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Vatican diplomacy around Trianon from a Hungarian Perspective

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Vatican diplomacy around Trianon from a Hungarian Perspective

Scientific monograph

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Foreword

I thought long and hard about what and how to write about the book by Nándor Birher and Péter Bertalan, as a kind of preface. The authors did not make the task of the person asked to write it any easier. In their relatively brief but professional essays, they discuss the issues that have become prominent in East-Central Europe after 1920. The former Kingdom of Hungary - which, together with the Austrian Empire, formed the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy - was dismembered, an empire that lasted for more than one thousand years, a great European power, was reduced to a small East-Central European country. The reader can encounter ecclesiastical and religious issues of this small country, questions arising from its dismemberment, its changing relations, the developments in big politics and international relations through the specific 'Catholic Church lens'.

The two authors, who are (also) familiar with church history, present the specificities of the changes and their interactions, with a particular emphasis on the Vatican's position and on the events that had a decisive influence on the history of the region between the two world wars.

The changes in church life and relations brought about by the Peace Treaties around Paris, which sowed the seeds of discord for decades, are explored. Furthermore, the way how diocesan relations in some countries of Central Europe - or East-Central Europe - had to be and could be reorganised, and how the Vatican managed to reach agreements with various states.

The book offers many thought-provoking reflections and questions about the different ways in which we can look back on these events that took place more than a hundred years ago, how we can judge the actors of the past and what guidance the past can give us for the future.

It is not a hefty volume, but it is a substantial one. Perhaps there will be a sequel. A work that can bring us all a step closer to understanding an era and its events. However, it will not be easy even after reading such an informative book.

Good reading and reflection!

Szakály Sándor

Keywords: *Treaty of Trianon, Vatican diplomacy, Hungarian ecclesiastical institutions, János Csiszárík, Codex Iuris Canonici, Encyclicals, Central Europe, Roman colleges, Papal seminaries, Habsburg Monarchy, International relations, Church funding, Political stability, Religious freedom, Geopolitical transformations*

Abstract: *The document, titled "Vatican Diplomacy Around Trianon from a Hungarian Perspective," is a scholarly work that examines the geopolitical and ecclesiastical changes in East-Central Europe after the Treaty of Trianon in 1920, with a focus on the role of the Vatican. The book explores the interactions between the Vatican and the reshaped geopolitical landscape, emphasizing the influence of religious and ecclesiastical issues on international relations. The monograph posits that Central Europe is not merely a geographic or economic concept but a "spiritual kingdom" with a shared destiny shaped by interdependence and cultural achievements, despite its history of conflicts. Central Europe's rich intellectual and cultural heritage, deeply influenced by religious convictions and Vatican diplomacy, continues to impact the region's identity and unity. The book suggests that the lessons from the early 20th century, including the Trianon Peace Treaty and subsequent geopolitical shifts, are still relevant in understanding the contemporary political and cultural dynamics of Central Europe.*

The authors encourage readers to reflect on the past and consider how historical events and decisions have shaped present-day Central Europe. The book aims to provide insights into the region's complex history and its ongoing struggle to find its place in the broader European and global context.

Introduction

The unique value of this volume lies in the fact that it was realized as part of a Slovak program with Hungarian collaboration on an exciting topic such as the Treaty of Trianon. Perhaps more than ever, the truth is evident today that peace always begins with humility.

The period following World War I was essentially a prolonged preparation for World War II. However, we can still learn much from this period today. Particularly, we can see how Vatican diplomacy sought to solve serious issues, such as the financing of Hungarian ecclesiastical institutions, including schools, which became almost entirely unsustainable after the Treaty of Trianon.

The volume also showcases how the Vatican attempted to introduce new regulatory methods, such as the first *Codex Iuris Canonici* and the issuance of increasingly significant encyclicals.

Equally important were the ecclesiastical networks, particularly the Roman colleges, priestly seminaries, and training institutions, where prominent figures from several nations could meet each other.

A unique feature of the monograph is the travel diary of János Csiszárík, a diplomat and church figure. This recently uncovered material by one of the authors of the monograph clearly shows the transition from the era of the Monarchy to the post-war period, with particular interest in the long-standing networks and their transformations.

The monograph does not focus on the historical aspects of the legal systems of the newly formed states. Instead, it emphasizes, particularly from the Vatican's perspective, and in light of the aforementioned travel diary, what laid the foundation for the development of national laws. The authors consciously aim to rise above detailed debates on national legal issues, as little new could be learned from them.

However, we can learn something new if we are capable of seeking greater values beyond ourselves, values that ultimately consider the lives of people. We are convinced that this was the primary concern for Vatican diplomacy. They did not want more bloodshed and misery. It is clear that much humility was needed for all this.

From the perspective of the era and the region, Jusztinián Serédi, who was well acquainted with Upper Hungary as well as with

Hungarian and Vatican diplomatic and canon law issues, was a very important figure.

The authors have used the sources to shed light on the current issues of the time, leaving it to the reader's value judgement to draw the final conclusions.

1. East-Central Europe before and after the Trianon Peace Treaty – the struggle of ideologies

For a long time, public opinion has divided Europe, both geographically and politically, into two parts: western Europe and eastern Europe. This unsophisticated view is more accepted the more we look to the West. Some Hungarian historians - István Hajnal, Jenő Szűcs, István Bibó - speak of East-Central Europe as a separate region. The most important characteristic of the region is its variegated and mixed ethnic composition. It is striking that the number of nations here is much higher than in Western Europe. This fact is also important because one of the main problems of the historical transformation of our region revolves around this issue. The national development that began in Western Europe in the second half of the 18th century masked social divisions. In Eastern Europe, differences were made conscious in national categories. A fundamental characteristic of the region was the absolutist, almost unlimited exercise of sovereign power. The divine vocation was replaced at the beginning of the 20th century in Eastern Europe by a revolutionary vocation, the triumphant promise of communism. In terms of how the mechanism works, it has not really changed. A peculiar paradox relating to historical trends in East-Central Europe is that for many centuries this region was the site of multi-ethnic empires: the Ottoman, Habsburg and Russian Empires. When the concept of the nation state was born, everyone in Europe followed the French example. No one was prepared to admit that in East-Central Europe, because of the mixed ethnic composition, it was virtually impossible to draw precise ethnic boundaries anywhere. The fate of our region has been decided in recent centuries by secret pacts between the great powers, and the revolutions and struggles for independence of nations living here have failed with tragic consistency. The awakening of national consciousness has focused attention on assimilation. The politically encouraged phenomenon of natural assimilation covered much larger areas than forced assimilation. Unfortunately, by the end of the 19th century, forced assimilation had also intensified, in which the great powers also played a significant role. In Eastern Europe, the most frequent source of ideas was the West. The farther a region was from the point of origin, the weaker the ideological impact. There is one exception to this, Marxism, which was distorted and strengthened by Leninism, then further distorted by Stalinism. All three systems of ideas denied

national consciousness and suppressed it under the banner of internationalism. Bolshevism ticked and exploded in Russia during the First World War as a built-in inferno in Eastern European societies. It contributed in part to the national tragedies of Versailles and Trianon and made the lives of millions miserable during the decades of Stalin's tyranny.

1.1 The history of Trianon, the struggle of ideologies

Hungary is searching for its place not only in the European Union, but also in the globalising world and in its narrower region of East-Central Europe. Finding the right direction in the complex international context is difficult. The development of transport infrastructure could strengthen our economic ties with Croatia and, indirectly, with the Balkans and the Mediterranean region. To understand such a sudden increase in the radius of action of Hungarian foreign policy, we must resort to the tool of historical analogy - a comparison of the past and present opportunities and interrelationships, and an analysis of the transnational relations that globalisation entails.

The long historical relationship between Hungary and Croatia is well known. This relationship has been full of surprising twists and turns, sometimes traumatically hostile, sometimes dictated by historical cataclysms and close interdependence. The oscillation between the two extremes is also a feature of the recent past.

After the tragedy of the War of Independence of 1848-49, the two countries, under the iron grip of history, sought to figure out ways to find common ground between their mutual interests within the framework of a reviving great power, the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

One very fine example of the shaping of Hungarian destiny is the Croatian-Hungarian reconciliation of 1868. The Croatian-Hungarian reconciliation is relatively rarely mentioned in the literature. *The Constitution of Croatia of 1868 (1868-Hungary and Croatia) established a commonwealth of states, with the king-appointed Ban as the head of Croatia. The law ensured the use of Croatian in the internal administration. Croatia and Slovenia were granted selfgovernment in the spheres of internal affairs, justice, religion, and public education. The Croatian Parliament initially sent 29 members*

to the Hungarian Parliament, and then 40 after the dissolution of the military border guard." ¹

The Croatian-Hungarian reconciliation, modelled on the Austro-Hungarian reconciliation, ensured Croatian-Hungarian relations without any disturbances until the dissolution of the Monarchy, only the great demonstration in Zagreb on 26 June 1868 showed that Croatian national consciousness was strong, because the Croatian National Party did not consider the reconciliation satisfactory. ²

The formation of the Monarchy is a slow process. One important step in this process was the meeting of the Congress of Berlin on 13 June 1878, with the participation of France, Germany, Italy, Russia, Turkey, England, the Ottoman Empire and the British Empire, and the Monarchy. This authorised the Monarchy to occupy Bosnia and Herzegovina. The occupation was carried out amid armed fighting and bloodshed. These territories were placed under the joint finance ministry and military administration and were, therefore, not annexed to either Hungary or Austria.

In the second half of the 19th century, we are reaching the threshold of globalisation in Europe. This process is complex, complicated, and difficult to understand. Nevertheless, the main trends can be discerned:

- 1) The process of the birth of new states is two-faced. On the one hand, alongside the Monarchy, medium-sized state formations - Germany, Italy - are born, which later become great powers.
- 2) The birth of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and the growth of its influence in the Balkans were accompanied by changes. It was only in 1878 that Serbia and Crna Gora (Montenegro) gained full independence and began to exist as small states. In 1882, a kingdom was proclaimed in Serbia, in 1910 in Crna Gora (Montenegro).
- 3) October 1912 - May 1913 is the date of the First Balkan War, June-August 1913 is the date of the Second Balkan War.

The succession of events and the sequence of events show the strict logic of history. The political situation and circumstances in Europe

¹ Hungarian historical chronology from prehistory to 1920. Textbook Publishing Company. Budapest. 1981. p. 361.

² Hungarian history *ibid.* p. 361.

are determined by the co-existence and interaction of large and small nationalisms. The empire-building, transnationalist ideology of pan-Slavism and pan-Germanism also influenced the small nations that were becoming self-conscious under the French influence at the beginning of the 19th century. The main characteristic of small nationalisms is their strong emotional intensity, their search for false historical perspectives and traditions, and their acceptance of the tutelage of strong states and great powers. Croatian nationalism, the Dacoromanian theory, French, Serbian and Slovak nationalism enjoy the support of the Russian superpower.

The transnational Balkan wars of local value have not provided a solution. The first global war, World War I, broke out because of the interests of the great powers. The war can be seen as the first act of politics going global. The second act is constituted by the Peace Treaties around Paris, one episode of which, the Treaty of Trianon, is linked to the history of East-Central Europe through the dissolution of the Monarchy.

The figures provide a good illustration of the final result. The Monarchy with its 676,000 square kilometres of land and a population of 51 million, was a European power despite its many weaknesses.³

The losses in historical Hungary are illustrated in the table below:

Territory	Area in km²	Population (persons)	Population density per km²
Czechoslovakia	63004	3 567 575	56,6
Romania	102181	5 236 305	51,2
SHS for states	21031	1 519 013	72,2
For Austria	4026	292 588	72,7
Rijeka	21	49 806	2371,7
Total area lost	190 263	10 665 287	56,1
Historical Hungary	92 607	7 599 246	82,1
Trianon Hungary	282 870	18 264 533	64,6

Source: ⁴

³ János Honvári: The economy between the two world wars. In. Ed. János Honvári. Aula Publishing House, Budapest, 2003. p. 315.

⁴ Honvári: The Economy *ibid.* p. 317.

1.2 The consequences of Trianon

Territorial changes have had a profound and lasting impact on the country's economic and social situation. The new country became more industrialized: 41.6% of the population, 51.2% of the industrial population and 57% of the factory workers remained in the "new, Trianon" Hungary. Out of 4,241 factories in historical Hungary, 2,075 (48.9%) factories, more than 50% of the manufacturing horsepower and 55.1% of the total production value of manufacturing industry remained in the reduced area.

There is an irresolvable contradiction between the retention of a disproportionate amount of capacity in some industries compared to the extent of the loss of land, and the loss of raw material and consumption markets. According to the figures for the last year of peace before the war, 55.9% of the value of industrial production remained in the new territory. This significantly exceeded the rate of decline of the population and especially of the area. Behind the average there are substantial differences. The production industry accounted for 89.2% of the value of production, machinery for 82.2%, while as for the timber industry only 22.3% remained in the Trianon area. The capacity of one of the most advanced branches of mechanical engineering, the manufacture of transport equipment, was tailored to the needs of historic Hungary and, to some extent, of the Monarchy. Of the pre-war railway network of 19273 km, 8364 km (42.4%) remained. The reduction in the quantity of rolling stock was even greater. The number of locomotives fell from 4,949 to 2,284 (26.2%) and the number of freight wagons from 105,837 to 1,8010 (17%). The raw material base for the manufacturing industry was largely located in the annexed peripheral regions. As a result, the country had to export at all costs to obtain the raw materials it needed. The territorial changes have resulted in the total loss of 2.5 million m³/y of rock salt and 65,000 m³/y of oil. The mining of gold (3500 kg per year), silver (12000 kg per year) and copper (105 000 mazas=1050 kg) ceased. The production of iron ore fell substantially, from 3.9 million to 1.2 million mt/year. Coal remained relatively more within the new limits, e.g. 72% of black coal and 72.1% of brown coal.⁵

⁵ Ibid. pp. 320-321.

Agriculture has been affected by territorial change in contrasting ways.

Distribution of agriculture by type of farming before (I) and after (II) the Trianon, %

	Ploughing	Garden	Meadow	Grapes
I	45,5	1,4	9,3	1,1
II	60,4	1,0	7,2	2,3

	Pasture	Forest	Marsh	Set-aside
I	11,7	25,8	0,1	5,1
II	11,1	11,5	0,3	6,2

Source⁶

The loss of forests was catastrophic; 32.5% of oak forests, 13.5% of beech and other deciduous forests and 2.8% of pine forests remained within the new boundaries. The proportion of forests fell from 28.5% before the war to 11.5% after Trianon. Hungary was an exporter of timber before 1920, but for a long time after the war, the most important import was raw and milled wood. ⁷

The facts clearly show that the most significant economic consequence of the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy was that Hungary, was, overnight, excluded from the world market and became a country dependent on foreign trade. In today's economic terms, it became completely vulnerable to global influences. Its high foreign trade rate made it highly dependent on the development of the world market. The bulk of exports consisted of a few agricultural products, 70 % of which were placed on the markets of four countries by the end of the 1920s. Before the war, just over 13% of the country's national income was realised in foreign trade.

The Monarchy, an empire of 50 million people, was a stable market for foodstuffs, which played a decisive role in Hungarian exports, and was secured by protective tariffs. It is interesting to pinpoint the "foreign trade" turnover rates. 100% of pig exports, 55% of wine, 90% of flour and 75% of poultry went to the Monarchy's internal markets.

⁶ Ibid. pp. 322.

⁷ Ibid. p. 323.

At the same time, 100% of men's and women's clothing, 100% of underwear, 96% of wool fabrics and knitwear and 85% of footwear came from Austria.

The Peace Treaty was and is seen by the public as a tragedy, primarily in the proportion of territory lost. Ferenc Fejtő's lecture series "From Monarchy to Globalisation", also published in a book form, provides a nuanced and far-sighted assessment of the peace treaty. According to

*Fejtő, there will be a turning point in international politics "...when the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy is torn to pieces. Austria will also be put in an impossible position because this will strengthen the support of the Austrians for joining Germany. And as for Hungary, if they fulfil all the promises they have made to the Czechs, the Slovaks, the Serbs, in the event of victory, they will create in the centre of Europe a country in whose policy the only pursuit to be followed will be that of revisionism. This is another excellent example of the role of mistakes in history: historians in France now admit that they did not foresee the consequences of the Versailles and Trianon Treaties, which were foreseeable."*⁸

The danger of the break-up of the Monarchy was already foreseen by politicians at the end of the 19th century. The centripetal force of petty nationalism was growing ever more intense. Confederation was the transnational way of bringing peoples together. Lajos Kossuth's Danube confederation plan was the first proof of this. When the threat of the break-up of the Monarchy was within sight, another confederation plan was the idea known as trialism, which was cherished and supported by the heir to the throne, Franz Ferdinand. The nationalities of the empire were averse to it, seeing it as a way of thwarting their national aspirations. This was one of the reasons for the assassination of Franz Ferdinand and the outbreak of World War I.

⁸ Ferenc Fejtő: From Monarchy to Globalisation. Lectures in Pécs and Szekszárd. Alexandra Publishers. 2002. p. 9.

2. Central Europe is not a “meteorological concept” but a “spiritual kingdom”

Our monograph attempts to show that the lessons of the short 20th century, which started around the "Trianon Peace Treaty" and apparently lasted until the (short) regime change, still have an impact on the life of our region today. We point out that Central Europe is not just a meteorological and economic concept, it is much more than that. It is a shared destiny, shaped as much by struggles against each other as by the experience of interdependence. It is an 'intellectual kingdom' that has been able to produce some of the world's greatest philosophers, physicists, musicians, and painters, and to be at the centre of some of the bloodiest wars in world history. We also discuss how this 'intellectual kingdom' was shaped by religious convictions and, within them, by Vatican diplomacy in the interests of Catholicism.

2.1 Central Europe: cultural island or sandbank?

Until the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, it was not necessary to create a separate "ontology" to explain the ethnically and religiously diverse existence of our region. With varying degrees of enthusiasm, the nationalities living here managed, by the early 1900s, to rank among the most dynamically developing regions in the world, economically, scientifically and artistically. With some occasional struggles, but under the banner of Habsburg dynastic Catholicism, we managed to enforce national and religious tolerance in such a way as to create a society capable of dynamic development.

Of course, there could be ample grounds for debate about the rights and discrimination suffered by certain nationalities in the Monarchy. Every single nation, including even those who were in a position of leadership, could list facts. We will not go into an analysis of this issue in this paper, but it should be mentioned that there are serious arguments on the Slovak side, which the eminent jurist Juraj Janukov describes in his thorough review as follows:

„The national tolerance of the Slovak nation is concerned. Hungarian National Act No. 44/1868 met only minimalist conditions for the use of languages of non-Hungarian nationalities in Hungary. Hungarian was declared the state language in all components of the state and

public administration. For non-Hungarian nationalities, the law allowed the use of their language in county committees, municipalities, churches and in court filings with superior authorities, with the condition that a reasonable number of representatives of counties, municipalities, churches, etc., would request it. The law left the free choice of language of instruction only to folk schools. In lower and ⁹upper secondary schools founded by municipalities or churches, the founder should decide on the language of instruction, and in state schools, the minister of education? The later adopted legal article No. 18/1879 introduced the compulsory teaching of Hungarian in folk schools as well. In the years 1874-1875, the government gradually abolished all three Slovak grammar schools. Apponyi Law No. 26 and 27/1907 demanded that every pupil in the folk school master the Hungarian language both verbally and in writing. If there were only a few pupils with Hungarian mother tongue in the school, the minister could order instruction in the Hungarian language. When the number of Hungarian mother tongue students reached 20, or 20% of all enrolled students, Hungarian had to be unconditionally introduced as the language of instruction for them. Legal article 4/1898 ordered the Hungarianization of the names of towns and villages. ¹⁰ From the midseventies, when K. Tisza became prime minister, who said that the Slovak nation does not exist in Hungary, the government and the state apparatus began to campaign against the Slovak national movement and against the existence of the Slovak nation as such. ¹¹ These activities caused the forced denationalization of the Slovak intelligentsia, which is demonstrated by the fact that only three candidates of Slovak nationality were elected in the elections to the Hungarian Parliament in 1910. The top representatives of the Slovak nation, in a later period, for the stated reasons, adopted the Declaration of the Slovak nation (Martin Declaration) on October 30, 1918, in which they declared the right of the Slovak nation to self-determination as a culturally and historically unified Czechoslovak nation, in the form of the creation of a common state with the Czech nation."¹²

¹⁰ MOSNÝ,P., HUBENÁK,L. Dejiny štátu a práva na Slovensku. Košice: Univerzita Pavla Jozefa Šafárika v Košiciach, 2005. p. 125. ISBN 80-7097-600-4.

¹¹ Ibid, p. 126.

¹² Ibid, p. 173-174.

It was on the ruins that we had to rebuild, or perhaps more accurately, rediscover, what had survived "Trianon", the "Vienna decisions" and the long years of socialism. What we call Central Europe.

Nevertheless, what is this entity? In the early 1990s, there was an enthusiastic effort to define it, but nowadays, it is more a matter of practical economic aspects that have defined V4 cooperation. Thus, it would be also timely to look at the deeper foundations.

The political unity of Central Europe broke up one hundred years ago with the fall of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. But many elements of the former continental empire have survived and still exist today. Not only in the fine stones of its built heritage but also in the shared cultural heritage of its peoples, a strong link exists that can bridge the gaps between diverging interests and the difficulties of living together¹³. Because there are plenty of them. It is enough to point at the different demographic interests of the countries in the region, each of which seeks to fill as much of the territory it dominates with its own ethnicity as possible, marginalising national minorities. As the region is ethnically mixed and diverse and the national territories of the peoples living there almost everywhere extend beyond the borders of the state, the quest for exclusivity is a source of serious conflicts of interest. Such conflicts have persisted for more than one hundred years since the fall of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. And yet... Central Europe is held together by something¹⁴.

What is this power? A shared culture. It is the intellectual and spiritual bond that is the basis of central Europeanness and is a part of European culture. But I will stop here, because it is important to bear in mind that European culture, which is the source of European values, is so rich in colour and nuance that it can only be seen as a unified, organic whole, a system that interprets all aspects of life in the same way and covers everything¹⁵. I am not only referring to the different Byzantine and Roman heritage or to the different cultural milieu of Protestant and non-Protestant peoples, but also to the countless local and regional specificities that can be found in Europe. Unity in diversity - you could say that it is a part of European culture,

¹³ Štenpien, Erik: Dejiny súkromného práva v Uhorsku, Kosice 2011.

¹⁴ Štenpien, Erik: History of the civil law in Hungary before 1918 y.

https://www.academia.edu/9135943/History_of_the_civil_law_in_Hungary_before_1918_y

¹⁵ Štenpien, Erik: Peace Conference in Paris and Negotiations with Germany in 1919. 2021, Glossa Iuridica

but if there is no universal, general rule, no rule that applies in the same way everywhere, then that means that there is no unity, only similarity. The culture of Central Europe is such an entity, rich in unique spots of colour which not only fits into the great European cultural milieu, but it also enriches, shades, and colours it¹⁶.

2.2 East-Central Europe region versus sub-region

Several Hungarian historians - István Hajnal¹⁷, Jenő Szűcs¹⁸, István Bibó¹⁹ - speak of Central and Eastern Europe²⁰ as a separate region.²¹ The Hungarian historian Emil Niederhauser still considers and accepts Eastern Europe as a clear historical concept. In his view, Eastern-Central Europe is only a sub-region, although he acknowledges that this sub-region also has its own precisely definable characteristics.

The two concepts do not clash but rather complement each other and help us to better understand the changes that began in the late 1980s. Emil Niederhauser²² sees the following to be the most important features of development in Eastern Europe:²³

- 1) The region's most distinctive feature is its diverse and mixed ethnic composition. It is striking that the number of nations is much greater here than in Western Europe. This is also important because it is one of the main driving forces behind the whole historical development.

¹⁶ MOSNÝ, P., HUBENÁK, L. *Dejiny štátu a práva na Slovensku*. Košice: Univerzita Pavla Jozefa Šafárika v Košiciach, 2005. 360p.

¹⁷ István Hajnal is a historian, professor, member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Doctor of History.

¹⁸ Jenő Szűcs is a prominent Hungarian historian of the 20th century, university professor and Doctor of History.

¹⁶ István Bibó is an internationally well-known, outstanding historian, and in Hungary the most significant political thinker of the 20th century.

¹⁹ István Bibó is an internationally well-known, outstanding historian, and in Hungary the most significant political thinker of the 20th century.

²⁰ István Bibó: *The Misery of the Small States of Eastern Europe*. Argumentum Publishing House Budapest, 2011.

²¹ Jenő Szűcs: *A sketch of the three historical regions of Europe*. Magvető. Budapest. 1983.

²² Emil Niederhauser was a Hungarian historian, cultural historian, university professor.

²³ Emil Niederhauser: *History of Eastern Europe*. Institute of History. 2001.

- 2) There is a centuries-old tradition of lagging behind the West. Eastern Europe started its medieval development later than Western Europe. The Ottoman-Turkish conquest broke the pace of relative catching-up. The geographical location of the eastern half of the continent is also a decisive factor in the lag.
- 3) The national development in Western Europe in the 18th century and the first half of the 19th century obscured and blunted social differences. In Eastern Europe, the differences became conscious in national categories, e.g. Hungarians for the Romanians meant nobility, Romanians for the Hungarians serfdom.
- 4) An essential characteristic of the region is that state power is, for the vast majority, absolutist, unlimited, almost unpredictable.

The Modern Age has deprived the rulers of the fact of devotion in the West. Divine vocation in the East has been replaced by revolutionary vocation, the messianic promise of communism. The mechanism has not really changed in terms of how it works.
- 5) In Eastern Europe, the most important factor in historical development is the national factor. However, a particular paradox of historical development is that for many centuries this region has been home to multi-ethnic empires: the Ottoman, the Habsburg, the Polish-Lithuanian and the Russian Empires.
- 6) When the concept of the nation state was born, everyone in Europe followed the French example. No one was willing to acknowledge that in Eastern Europe, because of the mixed ethnic composition, it was virtually impossible to draw precise ethnic boundaries anywhere, and that a pure nation-state remained unrealizable.
- 7) Catching up with Western Europe, modernisation meant, precisely because of the autocratic nature of the states, modernisation from above, paternalism in the 18th and 19th centuries. Because of paternalism, parliamentarism remained in its infancy.
- 8) Until today, the fate of Eastern Europe has been decided by the great powers. This is why the revolutionary and independence struggles of the peoples of Eastern Europe have failed with tragic consistency.

- 9) The awakening of national consciousness has drawn attention to assimilation. Natural assimilation affects much larger areas than forced assimilation. Forced assimilation has intensified in which the great powers have played a major role²⁴.
- 10) The religious and denominational question should not be forgotten. In Eastern Europe, the separation of the Western and Eastern Churches brought the first great rupture. The other great divide is between the Christians and the Muslims. Religious differences can also express political differences to this day.
- 11) The dominant currents of thought in Eastern Europe have always come from the West. The further away from the centre of origin, the weaker the impact. One exception to this was Marxism, which became the dominant ideology in Eastern Europe in a distorted form of Leninism. This system of ideas denied national consciousness and suppressed it under the banner of internationalism.

It should be stated that Eastern Europe in our understanding is also a historical concept, which can be used from the early Middle Ages onwards, as opposed to a geographic concept independent of time. The concept of East-Central Europe is also a historical concept, which can be defined as a historical concept from the 10th century onwards. It was then when the states, like old Pannonia defending the western part of Europe along the lines of the Roman Empire, were born. Hungary, Poland, the Czech Republic, Croatia, and the Balkan states have fulfilled this role in different ways and under different conditions throughout the storms of history to the present day. This is the main characteristic and destiny of Central and Eastern Europe as a region. Of course, this is not only a function of geopolitical position. The peculiarities of Eastern Europe have been modified since the 10th century because this is where the West and the East meet. The tragedy of the history of the peoples living here, including the Hungarian people, is that the power of the network of States decided which influence was stronger. Hence, these features are only truly characteristic of this region. The following is a list of the most important ones:

²⁴ László Komáromi: The Question of Territorial Plebiscites after the First World War with Special Regard to Hungary. *Minority Protection Special Issue* (2021) 169-187.

- 1) From a social and economic point of view, the territories to the east of Western Europe are constantly lagging behind, and their half-peripheral and peripheral position is constantly being preserved.
- 2) However, it can be clearly shown that the countries of the region have always endeavoured to make up for the delay, to the extent of their possibilities, and of course in different ways due to their social and economic situation.
- 3) Western Europe has, almost until today, seen East-Central Europe as a buffer to its own political interests. Hungarian history, including the 150 years of Turkish rule, has been a good example of this.
- 4) From an East-Central European perspective, it is also disadvantageous that the small nations of the region are judged according to the influence of the great power of the time. These small nations, however, have their own national consciousness, their own historical identity, and are neither willing nor able to accept a simplistic and homogenising historical and political approach. This is what happened to the region when, under the banner of the socialist camp, international political opinion once again classified the region as part of Eastern Europe. This brings us to the inescapable question of how to relate to our own history.

