Lupény/Lupeni, and Dénes Szabó, a Reformed teacher from Magyarfráta/Frata, were in a similar situation.

The Roman Catholics were in a similar situation. For example, in a letter dated 8 March 1945, József Bereczky, a Reformed minister in Tasnád/Tăşnad, informed János Vásárhelyi that even people going to church on Sunday had been called in to labour, and about 450 people in the area, 90% percent of which were Roman Catholics, were recruited on 3 January 1945 and had been taken to Russia to forced labour, including the Roman Catholic chaplain and some of his fellow Catholic clergymen in the area.[20]

On 20 February 1945, József Veress Győri, a Reformed minister in Toldalag/Toldal, informed János Vásárhelyi in a lengthy letter on the atrocities committed against his family and the congregation. According to his description, after 11 days of fierce fighting,

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[18] It may refer to prison camp no. 2 operating in Barcaföldvár/Feldioara (Brassó County) in Háromszék/Trei Scaune, near Hídvég. In 1944–1945, other prisoners were kept in Hídvég/Hăghig for a short time, but they were not Hungarian.

[19] Highlight in the original.

[20] Ep. A. CARCDT, collection A21, registered documents, no. 162/1945.

German troops withdrew on 30 September 1944, and Soviet troops entered the village. One night, drunken Soviet soldiers beat the minister within an inch of his life, looted the family, and raped his young wife before his very eyes. The 33-year-old pastor was detained by the Romanian gendarmerie after the war front had passed through the area and was then transported on foot to Segesvár/Sighişoara on 4 November, from where he was taken by train to the Târgu Jiu internment camp. From there, "after much starvation, cold, and humiliating treatment", on the night of 31 December, he escaped with one of his fellow pastors, György Szilveszter from Nyárádselye/Şilea Nirajului, and one of his companions was shot while fleeing. József Veress Győri returned home on 5 January 1945. The pastor also wrote that "many faithful from the parish of Toldalag/Toldal, Unoka/Onuca, and Vajdaszentivány/Voivodeni were "deported to various camps."[21]

2. Requests for Assistance
in Prisoner Matters

Towards the end of February 1945, János Vásárhelyi was already personally affected by the problem of detentions as his son-in-law, Colonel Tibor Vladár, was a prisoner of war in the Brassó camp.[22] From then on, it can be noticed that the bishop paid more attention and tried to find a remedy, even at the highest levels, especially to free his family member.

Meanwhile, Hungarian women from Kolozsvár asked János Vásárhelyi for help in prisoner matters. In a letter dated 2 March, Mrs József Péterffi wrote to the bishop "on behalf of all Hungarian women in Kolozsvár, on behalf of crying and desperate Hungarian mothers, spouses and orphaned children" "for aid, protection and patronage for the unfortunate, deported Hungarians, who were abducted without any particular reason from their families, from their homes, were cruelly tortured and taken to their deaths". The letter-writer said that if the fate of the Hungarian men deported from Kolozsvár in October 1944 was called to account anywhere, they would be silenced by

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[21] Ep. A. CARCDT, collection A21, registered documents, no. 104/1945.
[22] Ep. A. CARCDT, collection A21, registered documents, no. 94/1945.

saying "they are not having a hard time, or they are coming home, etc."[23] According to previous research, the number of civilians deported from Kolozsvár is estimated at 5,000. The sender presents their destiny in the following way: "Your Excellency is aware (…) that thousands of people have been deported from this very city as well, so you can feel our terrible spiritual pain". They asked Vásárhelyi to "do it for them, do it for your fellows, for all of us, and speak to the Hungarian government to take action and bring home the unfortunate deported Hungarian people who suffer in the camps in Focșani and other camps."[24]

Only three weeks later, on 22 March, did József Szakáts's widow, a former teacher in Kolozsvár, sent a letter from Oradea to Bishop János Vásárhelyi about the deportations. The sender, whose son was also among the prisoners, asked the bishop to intervene on behalf of the Reformed mothers and wives of Southern Transylvania for the release of the South Transylvanian Reformed ministers deported to the Târgu Jiu prison camp in August 1944, because, as she said, "we have no one to turn to but God Almighty and Your Excellency".[25] In his reply of 4 April, János Vásárhelyi informed József Szakáts's widow that he had already addressed the complaint at the cabinet meeting of the Groza government held in Kolozsvár on 13 March, and the Prime Minister had promised to see about the release of the deported ministers. The bishop also referred to his latitude when he said: "Unfortunately, I can't do more, but I will do whatever possible."[26]

The letter in which minister József Bereczky of Tasnád spoke about the deportations reported to János Vásárhelyi on 14 April 1945 that: "during the Holy Week, many of our ministers, teachers, and congregation members were arrested by the police officers in Tasnád", while Ferenc Balogh, a minister in Magyarcsaholy/Cehăluț, was taken to Zilah/Zalău on Easter morning with the charge of anti-partisan operations after having been imprisoned in Tasnád for one week, and "in the local chief constable's opinion he is at risk of being deported to Siberia".[27]

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[23] In the issue dated 23 November 1944, the *Világosság* daily newspaper published in Kolozsvár called the Hungarian men deported from Kolozsvár as "men deported in the first days after the liberation for security reasons".

[24] Ep. A. CARCDT, collection A21, registered documents, no. 147/1945.

[25] Ep. A. CARCDT, collection A21, registered documents, no. 187/1945.

[26] Ep. A. CARCDT, collection A21, registered documents, no. 198/1945.

[27] Ep. A. CARCDT, collection A21, registered documents, no. 273/1945.

3. The Matter of the Deported during and after the Cabinet Meeting Held in Kolozsvár on 13 March 1945

In this context, let us consider Bishop János Vásárhelyi's steps/attempts undertaken before the Romanian and Hungarian government bodies, including personally Romanian Prime Minister Dr Petru Groza and Hungarian Prime Minister Béla Miklós Dálnoki[28] in favour of the deportees. As it is well known, the Groza government, which took over on 6 March 1945, held a cabinet meeting one week later, on the 13th in Kolozsvár, at which time the Romanian administration, which had withdrawn on 11 November 1944 on Soviet order, was allowed to return to Northern Transylvania. Along with local ecclesiastical and secular leaders, King Michael I of Romania, members of the government, and Soviet envoys also participated in the event held on 13 March in Kolozsvár. Worship services were held in the churches of all denominations as part of a series of events that included a rally, a reception, and a gala dinner. In the downtown Reformed church on Farkas Street in Kolozsvár, János Vásárhelyi called the ceremony a service held on the occasion of a "great historical turn". As he put it, the "new power creating the new context, the head of the Russian Empire and the government taking over the administration, had the voice of the Transylvanian Hungarians, including the Reformed Church heard inside the Romanian state, and expressed their firm determination to create a harmonious cooperation based on mutual recognition among the nations". The bishop asked God's blessing upon the country, the king, and the government, and then he prayed for world peace, "for the poor, the sick, the fighting and bleeding soldiers, those in captivity, those suffering war and persecution."[29]

The afternoon cabinet meeting was attended by Bishop János Vásárhelyi and György Martonossy, legal adviser, representing the Transylvanian Reformed Church District. Following the protocol greetings that opened the meeting, the Soviets left the room.[30]

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[28] Béla Miklós de Dálnok, Vitéz of Dálnok (1890–1948): officer, general, politician of Szekler origin, Prime Minister of Hungary between 22 December 1944 and 15 November 1945.

[29] Ep. A. CARCDT, collection A21, registered documents, no. 423/1945.

[30] NASTASĂ, Lucian – ANDREESCU, Andreea – VARGA, Andrea (eds.) (2002): *Minorități etnoculturale, Mărturii documentare, maghiarii din România (1945–1955)*. Cluj, Centrul de Resurse pentru Diversitate Etnoculturală, Diversitate etnoculturală în România. 69–70.

We have two sources about the speech János Vásárhelyi's delivered there. According to one of them, the bishop's pre-written speech for the cabinet meeting expressed the faithful's, the pastors', and the teachers' "deep respect, trust and loyalty" to the king, the government, and the allied powers on behalf of the Transylvanian Reformed Church District, among other things. "We came from the house of the Lord, God's church, and prayed fervently that God's protection would surround Your Majesty and help the high government to ensure calm, peaceful, harmonious cooperation here for the benefit of the peoples and nations living here on this land, according to the generous goals the peoples living here have been assigned by the allies" – stands in the text, according to which János Vásárhelyi placed the churches, schools, priests, and the Reformed faithful under the protection of the king and the government, and then he concluded: "Long live the King! Long live the Government! May God protect our country, our mighty allies, to create a blessed life of peace for the suffering world!"[31] It is not known whether János Vásárhelyi literally said or read this text before the meeting since the edited text of another source – namely the (shorthand) minutes of the meeting – contains a very different text with some dissimilar elements. According to this, János Vásárhelyi spoke in Hungarian, being interpreted into Romanian by György Martonossy, and said, among others: "here and now, it would be inappropriate to put forward our requests and grievances, but we respectfully ask the Prime Minister and the Minister of Religious and Ethnic Affairs to allow us to submit our requests in a memorandum. We thank you for this opportunity and allow us this time to request the release of the pastors and teachers who have been interned because they are Hungarian and who can be charged of no other sin so that they can return to their parishes and schools. With the release of the internees, Hungarian families – wives, mothers, and children – will be as happy as the Romanian nation is today."[32]

Bypassing a straight answer, Groza said the following, referring to Hungarian ministers and teachers: "At the time of our inauguration, we promised that no one would remain in the camp because of their political beliefs and that we would take immediate action for their release."[33]

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[31] Ep. A. CARCDT, collection A21, registered documents, no. 148/1945.
[32] NASTASĂ – ANDREESCU – VARGA 2002, 76.
[33] Ibid.

No matter which version of the text was uttered, it can be noticed that János Vásárhelyi assured the king and the government of his full loyalty and willingness to cooperate, calling for peace and Christian brotherhood. At the same time, at least from the two sources available to us, he did not address the issue of all the Reformed Hungarians deported from their homes in the autumn of 1944, but – if the "clean" text of the minutes was indeed identical to the speech uttered during the meeting – he only limited his speech to the case of the deported Hungarian ministers and teachers. According to the minutes, however, it can also be noticed that Prime Minister Dr Petru Groza's answer was evasive and turned the issue of deportation away from nationality towards the political side.

Regardless of his ambiguous, evasive response, János Vásárhelyi proved optimistic when in his letter of 15 March[34] he informed briefly Imre Révész, Bishop of the Transtibiscan Reformed Church District, about the event in Kolozsvár that happened two days earlier and during which – in his opinion – "the Prime Minister of the country's government made a serious statement in the spirit of Romanian–Hungarian reconciliation, which gives us hope that we can continue our church's work with rewards". Vásárhelyi founded his statement on the fact that "Prime Minister Groza was, for that matter, a student of our college in Szászváros/Orăştie and recalls the time he spent there with gratitude. He has always been benevolent towards our church and our institutions." Vásárhelyi was just as optimistic in the letter[35] he sent to the parsonage in Brassó on 15 March 1945, in which he expressed his hope that Minister Pál Csia, who had been taken prisoner, had already returned home. The bishop informed the people in Brassó that: "During his recent visit to Kolozsvár, Prime Minister Groza stated in his speech that he fully understood the justification for my proposal, which I had made in favour of the deportees, and for his part had already taken steps to deal with the issue favourably and to release the internees." This wording by János Vásárhelyi still does not dispel the ambiguity and raises again the question whether at the cabinet meeting on 13 March he really mentioned only the abducted Reformed pastors, teachers, and educators or all the Reformed faithful deported from their homes.

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[34] Ep. A. CARCDT, collection A21, registered documents, no. 144/1945.
[35] Ep. A. CARCDT, collection A21, registered documents, no. 152/1945.

Unfortunately, in his autobiography,[36] János Vásárhelyi did not address the meeting in question, his speech delivered during the meeting, or the details of the problems affecting the church district, including the question of the deportees. He explained this in his autobiography, writing that after the Romanian transition on 23 August 1944 "we were living such exciting times, and I was so busy that I had neither the mood nor the time to take such notes. There was a rush of events and constant action had to be taken." In the cited source, in the part talking about his visit to the Romanian government, personally to Dr Petru Groza, he did not mention either whether the issue of the deportees had been discussed. All he recorded about his visit to Bucharest was that he requested Groza to allow the South Transylvanian Church District to return to the diocese and help settle its government in accordance with internal ecclesiastical laws while restoring the old status. And Groza approved it. Unfortunately, in his autobiography, Bishop Vásárhelyi does not touch upon whether he had discussed the issue of internees with Prime Minister Groza.

4. Vanished Hopes, Collective Impossibility

Anyway, János Vásárhelyi's confidence did not bring the expected result – the deportees remained in the camps or were on their way to or had already arrived at the prison camps in the Soviet Union. This was obviously due to some factors that overwrote Vásárhelyi's intentions. These included the fact that the presence of Soviet troops along with the political police, the NKVD,[37] in the Carpathian Basin, more specifically in Romania, provided an already restrictive – close to zero – room for manoeuvre for all those involved in the release and return of prisoners during this period, irrespective of what they could

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[36] Central Archives of the Reformed Church District of Transylvania, collection F30. János Vásárhelyi's legacy. VÁSÁRHELYI, János: *Emlékeim. Önéletrajz…* Manuscript written in Kolozsvár between 1937, 1941, and 1950. On two uninterrupted parts, pp. 279 + 204, partially written by hand and partially typed, containing the author's comments and corrections. Cloth-bound. János Vásárhelyi started writing his autobiography on 1 August 1937.

[37] People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs (in Russian: Народный комиссариат внутренних дел, transcribed in English as: *Naródnyy Komissariát Vnútrennikh Del*, abbreviated: NKVD), the Ministry of the Interior in the Soviet Union between 1934 and 1946.

have done or wanted to do. On the other hand, the Soviet–Romanian ceasefire agreement signed in Moscow on 12 September 1944 was already in force at the time, in which Romania undertook, among others, to intern German and Hungarian citizens on its territory, and the relevant section 2 of the Agreement was interpreted by the Romanian Ministry of the Interior that internment applied not only to those coming from Hungary and Germany after the Second Vienna Award but also to the entire Hungarian- and German-speaking population native to Transylvania. Even though upon the nullification of the Vienna Award all residents of Northern Transylvania should be considered again automatically and retroactively Romanian citizens of Hungarian and German nationality, the Hungarian and German nationals in Northern Transylvania, holding a Hungarian passport and living in areas under the control of the Romanian administration, shall be interned" – established the Ministry of the Interior in its classified circular no. 44 759 as per 29 September 1944.[38] Moreover, the secret order no. 578 832 of the Grand General of the Romanian Army of 19 October 1944 was in force. According to it, "the deserters who served in the Hungarian army and returned to their homes in the liberated Transylvania shall be considered prisoners of war be and interned in camps" on which the General Inspectorate of the Gendarmerie issued the classified circular letter no. 46 180 to the subordinate bodies on 27 October 1944.[39]

Under these circumstances, the leadership of the church district, and Bishop Vásárhelyi himself, were not and could not be in an easy position as the tools and scope for action were very restricted. And, beautiful memories of student years or no memories, this also applied to Groza. Taking these aspects into account, it can be interpreted that the discourse in János Vásárhelyi's episcopal correspondence, which has been revealed so far, overlooked the issue of the release of the mass deportees, and we can see "only" his attempts aimed at certain deported persons/personalities.

Given the circumstances, János Vásárhelyi did his best to support the initiatives taken to alleviate the fate of the prisoners as much as possible, forwarded the letters of request to the concerned and the institutions which could offer any help, and limited his prisoner-saving activity to the case(s) directly related to his family. Let us see some examples in

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[38] National Historical Central Archives, Bucharest, Inspectorate of the Romanian Gendarmerie (NHCAB Insp. Rom. Gend.), collection 1474, file no. 119/1944, f. 22 and 25.
[39] NHCAB Insp. Rom. Gend., collection 1474, file no. 149/1944, f. 9.

this sense. On 5 January 1945, János Vásárhelyi informed the executive board of the church district in a letter that a campaign had started among the members of the Magyar Street congregation in Kolozsvár to help the prisoners of war in transit, and they asked for the support of the church district on this matter. "Given the noble philanthropic enterprise", János Vásárhelyi requested that the minister of Magyar Street be paid 1 000 Hungarian pengő by the church district to be used for the relief operation with subsequent accounting obligations on his behalf.[40] Four months later, a pastoral meeting of the Maros/Mureș Presbytery took a similar initiative, when the General Assembly held on 17 May unanimously agreed to create an itinerant prisoner caretaker post "for the care of our Hungarian brethren prisoners of war imprisoned in the vast Russian Empire". The initiators also asked that "the Bishop launch a fundraising to cover the cost of the post".[41] On 8 June, the Dean of the Reformed Presbytery of Maros, Jenő Farkas, sent the resolution to Bishop Vásárhelyi, requesting his help in establishing the "institution acting as a huge gap filler".[42] The bishop agreed with the initiative but pointed out that the initiative of the Presbytery of Maros could only come true if financial resources could be raised together with the neighbouring presbyteries and if there would be a minister who could undertake this service.[43] In the sources explored so far, we have not found any data or indications as to whether the initiative of the Presbytery of Maros was actually implemented.

On 1 May 1945, theology teacher András Nagy informed János Vásárhelyi in a letter that minister Márton Járai in Fogaras/Făgăraș had been arrested by the Romanian authorities and had allegedly been taken to the prison camp in Caracal together with several other ministers for "having hailed only the Red and Romanian armies on a public holiday, leaving aside King Michael and Marshal Stalin". András Nagy also informed the bishop that minister Ferenc Koncz of Nagylak/Nădlac had been taken to Gyulafehérvár, and then he had been sent home and interned on site.[44]

World War II ended in Europe when on 13 May a message thrown out from a train by cadet officer Ernő Nagy, a Reformed headmaster and teacher, reached János Vásárhelyi through a railway employee. In the brief note, the prisoner asking for help said that he

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[40] Ep. A. CARCDT, collection A21, registered documents, no. 6/1945.

[41] Ep. A. CARCDT, collection A21, registered documents, no. 405/1945.

[42] Ibid.

[43] Ibid.

[44] Ep. A. CARCDT, collection A21, registered documents, no. 277/1945.

was being taken away via Kolozsvár as a Soviet prisoner of war and asked the bishop to inform his wife in Iregszemcse, Tolna County, that he was alive and that László Kaszner from Balatonújhely was with him on the train.[45] On 17 May, a list containing the names of 172 Hungarian prisoner officers who would not fight on Szálasi's side and were sent to the Soviet Union from the Bratislava prison camp via Romania was thrown out of the train in or near Kolozsvár. The prisoners were asking the finder to have the list copied and send it to the American, English, Swedish, and Hungarian embassies or consulates, to Budapest, to the Ministry of Defence, and to the Roman Catholic and Reformed bishoprics. The majority of the 172 officers and non-commissioned officers on the list that reached János Vásárhelyi were from Hungary, but there were also some from Felvidék[46] and 20 Transylvanians. We learn from the distress message that in addition to the 172 officers, "12,000 (twelve thousand) Hungarian soldiers were transported to Russia from the Bratislava camp in several consignments."[47] Other sources indicate that some of the 12,000 prisoners of war in question were detained by the Arrow Cross in an unknown location, then taken to Soviet captivity in April 1945 and spent a month in the Bratislava camp, wherefrom they were sent away to an unknown destination.[48] On 1 June, János Vásárhelyi lodged a petition to the Universal Convention in Budapest that had been thrown out from a prisoner train passing through Kolozsvár containing a list of 172 prisoners, requesting for measures to be taken, indicating that "the relatives of the Transylvanians were informed by the competent parish ministers."[49]

On 20 May 1945, András Kovács, a prisoner from Nagybózsva (Abaúj County) threw out a small note addressed directly to the Reformed bishop, from a prisoner train passing through Kolozsvár, informing him that he and his seven companions from Bózsva were most likely being taken to the Soviet Union. A typewritten copy of the message and the list was forwarded by János Vásárhelyi to Nagybózsva on 19 June 1945, asking the local minister to inform the relatives.[50]

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[45] Ep. A. CARCDT, collection A21, registered documents, no. 295/1945.

[46] Today in Slovakia.

[47] Ep. A. CARCDT, collection A21, registered documents, no. 343/1945.

[48] STARK, Tamás (ed., introd. study) (2017): *„… akkor aszt mondták kicsi robot". A magyar polgári lakosság elhurcolása a Szovjetunióba korabeli dokumentumok tükrében.* Budapest, MTA Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont, Történettudományi Intézet. 284.

[49] Ep. A. CARCDT, collection A21, registered documents, no. 343/1945.

[50] Ep. A. CARCDT, collection A21, registered documents, no. 404/1945.

On 12 June, Bishop László Ravasz sent a list to the ministers of the Danubian Reformed congregations and to János Vásárhelyi containing the names of the Reformed faithful held in the camp set up in the Ferenc József barracks in Pécs. Among the 128 prisoners on the list, in addition to prisoners from Hungary, there were also detainees from Szatmár/Satu Mare, Bihar/Bihor, Szilágyság/Sălaj, Kolozs County, Háromszék, Gyergyószék/Gheorgheni, and Udvarhelyszék/Scaunul Odorhei.[51]

On 22 June, János Vásárhelyi forwarded to the universal convention the list containing the names of ten ministers held in captivity in the Soviet camp in Focșani. As he said, they were all healthy and asked for their fellow ministers' relatives and presbyters to be informed.[52]

5. Attempts for the Release of a Family Member

Now let us examine the case directly affecting János Vásárhelyi's family, more precisely his attempts to have his detained son-in-law, Colonel Tibor Vladár, released. In a letter dated 25 April 1945, Vásárhelyi informed László Ravasz, the Transtibiscan Reformed Bishop, that his son-in-law was imprisoned, and his daughter was in Rudabánya with her three children. He asked him to inquire if possible about his daughter's conditions.[53] On 7 May, János Vásárhelyi asked the Romanian Minister of the Interior that his daughter, Vladár Tiborné Magda Vásárhelyi, and her three underage children could stay in Kolozsvár from June to September and receive family benefits as the father was a prisoner of war.[54] Colonel Tibor Vladár was most likely on his way to the Soviet Union in mid-May because at that time we find him in the Soviet prison camp in Focșani. On 5 June, János Vásárhelyi informed him in a letter sent through a woman travelling to her son detained in the Focșani camp that: "We received a letter from Magdi twice. She is in Rudabánya with the children. (…) Now we are doing everything we can so that Magdi can come to us with the children, and I hope that will happen soon." Vásárhelyi

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[51] Ep. A. CARCDT, collection A21, registered documents, no. 509/1945.
[52] Ep. A. CARCDT, collection A21, registered documents, no. 524a/1945.
[53] Ep. A. CARCDT, collection A21, registered documents, no. 220/1945.
[54] Ep. A. CARCDT, collection A21, registered documents, no. 290/1945.

asked his son-in-law to reply to him as soon as he received the letter.[55] Colonel Vladár certainly did this because on 18 June János Vásárhelyi had already informed him that "we received the news about you and the related things through your friend" and that the Ministry of the Interior in Bucharest "issued (…) the residence permit for his wife, i.e. the bishop's daughter, and the children, and soon we will get the endorsement from the Russian High Command." Vásárhelyi also informed his son-in-law that: "I will do my best in your case, too, and I hope I can take favourable measures. I am trying to get in touch with the most competent factors for this matter."[56] And the bishop acted indeed accordingly. On 22 June, he wrote a letter to Colonel-General János Vörös, Hungarian Minister of Defence[57], asking him to "allow, if possible, with his support" the extradition of his son-in-law, Colonel Tibor Vladár, to the Hungarian government.[58] Also on 22 June, János Vásárhelyi sent a similar letter to Hungarian Prime Minister Béla Miklós Dálnoki about Colonel Vladár's case.[59] It is not clear from the sources revealed so far when Colonel Vladár came home to his family; in any case, in his letter sent to his daughter Magdi, dated 22 October 1945, Bishop Vásárhelyi mentioned that "unfortunately, we have not received any further information about Tibor."[60]

6. Conclusions

The excerpts selected from his correspondence reflect the measures taken by János Vásárhelyi on this serious issue he experienced during very difficult times. Steps taken for the release and assistance of prisoners of war and civilian deportees/internees were hampered by factors such as the presence and position of power of the Soviet military and political authorities in Transylvania/Romania, which also played a key role in the mass deportation of Hungarians from Hungary and Transcarpathia[61] as well as the increased anti-

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[55] Ep. A. CARCDT, collection A21, registered documents, no. 354/1945.

[56] Ep. A. CARCDT, collection A21, registered documents, no. 420/1945.

[57] János Vörös (1891–1968): officer, colonel general, Chief of Staff, Minister of Defence between 22 December 1944 and 15 November 1945.

[58] Ep. A. CARCDT, collection A21, registered documents, no. 427/1945.

[59] Ep. A. CARCDT, collection A21, registered documents, no. 428/1945 and no. 466/1945.

[60] Ep. A. CARCDT, collection A21, registered documents, no. 922/1945.

[61] Today in Ukraine.

Hungarian atmosphere and the series of measures taken centrally in Romania in the autumn of 1944. János Vásárhelyi could hardly turn to the Hungarian government for support for all Hungarian prisoners from Transylvania because the hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of prisoners were also taken from Hungary just as from Transylvania and/or Transcarpathia and Bácska/Bačka[62]. Given the circumstances, neither the leaders of the church district nor Bishop Vásárhelyi had enough room for manoeuvre that would have allowed him to rescue the prisoners effectively.

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[62] Today in Serbia (85%), Hungary (14%), and Croatia (1%).

RAVASZ, István (1999): Az erdélyi hadműveletek 1944 késő nyarán – kora őszén. In: *Hadtörté-nelmi közlemények* 112, 1999/4.

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Világosság – daily newspaper, Kolozsvár/Cluj, 1944.

HOLLÓ László[1]:

The Situation of Catholic Instruction in Transylvania during the Communist Takeover[2]

Summary.

In less than one year, the Catholic Church, just like the other denominations, lost its school network built along the centuries. This was the moment when the bishop wrote: "No one can resent if we shed tears over the loss of our schools and educational institutions".[3] Moreover, he stated that he would do everything to restore the injustice since they could not resent if we used all the legal possibilities and instruments to retrieve our schools that we were illegally dispossessed of.

Furthermore, he evaluated the situation realistically and warned the families to be more responsible. He emphasized the parents' responsibility. First and foremost, the mother was the child's first teacher of religion. She taught him the first prayers; he heard about God, Jesus, the Virgin Mary, and the angels from his mother for the first time. He asked for the mothers' and the parents' support also in mastering the teachings of the faith. Earlier, he already instructed the priests to organize extramural biblical classes for the children and youth. At this point, he asked the families to cooperate effectively, especially to lead an ardent, exemplary religious life, so that the children would grow up in a religious and moral life according to God's will, learning from the parents' examples.

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[2] This article was subsidized by the Committee of National Remembrance.

[3] MÁRTON, Áron (2015): 4708–1948. Szeptember 15. Körlevél a katolikus iskolák államosításáról és a szülők kötelességéről. In: Marton, József (ed.): *Márton Áron: Körlevelek – 2.* 49. The translations of all non-English quotations are my own throughout the article.

And just as on many other occasions throughout history, the Catholic Church started building again. It did not build spectacular-looking churches and schools but rather modest catechism halls to bring communities together. These were the places where the priests of the dioceses led by the bishop's example and assuming all the persecutions, incessantly educated the school children to the love of God and of their brethren, and the children even more zealously attended the catechism classes, ignoring their teachers' prohibitions.

Keywords: *Márton Áron, Diocese of Transylvania, confessional religious education, communism, nationalization of catholic schools, Catholic Church in Romania in 1948.*

Introduction

Bishop Áron Márton issued two connected, consistent letters, both as no. 4708, on 8 August and 15 September 1948. The first one was titled *A hitoktatás megszervezéséről* [On the Organization of Religious Education][4] and the latter *A katolikus iskolák államosításáról és a szülők kötelességéről* [On the Nationalization of Catholic Schools and the Parents' Responsibilities].[5] The reason for both circulars was the nationalization of religious schools. He emphasized his pain over the loss of the schools, being at the same time firmly determined and hopeful for the future.

> "No one can resent if we shed tears over the loss of our schools and educational institutions. – said the bishop. These schools and institutions were built and fostered by the zeal, thrift, selfless work, faith, and love of several generations, preserving them under the hardest circumstances for centuries up to this very day. The official bodies who carried out the takeover also had the possibility to get ascertained that the Catholic schools and institutions represent a truly significant value. No one can resent either if we resort to the legal possibilities and instruments in order to regain our schools. …

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[4] MÁRTON, Áron (2015): 4708–1948. Augusztus 8. A hitoktatás megszervezéséről. In: Marton, József (ed.): *Márton Áron: Körlevelek – 2* (Márton Áron hagyatéka – 12). Miercurea Ciuc, Pro-Print. 43–46.

[5] MÁRTON, Áron: 4708–1948. Szeptember 15. Körlevél a katolikus iskolák államosításáról és a szülők kötelességéről. In: Marton, József (ed.): *Márton Áron: Körlevelek – 2.* 49–51.

We cannot give up on the hope that the government will acknowledge the social education activity, value, and utility of Catholic schools and will reinstate the rights of the Church."[6]

For this very reason, the bishop provided instructions for the organization of extramural Catechism classes. After giving practical instructions regarding the prerequisites of Catechism classes and the proper preparation of their content, he warned his priests that: "I truly trust that my reverend brethren being fully aware of their holy calling and the resourcefulness of their loyalty in the service of the sacred cause will find the effective instruments, and, by the grace of God, will perform their duties properly, duties that are expected from Christ's priests in the current circumstances in the interest of the immortal spirits."[7]

He was completely aware of the importance of religious instruction. He programmatically worded it in his article published in *Erdélyi Iskola* as early as 1939:

"the Church, in its dogmatic definition, is the religious establishment that sanctifies the people till the end of times by the powers conferred upon it by Jesus Christ; its members, as Christ's mystic body are in communion with each other and God through faith, the instruments of grace and reverence towards legal supremacy. By education, we understand the planned work by which the adults, people with an established personality, help the yet uncultivated human child to form his personality as perfectly as possible. Comparing the two notions at first sight we feel that there is an inseparable connection between them. The duty of the church is to sanctify the people, while the duty of instruction is to educate them."[8]

The Situation of the Catholic Church in Romania in 1948

1948 started intensely in the Diocese of Gyulafehérvár/Alba Iulia (formerly the Diocese of Transylvania), torn by the storms of history and potentially facing repression in the new situation that arose after the communists had come to power. The new year was

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[6] Op. cit. 49–50.

[7] MÁRTON, Áron (2015): 4708–1948: A hitoktatás megszervezéséről. In: Marton, József (ed.): *Márton Áron: Körlevelek – 2*. 43–46, here: 46.

[8] MÁRTON, Áron (1939/40): Az Egyház és a nevelés. In: *Erdélyi Iskola* 7, 1–2. 1–5.

dedicated to Virgin Mary in the circular mail that Bishop Áron Márton sent on the day of Epiphany, 6 January, in observance of Pope Pius XII's intentions.[9] The aim was "the dogmatic foundation, expression, awareness of the Marian devotion deeply rooted in our nation's soul as well as of the popularization of the practical Marian devotion in all the strata of the faithful, especially among male youth and men, thus cleansing the morals of our nation and gaining the patronage of the Holy Virgin". The Bishop foreshadowed the difficult future to come with a clear acknowledgement of the situation for which one had to become considerably stronger as "crossing the threshold of the new year we are going to find ourselves again in an impenetrable fog. We are facing uncertain times, events, tasks, and fate. We cannot know what the days of the misty future bring along." He intended to strengthen the Marian devotion among the faithful during the preparation period, and that is why he asks that "we should foster the ideal desires, our people's characteristic sense of decency and the power of the soul over the instincts in our youth's soul by becoming acquainted and following with Mary's life and virtues. … We expect the revival of the old family morals from the deepening Marian devotion… may it help rebuild the hearths shattered during and after the war."[10]

At the same time, the gradually settling communist authority intended to annihilate all the elements that would not participate in the heralded class struggle in the name of "peace and democracy". And it was successful: the year 1948 brought about the complete settling of communism in Romania.[11] After King Michael I was forced to sign his resignation in Elisabeth Palace in Bucharest on 30 December 1947 under Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej's and Prime Minister Petru Groza's pressure and the Board of Representatives proclaimed the People's Republic of Romania, a Romanian Government delegation paid a visit to Moscow, where they concluded the Soviet–Romanian contract of friendship on 4 February.[12] After the Social Democratic and the Communist parties

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[9] Cf. MÁRTON, Áron: 50–1947: Újévi körlevél, 1948. január 6. In: Marton, József (ed.): *Márton Áron: Körlevelek – 2*. 18–28.

[10] Op. cit. 20–23.

[11] MARTON, József (2008): *Az erdélyi katolicizmus 90 éve (1900–1990)*. Cluj-Napoca, Kolozsvári Egyetemi Kiadó. 152.

[12] PĂIUŞAN, Cristina – ION, Narcis Dorin – RETEGAN, Mihai (2002): *Regimul comunist din România. O cronologie politică (1945–1989)*. Bucharest, Tritonic. 43–45. It is an interesting fact that the delegation was led by Prime Minister Petru Groza, and its members were Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, as well as one Hungarian and one Jewish

held a joint congress between 21 and 23 February, merging and creating the single-party system under the name of Romanian Workers' Party, this gave even more courage to the communists in strengthening their already launched anticlerical discourse.

The congress re-elected Gheorghe Gheorgiu-Dej General Secretary of the party, who outlined openly the party's viewpoint on the Catholic Church in his programmatic speech, declaring that the Catholic Church was the only organized obstacle in the way of the ultimate implementation of the people's democracy in Romania.[13] For better effectiveness, he also worded certain guidelines for action against the Catholic Church, inferring the latter's disengagement and separation from Rome: "A part of the country's population belongs to the Catholic faith. We must declare the Catholic clergy the enemy of democracy. It undermines the interests of the Romanian nation that this clergy is part of the world-renowned imperialist agent, the Vatican. We cannot tolerate that the Vatican uses its spiritual power to harm and turn the believers against democracy with its false propaganda."[14]

After impressively annihilating the political opposition removing the National Peasants' Party led by Iuliu Maniu and the National Liberal Party from the political life, the government mainly focused on the "decisive resolution" of the religious matter. They deemed that the prestige of religions hindered the spread of Bolshevist doctrines, and, by heralding afterlife, it prevented the working class from accessing the illusion of the Soviet heaven on earth. Moscow's plan regarding the Catholics was to separate the Roman Catholic and the Romanian Greek Catholic Church from Rome and then rule over the churches deprived from their foreign support. The Romanian government also strived to implement this very same plan.[15]

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communist activist: László Luka (in Romanian: Vasile Luca), Minister of Finances in Romania, and Ana Pauker (née Hanna Rabinsohn), Minister of Foreign Affairs in Romania, who travelled to Moscow to sign the convention of friendship, cooperation, and mutual aid.

[13] MIRCEA, Alexandru – CÂRNAȚIU, Pamfil – TODERICIU, Mircea (1998): Calvarul Bisericii Unite. In: *Biserica Română Unită două sute cincizeci de ani de istorie*. Cluj-Napoca: Casa de Editură Viața Creștină (published online). 135–177, here: 138. http://www.bru.ro/wp-content/uploads/file/pdf/Madrid1.pdf; http://www.bru.ro/wp-content/uploads/file/pdf/Madrid2.pdf; http://www.bru.ro/wp-content/uploads/file/pdf/Madrid3.pdf (last accessed: 15.04.2020).

[14] DELETANT, Dennis (2001): *Teroarea comunistă în România. Gheorghiu-Dej și statul polițienesc, 1948–1965.* Iași, Polirom. 73.

[15] Cf. TEMPFLI, Imre (2002): *Sárból és napsugárból. Pakocs Károly püspöki helynök élete és kora 1892–1966.* Budapest, Metem Kiadó. 104–105.

On 2 March, the Government granted the denominations a 3-month deadline for the elaboration of their *Rules of Procedure*. At this point, it was not yet clear that this would be highly impractical for the Catholic Church, ensuring the legal grounds for undermining and oppressing it.[16]

Catholic Religious Instruction after World War II

After "the survival and introspection strategy"[17] became generalized in the life of minority churches during the national oppression between the two world wars, the same continued during the gradual expansion of communism. Becoming aware of the moral, spiritual, and material ruin caused by World War II, the important representatives of the Catholic Church, the members of the former Transylvanian Roman Catholic Status, at the time called the Roman Catholic Diocesan Council of Latin Rite in Gyulafehérvár/ Alba Iulia,[18] led by the bishop were clearly aware of the historic challenge and drafted

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[16] The bishops prepared several drafts of the *Rules of Procedure* of the Catholic Church. However, since the authorities required the omission of fundamental articles that the Catholic bishops could not accept, the Catholic Church had no *Rules of Procedure* during communism, thus functioning outside the law as a tolerated community.

[17] LUKÁCS, Olga (2017): Erdélyi felekezetközi viszonyok a kommunista rendszer első évtizedében. In: LÖNHÁRT, Tamás – NAGY, Róbert Miklós – HUNYADI, Attila-Gábor (eds.): *Modernizare economică, socială și spirituală în Europa Est-Centrală. Gazdasági, társadalmi és szellemi modernizáció Kelet-Közép-Európában. In honorem Prof. Univ. Dr. Csucsuja István.* Kolozsvár/Cluj-Napoca, Argonaut. 226–235.

[18] The Transylvanian Roman Catholic Status was the particular joint institution of the Transylvanian bishopric, made up of lay people and clergymen (the former constituting two-thirds and the latter one third), rooted in the times following the Reformation. At the time, as the Catholic Church lost its bishop and the clerical leaders after the Reformation and the decisions of the Transylvanian Diet, the lay keeping the Catholic faith tried to enforce the interests of the shattered Catholic Church, and they gradually established the Transylvanian Roman Catholic Status together with the few clergymen who held on to their believers. The institution of the Status launched in the second half of the 19th century, led by the bishop as the chairman, an executive council counting 24 members, and an assembly counting 200 members, served the cause and interests of the financial and educational affairs of the Transylvanian bishopric. Between the two world wars, due to the attacks of Romanian nationalism against the Status, it was forced to change its name into the Council of the Roman Catholic Bishopric of Latin

the action plans for themselves: "we must line up around the church and the schools in order to be able to heal the spiritual wounds that were inflicted upon us and recover from the gaping material deficits, and thus be able to sustain our institutions, reorganizing and managing them according to the requirements of the times."[19] Reading the so-called *Annual Statement* drafted on the occasion of the 1946 annual session of the Diocesan Council comprising the activity of the Executive Board over three years (1943–1946), it becomes clear that in the times of limited possibilities the church still managed to fulfil its duties in the organization of the Catholic instruction.

Catholic instruction was traditionally organized in a particular form in the Diocese of Gyulafehérvár/Alba Iulia. On the one hand, the kindergartens as well as primary schools were managed by the parishes, and the middle schools were under the authority of the Diocese and the religious orders, while, on the other hand, the Diocesan Council managed the so-called secondary schools of the status. Moreover, the Diocesan Council organized and monitored the educational matters of all Catholic religious educational institutions. Below, we shall present the 1945–46 statistical data of the religious education institutions for a better understanding of the situation and extent of the Catholic instruction.

The annual statement mentions the loss of the building of the Catholic school in Tőkés/Groşii Ţibleşului as an "unfortunate event", being appropriated by the competent state authorities without any objective investigation and disregarding the ecclesiastical representative's opinion, depriving 65 children from the possibility to participate in education in their mother tongue.[20] Both the parish and the diocesan authority

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Rite in Gyulafehérvár/Alba Iulia in 1932. Cf. HOLLÓ, László (2009): *A világiak által „vezetett" egyházmegye*, vol. I. Cluj-Napoca, Kolozsvári Egyetemi Kiadó. 15–34; HOLLÓ, László (2016): Az Erdélyi Római Katolikus Státus tegnap, ma és holnap. In: Holló, László (ed.): *Gyárfás Elemér a „civil püspök". A Gyárfás Elemér halálának 70. évfordulója alkalmából tartott emlékkonferencia előadásai*. Budapest–Cluj-Napoca, Szent István Társulat–Verbum. 26–62.

[19] Jelentés a Gyulafehérvári Latin Szertartású Róm[ai] Kat[holikus] Egyházmegyei Tanács 1946. november hó 28-ikára összehívott közgyűlésére (a továbbiakban *Jelentés 1946*) [Statement for the General Assembly of the Council of the Roman Catholic Bishopric of Latin Rite in Gyulafehérvár/Alba Iulia called for 28 November 1946 (hereinafter referred to as *Jelentés 1946*)]. Kolozsvár/ Cluj: Lengyel Albert Könyvnyomdája, 1946. 4.

[20] *Jelentés 1946*, 26.

Table 1. *Report on the Roman Catholic primary schools and kindergartens in the 1945/46 school year*[21]

No.	Name of the deanery	No. of kinder-gartens	No. of schools	No. of teachers	No. of Roman Catholic children of school age	
					In state schools	In Catholic schools
1.	Hegyalja – Alba	1	6	8	43	285
2.	Bányavidék – Maramureş	Missing data				
3.	Barcaság – Ţara Bârsei Sepsi-Miklósvár	2	12	30	1,125	727
4.	Szeben-Fogaras – Sibiu-Făgăraş	3	5	15	717	427
5.	Alcsík-Kászon – Ciucul de Jos–Plăieşii	-	12	39	2,121	1,086
6.	Felcsík – Ciucul de Sus	3	11	32	4,517	1,086
7.	Erzsébetváros – Dumbrăveni	-	4	8	91	241
8.	Gyergyó – Gheorgheni	1	13	83	3,591	3,154
9.	Hunyad – Hunedoara	-	8	16	658	631
10.	Kézdi-orbai –Kézdi-orbai Seats	1	12	26	3,745	1,092
11.	Kolozs-Doboka – Cluj-Dăbâca	2	11	34	2,061	1,190
12.	Küküllő – Târnave	-	13	23	231	1,035
13.	Maros – Mureş	2	25	70	1,300	2,807
14.	Belső-Szolnok – Solnocul de Mijloc	1	7	17	1,075	603
15.	Torda – Turda	-	4	7	443	210
16.	Udvarhely – Odorhei	1	29	80	3,996	3,391
	Total	17	172	488	25,714	17,965[22]

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[21] *Jelentés 1946*, 24–25.

[22] The aggregated data presented in the summary are the correct total of the figures displayed in the table. The original table displays incorrect total numbers, different from the figures indicated for each deanery under several items. The number of schools amount only to 160, while the number of Catholic children attending state schools is 25,703, and the number of Roman Catholic children of mandatory school-going age attending Catholic education is 18,244. The difference is a slip of the pen in the first case since the text of the *Statement* mentions number 172 as the total number of schools, while in the other cases, in all likelihood, the mistakes are due to the table compilers' mistake, whose work was generally accurate.

objected to the "unlawful decision", starting the necessary proceedings. A similar prejudice was caused by the proceedings launched against the school in Óradna/Rodna, and consequently the pupils and their teachers were expelled from the building, being dispossessed of the school equipment.

The same statement mentions that the parishes managing the education asked a proportional share from the budgeted educational contribution for the coverage of the material needs of the primary schools as laid down by law. The legal provision was not recalled; however, the Legal Department with the Ministry of Internal Affairs decided that the religious schools were not entitled to this kind of aid. The diocesan authority took the necessary measure against this prejudicial decision. The Ministry of Nationalities took a stand in the matter in favour of the religious schools, but the Ministry of Internal Affairs did not repeal the decree.[23]

Table 2. *Report on the lower and upper secondary schools under the direct management of the Roman Catholic Diocesan Authority in the 1945/46 school year*[24]

	Type of the establishment	No. of teachers	No. of pupils
1.	Brassó/Braşov, girls' gymnasium	17	259
2.	Csíksomlyó/Şumuleu Ciuc, paedagogium	9	154
3.	Csíksomlyó/Şumuleu Ciuc, paedagogium	13	164
4.	Ditró/Ditrău, co-educational gymnasium	16	288
5.	Gyergyószentmiklós / Gheorgheni, girls' gymnasium	13	412
6.	Gyulafehérvár/Alba Iulia, girls' gymnasium	5	68
7.	Karcfalva/ Cârţa, co-educational gymnasium	8	226
8.	Kolozsvár/Cluj, Mariánum – girls' lower and upper secondary school	22	275
9.	Kolozsvár/Cluj, Mariánum – girls' gymnasium	10	217
10.	Kolozsvár/Cluj, Mariánum – secondary school of commerce	10	143
11.	Marosvásárhely/Târgu-Mureş, girls' gymnasium	12	278
12.	Nagyszeben/Sibiu, Franciscan girls' gymnasium	13	103

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[23] *Jelentés 1946*, 26.
[24] Unnumbered insert between pages 28 and 29 of the *Jelentés 1946*.

	Type of the establishment	No. of teachers	No. of pupils
13.	Nagyszeben/Sibiu, Franciscan paedagogium	14	48
14.	Nagyszeben/Sibiu, Franciscan secondary school of commerce	17	28
15.	Nagyszeben/Sibiu, Ursulines' girls' gymnasium [25]	12	120
16.	Nagyszeben/Sibiu, integrated gymnasium	9	44
17.	Petrozsény/Petroşani, girls' gymnasium [26]	5	199
18.	Sepsiszentgyörgy/Sfântu Gheorghe, girls' gymnasium	5	171
19.	Szászrégen/Reghin, co-educational gymnasium	13	403
20.	Szováta/Sovata, co-educational gymnasium [27]	8	190
	Total	231	3,790

The seven lower and upper secondary schools (gymnasiums) of the Status listed in the third table were the oldest schools of the Transylvanian Diocese, mostly dating back to the times after the Reformation, and thus operating mainly as all-boys schools. The missing educational institutions for girls were compensated for by the religious orders as well as the girls' and co-educational schools and schools of commerce sustained by the larger parishes and the diocesan authority.

In relation to the report above, the annual statement also describes the situation of the economic schools of Kézdivásárhely/Târgu Secuiesc and Radnót/Iernut. Based on the account, both institutions suffered great damages in terms of school equipment and livestock during the war. In the school year 1945/46, in the economic school of Kézdivásárhely/Târgu Secuiesc, the economics-related subjects were taught by the headmaster and two specialist teachers, while the general subjects by the teachers of the lower and upper secondary schools [gymnasium] of the Status located in Kézdivásárhely/Târgu Secuiesc. The headmaster, one specialist teacher, one primary school teacher, and several part-time teachers taught in the economic school in Radnót/Iernut.[28]

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[25] The statistics for 1945/46 is missing, which is why the table contains the data for 1944/45.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Ibid.

[28] *Jelentés 1946*, 27–28.

Table 3. *Report of the Roman Catholic diocesan boys' gymnasiums in the school year 1945/46*[29]

	Location of the institution	No. of teachers	No. of pupils
1.	Brassó/Brașov	12	319
2.	Csíkszereda/Miercurea Ciuc	21	584
3.	Gyulafehérvár/Alba Iulia	12	110
4.	Kézdivásárhely/Târgu Secuiesc	18	584
5.	Kolozsvár/Cluj-Napoca	29	479
6.	Marosvásárhely/Târgu-Mureș	18	387
7.	Székelyudvarhely/Odorheiu Secuiesc	30	671
	Total	**140**	**3,134**

For the communist regime, the historic churches and the religious schools managed by them were the biggest obstacle in the way of the country's intended Sovietization. Regarding the Catholic Church, the statistical data compiled by the executive council and presented above – taken from the annual reports sent by the schools to the Diocesan Council – reveal the importance of the respective educational institutions. According to the reports, the children were provided with Roman Catholic education in 17 kindergartens around the Diocese of Gyulafehérvár/Alba Iulia. 25,714 Roman Catholic pupils of mandatory school age attended state schools, while 17,965 children attended 172 Roman Catholic schools, being taught and raised with the help of 488 Catholic teachers. In the seven long-standing lower and upper secondary schools (gymnasiums) (Brassó/Brașov, Csíkszereda/Miercurea Ciuc, Gyulafehérvár/Alba Iulia, Kézdivásárhely/Târgu Secuiesc, Kolozsvár/Cluj-Napoca, Marosvásárhely/Târgu-Mureș, and Székelyudvarhely/Odorheiu Secuiesc), there were 140 teachers teaching 3,134 students, while around the diocese in further 20 paedagogiums, girls' schools and co-educational schools, schools of commerce and integrated schools, 231 teachers educated 3,790 high-school-aged male and female students.

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[29] Unnumbered insert between pages 16 and 17 of *Jelentés 1946*.

Attacks on Religious Education

After World War II, when the Communists did not feel strong enough, they showed ostentatious goodwill towards religious schools. Primary and secondary school teachers benefited from state aid; then, starting from April 1946, they received wages identical to the wages of their Romanian peers.[30] But things changed rapidly. At the beginning of 1947, the Romanian government summoned the Latin bishops to hand over their schools to the Romanian state, as the Greek Catholics and the Orthodox had done, because otherwise they would deprive them of the state aid, which Romania took upon itself when signing the Peace Treaty of Paris and solemnly promised on the occasion of the Land Reform in 1945 in exchange for the nationalized church estates. But the bishops rejected it vehemently.[31] The state power did not tolerate it for long. During the aforementioned interparty congress held on 21–23 February 1948, they elaborated the draft of the new constitution of the People's Republic of Romania. In its final form, Article 27, Section 3 provided that: "no religious body or denomination had any right to open or manage any kind of academic education schools, being only entitled to own the special schools for the training of their respective clergy under state supervision".[32] In the evaluation of the sections of the constitution on education, completely opposite viewpoints were born on the part of the enthusiastic leftist supporters on the one hand and on the part of the leaders of the Catholic Church owning the schools on the other.

The left in power aiming at the "democratic development of the country" could not possibly approve, and, indeed, did not approve the existence of religious schools – as Sándor Kacsó, President of the Hungarian People's Alliance said in his article titled *Egységes népoktatást követel a népi demokrácia* [People's Democracy Requires Consistent, Homogeneous Education for the People], published in Kolozsvár/Cluj-Napoca on 23 March 1948 in *Világosság*. He reveals that the nationalization of religious schools means the restoration of the "straight line in historical evolution", underlining that "in

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[30] BÁNYAI, László (1951): Népi demokráciánk vívmányai az együttlakó nemzetiségek anyanyelvű iskoláztatása terén. In: R*ományiai Magyar Szó* V, 1313 (29 December). 2.

[31] Cf. TEMPFLI 2002. 127.

[32] Constituția Republicii Populare Române din 1948. In: *Monitorul Oficial* nr. 87 bis/ 13 April 1948.

the western states this debate was decided long ago in favour of nationalization marking in general the direction of human evolution". "[T]he religious schools clinging to the past with so many material and spiritual hooks" cannot ensure the new public education necessary for the republic of the working class, although at times giving evidence of all their best intentions …[33]

Although Bishop Áron Márton was not able to reply to it in the newspaper, he expressed his strong objection in a private letter. He pointed out in painful cynicism that if "nationalization truly pointed into the direction of human evolution, then, in the totalitarian state scheme that Hitler's fascism heralded and built with fire and sword, humanity should have welcomed the top performance of human evolution".[34] Referring to each of Kacsó's statements on the case-law of the Western countries, he proved item-by-item that, after the end of the impatient nationalization ambitions during the strongly anti-religious and anti-clerical phase of liberalism, the thesis of natural law made its way according to which the state is for the people and not the people are for the state. Thus, in the nationalization of Western public education, he saw a kind of limitation of the citizens' rights that could be attuned neither with the freedom of thought nor with the democratic freedoms. He asked the president to amend the standpoint of the Hungarian People's Alliance and defend the rights of religious schools before the competent bodies during the discussions on the constitution.

Extensive public campaigns were launched to dissuade the Hungarian public opinion from supporting the religious schools and turn the believers against the respective churches. Gábor Gaál adopted the same approach in his article *A felekezeti iskolák államosításáról* [On the Nationalization of Religious Schools] published both in *Utunk* and *Világosság*. He deemed that in the people's state reborn in terms of its organization and institutions the working people claimed "democratic public schools and democratic education for the people". He did not consider the nationalization of religious schools as an interference in the specifically composed public educational organ-

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[33] KACSÓ, Sándor: Egységes népoktatást követel a népi demokrácia. In: *Világosság*, 23 March 1948. See also: BALOGH, Edgár (1986): *Férfimunka. Emlékirat 1945–1955*. Budapest, Magvető. 289–290.

[34] MÁRTON, Áron (2016): 4192/1948. március 24.: Levél Kacsó Sándornak, a Magyar Népi Szövetség elnökének. In: Marton, József (ed.): *Márton Áron: Egyház – Állam* (Márton Áron hagyatéka – 13). Miercurea Ciuc, Pro-Print. 104–109, here: 105.

ization of the Hungarian nationality but rather as "the direct deduction of the logical conclusions, which naturally matured in the material and organizational life of the democratic schools". What is more, they also tried to explain their charges against the religious schools. In Gábor Gaál's opinion, the religious schools had not been able to fulfil their duties for a long time as "the irrational view of life logically deriving from religious affiliation" could hardly be reconciled with science. "We know from our historical experience that this world of education is a false world that consciously alienates its students from actual reality. Religious schools were long ago rendered phoney and ambivalent by the evolution of life and sciences. … Religious schools failed to achieve the correct acknowledgement of reality long ago. Though this knowledge is the prerequisite of evolution."[35]

Religious schools were accused that even if the state had granted the denominations the opportunity to be involved in education and shape the youth's spiritual cultivation in accordance with their own objectives for their integration into the life of the state, "being guided by different principles and being brought up in the educational systems of different interests … they managed to understand each other in certain areas such as the exploitation of the people, the dispossession of rights, and upholding social and economic disparities". Consequently, they also reached the conclusion that "the state is the only competent authority to educate its citizens".[36] The quoted school district superintendent, Sándor Hadházy, also felt entitled to speak on behalf of the Hungarian school staff, expressly including the staff in the religious schools, and claimed that he had been fostering this opinion for a long while, and there were hardly any primary or secondary school teachers in the religious schools who "would not feel the need for a homogeneous educational system under state control".[37]

Lajos Csőgör, Rector of Bolyai University, also urged others to consider that "religious schools educated the nation's sons to abnegation, forbearance, and resignation to their fate, thus serving the interest of the antipopular ruling classes", while they, i.e. the left-wing, "intended to educate a self-conscious, combative youth trusting its own power that would not only construe and understand the world but that can and is willing to also change it". Furthermore, he euphorically praised the marvellous change in the

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[35] GAÁL, Gábor (1948): A felekezeti iskolák államosításáról. In: *Utunk* III. 6, 46 (31 March). 1.
[36] HADHÁZY, Sándor (1948): *Bizalommal és megértéssel*. In: *Világosság* 28 March.
[37] Ibid.

relationship between the ethnic groups living together, which was achieved within three years after the rise of the Romanian Workers' Party to power.[38]

There were also attempts to explain the measures taken towards "the changes in the types of schools" by the modernization of the educational system. Thus, Pál Fejér, school district general manager, drew the attention towards the deficiencies in vocational instruction that he wanted to render widely acceptable by such an argument that secondary school graduates had earning possibilities only after graduating from university, which actually took away many young people from the field of production or rendered some unsatisfied if they could not complete their studies for any reason. He stated that, due to the educational reform, vocational education was just as valuable as general education in terms of general knowledge and professional training.[39]

As astonishing as it may sound, not only our leftist Hungarians but also certain reverends saw only the benefits of the nationalization of religious schools. Thus, the central daily newspaper of the Hungarian People's Alliance, *Világosság*, published a brief article about "the ministers of the Reformed presbytery of Görgény/Gurghiu taking a unanimous stand in favour of the nationalization of religious schools", and presbyter József Papp also explained the sense of the nationalization of education: "We wholeheartedly welcome the nationalization of religious schools because it only brings relief to the churches".[40] When referring to the nationalization of religious schools, Unitarian minister Béla Bende only spoke about its advantages. The churches no longer kept troops, did not have court jurisdiction or right of interrogation; they were neither document authentication nor conservation bodies and were no longer civil registrars. They were forced earlier to give up on these competences and official activities, which were not in the disadvantage of the churches but rather favoured their pastoral activity. He also listed education among others as an area that the church could get rid of to the advantage of its own mission owing to "democracy". In his opinion, by the nationalization of the religious schools, the church had to give up on an area to its own benefit since "upkeeping and managing the schools required many financial and managerial resources that could be now given up

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[38] CSŐGÖR, Lajos (1948): *Haladó szellemű nevelést*! In: *Romániai Magyar Szó* II, 150 (4 April). 3.

[39] FEJÉR, Pál (1948): *A tanügyi reform*. In: *Romániai Magyar Szó* II, 154 (9 April). 4.

[40] Egyhangúlag állást foglaltak a felekezeti iskolák államosítása mellett a görgényi egyházmegye papjai [The Priests of the Görgény/Gurghiu Presbytery Unanimously Took a Stand in Favour of the Nationalization of Religious Schools]. In: *Világosság* 10 April 1948.

and placed to the service of serious and sound ecclesiastical life". He expected the "fight for the people's democracy" to warrant that "our nationalized schools would serve the people even more". That is why he recommended the churches that, in their best interest, they should offer support in relieving the tension among their believers and be understanding with regard to the nationalization of the schools. They should ensure the preservation of the schools by fostering the sound development of education so that the schools as religious institutions would not become again oppressors of consciousness and religious freedom.[41] The teaching staff of the Székely Mikó co-educational lower and upper secondary school in Sepsiszentgyörgy/Sfântu Gheorghe, "considering the guarantees for the best evolution of our Hungarian nation as set forth in the draft of the constitution … as a group of progressive intellectuals … wholeheartedly welcomes the draft of the Constitution of the People's Republic of Romania".[42]

The daily newspapers of the time mostly published about the reactionary resistance of the Catholic priests and monks who proceeded according to Bishop Áron Márton's firm and clear guidelines.[43] Nevertheless, we can read in the December issue of *Romániai Magyar Szó* that several monks[44] turned against the Bishop's orders, "Bishop Áron Márton betraying his flock, the head of the Catholic reaction … in spite of his firm prohibitive order... from their own clean consciousness and to the best interest of the people … rather proved their loyalty towards their nation … than be assimilated to the antipopular behaviour of the reactionary bishop's circle".[45]

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[41] BENDE, Béla (1948): *A felekezeti iskolák államosításának előnyei*. In: *Romániai Magyar Szó* II, 150 (4 April). 4.

[42] A sepsiszentgyörgyi Székely Mikó Kollégium tanári kara a Népi Demokrácia Frontjáért és az alkotmánytervezetért. In: *Népújság* 14 March 1948.

[43] Cf. (csíki) (1948): A tanügyi reform nyomán dolgozók gyermekei készülnek az életre a brassói volt katolikus főgimnáziumban. In: *Igazság* 22 August; (p.i.) (1948): *A „pásztor" ismét elárulta nyáját.* In: *Romániai Magyar Szó* II, 381 (4 December). 5.

[44] It refers to four Premonstratensian monks in Nagyvárad/Oradea who accepted jobs in a state-owned school despite the episcopal prohibition. Two of them left the educational system later, following Bishop Áron Márton's verbal instructions, because the new curriculum and the new handbooks did no longer contain the same spirit that they could spread. Cf. TEMPFLI 2002, 132.

[45] (p.i.) (1948): *A „pásztor" ismét elárulta nyáját* In: *Romániai Magyar Szó* II, 381 (4 December). 5.

The Nationalization of Religious Schools

Events speeded up in Romania starting the spring of 1948. Gerald Patrick O'Hara, Regent of the Nunciature in Bucharest, already took a stand regarding the constitution drafted in a *note verbale* on 10 March, more precisely concerning Article 28, Section 3 of the draft, which heralded the freedom of consciousness and religion but also hindered parents' right to enrol their children in religious schools.[46] They deigned to reply.

The Romanian Catholic Episcopate gathered in Bucharest on 17 March 1948 to draft the *Rules of Procedure* required by the government.[47] On this occasion, the members of the episcopate challenged the adversities in the constitution draft by a Memorandum. Although paragraph 17, section 1 protected free religious observance and paragraph 28 warranted the freedom of consciousness and religion, the very same paragraph, section 3 rendered it impossible to achieve. That is why the bishops requested paragraph 28, section 1 to be amended: "The state equally ensures freedom and protection to all denominations". In opposition to section 3, on behalf of several hundreds of thousands of parents who would gladly send their children to religious schools, they request permission for the denominations and religious orders to found and maintain their own educational institutions according to their centuries-old practice. Moreover, in the light of the religious freedom and democratic rights set forth in the draft of the constitution, they requested maintaining the religion classes in schools, pastoral care in the military, in hospitals, orphanages, and prisons. They asked for the observance of the concordat with the Holy See in terms of the state's control over the special schools for the training of the clergy.

Regent O'Hara's next *note verbale* on 27 March and his note of protest sent regarding the observance of the concordat by the Romanian government[48] did not lead to any result either. To no avail did Bishop Áron Márton write further letters to point out the contradictions in the constitution, proving the rationale of the religious schools both on historical evidence and the believers' attachment.[49] The Bishop's letter was left

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[46] Cf. TEMPFLI 2002, 125.
[47] *Monitorul Oficial* nr. 62, 2 March 1948.
[48] Cf. TEMPFLI 2002, 125.
[49] *Márton Áron püspök levele a kultuszminiszternek*, 4347–1948. március 30. In: Marton, József (ed.): *Márton Áron: Egyház–Állam* (Márton Áron hagyatéka – 13). Miercurea Ciuc, Pro-Print. 2016. 109–112.

unanswered, and the Great National Assembly passed the constitution on 13 April 1948, becoming effective as of 17 April.[50] The die had been cast.

On 27 July 1948, one week prior to the publication of the law dissolving the religious schools, the nationalization of religious schools and institutions started in some place without further official ministerial notice.[51] Thus, any attempt for the protection of ownership and the freedom of consciousness proved to be futile. In reference to articles 44 and 45 of the Constitution and its decision dated 2 August 1948, correlated to Cabinet Resolution no. 1175 of 31 July 1948, the Great National Assembly of the People's Republic of Romania regulated public education in the country by a new piece of legislation, which set forth that "public instruction was organized exclusively by the state on national and scientific grounds".[52] For this purpose, all religious schools were nationalized through Resolution no. 176.[53]

Following nationalization, in his circular mail titled *A katolikus iskolák állapotáról és a szülők kötelességéről* [On the Condition of Catholic Schools and the Parents' Obligations], dated 15 September 1948, Bishop Áron Márton informed the faithful that the new law on public education came into force, 236 educational institutions being nationalized in the Diocese of Gyulafehérvár/Alba Iulia: 12 kindergartens, 173 primary schools, 10 lower and upper secondary schools, 12 gymnasiums, 2 paedagogiums, 1 paedagogium for nursery school teachers, 1 vocational school and 1 school of commerce, 17 boarding schools and 2 Roman Catholic orphanages. The state bodies took over the buildings and equipment of the institutions as well as all their tangible and intangible assets.[54]

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[50] Constituția Republicii Populare Române din 1948. In: *Monitorul Oficial* 87 bis/13 April 1948.

[51] TEMPFLI 2002, 128.

[52] *Monitorul Oficial* nr. 175, 3 August 1948.

[53] *Monitorul Oficial* nr. 176, 3 August 1948.

[54] MÁRTON, Áron (2015): 4708–1948. szeptember 15. Körlevél a katolikus iskolák államosításáról és a szülők kötelességéről. In: Marton, József (ed.): *Márton Áron: Körlevelek – 2*. 49–51.

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LÁNYI Gábor[1]:

"Ecclesiastical Authority Terror".
The Downgrading of the Szigetszentmiklós
Reformed Parish to Mission Parish in 1956[2]

Abstract.

On 24 May 1956, Délpest Reformed Diocese – by the consent of the Danubian Reformed Church District– downgraded the Szigetszentmiklós Reformed Parish to the status of mission parish. The 700 members strong, almost 400 hundred years old parish's chief elder was also relieved of his duties whilst the consistory was dissolved. The downgrading of the long-standing parish, the dissolution of the elected consistory, and the deprivation of its right to elect its minister gave rise to protests both inside and outside the parish. An array of scandals, disciplinary issues, and difficult as well as intricate lawsuits followed. The matter also generated waves in the entire Reformed Church since the presidium of the diocese overlooked the ecclesiastic rules and regulations, ordering the downgrade without the consent of the diocesan assembly –also assisted by the presidium of the church district–, accepting the new situation and appointing the mission minister.

The case of Szigetszentmiklós is a great example to understand the global picture of the actions taken against the disloyal ministers and consistories by the ecclesiastic governance intertwined with the one-party state.

Keywords: *Hungarian Reformed Church during communism, church–state relations during communism, 20ᵗʰ-century history of the Reformed Church in Hungary, cold war, Albert Bereczky, Szigetszentmiklós.*

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"Ecclesiastical Authority Terror": the phrase in the title stems from the decision of protest[3] issued by the consistory of the Reformed Parish of Ócsa pleading against the parish in Szigetszentmiklós– counting 700 members and founded during the Reformation – to having been downgraded to the status of mission parish by the Reformed Diocese of Délpest with effect from24 May 1956. The parish chief elder was relieved of his duties whilst the consistory was dissolved. There is a major difference between the mother and the mission parish in that the minister of the mission parish is not elected by the parish members but rather appointed by the bishop. Bishop Albert Bereczky commissioned this task to his old confidant, József Éliás.

The downgrade of the long-standing parish, the dissolution of the elected consistory, and the deprivation of its right to elect its minister gave rise to protests both inside and outside the parish. An array of scandals, disciplinary issues, and difficult as well as intricate lawsuits followed in the parish. The matter also generated waves in the entire Reformed Church since the presidium of the diocese overlooked the ecclesiastic rules and regulations, ordering the downgrade without the consent of the diocesan assembly – also assisted by the district presidium of the church district –, accepting the new situation and appointing the mission minister.

The case in Szigetszentmiklós is a great example of the many dilemmas over the manner in which we explore the past. Based on what has been said, we have grasped a story that might be considered typical when trying to understand the global picture of the actions taken against the disloyal ministers and consistories by the ecclesiastic governance intertwined with the one-party state and learning a lot from its dictatorial approach and methods due to this interconnection. Moreover, if we delve deeper into the story, the picture gets more nuanced. The surviving parish members remember the time spent by József Éliás in Szigetszentmiklósas being characterized by a boost in ecclesiastic life, community and spiritual renewal, and financial stability.[4] The "spiritual and material decay" as the reason for the downgrade claimed by the diocese's board was not completely devoid

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[3] Excerpt from the minutes of the Consistory of the Reformed Parish of Ócsa recorded during the session organized on 6 December 1956. Ráday Archives of the Danubian District of the Reformed Church in Hungary (RL) A/1b 930/1956.

[4] Personal opinions of parishioners Magda Simon and István Szabó in Szigetszentmiklós – Szigetszentmiklós, 20 June 2017.

of grounds: the more than a decade-long series of futile attempts at reconstructing the church damaged during the world war made it obvious for everyone. So, the parish might have truly needed the intervention of the top ecclesiastic leaders. It is a completely different argument that due to the situation of the time the governance really felt entitled to carry it out extremely unilaterally and unnaturally against its own rules and rather according to its interests.

An objective opinion on the actors in the case is also problematic, being hindered even more by the exclusive official opinion revealed in the archive documents, whilst the counterarguments and motivations of the other party are almost completely hidden.

The socio-historical aspects of the case also deserve attention. During the period after the end of WW2 up to 1956, the social fabric of Szigetszentmiklós radically changed. The traditional agricultural feature of the village disappeared, and its reflection among the members of the local parish also deserves attention. The place of the "wealthy farmers" in the dissolved consistory was taken by a board made up of workers and small landowners appointed by the church officials. Thus, the case is a fine example of how the church leaders became the possibly unaware yet organic assistants to the one-party state's fight against the kulaks for the primary purpose of strengthening their personal power and granting comfortable positions forth loyal actors.

The case gives us an illustrative insight in to the operating mechanism of the Danubian District of the Reformed Church in the first half of the 50s, into the interests and intentions that gave rise to certain decisions and the personalities pulling the strings. It is greatly surprising how many important ecclesiastic figures of the time got actively involved in this otherwise seemingly marginal case –namely Sándor Fekete, István Finta, and József Adorjánon the one hand and János Kardos, László Pap, and Andor Békési Panyik on the other. The manifestations of the latter greatly reflect the strong political rhetoric that started invading the ecclesiastic discourse of the time. And, finally, it is also interesting to see the imprint of the changes of 1956, the reformist movement and the restoration of Bereczki's leadership in the final twists of the case.

The object of my paper is to briefly present the most important turning points of the downgrade related to the above-listed viewpoints.

I. Prelude

The parish in Szigetszentmiklós was born at the time of the Reformation, building its church at the end of the18[th] century after the issuance of the Patent of Toleration. At the end of 1944, the withdrawing German troops fired upon the church tower lest it should serve as hide-out for the Russian artillery, as a result of which the church became potentially life threatening.[5] I have already mentioned the social changes that occurred in the village after the war. The Csepel lorry factory opened in the outskirts of the settlement in1949, and consequently the population grew threefold by the mid-50s. The local strengthening of the working class challenged the traditional, farming character of the rural community. The post-war social changes were also reflected in the erosion of denominational affiliation. In 1949, of the around 6,500 inhabitants of Szigetszentmiklós approx. 60%, around 4,000 people declared themselves Reformed Protestant, while in 1956 the electoral register contained only 740 names.[6]

The damaged church was demolished in 1948. Rumour had it that most of the recovered as well as newbuilding materials purchased for the reconstruction were carried away by the people. The church reconstruction committee found in an unclear legal relationship with the consistory was said to have rather strived for their own benefit under the pretext of raising funds for the reconstruction. The general assumption was that the finances were not in order to which a strong decline in church attendance also contributed. The annual visitations carried out by the diocese, however, did not reveal any shortcomings due to – as the critics said –the good network of relations of the minister and some of the elders with the ecclesiastic officials.

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[5] The congregation also seems to remember that the church was shelled – see: PISKOR, Gyöngyi (2012): Arcok a gyülekezetből. In: *Hívó Szó* 4, 3. 9; the canonical visitation protocol of the visitation in Szigetszentmiklós between 7 and 8 May 1956. Library and Archives of Calvinist Church, Kecskemét. (KREL) A/26 7. box 267/12.

[6] 1949 census – data on religion in percentages by settlement (1996): https://library.hungaricana.hu/ hu/view/NEDA_1949_vallasi_adatok/?pg=60&layout=s&query=szigetszentmikl%C3%B3s (last accessed: 17 August 2017); 1949 census – Demographic data (1950): https://library. hungaricana.hu/hu/view/NEDA_1949_09/?pg=192&layout=s&query=szigetszentmikl%C3%B3s (last accessed: 17 August 2017); the scores of the other denominations: Roman Catholic: 35%, Greek Catholic: 0.4%, Evangelical: 1.8%, Orthodox: 1.3%, Unitarian: 0.2%, Jewish: 0.2%, Baptist: 1.3%, other: 0.2%, no denomination: 0%.

The turning point in the prevailing situation was the forthcoming retirement of minister Dr Pál Tóth[7] holding the position since 1922, and thus the position of minister became vacant. There is no written document about any candidate that would have been supported by the consistory of the time, but this could be highly probable.[8] The issue of ministerial succession also began to interest the district officials besides the locals and the diocese, the former bringing up the name of József Éliás.

II. The Road to the Downgrade

At the time, József Éliáshad been in good relations for decades with Bishop Albert Bereczky.[9] As the senior pastor of the Good Shepherd[10] Mission, he had raised his

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7   Dr Pál Tóth was born in Ráckeve into the family of the local minister (11 October 1893). He studies both theology and law in Budapest. He served as an assistant pastor in Gödöllő, Fót, Alsóvadász, and in Rimaszombat, in today's Slovakia. His wife, Jolán Czinke, was the daughter of Dr Tóth's vicar in Rimaszombat, István Pálóczi-Czinke, who became bishop of the Reformed Church District Cistibiscan attached to Czechoslovakia, between 1921 and 1929. After the Treaty of Trianon, Dr Pál Tóth became assistant pastor in Miskolc, from where he was elected minister by the congregation in Szigetszentmiklós on 5 May 1922. See entry *István Czinke (Pálóczi)*. In: Zoványi, Jenő (ed.) (1977): *Magyarországi protestáns egyháztörténeti lexikon*. Budapest, MRE Zsinati Iroda Sajtóosztály; Dr Tóth Pál datasheet. RL.

8   Magda Simon's interview, Szigetszentmiklós, 20 June 2017.

9   The State Security Service reports listed Elias among Bereczky's confidants and friends; see: Historical Archives of the Hungarian State Security (ÁBTL) 3.1.5. O-9047/63–64, ÁBTL 3.1.5. O-9047/31–40.

10 The Good Shepherd Mission Committee was established by Bishop László Ravasz on 20 October 1942, appointing Gyula Muraközy as president. The original objective of the mission was to offer spiritual, social support and charity to the new members of the Reformed congregations converted from Judaism, but in the last years of the war its real aim became saving lives. József Éliás converted and having become a devout Reformed Protestant thanks to the mission movement was enrolled in the mission by Károly Dobos, Éliás becoming its minister registrar between 6 December 1942 and 8 September 1946. Later, after its reorganization (operating as the Good Shepherd Mission Foundation of the Hungarian Evangelical Churches), he became its managing minister until 1953. The rescuing work of the mission saving approximately 60,000 lives was a dangerous undertaking, bringing great recognition to its members after the war, especially to Éliás, who performed the operative duties. See József Éliás's datasheet, RL.

voice on the matter of the deported since1951. Because of his strong criticism against the regime, he was removed from the head of the mission and became paid diocese minister in the Diocese of Belső [Inner City]-Budapest. The most active actor in the matter of Éliás's appointment to Szigetszentmiklós was apparently his dean, Sándor Fekete. Moreover, based on the available sources, it cannot be ascertained whether Fekete favoured this matter on behalf of Bereczky or, because he was already aware of their worsened relationship,[11] Fekete would have liked to remove Éliás from his own as well as Bereczky's milieu as the latter was Bereczky's confidant as well as a potential rival of the same age.

The publicly uttered idea about the plan to have Éliás elected in Szigetszentmiklós came up first at a meeting of the church district's deans held on 12 September 1955. Zsigmond Bükki, dean in the competent Diocese of Délpest, objected to the plan as, in his opinion, the rather right wing members of the consistory– many of whom had formerly been members of the Order of Vitez–would not invite József Éliás due to his rather leftist political views. Most of the consistory members present did not accept the objection, declaring that "one cannot possibly bow and bend before antisemitism".[12] Eventually, Zsigmond Bükki unwillingly undertook the task of the election. During the first two weeks of November 1955, he tried to convince the consistory three times (in the sessions held on 1, 8, and 13 November 1956) to invite Éliásover, but he failed. Based on Sándor Fekete's inside information, the consistory members stated openly in their separate discussions that they objected against Éliás's origin. However, the consistory minutes only witness that most of the members would have been willing to decide on the invitation only after having heard several ministers. Fekete and Finta were only remote observers of the events, over whelming Bükki with advice and their support since in Finta's opinion: "the church would suffer great damages if any mistake occurred in the elections".[13]

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[11] Agent codenamed *Kemény Zsigmond*'s report on Albert Bereczky, 22 June 1956. ÁBTL 3.1.5. O-9047/388-396. According to the report, Sándor Fekete and István Finta were already part of János Péter's milieu, who was Bereczky's rival.

