

SZANTNER VIKTOR

THE HISTORY OF THE DIOCESE OF HAJDÚDOROG FROM THE STARTS TILL 1920.

Titled Dissertation for the PhD Degree

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I. The topic and the intent of the dissertation

My dissertation introduces the history of the diocese of Hajdúdorog from the starts till the year of 1920. The time-limit of the discourse is very broad. One of the reasons is that the Hungarian Greek Rite does not have a standard church-history. At early times there were supposedly only Greek Ceremonial inhabitants living in our mother land and as we can see later on, the other types of eastern ceremonials started to immigrate as time passed. The Eastern Ceremonial Hungarians joined and shared their fate with the Romanian and Rusyn immigration for a long period of time. By keeping the above mentioned in mind I will only discuss the history of the Greek Ceremonial Hungarians which led to the establishment of the diocese of Hajdúdorog. The last discussed year of the dissertation was chosen because the diocese's territorial unity, which was founded in 1912, decomposed peremptorily in 1920.

When I decided to write the dissertation, my intention was to present and to add new or additional historical, public and canon laws to the history of the diocese of Hajdúdorog. In my essay we wanted to study the connection between the Hungarians and the Eastern Orthodox Catholicism and to determine the origins of the Hungarian Greek Rite. I wanted to observe the connection between the protestant and the orthodox and as the result, its effect on the maturation of the national liturgical languages. My main intent was to introduce the root cause of the establishment, the establishment itself, the pre-negotiations and constitutions, administrative processes, political statements and acts.

II. The sources, the method of the exploration of the sources, the premises of the topic's sources.

In my dissertation I have tried to endeavor to use the archives in connection with the topic as much as possible. I have found that it is necessary not to rely only on the diocese's archives but to use other sources as well, for example, different ecclesiastical and state archives were also researched. I have conducted research in the Hungarian National Archive, the P.M.'s and the Ministry of Education and Religion. Besides these, I had processed the episcopacy's reports and researched some family archives in connection with the topic but unfortunately, with only mediocre success. I have examined the files from the H.N.A to find out what was the state's approach towards the Hungarian Greek Rite and the diocese itself and also examined the theories, legal conceptions and acts of the state before the establishment of the diocese. The Esztergom Primate Archive filled several functions during my research. As Hungary's Primate (the president of the episcopate) the Archbishop of Esztergom was in connection with the Hungarian bishops, the Holy See and also with the state. Within the private and public correspondence with the above mentioned organizations I was able to find several subjective statements of the state or the episcopate. As I have mentioned before, this archive fulfilled several functions during my research because if we set aside the primate's jurisdiction, the Primate of Esztergom was the metropolitan of the newly formed diocese, this way it was affected by the diocese's matters. It is possible to reconstruct all the acts of the political, legal and the canon law in connection with the establishment of the diocese. My researches in the Greek Catholic Episcopal Archive were mainly focused on and provided materials for the years after the diocese were established. By processing this archive, it unraveled the first years of the

diocese, the process how the diocese's offices were established, the diocese's apostolic governor and its first bishop's activities, and the acts against the diocese including the Debrecen attempt. There are some files to be found in the Kalocsa's Archbishop Archive within Janos Csernoch's archive in connection with the diocese. Instead of the unwholesome Cardinal Vaszary the episcopate decided to mandate Janos Csernoch Kalocsa's Archbishop to conduct the establishment of the diocese. I have processed the negotiation letters between the archbishop and Vatican's nunciature. There were several books and studies published in connection with the diocese's history but these did not process the activities of the state authorities and they only discuss the connection between the Protestant (reformed) missions and the Orthodox Church sufficiently and they also lack to present the (debrecen's) reformed's connection with the Hungarian Greek Catholic's and with Hajdúdorog. The Tizantúl Diocese's archive provided information on the seat of the diocese, the Debrecen attempt, and the files in connection with the reformed's vox populi. In the Synod's archives I have focused on Prime Minister Istvan Tisza's letters.

With the help of the Parliament's archives I have tried to collect the events that occurred in the parliament in connection with the diocese. My original intention was to visit and research archives abroad but this was blighted because of the circumstances (Beregszász) or because of objective reasons (Rome) cancelled it.