History is a process. Past decades cannot be erased. There are those who see the last half century as a detour and believe that we must go back to the beginning. This path is not viable for any country in the region, including Hungary.

The decades after 1945 have left indelible marks on the fabric of our society. The old Hungary has disappeared, the horizontal and vertical networks of society have faded into nothingness. In the meantime, the world, and Europe in it, has been transformed; and in Western Europe artificially created 'welfare' societies have emerged, which, with their often hedonistic societies oriented towards material goods, are an example for Central and Eastern Europe, in which the less educated masses, who regard consumption as their priority, want to follow at all costs, even by consuming their own resources and their own way of life.

But the fact is that it is precisely because of our experience and history in East-Central Europe that we are able to hold much more

strongly to the roots that have kept us here for centuries and millennia, and which may well be our future.

2.3 One example: East-Central Europe as a "spiritual kingdom" and Vatican diplomacy

The treaties that (seemingly) ended the First World War not only fundamentally rewrote the destinies of nations and countries, but also caused great trauma for the churches. The collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire meant not only the end of an economic superpower, but also the disintegration of the region's multi-coloured but tolerant religious unity. This was particularly damaging for Catholicism, and therefore, for Vatican policy. The Vatican's diplomatic networks, which had been built up over centuries in the region, were replaced, according to the Vatican diplomat János Csiszárík²⁵, by lawyers and journalists²⁶, and so the preservation of religious unity and peace was a major challenge for all church actors.

In this new, constantly evolving situation, Catholic diplomacy had a great task to perform; and the clear articulation of positions on faith and society became an inevitable task. Vatican policy in the period between the two world wars was well characterised by the papal encyclicals and circulars issued at the time. The starting point was

²⁵ **János Csiszárík** (16 November 1860 - 2 January 1936): a titular-bishop, studied in Košice (Kaschau/Kassa) and Vienna. In 1882, he was a teacher of the faith in Sibiu, and was ordained priest on 15 April 1883. He continued his studies at the Central Seminary and then at the Augustineum where he obtained a doctorate in theology in 1885. On his return home, he became a theology teacher and supervisor of studies at the seminary in Košice. In 1893, he was a teacher at the Holy See, German teacher at the Orsolyte Girls' Training Institute and a court chaplain. In 1906, he was a secretary to the canon counsellor of the Austro-Hungarian Embassy in Rome, in 1907, a papal chamberlain, in 1909, a canon counsellor of the embassy, in 1910, a papal prelate and from 18 November 1911 a canon of Veszprém. On 25 November 1917, he was elected a bishop of the Holy See. 1916-18: worked in Vienna at the Common Foreign Office; participated in church policy negotiations in Germany, Poland and Turkey. In 1920, a Papal Archdeacon, in 1922 Archdeacon of Ségessd. From 1920 he was in the service of the Royal Hungarian Foreign Ministry in the Netherlands and Germany and negotiated in Poland (1923). In 1928, he was sent to the consecration of the St. Stephen's Church of the Hungarian Catholics in New York. At that time, he visited more than 50 Hungarian Catholic parishes in the USA. In 1929, he became an ambassador and minister plenipotentiary in Rome, and retired in 1932.

²⁶ Péter Bertalan: János Csiszárík - the diary of a Vatican diplomat. *Lymbus - Hungarian Studies Publications* 18 (2020) 777-806.

the suffering of the world which the Vatican diplomacy identified as one of the causes of Europe's identity crisis. The Vatican correctly identified the problem as a global, ideological social problem, and therefore, the solution was to be global. Moreover, it was also identified - although it was never explicitly stated - that one of the roots of the problem lay in Central Europe, in the disintegration of the formerly effective Austro-Hungarian Empire.

The Pope Benedict XV²⁷, from 1914 to 1921, published twelve encyclicals entitled *Ad beatissimi apostolorum, Humani generis redemptionem, Quod iam diu, In hac tanta, Paterno iam diu, Pacem, Dei munus pulcherrimum, Spiritus Paraclitus, Principi apostolorum Petro, Annus iam plenus, Sacra propediem*.

The topics of the encyclicals were: on the appeal for peace, on the proclamation of the Word of God, on the coming Peace Treaties, on St. Boniface, on the children of Central Europe, on peace and Christian reconciliation, on St. Jerome, on St. Ephrem of Syria, on the Franciscan Third Order, on Dante, on St. Domonkos.

It is clear from the list that Benedict XV was concerned with both spiritual and political issues. It is also evident that he accurately identified the threats to the world. Of particular relevance to our topic

²⁷ Pope Benedict XV, /Giacomo Paolo Battista della Chiesa/; (Genoa, Sard-Piedmont Kingdom, 21 November 1854 - Rome, Italy, 22 January 1922) was the 258th Pope from 1914 until his death. Born into a noble family, he was sent to the law by his father but later became a priest. He worked as a deputy secretary of state under Cardinal Rampolla and became Archbishop of Bologna in 1907. During his tenure, which coincided with the Great War, Benedict XV made it his main task to alleviate the horrors of war and prevent hostilities between peoples. His conciliatory and charitable work earned him the title 'Pope of Peace'. In 1917, he issued and enacted the new Codex Juris Canonici, the new ecclesiastical code, which was subsequently renewed by John Paul II. In his programmatic encyclical *Ad beatissimi apostolorum principis* (1914), one part was addressed to secular society and the other to the Church. To secular society, the Pope addressed a call for peace. In the section on the Church, he set out the objectives of his Papacy. He reaffirmed his condemnation of modernism in all its forms. Another of his objectives was the formation of the priesthood. His greatest merit was that he was able to govern the Church during the world war and to maintain the neutrality of the Holy See, but he could do nothing to stop the war. All his appeals for peace remained unaccepted by the great powers involved in the war. During the war, the Vatican managed to help the prisoners and the wounded. The Pope's aid made no distinction according to religious or national identity. A reserved personality, he was tortured by public appearances. He died of lung disease in 1922 (he lived to be 67). <http://papak.5mp.eu/web.php?a=papak&o=wMjI09u7n1> (9 June 2020). His activities are described in detail in Gergely: *The Papacy*, p. 259-263.

are his encyclicals *Quod iam diu* and *Paterno iam diu*²⁸ of after the First World War, in which the Pope also spoke specifically about the peoples of Central Europe and the Peace Treaty. In these documents, he stressed that the desired peace had only partially arrived, as there were still serious social and societal tensions in some countries. He stressed that, in addition to political action, the solution would require true religious faith and the implementation of Christian justice, as "decisions of unprecedented weight in history" would have to be taken - in the formulation of Peace Treaties. The Pope stressed that only Christian spirituality can be the basis for creating unity among peoples, just as it did after the fall of the Roman Empire.²⁹

It was clear to Vatican diplomacy that a unified political direction was needed based on the values of Christianity. This aspiration is also the foundation of Christian social doctrine and of Christian socialist and Christian democratic parties and will be a fundamental value of the emerging European Community.

Although various forms of Marxism triumphed in the establishment of a social order, the fundamental Christian values remained inescapable.

"It was not only the industrial class in the big cities that was at home with depravity - other classes had also strayed from the old ways of law and order. A certain so-called educated class not only advanced in boundless immorality but armed itself with the weapons of false scholarship to give the appearance of law to its godless conduct. The

²⁸ Benedict XV, *Quod iam diu*, http://www.vatican.va/content/benedict-xv/it/encyclicals/documents/hf_ben-xv_enc_01121918_quod-iam-diu.html, retrieved 08/09/2021.

²⁹ E una volta che questa Lega tra le nazioni sia fondata sulla legge cristiana, per tutto ciò che riguarda la giustizia e la carità, non sarà certo la Chiesa che rifiuterà il suo valido contributo, poiché, essendo essa il tipo più perfetto di società universale, per la sua stessa essenza e finalità è di una meravigliosa efficacia ad affratellare fra loro gli uomini, non solo in ordine alla loro eterna salvezza, ma anche al loro benessere materiale di questa vita; li conduce cioè attraverso i beni temporali, in modo che non perdano quelli eterni. Perciò sappiamo dalla storia che, da quando la Chiesa pervase del suo spirito le antiche e barbariche genti d'Europa, cessarono un po' alla volta le varie e profonde contese che le dividevano, e federandosi col tempo in una unica società omogenea, diedero origine all'Europa cristiana, la quale, sotto la guida e l'auspicio della Chiesa, mentre conservò a ciascuna nazione la propria caratteristica, culminò in una unità, fautrice di prosperità e di grandezza. http://www.vatican.va/content/benedict-xv/it/encyclicals/documents/hf_ben-xv_enc_23051920_pacem-dei-munus-pulcherrimum.html downloaded: 2021. 09. 08.

*men of this class had the external state order in their way, and in order to destroy it, they had to first attack the Christian religion.*³⁰

It was precisely because of the role of moral force that it became clear that the state alone could not solve the social question. Marxist teaching increasingly replaced religion as the moral guide. At the same time, however, the Church needed to act autonomously on the social question. The Pope stressed that industry treated man as a machine and tried to "operate him as cheaply as possible." The Church, on the other hand, saw man as the image of God. This could be the basis of true human dignity and the solution to the social question. This solution, the realisation of the true essence of human dignity, could only be found in a community which accepted and lived the fact that man was a creature and a child of God. We cannot, he says, allow the community of men to be replaced by a community of money. "What use are the so-called human rights enshrined in our constitutions, of which the worker has so little, as long as the money power tramples social human rights underfoot?"³¹ Workers must be paid their wages, private property is not only a right but also a duty towards other people. But the basis of all this can only be pure morality. Ideally, "the material power invested in labour raises the moral power."³²

One of the major causes of the chaos, social and political disasters that followed the First World War, was the strengthening of socialist, communist ethics against Christian ethics. However, the partly short-lived socialist state formations only brought more blood and poverty. The ecclesiastical response was elaborated by Pius XI.³³

³⁰ Schaeffer Sebestyén: Biography of Adolf Kolping. Schäfer-Schäfer's Adolf Kolping. Vác. 2006. p. 223.

³¹ Schaeffer: Kolping *ibid.* p. 223.

³² Schaeffer: Kolping *ibid.* p. 109.

³³ Pius XI the Pope /Achille Ratti/; (Desio, the Habsburg Monarchy, 31 May 1857 - Rome, Italy, 10 February 1939). The Successor of Benedict XV, Pope 1922-1939. He continued his studies in Rome, obtaining doctorates in theology and canon law. In 1882, a teacher at the seminary in Milan; in 1888, a librarian and then a director of the *Ambrosiana* library (1907). In addition to his academic work, he was also a pastor among the Germans living in Milan, founding the first German girls' home for them. In 1912, he was invited by the Pope to Rome. In 1918, he became an apostolic visitor on a diplomatic mission. In 1919, a nuncio in Poland. In 1920, extremely difficult mission in Upper Silesia and Prussia. In 1921, Archbishop of Milan - His papal programme: *Pax Christi in regno Christi* ('Peace of Christ in Christ's kingdom') gave a way and a purpose to a broken world. In a series of concordats, he ordered the Church's relations: 1922: with Latvia, 1924: with Bavaria, 1925: with Poland, 1927:

2.4 Religious unity, peace, social values, and the protection of creation - encyclicals

Pius XI, in 1928, witnessing the many sacrifices resulting from the world's lack of peace, pointed out that only a common religious conviction could preserve a fragile state of peace. In his encyclical *Mortalium animos*, on the "promotion of true religious unity", he wrote:

„Never perhaps in the past have we seen, as we see in these our own times, the minds of men so occupied by the desire both of strengthening and of extending to the common welfare of human society that fraternal relationship which binds and unites us together, and which is a consequence of our common origin and nature. For since the nations do not yet fully enjoy the fruits of peace - indeed rather do old and new disagreements in various places break forth into sedition and civic strife - and since on the other hand many disputes which concern the tranquillity and prosperity of nations cannot be settled without the active concurrence and help of those who rule the States and promote their interests, it is easily understood, and the more so because none now dispute the unity of the human race, why many desire that the various nations, inspired by this universal kinship, should daily be more closely united one to another.³⁴“

During the two world wars, many encyclicals were published. Even though these encyclicals analysed important and topical issues, their concrete social impact was low in the light of the world wars. Still, they are worth looking at as a lesson, even nowadays.

Pius XI thus continued the legal-theological work of issuing encyclicals intensively. Between 1922 and 1937, he issued thirty-one

with Romania, Lithuania, 1929: with Italy, Prussia, 1932: with Baden, 1933: with Austria, Germany. The 1935 Yugoslav Concordat was not ratified. In 1926, Czechoslovakia, in 1928, France and Portugal, in 1937, Ecuador. -1933-36: Thirty-four letters of protest to the German government about abuses. In his *Mit brennender Sorge* circular (1937), he condemned the serial violations of the Concordat and the pagan doctrine and practices of National Socialism. This circular was read out in all German churches. In his encyclical *Divini Redemptoris* he condemned atheistic communism. Hungarian Catholic Encyclopedia: http://lexikon.katolikus.hu/P/Pius_%20XI_.html (27 April 2020).

³⁴ Pius XI, *Mortalium animos*, https://www.vatican.va/content/pius-xi/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-xi_enc_19280106_mortalium-animos.html retrieved 08/09/2021.

encyclicals, the first of which calls attention to peace, to the peace of Christ, and among which we find some of great importance, warning with full clarity of the impending horrors of fascism and communism. Perhaps too late. But it is not too late to learn that the disasters that threaten us can (in theory) be detected in time and thus prevented.

As we have already mentioned, at first sight, the papal encyclicals seemed to belong to the category of "never received" literature. In reality, though, they expressed social truths which, without being taken into account, would bring about disasters. A typical example is the encyclical *Mit brennender Sorge*, published in his own language - in German - as an exception, or its counterpart *Divini redemptoris*. The first one took a stand against fascism, the second against communism - albeit belatedly - which might have also been the reason why they fell on deaf ears.

Yet it is this pastoral, legal and religious level of the encyclicals that has given and continues to give the basic orientation to all members of the Catholic Church. The religious nature of ecclesiastical legislation is the essential difference between ecclesiastical and secular interpretations of authority. This specific way of regulating religions is also essential today for the confrontation in view of the increasing emergence of religiously based - typically non-Christian - norms in the world.

It would have been appropriate to take religious norms into account between the two world wars, just as it would be important now to pay attention to papal teaching on, for example, nature conservation and social justice or research ethics. These principles, neither fanatical nor exclusionary, keep in line with the traditions of Europe over thousands of years. It is, therefore, important to keep in mind their values which are still relevant today. One example is the fact that in 1925, the Pope John Paul XI. Pius XII, in his encyclical *Quas primas*, which introduced the feast of Christ the King, gave the following justification: *"And We remember saying that these manifold evils in the world were due to the fact that the majority of men had thrust Jesus Christ and his holy law out of their lives; that these had no place either in private affairs or in politics; and we said further, that as long as individuals and states refused to submit to the rule of our Savior, there would be no really hopeful prospect of a lasting peace among nations. Men must look for the peace of Christ in the Kingdom of Christ; and that We promised to do as far as lay in Our power. In the Kingdom of Christ, that is, it seemed to Us that peace could not*

be more effectually restored nor fixed upon a firmer basis than through the restoration of the Empire of Our Lord. We were led in the meantime to indulge the hope of a brighter future at the sight of a more widespread and keener interest evinced in Christ and his Church, the one Source of Salvation, a sign that men who had formerly spurned the rule of our Redeemer and had exiled themselves from his kingdom were preparing, and even hastening, to return to the duty of obedience ... Let Us explain briefly the nature and meaning of this lordship of Christ. It consists, We need scarcely say, in a threefold power which is essential to lordship. This is sufficiently clear from the scriptural testimony already adduced concerning the universal dominion of our Redeemer, and moreover it is a dogma of faith that Jesus Christ was given to man, not only as our Redeemer, but also as a law-giver, to whom obedience is due. ... This kingdom is spiritual and is concerned with spiritual things. ... If the kingdom of Christ, then, receives, as it should, all nations under its way, there seems no reason why we should despair of seeing that peace which the King of Peace came to bring on earth - he who came to reconcile all things, who came not to be ministered unto but to minister, who, though Lord of all, gave himself to us as a model of humility, and with his principal law united the precept of charity³⁵"

The "ideological" foundations of Vatican policy are described in detail in the papal texts mentioned here. As indicated, this form of regulation can be of great importance, since it is here that the regulatory levels of law, morality and religion are linked³⁶. However, all this is of little value, if the truths expressed in the encyclical are not translated into everyday practice.

East-Central Europe is the region where the ideal of Christianity, as set out in the papal encyclicals, still flickers, and it is this ideal that still underpins the cultural unity of the region. It is precisely these aspects, therefore, that can continue to hold us together in the future.

³⁵ Pius XI, *Quas primas*, https://www.vatican.va/content/pius-xi/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-xi_enc_11121925_quas-primas.html

³⁶ Regulatory complexity. Ed. Nándor Birher - Árpád Homicskó. Patrocínium. Budapest. 2021.

3. Binder in fragmentation – the role of colleges and contact systems

3.1 The Collegium Germanicum et Hungaricum

One of the most influential figures in Vatican politics between the two world wars - at least from a Hungarian perspective - was Justinian Serédi's youthful socialisation in a Roman, international context. He studied in colleges where sons of different nations lived together. He was always open to respecting national diversity, understanding different points of view. He also learned languages by walking and talking with his fellow students in different languages every day, although he only started learning Slovak after Hungary regained the annexed Northern territories of Hungary. It was this international culture that allowed him to use his network of contacts for his diplomatic purposes.

It is also significant that his close colleague, Zoltán Meszlényi, also studied in Rome at the Collegium Germanicum et Hungaricum, which was the representative of East-Central Europe at the time³⁷. The development of culture³⁸, the formation of social networks had an important impact on the ability of East-Central Europe to remain more or less livable, despite fundamental historical injustices³⁹. The international colleges had the explicit aim of enabling the ecclesiastical students who studied there to return to their home countries to play a leading role in the Church. There was, of course, a constant clash of national interests but stronger than this was the universal, religious force that was the basis of true community. In the words of Géza Ottlik: "*We were bound together by a timeless bond of helpless togetherness; something that was extracted, lactic acid*

³⁷ Péter Tusor, Libro delle ordinazioni del Pontificio Collegio Germanico-Ungarico. Ordinazioni degli Alunni dai Paesi della Sacra Corona d'Ungheria (1599–1713) (CVH II/11), Budapest–Róma 2024.
https://institutumfraknoi.hu/kiadvany/%09cvh/libro_delle_ordinazioni_del_pontificio_collegio_germanicoungarico_ordinazioni_degli downloaded 02.07.2024

³⁸ Béla Pomogáts: Trianon in History and Hungarian Literature. Irodalomismeret 3. (2015) 62-68 http://www.irodalomismeret.hu/files/2015_3/pomogats_bela.pdf, downloaded on 2021. 09. 08.

³⁹ An interesting contribution to the development of local Slovak identity is Iván Halász: The Old Hungarian Administration in Contemporary Slovak Literature. Festive studies in honour of the 80-year-old András Tamás Tamás. Semper ad perfectum. Ed. Zsuzsanna Peres - Gábor Pál. Ludovika University Publishing House. Budapest. 2021.

or resin, from wounds, muscle aches, pains, aspirations, and made it possible to live; something that was perhaps less than friendship and more than love"⁴⁰ .

Colleges were important for all nations and nationalities. East-Central European diversity is well illustrated by the history of the Collegium Germanicum et Hungaricum, where a significant part of the East-Central European nobility, regardless of their nationality, was engaged in the Church from the end of the Middle Ages. For example, Hungarian, Slovakian and Croatian clergymen from the countries of the Hungarian crown, as well as Germans, were all together in Rome.

According to research by Tamás Tóth,⁴¹ more than half of the graduates returned home to take up senior positions in the Church. Another important factor in increasing the sense of belonging was the fact that students were rarely allowed to go home during their studies, for seven years, so they were mainly dependent on their internal and Roman contacts.

As a brief digression, it should be noted that there are still students from 13 countries in the Collegium Germanicum which was founded on 31 August 1552 by the papal bull "Dum sollicita". The history of the German College is intertwined with the history of the Collegium Hungaricum, which was established in 1579 by the bull Apostolici muneris sollicitudo owing to the Jesuit organisation of István Szántó (Arator). Later, as of 1580, the two colleges were merged under the name of Collegium Germanicum et Hungaricum, following the decision of the Pope Gyula III (Ita sunt humana bulla).

In the recent history of the college, Slovak students are there again. This was also true before, but then the students were from the countries of the Hungarian crown. In *Verbum Historiae*

2/2016, "Študenti zo Slovenska na nemecko-uhorskom kolégiu v Ríme v 16. a 17. storočí", Miroslav Kamenický discusses the issue in

⁴⁰ Géza Ottlik: *School on the border*. Magvető Publishing House. Budapest. 1959. p. 194.

⁴¹ "The number of Germanic-Hungarian county bishops was 52 (46%) in the older, Latin-rite Hungarian dioceses founded before the 1770s and 6 (60%) in the newer ones founded by Maria Theresa (1740-1780). Eger had the highest proportion, as all the county bishops of the 18th century studied in Rome. Tamás Tóth. The local value. *Cultural Heritage Studies*. In *Agriam adveni* [Conference to commemorate the 250th anniversary of the arrival of Károly Eszterházy in Eger, 25 October 2012] 1 (2013) 55-70 <http://publikacio.uni-eszterhazy.hu/4488/>, downloaded 08.09.2021.

detail. It is clear from this that the Roman College and the Vatican constitute an integral part of the Slovak Catholic identity.

3.2 One result of the functioning of these relations: the Romanian Concordat

In the following paragraphs, we will show, through the example of the Romanian Concordat, how the power of Catholic values and the personal social networks developed in Rome have been linked in the politics of our region.

The principles of peace set out in the encyclicals referred to earlier, the legal framework⁴² for the conclusion of concordats provided by the *Codex Iuris Canonici*, and the functioning of diplomatic relations were the contentious results of the Vatican's concordat with the Romanian state. A brief examination of the Concordat is interesting from our point of view, because it shows how the different normative levels were translated into a compromise solution or even a sham solution.

In the case of the Romanian Concordat, the situation was perhaps somewhat simpler than in the Czechoslovak question, partly because the situation in Romanian-Vatican diplomacy had been relatively settled since 1919, and partly because there were no major unresolved land disputes that extended beyond the borders of the country. The fact that the Romanian King Ferdinand was himself a Catholic was also of great significance. A noteworthy aspect was the situation of the Romanian Greek Catholics, who, in competition with the Orthodox, sought to improve relations with the Vatican while emphasising their Romanianism.

The Hungarian national position on the Romanian situation was, of course, the same as on Czechoslovakia, i.e. they wanted to postpone the conclusion of the Concordat as long as possible. For the Hungarian side, a major issue was to preserve the dioceses of Oradea and Satu Mare as independent dioceses, considering the significant Hungarian Catholic majority living there.

⁴² Bellomo, Manlio: *L'Europa del diritto comune: Il Cigno Galileo Galilei*. Roma. 1998.

The draft concordat, however, did not take shape in accordance with Hungarian interests, so much so that Bishop Miklós Széchenyi⁴³ of Oradea openly confronted Vatican diplomacy. Hungarian hopes were fuelled mostly by the hope of a revision in the near future. From the Vatican's point of view, all this looked different:

Cardinal Pietro Gasparri⁴⁴ told Ambassador Somssich⁴⁵ : *"If King Charles had succeeded in his coup, I myself would say - so to speak - that there is a prospect of recovering Transylvania and that the concordatum need not be concluded, but since it has not succeeded, this hope must be abandoned and nothing remains but to conclude the concordatum."*⁴⁶ *The Hungarian comments were made in the hope of restoring the territorial integrity of the country. Gasparri said to Somssich: "the Hungarian priests still believe that Transylvania will be returned to Hungary: - this hope, especially in view of the last events, should be abandoned!"*⁴⁰

With the negotiations stalled, the Hungarians turned to Serédi for help, who was not only able to assess the situation in its entirety but also to draft appropriate legislation and manage the

Vatican's relations systems. Serédi's draft concordat put the interests of the Catholic Church in the first place by setting out the precise conditions for the practise of religion through legal instruments. Naturally, the legal solution was not to the liking of either the Hungarians or the Romanians. The grievances of the parties were much deeper than that, and the correct canonical solution could not provide a remedy.

"According to the draft, the Romanian state will recognise the Catholic Church as a legal entity. The state guarantees freedom of worship and conversion. The division of dioceses will remain unchanged, with the Latin-rite dioceses in Transylvania placed

⁴³ Count Miklós Széchenyi (6 January 1868 - 1 December 1923), Doctor of Canon Law, Bishop of Győr and Oradea, real internal privy councillor.

⁴⁴ Gasparri, Pietro (5 May 1852 - 18 November 1934) a Cardinal, Secretary of State.

⁴⁵ József Somssich, Count (Graz, Austria, 19 December 1864 - Budapest, 22 January 1941) a landowner, lawyer, diplomat, 1919-1920, foreign minister, 1920-1924, ambassador to the Vatican. Retired in 1925. György Barcza. Budapest. History of Europe. 1994. p. 531.

⁴⁶ MNL OL K 63 231. cs. 27/3 t. 6850/1921, 310-314. f. Report of József Somssich to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 27 October 1921. cited in RÉKA MARCHUT, A román konkordátum a magyar diplomáciában (1920-1929), PRO MINORITATE, 2014, pp. 150-169. ISSN 1216-9927, 155. ⁴⁰ Uo.

*directly under the Pope and the Latin-rite dioceses in Old Romania under the Archbishop of Bucharest. The establishment of chapters and parishes is provided for in the ecclesiastical laws. The county bishops will be appointed by the Holy See, and the King of Romania will have no right of primate. Secular priests and monks will be subject to ecclesiastical law and cannot be brought before a secular court. Catholic schools will retain their autonomy and the language of instruction will be decided by a relative majority of the mother tongue of the pupils. The Romanian state will return the church property confiscated so far or compensate the church."*⁴⁷

Finally, the Romanian concordat was ready by 1927 but Serédi's draft was not taken into account. The compromise, on the other hand, also meant that the concordat had to be signed in secret by the Romanian state, as local Orthodoxy was certainly not in favour of a deal with the Catholics. It can be concluded that the Vatican's policy was to put the interests of the Church, Catholicism above the national interests. In this game, law played a relatively small role. To say that it was only a question of ecclesiastical power would be a sappy statement. Rather, it was about how the 'salvation of souls', the good of the Church, could be most effectively preserved.

We are seeing the emergence of a complex web in which the law only regulates the details. The real battles are on the front of national community values and religious convictions. Serédi was certainly aware of all this. The Hungarian ambassador to the Vatican in the late 1920s, George Barcza, had a different view:

"The governments have no weapons of any kind against the Holy See, there can be neither pressure nor repression, there is only one possibility, and that is to break off relations, but the Holy See knows very well that the governments of certain strongly Catholic states cannot do this because of parliamentary difficulties, and so it is not afraid to do so. [...] The Pope and the Holy See are very fond of us, one hears nothing but "notre tres chere Hongrie" [our very dear Hungary] etc. etc., but they never do anything that the Hungarian government wants or asks, but they are entirely concerned with the egoistic interests of the Church, not caring whether we are angry or not. [...] No one can talk to the Pope about his own affairs, and he does not question anyone. So then nobody knows anything. [...] It's

⁴⁷ Réka Marchut: The Romanian Concordat in Hungarian Diplomacy (1920-1929). Pro Minoritate 2 (2014) pp. 150-169, 156-157.

*no easier to get along with Gasparri. The old gentleman is more cordial, and you can bring up anything to him and he listens, but he doesn't say anything at the end of the day, just general phrases mixed with religious and political sauce.*⁴⁸⁴⁹ "

For Catholicism, the concordat resulted in the Romanian constitution recognising both the Catholic and Greek Catholic religions as historic religions, and in the constitution leaving the property of Catholics to the Church.

Finally, the Romanian Concordat settled the Catholic ecclesiastical issues in the area. The

Czechoslovak issue, on the other hand, dragged on until 1938, with several rounds of negotiations before the Hague Court of Justice finally established jurisdiction⁵⁰, and then diplomacy triumphed again, effectively cutting off the legal route. The Czechoslovaks used their national legislation to make the church estates impossible or made the return of the estates to church hands conditional on the claim being withdrawn by the otherwise winning claimant diocese. This did not happen, but the case was stayed, and after the first Vienna decision, the case became devoid of purpose.

It was perhaps thanks to Serédi's clever politics that the conclusion of the Czechoslovak agreement was delayed almost until the first Vienna decision. For this reason, Serédi was criticised by Czechoslovakia. What is more, many on the Hungarian side also had a negative view of Serédi's Vatican moves. However, appearances are sometimes deceptive.