[12] Sándor Fekete's report to Albert Bereczky on the situation in Szigetszentmiklós, 14 November 1955. RL A/1c 1312/1955. The report was fully characterized by Fekete's subtle criticism against Bükki.

[13] Ibid.

After Bükki's failure, whose incompetence was discussed in a lengthy letter written by Feketeto Bereczky, Feketestepped up. He suggested to Bereczky to reorganize temporarily (he underlined the word in his report) Szigetszentmiklós into a mission parish, and József Éliás would hold the interim position of minister until the appointment of the mission minister. In Fekete's opinion, the church officials' strong and firm attitude on the matter would have a great impact on the nurturing work of the parish, the diocese, and the "entire church".[14]

According to the plan, on 15 November 1955, Zsigmond Bükki suspended the recruitment procedure for the vacant position of minister, and the district appointed József Éliás[15] interim minister until the election of the new minister, while Sándor Fekete himself was appointed chairman of the consistory.[16]

During the consistory session held on 29 January 1956, Sándor Fekete pointed out that churchgoing and collection box donations had increased in barely 3 months after József Éliás took over the service, trying again to determine the consistory to invite him as minister. The minutes report that this was the first time when Endre Csikesz spoke up on the matter; he later became the central figure of the resistance against the ecclesiastic governance. Cantor-teacher Endre Csikesz was the nephew of Sándor Csikesz, professor of theology in Debrecen.[17] After the nationalization of schools, he did not accept his appointment letter only as cantor[18] and was not willing to use the new hymn book

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[14] Ibid.

[15] Letter of the Presidium of the Reformed Diocese of Délpest to the Bishop's office, 15 November 1955. RL A/1b 2445/1955; Albert Bereczky's letter to the Presidium of the Reformed Diocese of Délpest, 16 November 1955. RL A/1b 2445/1955.

[16] Albert Bereczky's letter to Sándor Fekete, 19 November 1955. RL A/1b 2480/1955.

[17] Personal communication of László Szalkay, minister in Szigetszentmiklós, Szigetszentmiklós, 20 June 2017. The family connection is also proven by obituaries: obituary of Endre Csikesz, Sr: https://library.hungaricana.hu/en/view/Gyaszjelentesek_DebreceniRefKollNagykonyvtara_CA_CSIZ/?query=SZO%3D(S%C3%A1ndor%20M%C3%A1ria)&pg=357&layout=s (last accessed: 17 August 2017).

[18] Cantor-teachers had to choose which of the duties they would pursue, and the appointment letters clearly revealed the benefice for the church land that would be "offered up" to the state, as officially phrased. The same happened in Endre Csikesz's case, who challenged the diocese's decision approving the appointment letter before the church district officials. He argued that he had not previously been informed about the content of the appointment letter, which

of 1948. These acts clearly indicated that he objected against the new ecclesiastic direction, whilst not willing to accompany Halleluiah hymns meant that he also dissented[19] from the Awakening movement.[20] Between October 1948 and January 1949, he was deputy chairman and led the activity of the committee for the reconstruction of the church suspected of misappropriation.[21] Following the argument between Csikesz and Fekete, the consistory did not accept the last proposition regarding Éliás's invitation.[22]

On 7 March 1956, over one month after the last attempt to be invited, Éliás reported to Zsigmond Bükki about the "negligence, malpractice, and abuse"[23] experienced in the parish.

The first to be mentioned were Dr Pál Tóth's managerial failures in relation to which Éliás requested disciplinary investigations;[24] further, the negligence that he had not paid any health insurance for the parish bell-ringer for almost three years, and his

contained obligations imposed on him that were incompatible with his position. The Council of the District rejected the petition during the session held on 5 December 1955, and the Presidium endorsed the appointment letter. See: the session minutes of the Council of the Danubian District of the Reformed Church drafted on 5 December 1955. RL A/1a.

[19] The activity of the mission associations grew stronger mostly among the poorer peasants and workers in Szigetszentmiklós as early as the 30s, being encouraged by the vicinity of the capital. The awakening after the war also had the strongest impact on this social class. The parish minister, Dr Pál Tóth, tolerated rather than supported the presence of the mission associations and the awakening movement. The consistory made up of wealthier farmers sharing the traditionalist views of the national church had the same approach. See: Szalkay, László (2010): Az ébredés előzményei és gyökerei a Szigetszentmiklósi Református Gyülekezetben. In: Szalkay, László (ed.): *„De én hálaadó szóval áldozom neked…" Tanulmánykötet Villányi Péter 70. születésnapjára.* Debrecen.

[20] A synthesis of the case in Szigetszentmiklós without any date or name (it might come from József Kovács, presumably from mid-1958). RL A/1b 2687/1958; Addendum by Dr Gábor Baráthy, attorney of the church district, to Endre Csikesz's case, 23 June 1956. KREL A/26 box 7. Bír. sz. 3/9.

[21] Summary report on the visit on 7–8 May 1956. KREL A/26 box 7Ad 267/12.

[22] Consistorial protocols of the Reformed Parish in Szigetszentmiklós (SZREP), 29 January 1955. 99.

[23] József Éliás's report to Zsigmond Bükki, 7 March 1956. KREL A/26 box. 7

[24] The correspondence between Dr Pál Tóth and József Éliás in relation to it. See: Dr Pál Tóth's letter to József Éliás, 18 February 1956. KREL A/26 box 7.

debt had already amounted to 7,000 forints.[25] The most serious matter was, nevertheless, the problem of the money and building materials collected for years for the reconstruction of the church. In Éliás's opinion, many of the parish members would like to "have a strict audit by the church district"[26] for the settlement of accounts. In order to determine Bükki to act further, Éliás also casually commented that he had already informed Bishop Bereczky about the problems and his suggestions.

This last remark might have prompted Bükki to call Éliás immediately to Cegléd and promise him the implementation of the downgrade plan suggested by Sándor Fekete, which would also be backed by the considerable health insurance debt as the parish could not possibly pay it on their own, needing public aid.

An interesting detail in Éliás's report on the meeting in Cegléd, which he sent to Bereczky, is the way he speaks about the people objecting to him being invited: "They deem that the church is still the area where the old could survive. After the appointment, they should come to realize that they were wrong."[27]

After Bükki officially submitted the downgrade plan to the high district officials, district councillor Sándor Kéri asked for an attorney's expert opinion on the implementation of the plan.[28] Dr Lajos Virág, attorney of the church district already warned them that the downgrade would be illegal without the decision of the diocese's assembly, but as we shall see, his warning was overlooked by the competent officials. They did not commit the illegal deed out of ignorance.

On 27 April 1956, Zsigmond Bükki decreed a retroactive audit, a canonical visitation in Szigetszentmiklós,[29] which he justified with the change in person due to the retirement of the minister and the investigation of the real financial possibilities regarding the

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[25] See Dr Pál Tóth's explanation in relation to this: Dr Pál Tóth's letter to József Éliás, 20 March 1956. KREL A/26 box 7.

[26] József Éliás's report to Bükki Zsigmond, 7 March 1956. KREL A/26 box 7.

[27] Spelt according to the original text –József Éliás's letter to Albert Bereczky, 19 March 1956. RL A/1b 930/1956.

[28] Expert report by Dr LajosVirág, 24 March 1956. RL A/1b 930/1956.

[29] According to other references, it was the letter of assignment no. 267/1956, which is missing from the archive.

construction of the church.[30] The committee was led by the council chair of the diocese, József Adorján minister in Nagykőrös, 33 at that time.[31] When the visitation committee wanted to investigate the reports of the reconstruction committee, it turned out that they were in possession of its former registrar, Endre Csikesz, who did not hand them over in spite of the committee's repeated requests.[32]

The Sunday church service on 29 April closing the two-day visitation degenerated into a bluster almost escalating into violence. Based on the Book of Isaiah 28, verses 14–17,[33] József Adorján's sermon also tackled the problems hindering the life of the parish, "flashing the only possibility that facilitates evolution: Jesus Christ and the parish life renewed in him."[34]

The consistory was also called in as usual after the service tobe informed about the findings of the visitation. Nevertheless, József Adorján deemed that the faults found by the visitation were so serious that it would be worth presenting them to a wider audience because after the small meeting, the concerned consistory members would pass on altered information to the parish members. For this reason, he asked Éliás to organize the first part of the consistory meeting immediately after the service, and then they would move to the parsonage. Éliás favoured Adorján's idea, and he was entitled to make the change being the chair of the consistory. During the announcements after the service, Éliás declared the public consistory meeting open. He was the first to present the signs indicating a renewal in the parish's life, passing on the floor to Adorján.

When Adorján pointed out that the visitation committee would suggest to the diocese to determine the responsibility regarding the faults found, the dissolution of the consistory as well as the suspension and the impeachment of Endre Csikesz who

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[30] The report of the canonical visitation in Szigetszentmiklós between 27 and 29 April 1956. RL A/1b 930/1956.

[31] Originally, the committee should have been led by Zoltán Tánczos, registrar-in-chief of the district, who reported sick and was replaced by József Adorján; see József Éliás's declaration about case no. Bír. sz. 2/1958, 24 November 1958. KREL A/26box 7.

[32] On the constant delaying of the delivery of the reports, see: Report to the Disciplinary Court of Reformed Diocese of Délpest, session held on 23 August 1956. KREL A/26 box 7, Bír. sz. 3/17.

[33] József Éliás's report to Albert Bereczky, 2 May 1956. RL A/1b 930/1956.

sabotaged the work of the visitation committee by not delivering the reports, one of the consistory members started clapping while making sarcastic remarks. Adorján did not let anyone interrupt him; he finished his report and announced the closing hymn. At this point, Endre Csikesz stood up and asked for the floor but was refused by Adorján, motivating it by "later, before the court".[35] Adorján announced the closing hymn again, but Csikesz would not accompany it. Meanwhile, another member of the consistory started shouting, holding the council responsible for the disappearance of the building material. Seeing that Csikesz would not be willing to accompany the hymn, Elias started singing psalm 23 aloud, and, while singing it, the peaceful, unconcerned members of the parish left the building. Endre Csikesz followed Adorján to the parsonage, where he informed him loudly about why he had not handed over the reports since the visitation committee did not identify themselves before him. As he said, his father, who worked as a teacher, refused the school inspector's access to class as he failed to identify himself.[36] Dr Pál Tóth was also there; however, there is no record about his behaviour. Meanwhile, other members of the consistory, their friends and family members also joined them at the parsonage. They surrounded Adorján, József Éliás and his wife, who felt threatened. Éliás worried even more as he had learnt earlier that morning that the scandal makers, i.e. "the so-called wealthier members of the consistory",[37] had met in a restaurant before the service and "discussed the matter over a glass of what did not really look like milk".[38] In Éliás's opinion, the scandal that Csikesz and his peers made was intentional in order to ridicule the district leaders and take the edge off the visitors' findings.[39] He also notes: "It is an astonishing coincidence that all the scandal makers but one are come from

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[34] Report of the canonical visitation in Szigetszentmiklós between 27 and 29 April 1956, RL A/1b 930/1956.

[35] Adorján's remark is only found in József Éliás's confession: Report to the Disciplinary Court of the Reformed Diocese of Délpest, session held on 23 August 1956. KREL A/26 box 7. Bír. sz. 3/17.

[36] Report to the Disciplinary Court of the Reformed Diocese of Délpest, session held on 23 August 1956: József Adorján's confession. KREL A/26 box 7. Bír. sz. 3/17.

[37] KREL A/26 box7, József Éliás's confession on 24 November 1958 regarding case no. Bír. sz. 2/1958.

[38] Ibid.

[39] Ibid.

the wealthier farmers of the village."[40] According to him, Csikesz flailed and screamed before Adorján's nose: "One could rightly be afraid that József Adorján, who tried to invite calmly the members to the meeting, would lose his temper and step up forcefully as an ex-serviceman. I have also noticed that that was what Endre Csikesz would have wanted."[41]

Fearing violence, Éliás shoved his way through the "crowd of screaming kulak women"[42]– as he literally put it – and hurried to the town hall near the parsonage. Later, Dr Pál Tóth accused him of "wanting to have the police scatter the parish".[43] At the town hall, he found Deputy Mayor József Boros Gere, who calmed him saying that he should not take the doings of Csikesz and the members of the consistory in cahoots with him seriously since they were merchants who were aware of the tactics "of making cheap impression". He advised Éliás to tell the rowdy members where he had been and ask them to leave. Upon returning to the parsonage, Éliás asked Adorján to go to another room, and then firmly asked the members of the consistory to leave the parsonage. He considered that he was successful because those who were standing outside saw that he had been at the town hall, and the rumour spread among the people inside as well.

József Adorján also suggested during the service that ended in a noisy argument that cantor Endre Csikesz with holding the report of the reconstruction committee be released from his office. This was exacerbated by his aggressive behaviour during the service and at the parsonage due to which Dr Gábor Baráthy, attorney of the church district, suggested to the presidium of the diocese on 1 May 1956 that the cantor be released immediately and a disciplinary procedure be launched against him, which took place in two days' time.[44] The reason for his release was that he was found guilty of professional misconduct as cantor when he refused to play the closing hymn at the

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[40] Ibid.

[41] Ibid.

[42] József Éliás's report to Albert Bereczky, 2 May 1956, A/1b 930/1956.

[43] Dr PálTóth's complaint filed against JózsefÉliás with the President of the Reformed Dioceseof Délpest, 8 April 1958. KREL A/26 box 7.

[44] Decision no. 367/1956 of the Presidium of the Reformed Diocese of Délpeston initiating the disciplinary proceedings, 3 May 1956. KREL A/26 box 7. Bír. sz. 3/1; Decision of the Presidium of the Reformed Diocese of Délpest concerning the release of cantor Endre Csikesz, 3 May 1956. KREL A/26 box 7. Bír. sz. 3/2.

service. Following the notification of suspension, he added to this point of complaint[45] by tolling the bells the next Sunday morning at 7:37 as it was the practice when someone had died, thus causing alarm in the village.[46] According to the attorney of the church district, this did not only infringe clerical discipline, but it also breached Article 40of the Criminal Code.

As the visitation at the end of April failed to gain insight into the reports of the church reconstruction committee, the diocese sent another auditing board on 7 and 8 May 1956.[47] At this point, Endre Csikesz was already willing to hand over the reports of the church reconstruction committee.[48]

The new board's main objective was to determine the responsibilities, and eventually retired minister Dr Pál Tóth was held liable in the first place and the chief elder in the second place in all the audited matters due to the position they occupied in the parish because they allowed the church reconstruction committee to have the church demolished without any decision taken by the consistory and that they did not provide suitable storage for the materials from the dismantling and neither did they have them inventoried and preserved.[49] The third person held liable was Endre Csikesz, who temporarily chaired the reconstruction committee as interim chairman for no more than 4 months between October1948 and January 1949.[50] Eventually, the board found the consistory collectively guilty for the lost building materials made a proposal forits dissolution.

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[45] Upon starting the disciplinary proceedings against Dr Pál Tóth and János N. Gere, they added to the accusations against Csikesz. See the additions to the indictment by Dr Gábor Baráthy, attorney of the church district, in the case against Endre Csikesz, 23 June 1956. KREL A/26 box 7, Bír. sz. 3/9.

[46] Report to the Disciplinary Court of the Reformed Diocese of Délpest, session held on 23 August 1956. KREL A/26 box 7. Bír. sz. 3/17.

[47] Report of the canonical visitation in Szigetszentmiklós between 7 and 8 May 1956. KREL A/26 box 7. Ad267/12.

[48] Report to the Disciplinary Court of the Reformed Diocese of Délpest, session held on 23 August 1956: confessions by József Adorján and József Éliás. KREL A/26 box 7. Bír. sz. 3/17.

[49] Summary report on the visitation between 7 and 8 May 1956. KREL A/26 box7. Ad267/12.

[50] The fourth responsible person was elder Lajos Barada, who held the interim position of vice-chairman of the reconstruction committee starting with the session held on 23 November 195, and he did not observe the decision taken during this session, namely the tracing of the stolen building materials and issuing promissory notes for them. It may be telling that although he held the same position as Endre Csikesz, there was still no disciplinary proceeding against him. Ibid.

Based on the reports drafted on the occasion of the visitations held at the end of April and the beginning of May, the presidium of the diocese took the decision of downgrade on 24 May 1956 under his purview in spite of the attorney's warning, without the decision of the assembly.[51] It downgraded the mother parish in Szigetszentmiklós into a mission parish, released its chief elder from the office, and dissolved its consistory. An interim managing board was appointed. The members were the ones József Éliás suggested to Sándor Fekete, except for one.[52]

Moreover, after the first visitation ending in loud arguments, the members of the parish favouring József Éliás got mobilized and started collecting signatures for Éliás' selection.[53] More than half of the740 faithful signed for Éliás, which Zsigmond Bükki forwarded to Albert Bereczky on 26 June 1956 so that he would take them into account and appoint Éliás mission minister.[54] The appointment happened that very day, on 26 May 1956.[55]

III. Disciplinary Actions

One month after the declassification, on 28 June 1956, the head of the diocese started the disciplinary proceedings against retired minister Dr Pál Tóth and curator János N. Gere held liable during the visitations, with no decision from the assembly "given the immediacy of the case".[56] One and a half years later, the proceedings against Dr Pál

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[51] Decision no. 191-1956 of the Presidium of the Reformed Diocese of Délpest, 24 May 1956. RL A/1b 930/1956. Valid from 26 May 1956, date of the endorsement by the district.

[52] Letter of József Éliás to Sándor Fekete, 24 March 1956. RL A/1b 930/1956.

[53] Letter written by Gyula Tálas, consistory member in Szigetszentmiklós, to Zsigmond Bükki, 30 April 1956. RL A/1b 930/1956.

[54] Letter of the Presidium of the Reformed Diocese of Délpestto Albert Bereczky, 26 May 1956. RL A/1b 930/1956.

[55] Letter written by Albert Bereczky to the Presidium of the Reformed Diocese of Délpest, 26 May 1956. RL A/1b 930/1956.

[56] See the related documents: motion by Dr Gábor Baráthy submitted to the Presidium of the Reformed Diocese of Délpest: proposal for the disciplinary proceedings against Dr Pál Tóth, 23 June 1956. KREL A/26 box 7. 267/15; motion by Dr Gábor Baráthy submitted to the Presidium of the Reformed Diocese of Délpest: proposal for the disciplinary proceedings

Tóth was terminated[57] because the value of the missing materials could not be proven as there was no inventory drafted, and during the audit many materials were returned, or the parish members paid the equivalent value.[58]

The disciplinary measures against the pastor and the chief elder were launched and they amended the accusations against Endre Csikesz, adding the charges for tolling the bells without permission as well as the findings of the second visitation.[59] Csikesz did not appear at the first disciplinary hearing of the diocese on 23 August 1956, and neither did he have himself represented. The witnesses, József Adorján, József Éliás, and Ferenc Balogh, were heard, and then the diocese court ordered his discharge from his position held in the church and deprived him definitively from holding any other office in the church in the future.

It is noteworthy that János Kardos became later Csikesz's legal representative.[60]

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against assistant pastor, János Gere, 23 June 1956. KREL A/26 box 7. 267/17; Dr Baráthy Gábor added to the counts in the case against Endre Csikesz, 23 June 1956. KREL A/26 box 7. Bír. sz. 3/9; the Presidium of the Reformed Church District of Délpest ordered the disciplinary proceedings against N. Gere János, 28 June 1956. KREL A/26 box 7. 267/18; the Presidium of the Reformed Diocese of Délpest ordered the disciplinary proceedings against Dr Pál Tóth KREL, 28 June 1956. A/26 box 7. 267/16.

[57] Letter by Dr Gábor Baráthy to the Presidium of the Reformed Church District of Délpest, 14 October 1957. KREL A/26 box 7. 267/1956 Bír. sz. 4/1956.

[58] The consistorial books also recorded that the parishioners kept bringing back the building materials that they had borrowed– see, for instance, the Records of the Reformed Mission Parish of Szigetszentmiklós (hereinafter referred to as SZRMEP), 11 October 1957; there are no other court documents regarding the case against János N. Gere among the documents of the Diocese of Délpest. He might have probably broken off relations with the congregation and the church to avoid court proceedings. The new consistory in Szigetszentmiklósi united in session on 9 September 1956 and asked the diocese to dismiss all the charges against János N. Gere and the former consistory members, arguing that they were only common people who were misguided by the bad leaders, i.e. Pál Dr Tóth and Sándor Csikesz. It might be that the district did not continue the proceedings due to this letter. SZRMEP, 9 September 1957.

[59] Dr Gábor Baráthy's new counts in the case against Endre Csikesz, 23 June 1956. KREL A/26 box 7. Bír. sz. 3/9.

[60] The Budapest lawyer, who had already gained fame during the two world wars, was elected assistant pastor-in-chief of the Danubian District of the Reformed Church in 1948. He was

He helped Csikesz challenge the judgment on 15 October1956. From then on, the case was challenged several times, mostly for formal errors, and was eventually brought before the General Convent and dragged on for 4 years, and the counts were also complemented in autumn 1956 by "life-threatening provocation and agitation" committed against József Éliás.[61]

On 18 October 1956, the presidium of the Reformed Diocese of Délpest brought the case of the downgrade of the parish in Szigetszentmiklós before the council of the diocese mainly to have the council acknowledge the presidium's decree concerning the declassification. They also approved retroactively that the presidium had allowed the parish in Szigetszentmiklós to elect a chief elder and a consistory on 14 September 1956 instead of holding an interim parish session.[62] The following day, the diocese's assembly held on 19 October 1956 did not deal in detail with the issue of declassification. In his report, Dean Zsigmond Bükki saluted the new pastor of the diocese, József Éliás,[63] on the one hand, whereas he only marginally tackled the events in Szigetszentmiklós in a few lines, among the reports on other parishes. No mention was made about the declassification.

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forced to resign being accused of serious breach of ecclesiastic laws and was replaced by Rolandt Kiss, a confidant of the communist party. After WW2, Kardostook on the position of defence barrister in several important show trials (e.g. Ferenc Szombathelyi, former Chief of Staff, Lajos Ordass, Evangelical bishop, the trial of the Hungarian Community [*Magyar Közösség-per*], Pál Esterházy in the Mindszenty trial). After 1956, he took on the defence of Sándor Rácz, President of the Great Central Workers' Council of Budapest, and of Ilona Tóth, medical student. János Kardos's grandfather was a cantor-teacher, and his father was a pastor in Szigetszentmiklós. He helped on several occasions in the legal complaints filed by the locals. The fact that he took on Csikesz's trial can be a sign that he might have noticed deep down some resemblance between the show trials and this trial. See: KISS, Réka (2006): Egy védőügyvéd portréja a XX. századból (KardosJános). In: *Valóság* 8. 87–101.

[61] See the letter by József Éliás to the disciplinary committee of the Reformed Diocese of Délpest, 11 December 1957; the letter by József Éliás to the disciplinary committee of the Reformed Diocese of Délpest, 23 February 1958. KREL A/26 box 7.

[62] The 20 consistory members were supplemented to 28. See the report of the Council of the Reformed Diocese of Délpest on 10 October 1956, RL A/1b 930/1956.

[63] The report of the assembly of the Reformed Diocese of Délpest, 19 October 1956: the diocese's report. RL A/1b 2331/1956, 12.

Bükki stated that the two visitations revealed "shocking problems and deeply rooted misery". After the diagnosis, the cure was going to be easier. Those who really loved the church and not themselves were truly open and started the new work whole heartedly. The pastor, the chief elder, and the consistory took over the duties, and now they can start "building the spiritual as well as the stone church", being careful to "deal with the past only as much as strictly necessary for the best interest of the future."[64]

As the dean also mentioned it, the parish elected a chief elder and a consistory instead of the interim leadership pursuant to the approval of the consistory,[65] and on 14 October Éliás József, the new chief elder, and the consistory members were formally inaugurated.[66]

IV. Revolution

These events were followed by the events on 23 October 1956, bringing changes to the ecclesiastic leadership as well. Bereczky's ecclesiastic apparatus had to resign, and the Danubian Church District was again led by Bishop László Ravasz, while the chief elder was again János Kardos.[67] In response to the letter containing the proposal to join sent by the Awakening Movement on 13 November, the consistory of Szigetszentmiklós sent an unusually long letter,[68] which actually contained the excerpt from the minutes of the consistory session held in 9 December 1956.[69] Upon József Éliás's suggestion, the

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[64] Op. cit. 20.

[65] SZRMEP, 23 September 1956.

[66] Invitation to the investment of József Éliás and the new consistory and assistant pastor (14 October), 2–4 September 1956. RL A/1c 2038/1956; SZRMEP, 14 October 1956: The report contains the list of the pastors and church leaders that sent their regards on the occasion of the inauguration. The inauguration was performed by Dean Zsigmond Bükki.

[67] LADÁNYI, Sándor (1999): Vázlatos történelmi áttekintés a Magyarországi Református Egyház közelebbi múltjának alakulásáról. In: Barcza, József – Dienes, Dénes (eds.): *A Magyarországi Református Egyház története 1918–1990*. Sárospatak. 137.

[68] KISS, Réka (ed.) (2007): *Kelt, mint fent, Iratok a Református Megújulási Mozgalom történetéből /1956–1957/*. Budapest. 335–341.

[69] SZRMEP, 9 December1956.

consistory unanimously welcomed the changes in the leadership. The letter emphasized that János Kardos "was born in their community, being the son of their former beloved pastor. The consistory hopes that the new leadership would carry the matters of this long-tried parish in its heart."[70]

Then, József Éliás, although he thought he was not among those who in the 2nd point of the letter "are considered by the public opinion a fighter and representative of the ecclesiastic governance system to be dissolved", he still considered that it was good that the consistory confirmed him in this assumption in the situation requiring a general renewal and cleansing, and therefore he called in the members for a vote of confidence. Éliás and Vilmos Nádasi, assistant pastor, left the room for the members to be able to discuss freely. Ten minutes later, they were called back. Then, chief elder József Simon, Jr. uttered words of praise for Éliás's service; in his opinion, the church that had been almost empty earlier, was crowded with people, the biblical courses that had earlier been attended by 5 or 6 people could no longer be kept in the same room as there were too many attendees, the money in the collection box donations increased three-fourfold, and the parsonage door is open to all, not only to the "privileged". Consequently, the consistory unanimously granted József Éliás the vote of confidence.

In the response, they also attached the consistory's most recent decision of commitment regarding the construction of the church, and then the last point referred to Endre Csikesz's and János N. Gere's "antisemitic agitations". Apparently, it was not a novelty for Csikesz, as he had started when Éliás's name was first uttered, and he had continued all along. The consistory rejected these kinds of views not only because they were against the Word and Christianity, but also because it could damage our national endeavours: "Endre Csikesz disregarded the change of times and circumstances; he intended to disseminate intentions that are judged today by both East and West. Such an endeavour is suitable precisely for supplying information to those who would rather talk about a counter-revolution than a revolution." The consistory's response wanted to inform that the anti-Semitic agitation was intended to be carried out using János Kardos's name, but they also ascertained that this behaviour was far from János Kardos.

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[70] Ibid.

The decision also stated that Csikesz and N. Gere were not among those prosecuted by the former church leadership. "The dead in the revolution did not sacrifice their lives for the interest of people of this kind."[71]

V. Critics

The changed ecclesiastic leadership's environment also encouraged the diocese's critics of the matter in Szigetszentmiklós to have their voices more powerfully heard. On 17 December 1956, Andor Békési, minister in Ócsa, sent a letter to the Presidium of the Danubian Church District, saying that the consistory of Ócsa dealt with the situation of its twin parish in depth, and felt it was its obligation to submit to the presidium's attention the matter that concerned the entire region, avoiding the whole official bureaucratic process.[72] He stated that the neighbouring ministers and consistories fully agreed with their own opinion. He attached to the letter the excerpt from the minutes of the consistory session held one day before in Ócsa. The conclusions therein referred mainly to the minister's election. In their opinion, the "long-standing parish" was divested of its mother church status "only to have the official candidate forced upon them."[73] In Andor

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[71] The big picture also highlights that the consistory members unanimously accepted circular n. 1900–1956. I. 1of the Convention Presidium, being urged to do so by József Éliás during the session held on 17 March 1957, the letter declaring the leadership changes taking place in November 1956 as illegal and restoring Bereczky's leadership. According to the report, upon the acceptance of Ravasz's circular letter dated 13 November, "the guise of legality misled us and many other congregations". During the same session, the consistory asked the diocese to take measures and prosecute ecclesiastic judge Dr Balázs Nagy Kálózi, who performed the visitation in 1955, and ascertained that everything was in order. In the consistory's opinion, the obstacle in the way of the congregation's unity was that the members of the consistory and their families would be entitled to feel offended since the diocese's visitation committees would each year cover up the former pastor's as well as the assistant pastor's negligence and then held the entire consistory liable for them at the end of April 1956. SZRMEP, 17 March 1957.

[72] Andor Békési's letter to the Presidium of the Danubian District of the Reformed Church, 17 December 1956. RL A/1b 930/1956.

[73] Excerpt from the minutes of the consistory session of Ócsa held on 16 December 1956. RL A/1b 930/1956. The original minutes are missing from the archive of the parish in Ócsa along with other minutes of other sessions. Instead, one can find the following typewritten

Békési's opinion, this was the consequence of several illegalities and aggressiveness that "the long-standing parish got scattered", and the new ecclesiastic leaders did nothing so far to remedy the problems. Some acquaintances from Szigetszentmiklósof a consistory member in Ócsa were of the opinion that the entire congregation stood up united against the will of the higher officials and was deeply disturbed by the "aggressivity and unlawfulness of the ecclesiastic officials."[74] The consistory in Ócsa "followed the fight of the congregation in Szigetszentmiklós with great concern and sympathy during the attacks of the unlawful and inhuman pastoral elections. The full arsenal of ecclesiastic power terror was tried out on this old parish to force the official candidate upon them." The consistory and the congregation stood up against aggression, but when the "coercion, threats, and promises lasting for several months did not reach their aim, they committed the greatest unlawfulness: they deprived this long-standing parish from its mother parish character and downgraded it to mission parish".[75] The consistorial decision quoted the relevant regulations based on which the downgrade decision was illegal, since it was endorsed neither by the assembly of the diocese nor by the assembly of the church district. "It is absolutely clear that the illegal decisions were needed to have their candidate appointed against the congregations' will."[76] The consistory of Ócsa asked the new presidium of the church district to restore the parish in Szigetszentmiklós as a mother parish and organize proper pastoral elections. Thus, the district "would fulfil its moral obligation by removing the illegally appointed people and remedy their illegal deeds."[77]

After receiving the letter from Ócsa, the presidium of the church district asked for a legal opinion from Dr Lajos Virág, who referred back to his expert opinion dated

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note accompanied by Andor Békési's signature, dated 1 June 1957: "These minutes were taken away by the officials of the Ministry of the Interior when the pastor was arrested and were not returned."

[74] Excerpt from the minutes of the consistorial session held in the Reformed parish of Ócsa on 16 December 1956. RL A/1b 930/1956.

[75] Excerpt from the minutes of the consistorial session held in the Reformed parish of Ócsa on 16 December 1956. RL A/1b 930/1956.

[76] Ibid.

[77] Ibid.

24 March 1956, in which he had warned Albert Bereczky that it was illegal for the downgrade to be resolved upon by the council of the diocese without the approval of the diocese's assembly. In his opinion, the downgrade had to be submitted to the diocese and the church district, and the "decision of the assemblies must annul the presidium's decision".[78] It mentioned that the minister must be legally elected, which was expected to lead to electoral struggle. He also mentioned the charges against the former chief elder and the consistorial members in relation to the building materials. It is interesting that he still considered the examination of the charges urgent so that "everything would be clarified by the time of the elections". This proves that the diocese attorney did not consider the charges form is management as having been properly proven.

Registrar Dr László Pap, the only one to have been given a vote of confidence among the old church leadership, promised the consistory of Ócsa that the following assembly would deal with the situation in Szigetszentmiklós and would "proceed according to the law."[79] Meanwhile, at the end of January 1957, the former Bereczky church leadership was restored due to official state pressure, but, as Bereczky had suffered a stroke in the summer of 1956, the episcopal duties were fulfilled by the senior dean, actually one of the main figures in the Szigetszentmiklós case, Zsigmond Bükki.

The church district assembly was convoked for the first time for 14 November 1957. The joint committee preparing the assembly dealt with the issue in Szigetszentmiklós on 12 November. They interpreted the relative article[80] saying that the change in the status of the parish would be only approved by the assembly of the church district, but it could not decide upon it as that would rest with the diocese. Therefore, the district assembly could not tackle this case until a diocese's assembly had not decided upon it.[81]

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[78] Expert report by Dr Virág Lajos, 9 January 1957. RL A/1b 930/1956.

[79] Letter sent by the Registrar-in-Chief of the Danubian District of the Reformed Church to Andor Békési, 14 January 1957. RL A/1b 930/1956.

[80] Ecclesiastic Code 1933. n. I. 18§.

[81] Petition by Dr György Harsányi, lay registrar of the church district to the united committee of the Assembly of the Danubian District of the Reformed Church, 12 November 1957. RL A/1b 930/1956.

Nevertheless, the diocese's assembly did not deal with this matter for another year. The delays had a good reason: Dean Zsigmond Bükki fell ill. He took a sick-leave starting 1 November 1957[82] and died on 9 July 1958.[83] The new dean, József Adorján, started his office only on 26 January 1959, and during the vacancy only the most stringent matters were dealt with. It is worth mentioning that when the dean's office moved, the minutes of the reconstruction committee of Szigetszentmiklós so hardly obtained from Endre Csikesz were lost.[84]

VI. Surprise

Meanwhile, a surprising turn of events happened in Szigetszentmiklós as well: on 28 February 1958, József Éliás switched offices with the pastor of the academic church of Debrecen, József Kovács. Éliás first acquired the permission of the bishop of Tiszántúl for the switch, he had not discussed it previously with Albert Bereczky, the latter being confronted only with the application submitted for him to be signed. He approved it, but he scolded Éliás for his decision in a "fatherly" letter: "I have managed to place you in your office in Szigetszentmiklós in spite of fairly difficult circumstances and not really meagre factors. … I cannot but sadly ascertain that you have misunderstood your duties deriving from the circumstances."[85] He was sorry for the harsh-keyed letter "although there were cases in which the disciples had to be warned: you do not know what kind of soul you have,"[86] nevertheless asking for blessings on Éliás's new office.

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[82] Dean Zsigmond Bükki's application for sick-leave. Pest County Archives (PML) XXIII. 23-a 59, documents of the ecclesiastic rapporteur of the executive committee of the Pest County Council 1950–1989, 526/1957.

[83] Minutes of the Assembly of the Reformed Diocese of Délpest dated 18 November 1958: report by Deputy Dean Ferenc Soós. KREL A/26 box 1, pp. 2–3. There is a short report on Szigetszentmiklós, mentioning the dean's illness and death as the reason for the delay.

[84] Letter by Ferenc Soós to the clerical chair of the diocese court, 2 September 1958. KREL A/26 box 7.

[85] Albert Bereczky's letter to József Éliás, 15 March 1958. RL A/1c 2624/1958.

[86] i.e.

Éliás's 5-page-long response reveals further details about how he was appointed to Szigetszentmiklós.[87] In the light of this, after the "wandering times" while being a diocese minister, he was happy to be appointed minister. The place was appealing to him, but because of the situation created in the parish he tried to determine Sándor Fekete to withdraw his appointment several times, although the latter was, in his opinion, the main facilitator for his appointment to Szigetszentmiklós. He eventually accepted it out of obedience. "…what have I done? I've preached, I've been a minister to the church members, I've restored the parsonage, and meanwhile I've fought those wolves who were not only against the mission of Christ but were also the devious enemies of progress. Why would I hide it that the living congregation took shape there during my service, and today we would have long overcome the issues of all those against us if it hadn't been for October 1956 and the ecclesiastic consequences of it."[88] Éliás mentioned that for the spiritual and financial evolution of the congregation he had to pass on the office to someone who "is not defiled by the memory of any kind of ecclesiastical proceeding" as the primary reason for the switch of offices.[89]

József Éliás's claims, the re-establishment of the course of affairs, and the financial affairs in the parish of Szigetszentmiklós were confirmed by the canonical visitation performed in October 1957, and the relaunch of congregational life was indicated by the positive changes in the number of names in the register of voters, showing an increase of 248 in 1956 and of 360 in 1957.[90] On 23 February 1958, during the last session under József Éliás, pointing out the restoration of peace in the parish and the normalization of the finances, the consistory requested that the leaders of the diocese grant back the mother parish status to Szigetszentmiklós.[91]

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[87] József Éliás' letter to Albert Bereczky, 19 March 1958. RL A/1c 2624/1958.

[88] i.e.

[89] i.e.; Éliás wanted to meet Bereczky in person in order to clarify the misunderstandings between them, which could have happened at the end of April 1958, however there is no written document proving it. Related documents: József Éliás' letter to Albert Bereczky, 25 March 1958. RL A/1c 2625/1958.; Albert Bereczky's letter to József Éliás, 10 April 1958. RL A/1c 2625/1958.; József Éliás' letter to Albert Bereczky, 24 April 1958. RL A/1c 2664/ 1958.; Mrs. József Éliás' letter to Albert Bereczky, 29 April 1958. RL A/1c 2667/1958.

[90] The 1958 register of voters (drafted in 1957) contains 1,356 names. See: SZRMEP 11 October 1957. For the report of the canonical visitation, see: SZRMEP, 8 October 1957.

[91] SZRMEP, 23 February 1958. 245.

VII. Aftermath

Sándor Kéri, district councillor, requested a new expert opinion on the matter from the district's attorney, Dr Géza Miklós, on 29 October 1958. In his letter, he explained that "the presidium of the church district sees no justified reason for which the parish would be organized as a mission parish and wants the diocese's assembly to deal with the case and Szigetszentmiklós to regain its mother parish status".[92] Moreover, as stated, one needs to find a way to avoid a re-election process for József Kovács, who was appointed by switch of offices, once the mother parish status has been restored.

In Dr Géza Miklós's opinion, the transformation into a mission parish was legally "non-existent", i.e. it has not even happened as the diocese's assembly has never decided it. Thus, there was no legal possibility for the current minister not to be subject to an election process.[93]

It was against this background that the Reformed Diocese of Délpest held its following assembly on 18 November 1958, chaired by Deputy Dean Ferenc Soós due to Zsigmond Bükki's death. The assembly dealt with the diocese's decision of downgrading the parish in Szigetszentmiklós to a mission parish under Point 39 of the agenda that it retroactively approved and declared all the decrees and measures deriving thereof legal.[94]

The following point on the agenda explained that downgrading "was the consequence of a financial crisis and a weakness of faith" that we can speak of as a past matter. The following visitations indicated "rich and blessed results". The "image of the parish" changed under the services of József Éliás and József Kovácsas the ministers mobilized the parish starting with 1956. For further strengthening and edification, the diocese's assembly approved the request sent by the consistory of Szigetszentmiklós and re-established the status of the mission parish into a mother parish, with the remark that

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[92] Letter by the Councillor of the Danubian District of the Reformed Church to Dr Géza Miklós, 29 October 1958, RL A/1b 930/1956.

[93] Dr Géza Miklós's letter to the Presidium of the Danubian District of the Reformed Church, 3 November 1958, RL A/1b 930/1956.

[94] Minutes of the Assembly of the Reformed Diocese of Délpest held on 18 November 1958: decision no. 39, KREL A/26 box 1.

the current minister appointed by switch of offices should be considered as the legally invited and formally inaugurated minister of the mother parish. Thus, according to the wording of the decision: "it declares the current status quo legal."[95]

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PML – Pest County Archives.
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LUKÁCS Olga[1]:

The Romanian Peace Movements as Ecumenical Initiatives Reflected in *Református Szemle*[2]

Abstract.

The Bucharest Conference convened by Iustinian, the Patriarch of the Romanian Orthodox Church, on 23 June 1949 marked the starting point of meetings between the leaders of the Christian and non-Christian faiths in the country, and, according to the higher orders, these conferences took place annually during the communist period that followed, also being known as "peace conferences". At the first conference, representatives of seven Christian denominations and those of the Jewish and Muslim communities signed a statement expressing their appreciation of religious freedom built on popular democracy and affirmed the equality of the various churches.

In this "local ecumenism" that was prescribed by the state, the interconfessional conferences of the Orthodox and Protestant theology professors, which started in 1964 and alternately took place in Bucharest, Cluj, and Sibiu, proved to be very important.

The topics of discussions at these conferences were theological issues; there was a forced search for aspects linking the two churches, and the guidelines prescribed for the churches by the state apparatus were also introduced.

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This study analyses the nature of the conference topics, namely the political implications by which "they wanted or had to please the state". The conference presentations are even more significant as they served as a basis for the annual training of priests and ministers, and the studies were published in the scientific journals of the churches as well.

Keywords: communist regime, communist dictatorship, church history, peace conferences, interconfessional dialogue.

Following World War II, a significant political change was brought about in Romania by the dissolution of the Romanian kingdom in 1947 and the establishment of the People's Republic, the country's only governing body gradually becoming the Romanian Communist Party between 1946 and 1948. The communist dictatorship meant atheism, repression, confiscations, the era of destruction of monuments and villages. In 1948, the Romanian state unilaterally denounced the concordat with the Vatican.

Along with the establishment of Petru Groza's rule (6 March 1945), all the denominations in Romania were bound to adapt to a new political and social configuration for which religion did no longer bear the meaning it had had during the previous centuries. As it is revealed by the many documents of the Secret Services (the Securitate), the preservation of the institutional character and the guarantee of a restricted autonomy did not mean the guarantee of the personal integrity of the clergy members, the theologians, and the faithful. The decree listed the accepted denominations.[3]

The representatives of the atheist-Marxist ideology that came to power in 1948 began to organize the economic and cultural life of the country based on the Soviet model. This also meant that they considered enemies all those who did not follow

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[3] The Law on the general status of denominations was published on 4 August 1948 (repealed upon the publication of Law No. 489/2006 on Religious Freedom and the General Status of Denominations, acknowledging the existence of 14 denominations: Orthodox, Roman Catholic, Armenian-Gregorian, Old Calendarist Christian Church (Lipovan), Reformed (Calvinist), Evangelical-Lutheran of the Augustan Confession, Sinodo-Presbyterian, Unitarian, the Mosaic faith, Muslim, Baptist, Seventh-day Adventist Church, Pentecostal and Evangelical Christian Church, all having their specific organization and places of worship.

their atheism. The communist regime seriously restricted the freedom of worship, and the era of persecution of the churches began. During the terror-centred regime, fear and distrust made ecumenical connections impossible both for the Orthodox Church and for the Protestant churches.

With the establishment of the "people's democracy", the communist regime reproached the church with a series of political, even legionary behaviours with the intention of making it give up its efforts to solve the problems it was facing.

The church was accused of pursuing "legionary policy" through its students of theology, and the law enforcement agencies were tasked with proving it through arrests made during 1948 and later in 1958–1959. The church was accused of having teachers of theology with a "hostile" past and of not being able to continue its work with such elements, arrested in 1950 and then in 1958–1959. By closing down many educational institutions in 1948–1949, the communist authorities tried to radically limit the educational process so that the construction of socialism would not be jeopardized.

For a more rigorous control over part of the Christian believers in Transylvania, the communist regime campaigned for bringing Greek Catholics back to Orthodoxy. The Ukrainian scenario of 1946 was closely followed, the communist state being the artisan of this religious mutation, through a skilful campaign in the press, intimidation, even the use of repression, but especially by speculating on the sensibilities of the Romanian Orthodox Church officials.[4]

In the first stage, the communist regime aimed to drastically restrict the scope of the theological education system.[5]

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[4] As a result of the political measures, there was not even an alternative of compromise for the Greek Catholic Church. Decree no. 358 of 1 December 1948 dissolved the administrative structure as well as all kinds of ecclesiastical or theological training. Cf. VLADIMIRESCU, Mihai-Valentin (2011): Învăţământul teologic în România comunistă, 1948–1989. In: *Analele Universităţii de Vest din Timişoara, Seria Ştiinţe Filologice* XLIL. 34.

[5] In Cluj/Kolozsvár for the Reformed and Unitarians, in Alba Iulia/Gyulafehérvár, Iaşi/Jászvásár, and Bucharest for the Roman –Catholic, and in Blaj/Balázsfalva and Oradea/Nagyvárad for the Greek Catholic. Until 1945, the clergy training functioned as follows: for the Orthodox – six seminaries with a duration of five years (Bucharest, Buzău/Bodza, Mănăstirea Neamţ, Cluj-Napoca/Kolozsvár, Craiova/Krajova, and Caransebeş/Karánsebes) and two Faculties of Theology with a duration of four years in Bucharest and Sibiu/Nagyszeben. Some of the teaching staff of the former Theology in Cluj/Kolozsvár were moved to the Orthodox Theology in Sibiu/Nagyszeben

Along with the intensification of the world ecumenical movement, the regime required the churches and legal denominations to maintain relations with the Romanian churches, in particular the Romanian Orthodox Church, required the establishment of relations of cooperation and mutual respect among religious denominations in the country, to connect and cooperate with Christian churches abroad.[6]

This decision was a political act with the aim of unconditionally subjecting all denominations in Romania to the communist state.

The relations between the churches and the religious communities in Romania were determined by the political and economic situation of the Romanian society in general. Denominations in Romania were forced to focus on promoting a theology concentrated around the concepts of peace and solidarity of unarmed peoples, in accordance with the demagogic ideology of communist regimes. Only in these conditions did the churches allow the ecumenical dialogue, which also made it possible for the theological students and teachers to study abroad.

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but without being completely assimilated. The two theologies granted the graduates BAs in theology. Doctoral studies could be pursued only in Bucharest and only later, after 1984, in Sibiu/Nagyszeben as well.

In higher education, the faculties of theology were separated from the universities, and three university-rank institutes of theology were created instead of the former Faculty of Theology in Bucharest and the Theological Academy in Sibiu/Nagyszeben and Cluj-Napoca/Kolozsvár. Eventually, in 1952, only two institutes were kept in Bucharest and Sibiu/Nagyszeben, the authorities having dissolved the institute in Cluj/Kolozsvár. This decision was ostentatious, also exacerbating the existing interethnic animosities[5] by the fact that the regime allowed the Protestant Theological Institute of university rank in Cluj/Kolozsvár to carry on its activity as continuation of the long-standing Calvinist theological education, which started off in Alba-Iulia/Gyulafehérvár in 1622, moved to Aiud/Nagyenyed in 1662 and to Cluj/Kolozsvár in 1895, where Reformed ministers were trained who were joined later, starting from 1959, by the Lutheran and the Unitarian theologians. Cf. MORARU, Alexandru (1996): *Învăţământul Teologic Universitar din Cluj (1924–1952).* Cluj-Napoca.181–182.

[6] The Romanian Orthodox Church has been active in the World Council of Churches since 1961. It sent delegates to the General Assemblies in New Delhi (1961), Uppsala (1968), and Nairobi (1975), all led by the Metropolitan of Moldavia and Suceava of the time, Iustin Moisescu (former member in the Central Board until 1977), and in Vancouver (1983), led by the Metropolitan of Transylvania, Antonie Plămădeală. Other Romanian Orthodox hierarchs and theologians activated in different boards of the Ecumenical Council of Churches. Patriarchs Justinian and Iustin visited the headquarters of the Council in Geneva (1966–1981).

During the communist dictatorship (1948–1989) in Romania, a state-imposed ecumenism arose, materialized through meetings between religious leaders and interfaith theological conferences among the Orthodox, Roman Catholic, and Protestant theological institutes with the participation of teachers, hierarchs, and leaders of religious denominations.[7]

Conducting research on the communist period, it can be concluded that the relationship between the churches in Romania between 1948 and 1989 can be divided into two stages: Obviously, it is not possible to draw a sharp chronological line between the two stages. The ecumenism of the first stage is characterized by the peace movement while the second by the "local" Romanian Ecumenism, which was manifest in the Interfaith Theological Conferences focusing on the issues that concerned the international ecumenical bodies on the one hand and on the issue of the unity of the Romanian people by imposing mutual respect on the other hand. Between 1964 and 1987, interfaith conferences were held with the participation of teachers from the theological institutes of university rank in Bucharest and Sibiu/Nagyszeben and from the Protestant institutes of Cluj/Kolozsvár. The RomanCatholic Church was represented by observers from the Theology of Alba Iulia/Gyulafehérvár.

These conferences were initiated, held, and controlled by the communist regime and were not, as such, devoid of political connotations, but they still cannot be underestimated. The interfaith dialogues began in 1964; they included a total of 50 meetings by 1989, addressed 150 issues, and excelled in high-quality theology.[8] If we were to summarize the objectives of the interfaith conferences according to their topics, they can be divided into three categories:

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[7] MORARU, Alexandru (2006): *Biserica Ortodoxă Română între anii 1885–2000. Dialog teologic și ecumenic.* Vol. III. Bucharest, Editura Institutului Biblic și de Misiune al Bisericilor Ortodoxe Române. 342–351; PĂTULEANU, Constantin (2000): *Die Begegnung der rumänischen Orthodoxie mit dem Protestantismus (16. bis 20. Jahrhundert), unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des bilateralen theologischen Dialogs zwischen der Evangelischer Kirche in Deutschland und der Rumänischen Orthodoxen Kirche (1979–1998).* Hamburg, Verlag Kovac. 180–276.

[8] Some conference topics: *The Eucharist as the Sacrament of Unity in the Cosmic Christ in Universal History.* Bucharest, 27 March 1964;[8] *The Covenant of Peace and Life.* Cluj/Kolozsvár, 30 May 1964; *God's Reconciling Work Today among the People.* Cluj, 9 June 1965; *The Active Meaning of Christian Hope.* Cluj/Kolozsvár, 9 May 1969; *Jesus Christ as Relief and Unity. The Theological Basis of Human Rights. Ecumenism and Proselytism.* Sibiu/Nagyszeben, 5 November 1974; *Theology and Witnessing. The Church in the World of Technology.* Bucharest, 2 April 1974.

1. Familiarization and common growth on the path to a visible Christian unity.

2. Preparing the topics for the meetings of the Conference of European Churches (KEK) and the World Council of Churches (WCC).

3. Professing peace by creating good relations between peoples and nations by addressing issues related to human rights, freedom, and justice.

This study aims to present the first stage in which the mission was to "preserve" peace. The periodical *Református Szemle* (hereinafter also as: *RSz*) dealt with and covered the events that the Transylvanian Reformed Church undertook for preserving peace and recorded the ecumenical activities and manifestations whenever it was possible.

If we look at the decades-long material in the journal, we can see that there was no issue that did not address this topic to some extent: it covered the meetings and decisions of church leaders, ethical or biblical theological approaches to peace. At the level of reports, it also presented the meetings of church leaders, the common positions of theological teachers, and, last but not least, church-level interfaith events concerning the public church.[9] From the news of the congregations, a bright and constructive picture could be drawn, which would "reveal to our eyes the so many congregational and public church manifestations pointing to the Holy Church", concluded István Tőkés in his short review published in *Szemle*.[10]

The ecumenical material of the *Szemle* did not only cover the churches in Romania – for instance, the main events of the Orthodox Church –, but it also examined the ecumenical events worldwide, moved to a global scale, reported on the Orthodox churches, the international brotherhood, the situation of the Yugoslav churches, the theological training of the clergy in the Soviet Union, and the peace movement of the Russian Orthodox church[11], and kept the readers posted about the events of the Reformed,

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[9] For example, Dezső László speaks about the Reformed church in downtown Cluj/Kolozsvár being the venue of awarding an honorary doctorate to the Metropolitan.

[10] TŐKÉS, István (1973): Ökumenikus kapcsolatok a *Református Szemle* tükrében. In: *RSZ* LXVI, 4. 280–282.

[11] A Szovjetunió összes egyházai és vallásos társulatai békeértekezletének megnyitása. In: *RSz* 1952. XLVII, 4–5.90; A Szovjetunió összes egyházainak és vallási társulatainak békeértekezlete befejezte munkálatait. In: *RSz* 1952. XLVII, 4–5. 91.

Presbyterian, Lutheran world council,[12] of the global mission – e.g.it condemned the war in Korea.[13]

Undoubtedly, one can ascertain the openness of *Református Szemle* to all denominations. Nevertheless, coverage of the events of the Romanian Orthodox Church clearly predominated, being a priority.

It is not up to us to judge the honesty of these manifestations. Certain church historians, such as Pătuleanu, have a positive opinion about the said meetings. He considers that the meetings were honest, open, well-organized, mature, and practically meaningful. In Romania, a "new ecumenical theology" and "a new common language" were created.[14]

In the two and a half decades following World War I and after the annexation of Transylvania to Romania, ecumenical approaches were primarily of ethnic nature mainly due to the common fate of minorities, but with the end of World War II the sudden, exaggerated interest in them became prominent, especially on the part of the Romanian Orthodox Church, which represented the majority. Presumably, the representatives of the denominations admitted that lasting peace could only be achieved through cooperation, but on the basis of the growing communist dictatorship and the hostile, destructive measures adopted against the churches in general, we can speak of an obedient "attempt to engage", being dictated from above.

Obviously, if this encounter had taken place within a democratic state, it would have been perceived completely differently.

Szemle reports that the First World War was barely over when the representatives of the denominations in Cluj gathered for a joint peacekeeping meeting under the chairmanship of Bishop János Vásárhelyi, where they repented for having failed to get in touch with each other in the past and raised the question of how they could remove the obstacles on the path towards reconciliation.[15] The further training courses

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[12] NAGY, József: A világ protestáns egyházainak a béketábor küzdelmében való részévétele és béketevékenységünk kiemelkedőbb mozzanatai. In: *RSz* 1952. XLVII, 4–5. 11–12; Protestáns egyházak közös békegyűlése a theológián. In: *RSz* 1952. XLVII, 4–5.

[13] Béke Koreáért. In: *RSz* 1951. XLVI, 2–3.

[14] PĂTULEANU 2000, 271.

[15] GÁLFY, Zoltán (1951): A Református egyház állásfoglalása és a református lelkészek kötelessége a békeharcban. In: *RSz* XLVI. 282.

for the clergy also laid special emphasis on the peace movement. An example in this sense was the 2nd further training course for ministers, in which 134 persons participated and where the participants were encouraged by Bishop János Vásárhelyi himself to continue the series of meetings. Endre Szőts also attended the course as a representative and observer on behalf of the ministry.[16] It is worth mentioning Zoltán Gálfy's speech delivered in 1951 during the further training course for ministers, titled *A Református Egyház állásfoglalása és a református lelkészek kötelességé a békeharcban* [The standpoint of the Reformed Church and the Ministers' Duties in the Peace Movement], also published in *RSZ*.[17] The author reviewed the speeches and resolutions for peace delivered by the Transylvanian Reformed Church District starting from 1944, emphasizing that this struggle was the largest and most important area of the church's public role. The overview reveals that in the seven years prior to his speech delivered in 1951 such manifestations on behalf of the church were considerable, and the Reformed Church set out to establish and consolidate peace even before the cross-denominational arrangements that took place in an organized form. Zoltán Gálfy supports his belief with several quotes from the Bible as well as from the writings of prominent Reformed theologians.[18] He underlines the statement of Professor Karel Hromádka from Prague: "the organized struggle for peace in the world is an offensive of love, and any church that believes it can miss out on this offensive has abandoned the greatest value of its own mission".[19] He also mentions that he attended the National Peace Congress held in Bucharest on 9 September 1950, where 17 nations were represented by 2,500 delegates and where the delegates for the Second World Peace Congress in Warsaw– where 80 states would take part in the most sublime struggle for peace – were appointed from among the participants.[20] He also reports that representatives of the denominations in Cluj/Kolozsvár endorsed the World Council's call for peace signed in Berlin in the ceremonial hall of the Protestant Theological Institute in Cluj/Kolozsvár.[21]

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[16] Vásárhelyi János püspök megnyitó beszéde a második lelkipásztori továbbképző tanfolyamon. In: *RSz* 1951. XXXXVI, 9. 276.

[17] GÁLFY1951, 280–291.

[18] Op. cit. 281.

[19] Op. cit. 282.

[20] Op. cit. 287.

[21] Ibid.

On state level and in an organized manner: The first step towards the attainment of the "communist" type of local of ecumenism was made immediately after the appointment of Patriarch Justinian Marina as head of the Romanian Orthodox Church. At his initiative, meetings were organized among the leaders of the denominations in Romania, especially on topics of practical collaboration and for peace. These meetings were attended by the 13 leaders of the religious denominations in Romania, namely: Orthodox, Roman Catholic, Armenian-Gregorian, Old Calendarist Christian Church (Lipovan), Reformed (Calvinist), Evangelical-Lutheran of the Augustan Confession, Sinodo-Presbyterian, Unitarian, the Mosaic faith, Muslim, Baptist, Seventh-day Adventist Church, Pentecostal and Evangelical Christian Church.

The first Meeting of the Religious Denominations took place at the Patriarchal Palace in Bucharest on 23 June 1949,"following the approval by the State of the Statutes for the organization and functioning of the Denominations" listed above.

At the end of the meeting, "a motion"[22] of gratitude was adopted, as the document reads: "to the Leaders of the State as for the first time in our country denominational equality as well as religious freedom are granted and ensured …to organize and train their clergymen in their own schools…"[23] The "gratitude" for the state and socialism in the statement was exaggerated and forced, as was the 1973 commemoration of this event in the columns of *Szemle*: "…the denominations testified together that in the new social order of Romania, which had embarked on socialism, they acknowledged the caring will of God and were happy to undertake and perform their service…."[24] The author wrote this in a context in which the churches were in a completely vulnerable position and were forced to introduce similar studies in the periodical in exchange

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[22] "We are grateful to the Government and the Ministry of Religious Affairs under the Government for their wise goodwill by which they strengthened our laws, ensured our clergy training at academic level, grant aid to our parishes and clergymen, our churches, and we solemnly declare that we respond to it wholeheartedly and with loyal work considering the highest interest of our country. We would like to carry out this work together with the leaders and priests of the biggest church, the Orthodox Church, in Christ's spirit abiding by His order: 'By this everyone will know that you are my disciples, if you love one another.'" In: *RSz* 1949. XXXIV, 12. 318–329.

[23] ALEXE, Ştefan (1973): *Relaţiile Bisericii Ortodoxe Române cu celelalte culte religioase din ţara noastră*. In: „O" XXV, 2.193.

[24] TŐKÉS 1973, 281.

for their survival and the publication of the only theological journal, their messages being read between the lines. "We are not talking about the current situation.... the ecumenical material of *Református Szemle* has become even richer in the last decade."[25]

Such writings "praising" the communist regime also made it possible to publish the official periodical of the other denominations.

We would like to emphasize that the "practice" of motions or sending telegrams (to the statesmen) was preserved throughout Communism, all religious denominations in Romania participating in such acts. This act can be understood in the political context in which the churches were forced to carry out their activities, given also the fact that the dissolved Greek Catholic Church was not even given the possibility of compromise.

The second meeting of the representatives of the religious denominations took place in the Patriarchal Palace in Bucharest on 19 December 1950.The main topic of discussion was the need for "the working methods of the Churches in the struggle for peace" in our country[26]and worldwide.[27]

RSz published the standpoint of the 13 church leaders in full in no. 1/1951, which reads among other aspects: "Starting 1 January 1951, our nation has taken the path of the first five-year plan during which our lives will become better and nicer with reasonable work and due diligence; and our beloved country will grow stronger and more prosperous."[28] The third meeting also took place in Bucharest on 25 November 1952.[29] The organizers of the said meetings published *Buletinul Comitetelor de Luptă pentru Pace* [The Newsletter of the Peace Movement Boards]. Generally, the texts were mandatorily edited by the official reviews of the respective churches,[30] which were still being published but were strictly censored.

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[25] Op. cit. 282.

[26] A R.N.K.-ban levő összes kultuszok vezetőinek híveinkhez intézett közös felhívása. In: *RSz* 1951. XLVI,1. 13–17.

[27] ARDAY, Aladár (1951): Békét Koreának. In: *RSz* XLVI. 33; A béke hívei II. Világkongresszusának kiáltványa. In: *RSz* 1951. XLVI. 3; A varsói világkongresszus lelkészi résztvevőinek felhívása. In: *RSz* 1951. XLVI. 63.

[28] *RSz* 1951.XLVI, 1. 16.

[29] BARTHA, Kálmán (1952): A béke ügyének szolgálata. In: *RSz* XLVII. 200; VÁSÁRHELYI, János (1952): Aktív békeszolgálat, beszéd a kolozsvári felekezetközi békekonferencián. In: *RSz* XLVII. 216.

[30] The example: the words uttered by Reformed Bishop of Cluj/Kolozsvár János Vásárhelyi at the Patriarchal Palace in Bucharest in 1950was published in full in the official Reformed review *Reformatus Szemle* 1950. XXXV, 7.177–178.

The meetings were mandatory as well as the messages that were sent from these meetings to the clergy and the faithful of all denominations in Romania.

One such pastoral letter was the Christmas message of 1950, which Bishop János Vásárhelyi himself refers to on the first page of *RSZ* [151.1]. In his circular, he expresses his hope that all the ministers on the second day of the celebration "remembered the service and safeguarding of peace in the Spirit of Christ and prayed for the gifts of that service and work".[31] It also published the report delivered by Patriarch Justinian at the Peace Congress in Warsaw, which he had already read to the participants convened at the Bucharest Peace Congress on19 December 1950.[32] We would like to underline the exhortation of János Vásárhelyi, Bishop of the Reformed Church District of Cluj-Napoca/Kolozsvár and of Aladár Arday, Bishop of the Church District of Oradea/Nagyvárad, which was formulated and published in relation to the capitalist biological war led against Korea. It calls upon the ministers for supporting the Koreans and praying for peace.[33] The above-mentioned examples also reveal that each issue of the periodical focuses to a significant extent on ecumenical events, expressing gratitude to the government and the party for their support, far more than once. In his article titled *The Cooperation of all Religious Faiths in the Bihor Province in the Struggle for Peace*, Sándor Buthi reports on the event held in Oradea/Nagyvárad on 27 May 1952. He explains that for centuries ruling classes have incited churches against each other, aroused hostilities among them, and religious freedom was only illusory, but the current democratic government "abolished oppression and privileges. The liberation of conscience for all denominations…. created a fair relationship amongst the different religious denominations in our country."[34] The representatives of the churches in Bihor/Bihar decided at the meeting that: "To fight for peace in our country means to embrace all the constructive efforts of our working people, the objectives of our government, to be one with the interests of our working people in our church service and outside the church, to unmask the instigators to war and teach and encourage the same behaviour every time."[35] The

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[31] *RSz* 1951.XLVI, 1. 1.

[32] Op. cit. 6–13.

[33] Azegyházszolgálata a békeharcban. In: *RSz* 1952.XLVII, 4–5.

[34] BUTHI, Sándor (1952): A Bihar-tartományban lévő összes vallás-felekezetek együttműködése a békéért folyó harcban. In: *RSz* XLVII, 4–5. 102.

[35] Op. cit. 109.

same tone can be encountered in the report of the Managing Board before the Church District Assembly, titled *A kolozsvári református Egyházkerület békevédelmimunkája* [The Struggle for Peace of the Reformed Church District of Cluj/Kolozsvár].[36] Both Hungarian and Romanian authors wrote about the peace celebrations.[37]

The denominations in Romania could not take a sincere, objective stand against the manifestations on the part of the state because they were exposed to persecutions coming from the communist leaders; on the other hand, they themselves had a humanitarian purpose in a period of political instability and "cold war".

In the 1950s/60s, and even more so in the 1970s and 1980s, the life of the Orthodox Church was often presented to the Reformed and Lutheran pastors as all congregations were required to subscribe to the Review.

Through the columns of the *RSz*, the Reformed and Lutheran pastors and faithful could learn more about the history of the Orthodox Church[38] and the teachings of the Romanian Orthodox theology.[39] They had a preference for publishing the theological writings of Nicolae Corneanu, Metropolitan of Banat, and of Bishop Vasile Coman of Oradea/Nagyvárad.[40] They both published their studies for the first time writing directly to *Szemle*. The introduction reads that "A new colour, a new fragrance appears in the relationship between Romanian Orthodox and Hungarian Reformed theologians"[41] and that "The Hungarian idiom of *Református Szemle* has become the language of the Holy Spirit of Christ".[42]

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[36] TŐKÉS, István (1952): A kolozsvári református Egyházkerület békevédelmi munkája. In: *RSz* XLVII, 4–5. 109–111.

[37] Békeünnepély a Protestáns Theológiai Intézetben, 1960. április 7-én. In: *RSz* 1960. LV. 120; Câmpeanu Virgil egyetemi tanár beszéde a RNK Országos Békevédelmi Tanács részéről. In: *RSz* 1960. LV. 342.

[38] GÁLFY, Zoltán (1953): Az ortodox egyház életéből (kiadványai és folyóiratai alapján). In: *RSz* XLVIII. 155–162; JUHÁSZ, András (1966): Egyháztörténelmi tanulmányok a román orthodox teológiai folyóiratok 1949–1965 közötti évfolyamaiban. In: *RSz* LIX, 3. 171–189; ALBU, B. Zoltán (1985): Ortodox és protestáns együttműködés Bukarestben az ökumenikus mozgalmakat megelőző időkben. In: *RSz* LXXVII. 29–33.

[39] MLADIN, Nicolae (1971): A theológia megújulása. In: *RSz* LXIV. 235–239.

[40] Karácsonyi ajándék. In: *RSz* 1976. LXIX, 5–6. 365–367.

[41] Op. cit. 365.

[42] Op. cit. 366.

Readers were informed that the new translation of the Bible was being prepared,[43] it was outlined what the liturgy meant in the life of the Orthodox faithful,[44] and the Orthodox holidays were listed.[45]

Reports on Orthodox archbishops were on the agenda, their visits[46] and their most important pastoral letters.[47] The most important commemorations of the Orthodox Church were also mentioned[48] along with the new turn in the Orthodox–Catholic relationship in the nullification of the 1054 anathema by the Catholics.[49]

Based on the principle of reciprocity, the Reformed are also praised by Orthodox theologians.[50]

In conclusion, although these interfaith meetings were imposed by the state, the investigation and analysis of the topics demonstrate the existence of an authentic ecumenical theological dialogue between the Romanian Orthodox Church and the Protestant churches–Reformed, Unitarian, and Lutheran –and the Roman Catholic Church in Romania.

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[43] Készül a Szentírás új román nyelvű fordítása, 1975-ben. In: *RSz* 1975. LXVII.70.

[44] COMAN, Vasile (1976): A liturgia szerepe az ortodox hívők életében. Transl. by Gyula Kováts. In: *RSz* LXVIII 6. 374–384.

[45] Az ortodox egyház ünnepségei. Püspökszentelések 1973. augusztus és szeptember hónapban. In: 1974. *RSz* LXVI.64.

[46] JUHÁSZ, István (1967): Justinian pátriárka látogatása Angliában. In: *RSz* LX. 197–200; TŐKÉS, István (1971): Justiniam pátriárka Kolozsváron. In: *RSz* LXIV. 315; Justinian pátriárkai szolgálatának negyedszázados évfordulója, 1973. június 5-én. Nagy Gyula püspök üdvözlő levele. In: *RSz* 1973. LXVI. 283; Szerkesztőség: Justinian pátriárka hetvenéves. In: *RSz* 1971. LXIV. 318–320; TŐKÉS, István (1977): Közös gyász. Justinián pátriárka halála, 1977. március 26-án. In: *RSz* LXX. 436–438; ALBU, Z. Zoltán (1977): Dr. Justin Moisescu a Román Ortodox Egyház új pátriárkája. In: *RSz* LXX. 439–441; Valerian Zaharia nagyváradi román ortodox püspök gyászbeszédé (Búthi Sándor temetésén). In: *RSz* 1967. LX. 97–99; Valerian Zaharia üdvözlő beszéde (Papp László püspök beiktatásakor). In: *RSz* 1967. LX. 229–230.

[47] Corneanu Nicolae bánáti metropolita húsvéti pásztorlevele. In: *RSz* 1982. LXXV.333; CORNEANU, Nicolae (1981): Pastorală la naşterea Domnului 1980. In: *RSz* LXXIV. 83–84.

[48] SZÉKELY, Károly (1967): Curtea de Argeş. Ünnepi istentisztelet az ortodox egyházban a kolostor felszentelésének 450. évfordulóján, 1967. augusztus 15-én. In: *RSz* LX. 353–357; A putnai kolostort 500 évvel ezelőtt alapították. In: *RSz* 1966. LIX. 382; NagyJózsef (professzor) Putna. In: *RSz* 1967. LX. 64–68.

[49] Róma és az ortodoxok. A II. Vatikáni zsinat 1965. december 7-én hatálytalanította az 1054-es egyházi átkot. In: *RSz* 1977. LXX. 425.

[50] Gheorghe Maior cikke Vásárhelyi János püspök új prédikációs kötetéről. A Lélek gyümölcse, 64 rövid egyházi beszéd gyűjteménye. 1954.In: *RSz* XLIX.162–166.

Characterizing the ecumenism of the decades after World War II, Zoltán Gálfy sends a message to posterity included in his 1953 study, which reads as follows: "The relationship among our churches today is beyond the purely ecclesiastical nature and increasingly aims at building deeper friendly relations so that we get to know each other's spiritual treasures and exchange values."[51] The author gets to the heart of the matter – presumably, at the level of the public church, the approach governed from the top was actually far from happening. Trends in this direction will/may be the result of decades of painstaking work, but friendships and acquaintances have been born and mutual respect has emerged due to the same oppressed condition of denominations.

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[51] GÁLFY1953,155.

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ORBÁN Szabolcs[1]:

National Minorities:
A Chance or Challenge for the Catholic Church[2]

Abstract.

The issue of national minorities in the past century has often given rise to conflicts, becoming a peace-threatening issue and consequently a source of serious distress. Thus, from this perspective, it had become a topic that the churches could not remain silent about.

This article aims to present briefly the way in which the Catholic Church related to the national minorities from the perspective of the Catholic social teaching. At first, we will present a few ecclesiastical documents (papal documents, writings, speeches, etc.) that touched upon this topic one way or another during the past more than 100 years. In the light of these, we shall see the main aspects that the Catholic Church deemed to be important to emphasize in relation to minorities. Next, as an example, we shall also mention a few local ecclesiastical documents pointing out the manner in which the general principles are manifest in the toilsome everyday life of the local communities experiencing concrete historical situations. The third part of the study will refer to the important basic principles of social teaching – namely, common good and subsidiarity –, and we will try to pin down certain insights that would guide both the majority and the minority on the path towards the opportunity of welfare, thereby bringing hope for the mitigation of tensions.

Keywords: *national minorities, social teaching, the Catholic Church, common good, subsidiarity.*

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Introduction

In the past century, the issue of national minorities[3] has often given rise to conflicts not only in our narrower environment but also around the European stage, becoming a peace-threatening issue and consequently a source of serious distress. Also due to this sad experience,[4] the issue should become one of the major topics in Catholic moral theology that has always been concerned with tackling the individual-related issues, mostly construing them in the light of faith and seeking therewith the adequate answers to the questions arising.

But it has not been always so in relation to this issue due to several aspects: among others, we must see that the church plays a dual role regarding the national minorities, and this quite often affects the church's practical and theoretical approach to this topic:[5] on the one hand, the Catholic Church as a *diplomatic factor* participates in all practices characterizing the social and political life of our times, while, on the other hand, it is the *pleader* for the rights of national minorities when it speaks up against injustices and abuse. At the same time, we must note that due to the social structures the church itself may be concerned in many ways since there are not only situations in which the national minority is made up of Catholics inside a majority of another religion, but there can be cases in which the minority as well as the majority are all members of the same church or even where the Catholics make up the majority denomination. And although the Church, by virtue of its mission, should strive to approach social issues as well as the issues of the

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[3] We must point out straight away that the concept of national minority is problematic, and we do not wish to clarify it at this point. Readers interested in the topic can gain an insight on its complexity in the following works: RÖPPER, Matthias (1993): *Das Problem der Definition des Begriffes Minderheit, in Minderheiten und Nationale Frage: Die Entwicklung in Mittel- und Südeuropa im Lichte der Katholischen Soziallehre* (Hrsg. von Ingeborg Gabriel). Wien, Verlag Verband der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaften. 81–88; GIRASOLI, Nicola (1995): *A nemzeti kisebbségek fogalmáról*. Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó.

[4] There may also be other motivating points of view such as the large number of the concerned.

[5] Cf. BLUMENWITZ, Dieter (2000): *Positionen der katholischen Kirche zum Schutz von Minderheiten und Volksgruppen in einer internationalen Friedensordnung: eine völkerrechtliche Untersuchung*. Forschungsergebnisse der Studiengruppe für Politik und Völkerrecht – Kulturstiftung der Deutschen Vertriebenen 32. Köln, Wissenschaft und Politik. 18.

national minorities from a theological perspective, we have experienced very different approaches during the times precisely due to the aforementioned complex social context.[6]

Going beyond these "disturbing factors", next we intend to sketch briefly the manner in which the church's attitude towards national minorities has been shaped from the perspective of the Catholic social teaching. At first, we would like to mention some official ecclesiastical documents (papal documents, writings, speeches, etc.) that one way or another touched upon this topic during the past more than 100 years. In the light of these, we shall see the main aspects that the Catholic Church deemed important to emphasize in relation to minorities. Next, as an example, we shall also mention a few local ecclesiastical documents pointing out the manner in which the general principles are manifest in the toilsome everyday life of the local communities experiencing concrete historical situations. The third part of the study will refer to the important basic principles of social teaching – namely, common good and subsidiarity –, and we will try to pin down certain insights that would guide both the majority and the minority on the path towards the opportunity of welfare, thereby bringing hope for the mitigation of tensions.

1. The Presence of National Minorities in the Papal Documents

The issue of national minorities is basically a recent concern since we can practically talk about it as an acute social problem from the beginning of the 20th century when the nation-states arose. And, accordingly, it is worth looking for remarks and statements on it dating back to this very period.

Next, still at the level of theoretical teaching, we would like to give an account about a few documents that are highly relevant in this topic and which broadly reveal the Catholic Church's standpoint in the matter of national minorities.

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[6] Due to its complexity, the first ecclesiastical standpoints on the topic were relatively ambivalent. Cf. ORBÁN, Szabolcs (2004): *I diritti delle minoranze etniche in Europa. Uno studio analitico-etico sui loro fondamenti ed una proposta di fondazione nella prospettiva del bene comune.* Rome. 103–104.

