

Tamás Végheő – Szilveszter Terdik  
HUNGARIAN GREEK CATHOLICS

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# HUNGARIAN GREEK CATHOLICS

A History from the Earliest Times to 1920  
and the Development of Sacred Art

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# Preface

The Research Group ‘Greek Catholic Heritage’ at the St Athanasius Greek Catholic Theological Institute of Nyíregyháza has implemented four academic projects since 2009. All of these have been aimed at investigating the history, organisational and liturgical development and art of the Greek Catholic Churches of the former Kingdom of Hungary. In the period to 2018, research findings were summarised in three monographs, six collections of papers, a document registry and seventeen source publications. In 2018, the Research Group won the grant of the ‘Lendület’ (Momentum) Programme of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences for a five-year research project. The title of the project of the research group thus named ‘Greek Catholic Heritage under the Joint Programme ‘Lendület’ (Momentum) of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and St Athanasius Greek Catholic Theological Institute’ is *‘The Hungarian Greek Catholics’ search for identity, self-organising efforts and development of ecclesiastical organisation from the publication of the first Hungar-*

*ian liturgical texts (second half of the 18th century) to the death of Miklós Dudás, Bishop of Hajdúdorog (1972)’. The outcome of the research project concluding at the end of 2023 was six monographs, two collections of papers, six source publications, a premium exhibition catalogue (published in English and Hungarian in two separate volumes), as well as a range of journal articles and conference talks.*

The present English publication contains a selection of the research findings: In Part I, Tamás Véghseő, founder and leading researcher of the Research Group, describes the history of Hungarian Greek Catholics from the earliest times to 1920, while, in Part II, Szilveszter Terdik, a founding member of the Research Group, considers questions relevant to the sacred art of Hungary’s Greek Catholics.

We hope that readers, with no knowledge of Hungarian, taking an interest in the subject will find this book useful.

The authors



Part I

The History of Hungarian Greek Catholics  
from the Earliest Times to 1920

*by Tamás Véghseő*



## Foreword to Part I

The chief pillars of Hungarian Greek Catholics' identity are the Byzantine Rite, the Catholic faith and Hungarian national identity. These pillars also provide solid foundations for a single Church, the Metropolitan Church *sui iuris* of the Byzantine-Rite Christian Faithful of Hungary (*Ecclesia Metropolitana Sui Iuris Hungariae pro Christifidelibus Byzantini ritus*) from 2015.

It might be reasonable to ask when, where and how these three components came to be so closely associated. Other related questions may include: What processes contributed jointly to the evolution of a group of the Byzantine-rite Catholic (Greek Catholic) faithful the members of which intended to cherish this unique ecclesiastical tradition with a Hungarian national identity, using Hungarian as the language of the liturgy? How did they develop historically, and what battles did they need to fight? How did this unique identity search for and find its place in the different periods of Hungarian history?

The present discussion seeks to answer such questions. I have published a significant portion of the archival sources discovered in the course of the research project in the six volumes of the source publication entitled *Források a magyar görögkatolikusok történetéhez* [Sources on the history of Hungarian Greek Catholics].<sup>1</sup> In addition to documents kept at Hungarian church and state archives, these volumes also contain a large number of sources from the archives of the government organs of the Holy See (the Secretariat of State, the Congregation *Propaganda Fide* and the Congregation for the Oriental Churches), as well as of diplomatic missions (the Nunciatures in Vienna, Budapest, Prague and Bucharest). In compiling a synthesis, effort was made to present the history of Hungarian Greek Catholics primarily along the lines of documents arranged chronologically in the source publications.

An attempt was made to describe the history of Hungarian Greek Catholics from the earliest times to 1920 in eleven chapters. Departing from the traditions of Greek Catholic ecclesiastical historiography, I decided not to place the beginnings of Hungarian Greek Catholicism in the 10th century. The important question of connections between the Hungarian nation in the Árpád era and the Byzantine Rite is covered in the historical context when it emerged in Hungarian Greek Catholic identity discourse. The beginnings of the Hungarian Greek Catholic Church are to be found in the economic, demographic and social changes of the 18th century. It is from this point and in keeping with a chronological order that the antecedents, development and the initiatives of the Hajdúdorog Movement are presented. Chronological coverage is interrupted in one instance: In the chapter on Hungarian liturgical manuscripts and printed publications, I also attempt to examine how contemporaries interpreted the problem of the 'Hungarian liturgy' in the second half of the 19th century. Following this 'detour on liturgical history', the chronological sequence is resumed, and the narrative continues in five chapters, each corresponding to a major historical milestone (1881, 1896, 1898 and 1912) or a decisive period (1914–1920). Prior to presenting Hungarian Greek Catholic history, I considered it essential to devote an introductory chapter to elucidating basic concepts necessary for learning about the Eastern Catholic Churches, as well as to briefly outlining the antecedents, i.e. the conditions of the creation of Hungary's Greek Catholic Churches, and the development of their ecclesiastical organisation until the late 18th century.

In my work, I endeavoured to describe every aspect of the history of Hungarian Greek Catholics, including negative ones, by thoroughly analysing archival sources. I did not exclude facts, events or con-

<sup>1</sup> The corresponding volumes are available in an electronic format at: <https://byzhun.hu/kiadvanyaink/tudomanyos-konyvek>.

nections that are usually avoided in the ‘great family’ of Hungarian Greek Catholics. It is my conviction that the interests of the Greek Catholic Church as a community are served by the exploration of the past only if this is done in accordance with the rules of historical scholarship. It is sometimes a painful experience to be acquainted with a particular fact, to recognise certain correlations, as well as to understand how things happened in reality, perhaps at variance with what we believed to be true. At the same time, this experience is also necessary for the identity discourse of today’s Hungarian Greek Catholic Church to be authentic and truly benefit the interests of the community.

I received tremendous help in conducting my investigations, as well as in writing the book. I owe a debt of gratitude to the Norwegian Financial Mechanism and the National Research, Development and Innovation Office of Hungary for supporting our research efforts in the period 2009 to 2017, as well as to the Hungarian Academy of Sciences for the funds provided through the ‘Lendület’ (Momentum) Programme between 2018 and 2023. Thanks are due to the staff of the Office of Supported Research Groups for monitoring my ‘Lendület’ Project with endless patience and providing all manner of assistance for its successful completion. I wish to use this opportunity to thank István Szabó, consultant for grant projects at St Athanasius Greek Catholic Theological Institute, for his conscientious work, substantially alleviating the burden on my shoulders. I am indebted to the

historians of the Research Group: to György Janka, Ádám Suslik and Tamás Sárándi for their work in archival research, as well as to Katalin Földvári, Anett Varga and Anita Marosi for transcribing source texts. I am grateful to Márton Áron Katkó for his participation in enquiries prior to 2018, as well as to István Marosi (Ortutay Centre, Berehove [*Beregszász*]), András Hegedűs (Primateal Archives of Esztergom), András Oross (Delegate of the National Archives of Hungary, Vienna), Andor Lakatos (Archives of the Archdiocese of Kalocsa, Kalocsa), Zsuzsa Újteleki (Archives of the Eparchy of Nyíregyháza, Nyíregyháza) and Ivett Zakor (Greek Catholic Episcopal Archives, Debrecen) for their help during my archival research. I am in the debt of the staff of the archives of the Holy See for the same reason: Marco Grilli, Giovanni Castaldo, Alfredo Tuzi and Stefania Taurino (Vatican Apostolic Archive), Johan Ickx (Historical Archives of Section Two of the Secretariat of State), Giampaolo Rigotti and Maria Carosio (Archives of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches). I thank Máté Gárdonyi and András Dobos for reviewing the volume, Moni Hradeczky for editing the Hungarian manuscript and David Veljanovszki for the English translation.

Nyíregyháza, 6 December 2023,  
on the Feast of Saint Nicholas, Bishop of Myra, the  
Patron Saint of the Byzantine Catholic Churches

Tamás Véghseő



# Rites, Unions and the Eastern Catholic Churches

## Basic Concepts and Historical Contexts

The first part of the present volume seeks to offer an introduction to the history of Hungarian Greek Catholics. The starting point is defined as the second half or final third of the 18th century, by which time a significant Greek Catholic populace speaking Hungarian and identifying themselves as Hungarians had evolved in Hungary's north-eastern counties as a result of the population movements, as well as of the social and demographic changes of the preceding decades. The discussion concludes with the Peace Treaty of Trianon marking the end of World War I.

The present work is not only intended for experts but also aims to cater for the interest of a broader audience. Therefore, prior to the presentation of the history of this small particular Church of the Catholic Church, it seems important to clarify some key concepts and describe the wider context of the development of the Hungarian Greek Catholic Church within ecclesiastical history.

The first concept to be clarified is the name Greek Catholic. This term is the short version of 'Greek-Rite Catholic' (Latin: *graeci ritus catholicus*). Formerly, in the 18th century (as well as for some time in the 19th century, too), the term 'Greek-Rite Uniate' (Latin: *graeci ritus unicus*) was common. In this instance, the epithet 'Greek' is always a synonym of 'Byzantine', while 'Catholic' denotes communion with the Apostolic See (i.e. the Holy See, the Pope). Thus, the Greek Catholics are Byzantine-rite Christians living in full canonical communion with the Church of Rome, accepting the teaching of the Catholic Church and recognising the Roman Pontiff as the supreme head of their Church. Conversely, a frequent term applied to Byzantine-rite Christians not in communion with the Apostolic See of Rome is *griechisch-orientalisch* in German. It was introduced in 1864 by ordinance of the Em-

peror of Austria to replace 'Greek-rite non-uniate' (Latin: *graeci ritus non-unicus*).

The next concept in need of clarification is rite. The notion of rite in a canonical sense comprises the liturgical customs and traditions of the Christian communities of a particular geographical area or cultural and linguistic region, i.e. the distinctive manner of prayer and worship characteristic of a specific Christian community. A number of liturgical differences may exist between different rites. For example, Latin-rite Roman Catholics use unleavened bread (wafer or host) in the Holy Mass, whereas Byzantine-rite Greek Catholics use *prosphora*, i.e. leavened bread.

At the same time, rite also includes the unique ecclesiastical discipline of the given community, i.e. the sum of legislation and custom defining the order of the community and regulating its everyday life. Perhaps the most well-known disciplinary difference between the Latin and the Byzantine Rite is the fact that, while Roman Catholic priests live in celibacy, in Byzantine-rite Churches, married men are also ordained to the priesthood.

The concept of rite contains special theological approaches and spiritual tradition as well, also exhibiting a range of differences. For example, in the Latin-rite Catholic Church, monastic life acquired highly varied forms in the course of history. Adhering to the regulations of particular religious order founders, a unique abundance of male and female monastic orders, mendicant orders, orders of chivalry, teaching orders and congregations evolved in the Western Church. By contrast, in the Eastern Churches, no religious orders with particular founders or special missions and charisms were formed. While, in the East, monks mainly follow the teachings of the Desert Fathers, Saint Basil the Great, Saint Theodore the Studite and others,

individual monasteries have their own order and rules of life.

Therefore, when the present work uses the term 'rite', it is understood as a concept covering the liturgy, ecclesiastical discipline, theological approaches and spirituality.

The evolution of various rites corresponded to the natural dynamics of the spread of the Gospel. Following the Great Commission of Jesus Christ,<sup>2</sup> the Apostles and missionaries, leaving Jerusalem and a Jewish religious environment and travelling towards the four points of the compass, encountered new peoples and cultures within the Roman Empire and outside it. Although the linguistic medium of evangelisation was Greek, the good news of the Gospel would soon be translated into numerous languages of the ancient world. Each language represented a new cultural background and way of thinking, fundamentally influencing the reception of faith, as well as – subsequently – the manner of expressing and experiencing faith. This setting gave rise to the different rites. Besides the Latin Rite of the Western part of the Empire (Rome), a wide array of rites developed in the Eastern Churches (Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria and finally Constantinople): Syriac, Chaldean, Coptic, Armenian and the largest and best-known rite, that of Byzantium. It was the last of these, the Byzantine Rite, that would come to be widespread in Central and Eastern Europe, though the presence of the Armenian Rite is also significant.

This variety of rites is a reflection of the richness of the Church. The unity of a common faith transmitted by the Apostles and the various forms of experiencing and expressing faith are not opposite notions. To use the well-known metaphor of Saint John Paul II, In the Church of Christ, the Western Latin Rite and the Rites of the Eastern Churches work like the two lungs of the human body, sustaining the Church while being equal in prominence.

The third concept needing closer scrutiny is union. The characteristics of the rites, linguistic differences and different ways of thinking always create the

potential for lack of mutual understanding, error and, consequently, disputes within the Church. Such a threat exists particularly in relation to complicated theological questions. Amid the tension engendered by theological debates, at times even rite-specific differences, customs and traditions may be cast in a different light, and the opposing parties may no longer see richness in a different rite but an undesirable sense of otherness. These situations occasionally culminate in the painful experiences of the Church – schisms – which have sadly accompanied the Church throughout its history. The most well-known schism was the Great Schism between Rome and Constantinople in 1054. Schisms were regularly followed by efforts to heal the wounds caused by schism and to restore unity. The existence of the Eastern Catholic Churches is a result of such endeavours. The Eastern Catholic Churches are adherents of one of the above Eastern rites of the Christian tradition, in canonical unity with the Latin-rite Apostolic See of Rome. Canonical unity is created by ecclesiastical union integrating individual Eastern-rite Churches or part of such into the Catholic Church on specific conditions, acknowledging the supremacy of the Pope and the teaching of the Catholic Church. A precondition for the acceptance of union is guaranteeing the inviolability of the Eastern Rite. As the concept of rite includes the sum of liturgical customs, ecclesiastical discipline with its special properties, as well as a proper theological and spiritual tradition, guaranteeing its inviolability precludes integration becoming assimilation into the Latin-rite Church. In this sense, rite and its inviolability are key to the survival of the respective Eastern Church. Efforts aimed at ensuring that certain elements of the Latin Rite would be incorporated into the Eastern Rites is called Latinisation. Latinisation attempts could, on the one hand, originate with representatives of the Western Church, promoting the complete assimilation of the Eastern-rite community concerned. On the other hand, driven by a different sense of conformance, representatives of the respective Eastern-rite communities could also strive to adopt ele-

<sup>2</sup> *'Go therefore and make disciples of all nations, baptising them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, teaching them to observe all that I have commanded you.'* Matt. 28:19-20.

ments of the Latin Rite, to prove their commitment to the Western Church this way, too.

In the history of the Church, the most important union, subsequently looked upon as a model, was the agreement made at the Council of Florence in 1439, which was supposed to eliminate the split of 1054 between Rome and Constantinople. An indirect antecedent of this was the Ottoman menace threatening Constantinople, which the Byzantines hoped to counter with help from the Christian West. As a result of many months of deliberations, in the Union of Florence, a consensus was reached about papal primacy (i.e. the precedence of the successor of Peter the Apostle), the *Filioque* (i.e. the Holy Spirit proceeding from the Father *and from the Son*), purgatory and the material of the Eucharist. The Union of Florence was short-lived as, returning to Constantinople, the Greek delegation was unable to have the idea of union with Rome accepted by the local Church. Memories of the seizure and sack of Constantinople, as well as of the desecration of Orthodox churches during the Fourth Crusade (1204) were so deeply ingrained that they would not be overridden even by the imminent Ottoman threat or the absolutely concrete possibility of the fall of the imperial capital. Nevertheless, over the following years, the Union of Florence would serve as an example for union with Eastern Christians of other rites: Syriacs, Chaldeans, Copts and Armenians.

As may be inferred from the broader context of the Union of Florence, while primarily an ecclesial and theological even, union has major political, social and cultural implications as well. Some of the Greeks were led towards endorsing union by the growing Ottoman menace, while some others – the majority – were impelled to reject it by the anti-Latin sentiments fed by the memory of the sack of Constantinople. Neither motivation is closely connected to the question of the unity of the Church. Similarly, reasons, motivations and goals, collectively perhaps best described as ‘non-ecclesial’, would also play important parts in the unions of later centuries as well. Without an examination of

these, understanding unions and the history of the Eastern Catholic Churches coming into existence in or through them would be impossible.

The communities created by the Union of Florence, as well as by the unions of the early modern and modern era constitute as many as two dozen Eastern Catholic Churches these days. The overwhelming majority of these are Byzantine-rite, though the other Eastern rites are also represented. In terms of the development of their ecclesiastical organisation, they may be divided into four major categories: 1. Patriarchal Churches (Syriac, Melkite, Maronite, Armenian, Coptic and Chaldean); 2. Major Archbishopsrics (Ukrainian, Romanian and Malankara); 3. Metropolitan Churches (Ethiopian and Eritrean, Ruthenian in the United States, Slovak and Hungarian); 4. Churches organised into eparchies or exarchates (the Italo-Albanian Eparchies of Italy, the Eparchy of Križevci (*Körös*) in Croatia, the Eparchy of Mukachevo (*Munkács*) in Ukraine, as well as the Exarchates of Serbia, Macedonia, Bulgaria, Greece and the Czech Republic, and the Monastery Church of Grottaferrata in Italy). Owing to international migration, the faithful of these Eastern Catholic Churches are to be found on practically every continent. Thus, there are Ukrainian Greek Catholic eparchies in Brazil, a Romanian Greek Catholic eparchy in the United States, a Syriac Catholic exarchate in Venezuela, a Melkite eparchy in Australia, etc. This extremely varied and geographically extensive ecclesiastical organisation has only about 18-20 million Eastern Catholic believers.<sup>3</sup> From 1622 to 1917, the Eastern Catholic Churches were overseen by the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (*Propaganda Fide*) at the Holy See. Since 1917, this function has been performed by the Dicastery for the Eastern Churches.

The above clarification of the most important concepts will be followed by an overview of the development of the contexts in church history in which – in a unique constellation of the Byzantine Rite, Catholic Faith and Hungarian identity – Hunga-

<sup>3</sup> For the latest detailed and data-based description of the Eastern Catholic Churches, see: Oriente Cattolico, 2017.

rophone Greek Catholicism evolved and embarked on its own historical journey from the second half of the 18th century.

In early-modern Hungary, the Orthodox religion was represented by the Serbian, Rusyn and Romanian population, as well as by Greek merchant colonies (including those of different Balkan origins under the collective label 'Greek'). In the course of the 17th and 18th centuries, attempts were made at integration into the Catholic Church among all of Hungary's Orthodox population groups (and the Armenians) in some form. Of special relevance to the present discussion are the union attempts and their outcomes among the Rusyns and Romanians living in the north-eastern counties of the Kingdom of Hungary, Transylvania and the Partium.<sup>4</sup>

In the north-eastern region of the Kingdom of Hungary, also inhabited by the Orthodox population, the idea of union came from neighbouring Poland in the early 17th century. The eastern portions of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth created in 1569 had a sizeable community of Orthodox Ruthenians, or Ukrainians and Belarusians, to use their current name. Their Church centred in Kiev was characterised by a well-developed ecclesiastical organisation. At the same time, signs of a deep crisis were apparent in their church life, but they could not count on impulses such as those leading to the strengthening of the Polish Catholic Church as part of the reform processes following the Council of Trent. Therefore, Ruthenian Bishops believed that the way out of the crisis was through the restoration of unity with the Catholic Church. They hoped that union concluded along the lines of precisely defined conditions would provide the Ruthenian Church with the resources required for the reforms and that it would ensure the legal emancipation of the Ruthenian clergy in the Commonwealth dominated by Catholics, as well as the inviolability of the Byzantine Rite. Although, in the last decade of the 16th century, the Ruthenian Bishops began

their talks with the Apostolic See of Rome evoking the spirit of the Union of Florence, eventually, the union concluded in Brest in 1595 and 1596 was not realised in accordance with the Florentine scenario. The Florentine model of ecclesiastical union was essentially based on compromise reached by the opposing parties through negotiations. In the Catholic Church following the Council of Trent (1545–1563), however, the definition of union would change, with the understanding that union meant the return of Eastern Christians from a state of schism to the Catholic Church becoming prevalent.<sup>5</sup> Such a return could be made contingent on certain conditions, but it is basically not about an agreement between equal parties but about the Catholic Church readmitting Eastern Christians who – as seen by the former – became schismatic over time.

It was also thanks to this approach that the union of the Ruthenian Church finally came to be partial, i.e. it did not extend to the whole of Ruthenian Orthodoxy, and, alongside the Greek Catholic Ruthenian Church entering into union with Rome, an Orthodox ecclesiastical hierarchy also survived.<sup>6</sup>

The union of the Ruthenian Church appeared to be a suitable means for the Homonnai-Drugeth Family, with lands in Poland as well, to promote the prosperity and social progress of the Rusyns present on his estates in north-eastern Hungary in large numbers. In this region, Byzantine-rite Christianity was introduced by Rusyns settling in ever greater numbers from the time of the Mongol Invasion. Socially, waves of organised colonisation and spontaneous settlement affected serfdom because Hungary's demesnes of the Crown and private feudal estates were in need of agrarian population. From areas north east of the Carpathian Mountains, frequently entire villages relocated, bringing not only their priests but – in many cases – even their wooden churches with them. A unique case in the history of Rusyn colonisation is the arrival of Fyodor Kori-

<sup>4</sup> On the attempts at union among the Serbian Orthodox, see: Molnár, 2008. On the union of Transylvanian Armenians, see: Nagy, 2012.

<sup>5</sup> On the Florentine and Tridentine models, see: Szabó, 2008, 15–33.

<sup>6</sup> On the Union of Brest, see: Gudziak, 2001, Dmitriev, 2007 and Turiy, 2008. For the documents of the Union of Brest, see: Suttner-Zelzer-Zelzer, 2007.

atovych, Prince of Podolia, in the late 14th century, fleeing to Hungary from Vytautas the Great, Grand Duke of Lithuania (1392–1430). He was granted the Demesne of Mukachevo by Sigismund, King of Hungary (1387–1437).<sup>7</sup> This decision would have great importance for the Greek Catholic ecclesiastical history of the region, for Koriatovych founded a Basilian monastery and a church in Mukachevo-Chernecha Hora (*Munkács-Csernekhegy*). After Koriatovych's death, the estate reverted to the Royal Treasury, but the monastery would be left. Moreover, going through an atypical process of development, the prior (*hegumen*) of the monastery was ranked as bishop as of the late 15th century. In a legal sense, the Bishop of the Monastery of Mukachevo was not a hierarch with regular jurisdiction over a specific geographical area. His appointment was not dependent on the Monarch, either, but on the private feudal lord owing the Demesne of Mukachevo at the time. It would be appropriate to speak about 'quasi-jurisdiction' exercised as a function of momentary power relations and possibilities. The Bishop himself, the other monastics of the Monastery and the priests working in the area all lived in bondage and did not possess the same rights as the Catholic clergy and later the Protestant church elite had.<sup>8</sup> They lived on the peripheries even in two senses: in the frontiers of East-Slavic and Balkan Orthodoxy, as well as on the periphery of Hungarian society, lacking a nobility, a middle class, a social class doing military service or a clergy able to enforce its interests.

Social groups of the Byzantine-rite Orthodox would for long escape the attention of the majority of society: '*Nobody had their welfare at heart*' – as a clerk of the Hungarian Royal Council put it in 1642.<sup>9</sup> As their own internal resources were insufficient, the idea of union as a solution did not originate with the Byzantine-rite communities as it did in the case of the Ruthenians of Poland but much more from the Catholic and Protestant milieu around them.

In fact, by the time the dividing lines between the Catholic and Protestant denominations had been drawn and consolidated by the first third of the 17th century, interest in Orthodoxy increased on the part of Catholics and Calvinists alike. Regarding the reformation and social integration of these church communities, a Catholic and a Protestant alternative was formulated respectively. The significance of the Protestant alternative consists in the fact that, at the beginning of the 17th century, the Demesne of Mukachevo was acquired by the Rákóczi Family, who also obtained the Principality of Transylvania. Thus, the Basilian Monastery of Chernecha Hora was placed under Calvinist control. The similarly prominent adjacent Demesne of Uzhhorod (*Ungvár*), however, was possessed by the Homonnai-Drugeths having returned to the Catholic Church. Catholic-Calvinist rivalry in the region encompassed the Orthodox population as well. Jesuits and missionaries of other religious orders operating on the estates of Catholic landowners not only strove to re-convert Calvinists but also attempted to convert Byzantine-rite Christians to the Latin Rite (Latinisation).<sup>10</sup>

Despite some success in conversion to the Latin Rite, the Homonnai-Drugeths did not approve of this method. Instead, they intended to follow the Polish model. Their first attempt, however, failed in 1614.<sup>11</sup>

A breakthrough was enabled from 1633, when Bishop Bazil Taraszovics from Poland was made head of the Monastery of Mukachevo, who was ready for the union. This time, on the Catholic side, he could count not only on the lay Catholic landowner but on the active involvement of György Lippay as well, who entered the Episcopate of Eger in 1637. Union also endorsed by the Bishop of Mukacheve was to be concluded in December 1640, with Bishop Lippay and Bazil Taraszovics having agreed even on the time and place of the event. However, the Rákóczis were informed of

<sup>7</sup> On the history of the Rusyns, see: Bonkáló, 1996.

<sup>8</sup> On the history of the Bishopric of Mukachevo, see: Hodinka, 1909.

<sup>9</sup> Véghseő, 2011, 33.

<sup>10</sup> Tusor, 2002, 206.

<sup>11</sup> For more detail on the Krasny Brod (*Krasznibród*) attempt, see: Véghseő, 2011, 30–38.

the clandestine talks, and Bazil Taraszovics was thrown into captivity by the landowner's men in Mukachevo.<sup>12</sup>

Although Bishops of Mukachevo had been subject to similar atrocities by the landowners in the preceding decades, Taraszovics's arrest activated hitherto unknown forces. As he was sent to the dungeon of Mukachevo on account of his intention to join the Catholic Church, the Court, the Archbishop of Esztergom and – via the Nunciature in Vienna – even the Holy See would take action to secure his release. Due to the strong Catholic intervention, the Rákóczis were obliged to free the Bishop but forbade him to return to the Monastery of Mukachevo.<sup>13</sup>

Even though the exposed attempt of Bishop Taraszovics failed, it did signal that the process was unstoppable. He may have been excluded from controlling the flow of events, his attempt nevertheless prompted the wife of Lord Chief Justice János Homonnai-Drugeth, Anna Jakusich to mount additional efforts. With the involvement of Péter Parthén and Gábor Kossovics, Basilian monks from Poland authorised by her, following several years of preparations, the event that is known to posterity as the Union of Uzhhorod took place on 24 April 1646. On that day, 63 Orthodox priests from the Uzhhorod area declared that they recognised György Jakusich, Bishop of Eger, and his successors as their lawful bishops.

Much as the actual sequence of what happened awaits clarification even today, it is a fact that, in those years, the Greek Catholic Church was born in the Demesne of Uzhhorod, under the following three conditions, defined in 1649 at the latest:

1. Following the endorsement of the Union, the Byzantine Rite would remain intact; in other words, the Catholic side would not make any attempts at introducing the Latin Rite.
2. The leader of the community, i.e. the Bishop, would be appointed by way of election, in accordance with centuries-old traditions. The election would be confirmed by the Holy See.

3. Priests accepting the Union would receive the same rights and privileges the Latin-rite priests had.

In return for the fulfilment of these three conditions, the priests and the faithful – by now all Greek Catholics – recognised the supremacy of the Pope and the teaching of the Catholic Church.<sup>14</sup>

The initiative starting in Uzhhorod would spread in the north-eastern counties of the country slowly. In the Demesne of Mukachevo, the Union could be implemented only after 1660, when the widow of Prince George II Rákóczi, Zsófia Báthory, returned to the Catholic Church. The Monastery became Greek Catholic only in 1664, once Taraszovics's successor, Bishop Péter Parthén, elected in 1651, was granted permission by Zsófia Báthory to take possession of the Monastery.<sup>15</sup> In the ensuing years and decades, the Union would expand to the south and west alike, but it would only come to a close with the union of the Marmaroshchyna/Maramureş (*Máramaros*) region in 1721. The spread of the Union was also caused to suffer delay by a number of considerable impediments.

The unresolved status of Byzantine-rite Christians in terms of secular and canon law represented the most serious problem at the outset. Under Hungarian public and canon law, the Bishopric of Mukachevo was non-existent. Therefore, the appointment of the Bishop of Mukachevo was also an unresolved matter. In agreement with the Holy See, the Viennese Court intended to rectify the unregulated status of the Bishopric in terms of canon law by placing it under the jurisdiction of the territorially competent Bishop of Eger. From the early 18th century, this decision would be a source of severe conflicts for decades as, taking full advantage of the possibilities offered by canon law, the Bishops of Eger would strive to restrict the jurisdiction and licences of the Greek Catholic Bishop and clergy to the greatest possible extent. At the height of the concomitant conflicts, in the mid-18th century, Greek Catholic priests were demoted to be chaplains of the local Roman Catholic

<sup>12</sup> Ibid, 43–48.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid, 50–53.

<sup>14</sup> Hodinka, 1909, 252–319; Lacko, 1965, 91–113; Véghseő, 2011, 53–61; Véghseő, 2022b.

<sup>15</sup> Véghseő, 2011, 61–68.

parish priests. The only feasible resolution of the conflict was found by Queen Maria Theresa, who, having overcome the opposition of the Bishop of Eger in Rome, decided in favour of the creation of the Eparchy of Mukachevo under canon law and secular law in 1771.

The social and legal emancipation of the Greek Catholic clergy would for a long time be hindered by insurmountable obstacles. Joining forces, Catholic and Protestant landowners sabotaged the execution of high-level provisions such as the decree issued by King Leopold I in 1692,<sup>16</sup> ordering that the rights of the Greek Catholic clergy be guaranteed. The resistance of the local nobility could be explained by economic reasons, as well as by reasons of principle. Although ensuring the rights of the clergy entailed financial burdens as well, reasons of principle surpassed economic ones in importance: The position of the counties concerned was that the Monarch did not have the right to decide on matters of such weight without consulting Parliament. As the north-eastern region of the country had a history of opposition to the Hapsburgs, efforts to delay the emancipation of the Greek Catholic clergy would be successful for a long time. Though the letters-patent issued by King Charles III in 1720 reaffirmed Leopold I's provision,<sup>17</sup> this question would also be resolved once and for all only by the creation of the Eparchy of Mukachevo.

Thus, the establishment of the Eparchy of Mukachevo ended the protracted process of the consolidation of the Union of Uzhhorod in the north-eastern region of the Kingdom of Hungary. The tenure of Bishop András Bacsinszky (1773–1809) heading an already autonomous bishopric saw the creation of an institutional system that made integration into the Catholic Church complete. As a result of the Bishop's 37 years of church governance, the Greek Catholic clergy became fully emancipated. In official state terminology, the Hierarch was no longer called *vladika* but bishop, monks came to be referred to as fathers as opposed to *kalug'ers*,

and priests would be addressed as reverend rather than *bat'ko*.

After the Bacsinszky era, the task of rationalising ecclesiastical governance would arise. In 1816, the Eparchy of Prešov (*Eperjes*) was carved out of the immense Diocese of 729 parishes and sixty deaneries,<sup>18</sup> while, half of the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog was separated from it in 1912 for Hungarophone Greek Catholics with a Hungarian national identity.

Half a century after the Union of Uzhhorod, attempts were made among the Romanian Orthodox population of Transylvania and the Partium as well to bring about communion with the Catholic Church. As prerequisites for these, two important historical events happened: the incorporation of the Principality of Transylvania into the Hapsburg Empire (1690) and the liberation of Oradea (*Nagyvárad*) (1692). From a confessional/denominational perspective, these two events produced some major consequences: the restoration of ecclesiastical structures, the return of Catholic bishops expelled from their sees and opening the way to religious orders, especially the Jesuits.

The latter believed that the key to consolidating the positions of the Catholic Church in Transylvania was the creation of a Greek Catholic Church. As, by this time, Orthodox Romanians had come to constitute the majority of the population of Transylvania, a Greek Catholic Church to be created among them would have transformed denominational relations completely, forcing Calvinists into the background. The Bishops of the Diocese of Oradea, contiguous with Transylvania, were guided by similar ideas, seeking to restore the Church's network of estates destroyed in Ottoman times by settling Orthodox Romanians after the liberation of the city.

In Transylvania and in the Diocese of Oradea, events would unfold on parallel tracks from the final years of the 17th century. The local Jesuits began convincing the Orthodox Metropolitan Teofil, living in Alba Iulia (*Gyulafehérvár*),<sup>19</sup> while,

<sup>16</sup> Hodinka Okmánytár, 347–350.

<sup>17</sup> Hodinka, 1909, 749–750.

<sup>18</sup> Bendász–Koi, 1994 and Udvari, 1990.

<sup>19</sup> On the union of Transylvanian Romanians, see: Suttner, 2008; Suttner, 2009; Suttner, 2010; Nagy, 2018; Szirtes, 2018.

in Oradea, Roman Catholic Bishop Ágoston Benkovich would engage with the priests of the settling communities in person.<sup>20</sup>

In both cases, persuasion was based on Leopold I's aforementioned decree of 1692, promising extension of rights to the Orthodox clergy entering into union. As, during the period of the Principality of Transylvania, the Romanians and the Orthodox were not included among the established nations or religions, in the new regime, union appeared to offer a guarantee for social advancement and a new space for asserting political interests.

In 1697, at the so-called 'small synod', Metropolitan Teofil endorsed union along with his leading clergymen. The union would take the usual form: The Orthodox accepted the supremacy of the Pope and the teaching of the Catholic Church, in return for the inviolability of their rite, the preservation of their traditions, as well as legal and social emancipation.

As Metropolitan Teofil died a few months later, in June 1697, the union closely associated with his person would also be annulled. He was succeeded by Atanasie Anghel Popa (1698–1713), who endorsed the union and had it endorsed by the majority of his priests at several synods between October 1698 and September 1700.

Similarly to the events taking place in the north-eastern region, the union would entail a series of lengthy conflicts in Transylvania as well. The first point of conflict was the opposition between the Greek Catholics and the Orthodox. Although Bishop Atanasie won most of the clergy over to the union in September 1700, in the following years and decades, the number of priests accepting the union would greatly fluctuate. The Orthodox rejecting the union could count on the support of the Serbian Church, which had for centuries exerted considerable influence on Romanian Orthodoxy in Transylvania. Coming from Serbia and enjoying great popularity among the people, itinerant monks led whole regions back to the Orthodox Church.

Another conflict developed between the by now Greek Catholic Bishop and the Jesuit supervisor assigned to him by the Monarch. According to the official explanation, the supervisor – called 'theologian' – was needed because the newly Catholicised Bishop and his environment were less familiar with Catholic canon law and theology.<sup>21</sup> In reality, however, theologians not only acted as advisers but also placed Bishop Atanasie, as well as his successors for decades to come, under guardianship. The work of theologians was particularly harmful also because the Orthodox rejecting the union saw them as laying the groundwork for conversion to the Latin Rite.

A third conflict situation arose upon the return of the Roman Catholic Bishop previously expelled by the Calvinist Princes of Transylvania. György Mártonffy, Bishop of Transylvania, relocated to Alba Iulia in 1716. As Ioan Giurgiu Pataki, Bishop Atanasie's successor, lived in the city, the Latin Bishop demanded the departure of the Greek Catholic Bishop citing the provision *Quoniam* of the Fourth Council of Lateran (1215). The resultant conflict was ended in 1721, when King Charles III created the Eparchy of Făgăraş (*Fogaras*) for the Romanians, Ruthenians, Rascians (South Slavs), Greeks and other nationalities (Hungarians and Szeklers) of Transylvania, who had entered into union with Rome.

A fourth conflict was ignited between the Greek Catholic Bishops and the Calvinist and Catholic estates of Transylvania. The latter – especially the Calvinists – were of the opinion that the Romanians merely saw the union as a means of asserting their political interests. This suspicion would particularly intensify after 1730, when Bishop Micu-Klein became the head of the Greek Catholic Church of Transylvania.<sup>22</sup> The energetic Bishop would indeed engage in active political roles, depicting himself as an activist fighting for the political rights of the Romanian community of Transylvania. During its first ten years, the Bishopric submitted 24 petitions to the Monarch, seeking protection for the Roma-

<sup>20</sup> On Bishop Benkovich's activities, see: Végheő, 2003.

<sup>21</sup> On the role of the theologian, see: Rus, 2014.

<sup>22</sup> On Bishop Micu-Klein, see: Câmpeanu, 2014 and Miskolczy, 1994.



nian people from the estates of Transylvania. Starting with Bishop Micu-Klein, the Greek Catholic Church of Transylvania would be intertwined with the process of Romanian nation building, in which it played a leading part.

Besides these serious conflicts, the union presented the Greek Catholics of Transylvania with substantial benefits. Chief among them was access to the Catholic educational system, enabling the development of a Romanian Greek Catholic church elite in Transylvania within a few decades. Among the training centres, the college of the Congregation *Propaganda Fide* in Rome acquired outstanding importance, providing theological education meeting European standards to the upper layers of the Greek Catholic elite. The evolution of an elite was a precondition for the Greek Catholic Church of Transylvania to organise a school network of its own. In the process of organising education, the centre in Blaj (*Balázsfalva*) played a pivotal role. Called 'Little Rome', Blaj soon came to be the heart and engine of Romanian cultural life in Transylvania. Clerical professors working there were instrumental in developing the Romanian language, as well as in shaping Romanian national consciousness and identity discourse. Thanks to their activities, the Greek Catholic Church of Transylvania grew into a Romanian national Church.

The creation of a Greek Catholic church elite also paved the way for further development in ecclesiastical governance. In the Diocese of Oradea, a Byzantine-rite vicar was installed as the deputy of the Roman Catholic Bishop in 1748.<sup>23</sup> In 1777,

Maria Theresa established a Greek Catholic eparchy with its seat in Oradea, too, appointing the Beiuş (*Belényes*) Demesne of the Roman Catholic Diocese to provide its maintenance.<sup>24</sup> This meant considerable funds permitting the Greek Catholic Bishops to construct a cultural and religious centre in Oradea in addition to Blaj in the coming decades.

The next major change in the development of ecclesiastical organisation occurred in 1853, when Franz Joseph established the Metropolitanate of Transylvania. In addition to the two existing Eparchies, he founded two new eparchies in Gherla (*Szamosújvár*) and Lugoj (*Lugos*) and turned the Eparchy of Făgăraş into an archeparchy. This act was justified by the Romanians' fidelity to the Dynasty, which they had demonstrated at the time of the Hungarian Revolution and War of Independence of 1848/1849. The Romanian Greek Catholic Metropolitanate of Transylvania would allow for structures even more solid than the former ones. Its members would be granted extensive religious and cultural autonomy, obtaining significant positions in the economy of Transylvania in the course of the 19th century. These circumstances combined reinforced the separation of Transylvanian Romanians within Hungary.

In the history of the Romanian Greek Catholic Church of Transylvania, the emphatic presence of considerations of national policy repeatedly makes it evident that union is not only a religious or theological event: It transcends ecclesial and religious confines and significantly informs social, political and cultural changes as well.

<sup>23</sup> On Byzantine-Rite Vicar Meletius Kovács, see: Janka, 2003.

<sup>24</sup> On the creation of the Eparchy of Oradea, see: Janka, 1996.

## Hungarian and Greek Catholic: The Birth of a New Identity

As a result of the development outlined in the previous chapter, a Greek Catholic ecclesiastical organisation was created in the Kingdom of Hungary by the last third of the 18th century. Greek Catholics living in the north-eastern counties belonged to the multiethnic Eparchy of Mukachevo (Munkács), out of which – as the consequence of further progress in church governance – the Eparchy of Prešov (Eperjes) was born in 1818. Even though the majority of the faithful in this region encompassing a dozen counties<sup>25</sup> were ethnically Rusyns, the number of Romanian, Hungarian and Slovak believers could also be considered as significant. The predominantly Romanian Greek Catholics of Transylvania and the Partium lived in the Eparchy of Făgăraş (*Fogaras*) established in 1721 and in the Eparchy of Oradea (*Nagyvárad*) founded in 1777, as well as in the Eparchies of Gherla (*Szamosújvár*) and Lugoj (*Lugos*) created in conjunction with the 1853 establishment of the Romanian Greek Catholic Metropolitanate. Multiethnicity was characteristic of this region, too, as aptly illustrated by the data on changes of ecclesiastical organisation during the first half of the 19th century. In 1823, 72 parishes of the Vicariate of Szatmár were reassigned from the Eparchy of Mukachevo to the Eparchy of Oradea. Of these, 51 were registered as purely Romanian, 5 as purely Rusyn, 11 as mixed – Romanian-Hungarian, 4 as mixed – Rusyn-Hungarian – and 1 as mixed – Romanian-Rusyn-Hungarian – parishes. Four years later, this act was in need of correction. Then nine Rusyn, or Rusyn-Hungarian, parishes returned to the Eparchy of Mukachevo. In exchange, however, nine Romanian, Romanian-Hungarian and Romanian-Rusyn-Hungarian parishes were transferred from the jurisdiction of the Hierarch

of Mukachevo to the jurisdiction of the Diocesan Bishop of Oradea. In the middle of the century, at the time of the creation of the Eparchy of Gherla, the number of the Romanian faithful of the Eparchy of Mukachevo continued to decrease. The 94 parishes reassigned to the new Eparchy also included six Romanian-Hungarian, four Romanian-Rusyn and three Romanian-Rusyn-Hungarian mixed parishes though.<sup>26</sup> However hard those in charge endeavoured to arrange diocesan boundaries in a way that Slavophone Greek Catholics would find themselves in eparchies with Church Slavonic as the language of the liturgy (Mukachevo and Prešov) and Romanians in the Eparchies of the Metropolitanate of Transylvania, where the liturgical language was Romanian (Alba Iulia-Făgăraş (*Gyulafehérvár-Fogaras*), Oradea, Gherla, and Lugoj), complete separation was practically impossible to achieve. Differences arising from the different liturgical languages were so significant that, in many settlements inhabited by believers using Romanian and Church Slavonic as the language of the liturgy, two Greek Catholic parishes operated – in some places, with two separate churches. This phenomenon was evident not only in major cities and towns, such as Oradea, Satu Mare (*Szatmárnémeti*) or Carei (*Nagykároly*) but also in smaller locations, such as Nagyléta, Újfehértó or Hajdúdorog.

It was in these Eparchies with Church Slavonic and Romanian as the languages of the liturgy that, in the second half of the 18th century, a pastoral demand that would ultimately give rise to the Hungarian Greek Catholic Church was expressed. This pastoral demand targeted the liturgical use of Hungarian among the Greek Catholic faithful with

<sup>25</sup> Szepes, Sáros, Zemplén, Borsod, Abaúj, Torna, Ung, Szabolcs (including the Hajdú District), Szatmár, Bereg, Ugocsa and Máramaros.

<sup>26</sup> Bendász-Koi, 1994, 17–19.

a Hungarian national identity. As the respective members of the faithful did not understand the Church Slavonic or Romanian liturgical language, the aim was to secure an increasingly greater part for Hungarian in a variety of liturgical actions. As the question of Hungarian as a liturgical language will be discussed in a subsequent chapter, the focus is currently on exploring how Hungarian-speaking Byzantine-rite Catholic communities with a Hungarian identity came into being. In other words, the goal is to answer the questions who the Hungarian Greek Catholics are and where they come from.

If the corresponding answers are to be found in relation to 'not understanding' the Old Slavonic and Romanian liturgical languages, two groups may be distinguished. There were some Greek Catholics who did not understand their ancestral liturgical languages 'any more' because they had become Hungarians as a result of the well-known phenomenon of assimilation. They constituted the majority of Hungarian Greek Catholics, though there were some others who became Byzantine-rite Christians as ethnic Hungarians.

In beginning the present enquiry with this latter group, one must first cite a report by Bishop Mánuel Mihály Olsavszky from 1759.<sup>27</sup> Bishop Olsavszky compiled the report upon instructions from the Congregation *Propaganda Fide* in Rome, actually on the basis of a highly detailed questionnaire (consisting of as many as seventy items), dispatched by the Dicastery. Question 67 concerned changes in the situation of the flock entrusted to the Hierarchy's care over the preceding twenty years: Had it improved or had it deteriorated instead? Bishop Olsavszky started his self-confident response by pointing out that, in the previous two decades, development among the Greek Catholics had been so substantial that if his predecessors in the episcopacy were to come to life again, they would not have recognised their Church. As the engine of development, he identified the Mukachevo school founded by him, where the clergy received thorough training and education. The related results were visible in the life of the clergy, with a positive effect on

the morals and religious practice of the faithful as well. Therefore – as Olsavszky wrote – more and more Lutherans, Calvinists and even Jews converted to the Greek Catholic religion. He also saw it as an unmistakable sign of development that stone churches were built in so many villages to replace the old wooden churches. This change was obviously justified by the growing size of congregations.

This section of Bishop Olsavszky's report is of particular relevance to the present investigation. Increase in the size of the Greek Catholic community was a common phenomenon in the period under analysis thanks to natural population growth and continuous waves of settlement. This was compounded by the processes described by Bishop Olsavszky, i.e. Lutherans, Calvinists and Jews joining the Greek Catholic Church. Although the Bishop does not name ethnic groups himself, it is clear that Lutherans and Calvinists are to be understood as Slovaks and Hungarians.

The conversion of Hungarian Calvinists to the Greek Catholic faith has recently been investigated by Péter Kónya.<sup>28</sup> In his study, he examined the demographic, ethnic and confessional characteristics of nearly half a hundred settlements in the South-Zemplén Region by analysing the data content of various 18th-century censuses. As, owing to the battles of the Ottoman period, the struggles of Rákóczi's War of Independence, as well as the ensuing epidemics, the region sustained considerable losses of human lives, it became a target area for north-south migration. Concerning relations between the resettled Greek Catholic Rusyn population and the local Calvinist Hungarian community – having processed the relevant data – Péter Kónya concludes that Greek Catholics actively participated in the re-Catholicising processes of the region. As a consequence, numerous Calvinist Hungarian families became Greek Catholic as part of the waves of re-Catholicisation beginning from the 1670s, as well as gathering new momentum after Rákóczi's War of Independence. He notes that this phenomenon was well known even prior to the creation of the Greek Catholic Church as contem-

<sup>27</sup> The report was published by: Lacko, 1959, 72–82. Cited in: Patacsi, 1962, 285–286.

<sup>28</sup> Kónya, 2015.

porary sources testify that Calvinists converting to the Orthodox faith – due to marriage or conflicts within congregations – was no rare occurrence. In his final conclusion, he emphasises that, after his investigations, the position that the ancestors of Hungarian Greek Catholics were exclusively Magyarised Rusyns – a view that used to be prevalent in relation to this region as well – is no longer tenable.<sup>29</sup>

In the evolution of the Greek Catholic communities with a Hungarian national identity, population movements beginning at the time of the Ottoman-Hapsburg wars and culminating in the resettlements of the period following the expulsion of the Ottoman Turks from Hungary played a decisive part. In this complex process, Byzantine-rite Rusyns, Romanians and Serbs – to use terms current at the time, ‘Russians’, ‘*Oláhs*’ and ‘Rascians’ respectively – settled in Hungarian-majority areas as well. As has been shown above, the southward expansion of the Rusyns reached the southern part of Zemplén, as well as Abaúj, Borsod, Bihar, Szabolcs and Szatmár Counties. In the latter three counties and in Szeklerland, Romanian colonisation took place in a series of voluntary and forced settlements. The scope of the present work does not allow for a detailed analysis of the assimilation processes that happened in this region. The only feasible goal is to describe a few characteristics of this assimilation unfolding in a natural setting until the time of the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867, through concrete examples.

The most ancient area of Hungarian Greek Catholics comprising the majority of the villages of historic Szabolcs County was almost completely depopulated at the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries, as a result of the Long Turkish War. The depletion of the population of the county was virtually ongoing until the end of Rákóczi’s War of Independence.<sup>30</sup> Villages were repopulated in multiple waves, involving Byzantine-rite Rusyn and – to a lesser extent – Romanian residents as well. It was a common phenomenon that repopulation

needed to be repeated as the population settled perished from epidemics or military incidents. It was in many instances typical of the emergence of Greek Catholics in Szabolcs County that the medieval church of a particular place – provided it had survived in a good condition – would be taken over by the newly settled community. At the same time, in everyday language use, the language of the indigenous residents came to be prevalent: The newcomers adopted the names of settlements, fields, meadows, brooks, etc.<sup>31</sup> It is relevant to later assimilation processes that, in spite of the extremely severe loss of human lives, the majority of the population of the county was Hungarian and Calvinist. Similarly to the South-Zemplén Region, Rusyns settled voluntarily or by force in Szabolcs did not seclude themselves from the Calvinist Hungarian inhabitants, either, whose church leaders would file official complaints on several occasions about the conversion of Calvinists to the ‘Russian faith’. In Szabolcs, the phenomenon was also motivated mostly by conflicts between individual parishioners and the minister of the congregation.<sup>32</sup>

In-depth analysis of the history of populating the region, along with the reconstruction of ethnic relations, is made especially difficult by the paucity of sources. At times, this circumstance compels scholars to advance theories. Such a theory is, for example, the proposition of Russian historian Alexei Petrov, who, in the early years of the 20th century, investigated the appearance of Rusyns in Szabolcs. Discovering a noticeably large number of Hungarian names among the families settled, he suggested that the inhabitants of the Szabolcs villages fled from the Turks north, to the area of today’s Transcarpathia, where, changing language and rite/confession, they would become Rusyns and followers of the Byzantine Rite. Subsequently, when it was possible, the descendants of these families – already as Greek Catholics – returned to the land of their forebears. Although it would be extremely risky to deduce ethnic ratios from family

<sup>29</sup> Kónya, 2015, 299–300.

<sup>30</sup> The heaviest loss was inflicted by the ten thousand Tatars of Sinan Pasha in 1594. At that time, 106 settlements were destroyed. Udvari, 1994a, 103.

<sup>31</sup> Udvari, 1994a, 109–111.

<sup>32</sup> Udvari, 1994a, 106.

names alone, Petrov's theory could also explain why language change and assimilation were completed so fast in these villages.<sup>33</sup>

In the second half of the 18th century, the demand for Hungarian was expressed already in the area of church language use as well, actually with regard to sermons. The respective exact ratios are available in the detailed census of the Eparchy of Mukachevo from the year 1806. The data from Szabolcs County reveal that, as many as forty per cent of the Greek Catholics listened to homilies exclusively in Hungarian, while the ratio for bilingual, Rusyn-Hungarian, homilies was 37-38 per cent. Conversely, sermons delivered purely in Rusyn and purely in Romanian combined scarcely exceeded 20 per cent.<sup>34</sup> The pace of assimilation is well illustrated by the fact that, in his monumental work, *Magyarországnak 's a hozzá kapcsolt tartományoknak mostani állapota* [The current condition of Hungary and of the provinces attached to her], published between 1836 and 1840, Elek Fényes did not detect any Rusyn population for Szabolcs County as, notwithstanding their Greek Catholic faith, he already classified them as Hungarians.<sup>35</sup>

A valuable source affords insights into the inner life of these Rusyn-Hungarian Greek Catholic communities in Szabolcs, warranting closer scrutiny. In the spring of 1794, Bazil Szákovics, parish priest of Nagykálló, blessed the foundation stone of the new Greek Catholic church of his outparish, in the village of Napkor, with the permission of Eparchial Bishop András Bacsinszky. The first wave of the Greek Catholic faithful in Napkor had arrived in the village as early as the 17th century. They would form an independent parish, even hosting a major assembly of priests in 1715. As a result of the plague of 1739, however, the settlement was almost completely depopulated. In the middle of the century, the village was resettled by the landowner family

Kállay with German, Hungarian, Rusyn and Romanian families.<sup>36</sup> Thus, the community initiating the construction of the new church in 1794 arrived as part of the second wave. In 1747, only 24<sup>37</sup> Greek Catholic families were recorded, whereas sources from 1792 documented the presence of 288 parishioners,<sup>38</sup> and 552 for 1806.<sup>39</sup> On account of both the double settlement and the dynamically rising number of the faithful, Napkor may be described as a typical Szabolcs Greek Catholic community.

Parish priest Szákovics made careful preparations for the blessing of the foundation stone. He committed his homily to writing and, once the ceremony was over, he sent it to his Hierarch, enclosed with his report. He based his sermon on a sentence from Genesis 28. The parish priest called to mind Jacob's dream and the moment when, waking up from the dream, Jacob poured oil on top of the stone he had placed under his head, setting it up as a monument, and exclaimed: *'This is none other but the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven'* (Gen. 28:17).<sup>40</sup> In making this reference, the parish priest sought to convey that the church the foundation stone of which was laid would also be present in the lives of the faithful of Napkor as the 'gate of heaven', and, as the angels descending and ascending on the ladder from the opening heaven symbolised the connection between man and God, the new church would also be a meeting place with God for the faithful. In addition to the edifying and heartfelt message, however, the parish priest also formulated an idea that is worth quoting verbatim:

*'But, my little Christian Napkor flock, in what manner dare we raise a stone as a mark for the Lord in a – so to speak – alien country and on somebody else's estate? How have we the courage to build an altar to the Lord in the land of others? The truth is that we are strangers to this land; but just as the Patriarch Jacob*

<sup>33</sup> Udvari, 1994a, 110–111.

<sup>34</sup> Udvari, 1990, 81.

<sup>35</sup> Paládi-Kovács, 1972, 343–344.

<sup>36</sup> Lekli, 1979, 317.

<sup>37</sup> Ember, 1947, 99.

<sup>38</sup> Bendász-Koi, 1994, 76.

<sup>39</sup> Udvari, 1990, 121.

<sup>40</sup> He noted down this sentence in Old Slavonic as well, though the homily itself is entirely in Hungarian.

*durst raise a stone as a mark for God in the alien wilderness of Mesopotamia, so were we extracted from this strange land by the highly gracious, excellent, honourable and noble Lord Ferenc Kállay of Kálló, a highly deserving member of the honourable and noble Szabolcs County, a pillar buttressing the glory of our noble County, a steadfast patron of the Church of God, wise counsellor to all and lover of the House of God, when he assigned this place to you with the provision that you may possess it in perpetuity in full liberty'* (translated from the Hungarian original).<sup>41</sup>

In emphasising these points, parish priest Szákovics essentially intended to make the congregation aware of the good will of the landowner who donated the plot. Simultaneously, he also furnished some hints as to how the community of Napkor saw itself at the time: *'We are strangers to this land'*. In other words, they arrived in the Hungarian region of Szabolcs as aliens, just as Jacob wandered in a foreign land, and the process of their integration was not complete yet. However, as God gave Jacob the place where he had his dream and set up the anointed stone as a monument,<sup>42</sup> in the same way *'the sweetest beloved little Christian flock of Napkor'* was also extracted by the advowee's donation from *'this strange land'*, and their integration was fostered through support for the construction of the church. Bazil Szákovics's homily offers a small glimpse into the assimilation process that led to the development of a Greek Catholic population with a Hungarian identity during the second half of the 18th century.

The Long Turkish War wreaked immense havoc in Transylvania as well, entailing significant population movement. A peculiar form of this was the colonisation of Szeklerland by Romanians, with special relevance to the present enquiry. In fact, by

the early 20th century, the consequence of voluntary and forced settlement of Romanians beginning in the second half of the 16th century, as well as of the concomitant assimilation processes was that about forty Greek Catholic parishes in Szeklerland were inhabited by Hungarian-speaking parishioners with a Hungarian identity, who did not use the Romanian language anymore and did not really understand it, either. Although, as will be shown, these communities did not participate in the self-organising efforts of the Hungarian Greek Catholics starting after 1868, by the time of the establishment of the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog, their significance in terms of national policy would increase in the eyes of political power holders. Thus – somewhat unexpectedly – they would also find themselves in the new Greek Catholic Eparchy and, therefore, in the crossfire of major debates. The colonisation of Szeklerland by the Romanians was a protracted process, peaking in the 18th century and ending in the early 19th century. It was characterised by the replacement of the colonising population,<sup>43</sup> as well as by the fact that the Romanians entering Szeklerland were not only from Moldavia and Wallachia but also from other parts of Transylvania.<sup>44</sup> The size of the Romanian population would multiply in some areas by the mid-19th century: In Csíkszék, for instance, the total population was approximately 23 thousand in 1614, growing to 92 thousand, i.e. quadrupling, by 1850. By contrast, the number of Romanians rose over seventy times in the same period. Growth was even more salient in Gyergyószék as the increase there was nearly 500-fold.<sup>45</sup>

Out of the three chief areas of assimilation – language, ethnicity and religion – it was linguistic assimilation that proceeded at the highest speed among the Romanians of Szeklerland. This was a natural process, for Romanians settled in Hungarian-speaking communities where they always constituted a minority. Thus, their integration was

<sup>41</sup> The homily of Bazil Szákovics, parish priest of Nagyálló, in Hungarian, delivered on the occasion of the blessing of the site of the church of Napkor under construction, Napkor, 20 April 1794. *Források*, II/4/1, 52–54, 53.

<sup>42</sup> 'I am the Lord, the God of Abraham your father and the God of Isaac. The land on which you lie I will give to you and to your offspring' Gen. 28:13.

<sup>43</sup> Hermann-Kovács, 1999, 166.

<sup>44</sup> Pál, 1999, 31.

<sup>45</sup> Szócs, 1999, 145.

conditional on mastering the language. This would be followed by adaptation to the Szeklers' customs and culture, i.e. the process of assimilation, which was also synonymous with the chance of social advancement.<sup>46</sup> As distinct from linguistic and ethnic assimilation, religious assimilation was only sporadic until the middle of the 19th century<sup>47</sup> and it would not be complete afterwards, either. This also resulted in the evolution of Hungarophone Greek Catholic communities with a Hungarian identity, though with Romanian as the language of the liturgy. In these communities belonging to the Archeparchy of Alba Iulia-Făgăraș, no demand was registered for Hungarian as a liturgical language. Moreover – as will be demonstrated – even the notion itself was alien to them.

On the contrary, in Hungary, the number of Greek Catholics calling for the use of Hungarian conspicuously grew during the decades following the Austro-Hungarian Compromise. This was in large measure due to the policies of successive Hungarian Governments enforcing assimilation. The magnitude of the changes is easy to decipher from the census data of the period.<sup>48</sup> Between 1880 and 1910, the population of Hungary and Transylvania grew by 32.8 per cent, while the number of Hungarian Greek Catholics rose by 117.6 per cent. Whereas, in 1880, 139,849 people declared themselves as Hungarian Greek Catholics, the corresponding number in 1910 was already 304,318. Consequently, the ratio of Hungarians among Greek Catholics also increased considerably: from 9.4 per cent to 15.2 per cent. At the level of the counties – unsurprisingly – the most substantial changes occurred in Szabolcs, Szatmár, Zemplén and Ugocsa Counties. In Szabolcs, the ratio of Hungarians among the Greek Catholics rose from 82 per cent to 98 per cent. During the same period, this proportion grew from 15 to 30 per cent in Zemplén and Ugocsa. The Hungarian assimilation gain was primarily re-

alised vis-à-vis the Rusyn Greek Catholics: In the counties comprised in the territory of the Eparchy of Mukachevo, the number of Hungarian Greek Catholics increased significantly, by 49.6 per cent, even between 1880 and 1890, while the number of Rusyns only by 10 per cent. The clergy played an important role in the assimilation of Rusyns: In 1910, the ratio of the Rusyn faithful within the Greek Catholic population was 22.7 per cent, while only 4.6 per cent of the clergy declared themselves as Rusyns. Conversely – as indicated above – the ratio of Hungarians was 15.2 per cent, though 25 per cent of Greek Catholic priests identified themselves as Hungarian. Even though, from the mid-19th century, the movement of national awakening was launched among the Rusyns as well, the Hungarophile majority of the clergy, under the leadership of Eparchial Bishops István Pankovics and subsequently János Pásztélyi Kovács, successfully mitigated the effect of Rusyn national endeavours by accepting to resolve conflicts – as will be discussed in the chapter on the liturgical language.

Apart from the part of the Greek Catholic clergy in assimilation, the phenomenon of urbanisation must also be remembered. Although a mere 6.2 per cent of the Greek Catholic population lived in cities or towns, considerably falling behind the national average (20.4%), assimilation happened more quickly among them. At about the turn of the century, Greek Catholic urban parishes (Budapest, Debrecen and Miskolc) that continue to be prominent to this day were created or switched to the use of Hungarian as the language of the liturgy (e.g. Nyíregyháza, Satu Mare and Carei). In certain major urban centres, the self-organising efforts of the faithful eventually failed to lead to the foundation of Hungarian parishes (e.g. Arad, Cluj [*Kolozsvár*], Baia Mare [*Nagybánya*], Gherla and Zalău [*Zilah*]).<sup>49</sup>

Assimilation concerned the Greek Catholic Church with the largest number of believers – the Romanian Greek Catholic Metropolitanate, con-

<sup>46</sup> Pál, 1999, 70.

<sup>47</sup> Pál, 1999, 71.

<sup>48</sup> The source of the data cited hereafter: Niessen, 1991.

<sup>49</sup> Confidential manuscript of the Hungarian Central Statistical Office about the survey of Hungarian-speaking Greek Catholics unincorporated into the Bishopric of Hajdúdorog, based on the 1910 census, Budapest, before 29 May 1913. *Források* II/4/3, 412–421, Document 262a.

sisting of four Eparchies as of 1853 – to a much lesser extent. In the decades between 1880 and 1910, the ratio of Romanians among the Greek Catholic inhabitants of the Kingdom of Hungary decreased only by 2.5 per cent (from 58.9 to 56.4 per cent). However, their absolute number in the same period grew from 877,106 to 1,133,512. In 1910, the total figure for the Romanian faithful was 2.5 times the number of the Rusyn faithful and four times that of Hungarians.<sup>50</sup> Supplied with ample subsidies, the Romanian Greek Catholic Eparchies maintained a considerable and potent network of schools. Supported by such a background and aided by Romanian as a liturgical language, they were successful in defending the identity of their faithful and the national character of their Church. As they succeeded in resisting the pressure to assimilate, they strongly criticised the assimilating Rusyn clergy and intelligentsia. The priests of the Rusyn parishes assigned to the Romanian Eparchies would often be in conflict with Romanianising diocesan leaders. In a unique way, this only served to accelerate the Magyarisation of Rusyns, moving towards Hungarian culture and language perceived as superior, as opposed to the Romanian alternative.<sup>51</sup> Greek Catholics with a Hungarian identity living in the Romanian Eparchies were also exposed to Romanianising attempts realised with the help of Romanian education and through the use of Romanian as a liturgical language. The phenomenon was familiar to the political elite as well. In 1904, Gyula Vargha, Director of the Hungarian Central Statistical Office, prepared an extensive survey about the *'systematic Romanianisation of Hungarians of the Greek Catholic faith by church and school'* for Prime Minister István Tisza. Director Vargha summarises the essence of the problem and encourages the Prime Minister to take political action in the following terms:

*'It is in itself an impossible situation that, in a particular state, an ecclesiastical organisation that is, by virtue of its language, spirit and*

*institutions, effectively the negation of the national character of the state. However, it is even more absurd that this Church may with impunity pervert the national affiliation of the sons of the nation constituting the state who happen to be members of the aforementioned Church'* (translated from the Hungarian original).<sup>52</sup>

Occasionally, even the public was confronted with the Romanianising tendencies of the Romanian Greek Catholic Church. In 1893, the pamphlet by Béla Pituk, a Greek Catholic priest of the Eparchy of Oradea, issued in Arad produced wide repercussions. In it, Pituk levelled serious accusations at Mihail Pavel, Bishop of Oradea, made obvious even in the title of the pamphlet: *'Traitors. About our twenty-four thousand true-born Hungarians Romanianised right in the middle of our country. Denunciations from the Romanian Greek Catholic Eparchy of Oradea'* (translated from the Hungarian original). The author drew upon the data of the 1900 *Schematism* of Oradea that suggested that, in the territory of the Eparchy, members of the Greek Catholic faithful lived only in Makó. By contrast, according to the data of the 1900 census, more than 25,000 Hungarian Greek Catholics inhabited this area. Pituk's campaign provoked emotional responses, turning the public against Bishop Pavel. Protesters participating in the demonstration against the Bishop in Oradea could only be dispersed by force. Pituk's position was somewhat undermined by the circumstance that, prior to publishing the pamphlet, he was embroiled in a severe conflict with his Hierarchy, for whom he had previously worked as a member of his immediate staff. A person of weak nerves, Pituk, aged only 37, was made to take early retirement by Bishop Pavel. Thus, the author was driven by a strong feeling of personal insult. After the pamphlet was published, the Bishop inhibited him and stopped his pension. Pituk died four years later.<sup>53</sup> In the year of his death, Jenő Petrus from Hajdúdorog also attempted to draw public attention to the assimilation enabled by Old Slavonic and

<sup>50</sup> Niessen, 1991, 42–43.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid, 44–45.

<sup>52</sup> *Források*, II/4/2, 110–116. Document no. 35a.

<sup>53</sup> Pirigyi, 1990, 47–48.



Romanian as liturgical languages. As will be seen in the chapter on the Hungarian liturgical language, he made a number of unfounded assertions in his book entitled *A magyarság önvédelme a keleti rítusu egyház idegen nyelveinek beolvasztó hatása ellen* [The self-defence of the Hungarian nation against the assimilatory effects of the foreign tongues of the Eastern-Rite Church].<sup>54</sup> Therefore, the book mostly served to arouse negative sentiments instead of exploring or describing the problem in a professional manner.

Among the Hungarian Greek Catholic communities, Hajdúdorog merits special attention. Its prominence is also justified by the fact that it was the most populous parish in the whole of the Eparchy of Mukachevo.<sup>55</sup> The denominational features of the town that remain dominant to the present developed during the first half of the 17th century. As a result of the Long Turkish War, by the end of the 16th century, Dorog – as it was known then – was almost completely destroyed, similarly to half of the settlements of Szabolcs County.<sup>56</sup> What saved it from annihilation was that the town was acquired by Prince Stephen Bocskai, who, during the process of the settlement of the *Hajduks* (irregular infantrymen), donated Dorog as well to the Hajduk commanders with the Letters-Patent of Krupina (*Korpona*) issued on 12 December 1605.<sup>57</sup> Owing to Bocskai's early death, the occupation of the designated 'Hajduk towns' would be drawn out. Led by Száva Deli, Commander of Lipova (*Lippa*), the Hajduks only arrived in Dorog as late as 1616 – this time, thanks to Palatine György Thurzó's deed of gift.<sup>58</sup> Although the majority of the Hajduks settled by Bocskai were Calvinists, the new residents of Dorog were Orthodox, who would start travelling on the road of autonomous development as an exception among the Hajduk towns functioning as bastions of the Calvinist faith as well over the fol-

lowing decades. Similarly to the Szabolcs villages, Dorog was also afflicted by substantial losses in the course of the 17th century, chief among these being the 'Seydi Invasion' of 1660. At that time, ordered by Grand Vizier Köprülü Mehmed, Seydi Ahmed, Pasha of Buda, launched a devastating campaign with the express aim of punishing the Hajduks.<sup>59</sup> To lessen the impact of military incidents and epidemics with heavy losses of human lives, Dorog was colonised in new waves of settlement, typically by Rusyns and Romanians. Notwithstanding these severe adversities, the market town survived the troubled times and, retaining its denominational peculiarity, it became the centre of Byzantine-rite Christianity in the region. At the same time, for historical reasons (cf. the memory of Bocskai), as well as under the influence of the nearby Calvinist Hajduk towns, affiliation with the Hungarian nation came to be an essential component in the identity of the inhabitants of this market town. This also explains why the Romanians – or *Oláhs*, to use the contemporary Hungarian terminology – settling in Dorog, who were also Orthodox and subsequently Greek Catholics after the 1646 Union of Uzhorod, and the Rascians (i.e. South-Slavs), descendants of the Hajduks, agreed about the terms of using a shared church in an official document drafted in Hungarian in 1667. Lieutenant István Serfőző (town chief) and the representatives of the local Romanians – András Nagy, András Papp, Péter Harsány and Mihály Hunyadi – 'amicably' came to an agreement as to the 'regulated terms' of church use. Publishing the text of the agreement, István Udvari points out that family names at the time were not chosen by individuals but were given by the community, thereby revealing the character of the community in question. As a corollary, the terms *Rascian* and *Oláh* (i.e. Romanian) both denoted religions primarily – more specifically, the liturgical languages Old Slavonic and Romanian

<sup>54</sup> Petrus, 1897.

<sup>55</sup> Udvari, 1990, 119.

<sup>56</sup> Dávid, 1971, 49.

<sup>57</sup> Nyakas, 2006, 353–354.

<sup>58</sup> Dávid, 1971, 51 and Rác, 1969, 56–57.

<sup>59</sup> Komoróczy, 1971, 236.

respectively – rather than ethnic identity.<sup>60</sup> The situation would become even more straightforward over time and, slightly more than a hundred years later, Dean János Koptsay made a proposal for the unification of the two parishes – of the parish that was no longer ‘Rascian’ but Ruthenian-Hungarian and of the ‘*Oláh*’ parish – arguing that the members of both congregations used Hungarian in everyday conversation, the language of sermons in the church was Hungarian, confessions were heard in Hungarian, and ministering to the dying was also done in Hungarian.<sup>61</sup>

Preserving the Hungarian character of Hajdúdorog was identified as a particularly prominent task by the town magistrates in the Hungarian Reform Era (1825-1848). This is evidenced by the correspondence<sup>62</sup> between the Magistracy and parish priest Demeter Kerekes in the early days of 1834. ‘*Our holy faith cannot cause our national language to be banished*’ – the leaders of the town declare and urge the parish priest, who was also headmaster of the school, to minimise the role of Church Slavonic in the education of children and in church services alike, as well as to favour Hungarian. The Magistracy also specifies the reason why it has deemed it necessary to issue such a warning to the parish priest: ‘*We would be ashamed if we were duly reproached for being a deliberate hindrance to nationalisation. Given the all too evident banishment of our national language, would we not actually be targets of such an unbearable criticism?*’ (translated from the Hungarian original). The people of Dorog were well aware that they were under constant surveillance by the Calvinist towns of the Hajdú District and even by the authorities of the neighbouring counties.<sup>63</sup>

One of their greatest fears was that their Hungarian identity would be questioned, solely on the grounds that they used Old Slavonic as a liturgical language. Using the adjective *Russian* or *Muszka* (Hungarian folk term for Russians) to describe the Dorog community was felt to be ‘*an unendurable taunt*’.

The concept of ‘*nationalisation*’ mentioned by the Magistracy of Dorog provides a link to another important theme: the self-definition and identity formation of Hungarian Greek Catholics. As has been suggested above, in investigating the origins of Hungarian Greek Catholics, two ‘sources’ may be identified: the conversion of members of the faithful of Hungarian ethnicity to the Byzantine Rite and the Magyarisation of the ethnically Rusyn and Romanian population. Whereas the former phenomenon was responsible for the creation of Greek Catholic communities with Hungarian as their native language and with a Hungarian national identity to a lesser degree, the contribution of the latter process was more significant in this regard. At the same time, this statement would be insufficient as an answer to the question about origins and roots. In the pre-nationalism era, ethnic identity was by far less relevant than religious/denominational affiliation. The aforementioned labels *Russian*, *Oláh* and *Rascian* were mainly used as references to the Byzantine Rite, as well as to the Greek Catholic or Orthodox denomination. However, when modern nationalism appeared in the intellectual trends of the Enlightenment and gained currency in Hungary as well in the second half of the 18th century, the meanings of the above epithets would also be modified, also suggesting that their bearers were

<sup>60</sup> The text of the agreement was published by: Udvari, 1988, 332.

<sup>61</sup> Dean János Koptsay on the unification of the Hungarian-Ruthenian and Romanian parishes of Hajdúdorog, Hajdúböszörmény, 8 March 1783, *Források*, II/4/1, 51–52, Document no. 2.

<sup>62</sup> The letter of the Magistracy of Hajdúdorog to Demeter Kerekes, parish priest of Hajdúdorog, Hajdúdorog, 4 January 1834, and the letter of parish priest Demeter Kerekes to the Town Magistracy, Hajdúdorog, 8 January 1834, *Források* II/4/1, 55–58, Documents no. 5 and 6.

<sup>63</sup> This is also proved by the Ordinance of Zemplén County to the Hajdú District in 1841, calling on those in charge to terminate the use of the ‘Russian’ language in Hajdúdorog. The letter of Zemplén County to the Hajdú District on the subject of the use of Hungarian in school and church, Sátoraljaújhely, 15 March 1841, *Források* II/4/1, 58–59, Document no. 7. The argumentation of the Hajdúdorog community to repudiate the insinuation is remarkable: ‘*We dare say with pride and self-confidence that, even though – regarding our creed – we may be Russian, i.e. followers of the uniate Greek Rite, in body and soul, we are just as Hungarian as the Roman Catholics, Calvinists or Lutherans, even if their respective religion be called Roman, Helvetic or Augustan*’ (translated from the Hungarian original). The General Assembly of the Town of Hajdúdorog to Gábor Pély-Nagy, Captain General of the Hajdú District, 23 March 1841, *Források* II/4/1, 59–60, Document no. 8.

‘non-Hungarians’ or that, at least, they were not proper Hungarians. This aspect was paramount to the development of Hungarian Greek Catholic identity. Furthermore, it would be no exaggeration to claim that the demand to belong to the Hungarian nation and the pressure to align, along with a desire to be free from social stigmata (Russian, *Oláh* and Rascian), acted as a driving force in the Hungarian Greek Catholic identity discourse.

Therefore, it is imperative to examine what Greek Catholics with a Hungarian identity, who effectively blended into the fabric of the Hungarian national awakening with their demand for the liturgical use of Hungarian – even if this demand was basically of a pastoral character – thought of their origins and roots.

The answer to the question about roots was mainly determined by to what extent the respondent – falling in line with the logic of nationalistic discourse – felt the need to place the zero point at the greatest possible distance in time. Accordingly, among 19th- and 20th-century Greek Catholic Hungarians, it is possible to distinguish between a radical and a moderate origin myth. The basis of both narratives was provided by a disputed historical fact, questioned for a long time, namely that, in the period between the Hungarian Conquest of the Carpathian Basin and the establishment of the Kingdom of Hungary by King Saint Stephen, the Magyars first came into contact with Byzantine-rite Christianity, and missionary activities in the territory of the country were performed by a missionary bishop from Constantinople, Hierotheos, and, subsequently, by his successors. Byzantine-rite monasteries opened across the country, retaining their original distinctiveness until the 13th century. Arguments supporting the antecedence of Byzantine missionary work were systematically organised and presented to the public by Gottfried Schwarz in his disquisition *Initia religionis Christianae inter Hungaros ecclesiae orientali adserta*, published in Germany in 1740.<sup>64</sup> Born in Spišská Nová Ves (*Igló*) but living as an emigrant in Germany, the

Lutheran professor aimed his essay at shaking the foundations of the Catholic historical viewpoint and interpretation of the past. The latter historical vision was constructed by the Jesuit Menyhért Inchofer in his work *Annales ecclesiastici regni Hungariae* in the 17th century. In the historical figure of King Saint Stephen of Hungary, Inchofer emphasised his obedience to the Holy See, his apostolic competence granted by Rome to organise the Church and his unconditional veneration of the Virgin Mary. These aspects were seen as cogent arguments in the struggle against Protestants, thus attracting the attention of Lutheran and Calvinist scholars as well. Prior to Gottfried Schwarz, Péter Révay and Dávid Czvittinger had striven to weaken the Catholic narrative – followed by János Kocsi Csergő<sup>65</sup> in the early 18th century, as well as by Pál Debreceni Ember and Péter Bod, walking in the latter’s footsteps – by positing Greek origins for the Holy Crown of Hungary, questioning the *Legenda Hartviciana*, doubting the authenticity of the Sylvester Bull and by pointing to particular acts of the 1092 Synod of Szabolcs on married clergy and the beginning of Great Lent. Schwarz complements these themes with relevant data from Ioannes Scylitzes’s chronicle and from *De administrando imperio*, a work by Constantine VII (Porphyrogenitus). He analyses the visit and baptism of two Hungarian chieftains, Bulcsú and Gyula, in Constantinople in the mid-10th century, as well as the episcopal ordination of the monk Hierotheos, his dispatch to Tourkia (Hungary) and his activities there, which, according to the chronicler, led to the conversion of ‘many’. As an outcome of his enquiries, Schwarz reaches the conclusion that the baptism of the two chieftains and the activities of missionary Bishop Hierotheos in Hungary are to be seen as the starting points of the conversion of the Magyars to Christianity.<sup>66</sup>

Gottfried Schwarz’s conclusions would be immediately contended by the Catholic side, endeavouring to refute claims that discredited the precedence and therefore the authority of Latin-rite Christi-

<sup>64</sup> On Gottfried Schwarz’s work, see: Tóth, 2017.

<sup>65</sup> Tóth, 2020.

<sup>66</sup> Tóth, 2017, 64–65.

anity in lengthy polemics spanning generations of historians. However, these attempts, of necessity, remained inconclusive, and the historical fact that the Hungarians were first acquainted with Christianity in their new homeland through Byzantine-rite missionaries would gradually become widely known to the general public as well.

To Greek Catholics with a Hungarian identity, this fact conveyed the ‘liberating message’ that, in contrast with the commonly held view, the Byzantine Rite and Hungarian identity were not mutually exclusive categories. To borrow a metaphor from the domain of information technology, it is fair to suggest that the Byzantine Rite is not a ‘code’ that is incompatible with Hungarian language, culture and identity and functional only in Slavic and Romanian ‘development environments’. It is precisely one of the most glorious periods in the history of the Hungarian nation – the time of the Conquest, the organisation of the state and the adoption of Christianity – that proves the validity and legitimacy of the Byzantine Rite among Hungarians. In other words, the Byzantine ‘code’ has a Hungarian language version!

This message representing liberation from social stigmata would develop two kinds of interpretation among Hungarian Greek Catholics. The first one may be called radical interpretation. Its essence is well encapsulated in the following quotation by Imre Antalóczy, chaplain of Hajdúdorog, from 1861:

*It is high time that we repaired the omissions of the zealous missionaries who, converting our ancestors to Christianity, gave them ecclesial books edited in Russian and Romanian. Though a thousand years have passed, it is indeed high time that we repaired what they omitted to do and we might access the teaching leading to eternal life so that those grandchildren who are the most true-born fellow citizens of the early Magyars may worship the Creator*

*in Hungarian at last’* (translated from the Hungarian original).<sup>67</sup>

Thus, this interpretation postulates physical continuity between 10th-century Hungarians converted to Byzantine-rite Christianity by Bishop Hierotheos and his associates and 19th-century Greek Catholic Hungarians searching for their bearings. It is no surprise that this narrative enjoyed great popularity, especially among the people of Hajdúdorog, who, in their petitions relative to the approval of the liturgical use of Hungarian, treated their ‘true-born Hungarianness’ as a fact: ‘*Being true-born Hungarians, we need not offer proof of our fondness of our language just as children need not do so regarding their genuine love for their mother*’ – they wrote to their Hierarch, Bazil Popovics, Bishop of Mukachevo, in 1863.<sup>68</sup> They would not let it pass without comment when anyone raised doubts:

*‘Despite being true-born Hungarians, when our nationality is not only sidelined but also sought to be assimilated under the cloak of the holy religion even where it is called to share in rightful dignity, where we witness the intention to deprive us of our nationality for our unflinching adherence to our faith, and, only because, in our worship – without our consent and against our will – we have so far been obliged to groan under the yoke of the Slavonic-Ruthenian language, which we have never comprehend, even our descent from the early Magyars is attempted to be denied by some overzealous Ruthenian priests’*

– reads the petition addressed to King Franz Joseph in 1866. ‘... we solemnly proclaim that we know of no Hungarians more true-born than ourselves in our Homeland and we will let no-one emulate us in our unflinching love for our nationality’<sup>69</sup> – they assured Prince-Primate Scitovszky.

<sup>67</sup> The article of Imre Antalóczy, chaplain of Hajdúdorog, in *Kárpáti Hirnök*, Uzhhorod, 25 July 1861, *Források*, II/4/1, 72–73, Document no. 21.

<sup>68</sup> Petition of the town of Hajdúdorog to Bazil Popovics, Bishop of Mukachevo, Hajdúdorog, 22 May 1863, *Források*, II/4/1, 75–77, Document no. 23.

<sup>69</sup> Petition of the town of Hajdúdorog to Prince-Primate János Scitovszky, Hajdúdorog, 6 May 1866, *Források*, II/4/1, 82–84, Document no. 28.

The firm declaration of ‘true-bornness’ in period-ic style is understandable in the case of Hajdúdorog as, even in a historical retrospect transcending an individual’s memory – apart from Old Slavonic and Romanian as liturgical languages – the 19th-century residents of the town could not discover any traces indicating an identity other than Hungarian. They accounted for the absence of sources verifying continuity with the Byzantine-rite Hungarians of the Árpád era by citing the turbulent and bloody history of the Hungarian nation. It was with a sincere sense of conviction that they identified with Bishop Hierotheos and – as will be shown in the next chapter – they commissioned painter György Révész to create a monument to his memory.

The list of the manifestations of this radical interpretation in the writings of 19th- and 20th-century Greek Catholic authors and in the official documents of the struggle for the Hungarian liturgy would be a long one. Two of the sources must be highlighted because they attest to multiple key features of an origin myth.

The first one is the memorial submitted to Pope Leo XIII during the 1900 pilgrimage of the Hungarian Greek Catholics to Rome, requesting permission for the liturgical use of Hungarian.<sup>70</sup> Crucial to the history of the Hungarian Greek Catholics, this document, which will be revisited in subsequent chapters, also contains detailed historical retrospect. Concerning Byzantine-rite monasteries in the Árpád era, the authors remark that, after the first generation of the founding monks of Greek ethnicity – as a consequence of the 1054 Schism – monks were, ‘*of necessity, from the ranks of the sons of the Hungarian homeland*’ and ‘*would conduct services in their own Hungarian tongue*’ (translated from the Hungarian original).<sup>71</sup> The memorial ascribes outstanding importance to the Monastery of Cenad (*Marosvár*) founded by Ajtony, as well as to its location, as ‘*this region situated beyond the River Tisza came to be the home of Greek-rite Hungarians for all time. Though a quick succession of calamities over*

*many centuries prevented this rite from spreading, no disaster could ever eradicate it*’ (translated from the Hungarian original).<sup>72</sup>

Thus, in addition to claiming continuity, the memorial presupposes the liturgical use of Hungarian, chiefly on the basis of the liberal practice of the Eastern Church. This way, they mean to demonstrate not only the antiquity of the Hungarian Greek Catholics but also the point that the liturgical use of the Hungarian language is an equally ancient practice. Consequently, the request presented in the memorial to the Pope should be seen as sufficiently well founded.

The memorial is a significant episode in the development of the origin myth. One could make sense of the social stigmata from which the Hungarian Greek Catholics wished to be free only within the borders of the country. However, the memorial transposed this problem to an international environment, from where – as will be seen – reactions would be sent. As a result of this unique ‘internationalisation’, the cause of the Hungarian Greek Catholics was put on the agenda of Central and Eastern European foreign policy as well, besides Hungarian ethnic policies.

The other source appearing to be relevant in this relation dates from 1921, yet it captures a conviction that surfaced much earlier. In the early days of the year, István Miklósy, Bishop of Hajdúdorog, approached Minister of Culture József Vass on behalf of the Hungarian Greek Catholics living in Transylvania in conjunction with the concordat envisaged to be concluded between the Holy See and Romania. In his letter, he estimated the number of Transylvanian Hungarian Greek Catholics at 40-50 thousand, making the following statement about them:

*‘Among the Greek Catholics of Transylvania, one may find the oldest Christians of the Hungarian nation, the offspring of the Huns – the Szeklers – whose ancestors were still converted*

<sup>70</sup> To Pope Leo XIII during the pilgrimage of the Hungarian Greek Catholics to Rome, Budapest, February 1900, *Források*, II/4/1, 427–453, Document no. 192 For the English text of the memorial and on the formation of the Hungarian Greek Catholic identity, see: Pusztai, 2019.

<sup>71</sup> *Források*, II/4/1, 431.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*

*to Christianity by the Greek monk Hierotheos and his associates brought by Transylvanian chieftain Gyula from Constantinople'* (translated from the Hungarian original).<sup>73</sup>

In other words, at a certain point, the origin myth was extended to the Hungarian Greek Catholics of Szeklerland, whose origins were outlined above.

A radical interpretation of historical facts thus proposes physical continuity between Byzantine-rite Hungarians in the Árpád era and 19th- and 20th-century Hungarian Greek Catholics, constructing the origin myth of the Greek Catholics of Szeklerland and extending the argument of 'antiquity' to the liturgical use of Hungarian.

Although this unique 'theory of Hungarian Greek Catholic continuity' was very popular in the 19th and 20th centuries, with exponents even today, it cannot be described as exclusive. There existed a fairly moderate viewpoint that recognised and acknowledged the significance of assimilation in the development of Greek Catholic communities with a Hungarian identity. Miklós Répássy, Retired Under-Secretary of State, Vice President of the National Federation of Hungarian Greek Catholics, conveyed this idea in the following terms:

*'One thing is certain: Akin to millions of other inhabitants of this country, the vast majority of us are also the result of a widely known migratory process. This process may be discerned everywhere in the great mingling of peoples. It is the process in which individual members or even whole portions of a particular nation fuse with another ethnic group under the influence of the environment, culture and education. It was this process that turned the Romanian Sibinjanins into Hungarian Hunyadis and*

*the Croatian Šubićes into Hungarian Zrínyis; thus came Petöfi and Kossuth of Slavonic roots to be the shining lodestars of the Hungarian nation, the 'Swabian' Ferenc Herczeg to be an acclaimed Hungarian writer, as well as Jenő Rákosi of Bavarian extraction to be the visionary of 30 million Hungarians. Thus came the students of the Greek Catholic Seminary of the Ruthenian Greek Catholic Bishopric of Ungvár [Uzhhorod] to be soldiers of the Hungarian War of Independence of 1848, and thus came the son of the so-called 'Russian' priest, Pál Vasvári, to be a martyr of Hungarian liberty! We became Hungarians. We are Hungarians. This is reality'* (translated from the Hungarian original).<sup>74</sup>

Though also capitalising on the presence of Byzantine-rite Christianity in the Árpád era, the proponents of this interpretation regarded themselves as the spiritual heirs of the Magyars converted by Hierotheos and his associates. The presence of the Byzantine Church detected for the first period of Hungarian Christianity and statehood conveyed the above 'liberating message' (i.e. the idea that Hungarianness and the Byzantine Rite were not mutually exclusive categories) to them as well, while they did not feel a sense of urgency to join the race of the nationalistic discourse and invent an impeccable Magyar pedigree for themselves going back to the era of the Árpád Dynasty. They contented themselves with the following argument: If, from the 10th to the 13th centuries, it was accepted that the country had a community of Byzantine-rite Hungarians, who, obviously in line with the traditions of the Eastern Church, used the vernacular in the liturgy, the same ought to be acceptable in the Hungary of their time, too.

<sup>73</sup> The note of István Miklósy, Bishop of Hajdúdorog, to Minister of Culture József Vass, Nyíregyháza, 4 January 1921, *Források*, II/4/4, 228–230, 229.

<sup>74</sup> Miklós Répássy. A görögkatholikus magyarság helyzete. Máriapócsi Naptár 1929, 51–53, 51.

## The First Steps – The First Failures

Contemporaneously with the start of the discourse about origins and identity, concrete steps were taken in order to achieve the cardinal pastoral goal: the legalisation of Hungarian as a liturgical language. The ‘enquiry’ (or rather questioning) of Zemplén County<sup>75</sup> about language use in the school and church of Hajdúdorog noted above prompted the town fathers to attempt to raise awareness about the issue of Hungarian as a liturgical language outside the confines of Hajdúdorog as well and find a solution to the problem at a national level. The path to the solution was evident: Hungarian liturgical books with imprimatur and of high quality were needed so as to put the legalisation of the liturgical use of Hungarian as such on the agenda. Even though, at that point, the Hajdúdorog community had no idea as to what a long and failure-ridden road awaited them, they were cognisant that publishing liturgical books was way beyond their means. Therefore, from 1841, they would work to ensure that the Diet pass a resolution about the publication of Greek Catholic liturgical books at the expense of the state. The Hajdú District was first to take a decision about officially adopting the matter as a subject to be discussed in the Diet, seeking the support of all the municipal authorities of the country for the cause. In informing Zemplén County of

these developments, the Hajdú District situated the question of Hungarian as a liturgical language in the context of Hungarian as the language of the state, which enjoyed unanimous nationwide support: ‘*There could hardly be a more powerful way of promoting Hungarian as a national language than through enabling it to be admitted into church services as well*’ (translated from the Hungarian original).<sup>76</sup> In line with this thinking, both the General Assembly of Zemplén County<sup>77</sup> and the Hajdú District<sup>78</sup> obliged their deputies to the Diet to make proposals about the publication of Hungarian Greek Catholic liturgical books in the course of the debate on the Bill about Hungarian as the language of the state. This happened during the Diet of 1843 and 1844 for the first time. Closely following the instructions, requests for the translation of Greek Catholic liturgical books into Hungarian at the expense of the state were made by Alajos Draveczky, Deputy of Zemplén County, at the 11th District Session on 3 June 1843,<sup>79</sup> as well as by Captain General Gábor Pély-Nagy, Deputy of the Hajdú District, at the 12th District Session on 6 June<sup>80</sup> and, subsequently, at the 18th National Session one month later.<sup>81</sup> Both Deputies endeavoured to ensure that the request of the Greek Catholics be incorporated into the law on Hungarian as the language of the state,

<sup>75</sup> From 1836 to 1844 – in a manner without parallel in the history of Hajdúdorog – parish priest János Lyachovics (1789–1849) made an attempt at restricting the use of Hungarian in church. The exceptionally educated parish priest, fluent in multiple western languages, was convinced that, following the imminent fall of Austria, Hungary would find itself in the Russian Empire’s sphere of influence. Therefore, he meant to guarantee the future wellbeing of his parishioners by enforcing the use of Church Slavonic in school instruction and in church alike. As a result, he would have countless conflicts with the local community, causing him to resign from the parish of Hajdúdorog in 1844 and continue as the priest of the parish of Uzhhorod-Tsehol’nyans’ka (*Ungvár-Ceholnya*). During the months before his death in November 1849, he witnessed the marching in of the Russian intervention troops coming to suppress the Hungarian War of Independence.

<sup>76</sup> The letter of the Hajdú District to Zemplén County, Hajdúböszörmény, 14 June 1841, *Források*, II/4/1, 61–62, Document no. 9. The declaration of support from Zemplén County: *Források*, II/4/1, 62, Document no. 10.

<sup>77</sup> *Források*, II/4/1, 63, Document no. 12.

<sup>78</sup> Nyakas, 2002, 302 and *Források*, II/4/1, 63, Document no. 11.

<sup>79</sup> Kovács, 1894, I. 261 and *Források*, II/4/1, 63.

<sup>80</sup> Kovács, 1894, I. 264 and *Források*, II/4/1, 63–64.

<sup>81</sup> Kovács, 1894, I. 617 and *Források*, II/4/1, 64.

though their attempt would remain inconclusive. Diet Council Chairman István Szerencsy found that the proposal was not in connection with the language of the state and thus he referred back to the districts.<sup>82</sup> By doing so, he also sealed the fate of the motion. It would be put on the agenda of the Session of the Districts only a year later, along with several matters of lesser importance, meeting with fast rejection: ‘... to translate the church services of Hungarians of the Uniate Greek faith from the town of the Hajduks into our tongue, which is also desired by themselves [viz. by the Deputies], but they have no money to cover the expenses’ (translated from the Hungarian original).<sup>83</sup>

Attending the Diet as a clerk was a young student of law from Hajdúdorog, Lajos Farkas (1821–1894), who would, a quarter of a century later, come to be the initiator of the organised movement of Hungarian Greek Catholics, as well as its leader for decades.<sup>84</sup> A committed fighter of the Hungarian Greek Catholic cause, he could experience the bitter taste of failure on this occasion for the first time. The old and experienced Deputy of Borsod County, László Palóczy, comforted and encouraged the young student of law with the following words: ‘This wealthy Hungary has no money for that [viz. for the translation of liturgical books]. However, my dear brethren, you ought not to despair, for the time will come when the nation shall be able to take action to grant the wish of the blessed Hungarian people, which is also the wish of the nation’ (translated from the Hungarian original).<sup>85</sup>

The leaders of the Hajdú District acted upon Palóczy’s words and included the issue of translating liturgical books in the instructions of their Deputies to the Diet reconvening in Pressburg in 1847,

enlisting the support of the other counties this time as well.<sup>86</sup> As testified by the Diet Communiqués published in the daily newspaper *Nemzeti Újság*, the question was first raised by Titusz Olgyay, Deputy of Pressburg County, at the 27th District Assembly on 18 December 1847. On that occasion, the deputies debated the Bill on the Hungarian language and the accompanying draft petition. Due to the large number of motions for amendments submitted in writing and orally, a procedural debate arose. At that point, Titusz Olgyay noted that his instructions as deputy included the issue of translating liturgical books, which he was intent on seeing as part of the Act on the Hungarian language.<sup>87</sup> Four days later, at the 30th District Session, the Bill and the text of the petition were read out. Although the Bill did not incorporate the translation of liturgical books, Deputy Olgyay reconciled himself to this situation, signalling that he would resubmit his motion during the debate of a different act.<sup>88</sup> At the 31th District Session on 8 January, however, it was future Prime Minister Lajos Kossuth himself who reopened the issue. In response to the question whether to formulate only general principles or specific questions (‘special points’) as well in the petition to the King, Kossuth actually pointed to the case of Greek Catholic liturgical books as an example. Then Olgyay also demanded the floor, proposing that the ‘special points’, including the Hungarian liturgical books, be part of the petition. The same request was made by György Kövér, Deputy of the Hajdú District, too. Canon of Prešov Sándor Duchnovics, a prominent figure of the Rusyn national awakening, requested leave to speak as well – somewhat surprisingly – also in support of the translation of Greek Catholic liturgical books into Hungarian,

<sup>82</sup> Kovács, 1894, I. 618 and *Források*, II/4/1, 65.

<sup>83</sup> Kovács, 1894, V. 188.

<sup>84</sup> Lajos Farkas was born in Hajdúdorog in 1821. His father, Miklós Farkas, was a local landowner and judge of the District Court of Appeal. His family descended from the Hajduk Commander Mihály Farkas, settling in Hajdúdorog in 1606. He completed his secondary-school studies at the Piarist school in Debrecen and at the Premonstratensian school in Košice (*Kassa*). He studied law in Prešov and, subsequently, in Pressburg (*Pozsony*, now Bratislava), where he was admitted an advocate in 1845.

<sup>85</sup> Pirigyi, 1998, 23.

<sup>86</sup> Nyakas, 2002, 400 and *Források*, II/4/1, 65. Document no. 15 The daily newspaper *Pesti Hírlap* also reported on the deputy-instruction and electoral session of the Hajdú District. Respecting liturgical books, it is remarked in the article that an unnamed judge of the District Court of Appeal offered half of his fortune for this purpose, should the Diet fail to vote for financial support. *Pesti Hírlap*, 26 October 1847, No. 973, 273.

<sup>87</sup> *Nemzeti*, 2 January 1848, No. 618, 854.

<sup>88</sup> *Nemzeti*, 9 January 1848, No. 622, 871.



for he regarded them 'as a powerful and necessary factor in spreading the Hungarian language and nationality' and, 'personally', he even [...] *advocated and willed not only the translation of these books but the celebration of Divine Worship in Hungarian as well*. At the same time, Canon Duchnovics also warned that it was not enough to translate liturgical texts and publish those as approval for their use was reserved by the Holy See. Thus, he urged the Government and the Diet to obtain this imprimatur as soon as possible.<sup>89</sup> This comment by Canon Duchnovics went unheeded at the time, though later it would become clear that this circumstance in fact concerned the heart of the matter.

Despite the supportive speeches, the cause of Hungarian liturgical books stalled. Therefore, on 6 May, the people of Hajdúdorog attempted to approach Bazil Popovics, Bishop of Mukachevo in an open letter. Knowing the Hierarch's commitment to causes of national importance, they encouraged him to appeal to the appropriate authorities to raise the funds required for this major project.<sup>90</sup> The letter was published on 16 June. Three days later, referencing the proposals made in the Diet/Parliament and the letter of the Hajdúdorog community, József Eötvös, Minister of Religion and Culture of the first Hungarian Government responsible to Parliament, assured Bishop Popovics that he would give his full support for the publication of the Hungarian liturgical books as and when it was requested by the Hierarch.<sup>91</sup>

At that juncture, the petition of the people of Hajdúdorog seemingly came close to fulfilment as the lack of funds would no longer be an obstacle and Bishop Popovics only needed to have initiated the process of translation and publication. In reality, no progress was made in the matter though. Akin to Canon Duchnovics, Bishop Popovics was also aware that the Holy See was competent in questions pertaining to the language of the liturgy. In Rome, however, Hungarian national sentiment or the cause of the Hungarian language was not seen

as a justifiable argument. This was all the more the case given that Hungary's Roman Catholic prelates were expressly opposed to the approval of the use of Hungarian in Greek Catholic churches. A few years earlier, Bishop Popovics had gained first-hand experience in this regard. In fact, in 1845, the priest Antal Petrus conducted the whole liturgy in Hungarian in Hajdúdorog.

This provoked protest from the Archdiocesan Authority of Eger. The letter sent to the Bishop of Mukachevo cited a fact that would be reiterated so many times afterwards: Hungarian was not a canonised liturgical language, and hence its use was not permitted.<sup>92</sup> Even though the Bishop was indeed a committed proponent of the Hungarian national cause, he was not in a position to ignore impediments posed by church regulations.

Thus, Bishop Popovics did not propose to Minister Eötvös that liturgical translations commence and, actually, he could even not have chosen to do so at this point. The outbreak of the Hungarian War of Independence brought about a wholly new situation making plans of this kind impossible to implement.

In addition, the War of Independence presented Hungarian Greek Catholics with an opportunity to demonstrate their loyalty to the Hungarian nation in a spectacular way. In the days of the revolution in Pest, in March 1848, Pál Vasvári (1826–1849), born into a Greek Catholic priest's family, appeared on the scene. As one of the leaders of the so-called 'youth of March', the young plebeian intellectuals organising the revolution, he showed that a 'Russian' priest's son was also capable of setting an example of patriotism. His heroic death during the War of Independence made him a symbol of sacrifice for the country and an icon of Hungarian Greek Catholic collective memory. His father, Pál Fejér, served in the Hungarian areas of the Eparchy of Mukachevo – in Nyírgelse, Dámóc, Tiszabüd (now Tiszavasvári), Hajdúböszörmény and, finally, in Nyírvasvári. The young Pál took the name

<sup>89</sup> *Nemzeti*, 16 January 1848, No. 626, 887.

<sup>90</sup> *Nemzeti*, 16 June 1848, 121 and *Források*, II/4/1, 65–66, Document no. 16.

<sup>91</sup> The note of József Eötvös, Minister of Religion and Culture, to Bazil Popovics, Bishop of Mukachevo, Pest, 19 June 1848. *Források*, II/4/1, 66–67, Document no. 17. The text of the note was also published by Jenő Szabó. Szabó, 1913, 172.

<sup>92</sup> Petrus, 1897, 22–23.

*Vasvári* out of respect for the last of these places.<sup>93</sup> His godfather was István Lupess, parish priest of Timár, who played an important part in the dissemination of handwritten Hungarian translations of the liturgy.<sup>94</sup> Thus, in him, Greek Catholics with a Hungarian identity could represent themselves at the highest level in the events of the revolution and the War of Independence.

Regardless of whether they had a Hungarian or Rusyn identity, the commitment of Greek Catholic priests to the cause of the Hungarian nation is well epitomised by the letter that *Vasvári*'s best friend, Antal Kecskés, clerk of the Episcopal Court of Uzhhorod wrote to him on 14 June 1848. In this private communication, Kecskés gives an account of his experience that he acquired first-hand while visiting the parishes of the Eparchy of Mukachevo in Bereg, Ung, Máramaros, Ugocsa and Zemplén Counties, in the months following the March Revolution. He assures his friend that, in spite of any hearsay, *'the Slavic-speaking Hungarian inhabitants of the region are constant sons of this homeland'*. He notes with not a little pride: *'I would not boast but, for the fact that this people live in peace in this Diocese, praise is only due to the diocesan clergy, who now show their patriotism in action – not through words but through deeds. You will receive quite a few Hungarian Russian priests who will be Members of Parliament'* (translated from the Hungarian original).<sup>95</sup> By 'hearsay', Kecskés means the prejudices suggesting that the loyalty of the Byzantine-rite residents of the country to the Hungarian nation is questionable. As an office clerk, a few days after it was written, he could hold the letter of Dean Antal Danilovics, parish priest of Trebišov (*Töketerebes*), to Bishop Bazil Popovics, in his hands, reporting such a smear campaign. In the General Assembly of Zemplén County, District Judge János Kolosy claimed that the Bishop of Mukachevo had ordered his priests

in a circular to pray for Nicholas, Tsar of Russia. He called on the County to act with resolution in response to this blatant case of treason.<sup>96</sup> Similar calumnies would resurface repeatedly, especially during the election campaigns of particular Deputies to the Diet and (later) of particular Members of Parliament.

Prejudices and calumnies notwithstanding, the readiness of the Greek Catholic clergy to act was no doubt evident. In the same letter, Kecskés shared the recent news that the Bishop of Mukachevo had permitted seminarians studying at the Seminary of Uzhhorod to join the National Guard, guaranteeing to them that they would be able to return to the Seminary after the War of Independence. What was merely a piece of news at the time of the composition of Kecskés's letter would be soon corroborated. Bishop Bazil Popovics did let recruitment officers enter the Seminary. Their work was successful. Uniquely among Hungary's seminaries, 51 out of the 121 students of the Greek Catholic Seminary of Uzhhorod enlisted and became seminarian-*honvéds* (i.e. voluntary members of the Hungarian revolutionary land forces). The majority were conscripted into the First Rifle Regiment, which also provided Kossuth's defence.<sup>97</sup> The Governor wrote a special letter thanking the Hierarch of Mukachevo for his exemplary support,<sup>98</sup> for which the Bishop had to answer after the suppression of the War of Independence. Greek Catholic priests – in fact, at least 82 in number – who, similarly to the seminarians, joined the Honvéd Army could not escape accountability, either. As court of first instance, the Court of Košice sentenced three of them (Simon Papp, József Damjanovics and József Kreith) to death, which was eventually commuted to imprisonment in a fortress.<sup>99</sup>

The cause of Hungarian freedom compelled even the people of Hajdúdorog to fight. The town mustered hundreds of *honvéds* and a dozen officers,

<sup>93</sup> He did not aim to Magyarise his name as the family name *Fejér* would not warrant this. According to István Udvari, in conjunction with his historical works pending publication, *Vasvári* intended to avoid being confused with György Fejér (1766–1851), who was by far his senior. Udvari, 2003, 29–30.

<sup>94</sup> Udvari, 2003, 19. The oldest surviving transcription of a handwritten translation of the liturgy was also prepared by him.

<sup>95</sup> Bene-Takács, 1989, 69–70.

<sup>96</sup> The letter was published by: Bendász, 1997, 12–13.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>98</sup> Kossuth particularly appreciated it that the Bishop's nephew also joined the *honvéds*. The letter was published by: Barta, 1955, 336.

<sup>99</sup> Molnár, 2014, 49.

many of whom would give their lives. Among the Hajdúdorog officers of the Hungarian War of Independence, one could find the aforementioned Lajos Farkas and his coeval, lawyer and historian Károly Mészáros (1821–1890)<sup>100</sup> as well, who, besides the great cause of Hungarian liberty, regarded securing the rights of their immediate community, Greek Catholics with a Hungarian identity, as part of their sacred agenda, too, and who would later lay the foundations of an organised movement.

The suppression of the Hungarian War of Independence also dealt a blow to the Hungarian Greek Catholic cause as, in the Bach Era, as opposed to Hungarian national questions, the demands of ethnic groups were given priority. Among these, from the perspective of Hungarian Greek Catholics, support for the governance of Romanian Greek Catholics was of special significance. As, during the Hungarian War of Independence, Transylvanian Romanians had evidenced their fidelity to the Hapsburg Dynasty, they could justifiably count on support for their national demands. Their requests for the development of their ecclesiastical organisation were heeded in 1853, when the Monarch elevated the Eparchy of Făgăraş (*Fogaras*) to the rank of metropolitanate under the name Alba Iulia–Făgăraş, assigned the Eparchy of Oradea, previously under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Esztergom, to the new Metropolitanate and established new bishoprics in Gherla and Lugoj. Thereby, the new Romanian Greek Catholic Metropolitanate of Transylvania was created, with its ethnic character clearly accentuated from its inception. A particularly strong and, thanks to the schooling system, efficient ecclesiastical organisation was successful in representing Romanian national interests, even – as will be shown – vis-à-vis the efforts of Hungarian Greek Catholics, among others.

Similarly to many who shared their fate, both Lajos Farkas and Károly Mészáros primarily strove to survive the Bach Era. In 1850, Farkas was for-

cibly recruited to the 39th Infantry Regiment for six years of service<sup>101</sup> and he could return to his native town only in 1861. Although Mészáros was able to find employment in Uzhhorod as a tribunal associate judge relatively quickly, he was dismissed in 1853 due to his engagement in the War of Independence. Afterwards, he would practise as a solicitor but, haunted by his past again, he was forbidden to work as a lawyer by the authorities in 1856. Then the Editor of the Viennese Hungarian daily newspaper, *Magyar Sajtó*, offered a position to him as a journalist, but the Viennese police did not allow him to travel to the imperial capital. He settled in Pest and would soon become an accomplished journalist. He contributed articles not only to *Magyar Sajtó* but, virtually, to all other daily papers. A few years later, however, he continued his career in journalism in Uzhhorod. Hoping that he could participate in the political life of his birthplace and hence in the improvement of its social and economic conditions, he founded the newspaper *Kárpáti Hírnök* [Carpathian herald] in 1861.<sup>102</sup> Although the newspaper would be published over a period of no more than half a year, it did play a central role in the development of the Hungarian Greek Catholic cause. In fact, Mészáros disclosed the situation of the Hungarian Greek Catholics immediately in the editorial of the first issue. Responding to the ethnic movements perceptible across the country, as well as to their ecclesial ramifications, he stressed that the identity of the Greek Catholic Hungarian community was under threat from the Church Slavonic and Romanian liturgical languages. In his article *Nemzetiségünk hanyatlásának okai, előmozdításának eszközei Felső-Magyarországon* [The reasons for the decline of our nationality and the instruments capable of fostering it in Upper Hungary], he notes:

*‘Ever since Greek Catholic Russian and Romanian bishoprics were organised in Hungary and numerous Hungarian-speaking communities*

<sup>100</sup> The indigent Károly Mészáros was patronised by Demeter Kerekes, parish priest of Hajdúdorog, who would take care of his education as well. He sent the young man with outstanding talents to the Debrecen school of the Piarists. After the death of his patron, Mészáros would make a living as a private tutor. As he noted in his autobiography, he even taught Pál Vasvári to recite poems. Csorba, 1974, 47.