The Vatican's "Magyar-barát" (a friend of Hungary) or rather "Serédi-barát" (Serédi's friend) position is perhaps evident from the speed and efficiency with which it made its statement on the Hungarian case immediately before the Vienna decision:

⁴⁸ Hoover Archives Stanford, *Preliminary Inventory of the György Barcza Nagyalásonyi Papers*, Nr. 80030, Box

⁴⁹Roma 1927-1929, diary entry of 17 February 1928, quoted by Réka Marchut, *The Romanian Concordat in Hungarian Diplomacy (1920-1929)*, *Pro Minoritate* 2 (2014) pp. 150-169. 162.

⁵⁰ The members of the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal were law professors Károly Szladits from Hungary and Antonín Hora from the Czech Republic, the two neutral members were judges Alvarez from Chile and van Heckeron from the Netherlands, while the presidency was held by Judge Schreiber from Switzerland.

"On 2 November 1938, the Vatican's Hungarian Chargé d'Affaires was received by Cardinal Eugenio Pacelli, Secretary of State, for an interrogation, where the questions of the reattachment of the Highland territories were discussed. Although the arbitration decision was not yet known, Pacelli stated that the Church "warmly welcomed" the territorial change, because it was well aware of the Hungarian government's position on the Vatican and the interests of the Church, which was "more than reassuring" for the Catholics of the areas to be annexed. Pacelli stressed his confidence in the Hungarian government. This positive reception should come as no surprise in view of the Czechoslovak government's anti-Church policy. The Cardinal Secretary of State said that the reannexed parts would of course revert to their old dioceses, but that since the Czechoslovak modus vivendi had formally torn them out of their old framework, only a new decree by the Pope could restore the previous legal status quo. Pacelli was particularly interested in the growth of the Archdiocese of Esztergom and expressed his great pleasure that a significant part of the lost territories of Serédi would be restored."⁵¹

The church politics of the inter-war period can offer important lessons for today. It is important to see how Canon law, official Church teaching, and internal relations form a strong web capable of providing direction to members of the Church throughout the world, going beyond national thinking but also considering and honouring national thinking. This can also be inspirational for the politics of individual nations, since it shows that universal Christian values necessarily transcend national frameworks, even if one of their very important roots is the nation-state.

⁵¹ PL Cat. D/c, 4818/1938. The relevant part of the report was written by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the Prince-Primate; G. Salacz: *The Hungarian Catholic Church under the Rule of Neighbouring States*, *ibid.*, p. 49; J. Gergely: *The Catholic Church*, *ibid.*, p. 77, quoted in BALÁZS CSÍKY, *Serédi Jusztinián, Prince-Primate of Hungary*. Budapest, MTA BTK TTI - MTA-PPKE Fraknói Vilmos Római Történeti Kutatócsoport, 2018. Papers), 228.

4. Church law and church diplomacy's reparation efforts during Trianon

In a Hungarian reading, the Treaty of Trianon conceals a kind of Hungarian disaffection. However, the situation is much more complicated than that. The chapter discusses the attempts made by the Catholic Church and Catholic Canon law to regulate and preserve peace in the divided territories. It also outlines the systems of relations that linked the Vatican and East-Central Europe.

Organised around the values of Catholicism, but actively promoting the peaceful coexistence of religions, the Austro-Hungarian monarchy posed a problem for many European, typically liberal, states. Indeed, the ever more vigorous expansion of liberalism (the ideas of the French Revolution) and communism (the ideas of Marx) haunted Europe, with the main enemy, the identifiable Catholic Church, still in view. The Pope Leo XIII, belatedly, tried to respond to these challenges but the result remained (at the time) questionable. The Vatican I Council also achieved modest results - at least in international political terms.

The social structures of the Catholic Church in the Middle Ages seemed unsustainable. Likewise, the idea of a diverse 'Catholic Empire', the 'Danube Monarchy', became untenable. The treaties that ended the First World War seemed to have inflicted a mortal wound on both organisations that has not been healed to this day. The treaties that left the First World War virtually open not only left the fate of countries in limbo but also constituted an open attack on Catholicism.

However, it is encouraging that owing to the common culture of the region and the willingness to cooperate, which is also encouraged by religious commitment among the Christians, there is now hope that we can once again achieve a significant economic recovery in our region, and that it is once again becoming clear that without Christianity we cannot engage in constructive dialogue with other cultures which can also defend our own interests.

In our study, we show that the Monarchy's legacy was increasingly destroyed not only by the collapse of the empire but also by the

weakening of Catholicism, with the rise of Hussitism⁵² in Czechoslovakia and Orthodoxy in Romania and Serbia. Trianon thus tore apart at a stroke both territorial and religious unity in a region that had previously been so economically strong and capable of diverse cooperation.

The Cardinal János Csernoch⁵³ wrote about this - in relation to the Romanian Concordat - to the Cardinal Gasparri, Secretary of State, on 3 April 1921 to the Vatican:

In the new division of dioceses, we also see the disintegration of the spiritual bond that held Hungary's Catholics together for one thousand years, making Hungary the last stronghold of Latin Catholicism in Eastern Central Europe. The maintenance of the old hierarchical bond was and is considered necessary not so much for

⁵² Hussitism in the period of the Treaty of Trianon in Czechoslovakia refers to the influence and legacy of the Hussite movement during the early 20th century, particularly around the time of the Treaty of Trianon in 1920. The Hussite movement, named after the Czech reformer Jan Hus, was a pre-Protestant Christian reform movement that emerged in the early 15th century. It played a significant role in shaping Czech national identity and religious consciousness. The Hussite movement was a source of national pride for Czechoslovaks, representing a period of Czech resistance against foreign domination and a quest for religious and national autonomy. In the context of the post-Trianon period, this historical legacy helped strengthen a sense of unity and distinctiveness in the new state. Hussitism had a lasting influence on religious life in Czechoslovakia. While the country was predominantly Catholic, the principles of Hussitism—such as calls for church reform and a focus on vernacular liturgy—continued to resonate. This contributed to the religious diversity and tolerance that characterized the new republic. The new Czechoslovak government sought to promote a secular and modern national culture, often drawing on the progressive and reformist ideals associated with the Hussite movement. Educational reforms and cultural policies during this period often emphasized the historical significance of the Hussites as precursors to modern Czech nationalism and democracy. In summary, during the period of the Treaty of Trianon, Hussitism played a vital role in shaping the national identity, cultural policies, and religious landscape of Czechoslovakia, serving as a historical symbol of resistance, reform, and unity.

⁵³ János Csernoch (Ján Černoč) (Szakolca, Skalica, Slovákia, 18 June 1852 - 25 July 1927): a Cardinal, Prince-Primate, member of the board of directors of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (1915). Member of Parliament for the Catholic People's Party between 1905 and 1910. He sought to extend the Christian socialist organisation led by the clergy to counter the rising class-struggle workers' movement. From 1908 he was the Bishop of Csanád, from 1911 the Archbishop of Kalocsa, from 1913 the Archbishop and the Prince-Primate of Esztergom, and in 1914 he became a Cardinal. He participated in the election of the Pope Benedict XV and the Pope Pius XI. He supported government policy on the Balkan expansion and the war. He was a leading figure in the Legitimist movement and later tried to mediate between the King Charles IV and the Governor Horthy.

national as for Catholic interests. From a national point of view, the Hungarian Catholic Church in Transylvania did not conquer and did not concern itself with such a purpose. Its adherents are exclusively Hungarian and partly German. But by its Catholic expansive power it created the Romanian union, which is the merit of the Catholic dynasty, of the Hungarian prelates - especially Primate Kollonits - of the Hungarian ecclesiastical fortune. Now, as a consequence of an unprecedentedly unjust peace agreement, which is hardly sustainable for a long time, the Holy See is definitively cutting off the Hungarian Church's spiritual communication with the Catholics living in the parts of Romania annexed to the Romanian state. They will be confined to a Balkan Byzantine, schismatic state with a national church, where they will be threatened by one thousand dangers. We know very well that the Holy See is not doing this out of its own good will, but at the insistence of the Romanian State. Yet it would be of great consolation to us if the Holy See did not stress the need to adapt the Church's status to the borders of the state and to national needs. At the very times when excessive nationalism is setting nations at war, and when, under the name of national justice, a peace has been established which oppresses individual nations much more than was the case before, the internationalism of the Catholic Church should be brought to the fore in order to eliminate, as far as possible, the state and national interests in the kingdom of Christ on earth⁵⁴ .

This tendency could be reversed, if not immediately, then step by step, by the process represented on the Catholic side by the creation of the Code of Canon Law and the Second Vatican Council, or on the state side by the European Union, established in the Christian spirit, or by the common culture of Central and Eastern Europe. It is also a major step forward that Christian religions are increasingly open to finding common ground. That is why this is a historic moment, as the wounds of Trianon may well heal, recognising that our wounds and our destiny are shared.

In our work we start from the fact, established earlier, that especially in more complex situations, the norms of law, religion, and morality

⁵⁴ See the chapter "In the grip of Trianon" in this monograph. Péter Bertalan: In the grip of Trianon, Trianon's aftermath(s) consequences Edited by Zalán Bognár and Róbert Rigó Károli Gáspár Reformed University - L' Harmattan Publishing House Budapest, 2023. 99-117

shape historical events in the form of a complex network⁵⁵. Each system of norms 'filters and classifies', i.e. regulates events and decisions according to its own rules. Of course, these systems of norms are also interrelated, which means that the operation of one system of norms cannot be judged without the operation of the other.

This interrelationship of norms is particularly fascinating in post-Trianon Central Europe. Religious norms provided a common ground that was a prerequisite for the functioning of the society. The "modus vivendi" was significantly determined by this cohesive force. It is a different matter that there were many cultural, linguistic, and moral differences in the territories divided by the Treaty of Trianon, and even more detailed legal problems, some of which are - as an indication - addressed in this work.

But the long-term fate of a region is never decided by legal questions, even if we take law in its broadest sense, as canon lawyers do: the law, according to St Thomas, is "*ordinatio rationis ad bonum commune ab eo, qui curam communitatis habet promulgata*".⁵⁶

And it is not even political attempts to resolve conflicts. Rather, it is the latent shared sense of values, of which religiousness is a very important basis, that drives us forward. The role of religious conviction has been particularly evident, for example, in relation to the Vatican policy in the Czech Republic and Slovakia.

On the other hand - in the last words of Zeno of Elea, spoken at the end of his torture - "Virtue alone is not enough in life, you need the grace of fate and luck"⁵⁷.

The Catholic Church has tried to restore the religiously based norms of the Central and Eastern European region through the following four instruments: the social encyclicals, the Vatican Councils, the Code of Canon Law and international treaties (concordats). These efforts have - despite today's appearance - led to serious results:

- the encyclicals led to a significant revival of religious life from the 1920s onwards, culminating in the Eucharistic Congress in Budapest in 1938

⁵⁵ Regulatory complexity. Ed. Nándor Birher - Árpád Homicskó. Patrocínium. Budapest. 2021.

⁵⁶ Sum. Theol. I-II. q. 90. art. 4.

⁵⁷ Crescenzo, Luciano de: An extraordinary history of Greek philosophy. Tercium Publishers. H.n. 1995. p. 119.

- the Vatican Councils have made it possible to demonstrate Catholicism's capacity to organise international society
- the Code of Canon Law (Codex Iuris Canonici) has made it possible to regulate the behaviour of more than a billion believers through the law
- international treaties sought to establish relative calm during the two world wars

In what follows, we will show the impact of these codes (with special reference to the Codex and the Encyclicals) in the complex system of the early 1900s in relation to the life of faith.

4.1 Regulatory complexity

Our work is based on the fact, established earlier, that even in more complex situations, the norms of law, religion, and morality shape historical events in a complex network. Each system of norms 'filters and classifies', i.e. regulates events and decisions according to its own rules. Of course, these norms are also interconnected, which means that the operation of one norm cannot be judged without the operation of the other.

This interrelationship of norms is particularly fascinating in post-Trianon Central Europe. Religious norms provide a common ground which is a prerequisite for functioning. The "modus vivendi" is significantly determined by this cohesive force. It is a different matter that there are many cultural, linguistic, and moral differences in the territories fragmented by the Treaty of Trianon, and even more detailed legal problems.

During the monarchy, many religions were present in Hungary in more than 10% of the population. Of the 18 million inhabitants, less than 50% were Catholic, with Greek Catholics accounting for 11%, the Orthodox for 12.8% and the Reformed for 14.3%. Only three religions survived after Trianon. The proportion of Roman Catholics increased despite losing more than half of their adherents (57%), yet by 1930, 67% of Hungary was Roman Catholic. The situation was partly similar for the Reformed whose share increased to 21.3% after the annexation.

In this study, we show how the Catholic legislative process was linked to the development of the region's politics between the two world wars. We also show that the Vatican's regional policy, especially in ecclesiastical matters, was based not on the interests of individual nations but on the general concerns of Catholicism. Thus, it was possible that, even in the mid-1920s, despite the very good personal relations between Hungary and the Vatican, the Slovak Catholics' interests were more important than those of the Hungarian national interest.

The organisation of church life was a source of conflict, but once the issues of church administration had been settled, the same religious culture kept citizens of different nationalities together - as a somewhat cohesive community. At this time, it was becoming clear that religious identity could go beyond national identity.⁵⁸ It was a pity that this religious value, which was derived from a common religious identity, was attempted to be 'erased for good' by the Second World War and the communism that preceded and followed it. The issue was further complicated by the fact that in East-Central Europe a religious group was often linked to a specific nationality.⁵⁹ . From a Catholic point of view, this was made even more special by the fact that the Codex Iuris Canonici, the Church's Code of Law, was drawn up during the Great War.

4.1.1 The Codex Iuris Canonici

Church law is a very specific area of law. It is here, in our approach, that the direct relationship between the norms of law-morality-religion can be seen in one of its clearest forms⁶⁰. The ecclesiastical law of

⁵⁸ Benedek Kovács - Mátyás Lajtai: Religious relations in Hungary in the light of censuses and other population surveys. Statistical Review 98 (2020) No. 6, 573-598 https://www.ksh.hu/statszemle_archive/all/2020/2020_06/2020_06_573.pdf, 10.09.2022.

⁵⁹ András Korányi, The Evangelical Church and nationality issues after the Vienna decision. In Theology and Nations. Theology and nations. Lajos Szabó. Luther Publishing House. L. Luther Lecturer. n. 2016. pp. 107-118. http://real.mtak.hu/54672/1/Koranyi_Andras_u.pdf, 10.09.2022.

⁶⁰ The law of the Church is defined primarily by natural law and the theological divine law. In particular, the measures which the Christ, as the founder and head of the Church, has given with regard to the constitution of the Church and the life of the ecclesial community. All divine law is ecclesiastical law, even if it is not given legal form; - and it is the highest law, far superior to the written legislation of the Church

the Catholic Church is of particular interest, since - somewhat belatedly but following the great codification efforts - the Catholic Church has also drawn up its own code of laws. It is perhaps no coincidence that it was the French cardinals, in particular, who demanded at the First Vatican Council (1870) the ecclesiastical law, which had been expanding enormously over almost two millennia, should be systematised. An important aspect of this Council was also the question of papal infallibility, which was indirectly linked to the primacy of the Pope in ecclesiastical government, as the source of universal legislation. In this sense, the Pope is the bishop of the whole Catholic Church (not just of Rome) and is, therefore, entitled to exercise full legislative, judicial and governing powers in the whole Church. It is interesting to note that it was the Cardinals of the Monarchy who opposed the position supported by the French on the question of papal infallibility and, interestingly enough, the renowned German philosopher and priest, Franz Brentano, left the Church over this issue.

It is to this period, which was not without its tensions, that the first ecclesiastical code was published.

The codification process itself began with the *motu proprio* *Arduum sane munus*, issued by Pope Pius X⁶¹ on 19 March 1904. The

(Pope, Bishop, Synods, Councils, and bodies) and to the common law. Strictly speaking, ecclesiastical law (*ius obiectivum*) is a set of rules of action (conduct), established or sanctioned by the legitimate ecclesiastical authority, which, in order to ensure the social order and the purpose of the ecclesial community, precisely define the rights and duties of the members of the Church." József Bánk. *Canon Law*. Budapest. 1960. p. 61.

⁶¹ Pope Saint Pius X /Giuseppe Melchiorre Sarto/; (Riese, Germany, 2 June 1835 - Rome, Italy, 20 August 1914) was the 257th Pope of the Roman Catholic Church from 1903 until his death. Pius's main goal was to preserve the purity of the faith, which also meant fighting modernism. Modernism is a catch-all term for all the fashionable errors of the time, from philosophically motivated doubts about the 'miraculous' nature of Scripture to works of fiction enthusiastically calling for the abolition of the Papacy. While Leo XIII was most sympathetic to the French, Pius X was most sympathetic to the Austro-Hungarian Empire. In 1912, the World Eucharistic Congress was held in Vienna, and in 1905 he consecrated the county bishops Gyula Zichy of Pécs, Lajos Balás of Rózsnyo and Ottokár Prohászka of Székesfehérvár. The three martyrs of Kassa, the Jesuit Fathers Mark Körösi, István Pongrácz and Menyhért Grodecz, were also beatified in 1905 at the express request of the Pope. Pius X is the author of the *motu proprio* on sacred music, *Inter Sollicitudines*. The main tenets of the reform treatise on sacred music are still valid today and were sanctioned by the Second Vatican Council. Pius X recommended daily Holy Communion and introduced the first communion of young children. Before his pontificate, the faithful could only receive first Holy Communion on the occasion of the confirmation of the Blessed Sacrament.

drafting was carried out by three groups, who also checked each other's work. It is worth briefly reviewing the codification work, which not only involved a wide range of experts but also generated real professional debates within the whole Church organisation. The first working group were the consultants, theologians and canon lawyers who drafted the versions of the texts and gave their opinions independently of each other. The collaborators were the diocesan bishops with ecclesiastical authority and other persons entitled to participate in the universal synod. These persons, and later university professors, were also entitled to send their opinions and requests on the draft. The most important body, however, was the 16-member body of codifiers. Under the supervision of the Pope, they consolidated the material prepared by the previous two working groups. It was chaired by Cardinal Pietro Gaspari, who played a key role in Vatican diplomacy in East-Central Europe after Trianon. Gasparri followed the classic Vatican career path, first as the Secretary of the Congregation for Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs, then as the Cardinal in 1907, and from 1914 he became the Secretary of State for International Policy.

During their ten years of operation, each canon was discussed several times (sometimes up to twelve times) until the final version was produced.⁶²

The text thus drafted was sent again to the cardinals and bishops, until in May 1917 Benedict XV promulgated the Code of Canon Law, which came into force on Pentecost 19 May 1918.

This Code is also the basis for the 1983 Church Code, which is still in force today. The Code was also of great importance in that it included canon law (§ 1365 k. 2) among the compulsory theological subjects in ecclesiastical higher education and seminaries.

The Codex is made up of five books, the books are made up of parts, the parts are made up of sections, the sections are made up of titles, and the titles are made up of canons. The Codex thus follows (albeit somewhat constrainedly) the division derived from Lancelot:

Since Pope St Pius V (1566-1572), Pius X is the only Pope to have been canonised by the Church. During his beatification process in 1951, his tomb was opened, and his body was found completely intact, although he was not embalmed at the time of his burial, in accordance with his will. He was canonized by Pope Pius XII on 29 May 1954. http://papak.5mp.eu/web.php?a=papak&o=us_114YUKN (09 June 2020) His activities are described in detail in Gregory: *The Papacy*, pp. 249-258.

⁶² Bánk: *Canon* *ibid.* pp. 223-226.

Personas nos prima docet, resque secunda Tertia dat iudices, crimina quarta premit.⁶³

Book I is entitled "Normae generales" - general rules (canons 1-86). Here we find the basic legal theory, the interpretation of the fundamental principles of law, the sections on ecclesiastical law, customary law, questions of temporal scope, and the regulation of levirates, privileges and dispensations. Book II, entitled "De personis", deals with persons and their role in the Church, starting with the clergy, in general and specific aspects, while also presenting the ecclesiastical system of organization. This is followed by the rules of the monks, then the laymen (laity) (pp. 87-725).

Book III is the "De rebus" - the law in rem (726-1551 k.) Here we must not simply think of the law in rem as we are used to in the Civil Code, but rather of "spiritual things", such as the sacraments, and within these, in particular, marriage. It also includes holy places and times, or even the mission of the teaching office of the Church, including, for example, preaching or catechesis, or the Church's educational institutions. It is only the canon 1409 that regulates the ecclesiastical material goods.

It is important to note that the management of these assets is more akin to the exercise of a beneficial interest than to property rights in the classical sense. Of particular interest is the principle that any surplus property (profits) should be used for the poor. (1472-1474 cfr.) According to canon 1518, the Pope of Rome is the supreme trustee of all property. The book de rebus also very briefly regulates contracts which are closely linked to local civil law practice (c. 1529).

Book IV, De processibus, is the procedural law (canons 1552-2194.) Perhaps it is here that we find the most similarities with the ordinary civil procedural law. The list of the jurisdiction and competence of the courts is followed by the usual procedural law, starting with the statement of claim. The Code also deals separately with criminal proceedings and matrimonial proceedings and with canonisation proceedings.

⁶³ Ibid. p. 229.

Book V "De delictis et poenis" contains the substantive part of criminal law (2195-2414), following the classical division of criminal law into general and special treatises⁶⁴.

We must note that the ecclesiastical code alone would not have a direct political impact on our region. However, by chance, it was a Hungarian monk, Justinian Serédi, who had the lion's share in the drafting of the text of the law and who was well acquainted with the Vatican decision-makers, cardinals, and popes. Where neither national nor ecclesiastical law could achieve results, common culture and moral conviction came to the fore. This network of relations largely determined the politics of East-Central Europe in the post-Trianon period until the end of the Second World War.

4.1.2 Justinian Serédi

Serédi was born as György Szapucsek in 1884 in Diakovce which is now Slovakia. On his father's side, because of his Slovak ancestry, he was often said to favour the Slovaks in certain disputes, but in fact he defined his identity as a full Hungarian, his mother tongue being Hungarian. It is another matter that, as a man who knew the Vatican, he was aware of the fact that national interests take precedence over the interests of the Church, which is the Church that can unite all nations in peace.

"In his speech in the House of Lords at the time of the reattachment of the Highlands, he stressed that it is God's will that the Carpathian Basin should remain the property of the Hungarian nation. According to him, those who persevere in "Christian patriotism", whatever language they speak, are Hungarians. The archbishop did not think in terms of an ethnic nation, but a cultural nation.⁶⁵ From a young age, he studied in Rome in an international environment, at the Benedictine College of San Anselmo, as a monk of the Benedictine Abbey of Pannonhalma. In 1908 he obtained a doctorate in Canon law on the question of episcopal power and returned home to his

⁶⁴ Puma, La Vincenzo Card.: Sommario del Codice di Diritto Canonico. Società Editrice Internazionale. Torino. 1940.

⁶⁵ Balázs Csíky: Jusztinián Serédi, the Prince-Primate of Hungary. MTA BTK TTI - MTA-PPKE Fraknói Vilmos Roman History Csíky Research Group. Budapest. 2018. (Collectanea Studiorum et Textuum, I/3. - Hungarian Historical Memories. Papers) p. 29.

monastery. However, his talents were noticed in Rome, and, at the request of his teachers, he was allowed to return from Pannonhalma to Rome to take up a Canon law post. He was recommended for the codification work by his teacher and fellow monk Bastien, a Belgian, who, at Gasparri's request, sought a colleague for the group of consultants. Serédi, in his midtwenties, was faced with a meticulous job requiring a solid knowledge of languages and law. It was his job to ensure that the canons being prepared were consistent with the earlier legal sources, some of which had been unpublished for nearly two thousand years. The extent of the work is illustrated by the figures⁶⁶ - of the 2,414 canons of the Code of Canon Law, only 854 have no sources, being entirely new and without precedent. The remaining 1560 canons rely on old sources. The total number of sources of law referred to is about 10500. The Codex contains in total about 26000 references to sources of law⁶⁷. (It should be noted, however, that this is the final text, in fact, many more references had to be collected for the drafts.)

Beyond doubt, this work shows that Serédi had a very thorough knowledge of law and canon law. We shall see, however, that it was not the law, but the system of relationships built up in the course of legal work that really played a major role in dealing with the important issues of the region. The fact that, in 1915, the declaration of war by the central powers forced Serédi to move from Italy to the Vatican, played a major role in the consolidation of this system of relations. The gravity of the situation is shown by the fact that, at the request of the Pope Benedict XV, the young Benedictine had to be transported to the Vatican by car, with hardly enough time even to pack his clothes. In the Vatican, Serédi was accommodated in Gasparri's suite, which also meant that they were in almost constant contact, with Serédi having a clear view of the Secretary of State's activities and his daily life. He was also in virtually constant contact with the Pope, but he also met the popes of the following period, such as Achille Ratti, the head of the Vatican Library, later the Pope Pius

⁶⁶ When Serédi, after 10 years of painstaking work, compiled all the sources for the 5 books of the Codex in the form of references and presented them in manuscript to Gasparri, he wrote the final prayer of the old monks on the last page. D." (In omnibus glorificetur Deus) D. Justinianus Serédi, Roma in Aedibus Vaticanis. XIII Cal. Nov. 1917. - Gasparri also wrote in his own handwriting these very telling and appreciative lines at the end of the manuscript: "Tibi gratulationes meas porrigo, etsi indigne P. C. (Petrus Cardinalis) Ad multos annus. Vale." Bánk: Canons ibid. p. 223.

⁶⁷ Ibid. pp. 222-223.

XI, and even Eugenio Pacelli, who was involved in the codification work. He later became the Pope Pius XII. All of this contributed to a strong web of relationships that would continue to shape the destiny of Sérédi, who was only 33, when he completed one of the most important works in the history of Canon law, the first Codex. Nevertheless, it is also important to remember that Serédi did not forget about his homeland in the Vatican. He paid special attention to the pastoral care of Hungarian prisoners of war, acquiring prayer books for them, editing⁶⁸ and distributing them. In the end, his faith in God and his humanity were the deepest level at which his decisions, which also affected our region, were made. In 1917, the Code was completed, all that was left was to be promulgated and enacted, so that Serédi could return home via Switzerland to Hungary. His life at home was far from the life of a high priest with all the trappings of the Vatican. He even traded his education at a religious college for what was then proving more important: military service. As a soldier he served under the military command in Bratislava (Pozsony) (the Headquarters of the 4th Defence District of Bratislava (Pozsony),) near Esztergom, from 1918. In a curious twist of fate, he was assigned to the pastoral care of Italian prisoners of war in his homeland. As his first pastoral experience, he could sense that people, regardless of their nationality, were essentially the same. He was also influenced by his ability to calm down the rebellious soldiers who were about to lynch him after the war was lost.⁶⁹

In the turbulent post-war period, the Church quickly raised the need for Serédi to help rebuild diplomatic relations with the Vatican. However, this was delayed, as even the question of whether the Pannonhalma Abbey would be preserved at all, became moot during the Soviet Republic. After some consolidation of the situation, Prince-Primate János Csernoch counted on Serédi to restore relations with the Vatican, and Serédi also wanted to continue his scholarly work on the Codex in Rome, as his work on the publication of sources had begun. The Benedictines would, of course, have been happy to have Serédi as their new Archabbot, but the candidate was reluctant to take on this task on the grounds of his academic duties.

⁶⁸ Justinian Serédi: Christian Catholic prayers. Ex Typis Vaticanis. Vatican. 1916.

⁶⁹ Csíky: Serédi *ibid.* p. 37; Antal Meszlényi: The portrait series of the Hungarian prince prelates. Szent István Társulat. Budapest. 1970. pp. 402-403; József Bánk. Szent István Sveti. N.d. pp. 40-42; Nemzeti Újság. 18 December 1927. p. 5.

Upon his return to Rome, Serédi had several tasks ahead of him, starting the compilation of the *Codicis Juris Canonici Fontes*, published in the name of Gasparri. The first six volumes appeared in 1923, the subsequent volumes were published in his own name, the last, the ninth, in 1939.

4.1.3 Justinian Serédi's diplomatic activities until the end of 1927

"Otherwise, I'd be fine, but sometimes I get so many things going on that if I didn't eat, I'd go crazy. But I don't do that. I get pestered with a lot of legal issues from all sides. And then I have to save the handles of all those lost axes. Right now, I have 4 cases of desperate people. They want me to take them to the Holy See, but the nature of the cases makes that impossible." (Rome. 15 Feb. 1923).⁷⁰

Serédi lived at a time, when it was truly impossible to deal with most cases "because of the nature of the cases". In times of chaos, order seemed anomalous. The road to the cardinalate was of great importance in Serédi's life. When the Cardinal Chernoch died in 1927, serious diplomatic negotiations began to decide who would be the new cardinal. Kunó Klebelsberg⁷¹, a personal enemy of Serédi, did everything in his power to prevent the Benedictine from becoming

⁷⁰ Bánk: Canon *ibid.* p. 224.