In his several radio speeches,[7] Pope Pius XII touched upon the issue of minorities on several occasions. One of them, delivered in the midst of the war, outlining the picture of the new world order, established moral grounds and underlined five elements that could not find their place in this new world order.[8] He mentioned the national minorities among them and stated that: "In the new world order based on moral principles, there is no place for the overt or covert repression of the linguistic and cultural characteristics of national minorities, for the restriction or obstruction of their economic abilities, for the cessation or restriction of their natural fertility."[9]

His successor's, Pope John XXIII's social activity continued Pius XII's tradition, and his teachings on social issues tackled the problem of national minorities on several occasions. One of the most important documents on the matter was the encyclical *Pacem in terris* (1963), which set forth in the very first point that: "The peace on earth that all people in the world have longed for at all times can only be created and consolidated by keeping the sacred order established by God."[10] Next, the document deals with the interpretation of this order in the light of its different participants: it examines the interpersonal relationships, the relationship between the individual and public power within individual political communities, the relationship between political communities, the international community, and, finally, it ends with a pastoral conclusion. In the third part, the pope tackled the relationship among political communities and also spoke about the issue of national minorities, approaching it from the perspective of justice and stating that:

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[7] His name is not related to any papal social encyclicals; however, previously, he had a great impact with his radio speeches held on various occasions, which made it possible for the Catholic social teachings to reach a wider audience.

[8] Such as: the violation of the security, integrity, and freedom of nations; the oppression of national minorities; the mere egoistic speculations and the appropriation of the common economic resources on these grounds; the total war and the excessive militarist competition; the persecution of religions and the church. Cf. Pio XII (1942): Nuntius radiophonicus in pervigilio nativitatis D. N. Iesu Christi universo orbi datus (24 dicembre 1941). In: *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 34. 10–21.

[9] Op. cit. 17.

[10] Ioannes XXIII (1963): Pacem in terries. In: *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 55. 267. Transl. into Hungarian available at: https://regi.katolikus.hu/konyvtar.php?h=122 (last accessed: 8 September 2019).

"In this matter, it must be said openly that what they do against these peoples to prevent their racial existence or prosperity is a serious violation of justice; and this is all truer if they are evilly seeking to exterminate this nation.

It is very much in line with the command of justice for state leaders to provide effective assistance to citizens of the minority in creating human conditions; this also applies to their language, culture, and economic situation."[11]

A further ecclesiastical document touching on the issue of national minorities in several points is the *Gaudium et Spes* pastoral constitution of the Second Vatican Council dealing with the situation of the church in the modern world. The Council tackles the issue of minorities in the parts dealing with culture,[12] the life of the political community,[13] and peace,[14] also stipulating as follows:

"It is not the task of public authorities to determine what culture should look like but rather to create the conditions and help everyone, including national minorities, to live a cultured life.

Acts which deliberately disregard them [it is the natural law of the peoples], as well as orders issued for such acts, are therefore criminal offences… Such crimes include, above all, the extermination of entire peoples, nations, or national minorities, no matter the reason or the method: these horrific crimes must be condemned with relentless rigour."

The first ecclesiastical document that exclusively deals with the issue of minorities is related to John Paul II's name: his traditional New Year's message of peace in 1989 titled *How to Build Peace and Respect Minorities*[15] was dedicated exclusively to this topic. Commenting upon the document, the Basque Cardinal Etchegaray expressed his views

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[11] Op. cit. 283.

[12] CONCILIUM VATICANUM II (1966): Costitutio pastoralis de ecclesia in mundo huius temporis, Gaudium et Spes. In: *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 58. 1025–1120 (GS 59). Transl. into Hungarian available at: https://regi.katolikus.hu/konyvtar.php?h=16 (last accessed: 8 September 2019).

[13] GS 73.

[14] GS 79.

[15] GIOVANNI PAOLO II (1988): Per costruire la pace, rispettare le minoranze. Il messaggio in occasione della celebrazione della Giornata mondiale della pace (8 dicembre 1988). In: *L'Osservatore Romano, Speciale*. Vatican City. 9–10 December. I–IV.

as follows: "… it is a message in which every word counts and has to be regarded as a whole".[16]

In this document, the Pope sets out two principles that must underpin all social organizations: the inalienable dignity of each individual and the fundamental unity of mankind.

In explicating these principles, John Paul II makes a far-sighted statement: human groups, including national minorities, have the right to a collective identity, which must be protected in the same way as the dignity of the individual members of the community.[17]

The document discusses certain rights related to minorities: it condemns any violation of the right to exist, emphasizes the right to preserve and develop one's own culture, the right to build and maintain relationships, and speaks of religious freedom. Based on the document, the Pope is aware that there is still a long way to go before certain rights are put into practice, but he emphasizes the role of states and certain individuals in facilitating this process. Starting with an explanation of this role, the document also makes it clear that: "Delicate problems arise when a minority voices needs that also have specific political content. Sometimes a community strives for independence or at least greater political autonomy. I would like to emphasize that in delicate situations of this kind dialogue and negotiation are the mandatory path to peace."[18]

We can see from the above quotations – but it can also be illustrated by other examples – that official teaching documents move on a general level: they acknowledge the existence of national minorities, condemn their attacks and the violation of their rights, and see dialogue and reconciliation as a way forward. If, on the other hand, we examine local ecclesiastical documents (episcopal circular letters, local synod decisions, sermons, etc.), we find ourselves confronted with a much more specific presentation of this issue. And there is nothing to be surprised about as local churches face the problems associated with minorities much more specifically, experiencing their complexity on their own.

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[16] ETCHEGARAY, Roger (1988): Un documento originale. Presentazione del messaggio per la giornata mondiale della pace 1989. In: *L'Osservatore Romano*. Vatican City. 9–10 December. 1.

[17] Cf. GIOVANNI PAOLO II: *Per costruire la pace, rispettare le minoranze …* Point 3.

[18] Op. cit. Point 10.

2. The Issue of Minorities on the Level of Local Churches

When examining the statements of local churches about minorities, it is worth paying particular attention to the areas where the discussion of the topic has been intensively present in recent decades: South Tirol, Basque Country, Catalonia, Northern Ireland, Transylvania, etc. This is also a kind of constraint either from a linguistic point of view or because of the specific nature of the problems, but it is also interesting from the point of view of how the general guidelines outlined above appear in reality.

Here are just a few examples: during the Lent of 1960, Joseph Gargitter, still Bishop of Brixen (Bressanone), who in the following years would play a major role in the settlement of the situation in South Tirol, wrote the following concerning the ethnic heritage that had been created along history in one of his circulars in reference to the radio messages by Pius XII:

> "Part of this heritage is the development of one's own language, culture, customs and traditions, one's own way of life, the indispensable living space and the continuity of one's own social existence. There is no need for contracts and conventions that ensure the protection of these assets because they precede any agreement and therefore cannot be granted or withdrawn by human agreements. He who works to have the great natural values of a nation acknowledged fulfils a sublime mission which, with the legal means available, contributes to the preservation and maintenance of the order desired by God."[19]

The papal statements on this issue resonate not only in the West but also in our country: Bishop Áron Márton's sermon held in Csíksomlyó/Șumuleu Ciuc in 1946[20] clearly refers to Pius XII's ideas. And here are the words that define the Bishop's responsibilities: "Authorities were concerned that there would be open political demonstrations. But you came here to pray, and I rejoiced in your exemplary discipline on your way here. Return in similar discipline."

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[19] GARGITTER, Joseph (1997): Esigenze cristiane dell'ordine sociale in Alto Adige. In Egger, Kurt (ed.): *Chiesa e minoranze etniche: documenti delle Chiese locali dell'Europa centro-occidentale*. Bologna, EDB. 35.

[20] Márton, Áron (1990): Püspöki beszéde Csíksomlyón (1946). In P. Szőke, János: *Márton Áron*. Nyíregyháza. 458–462.

However, the bishop had to hear the great concern of his followers and say what they did not have the freedom to say. The hundreds of thousands who accompanied them from home in spirit prayed for this as well. "However, this is not politics. This is about our lives! And we have a right to human life from God. Our self-esteem and our responsibility for the fate of future generations require us to protest against the imposition and execution of an unjust judgment in defence of our rights."

And that this was not merely a momentary oratorical flare-up is proven by the words with which Áron Márton closed his letter written to Petru Groza in 1946,[21] summarizing the serious problems that the Transylvanian Hungarians were concerned with:

> "God created me Hungarian, and, of course, I cannot be indifferent to the fate and destiny of my brethren. And my pastoral vocation binds me to consider the issues from a moral point of view as well. The situation of the Hungarians living under Romanian rule does not meet the high moral requirements set out in the Charter of the United Nations as the guiding principles for peaceful coexistence. And if we want to sincerely promote peace among nations, I think we need to find a way to proceed in that direction. That is why I was brave to raise this most delicate issue before your Excellency with undisguised openness and to ask you not to be offended by my honesty."

However, this was not the case only in Transylvania and not only 50 years ago. The church undertakes the same tasks today via local churches. This is proven by the following fragment from the declaration of the Czech and German bishops dated 9 March 1995: "It is not the task of the church to find solutions to these legal, economic, or political problems. But it is up to it to draw attention to the fundamental principles that such solutions must respect both for the benefit of individuals and for the common good."[22]

Perhaps we can state that the role of the Church in relation to minorities is fundamentally articulated in this statement: its main task is to raise awareness of the principles and to find a solution based on them.

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[21] MÁRTON, Áron (n.d.): Levél Petru Groza miniszterelnökhöz. In: Domokos, Pál Péter: *Rendületlenül… Márton Áron Erdély püspöke*. Budapest, Szent Gellért. 245–252.

[22] Dichiarazione dei vescovi cechi e tedeschi, 9 marzo 1995. In: Egger, Kurt (ed.): *Chiesa e minoranze etniche…* 108.

We consider this to be particularly important because in the field of minority rights, although there has been some progress across Europe, the solution to this issue is far from visible, and we can even say that the repeated attempts over the last century have failed again and again. The reason for this may be that in these attempts minorities were always seen as a means to achieve something else that was good (or perhaps they considered important to address the minority issue as they saw a greater evil avoidable by it).

And this is also present as a kind of danger in the European Union's low-keyed attitude towards minorities: at the level of principles, the EU considers minorities to be important and valuable mainly because it sees us as a suitable means for strengthening relations between the nation-states that make up the community. However, it is to be feared that, for some reason, this relationship role will no longer be important, and the issue of national minorities and their rights will be completely left out of the European Union's viewing angle.

The so far unsuccessful, or at least very poor, attempts can certainly strengthen our conviction that the solution to the issue of national minorities must be sought at a deeper level than everyday politics (of interest): in order to find a good solution, the principles must be clarified, and then it will be possible to build on them to pin down specific rights and put them into practice.

This approach is represented by Professor Dieter Blumenwitz, who has dealt with the issue of national minorities quite extensively, examining it in several ways in his previously mentioned book, concluding that a lasting solution to this issue is not possible without a solid ethical foundation, and he sees this ethical basis in the social teachings of the Catholic Church.[23]

3. Common Good and Subsidiarity

The social teaching of the church could be discussed at length, and it should be in order to find a solution. Due to space limitations, we would now like to mention here only two concepts that are key elements to this teaching and along which it would be

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[23] Cf. BLUMENWITZ 2000, 16.

worth proceeding in order to provide the basis for the rights of minorities. These are two concepts: the common good and the principle of subsidiarity. Both may sound quite familiar: especially public good, which has come up frequently in the recent political discourse, but – perhaps not unfoundedly – only on the surface and without the centuries-old content behind the concept proper. From the point of view of the social teaching of the church, the mature definition of the common good is given in the document titled *Gaudium et Spes* of Vatican II, stating that common good is: "the set of social living conditions that allow both groups and individual members to accomplish themselves entirely and easily".[24]

The principle of subsidiarity is a more recent concept that also occasionally appears in various political statements. The first formulation in the ecclesiastical teaching is found in Pope Pius XI's encyclical beginning with *Quadragesimo anno* (1931), which has been practically used ever since:

> "What the individuals can accomplish with their own strength and abilities shall not be taken out of their authority and entrusted to the community; in the same way, all that a community organized on a smaller and lower scale can carry out and provide shall not be transferred upon a larger and higher organization, and it is at the same time a grievous sin, a subversion of the right order of society as any social activity is intrinsically bound to help, subsidize the parts of the entire society, separate parts of the whole of society, by the power that rests within, and it must never disintegrate or engulf the respective parts."[25]

We are convinced that either of the two basic concepts as well as their application would have been able to provide a basis for the rights of national minorities as a solution to self-determination and, consequently, to the survival and development of national minorities. This, in turn, would require these concepts to go further than paying lip service in the social dialogue on this issue but also, together with their full content, to become an integral part of public thinking or at least of the thinking of those responsible for the life of society.

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[24] GS 26.
[25] ANZENBACHER, Arnold (2001): *Keresztény társadalometika*. Budapest, Szent István Társulat. 200.

4. Summary

The issue of national minorities is important to the Catholic Church: not only because it concerns its own members, either as a minority or as a majority, but also because the church has become increasingly sensitive to issues affecting human society in the last century. The importance of this issue is also evident from the fact that it is dealt with by church documents of different levels, which, on the one hand, discuss the basic elements and, on the other hand – in some cases –, seek the solution to the specific issue or problem in the given historical environment.

At the same time, the church is aware of the complexity of this issue and is aware of its role: in addition to condemning specific abuses, it is necessary to develop a preventive protection that can be achieved by establishing the rights of national minorities. It is not exclusively the opinion of ecclesiastical experts that certain elements of the church's social teaching can provide proper conditions for this foundation: in particular, the principles of the common good and subsidiarity seem to be suitable for elaborating a theory of self-determination of national minorities. It certainly should not just happen only within the confines of the church and should not happen in the offices of certain international organizations, but it would rather require a much broader, more comprehensive work implying the involvement of civil society in addition to the organizations mentioned above.

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PÜSÖK Sarolta[1]:

To Serve with Words, Letters, and Deeds – The First Stage of the *Református Család* [Reformed Family] Periodical's Publication (1929–1944)[2]

Abstract.

The study firstly addresses the crisis period, which made the creation of the periodical necessary. The first issue was published in 1929, but our time travel to understand the era needs to take us back at least to the 19th century since the roots of the crisis can be found there: the defeat of the Hungarian Revolution of 1848; the worker optimism following the 1867 Austro-Hungarian Compromise, which, in addition to spectacular results, further deepened the economic and ethnic gap between the various strata of the population; the people-centred, fickle ideological basis of theological liberalism; the horrors of World War I, the Republic of Councils of Hungary, the Treaty of Trianon.

The second main topic outlines one of the successful areas of crisis management, i.e. the domestic mission aspirations unfolding in the Transylvanian Reformed Church District: the role of theology professors, Vécs Society, associations mobilizing certain strata of church members, and related press releases and press products.

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The third chapter presents the first release period of *Református Család* from 1929 to 1944: objectives of the periodical, columns, readers, editors-writers.

Keywords: *the Hungarian Reformed community in Transylvania, crisis period, home/domestic mission, Transylvanian Reformed Women's Association (1928–1944), Református Család periodical (1929–1944).*

1. The Roots of the Crises in the Early 20ᵗʰ Century

Firstly, we must examine the period itself and the factors that caused the crises in the context of which the periodical *Református Család* embarked on its journey so that we can also reveal the direct reasons for the periodical's creation. It is worth looking back at least to the middle of the 19ᵗʰ century to understand the context. Following the Austro-Hungarian Compromise, the inhabitants of the monarchy experienced a long period of peace, when a series of imposing public buildings were built, and progress in technology and science was also dynamic. Theological thinking was also permeated by the spirit of the age, the feverish optimism, which, with its human-centredness, proclaimed the infinite possibilities of man and thus a false security that later had a bitter price. An analyst of the era aptly states in retrospect that "liberal theology, with its relative value and relative standards, did not provide security."[3]

Nevertheless, the gap between dreams and reality gradually widened, and the whispering complaints of the ethnic and economic anomalies of certain social strata condensed into a threatening storm along the edge of the horizon. Poor people were often driven by their own misery and their desire for a better life to seek employment as guest workers in faraway lands, beyond many borders. The first wave of emigration began as early as the defeat of the Hungarian Revolution of 1848, but "it was not until 1880–90 that the desire to emigrate gained more momentum. It is estimated that at this time about a hundred thousand Hungarians were living in the narrower 'United States' …, those who happened to see the end of the war in America and gave up their intention

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[3] MÁRKUS, Jenő (2005): *A liberális szellem a református egyházban – A magyar református liberális teológia.* Budapest, Kálvin János Kiadó. 138–139.

to return home almost without exception."[4] It is difficult to tell the exact number of emigrants because some went back up to three times as they could buy land and a house with the dollars they brought home, and newer plans compelled them to set out for new journeys.

The turn of the century was imbued with a strange feeling, a belief in development, the hope of a better life, which gave man a false self-image and self-confidence that swept him further and further away from God. Then came World War I with its horrors and infightings, and what was left was scorched by the trauma caused by the Soviet Republic and the Trianon Treaty. These events acted on people like a sudden wake-up call would on a sleep-walker, who does not even know where s/he is and what to do, as millions came under the rule of another state overnight, without any change of place, while most of them did not speak the new official language. Families and institutional networks found themselves on different sides of the border, and since not everyone could escape to the small part of the country that remained under Hungarian rule, the majority had to make a choice between fading away/ assimilating into the majority population and being an independent minority. Choosing the latter triggered a whole series of events and actions among the Reformed as well.

2. Successful Crisis Management Strategies

It is much easier to point out the causes of the crisis from a historical perspective than in the midst of or immediately after the crisis. There were people at the turn of the century as well who perceived the wrong direction they were heading to, who were not victims of delusion and were not completely blinded by the spirit of the age. Such vigilant perceptions always require an external, objective reference basis that science can best provide. It was known as early as in the ancient times that movement can hardly be perceived from a curtained car, but when the passenger looks out the window, s/he immediately becomes aware of the movement based on the fading landscape. For the Reformed people of Transylvania, the window of science to the world was primarily the

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4 MAKSAY, Albert (1998): Magyarok. In: Maksay, Ágnes (ed.): *A régi fal szomszédságában*. Cluj-Napoca, Protestáns Teológiai Intézet. 26.

Faculty of Theology of Kolozsvár/Cluj. Domokos Szász, the church-building bishop, who recognized and consistently exploited new opportunities, moved the pastoral institute from Nagyenyed/Aiud to Kolozsvár/Cluj in 1895 with the stated intention of making possible for its professors and students to join the bustling spiritual, cultural life that had developed around the renewed Ferenc József University. His idea was successful – the faculty "... was the spiritual and intellectual hearth of our whole church. The courageous critical work of our scholarly professors protected our church from shallowness. .... In the years of war, this critical vision was deepened into a confession of sins as a result of the work of the same men, and from the struggle against illusions the search for the ultimate reality, the will of God was born."[5] Responsibly minded theologians were later preoccupied with examining the causes of the crisis in the context of crisis management, which also meant honestly looking in the mirror. Sándor Makkai (1890–1951), a professor of theology turned bishop, provides such an analysis, a self-examination and at the same time a plan for the future in his epoch-making work *Magunk Revíziója* [Our Own Revision], in which he states: "*We must take responsibility for the past!* Precisely because we see and know where the past has led us to. As it is our own sin, we must take it upon ourselves so that we can *put it down, repent, and never commit it again… […]… Taking responsibility, repentance, and atonement are the greatest acts by which a nation can prove its right to life and its viability.*"[6]

The biggest mistake of the church in the previous era was undoubtedly that it did not resist the spread of the liberal theological trend, even though "liberal theology did not have a definite programme either for man or for the church. In the absence of such a programme, it could not pass on the values in its principles to the church even though the individual and the church were in great need of communicating values."[7]

The new church organization, the Reformed Church of Romania, had to reinterpret the concept of church in its first decade because without proper self-interpretation it could hardly have thrived in the arising difficult situation. The creation of the

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[5] JUHÁSZ, András (1991): Az Erdélyi Református Egyházkerület. In: „*Tebbenned bíztunk eleitől fogva…*" *– A magyar reformátusság körképe*. Debrecen, Magyar Református Világtalálkozó Alapítvány. 62.

[6] MAKKAI, Sándor (1931a): *Magunk revíziója*. Kolozsvár, Erdélyi Szépmíves Céh. 12.

[7] MÁRKUS 2005, 139.

new programme was obviously a complex and multi-stakeholder process,[8] one of the much-mentioned results of which was a booklet written in 1926 by Sándor Makkai – who occupied the episcopal chair – entitled *Öntudatos kálvinizmus* [Self-Conscious Calvinism]. The eloquent title summarizes an important goal of the era, the need for church members to consciously strive to carry out the Calvinist heritage. Makkai explained in this work as well that instead of a liberal, misguided church, there was a need for a church that recognized its mission and focused on preaching and living the gospel.[9] Clear vision, and especially its awareness, both in the most affected inner circles of church society and in the wider community, were hampered by the fact that in the chaotic state of the early twenties many false expectations were formulated for the church, mainly due to the haunting theological liberalism and the desperate lifesaving. A decade later, Makkai recalls this period: "The torn and tangled strand of all national, social, cultural, and even economic problems could climb onto and cling to this single pillar, which was also shaken, and it was demanded that the church be the maintainer, insurer, and protector of national life, social order, Hungarian culture, and Hungarian existence."[10] By rejecting wrong expectations, he is actually pointing to the essence of the church: "The church is: church! … its foundation is not the nation, not the culture, not society, not wealth, it is not the human and the secular at all."[11] Based on the above demarcation, one should not think of any kind of confrontation as neither the writer of the above lines nor his fellow professors withdrew from the service of preserving the nation and caring for the culture. A series of folk education lectures delivered and social responsibility statements made by theology professors attest to their continued involvement in the above, as evidenced by the simultaneous literary work of Makkai. A significant change compared to previous ages occurred in their theological vision – they were no longer operating under the auspices of cultural Protestantism but along a church programme built on a biblical foundation.

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[8] It would stretch the limits of this study to go into details, but many historical works cover both the description of the process and the analysis of the roles of those involved, friendships and tensions, especially the relationship between professors of theology and the church leadership.

[9] MAKKAI, Sándor (1926): *Öntudatos kálvinizmus – A református magyar intelligencia számára.* Kolozsvár, Az Út. 35–51.

[10] MAKKAI, Sándor (1931b): Erdélyi református problémák. In: *Protestáns Szemle.* 40, 5. 357.

[11] Op. cit. 358.

They now consciously professed that neither the development of culture nor that of the nation can be merely an end in itself, which, in some cases, classifies the church as one of the institutions that serve it. The primary ministry of the church is the proclamation of the gospel of Christ and the realization of a way of life according to Christ, which has the beneficial effect on the lives of individuals and communities of providing comfort and guidance to church members in the present instead of looking into the past and political squabbles. As for the future, it is a win-win situation for everyone if the church focuses on its fundamental task of directing individuals to Christ and urging them to organize communities of love, as this is expected to change the quality of their work and their entire lives. Makkai's ideas on the above are nicely summarized in the following excerpt from his 1944 work titled *Teológiai önéletrajz*:

> "Culture and nation, realities to be sanctified with the gospel, may be idols in themselves; they only become truly valuable and appreciable in the service of the cause of Christ. The days of the institutional and administrative official church organization that exists for itself are numbered, the time of grace of the spiritual, missionary church ensues, and therefore the church cannot be a sign and cover of a national policy of grievance, but, within the given conditions, it should be the spiritual guide of the life of the people entrusted to it, the sanctifier of their daily work, their comfort in their time of sorrow, and their organizer into an active community of love arising from faith."[12]

2.1. The Unfolding of the Transylvanian Reformed Church District's Domestic Mission

The creation of the Church's programme of service outside the church walls and beyond Sunday services was not only a response to a post-World War I emergency but the culmination of an older process. Géza Nagy already speaks of the first director of the Institute of Theology of Cluj-Napoca, the later bishop, Béla Kenessey, as the "apostle of the domestic mission",[13] whose initiatives could not penetrate the whole church body. We

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[12] MAKKAI, Sándor (1990): *Szolgálatom*. (József, Barcza – ed.). Budapest, Református Egyház Zsinati Irodájának Sajtóosztálya. 101.

[13] NAGY, Géza (1937a): Kenessey Béla, mint a belmisszió apostola. In: *Akik kősziklára építettek – Egyháztörténeti dolgozatok*. Kolozsvár. 214.

have previously pointed out that responsibly-minded theologians began to discover their true duties as early as the pre-war period. At this early stage of consciousness, the recognition of shortcomings in their own environment, the misery on the one hand and the abuses on the other certainly played a major role, but the history of theology also speaks of life-changing encounters. In 1908, *Bethlen Gábor Kör* (Bethlen Gábor Circle) in Cluj-Napoca, represented by Lajos Imre, was also invited to Balatonalmádi for the conference of the *Magyar Evangéliumi Keresztyén Diákszövetség* (Hungarian Evangelical Christian Student Association) of Budapest. The student community in Cluj-Napoca was not truly influenced by the spirit of the gospel at that time, or if it did influence some people, it affected others rather negatively. As a result of the summer meeting, "*John Mott*, the American Methodist church worker and evangelist, Secretary General of the World Student Christian Federation (1865–1955) came to Cluj-Napoca in May 1909".[14] Mott was famous for his extraordinary lecturing skills, and his interpreter, Viktor János, also proved to be an excellent translator and theologian. Lajos Imre recalls this meeting with devotion many years later: "Many of our professors and colleagues have seen that the work of the Student Association is not about gracious moaning, as many of them here imagined and practised, but about acknowledging and experiencing the real, redeeming power of Christ. Many of us felt that our faith had been strengthened and we gained strength for the work that we then began to do more seriously in the Bethlen Gábor Circle."[15] Posterity is, of course, mostly interested in the nature of the impulse that gave impetus to the unfolding of the Transylvanian domestic mission – which central thought was at the heart of Mott's presentation and what specific tasks he bestowed upon his audience. Based on contemporary publications and accounts, the Dutch biographer of Lajos Imre summarizes the essence of the lecture held in Cluj-Napoca as follows: "There are people, who really want to be Christians; they are not satisfied with accepting certain doctrines; Christians cannot take a break in the practice of honesty and selflessness. This speech faithfully described the Christianity-awakening activity of

[14] JUHÁSZ, István (2015): *Jézus Krisztus egyháza – Az egyháztörténet vázlata*. Kolozsvár, Kolozsvári Protestáns Teológiai Intézet. 426.

[15] IMRE, Lajos (1999): *Önéletírás*. In: Adorjáni, Zoltán – Buzogány, Dezső (eds.): *Erdélyi Református Egyháztörténeti füzetek*, 2. sorozat. Kolozsvár, Kolozsvári Református Teológiai Akadémia PET. 77–78.

John Mott. He did not give us a theological system but pointed out practical Christianity."[16] He confronted both novice and practising theologians with the unforgettable theological truth that, of the three components of faith, no matter how valuable faith in the realm of intellectually perceived knowledge and emotions is, these are always measured by actions manifested at the level of the will. Honest acts of faith are always needed, but the world had perhaps never been as hungry for these acts of love as it was in the midst of the deplorable post-war conditions. Our theologians could now sharply see what they had only suspected on the eve of the war, that the people could only be comforted by faith in action, by the gospel. Their great recognition was taken seriously by their environment when they organized into a small community of friends and made it public. In 1921, it was announced in the columns of *Református Szemle* (Reformed Review) that a small group of pastors held a conference in Marosvécs (Brâncovenești) on 9–12 August, where they decided to support each other in a friendly manner "in the faithful and evangelical service of the Transylvanian Mother Church [....] in introducing family worships and Bible studies, in working on scientific pastoral training and further training, in transplanting the gospel spirit into the people through the pure gospel living of the pastor ..."[17]

Among the initiators of the community of friends later known as Vécs Society, we can also find four theology professors. Next to them, there were pastors of different theological orientations (liberal, pietist, orthodox), who complemented each other nicely. Lajos Imre, who soon joined them, says: "There was a spirit of early Christianity within the community, where members of all theological approaches and personalities agreed on one thing: the service of Christ."[18] The reconciliation of differences is striking, but so is the reconnection itself as in this era the whole of Europe was threatened by disintegration and distancing. Károly Fekete calls it a *miracle* that "in the summer of 1920 the search for a spiritual community appeared in Pécel and in the summer of 1921 in Marosvécs, and it is a *miracle* that the sense of pastoral responsibility awakened within this lethargic shock of mutilation, and in this humanly impossible time, pastors with a living faith

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[16] ENDE, Magda van der (1990): *Imre Lajos élete és teológiai munkássága*. Budapest, Ráday College Press. 28.

[17] Lelkészi konferencia (1921). In: *Református Szemle* XIV(August). 167.

[18] IMRE 1999, 214.

longed for the complementarity, for being consciously aware of each other."[19] The nature of a miracle suggests, however, that what is humanly incomprehensible can be realized through God. In this case, it seemed highly unlikely that people who were so different and struggling with so much would embrace each other, but the presence of Christ in their lives overwrote what could be humanly expected of them and resulted in great ideas and actions. Similar associations already existed at this time – *Lelkész Egyesület* (Pastors' Association) was founded barely a year earlier, but it was too preoccupied with current church policy issues, even allowing room for liberal ideas. *Evangéliumi Munkások Erdélyi Szövetsége* (Transylvanian Association of Evangelical Workers) was moving towards the other extreme, experiencing piety whilst setting such universal goals which made one forget national affiliation and the clarification of current issues. Both associations were hostile towards Vécs Society, as if they saw their own rival in it.[20]

The first summary of the fifteen-year history of Vécs Society was completed by Géza Nagy, who, as a church historian, makes the suggestive statement that "the development and work of this association are inseparable from the recent history of our Mother Church."[21] Initially, they added the critical but missing growth-ensuring yeast to the work of a church government that shared views somewhat different from theirs.

In the time of Károly Nagy, "when it was no longer possible to conceal their 'opposing views', Vécs Society relaunched the periodical *Az Út* [The Way] in 1923 to inform the public. In contrast to the officiality of *Református szemle*, this represented the voice of constructive church criticism. This will be carried on by *Kálvinista Világ* [Calvinist World] from 1929 and *Kiáltó Szó* [Word of Exclamation] from 1934."[22] After the election of Makkai as bishop in 1926, they separated from each other, the members of the association continuing to perform the often unpleasant task of the "control group"

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[19] FEKETE, Károly, ifj. (2008): *Tudománnyal és a hit pajzsával*. Kolozsvár, Az Erdélyi Református Egyházkerület. 23.

[20] NAGY, Géza (1937b): Tizenöt év a Lelki Egyház szolgálatában. In: *Akik kősziklára építettek – Egyháztörténeti dolgozatok*. Kolozsvár. 222; FEKETE 2008, 25.

[21] NAGY 1937b, 221.

[22] FEKETE 2008, 29; see also: KOZMA, Zsolt (2003): A Kálvinista Világ és a Kiáltó Szó repertóriuma. In: *Erdélyi Református Egyháztörténeti Füzetek* 14. Kolozsvár, Kolozsvári Református Teológiai Akadémia PET.

under the spiritual leadership of Lajos Imre and Sándor Tavaszy.[23] The election of János Vásárhelyi as chief notary (deputy bishop) and then bishop also drives the members of the association further away from the governors of the church, while both church leaders take further and implement the domestic mission plans brought to the fore by the association. Beyond the relations of the persons involved, partly imbued with sincere friendship and partly burdened with tensions, the domestic mission of the Transylvanian Reformed Church flourished during this period.

Several concrete steps in the development of the domestic mission are attributed to the practical theologian Lajos Imre, who was the domestic missionary lecturer of the Transylvanian Reformed Church District between 1924 and 1944. At the meeting of the Board of the Transylvanian Reformed Church District on 17 November 1922, he proposed that the issue of domestic mission be put on the agenda and he put forward his proposal for the Domestic Mission Committee. One attendee protested against the election of professors of theology to the committee, which resulted in the formulation of his response, which was absolute and extended far beyond its time. "Imre Lajos rejected the protest by saying that the Institute of Theology also has the task of leading the domestic mission, and even if theology professors are not elected to the Committee, the spirit of theology must lead this work because all its disciplines look to the mission, if not directly, then indirectly."[24] The theology professor present credible arguments since the theologians of the era meant this seriously and met the above formulated need within the scope of their own subjects and fields of research. Obviously, it would have been more convenient for them to behave in the way that was characteristic in peacetime for economically more developed countries, that is, to retreat into the ivory tower of scientific research. However, the true theologian was able to withstand this temptation of the scientific world and did not relinquish the primary task of theology, mission, and putting the truths of faith that it reveals into the public domain. The debate over scientific research work versus social presence is still alive today. Representatives of various disciplines are also held accountable for the promotion of science, the direct proof of

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[23] FEKETE 2008, 29; IMRE 1999, 215; NAGY 1937b, 232–233.

[24] ADORJÁNI, Zoltán (1996): Imre Lajos (1888–1974). In: Kozma, Zsolt (ed.): *Akik jó bizonyságot nyertek – A Kolozsvári Református Theológia tanárai 1895–1948*. Kolozsvár, Kolozsvári Protestáns Teológiai Intézet. 249–250.

social usefulness, as modern universities expect their lecturers to open up to the world from time to time in addition to the solitude of efficient creative work. It would be an unforgivable selfishness on the part of the theologians to distance themselves from their own society, especially their own ecclesial community. The theology professors of the studied period considered this community service highly significant. Even though their research work, their professionalism, and the quality of their publications were rightly comparable to any theological workshop in the world, they did not turn away with intellectual pride from the church struggling with everyday problems. Their behaviour also revealed their human, Christian greatness.

Their church truly needed their guidance as evidenced, for example, by their service in establishing the principles for the domestic mission. Lajos Imre, who was elected not only to the committee but also as its head, points out the peculiarities of the mission models known up to that time. According to the German model, the domestic mission, the so-called "Innere Mission", is carried out by associations, foundations, or institutions that may have employees who are only nominally or barely affiliated with the church. He considered the Anglo-Saxon example better because the tasks of the so-called "home, or domestic mission" are the direct responsibility of the members of the church and the associations and institutions they establish, and thus the work done is a clear testimony of Christ, who called them for this work. As such, he "clarifies what domestic mission actually is. *Domestic mission is the task and work of the church itself and the congregation, which encompasses church community building, church social and religious education.* These should not be done by any institutions but by the church, *the members of the congregation* themselves. If this work is not done at the level of the congregation members, it can no longer be called domestic mission."[25]

There were precedents for domestic mission activity in the Hungarian Church as well. The undivided Reformed Church created a position for a board member, called *mission lecturer*, in 1888, who was in charge of developing the diaspora and the domestic mission; however, from 1892 onwards, they entrusted this work to a secretary and an assistant secretary, which then, in the absence of the proper spirit, proved to be dead. The essence of Lajos Imre's suggestion is not to entrust the domestic mission to officials

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[25] ADORJÁNI, Zoltán (2000): A nőszövetség és a belmisszió. In: Molnár, János (ed.): *Jézust szerető asszonyok.* Kolozsvár, Erdélyi Református Egyházkerület Nőszövetsége. 22.

and to associations and institutions that also allow for a lack of the sense of vocation, because "bureaucratic bias kills the work. This work does not primarily require administration but inspiration."[26]

2.2. The Work of Church Members
Organized into Associations

Following the establishment of the principles of domestic mission, the above goal unfolded in practice and became a success story. The small church, faced on a daily basis with the social and financial disadvantages of being a minority, was able to realize great ideas. A hospital was established in Cluj-Napoca and an orphanage in Szászváros/Orăştie, which were maintained only due to the determined missionary spirit that permeated all strata of the church. From the halfpence of the widows all through the more generous donations of the aristocrats, perhaps the most important thing was that the deaconesses who served in these institutions were trained by their church for the work but undertook it obeying the call of Christ.

The church tried to take the Word out into the world, to deliver it to the distant, desperate people or those who dropped away. They realized that the merciful, forgiving, and healing God of Christians was unknown not only to the pagan inhabitants of remote, exotic lands but also within their own circles; even among those who belonged to them only nominally, many were hungry for the gospel. The domestic mission programme of the twenties was aimed at addressing all sections of church society. By implication, they first started working with children as the foundation of faith must be established in childhood. The Sunday school movement for children was started by the Christian student association of Cluj-Napoca, the Gábor Bethlen Circle, a decade earlier.[27] From 1924, Lajos Gönczi, a teacher of practical theology, was at the forefront of the field with great devotion. Following the example of YMCA, IKE and FIKE[28] mainly gathered school- and young working boys as well as the university youth. An educated

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[26] IMRE, Lajos (1923): A belmisszió problémája. In: *Az Út* 5, 1–3. 65, 67.

[27] IMRE 1999, 78–82.

[28] IKE, i.e. *Ifjúsági Keresztyén Egyesület* (Youth Christian Association), FIKE, i.e. Főiskolás Ifjúsági Keresztyén Egyesülete (College Christian Association of Young People).

but Christ-loving teacher was asked to direct the work of addressing girls,[29] as there were no qualified women theologians at the time. Mária Pilder (1888–1966) proved to be a brilliant choice. The teacher of German descent, who was also familiar with theology, understood the mysteries of the spiritual world of her students thanks to her pedagogical knowledge and could thus successfully address first of all the educated young ladies. The Girls' Association, established in 1923, is the forebear of the later women's association, as youth is a transitional period in everyone's life. The same goes for the boys; it was no accident that the senior class of IKE was formed, and later the Association of Consistory Members, which was also made up of men. Meanwhile, the church employed Mária Pilder as a travelling secretary between 1924 and 1927 with the aim of mobilizing the pastors' wives as it was hoped that they would become chief leaders of the female branch of the domestic mission.

In 1928, the unanimous response of the Transylvanian Reformed women arrived to the call to service, and the wives of the men leading the church district as well as many aristocratic women formed the Women's Association of the Transylvanian Reformed Church District.[30] Following the model of other church associations, the women's association took over the structure of the church's subdivisions, i.e. it was organized at the congregational/parish level, then at the diocesan level, and finally at the church district level. The latter two were intended to facilitate the work in the congregations with ideas accessible for everyone and by implementing central measures. Decades earlier, there had been isolated women's associations that were mainly involved in charity work at the local level. This time, a national movement was launched.[31] Following the circular issued by Bishop Makkai in 1927, the blessed initiative spread like wildfire, and women's union groups were formed in the most remote congregations as well.

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[29] ADORJÁNI 2000, 25.

[30] The inaugural meeting of the Women's Association of the Transylvanian Reformed Church District was held on 25 November 1928 in Cluj-Napoca, Makkai Sándorné being its first president.

[31] János Vásárhelyi (1888–1960), later bishop, as a young pastor in Beszterce/Bistriţa, called for the establishment of an alliance of the pastors' wives, while he reported that the Saxon Lutherans organized a central Women's Association covering the whole of Transylvania in 1886. See: VÁSÁRHELYI János (1915): A papnék egyháztársadalmi munkásságáról. In. *Református Szemle* VIII(August). 462.

The objectives, statutes, and ideas formulated by the central governing church body helped the efficient operation of the individual communities. The threefold goal was clear from the beginning: to serve and work in the field of SPIRITUAL LIFE, DIACONY, and CULTURE, which is also clearly stated in the statutes. According to contemporary records, the life of the women's association was very eventful, but the greatest benefit of the feverish desire to do something and to belong somewhere was that thousands of women turned towards the Scripture again, turning to God with trust and to each other with love.

2.3. Written Mission

The ministry performed through writing had been a known practice since ancient times. In the period between the two world wars, the desire to write took on unprecedented proportions among the Hungarians forced into minority status. Between 1919 and 30 August 1940, 1,260 newspapers and periodicals were published under a total of 1,672 titles in the 69 settlements in Romania,[32] some of which were short-lived, while others proved to be good service instruments in the long run.

3. Data on the First Release Period of *Református Család* (1929–1944)[33]

3.1. Objectives and Main Topics of the Periodical

The first issue of the periodical came out on 6 January 1929. The periodical was initially published every other week, with 18 issues the following year and 12 issues per year until the penultimate year and then with 8 issues until August 1944. During the time of the global economic crisis, although the periodical was still written and edited

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[32] See: MONOKI, István (1941): *Magyar könyvtermelés a román uralom alatt. 1919–1940.* vol. 2. *Hírlapok és folyóiratok.* Budapest, Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum Országos Széchényi Könyvtára.

[33] The data in this chapter, unless otherwise indicated, are from the issues of *Református Család* published between 1929 and 1944. The complete series can be found in the library of the Protestant Theological Institute in Cluj-Napoca.

by volunteers, it must have been a nerve-wracking work to get to the printing stage at all, which is reflected in the frequent calls of the subscribers for settling their subscriptions, respectively the forgiveness of debts. World War II created serious obstacles at all levels; the articles and photographs of the periodical sometimes reflected the specific political situation and the official attitude towards the war.

The idea of launching a periodical was included in the work plan of the Transylvanian Reformed Women's Association from the very beginning. As they wrote regarding the objectives set out in the first issue: "the press is a very important aid and complementary tool in the service of an organization that extends to the whole country".[34] The paper was not intended for one-way communication; the headquarters of the organization did not want to monopolize it, but they also asked their member organizations to share their own issues: "… we wish to give even the most remote rural member organizations the chance to publish their accounts, have their collections publicly acknowledged, open up about their problems and difficulties, receive answers to their questions, and take an active part in the educational work for which the Women's Association launched this paper."[35] The above aims were carried out within the years of release because throughout its existence the periodical proved to be a forum that collected from all sources and published news and questions on women's organizations. In addition to the member organizations, each reader was also addressed and asked to contribute, one of such opportunities being to send articles or to promote the paper and recruit additional readers.

The title of the periodical suggests that it was not only intended for the members of the women's associations countrywide but also for their entire families. With regard to the objectives of the periodical, the wife of Sándor Makkai wrote: "It intends to look for and to find Reformed Hungarian families and give them gap-filling, refreshing, joyous, nobly entertaining reading material… it wishes to approach families in their own intimate community, so it can then use the fruits and results of the spiritual blessings and inspirations communicated to them and gained from them to the *prosperity of the*

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[34] MAKKAI, Sándorné (1929): Lapunk célja. In: *Református Család*. Kolozsvár, Erdélyi Református Nőszövetség, 1929.01.06. 1.

[35] Op. cit. 2.

entire Transylvanian Reformed Church."[36] However, they did not want to serve the cause of the church in isolation from the surrounding world but to be open to its peculiarities in order to make the development of the Reformed identity as comprehensive as possible. "Our periodical… aims to deal with the manifestations of social life, literature, arts, the dissemination of knowledge, to provide noble entertainment to our families; it will have a section for children and will provide advice and information to those who approach it in this manner."[37]

When reading the old issues, one can see that several topics return more than once; occasionally, readers also write articles to express their supportive or even dissenting opinions. Such is the case of the election of women as church elders, a topic on which opinions were still divided in those times and which appeared several times in the first year's issues of the periodical. The initiative remained viable even in the most difficult years probably because it was not received with indifference, and those who wrote the articles did it with the undiminished ambition to improve, to produce a public benefit.

3.2. Target Group/Readers

On the one hand, *Református Család* is a periodical with a specific target audience, which is a good promoter of an organization's work, whereas, on the other hand, it was intended for a wider target group, and it is especially valuable because it was a *true family periodical*. They tried to address all members of the family as well as families who lived in diasporas, scattered from larger communities. The 1,000-1,200 subscribers covered thus a much larger group of readers. In those times, as incredible as it may seem looking back from our Facebook age, people were highly excited as they waited for the mail-coach to arrive in their village and receive the "fresh" reading materials every two weeks or each month. The list of subscribers was usually published in the periodical; determining their exact identity would require serious investigative work as only the person's name and the place were included in the register. However, the list of women participating in

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[36] Ibid.
[37] Ibid.

the Reformed Holy Weeks[38] also indicated their occupation and identity, and after comparing the two lists, one can see that there are a lot of matching names; therefore, we can conclude that the vast majority of subscribers were pastors' wives, female teachers, and wives of male teachers.

3.3. Editors/Authors

The editor-in-chief of the first series was theology professor Albert Maksay, a New Testament researcher, who stood by the periodical to the end, taking only a short pause. In the first five years, Mária Pilder, who was the travelling secretary of the women's association at the time, proved to be an extremely useful staff member. In 1934, the next travelling secretary, Mária Lőrincz, worked at the periodical. She also did a nice job but left the country very soon, and after a short training in Basel, she moved to Manchuria as the wife and missionary companion of Sándor Babos.[39] There were four female editors in the following period: Klára Póczy Mihályné Kiss and Vidovszky Ferenczné (as of 1935), Székely Jánosné (as of 1939) as well as Éva Dr Borbáthné Vajna (as of 1942, instead of Székely Jánosné). In the last six years, another theology professor, András Nagy, the famous Old Testament researcher, was co-editing the periodical.

Two aspects concerning the editors and authors need to be highlighted.

On the one hand, the selfless activity of theology professors is striking in this area as well. The heads of the New Testament and the Old Testament departments did not have the task of editing periodicals, nor did their fellow professors of undertaking other church periodicals. In addition to the aspects mentioned earlier, the commitment to the ministry of the Word of the new reformer theological trend also played a role in their social work. The contemporary theologian aptly states about them: "Self-conscious Calvinism, the

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[38] Reformed Holy Weeks are central events organized for domestic mission organizations, the printed material of which provides, in addition to the detailed programme and individual lectures/preachings, information about the participants (Sepsiszentgyörgy/Sfântu Gheorghe – 1924, Marosvásárhely/Târgu-Mureş – 1925, Nagyenyed/Aiud – 1926, Brassó/Braşov – 1927, Torda/Turda – 1928).

[39] In May 1934 (issues 7–8), she writes from Switzerland, while in issues 9–10 she writes letters from Manchuria.

aspirations of domestic mission, and, to a lesser extent, the tendency of piety that occurred only in certain individuals were the medium in which the seed of the Word sprouted and the theology of the so-called new reformer Word found a home – much more lastingly than anywhere else abroad."[40] In the columns of its issues, a highly efficient way of spreading the message of the gospel could be realized.

On the other hand, it is characteristic of this era that the dominant personalities of the female work areas are primarily men. Although there are women in the leadership of the women's association, they rarely got there in their own right as most of them were wives of pastors and church leaders. The exceptions were aristocratic ladies, who had always had a distinct freedom of action in society compared to other women, and single women living in almost monastic solitude. It was almost unthinkable for mothers to take on social roles and additional activities during this period. The training for newspaper editing and regular journalistic activities was also granted to only a few as universities barely opened their gates to women. For example, the first woman could enrol to the Institute of Reformed Theology in Cluj-Napoca in 1917, but it was not until 1930 that a female student first took the final exam, which did not depend on the preparedness of female students but on the ecclesiastical decision that allowed them to apply for the exam, which, until then, was considered equivalent to an authorization for pastoral service. Mária Lőrincz already belonged to this new generation. The positive aspect of the issue, however, is that domestic mission paid attention to women as well and provided a spiritual, cultural, and infrastructural background between the two world wars that could educate female staff for the future. The irony of history is, however, that after World War II both professing Christian men and women were forced by the communist dictatorship to take a step back, which led, among other things, to the cessation of the periodical.

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[40] KOZMA, Zsolt (1996): Nagy András (1899–1974). In: Kozma, Zsolt (ed.): *Akik jó bizonyságot nyertek – A Kolozsvári Református Theológia tanárai 1895–1948*. Kolozsvár, Kolozsvári Protestáns Teológiai Intézet. 384.

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*** Lelkészi konferencia (1921). In: *Református Szemle* XIV (August). 167.

SZABÓ Árpád Töhötöm[1]:

History, Local Stories, and Power Dynamics: The Changes of the 20th Century and the Counts of Bethlen of Bonyha/Bahnea[2]

Abstract.

The Bethlens acquired an estate in Bonyha/Bahnea located by Kis-Küküllő/ Târnava Mică River at the turn of the 16th century, but their presence can be documented with certainty starting 1545: they remodelled their manor-house the very same year. However, the over 400-year-old local history of the family took a sudden turn and was almost completely disrupted in 1946 and the subsequent years as being moved to an assigned residence. Apart from the introduction and some theoretical and methodological considerations, this study is divided into three parts and aims both at tracing what the 400 years meant, the role of the family in the life of the village, and the area and the macro - and microprocesses that accompanied the liquidation of the family's estate in Bonyha. Finally, the most important part of the paper attempts to examine the way in which the Bethlens are still present in the life of the village. This study starts from the premises that the major political events (wars, regime changes, border changes) represent the environment of everyday life, and people should react to these apparently external and remote conditions in order to shape their own day-to-day horizons. In this context, the seemingly objective

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statement that an agrarian reform took place in the year 1921 meant for the Bethlen family of Bonyha the first stage in the tragic process towards the liquidation of the estate and ultimately the family's disappearance. Thus, this study analyses the dynamic interrelationship between macro history and the small, local stories.

Keywords: history, local stories, everyday life, regime change, counts of Bethlen, Bonyha.

Introduction

This study starts off by analysing the presence and the absence of the Bethlens in Bonyha/Bahnea from a double cross-sectional perspective: in order to make statements about the connection of major historical events with the local processes, the intertwining of the two, it seeks to supplement the data obtained through the fieldwork method of classic cultural anthropology (participant observation, interviews) by using historical research and historical sources. Thus, one cross-section focuses on the dynamic relationship between macrohistory and small stories, while the other focuses on the complementary nature of historical and anthropological research.

The purpose is to explain the presence of the Bethlens in the village as well as their disappearance as tangibly as possible and make sense of the contradictory statements concerning the presence of the noble family that – reflecting a kind of Marxist historical outlook – depict a count (his family) dominating the village on the one hand and, on the other hand, quite the opposite: they depict the count as a kind of benevolent father attentively following the matters in the village. Another important question is to what extent local environments, whether in the distant or in the more recent past, have been involved in the processes of history, to what extent they are sufferers or shapers of the stories.

Several high-impact historical trends of the 20th century raise the very question of how history appears in everyday life[3], how history becomes perceptible, palpable,

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[3] See, for instance: GYÁNI, Gábor (1997): A mindennapi élet mint kutatási probléma. In: *Aetas* 1. 151–161; KASCHUBA, Wolfgang (2012): *Einführung in die Europäische Ethnologie.* Munich, C. H. Beck. 115–132, esp. 125–128.

and recountable to (everyday) people.[4] While we often assume –or science has assumed – that history takes place in the centres of civilization, royal palaces and battlefields, and we tend to operate with these timeless and spaceless notions or the assumption of existence outside of civilization,[5] it has become increasingly proven that everyone has a history,[6] and at best it must be approached from another perspective than the history of royal families and the battles of great powers. We will be precisely concerned about how a noble family connected to the centres of power but still lived in the countryside, in this sense away from the centres of power, how it participated in these processes and involved in these processes those around them and whom our outlook on history often tends to forget.

The following issues are related to the above: the historical interest in cultural anthropology based on fieldwork and the researcher's presence on the field, springing from the Malinowskian tradition of the 20ᵗʰ century, although a very important component of the study of historical aspects of early anthropology, is not a primary aspect (as the history of peoples studied by structuralist and functionalist schools is primarily oral), but the historical perspective still plays a highly significant role in the European research on historical anthropology, microhistory, and social history, focusing on peasant communities, workers, or other groups.[7] This is especially true about the research carried out in the Eastern European, socialist era, where taking the major historical events or local historical processes into consideration makes a very important part of the explanation.[8]

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[4] See: JAKAB, Albert Zsolt (2012): *Emlékállítás és emlékezési gyakorlat. A kulturális emlékezet reprezentációi Kolozsváron*. Cluj-Napoca, Kriza János Néprajzi Társaság – Nemzeti Kisebbségkutató Intézet. 15–52; KESZEG, Vilmos (2011): *A történetmondás antropológiája*. Cluj-Napoca, Kriza János Néprajzi Társaság – Magyar Néprajz és Antropológia Intézet.

[5] Cf. COHN, Bernard S. (1980): History and Anthropology: The State of Play. In: *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 22, 2(Apr.). 198–221; FABIAN, Johannes (1983): *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Objects*. New York, Columbia University Press; MEDICK, Hans (1995): "Missionaries in the Rowboat"? Ethnological Ways of Knowing as a Challenge to Social History. In: LÜDTKE, Alf (ed.): *The History of Everyday Life. Reconstructing Historical Experiences and Ways of Life*. Princeton, Princeton University Press. 42–71.

[6] WOLF, Eric R. (1982): *Europe and the People Without History*. Berkeley, University of California Press.

[7] HANN, Chris M. (2009): The Theft of Anthropology. In: *Theory, Society and Culture* 26, 7–8. 126–147; KASCHUBA 1202, 202–203.

[8] See, for instance: VERDERY, Katherine (1983): *Transylvanian Villagers. Three Centuries of Political, Economic, and Ethnic Change*. Berkeley, University of California Press.

Starting from these two very broad but extremely inspiring backgrounds, the study ultimately seeks the find an answer to –also referring to Bernard Cohn's idea: "The anthropological historian therefore should have the working experience of both the field and the archive."[9] –how great historical cataclysms of the 20th century shaped people's lives, even on an individual level, how individual people may or may not be able to respond to these challenges; and the question also arises as to how to use different research methods, data collection procedures, data and data types to help explain these local processes.

Bonyha: The Field and the Fieldwork

I visited Bonyha in 2006 for the first time. We were conducting a fieldwork in the neighbouring Héderfája/Idrifaia, and I was exceptionally interested in Bonyha as a location: I found very exciting the urban yet halfway modernized character of the village centre, the peculiar castle –imposing in the Transylvanian context even in its deteriorated condition –, the merely imaginable former castle garden around it, and, last but not least, an ethnically colourful world where Romanians, Hungarians, and Roma have lived together but where the Saxons alongside the Jewish and Armenian merchants still had a living memory. As it later became clear: Bonyha is a small-scale reflection of the formerly ethnically diverse region located between Balavásár/Bălăuşeri, Erzsébetváros/Dumbrăveni, and Dicsőszentmárton/Târnăveni, wherein it did not succeed in acquiring a genuinely central role precisely due to the emergence of Erzsébetváros and Dicsőszentmárton.

According to the 2011 census, there are 2,000 inhabitants in Bonyha, roughly 42% of them being Roma, 31% Hungarian, and 27% Romanian, while the economic, social, and power positions are exactly the opposite, the gap between the Roma and the non-Roma inhabitants being quite significant. Bonyha is also the centre of the community, but its role –based on interviews and historical data –may have been much more significant: it also functioned as a market centre in the area (its fairs are still visited not only by locals but also by people from more remote areas), to which a significant number of craftsmen, artisans, and merchants in the village meeting the needs of visitors to the

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[9]   COHN 1980, 221.

fair also contributed. This already explains the widening street in the village centre and the unusual constructions standing out from the vernacular architecture of the area: the houses also functioning as shops feature a door on the street front. The Bethlens managing their properties in Bonyha and in the neighbouring areas from here and being involved in maintaining the local market presumably played a role in the operation of the fair.

Between 2009 and 2014, we carried out fieldwork several times here (field trips, participant observation, interviews, focus group interviews, questionnaire surveys), and, due to the nature of the research, we also tried to map historical sources (archives, historical works, archival press materials) that could help us answer our questions about the current state. As it can be seen above, the role of the family in the village was of particular interest to us, so this also came up during the interviews, but perhaps we would have touched on these issues without myself asking about it. We also tried to review the historical materials related to the village and the family, which is why we conducted research in the archives of Budapest and Marosvásárhely/Târgu-Mureș, summarized the data of historical statistics, reviewed the local newspaper articles published at the turn of the 20th century, and also tried to compare all these with the data in the interviews.[10]

1545–1946: 400 years, the Bethlens and Their Presence

The Bethlens, both the Iktár/Ictarés Betlen/Beclean branches, were one of the most important aristocratic families in Transylvania. Over the centuries, princes, statesmen, politicians, soldiers, artists and patrons, school sponsors have emerged from this family. The Bethlens of Bonyha could probably not be top-ranked personalities in this respect,

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[10] Several studies and a book have been published based on my fieldwork in Bahnea/Bonyha (SZABÓ, Á. Töhötöm (2013): *Gazdasági adaptáció és etnicitás. Gazdaság, vidékiség és integráció egy erdélyi térségben.* Cluj-Napoca, Nemzeti Kisebbségkutató Intézet – Kriza János Néprajzi Társaság). In my book describing and analysing the ethnic-economic conditions in Bahnea/Bonyha and their evolution in history, I already touched on the role of the Bethlens in the village, but the data herein are being presented in a new light and in this scope. Zsuzsanna Fülöp and Márton László were of great help in the historical orientation and exploration of sources, and I would like to thank them here as well. I read the issues of the Kis-Küküllő published between 1891 and 1933 in the University Library in Kolozsvár/Cluj.

but we must still mention that one of our first women (memoir) writers was (Orphan) Kata Bethlen of Betlen/Beclean, who was born in Bonyha in 1700. Her name survived not only as a writer but also as a school and art patron: among other things, she supported Peter Bod, whom then she appointed her court preacher. Several members of the Bethlen family of Bonyha took part in the Transylvanian governance and played an essential role at the county level.

Our first reliable record of the Bethlens of Bonyha dates back to 1545: the family, presumably already living in the village at the time, conducted reconstruction works on the castle. In 1675, following a property ownership dispute of the two local family branches, they built a new castle in the village opposite the still standing old castle (both castles are visible on the military map of the 18th century).[11] Most of the data on the management of the count's estate date back to the 19th century,[12] but an inventory dated 1711 published by Zsuzsánna Fülöp also gives us a picture about what economic life was on the estate. The census gives an account of, inter alia, horse stables, piggeries, cowsheds, chicken coops, fishponds, raw and dried fruits, winepresses, wine produced in several neighbouring villages (Bonyha, Bogát/Bogata, Csávás/Ceuaş, Leppend/Lepindea, Örményes/ Armeniş, Zágor/Zagăr), vegetables gardens and flower gardens, barnyards, orchards, etc., that is to say, the picture of a large and highly diversified estate unfolds before our eyes.[13] During the division in 1732, the ancestor of the family, Pál Bethlen, also received

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[11] The newest castle was dismantled between the two World Wars (see more details in later sections).

[12] The sources for the agricultural and historical data were the statistics drawn up at the turn of the 20th century (MKOMS – *A magyar korona országainak mezőgazdasági statisztikája*. Budapest, Pesti Könyvnyomda-Részvény-társaság, 1897; RUBINEK, Gyula: *Magyarországi gazdaczímtár. Magyarország, Horvát- és Szlavónországok 100 kat. Holdon felüli birtokosainak és bérlőinek czímjegyzéke, az egyes megyek részletes monográfiájával.* Budapest, Országos Magyar Gazdasági Egyesület Könyvkiadóvállalata, 1911), the land register, and the materials in the archives in Budapest and Marosvásárhely/Târgu-Mureş. Browsing through the memoirs of a local resident and former magistrate, Nicolae Golea, also turned out to be useful (GOLEA, Nicolae (1996): *O viață închinată unui sat. Amintiri.* Târgu-Mureş, Transilvania) just as reading László Péterfy's work on the history of the Bonyha/Bahnea parish (PÉTERFY, László (2000): *Bonyha és egyháza*. Odorheiu Secuiesc, self-released publication).

[13] FÜLÖP, Zsuzsánna (2012): *A bethleni Bethlen család bonyhai kastélya*. Dissertation paper – manuscript. Babeş–Bolyai University, Department of Art History, Cluj-Napoca.

the estates in Szentlászló/Sănvasii, Szénaverős/Senereuş, Örményes, Dányán/Daia, Csávás/Ceuaş, Bernád/Bernadea, and Kápolna/Căpâlna together with the estate and castle of Bonyha.[14] The castles of Bonyha were thus the hubs of extensive estates.

The counts of Bethlen continued to engage in farming with outstanding results in the early 19th century as well, as the sources also mention their beautiful orchards and their horse-powered threshing machines, which were still very rare in Transylvania at the time.[15] According to the agricultural statistics made in 1895, Árpád Bethlen and his family owned 2,235 yokes[16] of land, out of which 202 yokes were arable. But his forest estate was considerable, amounting to 1,329 yokes and hiring over 100 people, being thus the most important employer in the area. The cattle herds were significant, being kept separate in infertile herds and dairy cattle, and his stud farm was also large. The villagers all mentioned his oxen and horses: some remembered thirty and others sixty oxen. Judging by the number of carts, around thirty is more likely. The count also traded his cattle abroad, and after a successful fair the locals were also able to join this trade, whose cattle were also transported from the Bonyha railway station by the merchants arriving here. The count also had a herd of swine and a flock of sheep,[17] as statistics prove it, while residents remember and the archives confirm that he also had flourishing gardens.

The data recorded 15 years later depict an even larger estate in Bonyha and the surrounding villages: in 1910, in Bonyha, in the nearby Bernád, and in the more remote Harangláb/Hărănglab, the noble family owned 2,920 yokes of land, out of which 1,208 yokes were arable, 1,060 yokes were forest, and the rest was used for miscellaneous purposes (gardens, pastures, meadows). This was a significant property in the Transylvanian context. The 1910 statistics also list the count as a tobacco grower, who was in the category of tobacco growers owning over 10 yokes. At the end of the 1890s, there was a situation in which the count tried out tobacco production on 30 yokes, which brought a very good

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[14] LUKINICH, Imre (1927): *A bethleni gróf Bethlen család története*. Budapest, Athenaeum R. T. 553. Nicolae Golea mentions that the count owned two watermills, one in Kápolna/Căpâlna and the other one in (Oláh) Szentlászló/Sănvasii (GOLEA 1996, 97). We know that these usufructuary rights also pertained to the estate.

[15] KŐVÁRI, László (1847): *Erdélyország statistikája*. Kolozsvár, Tilsch Jánosnyomdája. 104, 125.

[16] Unit of land area, equal to 0.57 hectares (see Romanian 'iugăr', German 'Joch', and Hungarian 'hold') (editor's note).

[17] GOLEA 1996, 96.

yield, a very good quality, and an income of 100 forints per yoke.[18] But we also get the information from the turn of the century that the count's tobacco was being stolen.[19] Nicolae Golea mentions the count's tobacco barns.[20] Adding to this that he had more than one hundred employees, he also had the villagers who came to work for wood and hay and who hoed the sugar beet, he owned a distillery, he operated two water-mills and traded cattle: the image of an intensive large-scale agricultural farm emerges, within which innovation also played a major role as industrial crop plants appeared in Transylvanian agriculture during the time.[21]

The owner of this plant, on the other hand, was not unwilling to help the life of the village and the countryside or even the county whenever possible. The list of major taxpayers was led in general by Jenő Haller of Küküllővár/Cetatea de Baltă followed, second or third, by Árpád Bethlen.[22] The count was a member of the county committee, but he was also the vice-chairman of the horse breeding society, the appraiser of the horse classification board.[23] We must also emphasize his role in the construction of the railway along the Kis-Küküllő: he enthusiastically supported the construction of the railway and participated in the board.

His work was also recorded in the press of the time when a journalist put these words into the count's mouth: "as soon as one can smell coal smoke, they are in the very midst of civilization", and then he continued: "Bonyha is already the very centre of the world although it was a terminus until now".[24] The count facilitated the building of the old school not only by giving them the plot but also by travelling to Budapest with the supervisor, the head of the B. family, to obtain the permit. The count also donated the plot for construction, and he had the old Orthodox church built,[25] which is quite abandoned today because of the population change, standing on the hill above the Roma part of the village, and it is hardly ever used. The castle also hosted

[18] *Kis-Küküllő* 25. Febr. 1894. 4/9, p. 3.
[19] *Kis-Küküllő* 2 Oct. 1898. 8/40, p. 3.
[20] GOLEA.
[21] EGYED Ákos: *Falu, város, civilizáció*. Bukarest, Kriterion Könyvkiadó, 1981.
[22] *Kis-Küküllő* 11. Oct. 1891. 1/28, p. 3 and 25. Nov. 4/48. p. 2.
[23] *Kis-Küküllő* 25. Oct. 1903. 13/43. p. 2
[24] *Kis-Küküllő*, 2 Oct.1898. 8/40, p. 1
[25] PÉTERFY, 138.

balls, performances, and charity evenings with the participation of local intellectuals and owners. "In the benefit of the school and the casino, the youth of Bonyha shall host an amateur show followed by dancing on 15 June 1895 (in the halls of the old Bethlen castle)." Endre Scheitz, Ida Elekes, Sámuel Kerekes, and Count Ádám Bethlen appeared in the show.[26] It cannot be a coincidence either that a reading society was established in the village, and even a casino was planned to be opened.[27]

1921–1946: A Quarter of a Century and the Disappearance of a Family

With the peace treaties that ended World War I, Transylvania, including Bonyha, was annexed to Romania. And while some aspects of the change were not immediate, they were still final: the noble family remained in the village, the recordings in the land registry were still made in Hungarian after the change of regime, but then they became bilingual, and the agrarian reform board still used Hungarian; nonetheless, a process started closing almost definitively in a quarter of a century the 400-year-old history of the Bethlens in Bonyha. The process sharply raises the issue of the extent to which the major historical events appear in the lives of everyday people.[28] The economic drive of the count's estate was disrupted between the two World Wars. During the 1921 Agrarian Reform, a significant part of their land was taken away, and, although the count's family retained its economic priority, and – according to the available historical data and the villagers' memory – it still remained the most important employer in whose estate both Hungarians and Romanians worked, the economic performance of the estate decreased. Of the entire 2,400-yoke estate inventoried in the agrarian reform lists,[29] only 420 yokes were left to Ádám Bethlen (he was already the owner as his father died

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[26] *Kis-Küküllő* 19. Jun. 1895. 5, 23. 3.

[27] *Kis-Küküllő* 10 Febr. 1895. 5, 6. 2.

[28] The Bethlens were an aristocratic family. But just as kings did, they also had an everyday life (KASCHUBA 2012, 223): the change of the regime in this sense affected not only their public roles but also their everyday life. The word "everyday" is used in this sense here.

[29] During the 1921 Agrarian Reform, the noble estate of Bonyha/Bahnea was recorded with 2,369 yokes.

in 1912),[30] and thus the decrease in the economic performance is completely under-standable. The new castle built in 1675 was demolished during this period, and the distillery was closed down as well.[31]

The count's estate in the centre of the village was divided, houses were built here, and these houses were connected to the main road by a new street so that the inhabitants would not have to walk on the roundabout opening from the roads running up the two valleys.[32] Thus, the landscape of the village also changed (and continued to do so after WWII). The poor and/or the Roma and war veterans were given land. The land ownership of the Roma mostly dates back to this time and, later, from the period of reprivatization. The land reform of 1921 clearly shows that the modern (nation-) state highly interferes in the matter and shapes local property and economic relations. In the case of Transylvania, this was accompanied by the peculiar nature of the agrarian re-form that it was not simply a social reform (in fact, it seems to have been less of a social reform) but rather a means of creating a Romanian nation-state and economic frame-work, part of nationalist economic policy.[33]

The 1921 Agrarian Reform was also conferred a special character by the two sepa-rate laws that applied to the parts newly annexed to Romania (Law of 30 July 1921) and to the territories that had hitherto formed Old Romania (Law of 17 July 1921).[34] There is more than one article in the law on Transylvania featuring the obvious inten-tion to reduce the economic power of the Hungarian landowners, and we do know that during the enforcement the primary objective was to transfer landed property to

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[30] ROLMMI Fond col. de evid. cad. 196 Romanian National Archives Mureş County Directorate, Marosvásárhely/Târgu-Mureş – cadastral collection.

[31] A plot of land and a building belonging to the Bethlens was registered as the property of the distillery in Szamosújvár/Gherla in 1937 (LAND REGISTER – Excerpt from the land register of the Bethlens of Bonyha/Bahnea. In the possession of the Reformed Church District of Transyl-vania, Kolozsvár/Cluj-Napoca.).

[32] GOLEA 1996, 104.

[33] BÍRÓ, Sándor (2002): *Kisebbségben és többségben. Románok és magyarok 1867–1940*. Miercurea Ciuc, Pro-Print.

[34] The law on the newly annexed regions is available at: http://www.cdep.ro/pls/legis/legis_pck. htp_act_text?idt=65850; the law of the Romanian Old Kingdom here: http://www.cdep.ro/pls/ legis/legis_pck.htp_act_text?idt=65849 (last accessed on: 14 September 2020).

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Romanian farmers.[35] At the time, 47 building plots of 400 square fathoms each were allotted to Romanians, Hungarians, and Roma, and 160 people were given one to three yokes of land.[36]

Despite the disruption in the economic drive, it seems that the count's family was still able to maintain both its courtly lifestyle and his integrative role in the village. The data obtained from the interviews on this period can also be of assistance since we managed to interview several people in Bonyha who knew the count's family personally as children or during their youth. According to interviews, it often happened that the peasant children or the craftsmen's children spent time around the tennis court, picking up the balls, fetched lemonade from the kitchen, and so on. "How was it? We would often go to the counts' place, and they would call us to paint the court, roll it down, and the rope that is the net had to be mounted at 2 in the afternoon as they would start playing. Then we were there, picked up the balls, we would hit some balls now and then… 'Now go and get a ball.' And I would go up to the castle, as we knew where the balls were, and would bring down a whole box" (B. J.).

The count's family did not completely isolate themselves from the village life during this period; there were also instances when the young counts would show up at the village balls. The recollection of the young counts skiing behind the car also dates back to this time. Also remembering this period, many recalled that the count had presents for every child at Christmas and spoke to everyone in their own language. Therefore, it can be argued that the count was, in a sense, above the local ethnic struggles, which is why the count's family and their memory may have played an integrative role in the life of the village.

The count's last cook was a local Romanian man.[37] The count and his family found shelter at his place after the war: "…indeed, he was a faithful servant. And the youngsters also liked him as S. was almost their age" (B. A.) "…and they were then accommodated at the old man's place. And the old man hid them away. The old man

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[35] BÍRÓ 2002.

[36] ROLMMI.

[37] C. I. (1903–1997) – died childless. According to the interview given by his kinswoman, he was a cook in the count's court for 28 years. He last met the counts in 1996.

hid all their stuff, all their belongings. […] They didn't have anything to eat, they took away everything. At the end of his field, there were stacks of corn stover; he dug a hole and hid it there" (G. O.). The cook was then allegedly often harassed by the Securitate to hand over the count's hidden treasures: "…he was taken to Târgu-Mureş; I don't know whether he was beaten. And then he came back home, and he cried his eyes out. 'What happened?', I asked. I must go to Hátszeg/Haţeg… where the count's grave was […], they said he had the golden hen with the chickens" (G. O.).[38]

The count's last steward was also Romanian. His daughter, who is over eighty now, also has nice memories of the count. In the village, however, they say that the steward's three daughters married thanks to the count's estate; so, of course, "they think highly of them", they add. The old lady, on the other hand, claims that the count sold his property after leaving the village, leaving only the empty castle behind. This is highly unlikely knowing that the count was exiled to a forced residence after World War II and being aware of the nature of the following regime and its relationship to the former aristocracy and bourgeoisie.

The villagers' recollections of the period after WWII are contradictory. The count's family was evicted in 1946, moved to an assigned residence in 1949; the crumbling outer walls of the castle began to be torn down, and houses were built from it.[39] Russian soldiers were accommodated in the castle during World War II. Later, it functioned as the office of the agricultural cooperative, a boarding school, and then the town hall. The library and records that remained in place, including the documents of the cooperative, were destroyed. It might be too exaggerated, but it can be still stated that in 1946, after a short but eventful quarter of a century featuring world wars, border changes, changes of regime, agrarian and social reforms, and economic crises, a four-century story was disrupted.

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[38] The cook kept a relatively vast photo album of the count's family, which he bestowed upon one of his relatives after his death. In these pictures, the aristocratic life is displayed in its old splendour.

[39] Cf. BICSOK, Zoltán – ORBÁN, Zsolt (2011): „*Isten segedelmével udvaromat megépítettem...*" *Történelmi családok kastélyai Erdélyben.* Miercurea Ciuc, Gutenberg Kiadó. 162.

Presence, Disappearance, and Reappearance

The distinctive nature of the Bethlens' presence in Bonyha and in the area of the village is indisputable. Not only the inhabitants of Bonyha but also the residents in the area, all the way to Balavásár, worked for him. Nicolae Golea recalls that very few in the village did not work for the count, but virtually the whole village depended on him. He had several tenant farmers in the village, Hungarians and Romanians alike, for whom he also provided supplies and arable land. Because the forest was almost entirely owned by the count, those who asked for the wood had to pay for it in working days, or for the hay they wanted to mow. The count used the working days for mowing and hoeing, for instance, for beet hoeing.[40] The interviews also highlight that labour force was needed as well in his 45-yoke vineyard, and it is worth noting that 45 yokes of the village's 52-yoke vineyard were in his hands.

As mentioned above, the count's family also owned a car, which was quite rare in the area at the time: there were three in total in the area from Balavásár to Dicsőszentmárton. The count was also at the villagers' service with the car, and if needed he made the car and his chauffeur available to the inhabitants for urgent local matters.[41]

The interviewees who were children at the time recall this era as a time when the count managed the affairs of the village and its people as a benevolent father, handed out gifts for Christmas, and so on.

> He was a good man, on the people's side. On New Year's Day, he would gather all the village children together, the countess would come out and would give everyone [*ne slobozea*] a present. […] [*And didn't he make any distinction between Romanians and Hungarians?*] No, no, all the children in the village can tell that, all those my age we would go so that that the count would give us a gift [*aiandec*]. This is how he would say it… He gave us oranges… but you know what he gave us most often? Figs. (T. M.)

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[40] GOLEA 1996.

[41] Ibid.

The departure of the count's family, the demolition of the outbuildings and the fence of the castle did not mean that the family had definitively disappeared from the village. As we have already mentioned: building plots and arable lands were given away from his land. New roads were built, new houses were erected from the building materials remaining from the dismantled walls. The local memory preserves this information. "Bonyha's existence was defined by the count's court as around 50 families received their daily bread from the count. Well, now the count's estate was parcelled out and divided among them by right of being soldiers or I don't know for what kind of merits, or the plots were given away for war heroes and veterans" (B. A.).

As they say, many houses between the centre and the railway were built from this building material: "This street was built from it. The bricks were cleared away from there. It happened that a girl was a servant there. She got married and did not have a place to stay, and then they were given a building plot by the state or the village. And the houses were built from there. All from there, all of it… There was a big stonewall around, they would hit it with hammers and carried it away" (B. R.). There are many things from the castle that were taken away by the inhabitants of Bonyha, as stated by several residents, but these artefacts will probably never surface again.

The marketplace that still operates today used to be the count's estate. The practice of selling and buying on the market was largely determined by the farming and animal husbandry existing on the count's estate. Today's merchants, in a sense, see themselves as heirs to this practice. The count played a decisive role in the construction of the railway as well as presumably in the fact that the first section of the branch line went up to Bonyha, which was then the centre of the area. The name of the meadow between the castle and Kis-Küküllő preserves the memory of the outstanding horse breeding and the count's stud farm: the *Lókert* [Horse Park], where the count supposedly kept his horses. The name of *Lókert* appears both in the toponymic material (Bernád, 1711) and the archive sources (Bonyha, 1713).[42] The memory of their former vegetable garden is preserved through the *Bulgárkert* [Bulgarian Garden] toponym,

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[42] HAJDÚ, Mihály – SEBESTYÉN, Zsolt (2003): *Kisküküllő és Nagyküküllőmegye.* Szabó T. Attila kéziratos gyűjteményéből közzéteszi. SZABÓ T. Attila, *Erdélyi Történeti Helynévgyűjtése.* 4. Magyar Nyelvtudományi Társaság, Budapest. 23; MOL P1951 – National Archives of Hungary, Archives of the Bethlens (P 1951). Estate administration and management documents. Doc. 43.

whose continuity was ensured by the intensive and financially successful cooperative farm.[43]

With the political and economic changes, the opportunities of the count's family were first reduced and then became impossible. The integrative role played by the count's estate was held for a few decades by the cooperative, which was basically established on the count's estate. The consumer cooperative, shop, confectionery, and bakery built on the count's estate also played a similar role. The so often forced and violent modernization brought by the second half of the 20th century transformed both production structures and distribution chains, so that the doors that once opened on the street front for the street fair also lost their function.