From the press archives, The Greek Catholic Review provides valuable admixture to the diocese's history and also introspects the problems that the Hungarian Greek Catholic's and the Rusyn's are facing and also wedges several archives and bibliographical sources to the topic. Besides the founts, I had also relayed on the indications and statements from the references, as I had mentioned before, these sources engaged the establishment of the diocese. Netzhammer's diary, who was the Archbishop of Bucharest, appears as a reference but in fact, it should only be a simple source. With the help of this diary we can observe the esteem of a politician and statesman over the diocese from another viewpoint and also from a member and functionary of the Holy See's offices. It is important to emphasize Gábor Salacz's book: The Church and the State of Hungary at the age of Dualism, which provides introspection not just into the foundation of the diocese but also into the heir's acts against the diocese. Istvan Pirigyi's works are also to be mentioned. When I had started my work I did not have to start from the beginning because István Pirigyi's, Jenő Gergely's and György Janka's works provided a very strong base, just to mention a few.

Several aspects of the foundation of the diocese were explored but several others were left out of these works or in need of further process or supplement.

III. The framework of the dissertation, main achievements

The title of the dissertation first chapter: The Eastern Ceremonial Christian Hungarians in the mirror of the history. In the first part of the chapter the Greek Catholicism is placed in history and time then the connection is presented between the Hungarians and the eastern Catholics. It is determined, that the eastern ceremonial Hungarians disappeared from Hungary between the XV. and the XVI. century. Small groups were left in the Alföld, in the Nagykunság, in the newly relocated but not Hungarian vernacular Hajdúság and in the Nyírség

which was connecting the aforesaid and the north-eastern Ruysns. There were no written records left of the Eastern ceremonial Hungarians after the bazilitian monasterys died out. Because of this fact it is hard to prove the continuity between the Arpad-aged and the current Greek Catholic Hungarians. The set-back or the accession of the Eastern ceremonial Hungarians occurred because of external reasons. Three factors contributed to the rebirth of the Eastern Catholicism: some Roman Catholic groups joined the eastern Catholicism to preserve their nationality, the hajdú's relocation in Dorog and the Eastern Catholic's Hungarianization. With the introduction of the unions I wanted to picture how the Catholic Church tried to unify with the different eastern churches, this was not only the parameter of the counter-reformation or the Habsburg Empire struggle to unify. To specify, the Christian Church inaugurated because of its belief, however the Habsburg Empire also inaugurated it because of its political interests. Besides the Catholic Church the Protestant (Reformed) Churches also conducted strong mission in Erdély in between the Orthodox Romanians, however these acts were only with temporary success but because of it, the Romanian liturgical language was born. The Holy See constantly referred to the synod's resolutions in 1675 whereas the synod banned the Hungarian liturgical language, however it was unlawful, according to the Church laws and by this analogy the allowance of the Romanian liturgical language was also against the laws of the Church. The aftermath of the unions was the establishment of the church organization itself. The aftermath was not just the organized church maturation or it led to the civilization of the Romanian people, it also contributed to the diversification of the Romanian people according to Romanian historians. After the national and church politics were briefly observed the dissertation turns to the rate of the Greek ceremonials in the whole population. It is set from the overview that the majority of the Hungarian Greek ceremonials lived on the left side of the Tisza. After the data was processed it becomes clear that the Hungarian Greek Catholic national's population doubled in twenty years. In my opinion, this is such a growth, which cannot be reached by natural increment but with assimilation. To sum up the chapter we can say that it is possible but it is unproven that the ancestors of the Hungarian Greek Catholics were strangers.

The next chapter of the dissertation: Struggle for the Hungarian liturgical language and for its own bishopric. The struggle for the Hungarian liturgical language and for the bishopric was not started together and it was not parallel for a long period of time. It seemed that the Hungarian liturgical language can be established without a separate diocese than it seemed that both of them are needed but at the end the diocese was established but without Hungarian liturgical language.

The established union's central motive was to keep the eastern liturgy. This way the liturgy can be kept without a newly formed frame (this was the idea). However the bishopric was the frame of the believers life and the place where they could practice their faith, in which the bishop as the main pastor who governs in the name of God, only subordinated under the Pope. In terms of the Canonic laws, the question of the liturgy and the diocese was not parallel. In our case the problem was that the Hungarian Greek Catholic bishopric was mainly Slavic and Romanian type with similar liturgical language. The need for a Hungarian liturgical language strongly aroused in the 19th century. This need was in close connection with the start of national self-awareness movement in this century. In the parliament which was sat between 1843 and 44, the Hungarian Greek Catholics asked for the translation and publication of their ceremonial books on behalf of the state. However, because of the financial status of the state, no resolution was passed. After the parliament in favor of the Hungarian Greek

Catholic believers, János Leményi the bishop of the Romanian Fogaras turned to the Archbishop of Esztergom with the problem of the Hungarian liturgical language but Archbishop Kopácsy rejected the petition.

During the war of independence, József Eötvös the minister of culture took the responsibility to finance the translation of the needed liturgy. However this act was cancelled due to the failure of the war of independence.