⁷¹ Kunó Klebelsberg, Count (Magyarpécska, (Pecica), the Kingdom of Hungary, (Romania), 13 November 1875 - Budapest, 11 October 1932): a lawyer, deputy, minister, member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (d. 1924). In 1910, he became an administrative judge, and in 1914 he was appointed the State Secretary at the Ministry of Religion and Public Education. During the First World War he was one of the national organisers of the National Labour Party. From 1917, he was the President of the War Welfare Office and later the Political State Secretary in the Prime Minister's Office. In February 1919, together with the Count István Bethlen, he organised the Party of National Unification. 1921-1922: the Minister of Interior, 1922-1931: the Minister of Religion and Public Education in the Bethlen government. He was the President of the Hungarian Historical Society and of several social and scientific associations. During his ministership, he built up a network of farm schools, reformed the civil schools and the girls' secondary schools, laid the foundations of the University of Szeged and established the Hungarian Institutes in Vienna, Berlin and Rome. <https://www.arcanum.hu/hu/online-kiadvanyok/Lexikonok-magyar-eletrajzi-lexikon-7428D/k-760F2/klebelsberg-kuno-grof-76479/> (14 June 2020) His activities are analysed in detail in Gábor Ujváry, "This statesman of European stature", Kunó Klebelsberg (1875-1932). Kronosz-Hungarian Historical Society. Pécs-Budapest. 2014.

the Primate (including suggesting that he should be appointed to the vacant bishopric of Székesfehérvár). Yet, on 30 November 1927, Pius XI appointed Serédi as the Archbishop-Duke-Priest of Esztergom. The consecration of the bishop was also performed by the Pope himself.

In terms of his diplomacy, Serédi was more a follower of his church and his conscience than of his government. Of course, he did all this without denying his patriotism even for a moment, but he was able to think in a broader perspective.

The years of post-war residence in Rome were filled with the "usual" tasks of monks living in Rome. In the case of Serédi, however, these duties were considerably extended to include diplomatic duties. In the 1920s, he taught in San Anselmo, led pilgrim groups, tried to help Hungarians who came to him, and responded to legal requests. Bishops of various nationalities also turned to him several times for legal assistance. He was the Roman procurator of the Hungarian bishops and the Hungarian Benedictine Congregation. In 1925, he became a consultor to the Synodal Congregation and took part in the work of other congregations. He also worked as a source editor and took part in the work of the Codex Explanatory Committee. Of great importance are his diplomatic activities, he also served as a Canon law adviser to the Hungarian Embassy in the Vatican.

One of the basic diplomatic issues of the transitional period following the First World War was the restoration of church-secular relations and the establishment of channels for the loosened inter-state relations. It was clear to all that the solutions could only be temporary, as political events were taking place at a tremendous pace in a decidedly unfavourable economic environment. Yet the basic conditions for everyday life had to be provided - peacefully. It was also owing to the work of Justinian Serédi and János Csiszárík, who was well acquainted with the Monarchy's religious affairs in political matters, that diplomatic relations between the Holy See and Hungary were established in 1920. Csiszárík helped József Somssich to organise the embassy and was subsequently ordered home. It was then that Serédi took over his duties. Serédi also received the support of the episcopate, and he became the agent of the Hungarian dioceses at the Holy See. Using his good network of contacts, he

was able to mediate effectively in the affairs of the Highlands⁷² and Transylvania, negotiating in the Vatican on the resignation of Bishop William Batthyány of Nitra, the situation of Bishop Ágost Fischer-Colbrie⁷³ of Kassa (Košice)⁷⁴, and the Romanian Concordat.⁷⁵ He obtained the draft text of the Concordat between the Kingdom of Romania and the Holy See for the Hungarian government, and wrote a draft himself, which was not received with great enthusiasm.

⁷² The estates of the Slovakian bishoprics in the Decree 6525/19 "have suffered a fate similar to that of the estates of the ecclesiastical institutions in Hungary because of the developments affecting their archpastors. Bishops Vilmos Batthyány of Nitra and Farkas Radnai of Banská Bystrica were expelled from Slovakia in early 1919, while the Bishop Sándor Párvy of Spiš died in Budapest in March of that year. Later, the ban was extended to the bishop's properties in Ruzno and Košice, after the deaths of Lajos Balás in 1920 and Ágoston Fischer-Colbrie in 1925. However, when the bishoprics of Nitra, Banská Bystrica and Spišská were filled by the Holy See at the end of 1920 with the Slovak archbishops Karol Kmeko, Marián Blaha and Ján Vojtaššák, the new bishops were given the confiscated properties they were entitled to. However, this did not happen in the case of Rozsnyó (Rožňava) and Kassa (Košice), as the Holy See and Czechoslovakia were unable to agree on successors after the death of their archpastors, and Rome appointed only apostolic administrators to these places. In response, the government showed its resentment by not handing over the bishopric estates to the appointed administrators, by maintaining them under closed administration, and by granting only an annual subsidy from the administration committee for the income from the estates to Košice and Roznice." Kálmán Rácz. *Társadalomtudományi Szemle* 6 (2004) 3, no. 35-52. <https://forumszemle.eu/2004/06/15/racz-kalman-esztergomi-ersekseg-kontra-csehszlovak-allam-egyhazi-birtokperek-a-hagai-birosag-elott-1-resz/>, downloaded on 04.09.2021.

⁷³ Bishop Ágoston Fischer-Colbrie (16 October 1863, Zselíz, (Želiezovce), the Kingdom of Hungary, Slovakia - 17 May 1925, Košice (Kassa), Kingdom of Hungary Slovakia) was a writer, teacher, bishop of Košice, writer on theology and philosophy. He studied theology in Vienna and after serving in Budapest and Esztergom he became a teacher at the Pazmaneum in Vienna and later a rector. From 1904, he was an auxiliary bishop, and from 1907 until his death, he was a county bishop of Kassa. He was the first to translate the papal encyclical *Rerum Novarum* into Hungarian. He spoke out several times against the government's insensitive policy towards nationalities before the change of state. After the formation of Czechoslovakia, he was the only bishop who remained in his post in the new state and was able to continue his pastoral ministry. However, he soon came into conflict with the new authorities, criticising their policies on the church and the nationalities. He was one of the organisers of the National Christian Socialist Party. In addition to his pastoral activities, he was a major figure in the emerging Hungarian intellectual life in Slovakia, founding more than 25 associations, several social institutions (e.g. the St. Joseph Home for Poor Children) and several newspapers. https://epa.oszk.hu/01500/01500/00017/pdf/EPA01500_lymbus_2020_0777-0806.pdf

⁷⁴ Antal Papp (Nagykálló, 17 November 1867 - Miskolc, 24 December 1945) was a Greek Catholic bishop, ordained priest on 24 December 1893. On 1 June, he was succeeded by the Bishop Gyula Firczák on his death. On 8 June, he was also appointed as an Apostolic Administrator of Hajdúdorog (a post he held until 23 June

By the second half of the 1920s, the political and economic situation in Hungary had been somewhat consolidated, the new currency (pengő) was introduced, the social system was organised and a major educational reform was launched.⁷⁶ The time had also come to settle the question of dioceses in the fragmented territories. However, this settlement was not at all favourable for Hungary, and in fact it could not be considered a final solution since everyone was already dealing with the question and possibility of territorial revision.

Vatican diplomacy, sensing the political changes, recognised the need to reach an agreement with stabilising states, and sought to deal with the situation by means of concordats and agreements based on the *Codex Iuris Canonici*, which considered both legal and religious aspects. In his work, Serédi also played a major role, knowing that most of the issues were decided in the antechamber of the decision-makers. He sought to promote the interests of his country without compromising the interests of the Church and Catholicism. At this time, the question of relations with the Czech Hussites or with the Romanian Orthodox was a major issue.

1913). On 12 October, he was a consecrated bishop with the help of Gyula Drohobeczky, József Lányi and Győző Horváth. On 14 July 1924, the Pope Pius XI appointed him as the titular Archbishop of Cyzicus and the Governor of the newly founded Apostolic Exarchate of Miskolc, and conferred on him the rights of a county bishop. In 1925 he settled in Miskolc. Although the city belonged to the diocese of Hajdúdorog, it was not a suitable place in the territory of the apostolic governorate, but Miskolc was easily accessible from all parishes. He helped the Archdeacon Dr. Szémán Szántay to launch the *Union*, the scientific and ecclesiastical journal *Keleti Kirche* in January 1934. At the initiative of the editors of this journal, the St. Nicholas Association was alive and well. In 1934, he approved the publication of a chant book entitled *Praise the Name of the Lord*. In 1940, the State Government admitted him to the House of Lords. This measure was then a public recognition of the autonomy of the apostolic government. <http://lexikon.katolikus.hu/P/Papp.html> (14 June 2020) For more details on his activities, see Gergely, *The Catholic*, pp. 42, 57-58, 92, 98.

⁷⁴ Csíky: Serédi *ibid.* p. 39.

⁷⁵ Réka Marchut: *The Romanian Concordat in Hungarian diplomacy (1920-1929)*. *Pro Minoritate* 2. (2014) 150-169.

⁷⁶ Gábor Ujváry: "A clearly thought-out and systematically built cultural policy". In: Ed. Csaba Kása - László Tamás Vizi. *Hungarian Studies Institute*. Budapest. 2021. pp. 108-114.

4.1.4 Concordats and *modus vivendi*

Serédi himself was certainly active in the drafting of the third canon, which addressed the question of concordats. According to this, the solemn agreements of the Holy See with individual states before the entry into force of the Code, the so-called concordats, remained in force, even if they were explicitly (*abrogatio*) or implicitly (*aequivalenter*) contrary to the rules of the Code.

Concordats concluded after the entry into force of the Code superseded - in a specific place and time - the contrary rules of the Code (*lex posterior derogat priori*)⁷⁷

It is clear from this that the legislator intended a significant role for concordats, the precise legal doctrinal definition of which was still incomplete. As late as 1960, Bánk wrote: "The legal nature of the concordat is a matter of great controversy among canon lawyers and international jurists."⁷⁸ As to the nature of the concordat (bearing in mind that it is an ancient legal institution), opinions differ considerably. The historical approach⁷⁹ is reflected in the privilege theory, according to which a concordat is nothing more than a privilege granted by the Pope or the Holy See to a particular country. Therefore, it does not constitute a legal (*ex iustitia*) but only a moral (*ex fidelitate*) binding force for the Pope. It also means that the privilege can be unilaterally modified or revoked. The basis of this theory is that the Church is a superior society to the State, so that the State does not even appear to it as a contracting party since the rights of the State derive from the universal Church itself. This theory is further supported by the idea that no contract can be made in spiritual matters, and that the Pope is the supreme legislator and therefore 'above the law'.

The "legalis" theory is the reverse of the privilege theory. The idea is that the state is above the Church, so that the state cannot contract with the Church which is subordinate to it. Typically, the concept of

⁷⁷ Bánk: Canon *ibid.* p. 231.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* p. 317.

⁷⁹ VIII. Bonifác "Unam sanctam" (1302) "Uterque ergo, (sc. gladius) in potestate ecclesiae: spiritualis gladius et materialis sed is quidem pro ecclesia, ille vero ab ecclesia exercendus, Ille sacerdotis, is manu regum et militum, sed ad nutum et patientiam sacerdotis ..." "Porro subesse Romano Pontifici omni humanae creaturae declaramus, dicimus, diffinimus et pronuntiamus omnino esse, de necessitate salutis." (c. I. Extrav. com. 1, B.) Cited in *ibid.* p. 318.

the Church as a purely civil organisation within the state, as we would say today, has been developed in German areas.

In between these two theories is the contract theory, according to which two equal parties enter into a contract. Here, the Pope, as a person of International law, enters into a treaty with other nations on a particular subject. This is also supported by the fact that the Vatican itself appears as a state in international diplomacy.

It is easy to accept the contract theory, but we must not forget the nearly thousand years that form the basis of the other two concordat theories, and which continue to have their specific effects to this day, since it is indeed very difficult to contract spiritual matters or to exercise rights as the largest religion, a unified and organised entity representing a considerable part of the world's population. Serédi was well aware of the complexity of this situation and made his decisions in this light. One of the results of this was that negotiations with Czechoslovakia did not even reach the stage of a Concordat, only a *modus vivendi* was agreed on 17 September 1927. For the Czechoslovaks, however, this in itself meant recognition of the Treaty of Trianon by the Vatican. This was the price to be paid for the restoration of diplomatic relations with Czechoslovakia, which had been severed two years earlier. Although the *modus vivendi* remained a Czechoslovak - Vatican internal affair (Hungarian diplomacy was not even informed of the preparation), in the domestic reading it was mostly a delay, which merely fixed the *de facto* situation that had developed in the meantime, without any new, substantial regulatory content.

The substantive issues should have been decided by an international commission, but as the Primate of Esztergom, Serédi, who was in Rome by then, indicated, "there is no reason to be in too much of a hurry."⁸⁰

This situation was confirmed by the case before the International Court of Justice in the Hague.⁸¹ It was clear that the protracted

⁸⁰ Csíky: Serédi *ibid.* p. 196.

⁸¹ Kálmán Rác: The Archdiocese of Esztergom v. the Czechoslovak State - ecclesiastical property lawsuits before The Hague Court. *Társadalomtudományi Szemle* 6. (2004) 3, no. 35-52. <https://forumszemle.eu/2004/06/15/racz-kalman-esztergomi-ersekseg-kontra-csehszlovak-allam-egyhazi-birtokperek-a-hagai-birosag-elott-1-resz/>, downloaded on 04.09.2021.

At the end of 1923, the Archbishop of Esztergom, the cathedral chaplaincy, the seminary of Esztergom and Budapest, and five other Catholic institutions filed a claim

property dispute had partly forced the Vatican to take action to protect church property from the Czechoslovak state, and partly prevented the possibility of a legal settlement of territorial issues for a long time. From the Vatican's point of view, the greatest danger was that neither Hungarian nor Slovak Catholics would receive the former Hungarian church lands, which would be expropriated by the state.

For Esztergom, of course, the question of land also seemed to be a question of survival, since its expensive institutions remained, for example in Budapest, but it could not use nearly two-thirds of the land needed to finance them.

It's worth taking a look at the situation in relation to church estates at the time. It is clear that a considerable part of the estates was transferred to foreign countries. Basically, the following questions may have arisen:

- the estates remain in the hands of Hungarian Catholics in another state (not in the hands of the "Hungarian Catholic Church", but in the ownership and use of certain Catholic legal entities in Hungary). An example of this was the jurisdiction of the Archbishops of Olomouc and Prague in certain German territories
- the estates are transferred to the Catholic bodies of the other state (with possible compensation, payment of a fee); this required the Vatican conversion of the diocese, the dismemberment. All this could only be done by the Holy See under the ecclesiastical code according to the canon 215, and the distribution of property was also the exclusive competence of the Holy See according to the canon 1500.
- the land becomes the property of the other state (with possible compensation).

Along these lines, the interests of each actor can also be clearly identified, which had to be reconciled according to the rules of International law or policy⁸². It can be seen that in this field of power,

with the Hungarian-Czechoslovak Mixed Arbitration Court in The Hague against the sealing of the property by Czechoslovakia in 1919. With the sealing, the owners lost all rights of disposal. The legal basis for the lawsuit was the Section 250 of the Trianon Dictate, which allowed the case to be referred to arbitration.

⁸² Béla Bartók: The Government of the Diocese of Rozsnyó in Hungary between 1937-1939. *Acta Acad. Paed. Agriensis. Sectio Historiae* 36 (2009) 191-205.

the possibilities of individual national rights were relatively limited and were used, for example by the Czechoslovak state, mainly to obtain a position of coercion.

It is a curiosity from a legal history point of view that the Czechoslovak state went back to the pre-existing legal framework to find the legal basis for the lock-up.

The Act no. 64 of 10 December 1918 was relatively simple in the sense that it gave the Slovak Minister responsible for the matter the power to issue a decree on the subject. It is interesting to note, however, that on the question of the freeze, the legislator referred to the Article LXX of 1723, which provides that, if the ecclesiastical benefactor neglects the use of his property, the King, as the supreme curate, may place the income from the property under freeze and act himself to remedy the situation. This demonstrates that the law, which is being dragged out by the hair, does not even resemble the legal situation in which the Hungarian ecclesiastical nobles found themselves. It is absurd to assume that the rights of the General Collector would be transferred to the Czechoslovak state.⁸³

The method of sealing the estates of Slovakian bishoprics was similarly unrealistic on the grounds that, according to point 11 of the Decree of the Hungarian Minister of Culture of 27 September 1867, no. 10 165, sealing was the legal procedure in the event of a vacancy in the episcopal see. In the present case, the mere fact of the vacancy of the episcopal chair was also disputed over and above the legal issues.

The parties agreed before the start of the trial in The Hague that the church leaders concerned, the Hungarian and Slovak bishops, would first consult, submit the proposals to their governments, and then the Holy See would approve the agreement. The international political situation, however, overrode everything and consensus was never reached.⁸⁴

Partly the reason for this was that Cardinal Csernoch was adamant that his estates, which were his private property for the purposes of state law, should be kept to the end. *"In the name of the Archdiocese*

⁸³ Cf. László Szttyahula: The Catholic ecclesiastical administration of Upper Hungary between 1918-1925. In *Trianon and the Churches*. István Zombori. METEM - Historia Ecclesiastica Hungarica Foundation. Budapest. 2023. pp. 19-23.

⁸⁴ EPL Cat. D/c. Box 3, Felvidéki birtokügyek, Lepold Antal letter, 24 October 1922, quoted in Rác: Esztergom *ibid*.

of Esztergom, I declare that I cling to the last of the estates with full ownership and full right of disposal, that I do not recognise the foreign officials of the committee, that I consider all changes of personnel and business which have taken place without my consent to be illegal, and that I demand that the administration of the estates be restored to the beneficiaries. And, in my person, I declare that the living and dead equipment, crops and materials on the archdiocesan property are my private property and I will prevent their alienation by all possible means." ⁸⁵

Masaryk and Benes, on the other hand, would have preferred to see the disputed properties in state ownership, according to the ideology of the liberal state. Property thus played the role of a trump card in a complex diplomatic, international legal dispute. Without the Vatican's consent, property issues and the related situation of the Slovak dioceses could not be settled, but there was always the possibility of expropriation on the part of Czechoslovakia.

In 1926, the Slovak bishops made an offer to Esztergom. The proposal was that the estates would be divided into two parts, the part belonging to Esztergom would be sold and the purchase price would be paid to Esztergom. Since the dismemberment was conditional on the settlement of the land disputes, the Czechoslovak side was keenly interested in the settlement, and by this time, the Hungarians were also increasingly inclined to compromise and to settle the actual situation in law. The Holy See also wanted an early settlement to support Slovak Catholics. The process that started in 1926 resulted in the *modus vivendi* of December 1927, which tied the borders of the dioceses to the state borders, i.e. declared dismembered. However, the actual implementation would have been conditional on the final settlement of property issues, which in practice never happened, and after the first Vienna decision the issue became moot.

In the first place, they wanted to settle the question of estates, and the question of whether there should be predominantly Hungarian dioceses was raised again. It was clear that a quick solution was not to be expected, which favoured the Hungarian side who had every

⁸⁵ Kálmán Rácz: The Property Dispute between the Archdiocese of Esztergom and Czechoslovakia 1919-1938. *Church History Review* 1 (2000) No. 1, pp. 105-119. <https://edit.elte.hu/xmlui/handle/10831/45571>, downloaded: 2021. 09. 04.

reason to hope for some kind of revision later. This solution was clearly advocated by the Secretary of State, Gasparri, and with him by the Vatican politician, although he played a significant role in ensuring that the question of Catholicism⁸⁶ was also handled well⁸⁷ in the face of the Hussites. The situation in the 1920s was that Czechoslovakia was run by Evangelicals, who made up about 20% of the country, and were not overly sympathetic to Catholics. However, property was a major asset in the hands of the Catholic Church - and vice versa of course, moreover, the Czechoslovak government could threaten the Vatican with expropriation.

⁸⁶ József Malagyí: The 1st Czechoslovak Republic and the Apostolic See (Vatican) diplomatic relations (1918-1938). Paneurópska vysoká škola, Fakulta práva, Bratislava (Pan-European College, Faculty of Law, Institute for the Theory and History of State and Law. https://dfk-online.sze.hu/images/egyedi/doktori/%C3%A1ll%C3%A9s_jog_alap_%C3%A9rt%C3%A9kei_2010/1.%20k%C3%B6t/malagyí.pdf, downloaded 04.09.2021.

"The law should have taken into account the interests of all social strata. It retained the majority of traditional Catholic holidays by taking them from the then Church Code. The law included 28 October, 1 May, St. Cyril and Methodius Day, St. Wenceslas Day, and also Huss's Day among the Republic's commemorative days, the importance of which was highlighted in the explanatory report on the merits of the nationalisation of the University of Prague and the maintenance of the Czech nation, which was attached to the law.¹ The main opposition to the adoption of the law came from the Slovak National Party, which, through Andrej Hlinka, demanded in parliament that the feast of St. John Nepomuk be celebrated in Slovakia instead of the feast of St. John Huss. The present question was not successful, and the said holiday law was adopted by the Parliament on 21 March 1925. The adoption of the law, which meant the introduction of a day of commemoration of the feast of St. John Huss on the anniversary of his burning, provoked a negative reaction from the Holy See, which protested by a diplomatic note." ... "President Masaryk was so influenced that he relented from his diplomatic abstention and publicly showed his views by ordering the Hussite flag to be displayed over the Prague Castle. Thus, when Msgr. Marmaggi was convinced of the participation of the President and the Prime Minister in the celebrations and of the full progress of the festivities, he left Prague on the evening of 6 July."

⁸⁷ The situation of Catholics in Czechoslovakia was not easy between 1924 and 1927, as the state stepped up its anti-church initiatives, especially against the Catholic Church. It is also significant that the majority of Catholics were in the Slovakian regions. The pastoral letter of 26 November 1924, which was read out in churches, was addressed to the Catholics in Slovakia, and listed the anti-church associations, which were typically linked to the state power. On the other side, the Czechoslovak government issued the "Law on the Hussite movement in support of the Hussite movement" /65/1925/. This led to the "Marmaggi casus" of 6 July 1925, which brought about the deterioration of relations with the Vatican. This in turn meant that Catholic Slovaks came to the forefront from the Vatican's point of view.

Overall, the passage of time has also had negative consequences, with the deterioration of properties and the Archdiocese of Esztergom losing a significant part of its income.⁸⁸

The first stage of the *modus vivendi* was: *"The Holy See and the Government of Czechoslovakia have agreed on the principle that no part of the Czechoslovak Republic will be subordinated to a diocesan bishop whose seat is outside the borders of the Czechoslovak State, and that likewise the boundaries of no diocese will cross state borders. The Holy See and the Czechoslovak government agree on new boundaries and support for dioceses. For the preparation of this agreement, two independent commissions shall be formed within two months: the first shall be constituted by the Holy See, composed of representatives of all the dioceses concerned, and chaired by the Holy See representative in Prague, and the second by the Czechoslovak Government, composed of representatives of the dioceses concerned and experts."*

It is evident that this was a framework agreement that would have required a lot of work to fill it with substance.

The second section was intended to clarify, at least in part, the situation of real property: 'In the Czechoslovak Republic, the management of ecclesiastical real and personal property, which is at present secured by forced administration is provisional until the convention referred to in the preceding article and is entrusted to a commission chaired by the episcopate of the territory concerned.'

⁸⁸ From 1919, in dioceses without an archpastor, the minister in charge, Vavro Šrobár, appointed caretakers. The Central Administrator's Office based in Bratislava was established as a supervisory body. The Soviet Republic 'swept away' these institutions, and afterwards the territories were simply put under lock and key. The law numbered 6565/19/19/1919, which was adopted by the Hungarian Government, abolished the ecclesiastical estates based in Hungary - the Archdiocese of Esztergom, the Cathedral Chapter of Esztergom, the Chapter of Vác, the Religious and Study Fund, the Seminary of Esztergom and Pest, the Benedictine Order of Pannonhalma, the Abbeys of Leker, Jászó and Zircs - and the Abbey of Nitra, Bishoprics of Banská Bystrica and Spiš in Slovakia, and entrusted the administration of their holdings to the Central Committee of the Roman Catholic Church (Centrálna správa katolíckych cirkvi). Until 1921, new regulations placed the assets of Pázmány Péter University, the Premonstratensian Order of Csornai and the Győr Chapter under lock and key, and with them under the administration of the central administration.' Rác: Esztergom i. p. 35-52, <https://forumzemle.eu/2004/06/15/rac-kalman-esztergomi-ersekseg-kontra-csehszlovak-allam-egyhazi-birtokperek-a-hagai-birosag-elott-1-resz/>, downloaded on 04.09.2021.

We now know that the process of filling this section with content also took a long time and was never fully completed. From our point of view, the views of some members of the local legal community on this issue are interesting:

"Professor Antonín Hobza writes: "The *Modus vivendi* clause on ecclesiastical property was a certain sensation in our legal circles. For there is not a single sensible reason for giving up our state sovereignty - the sovereignty established by valid state law - on the subject of so-called church property. Whether or not the Vatican recognizes our laws on church property is of no relevance to the legal life of the state." From a purely legal point of view, one can certainly agree with the ending of the last sentence. However, Hobza forgets that the *modus vivendi* was a political document, intended to serve as a basis for further relations with the Holy See, the quality of which was important for the Czechoslovak Republic."⁸⁹

The third article concerned the orders, and the fourth provided that the bishops could be Czechoslovak citizens, and that the Vatican would submit the candidates to the state, which could object in certain cases. In contrast, Hobza argued that the State had the right to appoint bishops. The fifth article contained an equally controversial loyalty oath formula.

It can be seen, therefore, that the *modus vivendi* was a framework that could not resolve any of the issues at stake. The main reason for this may have been that ecclesiastical and secular politicians had reason to expect a significant change in the situation. After all, bad decisions tend to have long-lasting bad effects.

It was perhaps thanks to Serédi's clever politics that the conclusion of the agreement with the Czechoslovak state was delayed almost until the first Vienna decision. For this reason, the archbishop was also criticised by Czechoslovakia. However, this is clearly shown by the speed and efficiency with which the Vatican has been making statements on the Hungarian case even before the Vienna decision.⁹⁰

The Catholic Church has always been cognizant of the fact that individual nations like to shine in the colours of the 'Christian course',

⁸⁹ Malagy: The 1. *ibid.* p. 101.

⁹⁰ PL Cat. D/c, 4818/1938. Pannonica Publishers. Budapest. 1999. p. 77; quoted in Csiky: Serédi *ibid.* p. 228.

but this has often meant little more than a kind of covert conservatism and nationalism. It was precisely for this reason that church diplomacy, which did not get involved in these 'national games', in which the Church was to be used rather than helped, played a very important role. Our study shows that several years were not enough to remedy the artificial chaos caused by Trianon. Solutions were either not found or were only temporary. Exclusion may have seemed like a good tactic, but the situation in the region actually continued to worsen until the regime change. Now our region has reached the point where it is rethinking the possibility of a solution. In this solution, the common Christian past can certainly play a major role, as can the strengthening of the sense of belonging together in Central Europe and the understanding of our intertwined destiny.

4.2 From primatial law to ecclesial social movements

The two concepts in the title do not seem to have much to do with each other. In reality, however, the turn of the 1900s witnessed a major shift in church thinking away from centralisation towards decentralisation and the strengthening of local organisation. Close church cooperation with the state was replaced by the organisation of more autonomous church communities. This becomes clear by the 1930s, when the principle of 'subsidiarity' is formulated, and the individual self-organising church groups are empowered to represent the Catholic doctrine according to their own rules.

4.2.1 The right of primogeniture and its termination

The basis of primatial law is the identification of the king's role as "rex et sacerdos".⁹¹ One of the most beautiful images of this is the mosaic in the Monreale Cathedral, where the image "L'incoronazione vera e propria di Guglielmo II re della Sicilia 1166 a Palermo" shows the Christ himself placing the crown on the head of the monarch. It is clearly visible that the concepts of imperium and sacerdotium are almost inseparable, not only in the Eastern part of the Church, but also in the Western part. In practice, this meant, among other things, that lay rulers took an active role in the appointment of bishops.

⁹¹ Bánk: Canon *ibid.* p. 599.

Disputes over the scope of the right to appoint bishops were constant in the Middle Ages, as the history of the battle of the investiture illustrates. In Hungary, the rights of the monarch were strong, and were traced back to St Stephen, the crown and the apostolic cross. According to the Hungarian Catholic view, the right to the primacy was in this sense a personal privilege linked to the current Hungarian king.⁹² In practice, this meant the right of the Hungarian king to appoint (*presentatio*)⁹³ in the case of the filling of the episcopal see.

The exercise of the primate's rights was, of course, a matter of constant dispute between the king and the Holy See. The state aspects were listed by Werbőczy, with reference to the Council of Constance⁹⁴. The title of Apostolic King, according to the Hungarian Historical Constitution, was also a very powerful right with a significant impact on the life of the Catholic Church⁹⁵.