The family members visited the village back in the 1990s. According to the photographs, they also met their former cook (they had been in contact with him in the meantime, sending photos). But they were not particularly interested in the estates – the reclaimed castle, fractions of lands and forests were all donated to the Transylvanian Reformed Church District. The preservation of the castle has started (a new roof has been built), and it is known from the reports of the representatives of the church district that concrete plans have been made in connection with the utilization of the castle: the castle was taken over by the Reformed Women's Association, and, according to the report of one of the leaders of the church district, the reclaimed lands will also be put at its service. A castle day is held in the castle and its garden at the beginning of each summer.

Closing Remarks

Those growing up in socialism considered it perfectly natural for the history textbooks to claim that the nobility, i.e. the exploiting class, was most preoccupied with sweating the peasantry in addition to leading an idle lifestyle. The truthfulness of the statement is indisputable, but it needs to be nuanced: the history of the relationship between the peasantry and the nobility featured several moments and occasions of cooperation. Ákos Egyed quoting Sándor Újfalvy reports about such cases,[44] although he also

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[43] See: SZABÓ 2013, 147–148.
[44] EGYED 1981, 29.

notes that such mass events were not necessarily frequent.[45] If we take a closer look at some of the cases, we can definitely nuance these images: in the village, I also rarely encountered negative opinions about the count's family, for the most part the opinions being rather positive. And, in general, they believe that the family's presence in the village was a positive one.

At the same time, moving closer also helps us become even more aware: these sites are not necessarily described by the discourse of the white spot, the edge of civilization or atemporality,[46] even if they sometimes apply this to themselves as the head of the count's family once did during the construction of the branch line. Anyone who moves closer to these cases using the methodological tools and sources of different disciplines can see that the image of people living independent, autonomous lives gets shaped during the study. Local life is a complex set of meanings, whose part, but still only *one* part, is the connection to the outside world. Even without the counts of Bethlen, the people of Bonyha would have their own lives connected to these outside worlds. The Bethlens reorganized these relationships at most, influencing village life at the level of these relationships but also in terms of the organization of inner life.

The final, important question, however, remains valid: to what extent are the local worlds the victims and to what extent are they the shapers of these stories? Or, in other words: how people participate in all these processes and whether the individuals can shape their own destiny. The examples presented above perhaps show that these local worlds are indeed part of their own history, which in turn is part of the great history. The presence of the Bethlens exemplifies this connection very nicely and shows not only that history takes place in these apparently remote places in space and time but also that local people can be shapers of this process themselves: the count experimenting with the new, but the craftsman, the merchant, or the peasant trading animals all point in the direction of the individuals actively shaping their lives.

However, there are moments in history when an individual is left with reduced room for manoeuvre: the quarter of a century, which eventually resulted in the disappearance of the count's family, gradually narrowed down these spaces. And this, again, sheds new light on the issue of shifting the focus of power centres, the evolution of

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[45] Ibid.

[46] Cf. FABIAN and MEDICK.

dynamics between power centres and local worlds. Undoubtedly, the Romanian state, interested in hard-line nationalization, had radically new ideas on these issues, and on the path to achieving their ambitious goals they acquired some or a significant part of there sources as well as of their own legitimacy, both after WWI and WWII, by way of more or less violent deprivations committed against the old classes, by calling their representatives' position into question, and often by their physical destruction.

A century has passed since the peace treaties ending the First World War: these regime changes, the transformation in the relationships between the domestic world and the outside world, the change in the structures of the local world indelibly occurred. However, the four-century-long presence of the Bethlens has not passed without a trace: not only the castle that still stands today reminds us of them and not only the inhabitants' memories otherwise constantly subject to change but also their presence in the history of Bonyha, manifested in the rural structure, place names, and social structures.

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CHIRILĂ Ioan[1]:

Ethnicity, Confession, Nation – The Development of Concepts in the History of Transylvania in Religious Life[2]

Abstract[3].

The church has had to accept the national division of Europe since the Middle Ages and adapt to this situation. This issue is relatively unclear in the case of Transylvania. N. Iorga stated about the Orthodox Christian consciousness that "it was so strong that it hindered the creation of a strong national consciousness", and this would allow us to see in the ecclesiastical organization a form of expression of unitary organization of Romanian ethnicity in Transylvania. The time of Transylvanian principalities and voivodeships shows us that most often the ecclesiastical leaders were also the political leaders (see the case of Prince Andrew Báthory who was Archbishop of Warmia – Poland); so, the two concepts of ethnicity and confession reflected the same historical reality during those times. The two concepts will

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[3] This study is a synthesis of two previous studies that had as a convergence point two key concepts in the Transylvanian context: ethnicity and confession. The studies are the following: "Etică/ morală, etnie şi confesiune. Relevanţe biblice", in: Ştefan ILOAIE (ed.): *Ethos şi etnos: aspecte teologice şi sociale ale mărturiei creştine*, Cluj-Napoca, 2018. 9-21 and "Etnie şi confesiune, evoluţia termenilor în cadrul istoric transilvănean în secolele XIII-XIX", in: Ioan Vasile LEB (ed.): *Teologie şi cultură transilvană în contextul spiritualităţii europene în sec. XVI-XIX*, Cluj-Napoca, 1999. 23-37.

become separated only later, after the emergence of confessions other than the Eastern rite. In support of our statement, we have the correspondence between the Hungarian kings and officials and the papacy. Before dealing with these perspectives, we shall pin down the terminology to grant the reader the possibility to understand the historical situations through a kind of thinking marked by the imprint of the Holy Scripture.

Keywords: *ethnicity, people, confession, dynamic status, national consciousness, Transylvania, the church.*

1. Conceptual Distinctions

a. Ethnicity. The term in its technical form and meaning of ethnicity appears in the event of the "Tower of Babel" (Gen 11). However, it can also be found earlier in the sense of "people" – "Now the whole world had one language and a common speech" (Gen 11:1). We deem that ethnicity roots here are not part of the creational act but rather the consequence of the fall of man, the slide of humanity on the slope of gradual alienation from its Creator until it reaches the illusion of total isolation from Him. The unnatural amalgamation of languages means a partial break of the possibility to communicate and a configuration of the language and location-based groups that will bear the name of *people/peoples*, which is more relevant in the field of theology than *ethnicity*. Such linguistic differences are only applicable to the Romanian vocabulary; they cannot be extended to another linguistic space.

The situation of the concept also changes in the context of choice. The theological topic of choice appears in Chapter 2 of *Genesis*. It is also present throughout the entire Scripture and reaches the choice fulfilled by the Saviour Jesus Christ. Then, the issue of peoples appears in its eschatological relevance in the context of the descent of the Holy Spirit (Acts 2), which, alongside *Revelation* (chapters 20–22), shall make understanding possible in the sense of the existence of peoples in the context of the history of salvation. The miracle of understanding that the Gentiles present at the act of Pentecost transcends our possibility of rational comprehension and requires a spiritual approach.

We would just say that in the case of the sermon it is about a single subject-person-act, the risen Saviour – the uniqueness of the subject and its full openness have the potential to generate a unity of understanding even if, subsequently, the lexical structures of expression are not phonemically identical. It is certain that the peoples were not eliminated as a matter of fact by this miracle; what changed was only the type of inter-relationship and the type of communication. Therefore, ethnicity is not a limitation, is not a structure meant to generate antinomies, it is rather a historical certainty that we must ennoble with the capacity to manifest doxologically, liturgically, and confession-wise, featuring the capacity of opening/agapic service towards the other, the neighbour that he himself is "in his image" just like you. It is anyway the "mystery of the people of Christ",[2] belonging to Christ's people meaning acquiring the understanding and wisdom of the kind bestowed by the mystic act of Pentecost.

b. Confession. Most certainly, experts in the field of systematics shall refer to the applied meaning of the concept of confession. Nevertheless, we shall choose Ruth's example as we shall carry on with the previous topic of the people from the perspective of the concept of the chosen people underlining its meanings or approaches in its static, historical sense, strictly perceived through Abraham's choice, and its dynamic sense revealed through the promise made to Abraham, testified by Ruth's confession, heralded as a prophetic event by Ezekiel and the other prophets, and fulfilled by the mandate commissioned upon the Apostles by the Saviour: to herald it to all the nations (Mt 28:19–20) in the whole world (Mk 16:16). Thus, we shall not refer to the idea of confession as *denomination* built around one kind of confession of faith and a certain kind of mystical liturgical union for the simple reason that the biblical text claims one single object of knowledge and confession: the knowledge of God confessing Him.

Israel's choice is the pillar that supports the Scriptures from *Genesis 12* to wisdom literature.[3] The deuterocanonical books deal with the topic in the *Book of Jubilees 15:31–32* and in *Solomon's Psalms 9:8–9*. The choice is expressed in the gift of the Law and Sabbath.[4] In Qumran, the covenant is construed as the observance of the com-

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[2] We refer here to the text in Gal 3:24. See the topic in burial hymnography.
[3] MANNS, Frederic (1996): *L'Israel de Dieu*. Jerusalem. 75.
[4] Ex. 31:16–17; Deut. 5:15; Jub. 2:17–33.50.6–13.

mandments.[5] However, along with the birth of Christianity, this pillar of Judaism was attacked by a new interpretation which followed the objective of "replacing the synagogue by the church" or the continuation of the synagogue service in the service of the church.[6] That is why, after long analysis of biblical and patristic texts, in F. Manns and the authors quoted by him there is one question remaining: and yet, which is the chosen people? We argue that the answer to this question can be found in Ruth's case. The chosen people are the Living God's people/nation. For whoever reads this appendix to the *Book of Judges*, it will be clear that Ruth was a Moabite and could re-become one after her husband's death. But she preferred something else: to follow God, Naomi confessed, and confessing Him she herself becomes a partaker of the fruits of *Shema Israel*. Her statement "Your God will be my God" (Ruth 1:16) is the act of confession grafting on the stem of the cultivated olive tree (Jer 11:16; Rom 11).

However, the Lord did not cut the natural branches, says St Paul the Apostle. We believe that Saint Paul's term of "natural branches" should draw our attention more. Anytime we approach the issue of *am and goim*, we tend to fall in the same damaging dichotomism that we have mentioned earlier, even a manicheic dualism. We believe that we ought to pay more attention to the exegesis/the accomplishment of the Law brought/ revealed by Jesus Christ. He says that He has revealed His Father to us in everything and that He has opened the Kingdom of sight. Everything she saw was convincing for Ruth as well: the sight led her to the conviction that Naomi's God is the Living God. And in this case the issue of the "rest" that is going to be redeemed does not refer – as we Christians would like to believe – to the Jews that adopted Christianity. They are Christians, they have the freedom of Christ, the freedom of the truth revealed and assumed in all its personal glory. "The rest" are the ones faithful to the Law and the Living God about whom Christ Himself said they would convert, this being one of the signs of Christ's second coming; they will then recognize him as Lord and God because Jesus Christ and the sign of His victory appear in the sky – the Cross, that madness of divine love for man which requires from us, too, a mad love for Christ, and "he who has seen Me has seen the Father".

If we admit this exegetical appendix, we will be able to answer the question: who are the chosen people? It is – and here we are using St Paul's terms – first the Jews and

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[5] *Rule of the Community manuscript from Qumran Cave 1* (1QS) 1:7–8.5.1–3.
[6] MANNS 1996, 75.

then the Gentiles because "there is neither Jews nor Gentiles" in his Kingdom. In other words, "those who do by nature the things contained in the law" are the natural branches that are not cut and among which the nations are grafted as a new edification in Christ. That is why we speak about two meanings of the concept of chosen people: the static and historical meaning deriving from Abraham's choice and faith and the dynamic meaning deriving from the promise made to Abraham, in which it is said that he is going to be a source of blessing for all the nations. The two meanings are not parallel realities, but rather they are a nation and nations converging towards unity thanks to the subject of their faith: Yahwe Hai(im).

c. Nation. The nations are not a created given but rather the fruit of sliding and deepening into sin as a state of fact and in history, and the Pentecostal solution/under-standing is found in the birth of the unity of faith and knowledge via the Holy Spirit so that all "tongues" praise the Lord and then become silent when they see Him (how beautiful the *Cherubikon* of Holy Saturday is: "May the whole human body shut up..."). Sight convinces and gives birth to those words that keep you in the scope of resurrection: how to be silent if we have seen?! And Isaiah says: Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of hosts! Or the fruit of the blessing perfectly poured forth by Jesus Christ for all the nations on earth. We would opt for a spiritual touch that would take us out of the trap of excessive dualizations: in this sense, you are kindly invited to look at Abraham's request: I am not fulfilled without the third, he is of me, but he remains forever; therefore, when he will return, the fat calf is waiting for him as a sign of Your mercy and pity.

One of the Christian desires that the Saviour Himself heralds (John 17:21) is the unity of mankind. The pan-human unity does not annihilate the national specificity of any nation (Rev 21:24.26 – the term ethnicity is clearly pinned down), but rather, from the perspective of faith, it transcends the geographical limits and gives back the common Christian thinking to mankind. The research of the past decades in European historiography has greatly shaded the issues proving the birth of feelings of ethnic solidarity both for the Catholic West and the Orthodox East as well as their manifestation along with the Christian universalist solidarity promoted by the church.[7]

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[7]   BOCŞAN, Nicolae – POP, Ioan Aurel (1994): *Etnie și confesiune în Transilvania (sec XIII–XIX).* Oradea. 5.

This ethnic-based division appeared in the church as early as the apostolic age (Acts 6:1, Gal 2:12),[8] but we cannot talk about an eminently ethnic split until the Middle Ages together with the conversion of various peoples to Christianity.[9] In the general framework ensured by Christianity, or even more often under the rule, the approval, and encouragement of the church, many of the mediaeval nations preserved and strengthened their identity.[10] This gave birth to the so-called *diversas ecclesias speciales* by countries where the religious authority geographically overlapped with the political authority.[11] The rise of monarchies, the disputes on domination areas, the status of vassal states, and later the development of the concept of natural rights determined the separation but not the antinomy between *corpus mysticum patria* and *corpus mysticum ecclesiae*.

2. Ethnicity and Confession in the Light of the Correspondence between Hungarian Officials and the Papal State

The first and the clearest documents regarding the existence of a Romanian Orthodox ecclesiastic institution in Transylvania date back to the 11th century. In the opinion of ft. Mircea Păcurariu, Member of the Romanian Academy, the ecclesiastic establishment in this area is much older,[12] the Greek monasteries being mentioned, which confirms their origin in the Byzantine rite as well as their existence prior to the Great Schism. We can follow the dating back to the Apostolic Age for the area of Scythia Minor:

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[8] The *Acts of the Apostles* make the distinction between Hellenistic Jews and Jews (6:1); the *Epistle to the Galatians* makes the distinction between the Gentiles and they which were of the circumcision (2:12).

[9] We are referring to the 9th and 12th centuries, the conversion to Christianity of the Slavic people, the Goths and Hungarians. We must note that in the Eastern Church, the administrative and organizational structure around Constantinople did not create the necessary requirements for autonomy for this period.

[10] BOCŞAN – POP 1994, 5.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Mircea PĂCURARIU: *Istoria Bisericii Ortodoxe Române*, Sibiu, 1978. 45-46.

back to the 4th century for the Banat area, while for Transylvania we must limit ourselves to the archaeological research in Dăbâca, namely to the 9th and 10th centuries,[13] which does not mean that there was an ecclesiastical organizational vacuum.[14]

Ioan Zonaras tells us there was a byzantine bishopric here prior to the Catholic missionary "concern" regarding the Transylvanian religious area. The byzantine mural found in one of the churches discovered in Dăbâca testifies for it. We have inserted this historical overview aiming to create the premises of a terminological delimitation on the term "Greek" used in both Eastern and Western sources. I. Zonaras states that Bishop Ierotei was brought to Transylvania from Constantinople, which means that the ecclesiastic organization did not offer the possibility for the election of a local bishop. But here "Greek" does not refer to ethnicity but rather to confession; the faithful in his bishopric were of Eastern faith. We must note that the dividing line between the Orthodox and the Catholic faith in the South-Eastern European area at the time we are referring to was made up of Romanians, Serbians, Bulgarians, and Greeks, and this confessional reference could have been applied very well to any of the former, but from the ethnic-confessional perspective it referred only to the Greeks. Moreover, the term has an ironic connotation when used in papal documents, being synonymous with schismatic – this will be covered in the explanations further below.

The written reference dating back to 1011 regarding the episcopal castrum in Tibiscum (Jupa) or Tibisco (Timiş), belonging to the Archbishopric of Ohrida, is prior to the Great Schism of 1054. This gives us the opportunity to notice two elements that we deem important for church history: a) before the Great Schism, there was already a "confesio" division and rite-based division between the Eastern and the Western Church. This division was reflected both in the confession of faith and the administrative as well as missionary organization; b) there was a state of conflict between the two churches due to the claims of the primate, which in the case of the Crusades turned the "war of liberation" into a war of conquest, at least religiously if not territorially. After the 12th century, Byzantium entered a downward spiral of imperial decadence, and its place could not be taken by any other Eastern ecclesiastical capital city, which led to a Catholic missionary

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[13] Ioan Lupaş: *A existat în Transilvania o episcopie ortodoxă înainte de întemeierea regatului ungar?*, in: Biserica Ortodoxă Română 5/1924, yr. LII (52), Bucharest, 2016. 149-153. 151.

[14] See details in A. BEJAN: *Banatul în secolele IV-XII*, Timişoara, 1995.

assault. The same happened in Transylvania. The episcopal centre in Timiș ceased in activity during the first half of the 13th century when it was dissolved due to the pressure of the Catholic bishopric of Cenad.[15]

When the Orthodox episcopal castrum in Banat was dissolved, another Romanian bishopric was mentioned in North-Western Transylvania, around Beiuș in the first years of the 12th century. It is referred to in the letter sent by the Hungarian kings to the pope in the year 1204, mentioning the existence of some churches with Greek monks[16], which were falling into depravity because of the diocesan bishops.[17] Based on this information, Pope Innocent III wrote to the bishop in Oradea, asking him to visit the said monasteries to see the real situation, convert the Greek monks to Catholicism, and found a bishopric loyal to the pope, i.e. a Catholic bishopric.[18] Another letter mentioning the existence of the Orthodox bishopric is the letter written by the Archbishop of Kalocsa to the pope indicating the location of the bishops' residence on Knyaz Bâlea's estate (*in terra filiorum Bele knese*). The pope's reply was favourable to the archbishop's request to establish a Catholic bishopric under his jurisdiction as recorded in the letter dated 3 May 1205.

The two letters reveal that the term ethnicity was identical to the term confession, and it was often pejoratively used as "Greek", that is, of Eastern rite. Nevertheless, this approach highlights that in the concerned area there was no other Romanian Catholic bishopric as they were born as a Christian people of Latin tongue and byzantine rite.[19]

Ethnic diversity was strong and obvious in the Eastern European world. The Ecumenical Patriarchy of Constantinople had to admit the national character of the Eastern churches at an early stage. In this respect, we would mention the stavropegial monastery in

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[15] SUCIU, I. D. (1977): *Monografia Mitropoliei Banatului*. Timișoara. 43.

[16] It refers to the Romanian monks of Greek rite and not to Greeks that had nothing to do in Bihor.

[17] "Guedam ecclesiae nachorum Graecorum in Regno Ungarie canstituto per incuriam diocesanorum episcoporum ei per ipsos Grecos, qui valde sunt, sicut asserit disolutis pentius destruunlur. HURMUZAKI, Eudoxiu – DENSUȘIANU, Nicolae (1887): *Documente privitoare la istoria românilor*. Vol. 1, Part 1. Bucharest. 39.

[18] "Unus fierit episcopatus ex illis qui nobis sit in medietate subiectus." Ibid.

[19] See details in: TURCUȘ, Șerban (2001a): *Sinodul general de la Buda*. Cluj-Napoca; (2001b): *Sfântul Scaun și românii în secolul al XIII-lea*. Bucharest.

Perii Maramureşului, Transylvania (14th century), whose prior had almost bishop-like prerogatives. In the Romanian geographical area, we can find another form of solidarity worth mentioning although it does not relate to Transylvania. During the time of the Orthodox bishopric of Bihor, there was an Orthodox bishopric in Moldova for Romanians, Hungarians, and Germans. These ethnic groups were said to recognize the authority of some "fake bishops" of Greek rite (*pseudo episcoporum graecorum ritum tenentibus*), as the papacy considered them in 1234, but who were real Orthodox bishops.[20] This situation reveals that the denominational reality went beyond ethnicity, but a longer time had to pass until all the concerned became aware of it. We have used this example to obtain a documented argument for the previous statement that the bishops of Greek rite were considered schismatic and fake. This proves that in the Catholic missionary vision of the 13th and 14th centuries the term ethnicity was not identical to faith, the object of their mission being the people that would change its faith but not its ethnicity (for the time being!).

Historian I. Ganoczi states that upon the establishment of the Catholic bishopric of Oradea, during king Saint Ladislaus (1085–1097), there were inhabitants of Greek rite (*graeci ritus homines habitabant*)[21] in the area of Bihor – so, Romanian Orthodox ethnics; but if we were to think about Banat, they can be just as well Serbians of Orthodox faith. It is evident that during this time ethnicity and faith meant two different issues that did not have the same area of extension: ethnicity was narrower, while faith was wider, without being properly and clearly pinned down.

Mentioned in the years 1204, 1205, 1234, and 1247, the Orthodox ecclesiastical institutions spread around the Romanian ethnic territory were most certainly older by decades or sometimes centuries than their first written documentary evidence.[22] Although the Catholic mission determined some of the bishoprics to cease activity (the Bishopric of Timiş), this does not mean that they completely disappeared after the conversion. The 1215 Council of Lateran requested that the Catholic bishops should

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[20] PASCU, Ştefan (1956): Mişcările ţărăneşti prilejuite de intrarea lui Mihai Viteazul în Transilvania. In: *Studii şi materiale de istorie medie* 1/1956, 129; IORGA, Nicolae (1987): *Conferinţe, ideea unităţii româneşti*. Bucharest. 215–216.

[21] GANOCZI, I. (1755): *Disertatio historica – critica de Sancto Ladislao Hungaricae rege fondatore Episcopatus Varadiensisa*. Vienna. 71.

[22] See PĂCURARIU, Mircea (1980): *Începuturile Mitropoliei Transilvaniei*. Bucharest.

have high clergy members of Eastern rite for the faithful of the rite. The Byzantine ecclesiastical institution of the Transylvanian Romanians, called "stubborn schismatic Wallachians" by the Hungarian royal authority and the Latin ecclesiastical authority, faced many difficulties hindering its organization and strengthening process during those times as well as in later periods. The official Catholicism supported by the Hungarian apostolic kings fulfilled its duty to spread Catholicism by all means: propaganda, persuasion, threats, persecution. These might have been the circumstances in which the two Eastern Romanian bishoprics in Banat and Bihor got dissolved pursuant to the agreement between the Hungarian coregent, Béla, and the papal legate, Jacob of Preneste. Béla would promise under oath that he would force all those insubordinate to the Roman Church to obey keeping their rite, which is not against the Roman Church, as the Council of Lateran ruled.[23]

3. The Ecclesiastical Institutions during the 14th–16th Centuries. The Evolution of the Two Terms in the Orthodox–Catholic Confrontation in Transylvania

We could notice that in the 13th century the term *populus* mainly meant a human group within a political or ecclesiastical body,[24] its Greek equivalent being ethnicity. The alternation between "fake bishops" and "schismatic bishops" indicates that both terms referred to confession. Concerning the research, the two terms meant the same population group, namely the Romanian population in Transylvania that formed the majority and was an obstacle in the way of Catholicism.[25] The use of force and the mix

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[23] POP, Ioan-Aurel (2011): *Din mâinile valahilor schismatici. Românii și puterea în Regatul Ungariei medievale (secolele XIII–XIV)*. Bucharest. 70–80, 274–291.

[24] BOCȘAN – POP 1994, 20.

[25] The registers of papal tithes from 1332–1340 mention between 954 and 2,200 settlements with Catholic parishes in Transylvania, Banat, and the neighbouring regions. Orthodox Christians also lived in some Catholic parishes, and in some cases they were obliged to pay Catholic church tithes. Based on these ecclesiastical data, Acad. Ioan-Aurel Pop is of the opinion that "it can be said that the settlements with the Catholic parishes in Transylvania and eastern Hungary accounted for 43–45% of the total number of certified settlements". The same proportion was

between proselytism and the act of political and military conquest determined the Romanians to oppose the Catholic propaganda. That is why the latter not only opposed conversion but also turned the direction of the action in their favour, attracting the foreigners towards their rites and customs, and maybe their language as well, since they were one single people, i.e. one single country or ecclesiastical establishment. This is an example of ethnic identity preservation through faith different from that of the conquerors.

The Catholic Church did not act directly among the Romanians but rather through the Hungarian kings as apostolic kings. The mission was carried out by the Catholic monastic orders that were working hand in hand with the royal court. For this reason, the Romanians perceived the proselyte mission as an attack on their ethnic/religious identity and independence and would react accordingly, turning to the relations with their brethren in the other Romanian regions.[26] Thus, the ecclesiastical unity foreshadowed the unity of the state. The proselyte actions were milder until the 13th century, but they became more violent especially during the time of Louis I in the 14th century. He also acted as censor of the papal correspondence.[27] The Hungarian king would consider himself the "secular arm of papacy", leading a series of military actions called crusades although the enemies were all Christian. An ecclesiastical letter dated 1356 ordered the Dominicans in Hungary to preach the crusade against "all Transylvanians, Bosnians, and Slovenians who would be heretics".[28] Determined to solve the issue of the Romanians, King Louis came to Transylvania in April 1366 and spent six months there. In his opinion, Transylvania was not allowed by any means to follow the mutiny of the other two Romanian countries. However, the Transylvanian Romanian élite seemed much more inclined towards this evolution despite the measures taken by the central power and the colonization with foreign populations.[29]

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confirmed for the late fourteenth century by Antonio Bonfini, the official chronicler of Matthias Corvinus, who appreciated that at the end of the reign of Louis I (1342–1382) the Catholic faith became widespread as it was adopted by more than one third of the kingdom's population, the rest being "stubborn schismatics" or "heretics", their ranks being made up of "Greeks", "Wallachians", or "Slavs", who still had to be converted. Cf. POP 2011, 280–313.

[26] SZILAGYI, Sándor (1866): *Erdélyország története tekintettel mivelődésére.* vol. 1. Pest. 122.
[27] BOCȘAN – POP 1994, 24–25.
[28] *Documenta Romaniae Historica C, Transilvania* 9/1987. 13.
[29] POP 2001, 112–163, 314–344.

The Romanian élite was a force until the 14ᵗʰ century in Hungary. In Transylvania, this élite was able to preserve its status partially and could centrally represent their people among the estates despite the invasions and usurpations caused by the conquerors and the colonists.[30] It identified itself as Romanian and had two aims: to protect its religion and to ensure a possibly independent status. That is why it was considered schismatic. The religious problem was also a political problem for them, wherefore they turned to the Romanian countries. This fact proves that in the 14ᵗʰ century the knyazes defended the ethnic specificity of their people via the Orthodox confession. Therefore, it was ruled that ownership of the land was exercised based on a written act, but it was conditional upon belonging to the Catholic denomination. Thus, the Transylvanian princes and knyazes were dispossessed of the land properties traditionally held for ages.[31] Therefore, the Romanians, like the other Orthodox in Hungary, were deprived of their own élite to represent them, by converting the latter to Catholicism and removing the clergy. Being left without leaders in the name of their ethnicity and confession, Transylvanian Romanians could no longer turn Transylvania into a Romanian political country. To stop the actions of their Romanian opponents, the king introduced a special legal establishment aimed at "annihilating or destroying the villains of any nation, namely the Romanians in the country".[32] But it did not have any success as the unrealistic national and confessional policy of Hungary smoothened the way of hierarchical orientation towards the Romanian principalities and Constantinople. Thus, we have the clear example of the actions undertaken by Balc and Sas (1391), who founded the monastery in Peri thanks to the support of Patriarch Anthony IV of Constantinople.[33]

The 15ᵗʰ century brought a distention of the relations by the resolutions of the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1438–1439). The documents prove the opposite. John of Capistrano asked the Transylvanian nobility to expel the Romanian priests from the country and seize their estates.[34] Thus, John Sigismund's political views are continued

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[30] BOCŞAN – POP 1994, 28.

[31] PAPACOSTEA, S. (1988): *Geneza statului în evul mediu românesc. Studii critice*. 85–89. See also: DECEI, A. (1940): Contribution â l'étude de la situation politique de Roumains de Transylvanie au III-e et au XIX-e siècle. In: *Revue de Transylvanie* 6, 2.

[32] BOCŞAN – POP 1994, 29–30.

[33] POPA, R. (1970): *Ţara Maramureşului în veacul XIV*. Bucharest. 218–221.

[34] LUPSA, Ştefan (1929): *Catolicismul şi românii clin Ardeal şi Ungaria până la anul 1556*. Cernăuţi. 83.

in Transylvania by the line of his predecessors. Matthias Corvinus manages to smoothen the situation.[35] This is also due to the ecclesiastical institutions led by Stephen the Great in northern Transylvania. The relevant conclusion is that during the voivodeship the Romanian society in Transylvania, although stateless, still managed to find in itself the cultural and civilizational depths in order to annihilate, discard, or assimilate the foreign factors that had come with a casual mission. It happened at the price of marginalization, but it still ensured the ethnic and religious survival of the Romanians. The relationship with the other Romanian provinces that were expected to help in the fight for emancipation creates the consciousness of unity and foreshadows state unity at least in the ecclesiastical environment.

The 16th century amplifies the series of confessional, political, and national confrontations in Transylvania. This amplification is the fruit of the new schism in Christianity. The religious system correlated with the political system, adopted in the principality born on the ruins of a broken Hungary, highlights even more the exclusivism towards the Romanians, although in the second part of the century there was a small triumph of the Christian spirit of tolerance. This took place through the official recognition of Lutheranism, Calvinism, and Unitarianism as recognized religions alongside the impoverished Catholicism. For the Romanians, that is, for most of the country's population, this was a false tolerance since it left them outside the power structures, strengthened the exclusivism of the privileged, and persecuted Orthodoxy on legal grounds.[36]

In this political and religious context, a new perception of the notions of ethnicity and confession appears. Thus, the Lutherans are Saxons, the Calvinists are Hungarians, and the Orthodox are, as before, Romanians. The documents call the privileged *Christians*, and the subjects *Valachi*, that is Orthodox.[37] The term *Wallachian* started to mean ethnicity, the Orthodox faith, and the servant status of the Romanians of the times, as a preamble to the petitionary movement of the Age of Enlightenment. The Romanians claimed the old freedoms, bringing forward the number of petitioners and

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[35] DRAGAN, I. (1985–1986): Românii din Transilvania în lupta antiotomană din a doua jumătate a veacului al XV-lea. In: *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie din Cluj* XVII, 27. 72. See also: PACURARIU, M. 1978, 277–282.

[36] BOCŞAN – POP 1994, 43.

[37] POP, Ioan Aurel (1987–1988): Confesiune și națiune medievală: solidarități românești în secolele XIV–XVI. In: *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie din Cluj* XXIX, 29. 183.

the public tasks as arguments.[38] Transylvanian officials, although they sometimes tolerated such actions, were far from encouraging them or changing their discriminatory attitude towards Romanians.[39]

In the second half of the 16th century, the Calvinization campaign against the Romanians started to cut any connection with the other Romanians beyond the mountains,[40] but it was not as successful as John Sigismund imagined. Stephen Báthory allowed Bishop Eftimie to exercise his authority over the Romanian churches observing the old Eastern rite.[41] The three political nations – with a more pronounced modern national hue – would not have agreed with the conversion of the Romanians to any of the recognized denominations if they had preserved their national group entity. Their conversion to any one of the recognized religions would have meant to be included among the privileged nations, which the leaders of the time could not accept. Moreover, the resistance of many Romanian families who converted to Catholicism, also reflected by the designation *nobiles Valachi*,[42] made them understand that if the Romanians gained access among the privileged, it would change the political orientation of the principality.

The recognized religions rejected the religion of the Romanians, calling it schismatic. The tolerance of the Transylvanian principality was merely theoretical.[43] In the Transylvania of the time, the land itself belonged to a certain ethnicity (Saxon land, Szekler land, Hungarian land; social categories: serf = Romanian), Orthodoxy was considered "the Romanian law", and Romanian was used instead of Orthodox.[44]

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[38] POP, Ioan Aurel (1988): Solidarități medieval românești pe bază social economică (sec. XIV–XVI). In: *Istorie și civilizație*. Iași. 502–504.

[39] See the Implementing Regulation of Article 28 of the Diet in Târgu-Mureș (1552) regarding the punishment of criminals. PRODAN, D. (1984): *Supplex Libellus Valachorum. Din istoria formării națiunii române*. Bucharest. 108–109.

[40] IORGA, Nicolae (1915): *Istoria românilor din Ardeal și Ungaria*. vol. 1. Bucharest. 164.

[41] HURMUZAKI – DENSUȘIANU 1887, 647–648.

[42] RUSU, A. A. (1983): Un formular al cancelariei regale din epoca lui Iancu de Hunedoara, pentru nobilii români din Transilvania. In: *Acta Musei Napocensis* XX, 20. 155–171.

[43] See Verentius' confession in: POP, Ioan Aurel (1993): Ethnic and Confessional Sensibilities in Transylvania during the Time of Nicolaus Olahus. In: *Transylvanian Review* II, 3. 95–96.

[44] See details in: BOCȘAN, N. – LUMPERDEAN, I. – POP, I.-A. (1994): *Etnie și confesiune în Transilvania (secolele XIII–XIX)*. Oradea. | PALI, Fr. (1993): *Romanians in Transylvania in the Middle Ages*. Cluj-Napoca.

4. The New Perspective of the Terminology in Mihai Viteazul's Political Views. From the Great Unification to the Unification of Some of the Romanians with Rome

In the tradition inherited from Mircea cel Bătrân, Mihai Viteazul placed the Romanian Transylvanian churches under the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan of Wallachia by the Treaty of Alba Iulia in 1595.[45] The spiritual unity of the Romanians beyond the political borders was thus recognized and approved by the Prince of Transylvania himself. At the turn of the century that overshadowed the modern national solidarity, Wallachia clearly started exercising the mission it had undertaken already in the 14th century by its very name; it meant the reconstruction of the unity of the nation whose name it bore.[46] This political trend in Mihai Viteazul's ecclesiastical polity arose at a time when the Reformation was losing ground in Central and South-Eastern Europe, and the Counter-Reformation was rising. It aimed at the inclusion of the Romanians among the estates of the realm, as *nationes*. His gesture was interpreted by Rudolph II as an anti-Calvinist movement, against the Reformation, but it aimed at the inclusion of the Romanians among the recognized religions.[47] For the Romanians, the deed of the unifying voivode was a blessing, turning it into a national symbol although it gave rise to terrible oppressions.[48]

In Mihai Viteazul's political, ecclesiastical, and, later, military actions, we note that the term ethnicity is identical to confession. His gesture or attitude towards Perii Maramureșului confirms his pro-Constantinople orientation, and the two terms have a much wider scope: ethnicity – all Romanians; confession – Romanians and the subjects of Constantinople.

The end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th century changed the meaning and the connotation of the term confession: the term ethnicity remained unchanged but in a more extended form than confession regarding the two separate components (Orthodox and Greek Catholic). The fight for the emancipation of Romanians deter-

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[45] STOICESCU, N. (1983): *Unitatea românilor în evul mediu*. Bucharest. 120.
[46] PAPACOSTEA 1988, 145.
[47] CRACIUN, I. (1936–1938): Dietele Transilvaniei ținute sub domnia lui Mihaiu Viteazul (1599–1600). In: *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Națională Cluj* 7.
[48] PASCU 1956, 129; IORGA 1987, 215–216.

mined Greek Catholicism to remain attached to Orthodoxy in the 18th century, revealing the passage from an instinctive ethnic solidarity to an effective ethnic solidarity[49] that announced the near genesis of the modern Romanian nation.

Conclusions

The various ways of understanding and applying the terms in the period we referred to confirm a different structure of the European political mentality. It found its reflection in the mentality of the Transylvanian Romanians through historical-political-ecclesiastical determinants that they transmitted to this area. Their coercive aspect made the terms identifiable, although for the Romanian in Transylvania the Romanian ethnic group consisted of him and the brothers from beyond, and the Orthodox confession was his faith and everything that represented the Eastern doctrinal and liturgical corpus. This conjunction between the terms up to the point where they reached synonymy was determined by the fact that Orthodoxy was the strong binder that provided the necessary configuration for the blockade in the face of Catholicism accompanied by political and military expansion. The modern interpretation of the meaning of the terms and the political emancipation of Romanians has determined the detachment of this misunderstood conservatism; actually, it continued the dialogue with European civilization, Europe's cultural borders being expanded by including Romanian culture among its structures.

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GÂRDAN Gabriel-Viorel[1] :

The Global Religious Configuration.
Realities and Forecasts[2]

Abstract.

Based on recent research, we aim to present the current global religious con-figuration, the religious demographic evolution during the twentieth century, and the main trends for the first half of the twenty-first century. From a methodologi-cal point of view, we chose to present only those religions that register a share of 1% of the global population, among which we paid increased attention only to Christianity and Islam. The only exception to this rule is Judaism, the reason for advancing this exception being the desire to compare the evolution of the three religions of the Book: Judaism, Christianity, and Islam.

The purpose of this presentation is to provide a more nuanced picture of the geographical distribution of each religion and, on the other hand, to illustrate the global religious diversity. From a chronological point of view, the landmarks are the years 1910, 1970, 2000, 2010, 2014, 2030, and 2050. The data collected for the years 1910–2014 is the basis of the forecasts for the years 2030 and 2050. The former ones describe the religious realities, while the latter two open up perspectives on the trends in religious demography.

We would like to draw attention to the potential of religious demography in deciphering the religious image of the world in which we live. On the other hand, we consider that exploring the global religious profile and the way it evolves, as

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well as the factors that bring forth change, is not only an opportunity generated by the organic development of religious demography research but also a necessity for rethinking the pastoral and missionary strategies of the church.

Religious demographics provide valuable data about the past together with nuanced knowledge of the present, helping us anticipate and even influence the future. The church, at any time, assumes the past, manages the present, and prepares the future. From this perspective, we believe that a strategic pastoral thinking, regardless of religion or denomination, can be organically outlined, starting from the data provided through the means available to religious demography. While religious demography provides specific data, it does not explain the phenomena behind this data; it notes and invites questions, debates, and explanations about religious affiliation, religiosity, and religious behaviour.

Keywords: *religious, demography, agnostics, atheists, Christians, Muslims.*

1. Religious demography

The organization of the conference *The Church and Society in the Last Hundred Years (1918–2018)* is an excellent opportunity for us to bring to the attention of the participants a perspective on the religious realities that we live globally,[3] a perspective

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[3] This has been a preoccupation in the last years, and as a result we have published several articles regarding this issue. Some of the analyses presented in this study can be found under several forms in the following works too: GÂRDAN, Gabriel-Viorel (2015): The Changing Face of Christianity and New Outlines of Ecumenism in the 21st Century. In: Field, David – Koslowski, Jutta (eds.): *Prospects and Challenges for The Ecumenical Movement in the 21st Century.* Geneva, Globethics.net, Global 12. 27–63; GÂRDAN, Gabriel-Viorel (2014): The Changing Face of Christianity and the New Outlines of Ecumenism. In: Costroiu, Mihnea – Ciucă, Liviu-Bogdan – Burcea, Nelu (eds.): *Jurnalul Libertăţii de Conştiinţă.* Paris, Iarsic Editions Les Arcs. 569–611; GÂRDAN, Gabriel-Viorel (2015): Locul creştinismului în configuraţia religi-oasă globală actuală [The Place of Christianity in the Contemporary Religious Configura-tion]. In: *Credinţă şi viaţă în Hristos – Anuarul Episcopiei Sălajului* VII. 417–445; GÂRDAN, Gabriel-Viorel (2019): Creştinismul în Europa. Realităţi demografice şi sociale religioase [Christianity in Europe – Demographic and Social Religious Realities]. In: Grama, Claudiu-Ioan (ed.): *Mitropolitul Andrei – păstorul blând al Transilvaniei euharistice. Vol. 2. In honorem.*

the theological and ecclesial environment in our country is still too unfamiliar with. This interdisciplinary approach is facilitated by the development of the research on religious demography in recent years. The engine of this development is represented by several research teams, grouped under the auspices of institutions that have been validated globally. These are mainly Pew Research Center[4] and the Center for the Study of Global Christianity.[5] The two centres have become known by publishing research

Cluj-Napoca, Renașterea. 261–289; GÂRDAN, Gabriel-Viorel (2020): Credință, apartenență și comportament religios în creștinismul european contemporan. Elemente de demografie religioasă [Faith, Belonging and Religious Behaviour in Contemporary European Christianity. Religious Demography Outlines]. In: Rușeț, Casian (ed.): *Comuniune și comunități: jertfă, slujire, spiritualitate*. Fabriano – Caransebeș, Montefano Publishing House – The Publishing House of the Bishopric of Caransebeș. 139–175.

4   Pew Research Center was founded in 2004 in the United States and soon became one of the most dynamic non-governmental and non-partisan institutions, governed by independence, objectivity, accuracy, humility, transparency, and innovation. Through empirical research on topics of wide interest in areas such as politics, media and news, social trends, religion, Internet and technology, science, etc., the Centre aims to offer international political actors, civil society leaders, influencers, and the interested public a document base designed to facilitate a better understanding of the most challenging global issues and, at the same time, to facilitate the understanding of how the contemporary world is changing. See the complete presentation at: http://www.pewresearch.org/about/ (accessed on: 25 October 2018).

5   Center for the Study of Global Christianity is an academic research centre currently operating near Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary, South Hamilton, Massachusetts, United States. The Centre was founded by Anglican missionary Dr David Barret. He began researching religious demographics in Kenya in 1957. He became acknowledged worldwide in 1982, when he published the first edition of the *World Christian Encyclopedia* at Oxford University Press, a monumental work that brings together demographic data on 22,000 Christian denominations worldwide. In 1989, Todd Johnson joined Barret in his efforts to edit the second edition of this research paper, and in 2003 he took over the leadership of the Centre and reorganized it. With the launch in 2007 of the *World Christian Database* (an online database – https://www.worldchristiandatabase.org/–which provides detailed demographic data on 9,000 Christian denominations; accessed: 21 July 2020) and in 2009 of the *Atlas of Global Christianity*, Johnson and his team turned the Center for the Study of Global Christianity into the most important institution that monitors the evolution of demographic trends globally and provides comprehensive data on the past, present, and future of Christianity in each country. See the complete presentation at: https://www.gordonconwell.edu/ockenga/research/About-Us.cfm (accessed on: 25 October 2018).

studies and reference works in the field of religious demography, but also by the fact that in 2008 they laid together the foundations of a project entitled *International Religious Demography*, carried out under the auspices of an institute within the structure of Boston University, The Institute on Culture, Religion, and World Affairs. The collaboration between the Center for the Study of Global Christianity and Pew Research Center, between Todd M. Johnson and Brian J. Grim, considered deans of international religious demography, resulted in the launch of a *World Religion Database*,[6] the publication since 2014 of the *Yearbook of International Demography*[7] and of the work entitled *The World's Religions in Figures. An Introduction to International Religious Demography*.[8]

We find, on the one hand, that in recent years an interdisciplinary approach regarding the contemporary history of religious life has emerged, an approach that we are still unfamiliar with and whose usefulness we have not yet fully grasped. This is religious demographics. Johnson and Grim believe that demography in general and religious demography in particular are growing areas of study or research. Researchers in the social sciences acknowledge the fact that demography has an essential contribution to understanding the human condition, especially for policy makers. Understanding the changes in the structure of human populations and the reasons for these changes involves taking into account demographic factors such as: birth, death and fertility rates, migration, population density, male: female ratio, life expectancy, etc. An analysis of these factors allows a better understanding of the way society works as a whole, both at individual and at institutional level. Research on religious demography has highlighted two major issues: there are many generalizations, especially regarding secularization and the decline of religious life, that are not supported by concrete global demographic data, and there is also a significant amount of religious data which, most often, remain unanalysed.[9]

Religious demography involves the statistical and scientific study of the demographic characteristics of religious populations: primary data with reference to number, structure related to age and gender, density, growth rate, distribution, development, migration, and data on specific internal manifestations specific to each religion or denomination (prayer,

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[6] https://www.worldreligiondatabase.org/ (accessed on: 25 October 2018).

[7] This volume was published in 2014 at Brill Publishing.

[8] JOHNSON, Todd M. – GRIM, Brian J. (2013): *The World's Religions in Figures. An Introduction to International Religious Demography*.

[9] JOHNSON – GRIM 2013, 148–149.

worship participation, Bible reading, frequency of confession and of the Holy commun-ion, donations to the church, etc.), including change of religious/confessional identity or affiliation. The way in which these religious demographic characteristics relate to other economic and social indicators also lies within the sphere of interest of religious demogra-phy.[10]

Religious demography provides us with empirical data on all measurable aspects of the religious life. Despite the fact that religious demography has its origins in statistical data collected in church circles for a very long time, far too little attention has been given to processing these data. In most cases, the statistical data transmitted by each structure of organization of the Christian life to the central bodies in the form of periodic reports, once centralized, become available, at best, to a small number of people and then di-rected to the archive for storage. Unfortunately, too few researchers are interested in com-paring and refining these sources of religious demography, and those who lead central bodies do not realize the strategic potential of such analyses. The consequence of such an approach is that we have an incomplete picture of contemporary religious life and an image about its future that is often distorted or biased (either unjustifiably optimistic or discouragingly pessimistic). On the other hand, if we pay attention to the opportunities offered by a thorough study of religious demography, we will understand why it is im-portant to have an accurate picture of the present and of the trends that it entails when church decision makers rethink the pastoral strategy for the days to come.

Religious demography provides valuable data about the past, facilitates a nuanced knowledge of the present, and helps us anticipate and even influence the future. The church, at any time, assumes the past, manages the present, and prepares the future. From this perspective, we believe that a strategic pastoral thinking, regardless of religion or denomination, can be organically outlined starting from the data provided through the means available to religious demography. Religious demography provides specific data, but it does not explain the phenomena behind them; it notes and invites questions, debates, and explanations about religious affiliation, religiosity, and religious behaviour.

On a different note, we notice the publication of works that explain the changes that occur both in the life of Christian communities and in the behaviour of Christians from a demographic perspective. Books like Eric Kaufmann's *Shall the Religious Inherit*

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[10] Op. cit. 145.

the Earth? Demography and Politics in the Twenty-First Century[11] or George Hawley's *Demography, Culture, and the Decline of America's Christian Denominations*[12] are not only analytical models but also evidence of the interpretive potential of religious demography.

Thus, starting from recent research, we aim to present the current global religious configuration, the religious demographic evolution during the twentieth century, and the main trends for the first half of the twenty-first century. From a methodological point of view, we chose to present only those religions that register a share of 1% of the global population, among which we paid increased attention to Christianity and Islam. The only exception to this rule is Judaism, the reason for advancing this exception being the desire to compare the evolution of the three religions of the Book: Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. The sources we used for the synthetic presentation of the data are: *Atlas of Global Christianity 1910–2010*,[13] *Yearbook of International Demography*,[14] and *The World's Religions in Figures. An Introduction to International Religious Demography*. In the illustrative tables, we generally opted for inserting only the proportion, the percentages (%), without a direct reference to numbers because, depending on the sources, the number of adherents to a certain religion varies. The percentages are not always the same either, but the recorded differences do not significantly change the concrete data. In the text, we combined the ways of presenting each analysed religious group. We also grouped the materials according to two criteria: religious and geographical. The purpose of this grouping manner was, on the one hand, to provide a more nuanced picture of the geographical distribution of each religion and, on the other hand, to illustrate the global religious diversity. From a chronological point of view, the landmarks are the years 1910, 1970, 2000, 2010, 2014, 2030, and 2050. The data collected for the years 1910–2014 are the basis of the forecasts for the years 2030 and 2050. The former data describe the religious realities, and the latter two categories open up perspectives on the trends in religious demography.

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[11] KAUFMANN, Eric (2010): *Shall the Religious Inherit the Earth? Demography and Politics in the Twenty-First Century*. London, Profile Books.

[12] HAWLEY, George (2017): *Demography, Culture, and the Decline of America's Christian Denominations*. Lexington Books.

[13] JOHNSON, Todd M. – ROSS, Kenneth R. (eds.) (2009): *Atlas of Global Christianity 1910–2010*. Edinburg University Press.

[14] GRIM, Brian J. – JOHNSON, Todd M. – SKIRBEKK, Vegard – ZURLO, Gina A. (eds.) (2015): *Yearbook of International Religious Demography 2015*, Leiden–Boston, Brill.

2. The Current Global Religious Configuration

A first distinction we can make from the perspective of religious demography is between the religious population and the unreligious or non-religious population. The first category includes all those who share religious beliefs, regardless of their specificity. They represent almost 90% of the world's population.

2.1. Religious and Unreligious Population

The category of unreligious or non-religious population includes atheists[15] and agnostics.[16] The very data grouped at these two levels are one of the most obvious pieces of evidence of the fact that in the discourse on the evolution of religious life, there are often made generalizations that are not confirmed by demographic realities. If the sharp secularization of the twentieth century is often invoked, demographic data show that the vast majority of the global population has embraced, one way or another, a set of religious beliefs. In addition, forecasts indicate that by the middle of the 21st century only 8.7% of the world population will not share a religious belief (1.4% atheists and 7.3% agnostics).[17]

During the 20th century, the share of the non-religious population has evolved from just over 0.2% in 1910[18] to 11.5% in 2014, the peak being the 1970s, when their share (directly influenced by communist regimes) reached 19.2%.[19] Forecasts indicate

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[15] Unlike agnostics, atheists reject the idea of any deity. See: JOHNSON – ROSS (eds.) 2009, 30–31, 325. Among some of the most important resources for a better understanding of atheism are: BULLIVANT, Stephen – RUSE, Michael (eds.) (2014): *The Oxford Handbook of Atheism*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

[16] Agnostics are those who do not adhere to any religion. Agnosticism totally or partially denies the possibility of knowing and rationally proving the existence of God. In the context of the analyses we have in mind among agnostics, there are non-religious, secularist, or materialist people. They are also called unaffiliated from a religious point of view. See: Johnson – ROSS (eds.) 2009, 28–29, 325; EPSTEIN, Greg M. (2009): *Good without God: What a Billion Nonreligious People Do Believe*. New York, Harper.

[17] JOHNSON – GRIM 2013, 124–128.

[18] JOHNSON – ROSS (eds.) 2009, 7.

[19] JOHNSON – ZURLO 2015, 6.

a decrease in their share compared to the global population to 9.8% in 2030[20] and even to 8.7% by 2050.[21]

Regarding the geographical distribution in 1910, the largest share of the total number of non-religious people was registered in North America (1.2%);[22] in 1970, their share reached 25.7% in Asia, 21.3% in Europe, and 4.8 % in North America.[23] Against the background of the decrease in the global share of the non-religious population, it is expected that in 2030 the largest share of the total non-religious population will be registered in Oceania (21.6%), followed by North America (17.8%) and Europe (16.2%).[24] The same hierarchy is maintained, even if the percentages decrease slightly for 2050.[25]

If we refer to the percentage of non-religious population in the total population of a country registered in 2014, we find on the first 10 places: North Korea (72.4%), Estonia (55.2%), the Czech Republic (45.8%), China (38.6%), Uruguay (35.2%), New Zealand (32.3%), Sweden (31.7%), the Netherlands (30.1%), Germany (26.0%), and Australia (25, 2%).

Demographic analysis shows that, even if atheists, agnostics, and other religiously unaffiliated people increase significantly in Europe and in the United States, their numbers will decline globally, mainly due to a below-average fertility rate which ensures population stability.

Globally, an overwhelming majority of the population has identified itself as *religious* throughout the 20th century. The share underwent a period of decrease from 99.8% in 1910 to 80.8% in 1970. A period of increase followed, according to which the share was 87.1%in 2000[26] and 88.5%in 2014.[27] The same rising trend is forecast for the next period. It is expected to reach 90.2%[28]in 2030 and 91.3% in 2050.[29]

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[20] Op. cit. 5–6.
[21] JOHNSON – GRIM 2013, 124–128.
[22] JOHNSON – ROSS (eds.) 2009, 29–31.
[23] JOHNSON – ZURLO 2015, 6–7.
[24] Ibid.
[25] JOHNSON – GRIM 2013, 124–128.
[26] Op. cit. 11–12.
[27] JOHNSON – ZURLO 2015, 18–19.
[28] Ibid.

The countries with the highest percentage of religious affiliation are: Afghanistan, Bhutan, and Somalia (in each country, the share of religious people is 100% of the population), followed by Burundi, Niger, Bangladesh, Kenya, Pakistan, Maldives, and Yemen (with a share of 99.9%).[30]

The religious population is divided as follows: Christians, Muslims, Jews, Hindus, Buddhists, Chinese folk religion,[31] ethno-religionists,[32] and other religions.

Table 1. *Percentage of the religious and non-religious world population*[33]

	1910 %	1970 %	2000 %	2010 %	2014 %	2030 %	2050 %
No religion	0.2	19.2	13.0	11.8	11.5	9.9	8.7
Agnostics	0.2	14.7	10.8	9.8	9.6	8.3	7.3
Atheists	0.0	4.5	2.2	2.0	1.9	1.6	1.4
Religion	99.8	80.8	87.0	88.2	88.5	90.1	91.3
Christians	34.8	33.3	32.4	32.8	33.0	34.1	35.8
Muslims	12.6	15.5	21.0	22.5	23.1	25.6	27.5
Jews	0.7	0.4	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2
Hindus	12.7	12.6	13.3	13.8	13.5	13.1	7.3
Buddhists	7.0	6.4	7.4	7.2	7.1	6.8	6.0
Chinese folk	22.3	6.2	7.0	6.3	6.2	5.4	4.1
Ethno-religious	7.7	4.6	3.6	3.8	3.5	3.2	2.6

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[29] JOHNSON – GRIM 2013, 115–129.

[30] JOHNSON – ZURLO 2015, 20.

[31] Chinese folk religions are unlike any other religion in the world. Although their origins are deeply rooted in Chinese history, there is no centralized governing structure, no reference text, and no founding figure. In many ways, these religions are similar to indigenous religions, but there is no set of unifying beliefs. Ultimately, it is a mixture of Buddhist, Confucian, and Daoist traditions. Those who adopt this syncretistic and inclusive religious system are open to borrowings, mixes, and collective applications.

[32] Ethno-religion is a collective term for all the primary forms of manifestations of religiosity which involve animism, shamanism, pantheism, ancestor worship, etc.: Johnson – Ross (eds.) 2009, 18–19, 325.

[33] The data are taken from the previously mentioned works. Its value is relative and can differ from one paper to another, without significant differences. Each research taken into account has a special chapter in which the procedures used are explained methodologically in order to establish the data.

2.2. Christianity

In the global religious configuration, the share of Christianity slightly decreased during the 20th century even if the number of Christians experienced a significant increase, being supported by global population growth. Thus, whereas in 1910 Christians represented 34.8% (611,810,000 adherents) of the total world population, in 2010 the 2,260,440,000 Christians represented 32.8% of the world population.[34] It is interesting to underline that the annual growth rate of the Christian population continued to decline until 2000, when it reached 1.33%; thus, in the next ten years, there would be a slight increase to 1.35% in 2010.

Globally, Christianity remains the religion with the most followers, and predictions show that this position will be maintained in the coming decades. It is estimated that in 2030 the share of Christians will be 34.1%,[35] and in 2050 the number of Christians will reach 3,327,384,000, representing 35.8% of the world population.[36]

However, the geographical distribution of Christianity underwent important changes during the 20th century. While in 1910 over 80% of the world's Christian population was located in Europe and North America, in 2010 only 37.9% of the Christians lived on the two continents. The countries of the southern hemisphere have come to provide a living environment for almost 60% of the Christians.

Table 2. *Distribution of the Christian population by continent*[37]

Christianity	1910 %	1970 %	2000 %	2010 %	2014 %	2030 %	2050 %
Europe	94.5	75.0	77.5	78.6	78.2	75.2	74.5
North America	96.6	91.6	81.1	78.8	78.0	75.1	72.2
Latin America	95.2	94.3	92.5	92.3	92.3	91.7	89.6
Africa	9.3	38.4	47.1	48.3	48.6	50.5	52.6
Asia	2.4	4.5	7.4	8.2	8.6	10.2	11.8
Oceania	78.6	92.5	78.1	76.6	73.5	70.4	70.6

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[34] JOHNSON – GRIM 2013, 13.
[35] JOHNSON – ZURLO 2015, 36–37.
[36] JOHNSON – GRIM2013, 116.
[37] For the purpose of synthesizing the data, except for the aforementioned sources, we have also used: JOHNSON – ZURLO: *Religions by Continent*. In: GRIM, Brian J. – JOHNSON, Todd M. – SKIRBEKK, Vegard – ZURLO, Gina A. (eds.) (2015): *Yearbook of International Religious Demography 2015*. 87–97.

If we follow the evolution of Christianity on every continent, we will have a clear picture of the dynamics that, from a demographic perspective, Christianity has known in the last century. Thus, in Europe in 1910, 94.5% of the population was Christian. Its share decreased to 75% in 1970, and then it had seen a slight increase until 2010, when it reached 78.6%. Since then, there has been a slight decrease, and this trend is maintained for the future – estimates show that in 2030 only 75.2% of Europe's population will be Christian, and by 2050 the percentage is likely to fall to 74.5%. The same evolution is noted for North America, Latin America, and Oceania. Instead, we are witnessing an exponential growth in the Christian population on the African continent. While in 1910 less than 10% of Africa's population was Christian, in 2014 no less than 48.6% of the population was Christian, the 553,047,000 adherents representing 23.1% of the world's Christian population.[38] Christianity continues to grow steadily in Asia even if it ranks only fifth in the ranking of religious affiliation after Muslims (26.4%), Hindus (22.3%), Buddhists (11.7%), and Chinese folk religions (10.4%).[39] Asia is the only continent on which the Christian population is not the largest religious group.

2.3. Islam

The dynamics of the evolution of other religious groups, particularly Muslims, was much more pronounced in the 20th century.[40] Muslims registered a spectacular increase from 12.6% –which means 221,749,000 followers in 1910 –to 22.5%, the equivalent of 1,553,773,000 followers in 2010, and the forecasts are that in 2050 (according to some estimates even sooner) the number of Muslims will exceed 2,500,000,000, i.e. 27.5% of the world population.[41] If we analyse each continent, we find that the number of Muslims increased between 1910 and 2014 from 32.1% to 41.6% in Africa, from 16.7% to

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[38] JOHNSON – ZURLO 2015, 87.

[39] Op. cit. 90.

[40] For a history of Islam, see: LAPIDUS, Ira M. (2002): *A History of Islamic Societies*. Cambridge University Press.

[41] Also see: JOHNSTONE, Patrick (2011): *The Future of the Global Church*. InterVarsity Press. 74. For further details on the historic and demographic of Islam see: RUTHVEN, Malise (2004): *Historical Atlas of the Islamic World*. Oxford University Press; Pew Research Center (27 January 2011): *The Future of the Global Muslim Population. Projections for 2010–2050*. Accessible online at: http://www.pewforum.org/2011/01/27/the-future-of-the-global-muslim-population (last accessed: 21 July 2020).

26.4% in Asia, from 2.4 % to 6.1% in Europe, from 0.1% to 0.3% in Latin America, from 0.0% to 1.5% in North America, and from 0.2% to 1.6% in Oceania.[42]

Muslims register the highest growth rate globally. For the period between 1970 and 2000, the annual growth rate was 2.75%. The growth rate of the Muslim population was 1.5 times higher than that of the world population growth.[43] The demographic factors that support this sharp increase are: high fertility rate, increase in life expectancy, decrease in child mortality, the share of the young population, migration, and the change of religious affiliation.[44]

Globally, the fertility rate in 2010 was 2.5, and it is anticipated to decline by 2050 to 2.1. In the case of Muslims, the fertility rate is significantly higher, namely 3.1 with a tendency to decrease to 2.3 by 2050. This increased fertility rate, which is above the average that is necessary to ensure the stability of the population, will lead to a natural increase in the share of the Muslim population.[45]

Muslim life expectancy has grown steadily, reaching 67 years in 2010 but remaining below the world average of 69 years. There is a trend to further increase life expectancy, according to which by 2050 it is estimated to reach 75 years for Muslims, i.e. a level almost similar to the world average. Consequently, Muslims will not suffer significant losses as a result of deaths due to natural causes.

Globally, the average age of Muslims is the lowest – only 24 –, while for Christians it is 30. On the one hand, the share of the young Muslim population under 15 is the highest of all religions, reaching 34% compared to the world average of 27% or to that of Christians, which is again 27%. On the other hand, the share of the elderly Muslim population over the age of 60 is the lowest, of only 7%, compared to the share of Christians of 14% or the global share of 11%. This share of young population will provide the necessary support for the accelerated growth of the Muslim population.

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[42] JOHNSON – ZURLO 2015, 62–63; JOHNSON – GRIM 2013, 118.

[43] JOHNSON – GRIM 2013, 16.

[44] For detailed analyses on these factors, see: Pew Research Center (27 January 27, 2011): *The Future of the Global Muslim Population. Projections for 2010–2050*. Accessible online at: http://www.pewforum.org/2011/01/27/the-future-of-the-global-muslim-population (last accessed: 21 July 2020).

[45] Pew Research Center (2 April 2015): *The Future of World Religions: Population Growth Projections, 2010–2050*. Accessible online at: https://www.pewforum.org/2015/04/02/religious-projections-2010-2050 (last accessed: 21 July 2020).

If the change of religious affiliation has a relatively small albeit positive impact on the Muslim population, migration will decisively influence the increasing share of the Muslim population in certain geographical areas. Europe is particularly concerned about this. It is estimated that more than 10% of the continent's population will be Muslim by 2050 as a result of sustained migration.[46] There will also be a large increase in North America, where the Muslim population is expected to grow by 197%.[47]

Table 3. *Distribution of the Muslim population by continent*

ISLAM	1910 %	1970 %	2000 %	2010 %	2014 %	2030 %	2050 %
Europe	2.4	2.7	5.6	5.6	6.1	7.3	10.2[48]
North America	0.0	0.4	1.3	1.6	1.5	2.0	2.6
Latin America	0.1	0.1	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.4
Africa	32.1	40.4	42.2	41.7	41.6	41.6	41.2
Asia	16.7	19.0	24.2	25.9	26.4	28.9	30.9
Oceania	0.2	0.4	1.3	1.5	1.6	2.0	2.5

2.4. Other Religions

Most Eastern religions (Hinduism, Buddhism, Daoism, Confucianism, Shintoism, etc.) experienced a slow evolution during the 20th century, maintaining, with small variations, their share in the world demographic structure. The same holds true for Judaism.

The most significant decreases in the number of followers were registered by the Chinese folk religions and ethno-religions, reaching 6.6% from 22.3% and 3.8% from 7.7%, respectively, by 2010.

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[46] JOHNSON – GRIM 2013, 117–119.

[47] Pew Research Center (2 April 2015): *The Future of World Religions: Population Growth Projections, 2010–2050.*Accessible online at: https://www.pewforum.org/2015/04/02/religious-projections-2010-2050 (last accessed: 21 July 2020).

[48] The scenario that supports this figure starts from the premises of increased migration towards this geographical area; see: Pew Research Center (2 April 2015): *The Future of World Religions: Population Growth Projections, 2010–2050.* Accessible online at: https://www.pewforum.org/2015/04/02/religious-projections-2010-2050 (last accessed: 21 July 2020).

3. Topics for Reflection

Throughout our analysis, we aimed to draw attention to the potential of religious demography in deciphering the religious image of the world in which we live. On the other hand, we consider that the exploration of the global religious profile as it evolves as well as of the factors that cause change is not only an opportunity generated by the organic development of religious demographic research but also a necessity for rethinking the pastoral and missionary strategies of the church.

The presented data is only the first level of analysis. In fact, it is the foundation for qualitative analysis as well as reflects the relationship between cause and effect. The ability to compare data also provides the necessary openness for projections regarding the future dimension of world religiosity.

From another perspective, the emerging demographic realities draw attention to the needs of religious dialogue in general but also to the thorough preparation for this type of dialogue. Knowledge and self-knowledge, the familiarity of the interlocutor and the assumption of one's own religious identity become immediate needs in this context. One of the major consequences of the demographic changes that have taken place over the past century is the global increase in religious diversity. There are two kinds of religious diversity: inter-religious diversity and intra-religious diversity.[49] If the data we presented illustrates the growth of religious diversity in different geographical areas, the elements of intra-religious diversity require much more attention. In the intra-religious area, be it Christian, Muslim, or of other religions, there are major changes that require increased attention. These changes target at least three levels: faith, belonging, and behaviour. These changes are highlighted especially in the case of the young population. There are certainly changes in the way one believes in God, the way one assumes membership of a religious group and the way one expresses faith and religious affiliation by assuming religious behaviours.[50]

Another area of analysis that would require special attention concerns the impact of secularism in a world eminently religious, at least in terms of quantity, as well as the consequences of religious fundamentalism.

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[49] These realities are illustrated by JOHNSON – ROSS. (eds.) 2009, 32–33; JOHNSTONE, Patrick 2011, 65–92, 93–120.

[50] For a case study on these aspects, see: GÂRDAN 2020, 139–175.

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BORSI *Attila János*[1]:

Nationalism as a Question for Theology – A Few Remarks on a Dividing Issue[2]

Abstract.

Nationalism remains to be one of the most compelling issues of communities. It raises questions not only for humanities but for theology as well. Thus, we approach it from the perspective of Reformed theology with the aim of trying to find such a point of reference by which Christian thinking is able to provide orientation in understanding this problem. The article first visits such basic definitions as state, nation, or people and attempts to define them. By providing inputs to this clarification from a theological point of view, the article investigates how the Christian doctrine of providence with its emphasis on the vertical dimension of human life can help us to avoid the absolutization of the notion of nation. One of the main points of the text is to differentiate between national existence and nationalism. Nationalism cannot be justified, such as decontextualized national existence since one of the main consequences would be a misunderstood concept of progress. A correctly articulated national existence always brings to the fore the concern for sovereignty. The article argues that a nation's sovereignty from the Christian point of view can be neither detached from the sovereignty of God nor expressed without taking it seriously. Since proper sovereignty is only to be practised not against but for something, it always points towards God's sovereignty.

Keywords: *national existence, nationalism, providence, sovereignty, responsibility.*

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Preliminary Observations

The question of nationalism is continually renewed.[3] This phenomenon, which originates from our personal experiences, now and then encompasses our public thoughts and ideas in order to shape the public. Because of its effect reaching all nations, theology must take it seriously, as something to be reckoned with. The responsibility of exposing itself (theology) to dilemmas such as this cannot be avoided. Already at the beginning of our discussion, we can make it clear that nationalism always has the character of overstrained political viewpoint with the aim of using it as a political plaything. This can be observed in the life of several countries over the last decades. It has its basis in what we might identify as an exalted form of valuing a certain nation since any sort of *-ism* has always been a divergence from the original intention of a certain thought. This provides ground for theology to reflect on such issues as nationalism. This we can also identify as an inner necessity of theology. There is a possibility to acknowledge an external necessity, which one cannot understand as a forced or directed representation of a specific opinion. It is more the need to answer questions being raised by the issue of nationalism as it is contextualized by specific external conditions. This becomes clearly visible in such instances, for example, when in the last decades, based on an hastened worry, which overstepped its own borders, the distortion of Hungarian national feelings shout out loud into the European public space has been considered by many to be the most flagrant. This external necessity basically originates in society. At the same time, we must admit that it also generates an inner necessity to be considered as a problem for Protestant theology, which has left various issues raised by Western Christian theological thinking unprocessed. This is especially true for Western Protestant thinking which initiated such discussions, even with respect to nationalism. This interest emerged as early as the beginning of the 1990s. In March 1994, a conference was held with the aim to provide theological orientation for the Protestant churches in Eastern Europe. In his introductory lecture, Michael Beintker, a leading German theologian, pointed out nationalism as one of the most urgent questions

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[3] LAJTAI, L. László (2015): Trendek és elméletek a nemzet-és nacionalizmuskutatásban: vázlatos kutatástörténeti áttekintés. In: *Pro Minoritate* 2015/3. 115–147; SMITH, Anthony D. (2010): *Nationalism: Theory, Ideology, History (Key Concepts)*. 2nd edition (revised and updated; Kindle edition). Polity Press, Cambridge.

to deal with.[4] Thus, one can see that the question of nationalism cannot be underestimated, which this way compels Christian theology to take it seriously and consider it with responsibility. This is by no means an accident. After three decades of social and political shift in Central-Eastern Europe, we try to revisit this issue from the perspective of Protestant theology.

For our purposes, we need to employ definitions that are not inherently part of the system of theological reasoning, even if some of them can be discovered in the Bible. After giving a short introduction into the biblical understanding of these definitions, we go on to set forth how the refusal of politically overemphasized nationalism is possible. We will also point out how this is feasible by employing the notion and understanding of both nation and sovereignty, and the Protestant teaching of providence, so that the idea and understanding of nation would remain up-to-date for our age and generations throughout the upcoming decades, especially focusing on theology and public consequences.

Nation–Nationalism.
Searching for Definitions

For theological consideration, in order to take a clear point of departure, one has to overview such definitions that are closely related to the problem of nationalism. In 1992, the Ecumenical Study Centre at Budapest published a synthesizing study presenting definitions for the notions of state, homeland/country, people, and nation.[5] According to this, we can make the following statements:

1.) *State* is "a community of a given territory with given people with government and sovereignty; its life and cooperation is ordered by established institutions. Its role is to secure peace and security outwardly, the respect of law inwardly, to enhance social and economic well-being, to cultivate cultural life".[6]

2.) *Homeland* is defined as "the geographical, spiritual, cultural environment and the related social connectedness".

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[4] BEINTKER, Michael (1994): Theologische Neuorientierung. Introductory lecture to the conference: *Die Aufgabe theologische Neuorientierung in den evangelischen Kirchen Mittel- und Osteuropas*. 4–7 March 1994, Berlin. In: *Ev. Th.* 55. 3–95, 211–217.

[5] *Ökumenikus Tanulmányi Füzetek* 1992/3. 9–16. Ökumenikus Tanulmányi Központ. Budapest.

[6] Translations of the in-text quotations belong to the author.

3.) *People* "is a more general term referring to a larger community, which is measured and connected by a common and continuous origin, history, destiny, economic and cultural-social life, especially by the use of common language, tradition, religion, and shared common values". At this point, since our consideration pertains to the theological approach, we need to have a brief summary of how the biblical narrative informs us in this respect. In the creation narrative, we read that the created human being is given a mandate to cultivate and preserve creation. This is not a specific order given to a specific people, but it is something in which all peoples participate. As a result of this, we are informed that human reality involves the potential of differences. The desire to rule over others and the desire to be god-like come to the surface (Gen 11:1ff). However, the shared responsibility cannot create any sort of case for division. On the contrary: this is the case to realize how interdependent we are in our creaturely reality. That is to say that in this context every single person has his or her place. As we turn to the Old Testament, this becomes apparent. Thus, this is the reason why we see those who belong together by blood (*am*), those who belong together by the shared cultural, lingual, religious values and means, and those who precisely because of certain pagan religious practices are considered to be one (*gój*). We also see that Israel is God's own people. In assigning this particular status, the decisive factor is the faith of Israel (Deut 7:7ff). In the New Testament, another definition lies at the heart of this understanding, although it reflects the same degree of importance. In the time of Jesus, several people converted to the Jewish religion, commonly known as proselytes. This is an integral part of proclaiming Jesus's message that geographical borders neither for Christ and later nor for the apostle Paul meant that the proclamation of the gospel would be restricted to a certain group of people. This would definitely be in contradiction with the mandate given in creation, especially being considered from the standpoint of creation theology. In the New Testament, the term demos refers to a political community of people living together on the territory of a city-state, while *ethné* alludes to people living in oneness on different territories. *Oikumené* means the entire inhabited world, thus referring to it as a common living space. Owing to the importance and role of faith, it results in such a vision of *missio Dei* which broadens the definition of God's people; so to say, it opens up for others to be part of it. In this way, it encompasses all those who take on the Christ-like life as a life programme, without aiming at the dissolution of those characters that are essential part of a certain people's identity (Gal 3:28; 1Cor 9:20ff) since the signs of our createdness remain even after being renewed in the image of Christ.

4.) For the clarification of the definition of *nation*,[7] we must first consider those factors that have influenced its formation. Several influences may be identified, according to which we can differentiate basically between two forms as far as their origin is concerned. One of them is what is usually called *political nation* (mostly reflecting the Western European phenomenon), and the other is the so-called *cultural nation* (mainly reflecting the Central-Eastern European form).[8] In our case, we observe a nation's life as a generic process. It was and still is conspicuous that political borders do not happen to coincide with cultural confines. Thus, when talking about nation, or commitment to a nation, we are to bear in mind these two aspects.

It is with these observations in focus that we start off with the consideration of our topic from the viewpoint of Protestant, i.e. Reformed theology. It is interesting to realize that even if Reformed theology has dealt with such issues as nationalism, it was very seldom discussed, at least not as frequently as one would suppose. In 1973, Mihály Bucsay makes a comment upon it in one of his lectures.[9] It was further emphasized by Jenő Sebestyén – a former professor at the Academy of Reformed Theology in Budapest – in his opening address at the inaugural convocation of the 1928/29 academic year. This speech was dedicated to the theological evaluation of the term *neo-nationalism*, being frequently used at that time by the Minister of Religion and Education. In his speech, Sebestyén pointed out that if neo-nationalism carries any positive meaning, it can be of great help in building up communities.[10] We must not forget that we are in the period shortly after WWI. It is evident that the extreme distortion of national thinking is not inherently familiar with our understanding, but in certain circumstances it can easily turn in that direction. It is obvious that what originally lies behind it is the

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7 Lajtai 2015, 115–147. 127ff.

8 András Gergely makes an interesting statement about the nation when he argues that "Nation is a spiritualized form of country." See: A. Gergely, András (2002): A „végig nem beszélt" nemzet-képletek. In: *Regio – Kisebbség, Politika, Társadalom* 13, 4. 23–32. 23. For further definitions of state and nation, see: Gellner, Ernest (2009): Nations and Nationalism. Second edition. Ithaca–New York, Cornell University Press. 1–6.