The leaders of Hajdúdorog and the local church held a general assembly in the may of 1866. They wrote a petition to the king I. Franz Josef, the Duke-Primate Simor, the main chancellor and to the parliament. In this petition, they asked for the establishment of a new and independent Hungarian diocese for all Hungarian Greek Catholic believers, however if it is not possible in a short period of time, as a temporary solution, a vicariate with its seat in Hajdúdorog and the and the admission for a meeting which is to be held in Hajdúdorog to settle the problems within the Hungarian Greek Catholics. Despite the petition, no substantive answer was given.

In 1873 the king established the Hajdúdorog bishopric vicar by the proposal of the government. The sources suggest that the government proposed the bishopric vicar to force the Hungarian Greek Catholics to cast off the plan of the diocese. In 1881 they wrote a proposal to the leaders of the country. The proposals were received by the minister, Ágoston Trefort for further comment. Trefort sent the proposal to the leading prelates with the permission of the ruler. The returned comments from the prelates stated that two of them agree but five prelates are against the diocese. The question of Hajdúdorog was thrown to aside again. According to the archives the government possessed a complete plan on establishing the diocese, however because of the resistance from the prelates the government could not act, this in fact shows the close parallel between the church and the state.

In 1896, the question of the diocese arose again. It is clear from the letters in connection with the petition, that the thinking of the government and the Greek Catholics were completely adverse. The Greek Catholics thought that the newly formed diocese's bishop will force out the Hungarian liturgical language. The Government's opinion was that until the Holy See does not provide the use of Hungarian liturgy there is no need for a new diocese. The government was in complete understanding of the Greek Catholic's offences and the Vaszary was ready to provide a solution for the problem. His advice that the Latin should be used in the byzantine liturgy was thrown aside by the government, however as they saw the will of the primate, they asked him to sound-out the intentions of the Holy See and if he receives positive feedback then the government will act in the case.

At the same time – some think because of the reformed- (1896) there was a presentation of the Hungarian liturgy in Budapest which resulted the “anger” of the Holy See over the Hungarian Greek Catholics. The government again stated. The government did everything it could to reach this status, it handed in two memorandums in 1897 but the petition was rejected two times by the Holy See. The National Board was formed afterwards. In terms with the agreement with the Hajdúdorog's Executor Board this organization will fight for the establishment of the diocese. The National Board's standpoint was the following: because of the legal introduction of the Hungarian liturgical language the frame of the existing dioceses should not be interfered otherwise the Greek Catholic believers would be segregated by their nationality which would be disadvantageous for the nation and also for the church itself. The Hungarian government – guided by several interests – from 1881, continuously followed and assisted the struggle of the Hungarian Greek Catholics. The books and papers, which are dealing with this issue, are pointing out that government was not paying enough attention to problem with little exception over time. With the help of this chapter maybe these statements were refuted. The recourses which are

concerned with the history of the diocese are not concerned with the ten years which passed between the Rome pilgrimage in 1900 and the Hajdúdorog's Constant Executor Board's petition which was handed in at the end of 1910.

In the next chapter, I would like to present the happenings of the aforesaid ten years (behind the scenes) which led to the establishment of the diocese. Prime Minister István Tisza (1903-1905) should be emphasized out of the prime ministers of that certain time who always patronized the fight of the Greek Catholics. The Tisza cabinet's opinion was that the Holy See's standpoint can not be changed. Because of this, the changes should be made within the Church's organization (here I would like to remember to the opinion of the government in 1897 which stated the following: it will only support the new diocese if the Hungarian liturgy is accepted). According to the Prime Minister, the best solution would be a separate bishopric but because of the hall provides "little attention towards the Hungarian needs"; it would be satisfactory to strengthen the Hungarian-nature of one of the existing Greek Catholic bishopric. The government was strongly concerned with the plan of the new diocese which was espoused by the bishops of Munkács and Eperjes. The ministry asked in the files in connection with the establishment of Erdély's Greek Catholic Diocese, then the files of the establishment of Zagrab's and Kalocsa's bishopric from the National Archives. The government decided to print huge amount of byzantine liturgical books in 1904. The financial source of this act was also shown in the budget law (the case was ad acta provided by the VKM mandate because of the political situation in 1905). Tisza who was in close connection with earl Szécsen who was the Monarch's deputy in the Holy See, did not want to perform diplomatic acts in the case, his plan was to influence Rome not to cancel the development of the Hungarian liturgical language, with the "use" of Drohobeczky, the bishop of Körös. There was also role in Tisza's plan for the bishop of Munkács's diocese Gyula Friczák, the diocese where the highest number of Greek Catholics lived. Bishop Friczák – was in need of the favor of the Hungarian government because of the changeovers in Máramaros, in the Prime Ministers opinion. According to the theories which were left in the drawer, Hungarian bishops from Eperjes and prebends are needed in the Romanian church-province of Munkács. The Romanian's should receive benefice in Eperjes and Munkács. This way, in the Balázsfala's archbishop election, a fresh and rational power will be chosen later on. The number of prebends in Balázsfalva should be raised from ten to fifteen and in other places from six to ten. With the disbanding of the Tisza cabinet the theories were once again of the agenda. In the next two years there were no steps taken towards the new diocese due to political fights. According to the files the government led by Prime Minister Sándor Wekerle also inquired about the diocese and the Hungarian liturgical language but there was no advance in the case. The government was especially interested and paid attention to the nationalist movements in the concerned territories. When these movements were starting to escalate, then the government engaged the problem of establishing the new diocese. At the end of the chapter the establishment of the Hungarian Greek Catholic Association and the Vasvári Pál Fellowship is mentioned together with the capital city's Greek Catholic believer's relevance.