This situation was resolved by the debates over the separation of the Church and state. Following the laws of 1848, the question of religious freedom also had to be reconsidered. During the transitional period, the prerogatives of the archbishop were exercised by a ministry of a neutral state which aimed to separate the Church and state. In comparison, it would have been an improvement, if the right had been returned to the king, or at least, if Catholics had been given the right of self-government, as was the case for other denominations.

The solution had to wait until 1855, when - for the last time - the Habsburg Empire found the strength of unity in its Catholic roots. The intention to try to unify the multi-ethnic empire along the lines of the Catholic religion was clear. This, of course, required a pact with Rome, which had been years in the making. In this task, the bishoprics that straddled the ethnic groups played a major role. The unity of the Hungarian and Austrian churches could not be achieved on the basis of national borders but in relation to the bishoprics. The

⁹² Ibid. 600.

⁹³ László Gájer: The use of the title of Apostolic King during the reign of Franz Joseph. In Norbert Glässer-Zima András. NKAT. Szeged. 2016. p. 175; Gábor Salacz. Argumentum Publishers. Budapest. 2002.

⁹⁴ Gájer: The Apostolic *ibid.* p. 177.

⁹⁵ It should be noted here that the emphasis on the apostolic title from the state side was, according to the Church's understanding, contrary to both the Concordat of Worms and the regulation of the First Lateran Council, which left the election of bishops to the chapters.

Concordat between Emperor Franz Joseph and the Pope Pius IX, adopted on 18 August 1855, proclaimed in the imperial patent of 5 November 1855 and in force until 30 July 1870⁹⁶, created a pact between the two powers which sought to reorganise the weakened empire along Catholic principles. The right to appoint bishops was transferred to the Church, and the *summum ius patronatus* was limited to the oath of the appointed bishops before the emperor, in accordance with Articles 19 and 20 of the Concordat.

The attempt to create a Catholic empire ended definitively in Hungary on 20 November 1918 with the proclamation of the Republic and the dethronement of the King Charles IV⁹⁷. On 21 November 1921, the Pope Benedict XV⁹⁸ declared that the personal rights and privileges attached to the king had ceased with the dissolution of the kingdom, and that the successor states were not their successors. The article 13 of Act I of 1920 on the Restoration of Constitutionality and the Provisional Settlement of the Exercise of State Supremacy stipulated that the governor "may not exercise the right of primate."⁹⁹

⁹⁶ The 1870 effect is to be understood according to Austrian law, since, according to Hungarian law, it was repealed in 1867 with the restoration of the Hungarian constitution. In ecclesiastical practice it was applied by the Hungarian Catholic bishops until 1918. The Bishops of the Danube Monarchy 1804 to 1918: Ein Amtsbiographisches Lexikon. Vol. I: The Roman Catholic Bishops of the Diocese of Buda. Ecclesiastical Provinces of Gran, Kalocsa, Eger in the Kingdom of Hungary. Rupert Klieber (Ed.) Duncker & Humblot. Berlin. 2020.

⁹⁷ Charles IV (Blessed) (17 August 1887 - 1 April 1922), Archduke of Austria, the last ruler of the House of Habsburg-Lorraine. From 1916 to 1918, he was the last emperor of the Austrian Empire under the name of Charles I and the last king of Hungary under the name of Charles IV.

⁹⁸ Acta Apostolicae Sedis. XII. Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis. Romae. 1921. 521-524.

⁹⁹ As an outlook, the situation after World War II was for a long time based on unilateral regulation (without the consent of the Holy See). Decree-Law no. 20 of 1951 on the way of filling certain ecclesiastical posts provided that:

Article 1 Archbishops, titular archbishops, bishops, auxiliary bishops, archabbots, abbots and regional heads of monastic orders may be appointed to the territory of Hungary only with the prior consent of the Presidential Council of the People's Republic.

§ 2 The provisions of § 1 shall apply to all appointments made to the listed Catholic ecclesiastical posts since 1 January 1946.

Article 3 This Decree-Law shall enter into force on the day of its promulgation and its provisions shall remain in force until a new arrangement for filling the aforementioned ecclesiastical posts is reached by bilateral agreement.

The state also unilaterally amended the regulations in 1957 and in the related implementing order in 1959. Under Decree-Law no. 22 of 1957 'on the State contribution required to fill certain ecclesiastical posts':

In later years, the appointment of bishops became increasingly a matter for the Holy See, and the rules of the 17th edition of the *Codex Iuris Canonici* pointed in this direction, and the Canon 377 of the 1983 Code clearly excludes¹⁰⁰ the jurisdiction of the secular authorities in this matter.

4.2.2 Social changes

The first half of the 1900s was a period of social and territorial change. The fruits of the revolutionary thinking that had been promulgated a few decades earlier were being reaped, and the borders of states in Europe were, and indeed still are, in a state of constant change in wartime and revolutionary circumstances. In our research, we have primarily focused on the ecclesiastical aspects of the area affected by the Treaty of Trianon, but we should not ignore the fact that the Papal States themselves, restored in 1815 by the

According to Article 54 (2) of our Constitution, in order to ensure freedom of conscience, the Hungarian People's Republic shall separate the Church from the State. Accordingly, our organs of state power do not exercise the right of the primate, which has been exercised by the Hungarian heads of state for centuries and which has deeply penetrated into the life of the Roman Catholic Church. It is, however, necessary to ensure the interests of the State when making ecclesiastical appointments in order to assert the sovereignty of the State. Therefore, the Presidential Council of the People's Republic hereby decrees the following Decree-Law.

§ 1 (1) The filling of a church leadership position that does not fall within the competence of a body under Hungarian jurisdiction shall be based on a separate agreement with the competent foreign body. The agreement shall be prepared by the Council of Ministers.

(2) In cases not covered by paragraph (1), the appointment (election) shall be governed by the statutes (law) of the Church.

(3) The appointment (election) provided for in paragraph (1) shall be subject to the prior consent of the State by the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic.

¹⁰⁰ Can. 377. 1. §. Bishops are freely appointed by the Pope or confirmed by him after a lawful election.

2. §. Every three years, the episcopate, or, if circumstances warrant, the bishops of the episcopal conference, shall draw up jointly and in secret a list of those priests belonging to the secular or consecrated life who are highly qualified for the episcopate. The list shall be submitted to the Holy See. Each bishop shall also retain the right to submit separately to the Apostolic See the names of those priests whom he considers worthy and suitable for the episcopate.

5. §. Henceforth, the secular authorities shall have no right or privilege whatsoever to elect, nominate, present or appoint bishops.

Congress of Vienna, also had their borders altered. Garibaldi's conquests continually reduced the territory of the Papal States, until finally, with the help of French troops, it was possible to preserve at least the Patrimonium Petri, an area of some 13,000 square kilometres. It was only in 1870, however, when the Prussian-French War caused the French troops to withdraw and were replaced by the King Victor Emmanuel's troops. In 1871, Pius IX did not accept the Italian government's commitment made in the law of suretyship, that the Pope's person would remain intact, that he would be entitled to some estates and that the Italian state would pay an annual allowance. The Rome question was finally resolved by the Lateran Pact, signed on 11 February 1929 by Benito Mussolini and Pietro Gasparri, the Cardinal Secretary of State to the Pope Pius XII.

In this sense too, Vatican diplomacy was rightly sensitive to what was happening in Central Europe during the post-war territorial changes. It became clear that social changes were reflected in territorial changes. The interplay between the base and superstructure, as defined by Marx, became tangible when the ideology of liberalism and communism completely transformed property relations and rewrote constitutional orders, even to the point of changing state boundaries.¹⁰¹ In this world, the Church naturally approached the problems from the point of view of the 'superstructure', the regulation of religious life.

This meant that the Church had to focus increasingly on spiritual issues, constantly fighting against the revolutionary movements of liberalism and communism and ensuring the emergence of communities that could maintain religious unity without territorial ties. Thirdly, there was the social function of supporting the poorest, from which the social movements later emerged. These social movements became particularly strong in Germany and were further strengthened on the Protestant side by the so-called Kulturkampf. In this chapter, we will now refer to the example of von Ketteler, who in his youth followed a similar path to that of Karl Marx but was eventually ordained a Catholic bishop. It was precisely because of the role of moral force that Ketteler was convinced that the state

¹⁰¹ Zoltán Hajdú: Changes in national boundaries and church territorial structures in the Carpathian Basin between 1918-1947. In: In the context of the political and social division in the church and state structures. Hajdú Zoltán. Centre for Regional Studies of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Pécs 2010. pp. 101-122; Petra Hamerli. December). Church History Review 18 (2017) No. 2. 80-96.

alone was incapable of solving the social question. What is needed is love embodied in the Church as well as the institutional system of the Church.¹⁰²

The Catholic social teaching of the time sought to address these fundamental issues by focusing on the rights of the poor and vulnerable. On the other side, in Hungary, the communists became the voice of social issues, at first only briefly.¹⁰³

It can be clearly identified that the Catholic Church and Vatican diplomacy had to fight on several fronts. It was necessary to deal partly with the rise of anti-religious social ideologies and partly with the new situations created by the transformation of geographical areas. In this ever-changing and complex political context, a new conviction emerged that, in addition to the ecclesiastical hierarchy, the exercise of power at local level also had an important role to play.

4.2.3 Subsidiarity and care

Churches have had to resort to new means in an ever-changing world. Prominent among these instruments were those that promoted local, autonomous involvement, less tied to geographical areas or governments. In this sense, Catholic thinking increasingly moved away from a mindset linked to empires, nation-states, nations, and back to a focus on local communities.¹⁰⁴ One of the most important principles of this development, occurring in the inter-war period - and later becoming one of the founding principles of the European Union¹⁰⁵ - was subsidiarity.

¹⁰² Nándor Birher: Two examples of social renewal: W.E. von Ketteler and Béla Hamvas. W.W. W. Ketteler and W.W. Ketteler,

¹⁰³ Tamás Tóth: The Apostolic See and the Council Republic (1918-1920). András Fejérdy. Szent István Publishers. Budapest. 2020. pp. 69-85.

¹⁰⁴ The Decree of the Second Vatican Council, *Christus Dominus*, writes the following about the bishops of the dioceses in point 11: "The individual bishops, to whom the care of a particular Church is entrusted, under the direction of the Roman Pontiff, shall feed their sheep as ordinary and direct shepherds in the name of the Lord, exercising for them the office of teaching, sanctifying and governing.

¹⁰⁵ After several partial applications, the legal basis is the Article 5(3) of the Treaty on European Union (TEU) and the Protocol (No 2) on the application of the principles of subsidiarity and proportionality.

In 1891, the encyclical *Rerum novarum* was one of the Pope Leo XIII's most important writings on the Catholic Church's mission in social matters. On the 40th anniversary of this encyclical, Pius XI published the encyclical *Quadragesimo anno*. It should be noted here that this same Pope had, a few years earlier, in the Holy Year 1925, decreed the celebration of the Christ the King on 11 December in his encyclical *Quas Primas*. The significance of all this intended to draw attention to the fact that, if people make the wrong king, leader or comrade their ruler, there could be great trouble. The Pope clearly saw the ideals of atheistic communism and liberal secularism, which easily put false kings on the throne.

This process included the analysis of specific social situations, the examination of changes since *Rerum Novarum*, such as the organisation of self-help, the creation of workers' organisations, employers' associations. There were also questions relating primarily to the relationship between the capital and labour, with particular emphasis on the question of fair wages and the task of regulating the economy. The Pope spoke of the dangers of capitalism and communism and outlined a better, more efficient economic order based on moral renewal. One of the foundations of this new social order was subsidiarity, which the document describe as follows:

The firm and eternal principle of social theory is the extremely important principle that can neither be disproved nor changed; it is this: that which individuals can accomplish by their own strength and ability, it is forbidden to take out of their power and leave to the community; Thus, to transfer to a larger and more highly organized community what a smaller and lower community can perform and carry out is unlawful and a grave sin, a subversion of the proper order of society, since every social activity, by its very nature and inherent force, must help - subordinate - the parts of society as a whole, and never disintegrate or incorporate them¹⁰⁶.

The next point complements the previous ones:

"Statesmen must be convinced that the more perfectly the order of the various formations organised for the various social tasks works, with the application of the principle of subsidiarity, the greater will be the authority and the effectiveness of the action of the State, the more

¹⁰⁶ QA. p. 79.

*successful it will be and the more favourable will be the position of the State itself.*¹⁰⁷ "

The Church structure, which focuses on smaller organisations, also allows dioceses and bishops to cooperate with each other across borders. This is an opportunity that must be exploited more fully in the future. The actual application of subsidiarity is certainly ahead of its time and has not yet been fully implemented, either in the Church or in the European Union.

As a final look, it is worth mentioning a later ecclesiastical document, the *Provida mater*,¹⁰⁸ issued by Pius XII in 1947. The Church, as a caring mother after the Second World War, recognised the need to give an even greater role to local organisations, even ensuring that the Church would continue to function 'underground' under communism. The encyclical provides a framework for the work of the Church of Resistance, which has helped to preserve in our region of Central and Eastern Europe the faith which is also the basis of our cooperation.

¹⁰⁷ QA, p. 80.

¹⁰⁸ Péter Bertalan: *Provida Mater*. Human Exchange Human Resource Development and Advisory Foundation. Human Resources Development and Human Exchange Development Centre. 2009.

5. Vatican, encyclicals, Trianon: the grey eminence of Holy See diplomacy – János Csiszárík

On 6 December 1918, János Csiszárík, bishop-elect (Canon law adviser to the Ministry of

Foreign Affairs), accompanied by Ádám Persián¹⁰⁹ - the Károlyi government's Commissioner for Catholic Affairs - visited the Vienna nuncio, and explained that the Hungarian government wished to establish diplomatic relations with the Vatican, and that a committee would be sent to Rome, of which János Csiszárík would be a member. The aim and task of the committee would be to discuss issues which the government considers to be the most urgent. The most important of these is the issue of the royal right of primacy.¹¹⁰

Csiszárík was also much needed because he had an excellent knowledge of the rules of the foreign service, had a great local knowledge, and was well-versed in the often difficult-to-model world of the Holy See's "chamber politics", since he was the Canon law adviser to the Holy See's embassy until 1918, and in this position he played a decisive role in the conduct of church policy in the 1920s.¹¹¹

The exact date of his next important diplomatic action was 7 March 1919, when János Vass, the Minister of Religious Affairs,¹¹² József

¹⁰⁹ Persián Ádám (Budapest, 12 December 1887 - Bratislava, 13 March 1934): journalist. He studied theology and the humanities in Germany as a Franciscan apprentice priest. He left the order in 1907 and became a journalist. He became a member of the staff of the clerical newspaper *Alkotmány*, a parliamentary correspondent, an editorial writer and later the head of the political column. At the same time, he was involved in the organisation of the Catholic People's Party. During the First World War, he shifted to the left. In November 1918, he was still a government commissioner for the Catholic Church affairs and later a ministerial adviser. After the proclamation of the Council Republic of Hungary, he emigrated first to Vienna and then to Bratislava. He returned home in

¹¹⁰ It describes the process in detail: The diplomatic relations between Hungary and the Holy See in 1920. In: The Balassi Institute-Roman Hungarian Academy. Budapest-Rome. 2015. pp. 76-77.

¹¹¹ Gergely: *The Catholic* *ibid.* p. 13.

¹¹² János Lajos Flórián Vass (Eger, 3 May 1873 - Budapest, 19 April 1936) a lawyer, the Minister of Religious Affairs Minister without portfolio from 19 January 1919 to 22 January 1919, the Minister for Religious Affairs from 22 January 1919 to 21 March 1919.

https://mtda.hu/ADATBANK/MAGYAR%20POLITIKAI%20LEXIKON/MPL_1_V.pdf
(20. 06. 2020.)

Vass¹¹³ and János Csiszárík presented a note in Latin at the Vienna nunciature with the intention of establishing direct contact, and at the same time announced "that the Hungarian Republic considers itself the full heir of the defunct kingdom in the exercise of the right of the archduke."¹¹⁴

In the meantime, he demonstrated excellent tactical sense, as he brought into the decisionmaking position two personalities - who later played an important role in the diplomatic relations between the Vatican and the Kingdom of Hungary - who represented the foreign policy

interests of the Kingdom of Hungary, which was trying to break out of the diplomatic isolation caused by the Treaty of Trianon.

In July 1920, the first Vatican ambassador, Joseph Somssich, arrived in Rome. Csiszárík took an active part in the creation of the embassy's infrastructure and operating conditions. Afterwards, the Archpriest was ordered to return home. It was then that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs considered the idea of making Justinian Serédi the Canon lawyer of the Holy See Embassy, apparently also thanks to Csiszárík's effective intervention. At Csiszárík's suggestion, Serédi was not closely involved in the embassy staff and did not become an embassy employee. This allowed him to retain his personal autonomy and to move more freely in the confrontational world of Vatican and secular diplomacy, which was often based on great power rivalries and not free of complex political entanglements.¹¹⁵

The third period of relations between the Vatican and the Kingdom of Hungary brought an outstanding diplomatic result for the

¹¹³ Vass, József (Sárvár, 25 April 1877 - Budapest, 8 September 1930): the grand provost of Kalocsa, university professor, minister. He graduated in theology in Rome. He was a parish priest, later a theology teacher and journalist. In 1911, he was the principal of the St. Imre College. During the Horthy era, he was a professor at the Faculty of Theology of the University of Pest. In the 1920, he won a seat in elections in the district of Sárvár. He was also a member of the committee of the capital's jurisdiction. From 17 August 1920 to 14 April 1921, he served as the Minister of Public Welfare, and from 16 December 1920 to 16 June 1922, as the Minister of Religion and Public Education in the Teleki and Bethlen governments. During the two royal coups, he mediated between Horthy and the King as a politician with good relations to the legitimists. 1922-1930. The minister of welfare and labour.

<https://www.arcanum.hu/en/online-kiadvanyok/Lexikonok-magyar-eletrajzi-lexikon-7428D/v-78466/vassjosef-78599/> (21 May 2020)

¹¹⁴ Érszegi: Hungary *ibid.* p. 78.

¹¹⁵ The events are portrayed in a sophisticated way by Csíky: Serédi *ibid.* p. 39.

Hungarian state, and János Csiszárík played a major role in this success. On 10 August 1920, the Pope appointed Lorenzo Schioppa¹¹⁶ as the Archbishop Emeritus of Justinianopolis and Apostolic Nuncio to Hungary, and then consecrated him as the

Bishop by the Austrian Cardinal Andreas Frühwirth¹¹⁷ in the Basilica of Santa Maria degli Angeli in Rome. The beginning of his mandate as the Nuncio was dated of 10 September 1920, and the Apostolic Nuncio left Rome for Vienna on 28 September 1920. In Hungary, with the support of the government, considerable preparations were made for his formal reception. A special committee was set up to organise the solemn ceremony, chaired by the Prince-Primate

János Csernoch.¹¹⁸ A delegation led by the Bishop János Csiszárík received the nuncio in Vienna, from where he arrived by boat in Esztergom. He was received in the harbour by a huge

¹¹⁶ Schioppa, Lorenzo (Naples, Italy, 10 November 1871 - The Hague, Netherlands, 23 April 1935): titular bishop, diplomat. He taught theology at the Archbishop's Seminary in Naples and later became a papal diplomat. 1912: a secretary and student of the Munich nunciature. He arrived in Budapest at the end of September 1920 and handed his credentials to the Governor Miklós Horthy on 6 October 1920. The Religious Fund bought the Archduke Joseph's palace on Dísz Square for the nunciature which remained the nuncios' residence until 1945. On 27 April 1925, he was transferred to the Hague where he remained as an intern in the Netherlands until his death and was buried there. <http://lexikon.katolikus.hu/S/Schioppa.html> (21 May 2020)

¹¹⁷ The Cardinal Andreas Franz Frühwirth (Sankt Anna am Aigen, Austria, 21 August 1845 - Rome, Italy, 9 February 1933) was a curial cardinal of the Roman Catholic Church. Franz Frühwirth entered the Dominican Order on 13 September 1863. He was ordained in Graz on 5 July 1868. He studied Catholic theology and philosophy in various Dominican houses and later at the Pontifical Academy of St. Paul. He taught at the Ordenshaus in Graz from 1871 to 1876 and in Vienna from 1885 to 1890. In 1890, he became provincial of the Austro-Hungarian Province and in 1891, the head of the entire Order. In this capacity he also acted as an adviser to the Pontifical Holy Office. On 26 October 1907, the Pope Pius X appointed him as the Apostolic Visitor to Austria, Apostolic Nuncio to Bavaria and, on 30 November 1907, as the titular Archbishop of Heraclea in Europe. He was a consecrated bishop with the Cardinal Rafael Merry del Val. The Pope Benedict XV appointed him a cardinal on 6 December 1915. He had lived in Rome since 1917 and participated in the conclave that elected the Pope Pius XI in 1922. Cardinal Andreas Frühwirth died in Rome in 1933 as one of the oldest members of the College of Cardinals. <http://cardinals.fiu.edu/bios1915.htm#Fruhworth> (01 May 2020)

¹¹⁸ János Csernoch (Szakolca, Slovakia, 18 June 1852 - Esztergom, Hungary, 25 July 1927): Cardinal, Prince-Primate, member of the board of directors of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (1915). He tried to extend the Christian socialist organisation led by the clergy to counteract the rising class-struggle workers' movement. From 1908, he was the Bishop of Csanád, from 1911, the Archbishop of Kalocsa, from 1913,

crowd, the town's magistrate and representatives of various associations. In the Primate's Palace, the Cardinal Prince-Primate and the Chapter were waiting for the Nuncio. In their greetings, they praised the ecclesiastical and diplomatic importance of the establishment of the Nunciature and expressed their gratitude to the Holy Father. ¹¹⁹

5.1 The Vatican and the 20th century

In the 20th century, the changes accelerated, transforming society even more dramatically. The two world wars, the "socialist revolution" in Russia, the world emerging from the confrontation between fascism, socialism and capitalism, and the collapse of socialist systems, which were thought to be invincible and, according to Marxism-Leninism, offered the only hopeful prospect for the future, posed new questions for the man of the century. The development of science and technology has changed the way we see the world. The Church has been and continues to be challenged by the changes of the times.

The first Pope of the modern era is Leo XIII. He is still a protagonist of the 19th century, but his Papacy extends to the 20th century, signalling continuity. "Leo XIII's programme was to harmonise and reconcile the Church and modern culture in order to bring the Church and the Papacy back into the society, to detach them from the fascinating past and to connect them to the present. He wanted to reconcile the Church and culture in such a way as to make the modern world Christian and Christianity modern. To achieve this, the Church had to acknowledge and recognise the profound social, political, and spiritual changes that had taken place in the civil age. It is this principle and recognition that makes it possible to join the civil state. In this way, the Church and the Papacy can once again play an active part in the life of society: they can seek positive

the Archbishop and the Prince-Primate of Esztergom; in 1914 he became a Cardinal. He participated in the election of the Pope Benedict XV and the Pope Pius XI. He supported government policy on the Balkan expansion and the war. He was a leading figure in the Legitimist movement and later tried to mediate between the King Charles IV and the Governor Horthy.

<https://www.arcanum.com/hu/online-kiadvanyok/Lexikonok-magyar-eletrajzi-lexikon-7428D/c-cs-74E9A/csernoch-janos-74FC5/>

¹¹⁹ Érszegi: Hungary *ibid.* pp. 81-82.

responses to the pressing problems of the capitalist society (class struggle, exploitation, etc.)."¹²⁰

Leo XIII, in his encyclical "Quod apostolici numeris" of 28 December 1878, addresses the great questions of the second half of the century. The aim of socialism, according to the encyclical, is the subversion of society. Socialism denies all laws, authority, subordination, and inequality, denies the right to property. "Surely you will easily see, my venerable brethren, that we are speaking of a party of men who, under various and almost barbarous names, are called socialists, communists or nihilists, are to be found all over the earth, and are in the closest communion with one another by a despicable alliance, not so much to carry out their long cherished plan as to overthrow the foundations of all civil society."¹²¹

To a modern man, the tone of the encyclical seems impetuous. But it must be remembered that barely a century has passed since the French Revolution, whose Jacobin wing turned against the Church with such fury and forced her to resist with equal fury. This 'revolutionary fury' was taken up by the ideologies of the 19th century workers' movement, together with the atheism that had been reinforced in the 18th century.

The Church, which had always been a supporter of the underprivileged and marginalised, was also sensitive to the social problems of the working class. On 15 May 1891, the encyclical *Rerum Novarum* was published, which was to determine the Church's social policy to this day. The encyclical deals with the most important social and socio-political questions of the time, such as private property, common property; the relationship between rich and poor; the relationship between employers (bourgeoisie, capitalists, owners), workers (employees), using a counterpoint logic.

¹²⁰ Jenő Gergely: *History of the Papacy*. Kossuth Publishing House. Budapest. 1999. pp. 242-244.

¹²¹ *Political and social encyclicals XIX-XXth century*. Volume I. Ed. László Zsigmond. ELTE Faculty of Humanities. Budapest. 1970. p. 55. In a new interpretation and translation with a foreword by László Paskai and a study by Miklós Tomka, the Catholic Church's approach to the social problems of the modern age is dealt with in *The Social Doctrine of the Church. The Social Doctrine of the Church - Documents*. Szent István Társulat. Budapest. 2005. pp. 27-55.

The opposing pairs are united by the conflict between the capital and labour, which is not only social but also causes serious social tensions.

He strongly condemns class warfare, because he sees it as a disruption of the order and peace of society: 'The main fault in the matter we are discussing is that one class is considered by nature to be the enemy of the other, as if nature had created the rich and the poor to destroy each other in constant struggle. This is so contrary to common sense and reality that, just as in the body the various members agree with each other, from which follows that moderation of mutual relation which we call equilibrium, so nature has arranged in civil society that the two classes should correspond mutually and to each other to produce a balance. Besides, they are absolutely interdependent: neither capital without labour nor labour without capital can exist. Concord produces beauty and order in things, while, on the contrary, from the constancy of strife must necessarily follow total wildness and confusion.'¹²²

The elimination of class struggles as the supreme evil would be possible on the basis of morally based self-limitation, justice, and the manifestation of Christian love. The Pope's social sensitivity is demonstrated by his opposition to the use of women and child labour and by his call for fair wages.

5.1.1 The Holy See and the First World War

Barely a month after the start of one of the greatest cataclysms of humanity, World War I, the conclave that was to choose the successor of Pius X met. On 3 September 1914, the Cardinal Giacomo Della Chiesa was elected, and took the name Benedict XV. The period of his pontificate was marked by two main trends: the first was the condemnation of the greatest crisis of humanity up to that time, the First World War, and the second was the management of the "modernist crisis". One of his most important programmatic encyclicals, "*Ad beatissimi apostolorum principis*", is divided into two parts, one addressing secular society and the other the Church. In the chapters that seek to shake up secular society, he describes the dismal scene that is "perhaps the darkest and most mournful picture

¹²² Political *ibid.* p. 180.

of all the history of all time. [...] The horrifying spectre of war is everywhere. [...] There is no limit to destruction, no limit to killing, the land is daily flooded with blood and littered with dead and wounded." To resolve this terrible situation, Benedict XV repeatedly issues a call for peace: "Peace on earth for men of good will", putting peaceful solutions at the forefront "where justice can be done for the wronged". In the second part on the Church, the Pope sets out his ecclesiastical policy objectives. Underlining his condemnation of all forms of modernism, he intends to "pay the utmost attention to the need to calm down any conflicts and discords between the Catholics and to prevent them from arising again in the future, either in thought or in action."¹²³

In the final part of the encyclical, the Pope again focuses on the question of peace, asking the Almighty to "put an end to this terrible war: for the good of society, so that after peace is won, progress may indeed be made in all fields, for the good of the Church of Jesus Christ, so that he may not be further hindered and may continue to bring the encouragement and salvation of men to the remotest parts of the Earth." For all his vigorous appeals for peace, his attempts at diplomatic peace between the great powers at war, including his 1917 appeal for peace, were a dead letter. Russia, France, and Italy failed to respond, and the other great powers were evasive. Having learned the lessons of its failures after 1917, it did not raise its voice for peace for the rest of the war. He could not exert any diplomatic influence on the peace negotiations in Paris, because the Vatican was excluded by both the Peace Conference and the League of Nations. Bonaventura Cerretti,¹²⁴ the Secretary of the Congregation for Extraordinary Affairs, was for a time at the Peace Conference as

¹²³ Mondin, Battista: *Encyclopaedia of the Popes*. St Stephen's Society. Budapest. 2001. pp. 652-653.