<sup>101</sup> Bona, 2008, online.

<sup>102</sup> Pirigyí, 1997, 21–23.

*were placed under the jurisdiction of these bishops, our Hungarian brethren have begun to be accustomed to services in foreign tongues decade by decade at an astounding speed under the influence of the liturgy conducted in the Russian and Romanian languages to the extent that they have completely lost their language in Upper Hungary and are unable even to pray in Hungarian in places of the Transtisza Region, such as Szabolcs, Szatmár, Heves and Borsod Counties – even though their names, language and customs all speak most clearly to the unmistakable character of their Hungarian origin. Nevertheless, the most surprising occurrence of all is when, in the above areas, you ask a Greek Catholic ‘what man are you?’, he will surely reply ‘I am Russian’, though he does not understand a single word of Russian or Slovak’ (translated from the Hungarian original).<sup>103</sup>*

Mészáros considers this peculiar assimilation to be of such worrying proportions that he calls for urgent intervention and determines the course of action to be taken in four points. As the most immediate task, he suggests that, within his native land, Hungarian infant schools be opened in every location with a population of over one thousand. He encourages church advowees to create funds from which school teachers and school inspectors with outstanding achievements in promoting and disseminating the Hungarian language may receive regular cash awards. He urges county officials to espouse the cause of elementary schools and, as part of them, the cause of national education. Finally, in the fourth point, he identifies the demand for the establishment of a separate diocese for Hungarian Greek Catholics, within which exclusively Hungarian should be used in liturgical actions and education alike.<sup>104</sup>

The creation of a Greek Catholic eparchy with a Hungarian character was probably presented to

the public in this editorial for the first time.<sup>105</sup> It must have been the large-scale development of Romanian church organisation in 1853 that impelled Mészáros to express the demand about a Hungarian eparchy. This assumption is also supported by the reasoning committed to writing and published under the title *Még egy szózat a g. k. magyar püspökség tárgyában* [One more thought on the subject of the Hungarian Greek Catholic Bishopric] in Issue 10 of Mészáros’s newspaper (4 August 1861) by Lajos Farkas, residing in Vámospércs at the time. In agreement with Mészáros, Lajos Farkas also holds the view that the Church Slavonic and Romanian liturgical languages pose a threat to the national identity of Hungarian Greek Catholics. Endorsing Mészáros’s data, he also estimates the number of Greek Catholics with a Hungarian national identity at about 300 thousand, who, living in eparchies using Church Slavonic and Romanian as liturgical languages, are in danger of assimilation.

*‘Now, however, I am totally convinced that, once our old desire is fulfilled, it may never happen again that, in our beloved Hungarian homeland, we, Hungarian Old Believers, will be the poor pariahs who are not even allowed to worship their God in their own beloved mother tongue; it cannot happen that, even when our Romanian-speaking brethren create bishoprics by two, a 300-thousand-strong Hungarian Old Believer denomination is left utterly forsaken, forced under the yoke of an alien language, without a Head of Church. It cannot happen that even now the learning of the Cyrillic letters Az-Buki are being foisted upon our children and, even in a true-born Hungarian Hajdú child, the idea that he is not Hungarian but Russian is instilled. We cannot turn a blind eye or be tolerant when our Hungarian brethren in the faith are recruited by some overzealous Ruthenian priests*

<sup>103</sup> *Kárpáti Hírnök*, 1 July 1861, Year I, Issue 1, 1. *Források*, II/4/1, 67–69.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>105</sup> In the 2nd Issue of *Kárpáti Hírnök*, Mészáros continues this train of thought. He believes it is important to make the cause of the Hungarian Greek Catholics the subject of public discourse as, in his experience, the generally prevalent opinion is that the Hungarian nationality is at no risk of assimilation. *Egy gör. kath. magyar püspökség szüksége nemzetiségünk érdekében* [The necessity of a Hungarian Greek Catholic bishopric in the interest of our nationality], *Kárpáti Hírnök*, 4 July 1861, Year I, Issue 2, 1–2, *Források*, II/4/1, 69–71.

*under their own flags before our very eyes. The time has come: We must also come forward and show that we are Hungarians in body and soul and that we may not worship our God in any other way than in Hungarian; we must show that we have the right to do so and that we will do so' (translated from the Hungarian original).*<sup>106</sup>

Lajos Farkas saw it as the most pressing task to convoke a congress in Hajdúdorog at which the priests and the representatives of the congregations of the Hungarian Greek Catholic parishes would draft a petition to the King and Parliament to promote the establishment of a Hungarian eparchy and the liturgical use of Hungarian. The Congress would also be supposed to create a standing committee, acting as a representative of the cause thereafter. He regarded it as an important responsibility of the Committee to address the authorities of the settlements inhabited by the Hungarian Greek Catholics and garner their support, as well as to spread the use of Hungarian in church and at school.

Károly Mészáros was so excited by Lajos Farkas's lines that he would travel to Hajdúdorog in late August, succeeding in having the town's General Assembly convene for an extraordinary session. As he reports in the pages of *Kárpáti Hírnök*, in the General Assembly opened on 28 August, local parish priest György Szabó, chaplain Imre Antalóczy, chief notary Antal Magyar and many others spoke in favour of the cause of the Hungarian liturgy and the creation of a movement organised in its furtherance so enthusiastically that the General Assembly was transformed into the Statutory Session of the 'First Society of Old Believer Hungarians'. The directors of the Society were also chosen: tribunal associate judge István and parish priest György Szabó. Furthermore, Sándor Farkas, István Gombos, Ferenc Posta and András Koszta were elected as local executives. Lajos Farkas was to be requested to be the executive of the Hajduk towns,

whose hortatory letter about 'the magnificent work of emancipation from the Russian language' was even read out. A separate letter of request was written to Canon Antal Csopey, whose activities as a textbook writer and translator of the liturgy were already well known, to undertake the representation of the cause as a 'chief executive' at the episcopal centre in Uzhhorod.<sup>107</sup>

Later developments made it obvious that this initiative by Mészáros was premature. The 'Society of Old Believer Hungarians' performed no substantive work, as admitted by Lajos Farkas in October. At the same time, the news about the Society, as well as particular articles by Mészáros and Farkas subsequently, in the course of the month of October, would trigger reactions that help understand the complexity of the problem.

On 6 October 1861, Mészáros wrote another editorial in *Kárpáti Hírnök* under the title *Emancipáljuk magunkat* [Let us emancipate ourselves]. In choosing the title, he must have been inspired by Lajos Farkas's letter cited above. Discussing again the danger of Hungarian Greek Catholics losing their identity, he levels serious accusations at the clergy of the Eparchy of Mukachevo in the article. He criticises them for their autonomy-oriented endeavours (for demanding 'Russian districts, a Russian congress, Russian schools and Russian representation') and blames them for widely using the attribute 'Russian' ('calling themselves Russian Episcopate and regarding all of their faithful as Russians'), as well as for the use of the 'Russian' language not only in the liturgy but in official church correspondence, education and sermons as well. He alleges that, after their ordination, seminarians with a Hungarian identity are deliberately allocated to Slavic areas, while Rusyn priests are sent to Hungarian areas so that the former may be Slavified and the latter may propagate the 'Russian spirit' among the Hungarian faithful. He finds it troubling that, in the counties of Upper Hungary, Greek Catholic parishes also operate in settlements with as few as 20-30 families

<sup>106</sup> *Kárpáti Hírnök*, 4 August 1861, Year I, Issue 10, 37–38. The remark about 'overzealous Ruthenian priests' was a reference to those Russophile Greek Catholic priests who began their literary and social activities in Uzhhorod in these years. This initiative gave rise to the Society of St Basil in 1864.

<sup>107</sup> *Kárpáti Hírnök*, 5 September 1861, Year I, Issue 17, 1.

living there, whereas a single Roman Catholic or Calvinist parish services 30–40 villages.<sup>108</sup>

Three weeks later, Lajos Farkas also published an article, attacking the clergy of the Eparchy of Mukachevo, too. In his opinion, the ‘Society of Hungarian Old Believers’ cannot be successful because of the indifference of the clergy. Similarly to Mészáros, he also resents the voluntary acceptance of the attribute ‘Russian’ by the clergy and sees it as the reason why the clergy take so many initiatives to further ‘*Ruthenianism*’, while refusing to ‘*busy themselves*’ with the requirements of the Hungarian faithful. As usual, he summarises what needs to be done in a list of points. First and foremost, he suggests that the ‘Society of Hungarian Old Believers’ form a ‘*fully authorised committee*’. This committee would be expected to put pressure on the Bishop of Mukachevo to declare if he is willing to address the spiritual needs of the Hungarian faithful and provide the conditions necessary for prayer in the mother tongue. If he is, as the first step, he must abandon the attribute ‘Russian’ and must adopt the title ‘*Bishop of Uniate Old Believer Catholics*’. Next, he must switch to Hungarian in official correspondence with Hungarian parishes and, based on Roskovics’s translation<sup>109</sup> awaiting publication, he must introduce the Hungarian liturgy. Should his answer be negative, the creation of a Hungarian Greek Catholic bishopric must be proposed – actually in Pest.<sup>110</sup> He repeatedly recommends that a Greek Catholic congress be convoked in Hajdúdorog and the endorsement of the counties and of church leaders of other confessions be obtained as soon as possible. Lastly, as a responsibility of the Committee, he identifies the issuance of a statement pronouncing that the ancestors of Hungarian Greek Catholics ‘*were never Russians or Romanians*’ and warning against anybody having the audacity to claim the opposite or to deny them the name ‘*Hungarian Uniate Old Believer*’.<sup>111</sup>

The harsh tone of the articles must also have been set by the circumstance that Mészáros endured severe attacks in Uzhhorod owing to the publication of *Kárpáti Hírnök* and the questions he raised. These included not only verbal insults but physical atrocities as well.

As expected, the articles generated an elaborate response. Having worked as Clerk of the Eparchial Court at the Uzhhorod Episcopal Office for ten years, Dean Mihály Markos, parish priest of Rakoshyno (*Beregrákos*), volunteered to reply to the charges made by Károly Mészáros and Lajos Farkas. In his response, he maintains that the clergy has never applied the attribute ‘Russian’ to itself but only suffers its use by the majority of society. The Episcopal Chancery communicates with Hungarian parishes in Hungarian. Although priests must master the official liturgical language of the Eparchy, not a single candidate is ever rejected only because he knows no Church Slavonic when applying to the Seminary. In his experience, young Rusyn priests released from the Seminary speak perfect Hungarian, while the Hungarians do not make any effort to learn the language of their future parishioners. Markos also challenges the claim that the language of the liturgy assimilates Hungarians. He argues that the direction of the processes taking place in the Eparchy is precisely the opposite, and it is Rusyn villages that tend to be Magyarised as a result of sermons delivered in Hungarian. He also remarks that the last priest to study in ‘Russian’ instead of Latin, learning Hungarian from his children and parishioners, died in 1851. The language of conversations in priests’ families and at clerical convocations is typically Hungarian, which could be objected to by the Rusyn faithful instead. Markos also repudiates the accusation that the Eparchy of Mukachevo poses a hindrance to the liturgical use of Hungarian. Both the Kerekes Prayer Book and the Roskovics Prayer Book<sup>112</sup> were granted impri-

<sup>108</sup> *Kárpáti Hírnök*, 6 October 1861, Year I, Issue 22, 1.

<sup>109</sup> Ignác Roskovics, priest of Hajdúböszörmény, in effect prepared a hymn book for publication, instead of a translation of the liturgy. Its details will be discussed in a subsequent chapter.

<sup>110</sup> It is probably the proposal about the seat in Pest that could best explain why Greek Catholic historical works remain silent about this article by Farkas.

<sup>111</sup> *Kárpáti Hírnök*, 27 October 1861, Year I, Issue 28, 3–4.

<sup>112</sup> For more detail on these points, see the chapter on liturgical language, translations and publications in the present volume.

matur, and, despite his advanced age and illness, Bishop Popovics personally accepted to head the commission managing the issue of Hungarian translations. He also highlights a fact that Lajos Farkas and his associates were for a long time reluctant to realise: The translation of liturgical texts means translating 19–20 books. Were this enormous assignment ever to be completed, obtaining the approval of the Holy See would still be uncertain. He extensively describes how helpful Bishop Popovics was in ceding Romanian parishes when the Eparchy of Gherla was established in 1853. He assures his debate partners by promising that, just as the Bishop did not hinder the Romanians' endeavours, he will not prevent the Hungarians from acquiring an eparchy of their own, either. He hints that, in the recent past, even background talks have been held by clergymen and Members of Parliament about creating an eparchy with a Hungarian character with its seat in Pest or Debrecen.<sup>113</sup> Concerning the 'Society of Hungarian Old Believers' founded in Hajdúdorog, he notes that they were surprised to be informed of it from the press, though the eparchial centre ought to have been *ex officio* advised, and, in keeping with the customs of the time, the Bishop should have been chosen as its honorary president.<sup>114</sup>

The heated exchange in the press described above, along with an article by graduate seminarian István Romzsa rejecting the Hungarian Eparchy<sup>115</sup> and another one by Imre Antalóczy, chaplain of Hajdúdorog, in support of the idea,<sup>116</sup> underscores the complexity of the context of the Hungarian Greek Catholic identity, as well as of the concomitant demands (Hungarian as a liturgical language and a Hungarian eparchy). As was demonstrated in the previous chapter and as will be seen repeatedly in the following chapters, the Hungarian Greek Catholic identity had different interpretations. Károly Mészáros and Lajos Farkas prepared the ground for the radical Hajdúdorog interpretation,

dominated by emotions and preoccupied with the desire of becoming free from social stigmata, as well as with the pressure to conform to the majority of society. Important elements of this interpretation were assuming the victim's role, perpetuating a sense of endangerment and incessantly combating 'hostile' forces. Its exponents declined to accept any other possible interpretations, and their impatience would on several occasions lead to rash initiatives.

Parallel and, at times, contrary to this interpretation was the understanding that perceived no conflict between the Slavonic character of liturgical life in the Church and Hungarian identity as experienced in everyday settings. This view did not consider the attribute 'Russian' used by the majority of society to be its own, nor as a stigma from which it should free itself at all costs. To its proponents, the pugnacity and impatience of the Hajdúdorog approach were disagreeable, potentially threatening to undermine the traditionally friendly ties between Hungarians and Rusyns. This sentiment is aptly illustrated by the lines of graduate seminarian István Romzsa, arguing that the creation of a Hungarian bishopric was untimely because this would send the message to the Rusyns that, regarding themselves as superior, the Hungarians did not wish to live with them in the same Eparchy or pray with them in the same church. The question of a Hungarian eparchy could only be placed on the agenda once ethnic relations were definitively settled and mutual trust was consolidated.<sup>117</sup> Thus, this unique 'Hungaro-Russian' Greek Catholic identity was not fundamentally opposed to the establishment of a Greek Catholic eparchy with a Hungarian character, either.

A response to Mihály Markos's article was written by Mészáros in the December 16 Issue. In it, he refused to acknowledge the 'Hungaro-Russian' Greek Catholic identity,<sup>118</sup> thus marking the end of the polemic and even of *Kárpáti Hírnök* as well.

<sup>113</sup> Unfortunately, he does not share any details in this respect.

<sup>114</sup> *Kárpáti Hírnök*, 1 December 1861, Year I, Issue 38, 137 and 8 December 1861, 139–142.

<sup>115</sup> *Kárpáti Hírnök*, 21 July 1861, Year I, Issue 7, 26, *Források*, II/4/1, 71–72, Document no. 20.

<sup>116</sup> *Kárpáti Hírnök*, 25 July 1861, Year I, Issue 8, 29–30, *Források*, II/4/1, 72–73, Document no. 21.

<sup>117</sup> *Kárpáti Hírnök*, 21 July 1861, Year I, Issue 7, 26, *Források*, II/4/1, 71–72, Document no. 20 As a matter of fact, Romzsa was appointed chaplain of Hajdúdorog a few years later, exactly at the time of the Hungarian Greek Catholic Congress of 1868.

<sup>118</sup> 'For a Russian and a Hungarian, it is equally impossible to coexist under the same skin amid the national miasmas of our age as it is for oil to assimilate with vinegar' (translated from the Hungarian original) *Kárpáti Hírnök*, 16 December 1861, Year I, Issue 40, 143.

The exacerbation of the debate is also likely to have contributed to Mészáros closing the newspaper in late December and withdrawing into the background in terms of the Hungarian Greek Catholic cause, too.

After a brief pause, the Hajdúdorog community submitted a petition about the use of Hungarian via a delegation dispatched to Bazil Popovics, Bishop of Mukachevo, in 1863.<sup>119</sup> As previously, the Hierarchy appeared to be open in relation to granting approval this time as well but asserted that this could only happen if official and verified liturgical translations were made with imprimatur. As the Hajdúdorog delegation interpreted the Bishop's openness in the broadest possible way, instructing the local parish priest accordingly,<sup>120</sup> on 11 November, Bishop Popovics issued a circular ordering that, until the official approval for the use of Hungarian, the Divine

Liturgy was to be celebrated exclusively in Church Slavonic and that only certain parts (the Gospel, the prayer '*O Lord, I believe and confess...*' and hymns) could be conducted in Hungarian wherever this was required by the faithful.<sup>121</sup>

The ordinance was issued at the behest<sup>122</sup> of János Scitovszky, Archbishop of Esztergom (1849–1866), whose stance on the question of language use was determined by the apprehensions of the Roman Catholic Church. As, in many settlements, Greek Catholics lived side-by-side with Roman Catholics, it was feared that demand for the use of Hungarian would be articulated among the Latin-rite faithful as well. This fear profoundly defined the thinking of Roman Catholic bishops, who ignored the fact that the attitude of the Eastern Church to national languages traditionally differed from that of the Western Church.

<sup>119</sup> Farkas, 1894, 19–23 and *Források*, II/4/1, 75–77, Document no. 23.

<sup>120</sup> The letter of the Town of Hajdúdorog to parish priest György Szabó, 25 July 1863, *Források*, II/4/1, 77, Document no. 24.

<sup>121</sup> Circulars of the Eparchy of Mukachevo, 1863/4125, Commemorative Volume, 79, *Források*, II/4/1, 77–78, Document no. 25.

<sup>122</sup> This is implied by the first line of the provision: '*For there was an individual who did not shrink from making an indictment before our Prince-Primate...*' (translated from the Hungarian original).



## ‘...We Are Confronted Here With a Magnificent Current...’ The First Greek Catholic Congress in Hajdúdorog

The intervention of the Archbishop of Esztergom alerted the Hajdúdorog community to the reality that they were unable to assert their demands about language use within the prevailing ecclesiastical settings. The increasingly more liberal political climate preceding the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867 also encouraged them to advance their claims publicly nationwide again. In 1866, they presented petitions to the Monarch,<sup>123</sup> the Prince-Primate,<sup>124</sup> the Lord Chancellor’s Office<sup>125</sup> and to Parliament.<sup>126</sup> In these petitions, they declare their national identity, with no shortage of pathos: ‘... we are Hungarians and wish to remain so for eternity’<sup>127</sup> ‘... we solemnly proclaim that we know of no Hungarians more true-born than ourselves in our Homeland and we will let no-one emulate us in our unflinching love for our nationality’<sup>128</sup> (translated from the Hungarian original). They painfully observe that, despite living in their own country as Hungarians, they are mocked as *Muszkas* (Hungarian folk term for Russians) or *Olábs* (Hungarian folk term for Romanians) due to the language of their rite, and they are keen to free themselves from this social stigma. To verify their claims, they cite the example of the Romanian Greek Catholics, who were granted the privilege to develop their church organisation on ethnic grounds as well shortly before (1853). They feel justified to ask the following question: Once the Romanian Greek Catholics may use their native language in the liturgy and have their own ecclesiastical organisation in Hungary, why could the Hungarian Greek Catholics not demand the

same? At the same time, they also allude to the fact that the intensifying nationality movements pose a serious threat to the Hungarian Greek Catholics: ‘... would our country ever exonerate us from the great responsibility, were it subsequently to experience that we let so many thousands of the Hungarophone faithful dissolve in the formidable arms of blatantly active Ruthenianism?’<sup>129</sup> They do not omit to emphasise the significance of their movement embedded in the context of Hungarian national interests, either: ‘Whichsoever nation may put its own beloved mother tongue on the altar, that nation may never be lost’ (translated from the Hungarian original).<sup>130</sup>

In the petitions, they formulate four specific requests: 1. to establish a separate eparchy for the Hungarian Greek Catholics; 2. in case this is not possible for financial reasons, to create a vicariate with its seat in Hajdúdorog; 3. to be permitted to hold a congress in Hajdúdorog with a view to discussing their common affairs, including calendar unification; 4. the right of Hungarian Greek Catholics to use their native language to be guaranteed in a special act by Parliament, along with a ban on the use of the labels ‘Russian’/‘Ruthenian’ and ‘Vlach’/‘Romanian’ to denote their community.

The afterlife of the petitions had a sobering effect on the people of Hajdúdorog: They would never receive a definite reply from anywhere. They cited national interests, referred to the 200-thousand-strong Hungarian Greek Catholic population and its rightful claims, and even the Eparchy of Mukachevo offered its support to them for the

<sup>123</sup> Petition to the Monarch, 6 May 1866. *Források*, II/4/1, 79–81, Document no. 27.

<sup>124</sup> Petition to the Prince-Primate, 6 May 1866. *Források*, II/4/1, 82–84, Document no. 28.

<sup>125</sup> Petition to the High Chancellor, 6 May 1866. *Források*, II/4/1, 74–87, Document no. 29.

<sup>126</sup> Petition to the House of Representatives, 6 May 1866. *Források*, II/4/1, 88–91, Document no. 30.

<sup>127</sup> *Források*, II/4/1, 91.

<sup>128</sup> *Források*, II/4/1, 83.

<sup>129</sup> *Források*, II/4/1, 86.

<sup>130</sup> *Források*, II/4/1, 88.

foundation of an autonomous bishopric, but to no avail.

In Hajdúdorog, not only did the town guarantee but it practically also prescribed the use of the Hungarian language in the liturgy by the local priest.<sup>131</sup> On the contrary, in other places, church authorities would enact restrictive measures. A prime example of the conflicts stemming from this situation was the discord arising in Makó at the time of the 1866 petitions.<sup>132</sup> The town's nearly 2000-member Greek Catholic community had used Hungarian as a church language for decades. In 1865, the Romania-speaking minority intended to terminate this custom and requested the issuance of a decree guaranteeing the use of Romanian from the Eparchy of Oradea.<sup>133</sup> Although, in their petition, they only demanded that, in addition to Hungarian, services also be conducted in Romanian, Iosif Papp-Szilágyi, Bishop of Oradea (1863–1873), went further, banning the use of the Hungarian language in church. The Hungarian faithful of Makó notified Prince-Primate János Simor of this act in a petition.<sup>134</sup> In their submission, they also outlined the antecedents of the conflict, as well as the history of the parish – a detail well worth remembering in brief.

Greek Catholics settled in Makó in the 18th century, when 'purely Hungarian-speaking members of the Christian faithful – the so-called Russians'<sup>135</sup> – moved to the town from Szabolcs, Bereg and Ung Counties. Maria Theresa had a church built for them and added the parish to the Eparchy of Mukachevo. At the time of the creation of the Eparchy of Oradea (1777), the parish of Makó was incorporated into this new unit of ecclesiastical governance. In 1791, a new wave of Greek Catholics arrived here from the aforementioned regions, followed by yet another one in 1816. However, on the latter occasion, twenty 'Hungarian-speaking Romanian'<sup>136</sup> families also relocated to the town from Szatmár County and Transylvania. At that

time, as well as in the following decades, the language used by the Greek Catholic families of Makó was Hungarian: They would speak Hungarian in their homes, teach in Hungarian at school, chant in Hungarian in church and conduct funeral services in Hungarian. This situation only changed when Vazul Erdélyi (1843–1862), a native of Makó, ascended to the episcopal see of Oradea. Magyarising his surname from Árgyellán (cf. Romanian *Ardelean* meaning 'from Transylvania') to Erdélyi (Hungarian for 'from Transylvania'), the Bishop appointed a parish priest – Ignác Bisztray Balku – to his town of birth, who immediately set about altering the ethnic character of the community. He had the Old Slavonic inscription on the church wall, stating that Maria Teresa had the church constructed 'for the Hungarian Russians', whitewashed. During the reconstruction work, he destroyed records stored in the steeple globe and replaced them with documents written in Romanian. To the dismay of the congregation, he 'embezzled' pre-1800 parish records kept in Hungarian and switched to registration in Romanian. The faithful of Makó summarised their complaints against the Bishopric of Oradea in six points: 1. the ordering of keeping parish records in Romanian; 2. the appointment of Romanian priests who engaged in forcible Romanianisation; 3. the appointment of school masters with Romanian sentiments turning even children against their Hungarian parents; 4. the redistribution of the revenues of local church funds to benefit the Romanian Grammar School of Beiuș (*Belényes*); 5. the prohibition of Hungarian chants in the church (upon the intervention of civil authorities, a few Hungarian songs were later allowed); 6. the oppression of the Hungarian nationality. No matter how hard they pleaded with Bishop Papp-Szilágyi to change his position, undertaking even stricter measures, their Hierarch ordered that the priest and the cantor interrupt the service, should

<sup>131</sup> Ordinance of the Town of Hajdúdorog to parish priest György Szabó, 25 July 1863. *Források*, II/4/1, 77. Document no. 24.

<sup>132</sup> On the events in Makó, see: Janka, 1999 and Janka, 2019.

<sup>133</sup> The petition of twenty-five Romanian congregation members to the Eparchial Court of Oradea, 21 May 1865. *Források*, II/4/1, 78–79. Document no. 26.

<sup>134</sup> The petition of the Hungarian parishioners of Makó to Prince-Primate Simor, 21 June 1866. *Források*, II/4/1, 91–96. Document no. 31.

<sup>135</sup> *Források*, II/4/1, 91.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*

the congregation begin to chant in Hungarian. The authors of the letter are embittered to note (*‘it hurts and unspeakably does so’*) that the Hungarian State richly subsidises bishoprics of a Romanian character, and, from the generous subsidies, these constantly develop their cultural and educational institutions, only to be used to Romanianise their faithful with a Hungarian identity.<sup>137</sup> They conclude their petition with the request that the Prince-Primate be an advocate for their interests and arrange that Hungarian Greek Catholic liturgical books may be published with financing from the Religion Fund and that the parish of Makó will be assigned to the Eparchy of Mukachevo again.

As a matter of course, Prince-Primate Simor approached Bishop Papp-Szilágyi for his opinion as well. The Hierarch of Oradea formulated his position on 12 September 1866.<sup>138</sup> In his long letter, the Bishop repudiates the accusation of Romanianisation. Moreover, he believes that it is actually Rusyns declaring themselves as Hungarians who seek to banish the Romanian liturgy from the church by demanding ever greater space for the Hungarian language in using Roskovic’s Book of Prayers and Hymns. He is doubtful if the size of the Hungarian Greek Catholic community reaches 200 thousand: In his view, the number of Rusyns speaking Hungarian as well is also well below 200 thousand in the country. Publishing Hungarian liturgical books for them with financing from the Religion Fund is unnecessary. The prevailing condition of the Hungarian language is anyway not suitable to render dogmatic terms with due precision. Finally, he discounts the possibility that, succumbing to the request of the congregation, he might cede the parish of Makó to the Eparchy of Mukachevo.

In spring 1867, the case disrupting the inner peace of the Greek Catholic faithful of Makó was presented to the House of Representatives. In fact, what Bishop Papp-Szilágyi had ordered happened:

The Makó priest interrupted the liturgy when the congregation began to chant in Hungarian. In response to the scandal, the House of Representatives urged the Minister of Culture to intervene with dispatch.<sup>139</sup> It was not before long that Minister József Eötvös received the desperate letter of the parishioners of Makó, requesting the removal of the priest of scandalous conduct, described as *‘an individual immersing himself in peculiar nationalistic notions to kill time’*.<sup>140</sup> Minister Eötvös solicited Prince-Primate Simor for his action and cooperation with a view to having Hungarian as a liturgical language acknowledged by the Holy See, though, by doing so, he inadvertently derailed the cause.<sup>141</sup>

The events of Makó, as well as the actions of Bishop Papp-Szilágyi and of his priests in particular, substantiated the fears to which the people of Hajdúdorog had referred in the 1866 petitions: An alien liturgical language posed a threat to Hungarian identity and could lead to the assimilation of Hungarian communities. This understanding was conveyed to the Hajdúdorog community via their personal contacts from the congregation of Makó. Consequently, they reached the conclusion that it was not sufficient to make mere references to the Hungarian Greek Catholic faithful of other towns and villages, but they were to join forces and bring their cause to the public’s attention nationwide.<sup>142</sup> As has been pointed out above, in their petition to the House of Representatives, they sought permission to hold a national conference for Hungarian Greek Catholics. However, following the Austro-Hungarian Compromise, no such special permission would be needed any longer. Thus, led by Town Lieutenant Lajos Farkas, on 12 March, the General Assembly of the town decided to call the representatives of the Greek Catholic communities that were known to be Hungarian in terms of identity to attend a national congress to be held slightly more than a month later, on 16 April.<sup>143</sup> In addressing them, the

<sup>137</sup> The same idea was expressed by Dezső Bánffy as well nearly four decades later: Bánffy, 1903, 186–198.

<sup>138</sup> Bishop Papp-Szilágyi’s note to Prince-Primate Simor, 12 September 1866. *Források*, II/4/1, 97–100. Document no. 33.

<sup>139</sup> Janka, 2019, 40–41.

<sup>140</sup> The petition of the Hungarian parishioners of Makó to Minister Eötvös, 26 June 1867. *Források*, II/4/1, 101–102. Document no.

33.

<sup>141</sup> Minister Eötvös’s note to Prince-Primate Simor, 18 July 1867. *Források*, II/4/1, 102–103. Document no. 35.

<sup>142</sup> Farkas, 1894, 43.

<sup>143</sup> The Congress is extensively reported on by: Farkas, 1894; for a recent treatment of the event, see: Janka, 2019.

elders of the town were aided by the parish priest of Hajdúdorog, Archdean György Szabó and his chaplain, Pál Görög, who were committed supporters of the Hungarian liturgy themselves. When sending out invitations – adopting a long-term perspective – they contacted not only parishes identifiable from schematisms but also major cities and towns that did not have a Greek Catholic parish yet (Pest, Debrecen and Košice (*Kassa*)).

As the ‘chronicler’ of the Congress emerged none else but Lajos Farkas, who would give a detailed account of the day in his book *Egy nemzeti küzdelem története* [The story of a national struggle] published in 1894. The Congress was attended by as many as 220 representatives delegated from 33 parishes, as well as by twenty priests. In addition, 19 parishes, an entire deanery and 11 priests expressed their approval for the decrees in writing. This way, they could count on the participation of 52 parishes – as Lajos Farkas put it, worth a whole eparchy – and 31 priests. Szabolcs, Szatmár, Bereg, Zemplén, Máramaros, Abaúj-Torna and Csanád Counties, along with the Hajdú District, were also represented, as was the town of Debrecen.

The convocation commenced with the celebration of the Divine Liturgy in Hungarian in the church of Hajdúdorog under reconstruction and expansion. Afterwards, on account of the enormous crowd gathered, the Congress began in the courtyard of the Town Hall. As the first point on the agenda, the delegates elected the chairman and the writer of the minutes. The host town and Makó, leading the way in the fight for the Hungarian liturgy, received special attention: Lajos Farkas was elected as chairman, and István Szilvássy, Chief Notary of Csanád County and representative of the Makó congregation, was chosen as the writer of the minutes of the Congress.

Published by Lajos Farkas verbatim, the minutes of the Congress<sup>144</sup> afford insights into the details of the deliberations and reveal the arguments used by the delegates. In his introductory speech, Lajos Farkas highlighted that the convocation of the Congress had been necessitated by the inconclusiveness of the petitions of 1866. While neatly worded re-

quests could well disappear in the mazes of public administration and church offices without anyone noticing, a major demonstration would also appeal to the general public across country. This explains why the Chairman accorded great importance to the fact that, despite the close deadline, the number of those present exceeded all prior expectations. In this respect, the Congress did fulfil its purpose since it made it obvious that the cause of the Hungarian liturgy was not the problem of an insignificant minority as, for instance, Bishop Papp-Szilágyi sought to depict the situation. The observations and arguments made during the contributions included the following points:

- the Hungarian State created the ecclesiastical organisations of the Serbian and Romanian Orthodox, as well as of the Romanian Greek Catholics with considerations of ethnicity also taken into account;
- the state authorities had and continue to have no regard for the interests of Hungarian Greek Catholics also organising themselves on ethnic grounds;
- the national identity of Hungarian Greek Catholics is endangered by the fact that they live in eparchies of a Romanian and Rusyn character;
- the sheer size of the 200-thousand-strong Hungarian Greek Catholic community, attending to their needs and protecting their national identity not only provide legal justification for but also appear as compelling factors in the discourse on the creation of a Hungarian Greek Catholic eparchy;
- the Eparchy of Mukachevo, comprising the majority of the Hungarian Greek Catholics, covers such a large area that even the most dedicated bishop is unable to govern it properly;
- far from precluding it, the traditions of the Eastern Church actually promote the liturgical use of the vernacular;
- the exclusion of Hungarian from the liturgy will engender a sense of indifference among

<sup>144</sup> Farkas, 1894, 46–56.

the faithful because, felt to be alien, neither spoken nor understood and forcefully introduced into school instruction, the Rusyn or Romanian language discourages Hungarian congregations from attending church services;

- alienation from church inevitably entails the failure of religious and moral education, which – contrary to the interests of the state – will hinder the development of civic virtues as well;
- priests persevering in the liturgical use of Hungarian despite the administrative impediments report advances and improvements in the area of religious and moral education;
- the introduction or spread of the Hungarian liturgy is only hampered by the circumstance that Hungarian Greek Catholic liturgical books have not been published yet.

In formulating this last point – obviously in line with the respective contributor’s wording – the keeper of the minutes adds: *‘as best as we see and know it’*.<sup>145</sup>

This, in fact, conveys a sense of uncertainty, which will be underscored by later events.

As a result of the discussions, the goals to be attained were defined: 1. the creation of a Hungarian bishopric with its seat in Hajdúdorog; 2. the translation and publication of liturgical books at public expense; 3. the affirmation of Hungarian as a liturgical language. The Congress established a Standing Executive Committee of thirty with Lajos Farkas, Lieutenant of Hajdúdorog, a person with outstanding merits in the organisation process, elected as its head. The vote in favour of a motion – submitted at the end of the first day – designating Hajdúdorog as the seat of the Hungarian Greek Catholic Bishopric to be created was of great significance for the future.

On 17 April, the second day of the Congress, letters that had arrived meanwhile were reviewed. Whereas Mihály Hutskó, a priest from Görömböly,

as well as the parishes of Szatmár, Nyírgelse and Kökényesd pledged their support for the attainment of the Congress’s objectives, the letter of the parish of Sajópetri was also received as a peculiar exception. Although its authors welcomed the plan of establishing a Hungarian Greek Catholic eparchy, identifying themselves as a *‘Slavophone’* community, they refused to lend their support for the *‘raising of the Hungarian language to the altars’*, i.e. its acknowledgement as an official liturgical language. The participants of the Congress considered it important to read out aloud and record in the minutes the stance of the Greek Catholic congregation of Sajópetri also because, in it, they thought they found a unique justification for their fears that they had voiced previously. In fact, they noted that Judge Pál Veres, József Juhász, György Gergely, János Hegedűs and others bearing similarly Hungarian-sounding surnames who also signed the letter *‘had been completely stripped of their nationality under the influence of Church Slavonic’*.<sup>146</sup> This is no doubt a simplified interpretation as it is also evidenced by other examples that adherence to Old Slavonic as a liturgical language was by no means incompatible with the acceptance of Hungarian identity.<sup>147</sup> However, the Hajdúdorog interpretation of the term ‘Hungarian Greek Catholic’ saw the Slavonic and Romanian liturgical languages merely as threats and did not allow for a Hungarian Greek Catholic identity that did not embrace this conception. This would occasion considerable conflicts even after the closing of the Congress.

The first important manifestation of the self-organising ability of the Hungarian Greek Catholics, as well as its indisputable success sent a powerful message to the church authorities. In a confidential account, one of the attendees of the Congress, György Szabó, parish priest of Hajdúdorog and a sympathiser of the movement, reported on the event to István Pankovics, Bishop of Mukachevo (1866–1874).<sup>148</sup> Both as parish priest of Hajdúdorog and as Archdean of Szabolcs, György Szabó was a church leader held in high regard, championing

<sup>145</sup> Farkas, 1894, 52.

<sup>146</sup> Farkas, 1894, 55.

<sup>147</sup> Cf. István Romzsa’s article in the weekly paper *Kárpáti Hírnök*, 21 July 1861. *Források*, II/4/1, 71–72. Document no. 20.

<sup>148</sup> Archdean Szabó’s note to Bishop Pankovics, 24 April 1868. *Források*, II/4/1, 107–108. Document no. 38.

the cause of the Hungarian liturgy with full commitment. He shared the enthusiasm of the participants of the Congress and even contributed his ideas on individual points himself. At the same time, as an experienced senior clergyman, he was cognisant that the realisation of the objectives of the Congress was impeded by nearly insurmountable obstacles. He expected that confronting the adversities could involve the faithful of Hajdúdorog, whom he knew so well, in a series of conflicts with severe consequences. Therefore, in his confidential report, he sought to prepare his Hierarchy, ascending the episcopal see of Mukachevo a mere year earlier, for the visit of the delegation to be dispatched to Uzhhorod by the Congress. He attempts to convey the seriousness of the situation in the following terms: ‘... as I see it, we are confronted with a magnificent current. Standing in its way would be tantamount to being drifted away thereby [...] or, enraging the passionate deluge through resistance, being driven to extremes from which adorable divine Providence deliver us!’ [...] burning with passion for its language and faith, this resolute and immense multitude may be easily tempted to go to the greatest extremes if restrained’ (translated from the Hungarian original). Aside from the warning, the Archdean also makes two additional important remarks. He begins his letter with the observation that the demand for the liturgical use of Hungarian was expressed over a century before, not only by individuals but by whole parishes as well. This assertion is of significance because, in the next few years, several attempts would be made to depict the movement of the Hungarian Greek Catholics as the initiative of individuals lacking popular support. Simultaneously, this also proves that the Hungarian translations of the liturgy at the turn of the 18th and 19th century (by Kricsfalussy and Krucsay) were not the product of individual effort or private pursuit, but they were motivated by the actual need for such in parishes. Another important statement by the Archdean relates to the success of the Congress of Hajdúdorog. He shares Lajos Farkas’s enthusiasm about the number of the

attendees and notes that, even during the week following the Congress, declarations of consent from individuals, parishes and even from royal free towns were received.

Archdean Szabó’s admonishments were corroborated at the time of the visit of the delegation of the Standing Executive Committee.<sup>149</sup> As István Pankovics, appointed as bishop two years earlier, was widely known for his Hungarian sentiments, the delegation did not anticipate any challenges initially. They had indeed no reason to feel disappointed upon their first meeting: After Lajos Farkas gave a summary of the decrees of the Congress, Bishop Pankovics unequivocally assured the delegation of his support.<sup>150</sup> However, when he was requested to head the committee to be sent to the King, he declined to comply, citing circumstances outside his remit. In an effort to alleviate their disillusionment, the Bishop gave a friendly welcome to the delegation and invited them to attend (Sunday) liturgy in the cathedral – in the episcopal chapel merged with the gallery – the next day. This cordial gesture emboldened István Farkas, the Chairman’s brother, to approach the Bishop with the request to allow the delegation to chant the Lord’s Prayer in Hungarian during the liturgy. To their great shock, the Bishop responded with a refusal again. As an expression of their disappointment, members of the delegation attended the Old Slavonic liturgy not in the episcopal chapel but in the nave. Lajos Farkas did not forget to mention that, though the singing performance of the cathedral choir was no doubt exquisite, ‘the melodies struck the representatives of Hajdúdorog as stinking of that Saint Petersburg style...’<sup>151</sup> After the liturgy, a group of five from the delegation met the Bishop once more. The conversation acutely exposed difficulties stemming from the Hajdúdorog interpretation of Hungarian Greek Catholic identity. István Farkas questioned Bishop Pankovics over the rejection of singing in Hungarian and impugned the sincerity of his national commitment. He also voiced his doubts whether the Bishop would indeed support and advocate the

<sup>149</sup> Farkas, 1894, 58–60.

<sup>150</sup> ‘... being Hungarian in both body and soul, he saw it as his sacred and patriotic duty to provide all manner of assistance with our wishes and justified requirements and for their fulfilment’ (translated from the Hungarian original). Farkas, 1894, 58.

<sup>151</sup> Farkas, 1894, 59.

cause of the Hungarian liturgy at the competent offices. In an about-turn, he threatened with the prospect of closing the church of Hajdúdorog and suspending the remuneration of the local priests until the Bishop gave his approval for the full Hungarian liturgy. Archdean Szabó's warning about the 'greatest extremes' concerned precisely such unexpected, almost outburst-like threats. After this episode, Bishop Pankovics deemed it better to talk to the more moderate Lajos Farkas face to face. During the discussion, not only did the Bishop assure the Chairman of his support, but they also considered the tasks for the near future. They agreed that petitions submitted to state and church authorities would be referred to the Bishop for his assessment. Once this was done, the Hierarch would make a canonical visitation of Hajdúdorog and formulate his supportive opinion by summarising his experience thereof. These specific points reassured the delegation, whose members said goodbye to their Bishop in peace.

Bishop Pankovics's cautious position of refusal may be understood if two circumstances are considered. When he refused to head the delegation, he cited external reasons. In all probability, he alluded to the fact that, as Bishop of Mukachevo, he was suffragan of the Archbishop of Esztergom, the incumbent of which post adopted a clearly negative stance on the liturgical use of Hungarian. Should he accept to head the delegation of the Hungarian Greek Catholics to state and church authorities, he would openly oppose his own Metropolitan. Rejecting the Lord's Prayer in Hungarian also becomes understandable if one considers the fact that a diocesan bishop is the number one person responsible for compliance with liturgical rules. As the official liturgical language of his diocese was Old Church Slavonic, and the liturgical use of Hungarian was not approved by the Holy See, Bishop Pankovics would have found himself in a rather difficult situation, had he acquiesced to the infringement of rules on the language of the liturgy in his cathedral. In addition, he would have made

himself vulnerable to attacks by his political opponents as well. In fact, from his appointment, Bishop Pankovics fought against the Russophile Society of St Basil founded in 1864, the Russian publications of which initially had substantial influence on the clergy and the faithful of the Eparchy of Mukachevo. The Russophile movement was from the beginning sceptical about the new *Magyaron* (i.e. Hungarophile) Hierarch, who would actually do everything to trammel the activities of the Society sympathetic to Pan-Slavic ideas.<sup>152</sup> The visit of the representatives of Hajdúdorog to the Bishop took place during the first phase of this struggle – at a time when the Lord's Prayer sung in Hungarian in the Episcopal Cathedral could have served as a pretext for the Society to launch yet another attack to discredit Bishop Pankovics.

Once the delegation returned home, the selection of their head was still to be resolved. At the recommendation of Archdean Szabó, they intended to send a request to József Vécsey, Lord Lieutenant of Szabolcs, but the Baron had left the County for an extended period of time. Then Gábor Sillye, Captain General of the Hajdú District, was chosen. He accepted the nomination.<sup>153</sup> It was at that time – in the person of Captain General Sillye – that Calvinist influence over the Hungarian Greek Catholic movement became particularly pronounced, later resulting in serious conflicts as well.

Its membership increasing to 25 in the end, the delegation now including even nine clerics was granted access to key places, chiefly thanks to Captain General Sillye's network of relations, while their visits were also covered by the daily press in favourable reports.<sup>154</sup> They would be received by Prime Minister Gyula Andrassy, Speaker of the House of Representatives Károly Szentiványi in the presence of former Minister of Justice and statesman Ferenc Deák, as well as by Minister of Culture József Eötvös, Minister of the Interior Béla Wenckheim and Minister of Finances Menyhért Lónyay. They paid visits to a few influential members of parliament: Ignác Ghyczy, Pál Somsich, Pál Nyáry,

<sup>152</sup> Mayer, 1977, 139–140.

<sup>153</sup> Farkas, 1894, 60–61.

<sup>154</sup> The chronicle of the visits to Pest and Esztergom: Farkas, 1894, 67–70.

Sámuel Thury and Kálmán Tisza. Nearly all of these personages sounded enthusiastic about the objectives of the Hungarian Greek Catholics and pledged their unconditional support. The only exception proved to be Kálmán Tisza, who, for reasons of national policy, did not regard the establishment of a separate Hungarian Greek Catholic eparchy as desirable as it would cause the Romanian and Rusyn Eparchies left without Hungarian congregations to adopt an exclusively ethnic character.<sup>155</sup> When the diplomatic visits in Pest were over, the delegation sailed to Esztergom, where they were received by Prince-Primate Simor. During the conversation marked by a friendly atmosphere, the Cardinal opined that the creation of a Hungarian Greek Catholic eparchy could not pose a problem. On the contrary, having the demands for language use acknowledged was described as inhibited by some major obstacles that could be removed only by the Holy See. As highlighted by Lajos Farkas, the information that Hungarian had been employed in the liturgy in Hajdúdorog for a century by then struck the Cardinal as a novelty. He was surprised but furnished no a comment, which the delegation – wrongly – read as his tacit agreement. At the end of the reception, the Prince-Primate said farewell to the delegation by remarking that he would in no way release the Hungarian Greek Catholic Bishopric to be established from his jurisdiction, or – in other words – that he intended to remain their Metropolitan thereafter as well. With this statement, he probably hinted at the loss of prestige that the Archbishopric of Esztergom was made to sustain upon the creation of the Romanian Greek Catholic Ecclesiastical Province in 1853.

Whereas Lajos Farkas devotes no more than a few lines to this conversation, Prince-Primate Simor's position is available in detail in his letter to Minister of Culture Eötvös. As could be expected, the petition to the Monarch drafted by the Congress of Hajdúdorog was forwarded by the Ministry of Religion and Education for assessment to the

Prince-Primate,<sup>156</sup> who composed his reply on 17 September 1868.<sup>157</sup> In it, he describes the issue of the establishment of the Hungarian Greek Catholic Eparchy as easy to resolve: If the necessary funds are provided and the Sovereign's will is secured, it ought not to be a problem. At the same time – in harmony with Kálmán Tisza's opinion – he also points out that ethnically mixed eparchies are favourable for the Hungarian nationality in terms of national policy. Thus, it does not seem to be expedient to 'extract' the Hungarian element from the Romanian and Rusyn Eparchies by creating a Greek Catholic eparchy with a Hungarian character. He also shows that the arguments about the new Romanian Eparchies created in 1853 and references to the ethnic character of the Ecclesiastical Province – points extensively used and much liked by the Hungarian Greek Catholics – are not entirely correct. In fact, these acts were conceived contrary to the interests of the Hungarian State and of the Hungarian nationality, their purpose being to reward the Romanian community for their fidelity to the Dynasty demonstrated in 1848 and 1849. He concludes his discussion on the question of the Eparchy by proposing the creation of a vicariate with its seat in Hajdúdorog within the Eparchy of Mukachevo as an alternative solution. Compared to the question of the Eparchy, Prince-Primate Simor considered the issue of the Hungarian liturgical language much harder and he even perceived the former as completely subordinated to the latter. The demand about the liturgical use of the Hungarian language '*... could hardly take account of the Holy Roman Catholic Church's prevailing principles of a uniform structure*'<sup>158</sup> – he notes in a straightforward manner and continues by explaining the position of the Church on liturgical languages. He argues that the Catholic Church recognises only a handful of liturgical languages because changes in the living language (e.g., extension in the semantics of words) pose a threat to the transmission of the content of faith without errors. No such danger is

<sup>155</sup> Tisza would consistently persist in his views in the following years as well.

<sup>156</sup> Ministerial Adviser Lipovniczki's note to Prince-Primate Simor, 2 September 1868. *Források*, II/4/1, 116. Document no. 42.

<sup>157</sup> Prince-Primate Simor's note to Minister of Culture Eötvös, 17 September 1868. *Források*, II/4/1, 117–120. Document no. 43.

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.* 118.



imminent in the case of *'stable and finalised languages'*,<sup>159</sup> such as Greek, Latin, Syriac, Chaldean and Old Slavonic, which the Catholic Church understandably cherishes on this account. Romanian Greek Catholics constitute an exception because they employed the Romanian language already at the time of the conclusion of the union. The use of Romanian was foisted on them by George II Rákóczi, Prince of Transylvania, in order to win them over to the Reformation through the use of the vernacular. He does not share the Hungarian Greek Catholics' argument that not understanding the language of the liturgy would be a hurdle to the religious and moral education of the faithful. As an example, he mentions the missionaries of remote regions, who transmit the teaching of the Gospel in the languages of the peoples to be converted but take the liturgy in its *'ancient'*<sup>160</sup> form to them, scoring success with this method. Latin as a liturgical language is no hindrance to efficient religious and moral education in the countries of Europe or in Hungary, either. Among other things, he deems it important to stress all these facts because they presage the difficulties awaiting the request of the Hungarian Greek Catholics at the Holy See. Somewhat surprisingly, he does not see it as a real problem that Old Slavonic or Romanian as a liturgical language could endanger the Hungarian identity of the faithful. It is apt to use the term *'surprisingly'* because it was scarcely a year earlier that he was acquainted with the case of the Hungarian Greek Catholics of Makó, which was precisely about the Bishop of Oradea sending priests to the town who sought to Romanianise the faithful.

*'... I cannot identify with the concern voiced in the petition, for, above all, I must assume that the respective Bishops will not send pastors or schoolmasters to any Eastern-rite Catholic community who do not understand the mother tongue of the faithful and would therefore be unable to provide instruction in Hungarian, as*

*well as to spread the word of God and the principles of religion and morality through their ecclesial orations in the Hungarian community concerned. Though hard to believe, were this to be otherwise, there is certainly a way to improve the situation'*<sup>161</sup>

– the Prince-Primate notes.<sup>162</sup> He ends his letter by remarking that, should the Hungarian Greek Catholics insist on replacing the liturgical language at any rate, they ought to address their request exclusively to the Pope as the sole competent authority.

From Pest and Esztergom, the delegation returned to Hajdúdorog with high hopes. As the Speaker of the House of Representatives had even promised to introduce the petition of the Hungarian Greek Catholics in an urgent procedure, the delegates expected a swift resolution. Although, amid the usual enthusiastic speeches, Parliament discussed the subject undeniably quickly, it also forwarded it to the Ministry of Religion and Education without delay. However, the proceedings stalled there. After a long wait – with Sámuel Thury's mediation and Bishop Pankovics's endorsement – the petition was presented to Parliament again, but it was passed on to the Ministry this time as well. Following another period of waiting, Lajos Farkas travelled to the capital, to the Ministry of Religion and Education, to enquire about the status of the case in person. There, he was appalled to find no traces of the petition at the Registrar's Department... After long searching, he managed to talk to Titular Bishop István Lipovniczki, Ministerial Adviser and Head of the Department of Catholic Affairs, who admitted that the file was with him and that he was still about to send it to Bishop Pankovics for his assessment. At the same time, the Adviser made it explicit for Lajos Farkas that he considered the cause of the liturgical language hopeless: *'For who can guarantee that, once today they allow us to conduct services in Hungarian, tomorrow the Hungarian-speaking Latin-rite faithful of Komárom will*

<sup>159</sup> Ibid.

<sup>160</sup> Ibid. 119.

<sup>161</sup> Ibid.

<sup>162</sup> As will be shown, this way of thinking seemed almost derisively naïve a quarter of a century later: cf. the proposal of Ministerial Adviser Ivánkovics, ca. 1893–1894, *Források*, II/4/1, 170–181. Document no. 67.

*not demand the same? This is, after all, impossible to grant* – as Lajos Farkas recalls the Adviser’s words in his recollections.<sup>163</sup>

At this juncture, followed by the Chairman, the Standing Executive Committee was also faced with reality. Their idea to address the widest possible audience – starting with the King – notwithstanding, owing to the unique nature of their cause, ultimately a narrow path presented itself as leading to a possible solution: to the Pope himself. This narrow path was, however, guarded by the Archbishop of Esztergom, who was opposed to the liturgical use of Hungarian and who would obviously be first to be called upon by the Holy See to give his assessment. In a situation appearing to be beyond hope, the Organising Congress for Catholic Autonomy, beginning to operate in October 1870, offered some cause for optimism.<sup>164</sup> Chairman Lajos Farkas thought that this new body – a completely new forum in the life of the Catholic Church – might react to the demands of the Hungarian Greek Catholics in more subtle ways and could perhaps spur the Archbishop of Esztergom to change his view.<sup>165</sup> Though he would be disappointed in this sense, the board meeting of the Standing Executive Committee convened for 27 April 1871 to assist with the preparations proved to be a fitting occasion for facing reality. This setting also served as a venue for passing a resolution that Bishop Pankovics’s planned canonical visitation of Hajdúdorog would be exploited for encouraging the Hierarch to be more engaged about the cause of the Hungarian liturgy.

Bishop Pankovics’s canonical visitation happened in September 1871. In the course of the multiple-day visit, apart from the regular inspections prescribed by canon law, the question of the language of the liturgy naturally emerged as well. The Bishop took not only four canons but also an entire choir with him to Hajdúdorog. The latter was supposed to provide chants in Old Church Slavonic worthy

of an episcopal liturgy during the liturgical events of the visit. When the locals learnt of this circumstance, they at once sent envoys to the Bishop, who reposed in the parish building, and firmly requested that the Hierarch dispense with the participation of the choir from Uzhhorod, pleading that a local choir, suitable for this task, was at hand. After some arguing, Bishop Pankovic accepted the request of the Hajdúdorog community and consented to the Uzhhorod choir serving during the services only by singing a few chants.<sup>166</sup> This prelude aside, the canonical visitation was completed properly and in a good atmosphere. Once official business was over, lavish luncheons and dinners ensued, with dozens of toasts proposed. As a matter of course, well-wishers could not help toasting the future Hungarian Bishop, either. Addressed time and time again, the Bishop assured the people of Hajdúdorog in each of his responses that *‘he regarded it as his most exquisite patriotic duty to meet the expectations of his Hungarophone faithful.’*<sup>167</sup> It is remarkable that, speaking on behalf of the parishioners, István Farkas included calendar unification, i.e. the switch from the Julian Calendar to the Gregorian Calendar, among the most urgent tasks, besides the Hungarian liturgy and the Hungarian Eparchy. Concerning the calendar question, Bishop Pankovics made a bold statement by saying that he would implement calendar unification in his Eparchy in the near future even if it were to be unsuccessful in other eparchies.<sup>168</sup> This ambitious claim was not corroborated by reality as the introduction of the Gregorian Calendar in the Eparchy of Mukachevo would fail even as late as 1916.

During the visit, Bishop Pankovics won the sympathy of the Hajdúdorog community with his speeches, attitude and gestures. He crowned his successful introduction by disclosing his desire to be the first Hungarian Greek Catholic Bishop.<sup>169</sup>

In the course of his visit, Bishop Pankovics had the opportunity to marvel at the new fresco of

<sup>163</sup> Farkas, 1894, 71–72.

<sup>164</sup> Sarnyai, 2022, 57–68.

<sup>165</sup> Farkas, 1894, 75.

<sup>166</sup> Farkas, 1894, 77–78.

<sup>167</sup> Farkas, 1894, 79.

<sup>168</sup> Farkas, 1894, 81.

<sup>169</sup> Farkas, 1894, 82.

the church of Hajdúdorog, the painting of which was commissioned by the parish after the 1868 Congress, and which was also meant to accentuate the ideological background of the movement. In the painting *Saint Stephen Destroys Idols* by György Révész,<sup>170</sup> the Holy King is flanked by Byzantine-rite bishops, memorialising the historical fact – questioned at the time and for long afterwards – that priests of the Byzantine Church were the first to perform missionary activities among the Hungarians. This detail conveyed the message to contemporaries that Hungarian identity and the Byzantine Rite were not mutually exclusive notions.

Bishop Pankovics sent a written account of the canonical visitation to the Prince-Primate.<sup>171</sup> The report evidences that, true to his promise made to Lajos Farkas during the Uzhhorod visit – summarising the experience of the canonical visitation – the Bishop formulated his opinion in acknowledgement and support of the Hungarian Greek Catholics' demand about language use. The structure of the account, as well as the arrangement of the descriptions and specific facts suggest that Bishop Pankovics did in fact endeavour to convince the Latin Prelate, who might have treated the issue too theoretically, without any acquaintance with the actual situation.

He begins the report with a statement that would now seem superfluous or, at best, a mere politeness formula: He declares that his Hungarophone faithful are loyal children of the Church, seeking to live and die, as well as to attain salvation in the Catholic faith; they demonstrate genuine respect for the Holy See and the person of the Pope, upon whom they look with filial devotion and obedience. With this note inserted at the beginning of the report on the canonical visitation, Bishop Pankovics in effect intended to set the tone for the further exploration of the matter. He was well

aware that members of the Roman Catholic clergy frequently viewed Greek Catholics with suspicion, questioning the sincerity of their Catholicism. As this sense of distrust was no doubt also present among members of the Episcopacy in the discussion of Greek Catholic issues,<sup>172</sup> Bishop Pankovics strove to emphasise the true Catholic affiliation of the Hajdúdorog community. Next, the Hierarch explains that the Hungarian faithful understand neither Old Church Slavonic nor Romanian, while they would also wish to participate in services in accordance with the rules of the Byzantine Rite by responding to parts of the liturgy recited by the priest in a loud voice (*ekphoneses*), as well as by chanting antiphons and hymns. This was the reason for the gradual introduction of Hungarian. Though they celebrate the Divine Liturgy in Old Church Slavonic, they read the Apostolic passage and the Gospel in Hungarian, and antiphons, responses and other hymns are sung by the congregation in Hungarian. The Matins and the Vespers, as well as the Funeral Service, are also conducted in Hungarian, as is the administration of the sacraments, except for their essential parts. This arrangement was approved by Bishop Bazil Popovics as well. At the same time, the faithful continually ask the Bishop to achieve the legalisation of the liturgical use of Hungarian and its declaration as a liturgical language at the Holy See. Before presenting his assessment, he deemed it necessary to outline the structure of the most sacred act, the Divine Liturgy to the Prince-Primate. As distinct from the conventional divisions,<sup>173</sup> he identifies the individual sections of the Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom according to different groups of the faithful. Thus, he differentiates between three groups and, consequently, three parts: 1. the Liturgy of the Catechumens; 2. the Liturgy of the Faithful; 3. the Liturgy of the Communicants.<sup>174</sup> Based on this approach, he recommends that

<sup>170</sup> The fresco is no longer to be seen. Cf. Terdik, 2013, 189–190.

<sup>171</sup> Bishop Pankovics's report to Prince-Primate Simor, 26 October 1871. *Források*, II/4/1, 120–123. Document no. 44.

<sup>172</sup> As will be shown, Bishop of Győr Zalka would take the liberty of making a remark of this kind, in conjunction with the establishment of the Hungarian Greek Catholic Eparchy, even a decade later. Bishop Zalka to Minister of Culture Trefort, 21 March 1881. *Források*, II/4/1, 155–159. Document no. 62.

<sup>173</sup> 1. Preparation; 2. Liturgy of the Catechumens; 3. Liturgy of the Faithful.

<sup>174</sup> The Bishop dispenses with the Preparation as the congregation do not participate in it, and, in practice, it even precedes the public parts of the Divine Liturgy.

- the Liturgy of the Catechumens and, subsequently, the Liturgy of the Faithful to the Eucharistic Canon, as well as the prayers and hymns prescribed from Communion to the end of the liturgy, be chanted by the priest, the deacon and the congregation;
- the Eucharistic Canon be conducted by the priest and the deacon in Old Church Slavonic, while the congregation sing the prescribed chants in Hungarian;
- the administration of the sacraments, the various blessings, the Funeral Service, the Matins and the Vespers be conducted in Hungarian;

All these, however, presuppose the availability of Church-approved liturgical books in Hungarian.

Although Bishop Pankovics's proposal represented a compromise, besides Hungarian, it also left

space for Old Church Slavonic, it failed to convince Prince-Primate Simor. This may be established not from his response to the Bishop of Mukachevo, for – even if it exists – it has not been discovered as yet, but from the expert opinion supplied by Jesuit liturgist Nikolaus Nilles in 1898.<sup>175</sup> Recalling the history of the Hungarian liturgy, the renowned specialist of the Eastern Churches records that Prince-Primate Simor sent him Bishop Pankovics's above report. In his covering letter, he unequivocally stated that he would not take any steps in furtherance of the matter even if he were to have the chance to do so as he was apprehensive that the introduction of the Hungarian language would be requested by the Roman Catholic faithful as well.

Thus, the story came full circle again. Similarly to the petition submitted to state authorities, the destination of the request arriving via ecclesial channels was invariably Esztergom.

<sup>175</sup> Nilles' expert opinion for the Sacred Congregation for Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs, 17 July 1898. *Források*, II/4/1, 370–374. Document no. 165.

## Territorial Vicariate in Hajdúdorog

Unaware of the afterlife of the report dispatched by Bishop Pankovics to Esztergom or of the proposals therein, the Hajdúdorog community eagerly looked forward to any developments, which – in line with their expectations – could only be positive. ‘... *only good things may be in store for us*’ – as their leader, Lajos Farkas, put it. He even saw a new provision of ecclesiastical governance by Bishop Pankovics as a promising sign.<sup>176</sup> In fact, parish priest and archdean György Szabó had requested the Hierarch in the summer of 1868 to use Hungarian instead of ‘Russian’ in official correspondence with Hungarian parishes.<sup>177</sup> In his note, he justified his request by pointing out that the ‘Russian’ language had not been in use in the region for a century by then, and no-one outside the clergy was able to understand it. At the same time, the intended recipients of church-governance provisions were not only priests but cantors, school masters and local magistrates as well. To illustrate his point, he cites a case from Hajdúböszörmény, when he was to notify the town magistracy and the local Greek Catholic school master of an instruction issued by the Eparchial Bishop. As – to use his words – ‘the people, liberal-minded by nature and wishing to see everything for themselves,’ were not satisfied by the archdean’s oral communication, but they were unable to read the ‘Russian’ document presented, the act failed to be implemented. Bishop Pankovics was convinced by this argumentation and ordered that Hungarian be used in official settings in Hungarian Greek Catholic parishes.<sup>178</sup>

Nevertheless, the much-awaited good news was slow in coming. In spring 1872, the delay prompted Lajos Farkas to direct the attention of the House of Representatives to the situation of the Hungarian Greek Catholics again with the help of Miklós Oláh, Member of Parliament of the area. In his recollections, however, he also notes that he became suspicious that procrastination might as well indicate that the foundation of an eparchy was no longer on the agenda.<sup>179</sup> The response of the Minister of Culture to Miklós Oláh’s question<sup>180</sup> in Parliament confirmed Lajos Farkas’s suspicion. In fact, Minister of Culture Tivadar Pauler attempted to reassure the Member of Parliament by informing him that negotiations about a territorial vicariate to be established with its seat in Hajdúdorog were underway.<sup>181</sup> As, in his question, Member of Parliament Oláh targeted the petition<sup>182</sup> of the Hajdúdorog community submitted in 1866, which did contain the possibility of creating a territorial vicariate, the Minister’s reply did not stir indignation in the House of Representatives. At the same time, the 1868 Congress had rejected the idea of a territorial vicariate, and, henceforth, the objectives of the movement would include only and exclusively the creation of a new eparchy. This step was a corollary of the experience of the Congress, for some of the faithful and parishes joining the movement were from outside the Eparchy of Mukachevo, actually from an environment in which ‘... *they were most exposed to oppression by a foreign tongue*’.<sup>183</sup> By contrast,

<sup>176</sup> Farkas, 1894, 83.

<sup>177</sup> Archdean Szabó’s note to Bishop Pankovics, 25 July 1868, *Források*, II/4/1, 115 – 116, Document no. 41.

<sup>178</sup> Farkas, 1894, 83.

<sup>179</sup> Farkas, 1894, 84.

<sup>180</sup> *Források*, II/4/1, 123 – 125, Document no. 45 In his question to the Minister, Member of Parliament Oláh also references the registration number of his declaration in support of the cause of the Hungarian Greek Catholics.

<sup>181</sup> *Források*, II/4/1, 125.

<sup>182</sup> *Források*, II/4/1, 88–91, Document no. 30.

<sup>183</sup> Farkas, 1894, 84.

the jurisdiction of a territorial vicariate could, as a matter of fact, only encompass the parishes within the Eparchy of Mukachevo. In other words, it was again the most endangered Hungarian Greek Catholic communities that would be left alone.

Lajos Farkas could not determine<sup>184</sup> with whom exactly the proposition that the Hungarian Greek Catholics would be content with a territorial vicariate as well originated. This information is to be found in the letter of Minister of Culture Ágoston Trefort<sup>185</sup> written to Prince-Primate Simor on this matter.<sup>186</sup> The Minister cites Bishop Pankovics's petition to the Government, in which the Bishop claimed that, during the canonical visitation of Hajdúdorog, he succeeded in modifying the request of the Hungarian Greek Catholics so that they would be pleased even with a territorial vicariate. This surprising statement is not in harmony with what was said in the course of the canonical visitation, especially the Bishop's assertion that he wished he could be the first Hungarian Greek Catholic bishop.<sup>187</sup> Even Lajos Farkas became suspicious that, by excluding the public and bypassing the Chairman of the Standing Executive Committee, some of the leaders of the movement had done a backroom deal with the Bishop. Such a move could take place even at the time of the canonical visitation, as part of an exclusive session, to which the Bishop had not invited the intransigent Lajos Farkas and his brother, István. This hypothesis seems to be supported by further details in Minister Trefort's letter. In fact, the Minister solicited the Prince-Primate's opinion because he considered demands for the subsidies of the head of the territorial vicariate to be established exaggerated. Bishop Pankovics set the value of the grant to be paid from the Religion Fund at 12 thousand forints per annum. Minister Trefort saw this as excessive because the amount was more than the 10 thousand forints paid to the Bishops

of Lugoj and Gherla. Moreover, the annual payment of territorial vicars operating in other dioceses was as little as 420 forints. In view of all this, the Minister called on Bishop Pankovics to renegotiate the demands, as well as to send him the list of the parishes to be assigned to the Territorial Vicariate. In response, the Bishop sent him the new petition of the Hajdúdorog community. In this instance, the term 'Hajdúdorog community' is again to be understood as referring to the negotiating team conducting talks without the Farkas brothers. Although, in this petition, they decreased their demand about the Territorial Vicar's remuneration from 12 thousand to 8 thousand, they also included a request for the creation of a chapter of three, with 3 thousand forints as the yearly payment of each member, as a new condition. Bishop Pankovics dispatched the list of parishes as well: He proposed that 41 parishes with 53051 members of the faithful be assigned to the Territorial Vicariate. The Minister described the demands as '*overambitious requirements*'<sup>188</sup> and sought the Prince-Primate's view before taking further action.

The Prince-Primate would send his reply<sup>189</sup> to the Minister only in the early days of 1873. In it, he questions the right of the Territorial Vicariate of Hajdúdorog to exist. He reasons that Bishop Pankovics's argument about the size of his Eparchy is unwarranted as he already has a territorial vicar in Sighetu Marmației (*Máramarossziget*) assisting him in his governing duties. In addition, the Eparchy of Mukachevo could by no means be called large, for some of the Latin Dioceses are even larger. In most cases, the respective Bishops govern their Dioceses without territorial vicars. Wherever territorial vicars are, nevertheless, involved, their legitimacy is justified by the numbers. To illustrate his point, he mentions his own Diocese, which has a territorial vicariate in Trnava (*Nagyszombat*), comprising not

<sup>184</sup> In 1870, Lajos Farkas left his position as Lieutenant, i.e. Mayor, became Judge of the Court of Appeal and, subsequently, Attorney General for the Hajdú District and even moved out of Hajdúdorog. Thus, his possibilities to obtain information were limited.

<sup>185</sup> In September 1872, Trefort replaced Tivadar Pauler in the ministerial seat.

<sup>186</sup> Minister Trefort's note to Prince-Primate Simor, 28 October 1872, *Források*, II/4/1, 125–126, Document no. 46.

<sup>187</sup> With his letter, Minister Trefort enclosed Bishop Pankovics's note as well – though with the label 'requesting return', so that the original made its way back to the Ministry of Religion and Education. As the holdings of the Ministry of Culture and Education sustained considerable damage in 1956, Bishop Pankovics's note is not available, either.

<sup>188</sup> *Források*, II/4/1, 126.

<sup>189</sup> *Források*, II/4/1, 127–128, Document no. 47.

41 but 238 parishes though, with as many as half a million parishioners, as opposed to half a hundred thousand. Furthermore, the Vicar of Trnava is not paid by the Religion Fund but by the Archbishopric itself. Should the Government, nonetheless, be determined to found a territorial vicariate, it ought to add a prebend for an eighth canon to the seven-strong Chapter Body of the Eparchy of Mukachevo, to be granted to the incumbent Territorial Vicar of Hajdúdorog. The Prince-Primate suggests that the income for this benefice be defined as a sum between 420 and 800 forints.<sup>190</sup> He does not deem the creation of a chapter possible as the Eastern Church does not admit of the institution of associated chapters. He recommends that the Territorial Vicar should organise a consistory out of the priests of the area, who – in line with the practice of other territorial vicariates – do not receive extra payment. He concludes his letter with a sarcastic remark: ‘...the point in the request is to employ an episcopal vicar, as distinct from remunerating such with 8000 forints...’ (translated from the Hungarian original).<sup>191</sup>

To understand the Hajdúdorog demands described as ‘overambitious’, one must take account of the fact that the town itself spent eight thousand forints to buy a building with a total useful floor area of 690 m<sup>2</sup> (825.23 sq yd), envisaged to function as the centre of the future Territorial Vicariate. Additionally, the town also provided significant property – 67 cadastral yokes of arable land – to the Territorial Vicariate as endowment.<sup>192</sup> Therefore, the people of Hajdúdorog felt that they contributed to the establishment of the Territorial Vicariate by making great sacrifices.

Aside from the arguments he listed, Prince-Primate Simor’s refusal may have been motivated by the concern that the institution of the Territorial Vicariate was the precursor to a bishopric to be created subsequently. Among the Greek Catholic

Eparchies, those of Oradea and Prešov were also formed out of territorial vicariates.<sup>193</sup> At the same time, a Hungarian Greek Catholic eparchy would have been meant that the question of the Hungarian liturgy would be kept on the agenda, which – as has been implied – Prince-Primate Simor did not regard as desirable.

Apart from the concrete needs and demands of the Hungarian Greek Catholics, the Territorial Vicariate as an institution was a highly efficient organ of ecclesiastical governance. It gave diocesan bishops the freedom to manage a particular region’s church matters of lesser importance but taking much time and energy overall not in person. Furthermore, it was beneficial for parish priests and the faithful, too, as they did not need to travel to a faraway diocesan centre in conjunction with issues requiring physical presence (e.g. fairly common matrimonial affairs). Besides aspects of ecclesiastical governance, Hungary’s Greek Catholic Territorial Vicariates undertook to perform political, ethnic and cultural functions as well. The Territorial Vicariates of Transylvania’s Romanian Eparchies in particular served as centres of religious, national and cultural power of the micro-regions concerned.<sup>194</sup>

*‘The high mountain brought forth a mouse...’*<sup>195</sup> – notes Lajos Farkas with disappointment in his reaction to the foundation of the Territorial Vicariate of Hajdúdorog. Although he considered this act a ‘petty manoeuvre’<sup>196</sup>, aimed at silencing the Hungarian Greek Catholics, he assessed the fact that the foundation of the Territorial Vicariate gave official endorsement for the legitimacy of the objectives of the movement as a step forward. The announcement was made by Minister Trefort on 20 September 1873. All that the short statement says is that the Monarch ‘has deigned to approve the disbursement of 3000 forints from the Religion Fund for the Territorial Episcopal Vicariate to be

<sup>190</sup> As Prince-Primate Simor’s response has survived in the Primatial Archives of Esztergom only as a draft, changes implemented in the text are also in evidence. This way, it is revealed that the Prince-Primate originally proposed only 420 forints, but later he crossed it through and modified it to 420–800 forints.

<sup>191</sup> *Források*, II/4/1, 128.

<sup>192</sup> Janka, 2002, 8.

<sup>193</sup> Later, the Eparchies of Hajdúdorog and Maramureş/Marmaroshchyna (*Máramaros*) would travel the same path.

<sup>194</sup> Popa-Andrei, 2010, 137.

<sup>195</sup> Farkas, 1894, 84.

<sup>196</sup> Farkas, 1894, 86.

established in Hajdúdorog for Hungarian-speaking Byzantine-rite Catholics' (translated from the Hungarian original).<sup>197</sup> As this formulation makes no mention of the Eparchy of Mukachevo at all but speaks of the Byzantine-rite faithful instead, initial interpretations suggested that the jurisdiction of the Territorial Vicariate was to cover all Hungarian Greek Catholic parishes. However, it soon became clear that the Minister's statement had been made too terse, and the act would affect only certain parishes of the Eparchy of Mukachevo.

Following the announcement by the Minister, it would take over a year and a half for the first Territorial Vicar to be appointed and almost another two-and-a-half years for the Territorial Vicariate to be actually formed. The reason for the delay was Bishop István Pankovics's unexpected death on 29 August 1874. The Hierarch, who died at only 54, was temporarily succeeded by Canon Antal Csopey as head of ecclesiastical governance in the position of Vicar Capitular.<sup>198</sup> Even though the Monarch appointed János Pásztélyi Kovács, Vicar of Maramureş/Marmaroshchyna, as successor in the episcopal seat as early as 25 November 1874, the Bishop Elect was granted papal confirmation only in March 1875. Thus, he could be consecrated on 18 April and enthroned on 9 May 1875.<sup>199</sup>

Selecting and appointing the first Territorial Vicar of Hajdúdorog were among the new Hierarch's first responsibilities. Since Bishop Pásztélyi Kovács was known to belong to the Hungarophile movement of his uncle, Bishop Pankovics, it came as no small surprise that, in the end, he chose Canon János Danilovics (1836–1895).<sup>200</sup> In fact, Danilovics was associated with the Russophile wing, which was even reflected in his intensive literary activities. Several of his pieces were published in Russian,

his play *Family Celebration* being of particular significance among them for his appointment as Territorial Vicar of Hajdúdorog. In it, Danilovics condemned those Rusyns who abandoned their nation on account of their indifference about their own mother tongue and culture.<sup>201</sup> Aged only 39 at the time of his appointment, the Territorial Vicar had duties assigned to him at the eparchial centre immediately after his ordination to the priesthood. He had acquired no experience in pastoral work. He was already a canon at 31 and he was involved in organising the cultural life of the Eparchy of Mukachevo as Co-President of the Society of St Basil in Uzhhorod. As Chancellor of the Uzhhorod Episcopal Office, he was well-versed with matters of church governance. In addition, he also worked as a grammar school teacher. In Hajdúdorog and the Hungarian parts of the Eparchy, however, Danilovics was completely unfamiliar. Therefore, – based on a misinterpretation of the Territorial Vicar's earlier literary activities – rumours that positively depicted him as a proponent of the Pan-Slavic Movement could spread unhindered. The people of Hajdúdorog would also give credit to such hearsay easily because they would have preferred to see their parish priest, Archdean György Szabó, take office as Territorial Vicar.<sup>202</sup>

The real significance of the newly established Territorial Vicariate hinged on the competences with which the Eparchial Bishop endowed the new Vicar. Bishop Pásztélyi Kovács enumerated these competences in Danilovics's appointment document.<sup>203</sup> It is evident from the list that the Eparchial Bishop was not generous in granting competences. Some of the rights and duties described in detail in nine points relate to everyday activities of ecclesiastical governance:

<sup>197</sup> *Források*, II/4/1, 128, Document no. 48.

<sup>198</sup> Report of Bishop Pankovics's death and of the Vicar Capitular's election in the Primatial Archives of Esztergom: EPL Simor Cat. D. 4383/1874.

<sup>199</sup> The new Bishop of Mukachevo was his predecessor's nephew and a widowed priest with six children. The latter circumstance did not represent a novelty in this period as his consecrator, József Gagancz, Bishop of Prešov, had also ascended the episcopal throne as a widowed priest, as did Bishop Pásztélyi Kovács's successor, Gyula Firczák, subsequently.

<sup>200</sup> For his biography, see: Pirigy, 1999, 15–19.

<sup>201</sup> Mayer, 1977, 138.

<sup>202</sup> Pirigy, 1999, 18.

<sup>203</sup> Uzhhorod, 6 July 1875, *Források*, II/4/1, 129–130, Document no. 49.



- The Territorial Vicar shall found a twelve-member lower court, which he shall consult regularly under the supervision and with the approval of the Eparchial Bishop and the Episcopal Court (Point 1);
- The Territorial Vicar shall investigate and resolve disputes of priests and school masters/cantors with the faithful, even by resorting to temporary suspension from the office concerned (Point 3);
- The Territorial Vicar shall visit the parishes and schools of the Vicariate once a year and he shall subject their operation and respective conditions to thorough inspection (Point 6);
- The Territorial Vicar shall ensure that the deans honour their obligation to report regularly (Point 7).

Matrimonial affairs constitute another group of rights and duties. The Territorial Vicar may

- rule in matrimonial cases concerning '*separation from bed and board*' (i.e. the separation of married couples) (Point 2);
- grant dispensation from the banns of marriage, forbidden times and the failure to meet age-related specifications by a minor female spouse, except in the case of seminarians and school masters/cantors (Point 4).

The Territorial Vicar's liturgical competences included the blessing of church vestments, icons, flags, church bells, graveyards and desecrated holy places (Point 5). The last two points (Points 8 and 9) detail the representation of the Eparchial Bishop and the Territorial Vicar's obligation to supply information on a regular basis.

Besides the limited competences, the geographical constraints of the Territorial Vicar's jurisdiction are also apparent. The Territorial Vicariate comprised a total of 35 parishes – those of the Archdeanery of Szabolcs: six from the Deanery of Hajdúdorog, eight from the Deanery of Karász, eight from the Deanery of Máriapócs, eight from the Deanery of Nagykálló and five from the Dean-

ery of Timár. Although the Territorial Vicariate was expanded by the addition of the Deanery of Nyír – nine parishes – from the Archdeanery of Szatmár in 1878, the 44 parishes would continue to represent but a small portion of the community of Hungarian Greek Catholics. Apart from the Hungarian parishes of the Eparchies of Prešov and Oradea, the absence of the Hungarian communities of the Archdeanery of Zemplén from the Eparchy of Mukachevo is conspicuous.

Even though Lajos Farkas voiced his disappointment and unequivocally indicated that the Hungarian Greek Catholics would have needed not a territorial vicariate but an eparchy, it appears that this solution was also suitable for the majority of the local Greek Catholic clergy. This is illustrated by the minutes of the first session of the Lower Court of the Territorial Vicariate as well.<sup>204</sup>

In his contribution during the session held on 9 February 1876, Gyula Orosz, parish priest of Hajdúböszörmény – fully in line with the orientation represented by Lajos Farkas – complained that the two major objectives of the 1868 Congress had not been achieved: Instead of an eparchy, they had been given a territorial vicariate, and no progress had been registered in the question of Hungarian as a liturgical language. He requested the Lower Court to use their first session to draft a petition to Eparchial Bishop János Pásztélyi Kovács asking him

- to promote the cause of the creation of an eparchy at the competent state and church offices;
- to propose the legalisation of the liturgical use of Hungarian to the Holy See;
- to expand the Territorial Vicariate's competences;
- to have the existing Hungarian translations of the liturgy examined and provide liturgical books of impeccable quality.

Despite parish priest Gyula Orosz's intention to speak on behalf of all of the affected Greek Catholic priests, the Lower Court refused to accept his pro-

<sup>204</sup> For the text of the minutes, see: *Források*, II/4/1, 130–136, Document no. 50.

positional, arguing that it did not consider the suggested petition timely.<sup>205</sup> The Territorial Vicar supported only the final point – actually, he did so by defining the question of translation as his own task, and not that of the Eparchial Bishop. At the same time, this did not mean that Territorial Vicar Danilovics did not regard the issue of establishing an eparchy as important. In his solemn speech delivered to open the session, he devoted ample space to the subject and encouraged the members of the Lower Court to see the implementation of the principle of graduality in the creation of the Territorial Vicariate, reminding them of the example of the Eparchy of Prešov, which had also developed from a territorial vicariate into an eparchy.<sup>206</sup> In his session-closing proposal, he envisaged specific steps in an area also important to the Hungarian Greek Catholics. He recommended that, for the education of cantors well-acquainted with the ‘Hungarian mode of chanting,’ an institute

for school master and cantor training be established in Hajdúdorog as soon as possible.<sup>207</sup>

Territorial Vicar Danilovics’s further activities would prove that he truly meant the commitment he made at the first session of the Lower Court, instead of simply endeavouring to gain the trust of the locals. Although his appointment document contained no such responsibility, he voluntarily assumed the task of preparing the liturgical translations, making lasting accomplishments in this field – ones that would be decisive for the later development of the Hungarian Greek Catholic liturgical language. From the first moment of his ministry in Hajdúdorog, *‘he did not procrastinate to employ the Hungarian language in both private and public services as part of Divine Worship’*, which even earned him the appreciation of Lajos Farkas, who was so critical about the institution of the Territorial Vicariate.<sup>208</sup>

<sup>205</sup> As a matter of course, Lajos Farkas did not omit to comment on this, missing resolute action by the members of the Lower Court, along with a sense of *‘openness and a brave Hungarian heart’*: Farkas, 1894, 94–95.

<sup>206</sup> *Források*, II/4/1, 131–132.

<sup>207</sup> *Források*, II/4/1, 136.

<sup>208</sup> Farkas, 1894, 96.

# Hungarian Liturgical Manuscripts and Publications and the Activities of the Hajdúdorog Translation Commission

The question whether the Territorial Vicariate established in lieu of an eparchy would be capable of furthering the Hungarian Greek Catholic cause was answered soon. True to the promise he made at the first session of the Lower Court, Territorial Vicar Danilovics took the issue of the translation of liturgical books into his own hands. It is, however, evident that he had not received an official request or instruction from his Eparchial Bishop to do so. In the previous chapter, it was pointed out that this responsibility was not included among the Territorial Vicar's rights and duties. It was also discussed that the Hungarian Greek Catholics' petitions targeting liturgical translations would always be addressed to the Eparchial Bishop, and he would be expected to take the necessary steps. It seems reasonable to assume that the Eparchial Bishop would delegate a task of this kind to a member of his immediate staff. At the same time, it is no doubt uncommon that, in defining the obligations of the Territorial Vicar of Hajdúdorog in detail, Bishop Pásztyéyi Kovács made no mention whatsoever of a responsibility of so great significance.

This unusual arrangement may be accounted for by a fact repeatedly emphasised by Prince-Primate Simor: The question of the liturgical language exclusively pertained to the competence of the Holy See. A diocesan bishop should have no competence in this regard. In all probability, Bishop Pásztyéyi Kovács sought to avoid even the appearance of acting as an initiator of changes to the liturgical language. Instead, he let the Territorial Vicar take the initiative, and – as will be shown – he even refused to grant imprimatur or any official character to the completed liturgical books. However, the absolutely living practice of using Hungarian in the liturgy represented a real pastoral and disciplinary

problem in the life of the Eparchy of Mukachevo, requiring some response from the Eparchial Bishop. Thus, Territorial Vicar Danilovics began his work on his own initiative, though obviously with his Hierarch's knowledge and, most probably, even under the latter's oral instructions.

Prior to a description of this highly important activity of his, it appears necessary to examine and explore the details of the question of the liturgical use of Hungarian, referenced multiple times in the present discussion, to see how the issue of the use of Hungarian evolved before Territorial Vicar Danilovics's arrival on the scene and exactly what the clerics and lay people raising their voice on the matter understood by the 'Hungarian liturgy'.

In reviewing the history of the liturgical use of Hungarian, a distinction must be made between praxis surviving only in tradition and praxis verified by sources. As claims associated with the first category – i.e. those unsubstantiated by sources – played an important role in the Hungarian Greek Catholic narrative of this period, they are worth some scrutiny. Central to these are two initiatives attributed to two prominent hierarchs of the Eparchy of Mukachevo: Bishops János József De Camillis and András Bacsinszky. Serving as Bishop of Mukachevo and Apostolic Vicar from 1689 to 1706, De Camillis left the island of Khios for the Greek College in Rome.<sup>209</sup> After his theological studies, he worked as a missionary for a few years in Albania. Next, having returned to the Eternal City, he became a Basilian monk and the Greek scribe of the Vatican Apostolic Library. Lipót Kollonich contacted him in autumn 1688 and offered him the Episcopal See of Mukachevo. Kollonich chose the Greek monk because he did not find an eligible candidate in Hungary and, for political reasons – with the

<sup>209</sup> To Bishop De Camillis: Fyrigos, 2008.

consent of the Viennese Court – he was conscious to do everything to prevent a Ruthenian Basilian monk from Poland, who would subsequently yield to the influence of the Metropolitanate of Kiev, from assuming the Episcopate of Mukachevo. De Camillis knew nothing of his future Eparchy, and Kollonich endeavoured to represent the responsibilities and circumstances lying ahead of him in terms more favourable than reality. Although – as he admitted – the conditions obtaining in the Eparchy of Mukachevo and the region in general were inferior even to his Albanian experiences, Bishop De Camillis continued in his office to his death. With hard work, he consolidated the union and laid the foundations of a Tridentine-type reform of the Greek Catholic clergy. Relevant to the present enquiry is the fact that he kept a diary of his activities,<sup>210</sup> in a surviving fragment, mentioning an associate of his, by the name of Izajás (Isaiah), whom he also identifies as his compatriot and an Athonian monk.<sup>211</sup> Bishop De Camillis appointed the monk Izajás parish priest of Debrecen and Superior of the Romanian parishes of Bihar/Bihor.<sup>212</sup> When, in 1692, the Town Council expelled the Greek merchants settled in the town from Debrecen and some of them moved to Tokaj, Izajás also relocated there. From Tokaj, he transferred to Bixad (*Bikszád*), where he founded a monastery. He was brutally murdered in an armed robbery there in 1701.

The memory of Izajás's life and activities were vividly preserved in local historical tradition as the church of the monastery founded by him would later become a pilgrimage site thanks to a weeping icon of the Theotokos.<sup>213</sup> He is commemorated both by Joannicius Basilovits,<sup>214</sup> the first to produce a systematic description of the history of the Eparchy of Mukachevo, as well as by Antal Szirmay,<sup>215</sup>

author of a monograph on Szatmár County. Even though the most memorable detail in Izajás's story is his tragic death, the account of which naturally constitutes the largest part of the texts on him, data on his activities are more germane to the subject at hand. In this regard, both Basilovits and his successor, Szirmay, highlight that – following his departure from Debrecen and, later, from Tokaj – Izajás performed his fruitful pastoral activities among the Romanians and the Rusyns. This is of particular importance because, at one point in the Hungarian Greek Catholic narrative, the monk Izajás emerges as a translator of the liturgy, making translations at the request of Bishop De Camillis and promising a Hungarian liturgy to the Hajdúdorog community as part of his efforts in support of the union. In retrospect, it would be difficult to establish exactly when and by whom such a statement was actually made.

It is, nevertheless, apparent that the historical antecedents indicated in the 1866 note of the Hajdúdorog community, in the requests of Parliament drafted in 1868 or in the petitions from the year 1881 do not include the related activities of Bishop De Camillis or of the monk Izajás. It is also revelatory that they are not mentioned by the leader of the movement, Lajos Farkas, in his book published in 1894, either. The first occurrence of this claim is encountered in Jenő Petrus's writing<sup>216</sup> published as a book in 1897, though previously released as newspaper articles as of 1894. Jenő Petrus was the nephew of György Szabó, parish priest of Hajdúdorog, whom he assisted by managing his economic affairs. He even held various posts: town archivist, leader of farmers' association, deputy clerk, chief notary, assessor to the orphans' court and, for a short time, even chief constable. Despite studying economics and postal technology, he would publish poems

<sup>210</sup> The text of the diary was first published by Mihály LutsKay (LutsKay, 1990, 41–76) in 1843 and, subsequently, by Kálmán Zsatkovics in 1895 (Zsatkovics, 1895), as well as by István Baán most recently (Baán, 2017)

<sup>211</sup> *'Die 13. 7bris P[at]ri[i] Isaiæ Monacho Montis S[acri] meo Compatriotæ contuli Eccl[esi]am Debrecinensem, et subieci ipsi Sacerdotes qui sunt circa Varadinum, et Bihar'* Baán, 2017, 191.

<sup>212</sup> *'Debreczini P. Isaias Jerom[onach]us requisitus ab illis Graecis pro Plebano. Mense Martij an. 1692. [...] Mense Ian. 94. constitui meum Vic[ari]um in partibus Hung[ariae] sup[ra] Valachos P. Isaiam de Caroli'* Baán, 2017, 170–171.

<sup>213</sup> On the history of the devotional image, see: Terdik, 2008.

<sup>214</sup> Basilovits, 1799, II. 118–120.

<sup>215</sup> Szirmay, 1810, 332–333.

<sup>216</sup> Petrus, 1897.

and short stories as well in national and local papers from 1872. Accordingly, the Standing Executive Committee requested him to write the history of the Hajdúdorog Movement in 1894.<sup>217</sup> Sadly, Petrus did not pay much attention to indicating his sources. He put a brief text at the beginning of his book enumerating a few living individuals from whom he collected information, as well as some historians whose works he used. Thus, it is impossible ascertain from where the information in the pages devoted to the activities of the monk Izajás was acquired. Nonetheless, Petrus presents Izajás as the first apostle of the Hungarian Rite, who translated hymns from Greek for the Hajdúdorog community and, having moved to Berettyóújfalú, invariably continued spreading the liturgical use of the Hungarian language. Moreover, Petrus alleges that even the cause of his death was that, in their jealousy for the Romanian language, the ‘*Oláhs*’ (Hungarian folk term for Romanians) had him murdered by a robber. This was a major blow to ‘*Hungarophones*’, who may have found consolation in the fact that, ‘*in the summer of 1706, Bishop De Camillis started a sizeable fund in memory of Izajás*’ for the ‘Hungarian Department’ to be established at the Basilian Monastery of Mukachevo. The Department would commence its operation soon, its professors teaching seminarians Hungarian chants and prayers, as well as preaching. As Petrus argues, it was thanks to this development that the Hajdúdorog community would always find a priest who could celebrate the liturgy and preach in Hungarian.<sup>218</sup>

With a little generosity, Petrus’s statements might as well be considered as written records of local oral tradition. In this case, however, it would be hard to answer the obvious question why Lajos Farkas, who is listed as one of the contemporaries interviewed at the beginning of his book, omits to refer to Izajás

and Bishop De Camillis among the historical antecedents. As it seems certain that the ‘*Hungarian Department*’ attributed to De Camillis did not exist in the Monastery of Mukachevo in the form posited by Petrus,<sup>219</sup> for now, the colourful account of Izajás’s activities as translator of the liturgy ought also to be seen as the product of fantasy, in default of conclusive evidence.

At the same time, Petrus’s claims command attention, for they would not lapse into oblivion at all. A few years later, they were even incorporated into an official document: the Latin memorial submitted during the 1900 pilgrimage of the Hungarian Greek Catholics to Rome. A Hungarian translation is available in the commemorative volume published in memory of the pilgrimage:

*‘In Hungarian areas, Bishop De Camillis [...] had sermons delivered and hymns sung in Hungarian to our congregations, and, with the help of his relative, Izaiás, who translated several Greek chants into Hungarian, he even envisaged the introduction of the Holy Mass in Hungarian, provided the Greek-rite Catholic Hungarians faithfully adhered to the sacred Union’* (translated from the Hungarian original).<sup>220</sup>

According to Jenő Szabó,<sup>221</sup> the first version of the text of the memorial was written by Rezső Kupár (1866–1910), a Greek Catholic priest from the Eparchy of Oradea, teacher of the Principal Grammar School of Beiuș (*Belényes*), who was actively engaged in journalism under the pennames ‘Gedeon’ and ‘Hierotheus’. As a person of Romanian extraction – his original name being Radu Cupariu – he was a vocal proponent of Romanian-Hungarian reconciliation, though he would tend to be regarded as more pro-Hungarian by the 1890s. Joining

<sup>217</sup> Pirigy, 1998, 77.

<sup>218</sup> Petrus, 1897, 12–15.

<sup>219</sup> In his will, Bishop De Camillis did bequeath one thousand guilders to the Monastery of Mukachevo, though not for the training of seminarians or the teaching of Hungarian prayers, hymns or rhetoric. In his testament, the Bishop intends to provide the means for the education of children by using the interest yielded by his foundation to hire a Greek Catholic school teacher to teach children prayers, hymns and church services, as well as Latin and Hungarian. He also adds that, should this be impossible to implement in the absence of a suitable teacher, the interest must be spent on Holy Masses to be celebrated for the salvation of his soul. Hodinka, Okmánytár, 466–468. Petrus’s error was pointed to by Grigássy as well: Grigássy, 1913, 19.

<sup>220</sup> Emlékkönyv [Commemorative volume] 78 (= *Források*, II/4/1, 436).

<sup>221</sup> Szabó, 1913, 339.

Jenő Szabó, he became involved in the initiatives of the Greek Catholics of Budapest and came to be a committed supporter of the Hungarian Greek Catholic cause. Therefore, the Romanian press sought to discredit him as a traitor.<sup>222</sup> In his article *Küzdelem a magyar liturgiáért* [Fight for the Hungarian liturgy], Jenő Szabó also discloses that the compilation of the memorial was already underway when the authors realised that an overview of the historical antecedents of Greek Catholic Hungarians and the use of the Hungarian language was needed. As Szabó points out, the historical investigations started with considerable delay resulted in an ‘incomplete’ presentation.<sup>223</sup> In practice, this meant that Kupár and his fellow authors gathered everything that was accessible to them and, given the shortness of the time at their disposal, they adopted information without any particular critical analysis. As Petrus’s book was one of the most up-to-date publications, his claims were included in the memorial, and the authors would even make further – rather daring – conclusions from them: ‘*Had our Bishop József De Camillis succeeded in introducing the Hungarian language in church to a greater extent than he actually did, these areas (viz. the Calvinist Hajdúság – the author’s note) would still be Greek Catholic today*’ (translated from the Hungarian original).<sup>224</sup>

As an official document placed in the ornate commemorative volume, the memorial gave due authority to Petrus’s claims, so they would regularly recur in the Greek Catholic journalism of the next few decades as unquestioned/unquestionable facts.<sup>225</sup>

Another assertion unsupported by sources concerning the liturgical use of Hungarian relates to András Bacsinszky,<sup>226</sup> Bishop of Mukachevo (1772–1809), who ascended the episcopal throne from his post as parish priest of Hajdúdorog. The memorial captures the essence of tradition in the following terms: ‘*Thus, András Bacsinszky himself, Bishop of [Mukachevo] from 1772 to 1809, translated several hymns and had them chanted in Hungarian at the time when he was a priest in Hajdúdorog*’ (translated from the Hungarian original).<sup>227</sup> The petition of the Standing Executive Committee of Hajdúdorog from the year 1881 adds that ‘*... the widely renowned Bishop of Mukachevo, András Bacsinszky, initiated the translation of Byzantine-rite ecclesiastical books into Hungarian as early as the end of the last century...*’ (translated from the Hungarian original).<sup>228</sup> Inter alia, such statements are found in the letter of János Vályi, Bishop of Prešov, to Cardinal Secretary of State Mariano Rampolla from 1896,<sup>229</sup> as well as in the note<sup>230</sup> of Gyula Firczák, Bishop of Mukachevo, to Pope Leo XIII – also from 1896 – and they were also incorporated into the memorandum of the Hungarian Government sent to the Holy See in 1897.<sup>231</sup> This way, Bishop Bacsinszky appears in the narrative in a dual role: On the one hand, as parish priest of Hajdúdorog, he is also a translator himself, while, on the other, he is the first to order Hungarian translations in his capacity as bishop. These claims are invariably treated as facts by Lajos Farkas,<sup>232</sup> Jenő Petrus,<sup>233</sup> as well as, subsequently, by Rezső Kupár,<sup>234</sup> and even by Hiador Sztripszky.<sup>235</sup>

<sup>222</sup> Tribuna Populurui 1898/197, 963. Foia Populurui reported even his death in 1910 in a sarcastic article: Foia Populurui, 1910/16. 2.

<sup>223</sup> Budapesti Szemle, 1901, 298; republished in: Szabó, 1913, 1–30, 9.

<sup>224</sup> *Források*, II/4/1, 450.

<sup>225</sup> E.g. in János Kozma’s article ‘Szeretési könyveink magyar fordításai’ [The translations of our liturgical books into Hungarian] from 1943 (Görögkatolikus Szemle, 8 Arpil 1943, 8, 3. Ferenc Rohály. Magyarországi keleti liturgiák, Keleti Egyház 3–5/1943, 56–63. Papp, 1942, 10.

<sup>226</sup> On Bacsinszky, see: Véghseő, 2014.

<sup>227</sup> *Források*, II/4/1, 437.

<sup>228</sup> Petition of the Standing Executive Committee to the House of Representatives, Hajdúdorog, 23 January 1881, *Források*, II/4/1, 140–143.

<sup>229</sup> Bishop Vályi to Cardinal Rampolla, Prešov, 26 July 1896, *Források*, II/4/1, 221–224.

<sup>230</sup> Bishop Firczák to Pope Leo XIII, Uzhhorod, 25 November 1896, *Források*, II/4/1, 250–256.

<sup>231</sup> Memorandum of the Hungarian Government to the Holy See, Budapest, 5 February 1897, *Források* II/4/1, 296–300.

<sup>232</sup> Farkas, 1894, 11–13.

<sup>233</sup> Petrus, 1897, 15.

<sup>234</sup> Under the pseudonym Hierotheus, in his article ‘A görög katolikus magyarság ügyéről’ [On the cause of Greek Catholic Hungarians] in the periodical Budapesti Szemle, 1900, No. 103; republished in: Szabó, 1913, 339–351.

<sup>235</sup> Sztripszky, 1913a, 435. Sztripszky references the commemorative volume.

Although claims in conjunction with Bacsinszky can be no more verified by direct sources than Iza-jás's story, indications that tradition may have had some part in this instance do exist.

Most important among these is the circumstance that the Bacsinszky Era represents a transition to the period of extant Hungarian Greek Catholic liturgical specimens. From the final decade of the 18th century, two translations of the liturgy are known, surviving until most recently with the labels *Krucsay* (1793) and *Kritsfalussy* (1795) after the names of their respective translators. A copy of the translation attributed to Canon Mihály Krucsay, produced by István Lupess, parish priest of Timár, in 1814, is kept at the Library of St Athanasius Greek Catholic Theological Institute,<sup>236</sup> whereas the text of Kritsfalussy's translation was published by Hiador Sztripszky on the basis of a copy of the manuscript held in the Archives of the Eparchy of Mukachevo.<sup>237</sup> However, through a comparative analysis, János Nyirán has concluded that the Krucsay text is in effect a copy of the translation made by György Kritsfalussy, incorrectly dated to 1793 by István Lupess in 1814.<sup>238</sup>

It is also relevant to the present enquiry that Mihály Krucsay was born in Hajdúdorog, served as parish priest of Sečovce (*Gálszécs*) from 1771 to 1801, as well as of Sátoraljaújhely from 1801 to 1804, and, afterwards, as Canon of Mukachevo until his death in 1814. This also implies that, as a child and seminarian, he had András Bacsinszky, parish priest of Hajdúdorog, as his local priest.<sup>239</sup>

So far, the manuscript of Kritsfalussy's translation has not been found in the Archives of the Eparchy of Mukachevo kept in Berehove (*Beregszász*). Luckily, however, Sztripszky published not only the text of the translation but also the covering letter written by Kritsfalussy to Bishop Bacsinszky, allowing for some inferences about the role of the great Bishop.

György Kritsfalussy was born in 1764 and worked as a grammar school teacher in Uzhhorod from 1793. He began his teaching career at the Teacher Training Institute of Carei in 1791. Following the years he spent in Uzhhorod as a teacher, he would be Inspector of the Elementary Schools of the District of Košice (*Kassa*) from 1809 to 1831. Two years after his move to Uzhhorod, he prepared the translation of the liturgy, which he dedicated to Bishop András Bacsinszky as a name-day present, as he notes in his covering letter. The fact that the translation was sent to the Hierarch as a name-day present goes to show that András Bacsinszky would receive such a gift as a kind gesture. The covering letter also contains some other important comments though. Kritsfalussy also suggests that the translation of the liturgy into Hungarian was not a novelty for Bacsinszky.<sup>240</sup> In saying so, he might also hint at the circumstance that translations familiar to the Bishop were already in existence, or even to the fact that Bacsinszky also translated texts himself, as remembered in the local tradition in Hajdúdorog. Kritsfalussy reveals his motivation as well: *'... not only ever since I have had the honour to reside in this city of [Uzhhorod] but in other places, too, I have been exhorted to undertake this Work by some benefactors of mine in every way'* (translated from the Hungarian original).<sup>241</sup> This crucial statement proves that the translation was prepared not out of a sense of amateurism but because it was necessitated by actual demand – not only in Uzhhorod but elsewhere as well. Kritsfalussy's decision must also have been informed by his realisation upon moving to Uzhhorod that Bishop Bacsinszky had already countenanced the use of Hungarian even in the cathedral. In fact, when the Bishopric of Mukachevo received the church of the dissolved Jesuit Order for use as a cathedral after conversion, in the handover protocol, Bishop Bacsinszky made an undertaking to provide for homilies to be

<sup>236</sup> Inventory number: M-769. In a facsimile edition: Ivancsó, 2003a.

<sup>237</sup> Sztripszky, 1913b, 451–501.

<sup>238</sup> Likewise, the version made by Antal Papp in Hajdúdorog in 1854 also goes back to Kritsfalussy's translation: Nyirán, 2011.

<sup>239</sup> Nyirán, 2011, 29.

<sup>240</sup> *'...it is nothing new to Your Excellency...'* (translated from the Hungarian original), Sztripszky, 1913b, 468.

<sup>241</sup> Sztripszky, 1913b, 467.

delivered not only in Rusyn but – owing to the large number of the Hungarian-speaking faithful – in Hungarian as well.<sup>242</sup>

It may be established from István Udvari's investigations that, as Bishop of Mukachevo, Bacsinszky came to be a representative of the Rusyn Enlightenment and an agent for the survival and development of the Rusyn language in a way that his hierarchal activities were marked by linguistic syncretism. He put a premium on ensuring that the Episcopal Chancery – especially by means of circulars – would be a catalyst for the preservation and modernisation of the Rusyn language. At the same time, the use of Latin and Hungarian was also self-evident in official practice. Just as he corresponded with Hungarian parishes and the local Magistracy in Hungarian as Archdean of Szabolcs, he would follow the same procedure as bishop, too.<sup>243</sup>

In the area of the liturgy, Bacsinszky introduced an innovation which would also have an impact on the spread of the demand for Hungarian as the language of the liturgy. As András Dobos has demonstrated, he was the source of the initiative to involve the congregation in chanting alongside the cantor during Greek Catholic services, rather than restricting exchanges to a dialogue only between the priest and the cantor.<sup>244</sup> Remaining natural in Greek Catholic communities to this day, this practice was considered to be a major innovation at that time. As a matter of course, Bishop Bacsinszky primarily expected this practice to secure the survival of the Rusyn language, while also hoping to eliminate an alarming phenomenon. In fact, as eparchial bishop, he had to confront the reality that the sons of his parish priests applying to be seminarians hardly understood the Rusyn language and were unfamiliar with the liturgical melodies.<sup>245</sup> The creation of

the institutional system of cantor training<sup>246</sup> at the level of the deaneries enabled community chanting to spread in the Eparchy of Mukachevo, and this practice made the frustration of the faithful not understanding Rusyn all the more apparent, for they were able to participate in singing only by rendering Old Slavonic texts meaningful in Hungarian. Thus, the Slavonic 'Otsa i Syna' (of the Father and of the Son) was sung as 'Adsz-e szénát?' (Hungarian for 'Will you give me hay?') in the church of Hajdúdorog.<sup>247</sup> It would seem obvious that liturgical prayer experienced in this way was of little use for the development of the spiritual life of the congregation. However, the demand for community chanting was particularly strong in the Hungarian Greek Catholic communities as they mostly lived in mixed settlements inhabited by Calvinists as well.<sup>248</sup>

In 1789, András Bacsinszky was invited to the House of Magnates and attended the Diets of 1790–1791, 1792 and 1796. At these Diets – in response to the Germanising efforts of the Josephinist government – the question of the Hungarian language was brought to the fore.<sup>249</sup> Not only could the Bishop of Mukachevo deduce his personal responsibility for the Rusyn language and the Rusyn people from this attention to national languages as the key to survival, but he could also witness how the process of the renewal and modernisation of the Hungarian language, as well as the growth of a sense of national consciousness unfolded, exerting great influence on the language-use-related demands of his Hungarophone faithful with a Hungarian identity.

Finally, another aspect that most certainly affected Bishop Bacsinszky's permissive stance on the liturgical use of Hungarian must be highlighted. Still as parish priest of Hajdúdorog, he had to fight

<sup>242</sup> The protocol recorded upon the transfer of the Jesuit church of Uzhhorod, Uzhhorod, 29 May 1778, *Források*, II/4/1. 51, Document no. 1.

<sup>243</sup> Udvari, 1994b, 211.

<sup>244</sup> On the introduction of community chanting, see: Dobos, 2020a.

<sup>245</sup> In his circular dated 4 September 1798, he speaks thus: *'I am deeply pained to see that, when wishing to pursue a clerical career after years spent at Latin schools and registering for an examination, the children of many a parent are so inexperienced and inept in the Ruthenian tongue that they can neither read, nor write their names in this language. And when it comes to church chants and the liturgy, they cannot so much as open their mouths'* (translated from the Hungarian original). Quoted in Bonkáló, 1996, 74.