9 Bucsay, Mihály (1973): A magyarországi református egyház és a nacionalizmus. In: *Theológiai Szemle* XVI. 261–268.

10 Sebestyén, Jenő (1929): *Neonacionalizmus és Kálvinizmus*. Különlenyomat a Dunamelléki Református Egyházkerület budapesti Theológiai Akadémiájának az 1928/29-es tanévről kiadott Értesítőjéből. Budapest.

privileged concern for thinking in terms of nation and homeland. Nationalism is the overemphasized form of this concern. Thinking of national esse/existence always indicates an inclusive process, rather than nationalism, which always tends to choose an exclusive approach. Thereby, it places the accent on exclusiveness, looking at positive national identity as something rather controversial and adversary.[11] This can serve as a proper basis for historical or communal damnification and experiences of personally identified sense, that is, the threat of lost independence.

If we accept it, it comes to the fore that creating a common national narrative is conditioned by and based on the sense of community (Gen 12). Therefore, to understand more layers at play in considering nationalism, we can turn to another definition, as Ferenc Szűcs suggests, namely to the notion of family, which allows a more detailed biblical understanding to prevail.[12]

As earlier mentioned pertaining to the spreading of the message of the gospel, people and nation do not overlap entirely. We obviously think that nation is a narrower category, which does not put us on the wrong track. But precisely because of the common language, geographical, economic, and cultural oneness determines a common framework, thereby broadening its own boundaries as opposed to what the meaning of people would cover. People is mostly alluding to an ethnic community, which, of course, inherently bears the characteristics of a common language. As a result, belonging to a specific community carries along unique talent and particular and original mission, but it does not support and foster isolated overelevated-consciousness.

We must refer to the fact that we Christians know each other as brothers and sisters in Christ, signalling our connection to another community, that is, to the church, the body of Christ. Being part of this community we are to participate in the mission of the church as being members of God's covenant, God's people. As a member either among the members of our nation or among others we have the shared responsibility to point out the necessity of an ongoing renovation of our connection with God. This is one of the most prevailing attributes of what we call the universality of the church.

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[11] See: GRENHOLM, C. H. (1994): Nationalismus (entry). In: *Theologische Realenzyklopädie (TRE)*. Bd. 24. Berlin–New York, De Gruyter. 21–22.

[12] See: SZŰCS, Ferenc (2005): Nacionalizmus a református teológia és az egyház megítélése szerint. In: *Confessio* 2005/3. 37–42.

In relation to this, we can also talk about national mission as we are members of our nation. Certainly, a history of a nation bears both the more elevating and the less glorious moments. We often apply for either renewal or preservation. We are aware of such cases in the history of our nations. Thus, we must realize that a nation is never settled, it is always under change.[13] Therefore, it cannot be considered as part of God's created order, which compels us to search for such a point of orientation from which there is a possibility and to have a clear view on nationalism. This point of orientation for us may very well be the doctrine of providence, which has lost its voice just when nationalism became even louder.

Nationalism and Nationhood
in the Perspective of the Doctrine of Providence

How can one relate to an idea that came to stay only in the 18th–19th centuries, and even the assessment of this definition is multifaceted?[14] We have a peculiar historical background. It was almost a common experience of Central-Eastern European countries that our theological reasoning was highly instrumentalized and could hardly find its own voice after the dissolution of the Eastern Bloc. Certainly, there are several reasons to this, which we will not reflect on at this point. It is enough to have in mind those questions which forced us with elemental power to search for responses and which

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[13] People is not an order of creation. See: GRENHOLM 1994, 27–28.

[14] ANDERSON, Benedikt (2006): *Elképzelt közösségek. Gondolatok a nacionalizmus eredetéről.* Budapest, L'Harmattan–Atelier; GELLNER, Ernest (1992): Nacionalizmus és politika Kelet-Európában (Transl. by György Mezei). In: *Világosság* 33, 5. 332–338; HALL, John A. (ed.) (1998): *The State of the Nation. Ernest Gellner and the Theory of Nationalism.* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press; KÁNTOR, Zoltán (ed.) 2004: *Nacionalizmuselméletek (Szöveggyűjtemény).* Rejtjel Politológiai Könyvek 21. Budapest, Rejtjel; NAGY, Levente (2001): A nacionalizmus természetrajza. In: *Kisebbségkutatás* 10, 1. 69–84. 70 ; BRETTER, Zoltán – DEÁK, Ágnes (eds.) (1995): *Eszmék a politikában: a nacionalizmus.* Pécs, Tanulmány; MICHNIK, Adam (1992): Egy fogalom határai (Transl. by A. Péter Lázár). In: *Világosság* 33, 5. 328–331. Magaš Branka argues that the origin of nationalism can be traced back to the disappearance of the Latin roots in our societies. See: MAGAŠ, Branka (1992): Vitám Ernest Gellnerrel (Transl. by A. Péter Lázár). In: *Világosság* 33, 5. 339–344. 340. For understanding the Hungarian context, see: GYURGYÁK, János (2007): *Ezzé lett magyar hazátok. A magyar nemzeteszme és nacionalizmus története.* Budapest, Osiris.

cried out for answers not only on the part of the church but on the part of the public as well. Among those, there is still a place for nationalism, which is reinforced by the scepticism of many towards such institutions as the EU. All of this finds the church – as far as our Protestant tradition is concerned – in a historical situation which shows that under the communist dictatorship it was only the church that remained compatible with European thinking.[15] It was supported by the self-understanding of the church as being universal, providing the possibility of common thinking. This proved to be crucial regarding the church's identity even if certain church officials were collaborating with the communist political movement. The fact that now we can trace back those lives that were involved in maintaining the communist regime would lead in the direction of taking a more detailed approach to nationalism. But this is not the case. If one looks at how the issue has been treated theologically, they will find it striking that, apart from a few different approaches, this question did not receive proper attention and due consideration. To mention but one fact, it did not turn to be a common topic in theology. It is even more interesting with respect to the idea of inner necessity of theology, which we visited earlier.

What we truly realize concerning nationalism is a very strong characteristic thereof: it is embedded into a deep-rooted hostility, so to say, a certain enemy-consciousness. It is by no accident that this sense of hostility can easily be accompanied by political overtone. However, this is not to be equated with political legitimacy. If this happens, nationalism becomes a political tool, which is not only true for a nation whose life reflects a certain traumatic event that could provide a basis for this understanding, but it may very well be true in the life of any nation. The need to dismiss the use of nationalism as a political plaything is a very urgent task.

At the same time, one cannot overlook the fact that the face of Europe is very vividly coloured as nations are in view. Many of us have numerous different interpretations, traditions, and heritages. But this pluralism of many-faced Europe gives also an opportunity for European thinking not to view the European community as a melting pot but rather as a place to preserve, to strengthen, and to enhance the unique characteristics of each nation as part of a constructive pluralism. Each nation, including the Hungarian one, has the responsibility, basic obligation, and necessity to maintain those features that appear to be identifying factors throughout generations. This can be viewed

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[15] GAÁL, Botond (1997): Religious Minorities in Central-Europe and Their Relation to the Nation-State. In: *Reformed World* 47, 79–82.

also, as one may say, a sort of national consciousness. If it were the case, it only could be as one that intensifies the value of cultural heritage. In this sense, cultural nationalism has to be stable.

The previously mentioned enemy-consciousness seems to be inherently part of certain societies today. However, this is not by any means a description of God–human relationship, even if the biblical narrative does speak about the wounded self-identity based on which humans turn to their fellow human beings and God with hatred (Gen 3:1ff). This is the broken condition of human reality that is rendered into being in community with others. In its point of intersection, there appears the distortion which is able to have effect on the life a community only by way of a moral change. This presents a shift in orientation: from the heavenly (vertical) to the earthly (horizontal). This is a clear shift in direction. As a result, the main interest is not in searching for God, that is, the consciousness that God approaches us individuals; so, we ask for God, but in realizing those measures that make human life as bearable as possible. When nationalism becomes pure political ideology, the above referred horizontal approach needs to be traced in all its characters.

Tracing its roots back to the 18ᵗʰ century, we see that both the French Revolution and German Romanticism, although based on different principles,[16] sought to bind these human needs together. By this, it becomes obvious how the idea of nationalism may receive support from notions. As the horizontal dimension was more and more widespread, and the heavenly orientation fell back, the potential in their digression is even further extinguished. The overestimation of the horizontal dimension with regard to nationalism highlights that it is not possible for humans to identify this. In this respect, difference makes the value, which does not reject but enhances the role of such pluralism that can be detected only under this condition. Nationalism is always able to be captivated by plurality while being elevated from personal to a communal level, fostering the communal sense of enemy-consciousness. When this happens, we experience communal egoism, which rejects the possibility of constructive pluralism. However, the secret of the Christ-like community for the church, people, and nation lies precisely in this.[17]

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[16] ANDERSON 2006, 24.

[17] The relationship of religion, or religious interpretation of reality and nationalism is an important fact in our assessment. According to Isaiah Berlin, nationalism was not possible for centuries because of the universal church and the common use of Latin language. This, however, must be treated with care. On this basis, one cannot refer to the programme of modernity as something

The idea of nationalism and its emphasis in European thinking dates back to the 18th century.[18] Thus, it is not a coincidence what we observe in theological thinking in the age of Enlightenment. This era is the time when such classic theological topics as the doctrine of providence lose their weight. Human reasoning at this time is not only sceptical but refers to possibilities that lie behind human capacity as unnecessary. The Christian teaching of *providentia Dei* has influenced for decades the establishment and organization of communities, but from this point on it seems human beings were successful in chasing away this thought for hundreds of years. The lack of belief in providence, pushing the role of individual without any control being applied upon provided good soil for forming an adversary. This makes one believe that everyone must take care of everything by themselves. We have to be careful! It would be a misconception to think that humans cannot be means in the hands of God. But it can never be under the disguise of nationalism. A strong national position can express it more vividly because in this sense it is true that every single nation has a mission.

The Christian teaching of providence has involved a critical tone. To this, nationalism could be simply related since part of its essence is to depict a certain negative picture. However, the sharp difference between these two appears when we ask: what is their orientation? The classic understanding views God's providential work as supporting an inwardly oriented critical attitude, after which it turns to be outwardly accepted. The idea of nationalism is entirely lacking this inward critical voice, which makes one fully capable of shifting attention away from what stays behind certain ideas. Instead of this negative understanding, we need to have a form of national identity which articulates its critical voice from its own message. This may be interpreted as a means of a positive view, which does not equal any positivist approach to human reality. This positive value

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that inherently carried along the potential for nationalism. See: BERLIN, Isaiah (1992): Isaiah Berlin a nacionalizmus két fogalmáról: Nathan Gardels interjúja (Transl. by A. Péter Lázár). In: *Világosság* 33, 5. 344–347. See also: LAJTAI, L. László (2005): Nemzet – történelem – szakralitás: a modernitás apoteózisa, avagy a nem nacionalista nacionalizmuselméletek buktatói. In: *2000* 17, September. 10–17.

[18] Nationalism can take different forms. It can be cultural nationalism, political nationalism. See: DIECKHOFF, Alain (2002): Egy megrögzöttség túlhaladása – a kulturális és politikai nacionalizmus fogalmainak újraértelmezése (Transl. by Rita Kéri). In: *Regio – Kisebbség, Politika, Társadalom*. 13, 4. 7–22; GAZSÓ, Dániel (2015): Volt egyszer egy Trianon. In: *Valóság* 58, 8. 70–88.

judgement only refers to a critical function that is practised based on a nation's own values. It seems to be one of our crucial problems today. A nation that has lost its moral value system could not provide a solid basis for it. It is because of this that God's renewing act, the biblical picture of new creation, is even more crucial. Today's need for national renovation can only be possible if it is placed on spiritual, moral, e.g. ethical renovation. This renovation can set forth those specific characteristics that are attributed to a nation. This is not a new invention. Christian tradition has been its essence in this process since it refers to a vertical procedure. It is with respect to this vertical dimension of human life that the horizontal, the human–human relationship can find its proper place and context again. This is the beginning of the formation of a community that assesses its reality with the mercy of God, its renovation by the grace of God, and renders its future as a mission received in this perspective. Thus, national existence and nationalism are not the same. As opposed to nationalism, national existence always wants to give, it promotes a liveable and vital, life-giving community. National existence is not a mass without control but the community of strong identity and an endeavour for creative thinking. This is the responsibility of Christian existence of all ages, which can prevent us from rendering the notion of nation to be something that is above our worldly reality.

We must see it clearly that the stigma of nationalism is very easy to be applied to a nation, especially when one meets a rather strong expression of national existence. In this respect, nationalism signals a break-even point, which compels us to pursue a precise investigation and careful circumscription in time and space in order to avoid a simplified use of the term nationalism both in our public life and the common understanding. Theological understanding and reasoning must avoid this simplified approach as well. It is because nationalism, just as our national existence, cannot be detached from that certain condition in which it appears. Nationalism becomes the most uninterpretable when it is decontextualized.[19]

As the importance of the Christian teaching of providence has faded away, the notion of progress came to the fore, according to which the human mind and knowledge have the capability to make progress towards a more elaborated and devel-

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[19] SZŰCS, Ferenc (2005): Nacionalizmus a református teológia és az egyház megítélése szerint. In: *Confessio* 2005/3. 41. DEMETER, Attila (2009): Adalékok a nemzeteszme és a nacionalizmus értelmezéséhez. In: *Limes – Tudományos Szemle* 22, 4. 35–42. 42.

oped advancement of human life and condition. This has been properly backed up by scientific discoveries. Nevertheless, today we see it as one of the most frustrating concerns of human life. The issues of sustainability, social changes, or structural reforms are indeed very difficult questions, especially in such institutions as the European Union. The level of social, economic, and developmental status of different countries is diverse, which has been, of course, deepened by historical events. Parallel to this, the conquest of nationalism is evolving just as rapidly, taking advantage of this diversity. In this context, it is the notion of progress that is ultimately valued more, to which nationalism can adjust itself easily because it happens to present itself as something which is value-oriented. But, unfortunately, it only seems to be like this! The purpose behind it is not real advocacy of true interests. This is the reason why we have to repudiate nationalism of any era since it produces almost unbreakable barriers between human and human, community and community.

The developmental differences between nations represent a crisis. If we do not take it seriously enough, we will delude ourselves. This is the responsibility of the church and Christian thinking alike. Although the national existence does not equal progression, it certainly contains the necessary elements of progress with regard to human conditions. To put it differently: the horizontal dimension of evening the uneven in a certain society is closely connected to national consciousness that is eager to enhance its nation's prosperity. The message of national existence based on this is that pluralism has value, and the purpose is not increasing uncertainty, which is often real in the case of nationalism.[20] This is why Christian thinking must take a serious stand, with a strong national existence and identity. At the same time, it has to articulate its critical voice when this thought under the disguise of nationalism wants to take over the Christian individual or the church since nationalism is not a substitute for religion. National existence can only mean commitment and engagement. Nationalism is more than a "vacuum existence" in which the existence of a nation would become secondary. This is why we must rediscover the importance of the vertical dimension of providence.

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[20] National existence is not the same as nationalism. See: KOVÁCS, Gábor (2002): Nemzet, önrendelkezés, nacionalizmus Bibó István gondolatvilágában. In: *Regio – Kisebbség, Politika, Társadalom* 13, 3. 93–115.

National Existence and Sovereignty

Finally, we need to consider the connection between national existence and sovereignty.[21] Examining the theory of sovereignty we experience that there is no universally agreed definition of its meaning. The theory of sovereignty starts to take wing in the public discourse of the 15th century. Jean Bodin made a serious step towards its definition – at least what concerns the content –, "in which the individual element (ruler) and the objective element (the separated power) is one, and the law does not appear as an objective, depersonalized norm, but it is a means of the sovereign to practise its power".[22] Just as Adam Smith, Jean Bodin is still reckoning on God's sovereign action in the reality of the world. This definition of Jean Bodin is a clear instance that carries a vertical definiteness, which we observed in discussing the topos of providence on the one hand and is reflected in the sovereignty of God on the other. This can prevent this system of correspondence from overestimating the role of human being and refers to the need of regulated human conditions being reflected in the Christian understanding of the Law.

The dismissal of this criterion is also the fruit of Enlightenment. The upsurgence of the individuum cancels this need. Thereby, the idea of sovereignty is placed in the field of sheer/pure law. As a result of this, a necessary dimension of sovereignty is dismissed, which is crucial for the theological interpretation of the sovereign. Thus, the goal is not to demarcate the boundaries of the sovereign but the conceptual definition of sovereignty. This is in our view a negative process of a conceptual definition. From this point, sovereignty is not a point of orientation but an "orientation mechanism".[23] The crucial question is not *who* decides but *how* it is decided.[24]

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[21] Here we do not intend to show how the idea of sovereignty, popular sovereignty has developed from the Christian theory of God's sovereignty. But we realize that the theory of sovereignty from the point of view of Christian theology becomes problematic when it is detached from the idea of God's sovereignty. We will only provide another aspect to this concept bearing in mind the Christian understanding of sovereignty.

[22] TECHET, Péter (2008): Kontinuus vagy diszkontinuus szuverenitástörténet. Carl Schmitt és Jacques Maritain szuverenitáskoncepciójának összehasonlítása. In: *Valóság* LI, 12. 32–38.

[23] HERMS, Eilert (2004): *Souveränität* (entry). In: RGG⁴ Band 7 R–S, Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck. 1462.

[24] Op. cit. 1462.

Thus, sovereignty understood in relation to national existence and nationalism marks a breaking-point since the *how* of a decision is suitable for strengthening nationalism.

If we look at the biblical narrative, especially Gen 3:1ff, we can see this is what has been broken as the individual stands in front of God being turned off of God. It is the picture of a human being who strives to be independent of the sovereign God. It reflects, however, that it is God's sovereignty that determines the God–human relationship, in which the main point is the quest for who is in the position to decide about the future of human beings. The individual wants to take over this decision by applying to himself/herself this *how* and by placing not only the present but also the future into his/her own potential. This is why the restoration of God's sovereignty with all its consequences in the Reformation theology of the 16th century occupied a central role. The theological emphasis on sovereignty can never be depersonalized. Sovereignty as a relational term bears great impact on the human condition when it is expressed in community with others. This is not something that is placed outside the human reality. It concerns the *totus homo*. As Jenő Sebestyén affirms: "The acceptance of the theory of total sovereignty creates the correct relationship between God and human, and from this follows proper <u>service</u>."[25]

It is here that we have reached the meeting-point of the theory of sovereignty and Reformed theology because both consider its content to be subjective. The difference lies in the perspective. While the jurisdictional terminology and definition grasps its essence from an external point of view, for Christian understanding this is entirely an inwardly oriented position. On this basis, it is true that it is only a state that can have sovereignty. But at the same time it does not extinguish the right of communities to be state-constitutive in order to have the status of autonomy. What proceed from this are as follows:

1.) The question of sovereignty is the tension between self-limitation and limitation imposed upon by others. Sovereignty always anticipates self-limitation, which in this context has a positive connotation as opposed to an outwardly implemented sovereignty. Self-limitation does not necessarily mean the lack of sovereignty.

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[25] SEBESTYÉN, Jenő (1993): *Református etika*. Budapest–Gödöllő, Iránytű. (Underlining in the original).

2.) If our argument is correct, we are to ask: can this idea of sovereignty be supplementary to a larger context? For a reality of a given political community is not an option but a necessity. Sovereignty understood this way can expand and at the same time complete a given political community. A system of co-operation on a national level is not an enemy of political realities but a supplementary (complementary) factor that can strengthen the specific political community to which it relates. In this context, we can better understand the problems of different societies. The sovereignty of a nation cannot be renounced, but it has to be broadened in order to be understood and practised in complementarity.

3.) Sovereignty cannot be practised *against* something but only *pro* something, expressing this way its historical, linguistic, cultural, political, and religious identity.

4.) Sovereignty for Christian thinking is the expression of God's omnipotence. The ultimate meaning and content of sovereignty is God's power by which God governs human life and the world. God is in the centre – everything starts from and returns to God. Sovereignty in this respect requires acceptance. The life of the entire world is under God's forming hand. This must be articulated consequently in the political, economic, social, and cultural life.

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Buzalic Alexandru[1]:

Religion and Identity –
Anthropological Guiding Lines[2]

Abstract.

The human being is *homo religiosus* through his ability to experience the sacred, laying special emphasis on the meaning of existence of all things, expressed afterwards in a metaphysical interpretation concealed behind symbolic-religious language. One of the most important processes of integration into reality is self-identification as a person and gaining a group identity –processes that take different shapes over the history of human existence. The formation of state entities has always been preceded by a process of creating a social identity that manifests itself through the spiritual life materialized in culture and religion. These processes have led to the birth of mediaeval states and then to the shaping of modern Europe, necessary to the deconstructions and reconstructions in the inter-war time. These processes are also visible today during cultural globalization. What we need is a critical approach on unity in diversity that characterizes humanity in history and that will shape the future evolution of humanity.

Keywords: *church, faith, state entities, globalization, identity, nation, religion.*

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Introduction

The term identity defines a dynamic, complex process, vital for each individual who becomes self-aware and is able to answer the question: Who am I? Identity concerns the identification and differentiation of one individual from the "other" and implicitly leads to identification with a psychosocial pattern, shares the same view of the world, and is actively involved according to the common values promoted by an identity group.[3] We thus distinguish a biological identity, a psychic-psychological identity, a group identity, and a social identity. To these are added the meta-identities through which the individual recognizes him-/herself and adopts a specific system of values, of which the most important will be given by religion.

Ontogenetically, building up an identity goes through different stages; it acquires nuances and precise criteria of identification with the psychological age of the individual.[4] This process is conditioned by many endo- and exogenous factors, from the issue of personal identity that each individual builds up to the issue of social integration that forces the same individual to relate to the "other" while safeguarding his/her individuality and otherness in a being of the "together" type. It generates the feeling of belonging and influences group solidarity.[5]

The process that allows the acquisition of an identity facilitates at the same time the integration of the individual in the world according to his/her specific structure: body and soul, matter and spirit, as man manifests himself as a spirit in the world through culture and religion. It is a dynamic process of adaptation and manifestation/responsible and conscious action in the social, cultural, and spiritual environment in which humans live.

The special condition of man in relation to other living beings is given by the specific relationship he has with the transcendent aspects of reality. Man is *homo religiosus*. Religion is the experience of the sacred.[6] Able to perceive the sacred, man has a specific

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[3] LICATA, Laurent (2007): La théorie de l'identité sociale et la théorie de l'auto-catégorisation: le Soi, le groupe et le changement social. In:*Revue électronique de Psychologie Sociale* 1. 19–33.

[4] BUZALIC, Alexandru – BUZALIC, Anca (2010): *Psihologia religiei*. Galaxia Gutenberg. 213–214.

[5] Op.cit. 203.

[6] Religion is defined by Mircea Eliade as "the experience of the sacred". ELIADE, Mircea (1971): *La nostalgie des origines*. Paris, Gallimard. 29. This definition allows us to approach the foundations that underlie all religions. Behind the different forms of expression, specific to each

knowledge that raises him beyond the simple integration into the natural environment; human knowledge is already an interpretation and expression in a language approved by man through culture and religion.[7]

Next, I propose the following axiomatic definition to the term "culture": *culture is the materialization of the human spirit in history*.[8] Culture is generated by the creative intellectual and spiritual powers of man, is materialized by image, sound, word, or body expression, and is intended only for man –the only being capable of spiritual acts and of understanding the meaning of material signs that reveal the intention of the creator of culture. Intergenerational transmission is dynamic and accompanies the human phenomenon in history as an intangible heritage; in this context, the vestiges that lose their ability to be deciphered through hermeneutics accessible to a historical time become signs of dead cultures, which have either metamorphosed or have been replaced by the new geo-cultural substrate that coexists alongside the human phenomenon at some point.

Religion coexists alongside man by providing him with the specific means necessary for the knowledge of the world, for responsible and moral action, for cultural manifestation and social organization. Thus, religion is socially materialized through empirical structures, or church institutions. By ensuring the relationship with what is seen beyond the barrier of transcendence and revealed through the sacred, religion becomes one of the most significant factors that contribute to the spiritual maturation of the individual by giving him fixed, trans-historical, and strong ontological landmarks in building his personal or group identity.[9]

Hence the importance of the relationship between religion and identity is further pursued in terms of ontogenesis of personal identity and group identities within a geo-cultural space, in terms of national identities that precede the emergence of state entities in history. The space defined by borders overlapped with one or more cultural-spiritual

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culture, there is a primary experience of the cognitive type through which one becomes aware of the existence of things by integrating the empirically perceptible and the unseen aspects into a "whole" that becomes the "world" experienced by man.

[7] TAJFEL, Henri (1981): *Human Groups and Social Categories: Studies in Social Psychology*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press. 84–87.

[8] SCHLEIERMACHER, Friedriech Daniel Ernst (1838): *Hermeneutik und Kritik*. Berlin, Reimer. 103.

[9] BUZALIC – BUZALIC 2010, 239–240.

identities, pluralism thus living on even after the historical moment of the affirmation of the nation-states in Europe at the beginning of the 20th century. Finally, we can sketch a forecast of the future in the context of the processes of globalization, contemporary migrations, and cultural evolution in continuity-unity with the European cultural heritage and dynamism-diversity caused by coexistence in a cultural, spiritual, and religious pluralism.

1. From Personal to Group Identity

Man is born into a family, the core that ensures his subsistence and, through a gradual process of gaining independence, marks the socialization process of the individual. Being essentially a social being, man is conditioned by the social environment in which the parents live: he has genetic traits specific to his ethnicity, learns his mother tongue and thus communicates with the world in a vernacular language that shapes – through specific grammatical structures – his beliefs and ways of expressing himself.[10] Moreover, he will be cared for, fed and dressed according to the customs of that culture. In other words, spoken language structures the way of thinking, the habits of the cultural environment, the behavioural reactions, and the character traits of the individual.[11]

Each individual belongs to a biological gender that conditions him in his body development through the endocrine system and thus becomes another determining element in the process of building his own identity as an individual: this is biological identity.[12] Subsequently, psychosexual identity is built gradually, starting with the relationships within the family, around the age of 2-3, by identifying the male or the female pattern. The mother tongue configures and structures of thinking, the way in which the individual communicates with the world through cultural transmission or by experiencing it, depending on the transposition of this data into a common language. The individual specificity of the young child (biological, sexual, pattern, etc.) is manifested through play, by integration into the group of children during the school years. Educational specificity

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[10] GIUST-DESPRAIRIES, Florence (2002): Approche psychosociale clinique de l'identité. In: *Recherche & Formation* 41. *Les dynamiques identitaires: questions pour la recherche et la formation, sous la direction de Mokhtar Kaddouri*. 49–63.

[11] EDMOND, Marc (2005): *Psychologie de l'identité. Soi et le groupe*. Paris, Dunod. 57–60.

[12] BUZALIC – BUZALIC 2010, 214–215.

and cultural-religious environment shape – initially by mimicry, later by adopting cultural customs – behavioural reactions and the visible external appearance of that culture. During this period, identity is lived in an egocentric way.[13]

Puberty and then adolescence are marked by the confrontation of personal identity with the otherness and especially by the need to identify with something higher that offers stable landmarks in self-identification with the world. The identity of adolescents begins to be strongly influenced by social and cultural factors, going through processes of self-acceptance and adoption of values, identity crises accompanied by disorders in the field of psychiatric psychology or unusual/antisocial behaviour when talking about anxiety, rejection, social alienation, acts of aggression, etc.[14]

This period of psycho-social development concentrates on redefining biological and group identity in a system of values that becomes the identity through a transpersonal process[15] of searching for those transcendent values that have become trans-historical landmarks for a geo-cultural environment. Within this identity, the human being manifests himself/herself fully, at all the levels of his/her existence, expressing himself/herself at a biological, psychological, emotional, social, cultural, and spiritual level.

The adult acts dynamically, through a permanent process of adaptation, affirming him-/herself individually and as part of a group by widening his/her spiritual universe, thus integrating him-/herself into a narrower reality or into a wider horizon in which the individual and the otherness have a meaning.[16] There are also different degrees of identities included in each other, which mark the transition from individual to universal.

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[13] Ibid.

[14] Op. cit. 225–228.

[15] According to Abraham Maslow, the term "transpersonal" defines the experiences of self-transcendence beyond immediate needs, a "vertical" transcendence. Values are linked to a transcendent or transpersonal reality. Starting from the study of motivation (classified into five levels: psychological, safety, integration, self-esteem, and self-realization), Abraham Maslow adds "self-transcendence". Experiences that tend to the Transcendent become a "meta-necessity" or the "need-to-be", which pushes the individual towards sacrifice and fidelity to all that is Truth and Beauty, ultimate transcendent reality thus removing selfishness out of immobility. Consequently, the transpersonal is a self-transcendence towards the Transcendent. Cf. Marc-Alain Descamps (1997): *Le transpersonnel dans les psychothérapies*. In: Guyonnaud, Jean-Paul: *La dimension spirituelle en psychothérapie. Corps et Transpersonnel*, Editions Somatotérapies. 157.

[16] BUZALIC – BUZALIC 2010, 228–232.

Each stage determines how many individuals have something in common, the high point being given by the proper understanding of the human condition, what theology identifies as the creature state that man has, the image and likeness of God, saved by the passion, the sacrifice, the death, and the resurrection of Jesus Christ, subject to the universal plan of salvation of all humanity and the eschatological tension that directs history to its finality.[17]

Through religion, in general, and through the Church, in particular, man expresses symbolically but also effectively his own identity relating himself to the group, the society, the nation, or to all humanity, finding in God the effective transcendent landmark of historical existence specific to man.

2. Faith and Confessional Identity

Any religion is articulated around a doctrine and morality, is recognized through the practice of religious worship, and generates a socially representative institutional and administrative structure, which is the church in the case of Christianity.

Religious doctrine offers the individual the knowledge of the world as it is interpreted in a certain cultural space. Through the doctrinal content, man acquires a perception of God, builds a cosmological idea in which he integrates the answers regarding creation, consolidates an anthropological and soteriological concept, and he accepts the meaning of history through eschatology. Doctrinal language is based on symbolic expressions and a specific language that encodes true metaphysical interpretations and cognitive experiences behind which lies the reality of the world as it is lived by man.

But along with the religious cosmological elements and spiritual anthropology present in the doctrine, man benefits from the progress of scientific knowledge with which it is ultimately confronted the concept of the world that each individual constructs as a result of the adequacy of the elements of each source of knowledge, in different ratios. But the meaning of being goes beyond the powers of empirical knowledge, the only possible answer being the eschatology which integrates the passage of the individual through history and the destiny of the world in a coherent explanation, necessary to man, without which his own life would be marked by chaos and absurdity.[18]

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[17] Ibid.
[18] GIUST-DESPRAIRIES 2002, 51.

If through doctrine man knows what the purpose of his existence is, morality is the cognitive-behavioural aspect, a practical guide that shows the concrete path that reaches the finality presented by the doctrine and undertaken by a concept of the world. Morality imposes an appropriate behaviour towards the promoted religious values; it becomes a stable, trans-historical landmark which goes beyond civil laws and customs in a continuous change-transformation.

The doctrine and morals undertaken by the religious man impose the external manifestation of faith through acts that generate the religious cult. Ritual gestures are the expression of the spiritual act (prayer, symbolic gesture, representation, etc.) made by man, body and soul, in the cultural environment in which they carry out their historical existence. It is obvious that the spoken language and/or the liturgical language, the traditional music and/or the sacred music and cultural peculiarities will fully provide many shades to the religious cult.

But the most visible aspect remains the social organization within which a religion expresses itself. There is a double interference: religion shapes the society, and the society determines the religious institutions. For Europe, the relationship between Christianity and social evolution is reflected by the church.

The church is a divine, human, spiritual, and material reality, seen and unseen, which incorporates the number of all those who have been baptized into an ecclesial body that evolves in history. We note the historical evolution of the concept of self that the church has, i.e. the ecclesiological concept, which implicitly expresses the way in which the collective identities within the European culture are outlined and materialized.[19]

Christianity irreversibly transformed European culture and gradually lent it unity due to the fact that different peoples shared the same values that led to the development of society and due to the particularities of the sacred arts of painting and sculpting and of architecture.[20]

Christian antiquity was marked in the first centuries by the appearance of the first communities, the persecutions against Christians, the appearance of ascetic, anchoretic, and pre-coenobitic movements and then of monasticism; it is the period of the first

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[19] BUZALIC – BUZALIC 2010, 15–18.

[20] TESSIER, Robert (1994): *Déplacement du sacré dans la société moderne: culture, politique, économie, écologie*, Bellarmin, Quebec. 34.

theological disputes around heretical movements. The administrative structures and commercial networks of the Roman Empire became the catalysts that accelerated the territorial expansion of Christianity, to the outline of a *Christian ecumenical world*. During this period, the Church defines itself through the mystery of unity that communities live spiritually. Moreover, conceptually, Catholicism-universality takes shape by overcoming the limits of Jewish-Christian ethnicism and by accepting God's plan to save all nations, the unity of faith and baptism thus becoming the central elements of a universal-integrating meta-identity in this mystery: "For all of you who were baptized into Christ have clothed yourselves with Christ. There is neither Jew nor Gentile, neither slave nor free, nor is there male and female, for you are all one in Christ Jesus. If you belong to Christ, then you are Abraham's seed, and heirs according to the promise" (Gal 3:27–29).

Starting with the Constantine era, the ecclesiological concept evolves in the direction of the institutionalization of the church. Gaining freedom following the edict of Milan (313 AD), Christian communities are forced to organize themselves as dialogue partners with state authorities, to undertake not only pastoral care but also administrative and legal responsibility on behalf of believers living within a certain area. The church visibly becomes "a church of churches", a social meta-structure that brings together all the local/private churches spread over different continents and that expresses itself according to a specific *heritage*.

This is how church rites appear. "The rite is the liturgical, theological, spiritual and disciplinary heritage, differentiated by the culture and the historical circumstances of the peoples, which is expressed through a way of living the faith that is specific to each Church *sui iuris*.[21] The rites mentioned in the Code are those that have their origin in the Alexandrian, Antioch, Armenian, Chaldean and Constantinopolitan traditions."[22]

Within a short period of time, the spiritual life of a people would be visible through the evolution of ecclesiastical institutions, local churches preaching in the language of the people, according to the sensitivity and aesthetic feelings specific to the place.[23] In other

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[21] Churches in their own right that have their own specific form of manifestation according to a legitimate tradition of a certain geo-cultural environment in which the Word of God was spread.

[22] *Codex Canonum Ecclesiarum Orientalium*. Can. 28 - §§ 1, 2.

[23] MÜLLER, Klaus – STRIET, Magnus (eds.) (2005): *Dogma und Denkform. Strittiges in der Grundlegung von Offenbarungsbegriff und Gottesgedanke*. Regensburg, Verlag Friedrich Pustet. 286–290.

words, folk art, vernacular traditions, songs, and architecture would shape the identity, the otherness of one group in relation to another, in the consciousness of integration into a unifying meta-identity of the universal Church. Another consequence of the delimitation of territorial competences is the establishment of the order of precedence between dioceses and hierarchical structures: bishops, archbishops, metropolitans, and patriarchs. In the 14th–15th centuries, the main patriarchal churches were formed, *sui iuris*, the centres of diffusion of the main rites (and liturgical families) mentioned above.

In the Middle Ages, ecclesiastical institutions took the social form of the state structures of the time, rethinking themselves as kingdoms and being under the visible sign of God's presence in the world. In the East, the inside of the churches became a symbolic universe that introduced us, through the icons displayed, to the reality of the seen and unseen world, a world that makes sense and which – despite the terror of history – gives hope and optimism to the triumph of the good. In the West, the Gregorian reforms of the 16th century established the model of cohabitation of the secular world and of the spiritual world through the "doctrine of the two swords", the two authorities of the government – civil authority and the authority of God, the Lord of history – are interconnected, and the mediaeval royalty is subordinate to the authority of the divine providence.

The beginnings of the modern age were to bring about the most important changes in ecclesial consciousness and identity. The causes were multiple: the emergence of constitutional monarchies put political leadership in front of the pluralism of all citizens in a territory; the mediaeval model of *cuius regio eius religio* was no longer viable. Then, the split of Western Christianity between Catholicism and the Reformed Churches led to the consolidation of group identities. Belonging to the Christian Church was no longer a functional identity factor, so the confessionalization of ecclesial institutions gained more ground, Christianity being expressed from that moment on not through the rites of apostolic origin but through *confessio*.

Western Europe is marked by armed conflicts that seek their trans-historical authority claiming a certain denomination – hence the term of religious wars –, while Central and Eastern Europe becomes a living laboratory of the formation of multicultural and multi-denominational spaces. The churches of Greek-Constantinopolitan rite in these territories are identifiable by the "ancestral law" or "Russian faith", i.e. by the consciousness of the people's belonging to a liturgical rite, with a calendar and a series of customs that regulate the social, economic, cultural, and spiritual life of the community.

After the attempts to restore the unity of the church initiated with the Florentine Council (1438–1439), the Eastern Ukrainian–Lithuanian–Belarusian confessional space (Union of Brest 1595) and the Romanian Transylvanian one (Alba Iulia 1700) were to be divided between "united" and "not united". From this point on, the contact area between the West and the East, the North and the South is configured as a territory where Roman Catholics and Reformed, Orthodox and Greek Catholics coexist. To these are added over time specific communities that express themselves from a spiritual point of view through the traditional confession or on ethnic criteria (Orthodox Armenians, Armenian Catholics, etc.; then the denominations that emerge from the reform movements through the phenomenon of neo-Protestantism).[24]

The consolidation of group identities on confessional criteria inevitably led to the expression of "national consciousness". This implies identification with a nation that has a historical past and a different culture but with common general features (as is the case with the Christian roots of European culture). It is also an involvement by virtue of assumed values that converge towards the promotion of unity and the assertion of "self" in an ideal but real/non-virtual identity "meta-structure".

Starting with the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century, the wear and tear of socially regulatory mechanisms within multinational state entities inevitably led to the events of the early twentieth century and the negative identification – by isolation from the "other" –of the "nation".[25] European history shows us that these processes of identity/state coagulation are not without conflicts, an important role being played by charismatic characters and political as well as military contexts of the time, culminating with the unification of Germany or Italy. After the First World War, the

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[24] BUZALIC – BUZALIC 2010, 33–38.

[25] The distinction "negative"–" positive" is made by metaphysical abstraction: the search for transcendental elements is done either in a "negative" way, by separation-isolation from other entities and by focusing on what that entity is "in itself" (categories: *res*, *unum*), or in a "positive" way in relation to the other entities (categories: *aliquid*, *bonum*, *verum*, *pulchrum*) – cf. KRĄPIEC, MA (1988): *Dzieła, Ja – człowiek*.Lublin,Towarzystwo Naukowe Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego. 135–220. I propose the extension of the analysis and the extrapolation from an individual to socio-cultural entity in the sense of meta-analytical hermeneutics of Mircea Eliade, i.e. the specific "social body" (social group, ecclesial body, etc.) reacts as the sum of individuals, metaphysically being a (meta-)entity composed of a (meta-)identity.

nation-states of Central and Eastern Europe emerged. A nation-state is based on the nation, i.e. on a "stable community of people, historically constituted as a state, emerged on the basis of unity of language, territory and economic life, which mirrors itself in specific features of national culture and in consciousness of common origin and destiny".[26]

The National Church becomes an identity marker of unity. It is the result of history and quantifies the concrete way in which faith has borne fruit in a geo-cultural space in a functional continuity. Belonging to a National Church means the transcendent guarantee and landmark of belonging to a group meta-identity. To claim belonging to an original spirituality means to be part of the spirit of that reality that exists today in an intergenerational continuity with the ancestors.

Thus, the meta-identity of a "national group" that can generate a state structure is based on the assumption of a common historical past that legitimizes the "roots" of a geographical space, is based on a majority language that has become "official", on particular expressions and the general ethno-psychological features specific to an ethnic group, the economic relations and the cultural uniqueness thus contributing essentially to the close ties between the different regions. Determining some state territories leads even more to highlighting the identity in a negative-isolationist way, the nation-state overlapping with a nation with a political entity that represents it.

However, the concrete reality is different and much more complicated than the idealized and the restrictive substantiations. The state is a political entity that is based on international law and at the same time, historically, it is the result of geopolitics that influences events at a given time. Drawing borders is always conventional and leaves part of the representatives of a nation out of the "nation-state" because the nation as such is an ethnic, linguistic, cultural, and spiritual entity that extends by diffusion beyond the barriers established diplomatically at the green table. Hence, there are not only the frozen conflicts but also the tensions that can be seen by reconfiguring the ethnic structure of Europe as a result of migratory waves. In the age of globalization, the dynamics of the evolution of contemporary culture and civilization brings new challenges to the cultural and spiritual identity acquisitions and will force nation-states to rethink their identity discourse in a way that it is viable in the context of tomorrow's world.

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[26] *The Explanatory Dictionary of the Romanian Language (DEX)* (1998), 2nd edition: art. "nation". Romanian Academy, "Iorgu Iordan" Institute of Linguistics, Univers Enciclopedic Publishing House.

3. Religion – Migration – Globalization

At present, we are faced with the globalization process of economic relations[27] and – as a consequence of the acceleration of history – of culture. The intercommunication between people (belonging to different geographical and cultural areas) puts face to face not only different cultural features but especially different religions and spiritualities.

The European Church and Christianity suffered cultural erosion through the mechanisms of secularization and desecration that became more forceful after the second half of the twentieth century. The history of internal conflicts in the European cultural space, the political divisions of the Iron Curtain, the wars in the former Yugoslavia or in various areas where the tensions of frozen conflicts are felt (e.g. Transnistria, the Crimean Peninsula, etc.)[28] all seem to be a thing of the past when looking at the dynamic changes of the parameters of local and global stability. The most important contemporary phenomenon remains the migratory flow along the line of the great historical migration routes from East to West and the newly formed Mediterranean migration routes from South to North.

In the front-line of a European secular culture, there are new populations with a "strong" cultural identity, founded on the spiritual landmarks of their religions. The vitality of the Islamic Asian religions (Hinduism, Buddhism, Shintoism, Daoism, and Confucianism) is due to the so-called cultural Renaissance of the populations who have access to the progress of modern technology and the infrastructure of the civilized world but reject the Western values and institutions, capitalizing their own traditions, legitimated and anchored in their historically continuous culture, not at all inferior to other traditions. "The Asian uplift is rooted in economic growth, while the Muslim rising is due to social mobilization and population growth."[29]

Religion, inextricably linked to the human phenomenon and the ontological constitution of man –*homo religious* –, begins to be rediscovered by a Western society in crisis precisely by confronting people belonging to those cultures built on the strong values of a continuous message, from the beginning of human emergence, in a history

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[27] In the sense of growing interdependence between transnational economic and financial structures.

[28] HUNTINGTON, Samuel P. (2002): *Ciocnirea civilizațiilor și refacerea ordinii mondiale*. Bucharest, Antet. 122–145.

[29] Op. cit. 148.

that makes sense through humanization and perception of the sacred. Also, religion is the main element of identity that plays a crucial role especially in times of pressure and strain generated by migration, uprooting, and acculturation.

This paradox was expressed by Andrei Marga:

> "today – in the age of unprecedented expansion of science, the unparalleled multiplication of philosophical perspectives, the most daring intellectual initiatives, the globalization of science, exchanges, communications –,making religion the mainstay (of society) may seem a forced gesture of bringing to the present day a form of spiritual life not only very old but also inevitably wearied down by time. The accusation of the asynchrony of religion is within the reach of many rash people, unprepared, uninformed, too unreflective."[30]

Indeed, the scenarios of the rediscovery of the sacred, of the revenge of God, and of the failure of secularization are increasingly outlined. They all start from the spiritual nature of culture and from the cultural-genetic character of religion. Over time, people have given different definitions for spirit and culture, but in all of these, the actions of the human spirit transcend the purely biological condition of human existence. Whether the spirit is perceived as a metahistorical reality that transcends the material world conditioned in space and time or is considered a qualitative leap of matter in a momentum of self-transcendence, it accompanies the human existence and manifests itself. It is related to the inner life of the individual, being even more powerful by accompanying specific human acts: thinking, art, religion. And it does not remain closed within the individual sphere; it is materially efficient in the historical reality, generating culture.[31]

Any diagnosis paves the way for therapy... Wrong directions and deviant behaviour, generating conflicts and suffering, once understood, can lead to that psychoanalytic insight (in German: *Einsicht*), in cultural perspective and meta-psychoanalytic, which leads to a harmonious continuation of personal development:

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[30] MARGA, Andrei (2014): *Religia în era globalizării*. Bucharest, Editura Academiei Române. 284.

[31] For the issue of the link between religion and migration, cf. BUZALIC, Alexandru (2016): *Migraţie şi religie*. (ebook). Cluj-Napoca, Editura Presa Universitară Clujeană.

"Undertaking the study of man not only as a historical being but also as a living symbol, the history of religions could become –forgive us the word – a meta-psychoanalysis. As it would lead to a reawakening and a rediscovery of the consciousness of archaic symbols and archetypes, alive or fossilized in the religious traditions of all humanity. I risked using the term meta-psychoanalysis because it is a more spiritual technique, which aims primarily to clarify the theoretical content of symbols and archetypes, to render transparent and coherent what is 'allusive', cryptic, or fragmentary in them. We might as well talk about a new maieutic method."[32]

Mircea Eliade noted that the deciphering of the human spirit, materialized in culture and manifested especially through religion, can be achieved only through an adequate hermeneutics that "would contribute to the liberation of modern man from his cultural provincialism and especially from historical and existentialist relativism".[33] Eliade saw in his hermeneutics of religions that spark of a new humanism that will regenerate humanity in its spirituality because "modern man is called to rediscover his treasure of images, to rediscover himself, to find ways to communicate with the otherness in order to be able to integrate into the intercultural dialogue that the phenomenon of global redefinition of identity implies".[34]

In this context, we speak of post-secular as an innate metamorphosis of the current culture and civilization and especially of transitions (always accompanied by crises) as a qualitative leap that humanity as a living sociocultural organism makes by virtue of its existence and destiny.

Secularization has hit hardest at self-awareness in the sense of weakening the identity of the European man.[35] The development of techno-sciences and the transformation of the Western economy into a consumer society gave the impression of establishing a secularized identity built on conventions, rules, hedonism, and material well-being. Behind them is the belief in the supremacy of science that becomes a universal panacea for all problems, provides answers to any question, and, as an eschatological projection, will come to overcome suffering, disease, aging, and death.[36] Agnosticism, along with militant

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[32] EDMOND 2005, 78.

[33] BUZALIC 2016, 42–43.

[34] Op. cit. 44.

[35] MARGA 2014, 112–125.

[36] DOUGLAS, Allen (1978): *Structure and Creativity in Religion: Hermeneutics in Mircea Eliade's Phenomenology and New Directions*. The Hague, Mouton. 60.

atheism, derided not only the anachronistic religious behaviour, unadapted to the new conditions, but also demonetized the values of Christianity and diminished the authority of the church. The modern world wanted to export technological civilization along with the secularization and desecration of life, a *tandem* long considered the model of modern civilization.

In the dialectical evolution of the sacred, Eliade distinguished a process of camouflaging the sacred into the profane, a spearhead being marked by the "theology of God's death", the culmination of the desecration that generates all the change processes. Total desecration is the equivalent of an end –we reach "a radically secularized existence, without God and gods … susceptible to be a starting point for a new type of religion",[37] a *coincidentia oppositorum* that leads to the rediscovery of the sacred. Moreover, man cannot live in chaos: whether he has rejected the religious practice or the authority of the institutions of the traditional church, he needs to know his destiny, a model to follow, and an eschatological hope; he cannot endlessly live in nihilism and all kinds of crises without overcoming them.

Contemporary Europe, like any outdated social institution, is not besieged by immigrants and does not suffer from conspiracies that attack it from the outside but has reached the brink of collapse due to its internal evolution that has undermined its integrity "from within".[38] Passive and irrational in the face of the dynamic changes, it is subject to adaptation efforts that generate a state of crisis. Without the support of the metahistorical landmarks given by the sacred, European culture has become weak; the identity of *homo europaeus* is traced by abstract theorizations broken by the vital dynamism of the spiritual manifestation that animates the culture. Europe is suffering from a "maladaptation syndrome" in the face of globalization.

The current face of modern Europe is about to disappear; the current period is a stage of transition to a new cultural era in the continuation of the Stone Age, Iron Age, ancient, mediaeval, and modern ages. We are in full transition, and it is no coincidence that the phenomenology of change is similar to the transition from the Neolithic to the Metal Age, the fall of the Roman Empire and the beginning of the feudalization

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[37] ELIADE, Mircea (1987):*Le Sacré et le Profane*. Collection Folio essais (n° 82). Paris, Gallimard. 10.

[38] STRIET, Magnus (ed.) (2008): *Wiederkehr des Atheismus. Fluch oder Segen für die Theologie*. Freiburg–Basel–Wien, Herder. 78–81.

phenomenon, the transition from the Middle Ages to the Modern Age, all accompanied by the decadence of internal state systems, the relativization of moral values and a lot of "bread and circuses", inconsistency in crisis management and military responses, immigration being a symptom and at the same time the catalyst that accelerates change.

With the emergence of other economic powers in the background and the crisis of energy resources that are unfolding at the horizon of history, the civilization of the Old Continent is obscured by the rise of new actors on the stage of globalization.[39] The European of the weak culture is faced with representatives of strong cultures, secularization, and desecration clash with spiritual and cultural rebirths that have found the balance between secular society and religious space; the representative of a glorious past that feeds the feeling of superiority is in front of the exponent of a present that reveals a successful future...

Salvation can only come from the rediscovery of the sacred and the re-evaluation of religious identity. Any cultural contact between populations of different religions leaves visible traces, the natives perceiving the aspects of acculturation through the prism of inevitable crossbreeding, allogeneic through adaptive efforts and distinctiveness. Living civilizations are built on the dynamism of permanent economic, demographic, and cultural spiritual exchanges through a continuous, universal process specific to humanity. The cultures that come into contact depend on the social institutional relations that are established – being in either "strong" or "weak" positions – in the progress from acculturation to assimilation, on the establishment of multicultural spaces, or on resistance to culture, in all cases standing for the distinctiveness of spiritual values, a two-way acculturation.[40]

Religious and cultural pluralism that fragments monolithic cultural territories (passive to change and trapped in immobility and the illusion of supremacy over others) is a chance for the Christian Church to be spiritually reborn and fulfil its mission. Neither immigrants nor host populations remain unchanged in the long run: after hostility and circumspection accompanied by rejection in both directions, there is the acceptance or selective rejection of viable cultural elements that allow both the affirmation of the host culture and the reaffirmation of the specific traits of the original culture. It is a

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[39] MARGA 2014, 80–88.
[40] BUZALIC 2016, 105–111.

permanent dynamism of confusion-free mixture, of reinterpretations, of assimilations, of the syncretisms and crossbreedings that structure the viable cultural *facies* of tomorrow's world.[41]

Homo religiosus finds himself in the ontological structure common to all people regardless of the environment of origin, the experience of the sacred unites and allows the assertion of a unity in diversity in respect of each legitimate tradition, and, when the categorical content of religions hits resistance and isolation, the foundation of dialogue returns also to the anthropological bases and to ethical personalism, the man. *Homo religious* is a person, the only transcendent value that deserves to be promoted and respected in the individuality and uniqueness of the historical finitude and the permanence of the spirit in metahistory, in eternity.[42] In other words, those who seek to prove that all conflicts are generated by religion not only make mistakes but omit an essential thing: religion is the only solution for man, *homo religiosus*, to find himself in the fullness of his humanity and the most important cultural-genetic element that can shape the image of a humanity that has reached the stage of full globalization, a unity in diversity.

The European Christian Church, regardless of denomination, is faced with new situations, first of all with the change of the ethnic structure of European populations – nothing new in history because we have had several stages of ethnogenesis from prehistory until now, the last one being specific to the early mediaeval period.[43] The essential problem is to preserve a core identity that ensures continuity; otherwise the scenario leading to the establishment of a new *cultural facies*, the culture of the Old Continent will become one of the dead cultures of terrestrial civilization.

Conclusions

Even if globalization leads to greater mobility and more intense cultural-religious exchanges, group identity and especially national identity remain fundamental elements that will ensure the social functioning and cultural progress of mankind. An important

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[41] Ibid.

[42] RAHNER, Karl (1965): *Saggi di antropologia soprannaturale*. Roma, Edizioni Paoline. 25–32.

[43] Op. cit. 60–71.

role will be played by integrative meta-identities that can give an identity of the unity in diversity type, in which each entity can assert itself its own dignity to the full and without tarnishing.

The concept of nation remains operational in the future, national identity being necessary for the manifestation of unity in diversity specific to humanity. Globalization does not mean uniformity but the dynamism of exchanges between living cultures, marked essentially and remaining as viable entities due to the awareness of belonging to a specific identity. However, all specific identities must be found in a meta-identity that ensures a set of common values, recognizable and respected by all.

Consolidation of state, national, confessional identity, etc. will be done in the future in a new civilizational context.[44] The European cultural model and the development of a techno-civilization are the features of a "unique civilization, but not a universal one", as Samuel Huntington stated in the above-mentioned work. National and religious identity will play a particularly important role in renewing and preserving European civilization in the face of other specific cultures in the process of Europeanization by changing the ethnic structure as a result of population movements, especially due to the fact that the identity of political Europe today is of the weak type, without transhistorical and transcendent landmarks,[45] while the emigrants come from geo-cultural spaces with a strong identity rooted in the values of specific religions, the most important remaining Islamic and Asian religions.[46]

Religion confers the universality of a creative God of the entire Universe and of a humanity that throughout history reaches a pluralism of religious beliefs. The man has a unique position in the cosmos; therefore, the return to a new humanism that brings back into question the sacredness of human life and dignity remains the only viable solution of a globalized culture and civilization, of the unity of supreme values, and of a diversity of specific identities. Any other scenario would lead to discrimination, dictatorship, and conflict.

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[44] HUNTINGTON 2002, 94–121.
[45] TESSIER 1994, 78–81.
[46] MARGA 2014, 103–105.

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KOZMA Zsolt: [1]

Identity, Denomination, and Nationality[2]

Abstract.

Identity pins down accurately who individuals are in relation to God, society, and themselves. God's statement about Himself (His self-identity) in the Bible "I am who I am" can guide us to find our own "I am who I am", definitely taking into account the *analogia relationis* rather than the *analogia entis*. The constant *dominant* of our human identity as God's identity as well is that we stay humans despite all circumstances, but its *features* ("our qualities") are variable. We are only interested in two of the many identity features: our denomination and our Hungarian ethnicity, which are "only" features, but as such they have been decisive. In the 20th century, we, as Reformed Protestants and Hungarians, got under the burden of the political and ecclesiastical consequences of the two world wars. Our faith required that the church and the Hungarians did not lose their identity features from the perspective of the communities and individuals. During the interwar period (1920–1944) and during the totalitarian regime (1945–1989), we, Transylvanian Reformed Protestants, had one single duty to fulfil: clarify our relationship vis-à-vis the political authority in such a way as to remain disciples and a disciple church without which we are not the ones who we must be. In his prayer, Jesus does not ask the Father to take all of his followers out of this world (meaning society) but rather to defend them from evil (John 17:15). How can we fulfil it? Our yes/no answer is the issue of *gratitude* towards God and *penitence* before Him.

Keywords: *the content of identity, energy of the protective spirit, dominant church, non-democratic church, valve system.*

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The Clarification of the Concept of Identity

Before talking about our denominational and national, i.e. ecclesiastical and ethnic, identity and their emergence in the 20th century, we deem important to clarify the concept on the individual level. This reflection will lie at the basis of the topic proper in the title.

The word *identity* implies but does not fully express the content of the term, by contrast to the Hungarian *önazonosság* 'self-identity', which pins down its very essence: namely, that I am identical to myself. We shall express this significance by a biblical analogy. What is your name? – asks Moses from the God appearing in the burning bushes. The answer is well-known: I am who I am (2Ex. 3:1–15). This is God's name by which he defines Himself as Lord. I am who I am – this is his self-identity. In the Bible's description, in the image of God he created them, male and female he created them (Gen. 1:27). Thus, he conferred self-identity to the creatures, Adam and Eve. In terms of *analogia relationis* (so, not based on *analogia entis*), the individuals can state about themselves: I am who I am. God's "I am who I am" means that he is *Lord*, and the individuals' "I am who I am" means they are *humans*. (For those for whom the biblical description does not mean anything, it can be phrased in a different manner: Humans are born male or female.) We are going to illustrate man's created (born) condition and what follows thereof with an illustration:

Let us imagine a cone turned upside down. At the bottom, there is my human nature, my identity. In time, other features, "layers" settle over it that we are going to incidentally list here: believer, Reformed Christian, Hungarian, Transylvanian, minister, teacher, party member, and so on. My human condition is self-identity, and what is "above" is merely an identity feature. These features are shaped mainly under the influence of three factors being determined by the genes, education, historical, and geographical location.[3] The human being himself will never change, but the order of the features will, and at a certain time or in a crucial situation the human as a moral being is determined by how near it has got to his/her human nature.

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3 KOZMA, Zsolt (2007b): Keresztyén és nemzeti önazonosságunk. In: *Másképpen van megírva*. Cluj-Napoca, Erdélyi Református Egyházkerület. 181–190. 182.

Everything that has been said about the individual's identity is actually an introduction to our topic, which tries to tackle the issue in relation to the community: How did our Reformed Church and the Hungarians in Transylvania live during the 20th century? In relation to the church (denomination) and nation (ethnic group), the question arises mostly due to two external circumstances. In both cases, the first task is self-determination, followed by identity awareness. (Most certainly, the two can also overlap in time.) The first is when a community faces a *new historical situation*. This is what happened in World War I and World War II as well as after the changes of 1989. The second is when its existence, survival *gets endangered*. The analogy in Ex. 3:14 still means that the communities do not need to define their own identity in relation to others (I do not belong to that) but must rather live their own essence (I am who I am). God is Lord independent of everyone else; the community must have an identity independent of the others. It is a further task for the community reaching self-consciousness to open up towards society or even to the enemies just like God shed his sovereign lordship for the interest of His people.

Both communities lived as *minorities* in a similar existential situation. They had to find their identity in this context, and thus they had to find the tools, facilities, and inner movement to facilitate it.

The world wars shook the ground under Europe two times during the 20th century, and almost every country had to experience the subsequent traumas. We do not think that we exaggerate if we say that we, Transylvanian Hungarians and Reformed Christians, experienced the said traumas more acutely. In both cases, we had to face the powers we did not count on: the Romanian administration and the communist grinding machinery. Confronting them, the Transylvanian Hungarians and the Reformed Church found itself in a situation that called for reinterpretation. After the initial weariness due to the two world wars, they had to activate the old but still new inner energies. Transylvanian writer Géza Tabéry's premonition came true. In his 1931 reflections, he wrote: "A denomination that is neither supported nor protected by the state can generate immensely stronger energies and vitality than the denominations protected by the political power."[4] He refers to a 19th-century English historian and philosopher who called it the energy of the protective spirit that performed wonders

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[4] TABÉRY, Géza (1931): Protestáns szellem a magyar közéletben. *Református Szemle* XIV.

throughout history.[5] When we talk about the minority's excess energy, we believers must know that even there where the non-believers' eyes see only human solidarity, political and ecclesiastical will, economic organization, or merely the work of the survival instinct, it was still God's work – He granted us the excess energy that ensured our survival. Our task, on the other hand, is to ask for it from the Lord of all powers and authority as we can "produce" it in ourselves.

In the following part, we shall replace the denominational and national attributes in the title with the two concepts that we are actually to talk about: the Reformed Church and the Hungarian national ethnic group.

The Identity-Related Issues of the Reformed Church in Transylvania

This chapter will at first provide reasons for not talking about denomination but rather church. In the light of the above ideas, the individual has one single identity, that of human being; on the other hand, in relation to the denominational community, we must say that a denomination has one single *identity*: the *church*. The name (denomination): Roman Catholic, Orthodox, Reformed, Evangelical, Unitarian, or Baptist are only *identity-related features*. Each denomination can state about itself and must do so that we are a church. When the individual designates him-/herself as a human being, s/he is aware that several billions can say the same about themselves. When a denomination is aware of itself as a church, it acknowledges the other denominations as also being churches.

The title received from the organizers is not binding, but the topic of the conference urges us to refer to the "church and society" viewpoint, too, and we shall certainly touch upon them although the author is not a sociologist. And to avoid excessive quoting, we shall rely in the introduction on the well-known verse. Jesus prays for his disciples as follows: "My prayer is not that you take them out of the world but that you protect them from the evil one" (Jn. 17:15).

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[5] We refer to Henry Thomas Buckle's *History of Civilization in England*, published in 1857.

The chapter shall be divided based on the three historical situations of the past century, which is justified now also because they were the occasions of identity awakening for us. The new situations are: The interwar period (1920–1944), the years of dictatorship (1945–1989), and the present time staring from the changes of 1990.

1. *Between the two World Wars (1920–1944).* We shall examine our Reformed Church's quest for identity during these times from two perspectives.

a. *The church's public and organizational life* faced questions that had not been raised before. We would only mention two of them. First, the 1928 Denominations Act designated the Orthodox Church as a *dominant church* (Ro. *biserica dominantă*), the Reformed Cchurch being merely a denomination. One of the consequences was that the state did not recognize our ecclesiastical alliances that were about to start on their domestic mission. They did not exist *de jure*. What probably hit us even more was that the Hungarian state schools were dissolved. This had to be fought against; and Bishop Károly Nagy – who already had a fierce nature – tried to prove vehemently at the Ministry of Religious Affairs in Bucharest that we were entitled to the schools. Second, the most important legal step in the history of our church was probably the 1881 Constituent Synod held in Debrecen, which had made us aware of our affinity and determined the Reformed Church Districts. At the time, something new was needed since the Church District of Tiszántúl was split, and part of it was attached to Romania, bearing the name of *Királyhágómellék*. The process of its recognition as an independent church district lasted for years and was achieved only in 1926.[6] (It is interesting that the current Reformed Church District of Királyhágómellék bears many features of the "Tiszántúl" region up to this very day.)

b. This was the time when our Reformed Church acquired two essential *theological identity features:* one was a trend and the other a movement. This was the time when the *new Reformed theology started to take root* in Transylvania in a much shorter time (uncritically in some people's opinion) and much more decisively than in Hungary. This trend, also called Barthian theology, did not only break off from the anthropocentric vision but also rephrased the entire theology. One can know God "completely differently" (as Sándor Tavaszy put it) only after the Revelation the teachings of which precede even to

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6 The first bishop, István Sulyok, was sworn in on 23 June 1926.

Theology. Evangelism was considered primary among ministerial duties, which today means preaching. This theology was heralded by Sándor Tavaszy, and his book *Református Keresztyén Dogmatika* (1932)[7] has defined our theology for decades up to this day. The accusation that during this period the Reformed Church hid inside the church, breaking away from society, is not due to the new theology but rather to the misinterpretation of this trend.

Another phenomenon parallel in time and ideology that we can call an identity feature was the *domestic mission movement*, which – although not rooted in and not bloomed out of the new reformer theology – was as regenerative for the church as the trend both in terms of its basic conception and its support. Under Sándor Makkai's service as professor of theology and later as bishop, emphasis was laid on the constructive theology focusing on the spiritual church as well as the spiritual nation. Theology teachers started their organizational and inspirational work with or independent from this impetus. And here one must think especially about Lajos Imre.[8] The alliances, associations, and societies were established one after the other: the Women's Alliance, the Men's Alliance, the youth organizations (IKE, FIKE), the Friendly Society for Foreign Mission, the Friendly Society of the Faculty of Theology as well as many other district- or presbytery-level and congregational associations. The theology teachers coordinating this work oversaw that the associations did not lose their theological and especially biblical grounds. For this purpose, they often delivered speeches during the ceremonies and urged the organization of weekly or monthly faith-strengthening biblical classes.

We often mention our church's social sensitivity;[9] nevertheless, the silent *charities* of the local women's organizations were even more lively and comprehensive, expanding even to the servants' mission. Beyond the noble philanthropic urge, they were organized on biblical grounds, based on theological considerations. The previously established charity institutions, such as the Charity House in Kolozsvár/Cluj and Brassó/Brașov

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[7] TAVASZY, Sándor (1932): *Református Keresztyén Dogmatika*. Cluj/Kolozsvár, Minerva. 192.

[8] ADORJÁNI, Zoltán (1996): Imre Lajos (1888–1974). In: Kozma, Zsolt (ed.): *Akik jó bizonyságot nyertek – A Kolozsvári Református Theológia tanárai 1895–1948*. Cluj-Napoca, Kolozsvári Protestáns Teológiai Intézet. 235–276.

[9] It should be mentioned that the Social Committee of the Reformed Church District of Transylvania was established in 1929.

(1908), the Deaconess School of the Reformed Church District of Transylvania (1921), the Orphanage of the Reformed Kun College of Szászváros/Orăştie, the Czirjék-Szörcsei Orphanage of Zagon, were reborn. Newly established institutions: the Reformed Senior Facility in Kolozsvár (1931), the Reformed Senior Facility in Brassó (1933), the Orphanage and Foster Home in Kolozsvár, and, last but not least, the Reformed Hospital.

Owing to the theology teachers' *work in public life*, they became dynamic drivers of society and of the Hungarians in Transylvania. From the Reformed perspective, we deem important that all the teachers held church-strengthening speeches not only during the so-called Protestant evenings of the aforementioned societies but also in different congregations. We must note and consider that Sándor Tavaszy,[10] Lajos Imre, and Géza Nagy also lectured at the university aiming at becoming acquainted with the students. A proof of their scientific work and multilateral skills was that they also became contributors to secular periodicals (*Pásztortűz*, *Erdélyi Helikon*, *Hitel*).

2. *During the years of dictatorship (1945–1989).* Several shelves were filled with books on what the 45 years of communism meant for our Reformed Church. In what follows, we are going to present just a brief personal viewpoint. We consider this age as a time in which the church got into the tunnel of power, and they wanted us to believe that at the end of the tunnel there was the light of communism, but we should (have) know(n) that there was God's realm awaiting, in whose light we can get purified. We were not aware of this. We folded our brains as we would our arms like school kids even when we noticed the end of the tunnel.

We can most certainly reproach ourselves many things concerning our relationship to the power, especially that we were loyal to the communist system and that we did not show at least the kind of resistance the Roman Catholic Church did, and it also happened that we outbid the official restrictions. The church officials got so perverted that they eventually gave the emperor what actually belonged to God. Our church hopped on the train of socialism to get to communism fast, but there were also others who ran in front of the train. A friend of ours said it about someone else, but we would now apply it sadly and sarcastically to us. We can accuse ourselves that we

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[10] JUHÁSZ, Tamás (1996): Tavaszy Sándor (1888–1951). In: Kozma, Zsolt (ed.): *Akik jó bizonyságot nyertek – A Kolozsvári Református Theológia tanárai 1895–1948.* Cluj-Napoca, Kolozsvári Protestáns Teológiai Intézet. 277–318.

made some concessions to the state power for having our church recognized, and there were also others who preached a human-like, conjunctural gospel (Gal. 1:11). The non-truth that the Reformed Church had a democratic structure was emphasized incessantly to simply pleasing the "people's democratic" power.

The internal and external charges are true; they are the *features* of our identity, but we could not possibly have lost the *church's self-identity* as it is the body of Christ. Everyone may express their opinion whether it was fair that the Reformed Church was the only church that published its list of informers. But the graphics on the cover of one of the volumes is definitely fake: that the towers of the Reformed churches featured the hammer and sickle.[11] The covers of the other volumes kept the rooster with a machine gun pointed at it.

The Bible classes were very restricted among all the ecclesiastical services (from Saturday noon to Sunday noon); the charity institutions were completely dissolved… what was left was preaching inside the church, the sermon. The members of the second generation of the new reformer theology in Transylvania, who had heard Karl Barth before the communist times (Dániel Borbáth, Tibor Kozma, Pál Geréb, István Tőkés), would publish their homiletics studies on the pages of the only remaining journal, *Református Szemle*, which had a single topic, namely textuality, and one unuttered characteristic, namely depoliticization, which unfortunately inevitably rendered it an unsocial character.

Concerning our church's local ecumenic relations, we need to consider as a useful initiative the annual sessions held by the two institutions of Orthodox theologies and our Institution of Protestant Theology between 1965 and 1989, where they did not only deliver high-quality speeches, but we were also able to socialize on the hallways and during lunch and get personally acquainted with our fellow professors of other religions. The conference unfortunately got politicized when the bishops or the representatives of the Ministry of Religious Affairs joined in.

3. *The period after the changes of 1990.* We are going to tackle it very briefly as we are still living in this period, and we do not have any kind of overview of it. We can see ourselves only from "below". This also means that we shall not list data and

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[11] MOLNÁR, János (2014): *Szigorúan ellenőrzött evangélium*. Vol. I–IV. Cluj-Napoca, Kriterion.

facts, but we shall rather specify situations and define principles. The task was to find our existing, hidden identity that we could also define as: the church–church and seek for the features of our identity.

Totalitarianism forced us to live a self-sufficient ecclesiastical and theological life; and following the changes we were surprised at living in the world surrounding us. *The church was able to open up before society, and society opened up to the church*. We should (have) design(ed) a *valve system* that opens outwards and closes inwards.

a. Opening to society (The valve opens to the outside world.). Following the changes, we were all happy that the road had become clear to society, that the people, the entities paid attention and listened to us at all. The ministers had their voices heard on the stages of non-ecclesiastical meetings, took part in marches, and published in literary or arts journals upon request or without. We need to answer at least two questions here. First, we had to and still have to answer the question as to what we have taken out into society. It is obvious that the church had to address the people who were politically, economically, and culturally more or less concerned. It could not talk over the people's heads and could not pretend that these questions were not there. The church and, more precisely, the ministers had one task – namely, to carry it out with the help of the *gospel* and not something else. And the occasion was the sermon. We are all aware of the "twofold single" task: preach the gospel and address the society. Although it is a homiletical issue, we had to and still must perceive and tackle it as a mission from God. Was the church able to withstand temptation offered to the ministers, namely that to assume public office?

b. Society opened towards the church, and the church faced two unexpected phenomena:

First. The ministers could see new faces in the church, the crypto-congregation members, the so-called peripheral settlers.[12] They did come because they were longing for truthfulness after the false voice or the discordance they experienced until then. We tried to give them a voice, and we think that it is not the evangelizer church's fault that their enthusiasm waned after a while, and then it burnt out.

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[12] KOZMA, Zsolt (2007a): Isten országának peremén. In: *Másképpen van megírva*. Cluj-Napoca. Erdélyi Református Egyházkerület. 67–72.

Second. Society, and especially the political and cultural entities, offered the ministers a dais or simply asked the priests to appear at social events, mass meetings, and wreath laying ceremonies wearing their cassocks, as a motionless group of statues or a smiling background giving the celebrators the impression that they were in the magic circle of sanctity. And if asked to take the floor, they were satisfied if the priests covered the party slogans with a bit of holy glaze. Before such requests, the church should (have) start(ed) using the inward-closing valve. The school of theology is reliable for its operation (in relation to preaching) and the current synod (concerning dogmatic purity).

This does not mean at all that the church should withdraw from the economic, political, and cultural stage. By no means. On the contrary, it should be sensitive to them, but its feedback should always be in the form of godly solutions and advice, answers that society itself could not possibly give. It is true that we had to address the members of the political parties, we had to strengthen our nation's minority awareness, it is true that the traditional singers and folk artists have always been close to our hearts, and as such we could not have possibly overlooked them as they were also members of our congregations at the same time. But our task is to preach the gospel's word. If we do not do it, we could get secularized from the inside, and the church alienated from his head, Jesus Christ, is nothing but tasteless salt, only meant to be crushed. Thus, the church's first duty in society is to keep its identity and *remain a church*.

Identity Issues of the Hungarian Ethnic Group in Transylvania

From our perspective, we can talk about *nationality* as being part of an entire nation's body living in the state of a majority.[13] In public law literature, this equals the notion of minority. With that, we have stated that the word is valid only for this context, as otherwise our ethnic group is an equal member of the nation. Unconsciously, this had always been the case, but we had buried it until 1990, when József Antall "also said it out loud".

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[13] A community can be called a nationality even if it is a separate entity, i.e. there is no nation in any motherland.

1. *Between the two World Wars (1920–1944).* The analysts consider this period starting in 1920 as the years of post-traumatic unconsciousness. However, we must add straight away that they lasted very little.

Politics gave the first quick answer to the new situation. Károly Kós established the *Transylvanian People's Party* (1921), which bore the name of *Hungarian People's Party* (1922). Baron Sámuel Jósika initiated the short-lived *Hungarian Alliance* (1922). Later, the most important and relatively the longest-standing *National Hungarian Party* arose from their merger (December 1922). After over a decade and a half, it was banned by the military dictatorship in 1938. As a reaction to that, a new political and literary group started its activity thanks to the multilateral Baron Miklós Bánffy, the so-called *Népközösség* (1939). It was an ethnic mass organization not only addressing the intellectuals but being at the same time their social echo. In economic life, the *Transylvanian Hungarian Economic Society* pooled together the farmers, while the *National Hungarian Tradesmen Association* grouped together the tradesmen.

Literature had a response of its own to our identity concern defined on our way to self-identity. We must think especially about novel writing, whose most important figures encompassed our entire ethnic reality. Sándor Makkai in *Holttenger* and Dezső Szabó in *Az elsodort falu* confronted our intellectuals with peasant life, while Józsi Jenő Tersánszky in his series of volumes titled *Kakukk Marci* described the struggles of the marginalized urban common men. Sándor Reményik could also be called the Transylvanian prince of the poets: he cried over the "as it is possible" of our minority's fate not only to the outside but also to the inside as opposed to Makkai's expression of impossibility.[14] Several periodicals with various profiles were born one after the other, of which the literary and arts journal *Pásztortűz* (1921–1944), the periodical of the Transylvanian writers' community, *Helikon* (starting 1926), and the platform for political-historical studies, *Korunk* (after 1926), were the most remarkable ones.

> "In 1933, an important and well-known Hungarian writer and philosopher
> came to visit Transylvania and published his remarks in a depressing piece of
> writing. He spoke about an agonizing Hungarian minority in Transylvania, also

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[14] MAKKAI, Sándor (1937): Nem lehet. In: *Láthatár* 1937/2; REMÉNYIK, Sándor (2005) [1935]: Ahogy lehet. In: *Reményik Sándor összes verse*. Vol. I. Budapest–Kolozsvár, Polis–Kálvin–Luther. 640.

giving a medical evidence of it: *morbus minoritatis*. For us, Sándor Tavaszy's and Sándor Reményik's answer was soothing, considering the assertions untrue.[15] The few lines herein can be read as a late but probably not a belated answer (too). Another positive answer was given by Dezső László in his collection of studies that has never been as valid as it is today."[16]

2. *Dictatorship (1945–1989).* This was a bitter period both *politically* and *nationally*, during which the communist regime stifled the words in our mouths and closed the letters in our drawers. During the totalitarian regime, both the majority and the minority suffered, but the situation was more dangerous for us as we were fewer and thus closer to annihilation. History served all of us only one kind of politics, the one dictated by the East. It started by shredding the parties and ended up in dancing around the leader's idol. Those who did not join this dance were either executed (Aladár Szoboszlay – Roman Catholic priest, Kálmán Sass – Reformed priest) or sentenced to life in prison (István Dobai, László Varga). The Hungarian journals were published on the model of the majority journals or were simply translated. Many of them tried to break free from under the pressure of the Soviet rubber boots: they either completely surrendered and withdrew from public life or tried to escape to Western Europe or chose suicide (László Szabédi). The little we got from the political power was soon to be taken away. The same short-lived fate was the fate of the Maros/Mureş Hungarian Autonomous Region and especially the successor of Franz Joseph University, the Bolyai University in Kolozsvár (until 1959).