¹²⁴ Bonaventura Cerretti (Orvieto, Italy, 17 June 1872 - Rome, Italy, 8 May 1933) was an Italian cardinal of the Roman Catholic Church. He served as the Prefect of the Supreme Tribunal of the Apostolic Signatura from 1931 until his death and was appointed as a Cardinal in 1925. He was ordained in 1895 and taught Latin and Italian classics at the Vatican Seminary. He was consecrated bishop by the Cardinal Rafael Merry del Val, the Secretary of State on 19 July 1914. In 1914, he was appointed as the Apostolic Delegate to Australia. He represented the Holy See at the Paris Peace Conference from May to June 1919. He unsuccessfully tried to persuade the great powers to accept the principles of peace proposed by the Pope Benedict XV. In 1921, he was appointed the Apostolic Nuncio to France. He died in Rome and was buried in the Basilica of Santa Maria (Trastevere). <http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/bishop/bcerretti.html> (09 June 2020)

the Pope's private representative. He negotiated several treaties which led to the establishment of diplomatic relations with the new states of East-Central Europe, and later formed the basis for a number of concordats. After the end of the World War, his diplomatic activity produced significant results, bringing the total number of concordats in force at the beginning of his pontificate from 14 and to 26.¹²⁵

5.1.2 The Holy See and the political changes in Hungary after the First World War

"The Count Teodoro Valfrè di Bonzo,¹²⁶ the Archbishop Emeritus, Apostolic Nuncio in Vienna, was concerned about the confusion caused by the growing communist organisations within the Church, including the Council of Priests which had been set up without ecclesiastical authorisation. The Pope's Council was concerned with church reforms in Hungary, including the question of liturgy in Hungarian, the free election of bishops and the abolition of celibacy for priests. The nuncio was dissatisfied with the attitude of the bishops. Now more than ever, the lack of love and trust, which has always existed in Hungary, is felt between the Catholic clergy and the bishops. The clergy, especially the lower clergy, have become accustomed to seeing in the bishop a lord who is difficult to reach, who has come to his post through the support of the powerful and through political influence."¹²⁷

The most striking of the social effects of the First World War was the strengthening of the labour movement. The events in Russia in 1917, followed by successive waves of revolutions in Western Europe, in

¹²⁵ Mondin: Popes *ibid.* pp. 653-656.

¹²⁶ Teodoro Valfrè di Bonzo (Cavour, Sard-Piedmont Kingdom, France, August 21, 1853 - Rome, Italy, June 25, 1922) was a cardinal of the Roman Catholic Church. He was educated at the Seminary of Turin, where he obtained a doctorate in theology in 1876. The Pope Leo XIII appointed him the Bishop of Cuneo on 27 March 1885. In 1916, he was appointed the Apostolic Nuncio of Austria-Hungary. He represented the Pope Benedict XV at the coronation of the new Austrian Emperor Charles I and Empress Zita. He took part in the conclave in 1922 at which the Pope Pius XI was elected. He died in 1922. <https://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/bishop/bvalfre.html> (10 June 2020)

¹²⁷ Tamás Tóth: *The Holy See and the political changes in Hungary after World War I. In Diplomatic relations between Hungary and the Holy See 1920-2015.* The Balassi Institute-Roman Hungarian Academy. Budapest/Rome. 2015. p. 62.

which the social democrats played a major role alongside the then already strengthened communist parties, and the cataclysm of the world economic crisis of 1929-31 led the Pope Pius XI to issue encyclicals. The two most important of these were "*Ubi arcano Dei*" in 1922 and "*Quagragesimo anno*"¹²⁸ in 1931. The importance of the latter circular is enhanced by the fact that, on the 40th anniversary of *Rerum Novarum*, it outlines, as a renewal of the latter, the Catholic Church's views on the most important social and political issues of the 20th century. The first and second chapters of the circular set out the basic tenets of *Rerum Novarum*. In the third chapter, he speaks of the changes that have taken place since Leo XIII: "[...] when capital takes wage-workers into its service with the aim of unilaterally managing the whole of enterprise and production according to its own law and profit, without regard either for the human dignity of the workers or for the social aspects of the economy, or for the common good and the requirements of social justice [...]. The accumulation of economic power leads to a struggle, a threefold struggle: first, for power in the economic sphere; second, for power over the state, which itself wants to assert itself as a factor of power in conflicts of economic interest; third, for a struggle between the various states [...]." ¹²⁹

The conclusions drawn demonstrate the rationality and sense of reality of the head of the Church. The "remedy" is the regulation of the capital and labour, with a measure of justice and Christian charity. This is the proposed solution of *Rerum Novarum*.

The radicalisation and leftism of the workers' movement is rejected by the Holy See, because it proclaims the "sharpest class struggle", the "total abolition of private property". This in turn means a "threatening and terrible" danger, the spread of "the violent and bloody subversive aspirations" throughout the world. "Religious socialism, Christian socialism [...]" are contradictions. For the same reason, it is impossible to be a good Catholic and socialist in this sense."¹³⁰

For Hungarian governments, relations with the Vatican were a priority for two reasons. They expected it to offer a way out of

¹²⁸ Tomka-Gojak: The Church *ibid.* pp. 9-103.

¹²⁹ Political and social encyclicals XIX-XXth century. Volume II. Ed. Laszlo Zsigmond. ELTE Faculty of Humanities. Budapest. 1970. pp. 93-95.

¹³⁰ Political II *ibid.* pp. 93-95.

international isolation, and that the Pope's international reputation could help the country in peace negotiations. On issues related to the Church, the fate of the institutions and estates, as well as the question of the primacy of the Curia, were considered important. According to the government representatives, the right of primate, which under dualism was exercised by the king essentially through the Hungarian government, would be transferred unchanged to the republican governments. The leadership of the Hungarian Catholic Church also supported the establishment of diplomatic relations, hoping for political support from the Vatican to keep the dioceses together and to secure their financial assets. The ultimate conclusion is that the predecessor of moral and cultural socialism will be liberalism and its heir will be Bolshevism. In the Holy See's resolution, a realistic assessment of the situation is highlighted. The question of the relationship between the Church and state is an important component of the Holy See's policy. The Pope boldly transcends the limits imposed on the state by liberalism, and boldly teaches that the state is not only a state of law "[...] but must strive by all means to create laws and institutions in the wake of which public and private welfare will flourish. [...] It is the duty of state power to protect the whole nation and its individual members. But in the exercise of this protection of the law, it must pay special attention to the weak and the poor."¹³¹

"As far as the Nuncio is aware, the Hungarian government has contacted the Entente powers, who have not responded to him, and Hungary is now in an extremely critical situation. The Nuncio also informed his superiors that, if all the territorial claims of the victors were met, its territory would be reduced from 283,000 to 50,000-60,000 square kilometres, without any access to the sea. The documents also show that the Holy See's concerns had serious ecclesiastical implications, which were confirmed by the letters from

¹³¹ Ibid. p. 63.

Hungarian bishops, such as the Archbishop Árpád Várady Lipót¹³² of Kalocsa and the Archbishop Prince-Primate Csernoch: most of the possible successor states were non-Catholic majority countries or countries with non-Catholic values, which made them concerned about the fate of the Catholics in the successor states."¹³³ The Curia's policy was characterised by caution in its approach to individual states. The Pope's Concordat policy was "a voluntary limitation of the Church's own interests and activities in order to ally itself with the powers that be."¹³⁴ Concordat politics meant regulating the modus vivendi, the coexistence between the Church and state. Extensive diplomatic relations are also the result of this policy. The Church's room for manoeuvre increased with this policy. The completion of the Bethlehem consolidation in the mid-1920s created the possibility for the government to develop a complex concept of church policy, especially, in relation to the Catholic Church. The meeting held on 9 July 1925 at the Prime Minister's Office under the chairmanship of the Prime Minister Count Bethlen was attended by the Minister Lajos Walko¹³⁵ of the Foreign Office, the Ambassador

¹³² Várady (Lipót) Árpád, dr., (Temesvár, the Kingdom of Hungary, (Timisoara, Romania), 18 June 1865 - Kalocsa, 18 February 1923); bishop, ecclesiastical writer. He studied theology in Budapest and at the Augustineum in Vienna, became a theological teacher at the seminary in Timisoara, and then a member of the committee for the qualification of religious education. In 1890, he obtained a doctorate in theology and became a notary of the Holy See, a bishop's secretary in 1891, a papal chamberlain in 1895, and in 1897, the minister of religion and public education. He drew up important regulations: a decree regulating the succession of inferior Catholic priests who died intestate and a decree regulating the supervision of authentic local archives. In 1899, he was made a canon, in 1902, he was elected a bishop and a ministerial adviser of Sebbeniko, and in 1911, he was appointed a bishop of Győr. His ecclesiastical activities included, especially, the settlement of the ecclesiastical affairs of emigrated Hungarians and Hungarians living abroad and the organisation of the pastoral care in the port. He was a member of the scientific department of the Szent István Society; the Archbishop of Kalocsa from 1914 until his death. In 1916, as the Archbishop of Kalocsa, he crowned the last Queen of Hungary, Queen Zita. <https://www.arcanum.com/hu/online-kiadvanyok/Borovszky-borovszky-samu-magyarorszag-varmegyei-es-varosai-1/> (10 June 2020)

¹³³ Tóth: The Holy See *ibid.* p. 63.

¹³⁴ Gergely: The Papacy *ibid.* p. 268.

¹³⁵ Lajos Walko (Budapest, 30 October 1880 - Visegrád, 10 January 1954): politician, minister. He was the son-in-law of Philip Weiss, President of the Hungarian Commercial Bank of Pest. He studied law, then economics at the University of Leipzig and Berlin. After returning home, he joined the Hungarian Bank of Settlement and Exchange. In 1911, he was an official at the Ministry of Finance, from September 1919 to December 1920, he was the State Secretary, and in 1921, he became the Head of

Kánya Kálmán,¹³⁶ the Count Sándor Khuen-Héderváry,¹³⁷ the Counsellor of the Embassy, the Bishop János Csiszárík, the Counsellor of the Embassy, and for the Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs the Minister Klebelsberg and the Deputy State Secretary István Breyer¹³⁸ of the Ministry of Culture, and the Minister

Administration at the Ministry of Finance. From December 1921, he was the Ambassador Extraordinary and the Minister Plenipotentiary. From 1922 to 1926, he was the Minister for Trade and, at the same time, from 1925, he was an interim Minister for Foreign Affairs, and in 1924, he was also an interim Minister for Finance for a month. Subsequently, he became the Foreign Minister in the Bethlen (1930) and Károlyi (1931) governments. Alongside István Bethlen, he played a major role in the financial stabilisation of the Horthy regime through foreign loans. From 1938, he was the President of the Hungarian Commercial Bank of Pest. <https://www.arcanum.hu/en/online-kiadvanyok/Lexikonok-magyar-eletrajzi-lexikon-7428D/w-7870D/walko-lajos-78730/> (14 June 2020)

¹³⁶ Kánya, Kálmán (Sopron, 7 November 1869 - Budapest, 28 February 1945): a diplomat, politician, foreign minister. He began his career as a Vice-Consul in Constantinople. In 1904, he was appointed a consul, and from 1905, he served in the common foreign ministry. In 1913, he became the Ambassador Extraordinary of the Monarchy to Mexico and the Minister Plenipotentiary. From 1920 to 1925, he was the permanent deputy to the Foreign Minister. In 1925, he became the Ambassador to Germany, then the Foreign Minister in the Gömbös, Darányi and Imrédy governments from 1933 to 1938. It was during his time as the Foreign Minister that Hungary joined the Berlin-Rome axis. Within this framework, he sought to counterbalance Germany's growing hegemony by increased cooperation with Italy (the so-called horizontal pact concept), tried to maintain good relations with the Western powers as far as possible and also made overtures towards the Axis. In 1938, during the days of Horthy's and Imrédy's visit to Germany, he reached an agreement with the Lesser Antilles in Bled on the recognition of Hungary's equality of arms, which he hoped would legalise the preparations for war. He led a delegation to the Hungarian-Czechoslovak negotiations in Komárom. After the planned invasion of Carpatho-Ukraine by the German-Italian demars on 21 November 1938 forced the Imrédy government to back down, he resigned. In 1935, Horthy appointed him a member of the Upper House of Parliament for life. During World War II, he belonged to the political group led by Bethlen-Kállay. <https://www.arcanum.hu/hu/online-kiadvanyok/Lexikonok-magyar-eletrajzi-lexikon-7428D/k-760F2/kanya-kalman-761AB/> (14 June 2020), Tóth Imre: Egy polgári arisztokrata. Kánya Kálmán 1869–1945. Kronosz Kiadó. Pécs. 2016.

¹³⁷Sándor Khuen-Héderváry, Count (Hédervár, 16 June 1881 - Szentendre, 1947): diplomat. He served in Bucharest, Madrid, London and Berlin. In 1918, he was transferred to the press department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as a second class embassy counsellor. In 1920, he was appointed the Head of the Political Department as the First Class Embassy Counsellor. From 1925, he became a permanent deputy to the Minister for Foreign Affairs with the rank of the Minister Extraordinary and the Minister Plenipotentiary. Probably drowned in the Danube. He was the organizer of the Foreign Service. <https://www.arcanum.hu/hu/online-kiadvanyok/Lexikonok-magyar-eletrajzi-lexikon-7428D/k-760F2/khuen-hedervary-sandor-grof-763B9/> (14 June 2020)

¹³⁸ István Breyer (Budapest, 4 August 1880 - Győr, 28 September 1940): Roman Catholic bishop. He completed his secondary school and theological studies in

of the I. and Prince-Primate Csernoch, represented by the Prelate Canon Antal Lepold.¹³⁹ The Ministry of Foreign Affairs prepared a document entitled "Pending Church Policy Issues", in which it proposed to clarify six issues for the meeting, herein indicating the views of the Foreign Ministry. These issues illustrated that the priority for the Hungarian government policy was to settle the issues of the Catholic Church government in the annexed territories and to resolve satisfactorily their personal and material (property, income) aspects. The first issue was the filling of the archbishopric of Kalocsa, the second the filling of the bishopric of Kassa (Košice) (the Bishop Ágost Fischer-Colbrie had died in the meantime), the third the apostolic administration of Ruzňo, the fourth the case of the titular archbishop Antal Papp, the fifth the employment of clergymen in Hungary who had fled or had been expelled from neighbouring countries, and the sixth the use of the dioceses' earnings in Hungary. It was clear from the technical presentation put together by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that the focus was not on the problems of church policy in Hungary but on the conflicts that arose in the wake of the Trianon

Budapest, the latter at the Faculty of Theology of the Royal Hungarian University. He was ordained a priest in 1903. In the capital, he was a teacher of the faith, a priestly celebrant, an archbishop's secretary, and a director of the office of the duke-primate. In 1915, he was a departmental adviser in the Ministry of Religion and Public Education, a ministerial adviser, and later the deputy state secretary and the head of the Catholic Affairs Department. In 1917, he was appointed a prelate canon of Esztergom. In 1928, he was appointed as the rector of the Archbishop's Institute for the Education of the Ancient Priests of Esztergom. From 1929, he was a titular bishop of Trisipa and an auxiliary bishop of the Archbishop of Esztergom. His consecration took place on 6 January 1934. In 1935, he convened the only diocesan synod of the newer era in Győr. He revived the cult of the shrine. He restored the cathedral and renovated the seminary building. <https://veritasintezet.hu/storage/files/kiadvanyok/kotetek/vK18VeritasTrianonValamiFaj05.pdf> (14 June 2020)

¹³⁹ Antal Lepold (Szentfűlöp, the Kingdom of Hungary, (Бачки Грачац, Serbia), January 22, 1880 - Vienna, Austria, May 3, 1971): art historian, Roman Catholic prelate, a canon of singing, the member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. After completing his theological studies in Budapest, he was a chaplain in Zenta and Horgos from 1904, and a priest and an archbishop's office worker in Kalocsa from 1906 to 1913. From 1913, he was a secretary to the Prince-Primate János Csernoch in Esztergom, and from 1917, he was a canon of Esztergom. From 1921, he was a parish priest of the Esztergom Cathedral, the prefect canon, in this capacity he administered the foundations of the General Chapter. The Director of the Christian Museum and the Archdiocesan Treasury. One of the initiators of the Esztergom excavations and, with Tibor Gerevich, the leader of them. He was engaged in the archaeology and iconography of Esztergom, the iconography of the King Saint Stephen. In 1945 he left for abroad. From 1946 to his death, he was a rector of the Collegium Pazmaneum in Vienna. <https://www.arcanum.hu/hu/online-kiadvanyok/Lexikonok-magyar-eletrajzi-lexikon-7428D/l-76823/lepold-antal-769C6/> (14 June 2020)

borders.¹⁴⁰

5.2 Meeting with Pope Pius XI – excerpt from the secret diary of Bishop Csiszárík¹⁴¹ (1924)

"[...] On Thursday morning I arrived in Rome late. I received a very warm welcome from both Hungarian embassies. I met the Counsellor Hedry at the station,¹⁴² the Embassy Secretary Balásy,¹⁴³ the Canon Law Counsellor Serédi, the Ambassador Somssich invited me to brunch, the Councillor Hedry for dinner. As a side note, I had an inconvenience with a passenger at the Postumia¹⁴⁴ border post. He was loudly berating Hungary.

He referred to his Romanian passport, and I told him that you, a Romanian travelling abroad with a Romanian passport, would not do that. The Hungarians who witnessed this scene cheered in gratitude.

His Holiness received me in private audience at noon on the 12th. When I thanked him for my medal, he said, "I was happy to do so in consideration of those whom you represent." By which he obviously meant the Hungarian government. Then he immediately asked about the fate of the foreign loan. If it would work. I said I was coming from

¹⁴⁰ Ibid. pp. 57-58.

¹⁴¹ Archbishop and Chapter Archives of Veszprém H/6 Csiszárík

¹⁴² *István Hedry, Dr.* (1881-1966) Alsólánc, the Kingdom of Hungary, 5 May 1881 - London, Great Britain, 12 January 1966) was a trustee in Great Britain from 1921 to 1922, and from 1923 to 1929, *Counsellor at the Hungarian Embassy in Rome* (1923-1928) Head of Mission, from 23 October 1929 he represented Hungary in Belgium as an Ambassador. On 9 December 1930, he was awarded the Grand Cross of the Belgian Order of the Crown. Gergely Fejérdy. *Századok* 148 (2014) No. 1 35-47.

¹⁴³ Antal Balásy, embassy secretary (Budapest, 15 May 1894 - ?) (temporary chargé d'affaires); diplomat 1926-1927. London, Vatican, Warsaw, Washington, then London again. In 1932, he was assigned to the Geneva Conference on Disarmament.

<http://lexikon.katolikus.hu/V/vatik%C3%A1ni%20magyar%20k%C3%B6vets%C3%A9g.html> (14 June 2020)

¹⁴⁴ The via Postumia was one of the long-distance roads of the ancient Roman Empire, completed by 148 BC. It started from Genoa via Verona to Aquileia. From there, via Emona, Celeia, Poetovio to Halicanum, where it split. Its northern branch led through Salla, Savaria and Scarbantia to Carnuntum (the Amber Road). Its north-eastern branch, crossing Lake Balaton (Valcum, Triccianae), ended at Aquincum via Gorsium. It was an important military and trade route. Together with other roads branching off from it, it was responsible for supplying the provinces of Raetia, Noricum and Pannonia.

Milan, where the underwriting (auspiciu) are already very fine.¹⁴⁵ An Italian wants to subscribe a million there, and not to the account of the Italian Quota.

Afterwards, the Holy Father¹⁴⁶ gave an excursus¹⁴⁷ on Hungarian agriculture, which he said was similar in many respects to Italian agriculture. Of course, he said, the latter is more intensive than the Hungarian. In particular, irrigation is much more perfect and will become more perfect. For the time being, it is still based on the Cistercian irrigation and economic system with few variations. Animal husbandry is also characteristic of Hungary. Cattle breeding and horse breeding are excellent. But Italy has not only economic points of contact with Hungary, the Pope continued but also historical ones, and the memory of these, as well as the awareness of the similarity of economic interests is more in the north of Italy. Hence the greater interest of northern Italy in Hungary, while in Central Italy it is less known. Even less in the South.

The Pope's attention was most captivated by the vastness of the lowland plain. It went on like this for about 10 minutes. Slowly, almost pressing every word, the Pope spoke. Nothing about politics, but nothing. And it was useless, the day before the Pope had been at the farewell audience with the Count Somssich. Then, when the Pope was getting warmer, he turned to the Nuncio and said to him 'Io saluto e gli mando una specialissima benedizione'.¹⁴⁸ His words were particularly cordial. It was clear that he liked the Nuncio Schioppa.

Msgr. Borgongini¹⁴⁹ has already started to speak a little on the subject. He asked if the Bishop Zichy Count of Pécs¹⁵⁰ would receive

¹⁴⁵ sign, prospect

¹⁴⁶ Pius XI is the Pope in our time

¹⁴⁷ excursio - reflection

¹⁴⁸ I welcome him and give him my special blessing.

¹⁴⁹ Borgongini Duca, Francesco (Rome, Italy, 26 February 1884 - Rome, Italy, 4 October 1954)

Cardinal, he studied at the Pontifical Roman Seminary, where he obtained doctorates in theology, Canon law and Civil law. 1922-1928, the Secretary of State for Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs. On 7 June 1929, the Pope Pius XI appointed him as the titular Archbishop of Heraclea in Europe. His consecration as a bishop was carried out on 29 June by the Cardinal Pietro Gasparri, the Archbishop Carlo Cremonesi and the Bishop Agostino Zampini as co-consecrators. He played an important role in the signing of the Treaty of Latheran. Barcza.

¹⁵⁰ Gyula Zichy, count (Nagyláng, 7 November 1871 - Kalocsa, 20 May 1942): the Archbishop of Kalocsa, the bishop of Pécs, a member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (1929). In 1901, he became a serving chamberlain to the Pope Leo XIII, later

the income of the Kalocsa Administrator from the date of his appointment. I told him that the Minister for Religious Affairs had answered in the negative, which we had already communicated in writing to the Holy See. Then he turned to the settlement of the land question, Msgr. Borgongini. I pointed out that, as far as I was aware, our position on this issue was, as far as possible, that of Canon law. The position of Canon law can be well reconciled with the interests of Hungarian Catholicism, if the intention of the traditionalist is respected and the requirements of justice and equity are kept in mind in the resolution of the question. In Hungary, of course, it is confidently expected that the Holy See will act in this way and will do its utmost to ensure that the property interests of the Benedictine and Catholic institutions in Hungary are safeguarded. "For my part," said Msgr. Borgongini, "I have long been thinking of bringing together the interested bishops in a joint commission chaired by the Holy See and its delegate to resolve this question. But this, he added, is unlikely to be accepted by governments." "Our government," I said, "I do not think that our government will object to this". But it was obvious that Borgongini did not fear opposition from the Hungarian government anyway. The issue is complicated, I continued, because it requires a solution in different contexts. When I pull at one end, I break at the other. "We have to think about it," said Msgr. Borgongini, it will be difficult to find a solution." He then added: "We have repeatedly told the Czechs that until the land issue is resolved, there can be no question of a new allocation. " He then bid me a very cordial farewell and thanked me for my comments. [...]"

to the Pope Pius X. In 1902, he became an abbot. From 1905 to 1926, he was the Bishop of Pécs, and in 1923 he was also an Apostolic Administrator of the Archdiocese of Kalocsa. In 1925, he was appointed as the Archbishop of Kalocsa and the Apostolic Administrator of the Diocese of Pécs (until 1926). He set up foundations, he founded a grammar school, a secondary school, a boarding school, the Dunántúl printing house and a daily newspaper in Pécs, and schools. He expanded the hospital in Kalocsa; From 1901 to 1918 he was a member of the House of Lords (Főrendiház), and from 1927 to 1942 of the House of Representatives. (Felsőház). Arcanum Hungarian Biographical Dictionary: <https://www.arcanum.hu/hu/online-kiadvanyok/Lexikonok-magyar-eletrajzi-lexikon-7428D/z-zs-787F8/zichy-gyula-grof-78862/> (27 April 2020).

5.3 Vatican relations based on a courier report

It is clear that Rome is not only a historical centre but also a centre of relations for the Catholic Church. That is why the colleges are of great importance as places of formation in international studies, as well as for the personal friendships that can be vital in certain decision-making situations. Justinian Serédi, but also his contemporary - János Csiszárík, had such a network of contacts during the period under study. In Csiszárík's diary, which he kept from 8 to 24 July 1924 on a short courier trip, we find his trip to the Vatican which lasted until 16 July. During this short period, which must include the long journey, Csiszárík had more than thirty encounters, each of them in the context of his purpose. As the diary reveals, the purpose of the mission was to prevent the resignation of the Bishop Antal Papp, or at least to obtain details about the workings of Vatican diplomacy with regards to him and the territorial aspects of the dioceses.

Csiszárík, who came from a Greek-Catholic family, had already been concerned with the Greek-Catholic question and tried to represent Hungarian interests. In 1922, for example, he wrote his opinion in Italian that the preservation of Hungarian identity was an important interest for the Greek-Catholics, even over the preservation of the rite:

"With a few exceptions, only parishes whose parishioners are native Hungarian speakers were classified in the Hajdúdorog Diocese. As a result of the lost war, a large part of the parishes of the diocese were temporarily placed under the jurisdiction of the Romanian dioceses, but the Councillor considers it necessary that they should be governed again by the Bishop Miklósy with the help of vicars, or, if this is impracticable, that these Greek Catholic parishes should be placed under the jurisdiction of the Latin Archbishop of Transylvania. He points out that the Holy See has not responded to the requests of the Bishop of Hajdúdorog or the Hungarian government supporting him and is raising the issue of the introduction of the Old Slavonic language at a time when the Hungarian nation is suffering from the successes of the "Slavic policy". In his opinion, the change of the

*liturgical language of the Diocese of Hajdúdorog would be seen by the public as another success of the "Slavic policy".*¹⁵¹

Csiszárík felt that it his mission to prevent a kind of "secularization" and excessive rapprochement with Orthodoxy, even in the motherland, through the Greek Catholics, because of the introduction of the Old Slavonic liturgical language. The risks that Csiszárík listed were real, with 55,000 Greek Catholics leaving the Church during this period.¹⁵² The Greek Catholic bishops played a very important role in this struggle.

Antal Papp became the head of the Bishopric of Munkács in 1912, and in the same year, he became the Apostolic Governor of the Diocese of Hajdúdorog. After Trianon, however, the Transcarpathian territories became part of Czechoslovakia. Antal Papp refused to take the oath of allegiance to the state, and the Czechoslovak state did its utmost to make life difficult for the Catholics and the Greek Catholics, especially Hungarians. Papp himself went to the Pope to argue in favour of the Hungarian point of view but to no avail and was forced to accept the Pope's decision.

However, from 1923 until 1925, Vatican-Czechoslovak relations were somewhat normalized, and one of the first consequences of the newly established diplomatic relations was that the Pope Pius XI, with the active participation of the Marmaggi nuncio, sought to settle the situation of the disunited dioceses. As a result, on 4 June 1924, the Pope issued a decree appointing Antal Papp as the titular archbishop of Košice (a title which has essentially no meaning apart from the title), and he established an Apostolic Governorate in the Hungarian territories, where Antal Papp became the apostolic governor on 1 July 1924.¹⁵³

All this meant that the borders of the dioceses were adjusted to the new borders of the country, without consulting the Hungarian government. Of course, the Hungarians did everything they could to protest against the situation, trying to keep Antal Papp in the bishopric of the Czechoslovak territories as long as possible, or at

¹⁵¹ Tamás Végheső: The relationship between the Apostolic See and the Hungarian Greek Catholics between the two world wars. In Diplomatic relations between Hungary and the Holy See 1920-2015. Balassi Institute-Roman Academy. Budapest-Rome. 2015. p. 153.

¹⁵² István Pirigyi: History of the Miskolc Apostolic Exarchate <https://byzantinohungarica.com/category/history>, 2021. 08. 06.

¹⁵³ Szttyahula: Upper Hungary *ibid.* p. 33.

least to get the bishop deported from the country. Finally, on 11 September 1925, the expulsion took place with a sufficient show of force and press coverage.

In this difficult situation, Csiszárík tried to mobilise his own network of contacts, but without any success. On his arrival in Rome, he was received by the best of Hungarian diplomacy, including Serédi. Relatively soon, the Pope also offered him the opportunity to meet him, at noon on 12 July 1924, and he had a nice conversation with him about Hungarian agriculture and advanced irrigation techniques, and at the beginning of the conversation, according to the diary, he even remarked, in response to his thanks for the reception, "I was happy to do so in consideration of those whom you represented." By which he obviously meant the Hungarian government.¹⁵⁴ " But he avoided political questions so obviously that Csiszárík did not even dare to ask.

It should be noted that he didn't stand a chance, since the Pope Pius XI, himself a diplomat, was a Polish nuncio in 1919 and a Doctor of Canon law. He was well acquainted with the situation in Upper Silesia and Prussia and the seriousness of the conflicts. His ecclesiastical activity after the First World War was characterised by a theological desire to restore peace and a legal settlement through concordats. In 1937, he published the encyclicals 'Mit brennender Sorge' and 'Divini Redemptoris', in which he declared the incompatibility of National Socialist and Bolshevik ideology with Christianity.