<sup>246</sup> Udvari, 1994b, 211.

<sup>247</sup> Petrus, 1894, 24.

<sup>248</sup> Cf. Dobos, 2020a, 45.

<sup>249</sup> Udvari, 1994b, 205.



hard against the propaganda of Orthodox monks coming from the environment of the Metropolitan of Sremski Karlovci (*Karlóca*). Since a few Greek Orthodox merchant families, belonging to the parish of Tokaj, lived in Hajdúdorog as well, messages instigating separation from the Catholic Church also made their way to the town. An Orthodox-Greek Catholic mixed marriage, as well as a business dispute heightened tensions between the Magistracy and the Greek merchants and provided an ideal backdrop to propagating lucrative confession changing. In the end, the conflict lasting several years was resolved by Maria Theresa herself in favour of the Greek Catholics, reinforcing the authority of parish priest András Bacsinszky.<sup>250</sup> At the same time, this experience made it obvious to him that the possibility of separation from the Catholic Church could be real even in a town like Hajdúdorog, which was regarded as the largest Greek Catholic parish of the Eparchy of Mukachevo. Even though, in the Hajdúdorog events, the main motivation to separate from the Catholic Church was the vague promise of ‘Rascian (i.e. South-Slavic) privileges’, another incentive was supplied by a factor described in the Commemorative Volume in the following terms:

*‘Keen to compromise the sacred Union in our midst, Greek Eastern schismatics sent agitating priests to our faithful. These preached and conducted various services in the language of*

*the Hungarian people and even published the Gospel, the Epistles and the Lives of the Saints in print, and – with the blatant intent to subvert – at the beginnings of these books, they quoted the words of Saint Mark the Evangelist and of Saint Paul the Apostle calling for the word of God to be proclaimed in a language intelligible to the people’* (translated from the Hungarian original).<sup>251</sup>

Chiefly thanks to the Greek merchants, who were quick to assimilate, the Orthodox of Hungary were indeed more advanced in issuing religious publications in Hungarian than the Greek Catholics. In Bishop Bacsinszky’s time, the prayer book (*Imádságos könyvetske* [Prayer booklet]) of Atanáz Szekeres, Orthodox parish priest of Győr – later a Catholic priest – published before 1790 was already widely circulated. Several of its editions – produced at the expense of Demeter Karapács (1795 and 1814) and Miklós Angyalaky (1801) – are in evidence.<sup>252</sup> István Miskolczi, a Greek merchant from Kecskemét, published the Confession of Peter Mogila in Miklós Miskolczi’s translation in 1791.<sup>253</sup> From 1801, a bilingual Hungarian-Greek catechism was also available to the Hungarian Orthodox faithful, thanks to Áron Georgievich, also parish priest of Győr.<sup>254</sup> In the same year, on the initiative of the Orthodox parish of Vác, even ‘Mass prayers’, i.e. the private prayers of the faithful during the liturgy

<sup>250</sup> For details of the conflict, see: Janka, 2014.

<sup>251</sup> *Források*, II/4/1, 436.

<sup>252</sup> In his article *Ó-hitű Magyar Írókról* [On Old Believer Hungarian writers] published in the periodical *Tudományos Gyűjtemény* [Academic Collection], 1817/8, Mihály Vitkovics (under the name E.V.J.) clarified that Angyalaky’s edition was not an independent translation but Atanáz Szekeres’s book reissued at Angyalaky’s expense. This was also accepted by Szinnyei, though, instead of the year 1790, he wrote 1740 by mistake, which would be adopted by Sztripszky as well, albeit with a question mark (Sztripszky, 1913a, 438).

<sup>253</sup> *Igaz Vallástétele a’ napkeleti közönséges és Apostoli Ekklesiának, a’ melly Görög nyelv böl magyar nyelvre fordított Miskolczi István által. Most pedig a’ nem egyesült napkeleti Görög Vallást és Hitet tartó eresztvényeknek lelki hasznokra, és épületekre magas költségén kinyomtattatta, és világ eleibe bocsátotta Miskolczi Miklós Pesten nyomtatott Paczkó Ferencz betűivel 1791.* [The true doctrine of the Universal and Apostolic Church of the East, translated from the Greek language into Hungarian by István Miskolczi and now printed at a high expense and published by Miklós Miskolczi for the spiritual benefit of non-united Christians observing the Greek Religion and Faith of the East. Printed in Pest, with the fonts of Ferenc Paczkó, in 1791] Cf. Horváth Endre, 1939, 138–139.

<sup>254</sup> *Kis katekizmus avagy Rövidre vett igaz-hitű vallás-tétele a napkeleti görög anyaszentegyháznak össze-szerkeztetett és ki-adattott a’ károlovitzi érsekségben 1774 esztendőben, most pedig a’ győri szentegyháznak lelki pásztora Georgievits Aaron által görög nyelvből magyarra fordított, és a’ fent nevezett anyaszentegyház ifjúságának hasznára közre bocsátott. Győrben Streibig József betűivel, 1801.* [Brief Catechism or an abridged doctrine of the Greek Church of the East, compiled and issued by the Archbishopric of Karlovci in the year 1774 and now translated from the Greek language into Hungarian by the pastor of the parish of Győr, Áron Georgievits, and published for the benefit of the aforementioned Church. In Győr, with the fonts of József Streibig, in 1801] Sztripszky, 1913a, 439.

were published in Hungarian.<sup>255</sup> The book by Theodor Steriady also referenced in the Commemorative Volume was published a year later – in addition to the lives of saints – containing Gospel and Apostolic passages for Sundays.<sup>256</sup> These are only the publications produced during the years of András Bacsinszky's episcopal ministry. As in Hajdúdorog, in a number of other locations, too,<sup>257</sup> a few Greek Orthodox families lived in a Greek Catholic environment. Thus, the Hungarian books they regularly used were familiar to the Greek Catholics, and, among them, Hungarophone parishioners with a Hungarian identity could justifiably assert their demand for similar publications. Bishop Bacsinszky was also cognisant of this demand and the possibility of the Orthodox alternative, and, even if he did not himself propose the publication of comparable spiritual and liturgical books in Hungarian,<sup>258</sup> this most probably determined his liberal attitude towards the language-use-related claims of his Hungarian flock.

The position adopted by the great Hierarch of the Eparchy of Mukachevo on the matter would set the pattern for his successors, as well as for the Bishops of the Diocese of Prešov, created in the wake of the partitioning of the Eparchy in 1816. This favourable atmosphere opened the way for copies and variants of the aforementioned Kritsfalussy Translation to gain increasing currency in parochial practice through dissemination in manuscript form, as well as to prompt other priests with a Hungarian identity to produce additional liturgical translations in the coming decades. Their attempts would go well beyond the confines of the most frequently celebrated Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom, extending to the texts of other services (e.g. baptism,

funeral, wedding, etc.) as well. This enabled the publication of printed prayer books as well for use by the faithful.<sup>259</sup>

Whereas the latter are relatively easy to review, producing an inventory of manuscript translations is not a simple task as only some of these – presumably a mere fraction – have survived. Aside from texts preserved in some form, other translations, completed but destroyed over time or kept in unknown locations, are also in evidence.

Thus, an attempt will be made below to present a selection of the Hungarian liturgical translations unpublished in print during the decades preceding the formation of the Hajdúdorog Translation Commission. First of all, a copy from 1854 must be mentioned, considered to be an independent translation by earlier scholarship,<sup>260</sup> akin to the Krucsay Manuscript. At the same time, a comparative analysis of the texts has been concluded with the finding that the manuscript copied by Antal Papp in Hajdúdorog, currently held at the Library of St Athanasius Greek Catholic Theological Institute, is also a copy of the Kritsfalussy Translation.<sup>261</sup> The translation of the liturgy by a prominent Greek Catholic liturgical expert of the period in focus, Canon Ignác Roskovics (1822–1895), was unknown to researchers before 2015, when a copy of it dispatched to Prince-Primate Simor in 1868 was discovered in the Primatial Archives of Esztergom.<sup>262</sup> In his letter enclosed with the copy, Roskovics remarks that he was instructed to complete the translation by his Hierarch, Bishop Bazil Popovics. However, the task was assigned not only to him but to Canon Antal Csopey as well, who was also one of the learned priests of the Eparchy. According to Roskovics, Canon Csopey also finished the assign-

<sup>255</sup> A' Jerusálémi Görög Anyaszentegyháznak Szent Miséje alatt való imádságok. Vátzon. Nyomtatott Máramarosi Gottlieb Antal betűivel A' Vátzi Görög Templom' számára. 1801. [Prayers during the Holy Mass of the Greek Church of Jerusalem. Printed with the fonts of Antal Gottlieb from Máramaros (Marmaroshchyna/Maramureş), for the Greek church of Vác, in 1801] Cf. Horváth, 1939, 139.

<sup>256</sup> Theodor Steriady. *Evangéliumok, epistolák és szentek élete*. Vác, 1802. Cf. Horváth, 1939, 139.

<sup>257</sup> E.g., Tokaj, Eger, Uzhhorod, Miskolc, Sárospatak, Sátoraljaújhely, Tarcal, Mád, Tállya, Abaújszántó, Szerencs, Olaszliszka, Bodrogkeresztúr, Erdőbénye, Tolcsva, Nyírbátor, Máriapócs and Hajdúböszörmény. Cf. Sasvári, 1984. 149–150.

<sup>258</sup> For example, in 1806, in response to the enquiry of the Council of the Governor-General, he did not even include the Hungarian Greek Catholic catechism among the elementary school books required in his Eparchy because he considered the books in circulation to be suitable for instruction, even if they were not of a Greek Catholic character. Udvari, 1994b, 199.

<sup>259</sup> For a database of Hungarian Greek Catholic liturgical books published in print, see: Ivancsó, 2006.

<sup>260</sup> Cf. Ivancsó, 2008.

<sup>261</sup> Nyirán, 2014, 170–172.

<sup>262</sup> Reference: EPL (=Primatial Archives of Esztergom) Simor Cat. D. Hajdúdorog, 11. Box 15 Published in: Nyirán, 2016.

ment and presented the completed translation to the Hierarch. In contrast with the former, Csopey translated not only the public parts of the liturgy but the priest's silent prayers as well.<sup>263</sup> Unfortunately, this manuscript is not available to researchers yet. Its existence is reported by Károly Mészáros, in his work *A görög katolika egyház és nép irodalmi és tudományos férfiai* [The literary and academic men of the Greek Catholic Church and people], left as a manuscript,<sup>264</sup> complementing Roskovic's communication with the vital information that he not only translated 'the services of the Greek Catholic Church and the Holy Masses but also attached instructive explanations to them' (translated from the Hungarian original). From publishing these, he was only prevented by his sudden death in 1877.<sup>265</sup> This means that, besides the Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom, Csopey translated other services as well, even adding commentaries to the translations.<sup>266</sup> In his writing produced around 1882, Mészáros provides further valuable data about Hungarian liturgical translations. Concerning the manuscript known to him as the Krucsay Translation, he notes that its copies – in many instances with distorted and erroneous variants – were in use in a number of places, and – regrettably – the text was not examined and proofread by the church authorities.<sup>267</sup> In describing the scholarly activities of András Popovics, parish priest of Velikiy Berezny (*Nagyberezna*), he comments that 'he is diligently engaged in translating Russian liturgical books into Hungarian as well' (translated from the Hungarian original).<sup>268</sup> He highlights János Rakovszky, parish priest of Iza, whom he regards as 'one of the most erudite men'

in the Eparchy and as a person with Pan-Slavic sentiments, though 'no devourer of Hungarians' and, therefore – 'on account of his fine education – he is most competent to translate the Old Slavonic liturgy into Hungarian, in which he writes and speaks so neatly and accurately as in the Slavic languages' (translated from the Hungarian original).<sup>269</sup>

Translations possibly kept in unknown locations also include three manuscripts produced by József Lukáts, parish priest of Abaújszántó, between 1862 and 1864 and still owned by Hiaodor Sztripszky in 1913.<sup>270</sup> Therefore, Sztripszky supplies detailed descriptions of the manuscripts, which he deems to be the most complete liturgical translations:

- *Lelki gyógyszer* [Spiritual medicine]. *Énekes Ima Könyv, mellyben foglaltatnak a Katholika Anyaszentegyháznak Napkeleti vagyis Görög Rendje szerént a Vízkereszt után való Vasárnapokat követ. Farizeus és Publikánus Vasárnaptól fogva a Pünköszt után első Minden Szentek Vasárnapjáig, nyilvános Isteni Szolgálatnál éneklendő és imaképen elmondandó Részek.* [Hymn and prayer book containing the parts to be chanted and said as prayers during the public Divine Worship from the Sunday of the Publican and the Pharisee after Epiphany to the Sunday of All Saints, according to the Eastern, i.e. Greek, tradition of the Holy Catholic Church]<sup>271</sup>
- *Lelki üdv* [Spiritual salvation]. *Ájtatos könyv a Görög-Katholikus Keresztények lelki épületére: mellyben foglaltatik az Egy. Szent, Közönséges, Apostoli Anyaszentegyház Napkeleti, vagyis*

<sup>263</sup> Canon Roskovic's letter to Prince-Primate Simor, Nyírpilis, 20 June 1868 *Források*, II/4/1, 110–114, Documents no. 40 and 40a.

<sup>264</sup> The manuscript was published by: Kobály, 1998, 137–156 Produced around 1882 and surviving in fragments, this piece of writing was envisaged to be a chapter in Mészáros's proposed book (*A görög-katolikus egyház története Magyarországon* [The history of the Greek Catholic Church in Hungary]).

<sup>265</sup> Kobály, 1998, 139.

<sup>266</sup> Csopey's activities were reported even in Issue 1864/44 of the weekly paper *Vasárnapi Újság*: 'It is to him that Hungarian Old Believers owe the Hungarian translation of the liturgy from the Greek original, which translation they publicly use. In Szatmár, Szabolcs and Hajdú Counties, Hungarian Old Believers even previously worshiped in their mother tongue. The first wheels of this machine have been set in motion by Antal Csopey, at once gaining general acknowledgement across the length and breadth of the Hungarian Old Believer Church. The future clergy educated at the Seminary also owes the manual of higher-level studies to him, along with an explanation of the services in a separate work' (translated from the Hungarian original), 461–462.

<sup>267</sup> Kobály, 1998, 148.

<sup>268</sup> *Ibid.* 152.

<sup>269</sup> *Ibid.* 153.

<sup>270</sup> Sztripszky, 1913a, 442–443.

<sup>271</sup> This is a shortened version of the Lenten *Triodion* and the *Pentecostarion* combined.

*Görög Rendje szeréni nyilvános Isteni Szolgálatnak magyar fordítása.* [Devotional book for the spiritual edification of Greek Catholic Christians, containing the Hungarian translation of the public Divine Worship of the One, Holy, Universal and Apostolic Church according to the Eastern, i.e. Greek, tradition]

- Éden-kert [Garden of Eden]. *Ima-Énekes Könyv, mellyben foglaltatik a Hó-tár szerént napi Szenteknek — a Katholika Anyaszentegyház Napkeleti, vagyis Görög rendjén — éven át végzendő nyilvános Isteni szolgálatnak Magyar fordítása. Görög-Katholikusok lelki épületére.* [Prayer and hymn book, containing the Hungarian translation of public Divine Worship for the saints of the calendar, to be conducted throughout the year, according to the Eastern, i.e. Greek, tradition of the Catholic Church. For the spiritual edification of Greek Catholics]

In his account, Sztripszky includes translators of whom he also heard only from the oral communication of Miklós Véghseő, a former priest of Hajdúdorog:

- Sándor Vaskovics, parish priest of Nyírtass, who, in the 1860s, translated certain parts of the *Euchologion*, which were used in Hajdúdorog as well;
- Jenő(?) Thoma, who translated the Penitential Canon of Saint Andrew of Crete;
- Demeter Kerekes, who – according to the informant – translated the text of the Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom, while serving as parish priest of Hajdúdorog.<sup>272</sup>

Later instances of data provision include an article by Zoltán Álmos, Legal Adviser of the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog, published in 1924. In it, presenting the history of the Greek Catholic parish of Nyír-

egyháza, the author commemorates the translation activities of András Répássy, parish priest of Nyíregyháza from 1832 to 1850. He is aware of two relevant outcomes. One is a complete translation of the Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom, concerning which Álmos notes that, at the time of the publication of his article, a copy was possessed by Béla Lázár, parish priest of Tiszabüd (Tiszavasvári). It is also in connection with this translation by Répássy that he references the translation contribution of Lázár Molnár, cantor of Hajdúdorog. The other is a Hungarian Gospel Book from 1834, with the following explanatory text in it: ‘*This Holy Gospel Book was written for use in the Hungarian language for the Eastern Greek Catholic church of Nyíregyháza from András Répási’s legacy in 1834, in which year the Holy Gospel was read therefrom on Whitsunday for the first time, and every Sunday and feast day thenceforth*’ (translated from the Hungarian original).<sup>273</sup> This handwritten Gospel Book is no longer available as, in 1943, Miklós Dudás, Diocesan Bishop of Hajdúdorog, consigned it to Lajos Tamás, Director of the Scientific Institute of Transylvania, Cluj, who, together with Professor Endre Ivánka, launched a – regrettably short-lived – scholarly programme for the study of Greek Catholic liturgical manuscripts in Hungarian. At the same time, with high hopes for the investigations, Bishop Dudás handed over the 46+5-page long *Euchologion* collected from the parish of Nagydobos, a 20-page liturgical manuscript fragment used in Ópályi, as well as the copies of unspecified petitions of the faithful of Makó.<sup>274</sup> The latter most probably refers to the petitions about the liturgical use of Hungarian submitted to Prince-Primate Simor in 1866, as discussed earlier, also containing allusions to manuscript translations that have been lost by now or are kept in unknown locations. In fact, to buttress their argument, the people of Makó explained to the Prince-Primate that, in their church, the cantor and the congregation had ‘*chanted services from certain*

<sup>272</sup> Sztripszky, 1913a, 442–444.

<sup>273</sup> Zoltán Álmos. *Emlékezzünk régiokról. Történelmi lapok a nyíregyházi gör. kath. egyház múltjából.* Nyírvidék, 1 August 1924, p. 2.

<sup>274</sup> Correspondence between Bishop Dudás and Director Lajos Tamás: Greek Catholic Episcopal Archives (GKPL), L I-1-a-1386/1943 and 1273/1943.

less successful translations as early as before the year 1848' (translated from the Hungarian original).<sup>275</sup>

Finally, an overview of lost liturgical translations must also include Rezső Kupár's putative attempts. The use of the epithet 'putative' is necessary because, originally of Romanian descent, Kupár was considered to be a renegade and – as has been pointed out above – was subjected to scathing criticism by the Romanian national press and several of its clerical contributors. Such a criticism was published in the October 18, 1898 issue of *Tribuna Poporului*.<sup>276</sup> Scoffing at Kupár's professorial appointment at the Theological Faculty in Budapest, the anonymous author of the vitriolic article divulges the information that, in an effort to please Hungarians, Kupár rendered the starting line 'O Isaiah, rejoice' of the hymn of the marriage ceremony as *'Izajás bokázik'* (Isaiah clicks his heels) in Hungarian, suggesting that Isaiah danced Hungarian *czardas* (by clicking his heels) out of joy... In contemporary translations of the text of the marriage ceremony that have survived, this expression does not occur. In other words – supposing that this claim is true – Kupár's text variants failed to have any impact on parochial praxis. In view of the broader context, until the translation is found, even the validity of the claim must be questioned. Nonetheless, this biased criticism cannot be dismissed as journalistic mockery meriting no mention, for – as will be shown later – the putative unsuccessful translation made its way into the argumentation of the Romanians and reached the Holy See as well, as a case in point for the allegation that the Hungarian language as such was not suitable for conveying certain liturgical content.

In uncovering hiding liturgical manuscripts, data from parish inventories might be particularly helpful. The Nagydobos inventory compiled in 1877

mentions the *Euchologion* sent by Bishop Dudás to Cluj, while the 1867 inventory from Sárospatak and the 1881 inventory from Bodrogolaszi also contain references to handwritten Hungarian *Euchologia*.<sup>277</sup>

Aside from translations of the Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom referenced above, liturgical translations preserved in manuscript form are *Euchologia* (or *Trebniks*, to use the Old Slavonic term) comprising the rites of administering the sacraments, as well as the texts of sacramentals and blessings. In addition, a bilingual – Church Slavonic and Hungarian – *Irmologion* with musical notes from 1858 is also in evidence.<sup>278</sup> Typically, these have survived in the cantor's stalls of parishes or have been retrieved from the family legacies of former cantors' descendants. Their processing is currently underway: Two *Euchologia*, used in the parishes of Fábíánháza (1868) and Nyírgyulaj (no date) respectively, have also been published in a critical edition.<sup>279</sup> The *Euchologion* of Kótaj (no date) is kept in the Manuscript Collection of St Athanasius Greek Catholic Theological Institute.<sup>280</sup> Surviving in a copy by cantor József Lázár, the Penitential Canon of Saint Andrew of Crete<sup>281</sup> (translation by Ignác Roskovics), recovered from the legacy of János Borlán, parish priest of Makó, as well as the texts of funeral services (of adults and infants), also in József Lázár's copy, are available to researchers in the same place. József Lázár was cantor in Hajdúdorog in the 1860s, transferring from there to the other major symbolic centre of Hungarian-speaking Greek Catholicism, Makó. His legacy includes his privately owned<sup>282</sup> complete *Euchologion*, which he began to compile in 1865, at the time when he served as cantor in Hajdúdorog, as well as his handwritten excerpts from the *Menaion* for 9 December to 6 January, already dating from his Makó period. A peculiarity of the Lázár *Euchologion* is that it also contains texts sung by the cantor and

<sup>275</sup> The petition of the Hungarian parishioners of Makó to Prince-Primate Simor, 21 June 1866. *Források*, II/4/1, 91–96. Document no. 31, 93.

<sup>276</sup> *Tribuna Poporului*, 18 October 1898, No. 197, p. 963.

<sup>277</sup> GKPL III–I–17 (The inventory of Nagydobos, 1877); GKPL III–2–5 (The inventory of Bodrogolaszi, 1881); GKPL III–2–13 (The inventory of Sárospatak, 1867). Quoted in: Nyirán, 2012, 149.

<sup>278</sup> The *Irmologion* was described by: Ivancsó, 1999b.

<sup>279</sup> Nyirán, 2012.

<sup>280</sup> Inventory number: MS 10008.

<sup>281</sup> Inventory number: K 1049.

<sup>282</sup> The manuscript is held by József Lázár's granddaughter, Klára Végheő-Gerda.

– under his direction – by the congregation during the Divine Liturgy. It enables the reconstruction of the liturgical practice that was synonymous with the concept of the ‘Hungarian liturgy’ in the 1860s, at the start of an organised Hungarian Greek Catholic movement.

Before a slightly more detailed examination of this question, it is well worth considering the Greek Catholic publications issued in print in the decades preceding the activities of the Liturgical Translation Commission of Hajdúdorog. As few as two such publications were produced. The first one was the prayer book *Imádságos könyvetske a’ Magyar Oroszok lelki hasznokra* [Prayer booklet for the spiritual benefit of Hungarian Russians] issued in 1825 by the printing press of István Ellinger in Košice. The first description of the prayer book surviving only in a single copy was supplied by Hiador Sztripszky, who had the publication in his possession in 1913. It is likely that the same copy is found in the collection of the National Széchényi Library at present.<sup>283</sup> In terms of its content, the 64-page prayer book is almost entirely identical with the aforementioned publication first issued by Atanáz Szekeres, Orthodox parish priest of Győr, subsequently a Catholic priest, and later republished by Demeter Karapács and Miklós Angyalaky several times. The crucial difference lies in the Catholic version of the creed, i.e. the one with the *Filioque* insertion. The prayer book contains morning and evening prayers, as well as prayers before and after meals (pp. 3–18), the collection of prayers to be said during the Divine Liturgy (pp. 19–41) and the canon of the Theotokos chanted at the Matins (*Orthros*), with the Akathist Hymn incorporated into it (pp. 41–64). The series of prayers grouped under the heading ‘prayers to be said during the Divine Liturgy’ deserves special attention. As demonstrated by András Dobos, these prayers were not included in the prayer book under Latin influence, for they are also featured in the

prayer book *Mindennapi imák* [Everyday prayers] compiled and issued prior to the Union of Brest. Since the text in *Imádságos könyvetske* is exactly the same as the text of the Vilnius prayer book, it seems probable that the first edition by Atanáz Szekeres was not made completely on the basis of an original Greek source, and at least this section is of Slavonic origins.<sup>284</sup> *Imádságos könyvetske* also has an edition from 1866, produced by Kertész Press in Pest at Dániel Pauker’s request. This is practically a reprint, modified only with orthographical corrections.<sup>285</sup>

As reported by Gyula Grigássy in 1913, Demeter Kerekes (1792–1836), parish priest of Hajdúdorog, was the first to publish a Greek Catholic hymn book in Hungarian in 1833.<sup>286</sup> Although this piece of data was adopted by István Pirigyi<sup>287</sup> as well, it has failed to be confirmed by recent liturgical research.<sup>288</sup> However, in his article published in *Kárpáti Hírnök* in 1861,<sup>289</sup> not only does Mihály Markos, parish priest of Rakoshyno (*Beregrákos*), reference Demeter Kerekes’s hymn book, but he also notes that it was issued with the imprimatur of the diocesan authorities. Thus, the existence of the Kerekes hymn book is beyond question, though it was probably released from the printing press in a very small number of copies as no surviving specimen is in evidence.

While *Imádságos könyvetske* assisted those Hungarian Greek Catholics in their spiritual life who, with no knowledge of Slavonic or Romanian, were unable to participate in services and were forced to engage in silent prayer in churches, Roskovic’s hymn book published in 1862 was already issued with the express aim of supporting community singing in Hungarian and giving it a sense of uniformity in the Hungarian Greek Catholic communities. The full title of the 111-page publication made at the printing press of the town of Debrecen was: *Ó hitű imádságos és énekes könyv, az egy szent közönséges apostoli anyaszentegyház napkeleti vagyis görög rendje*

<sup>283</sup> Inventory number: National Széchényi Library (OSZK), Mor 3530e; for its bibliographical description, see: Dobos, 2020b, 393–394.

<sup>284</sup> Dobos 2020b, 394.

<sup>285</sup> Sztripszky, 1913a, 443–444, as well as Dobos, 2020b, 394.

<sup>286</sup> Grigássy, 1913, 47. Grigássy’s source was the 1913 Görög katolikus magyar Naptár [Greek Catholic Hungarian Calendar] issued in Uzhhorod.

<sup>287</sup> Pirigyi, 1982, 102 and Pirigyi, 1990, 84–85.

<sup>288</sup> Thus, it was not included in the documentation compiled by István Ivancsó, either: Ivancsó, 2006.

<sup>289</sup> Kárpáti Hírnök, 8 December 1861, 139–142.

szerént görög- katolikus keresztények lelki épületére. Fordítá és kiadta Roskovics Ignác hajdu- bősörményi görög-kath. lelkész [Old-believers' prayer and hymn book for the spiritual edification of Greek Catholic Christians in the Eastern, i.e. Greek, Rite of the One, Holy, Universal and Apostolic Church. Translated and published by Ignác Roskovics, Greek Catholic priest of Hajdúböszörmény].

Ordained to the priesthood in 1848, Ignác Roskovics was parish priest of the community of Hajdúböszörmény; previously, he had served in Slavkovce (*Szalók*) and Nyírkarász. After his wife's unexpected death in 1866, he moved to Nyírpilis with his children, one of whom, Ignác, would later come to be famous as a painter. From there, he transferred to Uzhhorod in 1875: At that time, he was appointed Director of Spiritual Life of the Seminary by Bishop János Pásztélyi Kovács. In 1878, he received his appointment as canon and professor of theology. He taught ethics and pastoral theology to seminarians, though he also concerned himself with issues of general education. His flair for pedagogy became manifest even when prepared his children for the *matura* examination himself. As a teacher, he wrote several text books in Hungarian and Rusyn. In 1892, the King appointed him Arch-Provost of the Chapter of Mukachevo. He held that post for three years. He died in Uzhhorod in 1895.<sup>290</sup>

Albeit born into a family of Serbian descent in Tokaj, Roskovics was raised in a Hungarian-speaking environment, and his attachment to Hungarian language and culture would remain important to him throughout his life. As he did not come from a priest's family, the Greek Catholic liturgy or Old Slavonic as a liturgical language did not represent such a natural setting to him as it did to a child whose father was a priest. When, in 1844, interrupting his theological studies in Pest, he requested to be transferred to the Seminary of Uzhhorod with a view to learning the rite, he was somewhat relieved to find that the use of the Hungarian language was

prevalent at the institution even despite the fact that the overwhelming majority of the seminarians were native speakers of Rusyn, Romanian or Slovak.<sup>291</sup> He experienced a high degree of tolerance from the leading clergy both in the Bishopric of Mukachevo and in the Bishopric of Prešov concerning the use of Hungarian, which would have an encouraging effect on him, especially when he was sent to Hungarian-speaking areas as a priest. The first tangible outcome of his efforts for the Hungarian liturgy was the hymn book, the success of which is proved by the fact that it had eight editions between 1862 and 1898.

The hymn book includes:

- basic catechetical content and prayers,
- the private prayers of the faithful (in the morning, in the evening, before and after meals, before and after confession and communion),
- daily public church services: the Matins, the noon service and the Vespers,
- the public parts of the Divine Liturgy, private prayers during the liturgy and a unique version of the Lord's Prayer supplemented with interpretative supplications.
- the *Paraklesis*,
- funeral chants (for adults and infants),
- the invariable and variable parts of the daily Divine Office (for Sundays and major feasts).<sup>292</sup>

Roskovics primarily translated Old Slavonic liturgical texts while relying on the Greek text for some parts of the liturgy. As András Dobos puts it, Roskovics is a conservative and a reformer simultaneously. In deference to tradition, he includes the *Filioque* in the text of the creed only in brackets and retains the feast of Gregory Palamas (2nd Sunday of Lent), while it would be mostly omitted by Greek Catholic liturgical books even in the 20th century.

<sup>290</sup> Terdik, 2022, 12–16.

<sup>291</sup> '...upon my arrival here, I found it exceeding my hopes that – even though nearly everybody at the Seminary claims to speak Romanian, Russian or Slovak as his mother tongue, the language of colloquial conversations is – thanks to the newspapers and the books brought by cliques from the Casino – exclusively Hungarian.' Ignác Roskovics's letter to László Walther, Uzhhorod, 10 November 1844. Terdik, 2022, 175.

<sup>292</sup> For a detailed description of the hymn book, see: Ivancsó, 2006, 11–32, Ivancsó, 2017, 459–469 and Dobos, 2020b, 395–396.

At the same time, as a brave innovation, he translates the Canons organised into rhymes, a practice that would fail to be followed by others. He may also be considered a pioneer in the sense that his hymn book was the first such publication in the Eparchy of Mukachevo as the first compilation of prayers in Old Slavonic was published only in 1864.<sup>293</sup>

The positive reception of the hymn book certainly contributed to the request of his Hierarch, Bazil Popovics, in 1863 that – as pointed out previously, alongside Canon Antal Csopey – Roskovics prepare the Hungarian translation of the Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom. The enclosures of the translation sent to Prince-Primate Simor – the covering letter and the document summarising the principles of translation<sup>294</sup> – allow one to establish what one of the most prominent Hungarian translators of the Greek Catholic liturgy could actually mean by the ‘Hungarian liturgy’.

Regarding the execution of the translation of the liturgy, an essential difference may be discerned between Roskovics and Csopey. As reported by Roskovics, Csopey, whose guiding principles and translation unfortunately remain unknown, embraced the idea of translating the ‘whole’ liturgy. In other words, for him, the ‘Hungarian liturgy’ meant that, in addition to the dialogue between the priest and the congregation and the chants, the priest’s silent prayers should also be said in Hungarian. By contrast, Roskovics was of the opinion that the priest’s silent prayers did not need to be translated into Hungarian. Roskovics labels Canon Csopey’s stance ‘national principle’ while identifying his own position as the ‘unity principle’ for the very reason that he views the issue of Hungarian liturgical translations in a much broader context, not confined to the Hungarian Greek Catholics only. In fact, he proposes that priests say the silent prayers in Greek – and not only during Hungarian but Old Slavonic and Romanian liturgies as well. He is convinced that ‘... *the time has come when – in accordance with the principle of language and*

*unity desired by the Apostolic See as well – the Greek language ought to reclaim its due place in the parts to be said by the priest in secret and in the Typikon within national liturgikons*’ (translated from the Hungarian original).<sup>295</sup> Thus, in Roskovics’s understanding, the enforcement of the ‘unity principle’ means that Byzantine-rite communities of different nationalities and languages experience concrete manifestations of unity thanks to Greek as a liturgical language. As an example, he mentions Latin, enabling the Western Church to overcome difficulties stemming from national and linguistic differences. He explains why the re-introduction of Greek into the liturgy is timely by referring to the fact that, due to the development of the educational system, chances of acquiring the Greek language in his age are by far better than they used to be in the previous centuries. This also presents the clergy with the opportunity to realise significant advances in the field of general theological knowledge and, *‘instead of being hived off in its own nationality, to compete with Protestantism in social life and in the area of literature, by citing the original Greek text as it was wont to, as well as to score victory for Catholicism*’ (translated from the Hungarian original).<sup>296</sup> At the same time, he also permits priests unable to master Greek to continue to say silent prayers in Old Slavonic or Romanian.

Roskovics also envisages a unique role for Greek: It must function as a ‘guardian tongue’ parallel to national languages in *Liturgikons* and even in the Gospel Book. He outlines the implementation of this idea in the plan for a pentaglot – Greek-Hungarian-Old Slavonic-Romanian-Latin – *Liturgikon*, appending a sample as well. In ethnically mixed Greek Catholic communities, this could as well enable parts sung in a loud voice to be recited in multiple languages, in a manner and ratio determined by the Eparchial Bishop. Referring to Leo Allatius, he adduces the example of Saint Theodosius, who celebrated the liturgy in three languages in his time. He justifies the inclusion of Latin in the

<sup>293</sup> Dobos, 2020b, 396.

<sup>294</sup> Roskovics’s letter to Pince-Primate Simor, as well as a summary of the principles of translation, Nyírpilis, 20 June 1868. *Források*, II/4/1, 110–114.

<sup>295</sup> *Források*, II/4/1, 111.

<sup>296</sup> *Források*, II/4/1, 113.



*Liturgikon* again with the need to raise the level of general theological knowledge, on the one hand, and sees this gesture as conducive to making closer ties between the Greek and the Latin Church, on the other.

Aside from silent prayers to be said in Greek, Roskovics's argument that he advances with a different interpretation of the 'Hungarian liturgy' in mind is noteworthy and highly relevant to the present enquiry. As he claims, there are many among the Hungarian Greek Catholics who – contrary to the position of the Hajdúdorog community – would not approve of the idea of celebrating the liturgy exclusively in Hungarian. *'It might appear to some as though it were less aligned with orthodoxy than with Calvinism'* (translated from the Hungarian original).<sup>297</sup> To put it differently, while worship in the vernacular in Calvinist communities had an encouraging effect on the development of the language-use-related demands of the Hungarian Greek Catholics, the threat of 'Calvinisation' began to feel alarming instead at one point. Roskovics thus voices the notions of those Hungarian Greek Catholics who saw the Hungarian liturgy as a pragmatic solution to a pastoral problem, rather than as a possibility of becoming free from the 'fetters' of the Old Slavonic and Romanian liturgical languages as understood by the Hajdúdorog community, who viewed the question from a national perspective as well. Henceforth, this duality would be integral to the movement of the Hungarian Greek Catholics.

It seems no coincidence that Roskovics made this proposal and sent it to the Prince-Primate only two months after the Congress of Hajdúdorog in April 1868. This is rather more likely to have been an instance of conscious timing on his part, and, in arguing for the 'unity principle', he sought to offer an alternative to the 'nationality principle' to Prince-Primate Simor, whose predecessor had expressed his negative sentiments about the liturgical use of Hungarian a few years earlier. Prince-Primate Scitovszky and, subsequently, Simor, as well as the Roman Catholic bishops in general, perceived the

sanctioning of the liturgical use of the vernacular – i.e. of Hungarian in the case of Hungarian Greek Catholics – as the escalation of ethnic tensions into churches. Roskovics's endeavour to dispel these fears with the introduction of Greek as a guarantee of unity was not met with acceptance from Prince-Primate Simor. However, the use of Greek as a possible solution to the Hungarian Greek Catholic problem did not lapse into oblivion: Over three decades later, it would be re-considered by Prince-Primate Simor's successor, Kolos Vaszary.

The figure of Ignác Roskovics supplies a transition to the discussion of the activities of the Translation Commission created by Territorial Vicar János Danilovics. In keeping with his promise made at the statutory session of the Court of the Territorial Vicariate, he declared the translation of liturgical texts into Hungarian and the professional revision of the existing texts an official matter. With a view to concrete implementation, on 14 May 1879, he proposed the creation of an 8-10-member Translation Commission consisting of priests from the Eparchies of Mukachevo and Prešov, well experienced with the liturgy and languages, to his Hierarchy, Bishop János Pásztélyi Kovács. In his view, one month would be sufficient for the completion of the assignment – i.e. revising existing texts and translating missing parts – provided members of the Commission spent this time assembled in a single location, concentrating solely on the task at hand. He suggested Hajdúdorog as the venue and July or August 1879 as the time.<sup>298</sup> The Court of the Eparchy of Mukachevo discussed the Territorial Vicar's recommendation and took a decision on the matter on 27 June. By then, the Episcopal Court of Uzhhorod had received the decree of the Ministry of Religion and Education that the Government would support this effort with a 700-forint state subsidy. Endorsing the Territorial Vicar's proposal, the Eparchial Court decided to create a nine-member commission. Seven members and two substitute members were appointed, while the Eparchy of Prešov was requested to name the remaining two members. For the location, Hajdúdorog was

<sup>297</sup> Ibid.

<sup>298</sup> Territorial Vicar Danilovics's note to Bishop Pásztélyi Kovács, Hajdúdorog, 14 May 1879. *Források*, II/4/1, 137 and Ivancsó, 1999a, 42.

designated, and, for the period, the thirty days from 15 July to 15 August were determined.<sup>299</sup>

Notwithstanding the great significance of the activities of the Liturgical Translation Commission, a surprisingly small number of records about the actual work processes have been preserved in the Archives of the Territorial Vicariate of Hajdúdorog. From the sources available, the list of the members of the Commission may be established.<sup>300</sup> Besides Territorial Vicar Danilovics as chair and Ignác Roskovics, Canon of the Cathedral of Mukachevo, Mihály Kotradov, Canon and Parish Priest of the Cathedral of Prešov, Archdean of Zemplén and, subsequently, Professor of Liturgy at the Seminary of Prešov as of 1880, was also included in the Commission. Concerning the latter, it must be noted that, from 1868 to 1878, he had served as parish priest of Sajópetri, heading the parish the congregation of which, with Hungarian names yet linguistically ‘*Slavophone*’, had – as has been pointed out – even written a letter to oppose the Hungarian liturgy, to coincide with the 1868 Congress of Hajdúdorog. Moreover, it also seems that the letter had been signed by him, too.<sup>301</sup> As an expert and professor of Oriental languages at the Seminary of Uzhhorod, Titular Canon Antal Jámbor was also invited, aged 63, representing the older generation in the Commission. During the active years of his pastoral ministry, he had been parish priest in Bököny, giving him a chance to be well acquainted with demands about the liturgical use of Hungarian. Together with his cantor and school master, he had also attended the Congress of Hajdúdorog and had been co-opted into the Standing Executive Committee as well. In this capacity, he had also participated in the diplomatic visits in Pest.<sup>302</sup> The Commission could not have dispensed with local parish priest Emmánuel Fejér, either, who had – except for his years as parish priest

of Hajdúdorog – spent the better part of his clerical life at the Episcopal Court of Uzhhorod, dealing with priest training and educational issues as Rector of the Seminary. The appointment of János Hrabár, parish priest of Velyki Kom’yaty (*Magyarkomját*), to the Commission is less obvious. Following his ordination to the priesthood in 1856, he was parish priest in Osii (*Szajkófalva*) for seven years and then in Velyki Kom’yaty (for 53 years!) until his death in 1916. As the Greek Catholic faithful of the latter village were all Rusyns, he could not be familiar with the practical aspects of the problem of the Hungarian liturgy. He was not involved in any scholarly activities. A member of the Hrabár dynasty having given numerous priests to the Eparchy for centuries, he must have been chosen by Bishop Pásztélyi Kovács on account of his widely known Hungarian sentiments, which he evidenced both previously, during the election campaigns in 1865, as well as later, in the course of the diplomatic visits of the Rusyns in Pest in 1882.<sup>303</sup> By contrast, the next member of the Commission, János Turjay, was able to explore liturgical praxis in Hungarian in the places of his pastoral ministry, Tolcsva and Kállósemjén. After serving in parishes, he was sent to the eparchial centre, where a number of responsibilities were entrusted to him. Of particular relevance to the present discussion is his appointment as Spiritual Director of the Seminary, along with the circumstance that he was also Professor of Practical Theology.

Besides Kodratov, the Eparchy of Prešov was represented by Bertalan Sass, Juror of the Eparchial Court and grammar school teacher. Similarly to his fellow commission members, he also performed various functions at the Episcopal Court, chief among being the teaching of liturgical languages at the Seminary of Prešov. The presence of the last member of the Commission, Jenő Fenczik, may

<sup>299</sup> Excerpt from the minutes of the session of the Eparchial Court, Uzhhorod, 27 June 1879. Ivancsó, 1999a, 43–44.

<sup>300</sup> This detail is surrounded by some uncertainty as the minutes of the session of the Eparchial Court on 27 June 1879, deciding about the members of the Commission as well, contain a list of a different composition from the one in the first liturgical book to be published by the Commission, the *Liturgikon*. As the former obviously documents the list of commission members more accurately, it is considered to be authentic. Detailed biographies of the members of the Commission were published by: Ivancsó, 1999a, 8–27.

<sup>301</sup> This sense of uncertainty stems from the fact that, publishing the letter, Lajos Farkas lists his name together with those of the congregation. Cf. Farkas, 1894, 117.

<sup>302</sup> Farkas, 1894, 61.

<sup>303</sup> Mayer, 1977, 47 and 65.

be described as quite surprising. The parish priest of Dusyno (*Duszina*) was a representative of the second great generation of the Russophile Greek Catholic clergy. Having studied theology in Vienna, he returned home and would be an ambassador of Russian language and literature in the Eparchy of Mukachevo to his death. He was involved in a wide range of literary activities, regularly publishing poems, historical adaptations and even tales in papers in Lviv. He also launched a Russian journal himself, under the title *Listok*.<sup>304</sup> He may have owed his appointment to the Commission to his in-depth work on the liturgy. At the same time, one of his liturgical books was labelled schismatic and banned by Bishop Pankovics.<sup>305</sup> In fact, Russophile priests gathered in the Society of St Basil were frequently accused of also preparing the ground for the transfer of Greek Catholics to Orthodoxy while being admirers and local practitioners of Russian literature and language. He was positively opposed to the liturgical use of Hungarian: As will be shown, in 1898, he saw the relevant efforts of the National Committee of Greek-Rite Catholic Hungarians as an *'enormous threat'* to the Church Slavonic liturgy and called the 1900 pilgrimage to Rome a *'desperate attack against the Old Slavonic liturgy'*.<sup>306</sup> In view of this, it is no surprise that, in response to Territorial Vicar Danilovics's invitation written in Hungarian, he specified the exact time of his planned arrival in his reply in Rusyn – as a small snub. However, with his letter written already in Hungarian on 16 September, he practically discontinues his work in the Commission. In that communication, he indicates that his pastoral, school-related and agricultural duties, as well as the home education of his own children, stop him from completing the assignment he has been requested to deliver. It seems certain that he was given this task at the time of his stay

in Hajdúdorog, as part of the division of labour within the Commission. The assignment would have involved the translation of the aforementioned Popovics Hymn Book (*Zbornik*), which – though he started working on – he had to realise was *'physically impossible'*.<sup>307</sup>

In anticipation of contingencies of this kind, Eparchial Bishop János Pásztélyi Kovács also appointed two substitute members. One substitute member was Gyula Orosz, Juror of the Eparchial Court and Vice-Dean of Hajdúdorog, who had attended the 1868 Congress with his cantors – including Lázár Molnár, with considerable merits in the area of translation – and another twenty-one members of the faithful. He was included in the Standing Executive Committee<sup>308</sup> and was a member of the delegation dispatched to Pest.<sup>309101</sup> At the statutory session of the Court of the Territorial Vicariate, he urged that the objectives of the Congress be formulated as programme points.<sup>310</sup> The other substitute member was Pál Görög, parish priest of Bököny and Juror of the Eparchial Court, who had begun his pastoral ministry as a chaplain in Hajdúdorog in 1863. Lajos Farkas remarks about him that he was of great assistance to him in preparing for and implementing the Congress from the first moment.<sup>311</sup> He was also part of the Standing Executive Committee, as well as of the deputation to Pest.<sup>312</sup> In the course of Bishop Pankovics's visitation in 1871, the locals spoke of his pastoral zeal and educational background with appreciation.<sup>313</sup>

Concerning the composition of the Commission, it may be concluded that, although the majority of the members and substitute members were committed to the cause of the Hungarian liturgy (e.g. Danilovics, Roskovics, Jámbor, Orosz, Görög and Fejér), there were also some who completely lacked this dedication (e.g. Kodratov) or were actu-

<sup>304</sup> Mayer, 1977, 19.

<sup>305</sup> Mayer, 1977, 21.

<sup>306</sup> Mayer, 1977, 149–150.

<sup>307</sup> Ivancsó, 1999a, 22–23 and 43.

<sup>308</sup> Farkas, 1894, 53.

<sup>309</sup> Farkas, 1894, 61.

<sup>310</sup> Farkas, 1894, 94.

<sup>311</sup> Farkas, 1894, 44.

<sup>312</sup> Farkas, 1894, 53 and 61.

<sup>313</sup> Farkas, 1894, 80–81.

ally opposed to the liturgical use of Hungarian (e.g. Fenczik). Sass and Turjay were admitted into the Commission more by virtue of their professional expertise, while the reason for Hrabár's presence is not entirely straightforward.

The circumstance that – clearly as a result of a conscious decision – not only steadfast proponents of the Hungarian liturgy were included in the Translation Commission appears to be telling. In fact, this choice underscored the fact that the cause of the Hungarian liturgy was a controversial issue in the Eparchies of Mukachevo and Prešov. While – as has been demonstrated – as a seminarian, Roskovics tended to experience a sense of well-meaning permissiveness at the Uzhhorod episcopal centre vis-à-vis the use of Hungarian, fears about the Hungarian liturgy would also intensify in the following decades. This was naturally connected to the Magyarising policies of the Hungarian Government and the process of assimilation among Rusyns, as well as to the emergence and consolidation of the Russophile movement in the Eparchy of Mukachevo.

Aversions to the Hungarian liturgical language as an alternative to Church Slavonic became palpable in a unique form during the work of the Commission as well. For a professional review of the *Euchologion*, Eparchial Bishop Pásztélyi Kovács created yet another committee in Uzhhorod in February 1880, under the leadership of Canon Gyula Firczák, Professor of Theology and Rector of the Seminary. Members of this committee also included some from the Hajdúdorog Commission (e.g. Danilovics, Roskovics and Jámbor), though Iván Rakovszky, whose expertise and knowledgeability were – as has been pointed out – regarded as outstanding by Károly Mészáros, too, was also part of it.<sup>314</sup> Even though Mészáros called Rakovszky a Russophile yet '*no devourer of Hungarians*', the parish priest of Iza, akin to Fenczik, adopted a firm

position on the question of the Hungarian liturgy. In his article published in Issue 1880/14 of the periodical *Kárpát*,<sup>315</sup> he acknowledges that the Eastern Church is basically open to the liturgical use of the vernacular, though it would as a rule approve such changes only after the careful examination of the relevant circumstances. With respect to Hungarian and Old Slavonic as liturgical languages, he deems it an important factor meriting due consideration that the former may be subordinated to the endeavours of the Government in the area of national policy, for – in his view – the language of worship may conspicuously promote the spread of a particular official state language. However, this fact (challenged by no-one) also allows for the possibility that some might demand the introduction of Hungarian as the officially endorsed language of the state to the detriment of Church Slavonic even places where Hungarians constitute only a small minority within the community. '*This will lead to constant strife and unrest among members of the congregation, disrupting the social quietude of peaceful citizens rather frequently*' – he concludes.<sup>316</sup> In the second part of the article, Rakovszky lists a series of conditions that he thinks must be met before the liturgical use of Hungarian and, consequently, liturgical translations are approved. The first three conditions are positively astonishing: Rakovszky suggests that, before the use of Hungarian is granted approval, permission (1) from Hungary's Roman Catholic bishops, as well as (2) from the Romanian Greek Catholic bishops be sought, and (3) even Lutheran and Calvinist church leaders be consulted as to whether the approval of the liturgical use of Hungarian in the Greek Catholic Church would cause any disruption in their communities... Should these three conditions be fulfilled, the use of Hungarian may be approved only in purely Hungarian Greek Catholic parishes, at the unanimous request of the faithful. In ethni-

<sup>314</sup> Iván Rakovszky was born into a priest's family on 5 March 1815. He completed his theological studies in Uzhhorod and Košice. He was ordained a priest by Bishop Bazil Popovics on 10 March 1839. From 1839 to 1844, he was parish priest in Vyšná Rybnica (*Felsőbalas*), Ung County. He was professor at the Seminary of Uzhhorod (1844–1850). From 1850 to 1858, he lived in Buda, working as the Government's official Rusyn translator. That year, as an editor, he founded the journal *Tserkovnaya Gazeta*, Hungary's first Russian language paper. In 1860, he published a Hungarian-Russian grammar book. From 1859 to 1885, he was parish priest of Iza, Máramaros County. He died in Iza on 3 December 1885. Szabó Oreszt, 1913, 79.

<sup>315</sup> The first part of the article from Issue 14/1880 of *Kárpátok* was published by: Ivancsó, 1999a, 52–53. Both parts of the article were published in Issues 15/1880 and 16/1880 of the weekly paper *Ungvár* as well.

<sup>316</sup> *Ungvár*, 15/1880 (11 April), p. 1.

cally mixed parishes, the language of administering the sacraments and imparting blessings may as well be Hungarian, alongside Old Slavonic, in an order and to an extent determined according to the needs of the faithful. If a Hungarian Greek Catholic eparchy is created, the use of Hungarian may be approved exclusively in the parishes specified and in no other place outside the boundaries of the Eparchy. In response to the argument of the proponents of the Hungarian liturgy that the faithful no longer understand the Old Slavonic liturgy, Rakovszky proposes reinforcing the instruction of Church Slavonic in schools, which may be well supported by the liturgical books translated into Hungarian as Hungarian pupils could more easily master the Church Slavonic language if Old Slavonic texts and their Hungarian counterparts were juxtaposed.<sup>317</sup>

Much as the concerns of Rakovszky, defending the ancient traditions of his Church, are justified and understandable, the conditions envisaged by him (*viz.* the approval of Roman Catholic and Romanian Greek Catholic bishops!) also imply that he would happily do everything to prevent the liturgical use of Hungarian.<sup>318</sup>

Apart from his largely general objections, Rakovszky also highlights a major problem in his review of the *Euchologion*: He considered the translation submitted by the Hajdúdorog Commission incomplete. Therefore, in his comments as a reviewer, he suggested to the Commission that it require an exact translation of the Pochayiv *Euchologion*, stressing that none of its components – neither services nor passages within individual services – were to be omitted. The Uzhhorod review committee accepted this recommendation at its session on 3 April 1880.<sup>319</sup>

Rather than an insignificant issue of a technical character, dispensing with or abridging certain services was a fundamental problem. Until his death in 1885, Rakovszky served as a parish priest

in Iza. Within less than two decades of his death, Iza was one of the parishes the congregations of which communicated their wish even to the state authorities to leave the Greek Catholic Church and join the Orthodox Church. The so-called ‘schism-suits’ created by the authorities out of the transfers would expose the converts’ motivations as well, including the complaint that the Greek Catholic ‘clergy [...] would arbitrarily shorten services for their own convenience’.<sup>320</sup> This practice was met with major disapproval particularly in parishes led by Russophile priests. In fact, as has been noted above, they felt a sense of admiration not only for Russian language and culture but for the liturgical praxis of the Orthodox Church as well. In 1903, Rakovszky was actually criticised for ‘raising children in Iza in the Greek Orthodox religion, causing the population educated in this way to hold fast to their sentiments’.<sup>321</sup> Members of the Iza congregation could not accept his successors’ more liberal or – at least – different liturgical practice, which – coupled with other serious reasons – culminated in the demand for confession changing. Abandoning, altering or abridging services or actually expanding them with certain elements of the Latin Rite, as well as adopting particular services of the Latin Rite represent the phenomenon of ‘rite corruption’, which, in the period concerned, was strongly resisted in the Eparchy of Mukachevo, especially by Russophile priests. Whereas, earlier, the danger of ‘rite corruption’ had reached the region from north east of the Carpathian Mountains, from the Greek Catholic Church of Galicia, under heavy Latin influence, the imperfections of the *Euchologion* translated in Hajdúdorog suggested that the introduction and spread of Hungarian as a liturgical language would also result in the corruption and impoverishment of the Rite.<sup>322</sup>

Thus, the manuscript of the *Euchologion* was returned to the Translation Commission, and it

<sup>317</sup> Ungvár, 16/1880 (18 April), p. 1.

<sup>318</sup> This is uncompromisingly condemned in the editorial comment attached to the article: ‘One cannot be sure whether, in these remarks, one is to witness clerical strong-headedness or detestation of the Hungarian language. Scarcely could a more dangerous fox to guard the henhouse have been found’ (translation from the Hungarian original). Ungvár, 16/1880 (18 April), pp. 1–2.

<sup>319</sup> Ivancsó, 1999a, 33 and 45 – 46, as well as Források II/4/1, 138, Document no. 52.

<sup>320</sup> The words of Zsigmond Perényi, Lord Lieutenant of Máramaros County, are cited in: Mayer, 1977, 129.

<sup>321</sup> The report of the Public Administration Commission of Máramaros County from 14 August 1903 is cited in: Mayer, 1977, 240.

<sup>322</sup> Cf. Dobos, 2022, 193–194.

would resubmit it in a revised form to the Hierarchy and the review committee. At this point, the matter took a somewhat unexpected turn as the committee chaired by Abbot Canon Gyula Firczák this time blamed the translation for failing to conform to the Greek *Euchologion*,<sup>323</sup> a model and norm set by the Popes (Benedict XIII and Pius IX) for Galician Ruthenians as well.<sup>324</sup> Due to the limited range of sources, it cannot be fully ascertained who raised this objection. As has been noted, however, Ignác Roskovics also saw the need to return to the Greek language as important, making his involvement in this shift plausible.

No sources survive about the revision, and, for now, the scholarly analysis of the *Euchologion* is not yet at a stage when passages translated from Old Slavonic or Greek may be identified. Undeniably, by 1883, the translation was granted approval, and the volume was sent to print.<sup>325</sup> Owing to problems around the translation of the *Euchologion*, the *Liturgikon* with the Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom was issued a year earlier, in 1882.<sup>326</sup>

Nothing seems to indicate that – as it happened with the joint effort in Hajdúdorog in July and August 1879 – members of the Commission would convene on other occasions as well. The story of the publication of the two additional books issued under the auspices of the Commission also suggests that these must have been published as the outcome

of a single person's translation activities. One of them is a volume containing the Liturgy of Saint Basil the Great, a service conducted ten times a year in the Byzantine-rite Churches, the Liturgy of Presanctified Gifts prescribed for the Lenten period and the Penitential Canon of Saint Andrew of Crete, as well as the remaining services of the liturgical day (except for the Midnight Office).<sup>327</sup> As is mentioned in the Prologue to the publication, the text was based on a translation from Greek by Emil Melles (1857–1932), a priest from Dobrá (*Kisdobrá*), subsequently playing a decisive role in the movement of Hungarian Greek Catholics. He offered his translation to the Commission in 1884. The offer was accepted by Territorial Vicar Danilovics, though he would adjust the text to the style of the first two publications.<sup>328</sup> The fourth and, at the same time, last volume, the hymn book published in 1892, is wholly associated with Territorial Vicar Danilovics. Issued in eight editions until 1920, it became particularly popular with the faithful.<sup>329</sup>

The activities and the four publications of the Liturgical Translation Commission of Hajdúdorog marked the end of a time in the history of the Hungarian Greek Catholic Church that is sometimes referred to as the 'manuscript' period. Even though no breakthrough was achieved in terms of obtaining approval for the liturgical use of Hungarian in

<sup>323</sup> The 'Greek Euchologion' denotes the Euchologion entitled *Euchologion sive Rituale Graecorum complectens ritus et ordines divinae liturgiae*, issued by Jacques Goár (1601–1653) for the first time in Venice in 1638, with several editions in the following centuries.

<sup>324</sup> Ivancsó, 1999a, 33 and 47.

<sup>325</sup> Görög katolikus egyházi szerkönyv (*Euchologion*). Magyarra fordított Hajdu-Dorogon 1879. Debreczen, nyomtatott a város [Greek Catholic Euchologion. Translated into Hungarian in Hajdúdorog in 1879. Printed at the printing press of the town of Debrecen in 1883]

<sup>326</sup> Aranyszájú Szent János atya szent és isteni liturgiája, vagyis az újszövetségi vérontás nélküli szent áldozat bemutatásának rendje kiegészítve több oltári és egyházi énekkel a magyarajku görög szertartásu katolikusok lelki épülésére, a Munkácsi és Eperjesi Egyházmegyei Szentszékek kebeléből kiküldött kilenczes tagu Bizottság fordítása Hajdu-Dorogon 1879. Debreczen, nyomtatott a város könyvnyomdájában. 1882. [The Holy and Divine Liturgy of Our Father Saint John Chrysostom, i.e. the order of celebrating the holy unbloody sacrifice of the New Testament, supplemented with various chants to be sung at the altar and in church, for the spiritual edification of Hungarian-speaking Greek-rite Catholics. Translated in Hajdúdorog in 1879 by the nine-member Commission delegated from the heart of the Eparchial Courts of Munkács and Eperjes. Printed in Debrecen, at the printing press of the town, in 1882]

<sup>327</sup> Szent Nagy Bazil atya szent és isteni Liturgiája továbbá az előszenteltek isteni liturgiája s egyéb egyházi szolgálatok papi imádságai a görög szert. katolikusok lelki hasznára, Hajdú-Dorogi kiadás. Debreczen Kutasi Imre Könyvnyomdájában, 1890 [The Holy and Divine Liturgy of Our Father Saint Basil the Great, as well as the Divine Liturgy of Presanctified Gifts and the priest's prayers of other church services for the spiritual benefit of Greek-rite Catholics. Issued in Hajdúdorog. Printed at the Printing Press of Imre Kutasi, in Debrecen, in 1890]

<sup>328</sup> Ivancsó, 1999a, 35–37.

<sup>329</sup> Görög szertartásu általános egyházi énekkönyv a hozzávaló imákkal a görög-katolikus hivek lelki hasznára. Fordította és kiadta: Danilovics János hajdu-dorogi püspöki vikárius. 1892. Debreczen, Nyomatott a város nyomdájában, 1892. [A general Greek-rite church hymn book with supplementary prayers for the spiritual benefit of the Greek Catholic faithful. Translated and published by János Danilovics, Episcopal Vicar of Hajdúdorog, in Debrecen in 1892. Printed at the printing press of the town in 1892]. Described by: Ivancsó, 2003b.

these decades, either, and thus the liturgical books published – except for the hymn book – were not given any official ecclesial character, the fact that they were produced by experts – in other words, they were theologically impeccable and were issued in print, therefore, once disseminated, contributing to the creation of a uniform liturgical praxis – is undoubtedly of great consequence. This represents

a milestone passing which was a compulsory task for substantiating the foundations of the Hungarian Greek Catholic movement. This success made many hopeful that the realisation of the aims of the movement – ‘the Hungarian liturgy and a Hungarian eparchy’ – came within reach. As will be shown in the next chapters, however, Hungarian Greek Catholics were yet to experience some disillusioning failures.

## A Missed Opportunity in 1881

The creation of the Hajdúdorog Translation Commission directed attention to the question of the liturgical use of the Hungarian language again. Although the establishment of the Commission in itself was not tantamount to the arbitrary introduction of the use of Hungarian as the language of the liturgy in defiance of the competence of the Holy See, a prohibitive provision on the liturgical use of the Hungarian language was sent from Rome. The Holy See obliged János Pásztyéyi Kovács, Bishop of Mukachevo, to restore the usage of Old Church Slavonic completely and, by force of his episcopal authority, to prevent the use of the Hungarian language in the churches of his Eparchy.<sup>330</sup> Bishop Pásztyéyi apprised the clergy of the ban on the use of the Hungarian language in a circular, subsequently incorporating it into the Discipline Rules of the Eparchy as well (1883):

*In the parishes composed of our non-Slavic speaking faithful, situated in the territory of our Eparchy and found under our jurisdiction, only as much deviation from the canonised altar-language (lyurgicus) during the sacred celebration of the divine services both in and outside the church will be tolerated as is common in the practice of our a Latin-rite Catholic brethren in the priesthood in conducting parts of the divine services according to their own rite, both in and outside the church, in the tongue of the faithful. Priests daring to depart from or violate this rule at their own peril without*

*the highest-level permission of His Holiness the Pope will incur strict disciplinary proceedings'* (translated from the Hungarian original).<sup>331</sup>

This event gave a new lease of life to the Standing Executive Committee of Hajdúdorog, somewhat descending into apathy after the establishment of the Territorial Vicariate of Hajdúdorog. The prestigious body held a conference in Hajdúdorog on 23 January 1881, drafting petitions addressed to the Monarch,<sup>332</sup> the House of Representatives<sup>333</sup> and Ágoston Trefort, Minister of Culture.<sup>334</sup> In these documents, they point out that the Territorial Vicariate has failed to solve the problems of the Hungarian Greek Catholics: As many as 130 thousand members of the Greek Catholic faithful cannot still avail themselves of the opportunity afforded by the traditions of the Byzantine Rite and potentially affecting religious practice in highly favourable ways: the liturgical use of the vernacular. One of the many reasons why they consider this an 'abnormal'<sup>335</sup> and 'numbingly pathological situation'<sup>336</sup> is that, nonetheless, the state has always ensured to provide the conditions for the liturgical use of the vernacular by the Rusyn and Romanian Greek Catholics. At this point, they refer not only to the creation of the Eparchy of Prešov (1818), as well as of the Romanian Ecclesiastical Province of Transylvania and its two new Bishoprics (Lugoj and Gherla (Lugoj and Gherla in 1853) but also to the fact that 166 Romanian parishes were reassigned from the Eparchy of Mukachevo to the Romani-

<sup>330</sup> Petrus, 1897, 82.

<sup>331</sup> In the Discipline Rules of the Eparchy of Mukachevo: 5–10 March 1883, VII/25/b.

<sup>332</sup> Petition to the Monarch, 23 January 1881. *Források*, II/4/1, 138–139, Document no. 53.

<sup>333</sup> Petition to the House of Representatives, 23 January 1881. *Források*, II/4/1, 140–143, Document no. 54.

<sup>334</sup> Petition to the Minister of Culture, 23 January 1881. *Források*, II/4/1, 143–149, Document no. 55.

<sup>335</sup> *Források*, II/4/1, 140.

<sup>336</sup> *Források*, II/4/1, 139.



an Eparchies in two waves (1821 and 1856). Even though the Hungarian Greek Catholics also voiced their demands and made them public to the whole of the country in this period, their cause ‘*was left unresolved for unknown reasons*’.<sup>337</sup> In their petitions deemed to be sufficiently well-founded, they request the upgrading of the Territorial Vicariate into an eparchy as they may hope to gain permission for the liturgical use of Hungarian from the Holy See only with a bishop fully committed to the cause on their side. For the latter, they even outline a three-point work plan: 1. preparing official translations of the liturgy; 2. obtaining the permission of the Holy See; 3. disseminating the use of the official liturgical books and uniforming practice in the Hungarian parishes. In the final point of the request submitted to the House of Representatives, they also note that the new Eparchy could promote the spread of Hungarian as the language of the state in settlements with mixed-ethnicity populations. With this brief remark, they embedded the cause of the Hungarian liturgy into the context of the question of nationality, actually by highlighting but one of its possible consequences: one that appeared to be advantageous for the official national policy.

They experienced the complexity of aspects of nationality even upon delivering their request for the King to Prime Minister Kálmán Tisza during an in-person meeting. In spite of giving a most cordial welcome to the delegation and even pledging his support, Prime Minister Tisza would in fact refuse to change his earlier well-known position, as evidenced by later events. As a matter of fact, the most influential politician of the period was of the opinion that a Greek Catholic eparchy with a purely Hungarian character should not be created because this would also cause other ethnically dominant eparchies to become homogeneously Rusyn or Romanian eparchies, in turn strengthening their national identity and decelerating the process of

assimilation. From the point of view of national policy, he considered it desirable that Greek Catholics with a Hungarian identity should facilitate the spread of the language of the state and the assimilation of nationalities into the Hungarian nation by living within the existing ecclesial framework.<sup>338</sup>

Keeping his promise, Prime Minister Tisza presented the request of the community of Hajdúdorog to the Government. On 12 February, the Government authorised Minister Ágoston Trefort ‘*to present this petition to His Majesty and, at the same time, to request His Majesty’s highest permission so that he may begin preliminary negotiations on this matter with the approval of the respective Bishop and Archbishop-Primate and, following the completion thereof, he may present a proposal as to how the wish that Hungarian speaking Greek Catholics be not obliged to use the Russian liturgy could be granted*’ (translated from the Hungarian original)<sup>339</sup>. Once the Standing Executive Committee learnt about the positive reception, on 26 February, it notified Prince-Primate János Simor of the submission of the requests and solicited his support for the creation of the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog at the Holy See.<sup>340</sup> On 4 of March, Minister Trefort presented the petition of the Hungarian Greek Catholics to the Monarch, who would give his consent to the commencement of the negotiations. Trefort informed Prince-Primate Simor of all this on 10 March and simultaneously sought his opinion on the matter.<sup>341</sup> On the same day, the Minister would advise Cardinal Lajos Haynald, Archbishop of Kalocsa,<sup>342</sup> as well as the other members of the Episcopacy, who were also invited to state their views.

Now the ball was in the court of the Catholic Episcopacy: The prelates needed to declare what they thought about the demands and movement of the Hungarian Greek Catholics. It is well worth becoming acquainted with the content of these letters in depth because they will offer an answer

<sup>337</sup> *Források*, II/4/1, 141.

<sup>338</sup> This is evidenced by the letter of Gyula Drohobeczky, Bishop of Križevci (*Kőrös*), to Pope Leo XIII from 26 January 1897 as well. *Források*, II/4/1, Document no. 125.

<sup>339</sup> The proposal of the Minister of Culture in the Council of Ministers, 12 February 1881. *Források*, II/4/1, 150, Document no. 56.

<sup>340</sup> The Standing Executive Committee to Prince-Primate Simor, 26 February 1881. *Források*, II/4/1, 150–151, Document no. 57.

<sup>341</sup> Minister of Culture Trefort to Prince-Primate Simor, 10 March 1881. *Források*, II/4/1, 151–152, Document no. 58.

<sup>342</sup> Minister of Culture Trefort to Cardinal Haynald, 10 March 1881. *Források*, II/4/1, 152–153, Document no. 59.

to the question after all by what arguments and fears the views of the Hungarian Roman Catholic bishops were defined. As prominent members of the Episcopacy usually carried much clout with both the Holy See and the Government, their position on the Greek Catholics' cause would determine its outcome.

While Minister Trefort expected replies, on 15 March, Vienna Nuncio Serafino Vanutelli also penned a letter to enquire from Prince-Primate Simor about rumours circulated in the press of the establishment of a new Greek Catholic bishopric.<sup>343</sup> The Prince-Primate's response was extremely swift: He sent his reply to the Nuncio within a week. According to the information furnished by him, there were about 130-thousand Greek Catholics living in the country unable to understand Old Slavonic or Romanian. Their aim was to be gathered in an independent eparchy, the bishop of which would secure the permission of the Holy See allowing them to use exclusively Hungarian in the liturgy. Therefore, the moot point, as stressed by the Prince-Primate, was not the establishment of a new bishopric but changing the liturgical language, which could entail serious consequences as it might motivate the Roman Catholic faithful as well to request that Hungarian, German or Slovak be used instead of Latin.<sup>344</sup>

Whereas the Nuncio received a response within a week, Minister Trefort was made to wait for four months. Even though the other members of the Episcopacy whose views were sought would be quick to send their judgements,<sup>345</sup> the two most important ones – the positions of Cardinals Simor and Haynald – would be formulated only in mid-July. The responses, which were apparently closely coordinated, were dispatched to the Ministry from Haynald's court on 14 July<sup>346</sup> and from Simor's seat one day later, on 15 July.<sup>347</sup>

Before the Minister could receive a reply, Cardinal Haynald informed Cardinal Secretary of State Ludovico Jacobini as early as 30 June as to what statement he and his fellow bishops would issue.<sup>348</sup> In his letter, the Archbishop of Kalocsa reported that, in response to the petition of the Hungarian Greek Catholics, the establishment of a new Greek Catholic bishopric for the faithful who had formerly been Ruthenians but had since become Hungarian-speakers requesting the Hungarian liturgy, was on the agenda at the highest government levels. The Minister of Religion and Education even officially approached several bishops – including the author of the letter – for their positions, but they would all give negative responses. The greatest danger according to Haynald was that, emboldened by the example of the Hungarian Greek Catholics, Latin-rite Catholics would also demand the use of the Hungarian language in church. He predicted that the Germans, Slovaks, and Croats could also advance similar claims, ultimately threatening the internal peace of the country as well. He also remarked that the personal ambitions of certain individuals, who would be pleased to head this new eparchy as a bishop or would be glad to receive appointments for canonry, could also be detected in the background.

Cardinal Hayland divides his response to Minister Trefort into two sections. As, in his opinion, the question of the Bishopric of Hajdúdorog is primarily about the liturgical use of the Hungarian language, in describing his views, first he expounds on this subject at great length. In the second part of his letter – rather sparingly in contrast with the first section – he addresses the issue of the Hungarian Greek Catholic bishopric itself.

On the matter of the liturgical language, the Archbishop of Kalocsa bases his arguments on the relevant experience of his own diocese. Although

<sup>343</sup> Nuncio Vannutelli to Prince-Primate Simor, 15 March 1881. *Források*, II/4/1, 153, Document no. 60.

<sup>344</sup> Prince-Primate Simor to Nuncio Vannutelli, 21 March 1881. *Források*, II/4/1, 154–155, Document no. 61.

<sup>345</sup> E.g., János Zalka, Bishop of Győr, posted his position as early as 21 March, dispatching a copy to Haynald as well: *Források*, II/4/1, 155–159, Document no. 62.

<sup>346</sup> Cardinal Haynald to Minister of Culture Trefort, 14 July 1881. *Források*, II/4/1, 162–167, Document no. 64.

<sup>347</sup> Prince-Primate Simor to Minister of Culture Trefort, 15 July 1881. *Források*, II/4/1, 167–169, Document no. 65.

<sup>348</sup> Cardinal Haynald to Cardinal Secretary of State Jacobini, 30 June 1881. *Források*, II/4/1, 160–162, Document no. 63.

he discusses these aspects at the end of the first part of his letter, it seems obvious that this markedly negative experience informs his refusal in fundamental ways. The Cardinal goes into great detail about the complications that may arise from the time-consuming process of precisely determining at what points during particular liturgical celebrations prayers and songs are to be performed in one or another ethnic language in ethnically mixed parishes. He argues that it is a source of countless conflicts if, in individual places, changes in ethnic ratios over time are not matched by subsequent modifications in the norm of language usage prescribed and approved by church authorities. Thus, the Cardinal evidently demurs at the prospect of the question of nationality entering churches via the problem of liturgical language use. It is precisely for this reason that the endeavour of the Hungarian or – as Haynald puts it – the Hungarian-turned Russian Greek Catholics to use the Hungarian language exclusively in their services – and especially in the Holy Mass – is not desirable from the perspective of either the Church or the state. The Cardinal seems to be certain that the example of the Greek Catholics will be followed by other ethnic groups, and this will lead to splits in congregations at a parish level. Such developments will produce grave consequences not only from an ecclesiastical vantage point but also in terms of the notion of Hungarian statehood, since, in congregations segregated on an ethnic basis, there can be no more sermons or catechesis delivered in the official language of the Hungarian State, which, in contemporary practice, has been an important vehicle of nearly unnoticeable assimilation to the Hungarian community. In the Cardinal's view, the Greek Catholics cannot wish for more in the area of language use than Latin-rite Catholics, in whose liturgical practice the Hungarian language is admitted to the necessary extent. According to Haynald, the Latin and Byzantine liturgies do not differ so greatly that would prevent the people from chanting in Hungarian or listening to sermons and catechesis in the Hungarian language. In his assessment, this would be completely sufficient for the confirmation of one's faith and spiritual enrichment, whereas

liturgy fully celebrated in Hungarian, the approval of which by the Holy See is in any case unrealistic, would be totally needless.

It follows from his position on the issue of language use that he deems the creation of the Bishopric of Hajdúdorog to be useless, too. He is confident that the existing Greek Catholic system of ecclesiastical governance will guarantee that the justified language-use-related demands of the Hungarian faithful will be considered by the bishops. Should they nevertheless fail to do so, higher-level church authorities or the Government itself could take action as appropriate. The Religion Fund is faced with severe problems anyhow, so it is not to be burdened further with the expenditures of an unneeded bishopric. In his letter, Cardinal Haynald makes repeated hints at personal ambitions and incidental interests.

Prince-Primate Simor's expression of refusal, worded more concisely than that of his fellow Cardinal from Kalocsa, is also centred around the issue of liturgical language use. He is convinced that the Holy See will not permit the liturgical use of Hungarian. In case this were to happen thanks to some miracle, that would still not warrant the establishment of a Hungarian bishopric as the current – utterly illegal and unacceptable – practice (if the corresponding sources are to be trusted at all) also verifies that, even in eparchies with Old Slavonic as the liturgical language, it is possible to use Hungarian. In his letter, the Prince-Primate also alludes to the dangers inherent in precedents and does not omit to mention the individual ambitions behind the movement, either.

Besides the refusal of the two Cardinals, out of the other members of the Episcopacy whose views had been solicited, János Zalka, Bishop of Győr, and Mihail Pavel, Greek Catholic Bishop of Oradea, rejected the idea of the establishment of a Hungarian Greek Catholic bishopric with its seat in Hajdúdorog, while János Pásztyéyi Kovács, Bishop of Mukachevo, and Miklós Tóth, Bishop of Prešov, were supportive. The professors of the Theological College also responded in the negative.<sup>349</sup> From the opinions collected from the bishops, the letter of

<sup>349</sup> Salacz, 1974. 150–151.

János Zalka, Bishop of Győr, is particularly noteworthy.<sup>350</sup> Bishop Zalka starts his letter with the assertion that Parliament has no competence in matters such as establishing new bishoprics. Hungarian public law recognises only the Monarch's right of patronage, who could make decisions on matters of this kind in cooperation with Holy See. Bishop Zalka takes a pragmatic approach to the question of creating a new Greek Catholic eparchy. He considers it a major source of tension if the Rusyn and Romanian Greek Catholic bishops are forced to make a choice and have to declare which parishes they regard as Hungarian and consequently eligible for inclusion in the new Eparchy. Should they relinquish their parishes, they could expect attacks from the ranks of their own nationality. In addition, the communities concerned are not internally homogenous, either: There may be members who will wish to join the new Eparchy, while others would prefer to stay in the old one. *'There is bound to be a split here as well. Each party would demand the church and each party would demand the school'* – as the Bishop of Győr evinces his fears (translated from the Hungarian original). Echoing the ideas of Kálmán Tisza, from the point of view of the notion of Hungarian statehood, he also feels it problematic that, following the establishment of a Hungarian Greek Catholic bishopric, the Rusyn and Romanian Eparchies would be even more isolated and distanced from the Hungarian community. Schism is only a short step away from this point since *'experience has on many an occasion shown how tenuous the ties of union are for some if those bonds are not strengthened by the Religion Fund'* – as he phrases his by no means flattering view. In the second part of his letter, Bishop Zalka argues against the liturgical use of Hungarian in a thorough and lengthy analysis and concludes by citing two arguments also adduced by the two Cardinals: He suspects individual ambitions in the background and rules out that the Religion Fund could be burdened with the costs of a new bishopric.

The objection of the aforementioned members of the Episcopacy, fulfilling prior expectations, put Prime Minister Kálmán Tisza in a convenient position: Contrary to his conviction, it enabled him to assure the Standing Executive Committee of his goodwill and support. Apparently, he knew what he could expect from the Episcopacy.

Citing the opposition of the bishops, the Government thus removed the question of the foundation of the Hungarian Greek Catholic Eparchy from the agenda for a decade, and, henceforth, those in government circles would adopt the position that the issue was not to be renewed until the Holy See permitted the liturgical use of Hungarian. As, according to Prince-Primate János Simor, such a development would amount to a miracle, the Government did not need to worry about the demand of the Hungarian Greek Catholics.

Twelve years later, János Ivánkovics (later to become Diocesan Bishop of Rožňava (*Rozsnyó*)) reopened the files of the case at the time of his appointment as Ministerial Adviser. The source of the topicality of this step was an act by Mihail Pavel, Greek Catholic Bishop of Oradea, ordering that Romanian be taught in the Hungarian schools of the Eparchy. Triggering a nationwide uproar, this measure<sup>351</sup> rekindled government interest in the establishment of a Hungarian Greek Catholic eparchy. Having examined the documents produced in 1881, Ivánkovics compiled a detailed analysis and made an elaborate proposal on the subject of the creation of the Bishopric of Hajdúdorog.<sup>352</sup> From this remarkable motion, only the analysis of the views submitted in 1881 will be discussed here because Adviser Ivánkovics also formulates the objection that contemporary Greek Catholics would voice in conjunction with the Latin-rite prelates' main fear, albeit to no avail.

Out of the five statements of refusal (by Cardinals Haynald and Simor, Bishops Zalka and Pavel, as well as by the Theological Faculty of Budapest), Adviser Ivánkovics appears to have a rather depre-

<sup>350</sup> Bishop Zalka to Minister of Culture Trefort, 21 March 1881. *Források*, II/4/1, 155–159, Document no. 62.

<sup>351</sup> E.g.: *A kormány és a nemzetiségek*. Budapesti Hírlap, XIII. No. 217, 8 August 1893, p. 1.

<sup>352</sup> The proposal of Adviser Ivánkovics, ca. 1893–94, *Források*, II/4/1, 170–181, Document no. 67. At that time, Prince-Primate Vaszary had the question removed from the agenda. Prince-Primate Vaszary to Minister of Culture Eötvös, 9 August 1894. *Források*, II/4/1, 182, Document no. 68.

catory view about the writings of the Archbishop of Esztergom and the Bishop of Oradea. *'The former only proves that, when there are no arguments left, insinuation ensues. The latter, in turn, demonstrates that the Bishop was completely uninformed about the matter at hand ...'* However, he provides a well-detailed analysis of the assessments of Bishop Zalka, the Theological College and Cardinal Haynald, describing them as thorough and well-thought-out, yet suitable for debate in terms of their conclusions. Concerning Cardinal Haynald's supposition that the Greek Catholics bishops would send the Hungarian faithful priests attentive to their linguistic needs, Adviser Ivánkovics attaches the following commentary: *'A blessed belief wherewith the great deceased man's soul flew to a better abode!'* *If he looks back from heaven to this earth, today he would hardly write or say this'* (translated from the Hungarian original).

To the Latin prelates' fear articulated and stressed time and time again, suggesting that, in case the Hungarian Greek Catholics were permitted to use Hungarian, the Latin-rite population would demand the same, Ivánkovics responds:

*'And even though Greek-rite Catholic priests conducted services in the Hungarian tongue in several places before, and – as far as I know – they still do so in several places today, too, I have not heard so far that the Roman Catholics in that area have launched initiatives of the nature about which the late Archbishop of Kalocsa expressed his concerns. A case in point, mingled with the 7315 Greek Catholic souls, there are 429 Roman Catholics living in Hajdúdorog, and no report has been made by the local Roman Catholic parish about any movement indicating that their faithful also yearn for the introduction of divine worship in Hungarian. The appropriateness of my assertion is to some extent also substantiated by the fact that, in a number of places in this country, the faithful of the reformed Churches constitute*

*the majority and conduct their church services in their mother tongue, yet the Roman Catholics have not taken any steps to have the Hungarian liturgy introduced'* (translated from the Hungarian original).

It is undoubtedly true that allowing the liturgical use of the Hungarian language in Greek Catholic communities would have meant the sanctioning of a practice that had been relatively widespread for decades. This circumstance was not taken into account by the Latin prelates, and they failed to consider prior experience which was indeed indicative of the fact that the Greek Catholic practice had no 'subversive' effect on the Roman Catholic communities living in the same region. It may be inferred from Cardinal Simor's letter that information about actual practice had reached him, but he refused to receive such reports without scepticism (*'if the things that have been divulged to me through private channels be true'*)<sup>353</sup> and he did not deem it necessary to subject previous experience to closer scrutiny. As arousing alarm about potential ethnic unrest, as well as emphasising the financial burden created by a new diocese, along with individual ambitions, appeared to be a simpler strategy, the prelates whose opinions were sought preferred to take this path.

Since they could not see into the future, they had no way to know that this decision of theirs would have serious consequences: In fact, they hindered the creation of the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog for thirty-one – *belle époque* – years. The defeat of 1881 was followed by three more decades of struggle for the Hungarian Greek Catholics, instead of developing and improving the institutional framework of their Eparchy. They would need to perform this task in the throes of World War I, collapse, the Hungarian Soviet Republic, Romanian occupation and the disaster unleashed by the Peace Treaty of Trianon. Against this backdrop, it becomes clear that the opportunity that was missed in 1881 is a tragic chapter in the history of Hungarian Greek Catholics.

<sup>353</sup> *Források*, II/4/1, 169.

# The Greek Catholic Divine Liturgy in Hungarian(?) in the University Church of Budapest

*'The arguments [...] which they raised lack persuasive force to such an extent that one cannot but wonder why the case was consigned to the archives upon receipt of the reports'*<sup>354</sup> – Minister of Religion and Education Gyula Wlassics (1895–1903) wrote to Prime Minister Dezső Bánffy (1895–1899) in 1896, i.e. fifteen years after the unsuccessful attempt to establish the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog, summarising the positions of the Catholic prelates who advanced counter-arguments. His letter was prompted by the latest petitions of the Standing Executive Committee of Hajdúdorog, opening a new chapter in Hungarian Greek Catholic history.

Fresh in his post as Minister of Culture, Wlassics studied the files of the case and concluded that the demands of the Hungarian Greek Catholic movement had been mismanaged at a government level. In his letter, he contented himself with expressing his astonishment over the matter, while obviously realising that the senior clergymen voicing their negative views had in reality aligned themselves with Prime Minister Kálmán Tisza's opinion, interpreting the essentially pastoral requirements of the Hungarian Greek Catholics from an exclusively national-policy-centred point of view. As was demonstrated in the preceding chapter, Tisza rejected the plan for the establishment of a Hungarian Greek Catholic eparchy. He opined that, on grounds of national policy, extracting the Hungarian element from Greek Catholic Eparchies of an ethnic character would not have been desirable because they would be bound to become even more homogeneous Rusyn or Romanian communities respectively. Thus, Tisza envisaged a role for Hungarian Greek Catholics in national policy: promoting assimila-

tion while living in Romanian and Rusyn Eparchies. Naturally, even though the Catholic prelates requested to give their assessment did not formulate their refusal along such lines, they also approached the question from the context of ethnic relations. They articulated their fears that a Hungarian Greek Catholic eparchy would be conducive to the further spread of the use of Hungarian as a liturgical language, opening the doors of Latin-rite churches as well to the question of nationality and ethnic strife in particular.<sup>355</sup>

This marked a highly important moment in the history of Hungarian Greek Catholics, for henceforth the cause of the 'Hungarian liturgy' and of the 'Hungarian Eparchy' would come to be a theme concerning issues of national policy and nationality questions at the same time, with all the concomitant negative consequences.

The unexpected and painful defeat of 1881 represented a setback for the Standing Executive Committee of Hajdúdorog for over a decade. In the 1880s, even the development of the town of Hajdúdorog took a turn for the worse. In fact, as a result of administrative reforms, it lost its town status and was turned into a rural municipality.<sup>356</sup> This change also meant that it was made even harder to ensure that the centre of the future Hungarian Greek Catholic Eparchy would be Hajdúdorog.

One reason for the moderate engagement of the Standing Executive Committee was the circumstance that several of the members playing leading roles in 1868 and 1881 had died or grown old by then. However, this did not jeopardise the further development of the Hungarian Greek Catholic cause as the preconditions of a generation change

<sup>354</sup> *Források*, II/4/1, 210–211, Document no. 90.

<sup>355</sup> As shown in the previous chapter, Cardinal Haynald communicated these fears to Cardinal Secretary of State Jacobini rather explicitly: *Források*, II/4/1, 160–162, Document no. 63.

<sup>356</sup> Komoróczy, 1971, 292–295.

were in place both in Hajdúdorog and outside it. An apt occasion for such a shift was provided by the session of the Standing Executive Committee on 2 September 1893, convoked in the wake of the ordinance of Pável Mihály, Greek Catholic Bishop of Oradea, provoking widespread indignation. In fact, Bishop Pavel had ordered that ‘... *within those parishes where the people perhaps no longer spoke the language of their Church, in schools, the instruction of reading and writing, the sacred prayers, church chants, elementary catechisation and the introduction of school children to the Sacraments of Penance and the Eucharist nonetheless take place in the language of the Church...*’ (translated from the Hungarian original).<sup>357</sup> As this amounted to a concrete response and an idiosyncratic proposed solution to the demand for Hungarian as a liturgical language, the Hajdúdorog community felt directly targeted.<sup>358</sup> Before his death in 1894, as a final act as chairman as it were, Lajos Farkas convened the Standing Executive Committee and handed over the position of chairman to Pál Farkas and István Kovács.<sup>359</sup>

Almost simultaneously with the reorganisation efforts in Hajdúdorog, the Government also needed to take action in conjunction with the Pavel case as Member of Parliament József Madarász questioned Minister of Religion and Education Albin Csáky about the issue in Parliament. Then the Minister tasked Ministry Department Adviser János Ivánkovics<sup>360</sup> with preparing a report on the Hungarian liturgical language and the Hungarian Eparchy. As seen in the previous chapter, Ivánkovics subjected the responses received in 1881 to profound analysis, not finding the counter-arguments in them well-founded. Therefore, he compiled a detailed budget for the establishment of the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog and a step-by-step scenario for the relevant procedure. In setting out the chief principles, he could not make himself independent from the fact that a Greek Catholic eparchy with Hungarian as the language of the liturgy was a matter

of national interest. Thus, he did not even expect the necessary resources to be made available at the expense of the troubled Religion Fund but of the budget instead as he was certain that Members of Parliament would wholeheartedly vote in favour of the financial cover, ‘*needed for saving the national language and, possibly, nationality of a hundred and fifty thousand citizens*’<sup>361</sup>.

Minister of Culture Csáky forwarded Department Adviser Ivánkovics’s report to Prince-Primate Kolos Vaszary via confidential channels instead of the official ones. This is revealed by the recipient’s reply, addressed not to Csáky, who resigned in the meantime, but to his successor, Loránd Eötvös, in the summer of 1894. Citing precisely the confidential character of the opinion request, the Prince-Primate presents his view not on the basis of ‘*the frequently and thoroughly explored subject but in relation to time and opportuneness*’. In other words, he does not reiterate previously formulated and well-known arguments but simply asks the Minister ‘*not to make the matter subject of public discussion as of now*’. While also referring to the problem of the question of nationality in his brief justification, he does not consider it timely, mainly due to the ongoing debates around legislation on ecclesiastical policy: ‘*We, Catholics, have reason to be distrustful about the highest levels of government on account of their ecclesiastical policy; we are joined by the Holy See in our anxiety about the involvement of the Hungarian Government in religious policies*’ (translated from the Hungarian original). The Prince-Primate could see it for himself what fierce reactions were triggered by the debates surrounding ecclesiastical-policy-related legislation (civil marriage, the decree about the compulsory baptism of children from mixed marriages in the faith of the parent of the identical sex, civil registration, the emancipation of Judaism and the free exercise of religion) as, on his way to the session of the House of Magnates a few months earlier, he had been insulted by dem-

<sup>357</sup> Diary of the House of Representatives, 1892, Volume XIII, 318. This act would also precipitate the Pituk Affair, described earlier.

<sup>358</sup> Petrus, 1897, 111.

<sup>359</sup> Ibid, 115.

<sup>360</sup> János Ivánkovics (1846–1910) was Department Adviser of the Ministry of Religion and Education from 1893 to 1896 and Bishop of Rožňava (*Rozsnyó*) from 1897 to 1904.

<sup>361</sup> Ibid.

onstrators. Lack of trust in the Wekerle Cabinet (as well as in Bánffy's Government replacing it in 1895) was such that an issue of so great import as the creation of a new diocese could not be admitted onto the agenda.

This episode is of particular significance because it highlights the fact that Hungarian Greek Catholics could only achieve their goals if, in addition to the fulfilment of all other conditions, the prevailing political climate was also favourable for them. The Standing Executive Committee was also alive to this circumstance, though its members had few instruments at their disposal to judge what could be regarded as the right moment for their endeavours in a political context. When the first petitions were submitted, as well as, subsequently, at the beginning of the organised movement, the Hajdú District and its Calvinist leaders played an important role as mediators in the realm of politics at a national and county level alike. As this would create a tradition in a sense in Calvinist political circles, it scarcely attracted any notice that, in the 1890s, the Standing Executive Committee almost completely ceded its leadership in the area of political representation to economist Endre György (1848–1927), member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Caretaker of the Transtibiscan Calvinist Church District, who was Member of Parliament and, later, at the climax of his political career, briefly served as Minister of Agriculture in 1905. He belonged to the Calvinist secular elite whose members represented the interests of their Church by taking an active part in both academic life and politics. He was the author of the foreword to Lajos Farkas's book published in 1894, which he also read out at the session of Department II of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences on 10 February 1896.

This lecture at the Academy served as a prelude to the events of 1896, dragging the Hungarian Greek Catholic cause to the brink of utter failure in the space of a few months.

Endre György's extensive network of relations enabled the commendation of Lajos Farkas and the associated reaffirmation of the Hungarian Greek

Catholic endeavours to transcend the confines of the Academy. Hardly did a month pass when Prime Minister Dezső Bánffy approached Minister of Culture Wlassics in an official note, requesting detailed information, citing the intelligence he had received. The political machinery was thus set in motion, and the cause of the Hungarian Greek Catholic Bishopric came to be a campaign topic as parliamentary elections were also held in 1896. From the ranks of the opposition, this was complained about by József Kováts, a Budapest lawyer, who was Member of Parliament under the colours of the Party of Independence and '48 for the Constituency of Hajdúnánás, in his question in Parliament on 27 May 1896. He alleged that members of parliament from the ruling party had begun campaigning and promised an eparchy to the people of Hajdúdorog, on condition they secured a mandate for the pro-government candidate. However, not only did he bring the Prime Minister to account about the procedure, but he also sought to force him to declare his intentions: *'Do the Government at long last intend to create a Greek Catholic bishopric in Hajdúdorog, and has a proposal been submitted to the Crown?'* (translated from the Hungarian original)<sup>362</sup> In other words, as Member of Parliament for the region, he enquired whether this was again a mere campaign promise with no binding force or whether the Government was truly determined to effect foundation.

Even though the Prime Minister's Office already drafted the Prime Minister's response on 1 June,<sup>363</sup> the Head of Government would discharge his duty only on 5 September. The reason for the delay is to be found in the fact that the developments unfolding after the question in Parliament created a new situation, affecting the follow-up reply, too. In fact, the draft response still primarily emphasised the serious financial prerequisites of the establishment of the Eparchy, while not considering approval for the liturgical use of Hungarian by the Holy See an essential problem. The events of the ensuing weeks, however, put the case on a completely different track.

<sup>362</sup> Ibid.

<sup>363</sup> *Források*, II/4/1, 195–197, Documents no. 79–82.



As early as 31 May, in a telegram, the Standing Executive Committee protested at turning the cause of the creation of the Eparchy into a campaign topic. A congress with one thousand attendees was organised for that day in order to repel any local attempts forcefully.<sup>364</sup> A few days later, the special commission created in 1893 presented the requests for the Prime Minister, the House of Representatives, the Minister of Religion and Education and the Prince-Primate to the Standing Executive Committee<sup>365</sup>.

Similarly to previous initiatives, these requests were also emotionally charged texts. A backdrop was provided by the pomp of the 1896 Millennium celebrations, praising one thousand years of Hungarian statehood. The message conveyed was that, while all Hungarians could feel proud and pleased to attend the festivities, only 200 thousand Hungarian Greek Catholics were left sad as their century-long struggle for the Hungarian liturgy and a Hungarian eparchy had still failed to deliver the expected results. In spite of the fact that they experienced the increasingly growing sympathy of their fellow countrymen, that their cause was called the sacred cause of the nation by former Minister of Justice and statesman Ferenc Deák himself and that Hungarian liturgical translations were complete – previously thought of as the main obstacle – their status had not been resolved either by the state or by the Church.

In all four petitions, they stressed: They did not demand anything different or more than what had already been granted to the other Greek Catholic ethnic groups of the country. As Romanian and Rusyn Greek Catholics were able to pray in a language comprehensible to them in their churches, Hungarian Greek Catholics should be entitled to the same. In a similar fashion, as the resources of the Religion Fund were available to the Romanian and Rusyn Eparchies, allocations ought to be made for a Hungarian Greek Catholic eparchy as well.

Allusions to national policy could not be omitted from the petitions to the Prime Minister, Minister

of Culture or the House of Representatives, either, for, without these, pastoral necessity in itself did not represent particular importance to political actors. They were not afraid to state that the aim of their movement was twofold – ecclesial and political – and that they would not have embarked on it unless they were convinced that their endeavours were beneficial for Church and country alike.

It would be hard not to notice that considerations pertinent to the nation and national policy were present in these requests with much greater weight than in the earlier petitions. As corroborated by subsequent criticisms,<sup>366</sup> this could be explained by the emergence of Endre György, who – obviously cognisant of the election campaign as well – also exerted a decisive influence on the circumstances of delivering the petitions. In fact, former deputations handing over petitions would visit all the relevant public and church officials without any major reactions in the press. However, Endre György recommended that, in the course of the delegation's journey to Budapest, the Greek Catholic Divine Liturgy be celebrated in Hungarian in the University Church of Budapest and that this, as well as the goal of the diplomatic visits at large, be popularised by activating the press.

The Standing Executive Committee unsuspectingly accepted the recommendation, announcing the Hungarian liturgy for 27 June 1896 and arranging it for the University Church with the lawyer Jenő Pásztélyi's assistance. Acting on his own initiative, Endre György ensured press coverage. He advertised the event to the capital's audience via the *Telefon Hírmondó* [Telephone Herald] well before the arrival of the delegation. Using various typographical arrangements, daily newspapers positively generated publicity for the Hungarian Greek Catholic liturgy, regarded as a curiosity at the time. Before and after the liturgy, members of the delegation visited the editorial offices of the major newspapers in small groups, giving statements about the purpose of their visit in detail. Once word about the Hungarian liturgy was out, the University Church

<sup>364</sup> *Források*, II/4/1, 195, Document no. 81.

<sup>365</sup> *Források*, II/4/1, 197–206, Documents no. 83–86.

<sup>366</sup> E.g., the editorial of Emil Melles, a priest from Dobra, in the newspaper *Kárpáti Lapok* [Carpathian pages], 1897/16: *Források*, II/4/1, 320–323, 321.

would fill to capacity. Members of the Hungarian Greek Catholic intelligentsia living in the capital, as well as Roman Catholic and Calvinist ecclesial and secular dignitaries would be in attendance, along with students of the Budapest Theological College. The principal celebrant was Andor Újhelyi, parish priest of Hajdúdorog, with his chaplains, István Fodor and Pál Ruttkay, serving by him. Newspapers would report that the liturgy in Hungarian had an enormous effect on those present. Accordingly, the concomitant press reactions were also significant.

Following the Hungarian liturgy, the delegates went to the Prime Minister, where Győző Farkas handed over the petition and divulged its content. Prior to Dezső Bánffy's response, Jenő Szabó, as Lay President of the forming Greek Catholic parish of Budapest, also declared his endorsement of the petition. Although objecting to the liturgy celebrated at the University Church and considering it extravagant, Jenő Szabó did attend it and would accompany the delegation, making addresses on behalf of the Budapest congregation during all the visits. The delegates gave each politician visited three copies of the Hungarian liturgical books.

While, emphasising their unconditional support, the politicians did point to certain difficulties, the delegation received only encouragement from Prince-Primate Kolos Vaszary. He did not perceive any obstacles concerning the establishment of the Eparchy and assured his guests of his personal intercession with a view to obtaining the approval of the Holy See for the use of Hungarian. They were so absorbed in making plans that they even touched upon questions such as the boundaries of the Eparchy to be created and the number of parishes to be assigned to it.<sup>367</sup> The Prince-Primate's somewhat surprising conduct may perhaps be attributed to the circumstance that the meeting was attended by journalists as well and that the prelate did not intend to speak about the anticipated problems, lest his words be distorted

and interpreted by the press as seeking to hinder the Hungarian Greek Catholic cause.

The delegation returned to Hajdúdorog with a sense of certainty that, after a long series of failures, success would be guaranteed this time.

Thanks to the well-organised press coverage, the report of *Pester Lloyd* from 27 June<sup>368</sup> reached the Holy See via the Viennese Nunciature within a few days. This article would be the starting point of the inquiry launched by the Holy See with dispatch. First Cardinal Mieczysław Halka Ledóchowski, Prefect of the Congregation *Propaganda Fide*, sent a brief letter to Prince-Primate Kolos Vaszary, as the territorially competent bishop, requesting only confirmation of the veracity of the news for the time being, as well as asking the Cardinal to identify the priests participating in the liturgy by specifying the rite and the diocese.<sup>369</sup>

Some days later, the Primate's Palace also received the letter of Achille Locatelli, Temporary Head of the Viennese Nunciature, enquiring about the case from the Prince-Primate at Cardinal Secretary of State Rampolla's request.<sup>370</sup> Although the *Chargé d'affaires* also cites the report of *Pester Lloyd* – substantially deviating from its phraseology – he claims that the delegation visiting the capital '*sought the creation of some Hungarian Greek Catholic Church(!)*'<sup>371</sup> from the public officials. Furthermore, the *Chargé d'affaires* mentions the handing over of Hungarian Greek Catholic liturgical books to the Minister of Culture, as well as the Byzantine-rite liturgy celebrated in Hungarian at the University Church, highlighting that it was attended by two papal chamberlains and the parish priest of the Budapest District of Erzsébetváros as well. On behalf of the Secretary of State, he requests the Prince-Primate to issue a statement about the validity of these rumours, as well as to give detailed information as to '*what this Hungarophone Greek Catholic Rite consists in*' as soon as possible<sup>372</sup>.

<sup>367</sup> Petrus, 1897, 148–157.

<sup>368</sup> *Pester Lloyd*, 27 June 1896, 147, 2. For the German text of the article and its Italian translation, see: *Források*, II/4/1, 207–209, Documents no. 87–87a.

<sup>369</sup> *Források*, II/4/1, 210, Document no. 89.

<sup>370</sup> *Források*, II/4/1, 214, Document no. 92.

<sup>371</sup> '*...petiisse foundationem alicuius ecclesiae hungaricae graeco-catholicae...*' Ibid.

<sup>372</sup> '*...super natura huiusmodi ritus graeco-catholici lingua hungaricae...*' Ibid.

A mere three days later, Cardinal Secretary of State Rampolla also penned a letter. By then, apart from the report of *Pester Llyod*, word on other developments also travelled to Rome, including the visit of the Greek Catholic delegation to the Prince-Primate. In his short letter directly addressed to the Prince-Primate,<sup>373</sup> therefore, Rampolla wondered how he had responded to the question whether it would be difficult to secure the approval of the Holy See for the liturgical use of the Hungarian.

Amid a virtual avalanche of letters from Rome, the letter of Minister of Culture Wlassics was also received by the Prince-Primate's office.<sup>374</sup> In it, Wlassics primarily follows up on his confidential conversation with the Prince-Primate a few days before. In describing the antecedents, however, he makes some important remarks that are worth exploring. In connection with the Territorial Vicariate of Hajdúdorog, he notes that it was created only to quell the Hungarian Greek Catholics and make them forget about their demand for an eparchy. His comment suggesting that, in the event of the Holy See's approval for the use of Hungarian, he would by no means wish to restrict its application to the Hungarian Eparchy to be established is also notable. In other words, if the 'Hungarian liturgy' becomes reality, it must be permitted for all the Greek Catholic Eparchies, alongside Church Slavonic and Romanian. In all probability, the Minister saw this arrangement as a remedy for the worries preoccupying politicians who prioritised considerations of national policy from Kálmán Tisza's time. Providing a unique reading of the issue, the Minister finds it depressing that, in Hungary, the Church approves of the celebration of the Greek Catholic liturgy in Romanian and Slavonic and that, in neighbouring Croatia, the Holy See has made concessions even in the Roman Rite,<sup>375</sup> yet Hungarian Greek Catholics cannot conduct services in Hungarian in Hungary. In the last third of his letter, the Minister writes about the confidential conversation he had with the Prince-Primate. It is apparent from his message

that Cardinal Vaszary presented a proposal for a potential resolution. Namely, his suggestion would involve Hungarian Greek Catholics celebrating the Divine Liturgy in Latin, while conducting all other services in Hungarian. This idea is not supported by the Minister because he thinks that this would raise the prospect of Latinisation, which should be avoided at all costs. Unfortunately, the Prince-Primate would reply to this letter, as well as to the Minister's next letter, only in January the following year, when – as will be shown – the situation was already entirely different. As he does not address his suggestion, it is impossible to establish every detail of this proposal. Based on later developments, however, it is fair to surmise that Wlassics misunderstood Cardinal Vaszary's words, and the use of Latin was not to apply to the whole of the Divine Liturgy but it would have been confined to the words of consecration only.

The inquiry was initiated by the Prince-Primate himself as well. On 21 July, he received the report of Papal Chamberlain Mihály Bundala, Spiritual Director of the Central Seminary in Budapest, as well as the report of Dezső Demény, Registrar of the Archbishopial Court of Budapest,<sup>376</sup> on the Hungarian liturgy. The two senior clergymen defended themselves by arguing that Roman Catholic priests had attended the liturgy only out of curiosity. With their presence, in no way did they intend to approve of the manner in which the celebrants conducted the liturgy. It had happened previously as well that Greek Catholic priests celebrated the Divine Liturgy at the church. Regarding the language of the liturgy, they were advised by the organisers that it was permitted to celebrate the liturgy in Hungarian; only the words of consecration were to be said in Church Slavonic. The latter assertion is also corroborated by the words of the principal celebrant, Andor Újhelyi, parish priest of Hajdúdorog, who told Gyula Firczák, Bishop of Mukachevo: *'When we left for Budapest to celebrate Holy Mass, I took all manner of equipment appropriate for our*

<sup>373</sup> *Források*, II/4/1, 217, Document no. 94.

<sup>374</sup> *Források*, II/4/1, 211–214, Document no. 91.

<sup>375</sup> He alludes to the fact that in, 1893 and 1894, the Congregation *Propaganda Fide* issued a Glagolitic Roman Missal and Ritual, approving their usage in certain Croatian dioceses.

<sup>376</sup> *Források*, II/4/1, 217–218, Document no. 95.

rite with me, including an Old Slavonic Liturgikon. Just as at home, I read the Canon constituting the essence of the Holy Mass, which prayer must be read, from the Old Slavonic Liturgikon in Budapest, too' (translated from the Hungarian original).<sup>377</sup> This means that, even if the Divine Liturgy celebrated at the University Church of Budapest would be commonly remembered by Greek Catholics as a liturgy conducted in Hungarian in full, in effect, this was not the case. Actually, the Divine Liturgy was celebrated as recommended by Bishop Pankovics to Prince-Primate Simor in 1871, in line with existing practice.

The Prince-Primate forwarded Bundala's and Demény's reports, accompanied by a brief letter, to Cardinal Mieczysław Halka Ledóchowski, Prefect of the Congregation *Propaganda Fide*, the next day<sup>378</sup> and also replied to Cardinal Secretary of State Rampolla on the same day.<sup>379</sup> To the latter, he wrote that the question cited by the Cardinal Secretary of State had not in fact arisen and, thus, he had not even needed to give an answer. He recalled telling the delegation that their requests were contingent on two factors: In spiritual matters, the Holy See was competent, while financial issues were to be decided upon by the Monarch. When those in charge asked him, he averred he would give them his opinion candidly.

The Secretariat of State required an explanation not only from Prince-Primate Vaszary though. Moreover, it appeared as if the Cardinal Secretary of State had requested information first from Fülöp Steiner, Diocesan Bishop of Székesfehérvár (1890–1900).<sup>380</sup> Similar requests were sent to János Vályi, Bishop of Prešov (1882–1911),<sup>381</sup> and Victor Mihályi, Metropolitan of Alba Iulia-Făgăraș (*Fogaras*) (1895–1918),<sup>382</sup> as well, and Vasile Hossu, Oeconomus of the Archeparchy of Alba Iulia-Făgăraș, also considered it his duty to express his view on the

question.<sup>383</sup> At the same time, it is apparent that the most affected Greek Catholic Hierarch, Gyula Firczák, Bishop of Mukachevo, was not approached by the Secretariat of State.

In his report, Bishop Vályi gave an extensive account of the antecedents of the liturgical use of Hungarian, as well as of its established system, the development and initiatives of the Hajdúdorog Movement, the creation of the Territorial Vicariate of Hajdúdorog, the results of the Liturgical Translation Commission (along with a presentation of the publications) and, finally, of the Hungarian Greek Catholic liturgy in Budapest. In conjunction with last of these, he stressed that the manner of celebrating the liturgy represented a novelty only in Budapest: In Hajdúdorog and in other Hungarian parishes, the liturgy had been conducted in this way for decades. This was of special importance because the first reactions of the Holy See clearly indicated that they knew next to nothing of the Hungarian Greek Catholics' existence or needs in Rome.<sup>384</sup> Bishop Vályi must have deemed it important that the Holy See treat the liturgy at the University Church not as a novelty without antecedents but that it become acquainted with its broader context, too. His permissiveness towards the Hungarian liturgy is understandable as he himself was from a Hungarian region as well, and his father had been one of the priests preparing the first translations of the liturgy.