To be honest, we can thank the churches and the schools that our preserved identity has become awareness. The gospel was preached in Hungarian in the Roman Catholic and Protestant churches, and in the nationalized Hungarian schools teachers of Hungarian and history made sure that the upcoming generations would get acquainted with and continued the fathers' traditions.

The primary condition for the publication of *literature* was the social perspective and literary movement called socialist realism. Of the second-rate literary pieces

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[15] See László Németh's *Magyarok Romániában*. Sándor Reményik's and Sándor Tavaszy's answers were published in *Pásztortűz* (1933/7 & 9).

[16] LÁSZLÓ, Dezső (1997): *A kisebbségi lét ajándékai.* Posthumus edition. Cluj-Napoca, Minerva Művelődési Egyesület. [The translations of all non-English quotations are my own throughout the article.]

this trend has produced we must highlight two leftist prose writers, namely István Nagy and István Asztalos, who wrote their stories and novels about the life of the workers at the bottom of urban society. Beyond the commissioned or copied writings, there was also valuable Transylvanian Hungarian literature in terms of content and artistic approach, and here we also mean the young generation of writers and poets. We must particularly refer to two Reformed writers: poet Sándor Kányádi and writer and playwright András Sütő.[17] We mention them in the same breath since they were both the role models of peasant natural talent and with one of them being born in the region of Mezőség/Câmpia Transilvaniei and the other in the Szeklerland area, they could embrace the whole of Transylvania. The writers and poets could not speak freely about the anomalies of the system and could not speak up against dictatorship; the consolidation of the Hungarian identity could have been qualified as a "subversive deed", and that is why they resorted to the rhetorical device of the metaphor. The latter two writers outstandingly mastered this, and we, the readers, were able to interpret the metaphors in our minds.

We shall not touch upon how we should live our national identity as an ethnic group *after 1990* because the events are still ongoing, being still too close to us.

All the ideas we have outlined above have no prospects of great success. We must get used to achieve small results with important spiritual and intellectual energy investments and that the seeds may fall on the roadside, on rocky ground or among thorns. And what were actually the perspectives that the twelve apostles set off with to their mission? We "only" mediate, we only urge, and if there is a small result, we must be glad and thankful to "[Him] that giveth the increase" (1Cor 3:6–7).

Referring back to the first part of the speech, we must address the question of community (church, ethnic group) and the individual's identity: What determines our existence and our being: the church (our faithfulness) or the nation (our Hungarian ethnicity)? The community and the individuals must answer this question in order to solve the potential identity disorder. In the case of denominations, the answer depends on which one is closer to the "peak", to religious identity, whilst in the case of the individuals it is about how close they are to their human identity. We must sort out the relationship between the means and the goal. The church and the faithful must become aware that

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[17] K. Jakab, Antal (1998): *Magyar Irodalom Bánffy Miklóstól Szilágyi Domokosig*. Cluj-Napoca, Stúdium. 422, 436, 502, 594.

our Hungarian ethnicity is the means to becoming even more faithful church members.[18] Those who consider their Christianity as a mere means to becoming more genuine Hungarians are not perverted atheists, they are not against the church, but they have rather acquired noble national ideals. However, as such, we must admonish them to place their national ideals in the service of becoming better Christians, God's more faithful children.

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[18] TAVASZY, Sándor (1929): Keresztyénségem és magyarságom. In. *Kálvinista világ* III, 2. 12–14.

NAGY Károly Zsolt[1]:

Changes in the Idea of Progress in the Processes of Change in the Hungarian Reformed Identity during the Past Century[2]

Abstract.

Democracy and the idea of progress became one of the most important attributes of Hungarian Reformation in the 19th century, both as its self-image and society's image of Calvinists (and, more broadly, of Protestants). These indicators are very important because, to this day, they are essential elements of Calvinist identity, but they also illustrate well the way heritage forged into identity. The part of the past reflected and "used" in community memory loosely relates to the actual legacy of the past. Different authors have defined in different ways which exact identity elements are representative of these attributes, and it also varies how long such an element retains its representative quality, if it retains it at all. Without being exhaustive, the study outlines the ways the specific content of these attributes changes over the 20th century: that is, in the context of changes in the relationship between church and society, in what situations and what factors these attributes are identified by individual opinion formers. The author first examines the historical context of the emergence of these topoi and then looks at some cases of their use, with particular emphasis on the period of communist dictatorship.

Keywords: *democracy, Calvinism, heritage transformation, community memory, communism.*

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> *"Calvinism (…) has been the first and the most outstanding root of democratic changes across Europe."*

Ferenc Gombos, former Reformed theologian who later became a journalist in Losonc/ Lučenec, published a high-impact article under the pseudonym Pál Simándy in 1927, titled *A magyar kálvinizmus útja* [The Path of Hungarian Calvinism], in which he emphasized that:

> "…Hungarian Calvinism is the medium of the national and racial ideology with its most distinctive historical consciousness; in opposition with Catholicism, which is mainly internationalist; and Lutheranism, which is particularly the ideology of foreign racial formulae. The idea of social renewal is also closer to the soul of Hungarian Calvinism. Calvinism is also in general the first and the most **outstanding root of democratic changes** in Europe. At a closer look across centuries, Hungarian Calvinism has always heralded the idea of progress; Calvinism was the guardian of the freedom of thought and constitutionality: the flagship of the expansion of human rights."[3]

Simándy's text triggered many responses; many argued against his social-democratic-centred Calvinist[4] vision that he outlined;[5] however, his critics did not argue at all against that Calvinism clearly bears the features the author had listed. What is more, associating these features with Calvinism did not come from Simándy, but it was crystallized and established in the 19th century, when it became indeed one of the most important elements of the Hungarian Reformed community's self-image as well as of

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[3] SIMÁNDY, Pál (1927): *A magyar kálvinizmus útja*. Losonc, Kultúra. 25.

[4] Given that this practice is widely used in the concerned community, we will use the terms "Calvinist" and "Reformed" as synonyms. We would also like to note that several theologians (e.g.: TAVASZY, Sándor (1997): A kálvinista világnézet alapkérdései. In: Németh, Pál (ed.): *Magyar református önismereti olvasókönyv. Válogatás a XX. század első felének református teológiai irodalmából.* Budapest, Kálvin. 60–68; SEBESTYÉN, Jenő (1997): A kálvinistaéletstíluskérdése. In: Németh, Pál (ed.): *Magyar reformátusönismeretiolvasókönyv. Válogatás a XX. század első felének református teológiai irodalmából.* Budapest, Kálvin. 90–94) still make a distinction between the two terms, considering Calvinism as a broader ideology embracing the entire social life, whilst the term Reformed would mean the narrower religious and theological feature of Calvinism. However, apart from some authors, the usage is not consistent at all.

[5] See, for instance: FÁBRY, Zoltán (1929): Kálvinista anachronizmus. In: *Korunk* 10. 762–764.

the image that society formed about the Reformed (in a broader sense about Protestants). This topos is also very important since it is a key element of Reformed identity to this very day, and it also exceptionally demonstrates the extent to which the heritage shaped into an identity as the part of the past reflected and "used" in the collective memory is in a loose relationship with the trueheritage of the past. These features can be traced back and represented in certain manners, and various authors in different times highlighted theming the various elements of ecclesiastical history, organization, operation, and theological principles. Furthermore, the duration of such an element's representative feature – if ever kept –also varies.

We shall analyse non-exhaustively and rather schematically the changes mainly in the idea of democracy[6] and progressivism, as the attributes of Calvinism focused upon by Simándy, among others, in the context of the changes in the relationship between church and society. First, we shall analyse the historical context in which these topoi appeared, and then we shall briefly examine some cases of their use.

1. Protestantism and Democracy – Reformed Historical Reflections before 1945

The second half of the 19th century was defined by the second confessionalization both for the Hungarian and the many European Protestant churches. In Olaf Blaschke's approach based on the German and European social history of the 19th century:

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[6] International research studies on Calvinism have a considerable tradition and literature on the analysis of the relationship between the Swiss branch of the Reformation and modern democracy. Nevertheless, we shall not dwell upon this wider scientific context in this text not only because of its limitation in length but also because we would rather wish to focus on the processes of the Hungarian Reformed identity construction on the one hand and not deal with it because the "international character" of Calvinism in the Hungarian context prevails much less than its "national feature" on the other hand. Thus, although it would clearly not be a useless endeavour to compare the various national incorporations of Calvinism and the conclusions of the studies on the relationship between the interpretations of democracy in the respective areas with the Hungarian context, this issue goes beyond the focal point of this study, requiring a separate article.

> "the religious system was less able to manage the changes occurring in other so-
> cial sub-systems mainly because, as religion and religious observance became increas-
> ingly one of the individual's role, the concepts of denominational identity were less
> able to close up the individual roles in various are as of life. A kind of possible re-
> sponse to this challenge was to provide religion with a national-political content
> (and vice versa: provide the national ideology with religious symbols). According
> to the dominant standpoint in social sciences and historiography, the situation
> was identical in Hungary, too."[7]

Thereupon, the denominations and the identity patterns they suggested became
the institutional reserves for the conflicts among the different social groups. Albeit this
tendency is clearly traceable both in the theological and the public discourses of the Re-
formed thinking in Hungary – and broadly the Hungarian Reformed thinking – of those
times, it would still be unfortunate to presume that the second confessionalization was
merely limited to such a "secondary confessionalization". Its reason, nevertheless, should
besought for in the historical context and the particular situation the Reformed Church in
Hungary was facing. Indeed, this process was not independent from its ecclesiastical policy
struggles that the Protestants fought with Roman Catholicism as the self-proclaimed
dominant church – and the Ruler supporting it as such – on the various arenas of
politics, public life, and culture. Behind these ambitions,

> "the interpretation of history rooted in Romanticism and freethinking liberalism
> had one of the biggest impacts on shaping the Hungarian Reformed identity.
> On the one hand, it linked the source of liberal and democratic traditions to the
> Reformation, and, on the other hand, it stressed the relationship between the
> anti-Habsburg and class independence movements and the freedom of religion,
> defining Protestantism as the repository of the fights for freedom and the na-
> tional fight for independence."[8]

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[7] HATOS, Pál (2007): Világ keresztényei, egyesüljetek. In: *Kommentár* 2, 2. 60; the same phrasing
in: BRANDT, Julianne (2003): Felekezeti és nemzeti identitás a 19. századi Magyarországon:
a protestáns egyházak. In: *Századvég* 29, 3. 28.

[8] MILLISITS, Máté – SZÁSZ, Lajos (2009): Kálvin-emlékünnepségek a Dunamelléki Reformá-
tus Egyházkerületben. In: Farbaky, Péter – Kiss, Réka (eds.): *Kálvin hagyománya. Református
kulturális örökség a Duna mentén. Kiállítási katalógus.* Budapest, Budapesti Történeti Múze-
um – Dunamelléki Református Egyházkerület. 71. It is instructive how ImreRévész, among

Two further reform movements entered later on stage and in dialogue with this particular Reformed self-interpretation: domestic mission and historic Calvinism. Both missions pointed to liberal theology as the prime cause for the crisis of religious life and the emptiness of churches, while the latter suggested a historical reconstruction invoking Calvin as a solution for the problems.

The reference to Calvin and the specific development of "Calvinism" are the results of a special evolution in the history of the Hungarian Reformed Church. "Calvinist" was initially a sobriquet given to the Reformed faithful by Roman Catholicism, which the Protestants of Helvetic confession started to accept only in the 19th century trying to render a positive connotation to the term precisely through the strong focus on and the reference to Calvin.[9] It was not fully self-evident at the time either as the polity of the local Reformed church, its dogmatic theology expressed in its confessions mainly took shape based on the Zürich and German model and not Calvin's Genevan confession, while the ecclesiastical organization featured a very particular, hybrid characteristic whose episcopal system, for instance, was in complete opposition with Calvin's principles. The case of the theological reference to Calvin is more or less similar. Although the translation of Calvin's Geneva Catechism was published in Hungarian during the author's lifetime, in 1563, being translated by Péter Méliusz Juhász,[10] and his works and teachings were known and renowned, he still was not the main reference point of the Helvetic Reformation in Hungary. Imre Révész, the most important Reformed church historian between the two World Wars, outlined in several studies

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the first who dealt with the topic in 1934, interpreted this tradition as something whose "perfect counterpart on the other side was *the shaping of the religious idea of the 'Regnum Marianum' into a historical doctrine and a historical policy system*" (see: RÉVÉSZ, Imre (1934): Szempontok a magyar kálvinizmus eredetéhez. In: *Századok* 67. 271–272; RÉVÉSZ, Imre (1923): *Mai magyarkálvinizmus*. Budapest, Bethlen Gábor Irodalmi és Nyomdai Részvénytársaság. 8). This connection was later omitted from the interpretations.

9 See: RAVASZ, László (1924): Kálvin és a kálvinizmus. In: Ravasz, László: *Látások könyve*. Budapest, n.p. 3–28; RÉVÉSZ 1934; RÉVÉSZ, Imre (1936): Református vagy kálvinista? In: *Igazság és Élet*. 89–93.

10 His main work, *Institutio*, was published only in 1624, translated by Albert Szenczi Molnár, as the audience of this piece of work knew Latin relatively well as opposed to the readers of the Catechism, and the Latin version of both works is proven to have circulated in Hungary quite early; the later date of the translation did not really influence Calvin's credit.

that "it seems that Hungarian theologians started to consider Calvin the representative par excellence and, most of all, the decisive representative of the Reformed spirit only starting from the second half of the 17th century".[11] Thus, the Calvinist debate between the two World Wars did not draw the attention upon Calvin himself but rather upon the social context of the reference to Calvin: upon the discussion of the issue, which was basically important mainly because it provided a historical and theological support to the concept of the "particularly Hungarian" Reformed theology and religion, which tried, on the one hand, to hold together the Reformed Church split after the Treaty of Trianon ending WWI along a certain ideology, and, on the other, it helped integrate this church or the churches as the most Eastern Bloc of the churches in the large community of international Calvinism. This can ensure both the uniqueness and specificity of the Hungarian Reformed community, and, at the same time, it can provide the reassuring feeling of belonging to a large family even if they experience a manifold minority condition.

Although Hungarian Calvinism proved to be a complex ideology with significant historical significance by the 1930s, its actual formulation started only at the turn of the 20th century, in the more or less peaceful environment after the Austro-Hungarian Compromise, the Council of Debrecen of 1881, and the results of the ecclesiastical struggles of the last few years of the 19th century aimed at achieving true equality of religions.[12]Its most important trend, namely historic Calvinism, unfolded after1910, pursuant to one of Jenő Sebestyén's accomplishments, who had just returned from his Dutch scholarship programme.[13] For Sebestyén and his followers, it had become important to highlight the significance of Calvinism going beyond religion because of the Netherlands where the movement was rooted, Kuyper's political-public Calvinism[14] and

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[11] RÉVÉSZ, Imre (1933): Kálvin legelső magyar támadója Draskovich Györgyés Confutatioja. In: *Theológiai szemle* 9, 1–2. 5.

[12] See: RÉVÉSZ 1934; RAVASZ 1924; SEBESTYÉN 1997; TAVASZY 1997; for a more in-depth study, see:BUCSAY, Mihály (1979): Kálvin jelenléte Magyarországon 1544–1944. In: *Theológiai Szemle* 22, 5. 275–281.

[13] 1884–1950. Theologian, professor of theology in Budapest. Studied in Utrecht with scholarship between 1907 and 910, where he got acquainted with the theory and practice of Dutch Calvinism.

[14] Abraham Kuyper (1837–1920), Dutch Reformed minister, politician and journalist. Formerly Prime Minister of the Netherlands several times.

its successes, and thus, the clarification of the relationship between democracy and church was also an important part of their programme. Sebestyén basically followed in it, Abraham Kuyper's argumentation in reference to Calvin. Kuyper summarizes Calvin's views on power and, in this connection, democracy in three points:

> "1. no creature can ever have control over the peoples but God as the peoples were created by God alone, they are sustained by his almighty power, and they are governed by his decrees; 2. sin has broken God's direct rule in the political realm, so He introduced the exercise of supreme authority among men as a mechanical aid; 3. no matter the approach of the ruling power, one man will never have power over others unless that power has come down onto him from God almighty."[15]

Therefore, in terms of exercising authority, he considers "shared authority among many others, i.e. the republic" as the best solution due to the abuses, where the individuals on power should be elected by the people. He also notes that the source of the right, headship does not come from the people ("popular sovereignty") in this case either but rather from God's grace. Kuyper, referring to the constitution of the USA, deems necessary to acknowledge that we should be thankful to God almighty if he empowered us to elect our headship ourselves.[16] According to Sebestyén, the political and public responsibility of the Calvinist individual derives from this as the individual must try to validate God's glory in all the areas of public life: in the state, in society, and in the church. Thus, the people being granted such freedom must be cautious not to render themselves unworthy of God's grace by electing God's enemies and unworthy people into high offices.

In his work *Kálvin és demokrácia* (1913), Sebestyén points out that Calvin has never stated that the godless, destructive, and perverse individuals are just as entitled to rule in God's glory as the defenders of the godly and moral world order, the pure thinkers. Calvinist democracy is the rule of the ideal faithful people. As a result, although Sebestyén strongly emphasizes that all men are equal in Calvinism, this is only applicable in relation to God: equal in their sinfulness and that God in His graceful selection does not

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[15] KUYPER, Ábrahám (1922): *A kálvinizmuslényege*. Budapest, Bethlen Gábor Irodalmiés Nyomdai Részvénytársaság. 81.
[16] Op. cit. 82–84.

take into account the person proper. However, this equality does not result in any kind of democracy within the church itself, for instance, in the consistories. For the consistories, it is nothing but the "aristocracy of faith".

Sebestyén's interpretation of Calvin had an important impact on the ecclesiastical discourse of his time. The "Calvinism debate" between the two World Wars, i.e. the vivid discourse shaking the broad layers of the church –which was a decisive part in the initiatives of Reformed renewal of the time –,unfolded to a significant extent thanks to Sebestyén's accomplishments. His interpretation of Calvin is one of the decisive trends in the Hungarian Reformed theological thinking up to this very day and is important as such for two reasons. On the one hand, Sebestyén is rather sceptical and critical vis-à-vis the civil, secular democracy. Although he first worded his viewpoint in 1913, the post-Trianon spiritual movements played a significant role in the fact that his critical approach to democracy became stronger and that this crucial standpoint would be later embraced by important Reformed theologians. At that time, "in the eyes of broad sections of society, the liberal system of ideas and democracy itself were synonymous with the peace treaties that were concluded after losing the war and the national catastrophe they fulfilled. This, in turn, had led to the rejection of modernity and the complete decline of the intellectual tendencies representing it (such as liberalism and neo-Kantian thinking)."[17] On the other hand, Sebestyén did not discuss Calvin's right of resistance at all or very rarely –namely, the possibility adopted by Calvin, according to which, although power and authority as a structural element, comes from God and man's primary obligation is obedience, the people still have the right to resist and oppose the openly godless authority that does not perform its God-given tasks in the service of the people, and thus does not accomplish the work in the glory and power of God. However, in several key points in Hungarian history, e.g.in relation to Bocskai's freedom fight(1604–1606) in the Reformed interpretation of history,[18] this was not a "current" part of Calvinism

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[17] TÓTH-MATOLCSI, László (2005): Ravasz László és Bibó István nemzetértelmezései. In: *Beszélő* 10, 6–7. 158.

[18] It is one of the rare, successful fights for freedom in Hungarian history, after which Bocskai remained in the national and especially in the Reformed collective memory as "The Hungarian Moses". Nonetheless, historians' opinions are divided as to whether Bocskai was motivated by the right to resistance as explained by Calvin and taken further by Béza or as was put down in the Golden Bull of 1222. On this topic, see: BENDA, Kálmán (1971): A kálvini

during the time when Sebestyén's theology sprang just as in Kuyper's Netherlands. The reason may have been that in the respective period, i.e. during the lost war, the revolutions and the regimes after Trianon, just as the previous systems, did not establish the concept of "godless" for the contemporary Reformed community.

But the situation shortly changed, and the Reformed Church had to rethink its democratic traditions and the manner in which it would refer to it within the framework of the people's democracy. It is impossible to analyse the situation comprehensively in this case, so we will present only one discourse that outlines the social framework in which the representatives of the Reformed Church discussed the problem of democratic traditions and progress on the one hand and that highlights the change in the content of this discourse on the other.

2. Protestantism and Democracy– Reformed Historical Reflections after 1945

In 1948, as the political life in the country headed towards the increasingly strengthening communist dictatorship, the churches had to face more intense attacks, which influenced and changed the situation of the Reformed Church as well as its internal relations. Catechism classes became elective starting the spring of1947, affecting the most important socialization instrument of the church, and in 1948 the church schools were nationalized. In preparation for this process, the high-ranked church officials, including Bishop László Ravasz, were dismissed from their offices. The very first impulse coming from the political authority was given by Ernő Mihályfi[19] at the episcopal investiture of József Szabó, Evangelical Bishop of Dunáninnen, in his speech delivered on 18 March 1948. In Mihályfi's opinion:

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tanok hatása a magyar rendi ellenállás ideológiájára. In: *Helikon* 17, 3–4. 322–330; BENDA, Kálmán (1986): A kálvinizmus és a magyarságtudat kölcsönhatása történelmünkben. In: *Confessio* 10, 2. 4–8.

[19] 1898–1972: son of an Evangelical minister, journalist, and politician, starting off from the left-wing of the Smallholders' Party, Vice-President of Parliament at the time, who became the universal superintendent of the Evangelical Church starting from 1952.

"Protestantism has the opportunity to join the national front of democratic forces. But there is still one issue to be sorted out inside the church, namely that of secular governance. The church has never officially been engaged in politics, but its political flavour has always been added by the secular leaders who emerged from the prominent representatives of the ruling class. The revolution has altered the picture of the entire Hungarian society, but the guards have still not been changed in one place: among the lay supervisors of the Protestant churches. And this is what has given rise to justified mistrust in the church."[20]

After this speech, László Ravasz resigned from his offices in the ecclesiastical bodies, and his successor, Albert Bereczky – also trusted by the communists –, had the managing body, the Council, accept the Agreement concluded with the state, on 14–15 June, after a brief process of conciliation, and then signed it in person.[21] The Agreement laid down the mutilation and subjugation of the church on the one hand, and, at the same time, it had a particular "outcome" as well since the communist power managed to conclude such an agreement first with the Reformed Church from among all the so-called "historic" churches. Thus, the Reformed Church, whose role assigned by the communist power was that of a "battering ram" in enforcing the churches, consequently became both a positive example and a reference base.[22]

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[20] Quoted in: LADÁNYI, Sándor: Vázlatos történelmi áttekintés a Magyarországi Református Egyház közelebbi múltjának alakulásáról. In: Barcza, József – Dienes, Dénes (eds.) (1999): *A Magyarországi Református Egyház története, 1918–1990. Tanulmányok*. Sárospatak, Sárospataki Református Teológiai Akadémia. 110–111.

[21] An important reason for the acceptance of the Agreement was safeguarding the church schools, but the very day after the Council adopted a resolution, on 16 June, the Parliament voted right away Law 33/1948 concerning the nationalization of the schools that were not owned by the state.

[22] More on the topic in: HORVÁTH, Erzsébet (2014): *A református iskolák államosítása Magyarországon (1945–1948)*. Budapest, A Magyarországi Református Egyház Zsinati Levéltára; ERDŐS, Kristóf (2011): A Magyar Köztársaság és a Magyarországi Református Egyház 1948-as egyezményének vizsgálata. In: J. ÚJVÁRY, Zsuzsanna (ed.): *Összekötnek az évezredek*. Budapest–Piliscsaba, Pázmány Péter Katolikus Egyetem Bölcsészettudományi Kar Történettudományi Intézet–Szent István Társulat –*Pázmány Történelmi Műhely: Történelmi Tanulmányok*, vol. 3. 310–331.

This situation was then sought to be transformed into a positive identity programme by the church leadership in the following years. The churches of the Western Protestant world mostly did not welcome the compromise of the Hungarian Reformed Church with the communist power, and this was frequently given voice to at consecutive international meetings. These meetings –and the visits of the delegations of international organizations to Hungary –, the questions asked about the Hungarian situation there, and the answers given to them by the Hungarians play an important role in strengthening the international legitimacy not only of the Hungarian Reformed Church but also of the Hungarian state as they could prove that there was no religious and church persecution in Hungary despite all malicious rumours. The interest in the situation in Hungary and the positive statement of some internationally recognized theologians in good relations with the Hungarians were then framed in a special way by the church leaders in the Hungarian ecclesiastical press: by the beginning of the 1950s, the narrative according to which the Hungarian Reformed Church became the "spectacle of the world"[23] became dominant as well as the narrative that the Reformed Church being the first to conclude an agreement with the communist state was actually a sign of divine choice because God wanted to give an example to the other churches through the hardships, the problems of the Hungarian Reformed community no matter whether these churches lived in a socialist or a capitalist regime, and this gave answers to the question of how Christianity could find its way in the post-Constantine age.

This identity programme was barely germinal at the beginning of 1948; moreover, reframing the negative situations of the time as a "survival strategy" was already visible. During that year, several important people in national politics would visit Sárospatak, including Mátyás Rákosi twice, and the local events were closely related to the national events. On 9 March, there was a semi-official meetingin Sárospatak between Minister of Religious Affairs Máté Kovács and Enyedy Andor,[24] Reformed Bishop of Tiszáninnen

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[23] The phrase is a biblical quotation from Apostle Paul: "For it seems to me that God has put us apostles on display at the end of the procession, like those condemned to die. We have been made a spectacle to the whole universe, to angels as well as to human beings." (1Cor 4:9).

[24] (1888–1966): he studied theology in Sárospatak and obtained a doctoral degree in theology in 1928. He was a minister in Sátoraljaújhely between 1911 and 1922, in Miskolc until 1955 and Bishop of the Church District of Tiszáninnen between 1942 and 1952. As a response to his resistance against the nationalization of ecclesiastical schools in 1952 and the closing of the Reformed Theology in Sárospatak, the leaders of the church had him resign, and the independence of the church district was also abolished after his resignation.

District. The pretext for the meeting was that "the secretaries of the Hungarian Communist Party and the National Peasant Party in Zemplén County repeatedly raised objections against the Reformed educational institutions in Sárospatak".[25] The previous day, the delegation had also met with teachers and leaders of the institutions, emphasizing before them that "the debate between the people's democracy and civic democracy is over, and now all responsible factors can only think about and work on perfecting people's democracy as fully as possible". The delegation outlined the school's flaws, outdated approach, and elitist aspirations in several points, and then explained: "The school policy of the last 400 years, followed in the past and considered democratic at the time, is no longer satisfactory today. Therefore, in the interest of the future of the school, it deems important that all institutions be systematically integrated into the cultural policy of the Hungarian people's democracy."[26] The delegation expressed its criticism of the school in several points, three of which now seem particularly important to our topic:

"2. It kept the old leadership and public spirit. The school's curator-in-chief is Géza Farkasfalvi Farkas, imperial and royal chamberlain, and the curator is Count Dr Pál Bethlen. They are the aristocrats of the old system. Although being Reformed, the teaching staff and the pupils sympathize with Cardinal Mindszenty's reactionary and anti-popular policy, and they exclude and isolate the progressist teachers.

3. History and social views are outdated. They speak reluctantly and in formal terms about the revolutions, the workers' movement, 1848, Marx, Engels, or the Soviet Union. They praise the remote past in history, they are nationalistic and reactionary against progress. They generally sympathize with the Western capitalist states and the civil democracies. They underestimate the present; they feel nostalgic for the past. Although only people's democracy exists, they approve of civic democracy. They are the followers of the anti-grass root "Third Way" movement.

4. The intellectual development of Patak stopped somewhere back in 1944 although there has been an enormous political, social, and economic development after the liberation. They are enthusiastic about the people's writers, especially about Péter Veres, praising his writings about secession and passivity. However, they refuse to acknowledge the values of socialist writers, poets, and Soviet literature. The teaching staff and youth are prone to compromise, are compliant and often discreet.

[25] LADÁNYI, Sándor 1999, 113.
[26] Ibid. 113.

They do not stand out boldly for their democratic convictions. They are not politically educated. They do not know our real situation and place among the socialist nations. They condemn popular, social progress, the people's democracies. And they have a chauvinistic view of the neighbouring peoples. Retraining is formal and arises from official compulsion. Neither the teaching staff nor the youth have a realistic political sense. They emphasize empty phrases without any conviction."[27]

In his speech opening the school year on 7 September 1947, Director General Barnabás Urbán summarized this now-out-of-date legacy of the four hundred years history as follows:

"… our secondary school has been the advocate, protector, and enforcer of human rights for four centuries. The freedom of conscience brought it to life, and its founders erected an altar to religious freedom. It was the flagship of freedom movements nourished by a national feeling even in the darkest times of repression. Its faithful sons wore the shackles of the galleys with a defiant spirit, their convictions did not waver for a moment, and they kept their allegiance until their dying day. Teachers and students ate together the bitter bread of escape and persecution rather than surrender to foreign power so alien to their soul, and in their hiding their love of freedom flared with an even higher flame. The famous red-hat heroes of Patak of the 1848–49 Revolution, who learnt history from the heritage of the past among these walls, wrote history themselves with their deeds on the bloody battlefields. Kossuth's spirit of flame heated here the feelings of the youth into a glowing patriotism. Like the warming rays of the sun over the great nature, the pure air of freedom flowed here in the spiritual life. Freedom was no formality in our school but meant life itself. (…)

Freedom can provide a peaceful atmosphere in which the process of development can begin. However, progress is not to be taken for the path of revolution; for progress means the service of peace of souls, spiritual reconstruction, spiritual enrichment, and general material well-being.(…) Progress can only begin at the touch of the soul of freedom.(…)

Our school has always followed the path of progress. Understanding the words of the times, it has kept pace with the ideology, and even preceded them many

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[27] The report of Dr István Orbán, former history teacher in Sárospatak, who was present at the meeting, is quoted in: FEKETE, Gyula (2006): Közéleti naplórészletek. In: *Zempléni Múzsa* 6, 3 http://zemplenimuzsa.hu/06_3/fekete.htm (last accessed: 3.12.2019).

times. It has become a forerunner of reforms within the education system. The custom and social spirit of several of its old institutions still prove their efficiency in various student organizations."[28]

Urbán's text is important not only because it clearly echoes the ideas in Simándy's text quoted at the beginning of the article, but it also indicates that the concepts in it have already matured to be rethought as these are precisely the concepts which mark the areas of the Reformed identity in the broader sense, and the identity of Sárospatak, the "spirit of Patak", at a closer look, in relation to which the state authority speaks about flaws and obsolescence. Urbán did not speak directly about the concept of democracy, but he gave the content and local interpretation of the school's social programme and student organization while he presented them (not quoted herein).

The following episode in the course of events was Gyula Ortutay's visitation of 30 March in Végardó, which had practically merged with the city of Sárospatak, where he inaugurated a reconstructed school. In his speech, Ortutay pointed out that:

> "Democracy has proven countless times that it wants to support the church. Democracy built the churches that were demolished by the fascists. I must also point this out, and I say this as a minister and representative of the Smallholder Party, that the communist village brigades took a major share in this work. However, when democracy made great sacrifices for the church in all areas, it expects the church to also support democracy in its great constructive work. Social truths can be read and must be read from the gospel. Negotiations have already begun between the church and democracy.– Democracy is not to be blamed that there are still frictions and misunderstandings.–So, I now turn to the church with the request to finally give the Hungarian people peace of mind and not to contrast the democratic convictions of the Hungarian people with their religious feelings."[29]

In his editorial titled *Egyház és demokrácia* [Church and Democracy] and published in the daily paper *Kis Újság* on the following day, Bishop Andor Enyedy responded to Ortutay's speech fitting into the party's directives and attempting to thematize the conflict between the church and the state that refers to itself as "democracy". Enyedy

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[28] URBÁN, Barnabás (1948): Évnyitó beszéd. In: A Sárospataki Ref. Főiskola évkönyve (értesítője) az 1947–48-ik iskolai évről 92, 3–7. 4–5.

[29] [Author Missing] Az egyház adja meg végre a magyar népnek a lelki nyugalmat. In: *Kis Újság* 2/1948, 75. 1.

reflects on the escalating situation and discusses the relationship between the church and democracy on a theoretical, emotional, and practical basis. In the first point, he discusses the theoretical identity of the two actors, citing as an example the democratic system of the church, the council-consistorial principle, and the long tradition of consistories, and then he states that: "Because of the democratic structure and spirit of our church, it does not only sympathize with the political and economic democracy, but as an intellectual and spiritual mother, as an older brother, it is ready to support, help, unfold, and promote it with all its might." In the second point, he agrees with Ortutay's statement about state subsidies, but he immediately adds that these subsidies are not the only reason for the church's support of the aspirations of the state, but there is also their common goal that "Hungarian democracy becomes a form of government and a way of life for the people working together in freedom, equality, brotherhood, and peace." Eventually, he notes that in order to achieve this goal, the church and the state work in separate ways and complete different objectives, yet "the same goal must be served: the liberation of the created man on earth from sin, from the dark powers that oppress him, the most perfect way of life possible of the most perfect man possible."[30]

Enyedy consistently avoids taking over Ortutay's narrative and does not identify the state with democracy. Enyedy's article was reviewed by the newspaper *Szabad Nép* on the same day, 2 April, but it turned the bishop's tone and phrasing – that could be perceived as distant under the circumstances – into a narrative completely identifying with "democracy". Two days later, on Sunday, 4 April, Enyedy paid another visit to Sárospatak and participated on behalf of the church in the peasant-worker general assembly, where – as reported –Rákosi spoke about the current situation of the democracy in front of 150,000 people:

> "…it is now clear to everyone that the Hungarian people stand for democracy. This insight – he continued –is starting to make its way more and more into even into ecclesiastical circles which have been hostile to popular democracy almost until recently. Most believers have been on our side, the side of democracy, so far, but now more and more of the leaders start to realize that their position so far has been wrong, harmful, and that the wheel of history cannot be reversed. They need to find ways to coexist peacefully and constructively with democracy."[31]

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[30] ENYEDY, Andor (1948): Egyház és demokrácia. In: *Kis Újság* 2, 76. 1.
[31] [Author Missing] A Nemzeti Függetlenségi Front új jelentősége. In: *Szabad Nép* 6/1948, 79. 1.

After the meeting, Rákosi also visited the Reformed College, where he met with the school board and the teachers. *Magyar Értesítő*, the Protestant ecclesiastical lithograph, reported the event in detail. The article in the newspaper was also reviewed by *Szabad Nép*. According to the latter media, Rákosi also criticized the Reformed Church during the meeting, saying that "since 1867, Hungarian Calvinism has ceased to be a progressive factor in Hungarian life. Our Reformed Church must once again become an advocate and a benevolent worker of the great popular movements."[32]

Again, in the coverage of *Szabad Nép*, Barna Urbán reflected upon Rákosi's remarks and said that:

> "We are happy to see that a new world is being born from the ruins almost overnight. We would also like to take an even greater share from this vast and self-sacrificing effort in the field of our respective vocations. Our school has taken the initiative proving that we work together with our worker brethren for our nation. We want to be not only the advocates of the pure ideals of popular democracy but also the implementers in the spirit of the noble traditions of our ancestors, in the spirit of the greatest alumnus of Sárospatak, Lajos Kossuth."[33]

Finally, as part of the discourse, we must mention a later event and the texts mentioning it. On 6 November 1948, the Reformed College of Sárospatak organized a festivity on the centenary of János Erdélyi, the eponym of the school's literary society, where the speakers were Gyula Ortutay, Secretary of State László Bóka, and Andor Enyedy. The note in the school's yearbook referring to this event expresses gratitude to "Minister of Religious Affairs Dr Gyula Ortutay and Secretary of State Dr László Bóka, who not only honoured us with their visit and not only discussed with us about our problems but also delivered highly valuable speeches at the centenary celebrations organized in János Erdélyi's honour: heralding the new ideology, teaching us about the truly valuable traditions and about when and how can, as a rule, traditions be at the service of progress."[34]

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[32] [Author Missing] Egyházunk kész minden erejével támogatni a magyar demokráciát. In: *Szabad Nép* 6/1948, 92. 3.

[33] [Author Missing] A református vezetők nemcsak hirdetői, hanem megvalósítói akarnak lenni a népi demokrácia tiszta eszméinek. In: *Szabad Nép* 6/1948, 80. 2.

[34] *** Feljegyzések. In: Nagy, Barna (ed.):A Sárospataki Ref. Főiskola évkönyve (értesítője) az 1948–49-ik iskolai évről. 92. 27.

A detailed report about the event was given again by the official Barna Urbán. As he put it:

> "This was a privileged opportunity for us as we were able to testify before the first servant and chief guardian of the culture of the Hungarian people's democracy, the great historical and social justice of the democratic policy: in addition to the real cultural development of the working Hungarians. It is a particularly great honour for us to thank the Minister for appreciating the historical service and special tasks of our long-standing Reformed secondary schools on such a festive occasion and making it possible for the Alma Mater of Patak, as a Reformed ecclesiastical education institution, to continue the cultural development and construction of our democracy. We are certain that this remarkable occasion also contributed to the establishment of a fair, mutually understanding and mutually respectful relationship between church and state-guided education."[35]

The quoted texts allow us to get an insight into a particularly complex process in which one of the important factors was the alteration of the concept of democracy along with the changes in the Hungarian political system. There were several concepts of democracy in the Hungarian political life after1945 along with the constant changes in it until the end of the coalition period. One of the determinants was the concept represented by the Smallholders' Party, the core of which was a social system based on rights that was based on its turn on the civic model.

> "In addition to freedom, the independence of individuals, general equality of rights, the political culture of constitutionality, the institutional right of free debate, and the ability to control power were also strong elements of the concept of the smallholder democracy. The observance of the majority principle, the regulations (the rules of the game), and the institutional structures were also central factors in the smallholder democracy after 1945. (…) the very essence of the concept of the smallholder-civil democracy was that the civil liberties pertained equally to 'all'."[36]

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[35] URBÁN, Barnabás: *Beszámoló a sárospataki főiskola 1948–49. évi életéről.* In: Nagy, Barna (ed.): *A Sárospataki Ref. Főiskola évkönyve (értesítője) az 1948–49-ik iskolai évről.* 92. 6–7.

[36] MEDGYESI, Konstantin (2017 [unpubl.]): *Demokrácia-diskurzus(ok) Magyarországon az 1945 és 1949 közötti időszakban és időszakról.* PhD dissertation. University of Szeged, Doctoral School of History. 222. http://doktori.bibl.u-szeged.hu/4133/19/medgyesidokt.pdf (last accessed: 13.12.2019).

On the other hand, although in the first days the concept of communist democracy appeared in a more covert form, representing a radically different position in respect to the liberties, its defining motive was the search for an enemy.

> "The essence of the interpretation of communist democracy during the time of the coalition was that 'democracy' was to bring something totally new in the life of the country, and this 'novel phenomenon' facilitates social mobility and the breakthrough of the existing structures. The partisans of the left-wing democracy interpretation taking shape at the time did not see democracy as a system and a lifestyle built on rights but rather as a society-shaping framework able to tear down centuries of obsessions. The 'civil' approach totally opposed this view, preventing the liberties from being seriously damaged in the best interest of radical changes."[37]

In the communist approach of democracy, the liberties did not benefit everyone, especially not the enemy whom they must fight –wherefrom the communists' combative approach of democracy –, and in this war one can go beyond the classic rules of civil democracy in the interest of the emerging novel situation. And this novelty is nothing else but the people's democracy, a term which the Communist Party used relatively consistentlyafter1946 and which practically meant the dictatorship of the proletariat as rather clearly formulated in 1949 after the elimination of the political enemies.

On the one hand, it is clear from the quoted texts that the communist wording is characterized by an understandable, but probably intentional, uncertainty based on the process described above as the terms democracy and people's democracy are constantly used synonymously to disclose other agents in the communication process. On the other hand, it is obvious that they monopolized and used exclusively the concept of democracy (= "we"), which was clearly opposed by the representatives of the church: Enyedy all along and Urbán at the beginning. Enyedy definitely explains the concept of civil democracy especially in the editorial published in *Kis Újság*, speaking constantly about the dialogue between peers, conviction and persuasion. This concept is also clearly referred to in the way he refers to the functioning of the consistories and the church

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[37] Medgyesi 2017, 221.

governance. However, Urbán's statements are strongly influenced by the powerful discourse of the emerging dictatorship, and, although the text speaking about Ortutay's visit in autumn 1948 contains a peculiar and probably also intentional inconsistency in the use of the terms "democracy" and "people's democracy", the text as a whole convinces us that the speaker starts to use the strategy of adaptive reframing.

The concept of tradition is very important throughout the discourse. The appearance of Kossuth's figure, a reference to him, which is very specific and perhaps symbolic, is a motive pointed out in the local press, the *Zemplén Népújság*'s report on the National Assembly held on 4 April, which has little connection to the discourse: "A whole forest of national and red flags, big photos of Mátyás Rákosi, thousands of placards featuring slogans make the areas unforgettably beautiful. The board of a colourful group of villagers reads: 'LajosKossuth in 1848, –Mátyás Rákosi in 1948!' "[38] However, the difference between Rákosi's and Urbán's reference to Kossuth is important. Rákosi does not expressly mention Kossuth, but his statement according to which the Reformed Church stopped being a progressive element in Hungarian life after1867 –i.e. the year of the Austro-Hungarian Compromise, after leaving off Kossuth's legacy –clearly suggests that he does not consider the Reformed Protestants the successors of the legendary red-hat student heroes of the school in Sárospatak driven by Kossuth's flame. Behind Rákosi's manifestation, there is probably the combative and exclusivist democracy concept, but it also introduces a new term in the discourse in relation to it, whose importance appears later on, in the texts discussing Ortutay's speech delivered on the Erdélyi centenary in November – namely, the concept of "progressive tradition".

Progressive tradition is one of the central concepts in the relationship of communist ideology to the past, traced back to Marx. Marx "points out how many times the fighters put on the mask of tradition in the times of revolutions, 'so that they can act out the new scene of world history in this costume consecrated by tradition...' (…) the emerging novelty appears on the stage of history, sometimes putting on the costume of the past…"[39], but this does not mean a real return into the past but rather a starting-point that progress will later supersede and discard.

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[38] [Author Missing] *Zempléni Népújság* 4/1948, 15. 1.

[39] BÓKA, László (1953): Marx tanítása a haladó hagyomány felhasználásáról. In: *Irodalomtörténet* 41, 1–2. 2–3.

> "We must return to tradition so that we do not lose our security in our first, uncertain steps on the new path, so that the bold novelty does not explode formlessly in our attempt to translate it into the literary vernacular which we are familiar with. However, the return to tradition is only justified if there is something new in the traditional form, and it is only justified until it evolves to a level where it can already create its own specific, completely new forms. It is necessary to return to tradition in order to draw strength from the great analogies of the past for the new so that by recalling the analogy we can imagine that which has never existed before, gain inspiration for the new heat of new words by recalling the hot words of the past."[40]

The quotation is an interpretation of Marx, which appeared a few years later than the period of concern and refers to the literary historical application of the concept of progressive tradition, but it can clearly be answered in the same key as the writer of the school report on Ortutay's speech did, and it can also be found in the manner in which Urbán tries to divert Kossuth's revolutionary enthusiasm to the transition to the new world of people's democracy, an area so alien to the centuries-old traditions of the College.

And this will mean a very significant change in Reformed identity. Simándy, in his above quoted work, considers democratic thinking, the "ardent love of the race", religious tolerance, and anti-Habsburg attitude as the key features of Calvinism besides the service of Western progress by which he means mostly the transfer of social rather than technological and economic patterns. It is clear that the term "progress" also makes sense in this new area, but it will be a shift in a completely different sense, in a different direction: the service of popular democracy on the path of socialism.

The internalization of the concept of progressive tradition into Reformed thinking will become extremely important in this context as the concept actually covers a specific work of remembrance insofar as it refers to updating and transferring the past aspirations considered for some reason, defined by the current political goals, the forerunner of socialist culture and a kind of legitimacy of the present.[41] In this sense, the concept, along with many other elements of communist terminology, also enters the theological language of the Reformed Church. Both the term and the concept appear

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[40] BÓKA 1953, 4.
[41] REICHERT Gábor (2018): „Szétnézett a Hadikban, de nem látott senkit". Karinthy Frigyes életművének de- és rekanonizá-ciója a Rákosi-korszakban. In: *2000 Irodalmi és Társadalmi havilap* 30, 9. 55.

quite unequivocally in the Reformed weekly newspaper *Az Út*, dated 16 March 1952, in which the writer addresses patriotism in the spirit of the upcoming national holiday and closes his message as follows:

> "If we try to learn patriotism from the Bible without the help of the Holy Ghost, we are going nowhere. If the Holy Ghost helps: we will find our way. It is obvious that István Bocskai, Gabriel Bethlen, and the other important figures of our church's progressive tradition were just as familiar with the places in the Bible about the love of our enemy, for instance, as we are. And still: the Holy Ghost made the words of the Bible glow for our biblical ancestors, exactly the ones that had actuality, that is to say: it made the Bible the Word. It guided them in the dense forest of the Bible and drew their devout attention to those messages that inspired them to brave resistance, loyalty to the people, and opposition to the inner and outer enemies of the people."[42]

The text is very difficult to understand without knowing the specific circumstances, whose detailed presentation will be omitted here. The most important hint may have been the one to the inner and outer enemies. 1952 was the year of the elimination of the "inner enemies" in the Reformed Church, of those who opposed the agreement with the communists. And these expressions mainly refer to the earlier dissolved Bethánia Society, the last remains of the old awakening domestic mission movement. The newspaper dedicated quite a few articles to Bethánia, presented its history, spread, creating inner enemy within, "bethanism", from these data and gave the key to the readers for how, by what features or customs, expressions and behavioural patterns *bethanists* can be recognized. On the other hand – by the analogy between the communist warrior and the concept of exclusive democracy –, the text states that they cannot benefit from the love to be shown to all "brethren" and neither from the love towards enemies, as per the Christian teaching.

Thus, in the Sárospatak discourse, we can notice a key turning-point with regard to the long-term change of the Reformed denominational identity – namely, the way in which the meanings of basic concepts of identity are transformed in the process of social communication that reflects radically changing circumstances. And the long-lasting effect

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[42] [Author Missing] A haza szeretete. In: *Az Út* 5/1952, 11. 1.

of this change is visible not only in the new meanings that, getting incorporated in the identity patterns, significantly influence the way in which the Reformed community relates to dictatorship[43] but also in that the new meanings do not replace the old meanings but rather coexist with them, and thus a considerable uncertainty arises regarding their effective meaning.

3. Protestantism and Democracy – Reformed Historical Reflections after 1989

The discourses related to the nature and redefinition of the Reformed sense of identity came to life relatively late following the 1989 political change, only after the unsuccessful 2004 referendum on double citizenship for Hungarians living beyond the current borders. In the previous years, the leadership of the Reformed Church mostly considered the settlement of the church's infrastructure to be its primary task, and the confrontation with the past and the changed circumstances was largely lagging behind. The referendum was sobering in many respects, drawing the attention of the church leaders and the very small group of opinion leaders, among others, to the fact that the assumption that the Reformed community practically preserved and saved its identity during the decades of communism was incorrect. Following the referendum, there was an effort to unite the Hungarian Reformed faithful in the Carpathian Basin, which reached its symbolic goal on 22 May 2009 when the Constituting Synod in Debrecen declared the constitution of the Hungarian Reformed Church uniting all the Hungarian Reformed faithful. In the last part of our study, we will examine the manner in which the basic elements of the Reformed identity awareness, previously identified by Simándy, appear and change in connection with this event.

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[43] More on it in: NAGY, Károly Zsolt (2017): „Amit az evangélium ígér, azt váltsa valóra a demokrácia." A társadalmi változások teológiai reflexiói és a belső nyilvánosság nyelvének átalakulása a Magyarországi Református Egyházban 1945 és 1948 között. In: Csikós, Gábor – Kiss, Réka – Ö. Kovács, József (eds.): *Váltóállítás. Diktatúrák a vidéki Magyarországon 1945-ben.* Budapest, Nemzeti Emlékezet Bizottsága – Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont. 425–476.

The basic information about the synod held on 22 May 2009 was summarized by the church leaders in a "catechism". The use of the word proper is remarkable since by catechism we mean the beliefs of the church, the summary of basic teachings in the form of questions and answers, so the use of this name and form suggested that what happens is not something purely formal or superficial, it is not only that– as otherwise stated by Bishop Gusztáv Bölcskei "conducting" the unification– "…if this disgraceful act has already taken place anyway, at least the Hungarian Reformed Church should unite",[44] but that this event has a spiritual and sacral significance.

An important feature of the text is that it seeks to establish the historical roots of the mediated identity model – marking out the "progressive traditions" – as the earlier discussed model creators did, but the role of the democracy concept in this model is significantly devalued; what is more, the 2004 referendum acquires a negative connotation and becomes part of a past that we must refuse. Democracy is being replaced by a new element, the "European idea", "integration", and the editors of the Catechism see this as something happening in the establishment of the Reformed unity. This is the element of the current political context as the government was already preparing for the presidency of the European Union in 2011, which, using Simándy's concept, clearly meant "Western progress", i.e. a higher, more developed society. The same trend of actualization can be grasped in the fact that the text's reference to the Reformed historical past is intended to establish the elements of tolerance, acceptance, religious and ethnic peace. We also meet this principle in Simándy, but he is much less emphatic, rather referring to the Edict of Turda/Torda in 1568[45] as a complement to democracy. A reference to the right to "universal freedom of religion and conscience" appears in the text, a "re-emerging element" of the Reformed identity consciousness. It refers to a common narrative of the 19th-century liberal Protestantism fighting for religious equality in relation to which László Kósa in his writing on the Reformed identity awareness published at the turn of the millennium points out that the issue raised in it has been solved, it has already been incorporated in the legal order of democracy by now, and

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[44] BÖLCSKEI, Gusztáv (2009): Szívvel és értelemmel. In: *A Magyarországi Református Egyház éves jelentése 2009*. Budapest, Magyarországi Református Egyház Zsinati Hivatala. 1. http://evesjelentes2009.reformatus.hu/document.pdf (last accessed: 23.01.2020).

[45] This was the first assembly in Europe proclaiming religious freedom that guaranteed free religious practice and proselytism for the accepted religions: Catholic, Lutheran, Reformed, and Unitarian.

thus mentioning it has become devoid of purpose (at least as much as the case of the anti-Habsburg approach).[46] However, in my presumption, the repeated re-emergence of this narrative does not signal any kind of anachronism, but it rather confirms that the opinion leader élite of the Reformed Church has grown disappointed with democracy, which degraded its important national concern into a political instrument in the 2004 referendum, and searches and finds a point of reference in this natural law reasoning that would be independent of political struggles.

An important element of the discourse around the event of 22 May 2009 was one of the ideas in President László Sólyom's message to the Reformed proclaiming their union, which was stressed a few days later in his post-agenda speech by MP Richárd Hörcsik, Reformed minister and theology professor. Hörcsik described the events and underlined their significance, quoting the words of the President: "I share the joy of the Hungarian Reformed. The unity for which the Hungarian Reformation is grateful today also strengthens the unity of the Hungarian nation. Therefore, it is not only the case of Protestants, not only of religious people but also of all of us, all Hungarians, and is aimed to strengthen us. Therefore, they have my high appreciation and gratitude."[47] By attaching national significance to the Reformed cause, Sólyom brought a new element into the discourse, which then became the pivotal motive for thinking and speaking about unity in the following years and repeatedly emerged in the context of the new holiday, the Day of Reformed Unity, which has been held since 2010 in all Hungarian Reformed communities on the Sunday closest to 22 May.

This leitmotif was officially articulated in 2010, when, on the initiative of the election winner right-wing parties, the Parliament declared 4 June the Day of National Unity on the occasion of the jubilee of the Peace Treaty of Trianon on 31 May 2010. In reaction to it, on the occasion of the 90th anniversary of the Treaty of Trianon, the Synod of the Reformed Church in Hungary and the General Convent[48] responded to

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[46] KÓSA, László (2009): A református azonosságtudat mai kérdései. In: Kósa, László (ed.): *Tartozni valahová. Cikkek, előadások a protestantizmusról és a református azonosságtudatról.* Cluj-Napoca, Koinónia. 172–194.

[47] HÖRCSIK, Richárd: Napirend utáni felszólalás. 214. ülésnap (2009.05.26.), 80. felszólalás. http://www.mkogy.hu/internet/plsql/ogy_naplo.naplo_fadat?p_ckl=38&p_uln=214&p_felsz=80 &p_szoveg=&p_felszig=80 (last accessed: 23.01.2020).

[48] The governing body of the Reformed Church in Hungary, i.e. of the united church districts in the Carpathian Basin.

the establishment of the new Day of National Unity and the publication of the law on double citizenship, issuing three statements at the same time, in which it formulated the new interpretation of the events woven in subtle hints. In these statements, the aforementioned bodies did nothing more than emphasize the temporal relationship between the declarations of the Day of Reformed Unity and the Day of National Unity, referring to the ideas of the Catechism already discussed.

Summarizing these statements in 2011, Synodal Councillor Zoltán Tarr explained in an interview conducted by myself:

> "The most successful achievement of the response of the Hungarians and the Hungarian Reformed to Trianon is the Hungarian Reformed Church established with a constitution solemnly adopted on 22 May 2009. The creation of the Reformed unity in the Carpathian Basin, its process, and the celebration were an occasion where, in my opinion, we settled the whole issue in an exemplary way for society. Rendering it unambiguous is not about irredentism or the heating up of any territorial claims but rather about experiencing a spiritual cohesion that has not disappeared in 92 years, which is the indisputable merit of both the Reformed and the nation."

The example set by Tarr and reflected in the declarations would become one of the most important identity programmes related to the unity of the Reformed in the following years. This is not a moral example but a redefinition of the old element of the Reformed identity, which has also undergone many transformations, which, as we have seen, connects the Reformed with the idea of social progress and progression in the context of modernity. Basically, Rákosi explores this connection in his criticism of the Reformed Church quoted above and, addressing this connection, seeks to use the church for his own purposes. The question of progress, that is, whether the Reformed Church can provide forward-looking answers to the questions of Hungarian society, was raised much earlier. One of its most important wordings is given by Dezső Szabó in his 1913 article on the problem of Hungarian Protestantism in the periodical *Nyugat*.[49] Nevertheless, the root of the idea of progress is to be found in Reformed theology and the resulting life-management practice. According to Reformed theology, the individuals'

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[49] SZABÓ, Dezső (1913): A magyar protestantizmus problémája. In: *Nyugat* 6, 14. 118–121.

task is to live in the glory of God in this world, which means that in all their activities they must promote God's will, that is, His laws, in the world. This idea entails the world- and society-shaping activity of the post-Calvinist Protestants since, for example, the enforcement of divine laws means using the forces and processes of nature in accordance with their divine purpose and actively contributing to the fulfilment of those purposes. This theological idea is important not only because it can provide a basis for the natural law argument above but also because it can be used to "rehabilitate" an element of progress that was devalued during the communist period.

Considering this redefinition, the aim of progress is not to serve "Western progress" or any political force, that is – in contrast to the processes of the 19th century –, not to sacralize a non-religious goal and introduce it into the religious realm but to create a society, a people, a nation that can achieve the purpose defined by the divine order, which in this case is nothing else but the service of peace and reconciliation.[50] That is why, later, just as the jubilee of the Reformation was imminent, the chosen motto of the church became the formulation of Apostle Paul's own mission: "We are therefore Christ's ambassadors, as though God were making his appeal through us. We implore you on Christ's behalf: Be reconciled to God." (2Cor 5:20), and for the very same reason, in the years following 2009, one of the most important programmes of the Reformed Church was the series of social initiatives called *Szeretethíd* [Bridge of Love].

This is how we finally reach the ten-year anniversary celebration of the Reformed Unity, whose speaker, Gergely Gulyás, the Minister in charge of the Prime Minister's Office, confirms and legitimates this new Reformed identity programme with a positive feedback in his speech delivered at the Great Church of Debrecen:

> "If we consider that 10 years ago the Reformed Church was the first to mark the way, we can be especially proud that the Hungarian state followed its example. One year later, an amendment to the Citizenship Law was made, which made it possible for Hungarians living outside our borders to acquire citizenship. Thus, the unity that was established in the Reformed Church a decade ago could be established for the Hungarian nation in the sense of public law by acquiring citizenship.

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[50] We cannot enter into details regarding this issue, but it is still important to mention that this pacifier narrative is in a close connection with the role of the mediating and conciliating "bridge" of the Hungarians in connection with the post-Trianon discourse, too.

The way and direction were thus marked by the Reformed Church, and the state followed the church."[51]

I am hopeful that the examples above provided a clear picture of how the history of a community's identity has evolved, how the content and interpretation of its basic identity elements have changed in the last century, and how the community was still trying to preserve continuity in its reflective process of change in the communication between the community and society. To summarize, the very roughly outlined story is a good example of Assman's idea inspired by Halbwachs, according to which only those past events are relevant which have a referential context in the present.[52] In this case, however, the peculiarity is that, for example, the reference to democracy, democratic tradition, primarily for the purpose of legitimacy, points to an "empty set" that needs to be filled with concrete content either if we examine the interpretation of the concept of democracy or what exactly the agents refer to from the Reformed historical legacy, but providing it with content depends on the specific social environment and the current discourse in which the legitimacy value of the reference to democracy is constituted. That is, these communication scenes are frameworks that allow the past and the present to be framed at the same time, as Halbwachs writes: these are "tools with which collective memory produces an image of the past that is in line with the dominant ideas of society throughout the ages",[53] rightly paralleled by Assmann with Erving Goffman's idea.

But these "empty sets" may be important in other contexts as well. As basic elements of community identity, they are actually symbolic. The signifier is the one visible, perceptible –although in a variable manner from scene to scene – and which essentially ensures the continuity of identity, creating it. On the other hand, the signified is shaped by the community using the symbol as well as its members authorized in this respect, being drawn from the material of community memory, in the process of discourses in which they reflect the current situation, legitimacy, etc. of the community. The symbol thus reshaped then functions as a specific competence for members of the community in resolving everyday problems. Thus, for example, elements of the Reformed

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[51] GULYÁS, Gergely: *A Magyarországi Református Egyház újra egyesülésének 10. évfordulóján.* https://gulyasgergely.hu/aktualis/post/68 (last accessed: 24.01z.2020)-
[52] ASSMANN, Jan (1999): *A kulturális emlékezet.* Budapest, Atlantisz. 37.
[53] HALBWACHS, Maurice (2018): *Az emlékezet társadalmi keretei.* Budapest, Atlantisz. 10.

denominational identity that appear to have undergone centuries of change, or at least changes during several historical ages, such as democratic thinking, may emerge, and this may provide excellent evidence that the church has preserved its identity in the storms of history. More specifically, however, these elements often bear little resemblance to their previous or future "selves".

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POPESCU Ionuț Mihai[1]:

Individual and Collective Identity between 1918 and 2018[2]

Abstract.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, nationality was the most important element of collective identity, but it already heralded an era of decline of this collective identity. The assertion of the individual and of their rights as well as the disappearance of the seduction exercised by the great ideals brought two great challenges: *What is the principle of solidarity (collective identity) according to which a community is organized? How can societies with a diluted collective identity meet non-conflictingly with those with a strong collective identity?* The answers are still to be discovered; we only have reference points. What we can say for sure is that it is very tempting to revert to the former strong collective identity, but it only generates bigger issues than the ones it seems to solve. We consider that the care for the only available world, the reflective assumption of options of collective identity that were previously self-evident, the cultivation of "capillary" ties between individuals with different collective identities and defining a public space meant to develop the specificity of the individual, without breaking the solidarity of the community, are among the landmarks that indicate the direction of the answers to the challenges mentioned above.

Keywords: individual, modernity, collective identity, hyper consumption, leaving modernity.

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Introduction

This paper is a reflection on the changes of the individual and of society as a result of a shift in the relationship between the collective and the individual component in personal identity within the last century. We used as references Zygmunt Bauman's view of postmodern ethics, Gilles Lipovetsky's perspective on consumer society, Charles Taylor's outlook of the individual, Daniel Dagenais's analysis of the transformation and of the end of the modern family, and Nicholas Taleb Nassim's perspective on change and fragility.

The premise we start from is that the identity of each person has a collective and an individual component. The collective component is given by the different groups to which we belong (family, nation, religion, profession), while the individual component is given by its own way of expressing and integrating the diversity of events. In traditional societies, the collective component was overwhelming, sons and daughters took over the parents' occupations, and this determined everything. The individual, as it is defined today, did not really exist, and his/her possibilities of choice were very limited; even the choice of the spouse, which today is exclusively personal, was determined by the position in the community of the future bride and groom.

The thesis we support is that in the relationship between collective and individual identity is one of the important issues of the West and that resolving this tension will provide the benchmarks for two extraordinary challenges: confronting the meaninglessness of its own citizens and confronting societies with a strong collective identity.

Affirmation of Individual Identity

In antiquity and the Middle Ages, collective identity was almost the only identity of man. The source of this identity was, after all, the divine. The world order here was legitimized by an extramundane order. It has the claim of universality and thus becomes exclusive. Therefore, the ones who are different must obey or be eliminated. Perhaps the most important challenge of modernity has been to allow the peaceful coexistence of individuals with different faiths. The reason was the answer to this challenge, an intramundane but ultra-subjective (human) court, since its laws do not depend on the subjects in which it manifests itself.

Individualization and rationality provided the principle of solidarity in modernity, the beginning of which also meant the beginning of societies made up of individuals with an identity independent of the conditions of tradition, social hierarchy, etc. Classical modernity (17th century–20th century) favoured both personal individualization and that of nation-states,[3] the two entities strengthening each other. The nation-state was the main source of collective identity, national affiliation remained out of the question, and social identity determined the role of the individual. Transfers between classes were rare; the individual had to play the role in which society distributed him/her even if his/her freedom within this role was much greater than that of a mediaeval peasant or craftsman.

Following the transition from classical modernity to postmodernity, the capacity of institutions to provide identity landmarks decreases. Institutions of any kind, from the nation-state to trade unions or the family, lose their influence, which had only been partially recovered by the new institutions (multinational economic corporations and superstate political structures). Uncertainty is even greater in the former communist countries, where the circumstantial transition from communism (where institutions ensured a very strong collective identity) to democracy is added to the trending transition from classical modernity to postmodernity.

In modernity, the individual endowed with reason sets the world in motion, progress becomes the law of new times, and reason provides the individual with the universality necessary to overcome traditional peculiarities. The other authorities are discredited, the physical and social worlds can be explained with the help of reason, and outside of them there is only ignorance and superstition. Religion is accepted and recognized because it helps to balance the individual and society, but it is an attitude already outdated, useful only to those who have not emancipated themselves in their time. Divinity is a premise that the modern world can do without. Cohesion is ensured in the *public space*, the conceptual meeting place of the citizens, and the norms of the community are exclusively rational.

Reason, although it follows the truth, leads to violence. The violence of reason derives from the claim of a part to be the whole, from the claim of reason to be the whole reality. Romanticism reacted to this claim and sought authenticity and harmony in the discredited areas of existence (the imaginary, the unconscious, even the absurd),

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[3] In this context, the state resembles an individual.

in search of a better relationship with otherness, but the relativization of all landmarks definitely compromised the idea of basis. The foundation of a community and its meaning are arbitrary from now on. The only one who can arbitrate something is the individual, but his/her authority is fragile and questionable. Is it, therefore, legitimate to ask *to what extent can the individual rely on him-/herself and the rules of society?*

In *The Ethics of Authenticity*,[4] Charles Taylor identified three major anxieties that the individual of Western societies must face: individualism, the rule of instrumental reason, and the impersonality of social organization. The three are linked and begin with the emancipation of man from the roles and moral obligations that society imposes on him/her, with the liberation of the individual from the "great chain of being"[5] in which humans had their place, which will lead him/her to concentrate on the self. What seemed like liberation turns out to be loneliness, the great ideals are emptied of meaning, and man loses touch with nature, which, if it has nothing sacred, becomes only a material resource. The long-term consequence is its destruction and the flattening of individual life under the rule of instrumental reason. Market laws and the bureaucratic state tend to spread everywhere. Civil rights and individual initiatives should balance these tendencies, but, as Tocqueville pointed out, people have a relatively easy tendency to be dominated by a large, anonymous power, and thus people become powerless in the face of the Leviathan state.

Why has the expected liberation become loneliness and submission? – because the initial liberation was set in motion by a moral ideal of authenticity, but the freedom gained is now manifested in an unfavourable environment, neutral liberalism, a liberalism that refuses attachment to a moral ideal although liberalism is the result of such an ideal. For today's Western society, the problem is not that the individual does not sacrifice his/her interests for the community but that there is a contradiction between the individual's desire to assert him-/herself and the interests of the group.

Taylor believes that tension arises from changes in the way the individual understood him-/herself. At the beginning, the individual asserted him-/herself out of the desire for authenticity, out of a moral ideal, and therefore an ideal that takes community

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4 TAYLOR, Charles (2003): *The Ethics of Authenticity*. Harvard University Press.

5 The expression quoted by Taylor describes a hierarchical and rational universe, which lent its name to a book written by Arthur O. Lovejoy, in which the link between the image of a physical universe and of the metaphysical perception of the world is shown.

into account. Today, however, it asserts itself in a deviant form, that of the individual who no longer recognizes the legitimacy of the demands that others have on him/her and who is unable to recognize a reality more important than him-/herself.

> "The worry has been repeatedly expressed that the individual lost something important along with the larger social and cosmic horizons of action. [...] In other words, the dark side of individualism is a centring on the self, which both flattens and narrows our lives, makes them poorer in meaning, and less concerned with others or society. This worry has recently surfaced again in concern at the fruits of a 'permissive society,' the doings of the 'me generation,' or the prevalence of 'narcissism,' to take just three of the best-known contemporary formulations. The sense that lives have been flattened and narrowed, and that this is connected to an abnormal and regrettable self-absorption, has returned in forms specific to contemporary culture."[6]

Exaggerated individualism, the rule of instrumental reason, the atomization of society and the submission of the individual to the Leviathan state are inevitable risks of modernity that we cannot avoid by a method that makes them impossible but by realizing that they are a path along which the individual will lose both his/her authenticity and the openness of the community. The solution would be to take responsibility for the uncertainty and discomfort due to a state of permanent discernment in order to remain an individual attached to the community and in order to acknowledge that nature is a man's home. Another solution would be not to surrender to the comfort of allegiance to the Leviathan state. This permanent struggle is the very condition of the culture of authenticity in which nothing is won for good, only this battle.

When the individual got too close to selfishness, society reacted with a nostalgia for the old period of collective identity imposed by an external court. Authenticity, nonetheless, remains an attractive ideal that leads to evolution but also to tension. Destructuring communities or families is a consequence of this tension, which is often unacknowledged or not assumed. A continuous struggle may be both the problem and the solution because freedom (the main gain of this period) implies the permanent possibility of the wrong choice; so, the best option is to exercise judgment:

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6   TAYLOR, Charles (2003): *The Ethics of Authenticity*. Harvard University Press. 3–4.

"The nature of a free society is that it will always be the locus of a struggle between higher and lower forms of freedom. Neither side can abolish the other, but the line can be moved, never definitively but at least for some people for some time, one way or the other. Through social action, political change, and winning hearts and minds, the better forms can gain ground, at least for a while. In a sense, a genuinely free society can take as its self-description the slogan put forward in quite another sense by revolutionary movements like the Italian Red Brigades: 'la lotta continua,' the struggle goes on in fact, forever."[7]

The Individual à la carte and Consumer Happiness

The constant struggle is a requirement that few comply with, most of them following the paths that seem safer even if they lead nowhere. After the fall into obsolescence of the rational and disciplined modern age, personal fulfilment remained the only motivation that mobilizes the individual. Yet, it does not manifest itself by increased care towards building a character but by a hedonistic aesthetic and in a consumer society by increasing choices of the products or of the services that we purchase. Identity is built by belonging to different micro-groups, and personal fulfilment becomes equivalent to individualizing consumption, from specific products to therapies, meeting groups, or personalized diets. Attention to the "I" corresponds to a neglect of public space and transcendent values. The result is, however, not the expected one, a stronger self. By looking only after oneself, receiving a very large flow of information, without a communication with the other, the self becomes more hesitant. Neglecting the external otherness leads to the formation of an inner otherness, and thus there occurs a break between the conscious and the unconscious. The disappearance of major points of reference also leads to an increase in the importance of everyday events and of secondary options. In addition, concern for self-security leads to a decrease or to softer forms of violence, but the self feels more and more vulnerable and threatened, not so much by unpleasant events as by the possibility of them happening: "insecurity is the inescapable equivalent of an unbalanced and disarmed individual who amplifies all risks, an individual obsessed with his personal problems […], traumatized by a sort of violence s/he knows nothing about".[8]

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[7] TAYLOR 2003, 78.
[8] LIPOVETSKY, Gilles (2007): *Fericirea paradoxală.* Iaşi, Polirom. 288. The translations of all non-English quotations are my own throughout the article.

Myths coexist non-violently in a highly individualized society in which even mythologies are personalized. With the sphere of influence reduced to an individual or to a micro-group, myths no longer generate violence because that would need a social space to take place, a space that is now neglected. The worlds that I propose and which I support do not need to be grounded in cosmogonies that apply to the entire universe. In fact, the universe of the individual is shrinking, and what is beyond it is no longer of interest. Moreover, this personalized "mini-universe" loses its consistency, just like the individual who inhabits it: "The process of personalization […] favours abnormal behaviours, indifferent to the principle of reality […] in line with the dominant narcissism and its correlate, the real transformed into an unreal show, a display of shallow exhibition […]. As a consequence of the decommissioning of the great social ends and of the primacy given to the present, the neo-narcissist is a vague personality, deprived of inner structure and of will."[9]

The solution is based on the following reasoning: if reality is where conflicts occur, then it must be relativized until its consistency disappears. Thus, no one will invest power to impose their formula, i.e. violence, in a reality the importance of which does not go beyond the action area of a micro-group.

The freedom of superficial identity is based, however, on two opposing attitudes of modernity. On the one hand, it can be applied only in economically developed societies, and this is possible only through the efficiency of rational techno-science. On the other hand, it needs the relaxation and relativism allowed after the romantic rehabilitation of non-rational areas of existence. They would ensure the re-enchantment of the world so that the individual of optional identity can benefit from the advantages of the rational attitude towards the world and feel at peace with the cosmos without questioning the incompatibility between the exploitation of reason and the existence of a cosmos. Superficial attitude is not necessarily the expression of a weaker individual. Zygmunt Bauman believes that in postmodernity individuals manage to cope in such a fragmented and mixed-up world that the great principles confuse rather than help and chain rather than release:

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[9] Op. cit. 298.

"Human reality is confusing and ambiguous and so moral decisions, unlike abstract principles, are ambivalent. This is the kind of world we must live in and yet, as if to challenge the worried philosophers who cannot conceive morality without principles, a morality without basis, we demonstrate day by day or we learn to live and we manage to live in such a world although few of us are prepared to answer, if asked, what principles guide us, and even fewer of us have heard of the 'basics' without which, apparently, we cannot manage to be good to one another."[10]

Bauman's perspective is optimistic; he trusts individuals and their morals that would manifest themselves even in the absence of a code of ethics. At the basis of this morality, there is a moral impulse that makes us look after *the other, our brother*, who, following Levinas, is prior to the subject because the subject itself is constituted by this impulse. Morality would thus precede ontology, so what gives the individual a sense in caring for their peer. However, this impulse may be lacking. Cain, who did not consider himself his brother's guardian, also lacked it, and this is why he killed him. If the individual does acts of morality in the absence of ethical codes, s/he will not be determined by a constitutive moral impulse of the subject but by the emotions and interests of the postmodern individual, argues Gilles Lipovetsky in *Le Crépuscule du devoir. L'éthique indolore des nouvelles temps démocratiques*,[11] where he argues in favour of the persistence of a moral behaviour even in the absence of a conscience of duty. The moral order is less and less influential. Nevertheless, chaos is absent but the motivations of our actions change. It is not duty to the other or to society but soft individualism. Good deeds are done for the pleasure of the individual (acts of charity are no longer done out of duty but for the sake of well-being of the individual). A kind of unconscious ideal connects the fulfilment of the individual with that of the community in the family and in society. What drives the behaviour of the individual is the hedonism accessible to all in the consumer society. The individual is set in motion by seduction, which regulates consumption, information, education, and morals. *Á la carte* seduction sets society in motion and reshapes it according to "a systematic process of customization whose work consists, in essence, in multiplying and diversifying the offer, in proposing you a huge variety of

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[10] BAUMAN, Zygmunt (2000): *Etica postmodernă*. Timisoara, Amarcord. 37–42.
[11] Paris, Gallimard, 1992.

offers [individual consumers] and in thus making you take more buying decisions [...] Life without a categorical imperative, kit life[12] modulated according to individual needs [...] of independent formulas that the unlimited offer makes possible, this is how seduction works."[13]

The result is maximum individualism conditioned by the dissolution of the bonds between the individual and the community, dissolution felt as liberation. But this liberation is only illusionary insofar as the individual integrates into a crowd as an atom, not as an individual.

> "Far from being an agent of mystification and passivity, seduction is a *destruction tool* of the social through a process of isolation that is no longer administered by brute force or regulatory framework but by hedonism, information, and accountability. [...] The postmodern phase of socialization, the process of personalization is a new type of social control [s.n.], free of the cumbersome processes of massification –reification– repression. Integration is accomplished through persuasion, invoking health, security, and rationality."[14]

Personalization set in motion by hedonism leads to an individual different from the modern one: instead of the subject that is built through education and observance of categorical imperatives, instead of the citizen subject of the social contract, *Narcissus* appears: the individual who identifies with his/her body and psyche. The relativization of landmarks does not weaken the need for authenticity so that the individual body and psyche are the only legitimate, authentic providers of identity. They will bear the burden of identity, bodies will be tattooed, stripped or "sculpted" to express personality, and the psyche will be probed and subject to experiments in search of deep layers and experiences that correspond to them. The finality of the public space also changes together with the individual. It is no longer a place for debate and decision, but it becomes a stage for expressing personality. The *audience* is no longer represented by

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[12] *La vie kit* – in the original; it refers to life assembled from different parts, as a user makes a computer or furniture from the various parts that are on the market so as to be as close as possible to his preferences (*our note, IMP*).

[13] LIPOVETSKY, Gilles (1983): *L'ere du vide*. Paris, Gallimard. 27.