Csiszárík's next interlocutor was Francesco Borgongini-Duca, the ecclesiastical lawyer and secular lawyer-cardinal-diplomat responsible for diplomatic relations, who was later also responsible for the preparation of the Lateran Accord. It is clear from his words that he put the interests of the Church before national interests. It was here that the idea was raised that the bishops concerned should decide together on disputed questions of property, with a certain subordination of the States.

"For my part," said Msgr. Borgongini, "I have long been thinking of bringing together the interested bishops in a joint commission chaired by the Holy See and its delegate to resolve this question. But

¹⁵⁴ Bertalan: Csiszárík *ibid.* p. 780.

this, he added, is unlikely to be accepted by the governments." "Our government," I said, "I don't think it would object to that."¹⁵⁵

During the negotiations, the Vatican diplomacy tried to push the land issues towards a settlement. Of course, their method, as Peter Bertalan put it, was the "message, not command" diplomatic method¹⁵⁶.

The Cardinal's parting words are a good description of this: 'When I pull at one end, it breaks at the other.' "You have to think about it," said Msgr. It will be difficult to find a solution." He then added: "We have repeatedly told the Czechs that until the land dispute is settled, there can be no question of a new division."¹⁵⁷ There was even a later recorded statement by Borgonigni that the Czechs would agree to the Bishop of Košice, the Hungarian Fischer Colbri Ágoston Fischer, remaining in place.

In comparison, of course, the actual situation in Czechoslovakia is contradictory to the case of other bishops, including the bishop Papp.

Csiszárík's next conversation was with the " Cardinal Secretary of State" Gasparri. The meeting seemed less than friendly, and immediately began with the Cardinal reminding Csiszárík that "those good times are over".

"In contrast, the representatives of other nations went to the Secretary of State with pride. "While I was waiting my turn in the antechamber of the Secretary of State's office, the Polish Chargé d'Affaires, the Dutch Ambassador and the Czech Ambassador passed by. The latter with his chest puffed out with self-consciousness and a Napoleonic pose. And he didn't even know he was passing one of the most undemanding priests in Banská Bystrica."¹⁵⁸

It was noticeable that Csiszárík's reputation was in serious decline, which is why it was time to put Serédi at the forefront of the negotiations. With Gasparri, Csiszárík - who had previously represented the more conservative tendency - had almost no chance, unlike Serédi, a close friend of the Cardinal Secretary of State.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid. p. 782.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid. p. 778.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid. p. 782.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid. p. 783.

Naturally, Csiszárík could not bring up the bishop's case at this meeting either. The only result, at least in terms of Csiszárík's good sense, was that during a half-an-hour-long waiting in the anteroom he had a conversation with the Cardinal's Secretary, who praised the Germans, belittled the French, and called the Greater Poland and the Greater Romania ephemeral entities. This was a subtle sign that new webs of interest were being woven in the future. From this little outburst, it was evident that Vatican diplomacy was thinking in the medium term of a peaceful revision rather than immediate, swift, Magyar action.

After the "Vatican" talks, Csiszárík talked to his circle of friends, mostly complaining. The Cardinal Bizleti and the Prince George of Bavaria were sympathetic to him, and even employed him as a postman to deliver a wedding present in a 'very large' hatbox to the Archduke Franz Joseph.

The conversation with Cardinal Frühwirt (it is an indication that the Cardinal was moved to two rooms in the Anima German College until he could find more suitable accommodation) was irrelevant to the present case but it indicated that the interest groups representing Hungarian interests had been considerably weakened by 1924, while the interest groups of the victors had been established.

It is ironic that while Csiszárík was in Rome, the negotiations on the concordat, which was reported in *Messaggero*, were to be finalised in Romania. It is strange that the Hungarian envoy did not receive any insider information about these negotiations either.

The Hungarian envoy had a brunch on the following day in order to try to find out how the text of the agreed concordat could be obtained. It turned out that it was not probable.

"Count Somssich, when he invited me to brunch after my arrival, asked me if I believed that the Minister of State, the Cardinal, would show us the draft concordat before signing it. I replied that I did not think so either, but that we had to ask because we could not rule out the possibility of complying with the request. Especially, if we recall the analogy with the Serbian concordat before the war."¹⁵⁹

It is clear that the Hungarian diplomat and his inner circle of contacts are constantly caught up in Vatican resistance. This was confirmed by the Jesuit General Ledochovsky (who was sensitive to the

¹⁵⁹ Ibid. p. 789.

Hungarian question because of Father Bangha) and especially by the official Nicola Canali, who was promoted to the rank of a cardinal only in 1935. Canali had been the Pope Pius X's Under-Secretary of State, but in 1924 his "good times" seemed to have just passed. Canali accurately demonstrated that the Cardinal Secretary of State and his immediate entourage had all the decisions concerning the destiny of the region in their hands.

"I could talk to Canali with complete confidence. When I spoke of the repercussions of certain measures of the Holy See in our country, he said, "It is a great evil, almost a misfortune. The biggest problem is that it can hardly be helped. No one among the Cardinals, except the Secretary of State, can get into the spokes of the government circles. Everything is handled by the Secretary of State and Borgongini, and the personal matters by Pizzardo. And all three of them with a dearth of competence. But there are other problems too: since Benedict XV, the Vatican has been prepared to make any sacrifice, even a sacrifice of principle, to increase the number of foreign missions by one." "When the first French ambassador made his introductory address to the Pope," continued Msgr. Canali, in his speech, the ambassador intangibly indicated the long-standing and offensive cult laws, and His Holiness responded to this speech, which was presented to him beforehand as usual, without the French ambassador reacting to this impertinence, by praising France. It was with great sadness that I witnessed this scene. [...] However, continued Msgr. Canali, I was actually stunned by what I am about to tell you. But it is a good thing you did not have to be there, Msgr., apart from a few distinguished individuals, I will say apart from your envoy, who is an impeccable gentleman, it is a terrible mixed company. It's full of journalists, lawyers, and no other less gentlemanly elements. And stepping in front of this company, the Minister of State, the Cardinal, delighted, exclaimed, "What would St. Peter, surrounded by a few poor fishermen, say, if he saw this bright assembly! In the Vatican, they tremble at the thought that the number of representations might dwindle. And they are sometimes more willing to make incomprehensible sacrifices to prevent that from happening. Apart from France, Portugal and the Czechoslovak Republic are classic examples. The bolder the ambassadors, the more they achieve. [...] Canali continued: the Czech ambassador is Pallier; they say he is a Freemason. Here the permissive are easily negated. Nobility is not a very good way to achieve results. It was in

*vain that your ambassador boasted in a company that he was the most beautiful ambassador to the Holy See. The less distinguished will find it easier. The Czech ambassador is in the Vatican without a break and very often visits the congregation of the Cardinals. It is true that the congregation (here no doubt he means the congregazione per gli affari stra-ordinari) is very rarely convened, but sometimes the Vatican does not quite decide on its own authority."*¹⁶⁰

It is clear from the quotation that the classical, traditional orders of relations, still linked to the aristocracy, have been replaced by "lawyers, journalists", *horribile dictu*, "freelance workers" in the Vatican sphere of interest. At the same time, it can be seen that a kind of resistance is emerging at the operational level, which is seeking to restore the old order represented by Pius X. It is precisely for this reason that a visit to the tomb of the Pope Pius X is an important programme for Csiszárík. He details the order of the flowers and candles placed on the tomb, and also mentions a miracle of the Pope (which, incidentally, he heard precisely from Canali).

More an unconscious coincidence, but the mention of miracles occurred partly here at the tomb of Pius X, and partly precisely after a condescending conversation with the Cardinal Secretary of State for the new term, as follows:

"When I thanked the Minister of State, the Cardinal Secretary of State, for the honour he had surely been gracious enough to bestow on me, in commemoration of the fact that in the past I had been fortunate to serve in the immediate vicinity of His Eminence, the Cardinal Secretary of State said, briefly, almost harshly: 'Sono tempi passati che non tornano mai.' To which I humbly remarked¹⁶¹, "Spero nondimemo bono il nonstro Signore, fa delle volte dei miracoli."¹⁶²

It is easy to see that Hungarian diplomacy was mostly hoping that the wheel of history would turn again, and the old times would return - at least by some miracle. In the meantime, however, Vatican diplomacy sought to build its relations with the new states mainly along the lines of current interests. In these negotiations, the Pope had relatively little role and public input - at least from the lower levels. Csiszárík and his more recent interlocutor, the Cardinal Merry

¹⁶⁰ Archbishop and Chapter Archives of Veszprém H/6 Csiszárík

¹⁶¹ Bertalan: Csiszárík *ibid.* p. 783.

¹⁶² *Ibid.* p. 783.

del Val, noted that the Pope did not negotiate directly with anyone on these issues, so he could not be directly addressed.

Also, the system of relations with the German Church emerges from the conversation with Prelate Hudal, the Rector of the German Priestly College Anima. It turned out that the bishop Papp had visited him shortly before Csiszárík and asked for his help in his case. This conversation pinpointed that Papp's resignation and departure from the diocese was not such an obvious matter, as they were trying to do everything possible to postpone it as long as possible. It is also important to note that a decision on the bishop's fate could have been taken months earlier, and that a successor had already been found.

*"But he asked me to be his agent," said Msgr. Hudal, the last time he was here." And who will succeed him? Probably Grand Provost Gebe, I said. "Now I understand," said Msgr. Hudal, why I was told in May at the Secretariat of State that Gebe, who was put forward by the bishop Papp, would not be appointed as a prothonotary because he was up for a higher promotion."*¹⁶³

It is a small success, but especially significant from 1925 onwards, that at least the monastic orders succeeded in dividing the primarily Catholic and liberal-Hussite Czech interests. The result was that the Franciscans created the Slovak province in accordance with the aspirations of Antal Buttkay.

*"Antal Buttkay argues that the classification of the provinces of the Order according to the political boundaries has already been done in the definitory. The Czech envoy visited him without delay, and in particular he urged that the Franciscan province of Upper Hungary should be called a Czech-Slovak province. The Czech ambassador, however, could not carry through his intention, because the province, at Buttkay's urging, was called the "Slovenská Province".*¹⁶⁴

Towards the end of the courier's journey, world politics, including the situation of Italian fascism, and the very important Russian question, were raised again. In connection with the Greek Catholic Papp affair, it was also important whether the Hungarian Greek Catholics would remain or whether they would join Orthodoxy.

"[...] I dropped Msgr. Skirmunt, [...] and he supported us in Papp's case already under the Pope Benedict XV. He did not know that the

¹⁶³ Ibid. p. 794.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid. p. 798.

bishop Papp's case had already been formally decided. At least on the face of it, he was very impressed. He asked: what else is new? All I want to say to Msgr. (an old confidant of Skirmunt Gasparri) is "take a good look at your Czech ally. The schismatics, who are worshipped by the Czech government, are pioneers in the creation of the Czech corridor. If you do not defend yourselves in time, you will be hit by the cool breeze of the Czech-Russian corridor one fine morning." "But what shall we do? - "My countrymen's policy is now, unfortunately, inclined towards Russia." "Well, let France understand that the Poles will always be dependent on France, and Russia, allied with the Czechs, will easily look for another ally. This matter will be well understood with the Holy See."

Finally, the Cardinal Scapinelli, the last nuncio of the monarchy, summarised the debates on the bishop Papp.¹⁶⁵ Of course, with due diplomatic wisdom, he would not go straight to the point, but he did ask the question: to which country would the bishop be sent, and which country would finance the diocese?

"In the end, it was the Cardinal who began with the introductory question of what was new about the bishop Papp. I wondered if he knew that he had been removed. The Cardinal did not answer, but instead diplomatically wondered a little. "And where will he live?" - he asked. "- I don't know yet," I replied. So far, the Hungarian government has had no official word on Papp's removal, and frankly, they'll be very surprised at home that Papp has been transferred to the Greater Hungary since July 1. In fact, he has been appointed as a Hungarian Apostolic Administrator, without the Hungarian government having even been notified of this to date. Even if the Holy See had sent the bishop Papp to us officially, even as a guest, it should have informed us and asked us if and when he would be welcomed - so simply, without our knowledge, the nuncio in Prague decreed Papp's transfer to us, without even contacting us in this matter. This, at least, will be classed as Rücksichtslosigkeit at home, apart from anything else. It goes without saying that there will be a great deal of bitterness in the wake of this. The Cardinal Scapinelli tried to excuse the Holy See's action, already in relation to the Prague

¹⁶⁵ The Holy See intended to run the newly founded apostolic governorate from the assets of the Tapolca Abbey. On the part of the Hungarian government, however, it was seen as an unfriendly gesture that the Vatican expected the Bishop of Munkácsi to be supported from the abbey's assets, which belonged to the Religious Fund, practically without consultation.

appointment, by saying that this appointment had to be decreed in combination with the act of resignation. "Besides," he said, "the Holy See had decreed both the establishment of the apostolic administration and the appointment of Papp as an administrator, and it was undoubtedly within its power and freedom to use the mediation of any ecclesiastical factor in this matter, including the nuncio in Prague." It goes without saying that I have not left this reply without a suitable rejoinder [...]."

5.4 In the grip of Trianon

Hungary, as a country of the East-Central European region, is a Christian country owing to the István state organisation and Western European influences. Religious influences from the

East and South could not take root permanently. At the time of the Great Schism (1054), Hungary fell on the borderline between the Roman Catholic and the Greek Orthodox Churches. The line that separates the two great Christian churches lies on the eastern borders of Poland and Hungary. The Reformation, which started in Western Europe, stopped at the eastern edge of historic Hungary. Only one non-Western European denomination was able to take root in Hungary historically, the Jewish denomination. The main characteristic of this religion, in contrast to the other denominations, is that it spread beyond the borders of the Central and Eastern European region, both in Western and Eastern Europe. The four historical religions - Roman Catholic, Evangelical, Calvinist, Israelite - are joined by the so-called small churches

(Unitarian, Anabaptist), which are also partly historically rooted, since they found a home in

Hungary as further offshoots of Protestantism, and partly established themselves in the mid-19th century as the latest offshoots of Protestantism. Only the uniting of the Christian churches made it possible to break through the political iron curtain of Trianon and establish a spiritual connection with the Hungarians stranded outside the border. For this, too, the strength of the Catholic Church, which had significant foreign connections, was needed. The government of the Kingdom of Hungary, struggling with a social and economic crisis after the fall of the Trianon peace treaty and the Communist Party,

and artificially isolated by the Entente Minor, was thinking of new foreign policy alternatives. Prominent among these scenarios was the need to resolve conflicts over church policy in order to protect the Hungarian people, who had been uprooted from the nation beyond the Trianon borders. In this tragic situation, those shaping the diplomacy of the new Hungarian government could rightly rely on the advice and assistance of the Holy See's experienced Church foreign affairs officers, well versed in the "witch kitchens" of European diplomacy. The position of Vatican diplomacy was mapped out by the Cardinal János Csernoch, who had an excellent tactical sense and contacts with the Vatican during his July 1920 trip to Rome.¹⁶⁶ It became clear to the Prince-Primate that he could only assert the political arguments of Hungarian diplomacy within certain limits. The main priority of his trip to the Vatican was to involve representatives of Hungarian lay diplomacy and the episcopate in the negotiated settlement of church-political conflicts arising from the change of state borders, and to listen to their opinions. It was in the interest of the Hungarian negotiating party that these negotiations should last as long as possible.¹⁶⁷ One basis for his optimism was the Millerand cover letter¹⁶⁸ attached to the Trianon Peace Treaty. According to Csernoch's information, the Holy See was in no hurry to establish new ecclesiastical relations and arrangements in the annexed territories, preferring to take a delaying attitude. The Hungarian head of the Church was also promised that the issue of a new ecclesiastical settlement would not be raised for six months from the ratification of the peace treaty. An important partial result of the diplomatic "chess games" may have been that the opinion of the Latin rite bishops was sought before the content of the concordat with Romania was concretised. Since the Vatican was under strong political pressure from the diplomacy of the successor states, it

¹⁶⁶ Jenő Gergely: Hungarian-Saint Stephen's diplomatic relations (1920-1990). In *Diplomatic relations between Hungary and the Holy See 1920-2000*. Szent István Társulat - Hungarian Encyclopaedia of Church History Working Group. Budapest. 2001. pp. 43-45.

¹⁶⁷ National Archives of the Hungarian National Archives K-105. 35. cs. E-1/a. 1920/7. János Csernoch was in Rome from 6 to 16 July 1920. This paper summarizes the results of his mission.

¹⁶⁸ The Millerand cover letter is a document known as the annex to the Treaty of Trianon, written by the French Prime Minister Alexandre Millerand. It contains a promise that the border adjustments and sanctions agreed at Trianon can be changed, and that the French Prime Minister will be a partner and help to the Hungarian government in this.

became clear to the Archbishop that the "dismemberment"¹⁶⁹ of the disparate dioceses could not be avoided.¹⁷⁰ In the period under study, the protection of the interests of the Hungarian Catholics in the Uplands and Transylvania was a very important segment of the Holy See-Hungarian diplomatic relationship, which included the clarification of property and jurisdictional¹⁷¹ issues. During Gasparri's tenure as the Secretary of State, the Roman Curia seemed to give more support to the successor states than to the Kingdom of Hungary and the Catholic Church, which claimed millennial rights and merits. The planned Romanian Concordat was the one that provoked the greatest protest from the Hungarian Catholic Church elite, supported by the government. At the Bishops' Conference on 10 February 1921, the count Miklós Széchenyi, the bishop of Oradea, strongly criticised the Holy See's church policy:

"I am deeply pained by the Holy See's permissive policy towards the new states that have taken part of the body of Hungary. Ignoring Hungary's thousand-year Catholic past, the Holy See is taking one measure after another to strengthen the new states. As far as Transylvania is concerned, it is not the Latin Catholics who are being defended, but the Romanian state and the Romanians, because they are chasing after the illusion of union. The time has come for the Hungarian episcopate to stop speaking to the Holy See in a muted tone of homage and to warn it of the dangers of its present policy with open and wounded self-respect." ¹⁷²

The Prince-Primate Csernoch¹⁷³, who was much more at home in the world of international diplomacy, expressed a more restrained position than the Bishop of Václav, and one that was more feasible in church politics. Nuncio Schioppa was also involved in the negotiation process, asking the Hungarian Catholic episcopate for its position on the new administrative system for dioceses, which would

¹⁶⁹ dismembratio - to divide into parts, to split up

¹⁷⁰ Esztergom Primate's Archives Minutes of Bishops' Conferences 27 October 1920.

¹⁷¹ jurisdictionalis - lawful

¹⁷² Esztergom Primate's Archives (EPL), Minutes of Bishop's Conferences, 10 February 1921.

¹⁷³ The letter, which also contains the opinion of the Committee of the Bishops' Conference held on 10 February 1921, was written by the Cardinal János Csernoch, the Archbishop of Esztergom, the Prince-Primate of Esztergom, to one of the most influential "grey eminences" of Holy See diplomacy, the Vatican Secretary of State Pietro Gasparri. Minor spelling mistakes and typos have been corrected without indication. p. 69

also affect international relations. The episcopal body refused to do so, stressing that they insisted on maintaining the status quo and would not cooperate in changing it. The diplomatic relations between the Holy See and the Hungarians were overshadowed by the fact that the Holy See cautiously urged the resignation of bishops expelled from the territories beyond the borders, such as the Highlands, and as a modest compensation they received a low salary as an archbishop. The vacant bishoprics of Spiš, Banská Bystrica and Nitra were filled by the Vatican without prior consultation of the Archbishop and without any personal proposals from him. It became clear to the Prince-Primate that the Czechoslovak government would not fulfil its financial obligations, would not provide compensation or financial compensation for the confiscated bits and other property, as it had achieved its aims without them. At the Bishops' Conference in February 1921, a letter in Latin from the Pope Benedict XV addressed to the episcopate was presented. The head of the Catholic Church warned the bishops against making hasty statements, asked them not to seek at all costs to maintain the previous ecclesiastical administrative relations, and warned them especially against rigid adherence to their material possessions in the annexed territories. The document, which was unpleasant for the Hungarian episcopate, was not made public. The wording, which is often used in the world of church diplomacy and carries connotative and associative connotations, reads: *'And you, our dear Son and Venerable Brethren, do not so much remember and seek the past as seek to remedy the present troubles. Let your attention and care be directed to making your Christian morals shine in the old light.'*¹⁷⁴ After the change of the Trianon borders, most of the conflicts arose in the case of the Greek Catholic diocese of Hajdúdorog¹⁷⁵, created in

¹⁷⁴ EPL, Minutes of Bishops' Conferences, 22 January 1921.

¹⁷⁵ In May 1912, the decision was finalised, which led to the creation of the Diocese of Hajdúdorog, which included 162 parishes from the dioceses of Munciac, Eperes, Oradea, Gyula, Fogaras, Samosújvár and Esztergom. The Roman Holy See gave its consent to the foundation of the new diocese only on condition that the liturgical language of the new diocese would be Old Greek, and that the Hungarian language would be used in liturgical celebrations only to the extent that it is used in the Roman Catholic Church along with Latin. The monarch appointed István Miklósy, a parish priest from Sátoraljaújhely, as the first bishop of the newly established Hajdúdorog Diocese, whose consecration took place on 5 October 1913 in Hajdúdorog. The new Bishop chose Debrecen as his temporary seat, because at that time the Hungarian government had not yet declared how and where it intended to fulfil its commitments made during the negotiations with the Holy See, namely the building of the central institutions and the financial foundations of the new diocese. The full state involvement

1912.¹⁷⁶ István Miklós, the bishop of Hajdúdorog,¹⁷⁷ was informed by the Apostolic Nuncio in Vienna on 19 June 1919 that the 44 parishes in the Romanian-occupied part of his diocese would be temporarily placed under the rule of the Catholic Bishop of Oradea. This measure later proved to be premature, as 14 parishes were returned to the Kingdom of Hungary after the final establishment of the Trianon borders. In addition, one parish of the Diocese of Oradea (Bedő), one parish of the Diocese of Lugosi (Battonya) and one parish of the Greek Catholic Diocese of Samosújvár (Kölcsé) were returned to us. The borders of Trianon divided the diocese of Hajdúdorog into three parts. The larger part with the seat city Nyíregyháza remained in Hungary, and 82 parishes belonged to this part. Almost half of the diocese, 75 parishes, were annexed to Romania. Of the parishes belonging to the Romanian territories, 35 were located in Szeklerland and were assigned to the Archdiocese of Gyulafehérvár, while other 28 parishes were assigned to the Greek Catholic Diocese of Oradea. In 1930, according to the provisions of the Romanian Concordat, the parishes of Szeklerland were permanently attached to the Archdiocese of Balázsfalva and those of Oradea to the Bishopric of Oradea. In the case of the

in the creation of the material foundations was necessary to ensure that the dioceses of Munciacat, St. Eparchy, Oradea, Góra-Fogarás and Samosújvár would not suffer any financial loss. In February 1914, the organisation of the diocese was overshadowed by a serious tragedy. As a prelude to the First World War, a bomb attack on István Miklós was carried out, which was traced back through the Romanian perpetrators to the Russian secret service. The bomb that exploded in the temporary bishop's office in Debrecen on 23 February 1914 killed three of Bishop Miklós's direct collaborators, Mihály Jaczkovics, the deputy bishop, János Slepkovszky, the bishop's secretary, and Sándor Csath, the legal adviser. After the bombing in Debrecen, Bishop Miklós moved his headquarters to Nyíregyháza, where it is still located today. Due to the boundary changes after the end of World War I, the Hajdúdorog Diocese lost about half of its parishes. Many tens of thousands of Hungarian Greek Catholics were displaced outside the country's borders, where the Czechoslovak and Romanian authorities did everything in their power to prevent them from living their Hungarian and Greek Catholic lives at the same time. At the same time, twenty-one Greek Catholic parishes, which did not belong to the Diocese of Hajdúdorog, but to the Dioceses of Eperje and Munkácsi, were located within the new borders of Hungary. Since the episcopal see of Eperje and Munkács had been transferred to Czechoslovakia, the Pope Pius XI created the Apostolic Exarchate of Miskolc in 1924 for the parishes that remained in Hungary. *A Brief History of the Archdiocese of Hajdúdorog* <https://hd.gorogkatolikus.hu/rolunk-a-hajdudorogi-egyhazmegye-tortenete> (Downloaded on 12.08.2020).

¹⁷⁶ Gergely: The Catholic *ibid.* pp. 42-53.

¹⁷⁷ István Miklós (22 August 1857 - 29 October 1937) was the first bishop of the diocese of Hajdúdorog.

diocese of Hajdúdorog, the status of 17 parishes was awaiting resolution. Bazil Suciú, the Archbishop of Gyulafehérvár-Fogaras, appointed Joseph Siegescu¹⁷⁸ as the "Romanian vicar" in 1925, whose vicariate was confirmed by the Holy See.

In practice, the Bishop of Hajdúdorog exercised jurisdiction over the 14 parishes that had previously belonged to Hajdúdorog, which was considered illegal in that the Holy See did not formally reattach them to the diocese. Siegescu's jurisdiction was terminated in 1929 because, under the Romanian Concordat then in force, the state boundary had to coincide with the ecclesiastical boundaries, so the jurisdiction of the Romanian ecclesiastical leader was not asserted in the Kingdom of Hungary. The legal status of the 17 parishes was unsettled after 1929. The problem was resolved, and the parishes were reintegrated in 1935. On 17 July 1935, the Apostolic Nuncio Rotta¹⁷⁹ informed Bishop Miklósy that Kölcse had been annexed to the Apostolic Governorate of Miskolc and the other 16 to the Bishopric of Hajdúdorog. The cautious steps taken by the Holy See diplomacy were not intended to harm the ecclesiastical interests of Romanian Greek Catholics in Hungary. Therefore, it was proposed to the bishop that the reintegrated parishes should have a Romanian dean. The bishop Miklósy vehemently opposed this, arguing that only one of the parishes concerned could be considered Romanian, one Ruthenian and the rest Hungarian. This was confirmed by the ethnic distribution of the population 16,504 Hungarians and 1,150 Romanians living in the area. The territory of the Latin rite bishopric of Satu Mare was divided into three parts. 42 parishes were annexed to Czechoslovakia, this part being administered by the vicar of the Bishop of Satu Mare, the dean of Uzhhorod. From this part, an apostolic governorate was created in 1930 with Uzhhorod as its centre. The 45 parishes of the diocese, together with its seat, Satu Mare, were transferred to Romania, headed by Bishop Tibor Boromisza.¹⁶⁹ In 1930, after the death of the Archbishop, the diocese was united on an equal footing with the Latin-rite Bishopric of

¹⁷⁸ József Siegescu (29 August 1873 Székás Kingdom of Hungary, (Colibi, Románia), - 12 November 1931, Budapest, the Kingdom of Hungary) Greek Catholic priest, literary historian, university professor.

¹⁷⁹ Angelo Rotta (9 August 1872 Milano, Italy- 1 February 1965, Vatican, Italy) was an Italian Catholic priest. Apostolic Nuncio to Hungary from 1930 to 1945. He is known mainly for his role in the 1944 rescue of the people. ¹⁶⁹ Tibor Boromisza (18 July 1840, Kalocsa Kingdom of Hungary - 9 July 1928, (Satu Mare Romania) was a Roman Catholic priest, bishop of Satu Mare from 1906 until his death.

Oradea. The small stub of 16 parishes remaining in the Kingdom of Hungary was governed by the parish priest of Mirek as a vicar until 1929. At that time, the Apostolic Governorate of Mirek was established. The greater part of the Latin bishopric of Oradea was annexed to Romania, together with the see.

After the death of the Count Miklós Széchenyi in 1923, the diocese, consisting of 54 parishes, was governed by the Ordinary of Satu Mare until the unification in 1930. The 24 parishes of the diocese that remained in Hungary were governed by a vicar, and in 1929 they were transformed into the Debrecen Apostolic Governorate, whose administrator was János Linderberger, the canon of Váradi, abbot-parish priest of Debrecen. The administrations were also created as a result of the Romanian Concordat, after its entry into force, ordinariates from across the border could not exercise jurisdiction on the other side of the border. Following the Concordat, the name of the Transylvanian diocese was abolished and the name of the Transylvanian diocese beyond the Royal Pass became the Diocese of Gyula-Herova. The new borders of Romania, Yugoslavia and Hungary divided the diocese of Csanád into three parts. The largest part of the diocese, consisting of 153 parishes with Timisoara as its centre, was annexed to Romania. The Romanian authorities expelled the county bishop, Gyula Glattfelder¹⁸⁰ in 1923, and he temporarily transferred his seat to Szeged on the territory of the Kingdom of Hungary. This area became the bishopric of Timisoara after the Concordat of 5 June 1930. The members of the Hungarian Catholic episcopate and the members of the Supreme Council were sensitive to the process and the final outcome of the largely secret, behind-the-scenes diplomatic negotiations between the Holy See and the Kingdom of Romania. A first version of the draft concordat was obtained from the Vatican Secretariat of State by the later Prince-Primate Serédi Justinian, who passed it on to the Hungarian envoy to the Holy See, who forwarded it to Budapest. In a confidential note addressed to the Foreign Minister himself, Somssich highlighted the Vatican's ecclesiastical motives for the draft concordat on Romania.