Whereas Bishop Vályi was minded to improve the situation, Bishop Steiner was not reluctant to use negative adjectives. He believed that the most authentic source of information about the case would be a Romanian priest, Augustin Luran, Vicar-General of the Eparchy of Oradea. A long-time acquaintance held in high esteem by him, Luran supplied him with detailed information as to how the local Hungarian Greek Catholics had

<sup>377</sup> See Andor Újhelyi's testimony in Bishop Gyula Firczák's draft letter. *Források*, II/4/1, 250–256, Document no. 113.

<sup>378</sup> *Források*, II/4/1, 250–220, Document no. 97.

<sup>379</sup> *Források*, II/4/1, 218–219, Document no. 96.

<sup>380</sup> *Források*, II/4/1, 224–227, Document no. 99.

<sup>381</sup> *Források*, II/4/1, 221–224, Document no. 98.

<sup>382</sup> *Források*, II/4/1, 227–231, Document no. 100.

<sup>383</sup> *Források*, II/4/1, 233–234, Document no. 102.

<sup>384</sup> As acknowledged in the official summary of the Holy See on the matter, no trace was found of files associated with Hungarian Greek Catholics in the archives of Vatican offices: *Források*, II/4/1, 237–240, Document no. 104, 237.

formerly attempted to introduce this *'vicious abuse'* in Makó.<sup>385</sup> After forwarding the information obtained from Lauran, he shares his opinion on the matter with the Cardinal Secretary of State. He argues that the danger inherent in the movement of the Hungarian Greek Catholics is that liberal intellectuals, increasingly less familiar with or observant of the teaching of the Catholic Church, will hijack it for their own agenda. Acting on their example, they will make demands for the liturgical use of Hungarian in the Roman Catholic Church as well, while in fact seeking to foster the revival of paganism under the guise of a false sense of patriotism. Although the populace are faithful to the Church, these intellectuals can inflict considerable damage and stir turmoil. Overall, he believes that the Hungarian Greek Catholic delegation was led by the notions of liberalism and nationalism to public officials and politicians championing similar principles. This is why he sees the situation as highly dangerous.

Mentioned in the letter of the Bishop of Székesfehérvár, the figure of Augustin Lauran is a link to an important group of the opponents of the dual objective 'Hungarian liturgy and Hungarian Eparchy': the Romanian Greek Catholic clergy. Even in the preceding sections, it was described how powerfully Papp-Szilágyi, Bishop of Oradea, had resisted the demands of the Makó congregation and what bellicose journalistic activities the Hungarian liturgical translations had been accompanied by from the Romanian side. Metropolitan Victor Mihályi's letter opened a new chapter in the history of Romanian reactions as it was the first time that, as part of an official inquiry, the Holy See had dealt with a phenomenon that had formerly been countered within the borders of the country or the boundaries of particular dioceses, primarily with instruments available to journalism and episcopal jurisdiction.

Metropolitan Mihályi was aware that the interest and investigation of the Holy See were indicative of a substantial change. He extensively included enclosures in his reply accordingly: He translated the 1896 petition to the Prime Minister and dispatched

an Italian translation of the petition of 1881, as well as his correspondence with the then Minister of Culture. He referenced his earlier letters, deemed to be relevant to the question, which he had sent to the various offices of the Holy See. He constructed tables out of the data of schematisms to support his arguments. Furthermore, he presented his ideas at length, organised into points. By doing so, he created a 'school' as it were because, henceforth, letters relative to the Hungarian Greek Catholics sent to Rome by Romanian clergymen would almost invariably conform to this model. Metropolitan Mihályi and his followers would always strive to convey the impression of thoroughness, objectivity and aptitude to the Holy See by using information, tables, surveys, article translations, etc, as well as prolix narration.

In his letter, concerning the number of Hungarian Greek Catholics, Metropolitan Mihályi asserts that the Eparchies of Mukachevo, Prešov and Oradea have as few as 41 parishes where the faithful speak only Hungarian. He estimates their number at about 50 thousand. He continues by noting that, in an additional 57 parishes, monolingual Hungarian parishioners live side-by-side with Rusyns and Romanians. He also estimates the total number of the faithful in these parishes (i.e. Hungarians, Romanians and Rusyns combined) at 50 thousand.<sup>386</sup> By contrast, in their petitions, representatives of the Hungarian Greek Catholic movement usually write of the justified spiritual demands of 200-250 or even 300 parishioners. Thus, the Romanian Hierarchy intends to create the impression that this is about no real, immediate pastoral problem that would affect large segments of the population. Next, he calls the attention of the Holy See to the 'Protestant threat', a recurrent motif in the argumentation of Romanian Greek Catholics. He declares it a widely known fact in Hungary that the supporters of the Hungarian Greek Catholic movement are the Calvinists, who work to ensure that Hungarian is employed during services by all denominations in the country. In an effort to expose connections, Metropolitan Mihályi suggests that, 'naturally', it was the Calvinists, too,

<sup>385</sup> *Források*, II/4/1, 226.

<sup>386</sup> *Források*, II/4/1, 229.

who were behind the first Congress of Hajdúdorog, and the first Hungarian liturgical books to be published in print were produced at the Printing Press of Debrecen – it remains unclear though who the project was financed by, but Debrecen is generally reputed to be the ‘Rome of Calvinist sectarians.’<sup>387</sup> Finally, he points out that, even though the text of the liturgy was published for the first time only in 1882, some foolishly propagate the preposterous notion that the Hungarian liturgy may be verified by more than sixty years of practice.

This last claim was a very important element in his argumentation. Well acquainted with the actual situation, he was cognisant that, rather than dating to sixty years earlier, the Hungarian liturgy was in fact based on even older praxis. However, he also knew that, if this was determined by the inquiry of the Holy See as well, the case could have a completely different outcome. Practices alive among the faithful – especially if their roots dated from time immemorial – would be assessed differently. As Mihályi was intent on securing swift condemnation of the Hungarian liturgy, he needed to convince decision makers that the Hungarian liturgy was a novelty, used by the enemies of the Catholic Church and affecting an insignificant portion of the faithful.

A further characteristic of the reactions by Romanian Greek Catholics was the circumstance that clerics would approach the Holy See with their letters even when it did not ask them to provide their opinions. This was the case with Vasile Hossu (1866–1916), priest and *æconomus* of the Eparchy of Alba Iulia-Făgăra as well. Later Bishop of Lugoj (1903–1912) and, subsequently, of Gherla (1912–1916), he felt it to be his duty to report on the Hungarian liturgy to the Holy See with the Nuncio’s mediation as he was convinced that it posed a threat to the unity between the Romanians and the Catholic Church. He stresses that a well-defined objective of the Hungarian State is to create a unitary Hungarian nation, in not only a political but ethnic sense as well. In his view, the movement of the Hungarian Greek Catholics is not a religious but a nationalistic organisation, aimed

at strengthening the Hungarian race. Granting approval for the liturgical use of Hungarian would also be conducive to achieving this political goal. He discerns a threat to the Romanians in that, in the event of obtaining approval for the liturgical use of Hungarian, it would be sufficient if services in Hungarian were required only by two or three parishioners in each Romanian parish: The authorities would immediately oblige the parish priest to introduce the use of Hungarian. A consequence of this will be that Romanians fearful for their national identity will leave the Greek Catholic Church and join the Romanian Orthodox Church. The balance – he concludes – will no doubt be tipped towards the Romanians as the Holy See would gain little by granting approval for the Hungarian liturgy (which he also considers a development of the recent years), while, outside the borders of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, 9 million Romanians wait to return to the Catholic Church.

This last reference by Vasile Hossu would also become a recurrent argument in the writings of Romanian clerics hereafter. They would for decades be successful in communicating to the Holy See that the Romanian Greek Catholics of Transylvania played a key role in the life of the Catholic Church also because the Romanian Orthodox would find the way to union with Rome through their mediation. This long-awaited moment would remain imminent until the middle of the 20th century – at least at the level of communication – and Hungarian Greek Catholics would continue to pose the most severe threat possible to the realisation of this grand goal.

The other major menace identified by the *Æconomus* was the ‘danger of schism’ present in ecclesial terminology throughout the history of the Greek Catholic Churches and manifesting itself as a kind of symbolic ‘red panic button’ in conflict situations. In other words, were the Holy See to make the wrong decision, union would be dissolved. However, as the interested parties would too often hit this ‘panic button’, over time, the Holy See came to receive such signals with considerable reserve.

<sup>387</sup> Ibid, 230.

Among the arguments of the Romanian clergy, the assertion that the Hungarian Government used the demands of the Greek Catholics as a means to realise its own national-policy-related goals had a prominent place. As has been seen, this was indeed the case: Governments pursuing assimilatory policies, aiming to raise the proportion of Hungarians above 50 per cent in the overall population, viewed the cause of the Hungarian Greek Catholics through the prism of national policy. This formulation was correct. At the same time, its use by the Romanian Greek Catholics as an accusation is objectionable in the sense that, while they branded the movement of the Hungarian Greek Catholics as nationalistic, they regarded the Romanian character of their own Church, as well as its wide-ranging educational, cultural and political activities for the benefit of the Romanian nation as self-explanatory and something to be proud of.

The detailed information supplied by János Vályi, Bishop of Prešov, did not prove to be enough against the arguments of Bishop Steiner, Metropolitan Mihályi and Vasile Hossu. The Congregation for Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs discussed the question of the Hungarian liturgy on 20 August and recommended extremely harsh action to the Holy Office, which, at its session on 2 September – applying the normal procedure – sought answers to two yes-or-no questions:

4. May the use of Hungarian be tolerated in the Divine Liturgy?
5. Can liturgical books be published in Hungarian?

The members of the Holy Office responded to both questions in the negative and ordained that the abuse be terminated. After this was approved by Pope Leo XIII as well two days later, the task of execution was transferred to the Congregation *Propaganda Fide*. On 26 September, Cardinal Ledóchowski officially notified Gyula Firczák, Bishop of Mukachevo, János Vályi, Bishop of

Prešov, Gyula Drohobeczky, Bishop of Križevci, and Prince-Primate Kolos Vaszary of the ordinance of the Holy Office, as well as of what they were to do so as to terminate the abuse. The Holy See expected the Greek Catholic Bishops

1. to prohibit the publication of liturgical books in Hungarian;
2. to destroy the liturgical books already published;
3. to caution any priests continuing to conduct services from such books and to call on them to use Church Slavonic liturgical books instead;
4. to ensure that, to every priest refusing to comply, canonical penalties prescribed for schismatics would be meted out.

The Decree concludes with the declaration that the Holy See reserves the right to take further action in case the abuse persists. The Bishops concerned were to produce reports for the Holy See.<sup>388</sup>

Preparations for the official note of the Congregation *Propaganda Fide* were made by Cardinal Secretary of State Rampolla via the Nunciature in Vienna. In his letter to Nuncio Emidio Taliani, he instructs him to notify the Government of the decision in unambiguous terms, as well as to point out what grave consequences other nationalities of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy following the example of Greek Catholic Hungarians regarding language use would entail. Moreover, he also predicts that, on similar grounds, the Russian Government could oblige Polish Catholics to use Russian.<sup>389</sup>

Before the official notification was sent, the news about the strict prohibition reached the Government, too. Therefore, on 2 September – deviating from the previous response draft – Prime Minister Bánffy responded to Member of Parliament József Kováts's question by stating that first a favourable decision on the liturgical use of Hungarian was to be secured from the Holy See and only then could the issue of the Eparchy be addressed meaningfully.<sup>390</sup>

<sup>388</sup> *Források*, II/4/1, 245–246, Document no. 109.

<sup>389</sup> *Források*, II/4/1, 243–244, Document no. 107.

<sup>390</sup> *Források*, II/4/1, 240–242, Document no. 105.

The Standing Executive Committee was shocked even by the Prime Minister's statement and it was literally devastated by the publication of the prohibitive statute. They felt success was within reach, while, in reality, they were riding for a fall. The provision of the Holy See deprived them even of whatever little they had attained with decades of struggle. They could not even imagine how the exclusion of Hungarian from church use could be implemented in practice.<sup>391</sup>

Extensively conveyed by the press, the intensity of disappointment and disgruntlement is aptly illustrated by the fact that Bishop Firczák did not announce the prohibitive statute in his Eparchy, while Bishop Vályi divulged only the decree of the Holy Office to his priests, without the measures stipulated by the *Propaganda Fide*.<sup>392</sup> Bishop Firczák took the case before the Eparchial Court, which determined that Canon Sándor Mikita draft a memorandum for the Pope. In it, he was to present the history and circumstances of the liturgical use of Hungarian, as well as the dangers that might arise from a strict prohibition.<sup>393</sup> Thus, essentially, he was to do what Bishop Vályi had done and what the Holy See did not require Bishop Firczák to do. The memorandum was completed by 25 November –<sup>394</sup> along with its translation into Latin – but, eventually, on 6 December, Bishop Firczák sent only the second part to the Pope,<sup>395</sup> with requests in it. The first part, describing the history of the movement, was dropped – most probably because he must have been informed that Bishop Vályi had sent it. This way, however, the Holy See failed to receive the important piece of information cited above: Andor Újhelyi, parish priest of Hajdúdorog, celebrated the liturgy at the University Church of Budapest actually from the Church Slavonic *Liturgikon*, saying only the *ecphoneses* in Hungarian.<sup>396</sup>

In his letter, after expressing his regret, Bishop Firczák points out to the Pope that, as Hungary's

latest ecclesiastical legislation allows for the profession of no religion, as well as for the creation of new denominations, avoiding 'major collisions', i.e. conflicts leading to separation from the Catholic Church, is paramount. In view of the circumstances – parallel to the continued official use of the Church Slavonic liturgical books – he asks for the following concessions for his Hungarophone faithful:

5. Services of private devotion should be conducted exclusively in Hungarian;
6. In the parishes specifically listed by the Eparchial Bishop, priests should recite the litanies (except for the *ecphoneses*) and the prayer before communion in Hungarian, and the Apostolic and the Gospel passages should be read in Hungarian;
7. During all other public services, the congregation should chant in Hungarian;
8. With a view to finalising Hungarian popular chants, the Eparchial Bishops of Mukachevo and Prešov should be granted the authorisation to compile a hymnbook, which could be submitted to Rome for approval.

In the way of justification, he notes that

- a. it is already impossible to restore the Church Slavonic liturgy fully in the territory of the Territorial Vicariate of Hajdúdorog as the Hungarian liturgy boasts a history of 100 years;
- b. if the Hungarians see that Rusyns and Romanians can celebrate the liturgy in their own languages, but the Holy See denies Hungarians the same, it is to be feared that they might join the Orthodox Church, where Hungarian as the language of the liturgy has been permitted for years already;
- c. the Latin Church also permits popular chants in Hungarian;

<sup>391</sup> Petrus, 1897, 174–177.

<sup>392</sup> *Források*, II/4/1, 246, Document no. 110

<sup>393</sup> *Források*, II/4/1, 250, Document no. 112.

<sup>394</sup> *Források*, II/4/1, 250–256, Document no. 113; for a Hungarian translation, see: Végheő, 2023, 178–183.

<sup>395</sup> *Források*, II/4/1, 256–258, Document no. 114.

<sup>396</sup> On the same day, Bishop Firczák wrote a letter to Cardinal Secretary of State Rampolla as well. Despite noting to him that he had obliged parish priest Újhelyi to report orally and in writing, he made no mention of the use of the Church Slavonic *Liturgikon* to him, either. *Források*, II/4/1, 258–259, Document no. 115.



- d. litanies (excluding the priest's *ecphoneses*), as well as Apostolic and Gospel passages are part of the sections chanted by the deacon, with the congregation joining in;
- e. the proposed concession will make it possible to restore a relaxed liturgical discipline, while also satisfying patriotic requirements, whereas prohibiting the use of Hungarian would reinforce the accusation about Pan-Slavism, levelled at the Bishop before the Hungarian Government.

As tensions in public discourse would not subside, Prince-Primate Vaszary also deemed it necessary to approach the Holy See with further proposals. In his letter written to Cardinal Secretary of State Rampolla in January 1897,<sup>397</sup> he reports that the liturgical use of Hungarian, as well as its prohibition, spark intense debates among the Greek Catholic faithful and in political life alike. The communion of the Greek Catholics with Rome is also in danger because it is even publicly proclaimed that the Hungarian Greek Catholics should switch to Orthodoxy, join the Protestants or – as is made possible by the latest ecclesiastical legislation – create a national Church independent of Rome.<sup>398</sup> He proposes to the Holy See that, for now, it make no decision on the liturgical use of Hungarian but, as Prince-Primate and Metropolitan, he be authorised to initiate negotiations with the Greek Catholic Bishops. These talks could last even for years, by the end of which tensions might also abate.

Word of the fierce debates in public discourse reached the Holy See via Viennese Nuncio Taliani as well,<sup>399</sup> who, in turn, also voiced his opinion that these debates were fuelled by Bishop Firczák and others by proposing a revision of the Holy See's prohibitive decision. Of the numerous articles focusing on the issue, he considered a piece published in the daily newspaper *Egyetértés* [Concord], wide-

ly known to be pro-Kossuth and anti-Russian, as noteworthy. The author of the article claims that it would be a tragedy for the whole country if, as a result of the prohibitive provision of the Holy See, the Hungarian Greek Catholics joined the Orthodox Church. Ten thousand of the Greek Catholics emigrating to the United States have already done so,<sup>400</sup> and, should they find a strong Orthodox Church in Hungary upon their return, they could become effective instruments of the Russian propaganda. He suggests that the Hungarian Greek Catholics should continue fighting and ask the Holy See to withdraw the prohibition. Such a decision might even lead the Calvinists back to the Catholic Church.

János Vályi, Bishop of Prešov, interpreted the last instruction in the decree of the Congregation Propaganda Fide – the one about the bishops' obligation to report – in a way that the issue of the Hungarian liturgy would remain negotiable. Although Nuncio Taliani's remark suggests that he must have misunderstood it, it is a fact that, in January 1897, he also approached Cardinal Ledóchowski with a voluminous note.<sup>401</sup> In it, he reports that he has promulgated the prohibitive decree of the Holy See in his Eparchy. Though no feedback in favour of the Hungarian liturgy has been received from his faithful, all national papers concern themselves with the question why the Hungarian Greek Catholics cannot conduct services in Hungarian in their own country, whereas the Romanians are allowed to use Romanian and the Rusyns Church Slavonic, and the Holy See has even approved the use of Slavonic for Croatian Roman Catholics. Part of the press encourages Hungarian Greek Catholics to keep pleading with the Holy See, while another part urges them to join Orthodoxy or create a national Church independent of Rome. The Hierarchy does not consider the destruction of already published Hungarian liturgical books expeditious. Instead,

<sup>397</sup> *Források*, II/4/1, 261–2263, Document no. 118.

<sup>398</sup> 'More far-reaching demands will be justifiable if the Vatican were to refuse to grant even a fair minimum. In that case, the question why the Hungarian Greek Catholic status could not be organised on national grounds, independent of the Roman Church, might well arise' – notes the author of the article *Magyar egyház* [The Hungarian Church], in the August 8, 1896 Issue of the literary daily paper *Fővárosi Lapok* [Capital pages]. *Források*, II/4/1, 231–232, Document no. 101.

<sup>399</sup> *Források*, II/4/1, 263–265, Document no. 119.

<sup>400</sup> At this point, the Nuncio remarks in brackets: 'Regrettably, this statement appears to be true.'

<sup>401</sup> *Források*, II/4/1, 274–280, Document no. 124.

he recommends that they be corrected and that the Holy See approve the liturgical use of the flawless Hungarian texts. He emphasises that passages with imprimatur (the Creed, Apostolic and Gospel sections and psalms) have literally been adopted into Hungarian Greek Catholic practice from two Roman Catholic publications.<sup>402</sup> He recalls the Synod of the Maronites held in 1736, introducing the use of Arabic alongside Syriac, with the approval of the Holy See, as the faithful understood the former better. Bacsinszky, Bishop of Mukachevo, permitted the use of Hungarian along the lines of the same principle in 1772. Translations of the liturgy produced in the 19th century – individual attempts and, later, the activities of the Liturgical Translation Commission of Hajdúdorog – have furthered the interests of the faithful. Bishop Vályi also cites the interest of the faithful in his request for the approval of the liturgical use of Hungarian by the Holy See.

In the wake of the initial reactions to the prohibition by the Holy See, events unfolded in two directions. On the one hand, accommodating to Bishop Vályi's interpretation, the Government did not regard the question as settled but launched a diplomatic offensive in order to have the prohibition revoked, as well as to normalise soured relations between Hungary and the Holy See in general. On the other hand, the developments were simultaneously evaluated within the Greek Catholic movement as well, paving the way for substantial changes.

On behalf of the Bánffy Cabinet, Minister of Culture Wlassics stated in Parliament that, even though only the Holy See was indeed competent concerning the language of the liturgy and this was acknowledged by the Government, he saw it as his official duty to furnish decision makers with detailed and authentic information. In the establishment of a new eparchy, the Government could take the initiative, but, as he argues, such a step will only be timely when the question of the liturgical

language is favourably resolved.<sup>403</sup> The notification of the Holy See was envisaged to take the form of a memorandum, the compilation of which was left to Department Adviser János Ivánkovics, already thoroughly familiar with the matter.<sup>404</sup> Ivánkovics has prepared a grandiose historical introduction by enumerating well-known facts. To complement these, Wlassics proposes that the prohibitive ordinance of the Congregation *Propaganda Fide* ought to be withdrawn solely because it cannot be in the interest of the Holy See, either, to further reinforce the already too strong ties that link Hungary's Rusyns to the Russians by being excessively assertive about the use of Church Slavonic as the language of the liturgy. In addition to the liturgical language, he considers the Julian Calendar, Kievan liturgical books and the use of the Cyrillic script as examples of these connections. These ties are a threat not only to the Rusyns' Hungarian sentiments but to their affiliation with the Catholic Church as well. He believes that, as soon as the Rusyns are lost for the Hungarian nation, they will be lost for the Catholic Church, too. This idiosyncratic train of thought was meant to explain assimilatory policies and justify them from an ecclesiastical point of view: The Hungarian liturgy would save the Greek Catholic populace not only for the Hungarian nation but for the Catholic Church as well.

However, the attention of the Holy See was captured not by this point but by the formulation at the end of the memorandum, referring to the fact repeatedly cited during the debate that the Romanians employed the modern language in their services. Whichever way it was, Nuncio Taliani, in receipt of the memorandum, harboured misgivings on this account. This would assume such proportions that, sending the memorandum to Rome, he even suggested that the Romanians be forbidden to use the vernacular instead.<sup>405</sup>

At the session of the Sacred Congregation for Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs on 18 March

<sup>402</sup> *Officium Divinum. Kalauz keresztény katolikus magán és nyilvános isteni-szolgálatra, illetve a Káldy-féle bibliafordítás Tárkányi Béla által revideált kiadása* [Guide to the Catholic Christian Divine Worship, as well as Káldy's translation of the Bible revised by Béla Tárkányi], 1862–1865.

<sup>403</sup> *Források*, II/4/1, 290–292, Document no. 126.

<sup>404</sup> *Források*, II/4/1, 296–300, Document no. 128 For Ivánkovics's draft, see: *Források*, II/4/1, 292–295, Document no. 127.

<sup>405</sup> *Források*, II/4/1, 304, Document no. 131.

1897, this suggestion was at once discarded, and the language use of the Romanians was labelled completely unique, incomparable to any other cases. After studying the letters and reports described above, as well as the memorandum of Government, the Cardinals needed to answer the following questions:

1. Shall they accept Prince-Primate Vaszary's suggestion about the deferral of a response? If not,
2. can partial concessions be made for Hungarian regarding its use in the Divine Liturgy (in line with Bishop Firczák's proposal)

or

3. at a minimum, during services and devotions outside the liturgy, such as processions, the Matins and the Vespers (as has been practised since the end of the last century)?
4. Is it necessary to enact other provisions?<sup>406</sup>

As a result of the deliberations, a diplomatic reply note to the Government's memorandum was constructed, and Bishops Firczák and Vályi were also sent responses.

First and foremost, the reply note<sup>407</sup> clarifies that the term liturgical language applies to the Holy Mass, the Divine Office and the administration of the sacraments and sacramentals, excluding sermons and public and private prayers outside the Divine Liturgy. Furthermore, liturgical books are allowed to be translated into the language of the people, provided they are intended for private use. After these clarifications, the Holy See reaffirms its position that, in the liturgical actions specified above, the vernacular cannot be employed instead of a liturgical language. In fact, constantly changing vernaculars endanger the integrity of dogmatic truths;

owing to everyday usage, these are not respectful enough and do not express the universality of the Church – actually, on the contrary, they tend to foment division. Therefore, the prohibitive ordinance of 2 September 1896 remains in force.<sup>408</sup>

The responses to the two Bishops concerned, drafted by the Congregation *Propaganda Fide* this time as well, contained essentially the same, naturally, complete with admonitions for the Hierarchs. Under their terms, the Holy See expected both to discontinue the use of Hungarian in the liturgy, gradually and proceeding with caution, yet demonstrating determination. They were to explain to the faithful in sermons, circulars and newspaper articles why the Church would not permit the use of modern languages in the liturgy. The Congregation voiced its disapproval about the two Bishops' argumentation and the acts of the Bishop of Mukachevo. It called upon the latter to seek the permission of the Congregation before filling the Territorial Vicariate of Hajdúdorog.<sup>409</sup> Conveying the resentment of the Congregation meant that the Holy See expected reports from the Bishops on how they implemented the instructions, as distinct from what they thought of the issue at hand.

Nevertheless, the small change that the Holy See expected the Bishops to act gradually and with due caution may be seen as a sign of *détente*.

The negative response spurred the Hungarian Government to compile a new and even more thorough memorandum. Although its first version was complete in May,<sup>410</sup> it would be delivered to the Holy See only in February 1898, after multiple rounds of redrafting. As the practice of the Romanians was highlighted in the memorandum, the Government requested a specialist of the subject, Benedek Jancsó, to produce an expert study. The outcome was an extremely long and detailed memorandum, eventually broken into two parts, with the historical section appended as a supplement.

<sup>406</sup> *Források*, II/4/1, 306–313, Document no. 133.

<sup>407</sup> *Források*, II/4/1, 313–315, Document no. 134.

<sup>408</sup> The reply note argues for the Romanians' language-use-related rights relatively extensively and it alludes to the fact that, when the Holy See approved the Glagolitic liturgy for the Roman Catholic Slavs of Dalmatia and Montenegro, it denied Hungary's Slovaks the same, with the consent of the Hungarian Government.

<sup>409</sup> Due to János Danilovic's death in 1895, Hajdúdorog had no territorial vicar.

<sup>410</sup> *Források*, II/4/1, 324–333, Documents no. 141a.

As has been seen, the Holy See previously declared that the language-use-related right of the Romanians was absolutely unique and was based on the circumstance that they had already used Romanian at the time of the union, which rendered it unsuitable for comparison. Nonetheless, the memorandum of the Hungarian Government primarily dwelled on the question and – through the analysis of a number of sources – disputed whether the change had happened prior to the union. The Calvinist Princes of Transylvania did make attempts to this end, but – in accordance with the Protestant view – they insisted on the use of the vernacular mainly for the reading of biblical passages and preaching, without concerning themselves with the language of the liturgy. Thus, the Romanian language replaced Church Slavonic only after the union. The memorandum formulates the most important question in the following terms:

*It is thus questionable whether – once the Apostolic See has tacitly consented to the free development of the Romanian liturgical language – it appears to be justifiable to treat the Hungarian-speaking Greek Catholics otherwise. Can the Hungarian faithful be prohibited from continuing a practice that was induced not by government support or some proselytising effort but created by the religious and national needs of an abandoned people, without external help? If they may be prohibited, how is this prohibition reconcilable with the leniency towards the Romanians, who owe their liturgical language to the flawed proselytising efforts of the Princes of Transylvania and banished the approbated Slavonic and Greek liturgical languages from their liturgy of their*

*own accord after the union?’* (translated from the Hungarian original)<sup>411</sup>

The memorandum also hints at the fact that the liturgical language has also been modernised in the Romanian Greek Catholic Church so that the liturgical language in actual use is no longer the same as it was at the time of the union.<sup>412</sup> Among the other arguments raised several times in the past, the Government particularly stresses that the Eastern Church has a basically lenient attitude towards the liturgical use of the vernacular.

The memorandum was handed over to the Viennese Nuncio by the Foreign Minister of Austria-Hungary, who, at the same time, instructed the Ambassador of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy to the Holy See to monitor its reception. In May, the Government learnt that Secretary of State Rappolla was ready to convene yet another commission of cardinals and put the question on the agenda again.<sup>413</sup> This would happen on 23 June. The working papers of the preparatory session<sup>414</sup> speak to the fact that the Government’s memorandum had not been written in vain. Although the argumentation about the Romanian liturgical language is rejected by the author of the working papers, the overview is more extensive and better reflects the history of the Hungarian Greek Catholics and their liturgical-language-use-related practice than earlier similar documents. As for the proposal about the modernisation of the Romanian liturgical language, it was felt to be so novel that it was even incorporated into the question posed at the end of the overview. This way, the Cardinals needed not only to decide what the stance of the Holy See on the liturgical use of Hungarian should be but also to make a declaration about the Romanian liturgical language.<sup>415</sup>

<sup>411</sup> Ibid, 332–333.

<sup>412</sup> *Among Byzantine-rite Romanians, the Romanian liturgical language is used exclusively. Given that the original Romanian translations are imperfect due to the underdeveloped status of the Romanian of that period and that they were in large measure mixed with Slavonic words, for the new editions of the liturgical books, they are enhanced in the spirit of the educated and living variant of the Romanian language*’ (translated from the Hungarian original). Ibid. 326. This is also confirmed by Vasile Hossu, quoted above: *‘E’ soltanto nella chiesa rumena, che la lingua liturgica è identica colla lingua volgare...’* (Only in the Romanian Church is the language of the liturgy identical with the language of the people...), *Források*, II/4/1, 234.

<sup>413</sup> *Források*, II/4/1, 352–355, Document no. 155.

<sup>414</sup> *Források*, II/4/1, 363–368, Document no. 160.

<sup>415</sup> *Források*, II/4/1, 367.

The Cardinals were unable to respond immediately. Moreover, when the case was presented to Pope Leo XIII, the Pope himself would deem closer scrutiny necessary. Therefore, he ordered that the opinion of the Jesuit Nikolaus Nilles,<sup>416</sup> an acclaimed expert of Oriental ecclesiastical disciplines, be solicited.<sup>417</sup> Nilles was swift to send his expert opinion.<sup>418</sup> With regard to the use of Romanian, he dismisses the reasoning of the Hungarian Government, while raising the possibility of tolerating the Hungarian liturgical language – the first one to do so among the experts and officials of the Holy See. Albeit in highly delicate terms, he suggests that decision makers focus not on the historical antecedents or analogies but on the actual pastoral situation. He believes that the Holy See should take advantage of the Hungarian Government's zeal and dedication to produce catechetically impeccable Hungarian liturgical books.

Nilles's lenient position proved to be decisive. He could not achieve the reversal of the prohibitive provision of the Holy See because it was seen as a matter of prestige in Rome. The protection of the respectability of the Holy See would not even have allowed for such a step. The Hungarian Government also took account of this circumstance, and what really it aimed for was to ensure that the Holy See would not oversee the execution of the prohibitive provision or issue additional official pronouncements on the subject.<sup>419</sup> Nilles's expert opinion prepared the ground for this to happen.

However, this position was still to be passed through the Curia, which was no easy task. The chief 'hardliner' was the head of the Congregation *Propaganda Fide*, Cardinal Ledochowski. Hardly had Nilles received his request when the Prefect dispatched his own summons to the respective Bish-

ops and Prince-Primate Vaszary, requiring detailed reports from them on the measures they took to curb the liturgical use of Hungarian.<sup>420</sup> In response, the Bishop of Mukachevo reported that, on 17 June 1897, he had called the Archdeans and Deans of three counties to Máriapócs and promulgated the prohibitive provision of the Holy See to them. On 31 August and 1 September, he did the same in Uzhhorod in the presence of all the Archdeans and Deans. On 8 May, he celebrated the church consecration liturgy in Church Slavonic in Hajdúböszörmény, inhabited exclusively by Hungarians, and admonished the priests to act in like manner. However, he indicated that rapid and radical change in this respect was not possible.<sup>421</sup> Bishop Vályi also responded to the summons, signalling that services were conducted in Church Slavonic in his Eparchy. Congregations in only three parishes (Sajószöged, Hejőkeresztúr and Homrogd) did not understand Church Slavonic, but services were held in that language in these communities as well; Hungarian was used only to a limited extent.<sup>422</sup> Whereas, owing to the reprimand in the previous notes from the Holy See, the two Greek Catholic Bishops do not attempt to take exception or request any relaxation, Prince-Primate Vaszary openly declares<sup>423</sup> that there is no chance to eliminate Hungarian completely. Hard as the competent Hierarchs and he himself may try, such a prospect seems unrealistic. He notes that the Hungarian Greek Catholics have created a new organisation,<sup>424</sup> working on another petition. In it, they claim they would be content if they could say at least certain parts in Hungarian.

The Congregation for Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs discussed the issue of the Hungarian liturgy again on 26 January 1899.<sup>425</sup> The preparatory working papers conclude with the following

<sup>416</sup> On Nikolaus Nilles's (1821–1907) life and work, see: Rees, 2010; on his role in the matter in detail, see: Véghseő, 2010b.

<sup>417</sup> *Források*, II/4/1, 369–370, Document no. 163.

<sup>418</sup> *Források*, II/4/1, 370–374, Document no. 165.

<sup>419</sup> This was communicated by Minister of Culture Wlassics orally to Nuncio Taliani, who would forward the request to the Holy See: *Források*, II/4/1, 366.

<sup>420</sup> *Források*, II/4/1, 370, Document no. 164.

<sup>421</sup> *Források*, II/4/1, 378–379, Document no. 169.

<sup>422</sup> *Források*, II/4/1, 379–383, Document no. 170.

<sup>423</sup> *Források*, II/4/1, 386–387, Document no. 174.

<sup>424</sup> It is about the National Committee of Greek-Rite Catholic Hungarians, the objectives of which will be described later.

<sup>425</sup> *Források*, II/4/1, 397–403, Document no. 179.

question: *Does the Holy See need to take action in light of the increasingly more intensive propaganda for the Greek-Hungarian liturgy, and – if yes – what?* The responses of the Cardinals were summarised for the Congregation *Propaganda Fide* by Felice Cavagnis, Secretary of the Congregation,<sup>426</sup> while Secretary of State Rampolla did the same in his instruction for Nuncio Taliani.<sup>427</sup>

The Cardinals reaffirm the earlier prohibitive provisions made to counter the manifestation of a nationalistic mentality in the liturgy, previously decried by Cardinals Haynald and Simor. The Holy See firmly persists in this regard and avoids considering whether certain concessions may be granted in relation to devotions outside the Divine Liturgy. In fact, the use of the vernacular during these services evolves spontaneously, which is, after all, tolerated by the Church. They call on the Bishops concerned to use everything in their power and act with utmost rigour to check the use of Hungarian as a liturgical language, as well as to show resolve in confronting clerics supporting the movement. They ask the Primate to watch the activities of the National Committee of Greek-Rite Catholic Hungarians particularly keenly. They indicate that the memorandum to be delivered during the proposed pilgrimage will be received by the representatives of the Holy See for inspection, but no immediate response will be given. They strongly advise Gyula Firczák, Bishop of Mukachevo, to keep the centre of the movement, Hajdúdorog, under close control and remove priests supportive of the movement from there (as well as from major ecclesiastical centres).

At the same time, they let the Bishop know that information contrary to that contained in his latest report has reached the Holy See. Finally, a decision is made about the Holy See's response to the Hungarian Government: The response must point to the unfoundedness of the reference to the Romanian Greek Catholics, and the undisputed authority of Cardinals Haynald and Simor is to be relied on in declining to comply with the Government's request.

Although, from the documents, it may be inferred that the Cardinals envisaged an instantaneous response to the memorandum of the Hungarian Government, it failed to be provided. The reason is to be found in the records created during a later discussion of the case (held in April 1902).<sup>428</sup> As it became ever more certain that the Hungarian Greek Catholics would visit Rome as part of a pilgrimage, submitting yet another memorandum, it was decided that the response to the Hungarian Government would be provided by the Holy See once it had learnt about the content of the new memorandum. In the end, the pilgrimage planned for 1899 took place in March 1900, causing the compilation of the reply note to suffer some delay, too.

This meant that, in the discussion of the issue of the Hungarian liturgy in Rome, a break of a few years would ensue. This 'break' will also be utilised by the present discussion to examine what changes and initiatives a parallel course of events – i.e. the Hungarian Greek Catholics' reflection upon the failure of the liturgy at the University Church of Budapest – yielded.

<sup>426</sup> *Források*, II/4/1, 403–405, Document no. 180.

<sup>427</sup> *Források*, II/4/1, 405–407, Document no. 181.

<sup>428</sup> *Források*, II/4/1, 485–489, Document no. 210.

## Readjustments in Budapest and Rome

*'In the movement that has just come to a close, all the errors and mistakes of the past were repeated, and the issue was exposed in the most improper way possible'* – notes Emil Melles, a priest from Dobrá (*Kisdobra*), concerning the liturgy at the University Church of Budapest and its consequences, in his article published in the 18 April 1897 issue of the newspaper *Kárpáti Lapok* [Carpathian pages].<sup>429</sup> Previously helping with the work of the Translation Commission of Hajdúdorog as well, the author perceived a parallel between the earlier ill-fated attempts and the essay culminating in the greatest disaster, entailing the prohibition of the Hungarian liturgy by the Holy See in 1896. He concluded that the Hajdúdorog community and its de facto leader, Endre György, were not capable of representing the cause, *'... for the road chosen by them is not appropriate, they are incompetent to spearhead and organise these efforts; with their tactlessness, they only harmed the cause in the past, harm it at present and – should they continue – will harm it in future'* (translated from the Hungarian original).<sup>430</sup>

This violent and unabashed attack against the Standing Executive Committee and the trend represented by it was not an isolated view. The prohibition from Rome and its rigour suddenly laid bare the differences within the camp of Greek Catholics with a Hungarian identity the signs of which were discussed previously as well. Not everyone felt that they could only call themselves Hungarian Greek Catholic if they unconditionally supported the idea that every single word in the liturgy should be said in Hungarian and that an eparchy should be established with its seat in Hajdúdorog. By the

last decade of the century, a Greek Catholic intelligentsia was formed in Budapest, with the majority constituted by assimilated Rusyn families, who no longer held fast to their forebears' language, yet regarded their religion as an indispensable component of their identity. They were also supporters of the Hungarian liturgy, but the radicalism of the people of Hajdúdorog did not appeal to them and, unlike the latter, they were inclined towards compromise in the area of the liturgy as well.<sup>431</sup>

The leading figure of this Budapest intelligentsia came to be Jenő Szabó (1843–1921), who, while considering himself a 'true-born' Hungarian Greek Catholic, was enabled by his education, flair for politics and, not least, by his social standing to act as a leader.

Jenő Szabó was born into a Greek Catholic priest's family in Fanchykovo (*Fancsika*), Ugocsa County, on 30 September 1843.<sup>432</sup> After his secondary-school studies in Uzhhorod, he studied law at the University of Pest. Having obtained his degree, he began his career at the Ministry of Public Works and Transport in 1868. Following a short spell as head of the Secretariat of the Presidential Department, he transferred to the Railway Department, where he would remain until his retirement (1893). Climbing the office ladder, he was Department Adviser, Ministerial Adviser and, finally, Head of the Section for Railways and Factories. He played important roles in a number of railway development projects – among other things, in regions inhabited by Greek Catholics, such as Transcarpathia and Szabolcs, Szatmár and Hajdú Counties. In 1892, as King Franz Joseph's negotiator, he concluded

<sup>429</sup> Emil Melles's editorial A magyar liturgia [The Hungarian liturgy], *Kárpáti Lapok*, 18 April 1897, 1897/16, 1. Források, II/4/1, 320–323.

<sup>430</sup> *Ibid.*, 321.

<sup>431</sup> Mayer, 1977.

<sup>432</sup> For his biography, see: Pirigyi, 1998, 57–74.

the Hungarian-Romanian Railway Unification Agreement, Hungary's first railway unification agreement independent of Austria. In recognition of his merits, he was awarded the Knight's Cross of the Order of Leopold the same year. In 1893, he left state service and became a member of the Board of Directors of the Hungarian Commercial Bank of Pest. As a representative of the Bank, he would occupy leading positions in 37 other businesses – mostly local railway companies.<sup>433</sup> This gave him a highly extensive network of economic, social and political relations. In 1896, he became a member of the House of Magnates, further broadening his opportunities. Although, in his article published in the journal *Hazánk* [Our nation] in 1868, at the beginning of his career, he already appeared as a patron of the cause of the Hungarian Greek Catholics, he would only be actively engaged in organising efforts in journalism and lobbying as of 1895.<sup>434</sup> As has been seen – though not approving it – he attended the liturgy at the University Church of Budapest and accompanied the Hajdúdorog delegation to public officials and to Prince-Primate Vaszary, and spoke on behalf of the Greek Catholics of Budapest.

The first platform in organising the Greek Catholic intelligentsia of the capital was a society that advocated the creation of a Greek Catholic parish in Budapest from 1892. For Greek Catholics living in Budapest, the first to seek to found a parish in Buda was József Gaganecz, Bishop of Prešov, in 1861.<sup>435</sup> Exercising advowson, the City Council did not find the foundation justifiable on account of the small number of Greek Catholics. However, the size of the Greek Catholic population of Budapest would start to grow spectacularly, practically doubling every ten years (1870: 599; 1880: 1267; 1890: 2757; 1900: 5386).<sup>436</sup> In 1891, Supreme Court Judge Jenő Popovics, acting

as a private individual, proposed to the Council of the Capital City that an autonomous parish be founded for Byzantine-rite Catholics living in Budapest. According to the register compiled *ex officio* (though at Jenő Popovics's expense), in that year, 2467 Greek Catholics lived in Budapest, 1544 of them from eparchies using Church Slavonic and 923 from eparchies using Romanian. At the statutory session held in April 1892, as well as at subsequent sessions of the Organising Committee created there, the most important questions to be decided upon were who belonged to the parish to be founded and which unit of ecclesiastical governance it should be part of. As the majority of the initiators were from the Eparchies of Mukachevo and Prešov, at the Organising Congress of January 1895, it was stated that the membership of the parish was composed of Greek Catholics living in Budapest, originally from eparchies with Church Slavonic as the language of the liturgy, as well as of Romanians joining them voluntarily, along with Hungarian Greek Catholics from eparchies with Romanian as the language of the liturgy.<sup>437</sup> In contrast with the expectations of the Congress, the City Council of Budapest would refuse to assume advowson for the parish for years. Finally, after long procrastination, the Council of the Capital extended advowson to the Greek Catholic parish of Budapest on 30 June 1898, on condition that Hungarian be the liturgical language in its church.<sup>438</sup> Two years later, the parish community also made a proposal to Prince-Primate Vaszary about the creation of a parish office,<sup>439</sup> after the Holy See pronounced the Archdiocese of Esztergom competent as opposed to the Eparchies of Mukachevo and Prešov.<sup>440</sup> The parish office was eventually created in 1905. As advowee, the capital made the 'old' Roman Catholic church at Szegény-

<sup>433</sup> Tomka, 1997, 39–40.

<sup>434</sup> Mayer, 1977, 143.

<sup>435</sup> 'Görögkatolikusaink és a főváros' [Our Greek Catholics and the capital city], Aladár Romanecz's editorial in *Kárpáti Lapok*, 1897/40, 3 October 1897, 1, *Források*, II/4/1, 340–343, Document no. 146.

<sup>436</sup> Mák, 1998, 25.

<sup>437</sup> Magyar, 1977, 13.

<sup>438</sup> *Források*, II/4/1, 369, Document no. 162.

<sup>439</sup> *Források*, II/4/1, 467, Document no. 199.

<sup>440</sup> Pirigyi, 1990, 102.



ház tér<sup>441</sup> available to the new parish and provided the funds required for its conversion.<sup>442</sup>

The members of the society shouldering the organisation of the Budapest parish were mainly lawyers (Jenő Popovics, Jenő Pásztélyi, Endre Rabár, Jenő Illés, József Illés, Mihály Medvigy and Sándor Leövey), teachers (Ödön Kecskóczy, Kálmán Demkó and Sándor Novák), state and railway officials (Mihály Garancsy, György Markos, Vladimir Bacsinszky and György Markos) and university students (János Prodán, Miklós Kutkafalvy and Ödön Szamovolszky), but an active part was played by consultant doctor Emil Demjanovich and the painter Ignác Roskovics as well.

Becoming the first priest of the parish of Budapest in 1905, Emil Melles primarily addresses his writing to these individuals by declaring the ‘Hajdúdorog line’ unsuccessful and expressing the need to detach the cause of the Hungarian liturgy from political and nationalistic objectives. When calling for Endre György’s withdrawal, he also voices the view of those who discerned positively ill-intentioned aims behind the Calvinist politician’s activities. These speculations were summarised by Bishop of Križevci Drohobeczky. Similarly to others, he also thinks that Endre György was aware that the Hungarian liturgy celebrated at the University Church of Budapest amid great publicity would trigger harsh reactions from the Holy See. He hoped that the response of the Holy See would dishearten the Hajdúdorog community so badly that they would separate from the Catholic Church and create a Byzantine-rite national Church. The recently passed new legislation on ecclesiastical policy would actually have allowed for this.<sup>443</sup>

The demand for a change of course was thus based on a rather wide consensus, but it was unrealistic to expect that the Hajdúdorog community could simply be removed from around the Hungarian Greek Catholic cause. In fact, this was not even anyone’s intention because their accomplishments and sacrifices were acknowledged by their

critics as well. The solution was discovered by Jenő Szabó, who travelled to Hajdúdorog in May 1898 and reached an agreement with the Standing Executive Committee.<sup>444</sup> Of the two infamous flags of Hajdúdorog – emblazoned with the inscriptions ‘Hungarian Liturgy’ and ‘Hungarian Eparchy’ respectively – he was figuratively given the one symbolising the cause of the Hungarian liturgy, while the representation of the cause of the Eparchy stayed with the people of Hajdúdorog. This meant that the Standing Executive Committee accepted that, in the future, the Greek Catholics of Budapest would fight for the cause of the Hungarian liturgical language, supported by the Hajdúdorog community as long as they championed the notion of the full Hungarian liturgy.

This comprise enabled the Greek Catholics of Budapest to form a new organisation to promote their interests. This happened in June 1898, when the National Committee of Greek-Rite Catholic Hungarians was created in Budapest, with Jenő Szabó as president. Its 8+1-point programme was clearly reflective of the change of tack that firmly prioritised approval for the Hungarian liturgical language. The first point defining the goal of the National Committee said:

*‘The National Committee aims to sustain and consolidate the use of Hungarian during Greek Catholic church services; to rescue the Hungarian service from its nearly one-century-long tolerated status and, accordingly, to secure lawful recognition and legal regulation for the Hungarian service wherever this is necessitated by the number and the religious interests of Greek Catholic Hungarians, regardless in the territory of which diocese they reside’* (translated from the Hungarian original).<sup>445</sup>

Thus, no mention is made of the Hungarian Eparchy as, obviously in harmony with the position of the Hungarian Government, the National Committee

<sup>441</sup> Today’s Rózsák tere.

<sup>442</sup> Források, II/4/1, 584–586, Document no. 252.

<sup>443</sup> Források, II/4/1, 280–289, Document no. 125, 284.

<sup>444</sup> Szabó, 1913, 31–35.

<sup>445</sup> Források, II/4/1, 360–361, Document no. 158, 360.

adopted the stance that it would attempt to ensure that the Hungarian liturgical language was sanctioned under the existing diocesan circumstances. In addition, the National Committee deemed it fit to affirm in its programme, too, that, in realising their goal, they did not intend to encroach upon the rights of the Rusyn and Romanian Greek Catholics, but, on the contrary, they wished to score success precisely by invoking their example. As programme points, the introduction of the Gregorian Calendar and the organisation of a pilgrimage to Rome were identified.<sup>446</sup>

The popularisation of the objectives of the National Committee in the press was again undertaken by Emil Melles, who – in contrast with the official tone of the programme – specified the new direction in absolutely lucid and unequivocal terms: *‘The Hungarian liturgy was not invented by Magyarising cultural policy makers but necessitated by life itself’* (translated from the Hungarian original). In other words, the movement abandoned the ‘jingoistic track’<sup>447</sup> – to use the terminology of the period – and was freed from the heavy burden of a political agenda.

The National Committee was given a mixed reception. On the one hand, the success of the call to join exceeded all expectations: After some initial difficulties, the programme was joined by 113 parishes, 568 affiliated parishes and 134,527 members of the faithful.<sup>448</sup> On the other hand, the vehement attack against the National Committee by certain foreign newspapers was unexpected. The German *Germania*, the Croatian *Katolički List*<sup>449</sup> and other newspapers claimed that the new lobby organisation was under Calvinist control and had adopted a nationalistic, anti-Romanian programme. Attacks from within Hungary – primarily from Uzhhorod – were not in short supply, either. In *Listok*, Jenő Fenczik claimed to detect an immense threat to the ancient Slavonic liturgy in the endeavours of the

National Committee.<sup>450</sup> These attacks were eventually stopped by Bishop Gyula Firczák,<sup>451</sup> which was of particular significance also because, through the Nunciature, the Holy See kept a vigilant eye on every action of the Hierarchy of Mukachevo. At the same time, the aim of the National Committee to promote the cause of the Hungarian liturgy only in an ecclesiastical context coincided with the orientation of the Bishop of Mukachevo. Therefore – similarly to Bishop Vályi – he willingly gave his blessing for the new initiative.<sup>452</sup>

The programme of the National Committee included the organisation of a pilgrimage to Rome aimed at demonstrating the existence of Hungarian Greek Catholics. The first call issued in early November 1898 reads:

*‘1. To prove that Greek Catholic Hungarians faithfully adhere to the centre of the unity of the Church, Rome, and that this adherence is predicated upon living faith, pure conviction and unstinting love.*

*2. To counter those who have informed the Holy See that there are no Greek Catholic Hungarians at all, we intend to use this pilgrimage to evidence our existence and the fact that we are sufficiently numerous to be taken into account.*

*3. Finally, we must demonstrate to His Holiness that, when, akin to our brethren in the faith, we seek that our tongue be elevated to the rank of liturgical language, we but fight religious indifference, disdain for the faith and apostasy, which have reared their head in our midst, and our movement is thoroughly pure, genuine and Catholic’* (translated from the Hungarian original).<sup>453</sup>

The pilgrimage took place from 6 to 9 March in the Jubilee Holy Year of 1900. As the Holy See did not

<sup>446</sup> Források, II/4/1, 360–361.

<sup>447</sup> Grigássy, 1913, 70, Commemorative Volume, 1901, 11.

<sup>448</sup> Commemorative Volume, 1901, 81.

<sup>449</sup> On the attacks in the press, see: Források, II/4/1, 375–376, Document no. 167.

<sup>450</sup> Mayer, 1977, 149–150.

<sup>451</sup> Szabó, 1913, 18.

<sup>452</sup> Commemorative Volume, 1901, 10.

<sup>453</sup> Commemorative Volume, 1901, 11.

permit the pilgrims to be accompanied by their Hierarchs,<sup>454</sup> János Vályi, Bishop of Prešov, suggested to the National Committee that the organisation join the 'International Commission for the Furtherance of Devotion for Jesus the Saviour'. It was created in 1896 by one of the founders of *Actio Catholica* in order to exhort the world's Catholics to engage in special devotional initiatives – such as pilgrimages to Rome – in the Jubilee Holy Year. Pope Leo XIII approved the operation of the Commission, which would send circulars to the Bishops of the Catholic Church, with support from the Holy See.<sup>455</sup> The National Committee submitted its application to join, and, once it was accepted, the programme of the Hungarian Greek Catholics became part of the official programme of the International Commission, enabling the Hierarchs to participate in it.<sup>456</sup>

The pilgrimage to Rome was attended by 461 pilgrims – 67 of them priests. Bishop János Vályi travelled together with the pilgrims, while Bishop Firczák joined them in Rome. They arrived in the Eternal City after many vicissitudes, where they were awaited by the disconcerting news that Pope Leo XIII would not receive them. They managed to surmount this final major obstacle with the assistance of Count Gyula Zichy and the Embassy of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy to the Holy See.<sup>457</sup> The papal audience was eventually held on the last day of their stay in Rome – albeit in a shorter form than planned, due to the Pope's illness. In his brief greeting speech<sup>458</sup>, Bishop János Vályi requested approval for the Hungarian liturgy from the Pope and handed over the Memorandum<sup>459</sup> in which the Hungarian Greek Catholics had summarised their request. The Secretariat of State was previously informed by the organisers of the content of the request to be submitted and, via the Nuncio,

clarified that a prompt response to it from the Holy Father was obviously not to be expected.

Subsequent records of the Secretariat of State in conjunction with scrutiny of the Memorandum by the Holy See highlight its respectful tone and moderate style.<sup>460</sup> The pious conduct and discipline of the pilgrims attracted the attention of the local press as well. The daily newspapers *L'Osservatore Romano* and *La Voce della Verità* both expressed their appreciation.<sup>461</sup> Moreover, the respectable Jesuit periodical, *La Civiltà Cattolica*, effectively proclaimed that the 'Greek-Hungarians' taught the Romans an edifying lesson on how to visit the prescribed basilicas neatly, prayerfully and properly.<sup>462</sup>

After the Roman pilgrimage, the National Committee published a decoratively designed memorial volume with two maps, a number of photographs, the story of the antecedents and process of the pilgrimage, the text of the Memorandum handed over to the Pope and a list of the participants.<sup>463</sup> The appearance of the pilgrims and the text of the Memorandum significantly ameliorated the unfavourable assessment of Hungarian Greek Catholics in Rome formed on the basis of the incoming information hitherto. As this was basically what the National Committee had aimed for and no complete breakthrough in obtaining approval for the Hungarian liturgy was anticipated, the pilgrimage could be considered a success story.

At the same time, this did not mean that ecclesiastical circles – mainly in Uzhhorod – frowning upon the activities of the National Committee would cease their attacks. Therefore, at Bishop Firczák's recommendation, the National Committee proposed the creation of a body that could be a suitable platform for reconciling differences. As, according to the assessment of the National Com-

<sup>454</sup> Commemorative Volume, 1901, 15.

<sup>455</sup> Gaspari, 2021, 8–11.

<sup>456</sup> Commemorative Volume, 1901, 15.

<sup>457</sup> *Ibid.*, 23.

<sup>458</sup> He handed over the originally envisaged speech in writing: Memorial Volume, 191, 41–48 and *Források*, II/4/1, 454–458, Document no. 193. For the brief speech delivered, see: Memorial Volume, 1901, 26–27 and *Források*, II/4/1, 458–459, Document no. 194.

<sup>459</sup> Memorial Volume, 1901, 67–98 and *Források*, II/4/1, 427–453, Document no. 192.

<sup>460</sup> E.g., *Források*, II/4/1, 487.

<sup>461</sup> Commemorative Volume, 1901, 24.

<sup>462</sup> *Civiltà Cattolica*, Serie, XVII, vol. X, fasc. 1195, 31 marzo 1900, 97.

<sup>463</sup> Commemorative Volume, 1901, 67–98.

mittee, the pilgrimage to Rome enabled the cause of the Hungarian liturgy to be re-confined to the proper, i.e. ecclesiastical, context, the prestigious organisation had essentially completed its mission. Though without declaring the abolition of the National Committee, its leaders would already work on the creation of the Association of Hungarian Greek Catholics from the summer of 1900. *'The adjective 'Hungarian' is not meant to be a partition wall between Hungarian- and Ruthenian-speaking Greek Catholics but a clasp that connects...'* – they note in the call announcing the organisation of the Association and simultaneously describe Bishop Firczák's idea: *'May there be a hub in the heart of the country, where Hungarian Greek Catholics may find their home; may there be a way to be acquainted with one another and a means to promote their common interests socially with joint effort'* (translated from the Hungarian original).<sup>464</sup>

The Association was effectively formed on 3 December 1902. The six-member board of founders included Bishop Firczák as well – obviously with a demonstrative purpose. The following year, it launched a newspaper under the title *Görögkatolikus Hírlap* [Greek Catholic herald], coming to replace *Kárpáti Lapok* published in Uzhhorod, yet known to be pro-Hungarian. It communicated its objectives in the pages of the paper. While promoting the cause of the Hungarian liturgy was featured among the principal goals, the leaders of the Association identified other important tasks, too. Above all, they sought to foster the development of a powerful stratum of Greek Catholic intellectuals. Even though the aim was to reconcile differences among Greek Catholics, the regular and occasionally fierce press debates between *Görögkatolikus Szemle* [Greek Catholic review] and the *Görögkatolikus Hírlap* of Budapest spoke to the fact that the Association had failed to score success in this area.<sup>465</sup>

Ironing out differences as soon as possible within the camp of Greek Catholics was an urgent task also because, following the strict prohibition of the Holy See, attempts were made to revert from the Hungarian to the Church Slavonic liturgy in some places.<sup>466</sup> Moreover, in the spring of 1901, it even happened that a chaplain celebrated the Divine Liturgy in Church Slavonic in Hajdúdorog, precipitating an enormous scandal and resulting in his swift departure. Flabbergasted, Minister of Culture Wlassics contacted Bishop Firczák about the case.<sup>467</sup> He had no doubt that this was an instance of conscious provocation precisely at a time when *'even the Apostolic See had desisted from forcibly imposing the elimination of the Hungarian liturgy and accepted the Memorandum of the Hungarian-speaking Greek Catholics for consideration'* (translated from the Hungarian original).<sup>468</sup> However, it was not only the Government that paid special attention to the matter but the Holy See, too, and, within a few months, Bishop Firczák would be in receipt of the enquiring note of the *Propaganda Fide*.<sup>469</sup> The complaint was received in Rome under the name 'Mihály Nagy' – apart from the Hajdúdorog chaplain's case – its subjecting being the scandalous behaviour of Canon Emmánuel Fejér, Rector of the Seminary of Uzhhorod, as well. The complainant alleged that, in the presence of several people, Rector Fejér exclaimed thus: *'Who is the Roman Pontiff for us? What good have we been given by the Roman Church so far? If the use of Hungarian is not allowed for the Hajdúdorog community and other parishes, they will all be schismatics!'* (translated from the Hungarian original) The complainant contended that the Hierarchy had failed to penalise this scandalous expression.

In his response, however, Bishop Firczák wrote that, once he had received word of the case, he immediately convoked the Chapter of Canons, which would ascertain Rector Fejér's guilt after hearing witnesses. As a penalty, the Bishop dismissed him

<sup>464</sup> Források, II/4/1, 464–467, Document no. 198.

<sup>465</sup> Mayer, 1977, 151–164.

<sup>466</sup> Szabó, 1913, 156.

<sup>467</sup> Források, II/4/1, 468, Document no. 200.

<sup>468</sup> Ibid.

<sup>469</sup> The letter itself has not been found yet. Its content may be established from the note of the Congregation Propaganda Fide sent to the Sacred Congregation for Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs; Források, II/4/1, 473–474, Document no. 205.

from his position as rector at once. On the case of the chaplain of Hajdúdorog, he provided the information that the newly appointed priest had not been willing to adapt to local customs even at the time of his first Divine Liturgy, refusing to recite the litanies, the Apostolic passage and the Gospel in Hungarian. This did lead to a scandal, but the chaplain was not expelled from Hajdúdorog. He went to his parents' house of his own accord as he was overcome by neurosis wrought by his childhood disease.<sup>470</sup> The matter might as well have been closed, had Bishop Firczák not raised the question of the Hungarian liturgical language again, explaining the Hajdúdorog practice, and had he not alluded to the 'danger of schism' threatening disaffected Hungarian Greek Catholics.

This latter point compelled Cardinal Secretary of State Rampolla to conduct a separate inquiry into the imminence of the 'danger of schism' through the Viennese Nuncio. He also authorised the Nuncio to consult experts, such as Nikolaus Nilles, if necessary to find out if they saw it feasible that the Holy See should tolerate that certain prayers were recited in Hungarian during the liturgy.<sup>471</sup> The instruction of the Secretary of State indicated to the Nuncio that some shift had taken place in Rome. This is corroborated by the report of Claus von Below-Saleske, Consul-General of Prussia in Budapest, to Chancellor Bernhard von Bülow, sharing the intelligence that the Holy See was ready to grant concessions with respect to the Hungarian liturgy.<sup>472</sup>

In his reply, the Nuncio reports that, among the Greek Catholics, the movement calling for the introduction of the liturgical use of Hungarian has re-intensified. He briefly summarises the situation of Hungary's Greek Catholics, their ecclesiastical organisation and language use. The country has 134 thousand monolingual Hungarian Greek Catholics. The 18th century saw the beginning of the liturgical use of Hungarian, extending to as many as 80-100 parishes by 1870, practically without conflicts, with the tacit agreement of the competent Bishops. The Divine Liturgy celebrated in Budapest in 1896 was

given extensive press coverage, prompting Romanian nationalists to voice their vehement protest. The Nuncio stresses that, thenceforth, Jenő Szabó would do everything to keep the press and the nationalistic spirit away from the movement. Although he has made some accomplishments in this regard, sentiments are sometimes hard to contain, culminating in threats, as also noted by the Bishop of Mukachevo. Threatening schism would be more frequent if the prohibition of the Holy See had in fact been enforced. As, however, virtually everything continues as it did before, there is no major danger of schism. This could change though if the Holy See issues another prohibitive provision. The Nuncio's comments and suggestions are as follows:

1. Partial concessions make no sense because what is demanded is not this but the elimination of Church Slavonic and the introduction of Hungarian;
2. The requests of the Hungarian Greek Catholics are not entirely unfounded as
  - a. in some parishes, Hungarian has been used for over a century: Return to Church Slavonic is not possible without severe disruptions;
  - b. congregations do not understand why they are forbidden what the Romanians and the Rusyns have been allowed to do;
  - c. it is impossible to expect ordinary people to attend a service for hours that is conducted by the priest and the cantor in a completely unfamiliar language.
3. There is little point in issuing another prohibitive provision; it would be better to tolerate the established practice in terms of language use. Conversely, this need not be officially approved, either.
4. The faults of the liturgical books in use must be rectified (a reference to Nilles) lest, when the time comes to produce official Hungarian translations, heresies make their way into the Hungarian liturgical books.

<sup>470</sup> Források, II/4/1, 468–470, Document no. 201.

<sup>471</sup> Források, II/4/1, 474–475, Document no. 206.

<sup>472</sup> Források, II/4/1, 471, Document no. 203.

Finally, he signals that Nikolaus Nilles is also convinced that the best solution is for the Holy See to tolerate (*potest*) the established practice.<sup>473</sup>

Nikolaus Nilles's position on the issue of the Hungarian Greek Catholic liturgy is unique. His down-to-earth and pragmatic proposed solution bespeaks thorough familiarity with the life and circumstances of the Eastern Catholic Churches, including the Hungarian Greek Catholics.

The Nuncio's report compelled the Holy See to resume dealing with the question of the Hungarian liturgy after the 'break'. This would happen on 16 April 1902, at the joint session of the Sacred Congregation for Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs and the Congregation *Propaganda Fide*.<sup>474</sup> As the outcome of the deliberations, the Cardinals decided that the Holy See would not respond to Bishop Firczák's submission, the note of the Hungarian Government delivered in 1897 or the Memorandum handed over during the pilgrimage to Rome.

Were another petition to be received, the Holy See might reveal its stance on the matter. In such a case, the Bishops concerned would be sent the following response: While maintaining its previous prohibitive provision, the Holy See leaves it to the respective Bishop's conscience and pastoral judgement to ensure that, in the event of serial apostasy, the prohibitive provision be not enforced to a fault. The Bishops must do everything so as to prevent the spread of the prohibited language use to parishes that use Church Slavonic. They must confidentially engage experts to revise the Hungarian liturgical books in use and to report errors to the Holy See.<sup>475</sup>

This decision implied that the Holy See had accepted Nikolaus Nilles's recommendation and assumed a position of tacit tolerance. At the 34th anniversary of the Congress of Hajdúdorog of 1868 to the day, this was the maximum that could be attained from the Holy See regarding the matter.

<sup>473</sup> Források, II/4/1, 476–480, Document no. 208.

<sup>474</sup> Források, II/4/1, 485–489, Document no. 210.

<sup>475</sup> Források, II/4/1, 490, Document no. 211.

## *Christifideles... graeci.* Hungarian Eparchy – Greek Liturgy

The decision of the Holy See about the tacit tolerance of the Hungarian liturgy brought about an extremely fragile situation. As put by even the decision makers themselves, the Holy See would remain silent until further signals were received. In fact, the Cardinals had rather specific kinds of report in mind – ones about the separation of the Greek Catholic faithful from the Catholic Church *en mass*.

It is conspicuous that the Holy See had not paid much attention to this danger previously, though it had been frequently pointed to by incoming reports. In 1902, however, not only did the Holy See begin to show interest in the degree of the ‘threat of schism’ among Hungary’s Greek Catholics, but it also made its subsequent act contingent upon it. This move was prompted by information suggesting that the phenomenon of parting ways with the Catholic Church and joining Orthodoxy had indeed appeared among the Greek Catholics of Hungary. In the chapter on liturgical translations, a brief mention was made of changing one’s affiliations in Máramaros County, as well as of the related background reasons. Although such transfers did not involve Greek Catholic communities with a Hungarian identity, it is apposite to address the phenomenon briefly because, from the early years of the 20th century, it would accompany the history of the Hungarian Greek Catholic movement for over a decade.

Compactly labelled ‘schismatic movement’ by the contemporary press and, subsequently, by historiography, the phenomenon was intimately connected with emigration to the North American continent. In this population movement, chiefly motivated by economic reasons, Hungary’s Rusyns participated to an extent well in excess of their ratio in the pop-

ulation of Hungary. While Rusyns living in the poorest region of the country constituted as little as 2.5 per cent of the overall population in 1900, their share in emigration would amount to 4.5 per cent between 1899 and 1913.<sup>476</sup> Emigration to the United States would accelerate particularly in the decade between 1880 and 1890, when the number of emigrants grew twelvefold from the figure of the preceding decade, exceeding 127 thousand. A significant proportion of those emigrating would return to their home country a few years later, bringing with them not only the money they had saved but also the social, political and religious experience they had acquired in the New World.

Providing pastoral care for the Greek Catholics emigrating to the United States proved to be an immensely difficult task as no local Greek Catholic ecclesiastical organisation existed there. Under the canonical regulation prevailing at the time, Greek Catholic immigrants would retain their original church membership in the Eparchy of Prešov or Mukachevo. Both János Vályi, Bishop of Prešov, and Gyula Firczák, Bishop of Mukachevo, attempted to send priests, but they could overcome the resistance of the local Roman Catholic clergy – mostly of Irish descent – only with great difficulty. Unfamiliar with the Byzantine Rite and according it little esteem, the American Bishops refused to grant licence to married or widowed priests as they did not consider them as genuine Catholic clerics. This would entail some really serious consequences because the faithful would rather go to Orthodox churches than to the Irish priests who held them in contempt. The Greek Catholic priests travelling there from 1888 were able to found the first parishes only at the expense of enormous hardships, and they were inflicted a

<sup>476</sup> Gönczi, 2007, 29.

severe blow as soon as 1891. Arriving in Minnesota in 1889, Elek Tóth, a priest of the Eparchy of Prešov, transferred to the Orthodox Church. As Tóth went to the United States as a widowed priest, John Ireland, Archbishop of the territorially competent Diocese of Saint Paul, did not recognise him as a real Catholic priest. In 1891, the Archbishop succeeded in securing his removal, which Tóth declined to accept, transferring to the Orthodox Church instead. Within a short time, he was followed by tens of thousands of the Greek Catholic faithful.<sup>477</sup>

From the turn of the century, the Hungarian Government would strive to gain control over the ecclesiastical organisation of the Greek Catholics in the United States. The Government provided substantial funds to cater for the priests making the journey, as well as to build churches. In return, it wished to receive assurances from the Holy See that it would have a say in the appointment of the head of the church organisation in formation.<sup>478</sup>

A group of the faithful emigrating to the United States, switching to Orthodoxy there and later returning to Hungary performed active and successful propaganda activities in their homeland. A 'schismatic movement' was born, causing much headache for the Hungarian Government and the competent Bishops alike. Although confession changing – in the case at hand, transfer from the Greek Catholic Church to the Orthodox Church – was facilitated precisely by the new legislation on ecclesiastical policy passed in 1895, none of the liberal Hungarian Governments succeeding one another at the time would be delighted to see the influence of the Russian Orthodox Church appear in the north-eastern counties of the country. In fact, Rusyns returning as Orthodox from the United States would not orient themselves towards the Serbian Church of Hungary but towards Russia. This was, in turn, synonymous with the emergence of the influence of the Russian State, representing a potential threat in terms of security policy. Therefore, the Hungarian State sought to curb transfers administratively and judicially.

The first so-called 'schism lawsuit' was started in 1901 against the faithful of the Marmaroshchyna/Maramureş (*Máramaros*) village of Sächel (*Szacsal*), who had transferred to the Orthodox faith and were summoned before the County Court of Máramaros on charges of 'agitation'. These proceedings were concluded with acquittals though, giving new impetus to the transfers. Instances of collective transfer occurred in Becherov (*Beberó*), Sáros County, and, subsequently, in Iza, Dragomireşti (*Dragomérfalva*), Tereblya (*Talaborfalva*), Lypcha (*Lipcse*), Koshel'ovo (*Keselymező*), Drahovo (*Kövesliget*) – all Marmaroshchyna/Maramureş villages, too – as well as in Velyki Luchky (*Nagylucska*), Bereg County. Against the people of Iza (19 defendants), an action was brought in 1904 on charges of provocation and anti-state agitation. According to the prosecutor, the proof for the charge of anti-state agitation was supposedly supplied by a recurrent statement in the speeches inciting to transfer. Thus, purportedly, mass transfers to the Orthodox Church would eventually bring about the rule of the Russian Tsar as well, occupying the lands inhabited by the Orthodox; the Tsar, the 'Little Father', would expel the Hungarians, the Jews and the Greek Catholics and apportion the occupied lands among the Orthodox faithful, who would not need to pay tax any more, either.<sup>479</sup>

The defendants denied that their transfer had been motivated by any political considerations. They primarily justified their intent with the deterioration of their relationship with the Greek Catholic parish priest. As indicated in the chapter on liturgical translations, the Russophile Iván Rakovszky, serving in Iza until 1885, observed the highest standards in the area of liturgical life, conducting services without abridgements. As the congregation grew accustomed to this, Rakovszky's less zealous successor would fail to win their trust. In addition to accusations of 'rite corruption', those transferring to Orthodoxy also complained about the Greek Catholic priests' money-centric attitude. They determined so high surplice fees that, in some cases,

<sup>477</sup> Mayer, 1977, 179.

<sup>478</sup> Mayer, 1977, 180–184.

<sup>479</sup> Gönczi, 2007, 56–58.



a funeral or wedding would push even otherwise poor families to the brink of bankruptcy. High and widely varying surplice fees could be explained by a lack of regulation in the remuneration of the clergy.

In the end, out of the 19 defendants, the County Court of Máramaros acquitted twelve and sentenced two to two months to one year and two months in prison on charges of provocation. The court deemed the charge of anti-state agitation unproven. The ruling of the court of first instance was reversed by the Court of Appeal of Debrecen in 1905, but, in 1906, the Supreme Court in Budapest found the charge of anti-state agitation proven for three of the accused.<sup>480</sup>

The verdict did not put an end to the movement. Moreover, a few years later, it gathered momentum with the appearance of the first Orthodox priest of local origins, Sándor Kabalyuk. Kabalyuk was a carver from Yasinya (*Körösmező*), who was supported by the Orthodox centre in Chernivtsi led by the three Gerovsky brothers (Roman, Georgy and Alexy). This centre was in contact with the Russian Charitable Association of Galicia seated in Saint Petersburg, with Count Vladimir Bobrinsky as its president. By spreading Russian Orthodoxy, both the Association and the Chernivtsi Centre fortified the positions of Russian state influence. With assistance from the Gerovskys, Kabalyuk completed his theological studies in Kiev and was ordained a priest. Afterwards, he returned to his homeland and, going from village to village as an itinerant preacher, he advocated transfer. Kabalyuk's success also led to action by the authorities, as well as, subsequently, to an inquiry and a lawsuit. Conducted amid extensive press coverage, the 'Schism Lawsuit of Máramaros' against 94 individuals accused of anti-state agitation and fomenting religious hatred lasted from December 1913 to March 1914. The court found 34 defendants guilty, sentencing them to prison and fining them.<sup>481</sup>

<sup>480</sup> Gönczi, 2007, 59.

<sup>481</sup> Gönczi, 2007, 85–89.

<sup>482</sup> *Források*, II/4/1, 494–496, Document no. 215.

<sup>483</sup> Lucaciu was one of the compilers of the memorandum addressed to Franz Joseph in 1892 by Hungary's Romanian leaders, for which he was sued on a charge of agitation in 1894 and sentenced to five years in prison. He was pardoned and released one year later, resuming his political activities.

Thus, aside from the cause of the Hungarian liturgy, Hungarian Governments were to aim for dialogue and, thereby, for the normalisation of diplomatic relations with the Holy See on account of the ecclesiastical organisation of Greek Catholics in the United States and the 'schismatic movement' in Hungary as well. To this end – in agreement with Prime Minister Kálmán Széll and Agenor Goluchowski, Foreign Minister of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy – in the summer of 1903, Kunó Klebelsberg, Secretary of the Prime Minister's Office, began to work out the details of the so-called 'Vatican Project'. The action plan was based on substantial financial sacrifices made by the Hungarian Government to support the American Greek Catholic Church. These efforts were intended to convey a sense of commitment and good will to the Holy See. As the next step, an attempt was made to draw the Vatican's attention to the perils and achievements of the 'schismatic movement', stressing at the same time that the Bishops concerned sought the help of the Government as they were unable to handle the situation. The Government declared its readiness to provide the necessary support, though on a reciprocal basis: As the Popes had aided Regent-Governor John Hunyadi's (1406-1456) fight against the Ottoman Turks, so the Holy See was to grant moral backing to the Hungarian State countering the 'schism'.<sup>482</sup>

By 'moral backing', the Government meant that the Holy See should remedy some grievances and comply with some of its requests. First and foremost, these included the problem of the Greek Catholic ecclesiastical organisation in the United States, which the Government wished to keep under its control at any rate. Another Greek Catholic issue was the case of Vasile Lucaciu, a priest of the Eparchy of Gherla,<sup>483</sup> inhibited by his Bishop due to his political activities. Thanks to his connections in Rome, however, Lucaciu evaded all major

consequences, which would be objected to by the Hungarian Government.<sup>484</sup>

Nevertheless, the cause of the Hungarian liturgy was not among the grievances and requests because the Government first intended to assess power relations and to determine if any concessions could be expected from the Holy See. This was necessary because Pope Leo XIII died on 20 July 1903 and was succeeded – due to the Emperor Franz Joseph's veto – not by Cardinal Secretary of State Mariano Rampolla, regarded by all as a strong candidate, but by Giuseppe Sarto, Patriarch of Venice, taking the name Pius X. Considered to be Francophile and anti-Hapsburg, Rampolla was forced into the background and replaced by the only 37 year old Rafael Merry del Val as secretary of state. The Ambassador to the Holy See was tasked with establishing whether this change could involve any alterations in perceptions about the Hungarian liturgy.<sup>485</sup>

Preparations for the 'Vatican Project' were not decelerated even by the circumstance that a change of government also took place in Hungary in the summer of 1903. The place of Kálmán Széll was briefly taken by Károly Khuen-Héderváry (1903), to be followed by István Tisza (1903–1905), while Minister of Culture Wlassics was succeeded by Minister Albert Berzeviczy (1903–1905). Organisational matters at the Prime Minister's Office continued to be managed by Kunó Klebelsberg. Klebelsberg requested several Hungarian Catholic Bishops to call the attention of various organs of the Holy See to the generous benefits provided by the Hungarian Government, as well as to its commitment to the Catholic Church. Those approached included Prince-Primate Vaszary, Szmrecsányi, Latin rite Bishop of Oradea, Szabó, Bishop of Gherla, Firczák, Bishop of Mukachevo, and Vályi, Bishop of Prešov.

Bishop Vályi honoured the Government's request and informed the Prefect of the Congregation *Propaganda Fide*, Cardinal Girolamo Gotti, in a long

and comprehensive letter, asking him to use his authority before the new Pope in supporting the plan for the creation of a Greek Catholic bishopric in North America and the approval for Hungarian as a liturgical language.<sup>486</sup> Simultaneously, Bishop Vályi also composed a detailed memorandum<sup>487</sup> for the Government because he felt that those in charge did not sufficiently take advantage of the accomplishments made by the Hungarian Greek Catholics through the successful pilgrimage to Rome in 1900. Bishop Vályi saw the four-year long silence of the Holy See as a favourable sign, suggesting that Rome may even have adopted the position of *tolerari posse* vis-à-vis the Hungarian liturgy. He raises the possibility, still considered theoretical at the time, that the solution to the problem of the Hungarian liturgy might be bilingualism. In other words, he proposes that most of the liturgy could be celebrated in Hungarian and '*the use of Old Slavonic and Romanian would be restricted to the words of transubstantiation*'.<sup>488</sup> He employs highly logical reasoning concerning the conduct of Hungary's Orthodox. As previously indicated in the Commemorative Volume of the pilgrimage to Rome and in the memorandum handed over to the Pope as well, with Hungarian liturgical publications, the Orthodox moved in the direction of the use of Hungarian. Nevertheless, this process was halted, and the Hungarian liturgy was eventually not introduced by the Orthodox. Bishop Vályi speculates that the cause was the consolidation of the national character of the Serbian and Romanian Orthodox Churches. At the same time, so as to win the sympathy of the Greek Catholics in the United States, the Russian Orthodox Church already approved the Hungarian liturgy. Should the Holy See renew its refusal, this practice could also appear in Hungary, impacting detrimentally on the Hungarian Greek Catholics disheartened by the prohibition.<sup>489</sup> The Bishop of Prešov sees a personal initiative by the Monarch as the key to success. He emphasises

<sup>484</sup> *Források*, II/4/1, 495–496.

<sup>485</sup> *Források*, II/4/1, 502–506, Document no. 218.

<sup>486</sup> *Források*, II/4/1, 528–534, Document no. 227a.

<sup>487</sup> *Források*, II/4/1, 513–524, Document no. 224.

<sup>488</sup> *Források*, II/4/1, 517.

<sup>489</sup> *Források*, II/4/1, 517–518.

that Hungarian Greek Catholics could thank the Monarch for everything that has transpired since the union ‘... *and would read it as the crowning of the Union enabled by the most excellent dynasty if his Imperial and Apostolic Royal Majesty were to extend his attention as supreme patron and ruler to the process of obtaining approval for the Hungarian liturgy as well*’ (translated from the Hungarian original).<sup>490</sup> In the final part of the memorandum, Bishop Vályi unequivocally argues for the establishment of a Hungarian Greek Catholic eparchy and does not share the fears voiced so often from the time of Kálmán Tisza.<sup>491</sup> He concludes that, in the event of the renewal of the Holy See’s prohibition, ‘... *nothing would be more suitable for the constant advocacy and development of the cause of the Hungarian liturgy than such an autonomous bishopric*’.<sup>492</sup>

Notwithstanding Bishop Vályi’s arguments, the creation of a Hungarian Greek Catholic eparchy failed to be included among the objectives of the ‘Vatican Project’. Moreover, in February 1904, even the preparations of the action plan itself stalled as Miklós Szécsen, Ambassador of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy to the Holy See, expressed serious concerns to Prime Minister István Tisza, who briefed him.<sup>493</sup> A diplomat well familiar with the Curia, he did not anticipate that the plan of the Hungarian Government to turn the Holy See into its ally would work. He is supportive of the idea that Hungarian prelates should notify the Holy See of the financial sacrifices made by the Hungarian State in furtherance of various ecclesiastical goals. In return for these – or for their intensification – however, the Holy See could be requested to remedy old grievances and back certain political aims. The Holy See is above the nations and will never commit itself to the political orientation of any particular country.

After the sobering letter of the Ambassador to the Holy See, in the spring of 1904, Kunó Klebels-

berg worked hard to keep the action plan alive, shifting the focus from theoretical questions to practical problems.<sup>494</sup> In this effort, he was also aided by Gyula Vargha, Director of the Hungarian Central Statistical Office, who produced extensive statistical surveys and analyses on the Hungarian Greek Catholics.<sup>495</sup> However, this period already saw the unfolding of a severe domestic political crisis in Hungary, leading to the dissolution of Parliament at the beginning of 1905, as well as to the historic defeat of the governing Liberal Party at the next elections. The priorities of Tisza’s Cabinet, continuing as a caretaker government until 18 June, and of the (illegally appointed) Fejérváry ministry taking its place were obviously defined by domestic politics. Nonetheless, at the Prime Minister’s Office, Kunó Klebelsberg still compiled a memorandum for the Monarch about the situation of the Hungarian Greek Catholics.<sup>496</sup> This decisive document marked a departure from the position of Hungarian governments adopted in 1896, which had suggested that first approval for the liturgical use of Hungarian was to be attained and only then could the establishment of a new Greek Catholic eparchy with a Hungarian character be meaningfully targeted. Accepting Bishop Vályi’s proposal cited above, the Government had by this point come to identify the road to the approval for the Hungarian liturgy with the creation of a Hungarian Greek Catholic eparchy. Accordingly, the first version of the memorandum requested the Monarch ‘*to support the creation of a separate bishopric for the quarter-of-a-million-strong Greek Catholic Hungarian community as well*’. In the final text, however, this sentence was replaced with the clause ‘*to ensure that something would happen in favour of the Greek Catholic Hungarian community in the area of ecclesiastical organisation as well*’.<sup>497</sup> The replacement was motivated by the consideration that the positions of the Hungarian Government were not strong enough

<sup>490</sup> *Források*, II/4/1, 520.

<sup>491</sup> *Források*, II/4/1, 523.

<sup>492</sup> *Források*, II/4/1, 524.

<sup>493</sup> *Források*, II/4/1, 549–553, Document no. 235.

<sup>494</sup> *Források*, II/4/1, 559–560, Document no. 238.

<sup>495</sup> *Források*, II/4/1, 563–575, Document no. 243.

<sup>496</sup> *Források*, II/4/1, 587–592, Document no. 253.

<sup>497</sup> *Források*, II/4/1, 591.

in the eyes of the Holy See, and the creation of a new diocese did not appear to be viable. Therefore, Klebelsberg effected a last-minute change, setting the reinforcement of the Hungarian character of the Eparchy of Mukachevo as the goal instead. He meant to enable this special consolidation through the reassignment of the Hungarian parishes of the Romanian Greek Catholic Metropolitanate. In line with Bishop Vályi's ideas, the main request of the memorandum for the Monarch was that he should intercede with the Holy See on behalf of the Hungarian Greek Catholics in person. The memorandum closes with the statement that intervention by the Monarch is an urgent task as the foundation of the Greek Catholic parish of Budapest is imminent. In its church, the practice of the Hungarian liturgy will prevail, no doubt prompting denunciations though.<sup>498</sup>

Klebelsberg gave a fully accurate assessment of the situation and of the difficulties awaiting the parish of Budapest. The liturgical order of the new Greek Catholic church was defined by the proviso of the capital city, requiring the liturgy to be celebrated in Hungarian.<sup>499</sup> To ensure compliance, the first parish priest was Emil Melles, bringing with him the liturgical practice of the Hungarian Greek Catholics of Satu Mare to the capital. As, except for the priest's silent prayers and the words of consecration, this practice meant celebrating the liturgy in Hungarian, it was only a matter of time when the existing fragile status quo would be upset for some reason.

That moment came in May 1907, when the cause of the Hungarian liturgy surfaced in the diplomatic reports received from the Embassy to the Holy See.<sup>500</sup> The first change happened in October 1907, when the Holy See removed the Romanian Greek Catholics living in the capital from the jurisdiction

of the parish of Budapest,<sup>501</sup> registered as Ruthenian at the Propaganda Congregation.<sup>502</sup> This meant that the Romanians returned to the jurisdiction of the territorially competent Roman Catholic parishes. As it was also acknowledged by parish priest Emil Melles himself<sup>503</sup> that the Romanian faithful belonging to the parish had raised objections to him about the liturgical use of Hungarian, it is by no means difficult to infer from what direction the initiative could come.

This was only the first step though. In the spring of 1909, the parish of Budapest sought permission from the Holy See to switch to the Gregorian Calendar. The permission was granted relatively soon, and, on 1 September, the Greek Catholics of Budapest switched to the use of the Gregorian Calendar.<sup>504</sup> Contemporaneously, however, another denunciation reached the Holy See on account of the liturgical language of the Budapest church. While attempting to rectify the situation himself, the Prince-Primate deemed it fit to involve the Hungarian Government as well in the case.<sup>505</sup> In fact, the circumstance that the Holy See had put the question of the Hungarian liturgy on the agenda again did not augur well. Minister of Culture Albert Apponyi set the prevention of a prohibitive provision as an objective to be attained.<sup>506</sup>

This time, the denunciation originated not with the Romanian Greek Catholics but – it would seem – with no other than Andrij Septickij, Archbishop of Lviv. Archbishop Septickij intervened in the life of the Greek Catholic parish of the capital under the pretext of providing pastoral care for the Galician Ukrainian guest workers of Budapest. The intervention was enabled by the involvement of a seminary-graduate Roman Catholic theologian, Alfonz Szentessy, aspiring to be a Greek Catholic priest at all costs. Being Roman Catholic, he

<sup>498</sup> Ibid.

<sup>499</sup> *Források* II/4/1, 583–584.

<sup>500</sup> *Források*, II/4/2, 59–61, Documents no. 6 and 7.

<sup>501</sup> *Források*, II/4/2, 66–67, Document no. 13.

<sup>502</sup> Both the General Assembly of the Capital City and the Parish Council protested against this change in their respective resolutions. *Források*, II/4/2, 148–153, Document no. 46, 152.

<sup>503</sup> *Források*, II/4/2, 65–66, Document no. 12.

<sup>504</sup> *Források*, II/4/2, 82–85, Document no. 22.

<sup>505</sup> *Források*, II/4/2, 89–90, Document no. 25.

<sup>506</sup> *Források*, II/4/2, 90–93, Document no. 26.

would have needed rite changing, but he failed to enlist the support of either the Budapest parish or the Archbishop of Esztergom. He would not be discouraged by his failure though. He travelled to Lviv and presented himself for priestly ordination to Archbishop Septickij. He was tasked by the Archbishop to ‘generate demand’ among Budapest guest workers for separating from the parish of Budapest, as well as for the creation of an autonomous Ukrainian parish in Budapest, which he could then serve as a priest. As the reason for separation, it was specified that services were conducted in Hungarian in the parish church, incomprehensible for the Ukrainians, who would tend not to attend church as a result. The denouncers succeeded in ensuring that the Holy See would deal with the question of the Hungarian liturgy again.<sup>507</sup> Conducting an inquiry into the denouncement, the Congregation *Propaganda Fide* made its decision on 9 April 1910,<sup>508</sup> which was forwarded to parish priest Emil Melles by the Archdiocesan Authority of Esztergom on 18 September.<sup>509</sup> The decree authorised with the signature of Prefect Girolamo Gotti prohibited the use of Hungarian in the liturgy and required the priests of the parish to preach to non-Hungarophone parishioners in their native tongue. In response to the ban, from 16 October, the consecration would be said in Ancient Greek, while all other prayers would invariably continue to be in Hungarian. The only promise parish priest Emil Melles made to the Archdiocesan Authority was to ‘*search and wait for the right moment with utmost caution in order to do everything possible without endangering religious practice or causing any major disruption*’. The parish priest ensured pastoral care for the Ukrainians by creating a location for saying Mass in nearby Kőbánya, where the Divine Liturgy would be celebrated in Church Slavonic regularly.<sup>510</sup>

The idea that the official liturgical language of the Budapest church should be the ethnically ‘neutral’

Ancient Greek was raised earlier as well. Prior to the 1900 pilgrimage to Rome, Prince-Primate Vaszary summoned Gyula Firczák, Bishop of Mukachevo, and Jenő Szabó, President of the National Committee, recommending to them that the official language of the Hungarian Greek Catholic liturgy be Classical Greek. In the event of their acceptance, the Prince-Primate also raised the possibility that he would be ready to propose in Rome that, in the liturgy, Greek would need to be used only during the priest’s silent prayers and the Eucharistic consecration. As, at that time, the National Committee still hoped for approval for the entire Hungarian liturgy, the Prince-Primate’s suggestion was not accepted. As a provisional solution, however, it did accept the practice that Andor Újhelyi had also described to Bishop Firczák during the inquiry in the wake of the Divine Liturgy celebrated at the University Church of Budapest: the priest saying silent prayers and the words of consecration in the official liturgical language – i.e. in Church Slavonic or Romanian – while reciting everything else in Hungarian.<sup>511</sup>

As a reaction to yet another prohibition by the Holy See, the National Committee also reverted to the ideal of an autonomous bishopric and, in November 1910, jointly with the Standing Executive Committee of Hajdúdorog, it proposed to the Government that it revise the authoritative decision verbalised by Prime Minister Dezső Bánffy in September 1896 and establish a Hungarian Greek Catholic eparchy, independent of the question of the liturgical language. Legally speaking, the petition proposed that the decision made by the Monarch in 1881 be implemented.<sup>512</sup> The National Committee and the Standing Executive Committee were actually ‘forcing an open door’ as, at the Prime Minister’s Office, Head of Department Gyula Csíky had prepared a detailed proposal<sup>513</sup> about the establishment of a Hungarian Greek Catholic eparchy

<sup>507</sup> *Források*, II/4/2, 133–136, Document no. 41 and *Források*, II/4/2, 148–153, Document no. 46.

<sup>508</sup> *Források*, II/4/2, 158–159, Document no. 47c.

<sup>509</sup> *Források*, II/4/2, 156–157, Document no. 47a.

<sup>510</sup> *Források*, II/4/2, 151–153.

<sup>511</sup> *Források*, II/4/2, 154–156, Document no. 47.

<sup>512</sup> *Források*, II/4/2, 159–167, Document no. 48.

<sup>513</sup> *Források*, II/4/2, 119–129, Document no. 37.

over the summer. Csíky's proposal also targeted the implementation of the decision of 1881, containing specific points on costing. With the help of official statistical data, it also identified parishes to be reassigned from the existing Greek Catholic Eparchies.

Prime Minister Károly Khuen-Héderváry put the issue on the agenda on 19 March 1911. In the course of the examination of the documents produced in connection with the case, he juxtaposed the Holy See's decree condemning the practice of the Greek Catholic church of Budapest (9 April 1910) with the report sent by Miklós Szécsen, Ambassador to the Holy See, on 21 June 1910. In the latter – consciously following the cause of the Hungarian liturgy – Ambassador Szécsen reported to the Foreign Minister that, as suggested by the oral communication from Cardinal Gotti, Prefect of the Congregation *Propaganda Fide* – considered most competent about the matter – the Holy See did not envisage any further steps concerning the Hungarian liturgy. This was, in a sense, accurate because the unfavourable decision had been made months earlier... At the same time, undeniably, it was not public yet, which could cause Prime Minister Khuen-Héderváry to regard Cardinal Gotti's behaviour as objectionable and ominous.<sup>514</sup> This supplied an additional argument for the need to raise the question of the Hungarian Greek Catholic Eparchy at the highest level – preferably, directly to the Pope. Upon the recommendation of Sándor Jeszenszky, Under-Secretary of State at the Prime Minister's Office, this was done in a rather unusual fashion. The Under-Secretary of State had parish priest Emil Melles draft two memoranda: one<sup>515</sup> for the creation of a Hungarian Greek Catholic eparchy and another<sup>516</sup> for a separate – i.e. independent of Galician Ukrainians – apostolic vicariate to be established for the Greek Catholic faithful who had emigrated from the territory of Hungary to the United States. These memoranda – along with Prime Minister Khuen-Héderváry's covering letter

to the Pope<sup>517</sup> – were sent to the Holy See by Under-Secretary of State Jeszenszky not via the official diplomatic channels but through the agency of the painter Bertalan Lippay, who maintained close connections within the Roman Curia, as well as in the environment of Pope Pius X.<sup>518</sup>

Lippay's mission proved to be particularly successful. On 8 June, in another letter<sup>519</sup>, Prime Minister Khuen-Héderváry thanks the Pope for receiving both requests of the Hungarian Government positively and forwarding them to the competent offices. The Prime Minister also notes that what is crucial to the Government is not only that the issues at hand should be conclusively closed but also that the general public in Hungary should be informed about the positive attitude of the Holy See as early as possible. The justification of the request reveals the main motives of the Hungarian Government and the Monarch:

*'The political situation of the Kingdom of Hungary is extremely grave at the moment, and a resolution may be afforded only by a patriotic, national cause before which the whole nation bows its head – irrespective of party affiliation. This would involve publicising the fact that, as proof of his fatherly love for the Hungarian nation and in agreement with the Hungarian Government, the Holy Father has heeded the wish of the Hungarian nation reiterated so many times in the past and will create the new Greek Catholic Bishopric and appoint a bishop of Hungarian nationality to the United States. Publishing this news would cause unspeakable joy in Hungary, quelling tensions, and, in Parliament, such an enormous national success would convince the always captious opposition as well, compelling it to vote for vital legislation that would reform political life in fundamental ways and guarantee peace among the parties and within the Realm. By passing this legisla-*

<sup>514</sup> *Források*, II/4/2, 179–182, Document no. 57.

<sup>515</sup> *Források*, II/4/2, 223–231, Document no. 77a.

<sup>516</sup> *Források*, II/4/2, 179–182, Document no. 57.

<sup>517</sup> *Források*, II/4/2, 190–191, Document no. 60–60a.

<sup>518</sup> *Források*, II/4/2, 183–184, Document no. 59.

<sup>519</sup> *Források*, II/4/2, 198–199, Document no. 65.

*tion, an old desire of His Majesty – our elderly King – and of the nation would be fulfilled...'* (translated from the Hungarian original).<sup>520</sup>

The Prime Minister did not specify exactly what legislation he had in mind, but clear indications in this regard are found in Bertalan Lippay's correspondence.<sup>521</sup> The most important legislation to be passed was the Army Act, which Franz Joseph intended to enable a major transformation and growth of the Army of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy by increasing Hungarian contribution. In theory, the submitted proposal would have been easy to pass as the governing party, the National Party of Work, led by István Tisza, won over 60 per cent of the votes in the elections held in June 1910. However, the opposition availed itself of the possibility of filibustering, effectively hindering the work of legislation. At the same time, the pro-government majority was not united on the question, either, since, as generally believed by Hungarians, Hungarian influence was not duly represented in the Austro-Hungarian Army. In accord with Franz Joseph, István Tisza considered military reform – increasing the number of recruits and raising expenditures – to be of vital importance because he believed that deferring it would weaken the military position of the Monarchy. Showcased as a national cause, a potential means of mitigating filibustering manoeuvres could have been the creation of the Hungarian Greek Catholic Bishopric, depicting the Monarch taking the initiative as a patron of the Hungarians, asking Hungarians to vote for the Army Act only to be able to defend them.

Via Personal Secretary Giovanni Bressan, the Pope assured the Prime Minister even in writing that, through the Cardinal Secretary of State and the Nuncio, he would support the positive assessment of the two requests.<sup>522</sup> As Bertalan Lippay

provided the best information possible about both Cardinal Secretary of State Rafael Merry del Val and Viennese Nuncio Alessandro Bavona to the Prime Minister, Khuen-Héderváry was confident about success when launching the talks officially as well.<sup>523</sup>

After it obtained the consent of the Holy See, the primary goal of the Hungarian Government was to ensure that the compromise would be made publicly known as soon as possible. From the summer of 1911, a recurrent theme of the talks was that the Hungarian Government urged the publication of this information, whereas the Holy See would delay it.<sup>524</sup>

Discretion was warranted as the Holy See had not studied the submitted memorandum yet, and the Pope's openness to Franz Joseph's requests did not in itself equal compliance. In mid-July, Cardinal Secretary of State Merry del Val did inform Prime Minister Khuen-Héderváry that the issue of the appointment of the Vicar to the United States was complicated and required a number of negotiations, no doubt prolonging decision making.<sup>525</sup> One week later, he instructed Nuncio Bavona to avoid taking any action that the Government could read as encouragement in this relation, given the difficulties involved.<sup>526</sup> Over the following weeks, the Holy See would utilise multiple channels to confirm that it perceived considerable obstacles. Therefore, the Hungarian Government concentrated on making sure that the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog would be established before long.

In this respect, the Holy See did not discern any major impediments. Secretary of State Merry del Val charged Nuncio Bavona with conducting negotiations.<sup>527</sup> At the same time, he demanded discretion in this area as well mainly because the Holy See expected substantial guarantees from the Hungarian Government. Initially, the Secretariat of State stipulated the consent of the Hungarian Catholic Episcopacy – particularly of the Bishops

<sup>520</sup> *Források*, II/4/2, 198–199.

<sup>521</sup> *Források*, II/4/2, 287–288, Document no. 107.

<sup>522</sup> *Források*, II/4/2, 205, Document no. 68.

<sup>523</sup> *Források*, II/4/2, 205–206, Document no. 69.

<sup>524</sup> *Források*, II/4/2, 210, Document no. 73–74 and 252, Document no. 84–85.

<sup>525</sup> *Források*, II/4/2, 253–254, Document no. 86.

<sup>526</sup> *Források*, II/4/2, 263–264, Document no. 96.

<sup>527</sup> *Források*, II/4/2, 254.

concerned – as well as the Hungarian Government's full commitment about the financial aspects of foundation.

The memorandum requesting the creation of a new Greek Catholic eparchy and constituting the basis of the negotiations<sup>528</sup> formulated concrete recommendations respecting the manner of realisation. For a starting point, it considered the census of 1900. As indicated by the relevant data, 13.1 per cent of the 1,828,529 Greek Catholic faithful living in the country's seven Greek Catholic Eparchies, i.e. 239,353 individuals, spoke Hungarian as their first language. While the presence of the Hungarian faithful was negligible in the Eparchies of Križevci (1.8%) and Lugoj (2.6%), their numbers were significant in the Eparchies of Mukachevo (27.3%), Oradea (24.7%) and Prešov (17.5%). In the Hungarian Government's interpretation, these data unquestionably justified the creation of an eparchy with a Hungarian character. In view of the position of the Holy See and Catholic ecclesiastical discipline, the Government accepted that the liturgical language of the new Eparchy could not be Hungarian. Thus, the memorandum proposed that the Holy See specify Ancient Greek as the official liturgical language and allow the use of Hungarian to the extent customary in the Latin-rite Church. It was also envisaged that, after a short grace period, the clergy would be required to acquire knowledge of Greek, whereas the seminarians of the New Eparchy would graduate from the Seminary to be established already with thorough familiarity with the Greek liturgical language. As a specific suggestion, the Government called for contact between the Basilian Monastery of Máriapócs as a potential seminary, situated in the territory of the new Eparchy, and the Greek Monastery of Grottaferrata near Rome. The Government expected the prescription of Greek as the language of the liturgy to fulfil two of its hopes. On the one hand, Greek was ethnically 'neutral', deflecting accusations against the new Eparchy on such grounds. On the other hand, 'regulating the ecclesiastical relations of the Greek Catholic Hungarian community in this way would probably bring

*an end to the endeavour for the Hungarian liturgy*'.<sup>529</sup> Furthermore, as argued by the Government, an eparchy with a Hungarian character could also stop Greek Catholics with a Hungarian identity from becoming Calvinists or Orthodox. In fact, the social stigma brought upon by the Church Slavonic and Romanian liturgical languages, as well as the desire to be free from it, exerted adverse effects on Hungarian Greek Catholics mostly living in regions with a Calvinist majority. A similar assimilatory danger was also posed by the Orthodox Church, allowing for an increasingly greater scope in the use of Hungarian.

In two, largely contiguous geographical regions, the Government intended to assign a total of 181 parishes to the new Eparchy. In the proposal, it included 136 parishes from the Eparchies of Mukachevo (11 deaneries, 70 parishes), Prešov (1 deanery, 7 parishes), Gherla (altogether 7 parishes from two deaneries) and Oradea (five deaneries in full and three in part, 52 parishes in total), as well as from the Archdiocese of Esztergom (Budapest). In addition, from a more remote geographical region – Szeklerland, part of the Archeparchy of Alba Iulia-Făgăraş – it regarded 45 parishes as Hungarian in character and thus eligible for inclusion in the new Eparchy.

The memorandum also notes that, of the 239,353 Hungarian Greek Catholic faithful, only a part – 154,904 – belong to the aforementioned parishes. The Hungarian Government accepts the fact that, for geographical reasons, they cannot be added to either region, so that these roughly 84 thousand Hungarian Greek Catholics will remain in their former dioceses. At the same time, it also recommends that parishes with a non-Hungarian identity also be assigned to the new Eparchy with a Hungarian character: *'The exchange enabled thereby between the new Eparchy and the old Eparchies with an ethnic character would simultaneously give guarantees to both parties that the use of force against foreign-language fragments included in their organisations will be eschewed. To ensure that this will be the case in effect shall be the responsibility of the Hungarian Royal*

<sup>528</sup> *Források*, II/4/2, 223–231, Document no. 77a.

<sup>529</sup> *Ibid*, 227.



*Government amid utmost impartiality*' (translated from the Hungarian original).<sup>530</sup>

Behind this idiosyncratic proposed solution, one cannot help noticing the response to the worries voiced by Prime Minister Kálmán Tisza decades earlier. According to the Government's 'master plan', one third of the Hungarian Greek Catholics should stay in the Eparchies of the Romanian and Rusyn ethnicities, providing the 'Hungarian element' indispensable for the anticipated future assimilation gain. Their language-use-related rights will be guaranteed by the non-Hungarian Greek Catholic faithful who would normally have nothing to do in a Hungarian eparchy. However, they will be reassigned and may exercise their language-use-related rights on condition the Bishops of the ethnic Eparchies grant the same to the Hungarians remaining under their jurisdiction.

It would be no exaggeration to say that, in the story of the establishment of the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog, this was a tragic moment, which would stigmatise Hungarian Greek Catholics for decades to come. The severe blow sustained in 1896 made it clear that, subordinated to political goals, the movement of the Hungarian Greek Catholics was doomed to fail. Headed by Jenő Szabó, the National Committee was successful in leading the movement out of the cul-de-sac of politics, putting it back on its natural track, within an ecclesiastical context. However, when – in the form of an eparchy – a tangible accomplishment vital for the future of Hungarian Greek Catholics came within reach of the movement, politics would again impose itself on the cause. The concomitant disastrous consequences became apparent very soon, already at the stage of organisation.

Out of the Hierarchs involved in organising the new Eparchy, Gyula Firczák, Bishop of Mukachevo, and János Vályi, Bishop of Prešov, expressed their willingness to cede the respective parishes, from the first moment. By contrast – although acknowledg-

ing the legitimacy of the creation of a Hungarian Greek Catholic eparchy<sup>531</sup> – the Romanian Bishops did not completely agree to the surrendering of their parishes. Whereas Victor Mihályi, Archbishop of Blaj (*Balázsfalva*), and Vasile Hossu, Bishop of Gherla, showed relatively moderate resistance and appeared ready to negotiate, Demetriu Radu, Bishop of Oradea, squarely rejected any compromise.

One of the important conditions set by the Holy See was the assent of the Episcopacy. As has been seen – exactly thirty years earlier – in 1881, the Hungarian Greek Catholics had experienced it as an enormous failure that, in spite of the readiness of the Monarch and the Hungarian Government, the Roman Catholic Bishops had not deemed foundation timely or necessary. In November 1911, the Episcopacy's refusal was not to be feared anymore as the Government made the Monarch's strong intention and the underlying political interest unambiguous to the Bishops as well. János Csernoch, Archbishop of Kalocsa, notified the Prime Minister of the positive decision of the Episcopacy on 23 November.<sup>532</sup>

After members of the Episcopacy – including the Romanian Hierarchs – gave their assent in principle, for 8 February 1912, only the Bishops affected by the handover of parishes were invited by *Chargé d'affaires* Francesco Rossi Stockalper, taking over the management of the Nunciature following the unexpected death of Viennese Nuncio Alessandro Bavona in January. At the negotiations, the Government was represented by György Andor, Adviser of Department I (for Catholic affairs) of the Ministry of Religion and Education, appointed in 1911.<sup>533</sup> The ailing Bishop Firczák was represented by Vicar Antal Papp. The Bishopric of Prešov, in the state of *sede vacante* from November 1911 (after Bishop János Vályi's death), was represented by Vicar Capitular Kornél Kovaliczky, while Vicar General Lajos Rajner replaced Prince-Primate Kolos Vaszary. According to the minutes of the

<sup>530</sup> Ibid, 231.

<sup>531</sup> '...we welcomed the idea with sympathy' (*salutammo con simpatia l'idea mentovata*) – they would acknowledge in a later letter of protest. *Források*, II/4/2, 363–365, Document no. 147, 364.

<sup>532</sup> *Források*, II/4/2, 370–371, Document no. 153.