The title of the next chapter is the following: the establishment of the diocese and the problems of organizing. Hitherto we followed the road that the Hungarian Greek Catholics took until the agreement that a separate diocese will be established for them. We saw that they had to give up their need for the Hungarian liturgy, at least for some time despite the fact that the fight started because of the liturgy it self. Several canonic laws were against this need at the time and the government was not able to provide sufficient help. However it was

different with the separate diocese's establishment, the government was able to act with the help of the laws of the state besides the canonic laws of the Church. Probably this was the reason which led the government to accept the detailed solution and gave up its previous status. The substantive questions were raised in connection with parochial and public laws related to the establishment of the diocese, the appointment of the bishop and organization of the bishopric. These issues will be discussed in the following, and I will try not to forget the historical situation because it has a powerful impact on the discussed and similar issues. The National Board and the Hajdúdorog's Constant Executor Board asked the government to produce a precedent over the establishment of the diocese. The petition was dismissed again because the government sustained its decision from 1896, which only permits the establishment if the liturgy is accepted. After the parliament's upper house discussed the issues in 1911, the establishment was finally accepted. Despite the positive result, the decision divided the Hungarian Greek Catholics. Some of them (mainly rusyns) feared that the fellowships which will not be integrated into the new diocese, will be booked as Russians. Some thought that a Greek Catholic primateship would serve better. The situation worsened when there were already two nominees for the capital city position of the diocese, despite the fact that there was only a precedent over the diocese. There is no data why the government's changed it's opinion and what was the main reason behind it. However, it is a fact that P.M. Khuen-Héderváry and his Foreign Minister Zichy mediated at the king to establish the diocese and the king promised it. Considering that the law stated that the ruler has the right to establish a new bishopric, the main obstacle was dismissed. The Pope was also ready to establish the new bishopric. The episcopacy negotiated over the issue in 1911 between November 9 and 10. The records of the meeting shows that the king and the Holy See supported the establishment and the financials will be provided by the Hungarian state. The proposal and the negotiations with nuncio was preformed by János Csernoch the archbishop of Kalocsa because the primate was ill. Csernoch himself was to effectuate the liturgy before the establishment of the bishopric. During the episcopate's conference the Romanian bishops were not against the bishopric. The next part of the dissertation presents the negotiations between the government and the Church and also the Romanian diplomats intentions to cancel the establishment. The Hungarian sources were only discussing Franz Ferdinand's role in this specific case but in my dissertation I would like to point out that the Romanian archbishop also held important role. The reported diary-parts can give introspection how the Pope, the Romanian king and several other office-holders from the Holy Se were thinking of the Hungarians. After the terms of the Holy See was accepted by the government – diocese but without Hungarian liturgical language - then there were no more blocking elements in front of the establishment of the diocese which consisted 215.500 believers - 85% were Hungarian nationals. Only 8000 out of those who were not Hungarians did not speak Hungarian at all. However there were 120.000 hungarian national believers who were left outside the diocese.

The title of the next chapter: The establishment of the diocese of Hajdúdorog. I. Josef Franz the King of Hungary with his right established the diocese of Hajdúdorog in 6th of may 1912 and Pope X. Pius issued the „Christifideles Graeci” bull to canonize the bishopric established by the King in 8th of June 1912. The first part of the chapter introduces the canonic law terminuses of the establishment and then the founder bull.