¹⁸⁰ Glattfelder Gyula Sándor (18 March 1874, Budapest, Kingdom of Hungary - 30 August 1943, Budapest, Kingdom of Hungary) the Bishop of Csanád from 1911, appointed Archbishop of Kalocsa from 1942 until his death.

All the recriminatio¹⁸¹ concerning the concordatum¹⁸² in the Vatican are answered by the fact that, however offensive it may be, the Holy See, in order to avoid greater offence, must willingly or unwillingly conclude it. If it were not to give way on certain points, the concordatum would be threatened altogether, and the Roman Government, completely beyond all scruples, would arbitrarily strike Roman Catholic priests, close schools, confiscate all ecclesiastical property, and create conditions which no concordatum could later remedy.¹⁸³

In the early 1920s, as a result of the social shock caused by the Treaty of Trianon, especially in the case of the forcibly dismembered and fragmented dioceses and the Hungarian population uprooted from the national minority across the border, a closer and more intimate relationship than before was established between the Catholic Church and the state. In the course of foreign policy manoeuvres, the Prince-Primate Csernoch and the government coordinated their diplomatic actions and coordinated their international church policy. When in 1922, according to leaked reports, the Holy See was considering the resignation of the Archbishop of Esztergom because of his consistent stance on the Czechoslovak question, the Hungarian government gave the Archbishop its unequivocal support. According to a contemporary ecclesiastical report, Antal Lepold, one of the most trusted colleagues of the Archprimate in the Ministry of Culture, was told that "*János Csernoch has the full confidence of the government and the Catholics have a proper understanding for the Prince-Primate Cardinal of Bybno, as they have always experienced the wisdom of the Primate in very difficult times.*"¹⁸⁴ The government took a firm stance against the artificial mood against Csernoch, which was being created by the legitimists in a covert and dripping way. A consistent response to legitimist political actions was the Cardinal Csernoch's action in the papal conclave of 1922, when, after the death of Benedict XV, Pius XI was elected. The Hungarian primate was a great influence on the cardinals who participated in the conclave and won the respect of the whole body. In 1922, intergovernmental negotiations were opened between the Kingdom of Hungary and

¹⁸¹ recriminatio - protest

¹⁸² concordatum - agreement

¹⁸³ Gergely: *The Catholic* ibid. p. 52.

¹⁸⁴ Gergely: *The Catholic* ibid. p. 52.

Romania on property issues arising from the changed state borders. The Prince-Primate warned the negotiating parties that *'...according to general Catholic ecclesiastical law, only the Apostolic See is competent to separate dioceses. In the case of a separation, the common property is also to be distributed by the Apostolic See, taking into account the will of the founder, the acquired rights and the special local legal relations.'*¹⁸⁵

¹⁸⁵ Gergely: The Catholic *ibid.* p. 53.

Summary

The volume clearly shows that Vatican diplomacy played a significant role in international political and religious life between the two world wars. After World War I, the Holy See's diplomatic strategy primarily focused on promoting peace, protecting religious freedom, and combating totalitarian ideologies. This was done in multiple steps and very consciously, true to the millennia-old historical traditions of the Catholic Church.

After the devastation of World War I, the Vatican actively participated in promoting peace. Pope Benedict XV took on a mediating role between the warring parties in 1917, although his proposals were not widely accepted. Nevertheless, the Vatican continued to emphasize the importance of peace and reconciliation. This was aided by encyclicals as well as the implementation of the new ecclesiastical code.

Outside of legislation, perhaps the most important event in the period between the two world wars was the signing of the Lateran Treaties in 1929, where Pope Pius XI and Italian Prime Minister Benito Mussolini reached an agreement. The treaties resulted in the establishment of Vatican City as a sovereign state and settled the relations between the Vatican and the Italian state. It became evident that the Catholic Church prioritized human and spiritual aspects over territorial concerns.

Between the two world wars, the Vatican sought to expand its diplomatic relations. The Central European region was particularly important, as the new geographical borders presented new challenges. The Vatican's goal was to protect the interests of the Catholic Church and strengthen its presence on the international political stage.

The aim of Vatican diplomacy between the two world wars was to promote peace and stability, protect religious freedom, and combat totalitarian ideologies. The Holy See was an active player in international politics and sought to ensure the interests of the Catholic Church in a rapidly changing and often hostile world. The volume achieves its goal if readers, learning from historical facts, recognize that only "just peace" can be the solution in a region that has so often been the starting ground for major wars. The foundation

of just peace can be nothing other than sincere, humble, attentive, and cooperative human relationships.

The Catholic Church conveyed universal human values in diplomacy both during and after the First World War, but of course national churches often interpreted this according to their own interests.

Source references

The legacy of the diplomat-primate János Csiszárík, consisting of twelve boxes, is a precious and incomparably valuable resource of the archbishop and of the General Chapter Archives of Veszprém.¹⁸⁶ The diplomatic source published in the study was found in the fifth box of the estate of János Csiszárík, which contains personal correspondence, daily diplomatic reports and background materials on church politics. The uniquely valuable document contains a summary of the Hungarian position after the draft concordat was obtained between the Kingdom of Romania and the Holy See. The letter, which also contains the opinion of the Committee of the

Bishops' Conference held on 10 February 1921, was written by the Cardinal János Csernoch, the Archbishop of Esztergom, the Prince-Primate of Esztergom, to one of the most influential "grey eminences" of Holy See diplomacy, the Vatican Secretary of State Pietro Gasparri. Minor spelling mistakes and typos have been corrected without indication.

934/1921

Directorate General and Excellencies Mr Secretary of State!

I have gratefully received Your Eminence's gracious letter of 23 February of the current year, B. 16761.a., in which you are kind enough to reply to my comments on the draft Romanian concordat and to ask for my suggestions as to how the truncated dioceses in Hungary whose bishops reside in Romania should be governed.

Even before I received Your Eminence's above-mentioned precious letter, at the meeting of the Hungarian bishops' faculty held in Budapest on 10 February¹⁸⁷ under my chairmanship, I received the authentic text of the draft Romanian concordat, which is identical in every respect with the copy attached to Your Eminence's letter.

The bishops of Oradea and Chanádi were also present at the meeting, and they received the draft for their comments via the Archbishop of Bucharest. He was known to the episcopate as Mgr.

¹⁸⁶ Archives of the Archbishop and the Chapter of Veszprém, Bequest, Estate of János Csiszárík, box VI/5.

¹⁸⁷ On 10 February 1921, the Hungarian Catholic Bishops' Council discussed the draft concordat with Romania, chaired by the Archbishop János Csernoch, Archbishop of Esztergom, Archbishop Primate of Esztergom.

Benedetti,¹⁸⁸ the rapporteur of the S. Congregatio de Propaganda Fide,¹⁸⁹ ¹⁹⁰ on the concrete draft. Thus, the whole episcopate was able to express its own view.

I have the honour to summarise the comments of the Hungarian episcopate¹⁹¹ below, following the succession of sections of the draft concordat.

Art.2. In the new division of the dioceses, we also see the disintegration of the spiritual bond which had held the Catholics of Hungary together for a thousand years and made Hungary the last stronghold of Latin Catholicism in the east of Central Europe. The maintenance of the old hierarchical bond was and is considered necessary not so much for national as for Catholic interests. From a national point of view, the Hungarian Catholic Church in Transylvania did not conquer and did not pursue such an aim. Its adherents are exclusively Hungarian and partly German. But by its Catholic expansive power it created the Romanian union, which is the merit of the Catholic dynasty, of the Hungarian prelates - especially Primate Kollonits - of the Hungarian ecclesiastical fortune. Now, as a result of an unprecedentedly unjust peace agreement, which is hardly sustainable for a long time, the Holy See is definitively cutting off the Hungarian Church's spiritual communication with the Catholics living in the parts of Romania annexed to the Romanian state. They will be confined to a Balkan Byzantine, schismatic state with a national church, where they will be threatened by a thousand dangers. We know very well that the Holy See is not doing this out of its own good will, but at the insistence of the Romanian State. Yet it would be of great consolation to us if the Holy See did not stress the need to adapt the Church's status to the borders of the state and to national needs. At the very time when excessive nationalism is

¹⁸⁸ Benedetti, Tarcisio Vincenzo (28 October 1899, Treviolo, the Kingdom of Hungary - 24 May 1972, Lodi, Italy) was the Italian Bishop of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Lodi from his appointment by the Pope Pius XII on 11 November 1952 until his death on 24 May 1972.

¹⁸⁹ The Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples (Latin: Congregatio pro Gentium Evangelizatione), formerly known as the Congregation for Propagation, is an office of the Roman Curia, which primarily oversees the propagation of the Catholic faith. Its task is to coordinate the tasks of propagation of the faith throughout the world, with the proviso that in doing so it must take into account the jurisdiction of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches.

¹⁹⁰ vote - vote, opinion

¹⁹¹ His Excellency and Most Reverend Peter Cardinal Gasparri, State Secretary

putting nations at war, and when, under the name of national justice, a peace has been established which oppresses individual nations much more than was the case before, the internationalism of the Catholic Church should be brought to the fore in order to eliminate as far as possible the state and national interests in the Kingdom of Christ on Earth. It was infinitely wrong for us to read in Benedetti's veto that by reducing the Hungarian Catholic bishoprics, the Holy See is doing the Romanian State a kindness, because Hungarian bishops will always be enemies of the Romanian State. No less painful is the argument that the reduction of the number of Latin Catholic bishoprics and the increase of the number of united Romanian bishoprics is justified because the Holy See cannot hope for a multiplication of the faithful among the Hungarians, while it can hope for a spread of union among the Romanians: the preservation of the faith of the Latin Catholic Hungarians is certainly also in the interest of the Church. The abolition of existing Catholic dioceses, even by merging them with other dioceses, means the weakening of Latin Catholicism, the abolition of countless Catholic institutions, propaganda, and protection. However, there is no serious necessity to abolish bishoprics. Why, then, does the Holy See want to abolish the ancient episcopal see of Oradea and Satu Mare and, by union, to consolidate in two monastic dioceses of all Latin Catholics in the Romanian territory annexed from Hungary? The Hungarian Catholics take this intention very badly, because they cannot explain it from the Catholic point of view and see it as a purely political tendency. Once again, two Hungarian bishops will be forced into exile, which will make the atmosphere terribly bitter.

Hungarians live among a considerable number of Protestants on Romanian territory. If they find themselves being forced into Catholic church institutions, they are tempted to try to defend their nationality in Protestantism. In any case, such a danger deserves consideration as to whether it is advisable to abolish existing bishoprics and institutions and to create two dioceses which, because of too large a territory, cannot be governed with sufficient vigilance by a single bishop.

In any case, it is a very dubious policy to sacrifice the interests of the existing Latin Catholics in the hope of spreading the Romanian Union. We cannot trust the spread of the Romanian Union. The increase in the number of united Romanians in recent decades is due to the natural reproduction of the Romanian people and not to

conversion. Conversion is even less to be hoped for in the future because the Catholic conquering force from Hungary has ceased to function and national chauvinism in Romania will favour schism.¹⁹² For this reason, we cannot, with a sense of responsibility before God, approve of the abolition of the metropolitan jurisdiction of the Archbishops of Caloca and Eger, nor of the merger of the dioceses of Oradea and Satu Mare with those of Chania and Transylvania, nor of the shameful demotion of the chapters of Oradea and Satu Mare. We admit that the direct subordination of the Hungarian Catholic dioceses to the Pope is better than placing them under the Archbishop of Bucharest; the unification of the dioceses of Oradea and Satu Mare is perhaps also better in theory than the simple abolition of dioceses.¹⁹³ The former concession might be of some practical use, but the latter is tantamount to abolition in practice. The Holy See's intention should not be to support the Romanian state, but to protect the interests of the Church. And it cannot be in the Church's interest to expel two bishops from a place where it has a large enough territory and many faithful who need protection. And even if these bishops have to leave because of political compulsions that cannot be averted, the Holy See should show that it does not sanction violence by bilateral treaty, but, in protest against violence, should ensure the governance of the territory by apostolic administrators. And these administrators should not be Romanian agents, but pastors who have the eternal salvation of the Hungarian faithful at heart and who reject national violence and have the trust of their own faithful. The bishops of Chania and Transylvania could ultimately be apostolic administrators.

The concordat does not speak of the Romanian part of the diocese of Hajdúdorog. We Hungarians can never accept that the Greek-Catholics of the Hungarian nationality should be subordinated to the Greek-Catholic Romanian bishops. A Greek rite apostolic administrator must be appointed for the Hungarian Greek Catholics, or these Hungarian Greek Catholics must be placed under the jurisdiction of the Latin bishops. But this measure would also be of a temporary nature, it would not imply the circumscription of the diocese of Hajdúdorog. The diocese of Hajdúdorog would legally

¹⁹² schism - ecclesiastical schism

¹⁹³ dioecesis - diocese, diocese

*remain within the framework in which it was founded by Christifideles bulla.*¹⁹⁴

Art.8. In determining the remuneration of archbishops and bishops, we must first express our astonishment that the Holy See simply takes note of the Romanian agrarian legislation, which is excessive and prejudicial to the interests of the Church. We are convinced that this law, which is fatal to the national economy, is unenforceable in its entirety, and we are aware that Romanian officials are of the same opinion. The law, in its cruelty, will certainly only be implemented with the Hungarian landowners and the Catholic Church.

When the National Assembly was debating the new Hungarian agricultural law, the Nuncio¹⁹⁵ in Hungary felt it necessary to draw our attention to the need to defend the legitimate claims of the Church. And the Hungarian legislature has indeed passed a law which is sober, moderate and does not hinder economic production, which treats the Church's estates on an equal footing with other estates and parcels out only as much land as local social conditions require.

Such a protest might have had an effect in Romania and might even have been effective in the implementation of the law.

Redemption will be at a very low price compared to the realistic value of land today.

Since we cannot be sure how much land is left to each bishop, it is very difficult to judge the annual endowments of 48,000 and 36,000 lire¹⁹⁶ respectively. In Hungary, the bishops have so far borne the costs of diocesan administration, maintained many ecclesiastical institutions and played a significant social role. With such burdens, the income envisaged in the draft concordat¹⁹⁷ would be grossly inadequate. The bishops will be forced to shift their burdens to other sources, if any, and to lead a life of complete retirement.

We are very concerned about the intention of the draft concordat to pool the redemption amounts of the manors into a common national

¹⁹⁴ The Diocese of Hajdúdorog was founded by King Franz Joseph on 6 May 1912 and canonized by Pope Pius X on 8 June 1912 with the bull *Christifideles Graeci*. Thus, the diocese of Hajdúdorog became the first independent Greek Catholic diocese with a distinct Hungarian majority.

¹⁹⁵ in our era János Csernoch

¹⁹⁶ donation - donation

¹⁹⁷ contemplated - something intended, designed for a purpose

fund. This communizing intention may be a product of the modern spirit, but it is contrary to the concept of private law and the Codex

Juris Canonici¹⁹⁸ §.2. can. 1499. nl. The episcopal benefices are also endowments which, according to the intention of the founder, belong to the diocese to which they are conferred. This proposed solution is also completely contrary to the law on beneficiaries.

When, during the Revolution in Hungary, a section of the Catholic faithful wanted to confiscate the Church's property and force the bishops to pay the bishops a small salary, the Holy Father, in a letter to the Prince-Primate said that this was contrary to the 10 commandments. And the nuncio in Vienna protested against the interference with the right of beneficiaries¹⁹⁹ on behalf of the Holy See. It seems inconceivable that the Holy See itself now seems to be in favour of communization. It is true that, according to the draft concordat, only the aggregation of the redemption sums received for the property of the ecclesiastical benefices²⁰⁰ is planned, and this common fund would be under the administration of the episcopate. But with this partial communization, a gap is also being created in the universal Canon law, which undermines faith in the sanctity of private property. Yet in today's world the Church should be very careful not to set such an example to the world.

This will also extend to real estate because you can't stop halfway. Bishops who do not have property will ask for a share of other bishops' property. It will be the same for parish priests.

Benedetti justifies asset segregation because:

1./ In this way, they can eliminate the great disparities between the riches.

2./ The clergy can be endowed from the surplus, so that the church is not forced to rely on the financial support of the state, which implies a certain dependence. This elimination of the differences in wealth is sufficient justification for the pooling of wealth, then all communism is just. On the other hand, the hope that the endowment of the

¹⁹⁸ Codex Iuris Canonici - Code of Canon Law, the law code of the Roman Catholic Church

¹⁹⁹ beneficial right - right of possession

²⁰⁰ ecclesiastical beneficium - ecclesiastical benefice, estate

clergy²⁰¹ could be made from the surplus of the disestablished church assets is completely groundless.

In Hungary, the great estates contributed 800,000 crowns a year to the congruity of the clergy, but in addition the religious fund and the state had to pay very large sums into the congruity fund. The need was greatest for the Greek Catholic Romanian clergy, who are numerous in relatively small parishes. It is impossible for the Romanian territories to have the whole need now: i.e. the Archbishops and Bishops, the needs of the chaplains, the parish priests and the priestly students. It is therefore very dangerous, in the Concordat, to relieve the State of the burden, the burden which the Hungarian State has voluntarily assumed. It must be taken into account that the bishop's and chaplain's benefices are under very heavy permanent burdens, and in addition, a considerable part of the large estates of the nobility lie on Hungarian territory, where the Concordat will not be valid. Thus, the whole property transfer misses its purpose.

We, Hungarian bishops, are also opposed to the common benefice fund because it is foreign domination, because we must object to the impoverishment of the Hungarian Catholics who have come under it, and the transfer of Hungarian property into Romanian hands. The Hungarian kings and other Hungarian benefactors intended their donations for the Hungarian Catholics, and it would be cruel to falsify their intentions.

The Hungarians will be much more dependent on their own resources than the Romanians, who may also be willing to be supported by the state. So, their wealth will be much needed. Art.10. Canons do not have the advantage of being able to acquire Romanian citizenship afterwards.

The chapters do not seem to be able to keep any of their real estate assets. This is a great injustice. Without real estate, 12,000 lei a year is a very meagre income in the current expensive climate. Many parish priests will have considerably more income, if they can keep 30 acres of land in addition to their congruent.

²⁰¹ Dotal - to pay, remunerate, provide financially, spend money on, maintain financially.

We are embarrassed by the reduction in the number of canons in Oradea and Satu Mare and the fixing of their income at 6,000 leis, which is not even enough for the most modest subsistence.

The draft concordat here clearly speaks of the suppressed²⁰² cathedrals of Oradea and Satu Mare, although Your Eminence is kind enough to stress that the Holy See does not intend to abolish the Latin dioceses of Oradea and Satu Mare. This also proves our observation that the unification of the two dioceses with Csanád and Erdély (Transylvania) is tantamount to abolition.

We wish for the continued existence of the dioceses and thus for the intact maintenance of the cathedral chaplaincy (székeskáptalan). We consider it impossible that the greatest Hungarian cathedral benefices should be taken away in favour of the Romanians, that the Hungarian canons should be disparaged and condemned to misery. The most sensible justice demands that the Hungarians should receive at least as much salary as the Romanians. The benefices of the Hungarian literary stalls in Oradea must be reserved for Hungarian writers. It is inadvisable to give the government a say in the appointment of canons, for a government in which there are few Catholic ministers may exercise a pernicious influence even in the weakest title. It is regrettable enough, even in a country with a Catholic majority, that the government always seeks to reward political and not ecclesiastical merit.

Art.12. We should also object to the equalisation of parish priests' emoluments. Not only because of our principled stand against communion, but also because the equalization is unjust, because of the difference in the work and the number of parishioners, and because it is an obstacle to all ambition.

Art.15. The compulsory teaching of Romanian in seminaries is an excessive and unjust demand. The seminary is a place for theological studies, not a school of languages. Romanian is taught in secondary schools anyway. In Hungary, there has never been a demand to teach Hungarian in seminary schools. We had many priests who did not speak Hungarian and were not Hungarian citizens. Even in secondary schools, the Hungarian language was taught with minimal results, especially in Hungarian schools.

²⁰² supraliminal - to suppress, to eliminate

It is strange that it is the Romanians who are now demanding the teaching of Romanian, even in purely religious institutions, when they were the ones who used to protest against the Hungarian language even in public schools. This is further proof that the news about the oppressive policy of the Hungarians is just a fable and a deliberate slander. Even in our country, people who were complete strangers and did not speak Hungarian at all could be bishops, much less canons and parish priests.

Art.16. In Romania, there are still some Hungarian monasteries whose provincial headquarters are in Hungary. It should be contractually ensured that the houses belonging to the Hungarian provinces have free access to the Order's headquarters and that the Order's headquarters can exercise its jurisdiction without hindrance. The existence of many Hungarian Catholic schools depends on the existence of the houses of the Order, and otherwise the Hungarian religious houses cannot exist except by remaining in the Hungarian Order.

In monastic property management, the government's right of supervision should not be recognised.

Art.17. Students from Hungarian Catholic dioceses are hardly allowed to attend the Bucharest Theological College. The ostentatious chauvinism of young Balkan peoples towards others, which knows no understanding, would make the life of the Hungarians agonizing.

So, the Bucharest college is likely to be a Greek Catholic college, which Benedetti also believes is hardly well placed in Bucharest. But Benedetti's recommended Lugos²⁰³ is also hardly a suitable location because it is not in the heart of Transylvania, but close to

Timisoara, in the county of Ereso-Szurény, on the western edge of the Greater Romania. Latin dioceses should be granted the right to train their priestly students in foreign universities and colleges.

Art.19. We recognise that this section also provides significant benefits for Hungarians. It is a historical and legal error to say: "notto il cessato governo Austro-Ungarico all atto della riunioe di quelle

²⁰³ Lugos - in Timis county, Romania. It is the episcopal seat of the Greek Catholic Diocese of Lugosi. It is situated 60 km southeast of Timisoara, on both banks of the river Timis.

*regioni a Regno di Rumenia."*²⁰⁴ *The schools were not under a joint Austro-Hungarian government anywhere, but under an Austrian government in Austria and a Hungarian government in Hungary. The Hungarian regions were never part of Romania. They were therefore not reannexed but annexed to Romania.*

Art.20-21. The teaching of the faith shall be in the mother tongue. The rights of national minorities, as laid down in the Peace Treaty, should also be respected in public schools. Art.25. We have already objected to the creation of the "patrimonio secreto"²⁰⁵ in relation to Art. 8. The redemption proceeds are due to the beneficium which owned the expropriated property. In Hungary, not only the bishops but also secular government men were offended by the tone in which Benedetti wrote about the disestablishment of ecclesiastical properties and the provisions of the draft concordat. We know that there were times when the Holy See was forced to analyse certain violent fait accompli²⁰⁶ in the abolition or redistribution of ecclesiastical properties. But we know of few cases where the Holy See itself has proposed such a solution. This move by the Holy See will have an incalculable moral impact on other nations and will undermine the faith in the social purpose of the ownership of individual church properties, and the respect for the intentions of the founders. The belief that church property, common church property, will be conquered, undermining the respect for the rights of the faithful and opening a wide door to secularisation.

We do not wish to question the right of the Holy See to give a part of the ecclesiastical property which does not correspond to its intended purpose another purpose, to change the unenforceable foundation provisions. But the mass reallocation and confusion of property rights without sufficient basis is infinitely pernicious and unjust. Especially in the present case, when even legitimate social interests are affected by the draft.

It would be much more advisable if the Holy Father, only in certain cases, after listening to the interested parties and after a strict assessment of the need, were to take some compensatory measures, such as giving some of the wealth of the Greek bishopric

²⁰⁴ The Austro-Hungarian government took control of the Kingdom of Romania at the time of the accession of these regions.

²⁰⁵ patrimonio secreto - secret heritage

²⁰⁶ fait accompli - closed fact, completed fact, matter

of Oradea to the very poor Romanian Greek Catholic bishops. But the use of the Latin benefices for the Greek Catholic Romanians should be opposed, as explained above. Besides, some Latin benefices (the Bishop of Csanád, the Bishop of Szatmar and the Chapter) would become so poor because of the implementation of the new arrangement that they would themselves need to be supplemented.

In the "patrimonio sacro" treasury, not even in the next section, the cassa dioecessana, there is no mention of the Hungarian religious and educational fund. But these are also ecclesiastical estates. There should be a strong objection against the seizure of these estates by the Romanian state. Since their creation, the foundations have undoubtedly always been the property of the Hungarian Catholic Church and have served specific Catholic purposes. The religious fund²⁰⁷ was used to support churches and parishes, priests, monastic orders, and ecclesiastical institutions. The Educational Fund²⁰⁸ maintained exclusively Hungarian Catholic colleges and high schools.

The Catholics of Hungary could not renounce these foundations or all the properties of the foundations in Romania for the benefit of the Romanian state or the Romanian Catholics. Here negotiations will be necessary.

The assets of the Study Fund may continue to be used only for Hungarian Catholic educational purposes.

Finally, we are forced to object to Benedetti's assertion that the Hungarian patrimonial system was at the expense of clerical discipline, and that the high priests used their income to enrich their relatives. The Hungarian ecclesiastical benefices did incalculable good, and the Hungarian Catholic churches secured not only spiritual but also considerable social and political influence, which benefited the church.

²⁰⁷ Religious Fund - The assets of the Hungarian Catholic Religious Fund were used exclusively for the purposes of the Roman Catholic religion in Hungary until the 1945 land distribution. In legal terms, the Religious Fund continued to exist until 1952 as a separate fund administered by the Ministry of Religion and Public Education.

²⁰⁸ In 1782, the study fund was created from all the movable and immovable property of the former Jesuit order, with the exception of the house of the Companions of the Order of Great Sombat, which was given to the then Hungarian University (now ELTE); in 1784 and 1791, it also received the property of other brotherhoods and monasteries.

To judge a system on the basis of unauthorised information, with unfortunate exceptions, is a bit presumptuous. Especially at such a historic time, when measures of great importance must be taken with great prudence, if the Church is not to be exposed to catastrophic dangers. We have no reason to fear Romanian informers, but their biased and one-sided whispers cannot be authoritative. In particular, we must consider that the spiritual preeminence of the Romanians, who have suddenly slipped into prominent roles and are engaged in negotiations, is very much in doubt, and the Holy See will have experience of this.

Art.27. *We also asked for the maintenance of autonomy for Transylvania. Its extension to the other dioceses is welcome within due limits, and the authority of the bishops must be safeguarded.*

Art.28. *The statement in this passage that the Emperor and King Charles renounced patronage rights over religious and scholarly estates in Romanian territory was a surprise. The Bishop of Veszprém personally asked the King whether this renunciation had been made. His Majesty firmly stated that he had not renounced. The Holy See's statement was the result of a misunderstanding. The Emperor and King Charles, at the request of the Archbishop Kordač of Prague,²⁰⁹ had renounced the patronage of the estates belonging to the Habsburg dynasty and family which, under the peace treaty, had passed to the Czech State. He did not want the anti-clerical Czech government to claim the episcopate by way of succession and then present Hussite priests. He submitted the resignation to the Holy See through the Apostolic Delegate in Bern. In this resignation, as I am informed, there was no mention of the Hungarian primacy and the resulting right of the basic canonry of religion and study. The religious and educational estates were never royal or state estates and were not transferred to the new state in the interests of the peace treaty.*

Yes, we therefore ask that the part about the king's abdication be omitted in this section. This section would do much harm to the legitimate King of Hungary because his enemies would take great advantage of his abdication, which did not really take place. And yet the Holy See can hardly wish to harm King Charles, who is one of

²⁰⁹ Kordač, František (11 January 1852, Seletice, the Habsburg Empire - 26 April 1934, Zbraslav, Czechoslovakia) Czech Roman Catholic pastor. From 1919 to 193 he was Archbishop of Prague.

the most loyal sons of the Church. The deposition of the private benefices can only be affected by means of private unions. The oneoff disenfranchisement and the imposition of a redemption burden envisaged in the proposal for a concordat could harm the interests of both the canons and the churches. The exclusion of citizens of other states from the benefice is a peculiar position in the universal church. We consider it absolutely inadmissible that the monastic redemption sums should be paid into the coffers of the "patrimoine sacre".

In Hungary, the curatorial burden did not mean the endowment of the pastors, but the maintenance of the church and the parish building. The redemption sum, therefore, as a curial fund, was due to the individual churches and parishes.

Art.30. Since any new property to be acquired by the Church will be the property of the cassa dioecesana, we must conclude that, according to the position of the Holy See, beneficia also cannot acquire new property.²¹⁰ This can hardly be the intention of the Holy See.²¹¹ We are also asking for the inclusion of a Hungarian bishop in the committees contemplated in the appendix.²¹²

Esztergom, April 3, 1921

*János Csernoch sk.
Cardinal, Prince-Primate, Archbishop of Esztergom*

²¹⁰ akviral - to collect, to acquire

²¹¹ intention - intention, ambition

²¹² contemplated committee - formed committee

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