<sup>533</sup> György Andor was a member of Prince-Primate Kolos Vaszary's immediate staff from 1897. As secretary to the Cardinal until 1905 and, subsequently, Office Manager of the Archdiocesan Curia until 1911, he was well acquainted with Greek Catholic matters as well.

discussion, the three of them put no obstacles in the way of demarcating the boundaries of the new Eparchy, only requesting clarification in relation to a handful of minor questions. On the contrary, the Romanian Bishops – Demetriu Radu (Oradea) and Vasile Hossu (Lugoj and Gherla) – as well as Vicar Ioan Giurgiu representing the Chapter of Gherla, cited the argument that, pursuant to the decree of the Synod of the Romanian Ecclesiastical Province, they were not allowed to commit themselves on the matter before they were acquainted with the position of their Metropolitan, Victor Mihályi. Even though the Metropolitan was also invited to the discussion to be held in Budapest, he cancelled his participation. The Nunciature asked him to delegate someone instead of himself, but his representative failed to arrive for the talks as he missed the train...<sup>534</sup>

For those present, it was obvious that the Romanian Bishops played for time, hoping that they could still succeed in having the decision about the foundation of the new Eparchy withdrawn. This was clearly verbalised by *Chargé d'affaires* Rossi Stockalper in his report sent to the Secretariat of State on 9 February. As he reports, in a private letter addressed to him – ‘as a well-intentioned piece of advice’ – Bishop Radu even suggested to the *Chargé d'affaires* that he delay the process himself until foundation became irrelevant.<sup>535</sup> However, upon seeing that Rossi Stockalper received unequivocal instructions from the Holy See and there was no chance of having the decision reversed, the Romanian Bishop of Oradea changed tactics and argued that he was not familiar with the list of parishes designated for reassignment and was thus unable to commit himself in earnest. Those present reluctantly accepted this reasoning, giving the Romanian Bishops eight days to form their position. Simultaneously, in the evening of the same day, the *Chargé d'affaires* was informed by János Csernoch, Archbishop of Kalocsa, that, at the November session of the Episcopacy, the list of parishes designated for reassignment was read out by him to all the Bishops concerned – including Bishop Radu. The Bishop of

Oradea was thus obliged to enter into embarrassing explanations later. Negative sentiments about his person were further stoked by the fact that, during the discussions, he used disrespectful language about the Holy See, triggering vehement protest from the *Chargé d'affaires* and scandalising those in attendance. Rossi Stockalper also learnt that Bishop Radu had visited Archduke Franz Ferdinand and Prime Minister Khuen-Héderváry, and he was also in possession of information suggesting that the Bishop had threatened his priests with immediate inhibition, should they support the establishment of the new Eparchy.<sup>536</sup>

During the first discussion, the irritable conduct of Bishop Radu, whom Rossi Stockalper simply described as a ‘fanatic Romanian’, foreshadowed the intense reactions that would accompany the creation of the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog, resulting in tragic events as well. As these disasters would for a long time determine the fate of the Hungarian Greek Catholics, it might be worth briefly interrupting the presentation of events and examining the objections of the Romanian Greek Catholics.

As has been demonstrated, at the time of the prohibition of the Hungarian liturgy in 1896, Archbishop Mihályi and his *Œconomus*, Vasile Hossu (who would sit at the negotiating table already as a bishop in 1912), sought to depict the phenomenon of Hungarian Greek Catholicism as pastorally insignificant, particularly dangerous to Catholicism (cf. the threat of Protestantism and schism) and an instrument of a Magyarising government. These arguments were later complemented by the accusation of Masonic subversion, alleging that, aided by the Hungarian Greek Catholics, Freemason Budapest Governments literally worked to humiliate the Holy See and the Catholic Church.

Behind these arguments, a general principled opposition by the Romanians to the Hungarian version of Byzantine-rite Catholicism may be detected. In understanding the thrust of this general resistance, a passage from the diary of Raymond Netzhammer, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Bucharest, may

<sup>534</sup> For the minutes of the discussion, see: *Források*, II/4/2, 411–414, Document no. 190, 412.

<sup>535</sup> ‘He also wrote a private letter to me, noting that this was a case that was to be shelved and never to be reopened’ (*Anche a me scrisse privatamente dicendomi che era questo un affare da mettere a dormire e così non farlo mai più risolvere*). *Források*, II/4/2, 415–418, 416.

<sup>536</sup> *Források*, II/4/2, 430–433, Document no. 202, 430.

be helpful. As, being offspring of the Hohenzoller Family, Carol I, King of Romania – as a Catholic – would frequently attend Sunday Mass celebrated by the Archbishop, the Prelate overheard several conversations of consequence. He made written notes of such a discourse he conducted with King Carol in the Archiepiscopal Palace after Sunday Mass on 10 March 1912.<sup>537</sup> Naturally, the subject was the creation of the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog – a process that had reached a crucial phase in those weeks. The Archbishop shared the latest news from Rome with the Monarch, in response to which King Carol made a notable remark. Slightly distancing himself from any specific details, he expressed his genuine surprise over the fact that the Budapest Government had decided in favour of the establishment of a Byzantine-rite diocese. ‘I would never have thought this...’ – he said in astonishment. He was previously told by Prime Minister Sturdza that attempts to introduce the Hungarian liturgy were underway in Hungary, but, at that time, his understanding was that these efforts were made by the Roman Catholic lower clergy. He even reassured Sturdza that the Holy See would never approve this. However, it would be only through his conversation with Archbishop Netzhhammer that he realised that the phenomenon had in effect manifested itself in Greek Catholic parishes – a discovery that left him in shock. In fact, King Carol was aware that, for the Hungarian political elite – as well as, after all, for the general public in Hungary – the Byzantine Rite was a ‘code’ pertaining to the world of Slavs and Romanians, considered to be incompatible with the ‘code system’ of Hungarian nation and culture. This was a consensus, reassuring for Romanians as well: The Byzantine Rite was seen as a context for their separation – a kind of ‘safe space’ *ante litteram* as it were. Thus, when the Hungarian Government decided to support the movement of the Greek Catholics with a Hungarian identity and grant them the strongest instrument of self-organisation – independent ecclesiastical governance – in King Carol’s interpretation, it crossed a red line that it was not supposed to cross. In fact, from a Roma-

nian vantage point, this amounted to an attack and forceful and crude intrusion into a space that had for centuries represented a guarantee for separation and survival to Hungary’s Romanian community.

King Carol was not the only one viewing these events in shock. In his letter to Cardinal Eugene Tisserant, Secretary of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches, in 1942, a prominent figure in the political life of the Kingdom of Romania, Senator Mariu Theodorian-Carada (1868–1949), recalls Cardinal Mariano Rampolla’s reaction to the news of the Budapest Government proposing the creation of the Hungarian Greek Catholic Eparchy to the Holy See. On hearing the news, along with other influential Romanian ecclesial and secular personages, Senator Theodorian-Carada hastily travelled to Rome to thwart the plan utilising his personal connections. He also paid a visit to the former Secretary of State, who was head of the Holy Office at the time. Responding to his enquiry, Rampolla literally said the following: *‘I am acquainted with the matter. This is pure Hungarian insanity, which Rome will never give serious consideration. You may rest assured.’*<sup>538</sup>

This way, in the eyes of the Romanians, the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog came to be a symbol of the Hungarian State’s assault on the Romanian Greek Catholic populace of the country, with this ‘insanity’ – by ‘Magyarising’ the Byzantine Rite – opening a new chapter in the history of the national policy of hateful Magyarisation.

General principled opposition and repugnance became concrete in determining the parishes to be reassigned during the process of the establishment of the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog. As has been shown, the Romanian Bishops were obliged to acquiesce to the creation of the Hungarian Greek Catholic Eparchy. They were, however, stunned by the dimensions of the proposed Eparchy. Bishop Radu’s violent reactions thus become somewhat easier to understand, for, under the proposal, he would have lost one third of the parishes of his Eparchy. Of the 104 parishes to be reassigned from the Romanian Eparchies, 52 were from the Eparchy of Oradea. The

<sup>537</sup> Netzhhammer, 1995–1996, 350–351.

<sup>538</sup> Véghseő, 2022a, 327–328.

Romanian Bishops used every possible platform to protest against the execution, desperately fighting to minimise the number of parishes reassigned from the Romanian Eparchies as soon as the list of parishes was divulged to them. In this regard, they did score success since, as opposed to 104, 83 parishes would be reassigned from the Romanian Eparchies.<sup>539</sup> These included parishes from Bihar/Bihor, the reassignment of which were mostly based on the principle that was also explained by the Government in its memorandum to Rome: As part of a peculiar ‘barter’ – as Romanian parishes in a Hungarian Eparchy – they were supposed to ensure the language-use-related rights of the Hungarian Greek Catholics remaining in the Romanian Eparchies. As a legal justification for the reassignment of these parishes, the Hungarian Government cited the fact that the respective faithful knew Hungarian.<sup>540</sup> However, the Romanian Bishops regarded references to knowledge of Hungarian as highly dangerous and raised their objection. They pointed out that knowledge of Hungarian was increasingly more common in Romanian communities. They felt justified to voice their fear that using proficiency in Hungarian as legal grounds would entail the reassignment of a growing number of parishes to the Hungarian Eparchy in the future.<sup>541</sup>

The Romanian Bishops would for a long time hope that the Holy See would listen to their objections and, eventually, they would be successful in preventing or, at least, in delaying the foundation of the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog. In Rome, the Congregation *Propaganda Fide* led by Cardinal Girolamo Gotti was their firm supporter and ally, though – in line with the intention of Pope Pius X – it was completely excluded from the negotiations by the Secretariat of State.<sup>542</sup> Their powerful patron

at the Viennese Court, Heir Presumptive Franz Ferdinand, would also engage himself: He instructed Ludwig von Pastor, Director of the Austrian Historical Institute in Rome, to ensure that the Holy See would attempt to prevent the establishment of the Eparchy, but the widely renowned historian was unable to achieve anything.<sup>543</sup> To reassure the Heir Presumptive, Cardinal Secretary of State Merry del Val compiled a list of 10 points himself. In one of the points, he promised that, in the Bull of Foundation of the new Eparchy, the merits of the Romanians would be duly emphasised.<sup>544</sup>

Amid the protests and counteractions, the negotiations would help to clarify more and more points of detail. Concerning the provision of funds, the proposal of the Ministry of Religion and Education was submitted. As a starting point, as well as for a point of reference, it considered the Eparchy of Lugoj as its subsidisation was also to be provided by the Hungarian State at the time of foundation in 1853. For political reasons,<sup>545</sup> the Government did not have division of property in mind, i.e. the Eparchies ceding parishes did not need to surrender a proportional part of their primary assets to the new Eparchy. The Bishop’s annual payment was to be set at 40,000 koronas, corresponding to the revenue of the Bishop of Lugoj. For the annual salaries of the Director, Secretary and Archivist of the Episcopal Office, 12,000 koronas in total was earmarked. The Chapter of Canons of the new Bishopric would consist of six canons, with their annual total stipends amounting to 43,000 koronas. The annual subsidy for the Seminary also to be established at the expense of the state would allow for the employment of five professors and superiors, as well as for catering for 30 seminarians, in the order of 40,000 koronas in total. This was undoubtedly

<sup>539</sup> 44 from the Eparchy of Oradea, 35 from the Archeparchy of Alba Iulia-Făgăraş and 4 from the Eparchy of Gherla.

<sup>540</sup> In fact – as will be demonstrated – in some cases, the only language they knew was Hungarian.

<sup>541</sup> *Források*, II/4/2, 435–441, Document no. 208, 441.

<sup>542</sup> The Congregation *Propaganda Fide* and, personally, Cardinal Gotti, whose position on the Hungarian liturgy was one of definite refusal, no different from that of his successor, Cardinal Ledochowski, the chief proponent of strict prohibitions by the Holy See, were deeply hurt by this procedure. So resentful were they of this dismissal that, evolving from the Oriental section of the Congregation in 1917, the Congregation for the Oriental Churches would behave with the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog with antipathy for decades.

<sup>543</sup> *Források*, II/4/2, 688–689, Document no. 353.

<sup>544</sup> *Források*, II/4/2, 682–683, Document no. 348.

<sup>545</sup> Had the Romanian Eparchies been deprived of assets on the Government’s initiative, that would inevitably have been interpreted in ethnic terms.

an undertaking with the level of elaboration and content that left the Holy See with the necessary assurances.<sup>546</sup>

The question about the seat of the Eparchy was also part of the discussions. As the champion in the fight for the Eparchy was Hajdúdorog, and the Territorial Vicariate had also been formed there in 1873, it appeared self-explanatory that the seat of the new Eparchy should also be the Hajdúság rural municipality. However, given the geographical situation of Hajdúdorog and the deficiencies of the system of educational and cultural institutions and of the infrastructure, other locations – such as Budapest, Debrecen and Carei – were also considered at the time of concrete planning. Finally, in February 1912, the Government decided in favour of Hajdúdorog as the town had made an undertaking with significant financial commitments.<sup>547</sup> A few days later, Nyíregyháza officially declared its candidacy for the episcopal seat, positively arguing against Hajdúdorog. Signed by Mayor Béla Májerszky, the petition to the Prime Minister's Office envisaged substantial financial sacrifices.<sup>548</sup> Nyíregyháza's candidacy did not alter the Government's position, and the undertaking about the subsidies for the new Eparchy, delivered to the Holy See a day later, unequivocally indicated Hajdúdorog as the seat.<sup>549</sup> Although this marked the end of discussions about the seat, the 'seat problem' was far from the stage of a final settlement.

The Hungarian Government made a written commitment not only to raising the funds and creating an institutional system but also to ensuring that the liturgical language of the new Eparchy would be

Ancient Greek and providing all manner of assistance to the eparchial government for the practical implementation. The first version of the undertaking still said that, besides Ancient Greek, the official liturgical language, Hungarian could be employed in liturgical actions only to the extent that it was customarily used alongside Latin in the Roman Catholic Church, as well as that, until priests acquired Greek, they were allowed to use Church Slavonic or Romanian, too.<sup>550</sup> This formulation, however, failed to give appropriate guarantees to the Holy See. Moreover, a canard suggesting that the Government had passed a motion for a substantial amount of money to be spent on the publication of liturgical books in Hungarian appeared in the press. One article also rumoured that the Holy See had assented to approving Hungarian as the language of the liturgy.<sup>551</sup> In reality, the government decision concerned the publication of books in Church Slavonic, an issue that had been in progress since 1904.<sup>552</sup> After clarifying the situation,<sup>553</sup> the Government needed to make a new undertaking. It also stated that the Government would endorse Ancient Greek and would provide all help to the eparchial government to enable priests to acquire the official liturgical language. Simultaneously, it affirmed that the vernacular could be used in extra-liturgical services to the extent this was permitted in the Latin Church in accordance with the provisions of the Holy See. Priests would be allowed three years to learn Ancient Greek. In the interim, they could employ the liturgical language that they had used hitherto, excepting Hungarian as the latter was not a liturgical language and would therefore never be allowed to be used in the liturgy.<sup>554</sup>

<sup>546</sup> *Források*, II/4/2, 528, Document no. 229 and 646, Document no. 307.

<sup>547</sup> *Források*, II/4/2, 418–420, Document no. 194.

<sup>548</sup> *Források*, II/4/2, 518–524, Document no. 226.

<sup>549</sup> *Források*, II/4/2, 528, Document no. 229.

<sup>550</sup> *Források*, II/4/2, 434–435, Document no. 206.

<sup>551</sup> *Magyar szertartású kat. Püspökség* [Hungarian-Rite Catholic Bishopric], *Budapesti Hírlap*, 9 February 1912, No. 34, pp. 1–2, *Források*, II/4/2, 421–425, Document no. 196. As the article reached Rome only weeks later, Secretary of State Merry del Val would only request an explanation from the Viennese Nunciature on 28 February: *Források*, II/4/2, 562, Document no. 245.

<sup>552</sup> *Források*, II/4/2, 571–573, Document no. 254.

<sup>553</sup> *'Az új gör. kat. egyházmegye liturgiája'* [The liturgy of the new Greek Catholic Eparchy], a correction published in *Budapesti Hírlap*, *Budapesti Hírlap*, 3 March 1912, No. 54, 7, *Források*, II/4/2, 573–574, Document no. 255 and *Források*, II/4/2, 575–579, Document no. 258.

<sup>554</sup> *Források*, II/4/2, 638, Document no. 298.

Although Prime Minister Khuen-Héderváry labelled this ‘*some minor modification*,’<sup>555</sup> it seems impossible that he did not know that, with this change, the Government made an unfeasible undertaking. Whereas, in the first version, the use of Hungarian alongside Ancient Greek would have been permissible by analogy with the praxis of the Latin Church, in the second version, the Holy See replaced ‘Hungarian’ with ‘the vernacular’ and specified that this would only apply to services outside the Divine Liturgy. It also stressed that Hungarian was never to be used because it was not a liturgical language. This meant that the previous liturgical practice of the Hungarian Greek Catholics was to be terminated. However, this was an unrealistic expectation. No more realistic was the requirement that, in the churches of the parishes with Romanian and Church Slavonic as the language of the liturgy assigned to the new Eparchy (i.e. in places where the liturgical use of Hungarian had not been introduced previously), the use of Ancient Greek should be adopted in the space of three years.

When, concerning the liturgical language, Secretary of State Merry del Val solicited the opinion of Cardinal Gotti, shunned all along, the Prefect expressed himself in a highly diplomatic way: ‘*I confess it would not appear to me bold if somebody should have doubts about a positive outcome to these changes (i.e. from Hungarian back to Church Slavonic and Romanian, as well as to Greek in three years’ time)*’ (translated from the Hungarian original). At the same time, he was also obliged to realise that, if the Hungarian Government vouched for this, the Holy See had no legal grounds to doubt it.<sup>556</sup>

Less diplomatic were the Romanian Bishops, who, from the beginning of the negotiations, were of the view that the liturgical language of the new Eparchy would be Hungarian in practice, a circumstance unlikely to be changed by either the under-

taking of the Government or the instruction of the Holy See.<sup>557</sup>

At this point, it may be apposite to quote Bishop János Vályi’s words: ‘*Nothing would be more suited to the constant promotion and development of the cause of the Hungarian liturgy than such a separate bishopric*’ (translated from the Hungarian original).<sup>558</sup> Bishop Vályi did not live to see the Hungarian Government make an undertaking to use the Hungarian Eparchy to eliminate the Hungarian liturgy. Akin to the Hierarch of Prešov, the leaders of the Hungarian Greek Catholics also expected the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog – by providing solid support in terms of ecclesiastical organisation – to help achieve the simple pastoral goal that Hungarophone Byzantine-rite Catholics might pray in a language comprehensible to them in their churches, as could their Romanian and Rusyn brethren. They did not want more than what was granted to others and – most important of all – they did not wish to prevail to the detriment of other Greek Catholic communities. Objectives of national policy such as assimilation gain or the idea of altering ethnic ratios were distant notions for the majority of the leaders of the Hungarian Greek Catholics. Perhaps precisely for this reason, they were not even involved in the discussion about the new Eparchy.<sup>559</sup>

Eventually, the successful conclusion of the talks and the approval of the Holy See in principle could be reported by newspapers only on 12 April 1912.<sup>560</sup> As patron, the Monarch founded the Eparchy on 6 May. Whereas the government gazette *Budapesti Közlöny* merely published a terse decree on the foundation,<sup>561</sup> in his letter written to Pope Pius X on the same day, Franz Joseph extensively discussed the reasons behind his decision. In this letter, he assured the Pope that approving the foundation of the new Eparchy with his apostolic authority would

<sup>555</sup> *Források*, II/4/2, 634, Document no. 295.

<sup>556</sup> *Források*, II/4/2, 511–512, Document no. 219.

<sup>557</sup> *Források*, II/4/2, 576 and *Források*, II/4/2, 441.

<sup>558</sup> *Források*, II/4/1, 524.

<sup>559</sup> This was resented by Jenő Szabó (Szabó, 1913, 505) and Territorial Vicar Mihály Jaczkovics as well; see: *Források*, II/4/2, 301–302, Document no. 116.

<sup>560</sup> *Budapesti Hírlap*, Year XXXII, Issue 88, 12 April 1912, 1.

<sup>561</sup> *Budapesti Közlöny*, 1912/163, 1, *Források*, II/4/2, 686, Document no. 351.

be beneficial for the Church, useful for his country and pleasing to him personally.<sup>562</sup>

During those weeks, fierce battles were fought in Parliament. Two Speakers of the House resigned in succession, so that the position was finally accepted by former Prime Minister István Tisza himself on 22 May. On 23 May, a demonstration was staged against his person; six people lost their lives during the dispersal (Blood-Red Thursday). By modifying the Standing Orders, Tisza checked filibustering (having opposition Members of Parliament removed by force) and had the Army Act passed on 4 June.<sup>563</sup> Three days later, an opposition Member of Parliament committed an assassination attempt on him in the Chamber, but he luckily survived the attack.

The next day, on 8 June, Pope Pius X signed the Bull *Christifideles graeci* declaring the foundation of the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog.<sup>564</sup> With this act, a (purportedly) Hungarian Greek Catholic eparchy

was created, with 40 per cent of the Hungarian Greek Catholics left out of it and Romanian Greek Catholics, who would have preferred to stay outside it, included. While the Hungarian Eparchy was supposed to further the cause of the Hungarian liturgy, Ancient Greek was established as the liturgical language of the new Diocese, with the express aim of suppressing the use of Hungarian. Everyone concerned knew that abolishing the liturgical use of Hungarian was impossible in practice, as was transition to Greek.

These contradictions inherently contained the potential for conflicts that would actually surface inevitably in the coming months and years. In spite of the fact that Jenő Szabó believed that the final ordeal of the Hungarian Greek Catholics<sup>565</sup> was over by 1912, the foundation of the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog in fact ushered in a new period – or even new dimension – of hardships and conflicts.

<sup>562</sup> *Források*, II/4/2, 684–686, Document no. 350.

<sup>563</sup> The significance of the Army Act is supported by the novelties defined in it: The annual number of recruits for Hungary grew from 15 thousand to 25 thousand, and the military budget increased from 220 million koronas to 345 million koronas. As a new branch of service within the army, the artillery was organised, and cyclist divisions were created. Romsics, 2010, 74.

<sup>564</sup> *Források*, II/4/2, 708–713, Document no. 371.

<sup>565</sup> In 1913, Jenő Szabó issued a collection of his articles, addresses and speeches published from 1895 under this title: Szabó, 1913.

## Between Two Bomb Plots: Organising an Eparchy at the Time of World War, Revolution and Collapse

*'The light of the bomb exploding in the room of the first Bishop of Hajdúdorog rendered the silhouette of the untenability of all chauvinistic and nationalistic tendencies in the advocacy of such a sacred cause as the preservation of the Byzantine Rite on the basis of the pious traditions of the people all the more prominent'*<sup>566</sup> – Professor Imre Timkó, Canon of the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog, wrote in 1962, fifty years after the foundation of the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog. The subsequent learned Hierarch of the Eparchy (from 1975 to 1988) aptly captured the main lesson of the Hungarian Greek Catholic history of less than a decade from the issuance of the Bull *Christifideles graeci* to the Diktat (i.e. dictated peace) of Trianon in a style characteristic of him and in conformance with the language of his time. In what follows, the events of these years will be discussed. As signalled by the title of the chapter and the above quotation, this period would not be without literally shocking twists, no doubt failing to fit the pattern of the conventional transformation of Catholic ecclesiastical organisation. Whereas, at an official level, all that happened was that, in addition to the seven Greek Catholic Eparchies of the Kingdom of Hungary, an eighth one was created, in reality – with the fulfilment of the Hungarian Greek Catholic 'dream' in a peculiar manner and in full subordination to political interests – not only the priests and the faithful of the respective religious community but also ethnic tensions forcing the country apart assumed new dimensions.

Although the Bull *Christifideles graeci* approving the establishment of the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog in an ecclesiastical sense bears the date 8 June 1912, its final text became known only a month later. It was published in the July 1 issue of the official gazette of the Holy See, *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*,<sup>567</sup> accessible only from 9 July though.<sup>568</sup> One of the reasons for the delay was that the Holy See requested yet another guarantee from the Hungarian Government in relation to church foundations. The Budapest Cabinet readily complied, making a written undertaking to ensure that local foundations (i.e. of the parishes to be reassigned to the new Eparchy) for the benefit and improvement of the faithful of the Romanian nationality would be used for this purpose alone in the future, too.<sup>569</sup> With this new undertaking, the integrity of the assets of the Romanian Eparchies was completely guaranteed – a consideration deemed important by the Hungarian Government as well. Simultaneously, the Romanian Bishops also attempted to avoid the issuance of the Bull. First, they sought permission for their delegation to go to Rome to negotiate. This was, however, declined by the Holy See in a telegram message at once,<sup>570</sup> and it refused to consider the deferral of the issuance of the Bull. As Secretary of State Merry del Val put it in a cipher telegram to Nuncio Scapinelli: *'Due to circumstances also well known to Your Excellency, further procrastination is not possible'*.<sup>571</sup> In other words, the Pope decided to comply with Franz Joseph's personal request,

<sup>566</sup> *Források*, II/4/6, 692–712, Document no. 284, 694–695.

<sup>567</sup> *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 4 (1 July 1912) 12, 429–435, *Források*, II/4/2, 708–714, Document no. 371. It is noteworthy that the original copy reached the Viennese Nunciature but it failed to be forwarded to the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog. It is kept in the Vatican Apostolic Archive to this day.

<sup>568</sup> *Források*, II/4/3, 85, Document no. 23.

<sup>569</sup> For the records of the diplomatic correspondence, see: *Források*, II/4/3, 58, 60 and 63, Documents no. 2, 5, 10 and 11.

<sup>570</sup> For the exchange of messages between the Viennese Nunciature and the Secretariat of State, as well as for the correspondence between Archbishop Mihályi and Cardinal Gotti, see: *Források*, II/4/3, 61, 64, 65 and 77, Documents no. 6, 7, 12 and 18.

<sup>571</sup> *Források*, II/4/3, 65, Document no. 13.



with dispatch as requested by the Monarch and his Government.

The Holy See's official announcement of the foundation of the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog took the Romanians by surprise as they had hoped that their influential supporters in Rome and Vienna could at least hamper or, in the best-case scenario, even prevent the realisation of the Government's intention.

They would not conceal their disappointment: A wave of protest ensued, with some of its manifestations taking previously unseen forms. Between 15 and 18 September 1912 – coinciding with the days of the International Eucharistic Congress – dozens of telegrams of protest arrived at the Viennese Nunciature from some of the reassigned Romanian parishes, at times even containing positively extremist threats.<sup>572</sup> Having taken his office shortly before, the new Nuncio, Raffaele Scapinelli di Leguigno, was appalled by the phenomenon, but the intense sentiments conveyed astonished Bishop Radu as well. At the time of his stay in Vienna, he viewed the telegrams sent to the Nunciature and – as he put it – he was dismayed, too.<sup>573</sup>

Protest rallies of varying magnitude, as well as petitions and requests by those concerned became the order of the day, and, naturally, the Romanian ethnic press also kept the issue on the agenda. According to the Romanian daily newspaper *Adevărul*, the foundation of the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog had been the most outrageous and also most unexpected injury to and assault on the Romanian nation to that time.<sup>574</sup> An author of the Transylvanian newspaper *Gaseta Transilvaniei* argued that the Papacy, which had previously regarded Romanians as the 'golden bridge' between East and West, withdrew its protection from the Romanian people and left it exposed to Magyarisation. Thus, the Romanian Bishops should throw their crosiers before the Pope's throne, and the

faithful of the reassigned parishes should transfer to the Orthodox Church, while, in response, Romania ought to enact restrictive measures against the Roman Catholic Church. The 18 July issue of the Bucharest newspaper *Românul* accuses the Holy See of surrendering the Romanian people to its executioners, as well as to the diabolical tyranny of the Hungarian Bishops. It calls on parish priests to regard the Papal Bull as illegal, close their churches and pray in private houses. It expects the Romanian Bishops to go as far as risking their own lives for the withdrawal of the 'lethal Bull'. 'Let us smash the head of the Hajdúdorog monster' – *Românul* used these words to exhort to resistance on 11 December 1912. 'We will send the keys of the churches to Rome. We will close and wall up church doors. We will have no need either of the peal of bells or of public celebration in church until justice is done to us' (translated from a Hungarian translation).<sup>575</sup>

The list of furious articles and letters of protest could be a long one. Of the latter, it is worth examining the letters of the congregations of Nyíradony and Plăieșii de Jos (*Nagykászón*) to their respective Hierarchs, i.e. Bishop Radu and Metropolitan Mihályi.<sup>576</sup> Both letters well illustrate not only the defencelessness of the faithful but also the complexity of their religious and national identity.

The congregations signing the letters unanimously request not to be extracted from their respective Eparchies. They will not be transferred to a new eparchy, nor do they wish to see any changes in their religious life: 'Our only desire and request is that we be allowed to live undisturbed' – write the faithful of Nyíradony. 'They want to deprive us of our religion and rite and to assign us to a different rite without our knowledge or consent' – complain the people of Plăieșii de Jos, seeking the Archbishop's advice: 'If we refuse to change our religion and rite, will we be coerced by the force of law, and how and where could this be pre-empted?'

<sup>572</sup> For the telegrams, see: *Források*, II/4/3, 141–143, Document no. 58a–k.

<sup>573</sup> *Források*, II/4/3, 158–159, Document no. 64–64a.

<sup>574</sup> *Források*, II/4/3, 97–98, Document no. 36a.

<sup>575</sup> *Românul*, Year II, Issue 262, 28 November/11 December 1912, 2 For a Hungarian translation of the article from the Archives of the Eparchy of Mukachevo, see: *Források*, II/4/3, 275–277, Document no. 130.

<sup>576</sup> For the letter of the Nyíradony community, see: *Források*, II/4/2, 702–703, Document no. 365. For the petition of the people of Plăieșii de Jos, see: *Források*, II/4/3, 722–723, Document no. 409.

They baulk at change also because they do not even know exactly what will happen to them: *'They wish to blend us into a new Hungarian-rite, Russian or Muszka (Hungarian folk term for Russians) bishopric'* – note the people of Nyíradony, not understanding why such decisions are made about them over their heads. They may say though that *'we are faithful children of our sweet Hungarian homeland, paying her tax in blood and money, we will remain loyal to her to death and we wish to live in charity and peace with the other kindred peoples in our country'*. They ask their Romanian Bishop, with his seat in Oradea, for assistance to prevent what they fear most: *'They want to abolish the Romanian liturgy, sounding so pleasing to us, in our ancient Church, built with the sweat of our forebears'*. The people of Plăieșii de Jos even report the following: *'We had an alien priest coming to us, and he celebrated the service of the Holy Mass in Hungarian, so that now even our local priest celebrates it in Hungarian'*.

They will adhere to the Romanian liturgical language under any circumstances, and the people of Nyíradony justify this adherence with a moving yet disarming simplicity: *'... for this is dear to us and it is what we have learnt from our mothers'*. 'Law', i.e. state authority, intruded on a territory that represented the most intimate spiritual and religious area of these communities, intending to effect changes there that caused fear. It is no wonder that *'the priest barely escaped a beating'* – the people of Plăieșii de Jos relate.

In the original, the above quotations were written in Hungarian, even though it could have been reasonable for these congregations, holding fast to their Romanian identity and liturgical customs, to correspond with their Hierarchs in Romanian. The cause is unequivocally revealed by the letter of the Plăieșii de Jos community: *'We beseech His Most Honourable Excellency, our Archbishop, to send the reply not to the priest but to those signing this request and to write in Hungarian so that we may be able to read it'* (translated from the Hungarian original). This goes to suggest that the parishioners did not

even know Romanian, and they had no confidence in their priest.

No matter where the objections came from – the faithful, priests or editorial offices – they would all voice the same sentiment: The Hungarian Government and the Holy See may found a Greek Catholic eparchy for the Hungarians, but the Romanians must be left alone. They insisted on retaining their existing ecclesiastical structures and – most important of all – they adhered to the Romanian liturgical language, which – under the Bull of Foundation – they would be able to use for three more years, after which period they would also be required to switch to Ancient Greek. The feasibility of this was questioned by all as long as they had no doubt that the Hungarian Eparchy would promote the spread of Hungarian as a liturgical language – to their detriment, too. The actual consequences of crossing the 'red line' referred to in the previous chapter began to be felt by parishes and the faithful at that time. No reaction to this situation other than bitter resistance and anger could thus be appropriate.

As expected, the protests of Hungary's Romanians would create a stir outside the borders of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy as well. Diplomatic reports sent from the Embassies in Bucharest and Saint Petersburg to Vienna indicate that Romania and Russia saw the foundation of the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog as an attack against Hungary's Romanian and Slavic ethnicities.<sup>577</sup> This way, the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog emerged as the *'new political diocese of Hungarian chauvinism'*<sup>578</sup> in the international political arena and the press.

The next necessary step in the process of the foundation of the Eparchy was issuing the Implementing Regulation of the Bull, a responsibility of the Viennese Nunciature. Accordingly, the new task of the Romanian Greek Catholic Bishops and their supporters would be to prevent the issuance of the Implementing Regulation. To this end, Archbishop Mihályi submitted a proposal to Nuncio Scapinelli on behalf of his fellow bishops as well, enclosing the list of the parishes the reassignment of which they considered absolutely necessary before the Im-

<sup>577</sup> E.g., *Források*, II/4/2, 706, Document no. 369 and *Források*, II/4/2, 552–560, Document no. 241.

<sup>578</sup> *'...noua episcopie politică a sovinișmului maghiar'*. *Românul*, Year II, Issue 262, 28 November/11 December 1912, 3.

plementing Regulation was issued.<sup>579</sup> According to the list enclosed, Bishop Radu requested the return of 28 parishes, seven of which – including the aforementioned Nyíradony – as also admitted by him, were Hungarian-speaking communities. Four parishes were reclaimed by Gherla and seven by the Archeparchy. The latter did not include the parish of Plăieșii de Jos.

In response to the protests, the Hungarian Government became open to the revision of the Bull *Christifideles graeci* and was ready to abandon its ideas about the exchange. At the same time, on behalf of the Government, Adviser György Andor signalled that the situation of the disputed parishes could only be resolved after the Implementing Regulation was issued. He proposed that the text of the Implementing Regulation include an article allowing for this. He also pointed out that the Government was not able to recommend any episcopal candidates to the Holy See at the moment, thus, in the Implementing Regulation, seeking the appointment of an apostolic exarch in the person of Antal Papp, Bishop of Mukachevo.<sup>580</sup> Secretary of State Merry del Val accepted this arrangement and instructed the Nuncio to issue the document as soon as possible.<sup>581</sup>

Responding to a question in Parliament in the autumn of 1912, Prime Minister László Lukács pledged to consider the revision of the list of the parishes assigned to the new Eparchy.<sup>582</sup> With his Implementing Decree of 17 November 1912, Nuncio Scapinelli established the new Eparchy, though – in line with the relevant agreements – also incorporating the possibility of modifications in the text.<sup>583</sup> As envisaged, acting as appointed Apostolic Exarch of Hajdúdorog, Antal Papp, Bishop of Mukachevo, would begin organising the Eparchy, parallel to

the start of the selection of the first Bishop of Hajdúdorog. When the Hungarian Government and the Holy See finally found the right person for this increasingly more taxing office, his first responsibility would be to organise the revision.

On 21 November, Bishop Antal Papp began to organise the Diocese and issued the first circular of the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog. For his vicar, he appointed Mihály Jaczkovics, Territorial Vicar of Hajdúdorog.<sup>584</sup>

The agreement about the revision of the Bull of Foundation made the selection of the future Bishop of Hajdúdorog crucial. Known for his pro-Romanian attitude, Heir Presumptive Franz Ferdinand (1863–1914), troubled that he had been unable to prevent the creation of the Eparchy, left no stone unturned to ensure that the new Eparchy would be headed by a priest with Romanian sentiments – or, at least, one viewed as such. He attempted to exercise his influence via the renowned historian, Ludwig von Pastor, Director of the Austrian Historical Institute in Rome, again.<sup>585</sup>

Although, in mid-September, the Government informed the Nuncio that it had no candidate for the leader of the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog, this would change soon as, on 9 October, in his letter to the Nuncio, the Jesuit Friedrich Weiser, Provincial for Austria-Hungary, already argued against the nomination of István Miklós, Archdean of Zemplén, the later winner.<sup>586</sup> The influential Jesuit father considered the candidate a liberal – a circumstance he believed to be incompatible with genuine Catholicism.<sup>587</sup> He also criticised him for being a widower and having two daughters, which – he claimed – would make him ineligible for the episcopacy even if he was not a liberal. Weiser's information was incorrect as István Miklós had been ordained as a

<sup>579</sup> *Források*, II/4/3, 144–151, Document no. 59a-b.

<sup>580</sup> *Források*, II/4/3, 152–156 and 165–167, Documents no. 62 and 67.

<sup>581</sup> *Források*, II/4/3, 169–170, Document no. 69.

<sup>582</sup> *Források*, II/4/3, 255–256, Document no. 118.

<sup>583</sup> *Források*, II/4/3, 234–237, Document no. 105.

<sup>584</sup> *Források*, II/4/3, 242–248, Document no. 111-11a.

<sup>585</sup> Pastor, 1950, 548–549.

<sup>586</sup> *Források*, II/4/3, 185–186, Document no. 75.

<sup>587</sup> 'Whoever identifies himself as a liberal, ceases to be a Christian and a Catholic' – notes Weiser.

celibate,<sup>588</sup> and he could be called a liberal at most in a political sense inasmuch as he enjoyed the confidence of the Government. Theologically, he was no liberal at all. Although this question was clarified by János Csernoch, Archbishop of Kalocsa, with the Nuncio as early as October,<sup>589</sup> István Miklósy was appointed bishop only on 21 April 1913, with the appointment made public on 1 June<sup>590</sup> and the consecration taking place on 5 October.

This procrastination was unhelpful for the organisation of the Eparchy. Even though the Romanian Hierarchs found the idea of a revision after the enthronement of the new Bishop acceptable, some of the priests and the faithful of the Romanian parishes concerned rallied against Exarch Antal Papp's efforts to organise the Eparchy. Several parish priests returned his first circular and were willing to communicate with the eparchial centre only in Romanian. A sad episode in this opposition was the incident in Moftinu Mic (*Kismajtény*) in April 1913, when Episcopal Vicar Mihály Jaczkovics, arriving in the village, was assaulted even physically, with the local parish priest's passive involvement. In Doba (*Szamosdob*), atrocities were prevented only by the police force dispatched to the scene.<sup>591</sup> The firm and harsh response by the authorities in the wake of the attack, as well as the news of a revision spreading slowly would allay tensions. In fact, contemporaneously with the attacks, the Holy See also granted its approval for the revision of the Bull *Christifideles graeci*. Paradoxically, however, publishing this development was hampered precisely by the incidents of Moftinu Mic and Doba as the Holy See did everything to avoid creating the impression that violence could be a conclusive way of enforcing one's interests.<sup>592</sup>

Bishop István Miklósy was consecrated in Hajdúdorog on 5 October 1913. The rite of consecration and enthronement was performed by Gyula Drohobeczky, Bishop of Križevci, with the assis-

tance of Ágoston Fischer-Colbrie, Bishop of Košice (*Kassa*) and József Lányi, Consecrated Bishop of Tinnin, Canon of Oradea. The ordination was attended by 136 priests, including a large number of Romanians. The Papal Bull of Appointment was read by Artúr Boér, Romanian Dean of Plăieșii de Jos. Bishop Miklósy named Mihály Jaczkovics as his vicar and János Slepkovszky, parish priest of Nyírpazony, as his secretary.

Though the Bull of Foundation specified Hajdúdorog as the seat of the new Eparchy, in line with the anticipation of the people of Hajdúdorog themselves, Bishop Miklósy chose not to close the question of the seat permanently but to opt for a temporary solution. This was also justified by the fact that the Government had undertaken to create the necessary eparchial institutions, and the relevant details had not been clarified yet. The development of an institutional system was to be preceded by a long series of negotiations, which the Bishop would not want to influence by designating a seat prematurely. Bishop Miklósy decided to establish his seat in Debrecen provisionally, for a period of three years.<sup>593</sup> For this purpose, he rented spaces in the building of the City Chamber of Commerce and Industry and, after his consecration in Hajdúdorog, he entered the city on 15 October amid great pomp and ceremony. Proving previous fears wrong, the town of Debrecen gave a most cordial welcome to the new Greek Catholic Bishop.

Once the question of the seat was temporarily yet rationally resolved, it seemed that nothing could impede the process of eparchy organisation. Gradually, order and calm was restored even in the parishes annexed from the Romanian Eparchies as the agreement between the respective Bishops, the Government and the Holy See about the possibility of a revision gave the Romanians cause for hope. Commencing eparchial administration, as well as

<sup>588</sup> In one of his subsequent letters, Weiser would adduce widowhood and having two female children as arguments against the candidacy of Mihály Jaczkovics, Territorial Vicar of Hajdúdorog. In other words, initially, he confused Miklósy with Jaczkovics. *Források*, II/4/3, 205–207, Document no. 89.

<sup>589</sup> *Források*, II/4/3, 196–197, Document no. 80.

<sup>590</sup> Budapesti Közlöny, No. 124, 1 June 1913, 1.

<sup>591</sup> For the documents on the assault on Mihály Jaczkovics, see: *Források*, II/4/3, 342–357, Documents no. 172–181.

<sup>592</sup> *Források*, II/4/3, 364–365, Document no. 189.

<sup>593</sup> *Források*, II/4/3, 519, Document no. 284.

experiencing human gestures through encounters and contact with priests significantly reduced tensions.

This period of calm would not last long though. Only a few weeks after Bishop Miklósy took office, Radu, Bishop of Oradea, and the Romanian press of Transylvania<sup>594</sup> began to urge that talks start. The issue was also added to the agenda of the political discussions in preparation for the so-called 'Romanian Pact', i.e. the upcoming compromise with Hungary's Romanians,<sup>595</sup> actually – as suggested by Bishop Radu – in the sense that no agreement was possible without the revision of the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog.<sup>596</sup> Simultaneously, in November 1913, Rossi Stockalper, *Chargé d'affaires* of the Viennese Nunciature, notified Secretary of State Merry del Val that he had sensed an important shift in the Romanian Bishops' tactics during Bishop Radu's visit.<sup>597</sup> Earlier, their position was that revision should be implemented by directly asking the faithful in individual parishes. This would have involved a commission travelling to the disputed parishes and asking the faithful what nationality they declared to be members of. To the surprise of the *Chargé d'affaires*, Bishop Radu told the Nuncio that they no longer regarded this method as necessary but expected the Pope to restore the former status quo with a simple decree and acknowledge that he had been deceived by the Hungarian Government. According to Rossi Stockalper, Bishop Radu was already afraid to ask the faithful because he was apprehensive of a result that would be unfavourable for him. Nuncio Scapinelli, in turn, emphasised to the Bishop that the Holy See did not consider revision itself to be a good idea in the first place as it would harm the respectability of the Papacy. It was only at the insistence of the Hungarian Government that the Secretariat of State accepted that, once the Bishop of Hajdúdorog was enthroned, certain territorial changes might be considered.

In his letter, the *Chargé d'affaires* also hinted what the change could be motivated by. Enclosing two reports of *Reichpost*, he relates that, according to the articles, the Romanian Bishops were visited by the Pope's legate, one 'Cardinal' Enrico Benedetti, whom Pius X sent to Hungary because he did not trust the Viennese Nunciature anymore. The 'Cardinal's' task was to find out about the situation on the ground and inform the Pope, who had keenly regretted issuing the Bull *Christifideles graeci*. As Rossi Stockalper had not even heard of a cardinal by that name, he discovered that it was about a learned associate of the Oriental Section of the Congregation *Propaganda Fide*, who performed expert assignments, without being a bishop though. Thanks to their personal acquaintance, Bishop Hossu invited him to Hungary, and the unsuspecting Benedetti accepted the invitation. He would be passed from hand to hand by the Romanian Bishops, who described him to the press as a cardinal and papal legate, confirming their narrative of the 'deceived Pope' with his personal presence.

Though sounding slightly hilarious at first, this story is indicative of a highly important endeavour of the Romanian Bishops warranting closer scrutiny. The Romanian Greek Catholics had for decades depicted themselves in Rome as working towards the restoration of communion between the entire Romanian people – i.e. including the Orthodox of Transylvania and of the Kingdom of Romania as well – and the Catholic Church. However painful it was for them that their old supporter, the Holy See, had made a decision that was unfavourable for them, they could not afford to let the person of the Pope be compromised in the eyes of the Romanian public. Therefore, they propagated a narrative that exonerated Pope Pius X. This narrative was based on the account of Bishop Vasile Hossu, who had attended a private audience with Pope Pius X in March 1912.<sup>598</sup> The Bishop approached the ques-

<sup>594</sup> E.g., the 'letter to the editor' in the 21 October 1913 issue of *Unirea*, the Italian translation of which Bishop Radu also sent to Rome: *Források*, II/4/3, 524–525, Document no. 287a.

<sup>595</sup> On negotiations about the Pact, see: Szász, 1984.

<sup>596</sup> This was communicated by the Bishop of Oradea to Prime Minister István Tisza, who would accept it. *Források*, II/4/3, 523–524, Document no. 287a.

<sup>597</sup> *Források*, II/4/3, 531–532, Document no. 296.

<sup>598</sup> Georgescu, 1940, 21.

tion of the new Eparchy, only existing in the form of a proposal at the time, through the issue of the liturgical language and attempted to persuade the Pope into changing his mind. He knew that the Holy See insisted that Hungarian could not be the official liturgical language in the new Eparchy and that the Hungarian Government had submitted a written undertaking to do everything to suppress the use of Hungarian, as well as to introduce Ancient Greek as the language of the liturgy. As suggested by his own account, Bishop Hossu led the Pope to the realisation that this was merely a ploy by the Hungarian Government because everyone knew all too well that the introduction of Ancient Greek was an unrealistic proposal. Thus, rather than suppressing the liturgical use of Hungarian, the new Eparchy would promote it, thereby contributing to the Magyarisation of Romanians. When understanding this, Pius X – as reported by Bishop Hossu – exclaimed: *Children, I have been deceived!*<sup>599</sup> At the same time, he vowed to correct the error.

One should have no cause to doubt that the dialogue between Bishop Vasile Hossu and Pope Pius X happened thus and that this famous exclamation was in fact made by the Pope himself. However, sources also indicate that the Pope had been thoroughly familiar with the question of the Hungarian liturgical language, as well as with the spread and embeddedness of the church use of Hungarian well before his meeting with Bishop Hossu. In his diary, Raymund Netzhammer, Archbishop of Bucharest – referred to previously – recalls a conversation with Pope Pius X, proving this point. Having been informed of the foundation of the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog, Archbishop Netzhammer applied for a private audience with Pius X. The Pope received him on 24 April 1912. Straight to the point, the Archbishop warned the Pope that the Hungarians deluded the Holy See: They would use the new Eparchy to spread the liturgical use of Hungarian so that they might afterwards confront Rome with a *fait accompli*. As he had done with Radu, Bishop of Oradea, and Hossu, Bishop of Gherla, visiting him earlier, the Pope attempted to reassure Netzhammer as well: The Holy See was well acquainted with

these endeavours and fought against them; as for the liturgical language of the new Eparchy, it would be Ancient Greek, as recommended by the Hungarians themselves after the Holy See's rejection of the use of Hungarian. At that point, Netzhammer posed the question: *But will they abide by this? The Eastern liturgical books translated into Hungarian have been printed already!* Pointing at his bookshelf, the Pope plainly replied: *I know. They are there.* This small detail is of considerable significance: It implies that the Pope kept the Hungarian Greek Catholic liturgical books issued for private use in Debrecen between 1879 and 1881, in his own study. These publications supplied tangible refutation of the claim endorsed by the Romanian Greek Catholic Bishops in 1896, when the Holy See prohibited the liturgical use of Hungarian by enacting an extremely stringent provision. As has been shown, the Romanian Bishops succeeded in securing a rapid (and – as became evident – rash) prohibition by the Holy See by arguing that the demand for the Hungarian liturgy was not supported by any real pastoral need. They alleged that it was only the Hungarian Government using a few thousand Hungarian Greek Catholics to implement its anti-ethnic-minority policies with yet another instrument. Following the 1900 pilgrimage of the Hungarian Greek Catholics to Rome and closer examination of the matter, it became obvious to the Holy See that the liturgical use of Hungarian was a century-long established practice in some places and the aforementioned liturgical books issued by the Translation Commission of Hajdúdorog were meant to respond to a real and non-negligible pastoral demand. This marked a turning point in the position of the Holy See: Albeit unable to withdraw the previous prohibition, it adopted the stance of *tolerari potest*, tacitly tolerating the use of Hungarian.

In view of this, the continuation of the dialogue of Pius X and Netzhammer is of particular interest. The Archbishop tried to alarm the Pope: *It is rumoured that there already some Hungarian Greek Catholic priests who celebrate the liturgy in the language of the people. I am really concerned that Your*

<sup>599</sup> *Figliuoli miei, mi hanno ingannato!*

*Holiness is deceived about this important issue!*' Pius X surprisingly rejoined: *'That may well be the case!'* Next, he explained to the no doubt astounded Archbishop that, nonetheless, he was to believe the Primate and Bishops of Hungary, once they maintained that, in accordance with the provision of the Holy See, the liturgical language of the new Eparchy would be not Hungarian but Ancient Greek. Then, Archbishop Netzhammer remarked: *'No Romanian believes that the Hungarians will comply with this provision.'* Verging on indelicacy, the Pope ended the debate at this juncture: *'The Romanians have nothing to reproach the Hungarians with, for the Romanians actually use the Romanian vernacular in the liturgy illegitimately!'* In saying so, he alluded to the fact that, though, at the time of the conclusion of the union, the Romanians used the Romanian language in the liturgy and would continue their practice on these grounds, it failed to qualify as a liturgical language.

The utterances of Pope Pius X during the conversation with Archbishop Netzhammer suggest that it would have been hard to deceive him in effect on this matter. His poignant repartee concluding the discussion reveals that he grasped the much-cited justification for the Hungarian Greek Catholics' language-use-related demands: They did not require more than what had been granted to the Romanians for over two centuries: to be able to understand church services and prayers. At the same time, he also understood the counter-arguments of the Hungarian Catholic senior clergy, ultimately preventing approval for the use of Hungarian by the Holy See. Thus, Pope Pius X could even tell the truth when saying *'I have been deceived'* to Bishop Hossu. In considering the above, however, it may seem doubtful if this was indeed a novelty for him rather than an ironic comment. This must all the more have been so because the Bull *Christifideles graeci* would be signed only three months later, so he would have had sufficient time to take action.

The success of the narrative of the 'deceived Pope' emboldened the Romanian Bishops, constantly urging Bishop Miklósý and the Government to start the revision. Bishop Miklósý would for some time defer responding and, subsequently, with his interview with the national daily newspaper *Az Est* on 13 January 1914, he created a wholly new situation to everybody's surprise. Regarding Tisza's 'Romanian Pact' as harmful, the newspaper attacked it in articles of a variety of types. The interview with Bishop Miklósý also fitted this campaign as a revision of the Bull *Christifideles* was supposed to be part of the Pact. Answering the journalist's question, the Bishop stated that he opposed the Romanian Pact initiated by Prime Minister István Tisza and, concerning the modification of the Bull of Foundation, he unequivocally proclaimed that *'as a Hungarian (and, at this point, the man of towering posture rose from his seat and, in a voice quavering with excitement yet speaking with full manly strength, he continued), as a Hungarian from this Eparchy, at the head of which His Majesty the King and His Holiness the Pope have placed me, I will not cede an inch of land to the Romanians'* (translated from the Hungarian original).<sup>600</sup>

Bishop Miklósý's bellicose and theatrical declaration astonished government circles and the Holy See<sup>601</sup> and embittered the Romanians.<sup>602</sup> Keeping to his assertion, the Bishop did not attend the discussion on the subject of revision, advertised for 7 February by Minister of Culture Jankovich, but reported sick. In lieu of himself, he sent a protest statement. In it, he expressed his view that the revision lacked any legal basis as the unrest brought about by *'unconscientious individuals'* deluding and intimidating the faithful had abated. *He affirmed: 'It is with utmost respect and solemnity that I object to any foreign Bishop making a proposal about the mutilation of my Diocese by violating canonical prohibitions'* (translated from the Hungarian original).<sup>603</sup>

The negotiations were, however, held without Bishop Miklósý as well so that at least some kind of

<sup>600</sup> *Miklósý püspök tiltakozik a román paktum ellen* [Bishop Miklósý protests against the Romanian Pact], *Az Est* 5 (13 January 1914) 11, 2, *Források*, II/4/3, 590–591, Document no. 317.

<sup>601</sup> *Források*, II/4/3, 600, Document no. 323.

<sup>602</sup> *Források*, II/4/3, 592–593, Documents no. 318–319.

<sup>603</sup> *Források*, II/4/3, 602–603, Document no. 326.

a draft proposal could be prepared. Based on the list submitted by the Romanian Bishops on 14 December 1913, bargaining happened on a parish-to-parish basis. As the Nunciature did not participate in the negotiations, Bishop Radu notified Nuncio Scapinelli of the outcome.<sup>604</sup> As indicated in his report, Minister Jankovich was indeed open to the reassignment of certain parishes, while – speaking on behalf of the Government – in return, he raised the demand for a few previously unassigned parishes to be transferred to Hajdúdorog, even including major cities and towns (Cluj, Arad, Sighetu Marmației, etc.) geographically distant from the new Eparchy. On account of their concerns mentioned earlier, this was firmly objected to by the Romanian Bishops.

During the bargaining process, Bishop Radu relinquished Nyíradony, along with the parishes of Petea (*Pete*), Oar (*Óvári*), Vetis (*Vetés*), Nyírábrány, Ghenci (*Gencs*) and Csegöld, with surprising pliancy. These were treated separately as ‘indisputably’ Romanian communities, though widely known to be Hungarian-speaking by that time, in the Romanian Bishop’s proposal as well. Bishop Radu’s leniency is especially hard to account for in the case of Nyíradony because, as has been seen, the faithful had sent him a letter seeking his help to stay in the Eparchy of Oradea. However, their Hierarchy surrendered them. Should one search for a reason, one might possibly find it in Rossi Stockalper’s comments. Acquainted with the process of the creation of the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog from the outset, the administrator of the Nunciature wrote the following to Secretary of State Merry del Val in November 1913: *‘Mons. Radu is exclusively driven by his emotions and is in constant and close contact with his compatriots in Romania.’*<sup>605</sup> Perhaps, the people of Nyíradony were made expendable in the eyes of Bishop Radu not only by the fact that they wrote to him in Hungarian but also by some of their statements: *‘We are no folk wearing masks or feigning emotions but we are faithful children of our*

*sweet Hungarian homeland, paying her tax in blood and money, and we will remain loyal to her to death. [...]...for Jókai, the poet, also writes in one of his poems that, were you to be wealthy and worship God in any tongue, your heart must beat Magyar’* (translated from the Hungarian original).<sup>606</sup> It would seem that Bishop Radu’s thinking and actions were in fact primarily determined by aspects of ethnicity, and he saw communities lost for the Romanian nation as expendable, despite their adherence to the Romanian liturgy.

Regrettable in itself, the situation that, in a bishop’s thinking, religious and ecclesiastical considerations were subordinated to ethnicity-centred interests became tragic in this concrete case when, on the ‘other’ side, a hierarch with similarly extremist sentiments – in this instance, pro-Hungarian ones – was made bishop in the person of István Miklósy. As has been demonstrated, the original idea of the Hungarian Government was that, as part of a unique exchange, the Romanian Bishops and the Hungarian Bishop of Hajdúdorog would be forced to cooperate. This plan, however, failed when Bishop Radu, most affected by the matter, was faced by István Miklósy. The disaster foreshadowed by the situation could in no way be evaded.

On the instructions of Heir Presumptive Franz Ferdinand<sup>607</sup>, on 17 February, the representatives of Hungary’s Romanians left the negotiating table, dashing all hopes of a ‘Romanian pact’. Only a few days later, the tragic event that – to use Professor Imre Timkó’s words quoted at the beginning of this chapter – made the *‘silhouette’* of the untenability of the growing dominance of nationalistic thinking in religious questions and all that it entailed all the more prominent happened.

On 21 February 1914, a letter sent from Chernivtsi under the pseudonym ‘Anna Kovács’ arrived at the Episcopal Office. The author of the letter informed the Bishop that she had posted a box containing 100 koronas, a gilded church chandelier and a leopard-skin rug to his address. The parcel

<sup>604</sup> *Források*, II/4/3, 605–607, Document no. 331.

<sup>605</sup> *‘Monsignore Radu infatti non agisce che per sentimenti nazionali ed è in continui e stretti rapporti con i suoi connazionali di Rumenia’* *Források*, II/4/3, 532, 1.

<sup>606</sup> *Források*, II/4/2, 702–703.

<sup>607</sup> Horvát Jenő, 1939, 139 and Szász, 1984, 190.



weighing 20 kg (44.09 lb) was received on 23 February. When Episcopal Secretary János Slepkovszky attempted to open the parcel with an axe, its contents exploded. The explosion of a pressure of nearly 2000 atmospheres destroyed the walls, ripped the ceiling and shattered Vicar Mihály Jaczkovics and Secretary János Slepkovszky into pieces and lethally wounded lawyer Sándor Csath LLD, Legal Adviser of the Eparchy, who would stay alive for one hour after the assassination. Before the parcel was opened, Bishop István Miklósy had been invited to a different room to answer a telephone call, so he sustained only lighter injuries.<sup>608</sup> The plot shocked the whole of Hungarian society. The funeral of the victims on 25 February was attended by 30-thousand people. The victims were regarded by the entire nation as its own.

Although the executors of the plot – Russian-Romanian Ilie Cătăraiu and Timoftei Kirilow – were quickly identified, they could not be apprehended due to an increasingly more tense international situation and the complicity of the Romanian authorities.<sup>609</sup> The Secret Service of Russia, preparing for war, attempted to exploit the disgruntlement of the Romanian Greek Catholic communities. The commissioners of the plot expected that the explosion in Debrecen would be a sign of the armed uprising of Hungary's Romanians. They were, however, left disappointed as the assassination itself, as well as its brutality, appalled even the majority of Hungary's Romanians.<sup>610</sup>

As has been shown, the strings of the 'schismatic movement' active among Hungary's Rusyns for years were also pulled by the Russians. The bomb plot in Debrecen and the 'Schism Lawsuit of Máramaros' were linked by the figure of Count

Bobrinsky referenced earlier, who would appear for the trial of the case in person on 4 February 1914. On his way home, he also met and held talks with Cătăraiu.<sup>611</sup> Though the Hungarian press developed a marked tendency to accuse the Romanians,<sup>612</sup> the newspaper *Budapesti Hírlap* pointed to the Russian connection as early as the day after the assassination: '*We are suspicious of the involvement of the Russians, whose arm is known to be long. The method employed by the assassin is the well-established one of Russian nihilists*' (translated from the Hungarian original).<sup>613</sup>

Nearly three decades later, in January 1941, a diplomatic memorandum conveying the stance of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Romania stated that the Romanians themselves also suspected the *Okbrana*, the Tsar's Secret Service, behind the Debrecen plot. Naturally, Romanian diplomacy primarily blamed the Hungarian Government, for, by founding the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog, it had created a tense situation that would attract the attention of Russia. Saint Petersburg sought to use this bloody plot to provoke the Hungarian Government into taking violent action against Hungary's Romanians, which would have meant the end of the alliance between the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and Romania still existing at the time.<sup>614</sup>

The only impact the plot had on the position of the Government was that, though refusing to abandon the idea of revision, it was willing to implement it solely on a reciprocal basis. In other words, instead of parishes to be reassigned to Romanian eparchies, parishes of a Hungarian character, originally not included in the Bull of Foundation owing to their respective geographical positions, were requested.<sup>615</sup> Simultaneously, the Hungarian Greek Catholic faithful in several major Transylvanian cities

<sup>608</sup> On the assassination attempt and the ensuing investigation in detail, see: Katkó, 2010.

<sup>609</sup> In his memoirs, Romanian politician Alexandru Marghiloman (Prime Minister in 1918) notes that King Carol admitted to him that Cătăraiu was rescued by the Romanian authorities. Cited in: Horváth Jenő, 1939, 140.

<sup>610</sup> An exception in this regard was *Románul*, the report of which on the plot closes with the following exclamation from the Book of Psalms: '*How great are Thy works, O Lord!*' *Románul*, 24 February 1914, 5–6.

<sup>611</sup> Jancsó, 1920, 337.

<sup>612</sup> '*Oláh merénylet a gör. kath. püspökség ellen*' [Romanian plot against the Greek Catholic Episcopal Office] – trumpeted the title page of the special issue of the newspaper *Debreczeni Újság* on the evening of the day of the attack. *Debreczeni Újság*, 23 February 1914, 1–2, *Források*, II/4/3, 608–611, Document no. 332.

<sup>613</sup> '*A debreceni bomba*' [The Debrecen bomb], *Budapesti Hírlap*, 24 February 1914, 1–2.

<sup>614</sup> *Források*, II/4/6, 192–195, Document no. 58.

<sup>615</sup> *Források*, II/4/3, 618–619, Document no. 339 and *Források*, II/4/3, 662–668, Document no. 374. For an extensive examination of the question, see: Katkó, 2019.

and towns began to organise themselves, requesting admission into the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog.<sup>616</sup> This would be seen as the gradual realisation of the fear of the Romanian Greek Catholic Bishops, who had from the outset been apprehensive that the new Hungarian Greek Catholic Eparchy would lure more and more communities to itself, causing enormous disruption in their Eparchies.<sup>617</sup> As revision on a reciprocal basis offered no benefits to the Romanian Greek Catholics, they rejected it.

Apart from the revision of the Bull *Christifideles*, a subject constantly on the agenda during the first few years of the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog was the practice of the use of Hungarian as a liturgical language. Relatively shortly after the Bull of Foundation was issued, it became obvious how differently it was perceived in Rome and in Budapest. The Holy See intended the new Eparchy to hinder the liturgical use of Hungarian, i.e. to supplant the existing practice by introducing Greek. However, the Government would dwell on the sentence of the Bull stating that Hungarian could be used in liturgical actions to the extent that this was permitted in the Roman Catholic Church alongside Latin. Approaching the question from an idiosyncratic minimalist liturgical angle and interpreting the category of ‘extra-liturgical’ parts in the broadest possible sense, the following position was adopted: If the priest’s words were said in Greek in the ‘essential’ parts of the Divine Liturgy, i.e. during Eucharistic consecration, the requirements of the Bull would be considered as met. Transition to Greek was also seen by contemporaries as absurd. This was voiced only by Romanian Bishops though. Metropolitan Mihályi and Bishop Radu pointed out that, rather than suppressing the liturgical use of Hungarian, the new Eparchy would promote it, but to no avail.<sup>618</sup> The warning that, according to earlier official statements by the Holy See – unlike the Latin liturgy – the Byzantine

liturgy did not contain any extra-liturgical parts also went unheeded. While destroying the foundations of the Hungarian Government’s interpretation, it failed to produce any changes.<sup>619</sup>

The Holy See contented itself by referring to the guarantees of the Hungarian Government. Once the Hungarian Government offered guarantees for the suppression of the liturgical use of Hungarian, the Holy See could not question that – went the repeated argument of the Secretariat of State.<sup>620</sup> Contemporary sources from the Holy See testify to the fact that the Holy See was absolutely serious about the introduction of Greek. With the involvement of the Congregation *Propaganda Fide*, the Secretariat of State dispatched the necessary Greek liturgical books to the new Eparchy. It may be established from the correspondence between the two governing organs of the Holy See that, as samples, the same Greek, theologically reliable liturgical books were sent to the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog as those used by the Italo-Greek communities and sent to the Greek Melkites, too.<sup>621</sup>

The letter of Secretary Girolamo Rolleri (Oriental Section of the Congregation *Propaganda Fide*) reporting on the matter contains a brief comment, almost casually inserted, that cannot be overlooked. In fact, concerning the Greek Melkites, Secretary Rolleri notes that they were sent the Greek liturgical books, though the Melkites already use Arabic in the liturgy.<sup>622</sup> Flabbergasting from a Hungarian Greek Catholic perspective, this remark means that the Holy See did not really have any objections to an Eastern Catholic Church switching to the vernacular in the liturgy and using an idiom that was not regarded as a liturgical language. Instead, the assessment of language shift depended on whether it could have any undesirable consequences in the life of the local particular Churches. Before 11 November 1911, the Hungarian Roman Catholic Bishops stressed their concerns about the approval

<sup>616</sup> *Források*, II/4/3, 620–6622, Document no. 342.

<sup>617</sup> *Források*, II/4/3, 703–6707, Document no. 401.

<sup>618</sup> *Források*, II/4/3, 802–806, Documents no. 448 and 448a.

<sup>619</sup> *Az 1910. évi június hó 21-ére hirdetett Országgyűlés képviselőházának naplója. Tizenkilencedik kötet*, [The register of the parliamentary session advertised for 21 June 1910. Volume 19] Budapest 1913, 106–113.

<sup>620</sup> *Források*, II/4/3, 91–92, Document no. 30.

<sup>621</sup> *Források*, II/4/3, 117, Document no. 45.

<sup>622</sup> ‘*Questi libri [...] sono mandati ai Greci melchiti, quantunque nella liturgia facciano uso della lingua araba.*’ *Források*, II/4/3, 117.

for the liturgical use of Hungarian. The Holy See lent an ear to their fears. It is an altogether different matter whether these fears were actually justified; they would be over as soon as Archbishop Csernoch informed the members of the Episcopacy that Franz Joseph treated the creation of the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog as a personal cause.

Thus, the Secretariat of State dispatched the Greek liturgical books with the injunction that they be reproduced in print<sup>623</sup> and, in the Implementing Regulation – in line with the principle defined in the Bull of Foundation – it reaffirmed that every church in the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog was to switch to Greek in three years' time. Via the Viennese Nunciature, the liturgical books reached Apostolic Exarch Antal Papp, who was instructed by Nuncio Scapinelli to create a commission of experts preparing their local editions. At this point, however, it became apparent that, due to the large number of the respective liturgical books, even their publication would be impossible to arrange within three years, let alone execute the transition in language use.<sup>624</sup> The three years did elapse fast, and, in 1915, Bishop Miklósy applied for a five-year extension without any substantial attempts to introduce Greek taking place.<sup>625</sup> However, Bishop Miklósy was granted the requested extension without any major difficulties – of course, accompanied by stern admonitions again – but irrespective of the hardships occasioned by the war situation. The relevant background is well illuminated by Cardinal Girolamo Gotti's comment attached to Bishop Miklósy's request for an extension in 1915. According to Gotti, the Holy See had two options: 1. to pronounce that the requirements of the Bull *Christifideles graeci* were not fulfilled; 2. to grant the extension requested. As the Cardinal explained, it

would have amounted to utter nonsense to declare that the provisions of a papal bull had not been implemented, so the only viable option left was to grant the extension.<sup>626</sup> Protecting the respectability of the Holy See was thus paramount.

Radu, Bishop of Oradea, could not accept the increasingly more evident situation. With great perseverance and determination, he seized every opportunity to report the spread of the abuse – the liturgical use of Hungarian – to the Holy See. He also committed his denunciation to writing as late as 1916.<sup>627</sup>

In consequence of the terror attack against the Episcopal Residence, he closed the Debrecen eparchial centre left in ruins and, in September 1914, he moved to Nyíregyháza, settling in the newly completed tenement palace of the local parish.<sup>628</sup> As a matter of course, his residence there was also a temporary arrangement. The Debrecen bomb assassination attempt was, however, followed by another – much more consequential and by far better-known – assassination in Sarajevo a few months later, leading to the outbreak of the Great War. In a country switching to war government and economy, the importance of developing the institutional structure of the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog, for which the Budapest Government had generously made an undertaking, diminished considerably. Even though the Territorial Vicariate of Szeklerland was organised,<sup>629</sup> the first canons were appointed, the eparchial bodies were created and the Eparchy functioned properly, the necessary infrastructural developments could not be implemented during the years of the war. The failure to construct an episcopal seat and a seminary in particular entailed substantial disadvantages. The Eparchy was

<sup>623</sup> *Források*, II/4/3, 121–122, Document no. 50.

<sup>624</sup> *Források*, II/4/3, 287–288, Document no. 140.

<sup>625</sup> *Források*, II/4/3, 761–762, Document no. 434.

<sup>626</sup> *Források*, II/4/3, 797–798, Document no. 444.

<sup>627</sup> *Források*, II/4/3, 802–806.

<sup>628</sup> *Források*, II/4/3, 743, Document no. 419.

<sup>629</sup> On 31 July 1915, Bishop Miklósy appointed Gyula Hubán, a priest from Satu Mare, as Territorial Vicar for the governance of the Szeklerland parishes. The organisation of the External Vicariate had been started by Exarch Antal Papp, authorising Vicar Jaczkovics to select a suitable seat. Drawing on his locally acquired experience, he favoured Târgu Mureş (*Marosvásárhely*). Later, this choice was endorsed by Bishop Miklósy as well, so the city became the seat of the Hungarian Greek Catholic Vicariate of Szeklerland. Circulars of the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog, 1916/VII. *Források*, II/4/3, 787–789, Document no. 438.

not properly endowed, either. This was somewhat offset by the legacy of Árkád Pásztor<sup>630</sup>, a Basilian monk outside monastery, who, in 1915, bequeathed 1149 hectares (2840 acres) of arable land and 172 hectares (426 acres) of forest and vineyard, along with farm-buildings, in Szatmár County, to the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog.

As a forward-looking initiative, the Bishops of Mukachevo, Prešov and Hajdúdorog would hold regular meetings in Nyíregyháza from 1916. At the first conference, the Bishops – Antal Papp, István Novák and István Miklósy – made a decision to switch to the Gregorian Calendar, which was introduced on 24 June 1916. The transition happened seamlessly in the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog, while, in the Eparchies of Mukachevo and Prešov, it was met with massive resistance. In response, in 1918, the Julian Calendar was reinstated in the former, whereas, in the latter, the use of the Gregorian Calendar was made optional.

The World War, the collapse of 1918, the Hungarian Soviet Republic, Romanian occupation and, finally, the Diktat of Trianon left a peculiar ‘mark’ on the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog. It was as though these years had ‘frozen’ the inchoate conditions prevailing at the time of foundation. This is aptly underscored by the circumstance that, in 2012, the Bishop of Hajdúdorog would celebrate the 100th anniversary of the foundation of the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog in the same tenement palace, functioning as an episcopal residence, into which Bishop Miklósy moved provisionally.

From the chronicle of the fateful years between 1914 and 1920, the first event to highlight is Romania’s declaration of war. Surprising as it may seem, the foundation of the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog in fact impacted on the entry of Romania into the war as well. For an explanation, Archbishop Netzhammer’s diary will be consulted again. The head of the Roman Catholics of Bucharest also recorded his knowledge of the secret Bucharest talks of German politician Matthias Erzberger at the Archiepiscopal Palace on 16 February 1916. Rep-

resenting the German Government and the Central Powers, Erzberger was tasked with contacting Ferdinand, King of Romania, and persuading him into ensuring that Romania would not renounce its neutrality. According to the Archbishop’s account, to Erzberger’s question what cause Romania could after all have to attack the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, King Ferdinand responded that the Monarchy had committed several grave sins against the Romanians. As the first one, he mentioned the foundation of the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog in 1912. In the view of the King of Romania, this embittered the Romanians very much, irreversibly setting them against the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.<sup>631</sup> The Romanian diplomatic memorandum of 1941 cited above makes a similar point: *‘The end of King Carol I’s policy of alliance with Austria-Hungary may be dated from this time.’* In fact, the Romanian public was so enraged by the attack of the Budapest Government against Hungary’s Romanians that maintaining a policy of alliance was not possible anymore.<sup>632</sup>

When, in August 1916, Romania entered World War I and attacked Hungary, led by Archdean Romulus Marchiș, the Greek Catholic priests of Szatmár swore an oath of allegiance to King and country. They deemed it natural that they should express their loyalty to the Hungarian State and disprove the suspicion that, as Romanians living in Hungary, they wished to be under the jurisdiction of Romania. With indignation, they discarded even the allegation that they would intend to join Romania, widely known to be backward and with an inferior culture.<sup>633</sup> A few months later, Bishop Radu gave a similar oath of allegiance in the Upper House of Parliament: *‘For us, therefore, the rule of the Holy Crown of Hungary is not alien. We do not require the much-vaunted liberation. We insist on the inviolability of this country, for we know that it is the brightness and warmth of the Holy Crown of Hungary that are called upon to ensure the cultural, economic and political development of Hungary’s Romanian community in the*

<sup>630</sup> For a recent discussion on the Basilian monk with an extremely atypical career, see: Honca, 2021.

<sup>631</sup> Netzhammer, 1995–1996, I, 606–609.

<sup>632</sup> *Források*, II/4/6, 192–195.

<sup>633</sup> Szamos, 19 September 1916, 243, 2–3.

*future as well* – he said to applause by members of the Upper House.<sup>634</sup>

Hardly would one and a half or two years pass when both acted contrary to their oath of allegiance. On 16 November 1918, Archdean Marchiș already notified Bishop Miklósy that, *on account of the altered circumstances and the revolutionary notions*, parishes previously belonging to Oradea had declared their separation from the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog at their assembly held in Satu Mare on 13 November. In order to avoid greater trouble – meaning the complete abolition of the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog – the Archdean suggested to Bishop Miklósy that he accept the will of the people, appoint him episcopal commissioner plenipotentiary and advise the Nunciature of this.<sup>635</sup> As a matter of course, Bishop Miklósy declined the suggestion, refused to recognise the Romanian National Vicariate formed a few days later and requested the Nunciature to punish the disobedient Archdean.<sup>636</sup> The military incidents would not favour him though. He was arrested by the Romanian troops occupying Nyíregyháza, and General Mosoiu forced him to surrender the parishes reassigned from the Romanian Eparchies in writing.<sup>637</sup>

Bishop Radu officially disowned Archdean Marchiș's arbitrary step amounting to a gross violation of canon law, yet he asked the Holy See that he might be the Ordinary of the parishes concerned.<sup>638</sup> Heartened by the successes of the Romanian offensive, he urged the Holy See to issue a response in a succession of letters. However, this time, he no longer aimed to remedy earlier grievances only but began to entertain bold prospects as well. He informed Viennese Nuncio Teodoro Valfrè di Bonzo that Romania would soon be a large state with a population of 15 million, extending from the river

Tisza to the Dniester. Although Catholics would be a minority in it, the state would guarantee such a scope of freedom to them that could fill them with the highest expectations. As soon as the peace talks were over, Romania would immediately start negotiations with the Holy See about a concordat, the conclusion of which would not be impeded by any obstacles because the new Romanian Constitution would grant everyone freedom and religious autonomy. All this would create the necessary foundations for the cause of the Sacred Union to enter the phase of growth and prosperity.<sup>639</sup> In saying this, Bishop Radu alluded to the idea that the Romanian Greek Catholics would present to the Holy See frequently and with much pleasure: The Romanian Greek Catholic Church had good chances of winning over the Orthodox. However, the Nuncio was not enthused by this thought. He forwarded the information to the Cardinal Secretary of State in a terse style, without reacting to the proposal.<sup>640</sup>

The fate of the disputed parishes was decided in the spring and summer of 1919. At his point, the Nunciature could no longer establish contact with Bishop Miklósy, and no substantive reaction to the communications sent by the Holy See was received from the Hungarian Government. As the areas of the respective parishes were effectively placed under the control of the Romanian Army, the Holy See assigned them to the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Oradea on 10 May 1919.<sup>641</sup> A few months later, Vasile Suciu, Vicar of the Archeparchy of Alba Iulia-Făgăraș, requested that the thirty-five parishes of the Territorial Vicariate of Szeklerland be reassigned to the Archeparchy, which was ordered by the Holy See on 29 July in a temporary act.<sup>642</sup>

Thus, the parishes were de facto returned to the mother Eparchies, but this was not sufficient for

<sup>634</sup> *Az 1910. évi június 21-ére hirdetett országgyűlés főrendiházának naplója* [The register of the parliamentary session in the House of Magnates advertised for 21 June 1910], Volume IV, Session XC, 1 February 1917, 302.

<sup>635</sup> *Források*, II/4/4, 119–120, Document no. 32.

<sup>636</sup> *Források*, II/4/4, 149–151, Document no. 47.

<sup>637</sup> *Források*, II/4/4, 174–176, Document no. 65.

<sup>638</sup> *Források*, II/4/4, 146–148, Document no. 45a.

<sup>639</sup> *Források*, II/4/4, 126–127, Document no. 37. From the autumn of 1918 to the end of the winter, Bishop Radu stayed in Blaj, justifying his choice with the claim that Oradea was not safe as the number of Romanian residents in the city of 100 thousand was only 6 or 7 thousand.

<sup>640</sup> *Források*, II/4/4, 148–149, Document no. 46.

<sup>641</sup> *Források*, II/4/4, 172–173, Document no. 62.

<sup>642</sup> *Források*, II/4/4, 186–187, Document no. 79.

all. As the representative of the Romanian Bishops in Rome, in the spring of 1919, Canon Alexandru Nicolescu (later Metropolitan of Alba Iulia-Făgăraş) visited the offices of the Holy See with the goal of attaining the abolition of the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog. On 21 March 1919, he submitted a voluminous memorandum to the Secretariat of State, addressing the reassignment of the disputed parishes in as few as two paragraphs. The greater part of the document seeks to prove that the existence of the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog lacks any legal basis. Therefore, the Romanian *'Bishops expect a decree by the Holy See, delivering the coup de grâce to them'*. It is demanded by both the future development of the Catholic Church in Romania and the integrity of the Holy See that justice be done – as Nicolescu opines.<sup>643</sup>

The Holy See was of course no game for a show-down as the abolition of the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog would have been tantamount to dishonouring the memory of Pius X, believed to have died in saintliness. Revoking the Bull *Christifideles graeci* was thought of as surreal.

Thus, the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog survived the troubled times and rescued Greek Catholic ecclesiastical organisation into post-Trianon Hungary. In fact, after the new borders were determined – except for the Nyíregyháza seat of the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog – all the Greek Catholic episcopal sees were transferred to the successor states. Still under organisation, the Eparchy lost half of its parishes and – sharing in the fate of the country – it waited in a hopeless financial situation<sup>644</sup> to focus on religious activities, adjusting to the new conditions once years of peace came.

On the other side of the border, Bishop Radu and his associates prepared to begin fulfilling another great dream by seeing their old endeavours

to fruition, i.e. uniting all Romanians in a Great Romania: enabling union between the Romanian nation and the Catholic Church. This dream could, however, not come true. Moreover, Bishop Radu would not even be able to work on the realisation of his ideas. Though, in recognition of his merits, he became a senator of Romania, this would also bring about his personal tragedy: In the anarchist bomb plot against the Bucharest Senate on 8 December 1920, he lost his life.<sup>645</sup>

The two bomb attacks, the World War, revolutions, the Romanian occupation and new borders were events that would, under ordinary circumstances, be at best historical backdrops to the evolution of a faith community and its narration. In the history of Hungarian Greek Catholics, however, these events were definitely foregrounded – perhaps, to an extreme degree – so much so that, at this point, it might appear almost unbelievable that, over a century earlier, all this had started from a basic spiritual demand: ensuring the possibility of praying in a comprehensible language – in the mother tongue. The explosion of bombs and the uncontrolled clash of sentiments notwithstanding, the point would remain unchanged even then: Greek Catholics with a Hungarian identity simply wished to pray in Hungarian in their churches.

This seems to have been a tall order. Its fulfilment exceeded the opportunities or, rather, the capabilities of the Church, state and society of the time. In the decades after 1920, Hungarian Greek Catholics had to find arrangements and solutions that could be key to survival in two radically different political systems within the borders of a new Hungary: the Christian Conservative Horthy regime and the anti-church Communist regime associated with the names of Mátyás Rákosi and János Kádár.

<sup>643</sup> *Adunque i vescovi aspettano un decreto pontificio il quale dia a questa diocesi il colpo di grazia.* *Források*, II/4/4, 162–165, Document no. 58.

<sup>644</sup> The arable lands, forests and farm-buildings from Pásztor's legacy became part of Romania and were lost for the Eparchy forever.

<sup>645</sup> The Bucharest assassination and Bishop Radu's death were unrelated to the case of the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog.

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Part II

The Greek Catholics of Hungary and Fine Art

*by Szilveszter Terdik*





# Introduction

## The Limitations of the Research Project in Space and Time

The confines of the work *The Greek Catholics of Hungary and Fine Art* in terms of time and space were defined by the circumstances of the development of parishes with a Hungarian identity within Hungary's Greek Catholic community. On the one hand, signs of self-organising efforts among these became perceptible by the end of the 18th century, with the emergence of the first Hungarian liturgical translations constituting a decisive, albeit rather symbolic, event in the process. On the other hand, the endpoint of the research in time is marked by 1972, the year of the death of Miklós Dudás, Eparchial Bishop of Hajdúdorog, one of the prominent characters of the Hungarian Greek Catholic community. The geographical perimeters are provided by the territory of the Eparchy of Mukachevo (*Munkács*), encompassing thirteen counties in the North East of historic Hungary, with several new eparchies evolving out of it in the 19th century. Twentieth-century investigations are primarily restricted to post-Trianon Hungary's units of Greek Catholic ecclesiastical governance: the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog established in 1912 and the territory of the Apostolic Exarchate of Miskolc created in 1924.

The title of the present work is in need of some explanation. The phrase 'of Hungary' is used in a narrow and a broad sense simultaneously: It emphasises that the heritage material discussed is associated with the territory of the largest Eparchy of the Greek Catholics of historic Hungary, the Eparchy of Mukachevo, with no or minimal coverage of the artistic processes within the Greek Catholic Bishopric of Oradea (*Nagyvárad*), and the Eparchies of Transylvania and Croatia are completely avoided. At the same time, it also highlights the fact that researching the art heritage of the Eparchy of Mukachevo, as well

as of the Eparchies gaining independence within its territory subsequently is not confined only to the Hungarian Greek Catholic communities becoming increasingly more emphatic ethnically, too, from the late 18th century. Nonetheless, it must be noted that, in selecting the immense quantity of specimens from the first major phase of the period discussed – roughly from 1780 to 1912 – care was taken to ensure that works of art critical to the artistic life of the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog, i.e. modern Hungarian Greek Catholics' own Bishopric, and of the Apostolic Exarchate of Miskolc, formed little over a decade later, would be included. The noun 'fine art' in the title is a reference to the fact that the focus was consciously placed only on specimens of painting art, though some attention was also paid to carvers, whose activities pertain more to decorative carving, regarded as part of applied arts, than sculpture, conventionally defined as a branch of fine art, as their works would for a long time define the overall image of Greek Catholic churches.

Architectural heritage will need to be described in a separate volume in the future. In the 19th century, timber architecture, almost exclusively characteristic of the previous centuries, was superseded by the use of solid materials. This may be explained in part by the need to meet the increasing expectations of the state authorities and in part by the wish to conform to the *zeitgeist*, parallel to the transformation of the intrinsic requirements and the consolidation of the financial background of the communities concerned. Whereas, in the case of churches built from solid materials from the mid-18th century, adherence to the Byzantine traditions or, at least, an endeavour to ensure that churches should be different from the majority of Latin-rite rural churches in their outward appearance as well is patently evident,<sup>1</sup> in the 19th century, this requirement would be minimised, becoming discernible again only in neo-Byzantine buildings

<sup>1</sup> On this point, with previous literature, see: TERDIK 2020b, 174–177.

appearing as a late follow-up to Historicism in the early 20th century.<sup>2</sup> As 19th-century Greek Catholic architecture has received little attention so far, it is important to mention two works that might offer significant lessons for future treatments, too: one book discussing the 19th-century heritage material of the Eparchy of Gherla (*Szamosújvár*) from the foundation to the abolition of the Bishopric<sup>3</sup> and the other focusing on the 19th-century architecture of the Eparchy of Oradea by drawing on rich archival sources.<sup>4</sup>

## The antecedents of the present volume

In 2011, the author of this text published a book providing an outline of the artistic activities within the historic Eparchy of Mukachevo, as well as the Eparchies gaining independence from it (Prešov [*Eperjes*] and Hajdúdorog), from the second half of the 18th century to the beginning of the 20th century.<sup>5</sup> It was followed by another volume by the same author in 2020, mainly concentrating on the painting activities in the territory of the Eparchy of Mukachevo.<sup>6</sup> In both books, the presentation of newly discovered archival sources was considered important, resulting in extensive document collections containing the transcripts of numerous, mutually complementary source texts appended to the two works. In recent years, the author has attempted to produce monographs on three Greek Catholic painters: Mihály Mankovits,<sup>7</sup> the first official painter of the Eparchy of Mukachevo, Ignác Roskovics, the last to bear this eparchial title,<sup>8</sup> and, finally, Manó Petrasovszky, working as an artist of outstanding significance to Hungarian Greek Catholics in the 20th century.<sup>9</sup> In the last two of these volumes, not only were a number of these two painters' works published for the first time,

but rich selections of documents linked to them, as well as of their accessible correspondence, were also included.

The present work predominantly relied on these publications – particularly on the one describing the 19th-century painting art of the Eparchy of Mukachevo. The text of that book was considered as a starting point, though with improvements and expansions in a number of instances, including coverage of the events of the late 19th century and the 20th century. Source texts published in the previous volumes were not re-published here. The illustrations were also renewed: An effort was made to use higher-quality photographs.

## Acknowledgements

The author expresses his gratitude to colleagues at the three Eparchial Archives of the Greek Catholic Metropolitanate of Hungary, to Zsuzsanna Ujteleki-Majchrics, Ivett Zakor and Roland Szabó, for their unstinting assistance. In exploring and processing the archival material in Transcarpathia, Frs István Marosi and Makariy Medvid (hieromonk Makariy) provided invaluable help, without which this undertaking would have been impossible to complete.

As the author was unable to travel to a number of places himself, he feels indebted to the colleagues who unselfishly shared their photographs and gave permission for the publication of these. Special thanks are due to Fr Makariy Medvid for making not only his photographs of archival sources but also his photo-documentation of churches in Transcarpathia and Slovakia available. The list could continue with anonymous parish priests, museologists and archivists, as well as with everybody who contributed to this work in some form. A debt of gratitude is owed to them all.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. TERDIK 2020e, 353–356.

<sup>3</sup> ROȘU VĂDEANU 2018

<sup>4</sup> RUS 2023

<sup>5</sup> TERDIK 2011a

<sup>6</sup> TERDIK 2020f

<sup>7</sup> TERDIK–DEMJÁN 2020

<sup>8</sup> TERDIK 2022a

<sup>9</sup> TERDIK 2022b

## The Second Half of the 18th Century and the Early 19th Century

Artistic activity in the Eparchy of Mukachevo (*Munkács*) presented a highly varied picture in the 18th century. On the making of church furnishings, only sporadic data are mostly available, particularly until the end of the century. The only exceptions in this respect were the construction efforts underway in major ecclesiastical centres, such as Máriapócs and Uzhorod (*Ungvár*).<sup>1</sup>

In the time of Bishop Mánuel Olsavszky (1742–1767), work on the pilgrimage church of Máriapócs was the most grandiose building project in the territory of the Bishopric of Mukachevo. Decoration of the interior of the church built between 1732 and 1757 began in 1748. It was certainly not an easy task to find and select eligible masters as no ecclesial edifice of this magnitude had existed in the Bishopric previously. A dominant feature of the church came to be the iconostasis of monumental proportions, carved by Konstantinos Thaliodoros, a master from the Balkans, in 1749.<sup>2</sup> Reflective of Balkan traditions (for example, the prominent pedimental cross, with dragons at its foot), the style of the work, accommodating the miraculous icon above its Royal Doors, would fail to be followed by others in the territory of the Bishopric of Mukachevo later. It appears that Olsavszky endeavoured to find artists with an intimate familiarity with liturgical life for assignments particularly associated with Byzantine traditions, such as the construction of iconostases.

The first painter of the iconostasis of Máriapócs was unknown until recently. The contract in which, on 20 January 1752, in Máriapócs, Bishop

Olsavszky commissioned Péter Csongrádi, an Eger resident, '*master of the art of painting*', to prepare the icons has been discovered lately. Under the contract, the artist would employ the best materials, thanks to which the painting would be free from cracks or early alterations and would be devoid of any other external or internal defects so as to '*benefit the splendour of the miracle-working Madonna of Pócs and the devotion of the people reverent of her*' (translated from the Latin original). In the agreement, the Bishop also clarified that, should the form of one or two pictures to be produced by the master not be to his liking, the painter was to concede the fee already paid to him for these from the price of his subsequent works without any objections. On the reverse of the document, the Hegumen of the Basilian Monastery of Pócs kept a record of the data of the payments made to the painter. The data clearly indicate that Csongrádi completed the assignment in full by January 1755, and he was paid 516 Rhenish guilders in total.<sup>3</sup> In his letter written to the Hegumen on 31 March 1752, Bishop Olsavszky must have alluded to Csongrádi in requesting that the master paint the feast icons until the lime-wood boards arrived. In the letter, he also provided that the carpenter of Tokaj be hired for making the wooden boards for 110 guilders.<sup>4</sup> In all probability, it was the case that they needed to wait for the completion of the wooden boards for the four sovereign-tier icons of the iconostasis of Pócs, and their absence caused the painter to begin work one row higher. The fact that payments were made in an orderly manner

<sup>1</sup> See: TERDIK 2014a, 27–128, 227–272.

<sup>2</sup> TERDIK 2014a, 236–237.

<sup>3</sup> State Archives of the Transcarpathian Region (DAZO), fond 151, opis 1, no. 1351, fol. 1. The text of the Latin contract was published in: TERDIK 2020f, 313.

<sup>4</sup> The text of the letter was published by Antal Hodinka: РОМАНУВЬ 1934, 23. A section of it translated into Hungarian is quoted by: PUSKÁS 1995, 175. The same letter has been included in other publications as well: ГОДИНКА 1935, 241–242.

suggests that the Bishop must have been largely satisfied with the work of the painter from Eger – at least no document pointing to any conflict has been found to date. In August 1756, unspecified painters from Košice (*Kassa*) were also paid 950 guilders ‘for the iconostasis.’<sup>5</sup> Not described in detail in the accounts, the tasks concerned were likely to involve the gilding, painting and marbling of the carved structure.

Péter Csongrádi’s (1720–1798) oeuvre has so far been addressed in art-history research only tangentially. In the tax census records of the city of Eger, he appears as a ‘Rascian (i.e. South-Slavic) painter’ between 1756 and 1780; in 1791, he lived in quarter 4 of the fourth district of the city (today’s Fasola Henrik utca 2) as a tenant.<sup>6</sup> His icons kept at the Serbian Orthodox Ecclesiastical Museum of Szentendre were first described by Koszta Vukovits in detail, with speculations that the pictures of the iconostasis of the Szentendre church of the Transfiguration (*Preobraženska*) could also be Csongrádi’s works.<sup>7</sup> The conservation of the monumental iconostasis taking several years has been completed recently, the lessons drawn from it giving Koszta Vukovits an even stronger reassurance of the appropriateness of the attribution in question. He proposed a few years ago that the style of the fragmentary depictions discovered in the Prophet Tier of the iconostasis of Máriapócs explored in 2009<sup>8</sup> was very close to Csongrádi’s works. Koszta Vukovits’s observations pertaining to criticism of style have by now been verified by archival data. Furthermore, the supposition that the masters of the iconostases of Szentendre and Máriapócs were identical seems to be corroborated by artist and painting conservator Kornélia Forrai’s observation, claiming to find the best parallel of an earlier depiction, also extant only in scratched, vestigial traces on

the wooden board of the icon of Christ the High Priest of the iconostasis of Máriapócs – currently available for study only in drafts – in the icon of Christ the High Priest of the iconostasis of the Szentendre church of the Transfiguration.<sup>9</sup> Apart from the Orthodox church of Eger, other works by Csongrádi have survived among icons associated with the communities of Miskolc and Kecskemét. A brief account of his life, relying on register data from the Orthodox parish of Eger, was written by Branislav Todić.<sup>10</sup>

In wooden churches built in the territory of the Bishopric of Mukachevo, components – in a number of instances brought as complete pieces – offered for purchase by itinerant artists from the north-eastern side of the Carpathians – from Polish and Ukrainian areas – were commonly utilised for the erection of iconostases, altars and tables of oblation.<sup>11</sup> These masters would continue to adhere to the artistic idiom crystallised in the 17th century or in the preceding centuries, while also displaying a high degree of receptivity towards new themes of depiction inspired by Western iconography. Thus, their artistic style was simultaneously characterised by a tendency to cherish tradition, at times leading to rather simplistic, occasionally even schematic arrangements, on the one hand, as well as by a sense of openness to embrace iconographic innovations, on the other. In the heritage stock found in Hungary, such specimens are represented by a considerable number of fragments, such as the icons of the former iconostases of the churches of Baktakék and Tolcsva.<sup>12</sup> A processional cross has surfaced in Vajdácaska of late, with its clearest parallels identified among the works of the so-called Rybotycze masters. As a peculiarity, the inscription on Christ’s nameplate features Slavonic and Latin abbreviations side by side, though, in the latter – in

<sup>5</sup> TERDIK 2014a, 248.

<sup>6</sup> DERCSÉNYI-VOIT 1969, 319.

<sup>7</sup> ВУКОВИЋ–КОРОЛИЈА 2011, 68–73.

<sup>8</sup> For photographs of the explored condition of the paintings, see: TERDIK 2014a, 63–66, 57–64, 66–67.

<sup>9</sup> TERDIK 2014a, 66; TERDIK 2020a, 233–234, Cat. III.31 (Szilveszter Terdik)

<sup>10</sup> ТОДИЋ 2013, 98–100.

<sup>11</sup> These painters frequently came from Posada Rybotyczka or Sudova Vyshnya. For a recent discussion on their activities, see: PUSKÁS 2020a, 80–91.

<sup>12</sup> For the latest treatment of the Baktakék fragments, see: TERDIK 2020a, 102, 105–109, Cat. II.25, II.28–31 (Bernadett Puskás). On the Tolcsva fragments, see: TERDIK 2020a, 109–113, Cat. II.32–35 (Bernadett Puskás).

lieu of the letter 'n' – the artist used only its Cyrillic counterpart.<sup>13</sup>

It is reasonable to surmise that the circular of Olsavszky's successor, János Bradács, Bishop of Mukachevo (1767–1772), issued on 26 July 1769, in which he cautioned priests to commission only painters who could certify their eligibility for the assignment with a stamped document themselves,<sup>14</sup> was aimed precisely against the activities of these itinerant artists. In it, Bradács extensively discussed painters' errors, which were chiefly aesthetic in nature. Concerning utterly scandalising panels, he decreed that they should be burnt in the cemetery and their ashes must be buried there. This circular is of particular importance also because it is the first known episcopal pronouncement from the period in which a hierarch reflected on artistic activities. This is all the more surprising because, in the Byzantine tradition, the use of images is an indispensable part of the cult, and ecclesiastical supervision is self-evident. This supervision is, however, documented only by a very small number of written records.<sup>15</sup>

In reading the Bishop's circular, one may be justified to ask who may have been the artists supported by the Hierarch. In recent times, a group of records containing, among others, such a 'stamped document' – albeit only in the form of a certified copy lacking an actual stamp – was retrieved from the former archives of the Eparchy of Mukachevo.<sup>16</sup> In the covering letter from 1801, Bardejov citizen

and painter József Mijerovszki complains to András Bacsinszky, Bishop of Mukachevo (1772–1809), that dilettante painters do considerable damage and cause scandals in the territory of the Eparchy. (He even mentions a 'dilettante' from Bardejov by name.) He begs the Hierarch to give him an episcopal letter of recommendation permitting him to paint in parochial churches, as well as in churches of pilgrimage sites and monasteries. He also refers to János Bradács's letter from 1770, a copy of which he encloses. In addition, he attaches the recommendation of Mihály Bradács, Episcopal Vicar of Košice (*Kassa*) – with his seat in Prešov (*Eperjes*) – dated 1796 as well, recommending him to the priests of the parishes situated in the territory of the Vicariate. The 1770 document is notable because currently this is the only known 'stamped' letter mentioned by János Bradács in his circular from a year earlier, without which priests were not supposed to give commission to any painter. This episcopal certificate names Mijerovszki as a master from Zborov (*Zboró*) (his surname spelt here as *Mireóvszki*), though he is identified as a citizen of Bardejov two years later, in 1772.<sup>17</sup> Located in Sáros County, Zborov was the centre of the Demesne of Makovica, once owned by the Rákóczi Family. Whereas Roman Catholic Slovaks constituted the population of the small town, the surrounding villages were mostly inhabited by Greek Catholic Rusyns. Presumably, the Roman Catholic Mijerovszki had contact with them there.

<sup>13</sup> The church of Vajdácška was built in the early 20th century, suggesting that this cross, dated to the mid-18th century, could originally be part of the equipment of one of the parishes of the area – possibly of the main parish of Sárospatak. The cross is renovated at the Institute of Conservator Training of the Hungarian University of Fine Art, Budapest, as part of the degree work of graduating students (Kincső Sikli and Cecília Makk), in the academic year 2022–2023. A similar specimen is found, for example, in the church of Baktakék. Based on the date written as letters on the lower arm of the side showing Jesus' Baptism, it was made in 1751. Comparable items are also to be found in the territory of present-day Slovakia: in the Icon Museum of Bardejov (*Bártfa*), originally from Šarišský Štiavnik (*Sósfüred*), dated to 1730–1750, also bearing a nameplate in the Cyrillic and the Latin script (GREŠLÍK 1994, 80, Cat. 54.); in the wooden church of Hrabová Roztoka (*Kisgereblyés*) (FRICKÝ 1971, 165, 88); in the wooden church of Brežany (*Sárosbuják*) (PAVLOVSKÝ 2008, 14–15); in the wooden church of Nova Polianka (*Mérgesvágása*), assembled in the Open Air Museum of Svidník (*Felsővízköz*) (PAVLOVSKÝ 2007b, 110–111); in the church of Oľavka (*Kisolyósi/Olyavka*) – photograph courtesy of Fr Makariy Medvid. Several similar pieces have been preserved in wooden churches, as well as in collections in Poland (e.g. Historical Museum and Open Air Museum, Sanok); an item from the wooden church of Świątkowa Mała is described in: GIEMZA 2017, 425. About similar items, see: KOCIB 2019, 164–177, il. 155–170.

<sup>14</sup> For a Hungarian translation of the relevant section of the circular, see: UDVARI 1994, 190. The original Slavonic text of the full circular was published by: UDVARI 2005, 72–80. Quoted in: PUSKÁS 2008, 199–200.

<sup>15</sup> Among Hungary's Serbs, this process began a generation earlier. In 1743, Jovanović IV Arsenije, Archbishop of Sremski Karlovci (*Karlóca*), issued a circular in opposition to the employment of unschooled itinerant painters, recommending his better-trained painter educated in Kiev to the clergy instead: TIMOTIJEVIĆ 2010, 106–107. For a recent summary of the issue, see: PIPERSKI 2022, 102–116; SIMIĆ 2022, 117–128.

<sup>16</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 1, no. 1316, fol. 1r. Its Latin text was published in: TERDIK 2020f, 314.

<sup>17</sup> GARAS 1955, 236. At that time, he still spelt his name *Mejerovszky*.

Although the activities of Mijerovszki (or Mirejovszki) are not unfamiliar in art-history literature, the list of works associated with him is bound to increase, once the iconostases surviving in the wooden churches of the Szepesség and Sáros County, along with fragments transferred to museums or later stone churches, are subjected to renewed scrutiny based on criticism-of-style-oriented considerations. Hitherto, one of his signed works is in evidence: In 1801, he memorialised himself in an inscription – written in Slavonic yet in the Latin script – in the lower left corner of the icon of Christ the Great High Priest preserved in the church of Nižný Mirošov (*Alsómerse*).<sup>18</sup> His style was defined by the idiom of the Baroque, while he must have obtained his training as a painter still within the guild system.<sup>19</sup> Several members of his family became painters; their presence in Upper Hungary is evident all the way to the end of the 19th century. Their Greek Catholic assignments are documented even from the early 19th century.<sup>20</sup> At the moment, it remains unascertained whether he received a declaration of support with similar content from Bishop Bacsinszky as well.

What could motivate János Bradács to take the definitive step described above cannot be established for now. For a long time prior to his short episcopal ministry, he had belonged to the inner circle of his predecessor, Mánuel Olsavszky, even acting as his vicar and thus having sufficient insight into the artistic processes underway in the territory of the Bishopric. Coming from the Szepesség, studying theology in Trnava (*Nagyszombat*) and, subsequently, sojourning for an extended period of time in Vienna as well, he was considered to be a widely travelled person. This way, he had a solid basis for comparison to assess the actual condition of the churches of his Bishopric. His ordinances

on icon painting were not isolated but they were integral to his comprehensive programme to bring about the spiritual revival of the whole Eparchy.<sup>21</sup>

Bradács's preliminary efforts would in the main bear fruit during the nearly three-decade long tenure of his successor, Bishop András Bacsinszky (1772–1809). The move of the Eparchy of Mukachevo from the eponymous city to the new centre in Uzhhorod took place during the first few years of Bacsinszky's episcopate, along with the related large-scale tasks: converting the castle into a seminary, as well as the former Jesuit church and religious house into a cathedral and episcopal residence respectively. At the same time, the construction of new churches in the territory of the Eparchy was also accelerated, with the Bishop – even if through the deans – ensuring to oversee matters relative to the production of their furnishings. In 1803, in one of his circulars, he even specified that only artists whom he had approved could be commissioned for church assignments. Parish priests were required to present contracts made with painters and carvers to the deans as well.<sup>22</sup> In adopting such a firm position, even Mijerovszki's petition might have influenced the senior clergyman.

In Bacsinszky's time, the most important assignments were granted to painter Mihály Spalinszky, who had worked in the territory of the Bishopric for several decades and must have been seen as the highest-trained painter. No verified biographical data is available on Mihály Spalinszky. He is believed to have been of Galician origins; he obtained his training as a painter there – possibly at a Basilian monastery.<sup>23</sup> His first known signed work was the cover page of the Marian Congregation Album of the Uzhhorod Jesuits from 1756, depicting the *Annunciation*.<sup>24</sup> This may imply that he had just 'missed' the assignments offered by Bishop

<sup>18</sup> The signature was published by: FRICKÝ 1971, 16. Photograph of the icon courtesy of Fr Makariy Medvid. The picture was probably part of the former iconostasis.

<sup>19</sup> Hitherto known data on János Mirejovszki, a resident of Moldava nad Bodvou (*Szepesi*), were published by the author of the present text: TERDIK 2010, 139–143.

<sup>20</sup> József Mijerovszky died of cholera in 1832. LYKA 1981, 324, 464; PUSKÁS 2008, 257. He must have been a member of a different, later generation of the family.

<sup>21</sup> On his life and work: UDVARI 1994, 187–190.

<sup>22</sup> UDVARI 2002, 168.

<sup>23</sup> PUSKÁS 2015, 138.

<sup>24</sup> The work has perished; for an old photograph, see: TERDIK 2014a, 99, Picture 120.

Olsavszky in Máriapócs, where the paintings of the iconostasis were complete at the time. Bernadett Puskás credits him with the pictures of the entire iconostasis of St Nicholas' church in Sátoraljaújhely. In its structure and style, this ensemble still conforms to the forms established in Galicia in the 17th century; its carver is unknown, and, according to the date displayed in the bottom left corner of the icon of the Theotokos, the pictures were made in 1759.<sup>25</sup>

Mihály Spalinszky is likely to have worked extensively for Basilian communities as well, though archival records on these assignments – except for Máriapócs, as will be seen – have not been discovered as yet. The church of the Basilian Monastery of Maliy Bereznii (*Kisberezna*) built in the mid-18th century in honour of the Descent of the Holy Spirit had fine baroque furnishings. Photographs of the church interior survive only from the early 1940s. These clearly show that the interior was richly painted by painter József Boksay at the time. This circumstance may explain why only the Sovereign Tier of the iconostasis decorated with rococo carvings was left, while the upper rows were dismantled.<sup>26</sup> Fortunately, the removed parts were not lost after the monastery was closed in 1946 but, together with the Sovereign Tier, they were taken to the church of Perehreshnyi (*Pereháza*) dedicated to the Ascension of Jesus.<sup>27</sup> In the new location, the full iconostasis was reassembled: The pilasters segmenting the three upper rows cannot belong with the original rococo carvings still surviving on the Sovereign Tier and on the pediment of the

iconostasis, but they probably date from a later period. Studying photographs taken on site recently has revealed that, based on their style, a number of pictures from the Feast-, Apostle- and Prophet Tiers of the former iconostasis of Maliy Bereznii, as well as the icon of the Last Supper above the Royal Doors, must be Mihály Spalinszky's works – an inevitable conclusion even in spite of the extremely disagreeable layers of repainting.<sup>28</sup> This is particularly true about the icon of the Pentecost, i.e. the title feast of the former monastery church, surviving as the sole representative of the four original sovereign-tier icons.<sup>29</sup> Ukrainian scholarship dates the carving of the Maliy Bereznii iconostasis to 1764.<sup>30</sup> The paintings cannot have been made much later, either, with the Apostles resembling Spalinszky's 1787 Apostle icons in Tokaj most closely.

In all probability, it was Spalinszky who, in 1769, painted the replica of the widely venerated icon of the chapel southeast of the principal church of the Basilian Monastery of Krasny Bród (*Krasznibród/Laborcrév*) – according to 19th-century descriptions – designed to protect the ancient icon on the chapel's altar, turned brown and fitted with an ornate silver cover. On certain occasions, the replica would be hoisted from the original by a winch – a phenomenon by no means uncommon in baroque devotional image cult. (For instance, the frame mechanism of the famous Black Madonna of St Thomas' church in Brno works in the same way).<sup>31</sup> The reverse of the icon of the Theotokos painted on canvas also bears the inscription 'Mich[ael];

<sup>25</sup> PUSKÁS 2015, 127–128.

<sup>26</sup> A postcard showing the church interior was published by: ПРИЙМИЧ 2014, 32. According to the 1903 inventory check, the iconostasis was still complete: 'Full iconostasis with two small altars on the sides' (translated from the Hungarian original), *Leltár a kisbereznai szent Bazil-rendi monostor-templom és kápolnák ingó vagyonáról 1903. június* [Inventory check of the movable assets of the monastery church and chapel of the Order of St Basil in Maliy Bereznii, June 1903], DAZO fond 64, opis 4, no. 457, fol. 120v

<sup>27</sup> The story of the transfer was recorded, and photographs of the newly erected ensemble were published by: ПРИЙМИЧ 2014, 135–136.

<sup>28</sup> The interior of the church was photographed by Fr Makariy Medvid in 2022. The author of the present text wishes to thank him for sharing his photographs.

<sup>29</sup> This picture was also removed from its original place as the title feast of the recipient church was painted to replace it – according to the inscription in the lower left corner of the new image – in 1963. Set in a new frame, the old sovereign-tier icon of the Pentecost was hung on the side of the iconostasis above the Royal Doors.

<sup>30</sup> With references to an 1899 publication, the carving of the iconostasis is attributed to three masters from Prešov, Martin Duchnovics, Georg Plebanovics and Tiron Franz: ПРИЙМИЧ 2014, 33.

<sup>31</sup> The baroque high altar of the Greek Catholic church of Olšavica (*Nagyolśva*) also has a similar mechanism: In fact, on the structure erected by Bishop Olsavszky in his native village, an icon of Saint Nicholas is lowered in front of the altarpiece of the high altar, appearing to be a replica of the miraculous icon of Máriapócs. TERDIK 2005, 52–53, 59, Picture 4.