The title of the following chapter is the following: The episode between the issue of the bull's and the execution decree. The chapter presents the press's attacks against the new bishopric, the Holy See and the Romanian Greek Catholic bishops and also the protest by the Romanian bishop's in the Eucharistic congress, the heir's and bishop

Radu Demeter's struggle to appoint officers in the diocese according to their wishes. In the meantime after nuncio Raphael Scapinelli negotiated with the Hungarian government, published the decree's for execution in the 1st of December, 1912. There were protests in Szatmár, which was led by fourteen chaplains and also in Nagybánya on the 6th of December where four parishes stated that their parishes are still belong to the bishopric of Nagyvárad and Szamosújvár and they are not recognizing the new bishopric. The functions of the Church and the worldly are detailed in connection with the case. The legal processes which were started in the case by the government were not finished because of the mediation of bishop Miklósy.

The next chapter examines the seat of the diocese. The Establishing Bull named Hajdúdorog but it was known from the beginning that it is not suitable for the position. The chapter introduces the race of the cities for the seat, the Greek Catholics who are divided by the question of the seat. There is a detailed introduction of the Debrecen's Reformed Churches opinions over the seat of the diocese and the diversification it resulted and also the polemy which stood between the Greek Catholics and the Reformed in connection with the establishment of the bishopric and the seat of the bishopric.

The title of the last chapter: From the appointment of the bishop till the denomination of the diocese. In the first part of the chapter I will introduce the assumptions of the bishop's nomination, the acts of the appointment and also will try to find an answer why bishop Miklósy delayed the sanctification. The next part presents the details of the Debrecen attempt, rendering the attempt itself, the funeral, the condolences and the failure of the investigation. After the enactment of the establishment is presented I will review the organization of the dioceses offices under Governing Antal Papp and Bishop István Miklósy. It becomes clear from the chapter that there were not only fights between the cities for the seat of the bishopric but also for the seat of the main office as well. In the previous chapters, the followings were presented: the establishing bull's publication and it's execution's and the blocking movements, acts against the foresaid events. In this chapter the intentions of the Romanian's and the Austrian's will be presented and the reaction to these intentions by the Hungarian government. In the following part I would like to introduce the parish's problems and then to present the life of the diocese in my dissertation. The problems of the diocese will be demonstrated: the clergy does not know each other because they are from different bishopric's and the diocese's financial problems from the establishment. The income of the diocese was very low. Only after the land reform law was accepted in 1920, a law by Istvan Nagyatádi-Szabó, the diocese received some land due to it. The diocese suffered the events of the First World War. Because of the war, the schismatic movements started to spread, mainly in the dioceses of Munkács and Eperjes. The government was skeptical with the Greek Catholics; dozens of disloyalty suits were ongoing against the Greek Catholics, even against Hungarian ones. The army planned to prepare a study over how the monarchy's minorities acted before and under the war. For this study, by the request of the Minister of the Interior, the Ministry of Education and Religion asked the duke's primate for the personal details of the rusyn prelate, their mandate and their studies. The duke primate opinion was that bishop Papp and Novak are Hungarians and reliable by all means. He also had to prepare data of bishop Miklósy. The primate did not like the job that he received, he commented: István Miklósy the bishop of Hajdúdorog is not only Hungarian but the main pastoral of the Hungarians. In the 23rd of oktber in 1918, King Charles arrived in Debrecen to inaugurate the new building of the university but Bishop Miklósy was not invited to the party. The cabinet office tried to

deal with the problem but the leaders of the city decided that if he comes, he can only be a silent participant in the Christian delegation led by Earl Miklós Széchenyi the latin bishop of Nagyvárád. At the premise, Miklósy was able to greet the King as a head of a separate delegation. During the Aster's revolution Miklósy addressed the clergy and the believers to accept the new government of the People's Republic and to participate in the local people's councils. The government wanted to handle the Greek Catholic Churches emphasized, this way there were several negotiations over the financials and the Church's administration. Even the idea of a new Greek Catholic Bishopric arose. After the end of the First World War and the peace talks were over, the diocese suffered major losses. Bishop Miklósy turned to the Holy See in April the 19th 1920 to order the parishes which were left in Hungary and those which will be returned to Hungary under his jurisdiction. However the bishop did not wait until the answer from Rome and took the parishes under his governance. Out of the dioceses 163 parishes, only 82 were left, and because this decrease, the diocese's status was changed and had to face new and completely different problems.

IV. List of Author's Publications

Egy genealógiai könyvbemutatóról /About a genealogical book exhibition / In: Turul. (The Hungarian Historical Society, The Hungarian National Archive and the Hungarian Heraldic and Genealogical Association's bulletin) Budapest. 70th volume, 1997/1-2.book. p. 53 –54

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