[14] Ibid.

the peers as a universal instance of individual rationality[15] but the citizens of the show society in which everyone is both protagonist and spectator. However, it is a passive protagonist as the identity is expressed through customized choices from a list of options already given. Postmodernity becomes hypermodernity, and the citizen becomes hyper-consumer. Consumption no longer satisfies only material needs, as it is the case of the classical consumer society, but also the spiritual needs of personal fulfilment and happiness. In hypermodernity, art, wisdom, and ways of life become commodities, and citizen participation in public life no longer means participation in politics and economics unless the latter increase trade.

The dominance of *media* and *advertising* makes the hyper-consumer have a different reflexivity compared to the modern one. In addition to the loss of the connection between the process of knowledge transmission and character formation diagnosed by Lyotard,[16] the establishment of hyper-consumption comes with its own influences.

The reflexivity of a subject whose identity is constructed by seeking originality in consumption options is different from that of the subject which is formed following a model and rules that help it to internalize external rules. Superficial identity involves a lot of information, the hierarchy of criteria, and the comparison of products, which require a high degree of reflexivity given that even sexual affiliation or lifestyle can be chosen. However, being related almost exclusively to consumption, reflexivity is determined almost entirely by advertising, which, naturally, has purposes external to individuality.

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[15] In his answer to the question *What is Enlightenment?*, Kant said that enlightenment needs only the most innocuous freedom, that of public use of reason, best illustrated by the scientist who exposes his/her ideas to the public (as opposed to the private use of reason exemplified by an officer or clerk who has placed him-/herself in the service of a hierarchical institution with an already determined purpose). "The public use of man's reason must always be free, and it alone can bring about enlightenment among men; the private use of reason may quite often be very narrowly restricted, however, without undue hindrance to the progress of enlightenment. But by the public use of one's own reason I mean that use which anyone may make of it as a man of learning addressing the entire reading public. What I term the private use of reason is that which a person may make of it in a particular civil post or office with which he is entrusted." (https://web.cn.edu/kwheeler/documents/what_is_enlightenment.pdf; accessed on: 25 September 2018).

[16] LYOTARD, Jean-François (1979): *La Condition postmoderne: rapport sur le savoir*. Paris, Les Éditions de Minuit.

If something makes sense only because it enters the desire–consumption chain, if anything can eventually become a commodity, then you can buy the finished product in areas that until then could only be reached by going through certain stages: wisdom is bought in books with formulas and examples, the talent of negotiation is obtained from a book that convincingly presents rules of negotiation, and happiness is easily achieved by mastering principles that help the individual to reach authenticity and self-harmony with the world.

The past is present in the current options only through a kind of capillarity of desire, thus being too little part of *à la carte* identity, an interference of the actual authenticity.

Focusing exclusively on the end result together with the pressure of advertising has much greater influences on children to whom advertising is addressed as adults with the discernment already formed. Consumer society and unrestricted education for children form a system. One of the effects of this education is that children lack the necessary rules for mental structuring and for the formation of reflexivity.

What is left of the spiritual relating of an individual whose reflexivity lacks a collective identity from which to distance him-/herself and in which to include him-/herself, deprived of the dimension of history and the slow speed of becoming mature? The relation to the sacred, as it is codified in the great religions, is incompatible with the society of hyper-consumption. The revival of religious movements is determined by contact with civilizations with lower secularization rates or is a response to new market conditions. From a religion of salvation in the afterlife, Christianity has become an activity for good living in the world here. Hyper-consumerism did not mean the death of Christianity but the instrument of its adaptation to hedonism. The trade with pilgrimages and religious objects is growing as people need the external confirmation of some meanings that they no longer have within. What gives power to religion is no longer God but its ability to provide well-being. The depravity of the world or the breaking up the whole is not a concern for the individual in a world that no longer integrates into a whole; for him/her, life and his/her own identity are like a *jigsaw puzzle* with pieces that constantly need readjustment. This is the only situation that the society of generalized consumption allows.

For the beginnings of modernity, happiness was synonymous with progress. Discrediting progress confuses the postmodern citizen who no longer knows where to

look for happiness. "As soon as man gets rid of community obligations, his/her systematic concern for happiness can only make his/her existence problematic and unsatisfactory –this is the destiny of the socially independent individual who, without collective and religious support, faces the trials of life alone and unarmed."[17]

The solution remains consumption, hyper-consumption being the only way of life that the West can offer and which will not be interrupted by the outcasts who challenge it because it is too strong and because there is nothing else to put in its place. In order to be changed, other stronger interests are needed, but they are not yet visible.

Hyperconsumption does not mean that man will limit him-/herself and will only want to live for comfort. Lipovetsky has two arguments for this reassuring conclusion: the developing sciences that require rigour and self-transcendence and the fact that open society favours creation, innovation that at some point will manifest itself through ways other than consumption.

The Disintegration of the Modern Family

Family transformations, as presented by Daniel Dagenais,[18] are a good example of changing the relationship between collective and individual identity. The family today refers to so many situations that we can no longer speak of a single family model. According to the Canadian sociologist, the de-structuring of the modern family model began in the 1960s when the family was denounced as a trap through which impersonal society uses the individual, luring him/her with marital happiness so that s/he can dedicate his/her energies to perpetuating society. In order to find his/her freedom and to find him-/herself, the individual annuls the legal and social conventions of the family, but through this s/he him-/herself suffers an identity crisis because these regulations were part of his/her identity. Man does not have a Nature that would grant him authenticity in the absence of Culture, i.e. of the norms created by him, but which also created him.

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[17] LIPOVETSKY 2007, 296.
[18] DAGENAIS, Daniel (2000): *La fin de la famille moderne – significations et transformations de la famille moderne*, Presse de l'Université Laval.

"There is a *sui generis* modernity of the family, an integral part of Western modernity [...]. The universalization of identity (not just the simple empowerment of the person), a true ideational agent of modernity reshaped the whole family in all its aspects. Neither the intensity of the subject's amorous investments nor the reorganization of gender relations and parental roles nor the importance acquired by the child's education can be explained by the autonomous desires of the individual who would aim, virtually, to free him-/herself from any contingency. But because it is this dynamic of the West that has reshaped the family, it means that the current transformations imply the end of modernity.

Because these changes have such deep roots, one cannot hope that once 'liberated' from modern legal fictions Man will return to his own feet, renewing, so to speak, his true anthropological foundation. Maybe legal fictions are constructed, maybe family deeds are cultural and therefore variable, yet Man's being is related to them, is supported by these social forms in such a way that when they collapse, Man has no Nature to lean on, and then everything becomes possible.

[...] It seems that modern fiction is deeply rooted in people's identities as well as its deconstruction [of fiction]."[19]

The man with a universal identity is the ideal that has guided the formation and development of the modern family for two centuries. The child's future is no longer linked to a social environment that has decided his/her profession, but it stems from the universal identity of the individual. The family free from its economic and social functions aims to raise children who will leave it to start other families. It is re-established with each generation, starting from the parents, who have equal roles.

The mainstream in sociology and humanities in general considers that the disintegration of the nuclear family is a continuation of the process of modernity, of the liberation of the individual from collective ties and identities. Dagenais believes that the modern family is in solidarity with modernity and with the individual that it has produced (the subject).[20] This is seen in the differences between courtly love and modern love. The mediaeval knight loved the qualities of the Woman in general in a concrete

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[19] Op. cit. 13–14.

[20] Dagenais's book generated such strong reactions that the journal *Argument* of Quebec decided to dedicate him a whole dossier (http://www.revueargument.ca/dossier/31-autour-dun-livre-la-fin-de-la-famille-moderne-de-daniel-dagenais.html).

woman. The concrete woman in flesh and blood mattered only insofar as she embodied an archetype – this was the object of the knight's adoration. Modernity breaks away from this kind of love because modern identity is different, and no role completely exhausts a person's identity, s/he being always more than those social roles. "Subjectivity is the way of self-consciousness of a universal being condemned to be recognized in its public life only in a truncated form, depending on a certain role it plays."[21] Subjectivity is not the personal part that s/he leaves at home when s/he goes to work or the irrational or sentimental part of a being that is rational in social relations; subjectivity is not found as a bearer of universal qualities or as a possessor of goods but expresses itself through them. Subjectivity occurs through all social roles, without entirely existing in one, so reflexivity is needed in order to understand and to hold these roles together. The modern subject composes all its facets in a personality that, however, no one recognizes as such, not even the parents – they see in the child only their work; they see in general what society sees. It will take the delicacy of love for a subject to be confirmed by another individual.

What is specific to modernity is that recognition is demanded and offered by subjectivity. The universality of man makes the identity of each man more abstract, only in love does he have a specific recognition, a special identity. Love becomes the maker of the world in the sense that the two constitute a world. Although there was a long conflict between modernity and the church, the latter exerted an important influence in the formation of the modern family by emphasizing the consent of the spouses and the transformation of relations between men and women through their spiritualization. In Puritan families in America, love was a condition of marriage because God told the man to love his wife.

> "First of all, we cannot claim that the religious investment of the conjugal sphere would have served in the end only to prepare the ground for the establishment of romantic love, the only form of modern love. Love marriage is not the emancipation of religious marriage, especially since love is comprehensible starting only from the category of autonomous individual."[22]

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[21] DAGENAIS 2000, 156.
[22] Op. cit. 175.

The Canadian sociologist's conclusion is that the changes of the classical modern family are not a transformation in the line of democratization of family roles (parents/children) or gender roles but represent a de-structuring that contradicts an essential feature of the modern family, subjectivity, that has taken on a role (male or female) in common life. Taking on a gender role means accepting one's own incompleteness and openness to one world only next to another, the man towards the woman and the woman towards the man, being both something similar and something different.

> "Being a man or a woman means accepting oneself in the depths of one's being. A world cannot be made up of oneself. The reverse of generic identity or its scope is, therefore, an immediate commitment to the world. From the archaic division of the cosmos according to a masculine and a feminine principle to the parenting of genders in modern society, one finds the same commitment to being oneself in a way that does not concern oneself but the world to continue."[23]

The rejection of gender roles will lead to the rejection of the world; the demographic decline actually expresses the distrust of adults in the world in which they live.

According to this perception, the family model is linked to the model of society, and the great changes of the modern family actually show us that society has changed:

> "We can call 'individualism' the force at work in today's world. But this individualism is radically different from the properly modern individualism which gave birth to a whole world. From this point of view, it is clear that modernity has prompted a characteristic type of family, irreducible to any maintenance of traditional mores: the educational family focused on the formation of the modern man, polarizing for this purpose relations between men and women. It is thus clear that contemporary practices must be understood as breaking away from this societal model."[24]

Dagenais too, just like Taylor, speaks of two types of individualism, modern individualism itself and today's individualism. The two differ depending on the attitude towards the gender role. The classical individual accepts it, thus assuming an external

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[23] Op. cit. 249.
[24] Op. cit. 252.

constraint in his/her identity, an otherness that does not alter him/her and due to which s/he keeps both his/her reflexivity and his/her openness to the world. When the individual rejects the assumption of the collective identity of gender, it means that society has changed well enough for the modern family to no longer have social support.

Novelty and "Narrative Error"

Both Dagenais and Taylor describe contemporary Western society as set in motion by a different individualism from classical modernism, a deviant individualism that would not ensure the coagulation of society or the autonomy of the individual. They both believe that a return to pre-modern positions of collective identity or even classical modernity is not a solution and that, in the end, the identity of tomorrow's individual and the rules of tomorrow's society cannot be configured now. Both relate only to Western civilization, ignoring societies in which the collective identity is very strong such as the Chinese or the Islamic ones. The collective identity of religion or nationality is increasingly diluted in the secularized and democratic states of Europe. At the same time, though, individual identities are becoming increasingly fragile and more and more attracted to societies with strong collective identities, from outside Europe and America or from their past.

A war that reconfigured Europe ended a century ago, but the political and geographical reconfiguration was the consequence of the reconfiguration of the relationship between the individual and the collective component of the individual's identity. Before the war, many of the most learned people were convinced that they lived in an almost perfectly organized world and did not understand those who wanted to change it; just as many were convinced that they lived in one of the most unjust worlds and did not understand those who wanted to keep it that way. The causes of the transformation of societies are often noticed only from the perspective of history; contemporaries do not notice them although they experience them.

In his book *The Black Swan*,[25] N. N. Taleb describes how we become narrow-minded when new elements appear in our experiences. He also describes our stubbornness to treat the future as a repetition of the past and the tensions that arise when reality

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[25] TALEB, Nassim Nicholas (2010): *The Black Swan*. New York. Random House.

has changed, but we continue to think and act according to the old views of the world. The Black Swan is a metaphor for a very unlikely event but with major consequences, an event that we could theoretically have known but which we ignore because our general perception of the world and life (*Weltanschauung*) differs from reality. This conception is, in fact, a narrative that integrates all the situations and events of an individual or a community. It is usually built on experiences and is vulnerable to new or forgotten experiences. When this conception consists of principles derived from theories, the risk of mismatch with the real world increases, and then unexpected events with major consequences occur.

Causality is not synonymous with determinism in all our activities because Luck or Bad Luck is very present. The causes that determine our current state or the results of our activities depend very much on Chance, but we tend to establish a direct proportionality between the "inputs" of an action (effort, skill, morality, etc.) and its "results", leaving us so easily caught up in the stories that put them all together that we systematically ignore the intervention of the *unlikely* which turns everything upside down.

This *unlikeliness* would be predictable if we set out to see only causal links; if at some point the configuration we have made about the world no longer fits the world, we keep the configuration with the help of the Platonic fold, a fold that covers the place where the image of the world and the world itself no longer fit.

> "Platonicity is what makes us think that we understand more than we actually do. But this does not happen everywhere. I am not saying that Platonic forms don't exist. Models and constructions, these intellectual maps of reality, are not always wrong; they are wrong only in some specific applications. The difficulty is that a) you do not know beforehand (only after the fact) where the map will be wrong, and b) the mistakes can lead to severe consequences. These models are like potentially helpful medicines that carry random but very severe side effects.
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> The Platonic fold is the explosive boundary where the Platonic mind-set enters in contact with messy reality, where the gap between what you know and what you think you know becomes dangerously wide. It is here that the Black Swan is produced."[26]

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[26] TALEB 2010, 24.

The Platonicity to which the author made reference is a "disease" insofar as we consider our idea of the world to be truer than the world itself, which leads us to ignore the world and the facts in it. This does not mean that the world would not have a spiritual foundation, that there would be no deeper, more subtle causality in which the Spirit is, of course, a source of free random decisions: "Randomness, in practice, is what we don't know; to invoke randomness is to plead ignorance."[27]

We live with the help of narratives, with a general conception of the world and life that gives meaning to all lived or imagined events, which captures them all in one inevitably reductive story. When experience goes beyond the story, we should adapt our story, but we usually do not because the story makes us oblivious to the new, and in addition we consider that changing the story would be the loss of previous experience and identity. The narrative of modernity is linked to the rational individual as the foundation of the rules of organization of society, a universal identity in which all individuals are found and which establishes common rules for all. In favour of this narrative linking democracy, liberalism, and rationality, Llosa wrote in *The Call of the Tribe*:

> "The 'Call of the Tribe' [...] is what Karl Popper calls the irrationalism of primitive beings that nestles in the most secret depths of all civilized people, who never completely overcame the nostalgia of that traditional world, the tribe, when man was still a part inseparable from the community, subordinated to the sorcerer or the almighty chief, who took all the decisions for him. In this world, he felt safe, free from responsibilities, obedient, just like the animal in the flock [...] or like the people in the crowd or group of similar beings, quiet among those who spoke the same language, worshiped the same gods and had the same habits, hating his fellow man, the different being over whom they could throw responsibility for all the calamities that befell the tribe. [...] In civilized countries, such as Great Britain, the call of the tribe is manifested especially by the great shows such as football matches or outdoor pop concerts performed in the 60s by the famous Beatles and Rolling Stones, when the individual disappeared swallowed by the crowd, a healthy and cathartic way to get rid of the daily servitudes of the citizen. But in some countries this call of the tribe, from which the democratic and liberal culture gradually freed us –ultimately rationality – had begun to reappear, at times, through terrible charismatic leaders because of whom the citizens become again the crowd submissive to a boss."[28]

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[27] TALEB Op. cit. 153.

[28] LLOSA, Mario Vargas (2019): *Chemarea tribului*. Bucharest, Humanitas Fiction.

However, this narrative is increasingly competing with narratives that emphasize either the individual (to the detriment of universality) or the collective identity (to the detriment of individuality). In the Western world, the individual challenges universality by refusing any uniformity on the one hand, while the individual leaves them seduced by narratives that emphasise the community on the other. Today's individual can be less and less found in the modern narrative. He can no longer return to the old narratives of collective identity, precisely because he will feel constrained by any solidarity imposed, although some individuals will be attracted, as by a mirage, by the security of unquestioned belonging to a community. He can no longer find new horizons because the precarious universality of modernity has already occupied the entire horizon.

Conclusions

The answers to questions such as: *What is the principle of solidarity (collective identity) according to which a community is organized? How can societies with a diluted collective identity meet non-conflictingly with those with a strong collective identity?* must not ignore the past, but they cannot rely solely on it. The brain is a machine of anticipation, and we make projections because we do not want to experience everything; we imagine some experiences, and in this way we "trick" evolution. We do not have to live all the experiences in order to benefit from the teachings of evolution. However, sometimes we are the ones being fooled because between our anticipation and reality there is the so-called Platonic fold. We put it aside every time we pay attention to the facts and when we train our minds not to fall for the comfort of the projections and causality created by it.

In today's world, collective identities no longer provide enough "reasons to live and hope",[29] and the void left by them is temporarily filled by the surrogate of consumer happiness, and the individual is too weak and too lonely to rebuild the web of meanings of the world. Happiness through consumption is not a new narrative in

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[29] Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World *Gaudium et spes*, Ch. II, pt. 31 (http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_const_19651207_gaudium-et-spes_en.html).

which people find themselves but an attitude that only a relatively small number of people identify with. The absence of the vertical transcendence of religion and of the horizontal pseudo-transcendence of progress justifies the question: what narrative could bring together both the universal identity of the individual and his/her belonging to a specific community? Concern for the only available world, the Earth, can be the starting point for a new integrative narrative. Consumption leads to the global deterioration of the living environment and, at least for the time being, neither waste recycling measures nor alternative technology nor international programmes can stop this deterioration; so, we all realize that we are a humanity because we have the same House, in the most proper sense of the word. When people realize that they can destroy their home not only by war or by accident but also by their lifestyles, a sort of solidarity is born and a new relationship with Nature in the presence of which new narratives can develop. This new narrative articulates the new relationships between individuality and collectivity, between public and private, between specific and universal, between natural and manufactured, and between real and virtual.

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Kiss Réka[1]:

Identity Building in the Hungarian Reformed Press in the First Half of the 20th Century. The Example of *Református Figyelő*[2]

Abstract.

In my study, I am examining a significant step in the history of the national Reformed press between the two world wars, i.e., the weekly paper *Református Figyelő* (1928–1933). It is well known that the interwar period which was also called a "religious renaissance" or the "period of the second confessionalization", is considered to be a period of renewal of religious and ecclesiastical life, deepening of faith and strengthening of denominational identity for each historical church.

My study approaches the issue of church press between the two world wars from the perspective of the process of community identity building of the Hungarian Reformed people. On the one hand, I am looking for an answer to how the content of the Reformed identity changed during the century, which were the defining phenomena, historical experiences that decisively influenced the Reformed self-awareness, which were its main problems, the central topics of church public discourse. On the other hand, my research focuses on the role of the ecclesiastical press in shaping public discourses, in building identity, the way its organizational background and internal system of relations developed.

Keywords: *religious ideintity, Reformed Church, interwar period, church press, Ravasz László.*

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"The history of the church press is the spiritual history of the Hungarian Reformed Church over the last three decades."[3] – quotes the early-1960 memoir of László Ravasz, the cross-denominationally influential Reformed leader of the interwar period, then bishop emeritus, set aside for political reasons. The bishop's words, as well as the well-known aphorism of the time that "if Apostle Paul lived today, he would be a journalist", illustrate the privileged role attributed to the modern ecclesiastical press in shaping church life, the increased expectations raised towards the denominational press by the church public opinion, which was reflecting upon its several possibilities. Nevertheless, the history of the Hungarian Reformed press is still scarcely elaborated in specialized literature. In his study on the first national Reformed press product, *Református Élet* (Reformed Life), Balázs Ablonczy rightly pointed out that the exploration of the Reformed press and the related institution-building experiments are a particularly neglected area[4] among many unknown aspects of the Reformed Church history. The richest material on the church press to this day can be found in István Kónya's 1967 book, which sharply criticized the Reformed Church of the interwar period, with an ideology that was already obsolete at the time of writing.[5] However, due to his selective approach and tendentious-ideological interpretation, his work is ill-suited to serve as a starting point for a modern press history review. The increasing number of church history studies have not since undertaken to present regular press history or content analysis although texts and sub-studies that expose some of the particular issues very well are already available.[6]

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[3] RAVASZ, László (1992): *Emlékezéseim* (edited and introduction by Endre Gyökössy). Budapest, Református Egyház Zsinati Irodájának Sajtóosztálya. 188.

[4] ABLONCZY, Balázs (2006): A Református Élet hetilap és a budapesti reformátusság (1934–1944). In: Kósa, László (ed.): *Reformátusok Budapesten. I.* Budapest, Argumentum. 1211–1229.

[5] Kónya, István (1967): *A magyar református egyház felső vezetésének politikai ideológiája a Horthy-korszakban*. Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó.

[6] ABLONCZY 2006. BRANDT, Juliane (1998): A protestánsok és a millennium (Felekezeti és nemzeti identitás a késő 19. század nemzeti ünnepeinek tükrében). *Századvég* 1998/11. 167–193. BRANDT, Juliane (2003): Felekezeti és nemzeti identitás a 19. századi Magyarországon: a protestáns egyházak. *Századvég* 2003/3. 57–93. HATOS, Pál (2005): A magyar protestantizmus és eszmei fordulata Tisza Istvántól Ravasz Lászlóig. *Múltunk* 2005/1. 89–117. GICZI, Zsolt (2009): A *katolikus-protestáns egyházi kapcsolatok fő vonásai a Horthy-korszak Magyarországán*. PhD dissertation. ELTE BTK Történelemtudományok Doktori Iskola, Budapest. NAGY, Károly Zsolt (2013): *Hová lett a református öntudat? A magyar református felekezeti identitás megújulásának néhány diskurzusáról.*

In line with a broader research project that is about to be launched, my study approaches the issue of church press between the two world wars from the perspective of the process of community identity building of the Hungarian Reformed people. On the one hand, I am looking for an answer as to how the content of the Reformed identity changed during the century, which were the defining phenomena, historical experiences that decisively influenced the Reformed self-awareness, and which were its main problems, the central topics of church public discourse. On the other hand, my research focuses on the role of the ecclesiastical press in shaping public discourses, in building identity, the way its organizational background and internal system of relations developed.

1. The Start and Development of Református Figyelő (Reformed Observer)

The present study examines a significant step in the history of the national Reformed press between the two world wars, i.e. the weekly paper *Református Figyelő* (1928–1933). The choice of topic and the choice of the source group are justified by several considerations. It is well known that the period between the two world wars, which was also called a "religious renaissance" or the "period of the second confessionalization", is considered to be a period of renewal of religious and ecclesiastical life, deepening of faith and strengthening of denominational identity for each historical church. In the Reformed Church, this attempt at renewal was born in response to a multifactorial crisis. Radical changes were forced by a combination of at least four factors.

a) First of all, we must refer to the well-known public historical and political events and cataclysms. The loss of the World War, the ensuing revolutions, and the trauma of the collapse of historical Hungary became a defining experience for an entire generation. The Hungarian Reformed Church experienced it as a particularly shocking fact that, barely a generation after its already belated organizational unification (1881), it

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PhD dissertation. Pécsi Tudományegyetem, Nyelvtudományi Doktori Iskola. RÉBAY, Magdolna (2003): A felekezeti kérdés az 1920-as, 1930-as évek fordulóján a Református Figyelő és a Magyar Kultúra írásaiban. *Kút* 2003/3–4. 165–175.

was scattered again in the successor states of the Trianon Treaty. As Pál Hatos exposed in a study, the "Trianon shock" is well characterized by the fact that while in 1909, on the Calvin anniversary in Geneva, the Hungarian Reformed Church represented the largest church with a unified Calvinist root in Europe, barely ten years later the same church became the largest Protestant diaspora in Europe.[7]

b) Meanwhile, the Hungarian Reformed Church, which has become administratively united and had full religious freedom by the end of the 19th century, found itself in an increasingly secularized society. The mass secularization experienced from the middle of the century brought to light the crisis symptoms of faith and the social presence of Protestant churches. The spectacular decline of the traditional patterns of religious practice and church life becoming a mere formality made it increasingly clear that the framework of the people's church was becoming empty. In the apt wording of István Bogárdi Szabó: "By the time the freedom of religion that was longed for several centuries had been completed, it was as if the practice of religion itself had become barren."[8] The explosive social processes that accompanied capitalization, first and foremost the large-scale industrialization and urbanization, brought about a significant transformation of the social composition of church membership. The predominantly rural, small-town, basically lower minority Reformed identity was completed by new elements such as the metropolitan, the working class, and the intellectual church members. As a result of the migration to cities, especially to Budapest, which had become a metropolis, the number of Reformed people, who left their way of life, religion, or at least its traditional forms together with their place of residence, increased.[9] The Reformed Church was not prepared for the new situation and the resulting conflicts. The development of the institutional church structure could not keep up with the sudden surge in the Reformed

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[7] HATOS, Pál (2006): Az 1909-es Kálvin-jubileum. In: Kósa, László (ed.): *Reformátusok Budapesten. I.* Budapest, Argumentum.1163–1178.

[8] BOGÁRDI SZABÓ, István (2009): Kálvin hagyománya Dunamelléken. In: FARBAKY, Péter – KISS, Réka (ed.): *Kálvin hagyománya – Református kulturális örökség a Duna mentén. A Budapesti Történeti Múzeum kiállítási katalógusa.* Budapest, Budapesti Történeti Múzeum. 20.

[9] For a detailed presentation of this issue and the individual topics, see the two-volume study edited by László Kósa – which may also function as a vast manual –, especially the introductory study of the volume. KÓSA, László (2006): Bevezetés: reformátusok kisvárosban – nagyvárosban – világvárosban. In: Kósa, László (ed.): *Reformátusok Budapesten. I.* Budapest, Argumentum. 11–35.

population of the metropolitan area. All these deeply rooted structural issues had an important role in prompting a radical reassessment of the situation, the message, and the social presence of various groups of the Hungarian Reformed public and their search for new methods of pastoral care, among which the role of the press also increased spectacularly. János Victor described the inadequacy of the traditional, patriarchal channels of church public opinion formation and the role of the press in possible responses to the challenges the church was facing in the columns of *Református Figyelő* in the following way: "In the present conditions, neither the conversations of the brethren under the mill nor the encounters of influential lords at times of grape harvest are sufficient to form a true public opinion, as it once was; but newspapers are needed, which have a wide readership among the members of the church."[10]

c) The attitude towards self-criticism was reinforced by the fact that the great spiritual trends of the 19th century and the theological teachings and church images they fed proved unsuitable for dealing with the new challenges. The era brought a strong critique of the liberal theology of the optimistic 19th century, and at the same time it resulted in an attempt to create new patterns of religious behaviour, more intense religiosity, and a kind of new Reformed self-image. This is the era of the flourishing of the so-called domestic mission, the period of zealous movements of faith, which competed with each other as well and were mainly fed by international faith-awakening movements, and a period also of the search for a path full of heated debates.

d) As a fourth factor, attention should be drawn to the demographic and political strengthening of Hungarian Catholicism after the Trianon Treaty. The emergence of the highly innovative, political Catholicism, its recent and successful synthesis with the governmental neo-nationalism of the 1920s, and the Catholic-national rhetoric of the new course posed a particularly serious challenge to the Hungarian Reformed élites.

All this together: the Trianon trauma, the increasingly conspicuous signs of internal crisis and secularization trends, the weakening of liberal Protestantism, and the growing sense of the minority status together put Hungarian Protestantism at a serious crossroads. The differences between the competing tendencies of the Church divided the diverse responses of the Reformed with the same theological beliefs along different

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[10] VICTOR, János (1928): Az előfizető szolgálata. *Református Figyelő* 22 September. 4–5.

cultural, social, and historical components. At the same time, the strongest impulses and urges aimed at finding a path between the two world wars, at redefining the Reformed denominational identity, and at clarifying doctrinal and public life positions at this time undoubtedly came from the Dunamellék Church District, especially from Budapest. This is where the "inter-confessional" or general Christian awakening movement came from, which envisioned the renewal of the church on an associational, inter-church and over-the-church basis, and this is where the so-called historical Calvinism began, which envisaged the renewal on a strictly confessional basis.

This is also where in 1922 László Ravasz, who had an ambitious church governing programme and who called himself "the ideological exponent of Calvinism",[11] was elected. He placed special emphasis on outlining a unified and outward church policy programme that would influence the entire Reformed community and strengthen the social presence of the church. As the bishop said in his inaugural address, he saw the most important task of church leadership in creating a "pure, integral Calvinism with regard to its institutions, worldview, and creed" and in developing a modern and church-building reform programme for this purpose. Ravasz was aware of the ecclesiastical potential of the modern mass media of the age and made serious efforts to ensure that, in addition to the thriving and diverse local and associational press, a nationwide Reformed newspaper is published for the protection of the Reformed faith and interests. This was long urged by church opinion shapers in order to aid the formation of a unified church public opinion.

Nevertheless, there were serious obstacles to the practical implementation of this gap-filling endeavour. The existing papers mostly tried to manoeuvre and pursue a national press policy in a network of particular interests inherited from previous relatively isolated church districts, while several church-policy and piety trends intertwined with personal conflicts. "There was a perceptible contrast between the Reformed and the Lutherans; on Reformed ground between Debrecen and Budapest, but the sharpest contrast was between the strict Reformed people standing on Dutch foundations and the representatives of universal evangelical Christianity" – this is how Ravasz described the Reformed

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[11] *Dr. Ravasz László dunamelléki püspök beiktatása alkalmával elhangzott beszédek és imák.* Comp. by: B. M<small>AJOR</small>, János. Budapest, Dunamelléki Református Egyházkerület, 1921. 35.

church relations of the twenties in his concise work.[12] The fears of his contemporaries, which also foreshadowed the horror of church division, are presented in the family chronicle of Richárd Biberauer (later) Bodoky, which is based on the diary notes of the above: "It is possible that if László Ravasz, a person blessed with a broad vision, historical responsibility, diplomatic abilities, and individual calibre, had not been the Bishop of the Dunamellék Church District, a serious schism in the Hungarian Reformed Church could have occurred by the early 1930s."[13]

This sharp division naturally left its mark on the organization of the church press. In 1920, Jenő Sebestyén, the spiritual leader of historical Calvinism and one of the leading theologians of the period, launched his weekly, called *Kálvinista Szemle*, which served the purpose of strengthening denominational identity and provide strong church policy goals and which soon became the most significant church journal. On the other hand, the editorial staff of *Református Figyelő*, which was started in mid-1928, was recruited from the circle of friends of the interconfessional Hungarian Evangelical Students' Association (HESA), which is more open to other Protestant churches. The paper was created with the support of László Ravasz; its editors were Albert Bereczky,[14] Gyula

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[12] RAVASZ 1992, 187.

[13] BODOKY, Richárd (2001): *Aranyhíd. Családtörténeti töredékek (1926–1928) személyes emlékek és naplójegyzetek alapján. V.* Budapest, private edition. 242.

[14] Bereczky Albert (1893–1966) was an assistant pastor and full-time pastor in Salgótarján from 1916 to 1919, in Dunabogdány from 1919 to 1924, and from 1924 to 1927 in Pécel. From 1927 to 1929, he was the pastor and secretary general of the *Hit és Szolgálat* (Faith and Service) movement initiated by Sándor Czeglédy. In the second half of the twenties, he founded *Sylvester Irodalmi Nyomdai Intézet Rt* (Sylvester Printing House – translator's note) together with Zoltán Tildy and moved to Tahitótfalu. From 1927, he was the editor and issuer of the pastoral journal *Református Igehirdető* (Reformed Preacher), from 1928 the editor of *Református Figyelő*, and then the co-editor of *Keresztyén Család* (Christian Family) and *Református Élet* (Reformed Life). After relocating the Sylvester Printing House, he moved to Budapest. Following the liquidation of the printing house and the publisher, he was the pastor of Tutaj Street Külsőlipót and Terézváros congregation. *Hálaadás-templom* (Church of Thanksgiving) was built in 1940 in the Pozsonyi Street thanks to the collection he organized. From 1948, he succeeded László Ravasz – who had resigned due to open political pressure – in the episcopal seat of the Reformed Church District of Dunamellék. See: KISS, Réka (2006): Bereczky Albert lelkipásztori, püspöki működése. In: Kósa, László (ed.): *Reformátusok Budapesten. I.* Budapest, Argumentum. 601–620.

Muraközy,[15] János Victor,[16] and its permanent contributors, such as Sándor Czeglédy,[17] Imre Szabó,[18] and Richárd Biberauer,[19] were considered the bishop's closest co-workers, and, according to his memoires, he himself felt closest to this forum.[20] In fact, *Reformed Observer* was the first newspaper in which the bishop could regularly express his

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[15] Gyula Muraközy (1892–1961) was the pastor of Kecskemét as of 1918, assistant pastor of the Kálvin tér congregation in Budapest under László Ravasz as of 1932, and editor-in-chief of *Református Élet* as of 1934. He was made to retire in 1955, but from 1957 he again served as pastor of the congregation until his death. See: KISS, Réka (2006): Társadalmi kérdések – egyházi válaszok: Muraközy Gyula lelkipásztori tevékenysége. In: Kósa, László (ed.): *Reformátusok Budapesten. I.* Budapest, Argumentum. 591–600.

[16] János Victor (1888–1954) was the travelling secretary of the Christian Youth Association (CYA) in 1906 and of the Hungarian Evangelical Christian Student Association (HECSA), founded in 1910. From 1913, he worked as a religion teacher in Budapest, while in 1924 he obtained a PhD degree and became a professor of theology. As of 1925, he was professor of theology at Budapest Theological Academy, but he left due to his conflict with Jenő Sebestyén. For two years, he was the assistant pastor of the Kálvin tér congregation next to László Ravasz, and between 1932 and 1949 he was the pastor of the Szabadság tér parish, which he himself organized. As of 1949 (from Sebestyén's retirement) until his death, he worked again as a professor of theology in Budapest. As of 1945, he was the chief notary of the Dunamellék Church District, i.e. its deputy bishop. See: OSZTOVITSNÉ BERECZKY, Noémi (2006): A Victor család története 1825-től napjainkig. In: Kósa, László (ed.): *Reformátusok Budapesten. I.* Budapest, Argumentum. 725–728.

[17] Sándor Czeglédy (1883–1944) was a professor of theology in Pápa and then a pastor in Győr and Cegléd. He was a prolific author, a distinguished Bible translator.

[18] Imre Szabó (1891–1955) was the pastor of the Lorántffy Zsuzsanna Association from 1918–20 and then the organizing pastor of the Budapest Tisztviselőtelep Parish; from 1923, the regular pastor of the Budapest-Fasor congregation and from 1932 the organizer and the first Dean of the Budapest Diocese. In 1951, he was made to retire as dean and pastor of the Fasor congregation, and the village of Buj in Szabolcs County was appointed as his forced residence. He served there as a pastor until his death. See: NAGY, Zsombor (2006): Szabó Imre, a budapesti református egyházmegye megszervezője és első esperese. In: Kósa, László (ed.): *Reformátusok Budapesten. I.* Budapest, Argumentum. 579–590; his diary: SZABÓ, Imre (2001): *Ég, de meg nem emésztetik. Szabó Imre a Budapesti Református Egyházmegye első esperese. Naplók 1914–1954* (ed. by ERŐS, Zsuzsa – SZABÓ, Julianna). Budapest, Budahegyvidéki Református Egyházközség.

[19] Richárd Biberauer, Sr. (1879–1939) was the founder of *Filadelfia Diakonissza Egylet* (Filadelfia Deaconess Association) and the head pastor of Bethesda Hospital. See KOVÁCS, Ábrahám: A Biberauer (Bodoky) család története. In Kósa, László (ed.): *Reformátusok Budapesten. I.* Budapest, Argumentum. 695–702.

[20] RAVASZ 1992, 188.

pastoral, church-government-related and church policy views. Indeed, Ravasz consciously used the columns of *Református Figyelő* to present his viewpoints. His voluminous editorials that were published regularly in the paper discussed basic worldview, church policy, and church social issues.

The aim of *Református Figyelő* was the old/new intention of church public opinion unification. The bishop greeted the new enterprise in the editorial of the paper's first issue as follows:

> "One of the old needs of our Reformed public life is to create the desired unity in the extremely fragmented and shattered ecclesiastical press. Therefore, I welcome any undertaking that aims to summarize existing church press organs that serve partial interests in a common, unitary newspaper (...). The official unity of our Church is fully established and institutionalized within the synod and the church district. However, we cannot claim the same of unity in our church society and public perception."

This is how the bishop exposed the issue.[21] For the desired unity, in the year after *Református Figyelő* was established, i.e. in 1929, a plan emerged to concentrate and integrate intellectual resources within the framework of a central Reformed and Protestant press company, following the Catholic model.[22] The initiative, however, soon failed due to the competition between *Kálvinista Szemle* and *Református Figyelő* as well as the personal conflicts in their background.[23] The two weekly papers openly defined themselves as each other's rivals, and this even left its mark on the establishment of *Református Figyelő*.[24] The relationship became so tense that on 1 January 1929, after several days of conciliating negotiations in the office of Bishop Ravasz, the two editorial staffs bound themselves in statements of the same content, published in their papers, to respect each other's reputations and smooth out their differences. Frictions, minor or major conflicts, mistrust due to personal prejudices, fiery attacks, in the words of Ravasz, "the shallow and annoying dregs of the couch suits" came up regularly and undisguised not only

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[21] RAVASZ, László (1928): Életkérdéseink. In: *Református Figyelő* 22 September. 1–3.

[22] KLESTENITZ, Tibor (2013): *A katolikus sajtómozgalom Magyarországon 1896–1932.* Budapest, CompLex.

[23] [no author] (1929): Jellemző dokumentum *Református Figyelő* 1929/46 (16 November). 554–555.

[24] Synod Archives of the Reformed Church in Hungary (in the following as: SARCH) 41. f. 1. db. 2.

behind the scenes but also in the columns of the papers. "Since the establishment of our paper, there was no issue of *Kálvinista Szemle* that has not dealt with *Református Figyelő* in more than one article. However, it did so in a way to which, to our sincere regret, we were unable to respond."[25] – complained the staff of *Figyelő* in their editorial about the fellow paper's attacks.

Református Figyelő primarily sought to address secular Reformed intellectuals, the lay intelligentsia – with the words of the era –, and to develop a self-conscious, committed readership, organized around the paper. "For a decade or two, church newspapers have only been written and sent to pastors. Laymen reading church papers were extremely rare," said Imre Szabó, pastor of the Budapest-Fasor congregation about the inherited press relations. The pastor compared modern journalism to the modern sermon: "we can essentially see no difference [between the two], only the difference between the spoken and the written word".[26] According to János Victor, the possibilities in editing a paper for lay church members were almost infinite. It was estimated that, based on their education and material possibilities, out of the one and a half million Reformed people who remained in Hungary after the consequences of the Trianon Treaty, 1.5%, i.e. about 22,500 people were the potential subscribers for a church newspaper. In comparison, he estimated the total number of readers of the various Reformed newspapers at around 5,000, of which the new newspaper managed to win over about a thousand subscribers in the months following its launch. "If our fellow papers were to double this number, i.e. raise it to a total of 10,000, as we wholeheartedly wish they do in order to revive our church, there would still be 12,500 intelligent Reformed people living their lives without a Reformed weekly."[27]

The profile and style of *Református Figyelő* were determined according to the presupposed needs of these 12,500 people, in the spirit of pioneering a change of direction towards the lay church members, as opposed to the previous Reformed papers: As Imre Szabó put it: "The paper should not be written in a sermon style, especially not in a majestic and anointed form, but it should discuss current issues and give freshness to religious and ethical fundamental truths."[28] Half a year after the launch of the weekly,

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[25] Editorial. Kálvinista Szemle és Református Figyelő. *Református Figyelő* 8 December 1928. 137.

[26] SZABÓ, Imre (1931): Fontos statisztikai adat. *Református Figyelő* 21 January. 49.

[27] V. J. (1928): Valamit magunkról. *Református Figyelő* 10 November. 85.

[28] SZABÓ, Imre (1931): Fontos statisztikai adat. *Református Figyelő* 21 January. 49.

Szabó – who regularly published articles in it – was already celebrating a new, under-standable style of church journalism: "In the columns of *Figyelő*, what was incompre-hensible or cumbersome elsewhere became clear, the church became attractive and valua-ble, and its issues became the focus of interest, attention, and responsibility. (These issues were previously considered only matters of the priests.)"[29] However, after a vigorous and confident start, difficulties soon arose due to the weaknesses of the paper's organization. Recruiting subscribers was always problematic and keeping them during the economic crisis was even more so. János Victor's ambitious dreams soon dissipated, and he later warned in vain of the duty to support the church press: "if one forms an opinion on church public affairs but is not a subscriber to any church paper, it means that s/he is looking at the fate of our church from afar. They miss out on the important service they could perform as 'subscribers' in aiding the true formation of church public opinion."[30]

About two thousand people subscribed to the weekly. However, the issue was not only that the hoped-for ten thousand secular church members did not subscribe to church papers, but church statistics showed that only one-third of the Reformed pas-tors "subscribed to a church paper at their own cost".

In researching the possible reasons, Ödön Miklós,[31] a church historian drawn to the trend of historical Calvinism, the pastor of Nagycsepely at the time, criticized the staff and the editorial principles of both *Református Figyelő* in particular and the church press in general in a sharp-worded article. According to him, the root of the problem was the "currently widening gap between the ideas of our church press leaders in Hungary and the ideas of the workers of actual church life". There were hardly any village pastors among the staff of the papers, which, he argued, led to "our ecclesiastical press actually losing contact with a significant, larger part of church life in the strict sense". The other direction of his criticism was of church policy nature. He criticized the overly hierarchical

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[29] SZABÓ, Imre (1929): Egyházi újságírás. *Református Figyelő* 11 May. 223–224.
[30] VICTOR, János (1928): Az előfizető szolgálata. *Református Figyelő* 2 September.
[31] Ödön Miklós was a church historian and a Reformed pastor. He studied theology in Pápa and Utrecht. Between 1921 and 1922, he was a professor of theology in Pápa and then a pastor in Nagycsepely. He obtained his PhD degree in theology in Debrecen in 1932. In 1944, he habi-litated at the University of Debrecen. His church history works mainly deal with Dutch–Hungarian cultural relations and the 16th-century church constitution issues of the Hungarian Protestant churches.

and centralized church government structure, which, in contrast to the traditional church model organized on a diocesan basis, ousted local congregations and pastors from decision-making processes. Concerning the synod, which acted as the legislative body of the church and was then in session, he noted that "village pastors are now indifferent to how decisions are made without them as well as about them". Added to this, he noted that "financial difficulties have given the formerly independent church press an official nature, which resulted in criticism losing ground".

Imre Szabó was the one to reply to Miklós's criticism. He said that if the author's diagnosis "was correct, then the Reformed Church was more and more resembling a ship that ran aground, in which some people are consoling themselves with the illusion that the ship is advancing, but the vast majority already knows that the ship came to a halt". Hence, Szabó invited the readers of *Református Figyelő* to a public exchange of views. In addition to the obvious exaggerations of the extremely pessimistic article, it contained many truths and sensitively shed light on the structural troubles and one-sidedness of the church press. At the same time, the publication of the article and Szabó's response indicate an openness to self-criticism and an editorial attitude ready for debates during the search for a path.

Nevertheless, in addition to the difficulties in promoting the paper and expanding its readership, there were also serious problems in running the weekly. Református Figyelő Társaság, which issued the paper, Zoltán Tildy, the pastor of Tahitótfalu at the time, and Sylvester Printing House founded by Albert Bereczky, which carried out the printing work, were all enterprises of Reformed interest. By the end of 1931, however, there were serious difficulties in operating both the paper and the printing house. Due to the shortage of financial resources and the lack of financial expertise, *Református Figyelő* not only generated losses but also accumulated a significant deficit. The legal auditor, who was asked to review the management of the business, found such serious deficiencies in business policy and accounting that he was forced to warn the owners of the danger of total material and moral liability. "Issuing a newspaper, even if it serves spiritual purposes, cannot be sustained without a commercial professional who extends his practical management work to these issues"[32] – said Béla Novoth. The financial administration of the paper and the repayment of the debts of the bankrupt Sylvester Printing House

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[32] Report of legal auditor Béla Novoth, 12 December 1931. SARCH 41. f. 1. db. 2.

were ultimately entrusted to *Filadelfia Diakonissza Egylet* led by Richárd Biberauer, on the site of which Sylvester Printing House operated after moving from Tahitótfalu to Budapest.

Református Figyelő was issued up to the end of 1933. By this time, the old plans of coordinating and balancing the rival views within the church, of organizing a unified Reformed press policy, and of having a press body with a stable economic basis had been accomplished. Upon the initiative of László Ravasz, with his significant contribution and his functioning as editor-in-chief, the new, now national weekly church society and church policy paper, the most successful and influential Reformed press enterprise of the era, *Református Élet* was launched from the merger of *Református Figyelő* and *Kálvinista Szemle* in early 1934.[33]

2. Shaping of the Public Law and Denominational Discourse in Református Figyelő

After summarizing the press organization surrounding *Református Figyelő*, in the second part of the study we would like to briefly outline the thematic categories in the six and a half years of *Református Figyelő*, and then we would like to provide more detail on several aspects of the debates around the topic of public law and denominations, which was among the most significant identity builder discourses. In a 1929, in his editorial written for *Figyelő*, László Ravasz named three fundamentally important duties for the Reformed who were seeking ways of renewal. In the first place, he listed the clarification and settlement of long-standing disputes arising from the position of the churches in public law and the public sphere. Secondly, he identified the church's modern social programme, the outline of a unified Reformed social programme, the development of an action plan summarizing what the church had to do, its role in solving social problems, and its service of "major agricultural issues". "There is no doubt that the rural parishes and consistories do not have a new programme for agriculture in the novel circumstances, just as the workers' congregation has no programme as to what to do with the greatest question of our time, i.e. socialism." – said Ravasz in his programmatic

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[33] See ABLONCZY 2006.

writing listing the fundamental duties. Finally, as the hottest task regarding the issue of inner renewal in the Reformed Church, in ecclesiastical parlance, he drew the attention of the ecclesiastical public opinion on the issue of the so-called Reformed revival and domestic mission.[34]

According to the order of the article, the development of the state–church relationship was perhaps the most engaging issue in the period, causing the most controversy, and thus recurring regularly in the columns of the paper. The ecclesiastical political relations of secular Hungary were set by Law XX/1848 declaring legal equality among religions. However, the proclamation of equality under public law was not accompanied by the economic equalization of denominations, i.e. the termination of the Catholic Church's status as the state church was not followed by the secularization of ecclesiastical property, the enormous Catholic ecclesiastical property remaining almost untouched.[35] Consequently, the problems arising from the state–church relationship were closely intertwined with the issue of church management. The fulfilment of the increased responsibilities of the church and the maintenance of its institutional system caused an unresolved problem throughout the period. The most serious problem was the maintenance and development of the Reformed schools. Although the church received regular support from the state, it covered only a fraction of their expenditures, and the level of state aid became the subject of constantly renewing debates. The lack of complete separation posed an insoluble dilemma for the Protestant churches: the Catholic model of the church–state relationship and the Reformed Church's lack of assets led Protestants to accept the promised state aid but at the same time forced them to gradually give up their long-standing and cherished Protestant autonomy.[36]

The shaping of the church–state relationship and the search for an acceptable model for Hungarian Protestantism were also defining topics for Ravasz and the authors of *Református Figyelő* identifying with the bishop's concept of church leadership, whose articles sought the idea of a financially independent, self-sustained church, the so-called

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[34] RAVASZ, László (1929): Fontos és nem fontos dolgok. *Református Figyelő* II. 97–98.

[35] BOLYKI, János – LADÁNYI, Sándor (1987): A magyar református egyház. In: Lendvai, L. Ferenc (ed.): *A magyar protestantizmus 1918–1948.* Budapest, Kossuth. 57.

[36] See: KISS, Réka (2006): Ravasz László püspöki működése. In: Kósa, László (ed.): *Reformátusok Budapesten. I.* Budapest, Argumentum. 537–578.

"free church in a free state" in opposition with the traditional trend in church policy. "If by a 'free church' we understand an institution independent from the state which would not have to expect aid from governments' and legislators' benevolence to ensure its living, then it is obvious that the ideal of the Reformed faithful can only be such a 'free church'"[37] – said János Victor in his editorial.

In the last third of the 19th century, the church leaders devoted most of their energy to religious political struggles, the negative effects of which became more and more visible in the public life of the church.

"There is no doubt that the most embarrassing confusion prevails in the relations of church and state. It is largely because evangelical churches represent a transitional type between public and free churches. They are burdened with all the disadvantages, but none of them fully enjoys the benefits. That is why one of the main pillars of our church is state aid (…) and our power is eaten up by the struggle for state aid (…)" – said Bishop Ravasz in the first number of *Református Figyelő* in 1928.[38] At the same time, it was clear that the "free church in a free state" principle, seen as an ideal, the transition to independent management could not become an ecclesiastical reality in the era. After all, even with state subsidies granted on various legal bases, the church could hardly raise the resources required to carry out its own duties, and, on the other hand, the framework of the state's ecclesiastical policy, the predominance of the Catholic Church, limited the scope of the Protestants. Changing the church tax system, launching economic and financial reforms, and creating a church operation based on self-sufficiency and not state aid remained an urgent but still unsolved problem of the time.

Despite the tensions stemming from the inherited ecclesiastical political features, the relationship between Ravasz's church leadership and the state was harmonious, based on acknowledging the interdependence of the church and the counter-revolutionary system and the preservation of the status quo in the relationship between the state and the church instead of polarizing the issue and renewing the ecclesiastical polity-related debates. This was also reflected in the tone of *Református Figyelő*. While

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[37] VICTOR, János (1928): Egyház és állam szétválasztása. *Református Figyelő* 15 December. 145; see also: BERECZKY, Albert (1929): Egyházunk és az állam. *Református Figyelő* 28 September. 463–464.

[38] RAVASZ, László (1928): Életkérdéseink. *Református Figyelő* 22 September. 1–3.

the senior Transtibiscan bishop, Dezső Baltazár, as the liberal political opposition of István Bethlen, openly attacked the government several times, *Figyelő* tried to deal with the differences between the Bishop of Debrecen and the Prime Minister as a political and not as an ecclesiastical debate.

"The circles around Dezső Baltazár classified István Bethlen's attack against Dr Dezső Baltazár as an ecclesiastical matter and, consequently, started the mobilization of our church's public life in order to prevent the attack: *Református Figyelő* was the only press organ that told the truth openly and firmly on the delicate issue that, being a political clash, the bitterness and excitement of our church should not be transplanted. This has been called by some a 'betrayal of Reformed interests' (…)" – said János Victor drawing the conclusions of the debate rising in the Senate in 1930.[39] The paper struck a rather sharp chord only when the Jesuit magazine *Magyar Kultúra* no longer placed only Baltazár but also all the Reformed faithful as a whole, and László Ravasz personally, in the crossfire of attacks in connection with the debate.[40] Although until his death in 1936, Baltazár was the head of the national ecclesiastical bodies, the pastoral President of the Synod and the Convention, and thus the first man in the Reformed Church, Ravasz's actual influence on the shaping of church life grew stronger from the mid-1920s. The Bishop of Dunamellék deliberately broke with the tradition of church leadership, which puts public law and political issues at the forefront, placed significantly less emphasis on voicing Protestant grievances arising from the peculiarities of the state–church relationship, and tried to avoid direct political conflicts.

In the light of this attitude based on political balance but fundamentally loyal to government policy, Ravasz's determined, alternative-seeking position on the church–state relationship is particularly remarkable. The bishop had reckoned in good time with the fact that the state-dependent position of the church posed serious structural dangers, of which he and at the zenith of the Bethlen government consolidation, in 1928, in the columns of *Figyelő*: "This duality of our economic policy can be a great danger to us if we do not take care of the factors that resolve the tension between the two and, in due course, shift the burden of the whole building from one pillar to another."[41]

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[39] VICTOR, János (1931): Tanulságul a jövendőre. Utóhang a Baltazár-Bethlen ügyhöz. *Református Figyelő* 17 January. 25–26.

[40] MAGYAR, Illés (1930): Sakálok. *Református Figyelő* 26 July. 360.

[41] RAVASZ, László (1928): Életkérdéseink. *Református Figyelő* 22 September. 1–3.

Ravasz saw the loss of church autonomy not only as an internal ecclesiastical problem and a source of denominational conflict but also in a broader context, as a phenomenon detrimental to society as a whole. His image of society is well characterized by an excerpt from a speech given in the Senate during the budget debate of 1932–33.

> "By the nature of consolidation, it is easily transformed into statism. I see the greatest danger of the last twelve years – perhaps I am not using the best word – as the greatest temptation in statism. For the last ten years, the Hungarian nation has always been politically in control, as one man behind its leaders. (…) But in the meantime, what has happened and is happening is that state functions are slowly fading social autonomies and healthy, autonomous, resilient, self-conscious, social, and economic developments. (…) a similar danger is that the entire future of the nation is staked on one chance. How many times in the course of Hungarian history has a healthy developed autonomy, the ancient power of various bodies resisted against a government hostile to the national and the nation's instinct for life and saved the continuity of national life (…) But this is no longer the case. (…) and the factors that have glorified their place so many times in the past – and among these I am thinking primarily of my church – have come into contact with the state through which autonomy can now only be spoken about in theory. And this, in my view, is not only to the detriment of this church, but it is a great national danger, a lack of a great constitutional guarantee because it is perfectly exposed to any political turn (…) and there will no longer be an Archimedean point where it would stop and where it would save its historical structure and continuity."[42]

The reform-conservative bishop, sticking to constitutionality and liberties, pointed out very vividly that in a temporary, uncertain political climate following the fall of the Bethlen government, state dominance posed dangers far beyond the life of the church.

The state–church relationship also fundamentally defined the evolution of Catholic–Protestant relations between the two wars as the ecclesiastical conception that prevailed in the period continued to be fundamentally a matter of ecclesiastical policy. "The idea that the Roman Catholic religion is a state religion, and besides that

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[42] RAVASZ, László (1932): Az 1932/32. évi állami költségvetésről szóló törvényjavaslat tárgyalása. 24 June. *Felsőházi Napló* 1932–35/1. 357–358.

we can only be a tolerated religion, is roaring louder and louder in the forum of public life." – concluded Ravasz summing up one of the fundamental topoi of the Reformed grievances and the culture of the minority fate of the time in connection with the interdenominational relations.[43]

Tensions between the denominations recurring from time to time culminated in issues regarding: the extent and distribution of state aid to churches; the mandatory reversal set forth by Canon Iuris Canonici for marriages (1918); the christenings; debates about the opportunities for success of certain faithful belonging to certain denominations, considered as a hidden or open numerus clausus[44] hidden by Gyula Muraközy in the columns of the paper; the state-sponsored great Catholic holidays, interpreted by the Reformed as a symbolic defiance (in our age, the 1930 Saint Emery jubilee was such a celebration). The interfaith relationship was significantly impaired by XI. Pius's *Mortalium animos* encyclical published in 1928, in which the pope withdrew from the Protestant ecumenical movement, which sought to create the unity of Christian churches through the cooperation of equal parties. The relationship between the denominations reached its lowest point in the Horthy era. *Református Figyelő* regularly mediated and articulated the Protestants' sense of threat, describing their grievances in detail, broken down into individual cases. It devoted ample space to a strong criticism and refutation of the militant, intransigent Catholic position of attacking Protestantism. The *Gáton* column regularly published the occasionally sharp polemics conducted with the Catholics and their press organs (first of all, with the Jesuit *Magyar Kultúrá*, *Nemzeti Újság*, and *Új Nemzedék*).

At the same time, a kind of division of labour developed between the newspaper's authors and the bishop. While there has traditionally been a large category of faithful within the Reformed Church in favour of a more militant, confrontational church policy, and *Református Figyelő* has been especially vigilant over the representation of Reformed interests in debates on financial and school-related matters, the paper's editorials on ecclesiastical policy sought to strike a more peaceful voice, to take a consensus-seeking position. Ravasz's more tolerant position on the denominational issue stemmed not only from his conflict-avoiding, compromise-seeking structure. The bishop had to take into

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[43] RAVASZ, László (1926): Egyházpolitika – viszonyunk a római katolikusokhoz. In: Ravasz, László: *Korbán II. Beszédek, írások.* Budapest. 485–486.

[44] M. GY. (1929): Egy kezdődő per, amely évek óta tart. *Református Figyelő* 7 September. 425.

account that, although the bishop ranked the denominational opposition among the most serious divergences dividing the national unity,[45] in the spiritual environment around him, similarly to the famous historian of the age, Gyula Szekfű, they seemed more peripheral, rather uninteresting in the eyes of contemporaries turning away from the churches.

"If there is a denominational struggle today: it is also a neo-baroque symptom. This is a sign of the external formal needs of the churches and not of the religious renewal taking place within."[46] – wrote one of the most significant thinkers of the period, László Németh – who otherwise had a Reformed root – in his study titled *Magyar élet antinómiái*. As explained by Németh, Gyula Szekfű in his commentary on the epilogue of *Három nemzedékének*, like many of his contemporaries, did not feel the denominational contradictions at all as a tense problem in Hungarian society, a "delicate rather than serious" antinomy, a barren denominational competition.

At the same time, Ravasz's consensus-seeking behaviour was not independent from the government's expectations either as the requirement of denominational peace was paramount to building and consolidating the Christian-national system. The bishop was ready to resolve the denominational relationship in the name of the desired national unity, but he made the Reformed behaviour in fact dependent on Catholic behaviour, acknowledging the right of initiative of the majority church.

"Greater Hungary came a cropper with the issue of nationality; truncated Hungary will perish if the churches become spiritual nationalities. That is why we must state that the key to all ethnic policy is primarily in the hands of the government and secondarily in the hands of the majority. A minority is normally what these other two turn it into."[47] – he said.

However, the Reformed Church between the two World Wars survived its acute minority situation not only because of the more favourable public law positions of the

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[45] RAVASZ, László (1932): A nemzet lelki egysége (1928). In: Ravasz, László: *Alfa és Ómega. Prédikációk, beszédek, cikkek.* Budapest, Franklin. 218–224.

[46] NÉMETH, László (1992): A magyar élet antinómiái (1934). Németh, László: *A minőség forradalma. Kisebbségben. Politikai és irodalmi tanulmányok, beszédek, vitairatok I.* Budapest, Püski. 594; KÓSA, László (1993): Németh László protestantizmusa. Kósa, László: *Egyház, társadalom, hagyomány* Debrecen, Ethnica. 175–188.

[47] Ravasz László püspöki jelentéséből. *Református Figyelő* 30 November 1929. 557.

majority denomination but also because the rapidly renewing Catholicism took a significant lead by the use of modern pastoral methods and new forms of religion. *Református Figyelő*, devoting room to the presentation of Catholic renewal efforts, was quite ambivalent about the spectacular achievements of the Catholic Renaissance, at the same time criticizing and setting an example for the denomination it represented. This duality of the Reformed discourse on contemporary Catholicism is well represented by the writing presenting *Manréza*, the new house of retreat of the Jesuit order and the methods of Jesuit spiritual retreat.

> "It must be clearly seen that in the Catholic Church the Jesuit order is the inner assault team for Catholic evangelism, more precisely for the reformation of Catholicism (not in the evangelical sense, of course). Jesuitism is the nerve of the domestic missions and foreign missions as well as the diplomatic activities of Catholicism. On the inside, Jesuitism has a very different face than it features towards Protestantism."

At the same time, the writer of the article called the Jesuit retreats "one of the most purposeful psychological spiritual preparation and training schools of all time" and classified them in the same category as the "socialist agitators" and preachers of sects as being the rivals of the Reformed ministers.[48] The image of enemies associated with Jesuit assault troops and socialist agitators actually reflected the official Reformed ecclesiastical policy of the age, meaning their simplified "squandering", their translation into everyday language. By the end of the 1920s, Bishop Ravasz usually defined Reformed positions in opposition with two great spiritual aspirations. One was the ultramontane Catholicism and the other the radical left-wing Marxism and Bolshevism, which revived the anti-religious traditions of the Enlightenment. According to Ravasz's definition of the situation, the aforesaid dual aspirations in the early 1930s were joined by another direction, i.e. the secular threat to Christianity, which was nationalism working as a religious substitute or a political religion, taking the most threatening shape in Nazi neo-paganism. This realization is noticeable very early in Ravasz. As he put it in a 1931 speech:

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[48] [no author] (1928): A versenyfutók. *Református Figyelő* 6 October. 20.

"It should come as no surprise that the totalitarian state, especially if it was created through revolution, puts its will in the hands of a man who thinks and wants on its behalf. Let us not be surprised if this will places itself as a legislator above the church as well, and it wants to tell the church what to believe and what to do. A secular copy of the Catholic Church concept, based on some volatile racial biological theories. This perception shatters the concept of the church."[49]

The denominational topos system mobilized by *Református Figyelő* was mostly inspired by the 19th-century interpretation of history, rooted in Romanticism and liberal traditions. The structure of ideas that connected the source of liberal and democratic traditions to the Reformation remained a determining element of the self-determination of the Reformed faithful, just as the topos of Protestantism, which plays a powerful role in the creation of national culture, and an interpretation of history that makes Protestantism the custodian of the struggle for religious freedom and the fight for national independence.[50] One of the most quoted stereotype-generating topoi was Protestantism, more specifically the Reformed Church's role of cultural creator and its overwhelming role in national culture. This element was regularly recurring between the two World Wars in the Reformed press as well as in the columns of *Református Figyelő* aimed at strengthening denominational identity: "Our national culture was created by Calvinism" or "The history of our national culture starts with Protestantism" and, finally, "Thus, for centuries, the concepts learned and Calvinist will bear the same meaning in Hungary." The link between education and Protestantism has a long historiographical background. It was most strongly expressed in the 19th century by the influential German historian, Leopold Ranke, who explained his theory on the cultural benefits of the Reformation, which has since been the subject of novel debates. In any case, he testified about the role of Protestants as mediators of culture, and the 19th-century perception rooted in Hungarian liberal historiography deeply penetrated the identity of the Hungarian Reformed faithful.

49 RAVASZ, László (1931): Egyház és állam – nemzet és emberiség. *Protestáns Szemle* November. 243.
50 See: KÓSA, László (2008): Felekezeti és nemzetiségi azonosságtudat kapcsolódása. A magyar protestáns példa. In: Papp, Richárd – Szarka, László (eds.): *Bennünk élő múltjaink. Történelmi tudat – kulturális emlékezet.* Zenta, Vajdasági Magyar Művelődési Intézet. 391–400.

At the same time, the Reformed identity-building discourses between the two World Wars modified the relevant fields of interpretation of earlier topoi in important points. The essence of the paradigm shift called *an ideological turn of Protestantism* by Pál Hatos, attributed partly to Bishop Ravasz, was that the new Reformed self-interpretation sought *sui juris* identity in the Reformation as opposed to worn-out apology and self-abandonment. And he has found this, above all, in the religious nature thereof.[51] The interpretive framework, which originally and, above all, saw the Reformation as a religious renewal, also provided an opportunity to portray the performance of the Reformation and Hungarian Protestantism as a universal Christian and universal Hungarian interest transcending denominational boundaries.

"Protestantism awoke and knocked out Catholicism in the late Middle Ages from a degenerate, secularized Christianity that sank back into the paganism of the Renaissance. The salvation of Christianity took place through Protestantism for mankind, the renaissance of biblical Christianity flourished in Wittenberg and Geneva against the Roman Church celebrating the renaissance of the Greek world."[52] – Imre Szabó indicated the new emphases in his editorial in *Református Figyelő*. In this interpretation, Protestantism was constituted not merely as a historical episode of ideas, a cultural episode, but as a manifestation of divine providence in history. "We enter the world today with this belief in the divine mission. We are not Protestants because we accidentally became one but because we cannot be anything else as this is how we were meant to be." In this context, the Reformation, embedded in the universal context of ecclesiastical history, could also be interpreted as a pledge of Catholic renewal: "Even today, wherever Protestant churches can normally exert their inner strengths, where the Protestant type of man matures in his original purity, his biblical freedom of conscience rooted in Bible, based on the authority of Scripture, there is also a strong kind of Catholicism far-reaching and exceeding in activity the Catholicism of Protestant-free countries."

Another element of Szabó's set of arguments, the sacrifice of Protestantism for national independence, was also an old topos of Reformed self-interpretation. "Put his/her hand on the heart s/he who has a Hungarian soul! Well, the soul of national independence, the racial instinct for life that the Hungarian wanted to remain Hun-

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[51] HATOS 2005, 108.

[52] SZABÓ, Imre (1929): Vagy mindnyájan protestánsok, vagy mindnyájan katolikusok? *Református Figyelő* 9 November. 535.

garian on this very land, is it not the fruit that this poor Hungarian Protestantism watered with blood?" However, the nationalist role of the Reformed Church was not only appreciated after Trianon but also gained new content. The Reformed evangelization programme proclaiming the Trianon Revision on the ground of spiritual renewal aimed to create the spiritual unity of the reborn Hungarians based on the Gospel.[53] The historical dimensions of the Reformed identity, the oeuvre of the great Reformed personalities, also received new meanings and topicality in this context. This is exemplified by the writings made in connection with the Gábor Bethlen Jubilee in 1929, including the eulogy by László Ravasz, who said that the prince's greatest merit was that "He not only held this nation together politically but also forged it into spiritual unity."[54]

Imre Szabó's article evoking the Reformed stereotype of the Bible reader also stated that empty forms of religious practice and identity topoi should be filled with awakening missionary content, and the signs of renewal in the life of the church in the past two decades was "preceded by the discovery of the Gospel, which tended to grow yellow as the sacred book used only during the services or got covered by dust on the master beam or the long-read leather-bound Bibles were displayed (…) only as expensive family relics." The strong identity-forming element existing among the Reformed, referring to the cultural mediating role of Protestantism, appears in Szabó as a stereotype that was received as such from the past but had already lost its validity. The purpose of faith-strengthening writing was precisely to motivate and force the Reformed community to change its religious behaviour by reviving and questioning one of the positive identity elements of the Reformed church. Rethinking the established stereotype and filling it with new content was motivated by the internal church-critical aspects and the need for religious renewal.

Conclusions

The key concept of the church reformation ideas conveyed by *Református Figyelő* became *the mission, the programme of a new Reformation pervading the entire Hungarian society*. László Ravasz's episcopal agenda proclaimed the creation of a "pure, upright Calvinism in terms of its institutions, worldview, and creed, whose "first and foremost

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[53] MURAKÖZY, Gyula (1929): Küzdelem Trianon ellen. *Református Figyelő* 10 August. 379.
[54] RAVASZ, László (1929): Bethlen Gábor nagysága. *Református Figyelő* 16 November. 547–548.

duty is to preserve its essence: evangelical Christianity". For Ravasz, therefore, the starting point for the spiritual renewal of Protestantism was a return to biblical origins and undertaking the Lutheran and Calvinist heritage that laid the foundations of Protestant theology – in other words: setting the primacy of the religious roots of the Reformation and the Reformed identity and placing its *religious* nature in the focus. And to understand the identity-building discourses of *Református Figyelő* coming from among the bishop's staff, this characteristic religious renewal proclaimed based on the gospel may provide the primary framework for interpretation.

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GORBAI, Gabriella[1]:

The Reflection That Connects Us with Ourselves, with the Present, and with our Future Perspectives[2]

Abstract.

The Hungarians' history is replete with painful episodes; as a consequence, a certain pessimistic outlook has been embedded into the Hungarian culture. The university is home now to students – future teachers of religion, future pastors – whose parents, grandparents, and great-grandparents lived and worked under the oppressive regime and who (also) for this reason approach the past in a rather negative way. They lived for too long in silent despair, without joy, without sufficient food, in fear of informers who would anonymously give out anybody to the "authorities" in hope of personal advantages and rewards. This generation will probably have a hard time believing that those horrible times can never return. This period is also marked by the fact that these people, in most cases, had mind-numbing, treadmill-like, soul-crushing jobs. In these circumstances, nothing was prompting them to improve their performance, and they sooner or later resigned themselves to only meet the minimal expectations. They were not concerned with the future because they did not hope that with a more purposeful attitude, with more efficient work their lot could be improved. On the other hand, their attitude towards the present had become more and more pessimistic. "Why even try if my life is controlled by forces on which I have no influence whatsoever?"

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This young generation of teachers/pastors has still heard too often the stories of the painful past and were in many cases eyewitnesses to their parents' and grandparents' daily struggles or saw them surrender their future goals and become disillusioned with the future.

During their training as teachers, the victim experience and pessimistic viewpoint (unconsciously) inherited from their forefathers quite often show up in the students' decisions, in their reactions to certain professional or life situations, in their conflict management and coping methods.

In this paper, we will first show the ideal attitude towards the past, the present, and the future, based on the theory presented by Philip Zimbardo and John Boyd,[3] which leads to a much more balanced and happy life for individuals as well as at the level of nations.

Then we will outline the reflection phase model based on the new insights, with the help of which, in our opinion, the attitude of the students at the Faculty of Reformed Theology towards the past, present, and future can be shaped in a positive direction.

Introduction

The Hungarians' history is replete with painful episodes. (Today, most (Transylvanian) Hungarians consider the Trianon Peace Treaty signed in 1920 to be the most painful moment of their history.) According to social psychology studies, brooding over the past can have an impact on the world view of entire nations; the tragedies of the past have caused a certain victim experience and a pessimistic outlook to be embedded into the Hungarian culture.[4] It is very difficult to change the mentality based on the traumas of the past, passed down through generations; change is most feasible perhaps at the

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[3] See: ZIMBARDO, Philip – BOYD, John (2012): *Időparadoxon.* Budapest, HVG Books.
[4] http://teszt.maszol.ro/kulfold/22028-felmeres-a-vilag-egyik-legboldogtalanabb-nemzete-a-magyar (last accessed: 03.11.2020).

local level since micro-communities – family, congregation, school – also play an important role in determining what and how is passed down to the younger generation regarding the history of the nation(al minority).[5]

In the education of future religion teachers, we consider it is important for the students to get acquainted with and practise such methods and techniques that, if they apply them, can prevent the intensification of the inherited self-pity or, in certain cases, it can help override it. In most cases (but luckily not in all!), our current students have seen and witnessed in their parents and grandparents the prevalence of the attitude that whatever they tried in the past, it usually ended in failure, in defeat. It is not a coincidence that the feeling of powerlessness, of futility seems to be taking hold in many of them; they are characterized by loss of purpose, and they are seldom willing to make an effort to improve their lot.

Changing the pessimistic attitude towards the past, towards events in the past is necessary for future religion teachers and pastors because, on the one hand, recognizing past grievances and fears and preventing them from guiding and influencing their attitudes towards the present as well as the future can have several positive effects on their professional and personal lives. On the other hand, it is important for future helping professionals to develop a much more mindful and future-oriented perspective because, as educators of the next generations, the role model they represent makes a huge difference. (The attitude towards the past of the Romanian churches and denominations as well as a comparison of the past perspectives of the individual denominations has already been explored and analysed within the *Healing of Memories* project[6]– our faculty also

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[5] On this subject, see: LUKÁCS, Olga (2020): Az erdélyi magyar egyházak kisebbségi sorsból adódó összefogása az 1918-at követő korszakban, mint történelmi megbékélési forma. In: *Studia Universitatis Babeş–Bolyai, Theologia Reformata Transylvanica* 2020/1; FAZAKAS, Sándor (2006): *Emlékezés és megbékélés. A múlttal való szembesülés egyházi és teológiai kritériumai.* Budapest; KLEIN, Cf. Christoph (2003): *Bosszú helyett megbékélés. A megbékélés kultúrájának teológiai alapvetése.* Budapest; Kereszténység és nemzeti egység a Kárpát-medencében. A balatonszárszói népfőiskolai konferencián elhangzott előadások 2002. július 22–28, Budapest; GESZTELYI, Tamás (1991): *Egyházak és vallások a mai Magyarországon.* Budapest.

[6] The *Healing of Memories* project was preceded by an interconfessional and interdisciplinary study and consultation. The study compared the historical perspectives of the churches, denominations, and cultures in Romania. The results of the study are summarized in the following publications:

actively participated in this project –; therefore, in this paper, we focus on the possibilities of the individual.)

In our paper, we summarize the theory on the time perspective of the world-renowned Philip Zimbardo, psychology professor at Stanford University, and we highlight the importance of developing the ideal, balanced time perspective for a healthy self-esteem and a much more fulfilled, successful, happy personal and professional life of future teachers.

Next we will get acquainted with a professional learning method, a process model of the reflection on experiences in which the aim is to "progress towards the core", but we do not wish to achieve this through a deep analysis of the past experiences of the students; instead, the model provides clues to expressly deal with the present and to concentrate on the future, on the development of the ideal, desired situation and behaviour.

The Importance of Identifying the Time Perspective
for Successful Decision Making

Our lives consist of a series of decisions. Some struggle more, some less before making a decision. Teachers are frequently required to make decisions in the course of their professional activity. Sutcliffe and Whitfield[7] divide the decisions to be made by teachers in two categories: not immediate, longer-term, so-called reflective decisions and

BRANDES, Dieter (2005): Healing of Memories. Eine Aufgabe christlicher Kirchen in Europa. *epd-Dokumentation* 40. 16–25.

LUKÁCS, Olga (2008): Das Versöhnungsprojekt „Healing of Memories" in Rumänien und die Beziehungen zwischen der Konfessionen aus Siebenbürgen in den 16-17. Jahrhunderten. In: Lakkis, Stephen – Höschele, Stefan – Schardien, Stefanie (eds.): *Ökumene der Zukunft. Hermeneutische Perspektiven und die Suche nach Identität.* Frankfurt am Main, Otto Lembeck. 200–218.

LUKÁCS, Olga (2007): Healing of Memories in Romania. A Protestant Approach to Church. In: BRANDES, Dieter (ed.): *Healing of Memories in Europe. A Study of Reconciliation between Churches, Cultures and Religion.* Leipzig, Evangelische Verlagsanstalt. 86–101.

LUKÁCS, Olga (2020): Az erdélyi egyházak ezeréves együttélésének szinopszisa. L'Harmattan, Budapest.

[7] FALUS, Iván (ed.) (1998): *Didaktika – Elméletialapok a tanítástanulásához.* Budapest, Tankönyvkiadó.

immediate, on-the-spot decisions. In the case of a favourable outcome of our decisions, we feel joy and satisfaction, while if the outcome does not meet our expectations, we can experience remorse and failure. According to Philip Zimbardo,[8] the key driver of our decisions is our so-called subjective time perspective. These points of view determine our thoughts, our feelings, our actions, and the way in which we assign meaning to events in our lives.[9] An inadequate sense of time can distort all these and can lead to unsuccessful decisions in various aspects of our lives. This is why it is important to know our own time, be aware of it, and actively shape it.