Spalinski pinxit', which was faithfully reproduced even after the doubling of the base,<sup>32</sup> making the identification of the author rather straightforward. The former principal church of the monastery boasted a splendid rococo iconostasis. The exact time of its making is unknown.<sup>33</sup> Unfortunately, the ensemble was destroyed after the 1915 Russian incursion. As far as it may be ascertained from the only surviving photograph,<sup>34</sup> the style of the pictures was not far removed from the painting characteristics of Spalinszky's well-known works though. However, a fragmentary, shrapnel-damaged image of the Sorrowful Mother has also been uncovered recently – judged by its form – once most certainly part of an iconostasis pediment. Based on the Hungarian inscription on its reverse ('Szent Bazil [rendi] zárda [1]915. V. 24.' [Convent of the Order of St Basil, 24 May 1915]), as well as from the wartime damage, it may be identified as the only known fragment of the iconostasis of Krasny Bród. On the baroque-type composition with a heavily damaged surface, substantial layers of 19th-century repainting are likely to have been applied.<sup>35</sup> It is also conceivable that other painters worked on the Krasny Bród iconostasis: As indicated by the chapter protocols of the Order, the monk Tádé Spalinszky – at first simply called painter (*pictor*) in 1789 – happened to live here in 1792.<sup>36</sup>

It was undoubtedly Spalinszky who painted the canvas picture preserved at the Basilian Monastery

of Imstichovo (*Misztice*) as well, representing the title feast of the church – the Nativity of the Theotokos – in a manner that, below the scene, the former monastery building and its erstwhile wooden church of a unique form are also featured.<sup>37</sup> The style of the painting conserved in the past few years fits well into a series of works by this master intended for other locations.

It may be gathered from a 19th-century inventory that the iconostasis of the wooden church of Dravci (*Ungdaróc*) (now part of the city of Uzhhorod) constructed in 1771 also accommodated four sovereign-tier icons by Mihály Spalinszky, deemed worthy to be transferred to the subsequently built stone church as well, with a view to preserving them.<sup>38</sup>

In April 1778, Bishop Bacsinszky contracted Mihály Spalinszky for painting the new iconostasis of the Cathedral of Uzhhorod, as well as the icons of the two tables of oblation in the sanctuary for 500 Rhenish guilders.<sup>39</sup> From 1776, the Uzhhorod iconostasis and the rest of the wooden furnishings were carved in resplendent rococo style by Franz Feeg (Fech/Feck) and Johannes Feeg, sculptors who had studied at the Arts Academy of Vienna and later settled in Košice.<sup>40</sup> His painting style evident in his Uzhhorod icons is in multiple ways linked to Ukrainian baroque painting, where the application of Western prototypes had gained currency well before, particularly in the narrative

<sup>32</sup> The history of the miraculous icon is described in: PUSKÁS 2015, 122–126, Picture 6. It is somewhat odd that, in the Slovak literature, the replica is considered to be the original image, and, even despite the signature, the 1769 'repainting' is attributed to Basilian painter Tádé Spalinszky. Ibid. 125 The whereabouts of the devotional image painted on wood is unknown. The survival of the canvas replica may as well be regarded as a miracle, given the hardships of the Communist era.

<sup>33</sup> The 1903 year inventory of the monastery states: 'In the year 1896, the iconostasis, the high altar and the side altars were completely repaired;...' (translated from the Hungarian original). Leltár a krasznibród-i szent Bazil-rendi templom, kápolna ingó és ingatlan vagyónáról 1903-ik év június hó 2-án [Inventory check of the movable and immovable assets of the church and chapel of the Order of St Basil in Krasny Bród, 2 June 1903], DAZO fond 64, opis 4, no. 457, fol. 2r. In the absence of the respective specimen, it is impossible to determine how profound this intervention was.

<sup>34</sup> BOROVSZKY [1905]; the photograph of the iconostasis is after p. 328. It was republished by the author of the present text: TERDIK 2014a, 25, Picture 9.

<sup>35</sup> Wooden board, oil, 75 x 32.2 cm (29.52 x 12.67"). The picture emerged in the shop of Ecclesia Szövetkezet, Budapest, a few years ago. It made its way to the collection of the Greek Catholic Museum of Nyíregyháza by way of purchase in February 2023.

<sup>36</sup> TERDIK 2014a, 112.

<sup>37</sup> The detail of the painting showing the monastery was published by: ПРИЙМІЧ 2014, 13. Photograph of the conserved painting returned to its original location, courtesy of Fr Makariy Medvid.

<sup>38</sup> TERDIK 2020f, 14.

<sup>39</sup> For the text of the contract, see: TERDIK 2014a, 262–263.

<sup>40</sup> Franz Feeg passed away as early as 1779, while Johannes continued working actively until the end of the 18th century; the exact date of his death is not known. On their assignment in Uzhhorod, see: TERDIK 2014a, 92–101, 109–115, 109–111, 122, Pictures 136–146. For more specific biographical data of the two sculptors, see: TERDIK 2020c, 244, particularly Footnote 5.



scenes of the feasts and in the depiction of the Apostles and Prophets. At the same time, it is also noticeable that, for the base icons constituting the bottom row of the iconostasis, the ordinary forms of Byzantine art, such as half-figure positioning, were more strongly adhered to.<sup>41</sup> Several paintings from the iconostasis of Uzhhorod – especially the faces in the two central sovereign-tier icons – were significantly repainted by Ferdinánd Vidra in the middle of the 19th century.<sup>42</sup> In the course of the conservation of the iconostasis from 2019 to 2022, these layers of repainting were removed, exposing the original faces painted by Spalinszky, testifying to the artist's effort to create accurate compositions rich in detail and exhibiting refined arrangements.<sup>43</sup>

After this major commission, Mihály Spalinszky also delivered some smaller assignments in the Cathedral and in the Episcopal Palace in 1780 and 1781.<sup>44</sup> János Kutka, the ecclesial person overseeing the activities in Uzhhorod, consistently calls Spalinszky simply 'Michalko' in his letters to Bishop Bacsinszky, in which he provides up-to-date descriptions of the prevailing situation.<sup>45</sup>

Parallel to the Uzhhorod assignment, or once it was over, he worked for the parish church of the nearby Choňkovce (*Alsóhunkóc*) dedicated to the Annunciation. The baroque iconostasis of the church was replaced with a new one in 1899; from the original ensemble, only the lyre-shaped pictures

of the Feast Tier were retained as icons exposed for veneration on *analogia*.<sup>46</sup> The former altarpiece of the church's high altar is also extant, with the date 1781 on it. The commonly published composition features the Protection of the Theotokos, and – as a curiosity – among the monarchs, it includes Queen Maria Theresa, deceased in the previous year, to whom the Eparchy of Mukachevo was so immensely indebted, along with the full-figure image of the young Emperor Joseph II. The portraits of secular dignitaries presumably represent Hungarian noblemen who could play a major part in managing and financially inspecting the construction works in Uzhhorod. Although the painting lacks a signature, Bernadett Puskás's attribution to Mihály Spalinszky seems convincing.<sup>47</sup>

A few years later, Spalinszky signed a contract to paint the new icons of the iconostasis of the pilgrimage church of Máriapócs and, in 1787, he submitted a quotation for the painting of the pulpit, though that assignment was eventually not completed by him.<sup>48</sup> Thus, thirty years after their completion, the icons of Péter Csongrádi, the painter from Eger, were all replaced by new ones, and the images of the Prophets were repainted with new compositions.<sup>49</sup> For now, it remains unknown exactly what could prompt this radical decision. Even if Csongrádi's works, at times no doubt highly varying in quality, had been liked by Olsavszky, it appears that, a

<sup>41</sup> At that time, the centre of Ukrainian icon painting was the academy associated with the Kiev Monastery of the Caves: MILIAEVA 1997, 79–87.

<sup>42</sup> TERDIK 2014a, 98, Pictures 118–119.

<sup>43</sup> The assignment was performed by conservators from L'viv under Vasiliy Karpiv's leadership: Maryana Volosin, Halyna Brusilovska, Nelya Palahusinec, Olha Yaktorovich, Anastassiya Havrilenko, Natalya Beznos, Tetyana Kovaliy, Vasiliy Stan, Maksim Kovalskiy and Oleksandr Skakun.

<sup>44</sup> TERDIK 2014a, 97.

<sup>45</sup> For example, in his reports on the two altarpieces intended for the sanctuary, from spring 1780: DAZO fond 151, opis 1, no. 2809, fol. 12r, 73r

<sup>46</sup> The back of the iconostasis bore a small Cyrillic inscription commemorating the year of its making and the relevant church leaders. Under the Slavonic text, a Hungarian addition was written: 'Készítette Spisák Imre egyházi szobrász' [Made by ecclesial sculptor Imre Spisák]. In spring 2008, the following baroque feast icons were kept in the church sacristy: the Birth of the Theotokos, the Entry of the Theotokos in the Temple, the Annunciation, the Nativity of Jesus, the Presentation of Jesus in the Temple, the Flight to Egypt, the Baptism of Jesus, Jesus' Entry into Jerusalem, the Resurrection of Jesus, the Ascension of Jesus, the Pentecost and the Dormition of the Theotokos.

<sup>47</sup> The former altarpiece is now on display in Budapest: Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest – Hungarian National Gallery, Inv. No. 57.17M. The latest description of the painting was published by Bernadett Puskás: TERDIK 2020a, 173, Cat. III.5 (Bernadett Puskás). The baroque picture was first described by János Peregriny. The painting was bought for 120 Kronas from Gusztáv Schatz by the Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest, for the Hungarian Historical Gallery, on 5 November 1900: PEREGRINY 1915, 142, 902. In the church, a rather accurate replica of the original is kept nowadays. It was most probably made by Imre Spisák. This specimen was described and a photograph of the replica was published by the author of the present text: TERDIK 2011a, 81, 191, Picture 110.

<sup>48</sup> TERDIK 2014a, 65–66, 75, 250–251.

<sup>49</sup> On the explored prophet icons of the iconostasis of Máriapócs, see: TERDIK 2014a, 64–66.

generation later, they were no longer perceived as fit for the most important pilgrimage church of the Eparchy. In 1896, Spalinszky's pictures were also replaced in Máriapócs.<sup>50</sup> Although, the original, old sovereign-tier icons would also be preserved for a few more years following the replacement in one of the chapels of the pilgrimage church,<sup>51</sup> only five icons from the associated Apostle Tier have survived to the present.<sup>52</sup>

In 1787, Spalinszky worked in Tokaj, where, by now, only the Apostle Tier has been left in its original function from the baroque-era iconostasis, an ensemble substantially transformed several times in the 19th century.<sup>53</sup> Two lyre-shaped sovereign-tier icons also survive – the Teaching Christ and the Theotokos with the Infant –,<sup>54</sup> though, during the episcopal visitation in 1940, two additional sovereign-tier icons were also described: one showing Saint Nicholas and the other Saint Basil the Great defeating heresies.<sup>55</sup> As Bernadett Puskás suggests, the icon of Saint Nicholas inserted into the rear wall of the 19th-century pulpit – originally lyre-shaped – was perhaps an icon from the Sovereign Tier of the baroque iconostasis,<sup>56</sup> possibly implying

that the majority of the old sovereign-tier images still exist. The location of the painting of Saint Basil remains unknown. A depiction of the Saint of a similar iconography was to be found on one of the side altars of the pilgrimage church of Máriapócs, albeit featuring the Church Father in full figure, also emphasising the destruction of heretic books: He trampled works containing false teachings underfoot, while they were struck by thunderbolts as well. This iconographic similarity could also confirm the attribution based on stylistic affinity, consequently assigning the Máriapócs altarpiece to Mihály Spalinszky's oeuvre.<sup>57</sup>

Bernadett Puskás has tentatively attributed the four sovereign-tier icons of the church of Nyírparsznya to Mihály Spalinszky as well.<sup>58</sup> This iconostasis found its way to the Szatmár County village from the demolished wooden church of Pidhoriany (*Podhering/Órhegyalja*) near Mukachevo (now part of the city) by way of purchase in 1907. According to the 1784 census of the parish of Pidhoriany, the painting of the iconostasis was already underway around that time. For reasons remaining unknown to this day, the four sovereign-tier icons must have

<sup>50</sup> The new pictures were painted by Gyula Spisák. He was contracted for the carving and painting assignments alongside his brother, Imre, in 1896: TERDIK 2011a, 135–137.

<sup>51</sup> According to the inventory recorded in 1900, several of the icons from the old iconostasis, as well as of the previous altarpieces were still kept: 'In the new inner chapel, the 4 old base icons, 1. the old altarpiece of the high altar and the old altarpieces of Saint Anne and the Holy Cross,' as well as 'in the new sacristy, the old icon of Saint Basil, 2. the old picture of the *Proskomedía*, of the Sweet Jesus and of Saint Barbara, an image of Mary (photostat) in a golden frame – gift of Hajdúdorog resident Mrs Daru – and the devotional image of Hojsova Stráž' (translated from the Hungarian original), Leltár a mária-pócsi sz. Bazil rendi monostor tulajdonát képező görög kath. kegytemplom összes tárgyairól 1900 [Inventory of all the items of the Greek Catholic pilgrimage church owned by the Monastery of the Order of St Basil in Máriapócs], DAZO fond 64, opis 4, no. 423, fol. 23r & fol. 24v. Of the old pictures referenced here, only the old central painting of the altar of the Holy Cross and the Crucifixion have survived: TERDIK 2014a, 72–73, Picture 80.

<sup>52</sup> For a description of the central painting, Christ the Great High Priest, see: TERDIK 2020a, 233–235, Cat. III.31 (Szilveszter Terdik). The icons of Saint Bartholomew the Apostle and of the Evangelists Saint Matthew, Saint Mark and Saint John have also been preserved. For the latest description of these, see: TERDIK 2020a, 234–238, Cat. III.32–35. (Bernadett Puskás). The fate of the paintings took an adventurous turn in the 20th century: The icon of Christ the Great High Priest was kept in the crypt of the pilgrimage church until the late 1960s – at least, photograph Mária Nagy took a photo of it in that location in 1958. This photograph has survived as part of the legacy of painter Manó Petrasovszky and is privately owned currently. Later, the painting became private property and, subsequently, it was acquired by the Collection of Greek Catholic Ecclesiastical Art, Nyíregyháza, in 2013.

<sup>53</sup> He identifies himself and specifies the date of completion in the Latin commemorative inscription on the reverse of one of the icons of the Apostle Tier. On the 19th-century transformation of the iconostasis of Tokaj, see: TERDIK 2011a, 79–80. Plans drawn by Johann Ertt (Ertl), a master from Prešov, for the church of Tokaj in 1791 also survive. They feature no lyre-shaped images and are unlikely to have been ever implemented. On this point, see: TERDIK 2020b, 181, Picture 6.

<sup>54</sup> In the collection of the Greek Catholic Museum of Nyíregyháza. These have recently been discussed by Bernadett Puskás: TERDIK 2020a, Cat. III.36–37 (Bernadett Puskás), 239–240.

<sup>55</sup> MAJCHRICSNÉ UJTELEKI 2014a, 58. The title feast of the church is Saint Nicholas, hence a different saint occupying the fourth place in the Sovereign Tier.

<sup>56</sup> PUSKÁS 2008, 189–190, Picture 159.

<sup>57</sup> Old photographs of the pre-1948 condition of the altar: Collection of the Order of St Basil the Great, Máriapócs. The large oil painting was replaced in 1948; it has been lost by now.

<sup>58</sup> PUSKÁS 2008, 190.

been reworked by a painter better trained than the maker of the other icons – possibly by Spalinszky. Furthermore – as a peculiarity of the iconostasis – in addition to the conventional five rows, in the irregularly shaped picture areas between the carved ornaments placed above the Prophets, representations of the Gospel readings of the Sundays after Easter (the so-called *Pentecostarion*) were painted.<sup>59</sup>

It seems clear that Spalinszky demonstrated the best of his talent in the iconostasis of the Cathedral of Uzhhorod: In this ensemble, details are most meticulously treated, and varied iconographic and compositional arrangements are embraced in the depiction of individual themes. Of his subsequent works, the Apostles of Máriapócs and Tokaj are compositions painted with similar care, yet in a simplified form.

From the 1760s, data on the activities of a Basilian painter, Tádé Spalinszky, are available as well. As has been noted, he is called a painter as a monk from Mukachevo for the first time in the protocols of the chapter assemblies of the Order in 1787. His name is familiar to scholarship as of the late 19th century, while no mention is made of the name ‘Mihály’.<sup>60</sup> As evidenced by data from chapter protocols, Tádé Spalinszky lived at the Monastery of Chernecha Hora (*Csernekhegy*) near Mukachevo in 1767 and, as a monk, in Malij Berezniy from 1772 to 1775. The most well-known ensembles attributed to him are associated with the latter location: the two series once decorating the stalls in the monastic *kliros* of the Monastery of Malij Berezniy, i.e. in the north and south lateral apses of the baroque church, one showing saintly monastic fathers and the other the allegorical figures of the Beatitudes – the latter based on engraved prototypes from the Netherlands. The two ensembles were described in detail by Bernadett Puskás.<sup>61</sup> So far, perhaps somewhat little attention has been

paid to the iconostasis of the wooden church of a small village in the vicinity of the monastery, Kalná Roztoka (*Kálnarosztoka*), dedicated to Saint John the Baptist. This ensemble consists of icons dating from various periods – the majority of them produced by artists with different levels of schooling, mostly from the workshops of Rybotytcze. The central sovereign-tier icons are certainly the works of a single master. At the bottom of the icon of Christ, below a longer liturgical quotation, a Slavonic inscription commemorating the date of the making of ‘the icons’ – most probably denoting the two sovereign-tier icons – reads: ‘These icons were redecorated for the church of [...]. Glory to God [...]. Painted at the Monastery of Malij Berezniy in the year of our Lord 1773. Th. S. m.’ (translated from a Hungarian translation).<sup>62</sup> Even though the place name in the inscription is fragmentary, it is safe to assume that the icons were originally not intended for this location but, presumably, arrived here during the rebuilding of the wooden church of Kalná Roztoka. The time and place of their making are quite unambiguous. Particularly remarkable are the three letters at the end of the text, which may be deciphered with reasonable certainty based on the place and date of making: The initials might be construed as the name ‘Thadeus Spalinszky’, who, as has been shown, happened to reside at the above-mentioned monastery at the respective time. However, it remains unsure whether the last letter ‘m’ is the starting letter of the word monk (*monach*) or, actually, of the word ‘painter’ (*malyar?*). The sovereign-tier icon of the Theotokos has been thoroughly restored; some details of Mary’s reconstructed face cannot be described as well executed. The significance of the icon of the Theotokos is only further augmented by the circumstance that the former iconostasis of Mezőzombor, Tádé Spalinszky’s last post, where he served as a parish

<sup>59</sup> TERDIK 2014h, 229–231.

<sup>60</sup> For a review of previous literature: PUSKÁS 2015, 121.

<sup>61</sup> PUSKÁS 2008, 186–187, 228–231; PUSKÁS 2015, 129–135.

<sup>62</sup> ‘Сїѧ икѡны, вторицею оукрашены. Ц(е)ркв[.] [...]нїанскїѧ Б(о)гу слава да будет [...]шаѧ.

Исписашасѧ во Обители ма(л)обере(з)ницкой, р(о)ку Б(о)жїѧ а.ψ.о.г. / Θ. С. м.’ Photograph of the icon courtesy of Fr Makariy Medvid; transcription and Hungarian translation of the text courtesy of Xénia Golub. By all accounts, the inscription has not been published so far; only the date 1773 is referenced in: КАВАЧОВИЧОВА-ПУШКАРЬОВА – ПУШКАР 1971, 161. The church was restored in 1988 and 1989, as well as between 2002 and 2004. PAVLOVSKÝ 2008, 54.

priest from 1807 and where he also died two years later, is believed to have been created by him.<sup>63</sup> The church of Mezőzombor, along with its furnishings, was destroyed in World War II. The new church contains only a single element that could originate from the earlier church: the painting of the Virgin Mary in the nave and its frame structure. In 1940, when Miklós Dudás conducted a canonical visitation of the parish, only this remark is furnished about the iconostasis: 'Its icon screen is old; it was renovated in 1911' (translated from the Hungarian original). No paintings are noted for either the table of oblation or the baldachined high altar, nor is any mention made of the existence of side altars.<sup>64</sup> Nonetheless, it might well have been the case that the picture was simply forgotten. Alternatively, it is also possible that the frame originally belonged to a different item of furniture – perhaps – along with the picture subsequently fitted into it. The possibility that the image of the Virgin Mary was a sovereign-tier icon of the former iconostasis and, thus, its current accommodation is secondary cannot be discounted, either. Based on its style, the painting is most likely datable to the 1911 year grand refurbishment. Closer examination of the specimen making photos in raking light in 2021 revealed the outlines of an icon of the Theotokos beneath the current painting that is very similar to the matching sovereign-tier icon of the Kalná Roztoka iconostasis. If predictions are confirmed and future conservation succeeds in uncovering the original composition from under the layer of 20th-century repainting, Tádé Spalinszky's known oeuvre could grow by yet another work.

Whether hieromonk Tádé was related to Mihály genetically and professionally is as yet impossible to decide in the absence of sources, nor can it be determined if András Spalinszky, a painter named in recently explored documents, was from the same

family.<sup>65</sup> In the inventory of the church of Dorobratovo (*Drágabártfalva*), Bereg County, recorded in 1840, it is stated that the four sovereign-tier icons of the iconostasis, judged elegant and elaborate, are Ferenc Spalinszky's works from 1765.<sup>66</sup> The icon screen concerned was replaced again a few years later. Unfortunately, the subsequent history of the sovereign-tier icons is not known, and it cannot, therefore, be ascertained, either, if the Christian name 'Ferenc' was indeed properly deciphered, whether it was taken from the reverse sides of the paintings or from the documents still extant in the parish archives at that time. Thus, data are available on four individuals called Spalinszky but with different first names, though exploring information about the relations between these will be left to researchers of the future.

The new rococo furnishings of the Jesuit church of Uzhhorod converted into a cathedral would soon be seen as a model in the entire territory of the Eparchy of Mukachevo. For the making of the iconostasis, the baldachined high-altar and the two tables of oblation, sculptor Franz Feeg (Fech/Feck) from Košice was contracted in 1776, but, after his death, the work was completed by his brother, Johann, in 1779, as has been pointed out previously. In the following year, the pulpit and the bishop's throne were also made by Johann.<sup>67</sup> In all probability, the masters living in Košice but educated in Vienna were recommended to the Bishop by the treasury administration. It is fair to assume that the Bishop's ideas were communicated to the Roman Catholic sculptors, who were totally unacquainted with Byzantine traditions, by Bishop Bacsinszky himself and those around him. Even if somewhat later, he did commit his expectations to writing: In 1799 and 1800, the three Greek Catholic Bishops of the Kingdom of Hungary (the Bishops of Mukachevo, Oradea [*Nagyvárad*] and

<sup>63</sup> He performed the assignment free of charge: *Adatok művészetünk történetéhez, Művészet* 8 (1909), 59.

<sup>64</sup> MAJCHRICSNÉ UJTELEKI 2014a, 43.

<sup>65</sup> According to a statement of accounts from 22 September 1778, András Spalinszky gilded the steeple cross of the church of Michalovce (*Nagymihály*) for 35 Rhenish guilders and 30 kreuzers. DAZO, fond 151, opis 1, no. 2714, fol. 16. He died in 1789. His daughter, Erzsébet, asked the Bishop to help her collect the price of the Prophet Tier of the iconostasis of Falkušovce (*Falkus*) (13 Rhenish guilders and 36 kreuzers). DAZO, fond 151, opis 5, no. 1428.

<sup>66</sup> '16. Iconostasis sculpturae, et picturae antiquissimae, et nimis simplicis. – Principales imagines sunt elegantes, opus Francisci Spalinszki, de anno 1765.' DAZO fond 151, opis 8, no. 2427, fol. 16v

<sup>67</sup> For more detail on the subject, see: TERDIK 2014a, 91–115, 261, 264.

Križevci [*Kőrös*]) briefly outlined for the Council of the Governor-General what essential furniture and equipment a Greek Catholic church needed. The three Bishops' requirements well reflect the peculiar traditions of their eparchies. Bacsinszky, for instance, also considered it necessary to create a baldachin or altarpiece for the altar and four 'small altars' (*prestols*) to be placed in front of the four sovereign-tier icons for the iconostasis, while the others did not.<sup>68</sup> By doing so, he inevitably perpetuated customs in the territory of the Eparchy that had become common in the time of his predecessors. The rococo carvings, structure and ornamentation of the iconostasis of Uzhhorod would come to be an inexhaustible wellspring for the newly built churches of the Eparchy for a long time. The work was so outstanding that artists and clients alike of later periods thought they were to look to it as an example to follow. This is occasionally referred to in the texts of the surviving contracts,<sup>69</sup> and it must have coincided with the Bishop's expectation as well.

Similarly to his sculptural works, Mihály Spalinszky's Uzhhorod icons became important points of reference in the Eparchy. His painting style is in multiple ways linked to Ukrainian baroque painting, where the application of Western prototypes had gained currency well before, particularly in the narrative scenes of the feasts and in the depiction of the Apostles and Prophets. At the same time, it is also evident that, for the base icons constituting the bottom row of the iconostasis, the ordinary forms of Byzantine art were more strongly adhered to.<sup>70</sup> Employing a number of realistic elements, the distinctness of this baroque-based style from the previous one was perceived by contemporaries as well. At least, this is what is suggested in the letter of

József Szécsényi, a painter from Carei (*Nagykároly*), to Bishop Bacsinszky written on 16 September 1790. In it, he plaintively speaks of certain objections against him concerning his iconostasis in Tream (*Mezőterem*). Szécsényi rejects these by saying that, in the respective work, he endeavoured to follow the iconostasis of the Cathedral of Uzhhorod. He also stresses that even Bishop Grigore Maior (Gergely Major) approved of it, 'though there are also some here who do not like this work, either, as they claim that, having lived in misery, the images of saints must be sable, meagre and melancholy and not joyous or bright in their visage; and the figures in the lower large pictures ought to be painted seated on chairs as in those commissioned by the Archiereus' (translated from the Hungarian original).<sup>71</sup> Tream was a Romanian parish, where the community must have been characterised by a relatively high degree of conservatism. What type of painting the 'critics' would have considered more acceptable may be imagined on the basis of certain sets of specimens surviving in the wooden churches of Maramureş/Marmaroshchyna (*Máramaros*), Szatmár/Sătmar and Bihar/Bihor, at times marked by a simplicity verging on schematism.<sup>72</sup> The final, form-related criticism, *viz.* that the saints featured in the sovereign-tier icons should be seated, is also indicative of the Balkan tradition, widespread in Romanian areas, too, unmistakably evident in the Cathedrals of Oradea and Blaj (*Balázsfalva*), Transylvania, as well.<sup>73</sup> Szécsényi's self-introduction to the Bishop was not ineffective, for, in the following year, he donated an icon painted by him to the newly completed church of Abaújszántó. To date, this is the only known work he signed. No data is available on his later works. As early as 1795, his

<sup>68</sup> TERDIK 2009, 135–36. Only in Basilian churches were the small altars in front of sovereign-tier icons also used for celebrating the Divine Liturgy. In parish churches, they were usually used by Roman Catholic priests for saying Mass, a practice also recorded in Nyíregyháza and Buj in 1781. On the former, see: NYIRÁN – MAJCHRICSNÉ UJTELEKI 2017b, 184. On the latter, see: Greek Catholic Episcopal Archives (GKPL), IV–1–a, fasc. 2, No. 16.

<sup>69</sup> For example, from Hajdúdorog from 1799: TERDIK 2011a, 89–90.

<sup>70</sup> At that time, the centre of Ukrainian icon painting was the academy associated with the Kiev Monastery of the Caves: MILIAEVA 1997, 79–87.

<sup>71</sup> DAZO, fond 151, opis 5, no. 230, fol. 21–22. Published by: TERDIK 2020f, 316–318. Grigore Maior was Greek Catholic Bishop of Făgăraş (*Fogaras*) (1772–1783). The Tream iconostasis does not exist anymore.

<sup>72</sup> In Maramureş, examples include Alexander Ponehalsky, Radu Munteanu, as well as other anonymous painters. Cf. BRATU 2015, 94–217.

<sup>73</sup> TERDIK 2014a, 171–173, 199–206.

widow is referenced.<sup>74</sup> A painted altar cross and a painted processional cross are also to be found in Abaújszántó, the former featuring the date 1791. The two crosses are certainly by a single master, and it is possible that they were both painted by Szécsényi for the new church.<sup>75</sup>

As a matter of fact, Szécsényi approached the Bishop in connection with a different issue: The Dean of Szatmár/Sátmar would not let him continue the assignment he had undertaken in the church of Moftinu Mic (*Kismajtény*). To prove his eligibility, he enclosed, on the one hand, a letter of acknowledgement written by the Moftinu Mic community and, on the other hand, his contract for the iconostasis of Shalanky (*Salánk*), along with words of praise from the local parish priest for the completed work.<sup>76</sup> His specimens in Tíream and Moftinu Mic have been lost by now,<sup>77</sup> but, in Shalanky, several icons survive, which might as well be regarded as Szécsényi's works accordingly. Whereas the present Shalanky church was built in the 1870s, the iconostasis of the former wooden church continued to be used as late as the early 20th century, when the Budapest company *Rétay és Benedek Műipari Intézet* was commissioned to make a new, unitary piece. Components of the previous ensemble were deposited in the steeple. The four sovereign-tier images and the icons of the Twelve Apostles preserved from the old iconostasis,

appearing to be works by a single artist and – based on their style – actually datable to the 1770s and the 1780s, could thus be Szécsényi's works.<sup>78</sup> On account of considerations relevant to criticism of style, the late-18th-century icons of the iconostasis of Fanchykovo (*Fancsika*) have also been linked to this ensemble by the author of the present text, but the question requires further research.<sup>79</sup>

However, it seems that the new style would triumph even in the Romanian parishes a few years later. In the village of Supuru de Jos (*Alsószopor*), situated on the boundary between Transylvania and Hungary – so much so that, administratively, the greater portion of the settlement was part of Szatmár County, while its remaining part belonged to the Transylvanian county of Közép-Szolnok – the Hungarian contract concluded with Antal Vörös, 'a painter of credit', on 1 October 1804 for the painting of the iconostasis of the church unequivocally states that: 'the work must be akin to the work in the Cathedral Church of Ungvár [Uzhhorod]' (translated from the Hungarian original).<sup>80</sup> As the iconostasis referred to in the contract is no longer to be found in the church, it cannot be established to what extent Vörös met the expectations.<sup>81</sup> For now, other works by Antal Vörös are not known, nor are his origins determined. He might have been invited for this assignment from one of the nearby major cities or towns, such as Oradea or Debrecen,

<sup>74</sup> The icon Theotokos with the Infant is currently on display at the Dobó István Museum of Eger. It was described in detail by the author of the present text in: TERDIK 2020a, 241–242, Cat. III.38 (Szilveszter Terdik).

<sup>75</sup> TERDIK 2020a, 242–243, Cat. III.39–40 (Szilveszter Terdik). The processional cross was conserved by Brigitta Kormos as part of her degree work at the Hungarian University of Fine Arts, Budapest, in the academic year 2021–2022. ZSÁMBÉKI-VÁRFALVI 2022, 27, Cat. 22.

<sup>76</sup> The latter are documents written in Slavonic. DAZO, fond 151, opis 5, no. 230, fol. 23–25. Published by: TERDIK 2020f, 318–321.

<sup>77</sup> About the former wooden church of Moftinu Mic, in which Szécsényi worked, a drawing survives from the mid-19th century. The drawing and the erstwhile little church were discussed in: TERDIK 2009, 121–123, 147, Picture 1. See also: SZŐCS, 2010, 25–30.

<sup>78</sup> The icons were examined on site in the spring of 2006: At that time, two sovereign-tier paintings (Christ and the Theotokos) were kept in the sanctuary of the church, where two rococo pilaster strips, most probably adopted from the ornamental carvings of the former iconostasis, were also seen in secondary placement. The other two sovereign-tier icons and the images of the Apostles were stored in the loft of the parish building. There was also a *Mandylion* icon, differing from the rest of the panel pictures; presumably, it dated from the early 18th century. Also most likely to have been made at the start of the 18th century, the frame of the former Royal Doors was kept in the steeple.

<sup>79</sup> TERDIK 2018a, 62–63.

<sup>80</sup> DAZO, fond 151, opis 6, no. 1355, fol. 38. Published by: TERDIK 2020f, 322–324. According to the date under the main cornice on the exterior of the south wall of the nave of the church of Supuru de Jos, the church was built in 1792. On the church, see also: SZŐCS 2008, 18, 26. On 3 June 1795, a Hungarian contract was signed by master glazier Pál Rosti for the making of the church windows (DAZO fond 151, opis 1, no. 1099, fol. 8); the date could also refer to the year of completion.

<sup>81</sup> The iconostasis must have been removed at the end of the 20th century. Some of its fragments were held at the Satu Mare County Museum, Satu Mare (*Szatmárnémeti*), in 2003, but they were returned to the possession of the local Orthodox deanery a few years later.

or even from Transylvania.<sup>82</sup> Under the terms of the contract, he was also to provide a carver, whose name is not mentioned at all.

For his followers, important models would be Mihály Spalinszky's simpler compositions (e.g., those in Máriapócs and Tokaj), as is, for instance, demonstrated by the contribution of Vencel Viller (1748–1806), who, settling in Košice, started work as a gilder and, later, performed painting activities as well in Greek Catholic churches. Of his iconostases, particularly notable are the iconostasis of Velyki Kom'yaty (*Magyarkomját/Nagykomját*), kept in museum collections from 1913 (purchased and, subsequently, handed over to the Museum of Ethnography, Budapest, by the Museum of Applied Arts of Budapest), and the ensemble of Kenézlő, still extant in its original location, which was most probably one of his last assignments, for he died shortly after its completion in the spring.<sup>83</sup> Reliable archival data are available only for the iconostasis of Kenézlő, unambiguously implying that the respective pictures were painted by him.<sup>84</sup> On the basis of his characteristic style, however, a range of other iconostases may also be credited to him, and it seems that the number of such attributions could even grow.<sup>85</sup>

## Late-Baroque Tendencies Parallel to the Rococo

Alongside the rococo idiom dominant over time in the Eparchy of Mukachevo, a more archaic form of iconostasis predicated upon an earlier system

of forms crystallised still in the 17th century also lived on, with particularly late examples surviving in Nyírac nád and Levelek.

In Nyírac nád, lying on the boundary between the Eparchy of Oradea and the Eparchy of Mukachevo, the church dedicated to the Protection of the Theotokos was completed in the late 18th century. Harking back to traditional, two-dimensional forms dating from the 17th century, its entire iconostasis was carved by Mihály Zetz, a master joiner from Debrecen, in 1793. The craftsman wrote his name and the date of production on the reverse of one of the pilaster strips, which became visible only during the latest conservation project.<sup>86</sup> The icons were painted by a hitherto unidentified, putatively Romanian master from Bihar/Bihor or Transylvania, in 1794, according to the date at the bottom of the Prophet Aaron's scroll. Joiner Mihály Zetz must have been a young craftsman, having completed his joinery masterpiece at the Guild of Debrecen in 1790.<sup>87</sup>

An as yet unidentified painter worked on the iconostasis of the church of the Protection of the Theotokos in Levelek. Evocative of the simplest and cheapest treasury standard designs, the building was constructed in the last quarter of the 18th century and was consecrated in 1797.<sup>88</sup> Its iconostasis, decorated with late-rococo carvings as well, and its high altar could be made around 1815. Both were substantially renewed in 1889, as indicated by entries in the parish ledger. For the iconostasis, this intervention involved replacing the four sovereign-tier icons, i.e. purchasing new

<sup>82</sup> Data from the period is available on Mátyás Veress (1739–1809), a painter from Cluj (*Kolozsvár*), who also had a son called Antal, though living in Baraolt (*Barót*) and working as a master joiner. B. NAGY 1970, 328–329.

<sup>83</sup> Viller's activities were discussed in detail by the author of the present text: TERDIK 2020c, 244–255. The paintings of the iconostasis of Velyki Kom'yaty have been conserved over the past few years. As of the spring of 2023, as permanent deposit, they have been on display as part of the Permanent Exhibition of the Greek Catholic Museum of Nyíregyháza.

<sup>84</sup> TERDIK 2020c, 245.

<sup>85</sup> TERDIK 2020c, 247–248. Lately, Fr Makariy Medvid has attributed the iconostases of the churches of Hrabovo (*Szidorfalva*) and Zhniatino (*Izsnýéte*) as well to him: МАКАРИЙ 2021e, 97–106.

<sup>86</sup> 'Michael Z[et]z / tislér meister, / Von Debretzen, Anno 1793, / gebist [...] Sibebietren (?)' Following the 1955 eastward expansion of the church, the iconostasis was partially truncated: With the removal of the two outer sovereign-tier icons and the Royal Doors, the central sovereign-tier icons were pushed to the sides to make the altar visible. In the 1990s, the iconostasis was restored in its original form. However, the icons of the title feast and of Saint Nicholas were irretrievably lost, so that new compositions were painted to replace them.

<sup>87</sup> Mihály Zetz (Setz) registered in the Carpenters' Guild of Debrecen in 1790 and was admitted the next year. On his activities, see: ZLINSZKYNÉ STERNÉGG 2008, 196–198. On 27 October 1800, the Karcag Calvinists paid him 6 guilders for two windows. ELEK 1993, 298.

<sup>88</sup> TERDIK 2011a, 30–31; TERDIK 2018b, 588, Pictures 9 and 10. Data on its construction are available from the protocols of the 1824 canonical visitation: NYIRÁN-MAJCHRICSNÉ UJTELEKI 2017a, 413.

sovereign-tier images painted on metal plates, to cover the earlier paintings.<sup>89</sup> It was only revealed during the conservation test of 2005 that, under the sovereign-tier image of the Theotokos painted on a metal plate, the first icon of the Theotokos of the *Hodigitria* type painted on canvas fixed on a wooden board also survived.<sup>90</sup> The upper rows of the iconostasis were transformed in 1969: The Feast Tier was covered with metal plates, the Apostles were hidden with fibreboards, and the Prophet Tier was completely newly made with metal.<sup>91</sup> A significant portion of the title feast icon was also extracted, with part of it remaining in situ, totally concealed, though.<sup>92</sup> Two panels – the Annunciation and the Pentecost – were incorporated into a museum collection.<sup>93</sup> The painter working here, whose identity will need to be established by

future scholarship, must have been rather simplistic, verging on the folk naïve.

Against the rococo tradition, a more classicising trend is represented by Arsenije Teodorović's iconostasis and altar design of a particularly delicate arrangement, which he prepared in Buda, in 1790 – presumably in agreement with Bishop Bacsinszky staying in the city at that time – for the furnishings of the church of Sts Peter and Paul of Kamienska (*Kövesfalva/Kamjonka*) in the Szepesség. Several design versions were presented for the parish under the patronage of the Hungarian Royal Treasury: two iconostasis drafts, one of which was signed by masters from the Szepesség. One draft was drawn by sculptor Johann Scholtz,<sup>94</sup> while the other by 'Arsenij Pantasić' in Buda in 1790, as evidenced by the Cyrillic

<sup>89</sup> The 1889 ledger already lists contributions of varying amounts made by members of the congregation for the renovation of the altar. On 22 May, 'payment of 13 guilders and 37 kreuzers was sent to Budapest for gold and other materials for the altar', and, later, '1 guilder and 25 kreuzers was paid for two paintbrushes, turpentine and nails for the painting of the altar'. On 9 June, 'payment of 6 guilders and 80 kreuzers was sent to Budapest for golden liquid', and, on the same day, '24 kreuzers was paid for paint'. On 12 August, 98 kreuzers was spent on 'postage for altar paint'. On 27 August, '20 guilders' was paid to the unnamed 'artist making the altar', while, on the same day, '10 kreuzers was spent on paint' and, subsequently, '1 guilder and 10 kreuzers on diverse items for the altar'. On 1 September, 'payment of 13 guilders and 72 kreuzers was sent to Budapest for paint, gold and other materials', whereas postage cost 21 and 98 kreuzers respectively. On 4 September, '86 kreuzers was due for white paint'. Ten days later, '5 kreuzers was payable to the artist making the altar'. In the final months of the year, payment was made on multiple occasions in conjunction with the iconostasis as well: in November ('20 guilders to the artist making the icon screen') and in December ('10 guilders to the artist for the renovation of the icon screen'), though, unfortunately, the master's name is not once specified. This master presumably worked on the renewal of the carved sections. The new images painted on metal plates (the two sovereign-tier icons in particular) might have been procured from Budapest and Uzhhorod: At one point, it is remarked that, on 18 October, 'payment of 16 guilders and 55 kreuzers was made to Tódor Kertész, Budapest, for paint and gold' and, on 21 October, 98 kreuzers was spent as 'painting transport expenses', while, in the following line, the note 'money to be sent to Ungvár [Uzhhorod] for the two pictures: 30 guilders and 10 kreuzers' was made, and, on 4 November, another payment was made 'to art-dealer Tódor Kertész' – this time, of 24 guilders and 60 kreuzers.

<sup>90</sup> In 2004, Margit Kiss assessed the condition of the iconostasis and also submitted a quotation for conservation, which was not implemented then. The documentation and the quotation are to be found in the parish archives.

<sup>91</sup> The then parish priest gave his account of the details of the radical intervention in the Parish Chronicle: 'The iconostasis of the church is in a very poor condition. (...) Thus, we have started replacing the paintings. The new pictures were painted by Mrs (Dr) László Kiss (Éva Jekelfalussy, by her painter's name). For the title feast day, the 12 Apostles and the 12 Feasts were complete. The congregation (p. 62) is happy because they make the church more attractive. Wood sculpting is also needed. Assignments of that kind are done by the wood sculptor of the Herman Ottó Museum in Miskolc' (translated from the Hungarian original). Parish Chronicle (*Historia Domus*), 61–62. In the archives of the parish of Levelek. Mrs László Kiss was a conservator living in Miskolc. The title feast of the church is on 1 October.

<sup>92</sup> Information on the condition of the panels left in Levelek is available in the conservation documentation of 2004 (see above): At that time, the panel 'The Entry into Jerusalem' was kept in the parish building; the icons of the Transfiguration, the Presentation of Jesus in the Temple (highly fragmented) and the Dormition of the Theotokos (highly fragmented) remained in the iconostasis.

<sup>93</sup> The former was previously in Géza Nagymihályi's collection. (He published it several times; its latest publication: NAGYMIHÁLYI 2006, 80–81, Picture 9). From there, it made its way to the Greek Catholic Museum. The other icon is found in the Herman Ottó Museum, Miskolc: Inv. No. 80.62.1.

<sup>94</sup> Reference of the iconostasis design: MNL OL (The Central Collection of the National Archives of Hungary), T 62.959. In the former location of the draft, a budget for the iconostasis and one for the high-altar are also found (with a total value of 881 Rhenish guilders), signed by image carver Johann Scholtz, carpenter Johann Setnik, painter Samuel Kramer and locksmith David Hanocz: MNL OL, E 87. 50, Batch 26, Fons 1790, fol. 5. Correspondence about the matter (ibid. fol. 305–310), with Bishop Bacsinszky's letter (ibid. fol. 1–4): The draft of the iconostasis was published by: PUSKÁS 2008, 166, Picture 103.



inscription in the right corner.<sup>95</sup> The latter artist was no-one else but Hungary's Orthodox painter who would achieve fame a few years later, calling himself Arsenije Teodorović from the mid-1790s. His draft showing only half of the iconostasis is considerably more precise, more refined and more richly coloured than what was typical at the time. It also indicates possible modes of gilding and marmoration. The possibility that, in drafting the design, he consulted the Bishop in person is most conspicuously hinted at by the small altar (*prestol*) in front of the outer sovereign-tier icon. In fact, this arrangement was unknown in Orthodox praxis, and, even in Hungary's Greek Catholic eparchies, it became general only in the Eparchy of Mukachevo under Bacsinszky's influence. Teodorović was exactly in the middle of his studies at the Arts Academy of Vienna at the time he produced the draft. (He was a student of that institution from 1788 to 1792).<sup>96</sup> As a curious document of his personal ties with Bacsinszky, an anamorphic portrait he made of the Hierarch was kept in Uzhhorod as late as the mid-20th century.<sup>97</sup> As was ordinary at the time, probably, none of the plans was realised here eventually.<sup>98</sup> The church would be given an iconostasis only in the middle of the 19th century.<sup>99</sup>

However, the form developed by image carver Johann Scholtz in the Kamienka design was undoubtedly realised elsewhere in the Szepesség. Among treasury records, an entire file is devoted to the demands of the Greek Catholic parishes within the Royal Demesne of Szepesség in this period.<sup>100</sup> The requests collated by the dean accurately document what was still lacking in individual communities around 1800. The parishioners of Jarabina (*Berkenyéd/Jarembina*) proposed the building of a new church in 1797, while also making plans and budgeting for the furniture, the altars and the iconostasis. They also suggested that they be allowed to sell the silver monstrance in their possession, which 'could not be employed in the Greek Rite' and use the revenue for the enlargement of the 'high altar', i.e. of the iconostasis.<sup>101</sup> The budget of the iconostasis written in German was prepared by Ignác Kraudy, a painter living in the Royal Free City of Sabinov (*Kisszeben*), including the price of image carving and carpentry in addition to the fees for painting assignments. It is notable that, in his quotation, the painter sometimes uses Slavonic terms in naming particular sections of the icon screen. In relation to the four sovereign-tier icons, he specifically stresses that upright figures will be compliant with 'Greek art'.<sup>102</sup> Kraudy also made

<sup>95</sup> MNL MOL, T 62, 969/4. This draft, as well as the designs of two altars and a pulpit (*ibid.* T 62.969/1–3) were isolated from the records representing the continuation of the case: MNL OL, E 87. 61, Batch 5, Fons 1791. One of the altar designs may also have been drawn by Pantasić; although it lacks a signature, its style agrees with that of the iconostasis (MNL MOL, T 62. 969/3). The plans also include a budget dated 1791, which was made by masters from the Szepesség. It already contains the entire sculptural and painting work of the church, and its value is nearly one and a half times greater (2736 Rhenish guilders) than the previous quotation. *Ibid.* fol. 281–282.

<sup>96</sup> BUZÁSI 2016, 261; PLEČAŠ 2019, 322–323. In 1790 he signed a contract to paint different icons in the Serbian orthodox church of Pomáz. GOLUB 2022, 32.

<sup>97</sup> TERDIK 2020b, 184.

<sup>98</sup> Even as late as 1799, the community requested the amount (2629 fl. 19 xr) awarded for the making of the furnishings in 1791. Cf. MNL OL, C 71. 1800, Fons 21. Positio 10, fol. 10v–12r.

<sup>99</sup> The wooden structure was erected in 1847, while the pictures painted by József Dobrovolyszki were installed a year later. This ensemble is longer extant, either. The present iconostasis may be associated with the large-scale refurbishment carried out in 1894. LIŠKA–GOJDIČ 2015, 356, 361.

<sup>100</sup> The requests, records and plans collected in this file were in the main produced between 1790 and 1800: MNL OL, C 71. 1800, Fons 21. Positio 10. The author of the present text thanks archivist Krisztina Kulcsár for pointing to this archival material.

<sup>101</sup> The iconostasis is called high altar when reference is made to the images on it: 'Pictura Arae principalis vulgo Iconos' MNL OL, C 71. 1800, Fons 21. Positio 10, fol. 7–9. The plan of the new church, signed by Ignaz Haerl, a master from Stará Lubovňa, was also enclosed. *Ibid.* fol. 73.

<sup>102</sup> 'Imus Bildhauer arbit alles midt gutte Gold zu verzhieren – 180. Rfl / 2dus Tischler Arbit alles Alabaster weißgalieren – 135. Rfl / 3tius Die Mahlerai in Bildern, ober in daß grosses Kraizunsern Haüland figur a f. 3 x 40. untern Kraiz Mariam und Johanes eine per 2 f. x 18. macht sam – 8. Rgl. 16 xr / Nro 6. Profeten jeder stuk a f 3. x 36. macht zusam – 21. Rfl 36 xr / Nro 12. Aposteln jeder stuk a f 4. x 42. macht zusam – 56. Rfl 48 xr / vor daß Bild in der Mitte Archiere – 9. Rfl / Nro 12. Prazniki midt fille, und kleinen figuren a f 4. x 20. – 52. Rfl / 1 Bild in der Mitte – a f – 6. Rfl 40 x / Nro 4. haubt Bilder in ganze die figuren auf griechische art in Goldt Eingefast stuk a f 18. – 72. Rfl / Nro 6. klainen Bilder in der Raichs thir oder Czarske dwerea a f 1. 25 x – 8. Rfl 30. xr / Summa 549 Rfl 50 xr / Ignatius Kraudy aus Konigl. fraiü Stadt Ceeben Mahler mp" MNL OL, C 71. 1800, Fons 21. Positio 10, fol. 76.

a quotation for Sulín (*Nagyszulin*), with drafts appended. Sculpting work was to be undertaken by Johann Scholtz, a sculptor from Stará Ľubovňa (*Ólubló*), here as well.<sup>103</sup> In Litmanová (*Hársád*), the construction of an iconostasis and a pulpit was envisaged (the related expenses estimated at 618 guilders and 4 deniers), with a quotation also submitted by Kraudy.<sup>104</sup> The same procedure was adopted for Stráňany (*Nagymajor/Folyvárk*) and Osturňa (*Osztornya*), too.<sup>105</sup> The quotation for the church of Kremná (*Lublókorompa/Krempach*) concerned only a pulpit and its painting.<sup>106</sup>

In the present discussion, only the iconostasis of Jarabina, professionally conserved in recent years, will be described. The Latin inscription on the reverse of the sovereign-tier icon of Saint John the Baptist, legible all along, reveals that the construction of the church was begun in 1803 and it would not be fully completed before 1809, and that the iconostasis was painted by Ignác Kraudy indeed.<sup>107</sup> It was discovered during the conservation that Kraudy's pictures were covered with new ones in the 19th century. In the course of the restoration work, these were removed, and the original paintings were exposed.<sup>108</sup> As a rare arrangement, the icon of the title feast of the church, i.e. the depiction of the

Birth of the Theotokos, was placed directly above the Royal Doors, in the central axis of the Feast Tier, which is normally occupied by the icon of the Last Supper. It is safe to assume that Kraudy deemed this position beneficial for the composition as the proportions of the sovereign-tier icons optimised for upright figures were not favourable for the accommodation of a multi-figural scene. Thus, the fourth image in the Sovereign Tier came to be that of Saint John the Baptist. Witnessing Kraudy's paintings helps explain the radical decision of his 19th-century successors: In fact, the painter was not most adept at figural representation; he is likely to have had greater experience in marmoration and gilding. Other works by him are not particularly evidenced; he signed a contract with the Lutherans of Nyíregyháza in 1803 for the painting and gilding of the organ and gallery of the local church.<sup>109</sup>

The north side of the nave of the Jarabina church accommodates a baroque side altar, the altarpiece of which – albeit found only in secondary placement here – is a rare baroque depiction of the Theotokos: a replica of the 16th-century devotional image of the Viennese former Jesuit church of the Nine Choirs of Angels at the Court (*am Hof*), which may have found its way here from one of the dissolved

<sup>103</sup> One sheet features a draft of the iconostasis, while the other contains drafts of the baldachined high altar, the table of oblation and the pulpit. MNL OL, C 71. 1800, Fons 21. Positio 10, fol. 109, 111. Kraudy's quotation: *ibid.* fol. 108, Scholtz's quotation: *ibid.* fol. 107. The present church was built later, but, based on its style, the iconostasis could date from the early 19th century, though, in 1896, it was also transformed and expanded, and some of the paintings were replaced. Nevertheless, the depictions of the Church Fathers on the pulpit vase may have been created by Kraudy. For some data on the iconostasis and a few pictures of the pulpit, see: BORZA–GRADOŠ 2018, 588.

<sup>104</sup> MNL OL, C 71. 1800, Fons 21. Positio 10, fol. 11v–13r. For the detailed quotation for the furnishings, see: *ibid.* fol. 106. The original furnishings of the church no longer exist.

<sup>105</sup> Kraudy's quotation for the painting of the furnishings of the church of Stráňany: 801 Rfl 6 xr. MNL OL, C 71. 1800, Fons 21. Positio 10, fol. 122. Albeit rebuilt in the first half of the 20th century, the baroque church of the village still exists. Of its original furnishings, a baroque pulpit has been preserved. Fragments of the rococo iconostasis are currently stored in the loft. As suggested by the pulpit and the visible pictures of the iconostasis (the Prophets and the Royal Doors), eventually, it was not Kraudy but a more talented artist who worked in this place. Photographs taken on site courtesy of Fr Makariy Medvid.

<sup>106</sup> Pulpit design for Kremná: MNL OL, C 71. 1800, Fons 21. Positio 10, fol. 113. Kraudy's quotation for the painting of the Kremná pulpit with images of the Four Evangelists, for 100 Rhenish guilders: *ibid.* fol. 112. Scholtz's quotation for making the Kremná pulpit, for 93 Rhenish guilders and 51 kreuzers: *ibid.* fol. 111. The church no longer has a pulpit.

<sup>107</sup> 'Franciscus I<sup>us</sup> Regia Majestas Resolvit sumptu[m] / necessitatem proposuit Michael Kanjuk Parochus / secundavit Officiolatus / Plurimum dirigens Fiscalis Fischer operatus / Comunitas Jarabiensis suos manuales labores non denegando / nec parsimoniari pro decore prae oculis habendo / Ignatius Krau[dy] Pictor Cibinensis Ikonos investivit / et semet per suum laborem co[mun]abilem redidit / Michael Konjuk Parochus ex solidis mate[riis] Ec[c]le[siam] erigere A. 1803 incepit / et cum interna sua structura Anno 1809 finivit / die 5. 8bris' Photograph of the inscription courtesy of Fr Makariy Medvid.

<sup>108</sup> The 19th-century paintings were put on the back of the iconostasis. On the conservation work between 2006 and 2014, see: TAHY 2018, 95.

<sup>109</sup> A copy of his contract written in Slovak survives in the parish protocol. The agreement was signed on 15 May 1803. Kraudy then received an advance of 450 guilders for his assignment worth 1350 Rhenish guilders. See: Nyíregyháza jegyzőkönyvek [Nyíregyháza Protocols] 1753–1820, 482–483, in the Archives of the Lutheran parish of Nyíregyháza.

Jesuit religious houses of the area in the late 18th century.<sup>110</sup>

Distinct from the Uzhhorod example and lacking rococo elements, a prominent specimen of late-baroque decorative sculpture in the Eparchy of Mukachevo is the furniture of the church of Hajdúdorog, with the completion of the assignment extending into the 19th century. For the carving of the monumental iconostasis, Miklós Jankovics, an Orthodox sculptor from the Southern Territories of the Kingdom of Hungary settling and working in Eger, was contracted in 1799. In the contract, reference is made to the iconostases of the Cathedral of Uzhhorod, the Greek Orthodox church of Pest and of the Serbian Orthodox Cathedral of Sremski Karlovci (*Karlóca*) as prototypes to be considered.<sup>111</sup> This broad horizon features works, on the one hand, familiar to the clients (Uzhhorod) and, on the other hand, representing the own repertoire of the master employed. Jankovics could refer to the church of Pest as his own work, whereas the roots of his style are illustrated by the monumental iconostasis of Sremski Karlovci erected by members of the Markovics dynasty of Novi Sad (*Újvidék*) and their students in the 1770s.<sup>112</sup> The iconostases of several Greek Catholic churches (e.g., of Szerencs and Sajópálfala – the latter has perished by now, with only a single sovereign-tier icon surviving<sup>113</sup>), were made at Jankovics's workshop, possibly already with the involvement of his student from Eger, Péter Pádits, in the early 19th century, to be followed by Pádits's independent assignments after Jankovics's death (Abod and Abaújszántó).<sup>114</sup> Pádits's most grandiose work came to be the iconostasis of the Serbian Orthodox Cathedral of Buda (1813), the icons of which were painted by Arsenije Teodorović (1817–1820). During the brief stay of the latter in

Eger, the two would become godparents to each other's children.<sup>115</sup> The compositional proportions of the icon screen of Hajdúdorog designed by Jankovics created the possibility of painting upright-figure sovereign-tier icons as well in the territory of the Eparchy. According to the current state of scholarship, though previously unprecedented, this phenomenon became common for the vast majority of Hungary's Orthodox iconostases as of the mid-18th century. It is, nonetheless, undeniable that the full-figure sovereign-tier icons of the above examples from the Szepesség predate the Hajdúdorog ensemble. In the iconostasis of the Cathedral of Uzhhorod, half-figure positioning was still preferred as a more ancient tradition.

The iconostasis of Hajdúdorog is different from that of the Uzhhorod Cathedral not only in its sculptural but in its painting style as well. Still during Bishop Bacsinszky's lifetime, in 1808, two painters originally from Baja, János Szüts and Mátyás Hittner, were contracted for the grand work, causing them to relocate with their families from Miskolc to the Hajduk town. In their contract, it was remarked that the pictures would be allocated 'in accordance with the rite' (*ritus szerint*) and would be made 'to the best taste of today's world' (*mai világnak leg jobb ezléssére*), understood as a light base and the depiction of saints 'in historically realistic terms' (*a maga eredeti valóságában*), with natural colours.<sup>116</sup> The work prolonged for years was accompanied by numerous conflicts: The painters would first quarrel with the town and later with one another as well. The chief cause of tension with the town was that they were unable to keep the deadlines. In one of the documents connected to the dispute, as a reason for their procrastination, the painters, among other things, cited the circumstance (Point 22) that,

<sup>110</sup> On the Viennese devotional image, see: AURENHAMMER 1956, 114–116. In a Greek Catholic setting, a similar replica from 1843 also survives in the church of the Dormition of the Theotokos in Létavértes. The author of the present text discussed this and the devotional image of Vienna extensively in: Szilveszter Terdik. „Kegyelemnek Anyja” egy alig ismert bécsi kegykép másolata Nagylétán, *Görögkatolikus Szemlélet*, 7 (2020), 4. szám, 50–53.

<sup>111</sup> TERDIK 2011a, 50–53. For the contract made with the carver, see: *ibid.* 89–90.

<sup>112</sup> On the activities of the Markovicses, see: КУЛИЧ 2007. On their student, Avram Manojlovics, contracted for making the iconostasis of Baja in 1788, see: GOLUB 2011.

<sup>113</sup> Christ is featured in the painting in three-quarter figure. Its painter is unknown; it displays late-baroque stylistic features.

<sup>114</sup> TERDIK 2011a, 53–54.

<sup>115</sup> On this subject, see: SIMIĆ 2019, 129–178; KULIĆ 2019, 179–188.

<sup>116</sup> For the text of the contract, see: TERDIK 2011a, 90–91.

on one occasion, the ‘Right Reverend Tarkovics’ ordered that they not even start painting the pictures before looking at works in another churches. Tarkovics recommended in particular the ‘Russian’ church of Oradea to them so as to avoid making any mistakes in distinguishing between Eastern and Western images.<sup>117</sup> Formerly parish priest of Hajdúdorog, Gergely Tarkovics worked as a censor of Slavonic books in Buda in this period.<sup>118</sup> His instructions clearly speak to the fact that maintaining a distinction between images of the Byzantine Rite and those of the Latin Rite was important to contemporaries. It is highly regrettable that this concern was not specified in more detail. Therefore, it cannot be established what concepts were utilised in describing the required differences. It is possible that the differentiation was merely confined to differences of form (e.g. the use of inscriptions and haloes). Scrutinising the Oradea paintings held in particularly high esteem by Tarkovics might appear to be helpful in resolving the question. However, no progress has been registered along these lines, either, even though the ‘Russian’ church still exists.<sup>119</sup> He contracted painter János Buda for the painting of the first iconostasis,<sup>120</sup> though it is not in the church any more.<sup>121</sup> For now, no other works by master Buda are in evidence, so his art cannot be conceptualised with the help of analogies, either.

Following the disputes, Szűts remained in Hajdúdorog, but Hittner settled in Košice. The latter’s

involvement in other Greek Catholic churches is in evidence (e.g. the four sovereign-tier icons in Tokaj, ca. 1820).<sup>122</sup> It seems likely that the signature ‘M. Hüttner’ on the portrait of Mihály Greguss (1793–1835)<sup>123</sup> – as the sole known example of his paintings with secular themes – kept in the main building of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences is also identical with the name of Hittner.

Although, presumably, neither of them had attended an academy, their art was thoroughly affected by artists studying in Vienna, who worked on the monumental iconostases of Orthodox churches in Hungary at the time. Such an artist was Arsenije Teodorović, whose first major commission was the painting of the iconostasis of St Nicholas’ church in Baja, Hittner’s native town, from 1793 – a specimen that they must have had the opportunity to see. In Miskolc, they were also able to observe the works of Anton Kuchlmeister, a Viennese painter, who worked in Pest and in most of the Orthodox churches of north-eastern Hungary from 1801.<sup>124</sup> The painters of the Hajdúdorog icons drew on the same engraving tradition as their contemporaries of greater significance did,<sup>125</sup> but the intention to follow late-baroque Viennese academicism is discernible in the manner of painting, composition structuring, as well as in the application of dark and natural backgrounds as well.

For now, of the images of the Hajdúdorog iconostasis, only one painting may be regarded

<sup>117</sup> On the dispute in more detail, see: TERDIK 2011a, 54–62. In February 1811, the painters explained the reasons for their lateness to the Town Magistracy in 27 points. The documents were published in: *ibid.* 93–104.

<sup>118</sup> Tarkovics was parish priest of Hajdúdorog from 1793 to 1797 and lived in Buda from 1804 to 1813. DUCHNOVIČ 1971, 49–50.

<sup>119</sup> This is a reference to the small church of St Bridget built in 1692 and functioning as the first temporary cathedral after the expulsion of the Ottoman Turks. It was given to the Ruthenian Greek Catholics in 1786; currently, it is an Orthodox church. PÉTER I. 2008, 70–71.

<sup>120</sup> The contract was signed on 20 October 1788. The master accepted the assignment for 200 guilders. A Romanian translation of the Hungarian contract was published by: CHIRIAC 1996, 150–151.

<sup>121</sup> The church was renovated in the 1980s, its furnishings were replaced, and the iconostasis from that period was transported to a village. Information courtesy of Tamás Emődi. As a matter of course, it cannot be claimed with full certainty that the first iconostasis made by Buda was still in existence.

<sup>122</sup> On their assignments in Hajdúdorog and elsewhere, see: TERDIK 2011a, 54–65.

<sup>123</sup> Mihály Greguss by an unknown artist (with the signature ‘M Hüttner’). Oil, canvas, 88 x 69.5 cm (34.64 x 27.36”). Signature left of middle: ‘M Hüttner P’: Deposit, Art Collection of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. The author of the present text thanks Edit Szentesi for pointing to this painting.

<sup>124</sup> For a recent discussion on Kuchlmeister’s activities, with previous literature, see: TERDIK 2019, 205–210. The vault images of the Orthodox church of Miskolc were also painted by him in 1807, as indicated by the Latin inscription on the vault section of the west gallery.

<sup>125</sup> Arsenije Teodorović’s use of engravings was explored in conjunction with the iconostasis of the Tabán Cathedral. The engraved prototype posited for the *Resurrection* icon of that church (see: SIMIĆ 2019, 164–165) is more closely adhered to in the *Resurrection* painting in the central axis of the iconostasis of Hajdúdorog. On the latter, see: TERDIK 2011a, 62, 174, Picture 54. The composition ‘Flight to Egypt’ in the Feast Tier of the Hajdúdorog iconostasis is based on an engraving attributed to Caspar Luyken (1672–1708) from the Netherlands, published by de Christpoh Weigel (1654–1712). Cf. VYSKUPOVÁ 2016, 102, Picture 160.

as Mátyás Hittner's work beyond any doubt: the sovereign-tier icon of the Theotokos, which was simply called 'the Dame of Pest' in Szüts's 1812 whispering campaign.<sup>126</sup> In what follows, with a focus on this picture, an attempt will be made to explore in what ways and to what extent Hittner met the expectations set out in the contract, *viz.* the criterion that his paintings were to cater for the taste of the contemporary world and the peculiarities of the rite at the same time. Among the sovereign-tier icons, at first glance, it is precisely the image of the Virgin Mary that appears to be particularly distant from conventional Byzantine patterns. The Virgin Mary stands on a globe. Her *contrapposto* pose, as well as her red robe fluttering in the wind behind her lend an air of ethereal gracefulness to her figure, which is somewhat suppressed by her oversized feet. The emotiveness between Mother and Child is intensified by the fact that Mary tightly draws Jesus to herself, while directing her sight to the distance in contemplation. The globe employed as a pedestal, the composition of Mary's figure and the dynamic folds of her garment suggest that Hittner must have been inspired by the upright variants of *Immaculata* images.<sup>127</sup> The position of Mary's hands also appears to be unusual: She clasps her left hand with her right. Nevertheless, this motif might also be understood as an allusion to the almost uniquely special gesture of the ancient icon *Salus Populi Romani* – or, as popularly called, Our Lady of the Snows –<sup>128</sup> kept at the Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome and attributed to Saint Luke, widely known from numerous engraved and painted replicas. The painter might perhaps have intended to create a link between his own work and an 'archetypal' image of the Virgin Mary. The situation is complicated by the fact, in the early 19th century, engravings

of Our Lady of the Snows emerged with captions referring to another devotional image as well: A small coloured copperplate is in evidence from Ferenc Széchényi's album of devotional pictures, with the following text below the engraving showing the Roman 'Luke image': *A' Pócsi boldogságos Szűz* [The Blessed Virgin of Máriapócs].<sup>129</sup> This is all the more peculiar because a Hungarian sermon in which the homilist likens the miraculous icon of Máriapócs precisely to the devotional image of the Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore survives from the late 18th century.<sup>130</sup> It cannot be proved – nor can it be entirely excluded – that Hittner formed the compositions assigned to him by drawing on similar prototypes, blending the painting arrangements and iconographic traditions of the 'first' icons of the Virgin Mary and of the Marian images previously developed by himself. The Roman devotional image occurring as a sovereign-tier icon in iconostases is also exemplified: Šarišský Štiavnik and Nevyts'ke (*Neviceke*) (late 18th century), as well as Irota (mid-19th century). This may also be accounted for by the circumstance that, in the territory of the Polish-Lithuanian Union, copies of the Roman icon were venerated as devotional images in Latin and Byzantine environments alike.<sup>131</sup>

The pulpit and the bishop's throne of the church were also painted by them. Whereas, on the back-wall of the former, the figure of the sower is particularly well-formed, the depictions of the Church Fathers decorating the vase do not meet the same standards. The walls of the church of Hajdúdorog were adorned by few murals: small medallion pictures representing Old Testament sacrifices in the sanctuary and a ceiling painting of the Trinity on the vault section in front of the

<sup>126</sup> In 1812, the two painters even had a fight. Szüts would go as far as having a pasquinade, i.e. a lampoon in verse form, composed against Hittner's works, and he would have it copied by his children and disseminate it in the town. Though the text of the satire has not been preserved, it seems likely that it was in that poem that the figure of Mary in the icon of the Theotokos was styled 'the Dame of Pest'. TERDIK 2011a, 56–57.

<sup>127</sup> On these, see: SZILÁRDFY 2003, 20–25.

<sup>128</sup> On the cult of the icon in Hungary, see: SZILÁRDFY 2003, 96–101.

<sup>129</sup> Count Ferenc Széchényi's album of devotional pictures is held by the National Széchényi Library, Budapest; reference: App. M. 1227. The engraving was described in: TÜSKÉS 2010, 282. On the album of devotional pictures, see: TERDIK 2020a, 313, Cat. IV.4 (Szilveszter Terdik).

<sup>130</sup> TERDIK 2020d, 295.

<sup>131</sup> For more detail on this subject, see: Szilveszter TERDIK, Egy csodatévő kegykép sajátos ökumenizmusa. A római Lukács-ikon példája, *Görögkatolikus Szemlélet*, 6 (2019), 3–4. szám, 112–115.

iconostasis in the nave. The latter has completely disappeared by now.<sup>132</sup>

Of Hittner's later works, the five pictures (sovereign-tier images and Christ the Great High Priest) he painted as part of the rococo iconostasis of Pol'any (*Bodrogmezői/Leleszpolyán*) are worth highlighting. These paintings were attributed to him by the author of the present text for the first time in 2011, on criticism-of-style-related grounds.<sup>133</sup> The ensemble was conserved in recent years, when the backgrounds of the pictures were gilded. Presumably, it was from the bole employed for the modelling of the background that the conservator deduced – unfortunately erroneously – that the backgrounds of the sovereign-tier images must have been gilded originally. According to the late-19th-century inscription on the back of the iconostasis, it was made between 1800 and 1809, though the inscription makes no mention of the names either of the carvers or of the painters. The majority of the pictures were produced by a painter much better trained than Hittner but whose name remains unknown. That painter is likely to have worked not long after the carver's assignment. Hittner could, however, commence his work only around 1820, during his Košice period.

The rococo carving of the Pol'any iconostasis speaks to an exceptionally skilful and experienced sculptor with an excellent sense of form, who must have relied on the icon screen of the Cathedral of Uzhhorod in developing the structure of the construction, while, in the subtle details of the carvings and in the daring and meticulous execution of floral ornaments, flowers and grape bunches, he even surpassed his prototype. This represents an odd instance of the resurgence of the Rococo – extravagant at times – which, in this period, began to be irrevocably supplanted by Classicism – at least

in most of the country, though not in the Eparchy of Mukachevo – with its order-centred focus culminating in boundless drabness only a few decades later. Fortunately, no traces of this tendency are seen here yet. As indicated by the stylistic connections of the carvings, the sculptor of the iconostasis of Pol'any may have been Martin Duchnovics, who had carved the sumptuous icon screen of the Greek Catholic church of the Protection of the Theotokos in Nevyts'ke in 1798, according to the Church Slavonic inscription on the back of the ensemble. In the same inscription, the icon painter, Timofey Kokharskyi (*Timót Koharszky* in Hungarian), also identifies himself.<sup>134</sup> A closer look at the paintings of the iconostasis suggests that he was a painter working on the basis of Western prototypes but failing to reach the artistic standards of Spalinszky or of his immediate followers. He also decorated the chalk-grounding of the sovereign-tier icons with engraved patterns.<sup>135</sup>

Little is known of sculptor Duchnovics's life. The name of sculptor Martinus Duchnovszky surfaces in the Hungarian literature. Granted civic rights in Bardejov in 1773, he was a Catholic 'patrician'.<sup>136</sup> For now, it cannot be ascertained if the two individuals are related. In the 1930s, M. Lelekach discussed Duchnovics's works. According to the data published by him, Duchnovics worked for the church of Koroml'a (*Koromlak/Korumlya*), Ung County, in 1788. At that time, the sculptor is referred to as a native of Stropkov (*Sztropkó*) or Michalovce (*Nagymihály*). In addition to Nevyts'ke, he also worked in Topol'a (*Topolya*, now part of Michalovce), Hažin (*Gezsény/ Gézsén*) and Kal'nyk (*Kalnik/Beregsárrét*), where he is said to have died.<sup>137</sup> From this, it may be established that Duchnovics's career started in Upper Zemplén County, though he would receive most of his assignments from Ung County parishes.

<sup>132</sup> On the Old Testament images, see: PUSKÁS 2008, 156–157; TERDIK 2011a, 62.

<sup>133</sup> TERDIK 2011a, 63

<sup>134</sup> A photograph of the inscription was published by: ПРИЙМИЧ 2014, 136, 138.

<sup>135</sup> The two central icons in the Sovereign Tier must have been thoroughly reworked at some point, but the original patterned background has been retained.

<sup>136</sup> AGGHÁZY 1959, 186.

<sup>137</sup> Quoted in: ПРИЙМИЧ 2014, 138. These works of his have not survived; the respective churches have been rebuilt. He worked in the church of Kal'nyk in the late 18th century. In conjunction with his assignment there, his name also appears in the form *Duchnovszki* in the relevant sources. Cf. СИРОХМАН/SYROKHMAN 2000, 183.

Duchnovics made the wooden furnishings in the church of Zarichovo (*Drugetháza/Záricsó*), Ung County, in 1809, according to the commemorative inscription on the back of the iconostasis; painting was completed by the aforementioned Timótk Kohárszky.<sup>138</sup> The two artists are also mentioned in the church's inventory from 1848; the compiler of the inventory did not have a positive opinion of the quality of the painter's work.<sup>139</sup> It was presumably this circumstance that led to the repainting of the pictures in the second half of the 19th century: first by Ferdinánd Vidra in 1859, as well as several times afterwards, in the course of the 20th century. Duchnovics's style also became more moderate in this ensemble. In the Calvary composition on the pediment of this iconostasis, however, he also applied the baldachin motif seen in his earlier works as well.<sup>140</sup>

Thus, even two locations where this sculptor and painter worked together are evidenced. Consequently, it is reasonable to suggest that Kohárszky should be seen as the painter of the Feast- and Apostle Tiers in Pol'any. Settling the question would, however, require further comparative analysis, for which the lesser repainted upper rows of the Nevyts'ke iconostasis might even prove to be appropriate specimens.

In those years, two other masters, painter György Zsolnai and carver János Majerhoffer, were active in the area of Uzhhorod. Archival sources and the

literature contain data on the activities of painters György Szolnay and György Zsolnay. The former is referred to as a painter from Michalovce, while the latter as from Uzhhorod. It seems that the two names denote two different persons, though they may as well have been related (father and son?). The two variants of the surname could result from the fact that the name *Solnay* was read in two different ways, or – based on the spoken form – it was spelt variously.

In May 1772, Georg Szolnay was employed at the Csáky Mansion of Humenné (*Homonna*), though it cannot be determined for exactly what assignment.<sup>141</sup> On 20 July 1774, he submitted a quotation for the full furnishings (the high altar, the table of oblation and the five-row iconostasis) of the Greek Catholic church of Michalovce, jointly with Georgius Plebanovics, a sculptor from Humenné.<sup>142</sup> In 1786, as a Michalovce painter, he performed the valuation of the murals of the Pauline Monastery of Trebišov (*Töketerebes*).<sup>143</sup>

In 1792, the Hungarian Royal Treasury accepted György Zsolnay's quotation for the marbling and gilding of the high altar of the Roman Catholic parish church of Uzhhorod.<sup>144</sup> According to the accounts of the Greek Catholic Cathedral of Uzhhorod, in 1794-1795, he was paid a minor sum for a more closely unspecified assignment.<sup>145</sup> He submitted a quotation for the painting and gilding of the furniture of the Greek Catholic church of

<sup>138</sup> The history of the church built in 1770 and the makers of the iconostasis were previously commemorated by: János TORMA, *Záricsó községünk múltja és jelene. Görögkatolikus Szemle*, 2 (1901), 2. szám, 2–3. The inscription was published by: СИРОХМАН/SYROKHMAN 2000, 76.

<sup>139</sup> 'The icon screen separating the sanctuary from the nave was carved by a woodcarver by the name of Duchnovits (*sic*) at the expense of the Church and the congregation in the year 1809 and painted by Timótk Kohárszky (*sic*) in the same year. This icon screen consists of the following: the four principal images and the Royal Doors opening in two directions in the first tier; the second tier comprises 12 images showing the 12 approved feasts; the third tier contains the 12 Apostles, with the image of Our Lord Jesus Christ as the High Priest in the middle; in the fourth tier, the images of the 12 Prophets are arrayed, with the cross of Our Saviour crowning them at the top, surrounded by depictions of the Virgin Mary and Saint John the Apostle. The painting of the icon screen is durable, its gilding is exquisite, but the pictures are revealing of the artist's unskilled hands' (translated from the Hungarian original). DAZO fond 151, opis 9, no. 2668, fol. 51.

<sup>140</sup> During the last restoration, the whole ensemble was allegedly substituted by a replica, an arrangement considered to be a widespread 'conservation' method in Transcarpathia in the past few decades. Fr Makariy Medvid, personal communication.

<sup>141</sup> GRANASZTÓI 2009, 123.

<sup>142</sup> The document was described and partially published by: HENSZLMANN 1973, 59.

<sup>143</sup> GARAS 1955, 256; JÁVOR 2000, 176.

<sup>144</sup> MNL OL, E 87, Batch 81, Fons 17, fol. 112. Zsolnay's quotation for 400 guilders, written in German, is dated 19 May 1792. Ibid. fol. 479.

<sup>145</sup> '11o – Pictori Georgio Zsolnay pro labore sub B.P. – 4 Rfl. DAZO fond 151, opis 25, no. 177, fol. 7r

Lekarovce (*Lakárt*) in 1799 and 1800 as well.<sup>146</sup> He painted the iconostasis of the church of Nyzhnje Solotvyno (*Alsószlatina/Nagyszlatina*), Ung County, of which his contract – written in Slavonic yet in the Latin script – survives.<sup>147</sup> In 1802, he made a quotation for the painting of the iconostasis of Tur'ya-Bystra (*Turjasebes/Turjabisztra*), which was carved by Martin Duhnovszky.<sup>148</sup> This assignment was not granted to Zsolnay, but the tender was won by 'Franciscus Paer' (in other sources: *Peer, Beer* or *Ber*), a painter from Mukachevo, instead, who – as opposed to Zsolnay's quotation for 630 guilders – accepted the task for 440 guilders.<sup>149</sup> As, about the accomplishments of the latter painter, even Bishop Bacsinszky harboured some doubts, he ordered that the Basilian Prior from Maliy Berezniiy be sent to the site to check what he produced. According to the Dean's report, witnessing the work done to that point, the Hegumen was pleased with Peer's performance.<sup>150</sup> The fact that an inspection was conducted is all the more peculiar because this was not Peer's first iconostasis: The icon screen of the wooden church of the Descent of the Holy Spirit in Huklyvyi (*Zugó/Hukliva*) had also been painted by him in 1784.<sup>151</sup>

On 20 July, Zsolnay was contracted to paint and gild the high altar and the table of oblation of the

church of Korytnyany (*Kereknye*), along with the baldachin and candlesticks of the former, for 200 Rhenish guilders. He was required to make the altar white, i.e. of 'alabaster' colour.<sup>152</sup> He did deliver this order; he is also referenced in connection with the assignment in the church inventory from August 1809.<sup>153</sup> The altar itself was made by Jakab 'Vais' (presumably: Weiss) in 1798; although its tabernacle had dated from 1770, it was topped by a small cross in 1801.<sup>154</sup> Zsolnay had also painted an *Epitaphios* for the Korytnyany church for 12 guilders as early as 1799.<sup>155</sup>

The iconostasis was made by master Johann Majerhoffer in 1798-1799. The 1809 inventory also reveals that the master hailed from the vicinity of Prešov, from Solivar (*Sóvár*). The lime wood needed for the assignment was procured from Vajkaja and, after it was dried for two years, it was cut into boards of varying sizes in the Demesne of Uzhhorod. The sculptor worked in situ for 300 guilders and he even installed the complete piece in its place.<sup>156</sup> As the carver felt that he was not remunerated for his extra work, he had a dispute over payment issues with the parish priest and, subsequently, with the community as well, which took the matter to manorial court. Although it is not known how the conflict was resolved, the complaint of the community hints that,

<sup>146</sup> He submitted the first quotation in Latin. He estimated the sculptural work at 800 and the painting assignment at 1200 Rhenish guilders. He would have demanded 60 Rhenish guilders for the gilding of the two crosses of the church and the associated knobs. The quotation was dated Uzhhorod, 20 August 1799. Next to his signature (*Georgius Zsolnay Pictor Ung.*), his seal is also featured. MNL OL, E 87, Batch 256, Fons 20, fol. 798r. The other quotation is much more detailed and is written German. For the sculptural part, he made a joint quotation with András Majerhoffer, a sculptor from Uzhhorod, on 18 January 1800. This also features the seals of both of them; Zsolnay's signature is in German (*Georg Zsolnay Maler*). Ibid. fol. 799.

<sup>147</sup> Dated Lyakhivtsi (*Lehóc*), 16 October 1800. DAZO fond 151, opis 6, no. 607, fol. 3. The contract is accompanied by the Dean of Sereďnie (*Szerednye*).

<sup>148</sup> The letter of András Popovics, parish priest of Tur'ya-Bystra, to the Eparchial Bishop from 9 July 1802. DAZO fond 151, opis 6, no. 1053, fol. 36. With a copy of the painter's quotation on a small slip enclosed. Ibid. fol. 38.

<sup>149</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 6, no. 1053. fol. 65.

<sup>150</sup> Dean János Lyachovits's report from Velikiy Berezniiy (*Nagyberezna*), dated 30 August 1802. DAZO, fond 151, opis 6, no. 1063, fol. 65r

<sup>151</sup> ПРИЙМИЧ 2014, 127.

<sup>152</sup> A copy of his contract written in Latin: DAZO fond 151, opis 6, no. 1202, fol. 122.

<sup>153</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 6, no. 1962, fol. 17v

<sup>154</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 6, no. 1962, fol. 17r

<sup>155</sup> 'Syndon seu Plascenitza, opus Zsolnaianum, Ao 1799. fl. 12 constat' DAZO fond 151, opis 6, no. 1962, fol. 18r

<sup>156</sup> 'Novum, quod actu exstat Iconostasium, procuratis praevis Tiliaceis Lignis ex Vajkaja Possessione Filiali Orosz-Komorórtzensim biennio ante, ac in Runcina Dominali Unghvariensi, in Asseres diversae crassitici conscissis, Anno 1799. velut Trabs interne exhibet, medio Joannis Majerhoffer sculptoris, origine ex Só-vár ad Eperiesinum, hic in Loco, in summa fl. 300. praeter victualia, Liberumque Hospitium exsculptum, ac suo Loco appositum est. Protocoll Tomo 1o Folio 36.' DAZO fond 151, opis 6, no. 1962, fol. 18v



in September 1800, Majerhoffer already worked in the Basilian Monastery of Bukovce (*Bukóc*).<sup>157</sup> As evidenced by the iconostasis sketch preserved in the case file, as well as by the still extant icon screen, Majerhoffer regarded the iconostasis of the Cathedral of Uzhhorod as a model.<sup>158</sup>

For the painting of this iconostasis, György Zsolnay was commissioned six years later. He accepted the assignment for 1400 guilders. At the same time, an agreement was also made with Majerhoffer about the making of a pulpit, costing 150 Rhenish guilders. The same year, the community of Yarok (*Árok*) contracted a carver and a painter to make the iconostasis: The former's work would have cost 843 Rhenish guilders and 58 kreuzers, while the painting and gilding was budgeted at 1127 according to the respective contracts.<sup>159</sup> No mention is made of the names of the two masters here, and other sources suggest that the icon screen would be complete only as late as 1825.<sup>160</sup>

In June 1800, even Timóteus Kohárszky let the Bishop know of his intention to do the painting of the iconostasis of Korytnyany, which had been recommended to him by Barankovics, parish priest of Hlivištia (*Hegygomlás/Hliviscse*), and requested the Bishop to allow him to perform this assignment. His signature reveals that he lived in Stropkov.<sup>161</sup> Given the Korytnyany contract described above, it seems that this assignment was not granted to him.

If Kohárszky was a native of Stropkov, he might have known Duchnovics from there, which could in part explain why the two worked together in several locations.

An assessment of Zsolnay's painting is made considerably difficult by the circumstance that none of his works listed here has survived, or – even if some have – they have been modified to such an extent that they are unsuitable for any study. His murals are also in evidence in the sanctuary of the Roman Catholic church of Kopócsapáti (now Aranyospáti) in Szabolcs, along with his altarpiece of *Mater Misericordiae*, probably painted around 1806. However, these have also been subjected to extensive reworking over the past few decades.<sup>162</sup>

During the conservation of the iconostasis of Korytnyany in recent years, a Latin inscription was uncovered on the reverse of the icon of Christ the Great High Priest, making it obvious that, in the end, the assignment was completed not by Zsolnay but by Ferenc Ber (Beer, Peer), an artist from Mukachevo, and his sons, János and József.<sup>163</sup> These data are corroborated by later inventory checks of the church as well; the one conducted in 1809 even references the lately rediscovered panel. It also reveals that not only the iconostasis but the three pictures of Old Testament sacrifices surrounding the table of oblation and the table of the high altar were also painted by them. Subsequently, they

<sup>157</sup> Majerhoffer produced a copy of the Latin list, dated 22 October 1798, enumerating the financial undertakings of the community on a piece of paper that also features a drawing of a section of the iconostasis (a sovereign-tier icon and the frame of a door). This and his covering letter to the Bishop describing his complaint were composed in June 1800: DAZO fond 151, opis 6, no. 616, fol. 1–2. The parish priest's response and the complaint of the community: *ibid.* fol. 3–4. With no specification of the source, the drawing was published by: ПРИЙМИЧ 2014, 140. Other sources imply that the iconostasis in Korytnyany was made by carver Duhnovics or Plebanovics (СИРОХМАН/СЫРОКХМАН, 2000, 35), a position that is hard to defend in light of the sources presented as part of this discussion. The church of the monastery on Bukovce Hill in fact has an iconostasis with rococo carving, which might be Majerhoffer's work. For photographs of the iconostasis, see: ТИМКОВИЧ 2004, 88, 120, 134, 161. The pictures of the iconostasis were replaced and repainted in the course of the 19th century – presumably, by the Bogdanskys of Galicia. In 1903, the following was recorded: 'In the year 1896, the iconostasis, the high altar and the side altars were completely repaired, and the place of the missing pictures was taken by new paintings;...' (translated from the Hungarian original). Leltár a bukóczi szent Bazil-rendi templom, kápolna ingó és ingatlan vagyongáról 1903-ik év június hó [Inventory check of the movable and immovable assets of the church and chapel of the Order of St Basil in Bukovce, June 1903], DAZO fond 64, opis 4, no. 457, fol. 99r. Its conservation is currently underway (ТАНУ 2018, 96); it may even help date the carving more accurately.

<sup>158</sup> For photographs of the iconostasis of the church of Korytnyany, showing its condition prior to conservation, see: ПРИЙМИЧ 2014, 141.

<sup>159</sup> A copy of the Latin contract for Korytnyany, as well as the data extracted from the ledger of the parish of Yarok were registered by the competent dean in 1805. The original is in DAZO; photographs courtesy of Fr Makariy Medvid. Copies of Zsolnay's and Majerhoffer's 1805 contract: DAZO fond 151, opis 6, no. 1505. fol. 23–24.

<sup>160</sup> СИРОХМАН/СЫРОКХМАН 2000, 44.

<sup>161</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 6, no. 617.

<sup>162</sup> ENTZ 1986, 269–272, Picture 33.

<sup>163</sup> 'SUB / EODEM PAROCHO, / FRANC. BER, CUM SUIS FILIIS / IOANNE, ET IOSEPHO, PINXIT, / 1807'. Conservation work was performed by Vasył Derbalj. Photographs courtesy of Fr Makariy Medvid.

slightly raised the icon screen and they even gilded the four candlesticks in front of it.<sup>164</sup> The inventory checks recorded in 1809<sup>165</sup> and in October 1868 state that the table of oblation featured a painting of a remarkable iconography. What follows is an excerpt from the Hungarian description found in the latter: ‘The relatively large oil painting depicts the Crucifixion of Christ flanked by representations of several Apostles’ torture, set in small fields within the frame’ (translated from the Hungarian original).<sup>166</sup> It also becomes clear that a replica of the miraculous icon of Máriapócs was placed above the Royal Doors of the iconostasis, exactly in the same way as it was originally seen at the pilgrimage site as well: ‘An image of the Virgin Mary of Pócs above the *tsarsky dvery* [Slavonic for ‘Royal Doors’], set in a fine golden frame, decorated with a curtain and a wreath, ...’ (translated from the Hungarian original).<sup>167</sup> This custom, *viz.* placing a replica of a devotional image above the Royal Doors, independently from the original structure of the iconostasis, was characteristic in Transcarpathia during the whole of the 20th century and maintains its presence even these days.<sup>168</sup>

Conclusive identification of the artists of the Korytnyany ensemble is also imperative because it could open the way for proposals about the makers of the iconostasis of Fábíánháza in Szatmár as well. In Fábíánháza, the medieval church of the village

was taken over by the Greek Catholics from the Calvinists in the mid-18th century. The rococo iconostasis, reminiscent of that of Uzhhorod, must have been installed around 1800. The closest parallel in terms of structure and carved ornaments appears to be the Korytnyany iconostasis, raising the possibility that this was also the work of carver Johann Majerhoffer.<sup>169</sup> Later contamination and repainting were removed from the icons during the conservation work conducted in 2013 and 2014.<sup>170</sup> After cleaning, the pictures exposed made the impression of a somewhat naïve painting style, yet fresh in composition and vividly coloured, conforming to the traditions of the Eparchy of Mukachevo shaped by Mihály Spalinszky. Unfortunately, no signature or commemorative inscription was discovered. A comparison of the cleaned sovereign-tier icons (Theotokos and Saint Nicholas) from Fábíánháza with the cleaned Korytnyany sovereign-tier icons unequivocally points to a single master. Thus, it is reasonable to assume that the assignment was completed by Ferenc Peer (Ber) from Mukachevo in this instance as well, possibly alongside his sons.

As the ‘climax’ of Bishop Bacsinszky’s ministry, the Holy Crown of Hungary visited Uzhhorod in the final years of his life, leaving a visible impact on some iconostases. During the Napoleonic Wars, the Holy Crown spent as many as two nights in Uzhhorod, actually in one of the rooms of the Greek

<sup>164</sup> ‘Postmodum idem, post octo videlicet Annos, in defectu idonei Pictoris, medio Francisci Ber Pictoris Munkacsensis, cum duobus suis filiis Joanne, et Josepho, Anno 1807. ut Tabella ex parte sanctuarii adnotata perhibet; intelligendo una cum Iconostasio: Prothesis Iconem, candelabra 4. inaurata ante Regales Imagines consistentia, Paruietum Fresko cum Choro Picturam, atque etiam Veteris Legis sacrificiorum circa Altare adumbrationem; quod Iconostasium in altitudine fere ad quinque orgias extenditur, praeter inaurationem viridi colore imbutum, in summa fl. 2218. non inclusive victualibus, perfectum.’ DAZO fond 151, opis 6, no. 1264, fol. 18v–19r. The 1868 year inventory states: ‘The iconostasis is executed tastefully and stably with fine and rich gilding; picture carving work was completed in 1799 and painting in 1807 by painter Ber’ (translated from the Hungarian original). DAZO fond 151, opis 12, no. 2461. fol. 11.

<sup>165</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 6, no. 1264, fol. 17v

<sup>166</sup> Similar composition was made by Hristofor Žefarović (+1753) for the Serbian monastery of Hopovo (1751). See: ДАВИДОВ 2006, 275–276, cat. 56, Fig. 68.

<sup>167</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 12, no. 2461. fol. 11. As indicated by the description, this picture must have been akin to the replica of the image of Máriapócs found in the side-chapel of the Roman Catholic parish church of Berehove (*Beregszász*): TERDIK 2005, 52, 58, Picture 2.

<sup>168</sup> However, it is worth noting that the icon above the Royal Doors has also become confession-dependent nowadays: Whereas the Orthodox put the miraculous icon of Pochayiv in that position – occasionally dismantling or covering a Máriapócs replica in doing so – Greek Catholics place there a replica either of the icon of the Theotokos of Máriapócs or of that originally found in the former Basilian Monastery of Mukachevo (today kept in Maliy Berezhnyy).

<sup>169</sup> For photographs of the iconostasis of Korytnyany, see: ПРИЙМИЧ 2014, 141.

<sup>170</sup> The church of Fábíánháza was enlarged to the east and west in 1829. At that time, the iconostasis was already altered slightly; two pictures from the Apostle Tier and the Prophet Tier were lost. In the 20th century, the original Apostle Tier was completely repainted, one of the deacon’s doors disappeared, and the sovereign-tier icon of Christ and the three feast icons above it were burnt in a fire. As part of the last conservation, in place of the Apostles and three Feasts, as well as on the reconstructed south deacon’s door, new pictures were painted by Lajos Velledits, while the icon of Christ was reconstructed by Tamás Seres. The extracted later paintings were fixed to the back of the iconostasis. For more detail on this subject, see: TERDIK 2014f, 184–205.

Catholic Episcopal Palace. The first such occasion was on the 9th (or on the 10th – according to others) of December 1805, when the royal insignia were moved from Buda to Mukachevo in secret to safeguard them. Their return, however, took place ceremonially in March 1806: In Uzhhorod, the relic was received in the Episcopal Palace again by a number of clerical and secular dignitaries headed by Bishop András Bacsinszky, and with the pupils of the Grammar School in attendance. A series of speeches and solemn greetings in verse were delivered to honour this great moment.<sup>171</sup> It seems plausible that the Royal Doors adorned with the Holy Crown were made a few years later under the influence of these events, memorialising this extraordinary visit. At this point, it cannot be ascertained whether the application of the Holy Crown motif was the idea of the carver or, actually, of the parish priests placing the order. From the 15th century, the wings of the Royal Doors would become increasingly more ornate in the churches of the Eparchy of Mukachevo, serving as nearly the only furnishing items with a fine execution in wooden churches of a modest size and unassuming proportions. As the Baroque gained ground, they would be marked by fretwork design, and

the small picture areas would be surrounded by exuberant floral ornaments. The top of the tailpiece of the two door wings was usually decorated by an ornamental cross, with a stylised crown below it, possibly inspired by the name of these doors. On the Royal Doors of the rococo iconostasis of the Cathedral of Uzhhorod, an emphatic episcopal mitre was placed, which would come to be seen as model-like for other icon screens as well in the following decades. In the area of Uzhhorod, however, two iconostases that feature neither a bishop's, nor a secular monarch's symbol but, unambiguously, a stylised representation of the Holy Crown of Hungary on the tailpiece of the Royal Doors, have survived. One of them is to be found in the church of Domanyntsi (*Alsódomonya*, currently part of the city of Uzhhorod), while the other is in the church of the nearby village of Yarok (*Árok*). Both churches were built in the early years of the 19th century, and their iconostases were carved at the end of the second decade of the century by a single master, who has, unfortunately, not been exactly identified to date.<sup>172</sup> The icon screens mirror that of the Cathedral of Uzhhorod in structure, though their carved ornaments are no longer rococo-style but of a classicising character.

<sup>171</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 6, no. 1534.

<sup>172</sup> On the iconostasis of Domanyntsi, see: СИРОХМАН/СΥΡΟΚΗΜΑΝ 2000, 27. On the iconostasis of Yarok, see: *ibid.* 44. See also: Szilveszter TERDIK, A Szent Korona néhány különleges ábrázolása, *Görögkatolikus Szemle*, 30 (2019), 9. szám, 16–17.

# The First Eparchial Painters: Mankovits and Miklóssy

Bishop András Bacsinszky sent seminarian Mihály Mankovits to Vienna to study painting in 1802. The young man would return home only years later, following the Bishop's death, though. At that time, it was Diocesan Exarch Mihály Bradács who recommended him to the clergy.<sup>1</sup> Mankovits's active years coincided with the tenures of Elek Pócsi (1816–1831) and Bazil Popovics (1838–1864), Bishops of Mukachevo (*Munkács*); he even painted the former's official portrait.<sup>2</sup> Both Hierarchs would listen to his opinion in earnest, regularly reminding the clergy of the importance of consulting him.

Works discussing art in Hungary during the first half of the 19th century include Mankovits's name in chapters on religious painting.<sup>3</sup> (See his brief biography at the end of this chapter.) Based on archival research and the anecdote-like accounts of late collaterals, his biography was published by Miklós Beszkid in 1914.<sup>4</sup> Bishop Bacsinszky was said to have discovered the boy's attraction to art during an examination at the Seminary of Košice (*Kassa*), an episode that Mankovits would also recall later in his letter in 1825.<sup>5</sup> At first, it appeared that, in the imperial city, the young

man's chief patron would be his uncle, who served there as a bodyguard. In the meantime, however, he departed from Vienna, leaving the young man without a protector. Rather than frequenting the Arts Academy, he embarked on a tour. Once back in Vienna, he was granted a position as cantor in the Greek Catholic church of St Barbara, which would provide him with a living. According to entries in the university records, Mankovits attended the Arts Academy of Vienna in 1806 and 1807, and, subsequently, from 1810 to 1812, studying landscape painting and drawing, as well as historical painting.<sup>6</sup> Traces of the knowledge and experience he acquired in the institution operating from 1725 are easy to discern in his works. This was also sensed by Beszkid in making an inventory of the painter's pictures on religious and secular themes as well: 'The listed paintings are all copies. Whoever has been to the Belvedere will at once recognise the original models' (translated from the Hungarian original).<sup>7</sup> Although this assertion obviously contains some rhetorical exaggeration, it is no doubt appropriate to identify several of Mankovits's surviving pictures as replicas: His compositions often

<sup>1</sup> He is mentioned in the second point of the circular. Place and date of issuance: Uzhhorod (*Ungvár*), 22 October 1813. Greek Catholic Episcopal Archives (GKPL), IV-1-a, fasc. 22, No. 19. A short précis of the letter was included in the submission register of the parish of Sátoraljaújhely: '208. 1813. oct. 22. By Suffragan Bishop Mihály Bradács. 1813/1129 Mihály Mankovits has studied Greek Catholic painting at the University of Vienna. He will be a painter' (translated from the Hungarian original). Submission register of the Greek Catholic parish of Sátoraljaújhely. Archives of the Greek Catholic Eparchy of Miskolc (MEL), V-34-c. Vicar Capitular Mihály Bradács governed the Eparchy of Mukachevo as auxiliary bishop from 1809 to 1814. *Schematismus* 1899, XIV.

<sup>2</sup> Canvas, oil; 104 × 78 cm (40.94 × 30.7"). The painting is unsigned. It is attributed to Mankovits based on considerations relevant to criticism of style. Joseph Bokshay Transcarpathian Regional Art Museum, Uzhhorod, Inv. No.: VF-95. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 131, Picture 35.

<sup>3</sup> SZÉPHELYI F. 1981, 91. By mistake, he is mentioned with the Christian name *Miklós*. He is omitted in the latest overview of the history of religious painting in the 19th century, cf. SISA-PAPP-KIRÁLY 2018, 98–118.

<sup>4</sup> BESZKID 1914b, 422–427. Subsequent researchers reiterate the data published herein, cf. LYKA, Károly, Mankovits M, in Hans VOLLMER (Hrsg.), *Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart begründet von Ulrich Thieme und Felix Becker*, 24, Leipzig 1930, 19; LYKA 1981, 81, 105, 136; ПАП 1992, 136–137. The history of the Mankovits Family was discussed by the author of the present text in: TERDIK 2022b, 14–17.

<sup>5</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 8, no. 299, fol. 45. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 325–326.

<sup>6</sup> BUZÁSI 2016, 189.

<sup>7</sup> BESZKID 1914b, 427.

speak to familiarity with actual paintings found in Viennese galleries or with their versions made with the help of reproduction techniques. In 1813, he returned to his birthplace, where he would soon marry, choosing his wife from his former patron's family.<sup>8</sup> He settled in Uzhorod, in the vicinity of the Episcopal Court. He would use this location as a base in touring the villages of the vast Eparchy of Mukachevo, undertaking various assignments. Written exclusively in Latin, the inscriptions on his extant iconostases documenting the circumstances of their making reveal that he would often work jointly with assistants.

Mankovits's first known iconostasis, painted in 1814, has survived in Čabalovce (*Csabaháza/Csabalóc*). The carver of the ornately carved icon screen exhibiting late-baroque and classicist stylistic features and the exact date of its making are unknown. An appraisal of Mankovits's paintings is made considerably difficult by the circumstance that the pictures were repainted several times.<sup>9</sup> Therefore, it is the structure of compositions that best lends itself to scrutiny: The sovereign-tier icons are half-figure 'portraits' positioned in three-quarter profile, conforming to the tradition characteristic of the entire territory of the historic Eparchy of Mukachevo as of the late 17th century. It is an unusual arrangement that, next to Saint Nicholas the Bishop, a fifth composition – an icon with the upright image of Saint John the Baptist, narrower than the rest of the sovereign-tier icons – was also placed. The reason is to be found in the asymmetry that came about during the construction of the church. Among the feast icons, the depiction of the Annunciation may be regarded as an iconographic

rarity, with a small infant glittering in an aureole above the Virgin Mary, in allusion to the Word of God becoming incarnate, sent by the Father to His chosen one.<sup>10</sup>

In Radvaň nad Laborcom (*Laborcradvány*), he painted a picture of the Annunciation for the high altar of the Greek Catholic church in 1818,<sup>11</sup> as well as a depiction of the Sacrificing of Isaac on the side of the altar table.<sup>12</sup> Earlier the 13 original pictures of the church's iconostasis modified in 1901<sup>13</sup> were believed to have been painted by Mankovits as well, on the basis of the original Last Supper painting found in the course of the conservation work in 2014, as well as the images of the Four Evangelist uncovered on the pulpit vase. Over time, data from the 19th-century inventories of the church has made it explicit that these were painted not by him but by Antal Tapolyi in 1829 and 1830.<sup>14</sup> Tapolyi's recently discovered paintings are also significant because previously none of his works was evidenced, and his style is strongly reminiscent of that of Mankovits.<sup>15</sup>

The iconostasis of the church of Kvačany (*Kacsány/Kvacány*) is likely to have been produced a few years later. Unfortunately, no written source on the circumstances of its making is known to be available; the pictures display no signatures. The time of the painting may be indicated by the inscription and the date 1817 in the bottom right corner of the altarpiece of the high altar of Saint Michael (currently hung on the sanctuary wall).<sup>16</sup> Even though no mention of the painter is made in the text, it is safe to suggest on stylistic grounds that the altarpiece and the iconostasis paintings are Mankovits's works. According to a lately processed 19th-century parish inventory, the icons were

<sup>8</sup> TERDIK 2020f, 73.

<sup>9</sup> In the bottom left corner of the painting of Saint Michael, the painter's sign and the date concealed under a layer of repainting may be clearly detected in angled lighting: '[Pinxit] / Michael [Ma]nk[o]v[its] / 1814 sub [...]' The first repainting of the pictures might be associated with Pawol Bogdanski, who also painted the image of the Table of Oblation in 1865. On the works of the Bogdanskis with previous literature, see: МАКАРІЙ 2021b, 5–32.

<sup>10</sup> This iconography also occurred in the icon of the iconostasis of Levelek of the same theme painted around 1820. NAGYMIHÁLYI 2006, 80–81, Picture 9. On the iconostasis of Čabalovce with photographs, see also: TERDIK–DEMJÁN 2020, 24–27.

<sup>11</sup> Here the village is mentioned under the name of Izbugyarádvány: BESZKID 1914b, 422.

<sup>12</sup> МАКАРІЙ 2021d, 87.

<sup>13</sup> On the construction of the church and the modification of the icon screen, though with no mention of Mankovits, see: BORZA–GRADOŠ 2018, 472.

<sup>14</sup> МАКАРІЙ 2021d, 87. For photographs of the paintings discovered, see: TERDIK–DEMJÁN 2020, 66–67.

<sup>15</sup> Tapolyi died of cholera in 1832. LYKA 1981, 324.

<sup>16</sup> The inscription of the altarpiece of Saint Michael with the donator's (?) name: Joannes Tomassim (?) / Janow Sim, Fundator / 1817. On the Kvačany specimens, see: TERDIK–DEMJÁN 2020, 28–33.

painted in 1825, though the master's name is not specified here, either.<sup>17</sup>

The Kvačany sovereign-tier icons are more classicising compared to their Čabalovce counterparts: Instead of the Teaching Christ holding an open book, the half-figure image of *Salvator Mundi* showing the influence of Western prototypes is featured in a frontal position, blessing with His right hand and with a globe symbolising the cosmos in His left hand. The iconography of the sovereign-tier icon of the Theotokos is positively unconventional: Positioned as a three-quarter figure, the Virgin Mary leans on a brown cube with her left arm, while holding the Child Jesus on her left knee, Who turns towards the viewer with a rose in His right hand and a globe in His left. Over her forehead and on her chest, the Virgin Mary wears a green scarf evocative of a turban, joined with a button. In Mankovits's art, this renaissance-baroque Theotokos type, possibly inspired by Raffaello's and Murillo's Madonnas, appears in sovereign-tier icons elsewhere as well. During his studies, Mankovits may even have seen the actual prototypes himself, but he was undoubtedly familiar with them from engravings.<sup>18</sup>

The sovereign-tier icon of the Theotokos in the iconostasis of the church of Kojšovce (*Kojsó*) seems to be closely related to that in Kvačany. The Kojšovce image was formerly attributed to Mankovits's contemporary, József Miklóssy, and dated to 1833.<sup>19</sup> However, archival sources explored lately suggest that the pictures of the iconostasis were painted by Mátyás Hittner, a painter from Košice, in 1823.<sup>20</sup> As has been pointed out, Hittner had worked in Hajdúdorog a decade earlier and then in several other Greek Catholic churches as

well.<sup>21</sup> Out of the Kojšovce sovereign-tier icons, it is, however, precisely the image of the Virgin Mary that is not reminiscent of Hittner's other works evidenced from other places, nor does the involvement of Miklóssy appear to be particularly likely as he returned home only in 1833, becoming a painter of the Eparchy of Prešov (*Eperjes*).<sup>22</sup> The Marian image of Kojšovce seems to be closer to Mankovits's art, so one might as well raise the possibility of his engagement here. In fact, it was not at all uncommon in this period for multiple painters to work on a single iconostasis as communities would schedule assignments depending on their financial capabilities. Nonetheless, it cannot be ruled out either that, perhaps at the customers' request, Hittner consciously copied this Madonna type, which would come to be so dear to Mankovits.

In the church of the Dormition of the Theotokos in Rakhiv (*Rahó*), some of the icons of the iconostasis, actually its 'upper section' – presumably meaning the rows above the Sovereign Tier – were painted by Mankovits and his assistant, Lukács Mihalko, in 1819. They completed the work by the feast of Saint Peter and Paul (i.e. by about 12 July by the Old Calendar), as suggested by the inscription on the reverse of the Last Supper.<sup>23</sup> The exact date of the making of the icon screen is also included in the other Latin inscription on the back of the church's tabernacle, though, due to the repainting, the last two digits are currently illegible. Thus, it may only be deduced from the inscription of the iconostasis that the carved structure was in all probability installed before 1819. The continuation of the inscription also reveals that the lower part of the icon screen, along with the altar, was painted by

<sup>17</sup> МАКАРІЙ 2021d, 88.

<sup>18</sup> Of Raffaello's Madonnas, the Virgin Mary of the so-called *Madonna della Sedia* kept in the collection of the Palazzo Pitti in Florence wears a turban. Giovanni Andrea Sirani's painting of Sibylla from around 1640, with the main character also wearing a turban, is found in the Kunsthistorisches Museum of Vienna, cf. FERINO-PAGDEN 1991, Tafel 147.

<sup>19</sup> FRICKÝ 1971, 167. Fig. 99; FRICKÝ 1995, 179, Picture 11; PUSKÁS 2008, 261. Picture 230.

<sup>20</sup> GÁBOR 2017, 261–262.

<sup>21</sup> On his activities, see: TERDIK 2011a, 54–65.

<sup>22</sup> TERDIK 2011a, 68–70.

<sup>23</sup> TERDIK–DEMJÁN 2020, 34–35. Divided into two columns, the inscription reads:

'1819 / Pinxit Michael Mankovits / Partem Superiorem / cum adjuncto sibi / incipiente Luca Mihalko / Finivit in Festo / SS. Petri et Pauli / juxta Grecum calendarium / Finitum est [...] mense (...) // Existente a / hinc Parocho / Domino A[dmodum] Rev[erendo] / Basilio Miklosi / Curatore autem / Michaele Kolats / qui etiam Fundator / totius Iconostasis / fuit'

Fülöp Schaitzner in 1823, in the time of the same parish priest and caretaker.<sup>24</sup>

The conservation of the iconostasis radically repainted in the 20th century began in 2019.<sup>25</sup> The style of the explored sovereign-tier icons is evocative of Mankovits's works. In contrast with the inscription, it appears conceivable that these were indeed painted by him later, while it is also possible that Schaitzner consciously followed the style of the other painter producing the majority of the pictures. Mankovits's initials have also been uncovered in the Feast Tier, in the bottom right corner of the icon of the Baptism of Christ: 'MM 1819'

Schaitzner's name would resurface in archival materials two decades later, in connection with a different matter. On 15 April 1842, he himself wrote a letter to András Popovics, Dean of Teresva (*Taracköz*), requesting that he be permitted to paint the iconostasis in the church of the outparish of Tarasivka (*Tereselpatak*).<sup>26</sup> In his letter, it is disclosed that he has received various painting and sculptural assignments chiefly at the request of the Royal Treasury in churches of the Latin and of the Greek Rite alike, serving as proof of his mastery of his craft. Instead of specific tasks, he enumerates the names of the places where his works are to be found: Ieud (*Jód*), Rakhiv, Leordina, Baia Mare (*Nagybánya*), Vylok (*Tiszaujlak*), Khust (*Huszt*), Sighetu Marmăției (*Máramarossziget*) and many more. From this list, it would be hard to determine

what he did where, but, for Ieud and Leordina, which had only Greek Catholic churches, his works might be identified.<sup>27</sup> Possibly, he may have made the high altar of the wooden church of Rosavlea (*Rozáliei/Rozávlya*) as well, along with the image of the Holy Trinity on it, in the 1820s.<sup>28</sup> In the case of Tarasivka, Mankovits's opinion had been solicited a year earlier, in 1841. The Dean submitted the drawing of Saint Michael by an unspecified Galician painter so that the eparchial painter could pass judgement on his talent. Mankovits gave a crushing assessment, likening the drawing to those made by children. His opinion was endorsed by the Bishop as well, who admonished the congregation not to hire this unskilled artist but to wait and raise more funds to pay a better painter instead.<sup>29</sup> The following year, the Dean submitted Fülöp Schaitzner's letter cited above, divulging that two sons of its writer also continued their father's profession. One son visited the location, assuring the community that he would accept the assignment for 240 forints. In response, Bishop Popovics granted them permission to work as they had provided a much more favourable quotation than Mankovits.<sup>30</sup> Nevertheless, no progress was made before 1848, when the parish priest requested permission again for the project to resume. Then, out of Fülöp Schaitzner's sons living in Sighetu Marmăției, it would be Imre and a different painter, Károly Unghi, who would vie for the assignment, as will be demonstrated later.

<sup>24</sup> The inscription on the side of the tabernacle reads:

'ANNONATAE SALVTIS / M.DCCC.XXIII. / Sub auspicijs Ad[modu]m R[evere]ndi D[omi]ni / Basili Miklosy / Loci Parochi. / [F]inita haec templi instructio / adiuvante ut plurimum curato/re honesto Michael Kolats / Praecedentibus ab hinc annis 18[.] / sculptura totaliter parata inferiorque / pars Iconostas hujus depicta per Philippum Schaitzner: nunc vero exor/nando Hoc s[anctum] Praestul finem Labo/ri huic posuit. Die 19 Februarii.'

<sup>25</sup> It was restored by Vasyl Derbalj. The work was brought to the attention of the author of the present text, and the work-in-progress photographs of the conservation project were shared by Fr Makariy Medvid, to whom the author feels indebted.

<sup>26</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 9, no. 564, fol. 51. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 339–340. András Popovics (1795–1866). Cf. BENDÁSZ 2023, 681, no. 653.

<sup>27</sup> The tabernacle on the high altar of the wooden church of Ieud Deal (*Jód*), as well as the altarpiece showing the Virgin Mary with Child, attached to a lavishly decorated altar, must be his works, along with several wooden panels of a Western iconography kept in the church. For a photograph of the altarpiece, see: [https://ro.wikipedia.org/wiki/Biserica\\_de\\_lemn\\_din\\_Ieud\\_Deal#/media/Fi%C8%99ier:IeudBisDinDeal\\_\(21\).JPG](https://ro.wikipedia.org/wiki/Biserica_de_lemn_din_Ieud_Deal#/media/Fi%C8%99ier:IeudBisDinDeal_(21).JPG) (accessed: 1 October 2019). The wooden church where he is likely to have worked no longer exists in Leordina.

<sup>28</sup> The inscription documenting the circumstances of production refers to him in the form *Filip Santer*. Cf. BRATU 2015, 277, Footnote 315. For a photograph of the altarpiece, see: Ibid. 281.

<sup>29</sup> Mankovits's opinion was dated Uzhhorod, 21 October 1841. DAZO fond 151, opis 9, no. 228, fol. 41. The first draft of the Bishop's reply to the Dean was dated 23 October. Ibid. fol. 42. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 337–339. For the drawing, see: Ibid. 145, Picture 49.

<sup>30</sup> TERDIK 2020f, 339–340.

Mankovits also worked on the iconostasis of the church of Domanyntsi (*Alsódomonya*, today part of the city of Uzhhorod).<sup>31</sup> According to the inscription on the reverse of the painting of the Last Supper, he painted the lower sections all the way to the Apostles in 1820, though the entire ensemble was repainted in 1911.<sup>32</sup>

The nave, at the boundary of the west portion once reserved only for women, accommodates two additional paintings matching the sovereign-tier icons of the iconostasis in form and size: of Saint Michael and of the Theotokos. Even though these were also heavily repainted, the small tables associated with them were left intact. Set in oval picture areas, their fronts bear compositions, which were certainly made by Mankovits: the Fall and Jesus' Circumcision.

Mankovits received his next major assignment in Mizhhir'ya (*Ökörmező*). The iconostasis of the church was dismantled in Soviet times,<sup>33</sup> and some of its components were treated as museum items.<sup>34</sup> About half of the paintings have survived, kept in the community hall of the parish.<sup>35</sup> As evidenced by the commemorative inscription, Mankovits painted this ensemble in 1824, jointly with Lukács Mihalko.<sup>36</sup> On the back of the church's tabernacle, another inscription in Church Slavonic

commemorates the erection of the iconostasis, the year of its making specified as 1822. Below the Slavonic inscription, a master's name in Latin is also displayed – '*Basilius Lengyel Sculptor*' – unequivocally suggesting that the carving was made by Bazil (László) Lengyel. Lengyel was a native of Hajdúdorog, as stated in the inscription engraved on the back of the tabernacle in the nearby Lozyans'kyi (*Cserjés*) made in 1814 ('*БАЗИЛИУС ЛЕНГЕЛ*').<sup>37</sup> Little is known of the sculptor's life, and even less of his works.<sup>38</sup> Apart from the altar, in Lozyans'kyi, he must have made the iconostasis as well. Lengyel's carvings in Mizhhir'ya with their late-rococo style could already be perceived as peculiar in the period. The form of the images in the upper rows and their fretwork frames with rococo motifs, in each instance carved into one piece with the panels, mostly evoke the elements of the ensemble in Novosad (*Bodzásújlak*). Rather uncommon for the time, the wing of the deacon's door preserved in Mizhhir'ya features the equestrian figure of Saint George triumphing over the dragon, in itself a unique specimen in Mankovits's oeuvre. The deacon's door of the Lozyans'kyi iconostasis are of a similar shape, also dominated by oval picture areas.<sup>39</sup> A painting with the upright figure of Saint Paul the Apostle, once adorning

<sup>31</sup> TERDIK–DEMJÁN 2020, 36–39.

<sup>32</sup> The inscription on the reverse of the Last Supper reads:

'Pinxit/ 1820 / Michael Mankovits / Inferiorem partem usque Apostolis / Existente tunc Parocho A. R. Domino / Joanne Szilvay / Omnia repinxit 1911 / A[nton] Pilichowski.'

<sup>33</sup> Built in the early 19th century, the late-baroque style church was closed in 1961. In 1981, it was converted into a museum. The original iconostasis and altar must have been demolished at that time. Following the political changes, the church was re-opened in 1991, and new furnishings were made. СИРОХМАН/СЫРОКНМАН 2000, 479.

<sup>34</sup> Individual items were fitted with inventory numbers. The composition of the Last Supper was on display at the permanent exhibition of the Uzhhorod Castle Museum in 2017.

<sup>35</sup> TERDIK–DEMJÁN 2020, 40–45.

<sup>36</sup> The inscription on the reverse of the icon of Christ the Great High Priest reads: 'Pinxit / Michael Mankovits. 1824. P[ictor] Dioec[esanus] / cum adjuncto sibi Mihalko Luka, incipiente. / Parocho / existente eo tempore Domino A[dmodum] Reverendo / Demetrio Talapkovits. / Curatoribus autem Adr[eas] Szkundevits / Basilio Jon et Basilio Hrim.' A photograph of the inscription was published by: ПРИЙМИЧ 2014, 148.

<sup>37</sup> A transcription of the inscription was published and the date in the last line was interpreted as 1841 by: СИРОХМАН/СЫРОКНМАН 2000, 474. The inscription was re-published and the respective date was deciphered as 1819 by: ПРИЙМИЧ 2014, 144, 147. Photograph of the inscription suggesting the date 1814 courtesy of Fr Makariy Medvid.

<sup>38</sup> An aristocratic family by the name of *Lengyel* from Țara Chioarului (*Kövár-vidék*), Szatmár County, did live in Hajdúdorog. According to Mihály Apafy's conscription records from 1668, they managed to verify their nobility in 1830. The certificate was issued by Szabolcs County for László, Antal, János, József, Péter and Miklós. Their nobility was proclaimed by the Hajdú District in the same year, too; they were admitted to the register of noblemen in 1838. Cf. НЕРПАУ 1926, 178. According to the Greek Catholic parish register of Hajdúdorog, 'Basilius Lengyel', a widowed nobleman, died aged 82 on 13 June 1831, see: Death records 1780–1835, 225. Archives of the Greek Catholic Parish, Hajdúdorog. It is possible that he was identical with the sculptor. In 19th-century Greek Catholic parish records, the name *László* was considered identical with *Basil/Vasily*.

<sup>39</sup> A photograph of the iconostasis was published by: ПРИЙМИЧ 2014, 147.



the back of the former pulpit, also survives in Mizhhir'ya. On its reverse, the sculptor wrote the by now fragmentary word *Cathed[ra]* with a graphite pencil, intended as help for the painter in identifying the panels.

The text of the agreement about the painting of the iconostasis of Mizhhir'ya drawn up in Slavonic is also in evidence. In his letter to Bishop Popovics dated 25 December 1840, Mankovits sought his assistance in collecting the debt of the Mizhhir'ya community. He noted that he had begun the work in 1823 and had so far received 180 of the sum of 1600 Conventional Forints payable to him. The Bishop proceeded to write to the local parish priest, calling on him to settle the debt.<sup>40</sup> Parish priest János Hrabár replied in the following year: It was clarified that they owed the painter only 110 forints. To prove his point, he enclosed a copy of the original agreement as well. He remarked that they had placed an order with the artist for an *Epitaphios* costing 70 Conventional Forints. He also added that some parts of the iconostasis still needed to be painted.<sup>41</sup>

As indicated by its inscription, the iconostasis of Pastilky (*Kispásztély*) was painted by Mihály Mankovits in 1825 in cooperation with Sándor Bukovszky.<sup>42</sup> The pictures have not been repainted, though they are heavily worn out on the surface. The carved structure remains evocative of the proportions and forms customary in the preceding century, but the decorative motifs – mainly carvings combined from oak and laurel branches – testify to a strong classicist influence. The carver's name is unknown.

In Pastilky, the stone church was built later than the iconostasis. On 1 May 1839, József Szikora, parish priest of Dubrynychy (*Bercsényifalva/Dubrinics*), approached Bishop Popovics for permission for the laying of the foundation stone of the new church, noting that the iconostasis of the earlier church, painted by Mankovits in 1825 and with time barely taken its toll on it yet, had been accommodated in the church of Dubrynychy. He also requested that, on account of the iconostasis, the new church be wider than planned. The draft of the Bishop's response survives on the reverse of the letter. In it, the Hierarch references his Ordinance No. 717 issued earlier that year, setting out principles for the construction of new churches, which he reiterates organised into five points.<sup>43</sup> The church would be completed soon. In his letter dated 8 June 1841, the Bishop would allow the locally competent Dean to bless it.<sup>44</sup> It is fair to assume that, by that time, the iconostasis had also been returned and installed in its new location.

Carved by Péter Tomáskó in 1823, the iconostasis of the wooden church of Neresnytsya (*Nyéresháza/Alsóneresztnica*) built in 1813 was painted by Mankovits two years later, also in cooperation with Sándor Mankovits, as suggested by the Latin inscription on the reverse of the Last Supper.<sup>45</sup>

In 1825, Mankovits voiced his resentment to Bishop Pócsi over the fact that a painter by the name of Volosinovszky was also given assignments in the Eparchy.<sup>46</sup> As a tangible result of his complaint, in the summer of the following year, the Bishop would indeed prohibit Volosinovszky from performing work, recommending Mankovits to the clergy

<sup>40</sup> A draft of the Bishop's response was also written on the painter's letter. DAZO fond 151, opis 8, no. 2344, fol. 62. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 333.

<sup>41</sup> The parish priest's letter is dated 12 April 1841. DAZO fond 151, opis 9, no. 900, fol. 18. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 334. For the enclosed agreement, see: Ibid. fol. 17. János Hrabár (1802–1846), Cf. BENDÁSZ 2023, 327, no. 283.

<sup>42</sup> The text on the reverse of the Last Supper reads: '1825. / Pinxit / Michael Mankovits. / cum adjuncto sibi Incipiente / Alexandro Bukovszky. Parocho tunc existente / A. R. Domino Bazilio Tabakovits. Curatoribus / autem Domino Joanne Kovács Jun. Domino / Joanne Kovats Sen. Domino Bazilio Gerzand / D. Alexandro Kovács. Cantor autem fuit / eo tempore Dominus Andreas Gebe. / Sumptibus autem Communitatis. / 650 R. Flor. [...] A photograph of the inscription was published by: ПРИЙМИЧ 2014, 150.

<sup>43</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 8, no. 2040, fol. 31. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 329–330. The plan of the church has also been preserved, with the budget written on its reverse, along with the agreement in Latin concluded with the master builders on 9 April 1839. Ibid. fol. 32–33. József Szikora (1794–1848). Cf. BENDÁSZ 2023, 797, no. 174.

<sup>44</sup> A report on the consecration was recorded on the selfsame sheet by Antal Labancz, Dean of Velikiy Bereznay (*Nagyberezná*), dated as late as 18 March 1842 though. DAZO fond 151, opis 9, no. 565, fol. 32.

<sup>45</sup> Its transcription was published by: СИРОХМАН/SYROKHMAN 2000, 569. For old photographs of the iconostasis of the wooden church burnt down in 2003, see: СИРОХМАН 2021, 251.

<sup>46</sup> TERDIK 2020f, 325–326.

instead.<sup>47</sup> This was most probably the master who worked in Nyzhni Vorota (*Alsóverecke*) in 1811, with the name of Tódor Volosinovszky featured in the inscription on the pediment of the iconostasis there.<sup>48</sup> The by now non-existent iconostasis of the church of Nyírgyulaj was also painted by him in 1816 and 1817.<sup>49</sup> As much as it may be judged by the paintings in Nyzhni Vorota, he was in fact a painter with an education different from that of Mankovits: He more closely adhered to the forms established in the iconostasis of the Cathedral of Uzhhorod, without reaching the standards of his 18th-century predecessors though.

Even despite episcopal recommendation, Mankovits could not be granted every assignment. In his letter to Pócsi dated Uzhhorod, 14 September 1826, he complains that the congregation of Zemplínske Hradište (*Hardicsa*) commissioned 'Szalóky', a man from Sátoraljaújhely, to paint their iconostasis. The respective master painted his pictures directly on pinewood boards, producing a quality that would not even warrant the application of the term 'painter' to him. Mankovits also claims to know that he painted the sovereign-tier icons in Šamudovce (*Sámod/Sámogy*) as well for 1600 forints, but they were so appalling that the community refused to accept them.<sup>50</sup> Thereafter, even the locally competent Dean was ordered to visit the site. In his letter from 2 November 1826, Demeter Damjanovics reports the following to the Bishop concerning the iconostasis of Šamudovce: Unbeknownst to him, the local parish priest, Mihály Prescsuk, and the caretaker

contracted a painter with the surname *Szalóky* from Sátoraljaújhely to paint the iconostasis, three paintings in the sanctuary and the vault for 1800 Rhenish guilders. By the time the Dean arrived in Šamudovce, the four sovereign-tier icons were complete. When he pointed out to the parish priest and the caretaker that the Bishop had appointed Mankovits as eparchial painter, they responded that, having checked Mankovits's and Szalóky's works, they had concluded that specimens by the latter were more appealing to them, his pieces in the church of Stanča (*Isztáncs*) in particular appearing to be by far superior. Upon hearing this, he was unable to persuade them into rejecting Szalóky and choosing Mankovits. Next, he suggested that, once 300 out of the agreed sum of 1800 guilders had been paid to Szalóky, the remaining 1500 should be used to hire Mankovits to continue the assignment. However, the community declined this offer, too.<sup>51</sup> Szalóky's work is no longer extant in Šamudovce, either. As, for now, nothing more may be established about him, an assessment of his art is also impossible to come by. The iconostasis of Stanča still exists; it will be dealt with later.

In Novosad, according to the commemorative inscription, the iconostasis was painted by Mankovits in 1829, jointly with Sándor Bukovszky and another assistant of his, whose name has by now become illegible.<sup>52</sup> The iconostasis must have been demolished in 1905, when the church was given totally new neo-baroque, eclectic furnishings.<sup>53</sup> The surviving pictures of the ensemble were transferred

<sup>47</sup> This detail has been mentioned by the author of the present text: TERDIK 2011a, 68. A précis of the letter: '367. 26 June 1826. Bishop Pócsi. 1826/729 Instead of Volosinovszky, he recommends Mankovits as a painter' (translated from the Hungarian original). Submission register of the Greek Catholic parish of Sátoraljaújhely from the year 1575. MEL, V-34-c.

<sup>48</sup> ПРИЙМИЧ 2014, 145–146.

<sup>49</sup> The following record is made for the 1816 issue: 'Io Pictori Volosinovszky Bemma Ecclesiae Parochialis pingenti dati sunt – 978 [Rfl.], but, additionally, he also received produce. In 1817, he was given a smaller amount and paid for an *Epitaphios* as well: '170, Pictori pro Sindone – 10 [Rfl.]: Számadáskönyv [ledger], 1791–1853, Archives of the Eparchy of Nyíregyháza (NYEL) II-13-a (Box 11, Volume 1). See also: TERDIK 2011a, 68.

<sup>50</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 8, no. 385, fol. 54. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 326.

<sup>51</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 8, no. 385, fol. 92. Demeter Damjanovics (1778–1834). Cf. BENDÁSZ 2023, 173, no. 8.

<sup>52</sup> The inscription on the reverse of the Last Supper reads: 'Pinxit Michael Man/kovits cum adjuncto sibi Alexandro / Bukovszky et Joan [...] [...] / incipiente. Parocho tunc existente / A. R. D. Josepho Gulovics / Cantore Michaelae Karav[...] / Curatoribus vero Kuruk / Georgio Majcher Pujtal (?) / 1829.' The icon was first published in 2013, though it was dated to much earlier, to 1780–1790, in spite of the inscription on the back. Cf. BENICKÁ 2013, 58–59.

<sup>53</sup> According to the inscription on the back of the tabernacle, the new pictures were painted by Joan Bogdanski and Josif Bulsovcik. Fragments of the former tabernacle dating from the early 19th century were photographed by Makarij Medvid in the loft of the church in 2022.

to the Zemplín Museum in Michalovce (*Nagyimihály*) during the second half of the 20th century.<sup>54</sup>

The carved structure of the icon screen remains unknown; it is only on the basis of the frames of the picture panels and the frame ornaments carved from the same wooden boards that its erstwhile form may be vaguely imagined. The rococo frame ornaments of the Feast Tier, the Apostle Tier and the Prophet Tier exhibit close formal and stylistic affinity with the fragments of the iconostasis of Mizhhir'ya carved by Bazil Lengyel a few years earlier, raising the possibility that he worked in Novosad as well. An important difference between the two ensembles was the circumstance that this iconostasis had full-figure, lyre-shaped sovereign-tier images decorated with rococo motifs, as distinct from half-figure ones. Of these, the Theotokos and the Teaching Christ deserve special attention (120 x 65 cm [47.24 x 25.59 "], incl. frame): The Saints stand on clouds; their attire and gestures are conventional, but their positioning is made playful by the cherubim frolicking at the bottom of their robes. This arrangement was considered to be common in Kievan baroque Orthodox painting in the 18th century. In Hungarian art, it was mostly employed by Serbian painters trained in Kiev. For them, one of the chief models was the iconostasis of the church of the Trinity in the Kiev Monastery of the Caves, completed in 1734.<sup>55</sup> The same pictorial tradition is, however, evident in a considerably closer specimen, the iconostasis of the Viennese Greek Catholic Seminary Church of St Barbara, as well, which Mankovits must have seen during his studies in Vienna. This iconostasis was carved at the workshop of the Serbian Orthodox Aksentije Marković from Novi Sad (*Újvidék*) in 1776, while its paintings were produced by Mojsej Subotić (?

–1789) and Efrem Micu (Klein von Munti), a Romanian Greek Catholic painter from Transylvania, between 1775 and 1780.<sup>56</sup> Mankovits was certainly conscious in choosing compositions better suited to the rococo-form wooden boards. Infused with the fashion of the second third of the 18th century, shot through with baroque-like flavours, these works came to be truly remarkable highlights of his painting oeuvre, baffling researchers to this day in terms of dating. It is noteworthy that, in the Eparchy of Mukachevo, full-figure, upright-format sovereign-tier images were extremely rare to find in this period. Even the iconostasis of the Cathedral of Uzhhorod 'canonised' half-figure forms. The start of the application of full-figure paintings was marked by the examples from the Szepesség described previously, as well as by the iconostasis of Hajdúdorog.

Eight paintings from the Feast Tier have survived in Novosad. The scene 'The Flight to Egypt' is notable from the point of view painting technique: The night background shows subtle arrangements, while it is compositionally uncommon that the Virgin Mary does not ride the donkey but, holding her Child on her lap, walks with the animal, behind Joseph. Ten panels of the uprights Apostles, six of the prophet busts and the upright figure of John the Apostle from the pediment Calvary scene are in evidence.<sup>57</sup>

In 1830, Mankovits worked in the Greek Catholic church of Fuliánka (*Fulyán*), consecrated in 1804, within the territory of the Eparchy of Prešov. Although the wooden parts of the iconostasis were already complete around 1811, this iconostasis was replaced with a new one in the course of the comprehensive refurbishment of the church in 1896 and 1897.<sup>58</sup> Of his old pictures, currently

<sup>54</sup> Zemplínska múzeum v Michalovciach. The professional restoration of the fragments has been underway with the involvement of the students of the Košice Institute for Conservator Training since 2011. The project is supervised by Dana Barnova as a representative of the Museum.

<sup>55</sup> МИЛИАЕВА 1997, 84–85; РЫЖОВА 2013, 110–135. On the influence of the Kiev iconostasis on Serbian painters in Hungary, see: ВУКОВИТС 2019, 114–115.

<sup>56</sup> The carving was completed in 1775. КУЛИЇ 2007, 213–216. On Subotić, see: ТОДИЇ 2013, 40–43. On Micu: РОРУМВ 2003, 71–75.

<sup>57</sup> TERDIK–DEMJÉN 2020, 50–53.

<sup>58</sup> LIŠKA–GOJDIČ 2015, 160–161. As the carver of the iconostasis, András Bredikusz or even a local master, Josef Frimmel, may be considered. BORZA–GRADOŠ 2018, 123; TERDIK–DEMJÉN 2020, 54–55. Bredikusz was contracted for the carving of the iconostasis of the church of Likov (*Lukó*) for 500 conventional forints in 1844. AGKA Protokol Podaci Rok 1844. Inv. č. 117, no. 215.

two are found in the sanctuary of the church: the sovereign-tier image of Saints Cosmas and Damian, as well as the icon of Christ the Great High Priest. The rest of the surviving pictures are shared between various museum collections: the icon collection of the Saris Museum of Bardejov (*Bártfa*)<sup>59</sup> and the Zemplín Museum of Michalovce.<sup>60</sup> The paintings preserved suggest that the iconostasis had four rows. Elements of the carved structure remain unknown for now. The collection of the City Gallery of Prešov holds an unsigned icon of the Teaching Christ from an unknown place, likely to have been one of the sovereign-tier images of an iconostasis. Based on its style, it may as well be considered a work by Mankovits as he painted images of Christ with similar positioning in Ňagov (*Nyágó*) and Kvačany. It is also possible that this icon was originally part of the iconostasis of Fuliánka.<sup>61</sup>

The iconostasis of the church of Ňagov in Upper Zemplén County was painted in the following year. The conservation of the icon screen has been in progress for years in Bratislava; finished pictures are temporarily deposited in the winter chapel created in the former school of the village.<sup>62</sup> The carver of the iconostasis is unknown. It is characterised by ornaments of a classicising style, yet still informed by the art of the Late Baroque. The sovereign-tier icons are with gold background; two of them – Saint Nicholas and Christ – are half-figure. The latter is a frontally positioned depiction of the Saviour, holding a globe in His hand. The image of the Virgin Mary is a Madonna type drawing on

renaissance prototypes, with charming pictorial positions, just as in Kvačany. The fourth sovereign-tier icon does not feature the title feast of the church but the Archangel Michael vanquishing Satan.<sup>63</sup> Mankovits signed his work even in two places: He concealed his name and the year of painting in the far left corner of the sovereign-tier image of the Theotokos, as well as among the illegible rows of letters in the icon of Christ the Great High Priest. The first signature makes it unequivocal that he painted the ensemble in 1831;<sup>64</sup> no mention is made of any assistants. The conserved feast icons demonstrate that Mankovits endeavoured to paint individual episodes meticulously, in ample detail.

It was at that time that Mankovits worked on the iconostasis of the church of Klenová (*Kelen*). Although the iconostasis exists to this day, the majority of the icons – especially the sovereign-tier images – were significantly reworked in 1900.<sup>65</sup>

On 1 January 1833, the parish priest of Dobrobratovo (*Drágabártfalva*) wrote a letter to the Bishop informing him that the congregation of the affiliated parish of Midyanytsya (*Medence*) wished to have pictures painted by eparchial painter Mihály Mankovits for their iconostasis, which had been in place fully carved for years. He did not specify a price but simply noted that the required amount was not available. Therefore, he sought permission that the faithful might take out a loan from one of the congregations of the Deanery of Krajna at their own risk.<sup>66</sup> At the end of the month, they did receive a loan of 200 conventional forints in Zavydovo

<sup>59</sup> The Birth of the Theotokos, the Entry of Christ into Jerusalem, Saints Philip and Luke (?) the Apostles, as well as Habakkuk and Daniel from the Prophets were transferred here in 1968. GREŠLIK 1994, 85–86, Cat. 93–98; PUSKÁS 2008, 280, colour photographs 166–171.

<sup>60</sup> An Evangelist, Saint Paul the Apostle and the Prophet Zechariah (written in pencil on the back, most probably, by Mankovits: *Zacharia*). The following feast icons are to be found here: the Nativity of Jesus, Flight to Egypt, the Baptism, the Resurrection, the Ascension and the Dormition of the Theotokos.

<sup>61</sup> Picture: TERDIK–DEMJÉN 2020, 69.

<sup>62</sup> TERDIK–DEMJÉN 2020, 56–59.

<sup>63</sup> Presumably, these pictures of Saint Michael were also inspired by the baroque paintings he had seen in Vienna: Saint Michael Vanquishes Satan by Luca Giordano (1660/65) or Esteban Murillo's image of Saint Michael. Cf. FERINO-PAGDEN 1991, 62, Tafel 217; Ibid. 86, Tafel 680.

<sup>64</sup> The indication on the icon of the Theotokos reads: 'Pinxit / Michael Mankovits / sub / A. R. Domino / Josepho Fejo / Parocho Csabalóczens. / Anno 1831'. His signature hidden inside the scrawl written in the open book of Christ the Great High Priest: Mankovits Pinxit 1831°.

<sup>65</sup> This date is mentioned in an 1831 inventory: МАКАРИЙ 2021d, 90. Currently, the church is used by the Orthodox. The inscription on the reverse of the sovereign-tier icon of the Theotokos reads: 'Ezen templom épült 1806-ban / javítatott 1900 évben Nagyméltóság- / os gróf HADIK BARKÓCZY ENDRE / kegyur által, felszentelte / Jakovics János nagyprépost' [This church was built in 1806, it was repaired in 1900 by the Most Honourable Count Endre Hadik Barkóczy as advowee and consecrated by Arch-Provost János Jakovics].

<sup>66</sup> The letter of András Pásztyeli, the locally competent Vice-Dean, dated 1 January 1833. DAZO fond 151, opis 8, no. 1088, fol. 7.

(*Závidfalva*), but the local parish priest made such a row that, on 3 April, the priest of Dorobratovo advised Vicar János Csurgovics that they would rather pay back the credit.<sup>67</sup>

The church of Tur'i Remety (*Turjaremete*) in Ung County was built in 1771.<sup>68</sup> In his letter dated 19 March 1836, János Tabakovics, Dean of Tur'ya (*Turja*), reported from Perechyn (*Perecseny*) to Vicar János Csurgovics, heading the Eparchy of Mukachevo during the *sede vacante* period, that eparchial painter Mihály Mankovits had been contracted for the painting of the Tur'i Remety iconostasis and sanctuary. With the letter, he also enclosed the original copy of the contract. (Unfortunately, it has been lost or is kept in an unknown location.) The Vicar's reply reveals that the assignment would cost 850 forints, which he allowed to be paid from the cash of the aforementioned congregation.<sup>69</sup>

This iconostasis remains on-site to the present day. The carved structure may have been produced as early as the first decade of the 19th century; its style closely conforms to its model, the iconostasis of the Cathedral of Uzhorod. Its Royal Doors are remarkable: They appear to date from an even earlier period – they might as well have been made in the first half of the 18th century; they were most probably rescued from the wooden predecessor of the present baroque church. Even though, over the past few decades, the icons were partially repainted, Mankovits's style unambiguously shines through, just as from beneath the darkened layers of contamination on the Feast Tier.<sup>70</sup>

In the Eparchial Archives, a letter has been discovered. Although its original function is hard to establish in the absence of any accompanying documents, it seems straightforward that the Bishop at once solicited the eparchial painter's opinion.

In his letter dated 1 July 1838, Mankovits reported to Bishop Bazil Popovics that he was unable to do anything with the four pictures he had been sent. As he explained, these were so poorly primed that they could scarcely be completed, and, in terms of both their forms and their ratios, they were devoid of any lightness. As body parts (*viz.* as visualised figures) were connected by no proportions whatsoever, these pieces failed to come close to the art of drawing as such. The draft of the Bishop's reaction was written on the reverse of the letter. In it, the Bishop specified that the prior (*protohegumen*) was to be advised that, once his monks were unable to paint well-proportioned human figures, they would be forbidden even to paint flags.<sup>71</sup> All that may be inferred from this is that the brethren of some Basilian religious house had attempted to produce paintings, but, based on Mankovits's opinion, the Bishop refused to give his permission for the continuation of this activity.

In 1840, Bishop Popovics admonished parish priests again to employ Mankovits preferably. The circular issued on 7 December was motivated by the circumstance that the faithful of Verb'yazh (*Verebes/Verbias*) had contracted carver István Kovács and painter József Dobrovolszky to make their altar for a total value of 80 forints. Even though the Bishop gave his approval for the project, he stressed to the parish priest that first the eparchial painter was to be consulted. Were he to be of the opinion that the other masters were ineligible for the assignment, even the contracts would need to be cancelled. In response to the case, he even issued a circular, calling on the clergy to act in like manner.<sup>72</sup> In those years, József Dobrovolszky was active in the territory of the Eparchy of Prešov (e.g. in Abod) Ten years later, in the same location, István Kovács contracted a

<sup>67</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 8, no. 1088, fol. 30. János Csurgovics (1791–1862). Cf. BENDÁSZ 2023, 169, no. 147.

<sup>68</sup> СИРОХМАН/SYROKHMAN 2000, 89.

<sup>69</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 8, no. 1449, fol. 15. János Tabakovics (1795–1843). Cf. BENDÁSZ 2023, 834, no. 3.

<sup>70</sup> The inscription on the reverse of the sovereign-tier icon of the Theotokos reads: 'Pinxit Mich[ael]. Mankovits. sub / A[dmodo] R[evrendo] D[omino] Parocho Loci Georgio Neviczky, Curatoribus / vero Stephano Koroly, et Alexio Szkabenits. Penes Terre / Negotiacionis Manipulationem existentibus D[omi]no / quippe S[pectabile]. Inspectore Ioanne Ruttner, et D[omi]no Io/-anne Kisztlar Schafferio. Ioanne Otto Machinarum magistro, in Anno Christi 1836.' Photographs of the iconostasis were published by: МАКАРІЙ 2021d, 94–96.

<sup>71</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 8, no. 1742, fol. 52. The letter was published in: TERDIK 2020f, 328–329.

<sup>72</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 8, no. 2344, fol. 60. Drafts of the Bishop's letter: one to József Seregély, Dean of Perechyn, and the other to the clergy, except for the aforementioned priest. Another draft was addressed to the Dean of Vorota (*Verecke*), in whose deanery Verb'yazh was situated. Ibid. fol. 61; TERDIK 2020f, 331–332.

different painter to make the iconostasis of Roztoka (*Rosztoka*).<sup>73</sup>

The parish priest of Rus'ka Mokra (*Oroszmokra*) in Máramaros County was faced with a similar problem.<sup>74</sup> In his letter dated 11 December 1841, István Andruckovics<sup>75</sup> informed the territorially competent Dean that, before he was stationed there, a master from Neresnytsya, by the name of Tomáskó<sup>76</sup>, had been hired to carve an iconostasis for the local church in 1824, which would be left bare for thirteen years. It was then that the village elders decided to have it painted. They called several painters: One of them said that it could be painted for 300 conventional forints, but, as the carvings were rough and large, it would cost at least 600; another master from Uzhhorod said that the large carvings required much gold and silver, raising the price to a minimum of 800 conventional forints. Subsequently, none of them was charged with the task as the congregation had no resources or regular income. However, the leaders of the community heard of a painter from 'Csomályfalva' (possibly, Zatyshivka [*Csomafalva*] in Ugocsa County), who even appeared in the village in person, and they signed a contract with him at the Treasury Office. The clerk pointed out to them though that, if they had no money, paying the painter would nonetheless be their responsibility. Lack of money was the reason why they were unable to hire the well-trained eparchial painter, either. Thus, they contracted this other painter, who would hardly do any work due to a shortage of funds. The letter also reveals that this painter dealt with carving as well: He had made the iconostases of the churches of Hanychi (*Gánya*) and Dubove (*Dombó*) around 1820. In the church of Rus'ka Mokra, he glued the wooden boards of the sovereign-tier images and even replaced some poorly made wooden panels,

and, finally, carved a new tabernacle with ornaments. At the end of the letter, the master's name is also disclosed: Bazil Pályükovics. He began to paint the iconostasis in May 1837, interrupting it five months later as there was no money left again. At last, he completed the work in September 1838 for a mere 200 conventional forints, though he continued to require further smaller amounts. The Dean submitted this letter to the Bishop, whose response is written on the reverse. In the Bishop's view, he could demand nothing more for himself from the local community.<sup>77</sup>

In this period, Mankovits also worked in the wooden church of Inovce (*Éralja/Inóc*), built in 1836. Although it also houses earlier furnishing items dating from the 18th century, the rest seems to be a homogeneous piece; the carver remains unknown.<sup>78</sup> The inscription on the back of the Pietà altarpiece of the high altar naming Mankovits is from 1842.<sup>79</sup> Above the Latin inscription, a substantially faded text in Church Slavonic is also displayed, dating the making of the picture (or of the panel?) to 1838. The style of the paintings of the iconostasis with two doors yet with four sovereign-tier icons and three rows (the Prophets are missing) is indicative of Mankovits's involvement. The only exception is the frame of the Royal Doors: The Church Fathers depicted on the doorposts are certainly not Mankovits's works. The compositions of the six small medallions on the door wings exhibit his signature style though. The sovereign-tier image of the Theotokos is a painting prepared on the basis of a variant of the so-called *Maria Hilf*, i.e. 'Our Lady of Help', devotional image of Passau, common in Central Europe.

The iconostasis of the church of Velikiy Berezný has a more complex history. In his letter from 2 April 1843, Dean Antal Labancz, the local parish

<sup>73</sup> The Rusyn contract was signed with icon painter Atanasiy Rusalovych and painter and sculptor István Kovács in Verb'yazh on 20 July 1850. The latter's signature: 'Stephanus Kovats mp pictor et sculptor'. DAZO fond 151, opis 10, no. 294.

<sup>74</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 9, no. 564, fol. 52–53.

<sup>75</sup> István Andruckovics (1800–1877). Cf. BENDÁSZ 2023, 52, no. 81.

<sup>76</sup> His name was Péter Tomáskó. He had carved the iconostasis of the wooden church of Neresnytsya as well a year earlier.

<sup>77</sup> The records of the case were published by: TERDIK 2020f, 340–341.

<sup>78</sup> КАВАЧОВИЧОВА-ПУШКАРЬОВА-ПУШКАР 1971, 150–155; TERDIK-DEMJÉN 2020, 60–65.

<sup>79</sup> The inscription on the back of the altarpiece reads: 'Pinxit Michael Mankovits 1842. / Parocho tunc existente D[omino]. A[admodo]. Reverendo / Stephano Hrabar. / curatore autem Andrea Hrivnak.' Its transcription was published by: КАВАЧОВИЧОВА-ПУШКАРЬОВА-ПУШКАР 1971, 475, Footnote 48.

priest, reports to Bishop Popovics that a quotation has been requested from Mankovits for the painting of the iconostasis erected in the church eight years ago. He would undertake the assignment for 1000 conventional forints, which they are unable to raise owing to the penury of the community. However, the congregation has contracted painter János Mihályi, who would do the work for considerably less. The Dean gives a rather derogatory description of Mihályi, simply calling him a rogue, and asks the Bishop to help resolve the situation.<sup>80</sup>

Two days later, the Bishop tasked Mihály Lucskay (1789–1843), Dean of Uzhhorod, with looking into Mihályi's previous activities as he agreed with the parish priest of Berezhny that it would be no use leaving the finely carved iconostasis of the centrally located church of Velikiy Berezhny to a master who had never attended any school.<sup>81</sup> It becomes clear from Lucskay's report that Mihályi painted an image of the Protection of the Theotokos in the chapel attached to the parish church of Uzhhorod-Tsehol'nyans'ka (*Ungvár-Cebolnya*),<sup>82</sup> as well as the pulpit of the church, which he laconically labels unartistic. Next, he also notes that he made a Crucifixion replica for his private use. (He avoids describing it in detail.) Lucskay even travelled to see the iconostasis in Vyšné Nemecké (*Felsőnémeti*), which he cannot really evaluate as the painter has left it unfinished for the past six years while accepting assignments in other places, too.<sup>83</sup> Lucskay encloses Mankovits's opinion as well, dated also in Uzhhorod, on the same day as the Dean's letter. He does not praise Mihályi, either. Concerning the iconostasis in Vyšné Nemecké, he remarks that, even though Mihályi has started the Feast Tier, he

requires other assignments, while he has not even completed this one. Mankovits has heard from a joiner by the name of Kassay that, for the Velikiy Berezhny assignment, gold will cost 1000. Therefore, he would also demand 1000 conventional forints as the iconostasis is large, needing a large amount of gold, but he intends to complete the whole piece from 1800 conventional forints (*viz.* including the painting of the images). Afterwards, he asks the Bishop to prohibit Mihályi from performing this task and entreats him to grant it to him, for he has not had a major assignment for two years.<sup>84</sup>

The draft of the Bishop's response recorded on the parish priest's request suggests that Popovics did give this assignment to Mankovits, while prohibiting Mihályi from performing the task.<sup>85</sup> This is also confirmed by another archival source: Dean of Dovhe (*Dolha*) Mihály Medveczky wrote a letter to the Bishop about the iconostasis of Kushnytsya (*Kovácsrét/Kusnica*), revealing that Mankovits would not be able to work on the assignment there at that time because he was busy with the iconostasis of Velikiy Berezhny.<sup>86</sup> He also advised the Bishop that a not particularly well-trained Galician painter, Kornél Románószky, had already begun working in Kushnytsya as he had been commissioned by the community. Citing Circular No. 4016 issued by the Bishop in 1840, referenced previously as well, the Dean obtained the contract and had the project paused. The painter pointed to various certificates and claimed that he had even sent a picture painted by him to the Episcopal Office of Uzhhorod. It was in light of this, that the Dean asked whether Románószky could resume working. The Bishop's reply made it clear that only on condition the

<sup>80</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 9, no. 901, fol. 9. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 342. Antal Labancz (1840–1843). Cf. BENDÁSZ 2023, 464, no. 3.

<sup>81</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 9, no. 901, fol. 8, 10. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 343. Mihály Lucskay, cf. BENDÁSZ 2023, 493, no. 225.

<sup>82</sup> It is possible that a photograph of this painting was published in the October 1 issue of a Rusyn periodical published in Uzhhorod in 1893: *Лустокъ*, (1893) 9, 222.

<sup>83</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 9, no. 901, fol. 12. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 344.

<sup>84</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 9, no. 901, fol. 14. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 345.

<sup>85</sup> The painter's name identified as János Szász associated with the iconostasis (cf. ПРИЙМИЧ 2014, 154–158) must be due to an error. In 1998, the iconostasis was replaced by a replica. Some of its images exist to this day: The sovereign-tier images were transferred to the collection of the local village, while smaller icons were accommodated in the Episcopal Palace of Uzhhorod. МАКАРІЙ 2021d, 91–92. On the new iconostasis, see: *Йосип Волосянський художник і різьбяр*, Ужгород 2018, 14–15.

<sup>86</sup> Dovhe, 22 August 1843. DAZO fond 151, opis 9, no. 899, fol. 7. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 340–341. Mihály Medveczky (1793–1867). Cf. BENDÁSZ 2023, 533, no. 222.

eparchial painter consented, in accordance with the 1840 circular.<sup>87</sup> It seems that Mankovits refused to give his consent but chose to paint the iconostasis himself the following year, in 1844.<sup>88</sup>

In 1845, Mankovits's opinion was sought in connection with the iconostasis of Imshad' (*Imsád*)<sup>89</sup> under construction. A summary of the case was compiled by Episcopal Secretary Bazil Hadzsega for the Bishop on 7 April 1845.<sup>90</sup> The document reveals that the community of Imshad' had submitted six drawings: the designs of their iconostasis under construction and of their tabernacle. The Secretary showed these to Mankovits, who would assess them negatively, expressing his sorrow that, the Episcopal Ordinance notwithstanding, priests frequently failed to consult him, promising the respective assignments to seemingly cheaper Galician masters instead. The Bishop finally agreed to grant his approval – only for lack of a better alternative.

In 1847, Mankovits filed a complaint with Bishop Popovics, claiming that the faithful of Ruskovce (*Ruszkóc/Törökruska*) still owed him 33 Rhenish guilders from 1833, which he badly needed as his health quickly deteriorated. The Bishop wrote to local parish priest József Damjanovics.<sup>91</sup> However, the matter took an unexpected turn as it became obvious that the locals were dissatisfied with Mankovits's picture painted for the Table of Oblation, which he was unwilling to correct despite their repeated requests. Not mincing his words, the parish priest put it in writing that not until he did

so would they clear their debt. Thus, the Bishop had no choice: Of the latest developments, he attempted to inform Mankovits, who had in the meantime left for his priest-son-in-law living in the Eparchy of Prešov, via Sándor Duchnovics, Canon of Prešov.<sup>92</sup>

All this appears to imply that the title 'eparchial painter' did not mean exclusive painting rights in the territory of the Eparchy as the growing number of assignments typical of the period would have been impossible to deliver even physically. Nevertheless, it provided Mankovits with good insights into the activities of other painters. In turn, he understandably strove to use this asset to his own advantage when, on a few occasions, he succeeded in having bishops prohibit certain painters from performing assignments.

It may also be established from the literature on Mankovits's oeuvre as a painter that he painted considerably more iconostases than the ones evidenced today (e.g. Beloveža [*Bélavézsza*], Vyšné Čabiny [*Felsőcebény*], etc.).<sup>93</sup> According to the 1855 inventory of the parish of Kyblyary (*Köblér*), the local iconostasis was also made by Mankovits, though it does not exist anymore, either.<sup>94</sup> Concerning the iconostasis of the church of Hajdúdorog, Katalin Sz. Kürti proposed that it could possibly be his work.<sup>95</sup> In the course of archival research, no data seemed to support this suggestion as two other painters, János Szüts and Mátyás Hittner, worked there, as has been pointed out.<sup>96</sup>

<sup>87</sup> Dated: 30 August 1843. DAZO fond 151, opis 9, no. 899, fol. 8.

<sup>88</sup> 'Its iconostasis [*viz.* of the church of Kushnytsya] is from 1844 and complies with Greek rules. I deem it worth mentioning that the nave of the church accommodates the images of the Apostles Saints Cyril and Methodius, as well as of three holy bishops. Men are separated from women by a circular structure, reminiscent of the catacombs. I have not seen a similar construction in other churches anywhere else' (translated from the Hungarian original). MUSZTYÁNOVITS Emil, A kovácsréti gkath. paróchia történetéhez (Kusnicza), *Görög Katolikus Szemle*, 4 (1903), March 22, p. 2. According to M. Priymich, Mankovits painted an iconostasis here in 1847: ПРИЙМИЧ 2018, 31. The church inventory recorded in the early 20th century contains the following entry in the column for the iconostasis: '1847 Mankovits'. DAZO fond 151, opis 2, no. 2011. The ensemble was transferred to the church of a neighbouring village in the course of the 20th century, though its present condition remains unknown for now.

<sup>89</sup> In 1898, Kalocsa-Imsád merged with neighbouring Negrovec, becoming Felsőkalocsa (now Nehrovet's, Ukraine) in Máramaros County.

<sup>90</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 9, no. 1670, fol. 8–9. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 350–351. Bazil Hadzsega (1813–1880). Cf. BENDÁSZ 2023, 292, no. 22.

<sup>91</sup> József Damjanovics (1805–1874). Cf. BENDÁSZ 2023, 173, no. 10.

<sup>92</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 9, no. 2668, fol. 33, 35, 41, 43. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 352–354.

<sup>93</sup> BESZKID 2014b, 426.

<sup>94</sup> '1. Ecclesia est e solidis materialibus edificata – Iconostasion est adhuc in statu bono, utpote anno 1837. per denatum condam Mankovics Pictorem Dioecesanum expictum.' DAZO fond 151, opis 10, no. 1949.

<sup>95</sup> SZ. KÜRTI 1977, 17; SZ. KÜRTI 1989, 189.

<sup>96</sup> TERDIK 2011a, 54–62.



The iconostasis of the church of Bežovce (*Bezó*) barely escaped being transferred to a museum collection. In December 1913, the ensemble of the village near Uzhhorod was offered for purchase by Ödön Harmathy, art teacher of the Hungarian Royal Art School of Uzhhorod, to the Budapest Museum of Applied Arts. In the description of the ensemble, he dated the paintings to 1703. The Museum did not buy the iconostasis though as the collection already had two icon screens at the time.<sup>97</sup> In spring 1918, the Cultural Society of Ung County intended to purchase the ‘discarded’ iconostasis of Bežovce – presumably from Harmathy. However, first they made an enquiry at the Greek Catholic Episcopal Office as to what could be known of its age. Although nothing was found in the Eparchial Archives, the local parish priest provided the written information that, when the worm-eaten iconostasis had been disassembled in 1910, the sovereign-tier icon of Christ bore an inscription suggesting that it had been painted by ‘Ferenc Markovics’ in 1827.<sup>98</sup> It is reasonable to speculate that something was misread, and this – by now – non-existent icon screen was also Mankovits’s work. What the purchase eventually came to is as yet unknown.

Only few of Mankovits’s works intended for private use and institutional representation are evidenced today. Miklós Beszkid lists several of his

paintings, currently found in unknown locations.<sup>99</sup> A last vestige of these is his signed Madonna from 1829, painted on canvas, kept at the Saris Museum in Bardejov (Šarišské múzeum, Bardejov).<sup>100</sup> The painting is a replica of a work of art by Carlo Dolci (1616–1687), a Florentine artist, regarded as a prominent figure of religious painting not only in his day but all the way to the end of the 19th century as well. Dolci also produced this composition in multiple copies: One is held in the Villa Borghese,<sup>101</sup> another is kept in the Palazzo Pitti of Florence,<sup>102</sup> and a third one is owned by the Kunsthistorisches Museum of Vienna.<sup>103</sup> Presumably, Mankovits saw the last of these in its original form during his studies in Vienna, possibly making sketches of it as well, though the possibility that he even obtained an engraved replica of it, which he could subsequently utilise adroitly, cannot be excluded, either.

Data suggesting that Mankovits painted several pictures of mythological themes are also available. His oil painting entitled *Hebe*, bearing his signature, survives in the Gallery of the East Slovak Museum, Košice.<sup>104</sup>

In his final years, Mankovits was able to work only with difficulty owing to his deteriorating health condition. In his letter written in German on 8 November 1850, he requests 200 Forints from the Diocesan Consistory, offering his house

<sup>97</sup> ‘It has been four years now since the construction of the church of Bezó [i.e. Bežovce] began, and, at the time of the demolition of the old one, I was called to determine if the iconostasis from 1703 would fit the new church. At my recommendation, a new one was commissioned, and the old one was put for sale. I deceived the whole Greek Catholic Church, and, after much ado, I have had it in my possession since yesterday. Carved from maple wood, it is fair to say that the iconostasis is a masterpiece of the baroque and rococo styles. Everything in it is as it used to be: the Calvary of Christ; 40-50 oil paintings of saints on wood; the central crowning piece shows the Crucifixion of Christ in a baldachin. With the old gilding preserved, columns, friezes and pillars are all in a good condition. I do not know myself, either, what else is there because the pieces are in disarray in the studio and the storage room. They will fill about half a wagon when packed’ (translated from the Hungarian original). He sounded absolutely certain that the Museum would buy it. His letter was written on 29 November 1913. On 16 December, he sent a postcard enquiring about the Museum’s decision. The draft of the Director’s reply is on the cover of the file. Museum of Applied Arts, Budapest, Documentation Department, 1044/1913. The aforementioned iconostases were those of Viškovce (*Viškó*) and Velyki Kom’yaty (*Magyarkomját*); the latter had been bought at the beginning of 1913. On the collection history of the two iconostases, see: TERDIK 2006; TERDIK 2011c.

<sup>98</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 4, no. 2925, fol. 34–37.

<sup>99</sup> Most of his paintings would be acquired by his son-in-law, Gábor Tizedy, a priest from Vyšné Slovinčy (*Felsőszalánk/Szlovinka*), from whom they would be transferred to retired post-office clerk Teofán Zubriczky. BESZKID 2014b, 427.

<sup>100</sup> On Beszkid’s list, this image must be identical with the item ‘The Virgin Mary with Jesus Standing on Her Knees, 1829’. BESZKID 2014b, 427. For its photograph, see: TERDIK–DEMJÁN 2020, 70.

<sup>101</sup> BALDASSARI 1995, 45–46, Cat. 15.

<sup>102</sup> BALDASSARI 1995, 46, Cat. 17. This painting is likely to have been produced between 1640 and 1645. Spinelli, Riccardo. Madonna col Bambino, in BELLESI–BISCEGLIA 2015, 344–345. Cat. 78.

<sup>103</sup> BALDASSARI 1995, 46, Cat. 16. On the history of the painting, see: SPINELLI 2015, 75, Fig. 7, 82, Footnote 137.

<sup>104</sup> The work conforms to János Donát’s (1744–1830) composition. SZABOLCSI–GALAVICS 1980, Cat. 140. Signed: ‘Mankovitz Michal Pinxit 1831’. Oil, canvas, 61.5 x 50 cm (24.21 x 19.68”). Východoslovenská galéria v Košiciach, inv. č. 160., [https://www.webumenia.sk/dielo/SVK:VSG.O\\_160](https://www.webumenia.sk/dielo/SVK:VSG.O_160) (accessed: 1 March 2023).

in Szobránci utca in Uzhhorod as a security. It also becomes clear that his situation has been extremely hard for as many as five years as he has suffered a stroke.<sup>105</sup> All this implies that he must have produced his last works around 1845; it might actually have been in Kushnysya that he worked for the last time. In 1851, he applied for a pension; he died in Uzhhorod on 21 October 1853, at the age of 68.<sup>106</sup>

The artist's style was determined, on the one hand, by the pictorial tradition of the Eparchy of Mukachevo becoming prevalent at the end of the previous century and, on the other hand, by the painter's experience gained during his studies at the Academy and in the course of travels. Occasionally, Mankovits attempted to test the limits even in the most traditionalistic part of iconostases – in the sovereign-tier icons – when, for example, he also employed forms borrowed from the Madonnas of baroque religious painting for Theotokos depictions. In his painting art, adherence to the late-baroque style of the Viennese Academy is not as dominant as in the art of the painters of the iconostasis of Hajdúdorog, János Szűcs and Mátyás Hittner. As has been pointed out, Mankovits worked with multiple assistants, on whose later independent activities no data is available as yet.

József Miklóssy, a native of the Szepesség and Mankovits's junior by a few years, returned home from Vienna in 1833. (See his brief biography at the end of this chapter.) Following the completion of his studies at the Academy, Gergely Tarkovics, Bishop of Prešov (1818–1841), sought to appoint the artist as the official painter of his Eparchy as early as 1823, but, instead of leaving for home, Miklóssy chose to go on an Italian study trip and would continue to stay in Vienna afterwards. Upon his return to

his native land one decade later, he did receive his official appointment from the elderly Hierarch. Previously, attracting attention to himself mainly with his portraits in Vienna and at home alike, such as the image of the founder of the Diocesan Library, János Kovács,<sup>107</sup> Miklóssy was now presented with the opportunity to prove his skills in the area of religious painting as well.

His first large-scale assignment in Hungary was the iconostasis of the church of Abaújszántó, carved by Péter Pádits, a master from Eger, nearly two decades earlier. On 9 March 1833, Bishop Tarkovics wrote to the local dean that Miklóssy would soon arrive in the Eparchy, intimating his preference for Miklóssy to be granted the respective assignment.<sup>108</sup> And so it happened: On 17 June of the same year, in the market town, the painter signed a contract in Hungarian, undertaking to paint the images and to gild the carvings. He made a deal with miller István Kiss, lessee of the mill owned by the noble family of Teleki in the nearby Gibárt and a faithful and pious member of the parish distinguished by his dedication, representing the parish of Abaújszántó. The painter accepted that the parish priest and the miller would closely oversee his work and that he would strive to use the best materials – *viz.* paints and pure gold – which he would procure at his own expense. He would commence painting on 1 September. According to Point 3 of the contract, the fee included painting the portraits of István Kiss and of his wife, 'the young lady Anna Sagáth', too. The painter would be supplied with board for the duration of his stay by the parish priest and the miller. The fee for the assignment was determined as 2000 conventional forints, from which István Kiss gave 250 to the painter at once as advance

<sup>105</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 9, no. 477, fol. 47. Beszkid reveals that Mankovits regularly received money from the Eparchy's various funds. His letter cited here is also referred to by him. BESZKID 1914b, 427, Footnote 4.

<sup>106</sup> BESZKID 1914b, 427.

<sup>107</sup> For more on the subject, including the appointment document dated 29 May 1833, see: BESZKID 1914a, 47–60. Aged eighteen, he enrolled on the drawing course of the Arts Academy in 1814/1815. SZÖGI 2013, 321, No. 6906. A half-figure portrait of János Kovács is currently found in the Historical Picture Gallery of the Hungarian National Museum. Oil, canvas, 135 x 106 cm (53.14 x 41.73"); the text at the bottom right reads: 'Miklosits Jós. festette Bétsben 832' [Painted by József Miklosits (*sic*) in Vienna in 1832]. RÓZSA 1980, 193–194, Cat. 124, Plate 61. János Kovács (b. Eger, 1764; d. Vienna, 1834) studied law in the Austrian capital before working as a tutor with aristocratic families in Transylvania and Vienna, as well as teaching Hungarian to the Emperor's children. He offered his estate for charitable causes, such as the development of the Library of the Eparchy of Prešov. On his life, see: BESZKID 1909.

<sup>108</sup> MEL III–1

payment.<sup>109</sup> For exactly how many months Miklóssy worked in Abaújszántó is unknown for now, though his signature in the bottom left corner of the sovereign-tier image of Saint John the Baptist and the date 1834 suggest that he completed the assignment in the following year.<sup>110</sup> In conformance to the formal properties of the iconostasis, in the centre of the Apostle Tier, instead of the customary icon of Christ the Great High Priest, he painted the title feast of the church – the Ascension of Jesus – though including only the central figures of that composition – Christ and the two angels – as he interpreted the six apostle images on either side as the continuation of the scene.<sup>111</sup> By now, the iconostasis of Abaújszántó has remained the only specimen that continues to feature Miklóssy's paintings for the most part; the rest of his works have been either destroyed or repainted.<sup>112</sup>

The pediment of the iconostasis of Gadna, substituted by a different one in the early 20th century, must have been similar to the upper section of the

iconostasis of Abaújszántó. A description of the former icon screen is to be found in the protocol recorded during the canonical visitation of 1877. On either side of the large pedimental cross, the events of Jesus' Passion were depicted as six round pictures, while two additional round pictures were also featured next to the Sorrowful Mother and John the Apostle, with the Ascension of Jesus and the feast of the Pentecost respectively. According to the parish priest preparing the description, the whole iconostasis had been transferred from the old wooden church in 1816.<sup>113</sup> Even if this was true about the four bottom rows, it would be hard to believe for the pediment of round images suited to the triumphal arch of the stone church. This part is more likely to have been made already for the new church in the 19th century. Unfortunately, the painter's name is not known, but it must be remarked that featuring a passion series would be considered to be absolutely unique for Greek Catholic iconostases in Hungary, whereas it was

<sup>109</sup> The text of the contract has survived: MEL III–1. István Kiss would later abandon his Church because, when his daughter intended to marry a Calvinist man, with a rifle, he shot dead Greek Catholic parish priest Márton Ambrózy, a Protestant by birth, who vehemently resisted the move. Fragmentary notes about the incident are by Sándor Beszkid, on a separate sheet of paper, in the protocols of the deanery. MEL III–1. In the death records, the cause of death is specified as 'sclopo tajectus.' Ambrózy was only 45; he was buried on 5 November 1843. Death records (1791–1852), I, fol. 56r

<sup>110</sup> Nonetheless, Sándor Beszkid recorded 1830 as the date of the painting of the iconostasis presumably, on the one hand, because Miklóssy's signature with the year 1834 was hard to notice, and because, on the other hand, he was familiar with the 1830 inventory of the church indicating that the still unpainted icon screen had contained four sovereign-tier icons, along with an image of the Virgin Mary in a gilded frame above the Royal Doors. Cf. BESZKID 1907, 5. The four sovereign-tier images might have been identical with the four icons that the parishioners of Kenézlő had bought from the demolished wooden church of Makkoshotyka in 1794, subsequently sold to the congregation of Abaújszántó in 1805 (cf. TERDIK 2020b, 179). The later fate of these specimens remains unknown. The image above the Royal Doors could perhaps be the icon presented by Bishop Bacsinzky for the consecration of the church in 1791. See: TERDIK 2020a, 241–242, Cat. III.38. The year 1830 was adopted by Miklós Beszkid as well: BESZKID 1914a, 60. The marmoration of the iconostasis was also done in the same year by Joannes Zimányi, a master from Košice, as suggested by the painted inscription on the inside of the left column in front of the image of Saint Nicholas. Zimányi was a painter and sculptor, a native of Brezovica (*Bervevice/Brezovi*), Sáros County, obtaining civic rights in Košice in 1829. For his biographical data, see: KEMÉNY 1913, 284.

<sup>111</sup> It was customary for Orthodox baroque iconostases to accommodate the title feast of the church in the centre, as exemplified in the Greek church of Pest. Cf. NAGY 1994, 92–93.

<sup>112</sup> During World War I, efforts were underway to replace the Abaújszántó paintings as well. The parish priest was engaged in a long correspondence with the company Oberbauer, but the plan never came to fruition. MEL III–1. The sovereign-tier icon of the Theotokos and the Last Supper were burnt in a fire at the end of the 19th century; the current images are later replacements.

<sup>113</sup> 'Iconostasis quando erecta et per quem benedicta non constat, certum tamen est, quod ex antiqua lignea Ecclesia an[n]o 1816 illocata habeatur, in tabulis ligneis picta, expensis fidelium procurata, in mediocri statu conservata invenitur, et per aedituum purgatur – Supra quartam seriem Iconostasis est crux alta, quam in semicirculo ornant sequentes effigies, ovalibus marginibus inclusae: a) Christus ut in horto Gethsemani orat, b) per Judam asculatur, c) coram Pilato stat, d) flagellatur, e) coronatus sedens eridetur; f) sub onere crucis corruit, g) Cruci in terra affigitur, h) inter latrones in cruce pendet; i) de cruce deponitur, k) in sepulchrum ponitur, l) resurrexit, m) vulnera sua Thomae ostendit; sub cruce adsunt B. M. V. et S. Joannes et serie horum in dextra intre Joannem et n) effigiem: effigies ascensionis Christi, in sinistra parte vero pentecostes; taliter iconostasis habet praeter descriptum seriem 4 series, et supra 4um seriem crucem 16 effigiebus circumdatam.' AGKA Inv. č. 478. Rok, 1877. Sign. 13.

by no means uncommon for Hungary's Orthodox iconostases in the period.<sup>114</sup>

Following Miklóssy's arrival on the scene, the deans asked what was to happen to the projects already assigned to Mankovits. The Bishop ordered that all contracted jobs be completed and, for new assignments, the Eparchy's own painter should be contacted.<sup>115</sup>

It was not long before Miklóssy's return that the new church of Homrogd, commissioned by advowee József Lánczy at his own expense, was completed. The furnishings were also financed by him; they were produced by Mihály Molnár, a sculptor from Eger,<sup>116</sup> and Mihály Wandza (Vándza, Vánca), a painter from Miskolc, in 1831.<sup>117</sup> The high altar is a classicist *aedicula*, with a rectangular image of 'Our Lady of the Way', while the iconostasis fills the entire triumphal arch, despite having only two sovereign-tier icons; the upper sections merely consist of the busts of six Apostles and a representation of the title feast, 'Our Lady Assumed into Heaven'. It is somewhat irregular that the sovereign-tier image of the Theotokos features only the Virgin Mary without the Infant Jesus.<sup>118</sup> Mihály Wandza (1781–1854) was from a Calvinist minister's family. He was born in Pericei (*Szilágypercesen*). He even enrolled at the

Arts Academy of Vienna in 1808.<sup>119</sup> In Hungary, he would mainly focus on the theatre. He lived in Miskolc from 1820.<sup>120</sup> No other religious work by him is in evidence.

In 1834, the community of Abod sought to hire József Mirejovszky, a resident of Moldava nad Bodvou (*Szepesi*), to paint the iconostasis of their church carved by Péter Pádits two decades earlier, but Bishop Tarkovics admonished them to wait for Miklóssy's return. However, they failed to make an agreement with him, so they would have the assignment completed by someone else two decades later.<sup>121</sup>

In 1835, Bishop Tarkovics commissioned Miklóssy to paint altarpieces for the two side-chapels of the Cathedral of Prešov.<sup>122</sup> One altarpiece shows the Princes of the Apostles, while the other is a depiction of the Crucified Christ. In the latter, the painter faithfully adhered to Anthonis van Dyck's (1599–1641) extremely simple composition of the same theme, known from several copies; he must have been well acquainted with its version kept in Vienna.<sup>123</sup> He copied the corpus composed for the pedimental cross of the iconostasis of Abaújszántó from this painting, too.

Allegedly, it was Miklóssy who painted the former iconostases of the churches of Sajószöged and

<sup>114</sup> Such an example is found in the iconostasis of Arsenije Teodorović in the Serbian church of Baja (cf. NAGY 1994, 80–81), but the same arrangement was to be seen in the iconostasis of the former Orthodox Cathedral of Buda, as well. On this subject, see: SIMIĆ 2019, 128, 143, 169–173. The Passion was featured on the pediment of the iconostasis of the Cathedral of Sremski Karlovci (*Karlóca*), too (1780): ТИМОТИЈЕВИЋ 2020, Picture 130.

<sup>115</sup> AGKA 361/1834.

<sup>116</sup> An image carver and sculptor; he is evidenced in tax registers in Eger between 1817 and 1837. On his works, see: DERCSÉNYI–VOIT 1969, 370.

<sup>117</sup> VÉGHSEŐ–TERDIK 2012, 195. At the time of the 1877 canonical visitation, the following was recorded: '43. Iconostasis eodem, quo Ecclesia anno erecta, per Mich. Molnár sculpta, Jos. Sponer inaurata, et Mich. Vandza picta, cum Ecclesia benedicta, in tabulis ligneis picta, expensis Josephi Lánczy, ...' The response to Question 44 suggests that, at the top of the iconostasis, instead of the cross, Lánczy's coat-of-arms was featured. AGKA Inv. č. 478, Rok 1877. Sign 19.

<sup>118</sup> Such depictions of the Theotokos in iconostases were unfamiliar among Greek Catholics, yet not uncommon in Hungary's Serbian Orthodox specimens as of the second half of the 18th century; e.g., in the sovereign-tier icons painted by Jakov Orfelin (d. 1803): in the iconostasis of the Cathedral of Sremski Karlovci, 1780, in cooperation with Teodor Kračun (ТИМОТИЈЕВИЋ 2020, Picture 103, JANJUŠEVIĆ–NIKOLIĆ 2010, 36–37, 40, Picture 29), as well as in the iconostasis of the Monastery of Bezdán (*Bezdán*) (КОРОЛИЈА ЦРКВЕЊАКОВ 2017, 94–95, 99).

<sup>119</sup> With previous literature on his work, see: BUZÁSI 2016, 274, Nr. 648.

<sup>120</sup> DOBROSSY–ESZENYI–ZAHUCZKY 2008, 294–295.

<sup>121</sup> TERDIK 2010a, 139–143.

<sup>122</sup> *Schematismus* 1903, 15; BESZKID 1914a, 61. In 1840, the sculptor András Bredikusz also performed some assignment on the altar of one of the chapels. Cf. AGKA Protokoll Podaci Rok 1840. Inv. č. 113, no. 582.

<sup>123</sup> The painting made its way to Vienna from Antwerp in 1774; currently, it is in the Kunsthistorisches Museum. BARNES–DE POORTER–MILLAR–VEY 2004, 268.

Múcsony as well,<sup>124</sup> though these no longer exist. He was able to claim the title ‘eparchial painter’ for less than a decade, for he died in Bardejov, on 29 November 1841. His legacy was auctioned by the town to redeem his debts.<sup>125</sup> His brother, or rather nephew, who had also worked with him in a number of locations, would soon request the Bishop’s permission to finish his assignments and to be appointed to the position left vacant by him,<sup>126</sup> which would in fact happen.<sup>127</sup> One of the unfinished iconostases must have been that of the church of Petrová (*Věgpetri/Pitrova*). At the beginning of 1842, the Eparchy asked the parish priest to report on the work completed by the eparchial painter.<sup>128</sup> In the autumn, permission was already sought for consecration.<sup>129</sup> As Bishop Tarkovics had died in January 1841, managing the matters of painters was left to his successor, József Gaganecz, appointed by the Monarch in July 1842.<sup>130</sup> He also kept the positions of the eparchial painters, while allowing other painters as well to work. In 1844, for example, at the Bishop’s recommendation, the

mentioned Abod iconostasis was completed by a certain József Dobrovolszky, possibly a painter from Košice, who appears to have been an artist of rather poor training based on his pictures surviving in that place.<sup>131</sup>

Bishop Gaganecz had an iconostasis constructed for the Cathedral of Prešov in 1846: He commissioned György Román, a local sculptor, to make the wooden structure, while some of the monumental sovereign-tier icons were painted by Albert Tikos, a painter from Košice, living in Vienna.<sup>132</sup> In line with the expectations of the period, Tikos copied the great works of renaissance religious painting: The sovereign-tier image of Christ was modelled on *Christ Blessing* by Venetian painter Cima da Conegliano (ca. 1459 – ca. 1517), while the Theotokos on Raffaello Santi’s (1483–1520) *Sistine Madonna*. The originals of both paintings are kept in the Zwinger of Dresden. Tikos must have seen the originals himself, though the compositions were already available in countless engravings as well.<sup>133</sup> However, a large proportion of the pictures of the

<sup>124</sup> TERDIK 2010a, 144, footnote 56. The authenticity of these data is dubious. During the canonical visitation of 1877, not in a single instance could the painter’s name be established. In Sajószöged, the following was recorded: ‘43. Iconostasis quando erecta, ac per quem benedicta nescitur, in tabulis ligneis picta, in statu pessimo, quo ocyus nova procurabitur. / 44. Iconostasis nonnisi in dua series divisa, in principalem et apostolorum, in culmine crux, penes hunc BMV et S. Joannes. [...] 46. Porta regia [...] antiqua, in qua nonnulla effigies videatur, supra portam est effigies BMV.’ AGKA Inv. č. 480., Rok 1877. Sign. 48. Concerning the iconostasis of Múcsony, the record says: ‘43. 1840 sculpra 1842 picta. Nomen magistrorum ignoratur – expensis fidelium procurata, imagines in tabuli ligneis pictae in bono status conservatur, [...] / 44. In quatuor series divisa in principali serie duae imagines Salvatoris et Deiparae, in 2a serie sex, ut Annae et Geo... (?), item 4 apostolorum, in 3a duae SS. Petri et Pauli in medio 2ae et 3ae serici est imago Xtum depictum repraesentans, in 4a ovali serie sex imagines apostolorum.’ The Royal Doors featured no paintings. AGKA Inv. č. 478., Rok 1877. Sign. 26.

<sup>125</sup> József Miklóssy lived in Bardejov, in Mihály Benedik’s house. Here, Mihály Miklóssy is called ‘*nepos*’, i.e. ‘nephew’. The list of objects was sent to the Episcopal Office as well. In response, the Eparchy requested that, even if unfinished items from a particular church were included, those were not to be auctioned. The Twelve Apostles under no. 4 seem to be peculiar, and other minor paintings also appear to have given cause for concern. AGKA 18/1842.

<sup>126</sup> His letter on the subject in Latin: AGKA 1356/1841, revealing the exact date of death as, according to Beszkid, he died on 1 December. BESZKID 1914a, 62.

<sup>127</sup> The *Schematismus* of 1842 states: ‘Pictor Dioecesanus: Michael Miklóssy’. *Schematismus* 1842, 11. Mihály Miklóssy is likely to have died in 1850; he is not included in the *Schematismus* of 1851 anymore. Cf. *Schematismus* 1851.

<sup>128</sup> A summary in the protocols of the Eparchy: AGKA Protokol Podaci Rok 1842. Inv. č. 115, no. 507.

<sup>129</sup> ‘Joannes Halik Pitroviensis Ecclesiae neo-exstructum Bemma benedicendi facultatem sibi elargari petit.’ AGKA Protokol Podaci Rok 1842. Inv. č. 115, no. 1271. The letter seeking permission was dated 3 November, specifying the Presentation of the Theotokos in the Temple, i.e. 3 December, as the requested time because Mihály Miklóssy was expected to be ready soon. AGKA 1271/1842.

<sup>130</sup> Gaganecz’s appointment was confirmed by the Pope on 30 January 1843; he was ordained by Bazil Popovics, Bishop of Mukachevo, in the Court Chapel in Vienna, on 25 June. *Schematismus* 1903, 28.

<sup>131</sup> TERDIK 2010a, 144–147. At the time of the 1877 canonical visitation, the following was recorded about the iconostasis: ‘43. Iconostasis a. 1844 picta, et per VAD. Mich. Ruzinko benedicta, in tabulis per Jos. Dobrovolszky picta; in bono statu conservatur, per campanatorem purgatur.’ AGKA Inv. č. 478. Rok 1877. Sign. 1.

<sup>132</sup> *Schematismus* 1903, 29.

<sup>133</sup> The image of Christ was made in 1505; 161 × 77 cm 63.38 × 30.31”). Copperplates were made of it, among others, by Carl Wilhelm Overbeck (1820–1860), a master from Düsseldorf. Cf. TERDIK 2011a, 183, Pictures 83 and 84.

Prešov iconostasis were not made by Tikos but by the Galician painters' dynasty of the Bogdanskys.<sup>134</sup> Tikos might have been prevented from continuing the assignment by his early death.<sup>135</sup>

In Bishop Gaganecz's time, the most celebrated painter of Prešov was János Rombauer (1782–1849), who – except for two sovereign-tier images – also painted the icons of the iconostasis of Černina (*Alsócernye/Cernyina*) in 1844.<sup>136</sup> In his compositions, he echoed the works of renaissance and early-baroque artists known from engravings, as well as the pictures of Bibles with engravings, popular from the 16th century.<sup>137</sup> Rombauer seems to have been supported by the Bishop, too, as, in 1845, the canons of Prešov enquired why the Dean did not recommend Rombauer for the painting of the iconostasis of the church of Vyšný Orлік (*Felsőodor/Felsőorlik*), once he had been commissioned in Černina the year before.<sup>138</sup> Antal Jakovits, Dean of Makovica, who had indeed recommended Lukács Mihályi for this assignment in the previous year,<sup>139</sup> proceeded to write two letters on the issue to the Bishop. The first one reveals that the Dean went to the site together with Rombauer to clarify the reasons behind the painter's marginalisation. Certain members of the community who intended to make substantial contributions towards the expenses of the erection of the new iconostasis declared that they would donate money only if Lukács Mihályi performed the painting instead of Rombauer. They also insisted that the painter work in situ as they were reluctant to transport the iconostasis to Prešov. Next, they stated that they would not even be able to pay the 'academy-graduate painter'

(*viz.* Rombauer) from the parish budget. The Dean labelled these excuses weak – especially the one that demanded that the painter should work on location because he believed that the peace and calm needed for a painter's work could not be guaranteed here.<sup>140</sup> Finally, he requested the Bishop to make a decision himself. One day later, he also wrote another letter sharing further details about the matter divulged to him only on the same day: It became clear that the church was in need of complete renovation, no doubt making Rombauer's remuneration difficult to provide. The Dean, therefore, suggested that Rombauer be hired to paint only the four sovereign-tier images and, possibly, a few smaller icons from the iconostasis. Afterwards, Bishop Gaganecz decided to prohibit Mihályi, who – albeit a mere dauber ('*colorator*') – had promoted himself as a painter, from performing all manner of painting work in the church of Vyšný Orлік for fear he might make the Church an object of ridicule as the village was frequented by many. He also provided that the four sovereign-tier icons, along with those of the Apostles, be painted by Rombauer.<sup>141</sup> The present iconostasis of the church is from a later period; for now, it cannot be established whether the Bishop's will was fulfilled. The prohibition is all the more surprising because, in 1843, when Lukács Mihályi presented an *epitaphios* painted by him in the Episcopal Palace of Prešov, he was still deemed to be capable of performing comparable painting and gilding assignments as he had completed such in several churches. Being a Greek Catholic, who needed to provide for his family, he was considered to be worthy of support at that time.<sup>142</sup> His name

<sup>134</sup> The family of painters of Galician origin also worked in a number of locations in Upper Hungary: J. Bogdanski (1800–1884); his sons: Pawol and Anton. On the painters' dynasty, see: PRZEŹDIECKA 1965, 107–123. On their work on the iconostasis of the Cathedral of Prešov, see: BORZA–GRADOŠ 2018, 460. On the family's activities in Galicia, see also: GIEMZA 2017, 280–292; МАКАРІЙ 2021b, 5–32.

<sup>135</sup> Tikos was born in 1815; he studied in Vienna and later visited Rome as well, but he had exhibitions in Pest, too. The exact date of his death is not known; according to Károly Lyka, he died around 1845. Cf. LYKA 1981, 465. If his sovereign-tier images in Prešov were completed only after 1846, the date of death is still in need of ascertainment.

<sup>136</sup> Apart from the painter, the sculptor György Román was also contracted. AGKA Protokoll Podaci Rok 1844. Inv. č. 117, no. 1122.

<sup>137</sup> On the iconostasis of Černina, see: TERDIK 2010b, 139–144; TERDIK 2011a, 72. The sovereign-tier image of the Theotokos in the iconostasis was not made by Rombauer, similarly to the Teaching Christ – though, destroyed in a fire, the latter would be replaced with a new painting in the course of the conservation work underway between 1991 and 2001. Cf. REŠOVSKA 2013, 24.

<sup>138</sup> AGKA 572/1845.

<sup>139</sup> AGKA Protokoll Podaci Rok 1844. Inv. č. 117, no. 1208.

<sup>140</sup> '... quanta inconsiderantia; pictor eget silentio, et imaginario spiritu, atque gustuoso, quem in Orlich non haberet.' Ibid.

<sup>141</sup> Jakovits's two letters were dated Kečkovce (*Kečskúc*), 13 and 14 June. AGKA 572/1845.

<sup>142</sup> AGKA Protokoll Podaci Rok 1843. Inv. č. 116, no. 212.

also emerged in connection with the painting of the iconostasis of the church of Porúbka (*Kisortovány*) as early as 1834, but, as Miklóssy had been appointed eparchial painter by then, a warning was issued by the Episcopal Office, and a critique was required once the carving was complete.<sup>143</sup>

Mihály Mankovits as eparchial painter was succeeded by József Boda, whose exact biographical data remain unknown for now.<sup>144</sup> In 1854, he painted the pictures of the iconostasis of Kány, marbling and gilding the wooden parts.<sup>145</sup> Judging by his works there, he appears to have been an untrained painter; it is hard to understand why he was appointed to such an important position. Boda painted on existing wooden boards; only the four sovereign-tier images and Christ the Great High Priest were made on canvas, but he would glue these, too, onto wooden surfaces. Saint Nicholas and the Teaching Christ were painted on the basis of the sovereign-tier images of the Cathedral of Prešov, whereas, for the depiction of the Theotokos, the painter drew on a different source: the *Regina Coelicomposition* of the Nazarene Ernst

Deger (1809–1885), a painter from Düsseldorf, disseminated in the form of engravings as well.<sup>146</sup>

The furnishings of the church of Kány were carved three decades earlier by Jakab Szárics from Stropkov (*Sztropkó*), who received a total of 2700 forints for his work between 1816 and 1822.<sup>147</sup> Other iconostases by the artist are not evidenced to date; this one seems likely to have been the first as, in 1817, he was also paid to study the iconostasis of Abaújszántó.<sup>148</sup> Nevertheless, the two iconostases are not alike: That of Kány gives the impression of a much older style due to the emphatic rococo ornaments. In Kány, the painting of the new wooden furnishings progressed gradually: In 1826, first the Virgin Mary lamenting her Son was painted for the Table of Oblation<sup>149</sup> by an unnamed master from Moldava nad Bodvou – perhaps Mirejovszky. The pulpit was painted and gilded in 1834.<sup>150</sup> The iconostasis was left for the end.

In 1852, Boda also painted the iconostasis of the church of Hejőkeresztúr,<sup>151</sup> to be replaced with a new one in 1900, though recorded in the protocols of the 1877 canonical visitation. It must have been

<sup>143</sup> János Szekerák, Dean of Humenné (*Homonna*), reported on 14 July that the advowee, Antal Csáky, had offered 100 conventional forints for the new iconostasis. AGKA Protokoll Podaci Rok 1834. Inv. č. 108, no. 828. It was also he who, on 9 August, wrote that, for the carving, Szilveszter Hitter, a carver from Humenné, was to be contracted for 180 conventional forints, while the painting would be undertaken by Lukács Mihályi for 500 forints. They sought permission for the assignment. Ibid. No. 905.

<sup>144</sup> His work, *Still Life with Wild Ducks*, is kept at the East Slovak Gallery, Košice, bearing his signature: 'P. Jozeph Boda 1843'. Oil, canvas; 36.5 × 25.6 cm (14.37 × 10.07"), Východoslovenská galéria, Inv. No. O 412. [https://www.webumenia.sk/dielo/SVK:VSG.O\\_412](https://www.webumenia.sk/dielo/SVK:VSG.O_412) (accessed: 1 January 2023)

<sup>145</sup> The following entry was made in the ledger: 'Memoriale 1854. Iconostasis Ecclesiae ex ligno a longo tempore praeparata reparata hoc anno sub parochio Georgio Hodermarszky a Honorabili D[omi]no Josepho Boda picta et inaurata 1090 florenorum valutaribus.' Számadáskönyv [ledger] 1788–1864, MEL V–17–c.

<sup>146</sup> The original painting was made for one of the side altars of the Dominican church of St Andrew in Düsseldorf in 1837. Multiple engravings were produced from the painting from 1840. See: TERDIK 2011a, 184, Picture 86.

<sup>147</sup> In 1816, he received 70 forints as advance payment for the carving of the iconostasis; in 1817, he was paid 430 forints for the assignment, as well as 527 forints for the iconostasis in 1818. In 1819, a sum of 445 forints was paid for the pulpit and the altars; the iconostasis was installed then; 87 forints and 51 kreuzers was paid for the transportation, as well as 6 forints to the carpenter on the scene. In 1821, Szárics also received 702 forints; it was then that he brought the baldachin, the tabernacle, the Table of Oblation and the pulpit. In 1822, he was also paid 178 forints for the final assignments on the iconostasis. Számadáskönyv [ledger] 1788–1864, MEL V–17–c.

<sup>148</sup> 'Pro Inspectione laboris Eccl[esi]ae Szantoviensis Bematis examinando in occasionem et Sculptoris accomodationem – 8 [forints] 30 [kreuzers]'. Számadáskönyv [ledger] 1788–1864, MEL V–17–c.

<sup>149</sup> 'Memoriale 1826. Anno 1826 sumptibus tum Ecclesiae, tum Fidelium piorum est Altare cum Mensa Propositionis per Pictorem Szepiensensem sub A. R. D. Nicolao Brinszky Parochio Locali, A. R. D. Andreae Kovaliczky successore.' Számadáskönyv [ledger] 1788–1864, MEL V–17–c. Miklós Brinszky served here from 1825 to 1831. For its photograph, see: TERDIK 2011a, 183, Picture 82.

<sup>150</sup> 'Memoriale 1834. Anno 1834. sub eodem Parochio [György Hodermarszky] s. Ambo pictus inauratusque est per Stephanum Héthey 150 fl w benevole ab Andrea Bodák opilion Csebbensi oblatis id indicante nomine ejusdem in Cathedra exposito.' Számadáskönyv [ledger] 1788–1864, MEL V–17–c.

<sup>151</sup> '43. Iconostasis 1852. oblatis fidelium, et e Cassa Ecclesiae erectum per quem eotum benedictum ignoratur: 1869 occasione restorationis Ecclesiae pretis 240. fl. oblatis fidelium, et Cassa Ecclesiae restauratum, et eotum cum Ecclesia benedictum. Imagines in tela pictae, utinam melius fuissent. Pictor Boda nominatur. Iconostasis est adhuc in statu bono.' 44. The iconostasis consisted of three rows: in addition to the four sovereign-tier images, Apostles, Prophets above them, the title feast, the Ascension of Jesus and the cross at the very top, with the grievers. '46. Porta Iconostasis regiae duarum Valvarum. In dextra valva Annuntiatio B. Mariae Virg. in sinistra Ciryllis, et Methodius, - effigies comparent. Supra portam hanc in magna effigie Ascensio Domini picta est.' AGKA Inv. č. 478., Rok 1877. Sign. 18.

notable in terms of its form because the title-feast icon was placed in the central axis, above the Royal Doors. It was considered an iconographic curiosity that, on one of the wings of the Royal Doors, the image of Saints Cyril and Methodius, Apostles of the Slavs, was featured alongside the Annunciation. Although, formerly, even the paintings of the iconostasis of the church of Irota were believed to be Bodá's work,<sup>152</sup> the pictures painted on canvas in 1857 were allegedly made by a painter by the name of Fedorcšák.<sup>153</sup>

In the Greek Catholic churches in the vicinity of Miskolc, two images of the Virgin Mary by Gyula Szabó survive. Precious little is known of his activities or education; even his biographical data were indefinite.<sup>154</sup> His only work in evidence until recently was his portrait of the upright figure of Count István Széchenyi, with the envisaged Chain Bridge in its background. Signed, the picture was painted in 1843 and was part of the Collection of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.<sup>155</sup> The second piece of data on Szabó is an invoice he issued as a Miskolc art teacher to the City Council of Košice on 26 June 1862 for the noble coats-of-arms painted on six silk flags for the funeral of Royal Councillor János Vitéz of Ivanka pri Nitre (*Nyitraivánka*).<sup>156</sup> In Miskolc, he was an art teacher at the Lutheran Lower Grammar School; as to from when, it is impossible to ascertain.<sup>157</sup> In a school bulletin from

1871, he is titled an 'academy-graduate painter', though, unfortunately, it is not disclosed where he attended art training.<sup>158</sup> By 1873, the school had a new art teacher<sup>159</sup> as, owing to his advanced years, Szabó was no longer able to fulfil his duties. He died of old age in Miskolc on 17 October 1876. He was buried two days later by the Lutheran Church.<sup>160</sup>

A hitherto unknown image of the Virgin Mary by Szabó has been discovered in Felsőzsolca. Enthroned, Mary holding the Child Jesus in her arms is likely to have been patterned on Italian Madonnas. The upper part of the composition features half-figure angels painted in a single colour on a gilded base. The left armrest of the ornate throne displays the master's signature: 'Festé Szabó Gyula, 1855' [Painted by Gyula Szabó, 1855].<sup>161</sup> The painting may have been one of the first visual ornaments of the newly built Greek Catholic church; the inscription on the reverse might refer to the customer.<sup>162</sup> The signature on it speaks to a possible connection with an image of the Virgin Mary in the church of Sajópetri, representing a closer link to Byzantine tradition. The half-figure composition is evocative of the icon type 'Our Lady of the Way' (*Hodigitria*); the artist perhaps used an engraving of a Greek Catholic devotional image – presumably that of Máriapócs – as a prototype. The angels painted with the monochrome technique remain emphatic over the Virgin's shoulders. The painter's signature

<sup>152</sup> VÉGHSEŐ–TERDIK 2012, 189.

<sup>153</sup> '43. 1857 erecta, in linteis per Fedorcšák picta, expensis fidelium et Cassae Ecclesiae procurato, in bono statu, purgatur per Aedituum.' AGKA Inv. č. 478., Rok 1877. Sign 23.

<sup>154</sup> Cf. LYKA 1982, 23.

<sup>155</sup> Oil, canvas, 174.5 × 84 cm (68.7 × 33.07"). Currently, it is kept in the Painting Collection of the Historical Picture Gallery of the Hungarian National Museum; Inv. 76.5. The painting was first described by: DIVALD 1917, 92. Its photograph was published by: CSORBA 2016, 10.

<sup>156</sup> He demanded 6 forints per piece and charged an additional 2 forints for the transportation. In his signature, his name appears as 'Sz.-kainoki Szabó'. The text of the invoice was published by: KEMÉNY 1914, 378.

<sup>157</sup> On the history of the school, see: HIDEG 2001. The first bulletin of the school was issued in 1870; Gyula Szabó is mentioned in it: SZÁNTHÓ 1870, 11. According to a contemporary news report, Miskolc still had no art teacher in 1855. Thus, Szabó must have arrived here afterwards. Cf. LYKA 1982, 60.

<sup>158</sup> At that time, he taught in all four grammar school classes: SZÁNTHÓ 1872, 9. A year later, it is also noted that he was an 'extraordinary instructor', perhaps corresponding to the modern category of part-time teacher. SZÁNTHÓ 1873, 4.

<sup>159</sup> Extraordinary teacher and engineer Lajos Kaszner: SZÁNTHÓ 1874, 4.

<sup>160</sup> He was 73 years old and is described as a native of Miskolc, though no trace of him has been found in the parish records of baptisms. Death records 2. Archives of the Lutheran Parish of Miskolc

<sup>161</sup> The picture painted on canvas with oil (82 × 61 cm) was conserved by Viktória Vodnák under Tamás Seres's guidance in 2023. In the course of conservation, the painting was also fitted with a new frame.

<sup>162</sup> The church was built in 1851. At the time of the canonical visitation of 1877, two images of the Virgin Mary were recorded: one, portable, placed on the Table of Oblation in the sanctuary and the other hung on the wall, on the left side of the nave; the latter may be identical with the aforementioned painting. AGKA Inv. č. 478. Rok, 1877. Sign. 11. The inscription on the reverse is hard to read: 'Kulcsár (?) János [...] / [...]54 Frt (?)'



is displayed on the Virgin's right, along her robe: 'festé Szabó Gy.' [Painted by Gy. Szabó]. This does not reveal the exact time of its making though. At the time of the canonical visitation of the parish in 1877, an image of the Virgin Mary located in the church nave was mentioned; the two may have been identical.<sup>163</sup> The flag painting with the Trinity on one side and the Crucifixion on the other might also be from the area of Miskolc is probably his work, too.<sup>164</sup>

Gyula Szabó's works described above suggest that the Greek Catholics living in the area of Miskolc, far from major ecclesiastical centres, on the periphery of the Eparchy of Prešov, would also commission painters who lived nearby. It is remarkable that even denominational affiliation had ceased to be a primary factor by this time as, apart from Catholic masters working for Greek Catholic communities, Calvinist and Lutheran artists are also to be encountered.

<sup>163</sup> 'In navi sunt duae icones, una Salvatoris altera Dei parae effigiem refert, per Josephum Palicsko donatae.' AGKA Inv. č. 480. Rok, 1877. Sign. 47.

<sup>164</sup> The fragmentary flag was identified by László Kárpáti. The author of the present text says thanks to him for pointing to this specimen.

## Mihály Mankovits (1785–1853)

Mihály Mankovits was born in Blažov (*Balázsvágás*), Sáros County on 16 October 1785. The third son of the local Greek Catholic parish priest, he had two sisters as well. Following his elementary education in his family and presumably at the village school, he studied in Sabinov (*Kisszeben*) and Levoča (*Lócsé*) before becoming a Greek Catholic seminarian. Two years later, reportedly having discovered the boy's attraction to art during an examination, Bishop András Bacsinszky (1772–1809) sent him to Vienna to study painting. From one of Mankovits's letters, it may be inferred that he completed the first two years of his studies, i.e. philosophy prior to reading theology, not in the Uzhhorod (*Ungvár*) Seminary but in the Seminary of Košice (*Kassa*), from where he was sent to Vienna. As suggested by entries in the university records, he was in fact enrolled at the Arts Academy from 1806 to 1807 and would embark on a tour afterwards. He remained for three years in L'viv, from where he would allegedly travel as far as Kiev and Moscow. Returning to Vienna, he was granted a position as cantor in the Greek Catholic church of St Barbara, which would provide him with a living. University records indicate that, from 1810 to 1812, he attended the Arts Academy of Vienna studying landscape painting and drawing, as well as historical painting.

In 1813, however, he returned to his birthplace, where he met the widow of the late Zemplínske Hradište (*Hardicsa*) parish priest Antal Danilovics, Mária Bacsinszky, whom he would marry soon. The couple took up residence near the Episcopal Court in Uzhhorod, and this would become Mankovits's base for touring the villages of the Eparchy of Mukachevo (*Munkács*) comprising a number of north-eastern counties, painting mainly iconostases and altarpieces. Written exclusively in Latin, the inscriptions on his surviving iconostases documenting the circumstances of their making reveal that he would often work jointly with assistants. At the time of his return, the Eparchy was governed by Vicar Capitular Mihály Bradács

as Auxiliary Bishop (from 1809 to 1814); he would support the young painter's activities. Appointed Bishop of Mukachevo in 1816, Elek Pócsy also recommended him to the clergy and instructed the deans to approach Mankovits for his expert opinion in case of problems with painting projects. It appears that Mankovits was the first to use the title Eparchial Painter. In 1840, Bishop Vazul Popovics (1837–1866) admonished parish priests again to preferably employ Mankovits for painting assignments. The 'office' of Eparchial Painter did not amount to exclusive painting rights in the territory of the Eparchy.

Several of his iconostases survive (e.g., Čabalovce [*Csabalóc*], 1814; Kvačany [*Kacsány*], 1817; Rakhiv [*Rabó*], 1819; Domanice [*Alsódomonya*, currently part of the city of Uzhhorod], 1820; Mizhhir'a [*Ökörmező*], 1824; Pastilky [*Kispásztély*], 1825; Neresnytsya [*Alsóneresznicza*], 1825; Novosad [*Bodzásújlak*], 1829; Fulianka [*Fulyán*], 1830; Ňagov [*Nyágó*], 1831; Tur'i Remety [*Turjaremete*], 1836; Inovec [*Inóc*], 1842), though a number of ensembles have been completely destroyed (e.g., Beloveža [*Bélavézsza*], Vyšné Čabiny [*Felsőcsebény*]).

Only few of his works intended for private use and institutional representation are evidenced. A last vestige of these is his signed picture from 1829, painted on canvas, kept at the Saris Musuem in Bardejov (*Bártfa*) (Šarišské Múzeum, Bardejov), a replica of the Madonna of Carlo Dolci (1616–1687), a Florentine artist. Mankovits is also known to have painted several pictures depicting mythological themes. Representing this category is his oil painting entitled Hebe (1831), preserved in the East Slovak Gallery, Košice (Východoslovenské galéria v Košiciach; Inv. No. 160); it is signed and is based on a composition by János Donát (1744–1830). Portraits by Mankovits are also in evidence, though only one of them is known: The image of Bishop Elek Pócsi (1816–1831) survives in the collection of the Joseph Bokshay Art Museum, Uzhhorod,

lacking a signature, yet safely counted among the artist's works on criticism-of-style-based grounds.

In his final years, Mankovits was able to work only with difficulty owing to his deteriorating health condition. In his letter written in German on 8 November 1850, he requests 200 Forints from the Diocesan Consistory, offering his house

in Szobránci utca in Uzhhorod as a security. It also becomes clear that his situation has been extremely hard for as many as five years as he has suffered a stroke. All this implies that he must have produced his last works around 1845. In 1851, he applied for a pension; he died in Uzhhorod on 21 October 1853, at the age of 68.

## József Miklóssy (1792–1841)

József Miklóssy was born into a simple peasant family in Slovincy (*Szlovinka/Szalánk*), Szepesség, on 20 March 1792. At that time, he still used the surname Zmij. From 1809 to 1814, he studied at the Basilian Monastery of Krásny Brod (*Krasznibród/Laborcrév*). It was here that he changed his surname to Miklosik/Miklussig, only to be finalised in the Hungarian form 'Miklóssy'. He left this place for Vienna, where he was cantor of the Greek Catholic Seminary Church of St Barbara until 1824. While there, he would attend the courses of the Arts Academy, where he was enrolled in 1814, as well as between 1816 and 1821. His master was Peter Krafft (1780–1856). A document certifying his art studies was issued on 22 February 1823, indicating that he was a student of the institution for eight years on the specialisation track Historical Painting.

Miklóssy wished to return home as early as 1823, and he asked Gergely Tarkovics, Bishop of Prešov (*Eperjes*), to appoint him as painter of the Eparchy of Prešov. The Bishop accepted the painter's offer, but, for hitherto unknown reasons, Miklóssy failed to come home but chose to go on a study trip to Italy instead (1825) and would stay in Vienna thereafter as well. He returned to his native land in 1833 and did receive the official appointment from Bishop Tarkovics.

In Vienna, Miklóssy attracted attention primarily with his portraits, such as the image of the Emperor Francis II. Subsequently, he painted the portrait of János Kovács, founder of the Eparchial Library, in two copies in 1831: One would find its way to

the Hungarian National Museum, while the other was sent to Prešov. After his appointment, he also painted the portrait of Bishop Tarkovics as an expression of his gratitude. His sketches produced for folk scenes may be reconstructed from descriptions, though such pieces have not survived. Once at home, he was presented with the opportunity to show his talent in the area of religious painting as well, for he was expected to do so. One of his first assignments in Hungary was to paint the pictures of the iconostasis of the Greek Catholic church of Abaújszántó. On 9 March 1833, Bishop Tarkovics wrote to the local dean that Miklóssy would soon arrive in the Eparchy, intimating his preference for Miklóssy to perform the respective assignment. And so it happened: Miklóssy completed the painting as early as the following year, as confirmed by his signature in the bottom left corner of the icon of Saint John the Baptist, along with the date 1834. The marmoration of the iconostasis was also done in the same year by János Zimányi, a master from Košice (*Kassa*), as suggested by the painted inscription on the inside of the left column in front of the image of Saint Nicholas.

In 1835, Bishop Tarkovics commissioned Miklóssy to paint altarpieces for the two side-chapels of the Cathedral of Prešov. One altarpiece shows the Princes of the Apostles, while the other is a depiction of the Crucified Christ. Following Miklóssy's arrival on the scene, the deans of the Eparchy asked the Bishop what was to happen to the projects already assigned to Mankovits. The Hierarch ordered that all contracted jobs be

completed and, for new assignments, the Eparchy's own painter should be contacted.

Miklóssy could enjoy his prominent position not even for a decade: On 29 November 1841, he died in Bardejov (*Bártfa*). (His later biographies erroneously specify Prešov as the location and 1 December 1841 as the time of his death.) His legacy was auctioned by the city in exchange for the remission of his debts.

By now, the iconostasis of Abaújszántó has remained the only specimen that continues to feature Miklóssy's paintings for the most part; the rest of his works have been either destroyed or

completely repainted. In the territory of present-day Hungary, the former iconostases of the churches of Sajószöged (1831) and Múcsony (1840) were also painted by him.

After his death, his younger brother, Mihály, who even worked alongside him in a number of places, requested permission from the Bishop to complete his assignments, as well as to be appointed to the position Miklóssy had left unoccupied. His request was fulfilled: He is included in the 1842 Prešov Schematism as *Pictor Dioecesanus*, but he is absent from the 1851 edition: He must have died, too, in the meantime.

## Carvers and Painters Between 1820 and 1860

In the territory of the Eparchy of Mukachevo (*Munkács*) with hundreds of parishes, a single painter would have been unable to perform all the necessary artistic assignments. Besides the appointed eparchial painter, assignments were of course available to other artists as well, which the respective bishops did not actually find objectionable, either. All they would repeatedly require of priests and the deans was that they were not to contract anyone without obtaining the 'diocesan painter's' prior statement. Serious conflicts would usually develop whenever the congregation or the parish priest himself failed to observe the expected procedure.

In 1820, the images of the iconostasis in the Greek Catholic church of Zemplínska Široka (*Kráska/Kráskarebrény*) near Michalovce (*Nagymihály*) were to be painted. Although the parish priest who submitted the application was well aware that an eparchial painter had been appointed in the person of Mankovits, he tried to find another master as the latter painter, Sámuel Müller, was recommended by Lady Teréz, widow of the advowee Mihály Szirmay.<sup>1</sup> It is revealed by his letter from a few weeks later that his request was also presented to the Eparchial Consistory, which would have preferred Mankovits for this task. The parish priest, however, refused to succumb: In addition to the arguments in favour of Mankovits, he also put forward his own in Müller's defence. He argued that there would not be much difference in the price, which he and the Vice-Dean had established by comparison with the iconostasis in Strážske (*Örmező*). (Thus, it seems that Mankovits worked there, too, but this iconostasis no

longer exists). He also admitted that, despite not working in a Greek Catholic church before, Müller had completed a commission of this type in Michalovce – presumably for the Latin-rite community – though he would not elaborate on this point. The artistic skills of the master were attested to by the advowee, claiming that the artist in question was experienced in both portraiture and the painting of sacred images.<sup>2</sup> Although the Bishop's answer is unknown, based on the recently conserved ensemble surviving in the church of Zemplínska Široka, it is likely that the commission was granted to Müller. Even though the sovereign-tier icons and a few other images were replaced and reworked at the end of the 19th century, the upper rows indicate that the original works from the 1820s were preserved there. Their painter was not a particularly skilful master, apparently attempting to reproduce the images of the iconostasis of Uzhhorod (*Ungvár*). Therefore, it appears that the advowee's will prevailed, as is shown by the fragmentary coat-of-arms painted above the Royal Doors of the iconostasis, which – judging by the red crab in the timbre – must have belonged to the Szirmay family.<sup>3</sup> Other works by Sámuel Müller are not evidenced to date; he might be identical with *S. Miller*, whose lithograph of the Tatra was published in Košice (*Kassa*) in 1825.<sup>4</sup>

At the beginning of the 19th century, new furnishings were produced in the main church of the Basilian Monastery of St Nicholas of Chernela Hora (*Csernek-hegy*) near Mukachevo. The monks contracted András Ternavszky (also known as Tarnószky or Tarnovszky) as early as 1802 to make the church's baldachined altar.<sup>5</sup> According to later

<sup>1</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 6, no. 2692, fol. 17r. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 355.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. fol. 28r. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 356–357.

<sup>3</sup> Pictures: TERDIK 2020f, 173, 1–2.

<sup>4</sup> LYKA 1981, 320.

<sup>5</sup> For the text of the contract, see: DAZO fond 64, opis 1, no. 1506, fol. 25.

sources, he also carved the iconostasis.<sup>6</sup> Although this ensemble was replaced with a neo-baroque icon screen in the 1910s, an old photograph may help form an idea of the arrangement of the former iconostasis as well.<sup>7</sup> Most of the images once part of it still hung on the walls of the nave of the church in the early 21st century.<sup>8</sup> For the monumental monastery church completed by 1804, displaying later-baroque features, Ternavszky created a genuinely classicist icon screen, which had no formal connections with the Uzhhorod iconostasis: It was a wall-like, emphatically segmented structure with columns and pilaster strips, closed at the top, featuring rectangular images for upright figures in the case of the sovereign-tier images. Only the Sovereign Tier and the Feast Tier are seen in the old photograph. The two lateral sovereign-tier images stood in front of the wall pillars, interrupting the straight line of the floor plan at not completely right angles. The Royal Doors were crowned with a fretwork representation of the Eye of God set in an aureole filling the entire archway. While this form, common in Russian and Ukrainian Classicism, is rather rare in the territory of the Eparchy of Mukachevo, it was employed in Dobrá (*Kisdobna*) and in some other churches (e.g. Odoreu [*Szatmárudivari*] and Nyírkarász), though, in the former, the dove of the Holy Spirit appears in the centre of the aureole. Ternavszky, who was probably of Galician origin, must have been acquainted with this form from the iconostases of his native land.

József Balajthy, the later monographer of the city of Mukachevo, described the church of the Monastery of Mukachevo in detail in his 1828 article. He notes that the foundation stone of the church was laid on 6 May 1798 by Bishop András Bacsinszky, who had the whole church built at his own expense, 'having its interior painted and having decorated the unfinished tapestry with only a few pictures by learned masters. It is a pity that,

in the painting of hell on the ceiling, the damned were depicted with the demons torturing them in situations and positions scandalising for chaste eyes' (translated from the Hungarian original).<sup>9</sup> Balajthy's choice of words is remarkable. He calls the iconostasis veil, referring to the curtain of the Old Testament Temple, a name that has survived among the Romanians to this day: From the Greek name for the Old Testament temple curtain, icon screens are also called *catapeteasmă*. From the description, it may be gathered that only part of the pictures were complete at that time. A mural showing the Last Judgement is also mentioned. It is not clear in which part of the church it was visible, but, in line with tradition, it may have been located at the west end of the nave, perhaps on the vault; subsequently, the author regrets that no other murals were painted on the walls. He does not name the painters, but it is safe to assume that the specimens concerned were also made by János Prighel, known from other sources, who worked on the iconostasis as well.

Between 1805 and 1808, the carver Ternavszky also worked on the furnishings of the church in Dubrynychy (*Bercsényifalva/Dubrinics*), Ung County. According to the report of Dean Péter Jackovics,<sup>10</sup> parish priest of Velikiy Berezny (*Nagyberezna*), addressed to Vicar János Kutka,<sup>11</sup> dated 23 December 1808, the parishioners complained against the sculptor, whom he describes as a native of 'Dubrinics', staying temporarily in Maliy Berezniy (*Kisberezna*), that he failed to make sufficient progress. Though the contract was agreed for three years, he has worked for four years now. The Dean also travelled to the site and found that the Dubrynychy community had not kept the accounts properly, although the artist had also accepted and completed other assignments in the meantime. In his report, he notes that the master had not made the iconostasis according to the 'monastic norm', contrary to his undertaking (it is not clear what

<sup>6</sup> At the request of Bazil Popovics, several deans wrote reviews of his activities in 1844, mentioning his work in Mukachevo: DAZO fond 151, opis 9, no. 1353, fol. 27. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 388–390.

<sup>7</sup> *Листокъ*, 12 (1896), 78.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. DESCHMANN 1990, 92; ПРИЙМИЧ 2014, 165.

<sup>9</sup> BALAJTHY 1828, 1698; BALAJTHY 1829, 897; BALAJTHY 1836, 234.