In his very simple but all the more interesting theory, Philip Zimbardo starts from the idea that time is relative – it has both an objective and a subjective angle.[10] The objective time means the actual passing of time, while the subjective aspect of time perception is the level of the personal experience, influenced by our emotions and our current life situation. Therefore, our attitude towards the past can be positive or negative. When people with past-positive thinking speak about their lives, they highlight primarily the beautiful experiences, joyful events, and often even in case of disappointments they mention their gratitude for being able to take something with them or learn something from that event. On the contrary, past-negative people will mostly mention their failures, their losses, and their lows. In the same way, our attitude towards the present can be of two kinds. Present-hedonistic people experience the joys of the moment, what the "here and now" offers (being careful not to let this essentially positive attitude turn into the opposite), while the present-fatalist attitude is mainly along the lines of "I never succeed in anything, it's not even worth trying." Future-oriented people are characterized by setting specific goals and working assiduously towards those goals, while transcendentalists are preparing for their reward in the after-life or for their next life.[11]

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[8] Zimbardo – Boyd 2012, 15.

[9] Edith Eva Eger, of Hungarian origin, who survived the Auschwitz concentration camp and then became a psychologist in the United States, provides a wonderful example that even under the most inhuman conditions it is worth looking for things to grasp at and that one can break out from the bondage of fatalism caused by a painful past. The essence of Edith's decision therapy: to defeat our self-limiting convictions. The past cannot be changed, but everyone decides for themselves how to react to the past. Her book, published in Hungarian language: EGER, Edith Eva (2017): *A döntés*. Budapest, Libri Kiadó.

[10] Zimbardo – Boyd 2012, 135.

[11] Op. cit. 338–340.

In the education of future religion teachers, we consider it important to develop a healthy self-esteem in the trainees, and we think that this also requires the past to provide them with roots, to enable them to live the joy of the moment and to have ideas, plans, goals for the future (but without them living in the future), that is, a strong past-positive, a moderate present-hedonistic, and a moderate future-oriented and transcendentalist perspective is what helps them the most in their private and professional lives.

Zimbardo and Boyd developed a questionnaire to assess time perspectives.[12] Individual sections of the questionnaire map the attitudes related to time; this way it identifies whether the person mulls more frequently over the past, the present, or the future and whether the feelings connected to the dominant timeline are rather negative or positive. By filling out the questionnaire, teacher trainees can assess independently the dominant time perspective of their lives, and by knowing this they can efficiently improve their outlook.

Personal Development towards
a Mindful and Future-Oriented Outlook

A study on the vision of Hungarian youth finds that it is mainly characterized by insecurity, defeatism, and low propensity for risk-taking.[13] According to another study, despite their young age, university students have a pessimistic view of the future, most of them are not expecting economic growth in the future, and they have completely lost confidence in the traditional establishment (the leaders and the media). In view of this, it is an interesting correlation that one of their important goals is *for themselves to exert a positive influence on the community and society*[14] (as their leaders will not do that for them).

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[12] Op. cit. 136–153.

[13] https://hvg.hu/itthon/20130529_Elszomorito_kutatas_zavaros_ellentmondaso (last accessed: 17.11.2020)

[14] SZABÓ, Elvira: *Radikálisan új célok és bizalomvesztés, avagy mi van az Y és Z generációfejében.* Available at: https://lelkizona.blog.hu/2019/09/06/radikalisan_uj_celok_es_bizalomvesztes_a_mai_fiatal_generaciok_a_szuleikhez_kepest (last accessed: 03.11.2020).

Valér Veres finds in his study[15] that the Hungarian youth in the Carpathian Basin paint a more negative image of the country and the society as a whole than of the evolution of their personal situation. They see the future development of their economic and social status, and especially of their personal situation, as a very positive one.

In the education and training of the young generation, an excellent starting point can be the generational characteristic that they have a much higher social responsibility than the members of earlier generations; therefore, they view self-awareness, self-education, and self-development (besides perceiving their benefit regarding their personal and professional life) as a "social duty" since through their self-development, through the development of their personality they can have a positive influence on their community and on the society at large.[16]

*Personal Development Exercises for Raising Awareness of
and Creating the Ideal Time Perspective*

In our Reformed teacher training institution, certain disciplines (vocational development, Christian psychopedagogy, etc.) provide an opportunity for the personal development of the students as well. Without the intention of being exhaustive and serving illustrative purposes only, we provide here a number of personal development exercises which can (also) be used to create the ideal time perspective.

According to Alfred Adler,[17] founder of the school of individual psychology, the first memory a person recalls opens a window onto their entire life. These "introductory" episodes are also revealing with regard to time perspective. Not the objective veracity of the memory but rather the content it carries for the individual is the most important – namely because these influence our thoughts, feelings, and actions, and thereby they retroact on the remembrance of the past. A skewed time perspective can quickly get us into a vicious circle and the inadequate behaviour can become permanent.

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[15] VERES, Valér (2014): A kárpát-medencei magyar fiatalok életeseményei, társadalmi-gazdasági helyzete és közérzete. In: *Erdélyi Társadalom* 2, 2. Available at:https://erdelyitarsadalom.adatbank.transindex.ro/pdfdok/et4_2k4_2_tanulmany_1_2.pdf.

[16] Blumenfeld, Remy: Gen Z at Work. Available at: https://www.forbes.com/sites/ remyblumenfeld/2019/10/15/gen-z-at-work8-reasons-to-be-afraid/?sh=2f72c94d33a9 (last accessed: 11.05.2020).

[17] ADLER, Alfred (1997): *Emberismeret: Gyakorlati individuálpszichológia.* Budapest, Gönczöl.

We cannot change the past, but we can change our attitude towards it. We can work on this with a very simple "Who am I?" exercise.

Who Am I?

For an active reconstruction of your past, characterize your past self with twenty attributes and then select three life events, but consciously choose events to which negative feelings – anger, fear, guilt, abjection – are attached. Look for a positive lesson related to each event and then think about how you can use these efficiently in the future. In the following two weeks – or possibly even longer – compile a daily gratitude list, that is, write a list of the positive events at the end of each day. After two weeks, repeat the "Who am I?" exercise and then compare it with the previous list of twenty attributes. Notice whether bringing awareness to and thinking through the positive things has changed your outlook and the way you see yourself in your everyday life.[18]

Life Path Analysis

The point of the exercise is to identify the positive persons in your past (family members, teachers, mentors, pastor).

Who are the persons who influenced your life, your profession (your career choice)? Mark them on the timeline of your life!

Think for a minute how could you thank them for what you have received from them?

Value Clarification

Where do your values come from? From whom have you learned what to consider important, good, or bad in life? Draw up a list and set an order of importance among the persons on the list. Write "1"next to the most important source, "2"next to the second most important, and so on.

To whom are you most thankful?

Think for a minute how could you thank them for what you have received from them?

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[18] Zimbardo– Boyd 2012, 309–310.

I decided that until .... the latest I will thank .... what he/she has given me by ....

Bringing Awareness to and Formulating Future Goals

State the main goal inyour life!

The most important goal inmy life is:

The achievement of this main goal is related to the following secondary goals: goal no. 1, goal no. 2, goal no. 3, goal no. 4, goal no. 5, etc.

What do I have to do to achieve these goals?

(To achieve goal no. 1, to achieve goal no. 2, to achieve goal no. 3, to achieve goal no. 4, to achieve goal no. 5, etc.)

Identifying Strengths and Weaknesses

Draw up a list of your strengths and weaknesses! Think about how you could turn your weaknesses into strengths.

Based on Daniel Ofman's model,[19] identify your core qualities and notice what strengths are hiding behind your pitfalls.

Achieving the "Here and Now" State of Being in Practice

The notion of here and now became known in the Hungarian language area from the writings of Kabat-Zinn,[20] who imagined the "mindful" state as active presence in the "here and now" situation. The person observes with alert consciousness and then releases stimuli from the outside world and from the mind. Learning the method helps

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[19] OFMAN, Daniel: *Ofman Core Quality Quadrant*. Available at: https://www.toolshero.com/communication-skills/core-quality-quadrant/.

[20] Books about mindfulness available in Hungarian language:
KABAT-ZINN, Jon (2015): *Bárhova mész, ott vagy*. Ursus Libris.
SZONDY, Máté (2012): *Megélni a pillanatot. Mindfulness, a tudatos jelenlét pszichológiája*. Budapest, Kulcslyuk.
TEASDALE, J. – WILLIAMS, M. – SEGAL, Z. (2016): *Tudatosjelenlét a gyakorlatban*. Budapest, Kulcslyuk.

to prevent images from the past or future to distract us from the presence: while practising the here and now, the person observes the thoughts, feelings, and other contents that come up but does not pursue them, only labels them and then returns to the present. S/he contemplates the dynamically changing contents of thought and feeling without assigning more importance to one than to the other. Through constant practice, the person will acquire an internal resource, a coping method that can be accessed any time in the everyday life, be it a decision-making or a conflict situation. It helps us stay clear of extremes, control our feelings and emotions as well as improve our ability to concentrate.

From the perspective of the spiritual development of future religion teachers, it is also important to learn the "techniques" needed for the creation of the here and now state of being because during prayer we can get in touch with our true selves and with God only if we "tune out" the outside world. Mindfulness is emphasized, therefore, during prayer.[21] The effectively lived human life is happening in the presentness, in the reality of here and now. And in the present we experience constant encounters with ourselves, with the other person, and with God. Mindfulness is meant to describe that state of being in which we try to grasp with our attention the situation taking place in the given moment, when we are not recalling events from the past and we are not planning our future. Memories remain from the past, and the future has not yet come. Living in reality means living in the present.

In order for the teacher trainees to find their way, they must pay more attention to the present moment, must live, feel, grow, and change in their own time. By practising mindfulness, by experiencing the present moment, they are handed a great opportunity: the more they succeed to use the present actively, the more deliberate their decisions and actions will be.

The Flow Experience

The flow experience, described by Csíkszentmihályi,[22] meaning the total immersion in various activities, can also be linked to mindfulness. Time perception modifies in the flow state, and the person becomes almost oblivious of time, like a child at play. In the

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[21] See: JÁLICS, Ferenc SJ (2014): *Szemlélődő lelkigyakorlat*. Jezsuitakönyvek.

[22] CSÍKSZENTMIHÁLYI, Mihály (1997): *Flow: Az áramlat. A tökéletesélménypszichológiája*. Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó.

flow state, we do not focus primarily on the end result of the activity but rather enjoy the process itself that leads to the result. The experience is so liberating that the person forgets even to worry about the effectiveness of the outcome; therefore, the flow is helpful in the most creative activities.

Therefore, besides practising mindfulness, in the training of future religion teachers, we consider it important to introduce structured exercises that strengthen in the students the past-positive feeling that gives them roots. As a central element of self-acceptance, the past – bridging time and space – connects the person to themselves while conveying the sense of continuity of life (it enables the person to stay in contact with their family, their traditions, and their cultural heritage). With the help of the future perspective, students can envisage a much more hopeful, optimistic, and powerful future for themselves.

Besides the structured exercises, we attach great importance in the education of religion teacher trainees to the so-called core reflection phase model, by the practice of which a much deeper reflection can be achieved, drawing on the present situation and concentrating on the ideal future situation, so that the (negative) events of the past are only touched upon in order to bring awareness to essential elements that are relevant for the reflection.

Core Reflection – Focusing on the Strengths, on the Ideals
Instead of the Negative Occurrences of the Past

In order to process the successes and failures experienced during teacher training and in the first years of their career while practising their profession and to reflect on them, an experienced instructor, a tutor is by all means necessary to guide the reflection process and give support regarding the content of the reflection. This is so because during the practice the experience to reflect on may refer to the environment (what has the student encountered?), the behaviour (what has he done?), the competences (what is the student competent in?), beliefs, ideas (pedagogical convictions), but much deeper levels can also be subject to reflection, such as the calling (Who am I in my work?), the mission (What inspires me?), or the level of religious spirituality (What is my relationship with God like? What image of God lives within me?).[23]

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[23] GORBAI, Gabriella (2013): A mélyreflexió alkalmazási lehetőségei a vallástanárjelöltek tevékenységének optimalizálásában. Cluj-Napoca, Egyetemi Műhely Kiadó. 83.

In the case of future religion teachers, we have considered it important to allow for the reflection of the specific religious spirituality. Therefore, we have inserted an internal layer into the onion model of the reflection content, which, placed with optimal efficiency over the layers of professional calling and mission, in our opinion, provides the addition that religion teachers need for a professional and spiritual fulfilment. We defined this layer as the layer of religious spirituality, which overlays the innermost layer of the onion model, the mission layer, and further enriches the content of the religion teacher's reflection. Ideally (but not in every case!), the work of the religion teacher has spiritual dimensions as well: their mission originates from God and the aim of their work is the "introduction of the Gospel and of God's actions towards the redemption of the sinful humankind".[24]

At the level of religious spirituality, trainees can reflect on questions that preoccupy them, such as: What is my relationship with God like? What image of God lives within me?[25]

By building into the study curriculum the reflective processing of the students' own experiences (touching on the inner layers of the personality as well), it becomes possible for the students to become aware of the role of their own personalities in their professional activity. Thereby we help them to be open to requesting supervisory assistance in case of difficulties and blockages in the course of their careers, to getting to know themselves more deeply, to increasing their professional consciousness, and to development and positive change.

Core Reflection as a Possibility for Growth

When teachers and instructors first hear about core reflection – which considers the connection to the deeper layers of the professional's *person* to be the cornerstone of professional efficiency and effectiveness –, they are often anxious about its therapeutic tinge. Their main reason for concern is that most people associate "digging deeper" with the analysis of shocking situations and problems.

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[24] SZABO, Lajos: *Teológiaés praxis*. Available at: http://nyitottegyetem.phil-inst.hu/teol/szabo.htm (last accessed: 12.11.2009).

[25] Gorbai 2013, 83.

One of the fundamental principles of positive psychology, which provides the basis for core reflection, is that focusing on the problems, the "there is an illness that needs to be brought under control" mentality of traditional psychology is not at all efficient with respect to human growth.[26] Through the method of core reflection, we become acquainted with a professional learning method, the aim of which is indeed to "go deeper" but not focusing on negative emotions (like negative feelings associated with childhood trauma). It is a fact that in the course of core reflection we often inevitably touch the sphere behind the professional area. Such core qualities as self-confidence, courage, purposefulness, etc. play a role not only in the professional activity of the teacher but also in their private lives. The inhibitory, limiting factors like "I am not important enough" or "I am sure they will not like me" are very likely to limit more than their ability to teach. In other words, it is impossible to draw a sharp line to separate essential professional traits and personal biographical aspects.

In the course of practising core reflection, instructors are frequently anxious that looking behind professional issues could cause trouble; therefore, they strictly separate the students' personal and professional personas, and in the reflection process they stick exclusively to professional issues. However, by so doing, they miss the opportunity to discover the power of the levels of calling, religious spirituality, and mission in the professional development of the teacher trainees.[27]

Korthagen's[28] core reflection method is rather an alternative solution to perceive a problem situation or a crisis. A crisis can be viewed as a problematic thing, the solution of which falls into the competence of a therapist, but we can also view it (and this is the purpose of core reflection) as an opportunity for growth. If the tutor or instructor facilitating the reflection of the teacher trainees possesses some supervisory skills, they can use the method as a stimulus to help the students get in touch with their inner potentials.

Core reflection is, therefore, not psychotherapy; however, as we will see below, it builds on psychotherapy in many things. It is owing to the psychotherapist, among others, the recognition that not only people in crisis may need advice but also those persons

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[26] See: PLÉH, Csaba (2004): A pozitív pszichológiai hagyományok Európában. In: *Iskolakultúra* 5. 57–61.

[27] Gorbai 2013, 85.

[28] KORTHAGEN, Fred –VASALOS, Angelo (2010): From Reflection to Presence and Mindfulness: 30 Years of Developments concerning the Concept of Reflection in Teacher Education. In: Lyons, N. (ed.): *Handbook of Reflection and Reflective Inquiry*. New York, Spring.

who would like to make the most of themselves, who wish to be more successful, more content in any aspect of their lives. The authors of the core reflection method *aim to achieve this goal not by processing the injuries suffered by the individual in the past but by specifically dealing with the present and concentrating on the future*[29] without attempting a deep analysis of past influences.

<div align="center">

Justification of the Use of Core Reflection for the Professional Development of Future Religion Teachers

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Although core reflection deals with the present and focuses on the future, it is recommended to be used in the training of future religion teachers because it also provides a formal framework for the trainee to reflect on the level of religious spirituality. In the course of core reflection, the religion teacher trainee can be connected with core qualities like love (on a deeper level), sacredness, meditation, or anticipation, qualities that, in our opinion, can be localized at the level of religious spirituality.

On the other hand, we consider that the tutor–religion teacher trainee relationship in which core reflection takes place is an assisting relationship as well, wherefore we consider that all those stated by Gábor Hézser regarding the pastoral carer–client relationship are valid for the tutor–religion teacher trainee relationship as well:

> "Spirituality enables people to organize the mass of their everyday experiences into a coherent, meaningful whole. It allows an interpretation of reality that provides a frame of reference for life, and thereby it is a conserving force. The longing for a fulfilled life finds a framework. This is one of the crucial conditions for a balanced life... The helping practice always has a latent or overt spiritual dimension. This may manifest in the explicit or perceptible but unuttered questions of the assisted person. And it manifests in the spiritual habitus of the carer – since Mihály Bálint we know how significantly the carer's personality, wherein spirituality or the lack of it is also a constituent part, influences the helping process. It is not just a phrase, it is a fact that the doctor, the carer is (one of) the best medicines."[30]

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[29] KORTHAGEN, Fred –VASALOS, Angelo (2005): Levels in Reflection: Core Reflection as a Means to Enhance Professional Development. In: *Teachers and Teaching: Theory and Practice* 11, 1.

[30] HÉZSER, Gábor (2008): A spiritualitásról – gondolatok nem csak protestánsoknak... In: *Studia Universitatis Babeş–Bolyai, Theologia Reformata Transylvanica* 2008/1–2. 209.

Based on our experience in the past years, it is a certainty that in the course of teaching practice, in the selection of the instructors, it is an essential point of view for the students to learn from teachers who represent role models of vocation, of commitment to the profession as well as of religious spirituality and sense of mission.

The Core Reflection Phase Model

People are generally inclined to meditate on what did not go well in their work instead of rejoicing at their successes. It is true for almost all reflection-based approaches that the experience to be reflected on usually identifies with a "problem situation", but as a side-effect this feeds the feeling of inadequacy. On the contrary, the fundamental idea of positive psychology is that people have to harness their personal abilities, their core qualities in order to behave in an optimal manner,[31] and thereby their actions will be more efficient on the one hand, and the fulfilment of core qualities will also fulfil the persons themselves on the other.

The representatives of positive psychology[32] state that focusing on the weaknesses and deficiencies leads to a narrowing of the repertoire of possible actions of the individual, and as a result of this, through negative emotions about their experiences, people tend to move into a kind of a "tunnel thinking", that is, they tend to think within the boundaries of a problematic framework.

This finding was the starting-point for Korthagen when he formulated the core reflection phase model.[33] The process model does not force the reflecting person to reflect exclusively on positive situations. Teacher trainees may reflect on either positive or negative experiences, the point is that the instructor will help them to get in touch with their core qualities. *The essence of core reflection is precisely that instead of the negative experiences it focuses on the successes, i.e. instead of the problematic situation, it focuses on the core qualities existing in the person as well as on the ideal situation that can be obtained due to these qualities.*[34] This can be a way to avoid the development and strengthening

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[31] OLÁH, Attila (2004): Mi a pozitívuma a pozitív pszichológiának? In: *Iskolakultúra* 14, 11.

[32] SELIGMAN, Martin – CSÍKSZENTMIHÁLYI, Mihály (2000): Positive Psychology: An Introduction. In: *American Psychologist* 55, 1. 5–14; FREDRICKSON, Barbara (2002): Positive Emotions. In: Snyder, C. R. – Lopez, S. J. (eds.): *Handbook of Positive Psychology.* Oxford, Oxford University Press.

[33] See: Korthagen –Vasalos 2005, 9.

[34] Op. cit. 10.

of the past-negative time perspective in the trainees and rather to encourage them to stay in the here and now and formulate a much more positive future perspective.

Besides this, another important merit of this core reflection is that it helps teacher trainees or practising teachers to actualize their personal strengths, called *core qualities* in core reflection.

Based on his research, Martin Seligman[35] found that our *work* can be much more fulfilling if we are able to make it more sensible by the frequent use of our core qualities. According to him, in order to maximize our satisfaction, we should preferably use our characteristic strengths, our core qualities every day in our work. If we give meaning to our work by using our strengths, our core qualities, then not only our tasks will become more enjoyable but even routine work or a settled career can become a vocation. (The frequent "flow" experiences arising from the work performed this way will soon replace the role of material reward as the primary reason for carrying out the work.)

By moving the focus in core reflection from weaknesses to possibilities, or strengths, teacher trainees can get in touch with their core strengths, which leads to the development of the optimal operating state, the so-called flow state.[36]
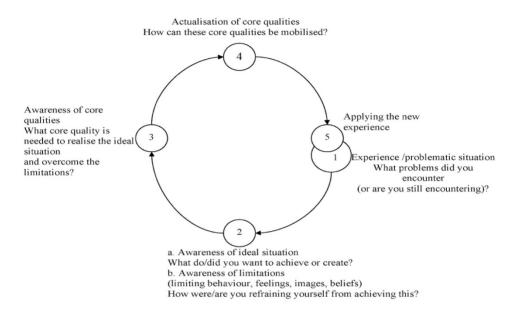
The *initial phase* of the core reflection process is identical to what usually characterizes reflective approaches: there is an experience within a concrete situation, which provides a basis for reflection. As a rule, the reflection is induced by something that constantly preoccupies the teacher's mind. This can be dissatisfaction with a previous class or a casual event which influenced the teacher's relationship with the pupils. Of course, the reflection model cannot force us to reflect on negative situations alone.[37] We can also reflect on positive experiences, and an important way to help people get in touch with their core qualities is just that: to focus on successes rather than on negative experiences. It is not necessary, therefore, to insist upon an analysis of what went wrong (retrospection into the past, recalling and reliving negative events from the past, etc.), especially if we notice that the reflection process also comprises the *anticipation*: phase four focuses on developing more successful lines of activity. This includes the fact that in the course of the reflection process the person drafts mentally an ideal situation, which the person will try to achieve in the fifth phase.

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[35] SELIGMAN, Martin (2007): *Autentikus életöröm – A teljes élet titka*. Budapest, Laurus. 121.

[36] Korthagen–Vasalos 2010, 11.

[37] Op. cit. 58.

The Core Reflection Phase Model[38]

The phase model of Core Reflection
(Korthagen, F.; Vasalos, A. 2008)

In the *second phase* of the core reflection phase model, the main goal is not the comprehensive analysis of the problematic situation, as in the case of other reflective approaches, since the essence of core reflection is the connection to the inner levels of the individual by exploring the core qualities, and the utilization of the new possibilities arising from these. Accordingly, the following questions can be of use:

- 1. What is the ideal situation that you want/wanted to create?
- 2. What are the limiting factors that prevent the achievement of the ideal situation?

The fundamental idea of core reflection that one must focus more on the ideal situation has caused a breakthrough in reflective approaches. Korthagen et al.[39] realized that it is not always necessary to make at first an in-depth analysis of the problematic

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[38] KORTHAGEN –VASALOS 2005, 57.
[39] Op. cit. 13.

factors of a situation in order to get to the notion of the ideal situation. Reflecting on someone's ideal is a very efficient method to understand the essence of the problem that the individual has faced. If success is regarded as a situation that is close to the individual's ideal, then, instead of the problematic situations, it is more expedient to look at successes or ideals as the starting-point of the reflection process.

Based on their findings, Meijer, Korthagen, and Vasalos[40] stated that such an approach brings people closer to *positive feelings*, and this agrees with Fredrickson's empirical discovery that positive feelings promote creative problem-solving.[41]

> "Positive feelings arise in circumstances that are not threatening, when quick decision-making is not necessary, that is, the momentary thought and action inventory of the person is not narrowed down. These positive feelings can actually prompt individuals to abandon their well-tried behavioural schemes, their automatic everyday routines, and apply new, creative and spontaneous ways of thinking and acting."[42]

Based on his research, Fredrickson concluded that positive feelings expand the capacity for attention and the sensitivity to details – compared to negative and even neutral feelings. And the expanded attention focus contributes to the strengthening of cognitive processes by increasing the probability of recalling available information.[43] This outcome must be taken into account in the learning process of teacher trainees.

Thus, in the second phase of the core reflection model, the first question refers to an ideal situation, the creation of which is the aim of the teacher, and therefore it is closely connected to the levels of identity and vocation. In the process of awareness raising, it is often revealed that the difficulty of the teacher trainee in reaching this goal is not just a problem related to the current situation, but it crops up in other situations as well. In this case, a comprehensive analysis of the problem is recommended, i.e. the *identification of the possible limiting factors*.[44]

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[40] MEIJER, P. C. – KORTHAGEN, F. A. J. –VASALOS, A. (2002): Supporting Presence in Teacher Education: The Connection between the Personal and Professional Aspects of Teaching. In: *Teaching & Teacher Education* 25, 2. 297–308.

[41] Fredrickson 2002, 125.

[42] Op. cit. 128.

[43] Op. cit. 131.

[44] Korthagen –Vasalos 2005, 58.

Generally, these factors are triggered in the teacher trainee by the specific environment (e.g. a problematic class); at the same time, the limitations that manifest themselves in a concrete situation are often found to be beliefs and ideas that also influence the individual's (professional and personal) life in general. The limiting factors can appear in many forms:

- *limiting behaviour*: e.g. fear of confrontation,
- *limiting feelings*: e.g. "I feel myself weak.",
- *limiting ideas*: e.g. "This is a disorderly class.",
- *limiting beliefs (obsessions)*: "I cannot influence what is happening within the class."[45]

By becoming aware of the ideal situation and of the limiting factors, the teacher trainee may experience a kind of internal tension, a contradiction. Let us look at the teacher trainee who wishes to feel safe in the role of teacher (ideal situation: self-confident behaviour in class) but is convinced that s/he – as a teacher trainee – does not yet possess the abilities of an experienced leader (limiting belief).

At this point, it is more relevant to make the teacher trainee aware that it is up to him/her whether or not s/he lets these limiting factors influence his/her behaviour. According to Sheldon,[46] becoming aware that the choice is in their hands is the most fundamental factor in the personal and professional development of teacher trainees as this contributes to the development of personal autonomy.

Defining the tension arising while experiencing the ideal situation and the limitations is often enough to enable teacher trainees to formulate their actual issues, which can be the root of numerous other problems. Starting from the example mentioned before, the teacher trainee has become aware of the tension between the desired situation – feeling self-confident and calm in the classroom – and his/her limiting belief that this is something that only very experienced teachers can achieve. In the course of this awakening, the teacher trainee gradually realizes that the nervousness s/he feels in class, the small conflicts s/he has experienced as well as the uninspiring tasks given to the pupils are all related to the underlying tension. S/he would have liked to act with self-confidence and calm, but s/he was held back by his/her belief that the achievement of this

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[45] Op. cit. 57.
[46] SHELDON, K.M.–WILLIAMS, G. –JOINER, T.(2003): *Self-Determination Theory in the Clinic: Motivating Psychical and Mental Health.* New Haven, CT, Yale University Press.87.

must be "saved for a later time", and therefore s/he could not mobilize his/her self-confidence as a core quality.

In the next, *third phase* of the core reflection process model, the aim is to become aware of the core qualities. In this phase, teacher trainees determine what internal characteristics (core qualities) are needed to achieve the ideal situation and overstep the limitations.

The particularity of the core reflection method is that it directs the attention to raising awareness about such existing core qualities as creativity, confidence, care, courage, sensitivity, firmness, spontaneity, commitment, flexibility, empathy, compassion, love, or even spirituality and transcendence.

When applying core reflection, it often happens that the teacher trainees are able to identify their core qualities after the second phase. If this is not the case, there are a few strategies through which the tutor leading the practice can help the teacher trainees become aware of their core qualities. One such strategy is to encourage the trainee to recall relevant past experiences when the trainee was able to achieve the desired situation. For instance, the trainee who did not succeed in acting self-confidently and calmly in class can try to recall situations in which he did indeed act with self-confidence and calm. The recalled experience can be connected to a completely different environment – maybe these abilities were felt while coaching a pupil at home. Drawing inspiration from this past experience, the trainee can become aware that it does not require a great effort to appear spontaneous, self-confident, and independent. Now s/he starts to understand that s/he already possesses the core qualities needed, but, more importantly, by recalling the positive experience, s/he can relive and feel these core qualities and s/he can resolve to mobilize these qualities (again). After taking that decision, the trainee will try to find an answer to the question: how to build on the core qualities in the next class to influence his/her behaviour as a teacher.[47]

This question, however, will be answered at the *fourth level* of the phase model. This phase of the core reflection model regards the realization of the core qualities, i.e. the ways in which these inner qualities can be mobilized.

The *fifth phase* of the process model consists of trying out the new experience, followed again by reflection.

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[47] See: Korthagen –Vasalos 2005, 65–71.

Core reflection stresses that when someone is connected to a core quality, it is important to support the person in taking the steps towards realizing that quality. In this process, it is important to harness the core qualities hidden in the individual and to establish an effective personal behaviour. In order to achieve this goal, it is indispensable for the reflecting persons not only to perceive but to connect emotionally as well to their core qualities, to take the step that leads to deliberate decisions about using their core qualities and then to carry out those decisions. Usually this requires supervision, but with enough practice the teacher trainees and experienced teachers will be able to steer their learning process by taking into account the levels of identity, vocation, and mission.[48]

This process model makes a more fundamental and deeper reflection possible compared to those in which reflection only touches the levels of behaviour, abilities, and beliefs.

The reflection on a classroom event can even lead to the reformulation of the professional identity or the mission (vocation). For instance, the teacher trainee in the example did not consider him-/herself a self-confident teacher, but this changed after the core reflection; moreover, s/he became more self-confident than before in all aspects of life. This is proof that it is impossible to draw a sharp line to separate essential professional traits and personal biographical aspects. A characteristic of the core qualities is that they have a high translational value, i.e. if students succeed in mobilizing them in connection with one situation, they will very probably be able to realize those in other areas of life, as well. Through the realization of core qualities, the person can enjoy several flow experiences, and the positive emotions brought to the surface by these will contribute to a much happier, healthier, and more satisfied life.

Conclusions

"It is a common perception that pessimism is characteristic to Hungarians, that it is part of our stereotypes about ourselves. Obviously, the stereotype is not equally valid for everyone, but the way they think about the country determines their attitude towards the nation, it may influence the individual's mentality and behaviour, and from

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[48] Korthagen –Vasalos 2005, 63.

this point of view it is not that important whether or not it has a basis in reality", says Lilla Koltói.[49]

Based on Zimbardo's subjective time perspective, she characterized the Hungarian nation as having a past-negative, present-fatalistic attitude without future-orientation. Besides presenting the time perspectives in the study, we also highlighted the possibility that with assiduous work we can change our attitudes towards the events in our lives in order to live much more harmonious, healthier lives. If we can transform to a certain extent the unfavourable time perspective that is generally characteristic in our nation by working on our inner selves, we have already made a giant leap towards our personal development and towards a much more positive characterization of our nation.

Of course, it would be too ambitious an undertaking to promise that by learning a few methods and techniques we can open the path for individuals and nations to learn a more mindful and future-oriented outlook and that by applying these we will be able to embellish our past, to look at past events as resources that give us wings, but we believe that if these attempts are successful on the local level, global changes may follow.

According to the WHO, objective factors such as generosity or attentiveness (love?) are the underlying elements of life satisfaction. These qualities are called core qualities in core reflection, and in the model the aim of the reflection is to discover and mobilize the core qualities. Thus, these core qualities, besides fulfilling the individual and having an important role in the achievement of the flow state, can also enhance life satisfaction. The process model helping teacher trainees' reflection sets our attitude to past events a perspective that is different from previous reflection models; instead of a detailed dissection of mostly negative past experiences, it touches on the past event only inasmuch as it provides a starting-point to allow them to live the present much more consciously and formulate more clearly their future ideals, i.e. the desired situation.

In our opinion, by the systematic application of core reflection, the ideal time perspective of the individuals – a past-positive, moderately present-hedonistic, and future-oriented perspective – can be achieved in time. "Be the change you wish to see in the world", writes Mahatma Gandhi. We believe that changes brought about at the level of individuals can also have a positive effect on the appreciation of our nation.

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[49] KOVÁCS, Rebeka: *Miért pesszimisták a magyarok? Íme a magyarázat.* Available at: https://www.life.hu/eletmod/20200414-miert-pesszimistak-a-magyarok-ime-a-magyarazat.html (last accessed: 30.10.2020).
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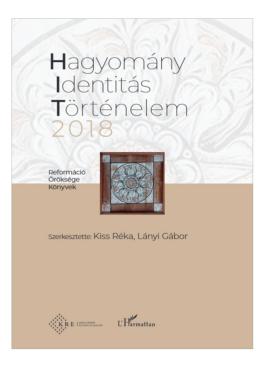

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*** https://hvg.hu/itthon/20130529_Elszomorito_kutatas_zavaros_ellentmondaso (last accessed: 17.11.2020).

NÉMETH László[1]:

Hagyomány–Identitás–Történelem–2018
[*From Church Founders to the Prohibited and Tolerated Pastoral Care Church History Volume on the Legacy of the Reformation*]**, Réka Kiss–Gábor Lányi (Eds.), L'Harmattan, Budapest, 2019, 480 p., ISBN 978-963-414-570-7**

"The process through which we assimilate our past contributes to and shapes our identity: it is a burdensome heritage that determines, sets tasks and sets a direction, but it is also a treasure we can be proud of." – said András Gér at the opening of the *Tradition, Identity and History (HIT2018)* conference held on 25–26 October 2018. According to the coverage of the *www.reformatus.hu* portal, the synod advisor of the Reformed Church in Hungary (MRE) also emphasized that: "We must face what is behind us and understand why we have become what we are! As a result, we proudly but humbly assume our identity among our fellow human beings."

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The first edition of the conference series on Reformed Church history was organized in Budapest by the Department of Church History of the Faculty of Theology at the Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church in Hungary, the Faculty of Reformed Theology of Babeș–Bolyai University, and the *Református Közéleti és Kulturális Központ Alapítvány* [Reformed Public Life and Cultural Centre Foundation]. According to the introduction of the volume, "the organizers of the scientific meeting wish to provide a scientific forum for workshops, collections, and especially young researchers in the Carpathian Basin studying Reformed church history and cultural history, ensuring room for informal exchanges, exchanging of research results and raising questions as well as having collective reflections". The second conference was held a year later, in October 2019, at the Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church in Hungary.On that occasion, the volume containing the lectures of the first meeting was presented. Due to the coronavirus pandemic, we still have to wait for the third edition; so, the organizers are counting on those interested to engage in online conversations on the topic.

On behalf of the organizers of the 2018 edition, Réka Földváryné Kiss, Head of the Department of Church History of Károli Gáspár University, stated that: "Our denominational identity determines the issues we raise and the perspectives as well as paradigms in which we think. However, not only the parallel narratives of denominations are present: a more serious challenge is that those who view church history from within know that Reformation began with a faith-deepening approach, but the external approach tended to focus on culture and mentality-shaping effects." The coverage on the website of the Reformed Church in Hungary also revealed that according to the President of the Committee of National Remembrance" today's question is how we could reinterpret our Reformed identity and its role of cultural mediator so that it becomes worthy of its place".

At the 2018 conference, just as at the second meeting a year later, an attempt was made to answer the latter question, which, by courtesy of Károli Gáspár University and L'Harmattan Publishing House, appeared in the volume as the first piece of the Legacy of the Reformation Series. There will certainly be more volumes as there are still plenty of topics – as it was confirmed at the 2019 conference by Gábor Lányi, church historian at Károli Gáspár University.

The nearly half a thousand pages long collection compiled from lectures spanning five hundred years since the beginning of the Reformation includes the studies grouped by century, which comeafter the introduction written by former rector József Zsengellér.

Dávid Csorba, Péter Komlósi, Balázs Dávid Magyar, Sándor Előd Ősz, András Szabó, and Anikó Szilágyi-Kósa speak about the 16th and the 17th centuries. In the chapter, we can find out what new sources there are in the history of galley slaves, where the Reformed ministers were trained, and how adultery was punished; we can get to know Albert Szenci Molnár's correspondence collection, the leading personalities of the Hungarian Reformed Church, and the family names of religious and ecclesiastical origin.

In the chapter on the 18th and 19thcenturies, Ádám Hegyi, Gábor I. Kovács, Béla Makkai, and Zsolt Szabó tell us about "the role of the inventories in shaping cultural memory"; we also get acquainted with the knowledge élites, the organization of the mission presbytery in the Romanian Old Kingdom as well as the relationship between the Protestant thinking and the constitutional principles.

The largest unit of the volume is that of the studies presenting the 20th century, the articles being divided into three parts. Zoltán Boér, Zalán Bognár, Kristóf Erdős, Réka Kiss, Károly Zsolt Nagy, and Róbert Rigó write about the resistance. The topics of the studies include the careers of the professional officers of the counterintelligence, the fate of the prisoners of war, the life of the Reformed congregation in Pasarét during the dictatorship, "the prohibited and tolerated pastoral care in the Reformed church in the 60s" (cultural resistance) as well as the church and collectivization. From the part on institutional history, we can learn about the pastoral trade union in Somogy in 1919, school life, the situation of the Reformed schools in Transylvania, the Reformed assemblies of the Horthy era as well as what the box under the Christmas tree hides and how faith and politics got along in Transylvania. The authors of this part were: András Csűrös, Sándor Czeglédi, Olga Lukács, Sándor Károly Molnár, János Kristóf Murádin, andLajos Szász. The third and closing chapter of the volume presents human destinies and contains writings by Eleonóra Géra, Gergely Isó, Áron Kovács, Gábor Lányi, Katalin Mirák, and Tamás Stark. This part presents the notes and letters of paediatrician Sándor Merétey, the role of János Kardos in the Ordass Trial, the workshop secrets of a samizdat editor, Sándor Fekete's fate, Vilmos Vajta's correspondence, and Bishop Dezső Baltazár.

The *HIT2018* conference volume marks the beginning of a gap filler series. However, not only the series but the volume itself fills a gap. In recent years, no similar comprehensive collection has been published on the history of the last centuries of the Hungarian Reformed faithful or the assessment of history through a Reformed perspective. As in the conference, not only lecturers and authors with denominational institutional affiliation appeared in the volume. As Mrs Réka Földváryné Kiss emphasized in an interview:

rather the choice of topic can be considered denomination-related, and not the interpretation proper.

The great value of the volume is that it covers several centuries and presents the problems, various research aspects and results of at least a dozen related disciplines. The authors include both professors and young researchers, some from the motherland and some from the detached areas, who attended the conference and submitted their papers. There are authors who are staff members of ecclesiastical institutions, and there are others who are have no connection with the topic on a denominational basis. What characterizes all the authors equally, however, is their commitment to research: all of them have tried to enrich the science with new results.

One editor of the Legacy of the Reformation put it this way during the book launch:

> "The study volume is a diverse piece of work in a good sense because it is not incomprehensibly diverse, but it is not only for a narrow group dealing with the given field either." Bálint Ablonczy also drew attention to the fact that the history of the Hungarian Reformed Church is not inward-looking, and without it the last five hundred years of the Hungarians could not be understood either."
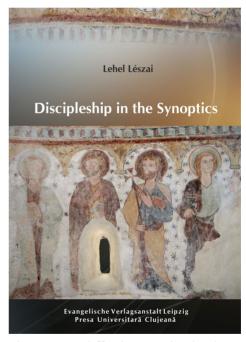
RÁD András László[1]:

Lehel Lészai: *Discipleship in the Synoptics,* Presa Universitară Clujeană – Evangelische Verlagsanstalt Leipzig, 2017, ISBN 978-606-37-0276-1

Most of the readers of this journal are used to finding positive reviews in this section written with the purpose of recommending a worthy piece of academic literature to our peers. With the intention of breaking this pattern, allow me to provide the possible readers with a set of warnings with regard to whom I do *not* recommend this book to. So, if you do not find yourself in any of the predicaments below, do consider picking up a copy of the book as it will not disappoint you.

I do not recommend this book to those who approach academic texts with a hard-line expectation as to the necessity of having circular sentences interwoven with specialized terminology. Lészai uses a linguistic register accessible even to laypersons and presents a difficult topic that has been the focus of scholarly debate for centuries. In the foreword, Professor Péter Balla, Rector of the Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church in Hungary, considers this

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work that studies the "relationship between God and men […] in the light of discipleship" a great asset for Hungarian theological literature.

If you expect that the interpretation of the notion and practice of discipleship includes an exclusively Protestant bias based on the background of the author, this monograph is not for you. The ecumenical sensitivity of the book is highlighted early on as the motto is quoted from Mother Teresa of Calcutta, but the constant susceptibility of the author is evident in every formulated conclusion.

Should you expect discipleship to be a concern of theological institutes and distant from your personal narrative, avoid this book because it does not deal with discipleship as a result of formal training. The relationship it highlights opens up the possibility of participation to the reader in the sense that the author, in his consciously inclusive wording, draws you in and emphasizes that you may also become a disciple in your own context as a member of an unbreakable chain that spans over millennia. As such, we are witnesses of God's plan unfolding throughout history.

Do not seek absolute truths and axioms, rather expect a fruitful dialogue with the author who engages in a pertinent scientific panoply of the most relevant sources. He embarks on a tough endeavour and does so with humility and gratitude.

If you are able to provide a fairly certain off-the-cuff definition to the notion of discipleship, you might find yourself slowly shedding preconceptions while the author takes you on a historical journey into the Anglo-Saxon theological tradition highlighting that the differentiation of the notions of apostle and disciple took a fairly long time.

If you'd rather see the Holy Spirit floating above primordial waters and be present in tongues of flame but not in scholarly processes, this is not the book for you because Lészai brings a refreshing approach of prayer before leaning over Scripture and trying to comprehend its complexities. This is a trait we would definitely welcome in other works of theological reasoning.

If you think that bypassing the establishment of the foremost scholars is a reason enough for being shunned, you will find that Lészai bravely takes on this challenge and returns to the exegesis of the original text focusing on the valuable yield of the historical method's application. He presents the topic of the book embedded in the fabric of history, in which disciples of the 21st century have to find the possibilities of self-interpretation. A subjective range of interpretation on my behalf includes a wishful observation: perhaps the faded mural on the cover page provides an unconscious visual representation of this possibility.

If you consider that faith is a thing obtained by pious churchgoers and not needed by you, stop reading the monograph because Lészai raises thoughts and faith in the readers during the whole 6 chapters, just as he stated in his intention with this research.

If you are still not dissuaded by this time, you must truly be interested in finding out how discipleship is portrayed in the synoptics. Let me try and give you some further warnings.

If you consider that the synoptics undoubtedly belong together, buckle up for a detailed exposition on why this is not axiomatic. The author summarizes several essential hypotheses regarding the correlations between the gospels and shows masterful finesse in taking a stand and building a path towards new possible resolutions as a groundwork for the following chapter.

If you think healing should be done by doctors, service by soldiers, and preaching by priests, you are in for a surprise because in chapter three Lészai notes that the Lord's mission undertaken by Jesus Christ is still an open call to all humanity. We are all called to continue teaching, preaching, healing, serving, and even suffering. The author seamlessly slides into the fourth chapter by quoting Donald A. Hagner: "We cannot understand the nature of Jesus' sending and the meaning of his teaching without knowing very well the religious life of his time." Because of this, in the next chapter, during the examination of the disciples' call, the author tries to gain an insight into the religious life of their era by considering the relationship between other masters and disciples.

If you consider that disciples were instant friends with one another, the author's detailed analysis in chapter four will prove you wrong. He focuses on the radical changes that had to take place in the lives and mentality of the disciples for them to get along. The abundance of problems that arise from clashing theories pertaining to varying aspects of the disciple's commission are equidistantly and fairly presented, and the fact that the author does not choose to commit to any specific side denotes a strong attitude defined by humility rather than anything else.

If you fondly cradle stereotypes of disciples being bearded men, be prepared to have your views brought up to date as the author gives a wonderful exposition on the importance of the service of women disciples.

If you think 160 pages is enough to circumnavigate the ins-and-outs of the notion of calling, note that the disciples were not only called but also sent. The author provides a detailed analysis on how this occurred, who was the agent, where they were sent, and why this came about.

If following through on a tiresome project that lasts for years seems like a dull endeavour, consider the author's story in chapter six. Lészai voiced his doubt that he would not be able to properly deal with such a huge and ramifying subject and questioned his own scholarly efficiency. He sincerely writes: "Investigating different issues I had to deal with the cruel fact that very often I was forced to investigate certain aspects of certain topics – not at all unimportant – only tangentially." Due to the fact that his suppletory work is so valuable for our region, I am thankful that his doubt did not prevail, and this monograph was born. This book is not merely a work of exploration as it dedicates an important part of the final observations chapter to portraying the contemporary significance of the study. Honest reflection makes it possible for the author to draw some general, unchanged, normative conclusions for the disciples who live at the threshold of the third millennium despite the fact that there is a gap of nearly two thousand years of radical change between us and the disciples' original vocation and mission.

Lehel Lészai ends his work with the following: "The triune God has called, chosen and sent us making us worthy to become his serving and suffering fellow-workers according to his unending grace." So, read this book at your own risk, as it might just move you towards a life of service with all that implies. Do not say you have not been warned!
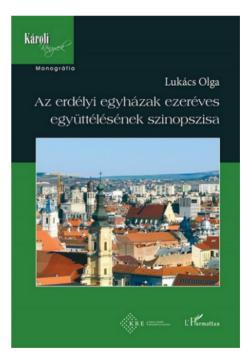
HERDEÁN Gyöngyi[1]:

Olga Lukács: *Az erdélyi egyházak ezeréves együttélésének szinopszisa* [*A Synopsis of the Thousand-Year Cohabitation of Transylvanian Churches*], L'Harmattan, Budapest, 2020, 244 p., ISBN 978-963-414-691-9

Olga Lukács is a professor at Babeş–Bolyai University in Kolozsvár/Cluj-Napoca, a dedicated and renowned Transylvanian historian who was a research fellow in the international *Healing of Memories* (HoM) project for seven years. Many of her publications and studies can be read in prominent national and international journals.

The book titled *Az erdélyi egyházak ezeréves együttélésének szinopszisa* is the shortened form of the author's doctoral thesis published by Károli Gáspár Reformed Unversity and L'Harmattan Publishing House in Budapest in 2020.

In presenting historical events, Olga Lukács does not strive for continuity but presents the past millennium from a peculiar

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historical perspective, a kind of cross-section of side-by-side and successive historical events in relation to the ethnic groups and denominations living in Transylvania. This individual and unconventional historiographical approach is also indicated by the term "synopsis" in the title of the book. The discussion of historical events has a unique approach because it not only reflects the position of her church and the author's individual historical approach, but it also presents the opposite theses, hypotheses, and historical approaches. The introduction speaks about it in the following way:

> "Over the past millennium, Transylvania has belonged to various states, and as a result the centuries-old relations between different ethnicities and denominations have been characterized by lasting cooperation, but also by frequent contradictions, mutual retaliation, and wars. Cooperation was fuelled by the common interests of socio-economic development and Christian affinity, while the differences were characterized by cultural and social underprivilege and religious oppression. As a result of divergent interests, opposite views on and explanations of history have arisen, and, consequently, the historiography of different denominations takes a special position in judging and assessing past events. Historiography has had a significant contribution to the development of contradictions and conflicts."/p. 7/

This unusual personal historical belief, which entails objectives other than the traditional historical approach, has been largely shaped by the scientific criteria of the HoM project, thus describing the thousand-year history and development of the churches in Transylvania based on a synthesis of the outlook and studied history of the different parties.

The author divides the presentation of historical events spanning a thousand years and their synopsis into seven major chapters and 32 subchapters.

In the first major chapter, she primarily discusses the internal tensions of the Transylvanian Catholic Church, the conversion of Hungarians to Christianity, and the construction of the administration of the Kingdom of Hungary. We also find out that: "the history of the Saxons in Transylvania intertwined with the history of the church from the beginnings"/p. 10/; "the settler congregations" strived to "obtain a certain kind of freedom from the perspective of the church."/p. 12/; "the number of the Romanian population increased in Transylvania starting from the 14th century"/p. 19/, who, according to István Szamosközi, "were forced to plunder and revolt because of their socially excluded status."/p. 24/ A list of Orthodox archbishops has been known since the 15th century. The second major chapter presents the formation of new churches in

Transylvania born in the spirit of the Reformation. The author also discusses here the religious anarchy that erupted as a result of the emergence of the three main trends in the Reformation: "the debates around the communion"/p. 26/, "the losses of the Catholic Church"/p. 38/, the extraordinary decision of the Edict of Torda/Turda of 1568 on religious freedom, the consolidation of the Unitarian Church, and the status of the "Calvinist Romanians" /p. 53/. The third big chapter examines the relationship between the churches in the age of the Transylvanian princes, and the fourth chapter discusses the consequences of the Habsburg rule and the Enlightenment. Here we get a glimpse of the history of the "emergence of the Greek Catholic Church" /p. 102/, "I. Rákóczi Ferenc's belief on the pursuit of unity" /p. 135/, and the relationship between the Greek Catholic and the Orthodox Church. The fifth major chapter examines the aspirations of the 19th-century Protestant ecclesiastical union. "The idea of the union was embraced with great enthusiasm mostly by the leaders of the Evangelical Church." /p. 160/ The sixth chapter discusses the institutionalization of the ecumenical movements in the 20th century, of which the "most significant event of the Lutheran-Reformed dialogue is the publication of the Leuenberg Concord." /p. 183/ In the last big chapter, she discusses the events that took place within the new state with regard to the churches in Transylvania "in the time of the terror-oriented regime". /p. 203/

Olga Lukács's monograph, which examines the ecclesiastical relations in Transylvania from the time of the founding of the Hungarian state up to the 20th century, is a milestone in terms of its unique outlook and scientific approach in the field of historiography. In her work, the author undertakes to list the various historical ages and events not only on the basis of the historical view of her own church and nation but also based on the historical view of the "other", the "offended party", in order to facilitate the mutual knowledge of each other's historical views among the different denominations living together in Transylvania. For this very purpose, she uses a very rich scientific literature amounting to hundreds of titles, especially printed publications, archive sources, books, volumes, journals, studies, articles, and also web resources. Reviewing the bibliography, we can state that in addition to authenticity and historical validity, the author is driven by respect and honesty in the scientific immersion and authentic publication of events since in addition to Hungarian historiography, she also used a vast literature produced by many historians of other denominations and ethnicities living in Transylvania.

The author uses very demanding, eclectic, and scientific language in writing her monograph, which makes it understandable and readable. The book was written in the author's native language, Hungarian, but, taking into account the interfaith and -ethnic conditions of Transylvania, the prestigious authentic sources, the author's authentic historical position, it would be advisable to have the book translated into Romanian as well as into German and English in order for it to be known and used by the professionals in the field and even by the community of history teachers.

Útmutató szerzőinknek

A *Studia Universitatis Babeş-Bolyai, Theologia Reformata Transylvanica* c. folyóirat szerkesztősége publikálásra elfogad a teológia vagy a vallásoktatáshoz és egyházi segítő foglalkozáshoz kapcsolódó tudományágak tárgykörében írott tudományos dolgozatokat, tanulmányokat.

A szerkesztőségnek jelenleg nem áll módjában szerzői díjat fizetni a beküldött cikkekért, a szerzők tiszteletpéldányt kapnak abból a számból, amelyben írásuk megjelent.

A *Studia* évente kétszer jelenik meg (júniusban és decemberben), leadási határidő nincs, de a február 1. előtt leadott cikkek az első, a szeptember 1. előtt leadottak pedig a második számban jelennek meg.

A cikkeket elektronikus formában (RTF formátumú állományban) kérjük elküldeni a következő email címre: **studia@rt.ubbcluj.ro.** Kérjük szerzőinket, hogy a cikkben ne tüntessék fel nevüket, a szövegen végezzenek helyesírás-ellenőrzést, és a következő formai és tartalmi követelmények szerint készítsék el azt:

a. A szöveghez legalább tízsoros ***angol nyelvű kivonatot kell csatolni***, mely tartalmazza a cikk angol címét, és legalább öt kulcsszót. Amennyiben először közöl lapunkban, a kivonat mellé írjon egy egysoros leírást önmagáról (akadémiai cím, munkahely, foglalkozás) és egy email címet.

b. A szöveg tagolása áttekinthető legyen. A címeket úgy kell feltüntetni, hogy abból logikusan következtetni lehessen azok rangjára (javasoljuk, hogy a címeket arab számokkal lássák el: 1., 1.1., 1.2.1. stb., de a számozás nem fog megjelenni a lapban).

c. Kerüljék az alapszöveg túlzott formázását (lehetőleg csak a szükséges kiemelések legyenek, dőlt betűvel). A címeket nem kell formázni, rangjukra a számozásból következtetni lehet.

d. A magyar főszövegben mindig magyar nyelvű idézetek szerepeljenek, az idézet eredeti változatát lábjegyzetben közöljék. Használják a magyar idézőjeleket: „ ”. Az öt sornál hosszabb idézeteket kérjük külön bekezdésben, jobb-és baloldali behúzással kiemelve közölni. Az idézeteken belüli idézetek jelölése » « jelekkel történik.

e. A cikk végén az irodalomjegyzék csak azokat a műveket tartalmazza, amelyekre a szerző az írásában valóban hivatkozott. A bibliográfiában a művek a szerzők vezetéknevének magyar ábécé szerinti betűrendjében követik egymást. Ugyanannak a szerzőnek a nevét valamennyi írása előtt ki kell írni, az egyes művek a publikálásuk éve sorrendjében követik egymást, és az ugyanabban az évben megjelent műveket az ábécé betűivel jelzik (pl. 2008a, 2008b stb.). Az egyes műveket a következőképpen kell jegyezni:

A szerzők vezetékneve áll az első helyen KISKAPITÁLIS betűkkel[1], majd a keresztneve, amelyet nem magyar szerzők esetén vessző választ el egymástól. Több szerző közös publikációja esetén a szerzők nevét nagykötőjellel kapcsoljuk[2] egymáshoz, amit szóköz előz meg és szóköz követ (pl.: TÖRÖK István – KOCSIS Elemér – SZŰCS Ferenc). Ezt követi a mű első közlésének éve zárójelben. A név és zárójel után kettőspont áll, majd a mű címe és esetleges alcíme dőlt betűszedéssel, amit pont követ. Jön a kiadás helye, ettől vesszővel elválasztva a kiadó neve. A hivatkozást ponttal zárjuk. Általános mintaként szolgál a következő példa, ahol az írásjelek és egyes szavak szerkesztése pontosan tükrözi a leírtakat: CSALÁDNÉV Keresztnév (évszám): *Cím, Alcím,* Kiadás Helye, Kiadó Neve.

– Önálló kötet esetén CSALÁDNÉV Keresztnév (évszám): *Cím, Alcím.* Kiadás Helye, Kiadó Neve. Oldalszámok. pl.: BARTH, Karl (1924): *Wort Gottes und die Theologie*. München, Kaiser Verlag.

– Önálló kötet esetén, ha reprint kiadvány, akkor a fenti módon tüntetjük fel az eredeti kiadás adatait, és zárójelben a reprint: formula bevezetésével az új kiadás adatait kiemelés nélkül pl.: HALAS-NAGY József (1944): *A Filozófia*, Budapest, Pantheon (reprint: Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1991.)

– Önálló kötet esetén, ha nem első kiadás, a használt kiadás számát a megjelenés éve előtt kisebb, megemelt arab számmal kell jelezni. Az első kiadás évszámát nem kell feltüntetni pl.: NAGY Barna (^{2}1999): *A teológiai módszer problémája az úgynevezett dialektika teológiában.* Budapest, Kálvin Kiadó.

– Önálló kötet esetén, ha az fordítás, a cím után zárójelben az eredeti címet, a szerző után a megjelenés évét, és lehetőleg azt is feltüntetjük az előzőek szerint, hogy hányadik kiadás, pl.: SOGGIN, J. Alberto (^{4}1987): *Bevezetés az Ószövetségbe* (Eredeti címe: Inroduzione all'Antico Testamento). Budapest, Kálvin János Kiadó, 1999. 155.

– Folyóiratban megjelent tanulmányból való idézés esetén nem az idézett közlemény, hanem a folyóirat címét írjuk dőlt betűkkel, amelyet az „In" szóval vezetünk fel, és közöljük a folyóirat fontosabb adatait (évfolyam, kötet), valamint az idézett közlemény teljes terjedelmének pontos oldalszámát. Pl.: MOLNÁR János (2008): A Tízparancsolat, In: *Studia Universitatis Babeş-Bolyai, Theologia Reformata Transylvanica*. 54. 1–2.

– Tanulmánykötetben szereplő írás esetén, vagy közös kötetben megjelent fejezet esetén a folyóiratban megjelent közleményhez hasonlóan jegyezzük, ezúttal a szerkesztő/k feltüntetésével. A szerzők vezetéknevét kiskapitálissal írjuk, a szerkesztőkét viszont nem. pl.: PÜSÖK Sarolta (2019): Interplay of Tradition and Innovation in the Transylvanian Reformed Church after 1989, In: Lukács Olga – Nagy Alpár – Péter István (szerk.): *From Movement to Inherritance – Hidden Assets from the Treasury of Hungarian Reformation*, (Refo500 Academic Studies, Volume 59, Edited by Herman J. Selderhuis). Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 185–192.

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[1] Formátum – Betűtípus – KISKAPITÁLIS, tehát NEM csupa nagybetű!

[2] Alkalmazás módja: Ctrl + a Mínusz jel a billentyűkészlet számai között, illetve Beszúrás – Szimbólumok – Különleges karakterek – Gondolatjel.

– Lexikonban szereplő szócikk esetén: P<small>ÉTER</small> Katalin (1999): *Francisc David (szócikk),* In: Owen Chadwick (szerk.): *Oxford Encyclopedia of Reformation.* New York – London, Oxford University Press, I., 148.

– Levéltári forrásokra való hivatkozás esetén az idézett dokumentum azonosításához szükséges adatokat az illető lelőhely (levéltár és irattár) saját hivatkozási módja szerint kell feltüntetni. Egy levéltári hivatkozásnak mindenképp tartalmaznia kell a hivatkozott irat szerzőjét, címét vagy legalább rövid leírását (pl. XY jelentése), a levéltár nevét, a levéltári fond számát, azon belöl a tétel és a doboz vagy köteg számát, illetve a kötegen belüli oldalszámot. Pl.: N<small>AGY</small> Ferenc: *Helyzetkép a Dél-Erdélyben maradt Református Anyaszentegyház életéről a II. bécsi döntéstől 1943. május 5-ig.* Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára (MNL OL), K 610 (Sajtó levéltár), 91. cs. (Dél-Erdélyi Adattár), VI/11. 11.

– Elektronikus forrásokra való hivatkozás esetén a kiadványra vonatkozó előzőekben megadott összes elérhető adatot követően fel kell tüntetni a honlap adatait és az utolsó letöltés időpontját: B<small>ENKŐ</small> Levente: Magyar nemzetiségpolitika Észak-Erdélyben, 1940–1944, http://www.xxszazadintezet.hu/rendezvenyek/korrajz_2002_konyv-bemutato/ benko_levente_eloadasa.html (utolsó megtekintés dátuma: 2009. július 31.).

Az esetleges hiányzó, az adott publikációban fel nem tüntetett bibliográfiai adatot a megfelelő helyen [szögletes] zárójelben kell jelölni teljes kiírással vagy rövidítve, pl. [hely nélkül/ h.n.], [kiadó nélkül/ k.n.], [évszám nélkül/ é.n.].

f. A lábjegyzetek a következő minták szerint készüljenek:
10 pont betűméret, normál sortávolság, sorkizárt. Minden lábjegyzetet egy mondatvégi írásjel zár le.
A *lábjegyzet-szám* és az utána következő szöveg közé egy nem törhető szóköz kerül.[3]
Az első hivatkozás alkalmával közöljük az irodalomjegyzékben szereplő teljes adatot, végül az idézet, hivatkozás pontos oldalszáma következik. Ha az idézet szövege a forrásmunkának nem egyetlen oldalán olvasható, akkor az idézet kezdő és záró oldalszámát is meg kell adni, mindig teljesen kiírva, a két oldalszám között szóközök nélkül nagykötőjel áll. (pl. 237–238.)
A második és következő hivatkozás alkalmával elég vesszővel elválasztva jegyezni a szerző vezetéknevét kiskapitálissal, zárójelben az első közlés évét, majd az oldalszámot.
Egymást követő lábjegyzetekben ugyanannak a szerzőnek ugyanazon munkája esetében megengedett az i.m. (idézett mű) rövidítés és oldalszám, amennyiben az oldalszám is azonos, egyszerűen uo. (ugyanott) jegyezhető.

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[3] Alkalmazás módja: Shift + Ctrl + szóköz, vagy: Beszúrás – Szimbólumok – Különleges Karakterek – Nonbreaking Space

g. A bibliai idézetek helyét nem lábjegyzetben, hanem a főszövegben, egyszerű zárójelben kell jelölni. A bibliai könyveket a protestáns új fordítású Biblia függelékében (első kiadás: 1975, legfrissebb kiadás: 2014) felsoroltak szerint rövidítjük.

A számozott bibliai könyvek esetében az arab könyvszám és a rövidítés között nincs szóköz, a bibliai könyv nevének rövidítése után nem áll pont (2Móz). A fejezet- és versszámok arab számok, a kettő között szóköz nélkül vessző áll, a versszám mögött nincsen pont (Ézs 1,9). Több, nem ugyanabból a fejezetből származó igehelyet pontosvessző és mögötte szóköz választ el (Lk 3,12; 12,11). Egy fejezeten belül több vers számát szóköz nélküli pont választja el, a fejezetszámot ekkor csak egyszer írjuk ki (Lk 2,2.4.11; ApCsel 2,3.8). Hosszabb szakaszok kezdő és záró versszáma között nagykötőjel áll, sem a nagykötőjel előtt, sem mögötte nem áll szóköz (Róma 8,1–12; Jel 2,2–14).

h. A közölni kívánt cikkek legkevesebb 10, legtöbb 20 oldalasak lehetnek (1 oldalt A4-es papírmérettel, mindenütt 2,5 cm margóval, 12 pontos betűmérettel és másfeles sorközzel kell számítani).

i. Amennyiben a szöveg héber és görög betűs szöveget is tartalmaz, csatolják a betűtípusokat is. Ha a szövegben képek, ábrák szerepelnek, azokat külön, nagy felbontású (javasolt érték 600 dpi, de legalább 150 dpi) JPEG képként csatolják.

j. Ha a szövegben táblázatot vagy ábrát szeretnének közölni, ezeket szerkeszthető formában, külön is szíveskedjenek csatolni. A táblázatokhoz és / vagy ábrákhoz leírást kell csatolni a következő minták szerint:

1. táblázat: *A táblázat adataira vonatkozó rövid elnevezés.*
1. ábra: *Az ábra megnevezése.*

k. A folyóiratban recenziók is publikálhatók, ezek terjedelme nem haladhatja meg az öt oldalt. Köszönettel fogadjuk az új, nem ismert, a teológia, vallásoktatás vagy lelkigondozás terén áttörő eredményeket ismertető munkák bemutatását. A recenzió elején közölni kell a méltatott könyv összes adatait (szerzők, szerkesztők, cím, kiadó, helység, évszám, oldalszám), és mellékelni kell a könyv borítóképét.

A szerkesztőségbe való beérkezésük után a cikkeket elküldjük a szaklektoroknak. (Ezek listáját lásd a borító második oldalán.) A lektorálás névtelenül történik (blind review), egy cikket két szaklektor lektorál. Előfordulhat, hogy a lektorok bizonyos jobbításokhoz kössék egy-egy cikk megjelenését, javaslataikat a szerkesztőség megküldi a szerzőknek, a javított változatnak 14 napon belül kell visszaérkeznie. Amennyiben a szerző túllépi a megengedett határidőt, a cikk már csak a következő számban jelenhet meg.

A lektorálás után a cikkeket betördeljük és korrektúrázzuk, a nyomtatás előtt a szerzők PDF formátumban kefelenyomatot kapnak írásaikról, majd 48 órán belül emailen közölniük kell, hogy az a megadott formában megjelenhet. A szerző jóváhagyása nélkül a cikk nem jelenhet meg a folyóiratban.

A folyóirat megjelenése után a szerzők postán kapják meg, vagy személyesen vehetik át tiszteletpéldányaikat. A lap online változatban is megjelenik, ez már nyomtatás előtt elérhető a http://studia.ubbcluj.ro/arhiva/arhiva_en.php címen.

Instructions for Authors

The editorial board of the *Theologia Reformata Transylvanica* series of the *Studia Universitatis Babeş-Bolyai* journal accepts for publishing scientific papers pertaining to the fields of theology, religious education or pastoral care.

The financial status of the journal does not allow for payments to the authors for their contributions, but every contributor receives a free copy of the issue in which his/her article was published. *Studia* is issued twice a year, namely in June and in December. There is no fixed deadline for the submission of the articles, but please be advised that every contribution sent to the board before February 1 will be published in the first issue, and articles sent until September 1 will appear in the second one.

Articles should be sent electronically, via email (in Rich Text Format) to the following address: studia@rt.ubbcluj.ro. We kindly request our authors not to mention their names in the article. Please do a proofreading of the text sent in for review, and adhere to the following format and content parameters:

a. The language of the article should be English (United Kingdom). Most common issues of using this language are: -ise v. -ize: Use the ending -ize, -ization, -izing (not -ise, -isation, -ising) as in the so-called Oxford (English Dictionary) spelling. (Note that the use of -ize instead of -ise does not include the spelling of words in British English that end in -yse such as analyse or paralyse, which come from Greek.)

b. Submitted text should have an at least ten lines English abstract, the English title of the publication and at least five keywords. The editorial board welcomes a Hungarian translation of the title and the keywords, yet this is discretionary. First-time authors should provide a one-line presentation that includes their profession, occupation, workplace and contact email.

c. The division of the text should be logical and consequent. Headings should be marked by the author in a way that the editors may differentiate them easily (numbering with Arabic numerals like 1., 1.1 etc. is an option, but will not appear in the journal).

d. The initials of the main words (except prepositions, articles, and coordinating conjunctions) in (sub)titles used/mentioned in the article as well as in the reference list should be capitalized.

e. Authors should avoid exceeded formatting of the text (only the important highlights should be formatted with italics). Titles should not be formatted, since their heading level can be deduced from the numbering or other type of marking.

f. The submitted text should only contain citations that have been translated into English. Provide the original reference in the source language in the footnotes. Citations exceeding 5 lines in length should be written in a separate paragraph and indented from left and right. Use typographers' quotes: " " for every citation.

g. References to books and articles have to be placed in the footnotes. Please add a bibliography at the end of the article, which includes only the references you have actually cited in your paper. These should be arranged in alphabetical order according to the main authors' last name. Should you cite several works of the same author, the sorting is done by the year of publication. The year of publication should be mentioned right after the name of the author. If your article references works from the same author published in the same year, please arrange them in alphabetical order with a small letter after the year (for instance: 2008a, 2008b, 2008c etc.)

References should be provided by applying the following guidelines:

Start with the last name of the first author, which should be written in SMALL CAPS[1]. Add a comma after the last name, then add the first author's first name followed by the year of publication in parentheses, and a colon.

If an article has multiple authors, the full names of the authors (LAST NAME written in small caps followed by a comma and the First Name in regular formatting having each word capitalised) are separated by an en dash preceded and followed by a blank, i.e.: ANDREWS, Dale – HEITINK, Gerben – JENNINGS, Theodore Wesley (2006): .

The name(s) of the author(s) is followed by the year of publication in parentheses and a colon, then all subsequent elements should be written as it can be seen in the examples below:

Referencing books

- Referencing an individual volume, that has one author:
  BARTH, Karl (1924): *Wort Gottes und die Theologie.* München, Kaiser Verlag. 75–79
- Referencing a reprint edition of a volume requires citing the original edition as presented above, followed by the data of the reprint in parentheses:
  LASTNAME, Firstname (publishing year A): *Title.* Place of publishing A, publisher A (reprint: place of Publishing B, publisher B, 2010). page range.
- Referencing a later edition of a volume requires noting the number of the edition in superscript formatting right before the year of publishing. There is no need for mentioning the publishing year of the first edition. I.e.:
  LASTNAME, Firstname ($^{\text{number if edition}}$year of publication): *Title.* Place of publishing, publisher. Page numbers.
- Referencing a translation of an individual volume requires indicating the following citation data of the original work in parentheses: original title and the number of the edition (if applicable)

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[1] Please note that writing everything in UPPERCASE is not equivalent to using SMALL CAPS.

LASTNAME, Firstname (^(number if edition)year of publication): *Title* (Original Title: Title in the Original Language). Transl. by: name of translator. Place of publishing, publisher, year of publication of the transation. Page range.

Referencing a journal or conference proceedings

- Upon citing a journal article, the title of the article is not italicised. This is followed by the "In" preposition, then a colon, and the name of the journal formatted in italics, which in turn is followed by the most important citation data pertaining to the journal (volume, issue) as well as the exact page range of the article cited:
  LASTNAME, Firstname (year of publishing): Title of Article. In: *Journal Name*. Volume number, issue number. Page range.
- Upon citing conference proceedings, the pattern is similar to that of citing scientific journals, but in this case the editors of the volume have to be noted. The last name of the author is written in small caps, whereas the last name of the editors has regular formatting.
  LASTNAMEA, FirstnameA (year of publication): Title of Proceeding. In: LastnameB, FirstnameB – LastnameC, FirstnameC (eds.): *Name of Conference Proceedings*. Place of publishing, publisher. Page range.
- Upon citing an entry from an encyclopaedia, dictionary, lexicon, or concordance:
  LASTNAMEA, FirstnameA (year of publication): *The Topic* (entry). In: LastnameB, FirstnameB (ed.): *Name of Encyclopaedia.* Place of Publishing, Publisher, Volume. Page range.

Referencing a primary source from an archive

LASTNAME, Firstname: *Specific Item Title.* Name of Archive (ABBREVIATION), Box, Folder, Collection, Folio or page number. Please note that authors shall use the specific referencing system of the particular archive in order to identify the source of their work. The personnel of the specific archives is always the most competent to mark the exact way of referring to the archives.

Referencing an online source

LASTNAME, Firstname: Title of the article published online. http:// correct link to the source (last accessed: date in DD.Month.YEAR format).

In case of missing citation data, these pieces of information should be substituted by square brackets in their respective places and they should include the category of the missing data. I.e.: [Publisher Missing], [Place of Publishing Missing], [Year Missing]

h. Footnotes

Use 10 pt font size, normal line spacing, justified formatting. Each footnote ends with a full stop. The number of the footnote and the subsequent text providing the reference are separated by a nonbreaking space, which is a special character that can be inserted via the Insert–Symbol–Special Characters–Nonbreaking Space command, or the Shift+Ctrl+Space bar keyboard shortcut sequence.

When citing a source for the first time in the footnotes, you have to add the complete citation data of that specific reference followed by the exact page number of the cited excerpt. If you reference several parts of a work that has multiple pages, note the first and the last page of the work's range joined by an en dash (i.e.: 237–238.).

When citing a source for the second time, it is enough to note the last name of the author in small caps followed by the year of publication, a comma and the page number, ending in a full stop. (i.e. LASTNAME year of publication, 55.) If your article refers to several works by the same author from the same year, the last name of the author in small caps and the year of publication is followed by a small latter (i.e. 2008a), by a comma, the page number, and ended with a full stop. (i.e: LASTNAME 2008a, 55.)

In the case of consecutive footnotes referencing the same work of the same author, you may use the Op.cit.[2] standing in for repetition of the full title of the work, followed by the page number, ending with a full stop. (i.e.: Op.cit. 22.)
In the case of consecutive footnotes referencing the same work of the same author, and the very same place in that specific work, you may use Ibid.[3] This footnote also ends with a full stop. (i.e.: Ibid.)

i. When citing a passage of scripture, include the abbreviated name of the book, the chapter number, and the verse number in round parentheses in the body of the text, and not in the footnotes. Books that have numbers preceding their name are noted with Arabic numbers, and the numbers are followed directly by the abbreviation of the name of the book without any interceding blank spaces. The abbreviation of the name of the books is not followed by a full stop within the parentheses such as in this example: (2Sam). Arabic chapter and verse numbers are separated by colons without blank spaces, and no full stop at the end of the citation within the parentheses: (Isa 1:9). The correct form of citing several verses from different chapters is by using a semicolon followed by a blank space for separating the chapters: (Luke 3:12; 12:11). Several verses cited from one chapter are delimited by full stops; in this case the chapter number is noted only once: (i.e.: Lk 2:2.4.11; Acts 2:3.8). Texts spanning over several verses are noted by

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[2] It is an abbreviation of the Latin phrase *opus citatum*, meaning the work cited.
[3] It is an abbreviation of the Latin adverb *ibidem*, meaning in the same place.

using the starting and the ending verse number connected by an en dash, which is not preceded nor followed by a blank space: (i.e.: Rom 8:1–12; Rev 2:2–14).

j. Submitted papers should have the length at least 10, at most 20 pages (pages should be formatted with A4 paper size, 2,5 cm wide margins on every side, font Times New Roman with size of 12 pt and line spacing of 1,5).

k. If your text contains Hebrew or Greek characters, please attach the fonts to your email.

l. If the text contains images, please attach them separately in high resolution (preferably 600 dpi, but at least 150 dpi) JPEG format.

m. Tables and figures should be attached also separately and provided with a description following these patterns:

Table 1. *The environmental and relational characteristics and institutional network*

Figure 6. *Diagram of local characteristics regarding outsourcing companies*

The journal also accepts book reviews for publication, which should not be longer than 5 pages. Book reviews regarding new publications, which present recent results in the field of theology, religious education or pastoral care. The book review should start with the details of the presented publication (author(s), editor(s), title, publisher, place, year, number of pages) and the scanned image of the cover should be attached.

After we receive the submitted papers, we send them to the reviewers (see their list on the inside cover page). The board uses blind reviewing, one article is reviewed by 2 reviewers. It is possible that reviewers would request the author to improve the article, their suggestions will be sent to the author, and the revised version of the article should arrive back to the editors in 14 days. If the author misses this deadline and does not send the revised version back, the article will not be published in the upcoming issue, yet it may be published in a future one.

After reviewing, the texts will be edited and proofread, the final version of the text will be sent in PDF format to the authors. This copy should be approved in 48 hours by the author. Without this approval, the article will not be published.

After the publication of the issue, contributors will receive a copy by regular mail or personally. The journal is also published in online version, which is available before printing at the link: http://studia.ubbcluj.ro/arhiva/arhiva_en.php.