<sup>10</sup> He served in Velikiy Berezny from 1805 to 1820 and died there, too. BENDÁSZ 2023, 362.

<sup>11</sup> János Kutka (1750–1812) was Canon from 1794, and Vicar General Capitular from 1809 to 1812. BENDÁSZ 2023, 461, no. 617.

he meant here; perhaps, he referred to the use of *prestols*, or small tables, in front of the sovereign-tier images), but he found a fault in the baldachin as well, which he also promised to correct. The Dean arranged for Ternavszky to make new candlesticks for the high altar and to raise the Royal Doors. The carver also undertook to prepare the missing cantors' stalls.<sup>12</sup> The iconostasis of Dubrnychi was a late-rococo ensemble, following the Uzhhorod iconostasis,<sup>13</sup> which speaks to the fact that Ternavszky was able to create in a variety of styles, certainly to suit the needs of the client.

Ternavsky was recommended for assignments by the Basilians later as well. In 1838, at the encouragement of the prior of the religious house in Mukachevo, the community of nearby Rus'ke (*Orosztelek/Ruszkóc*) contracted him to make an iconostasis, but the master failed to mention – or rather deliberately concealed from them – that he already had a valid agreement with the people of Dobrá. The latter would not let this pass and, a year later, they did go to Rus'ke to demand the fulfilment of his earlier promise and the advance payment from the carver. They even extracted an undertaking from him that he would appear in Dobrá as soon as he had finished the assignment in Rus'ke.<sup>14</sup> However, in July of the following year, Ternavszky changed his mind and informed Vicar János Csurgovics<sup>15</sup> via the Dean that he would not go to Dobra after all, asking to be relieved of his assignment there. He justified his decision by saying that they intended to pay him 100 forints less than the originally agreed fee, and that he had been humiliated in Rus'ke when they had sought to have him taken by the magistrate and had been fined 26 forints for receiving the advance

payment. Moreover, he also felt that 'I have cause to be afraid of such restless Hungarians, lest I suffer more indecency and they take revenge on me when I go into their midst to perform the aforementioned assignment'.<sup>16</sup> Nevertheless, in a letter written in December of the same year, István Pásztor,<sup>17</sup> parish priest of Dobrá, also requests the Vicar to send Ternavszky to Dobrá.<sup>18</sup> The iconostasis of Rus'ke, extant to this today, is very similar to the former icon screen of Chernecha Hora, notwithstanding subsequent modifications, which mainly affected the Sovereign Tier.<sup>19</sup> Ternavszky appears to have been prone to make commitments beyond his limitations: In September 1839, the priest of Bilki (*Bilke*) complained that he would not complete the iconostasis.<sup>20</sup> It may have been carved later by the Greek Catholic sculptor János Iványi of Mukachevo, similarly to that of Kushnytsya (*Kusnica*), as claimed by the community of Dovhe (*Dolha*), when they sought to commission him to make a new iconostasis for their church in 1841.<sup>21</sup> The question of the iconostasis in Dobrá would not be resolved before long. On 21 April 1840, Ternavszky signed a contract with the parishioners of the outparish of Rakovo (*Rákó*), Ung County, for the carving of a new iconostasis.<sup>22</sup> The parishioners requested that the iconostasis be modelled on the one in Dorobratovo (*Drágabártfalva*), but the Bishop set the icon screen of Velikiy Berezny as an example to be followed instead.<sup>23</sup> The contract in Hungarian already stipulated that all the furnishing items should be based on those in Velikiy Berezny and that the work should be completed by 1 May 1841.

During these years, a much younger master, Demeter Molnár, also worked in the Eparchy,

<sup>12</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 6, no.1859, fol. 54.

<sup>13</sup> ПРИЙМИЧ 2014, 151–152. In recent years, the iconostasis has been moved to the church of the Greek Catholic Franciscan Monastery of Uzhhorod, and its restoration is underway. The author of the present text thanks Makariy Medvid for pointing to this detail.

<sup>14</sup> For Miklós Bacszinsky's report on the matter (Rakoshyno, [*Rákos/Beregrákos*], 10 September 1838), see: DAZO fond 151, opis 8, no. 1750, fol. 79–80. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 357–359.

<sup>15</sup> János Csurgovics (1791–1862) was Vicar Capitular from 1831 to 1837. BENDÁSZ 2023, 169, no. 147.

<sup>16</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 8, no. 2038, fol. 4r. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 361.

<sup>17</sup> István Pásztor (1783–1863) served in Dobrá from 1813 until his death. BENDÁSZ 2023, 652, no. 392.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid. fol. 13. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 362–363.

<sup>19</sup> Pictures: TERDIK 2020f, 175–176, Pictures 5–6.

<sup>20</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 8, no. 2040, fol. 55.

<sup>21</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 9, no. 222, fol. 24.

<sup>22</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 9, no. 218. fol. 26.

<sup>23</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 9, no. 218. fol. 24.

who would later ‘get involved’ in the assignment in Dobrá as well. Made in 1835, the iconostasis of Velikiy Berezny may have been one of Molnár’s first works,<sup>24</sup> already exhibiting all the forms that would be characteristic of him subsequently: sovereign-tier images envisaged as oval, half-figure characters, with sizeable pillars on both sides, decoration provided by fretwork carvings composed of fronds and cherry leaves; the Feast Tier and Apostle Tier closing in a semicircle are segmented by columns. From the letter of Miklós Danilovics,<sup>25</sup> the local parish priest, it may be established that the pulpit of the church was carved by Ternavszky in 1833 for 40 conventional forints, and then he also undertook the making of the iconostasis for 500 forints, for which he received a 5 forint advance. However, after his failure to turn up at the appointed time, the people of Velikiy Berezny contracted Demeter Molnár, newly recommended in the eparchial circular, for 850 forints. The sculptor was handed the timber intended for the assignment in November 1834 and, by 24 May the following year, he already installed the complete specimen to the satisfaction of all. At the same time, the artist also borrowed 26 forints and 41 kreuzers from the parish treasury, making a commitment to pay his debt by the Whitsunday of the following year, 6 June. The parish priest also remarks that Molnár was about to go to Rafajovce (*Rafajóc*) to work on an assignment there. At the time of writing, on 3 May 1836, he believed that Ternavszky was in Mukachevo and Molnár in Odoreu. He solicited the help of Vicar János Csurgovics in urging the recovery of the advance from one and the debt from the other. The Vicar did comply, writing to the Hegumen of Mukachevo and the Dean of Satu Mare, asking them to warn the two masters to repay their debts.<sup>26</sup>

It is notable that in these years a master carver, Lajos Nemes Lengyel (any possible family relations to László Lengyel from Hajdúdorog, referenced earlier, are unsubstantiated) also worked in Tur’ya Pasika (*Turjapászika/Turjavágása*), who accepted to construct the iconostasis for only 80 forints on 30 March 1833.<sup>27</sup> However, the caretakers were dissatisfied with his work because after, comparing it with the iconostasis in Velikiy Berezny, they filed a complaint against the artist, prompting the Dean to visit the site in 1835. With his report, he enclosed the contract with the carver and a drawing featuring only sketches of the triumphal arch of the church in Tur’ya Pasika, the full Sovereign Tier and the pedimental cross, while the other rows are absent. The drawing suggests that, in terms of style, the iconostasis of Tur’ya Pasika was akin to that of Velikiy Berezny, though the sovereign-tier images were not oval but followed a more traditional form, closed at the top like on the iconostasis of the Cathedral of Uzhhorod.<sup>28</sup>

Molnár’s letters to the Vicar and to Bishop Bazil Popovics also disclose some details about his life. In his letter of 1837, he sought permission to carve the iconostasis of Rus’ki Komarivtsi (*Oroszkomoróc*).<sup>29</sup> In it, he first expresses his gratitude to János Csurgovics for having recommended him to the clergy in a circular three years earlier (1834). Molnár feels that this has lapsed into oblivion by now and that it is thus possible that people without proper qualifications may consider undertaking sculptural assignments. In contrast with these, he emphasises his own qualifications, having learnt his trade with Tapolyi in Humenné (*Homonna*). He presumably refers to Antal Tapolyi, who was better known in the Eparchy as a painter until his death in 1832.<sup>30</sup> It seems that his application was successful: In all

<sup>24</sup> Приймич 2014, 153–157. This was discussed in more detail in the previous chapter.

<sup>25</sup> Miklós Danilovics (1781–1839) served in Velikiy Berezny from 1823 until his death. BENDÁSZ 2023, 180, no. 59.

<sup>26</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 8, no. 1450, fol. 38–40.

<sup>27</sup> DAZO fon 151, opis 8, no. 1322, fol. 67.

<sup>28</sup> DAZO fon 151, opis 8, no. 1322, fol. 66. In his letter, János Tabukovits, Dean of Perechyn (*Perecseny*) did not agree with the caretakers’ accusations. Instead, he blamed them for emptying the church treasury with this assignment. Ibid. fol. 68.

<sup>29</sup> DAZO fon 151, opis 8, no. 1578, fol. 24r. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 363–364.

<sup>30</sup> ЛУКА 1981, 324, 464; PUSKÁS 2008, 257.



probability, he did work on the iconostasis of Rus'ki Komarivtsi.<sup>31</sup>

From 1838, Molnár would work on the furnishings of the church in Streda nad Bodrogom (*Bodrogszerdahely*). From the account book of the parish, it is easy to follow the progress of work; the carver mainly worked in Uzhhorod. However, in the summer of 1839, after five weeks of work, he left for a few weeks to work on the altar of the church in Carei (*Nagykároly*), with the permission of the parish priest.<sup>32</sup> Antal Dudinszky,<sup>33</sup> the local parish priest, took this delay hard and sent a letter to the carver calling on him to fulfil his contractual obligation and return. The Bishop upheld the parish priest's complaint and, through the Dean of Szatmár, ordered Molnár, as eparchial carver, to return to finish the assignments.<sup>34</sup>

Molnár was contracted to carve the iconostasis of Buj in 1840. The local parishioners had raised 500 forints for the iconostasis in 1839. Their letter requesting a carver from the Bishop was submitted by the Dean of Timár.<sup>35</sup> In April the following year, János Lámfalussy,<sup>36</sup> the local parish priest, was able to present the contract to the Bishop, along with the request of the faithful – with the Dean's recommendation – in terms of which Molnár undertook to make the iconostasis, altar and the Table of Oblation for 850 forints.<sup>37</sup> His contract has survived; he completed the assignment in 1842.<sup>38</sup>

He started working in 1839 in Bácsaranyos (now Aranyosapáti), Szabolcs County, where, according to the payments registered in the account book, he worked on the altar at the time. Although his name appears only once in the volume, it seems certain that he was the 'image carver' regularly mentioned in

the entries.<sup>39</sup> The church pulpit is also his work. The year of production (1839) and the donating couple are commemorated by a small metal plaque painted blue with gold lettering on the pulpit vase. A label discovered on the wooden box on the sounding board during the last conservation of the pulpit says that Demeter Molnár, Mihály Reszegi and József Orbán worked on it – the last two possibly being painters.<sup>40</sup> In the account book, the name of the master 'Suller', who repaired the iconostasis, also appears, suggesting that, at that time, it was still the iconostasis of the former church that was installed in the enlarged building, reconstructed between 1836 and 1839.<sup>41</sup>

During this period, Molnár also became involved in the making of the Dobra iconostasis, which, similarly to Ternavszky, caused serious inconvenience to him as well.<sup>42</sup> In September 1840, his letter of complaint to the Bishop reveals some details of the case: He agreed with the Dobrá community at the Easter of the previous year to make their iconostasis on the model of the one in Stanča (*Isztáncs*), even accepting an advance payment of 150 conventional forints for the assignment. During the work, the faithful of Dobrá found that Molnár failed to carve their icon screen in the same manner as the one Stanča had been carved and they even consulted the parishioners of the latter location on the matter. Adopting their arguments, the parish priest launched an attack against Molnár, alleging that he did not do what was expected of him. As, accompanied by his wife, Molnár had by then set up his workshop in Dobrá, the locals, led by the parish priest, confiscated his tools in his lodgings and even withheld his other assignments that he worked on for other churches

<sup>31</sup> On 7 March 1838, the people of Rus'ki Komarivtsi write that the construction of their iconostasis is underway, the artists progress well, and they intend to borrow 400 forints. DAZO fond 151, opis 8, no. 1747, fol. 7–8. Danilovics, parish priest of Velikiy Berezny, notes that Molnár completed the assignment in their village in 1835 and now he works in Rus'ki Komarivtsi. 2 April 1838. Ibid. fol. 18.

<sup>32</sup> On the altar, see: TERDIK–VADAS 2016, 19–20, 57, Picture 15.

<sup>33</sup> Antal Dudinszky (1790–1849) served here from 1833 until his death. BENDÁSZ 2023, 206, no. 249.

<sup>34</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 8, no. 2042, fol. 2–3. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 364–365.

<sup>35</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 8, no. 2039, fol. 13–14.

<sup>36</sup> János Lámfalussy served here from 1829 to 1874: BENDÁSZ 2023, 468, no. 34.

<sup>37</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 8, no. 2349, fol. 22–26, 33–34.

<sup>38</sup> Archives of the Eparchy of Nyíregyháza (NYEL), II–3–a (Box 1). Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 365–367; GRÓH 1932.

<sup>39</sup> For details of the account book, see: TERDIK 2020f, 368–369.

<sup>40</sup> The conservation of the pulpit was supervised by Szabolcs Baracza in 2022 and 2023, when the commemorative text was found.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Greek Catholic Episcopal Archives (GKPL) IV–2–a. 14, Inventory of the year 1834.

<sup>42</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 8, no. 2043, fol. 49.

at the moment. According to Molnár's account, the local parish priest's leverage has prevented him from accessing his tools and assignments for five weeks, so he has not been able to deliver them on time and has suffered financial loss due to non-compliance, while he is also unable to work on the Buj assignment. Thus, he asks the Bishop to release him from his contract here; he will return the 150 forints of advance payment and even the timber already used, in return for receiving his completed assignments and his tools back because he does not wish to share in the fate of the previous carver, who was caught in a legal dispute for three years (obviously, a reference to Ternavszky). While refuting the insulting accusations of the parish priest of Dobrá, he also relates that he has worked in the Eparchy for ten years – thus, he must have started in 1830 – and there is nothing objectionable about his family, either, as two of his brothers are priests: one serving in Szatmár County and the other in Máramaros County.<sup>43</sup>

Molnár could not easily part ways with the Dobrá community because, in the following years, they continued to correspond about the lack of progress in the assignment. In the spring of 1841, Squire Kende from nearby Kráľovský Chlmec (*Királyhelmece*) attempted to reclaim from them the tabernacle made for his chapel but removed from the cart and retained by the parish priest and the parish council members on the day of delivery.<sup>44</sup> In 1842, Molnár worked on the iconostasis of the church of Odoreu, where his brother was parish priest, and, according to the report of the Dean of Szatmár, he was about to return to Dobrá afterwards.<sup>45</sup> Thus, it seems that, initially, Bishop Popovics would also uphold the complaint of the people of Dobrá.

According to the letter of the Dean of Streda nad Bodrogom dated 30 November 1842, Molnár still

owed them ten carvings, and, therefore, he demanded 60 forints from the remuneration already paid to him, asking the Bishop to order him to make up for the shortfall. Bishop Popovics then asked Molnár to return from Szatmár and complete his outstanding tasks in Streda nad Bodrogom, Dobrá and Dámóc.<sup>46</sup> By all indications, these missing elements in Streda nad Bodrogom were finally completed in 1844 by Ternavszky, who is referred to in the parish account book simply as the '*rezbar*' (i.e. image carver) of Dobrá. The latter information also implies that Molnár had better not have stayed in Dobrá, either, and it appears that the parishioners there again would resort to employing Ternavszky.

In September 1843, the Dobrá community attacked Molnár in a vehement letter. They would disparage not only his person but his work as well, calling him a rascal. It turns out that they had not seen him for a year and a half, even though Bishop Bazil Popovics, who had once called at Dobrá while visiting nearby Pribeník (*Perbenyik*) to see how the carving of the iconostasis progressed, decided that Molnár must finish the assignment in six months or he would be deprived of his title of eparchial carver. As the Dobrá community lost patience, they hired another master who had worked for them for three weeks prior to the time of writing. The account book of Streda nad Bodrogom hints that it must have been Ternavszky. Furthermore, they expected compensation in return and sought to dispose of Molnár's incomplete work. Vicar Csurgovics informed Molnár of the developments via the Dean of Szatmár.<sup>47</sup>

A few weeks later, in early October, Molnár's reply was written in Baia Mare (*Nagybánya*). In his letter, he describes the unfoundedness of the claims of the parish priest of Streda nad Bodrogom. In his argumentation, he explains that he did not work on

<sup>43</sup> One of his brothers, György Molnár, was born in Pişcari (*Piskárkos*) in 1806 and died in Turç (*Turc*) in 1873. He was a celibate priest of the Eparchy of Oradea (*Nagyvárad*) and later of Gherla (*Szamosújvár*). Cf. BODA–SZÖGI 2023, 179, no. 1567; BENDÁSZ 2023, 566, no. 461; *Schematismus* 1873, 208. His other brother, Illés Molnár, was born in Pişcari in 1813. BODA–SZÖGI 2023, 199, no. 1732 (His mother's name is wrongly specified as 'Mária'). He was a priest of the Eparchy of Oradea and died in Tarna Mare (*Nagytarna*) in 1850. *Schematismus* 1856, 268; BENDÁSZ 2023, 567, no. 463. Their father's name was Illés Molnár; his wife's name was Teréz Kovácsák. He served in Pişcari from his ordination until his death in 1822. BODA–SZÖGI 2023, 113, no. 910; BENDÁSZ 2023, 566, no. 462.

<sup>44</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 9, no. 220, fol. 15. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 371–372.

<sup>45</sup> The letter of parish priest György Molnár, 22 September 1840. DAZO fond 151, opis 9, no. 226, fol. 2.

<sup>46</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 9, no. 563, fol. 81. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 373–374.

<sup>47</sup> The letters in question: DAZO fond 151, opis 9, no. 898, fol. 42, 45. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 374–376.

the basis of a drafted plan there but the final form of the iconostasis arose as the result of constant consultation with the parish priest. He, therefore, considers it unjustifiable that even small decorative carvings were demanded retrospectively, while he made candlesticks, which were not included in the contract though. As regards the accusation that he did not prime the carvings, he notes that he did not prime these because this was supposed to be the painter's responsibility directly before the gilding, for which even the iconostasis would need to be dismantled. Molnár's responses were sent to the Vicar by the Dean of Szatmár. In his covering letter, the Dean also references the reply to the Dobrá community, though its text unfortunately remains unknown.<sup>48</sup>

On 1 February 1844, the people of Dobrá wrote another incisive letter to the Bishop, estimating their losses from Molnár's interrupted work at 312 forints and holding Dean Péter Prodán<sup>49</sup> responsible for the failure to effect a recompense. In their opinion, Prodán would have allowed Molnár to continue working for them defying the Bishop's decision. It also becomes evident that the other master, who is not named, has been with them for six months and works on the iconostasis. However, this time, the Bishop rejected their demand as they had agreed with Demeter Molnár without the approval of the diocesan government, so they could not blame the consequences on others, either, but were to bear them themselves.<sup>50</sup> The complaining parish priest of Streda nad Bodrogom also acted in like manner: Having consulted András Holozsnyai,<sup>51</sup> Dean of Zemplén, they found that it was no longer legal to make such claims after the fee was paid.<sup>52</sup>

However, the people of Dobrá would not surrender easily. The report of Péter Prodán, Dean of Bodrogköz, dated 22 October 1844, reveals that they continued to blame the Dean for the damage done to them by the Molnár affair. The letter indicates that the whole case began some

seven years earlier, when the people of Dobrá first met Molnár in his church, i.e. in Pol'any, where he happened to work at the moment. Unfortunately, it does not say exactly on what – perhaps, on the altar or the pulpit, which, judging by their style, seem to date from the 1840s as the iconostasis had been complete for decades by then. The people of Dobrá later went to Stanča with Molnár, where they had two drawings made of the iconostasis there, one staying with the master and another with them, and agreed that he would carve such an iconostasis for Dobrá. Trouble started when the Dobrá community hit upon the idea that their iconostasis should be different from the one in Stanča. They struggled to comprehend that, due to the difference in size between the two churches, the one in Dobrá would need to be smaller in the first place. They launched an invective against Molnár for this reason, not only confiscating his other works but even his wife's clothes from their temporary accommodation. According to the Dean, it was not the whole Dobrá community that was incompatible but five opinionated people in it, whom he calls 'Machiavellis'. One of them stirred a scandal in Damóc at the Feast of the Protection of the Theotokos in 1842, even offending the Dean: During the sermon, hurling expletives, he called on his associates to leave the church and 'not to listen to this priest'. The Dean sought redress at the court of Sátoraljaújhely for the foul language, the realness of which was verified by nine people, though the parish priest of Dobrá attempted to portray the incident as the figment of the Dean's imagination. In response to the letter from the Dean, the Bishop called on the Dobrá community to seek redress in a secular court if they felt that their iconostasis had been subject to damage on account of Molnár. As for the allegation that their damage had been caused by Dean Péter Prodán – in view of the content of the letter – he also refused to accept it and forbade them to spread such rumours.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>48</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 9, no. 904, fol. 54, 57. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 376–377.

<sup>49</sup> Péter Prodán (1779–1853) served in Pol'any (*Bodrogmező*) from 1810 to 1850. BENDÁSZ 2023, 696, no. 778.

<sup>50</sup> The two letters: DAZO fond 151, opis 9, no. 1352, fol. 1–2. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 377–378.

<sup>51</sup> András Holozsnyai (Holosnyay) (1800–1848) served in Sátoraljaújhely from 1836 until his death. BENDÁSZ 2023, 315, no. 195.

<sup>52</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 9, no. 1353, fol. 8–9. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 379–380.

<sup>53</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 9, no. 1353, fol. 57–59. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 380–383.

The second work of the sculptor András Ternavszky in Dobrá is also confirmed by other sources. In 1844, Bishop Bazil Popovics wished to have a new Easter Sepulchre made for the Cathedral of Uzhhorod. During the preparation of the commission, János Mihályi,<sup>54</sup> Registrar of the Episcopal Court, enquired from Mankovits which of the carvers he knew from the Bishopric would be suitable for the task. Mankovits recommended four masters: Fülöp Schaitzner from Sighetu Marmației (*Máramarossziget*), Ternavszky from Bereg County, Mihály Krajnyák from Rakovo, Ung County, and Demeter Molnár, whose place of residence he was unaware of at the time. In response, the Bishop requested the territorially competent Deans to send their opinions on the respective artists. Multiple reviews were received on Ternavszky: Miklós Bacsinszky,<sup>55</sup> Dean of Bobovyshche (*Bubuliska*), presents him as a reliable master, who, owing to his age, was no longer capable of independent planning but was able to engage in precise execution. In his letter, he also mentions in the way of a reference that Ternavszky returned to Dobrá in 1843, where, in the spring of 1844, he was still busy repairing the iconostasis ‘ruined by Molnár’,<sup>56</sup> a circumstance corroborated by a letter from András Pásztelyi,<sup>57</sup> Dean of Krajna, commending the carver.<sup>58</sup> A similar statement was made by Benjamin Jóczin, Hegumen of the Basilian Monastery of Chernecha Hora.<sup>59</sup> No letter describing Molnár’s work is in evidence at present, nor are any further details of his activities available.

At the beginning of 1845, the parishioners of Dobrá requested the Bishop to seek permission from the Hungarian Royal Council of the Governor-General for four local men to launch a nationwide fund-raising campaign, or else they would

lack the resources to pay for the iconostasis. Thus, Ternavszky seems to have worked for them as long as the Easter of 1845. Popovics did not consider a nationwide fund-raising effort justified as he believed that the iconostasis was not an essential part of a church’s equipment. Instead, he advised them to approach the Lord Lieutenant for permission to raise funds in the neighbouring counties.<sup>60</sup>

It is also worth briefly mentioning the iconostasis of Stanča, which was referred to several times as a model – in Mankovits’s case – by the people of Šamudovce (*Sámogy*) and – in Molnár’s case – by the Dobrá community. The exact date of the making of the iconostasis in question and its artists remain unknown for now. A copy of the inscription on the foundation stone of the church has been preserved, according to which it was laid on 15 August 1817 (by the Old Calendar), i.e. on 27 August, at the Feast of the Dormition of the Theotokos.<sup>61</sup> The iconostasis must have been erected in the 1820s, certainly before 1826, because the Šamudovce community regarded it as a model in that year. At that time, they alluded to a painter from Sátoraljaújhely, by the name of Szalóky, whose works they had seen in Stanča, suggesting that he could be considered as the painter of the iconostasis. The paintings of the iconostasis in Stanča are rather ‘choppy’ compositions, indicative of an artist with a not very skilled hand. The images in the Feast Tier display a close affinity with János Mihályi’s Dobrá feast icons – to be described subsequently (cf., e.g., the Annunciation, the Presentation of Jesus in the Temple) – suggesting that the Dobrá community saw this ensemble as authoritative not only in carving but in painting as well. More than a decade later, even the people of Rudabányácska would refer to the iconostasis of Stanča when deciding to renovate their church

<sup>54</sup> János Apsai Mihályi died in Uzhhorod in 1851; he was Registrar of the Episcopal Court from 1843 to 1851. BENDÁSZ 2023, 549, no. 330.

<sup>55</sup> Miklós Bacsinszky (1787–1853) served in Rakoshyno (*Beregrákos*) from 1834 until his death and was dean. BENDÁSZ 2023, 69–70, no. 47.

<sup>56</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 9, no. 1353, fol. 27. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 388.

<sup>57</sup> András Pásztelyi (1803–1855) was dean from 1832 until his death. BENDÁSZ 2023, 650, no. 386.

<sup>58</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 9, no. 1353, fol. 29. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 389–390.

<sup>59</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 9, no. 1352, fol. 30.

<sup>60</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 9, no. 1668, fol. 43, 45. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 383–385.

<sup>61</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 6, no. 2473, fol. 64.

and erect a new iconostasis.<sup>62</sup> The paintings on the Stanča pulpit, not reworked as extensively as those of the iconostasis, hint at an artist more talented than the master of the iconostasis, who drew on late baroque traditions. Particularly prominent are the scene with the Samaritan woman on the pulpit vase and the planters filling the narrower fields, as well as the painting of the Parable of the Sower on the balustrade of the staircase, demonstrating that their creator was capable of painting highly complex figures and still-life details, too.

A record of Szalóky's work has been found in the Roman Catholic church of Bodrogkeresztúr lately. According to the Latin inscription on the back of the stone-carved tabernacle on the baroque high altar, the tabernacle was made in 1812; the carving work was executed by sculptor Lőrinc Jesper, and it was painted by 'Gabriel Szaloki'. It is likely that Szalóky painted not only the tabernacle but also the angels on either side of it, also carved in stone except for their wings, along with the other carved parts of the altar, though it is not clear whether the altarpiece of the high altar was his work, too.<sup>63</sup> Jesper is also known to have carved other works as well, such as the iconostasis of the Greek Catholic Church of St George in Bodrogkeresztúr, allegedly in 1801.<sup>64</sup> The icons were made only years later. They were painted in 1807 by an as yet unidentified master – according to the date in the bottom left corner of the sovereign-tier image of the Theotokos.<sup>65</sup> He was strongly influenced by Mihály Spalinszky or other masters working in a comparable style. However, the composition of six Old Testament sacrifices on the Royal Doors of the iconostasis is of a poorer quality than most of the icons. In case Szalóky already worked with Jesper at this time, which is not supported by any data in this instance, he could be a strong candidate for the creator of the Old Testament scenes. There is also a pulpit in the church, which differs in its carving

from the iconostasis and was probably made a few decades later. A depiction of the Four Evangelists was accommodated in an oval panel on the vase. Its study is made difficult by the heavily darkened varnish, but the image of Jesus encountering the Samaritan woman on the staircase clearly shows that the artist must have been an inexperienced painter of the first half of the 19th century. Szalóky's involvement may be reasonably surmised in this case as well, although no data is available in this regard to date.

The structure of the iconostasis of Stanča and the rococo motifs of its carvings reflect the influence of the iconostasis of the Cathedral of Uzhhorod, though these decorations lost much of the delicacy of the prototype, their plasticity having been reduced, becoming predominantly two-dimensional. The fretwork dome of the baldachin of the high altar, however, is powerful, presenting details that surpass the Uzhhorod model. On the tailpiece of the Stanča Royal Doors, a pelican feeding its young of its blood emerges – a motif that is rather rare in this context within the Eparchy of Mukachevo. It would be employed only later, on the Royal Doors of Zemplénagárd; it is likely to have been carved by András Ternavszky after 1844. It is conceivable that the Stanča iconostasis is also the work of Ternavszky, underscoring the fact that, in addition to the classicising forms he applied on the iconostasis of the Monastery in Mukachevo, he was also keen to reproduce the rococo patterns of the decoration of the Cathedral of Uzhhorod. The iconostasis of Stanča was reworked in the early 20th century<sup>66</sup> and it underwent a further renovation in 1997, which only complicates its accurate assessment.

Painters working on the images of the iconostasis of the Basilian Monastery of Mukachevo would be granted various commissions in several places – mostly in Bereg County – in the 1840s. In their references, they would particularly emphasise that

<sup>62</sup> This is mentioned in 1855, in a contract with the painter Krichbaum from Sátoraljaújhely. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 423–424.

<sup>63</sup> The inscription on the back of the tabernacle reads: Sub Andrea Kolesza/rits Parocho:MDCCCXII / erectum. / Sculptore Lauren/tio Jesper / Pictore Szaloki Gabriel

<sup>64</sup> Cf. AGGHÁZY 1959, 25. Unfortunately, the archival document referred to has not been found yet. The statue of Saint John of Nepomuk in Tokaj from 1802 was also made by Jesper: FEHÉR 1989, 191, 194, Picture 4.

<sup>65</sup> The iconostasis was discussed by: PUSKÁS 2008, 256–257, 274–275, Colour Pictures 141–149; SIMON 2010, 303–308.

<sup>66</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 2, no. 1456, fol. 21; DAZO fond 151, opis 2, no. 1404, fol. 219–221; *Görög-Katholikus Szemle*, 5 (1904), 277–278.

they had worked at the Monastery of Mukachevo. The majority of their works have been destroyed, but the sovereign-tier image of the Theotokos from the original iconostasis of the church of Dorobratovo (*Drágabártfalva*), Bereg County, bearing the Latin inscription on the reverse of the iconostasis in which the painters identified themselves – Prighel and Kroesner – has survived.<sup>67</sup> In 1839, the people of Dorobratovo had sought permission from the Bishop to have a new iconostasis made to replace the old one, which had been salvaged from their earlier wooden church.<sup>68</sup> János Prighel (elsewhere also appearing in the form ‘Priegly’) and Károly Kroesner (Groesner) worked on the painting. As the former died during the assignment, it was completed by the latter. In his review of Ternavsky cited above, Miklós Bacsinzky, Dean of Bobovyshe, first of all pointed out that the former painter of Mukachevo, i.e. Prighel, considered him the best carver of the Eparchy, and thus the two had worked together on the icon screens at the Monastery of Mukachevo, in Rus’ke and in Dorobratovo.<sup>69</sup> The letter of András Pásztelyi, Dean of Krajna, also reveals that Ternavszky left for Dobrá only in July 1843, after he had finished the iconostasis in Dorobratovo.<sup>70</sup> The painters could begin working afterwards.

As has been noted, the iconostasis of Rus’ke is extant. Its structure resembles that of Mukachevo, as does the style of the paintings. Although the sovereign-tier images have been dismantled – currently stored in the church vestibule – and heavily repainted, their composition is reminiscent of that seen in old photographs of the iconostasis of Mukachevo. The images in the upper rows have also been partially repainted, especially the backgrounds. Nonetheless, it is clear that these Mukachevo masters based their works on Western prototypes, though at times applying subtle painting details.

A particularly fine specimen is the Virgin Mary in the sanctuary, lamenting the dead Christ in the company of two angels, provided that it is indeed their work.

In 1845, Károly Kroesner requested permission from the Bishop to paint the iconostasis of Rus’ki Komarivtsi, and his letter reveals that he had worked as Prighel’s assistant on the earlier assignments above. By way of introduction, he had painted an icon of Saint Nicholas, which the community was very pleased with.<sup>71</sup> In his letter, local parish priest Mihály Simsa<sup>72</sup> writes that he did not succeed in reaching an agreement with eparchial painter Mihály Mankovits or with György Révész. In connection with the former, he also notes that some of his works (*Serednie* [*Szereďnye*] and *Kyblyary* [*Köblér*]) are considered simply scandalous, not only by him but also by other priests. However, everyone is satisfied with the works of the late Prighel in the county, just as with the painting of Saint Nicholas by Kroesner, which has been examined by both secular and ecclesiastical experts and found to be equally suitable. Another argument in Kroesner’s favour is that he would work more cheaply than Mankovits or even Révész, who demanded too large an advance and is also preparing for a tour of Rome, so that the completion date is felt to be uncertain. Kroesner would complete the work in three years for 1800 conventional forints though.<sup>73</sup> It is presumed that he won the contract.

Just as these painters from Mukachevo often worked after Ternavszky, Molnár also had a ‘favourite’ painter in the person of Károly Schuller (Suller). Like Demeter Molnár, he must have lived in Uzhhorod, though nothing is known of his origins or studies for now. According to the parish account book, in Bácsaranyos, he worked on the repair of the iconostasis as early as 1839,<sup>74</sup> and the metal plate painting of the Four Evangelists for

<sup>67</sup> On the icon, see: МАКАРІЙ 2021c, 65–68.

<sup>68</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 8, no. 2039, fol. 9.

<sup>69</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 9, no. 1353, fol. 27. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 388.

<sup>70</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 9, no. 1353, fol. 29. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 389–390.

<sup>71</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 9, no. 1668, fol. 18. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 391.

<sup>72</sup> Mihály Simsa (1811–1850) served in Rus’ki Komarivtsi from 1841 until his death. Cf. BENDÁSZ 2023, 754, no. 155.

<sup>73</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 9, no. 1668, fol. 20. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 392–393.

<sup>74</sup> TERDIK 2020f, 368–369.

the pulpit vase here must also have been painted by him.<sup>75</sup>

In 2010, five panel pictures from Tornyospálca were transported to the Collection of Greek Catholic Ecclesiastical Art in Nyíregyháza. The oil paintings were part of the former iconostasis of the church: three sovereign-tier images – the Teaching Christ, the Virgin Mary with the Infant, Saint Nicholas – as well as the Last Supper and Christ the Great High Priest. The latter closes in an arch, while the others are upright and one is a horizontal rectangle. During their conservation, a signature was also discovered in the bottom right corner of the painting of Saint Nicholas: ‘Pinx. Schuller 842.’<sup>76</sup> Three of the five surviving paintings bear testimony to the use of Western engravings: the Last Supper unquestionably goes back to a well-known composition by Leonardo da Vinci, and the Virgin Mary may be based on one of Raphael’s Madonnas. The image of Christ was most probably made with the help of a reproduction of *Salvator Mundi* by the German engraver Friedrich John (1769–1843), which was published in the 1822 issue of the Viennese handbook *Aglaja*. According to the explanatory caption of the engraving, it is a reproduction of a painting by Anton Raphael Mengs (1728–1779).<sup>77</sup> *Aglaja* was popular with the Hungarian art-loving audience as well, and the engravings in it were widely known.<sup>78</sup> Judging by the Tornyospálca paintings, Schuller can be considered an inexperienced, self-trained painter rather than a learned professional, whose formal faults are compensated for by his vivid use of colour, which gives the pictures an unusual vivacity.

The church of Tornyospálca was built between 1810 and 1814; no archival documents have been found so far, and, unfortunately, the iconostasis is not mentioned in the records of the history of the parish.<sup>79</sup> However, the former altar is referred to several times: It was built in 1819 and reconstructed in 1878.<sup>80</sup> It may be established from other sources that this altar was transferred to Tiszaadony (an affiliated parish of Aranyosapáti), to the new Greek Catholic church dedicated to King Saint Stephen of Hungary in 1906.<sup>81</sup> During the conservation of the baldachined altar in 2023, the inscriptions documenting the circumstances of production on the inside of two columns were exposed: ‘Gearbeit von Jakob Wisotravka in Alsó Domania D. 15 July 1629’. Nothing specific about the master with the Polish surname is known for now.<sup>82</sup> The place of their production, Domanice (*Alsódomonya*), near Uzhhorod, suggests that these columns were originally intended for the altar of a nearby Catholic church or chapel. In the early 17th century, there is no record of a baldachined altar in the Orthodox churches of the area, nor was there a large stone church in which these columns could have functioned as accessories of an iconostasis. Therefore, it is safe to assume that they were originally made in a Latin environment. They may have been removed from their original location in the early 19th century, during some kind of conversion (altar replacement?), and come into the possession of a carpenter who was able to utilise them in the making of a new baldachin. The closing component of the ceiling of the baldachin decorated with sedge leaves, as well as the *polierweiss* (polished lead-white paint) finish uncovered on the entire surface of the

<sup>75</sup> The view of the eastern part of the town decorating the pulpit banister may be older, dating from the 1860s.

<sup>76</sup> The three sovereign-tier images: 118 × 85 cm (46.45 × 33.46”). They were first published in: PUSKÁS 2012, 30–31, Cat. 46–50. See also: TERDIK 2020f, 189–194, Pictures 21–26.

<sup>77</sup> TERDIK 2020f, 194–195, Pictures 26–27. *Aglaja. Ein taschenbuch für das Jahr 1822*. Achter Jahrgang, Wien. Featured in the volume as Engraving II. The caption reads: ‘Salvator Mundi. Gemälde von Raphael Mengs. Das Original befindet sich in der Sammlung des gern. Adam Braun, Mitglied der. k. k. Akademie der bildenden Künste.’ Adam Braun (1748–1827) was a painter, conservator, forger and painting dealer, from whom the Hungarian aristocracy would regularly purchase in Vienna. See: GARAS 2006. This work is conventionally not included in Mengs’s oeuvre. Cf. ROETTGEN 2005.

<sup>78</sup> See: SZVOBODA DOMÁNSZKY 2014, 42, 45.

<sup>79</sup> Cf. NYEL II–35–c. III.

<sup>80</sup> Cf. NYEL II–35–c. III.

<sup>81</sup> SZÓCSKA 1907, 291.

<sup>82</sup> It is well worth noting that ‘*Jacob Visotravka sculptor*’ made a design for the high altar of the Roman Catholic church in Santău (*Tasnádszántó*), commissioned by the Becsky family, in 1821. The signed plan: MNL OL P 1821, 48, no. 53, fol. 443.

structure, including the columns, and the lustre paint decorating the floral ornaments show that the painting techniques common in the last quarter of the 18th century would continue even at the beginning of the following century.

In 1846, Schuller signed a contract with the parishioners to paint and gild the wooden furnishings of the church in Khudlevo (*Horlyó*). He demanded 640 forints for the whole assignment, payable within two years. In addition, he would also receive produce. In return, he offered a twelve-year guarantee. The Bishop approved the contract in December of that year as Mihály Mankovits was already ill then.<sup>83</sup>

In a letter dated 7 March 1849, Schuller requested Bazil Popovics to appoint him eparchial painter. He also listed the places where he had worked so far: Odoreu, Tăuții de Jos (*Misztótfalú*), Firiza (*Fernezely/Alsófernezely*), Cherna (*Csarnató*) and Khudlevo; he had an ongoing assignment in Kopashново (*Gernyés*).<sup>84</sup>

Bishop Popovic sought the assistance of the Deans of the parishes listed with assessing the request. He called on them to collect opinions on Schuller's activities. On Odoreu, he expected an opinion from Bazil Valkovszky, Vice Dean of Szatmár,<sup>85</sup> on the assignments in Tăuții de Jos and Firiza, from István Bilcz, Second Vice Dean of Baia Mare,<sup>86</sup> on the specimens in Cherna from György Molnár, Vice Dean of Turț,<sup>87</sup> on those in Khudlevo from Gergely Beniczky, the priest in Serednie,<sup>88</sup> and on Kopashново from György Zombory,<sup>89</sup> Second Vice Dean of Khust (*Huszt*).<sup>90</sup>

From the responses received, it is clear that there were some who, while finding Schuller's works satisfactory, were unwilling to accept him as eparchial painter. Those in Szatmár County thought

that his assignment in Firiza was very poor but his specimens in Tăuții de Jos were acceptable, which led them to believe that he could be given such a post under supervision.<sup>91</sup> The latter church was completed in 1809 and was built by the landowner Mihály Vankay, who was also a town senator in Baia Mare, which enabled him to represent the interests of the Greek Catholics in the area more effectively.<sup>92</sup> The iconostasis in Tăuții de Jos exists to this day (2017). Its structure is almost identical to that of the iconostasis of the church of Odoreu, which was certainly made by Demeter Molnár around 1839, when his brother György was parish priest there, and, presumably, he worked there as well. While the paintings in Odoreu have been destroyed by now, Schuller's paintings have also survived in Tăuții de Jos. Here, the iconostasis consists of only the four sovereign-tier images, six feast icons of different sizes, the Last Supper in the middle of the row and the Calvary set above it. The two central sovereign-tier images are upright, the figures are extremely two-dimensional, and only the three-quarter alignment of the faces provides a sense of plasticity. The two paintings are strongly evocative of the Monastery's former sovereign-tier images, suggesting that Schuller may have belonged to this circle of painters or simply regarded them as examples to follow. In the far left sovereign-tier image, Saint Nicholas appears in an unusual iconographic arrangement: sitting before a desk and writing, dressed in monastic garb, with his episcopal insignia resting on the ground in front of him. The fourth sovereign-tier image depicts Saint Michael crushing Satan, after the work of some prominent renaissance painter.

The Feast Tier starts on the left with the Descent of the Holy Spirit, continues with the Assumption

<sup>83</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 9, no. 2113, fol. 7, 9. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 393–395.

<sup>84</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 10, no. 109, fol. 25. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 395–396.

<sup>85</sup> Bazil Valkovszky (1786–1851) served in Satu Mare from 1829 until his death; he was dean from 1832. BENDÁSZ 2023, 883, no. 24.

<sup>86</sup> István Bilcz (1814–1896) served in Mocira (*Hidegkút*), Szatmár County, from 1839 to 1857. Cf. BENDÁSZ 2023, 106, no. 313.

<sup>87</sup> He was the brother of Demeter Molnár, whose details have been published earlier.

<sup>88</sup> Gergely Beniczky (1820–1866), a native of Zólyom County, served in Serednie from 1845 to 1853; he was parish priest of Uzhhorod-Tsehoľnyans'ka (*Ungvár-Cebolnya*) from 1853 until his death. BENDÁSZ 2023, 97, no. 246.

<sup>89</sup> György Zombory (1795–1858) served in Iza from 1844 to 1858. Cf. BENDÁSZ 2023, 926, no. 105.

<sup>90</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 10, no. 109, fol. 23–24, 26. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 396.

<sup>91</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 10, no. 109, fol. 33, 36. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 396–397.

<sup>92</sup> TERDIK 2018b, 128, 146.



of the Virgin Mary and ends, on this side, with Jesus' Nativity. All are based on Western engraved prototypes, the Christmas scene clearly corresponding to the well-known Nativity of Jesus by Correggio (1489–1534), kept at the Dresden Picture Gallery (Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Dresden).<sup>93</sup> The Last Supper, however, does not reflect the common Leonardo composition. On the right of the Feast Tier, the next images are those of the Resurrection, the Ascension of Jesus and, finally, His Presentation in the Temple. These, too, may have been made on the basis of widely circulated engravings by well-known renaissance and baroque painters.

The most noteworthy analysis of Schuller's work was produced by Gergely Beniczky in presenting the iconostasis of Khudlevo.<sup>94</sup> He describes the ensemble in detail and then proceeds to expose the errors in the images, row by row. At first sight, the whole ensemble made a positive impression on him, but this sensation gradually diminished the closer he looked at it. He found the figures in the four life-size sovereign-tier images flawed, physiognomically and aesthetically alike. He objects to the saints being too young and lacking dignity. In the case of Saint Nicholas, the grey beard is accompanied by a face that is too young, and the whole figure is disproportionate. The fourth sovereign-tier image showed the Ascension of Jesus: The figures were seen as well proportioned, but he disliked the fashionable hair of one of the angels and the fact that one of his legs was bare. This composition may have been similar to that of a corresponding theme in the Feast Tier of the iconostasis in Tăuții de Jos, where the angel in the centre of the scene is indeed dressed in an antique white robe that opens almost to the waist, revealing the charms of his legs. The reviewer is basically satisfied with the images in the remaining three rows of the icon screen, although he also notes that – particularly in the case of the Prophets – historicity is compromised and their hair style is highly peculiar. He found the image of the Transfiguration placed in the central axis of the two upper rows to be the best. Otherwise, his perception was that the people were

overall satisfied. However, he sums up his own opinion thus:

'On the whole, these are my humble observations: Gravity and dignity (*gravitas et dignitas*) in the faces and attire, as well as a sense of uniformity in painting (*tractus pictoreus*), are sorely absent; vast ignorance in archaeology; the painter seems to know nothing of *Stylus Byzantinus*, painting plain white, youthful disproportionate faces and heads with theatrical hair styles, along with variegated garments' (translated from the Hungarian original).

Beniczky's aesthetic observations would be approved by today's art critics as well, if one considers Schuller's paintings. The painter cannot have been thoroughly acquainted with the Byzantine style either as it was only at this time that it began to be included in art writings, though it would be useful to know exactly what his critic meant by the term. He then inserts some comments about the costs, demonstrating that the paintings were overpriced. He bases his argument on a personal experience: Two years earlier, i.e. in 1847, he visited the warehouse of the painting dealer Caffin in the German Theatre of Pest, where he had the privilege of studying the prices of various paintings. Compared to the price of the official portraits, the paintings of saints in stock were considerably cheaper: 'since – as the dealer said – the paintings of saints were not in high demand, they are much cheaper than those on other subjects'. This sentence suggests that, at that time, among the works of art decorating the walls of middle-class homes, images of saints became increasingly rare or would even completely disappear. Beniczky believes that a suitable person should be found for the position of eparchial painter through newspaper advertisements, with Schuller being granted only a temporary licence meanwhile. He also points out that the presence of the iconostasis in churches is crucial, not only for Greek Catholics but also for strangers entering a church, and that their aesthetic form should therefore be given great attention.

Although no outcome of the case recorded in writing is known yet, it is reasonable to suppose that

<sup>93</sup> MARX 2006, 88–89.

<sup>94</sup> DAZO fond 151, opus 10, no. 109, fol. 47–48. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 398–400.

Schuller was not appointed this time. No sources on his activities within the territory of the Eparchy dating from after 1849 have been discovered so far.

In the 1830s, János Mihályi also began to undertake painting assignments. In a letter addressed to Bishop Bazil Popovics in 1845, the only detail he discloses about his life is that, a Greek Catholic, he was from Zemplén County, had three small children, had worked as a painter for thirteen years and had lately moved to Radvanka (*Radvánc*) near Uzhhorod.<sup>95</sup> He cites his work in the Eparchy of Prešov (*Eperjes*) as a reference, as well as the iconostasis in Vyšné Nemecké (*Felsőnémeti*) and his painting for the Roman Catholic church in Uzhhorod. He claims that his works were appreciated everywhere, admitting that, in Velikiy Berezny, the Bishop once banned him from painting the iconostasis in favour of Mankovits. As has been discussed, Mankovits regarded him as an utterly unprepared and poor artist. It cannot be ascertained what relationship – possibly a genetic one – he had with Lukács Mihályi, who had conflicts with Bishop József Gaganecz in the Eparchy of Prešov (see in the previous chapter). His works specified as references, which were judged differently by his contemporaries, have not survived. However, a small wooden panel of the flogged Christ, with the instruments of passion (*Arma Christi*) on one side and the risen Saviour on the other, is held in the collection of the Museum of Michalovce. This small image displaying the year 1839 and the inscription ‘János Mihályi’ at the bottom of *Arma Christi* was presumably part of an Easter Sepulchre.<sup>96</sup>

In 1848, the people of Dobrá requested permission to have their finished iconostasis painted by János Mihályi. Citing an earlier decree of the Eparchial Consistory, the Bishop refused, arguing that Mihályi was not allowed to paint, only to gild, and that this assignment would be granted to Károly Schuller instead.<sup>97</sup> Next, Mihályi wrote

directly to the Bishop in October 1848, stressing that his works had always been met with satisfaction(!) and that he should be allowed to execute this commission as well. To be on the safe side, he also criticises Demeter Molnár, whose unsuccessful specimens he claims to have mended several times. The vehemence of the people of Dobrá does not seem to have changed much, either, because Mihályi also argues that, if he is not granted this assignment, he will be put in irons! The Bishop would remain relentless though, citing the previous decree again.<sup>98</sup> In response to the repeated rejection, the painter appealed to the Eparchial Consistory. In fact, the Dobrá caretakers informed him that he could only do the gilding and that another painter would paint the pictures, which they were not happy about, either. However, as the contract signed by them had not been approved by the Church, they had no choice but to acquiesce. In his letter, Mihályi also went into detail about the accusations against him: As several of his paintings are also on display at the Episcopal Office, he insists that they see them and, if there is nothing scandalous in them, he should be granted the assignment; he denies that the grounding he has done is not enduring and would peel soon, invoking the iconostasis in Vyšné Nemecké; he adds that the world of guilds is in a state of flux, so the liberal arts should also be left alone; he avers that he makes no profit from gilding, only from painting, and he and his family could make ends meet from the remuneration to be received in Dobrá. Then, he emphasises that he was chosen by the people freely:

‘For, by choosing me directly, the people have contracted me. And they wish to have their church painted as they like it, ... and I can do that. Furthermore, please believe me that artists of the likes of Appelles, Raphael, Correggio, Rubens or their influences neither exist here nor are such paid for! ... It is enough if there is nothing scandalous in a

<sup>95</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 9, no. 1668, fol. 79. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 400–402.

<sup>96</sup> The icon was published in: BENICKÁ 2013, 72–73. His *Arma Christi* composition goes back to the so-called *Kunigunda Passionale* composition of the St George’s Monastery in Prague. Under the influence of this miniature, a larger *Arma Christi* composition was painted in the chapel of St Anne in St George’s church; its engraving was published in the 18th century. The 18th century engraving by J. Balzer was published in: ROYT 2011, 339, 155. Mihályi is also likely to have been inspired by a copperplate of this composition.

<sup>97</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 9, no. 2611, fol. 98, 99. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 402–403.

<sup>98</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 9, no. 2611, fol. 87. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 403–404.

work. And, as for my humble specimens, they are commonly known to be from that...' (translated from the Hungarian original). The revolutionary tone of the letter (the date being 1848!), which the author accentuated by the unusually frequent use of the triple dot, was concluded with a rather simplistic aesthetic argument: It is not great artists that are important – only the fact that there should be nothing scandalous in the depictions.<sup>99</sup>

In November, the Dean of Tur̄ reported to the Bishop that Schuller had completed the iconostasis in Cherna to everyone's satisfaction. The draft of the Bishop's reply reveals that this was in vain because, yielding to the repeated demands of the Dobrá congregation, the Bishop denied him any chances of work there.<sup>100</sup> It is unclear, however, who would be employed for the painting assignment.

In the autumn of the same year, Mátyás Durkátá, a resident of Yarok (*Árok*), lodged a complaint against János Mihályi. In fact, in August, he had contracted the painter to make two flags, which were finished, but with ugly painting (*viz.* not the images but the poles) and bad gilding – all for 80 forints. The complainant demands that he either repair the paintings or replace them by the day of Saint Nicholas, the title feast (i.e. by 19 December, by the old calendar). The Episcopal Office took action: They wrote to Péter Prodán, Dean of Bodrogköz, to order Mihályi, working on the iconostasis of Dobrá at the moment, to correct the error because they found the complainant to be right: The poles of the flags were not painted, the gilding of the crosses was not impeccable, either, and the necessary ironwork was also missing!<sup>101</sup> From this letter, it seems that Mihályi won the painting commission in Dobrá.

On 4 April 1851, Bishop Popovics requested some parish priests from the area to go and examine the paintings in Dobrá, reporting back to him if Mihályi was eligible to be commissioned to paint the iconostasis in Zemplénagárd as well. They all agreed that Mihályi's paintings were fine and

'pretty', and that he could paint elsewhere, too. However, the parish priest of Dámóc also noted that the murals in the sanctuary were not of the best quality as they were erroneously outlined in several places and flawed. After all, these paintings were made not by Mihályi but by Krichbaum, a painter from Sátoraljaújhely. The parish priest of Pol'any and the parish priest of Zemplénagárd felt that their colleague from Dámóc had overstepped his authority by writing about things that were extraneous to the Bishop's question, and thus they refused to sign the joint protocol. In the end, the Registrar forwarded the entire correspondence to the Hierarch.<sup>102</sup> The parish priest of Zemplénagárd must have been apprehensive that if negative things were written about concerning the painting assignment in Dobrá, those would be attributed to Mihályi, thus diminishing his chances of obtaining permission to paint the iconostasis of his own church. His worries proved unfounded because the heavily worn inscription on the back of the Zemplénagárd iconostasis says that it was painted by János Mihályi in 1854.<sup>103</sup> Although no archival data has yet been found on the carver of the Zemplénagárd iconostasis, its style suggests that it was probably the work of András Ternavszky, who could have started work on it in 1845 at the earliest, after the completion of the Dobrá assignment.

On 26 June 1851, parish priest István Pásztor reported about the consecration of the iconostasis of Dobrá to the Bishop: According to the permission received, he blessed the iconostasis on the Feast of the Ascension, in the presence of four parish priests from the area and the Latin parish priest.<sup>104</sup> This marked the end of a story of nearly a decade and a half, which – as has been described – was by no means free of conflicts.

A peculiarity of the iconostasis of Dobrá is that, as far as it may be established, it is the only ensemble in which Mihályi's paintings have been preserved in their original locations, without any

<sup>99</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 9, no. 2611, fol. 88. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 404–405.

<sup>100</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 9, no. 2611, fol. 94–95. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 405–406.

<sup>101</sup> Dated 5 December 1848. DAZO fond 151, opis 9, no. 2611, fol. 110.

<sup>102</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 10, no. 477, fol. 15, 21–24. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 406–410.

<sup>103</sup> MIHÁLYI JÁNOS FESTETTE / ÉS ÁRÁNYOZTA 1854. ÉVRE [Painted and gilded by János Mihályi by the year 1854]

<sup>104</sup> DAZO 151, opis 10, no. 477, fol. 37.

major repainting, except for the lower row. By looking at the Feasts, Apostles and Prophets, one may conclude that, in comparison with Schuller, he followed more closely the earlier late-baroque tradition of the Eparchy, which was still predominant at the end of the previous century. His figures are more plastic, his colours more varied, and his use of Western prototypes is less striking, perhaps because, a Greek Catholic by birth, he was familiar with the tradition inside out, whereas Schuller and the other Mukachevo painters must have been Roman Catholics. He seems to have been greatly influenced by the iconostasis of Stanča and, in some of his feast compositions (e.g. the Annunciation, the Circumcision of Jesus and the Presentation in the Temple), he did adhere to the model set by the Dobrá community closely.<sup>105</sup>

Except for the Royal Door, Mihályi's paintings of Zemplénagárd were completely repainted in 1922 (by János Kovács from Debrecen), though, in angled lighting, almost all the original paintings show through the heavily worn coat of repainting. In recent years, X-ray tests of the sovereign-tier images of the two iconostases have demonstrated that the compositions in both places are identical in a number of respects.<sup>106</sup>

In the spring of 1848, reports about the Schaitzner family emerged again. Fülöp's younger son, Imre, who lived in Sighetu Marmăției (*Máramarossziget*), searched for employment with the Bishop. In 1844 – in connection with the making of the Uzhhorod Easter Sepulchre – Péter Anderkó,<sup>107</sup> Vicar of Marmaroshchyna/Maramureș (*Máramaros*), described the father, Fülöp, as a skilful man who had learnt his craft by himself, but who was very old and could only do sedentary work as he was on

crutches. Nor does he hide the fact that he gave the impression of a bitter man as he was unable to find a common ground with his eldest son, József, and his younger son had abandoned him.<sup>108</sup> It is the latter who surfaces this time. In his letter to the Bishop, he accused the painter Károly Unghi of working too cheaply and with poor quality materials, the best example being the four sovereign-tier images of the church in Valea Stejarulu (*Disznópatak*). He, therefore, asks the Bishop to have the matter investigated by the Vicar and ban such artists from working.<sup>109</sup> The Bishop did so, though with the result that Anderkó goes on to describe the less than exemplary past and present private life of Imre Schaitzner (Saicner), and also demonstrates that his calumny against Unghi is unfounded, while he does note of him that he occasionally gets drunk. According to the Vicar, Schaitzner is not even good at painting, while Unghi paints portraits in winter and does various assignments in churches in summer.<sup>110</sup> Anderkó also encloses a letter from Unghi, in which he refutes the accusations levelled against him point by point.<sup>111</sup>

Vicar Anderkó had recommended Unghi for an assignment in 1846 as well, involving the painting of two wooden churches in Sălișteea de Sus (*Felsőszeliste*). Citing the fact that Mankovits was already ill, the Bishop authorised the commission and requested a detailed report at the end.<sup>112</sup> A detailed report on the work completed was written by Gergely Roska<sup>113</sup>, Vice Dean of Iza, on 12 February 1847.<sup>114</sup> As he also describes the iconographic programme quite thoroughly, it is clear that it is a wooden church dedicated to Saint Nicholas, existing in the village to this day. Unghi covered the walls with canvas, as was

<sup>105</sup> For photographs of the iconostasis, see: TERDIK 2020f, 184, 203–211, Pictures 16, 36–46.

<sup>106</sup> The X-ray texts were performed by Mátyás Horváth and analysed by Vivien Hutóczki in her dissertation entitled *A comparative conservation study of the iconostases of Zemplénagárd and Dobrá*, defended at the Department of Conservation of the Hungarian University of Fine Arts in Budapest in 2016. For photographs of the iconostasis, see: TERDIK 2020f, 185–187, 211, 17–19, Picture 47.

<sup>107</sup> Péter Anderkó (1779–1869) served in Sighetu Marmăției from 1815 until his death. BENDÁSZ 2023, 47–48, no. 42.

<sup>108</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 9, no. 1354, fol. 52. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 390–391.

<sup>109</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 9, no. 2668, fol. 23. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 410–411.

<sup>110</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 9, no. 2668, fol. 69–70. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 412–413.

<sup>111</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 9, no. 2668, fol. 67. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 414–415.

<sup>112</sup> The draft of the Bishop's response is dated 26 December 1846. DAZO fond 151, opis 9, no. 2113, fol. 16. The Vicar did produce a report in 1847: DAZO fond 151, opis 9, no. 2392, fol. 33. Terdik 2020f, 415–416.

<sup>113</sup> Gergely Roska (1790–1858) was parish priest in Rozavlea (*Rozália*) from 1821 until his death. BENDÁSZ 2023, 726, no. 177.

<sup>114</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 9, no. 2392, fol. 30. TERDIK 2020f, 416–417.

customary in most of the wooden churches in the area even in the previous century, and painted on it, though he probably utilised the earlier grounding in several places because the outlines of figures from the preceding periods can be seen under his paint covered with dirt by now. Unghi framed his grandiose compositions with partly template-based decorative painting and architectural motifs. In the sanctuary, the Old Testament sacrifices, the Last Supper and the Crucifixion were accommodated on the inner side of the west wall of the altar space. He depicted the Twelve-Year-Old Jesus in the Temple of Jerusalem and the Four Evangelists on the nave vault. A rather unconventional arrangement, the latter was perhaps inspired by the dome painting of the Roman Catholic Cathedral of Satu Mare, painted in 1836 by János Riedler,<sup>115</sup> although it may have been based on a late-baroque engraved prototype. On the deacon's doors, he placed the upright figures of the two Princes of the Apostles, painting six small images on the Royal Doors and the Entombment to replace the upper rows of the iconostasis. In the women's church, i.e. in the vestibule reserved for women, he applied painted draperies and decorative motifs. (An earlier composition of the Last Judgement emerges from beneath). He may also have painted the four sovereign-tier images of the iconostasis – probably on separate panels – for the author of the description points out that they were richly gilded. The extremely contaminated and fragmentary condition of the paintings makes it difficult to assess Unghi's style accurately.<sup>116</sup> In the lower church, also built in honour of Saint Nicholas, he only painted the sanctuary and the iconostasis at the time. The former cost 500 and the latter 200 conventional forints.

In the spring of 1848, the long-drawn-out matter of the iconostasis in Tarasivka (*Tereselpatak*) also

surfaces. The local parish priest also intended to hire Schaitzner, as a donator had made a deal with him in February at a very favourable price. The parish priest also asked for opinions on his assignments elsewhere. He received favourable responses from Câmpulung la Tisa (*Hosszúmező*), where he had painted four sovereign-tier images, and even from Nyzhnya Apsa (*Alsóapa*). He believes that no one but Imre Schaitzner would undertake this painting assignment for this amount of money and that the master's father had previously obtained permission to do so; actually, the priest considers the boy more intelligent than his father. The Bishop grants permission on condition that the painter uses real gold and that the parish priest writes an exhaustive report after the work is finished.<sup>117</sup>

Two years later, Károly Unghi's name is encountered again. This time, Vicar Anderkó wished to commission him to paint the iconostasis of the church of Sighetu Marmației. He chose the gilder 'Mihály Reszeghy' for the gilding.<sup>118</sup> In his proposal, he explains that, although the required funds have not been raised yet, the assignment will certainly prompt the parishioners to contribute the amount necessary. He notes that Unghi is currently in Mukachevo working on four sovereign-tier images, which he could present to the Bishop. Popovics would grant him permission, but only 'on condition that the four principal images be painted according to the customary ecclesiastical pattern rather than that of the Monastery of Mukachevo, which fails to recommend itself by virtue of its outstanding beauty'. Thus, he did not think much of János Prighel's works. In addition to the permission, he also contributed 100 forints to the expenses. The Bishop's comment on the pictures in Mukachevo may have been justified by the fact that the Vicar enclosed with his request Unghi's letter of introduction to

<sup>115</sup> BARA 2014, 146–149.

<sup>116</sup> For a photo series of the church, see:

[https://ro.wikipedia.org/wiki/Biserica\\_de\\_lemn\\_din\\_Săliște\\_de\\_Sus,\\_Nistorești](https://ro.wikipedia.org/wiki/Biserica_de_lemn_din_Săliște_de_Sus,_Nistorești) (accessed: 30 January 2020). A half-length image of Saint Nicholas and of Christ is also visible here, possibly Unghi's works and perhaps part of the iconostasis he painted. The upper church is distinguished by the founding family Nistorescu, while the lower one by Buleni, respectively. In the Romanian literature, the mid-19th-century painting of the two churches cannot be attributed to a particular master (cf. BRATU 2015, 326), implying that Unghi left neither a signature nor a commemorative inscription. In the church founded by Nistorescu family, the Royal Doors were made in the 17<sup>th</sup> century and the earlier murals are from 1770s. Cf. BABOȘ–COVACI 2020, 608–609.

<sup>117</sup> The two letters: DAZO fond 151, opis 9, no. 2668, fol. 21–22; TERDIK 2020f, 417–419.

<sup>118</sup> In 1839, he worked together with Demeter Molnár on the pulpit of Aranyosapáti.

the Chapter of Máramaros, highlighting that he had also worked for Prighel at the Monastery of Mukachevo, in addition to his studies in Pest. As he does not name his masters in Pest, it can only be speculated whom he could join during his stay in 'Buda-Pest'. He also notes that he spent four years with Mankovits. The Chapter of Máramaros supported his request.<sup>119</sup>

In the same year, the name of József Mezey is also mentioned in connection with the painting of the iconostasis of Velyki Luchky (*Nagylyucska*). On July 6 1851, the local parish priest reported to the Bishop that they had contracted Lőrinczer Vurczer, the 'carver of the Bishop of Szatmári', to make the iconostasis but he had only finished the baldachin. The parish priest does not think it would be completed soon as the contract requires the artist to follow the icon screen of the Cathedral of Uzhhorod in every respect. Therefore, it was Vurczer himself who was sent to Uzhhorod with the contract to have it approved by the Bishop, as well as to study the model, i.e. the iconostasis of the Cathedral.<sup>120</sup> On 10 August, the painter József Mezey also wrote to the Hierarch saying that he would gladly undertake the iconostasis in Velyki Luchky, an assignment for which the parishioners there were reluctant to contract him without the Bishop's permission.<sup>121</sup> Unghi also heard from somewhere that the people of Velyki Luchky had invited painters from Sathmar (*Szatmár*) and Baia Mare as well and requested quotations. This prompted him to commit his thoughts to writing, though without mentioning specific names, labelling the candidates uneducated ('naturalistic') and unfit to paint the iconostasis in Velyki Luchky. He suggested to the Bishop that he send someone to Sighetu Marmăției to referee the new iconostasis

there, painted by him, as his work had also been a great success with the external experts attending the Mass celebrated to mark the birthday of the 'Emperor' (Franz Joseph I).<sup>122</sup> Unghi's name would also appear in later years in connection with various works. As, at present, no other works of his other than his very poorly preserved murals in Săliște de Sus are in evidence, it is impossible to form a realistic idea of his painting skills.

József Mezey (1823–1882) painted several iconostases: besides the one in Velyki Luchky, the iconostasis of the Greek Catholic church of Baia Mare, too, in 1851.<sup>123</sup> According to his later biographers, 'from 1857, he worked for the Bishop of Mukachevo for four years, fitting the churches of Nagylyucska (*sic!*), Szerednye, Tövisfalva, Ardó, Máramarossziget [Sighetu Marmăției] with altarpieces'.<sup>124</sup> Mezey was born into a Roman Catholic family of farm bailiffs in Kisléta, near Máriapócs, and was raised in Imstichovo (*Misztice*), Bereg County, which had a Basilian Monastery.<sup>125</sup> He was thoroughly familiar with the Greek Catholics, which could be the reason why he won the confidence of the Bishop of Mukachevo as well. Nevertheless, a significant proportion of his oeuvre is constituted by altarpieces for Roman Catholic churches.<sup>126</sup> An oil painting of Christ's Entombment painted by him also survives on the Table of Oblation in the church of Horbok (*Kissarkad*), Bereg County.<sup>127</sup> His painting style was strongly influenced by the Nazarene artists who dominated the trends of 19th-century religious painting, often drawing on well-known compositions thanks to their engravings and illustrated Bibles. This was also the case with his painting in Horbok, which was clearly inspired by a woodcut of Christ's Entombment in the Illustrated Bible published in Leipzig

<sup>119</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 10, no. 477, fol. 1–3. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 419–421.

<sup>120</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 10, no. 477, fol. 27.

<sup>121</sup> The letter was written in Uzhhorod. DAZO fond 151, opis 10, no. 477, fol. 39.

<sup>122</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 10, no. 477, fol. 42.

<sup>123</sup> NAGY 2018, 74–77. On the church of Baia Mare, see: TERDIK 2018b, 118–120. In the early 20th century, the iconostasis was transferred to the stone church of Rus (*Kékesoroszfalu*) built in 1815.

<sup>124</sup> LYKA 1982, 110. Szerednye is today's Serednie; Tövisfalva may be identical with Drachyno (*Újtövisfalva*), Bereg county, where only Roman Catholics lived; Ardó may refer to Pidvynohradiv (*Szólósvégardó*), Ugocsa county.

<sup>125</sup> LYKA 1982, 24, 53.

<sup>126</sup> Nearly eighty altarpieces are recorded. LYKA 1982, 110.

<sup>127</sup> The picture is signed; it was painted in 1861. The author thanks Fr Makariy Medvid for pointing to this specimen and for sharing his photographs.

between 1852 and 1860, with the drawings of the German Lutheran Nazarene painter Julius Schnorr von Carolsfeld (1794–1872).<sup>128</sup> This practice was characteristic of other painters of the period who also specialised in altarpieces, such as Károly Jakóby (1826–1891).<sup>129</sup> Mezey stopped painting in 1864 due to his worsening eye disease and moved to Pest to make a living from his literary activities.<sup>130</sup>

In about the same period, a new iconostasis was constructed in the ‘Russian’, i.e. the Hungarian Greek Catholic, church of Carei (*Nagykároly*), the seat of Szatmár County, already part of the Eparchy of Oradea at the time. Completed around 1739, the church founded and built by Demeter Rácz of Satu Mare, farm bailiff of the Károlyi family, was for a long time the only building in the Eparchy of Mukachevo with a regular dome.<sup>131</sup> It cannot be determined what its baroque-period wooden furnishings was like as its new baldachined altar was made in the 1830s (by Demeter Molnár), and it was matched by the new iconostasis in style, although the altar was also modified in the 1850s. It was probably then that the painting of the Ascension of Jesus was painted. The masters of the iconostasis are not commemorated by the Hungarian inscription on the reverse of the image of the Last Supper.<sup>132</sup> However, data on the circumstances of its making are included in the parish account book.<sup>133</sup> These well indicate that the carpentry of the iconostasis (or at least of the three doors) must have been the work of Mihály Róth, while most of the pictures were painted by a painter called ‘Stephani’. The latter is styled a ‘fraudulent painter’, suggesting that he was embroiled in some financial conflict with the community. Thus, the images on the doors of the iconostasis would not be painted by him but by the

painter László Czinka.<sup>134</sup> Payment for the gilding was made to a master by the name of ‘Hippe’.<sup>135</sup>

The form of the iconostasis is quite unusual for the period: In keeping with the narrow triumphal arch of the church, the three doors are arranged side by side, separated by only two columns, while the four sovereign-tier images are shifted in groups of two – also side by side – towards the *kliroses*. The images of the Apostles are placed in groups of two above the sovereign-tier images, with the Last Supper at the top of the triumphal arch and the Calvary set above it. This left almost the entire triumphal arch open to give the baldachined altar some prominence. The carving of the iconostasis is restrained, and the doors are completely fretwork-type.<sup>136</sup>

Of the masters of the iconostasis, ‘Stephani festész’ [the painter Stephani] is certainly the same as the artist who was contracted in June 1850 by the parishioners of Csegöld, Szatmár County, for the making of an iconostasis.<sup>137</sup> In the Hungarian contract, he is identified as a resident of Szatmár County; he accepted the assignment for 500 ‘pengő forints’ and eight bushels of wheat, on the basis of the plan presented in advance. He would be paid in three instalments, and he was supposed to complete the work within a year. The painter gave a two-year guarantee on his work. The indications of instalment payments on the contract sheet suggest that he finished the assignment in time.

Built in the Middle Ages, the church of Csegöld was given to the Greek Catholics in the 1780s; its nave was enlarged in 1897 by shrinking the sanctuary.<sup>138</sup> The iconostasis survived this alteration and apparently survived for a few more years even after the nave was demolished in 1931. This is indicated in

<sup>128</sup> TERDIK Szilveszter, Sírba tétel: variációk egy témára, *Görögkatolikus Szemlélet*, 8 (2021), 1. szám, pp. 73–75: 75, Picture 11.

<sup>129</sup> KORHECZ PAPP 2019, 138–140.

<sup>130</sup> LYKA 1982, 24.

<sup>131</sup> On the church, see: TERDIK 2007a, 353–367.

<sup>132</sup> The iconostasis was conserved in 2022 and 2023 by the company BF Restaurátor Művész Kft.

<sup>133</sup> The cited documents are to be found in the parish archives.

<sup>134</sup> Other works by Czinka are not known as yet. The present paintings on the doors are new.

<sup>135</sup> He may be identical with ‘János Hoppe’, who advertised himself from Vienna in 1871: *Pesti Napló*, 22 (1871), 133. szám, [58].

<sup>136</sup> In 1911, the iconostasis of the Greek Catholic church of Domănești (*Domabida*) was modelled in the same way. For its photograph, see: SZÖCS 2010a, 36–38.

<sup>137</sup> NYEL II–4–a. (Box 1)

<sup>138</sup> On the history of the church, see: TERDIK 2007b, 183–190; PAPP 2011, 279–284.

the 1935 inventory,<sup>139</sup> though it was soon removed from the church as, apart from the sovereign-tier image of Saint Nicholas, its paintings have by now been lost. A photograph taken around 1900 gives some idea of the former icon screen: It was a very simple structure, and – although almost none of the paintings is visible in the photograph – it is certain that Stephani incorporated the image of Saint Nicholas presented by the advowee a few years earlier.<sup>140</sup> It consisted of four rows: the Sovereign Tier with the carved Royal Doors, the Twelve Feasts with the Last Supper, the Twelve Apostles and six Prophets; as to what compositions were accommodated in the middle of the last two rows, it is impossible to say. The last image of the Feast Tier and the Apostles Tier respectively hung on the church wall.

One may only form an idea of Stephani's style on the basis of the Carei paintings: As was typical of the period – mostly from engraved prototypes – he must have drawn on the works of the Nazarene painters, seeking to renew ecclesiastical painting. He does not seem to have been a highly skilled artist.

In 1860, a pulpit was also made for the church in Carei – not by local masters but by craftsmen from Pest.<sup>141</sup> The classicist work of a refined form is a wooden structure with grey imitation marble covering and gilded acanthus ornaments. The name of the master etched in the imitation marble – 'M. Stohr / 1860' – is not included in the account book, while the sculptor Eduard Dittman is mentioned by name. His artistic activities are little known.<sup>142</sup> It is conceivable that the unpleasant experiences gained during the construction of the iconostasis led the community leaders to approach artists living in the capital instead of local craftsmen.

In 1855, the painter József Krichbaum from Sátorlajújhely also appears, who in 1851 was negatively criticised by the priests of the area on account of his murals in Dobrá. Nevertheless, the people of Rudabányácska insisted on hiring him as he was cheap and familiar to them. The Dean presented their contract to the Bishop of Mukachevo, in which, in addition to the images of the iconostasis and the Table of Oblation, he was also commissioned to produce paintings for the walls. As, since Mankovits's death in 1853, no eparchial painter had been appointed, the request was hard to decline. In their covering letter, the parishioners offered additional justification: Their parish priest would prefer Ferdinánd Vidra's work, implemented to the same standards as for his assignment in Lekarovce (*Lakárt*), which had cost 720 forints, while they were able to agree on 500 forints. They also received a guarantee that Krichbaum would look to the iconostasis of Stanča as a model. They consider it particularly important that they know this artist and that he has also offered solid guarantees for his work as they do not wish to find themselves in the situation as the people of Streda nad Bodrogom and Tokaj, who contracted unknown artists.<sup>143</sup> This painter may indeed have worked in Rudabányácska as, in 1859, the Dean of Bodrogköz recommended him and his brother, Károly Krichbaum, for the gilding of the iconostasis in Streda nad Bodrogom, using their assignment in Rudabányácska as a reference.<sup>144</sup> Their work in Rudabányácska has been destroyed by now, and no other works by them are in evidence;<sup>145</sup> perhaps, the images of the Church Fathers in the sanctuary of the church of Zemplénagárd were made by them.

<sup>139</sup> GKPL I–1–a. 1188/1935.

<sup>140</sup> The photograph was discovered in: The Documentation Centre of the Hungarian Museum of Architecture and Monument Protection (MÉM MDK), Photo Archives 8149D. The image of Saint Nicholas, painted by István Melczer in Pest in 1849, was donated to the church by the advowee Miklós Vécsey: TERDIK 2020a, 368, Cat. IV.22.

<sup>141</sup> Document is to be found in the parish archives.

<sup>142</sup> He may be the one who died in Budapest between 8 and 9 December 1888: 'Ede Dittmann, aged 56, sculptor, Rottenbiller utca 62, 7th District' (translated from the Hungarian original). *Pesti Hírlap*, 10 (1888), 341. szám, 12.

<sup>143</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 10, no. 1882, fol. 20–21 Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 421–422; DAZO fond 151, opis 10, no. 1313, fol. 1–3. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 422–424. In the case of Streda nad Bodrogom, they might have meant György Révész (see in next chapter), though the reference to Tokaj is unclear.

<sup>144</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 12, no. 113, fol. 49. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 454–455.

<sup>145</sup> The iconostasis of the Rudabányácska church was made in the early 20th century. In the 1910s, the church was repainted by Miklós Jordán (1892–1977), a painter from Prešov. Albeit extensively reworked, his paintings continue to exist in the west part of the nave to this day. The church was extended to the east in the 1930s, so the murals have not been preserved there, either. Cf. TERDIK 2022b, 129–131.



## Eparchial Painter Wanted: Révész, Vidra or Roskovics?

Due to Mankovits's worsening illness, Bishop Popovics must have been intensely concerned about the question of whether there would be a suitable successor to the post of eparchial painter. It was during these years that the young György Révész came to the Hierarch's attention. Some say that he was born in Uzhhorod (*Ungvár*), while other sources suggest that his talent was noticed by his parish priest of Timár.<sup>1</sup> Besides Bishop Bazil Popovics, Zsigmond Bernáth (1790–1881), a Member of Parliament and Lord Lieutenant, became his patron. It was thanks to their support that Révész was able to enrol at the Arts Academy of Vienna in 1843, at the age of 22. According to some sources, he also travelled to Italy at the time.<sup>2</sup> (See his brief biography at the end of this chapter.)

It is not known why Révész studied in Vienna only for a year. In any case, the news of his return spread through the Eparchy already in the autumn of 1844, and the parish priest of Tur'ya Pasika (*Turjavágása/Turjapászika*), György Homicskó,<sup>3</sup> started to have him paint the iconostasis of the church of one of his affiliated parishes, Rakovo (*Rákó*), which – as demonstrated in the previous chapter – had been carved by András Ternavszky a few years earlier on the model of the icon screen in Velikiy Berezny (*Nagyberezna*). The contract with the painter was attached to the parish priest's letter to the Hierarch (unfortunately, remaining unknown as yet), who approved the commission, for which the artist would have received 1,800 conventional forints.<sup>4</sup> Révész's work progressed

so well that after a year he was nearing the end of the painting, which prompted the parish priest to pen yet another letter: His letter from October 1845 reveals that the parishioners did not expect the painter to work at such a pace. They believed the work would take at least two years, and at the moment they did not have 1,800 forints to pay for it. Thus, the parish priest asked either that the Bishopric lend them 200 forints, which they would pay back little by little, or that they let him take over the 400 forints that Révész owed the Eparchy. Before this, he also requested that the Bishop send experts to the site to assess the finished work.<sup>5</sup>

In the meantime, Révész was also given an assignment at the episcopal seat. In the 1840s, Bazil Popovics began two major assignments in the Cathedral of Uzhhorod: First he had an Easter Sepulchre made, then he ordered a complete interior reconstruction of the episcopal chapel in the oratory above the sacristy.<sup>6</sup>

The correspondence related to the former assignment was quoted in the previous chapter in describing the work of András Ternavszky. In 1844, Mankovits had found four carvers suitable for the making of the Easter Sepulchre, but other craftsmen were also asked for quotations. For example, the budget of the sculptor and gilder Vinzenz Sztariavszky, a citizen of Košice (*Kassa*), dated 30 April 1844, has survived, according to which he would have undertaken the entire assignment for 400 forints.<sup>7</sup> In the end, the contract was awarded to Mihály Krajnyák, a carver from Rakovo, Ung

<sup>1</sup> István Lupess served here from 1804 until 1833, in 1843 János Demjanovics was the parish priest at Timár.

<sup>2</sup> Révész György, *Vasárnapi Ujság*, 22 (1875), 525; LYKA 1981, 325; FLEISCHER 1935, 78.

<sup>3</sup> György Homicskó (1806–1868) served here from 1835 until his death. BENDÁSZ 2023, 319–320, no. 225.

<sup>4</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 9, no. 1352, fol. 63r. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 425–426.

<sup>5</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 9, no. 1670, fol. 32r. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 426–427.

<sup>6</sup> This oratory was transformed in episcopal chapel by András Bacsinzky. Cf. TERDIK 2014a, 93.

<sup>7</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 9, no. 1353, fol. 28.

County,<sup>8</sup> where Révész had just started working on the iconostasis. In 1845, Krajnyák made three design variants for the Uzhhorod Easter Sepulchre.<sup>9</sup> The designs were forwarded to the Eparchial Court for assessment.<sup>10</sup> It is not yet known which version was accepted. Révész, Mankovits and even János Mihályi were given responsibilities in the painting of the Easter Sepulchre, which took place in 1846.

Parallel to the Easter Sepulchre, Krajnyák also worked on the furnishings of the episcopal chapel, which was almost completed by December 1846, with only the Table of Oblation and the picture frames of the table of the *diaconicon* missing. Invigorated by this development, he asked for payment for his work, but, until the missing pieces were delivered, the Eparchy would refuse to pay.<sup>11</sup> By January the following year, he had completed this and the Easter Sepulchre.<sup>12</sup> Episcopal Secretary Bazil Hadzsega<sup>13</sup> then issued him a letter of recommendation<sup>14</sup> so that he could undertake work in other places.

The following month, in February 1847, Révész was paid 100 forints for the paintings and gilding of the chapel. As he still had unfinished work to do, the remaining 130 forints were withheld for the time being.<sup>15</sup> On 20 February, Révész received the first instalment, as evidenced by a receipt, and on 31 March, a diocesan decision was taken to pay the remainder of the amount.<sup>16</sup>

The pictorial programme for the chapel was certainly created by Bishop Popovics. No iconostasis was constructed, but a canopy altar and two preparatory tables were made – one for the *Prothesis* and another for the *Diaconicon*. For the latter, he

commissioned two large paintings: the Crucifixion for the Table of Oblation and the Resurrection for the table of the *Diaconicon*. The other paintings were painted on the doors of the preparatory tables, which could also be used as cupboards: on one, the Martyrs Saint Thecla and Saint Stephen and, on the other, Saint Nicholas the Bishop and Saint John the Baptist. The same was done for the entrance door, on the inner wings of which were painted the Annunciation and two Old Testament depictions of the virginal purity of the Theotokos (Moses with the bush and Daniel among the lions, with the rock descending from the mountain in the background).<sup>17</sup> Another image of Christ was commissioned from Révész, but its exact location is not specified in the list of works.<sup>18</sup>

In 1847, Krajnyák also made plans for the new tabernacle of the high altar of the Cathedral of Uzhhorod. He submitted two versions,<sup>19</sup> and the referees accepted the plan marked B with minor changes, asking that the columns of version A be moved to the other. Krajnyák demanded 100 conventional forints for the assignment. The diocesan consistory considered this amount too high. They tried to reach an agreement with him, but it remains unknown what became of it.<sup>20</sup>

In 1847, István Hrabár, parish priest of Tokaj,<sup>21</sup> asked the Bishop that, since the Hungarian Royal Chamber would be willing to donate money for the renovation of his church, he should dispatch the eparchial painter and carver so that they could submit plans and a budget of suitable for a town church. His letter of 19 November addressed to János Mihályi, Registrar of the Episcopal Court,

<sup>8</sup> No verified biographical data is available on Krajnyák.

<sup>9</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 9, no. 1683, fol. 14–16. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 244–245, Pictures 2–3.

<sup>10</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 9, no. 1683, fol. 17. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 243, Picture 1.

<sup>11</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 9, no. 2112, fol. 18r. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 431.

<sup>12</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 9, no. 2443, fol. 3 and DAZO fond 151, opis 9, no. 2391, fol. 4r. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 432–433.

<sup>13</sup> Bazil Hadzsega (1813–1880), between 1842 and 1851 was the secretary of Popovics. Cf. BENDÁSZ 2023, 292, no. 22.

<sup>14</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 9, no. 2391, fol. 6r. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 433. See also: DAZO fond 151, opis 9, no. 2392, fol. 3.

<sup>15</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 9, no. 2392, fol. 32. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 434–435.

<sup>16</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 9, no. 2392, fol. 51–52.

<sup>17</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 9, no. 2443, fol. 7–8. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 433–434.

<sup>18</sup> It was painted by József Boksay in 1941–42, probably the furniture was changed, too. Cf. Sztojka Sándor megyéspüspök, *Görög-katolikus Szemle*, 14 (1942), 23. szám, 1; ЕРФАН 2016, 27–28.

<sup>19</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 9, no. 2391, fol. 57–58. Its photographs were published in: TERDIK 2020f, 446–447.

<sup>20</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 9, no. 2391, fol. 59; DAZO fond 151, opis 9, no. 2392, fol. 45–46. Krajnyák's proposition for the tabernacle: DAZO fond 151, opis 9, no. 2443, fol. 26. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 435–436.

<sup>21</sup> István Hrabár served in Tokaj between 1843 and 1849. Cf. BENDÁSZ 2023, 327, no. 279.

reveals that Krajnyák visited the site, had two plans selected, a budget was prepared and submitted to the Treasury, which exercised advowson. It seemed that winning the grant of more than 4,000 forints promised by the advowee would be a mere formality. The reply, however, arrived in the summer of the following year, in August 1848: Minister of Religion and Education Baron József Eötvös deemed the request unfeasible in view of the circumstances, namely the ongoing war of independence.<sup>22</sup> Two years later, the caretakers of the parish appealed to the Bishop to inform the Treasury that the external renovation of the parish buildings (church, parish office and school) was now urgent.<sup>23</sup>

It appears that Krajnyák, similarly to his predecessors, did not manage to schedule his work properly in later years, either. In a letter dated 4 April 1853, the caretakers of Lekarovce (*Lakárt*), near Uzhhorod, complain that he had accepted to do the iconostasis in their village, which had already been paid for in full, but he went on to work in Svaliava (*Szolyva*), even though he had not completed the assignment in the former location, either. They request the Bishop to call on him via the territorially competent Dean to return because, until he finishes, the hired painter cannot proceed with his assignment, either.<sup>24</sup> The master in question was Ferdinand Vidra, who painted the iconostasis of the church in 1854. At that time, however, he also had a complaint against the parishioners, who admitted that they owed the artist 350 forints, a sum they were unable to pay him even at the end of the year, for which he appealed to the Bishop.<sup>25</sup>

In 1858, Krajnyák asked the Bishop to recommend to the parish priest of Hajdúböszörmény as well because he had heard that a new iconostasis

was to be constructed there.<sup>26</sup> In Hajdúböszörmény, Bazil Lengyel, who would later work in Marmaroshchyna/Maramureş (*Máramaros*), too (as indicated in the previous chapter), was contracted in 1817 to carve a new iconostasis, and János Szüts, a sculptor from Hajdúdorog, was commissioned to paint the pictures and walls.<sup>27</sup> According to the inventory of the church taken on 5 June 1850, serious problems appeared on the iconostasis: The paintings began to peel.<sup>28</sup> It was probably for this reason that by the end of the decade the idea of making a new iconostasis had arisen, but further details of the matter are not yet known.<sup>29</sup> In 1892, the iconostasis was described as having ‘three doors with four *prestols* – the pictures are painted on canvas; the images are of little value, worn and painted on canvas’. This description suggests that the replacement was made at some point.<sup>30</sup>

Révész’s work in Rakovo had unintended consequences. In compliance with the parish priest’s aforementioned request, Bishop Popovics sent an expert to the site. In December 1846, he asked the Basilian Superior to send Simon Vezendy to Uzhhorod by the end of January 1846 so that he could be taken to Rakovo from there to view the iconostasis. The assessment is certain to have happened. Unfortunately, the related text remains unknown, though it is evident that it triggered an irritated response from Révész.<sup>31</sup> In his letter to Bishop Popovics dated 21 April 1847, he complains about a decision of the Chapter, which was based on a review that cannot have been particularly favourable for him. According to this decision, his fee was not paid in full, on the grounds that the quality of the pictures varied and that the gilding was also found to be defective. Révész also expresses his artistic self-consciousness in resenting the fact

<sup>22</sup> The letters of the priest: DAZO fond 151, opis 9, no. 2391, fol. 84r; DAZO fond 151, opis 9, no. 2392, fol. 118. The answer of Eötvös: DAZO fond 151, opis 9, no. 2611, fol. 91. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 436–438.

<sup>23</sup> Dated on 07.10.1851. DAZO fond 151, opis 9, no. 475, fol. 80.

<sup>24</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 10, no. 916, fol. 80. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 439.

<sup>25</sup> The documents are dated on 22 January 1854, and on 2 December. DAZO fond 151, opis 10, no. 1100, fol. 74–78.

<sup>26</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 10, no. 1881, fol. 88r. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 439–440.

<sup>27</sup> On the earlier iconostasis: TERDIK 2011a, 64.

<sup>28</sup> GKPL IV–2–a. 81/1850.

<sup>29</sup> The church was demolished at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the old furniture is unknown.

<sup>30</sup> The local priest was writing about the iconostasis of the church. TERDIK 2020f, 217, Footnote 18.

<sup>31</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 9, no. 2391, fol. 35r. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 428–430.

that he is held to account for the lack of use of gold backgrounds:

‘The artist, who has learned to paint beautiful and proper things in his life, must be given some freedom instead of being forced to imitate flawed and unadorned works. As in all things, art in every century has its own peculiarities, even if these are forced from one into another. It is painful to me to produce works, of which I am convinced, that I cannot paint in accordance with the command issued: They lose all their meaning, and thus the final outcome will naturally be spoiled, and, the place of inspiration will be taken by disgust and that of veneration by mockery. (...) In the name of art, therefore, I beg you, with all due respect, to allow me, before the Most Reverend Chapter, to work in such a way that we, the artists of this century, may show that we have learned the spirit of our century and have not been mere contemptible imitators of the undeveloped manners of yesteryear’ (translated from the Hungarian original). In support of his point, he quotes the opening lines of Horace’s *Ars Poetica* in Latin, which may suggest that Révész attended a grammar school.

Révész feels that his lack of adherence to tradition, which he is criticised for, is contrary to the spirit of art, which always seeks to create according to the tastes of its time, and not simply to imitate predecessors. In this argumentation, the tension between the Western artistic spirit and the Eastern approach, which focuses on the preservation of tradition, is palpable. Révész also continues to describe how disappointed he is that the criticism has further distanced him from the prospect of appointment as eparchial painter and that he finds it extremely unfair that the spirit of free art should be compromised in his case.

Bishop Popovics, however, did credit the criticism because, in May 1847, he expressed his strong disappointment with Révész’s work and considered the actions of the people of Rakovo in not paying part of the painter’s fee as justified. The

Bishop believed that, until Révész corrected the shortcomings discovered, he was not to be paid. He also called on the painter to pay off the 400 forints he owed as soon as possible, or else he would be charged interest. This Bishop’s letter has been preserved as an annex to a case file from 1857, in which the debt in question was still discussed; the people of Rakovo asked Révész not to disturb them about the matter. The diocesan authorities granted their request: The people of Rakovo should pay the debt only if Révész had completed his work properly. In 1875, the year of his death, he still owed the Eparchy 168 forints, which they tried to pass on to his brother, András Révész, but the interest accrued was waived in exchange for two of Révész’s paintings in the Seminary, one depicting Jesus’ Descent from the Cross and the other the Virgin Mary.<sup>32</sup>

It is reasonable to speculate that the assessment of the Rakovo assignment was prepared by Simon Vezendy (1808–1861), a Basilian monk, who was also a painter.<sup>33</sup> At that time, he lived in the Monastery of Krasny Bród (*Krasznibród*), and, in the middle of the fourth decade of the 19th century, he also painted iconostases in the nearby churches of Vydraň (*Vidrány*) and Palota (*Palota*).<sup>34</sup> Later, he moved to the Monastery of Chernecha Hora (*Csernek-hegy*) and would live in Máriapócs from 1855 until his death. His art is evident from the *Irmologia* he copied and illustrated.<sup>35</sup> His paintings remain unknown for now, though the Palota church has three sovereign-tier images which are from the predecessor of the present iconostasis, dating from around 1900: Of these, only Saint Nicholas has escaped major repainting; the Theotokos and the Teaching Christ are not fit for evaluation in their present condition. A painting of Jesus in the Garden of Gethsemane from the same location may be linked to these three compositions. The artist of the painting of Saint Nicholas may also have been a self-taught, rather enthusiastic than talented painter from the mid-19th century, in

<sup>32</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 12, no. 794, fol. 117–118; The decision of 1875: DAZO fond 151, opis 10, no. 1532, fol. 49. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 440–441.

<sup>33</sup> For his biographical data, see: <http://lexikon.katolikus.hu/V/Vezendy.html> (accessed: 20/01/2020).

<sup>34</sup> AGKA AB 1486/842, BA 1096/1842.

<sup>35</sup> SZAGKHF Könyvtár: *Irmologion*, 1848, Munkács (Ms 20009), *Irmologion* (Ms30001)

modern terms.<sup>36</sup> That these paintings could be the work of Vezendy is confirmed by the fact that an oil painting of Saint Basil the Great is also known from Máriapócs, which seems to be closely related in style to the Saint Nicholas image of Palota. Since there are records of Vezendy's activities in both Palota and Máriapócs, it seems relatively safe to assume that these paintings were made by him.<sup>37</sup> In the absence of works that can certainly be attributed to Vezendy, it is impossible to form a solid idea about his artistic training. At the same time, it is also difficult to judge the validity of his criticism of Révész, which is made even more problematic by the fact that no data on the present condition of the iconostasis in Rakovo has been collected.

In the summer of 1846, the parish priest of Streda nad Bodrogom (*Bodrogszerdabely*), Antal Dudinszky, also requested a painter from the Eparchial Bishop for the painting of the iconostasis.<sup>38</sup> Popovics must have recommended Révész at that time because, according to the entries in the parish account book, which help to trace the course of the work, on 20 August 'György Révész, an image carver from Uzhhorod, was paid an advance of 125 Rhenish guilders for painting the iconostasis. On 9 September, '30 kreuzers was paid as a travel expenses to the bell-ringer sent to the image carver in Uzhhorod with pictures', and exactly one month later, 28 kreuzers was paid to the 'carpenter and the three assisting blacksmiths for toasting when the pictures removed from the iconostasis'. The empty wooden panels for the pictures were then removed from the iconostasis carved by Demeter Molnár and transported to the painter. On the first trip, the bell-ringer was first allowed to take the easily removable lower panels of the Sovereign Tier. A year later, on 13 December 1847, the painter was given another 250 Rhenish guilders. The painter was able to bring his finished works earlier, as, on 2 December, when the painter and the paintings

arrived, another toast was made. A summary of expenditures for 1847 shows that he was given an additional 179 forints in two instalments.<sup>39</sup>

The iconostasis of Streda nad Bodrogom conforms to the usual pattern: Above the four sovereign-tier images and the ornate Royal Doors is the Feast Tier, followed by the Apostles and finally the Prophet Tier; the pediment is crowned by the Crucifixion set. In keeping with the taste of the time, Révész looked to the religious themes of the Nazarene painters, which he had studied in Vienna and perhaps also during his travels in Italy – already disseminated as engravings at the time – as models to follow. His paintings are marked by emphatic and well-developed landscape details and a harmonious use of colour, although the original dark backgrounds of most of his compositions were repainted in the early 20th century. The figures sometimes appear clumsy, revealing a lack of anatomical knowledge and drawing skills on the part of the painter. His penchant for meticulous painting detail is most evident in his series of ceremonial compositions, which also offered the opportunity to use a variety of settings. It seems, however, that the most successful or interesting depictions in the Feast Tier are based on some engraved prototypes: the Resurrection of Christ follows the same engraving as that used by the painters of the iconostasis of Hajdúdorog in the 1810s; the panel of the Ascension, showing a bird's-eye view of a small group of Apostles on a high mountain top, dwarfed by Christ ascending into heaven, is peculiar. This composition is not Révész's invention, either, but draws on an engraving from a series of contemporary devotional images, a copy of which is preserved in Pannonhalma.<sup>40</sup> He certainly employed a series of engravings to paint the Apostles, who may be identified by the attributes they hold in their hands. The Prophet Tier in fact came to be a 'portrait gallery', from which most of the characters

<sup>36</sup> TERDIK 2020f, 248–249, Pictures 6–7.

<sup>37</sup> 95 × 70 cm, Greek Catholic Museum (Görögkatolikus Múzeum), Nyíregyháza, Inv. 1999.53 (A 9); PUSKÁS 2012, 29, 56, kat. 42. In the light of this new attribution, the St Basil painting was made in the first half of the 19th century.

<sup>38</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 9, no. 2111, fol. 29. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 430–431.

<sup>39</sup> The ledger is held in the archives of the parish. Partially published in: TERDIK 2020f, 385–387.

<sup>40</sup> Pannonhalmi Bencés Főapátság Gyűjteményei, S. Sz. szentképek 13. mappa. Engraving, 175 × 120 mm (50.6 × 42.5 inches). Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 255, Picture 14.

depicted can be recognised (if they have attributes), although this is not always a safe point of reference, either. On the north side, the first Prophet from the left appears as a bald, grey-bearded, elderly man contemplating the tongs in his hands, suggesting that he could be Isaiah. It is surprising, however, that the tongs do not hold live coal glowing inside them, as they should, in keeping with the biblical narrative, but instead reveal a pulled-out molar. It is difficult to decide whether to interpret the attribute in question as a sign of Révész's serious lack of basic iconographic knowledge or rather as a hint at his slightly impertinent sense of humour.<sup>41</sup> However, the fact that he features Saint Luke the Evangelist primarily as a painter and not as a writer of sacred texts on the Royal Doors is an indication of Révész's particular artistic consciousness. He painted the six small paintings on canvas and not directly on wood, obviously in an effort to avoid transporting the ornate Royal Doors to Uzhorod.<sup>42</sup> He also painted a picture of the Holy Trinity on the high altar, which is one of the better ones among the large number of paintings.<sup>43</sup>

On criticism-of-style-based grounds, two more iconostases may be included in Révész's oeuvre. One of the ensembles from the church of Nižný Hrabovec (*Alsóhrabóc/Alsógyertyán*), Eparchy of Prešov (*Eperjes*), was added to the collection of the Museum of Michalovce (*Nagymihály*) in the 1960s.<sup>44</sup> At present, the Royal Doors, parts of the Feast and Apostle Tiers and the complete Prophet Tier are to be found there, the last of these with the ornamental frames with fretwork carving that once filled the church's triumphal arch, though their silvering is badly worn. The paintings were painted by Révész on wooden panels, except for the Prophet Tier, for which he used a canvas base. The Nižný Hrabovec paintings exhibit many similarities in form with the Streda nad Bodrogom panels, although it must be noted that Révész seems to have been a more experienced and mature painter.

The Ascension scene in the Feast Tier is based on the bird's-eye view arrangement, but the panel of the Flight to Egypt is quite remarkable, with the dark background giving a romantic tone to the small composition. On the Royal Doors, Luke is shown in a different setting but as a painter. The Apostles and Prophets are not as clumsy here as they sometimes appear in the panels in Streda nad Bodrogom.

The other iconostasis, probably also associated with Révész, stands in the Church of St Michael in Rakoshyno (*Beregrákos*) to this day (2019).<sup>45</sup> In the Sovereign Tier, only the six small-size images of the Royal Doors have not been repainted. The Annunciation and the Four Evangelists are reminiscent of the works of matching themes in Streda nad Bodrogom and Nižný Hrabovec; Luke is, of course, also represented here as a painter, though he appears older than in the earlier ensembles. In Rakoshyno, the upper rows still retain Révész's style. He seems to have developed further: His figures are more vivid and his backgrounds are more detailed. His pictures show that he was also increasingly influenced by the style of the Nazarenes, which by this time was becoming commercialised.

In the absence of archival data, it is impossible to say exactly when he painted these two iconostases, but perhaps it is not a far-fetched idea to date them to the mid-19th century, shortly after the War of Independence.

Révész also took an active part in the Hungarian War of Independence of 1848–1849, and his short obituary highlighted his military past, the exact details of which are not known. However, the painter Ödön Kacziány (1852–1933) recorded anecdotal stories about his escape from the reckoning in the pages of the journal *Művészet*. He heard these stories in Munich in 1869, where he also met Révész in person:

'Among the Hungarian painters living in Munich, György Révész was very popular as a highly original old painter. We called him Uncle Gyurka. He was a

<sup>41</sup> TERDIK 2020f, 260, Picture 19.

<sup>42</sup> TERDIK 2020f, 262, Picture 21.

<sup>43</sup> TERDIK 2020f, 263, Picture 22.

<sup>44</sup> The church was built in 1825, the iconostasis was put in 1950s down: LIŠKA–GOJDIČ 2015, 227–229; BORZA–GRADOŠ 2018, 380–383. The icons were conserved in the last decades. The Ascension, Inv: 1970/541 (36.5 × 30 cm [50.6 × 42.5 inches]).

<sup>45</sup> The church was built in 1833. LEHOCZKY 1904, 82. The photographs were made by Makariy Medvid, thanks for them.

kindly old gentleman, a good friend of Klimkovic's, a painter from Košice (*Kassa*), and an enthusiastic admirer of the Piloty School.<sup>46</sup> He often invited us for bacon in the evening; we took turns to order beer, and he would tell us vividly about the 1848 Revolution, mourning the Surrender at Világos with long draughts from his beer. He was a commander in 1848 and, after Világos, he continued to paint. He returned to Košice and – being a cunning old man – to escape persecution as an ex-*Honvéd*, he rented a room in the gendarmerie barracks for a month. There he took his time painting portraits of unhappy patriots and the gendarme officers. When the time of trouble was over, he could tell his landlord, the commander of the gendarmerie, in response to his inquisitive question, that he was indeed the much-maligned György Révész, a former *Honvéd* commander' (translated from the Hungarian original).<sup>47</sup>

The period after the War of Independence brought hardship to the whole Eparchy, as Bazil Popovics needed to clear himself before the Justification Committee in October 1849, and was kept under house arrest for a year.<sup>48</sup>

Thus, Révész received church commissions of varying magnitude during this period, too. In 1857, he had painted a Last Supper composition for the church of Hajdúdorog, which adorned the high altar until the middle of the 20th century.<sup>49</sup> The work became famous in Szabolcs, and, a year later, András Karczub,<sup>50</sup> parish priest of Nagykálló, enquired about the painter from the Dean of Hajdúdorog because he also intended to have the altar

of his church renewed.<sup>51</sup> It is not known whether Révész was commissioned in Nagykálló; no trace of him has been discovered in the archives to date,<sup>52</sup> and the altar itself was destroyed by fire in 1917.<sup>53</sup>

In 1859, János Bódis finished carving the iconostasis of Aranyosapáti,<sup>54</sup> when local parish priest András Tivadar<sup>55</sup> asked the Bishop for permission for Révész to paint the pictures.<sup>56</sup> The request was responded to by Episcopal Secretary Bishop Bazil Hadzsega, and a copy of his letter in Rusyn is preserved in the parish protocols. Révész was granted permission, but on condition that he took into account the Bishop's Instruction No. 2749 issued that year and used the iconostasis of the Cathedral of Uzhhorod as a model.<sup>57</sup> The images of the lower row of the iconostasis, painted on metal plates, were reworked in 1936, so it is difficult to determine whether the work was done by Révész or someone else, a painter of inferior skills.

In 1862, Révész painted the Holy Trinity on the high altar of the Greek Catholic church in Sátoraljajuhely. He placed Noah's sacrifice on the front of the altar table. The former was painted on wood, while the latter on canvas. At the same time, he also created something on the walls of the sanctuary, which has by now been destroyed. The carving of the altar was made by Flóris Klimkovic in Košice and completed in 1863. The fourth sovereign-tier image of the iconostasis was the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, also painted on canvas at about the same time.<sup>58</sup>

When in 1868–1869 the Greek Catholic church of Hajdúdorog was rebuilt in the Romantic style

<sup>46</sup> Karl von Piloty (1826–1886) was a teacher of Academy in Munich.

<sup>47</sup> KACZIÁNY Ödön, Emlékezések a múlt századból I. München a Piloty-korszakban. *Művészet*, 11 (1912), 401–407.

<sup>48</sup> MOLNÁR 2014, 44–47.

<sup>49</sup> On this painting see: TERDIK 2020a, 370, kat. IV.24.

<sup>50</sup> András Karczub (1809–1877), was parish priest in Nagykálló from 1850 until his death. BENDÁSZ 2023, 393, no. 87.

<sup>51</sup> GKPL IV-2-b, 161/1858.

<sup>52</sup> One year later the priest mentioned a new altarpiece in Nagykálló, on 18 April 1859. DAZO fond 151. opis 10. no 2096, fol. 40.

<sup>53</sup> GKPL I-1-a, 871/1917.

<sup>54</sup> The iconostasis of Falkušovce (*Falkus*) was made by him in 1854. Cf. DAZO fond 151, opis 10, no. 1099, fol. 40. Bódis wrote a letter to the bishop on 19 November 1862, for becoming eparchial sculptor. He studied in Prešov, Pest and Vienna. He already worked at Falkušovce, Maliy Berezniy, Roztoka, Simerky, actually he was working on the iconostasis of Ubl'a. DAZO fond 151, opis 12, no. 114, fol. 130.

<sup>55</sup> András Tivadar (1823–1893), he served from 1850 until 1874 in Bácsaranyos, then was moved to Fábánháza. BENDÁSZ 2023, 855, no. 171.

<sup>56</sup> DAZO fond 151. opis 10. no 2096, fol. 57–58. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 442.

<sup>57</sup> NYEL II-34-c. 1 kötet, Bácsaranyos (1834–1863)

<sup>58</sup> Cf. TERDIK 2011a, 77.

of the period – with the addition of side aisles with galleries on the north and south sides –<sup>59</sup> Révész was commissioned to paint a mural of a curious iconography on the ceiling of the west end of the nave: The Destruction of Idols in the Age of King Saint Stephen of Hungary. The subject itself was already present in Hungarian art from the 18th century onwards, thanks to a copperplate by Vinzenz Fischer, a professor at the Viennese Academy. However, an important novelty appeared in Révész's composition: Erecting the cross, Saint Stephen is not accompanied by Latin but by Byzantine Bishops. One of them is certainly Hierotheos, who, according to the Byzantine chronicles, was sent from Constantinople to convert the Hungarians after the baptism of the Transylvanian chieftains.<sup>60</sup> In the first half of the 18th century, the Protestant historian Gottfried Schwarz was the first to deal with the Byzantine missionary activities of the 10th century in Hungarian historiography, using it as a historical argument against the claims of Catholic authors in their works, which emphasised the importance of the papacy in Hungarian Christendom.<sup>61</sup> The fact of early Byzantine conversion and the person of Bishop Hierotheos could also be encountered by Greek Catholics with Hungarian national sentiments in the catechetical section accompanying the Creed in the first Hungarian hymnal translated by Ignác Roskovics Snr (1822–1895), parish priest of Hajdúböszörmény. One important message of the text is that Byzantine conversion in Hungary predated the emergence of Latin missionaries.<sup>62</sup> In 1868, a nascent movement for the establishment of an independent Hungarian Greek Catholic

bishopric and for the endorsement of the Hungarian liturgical language held its first congress in Hajdúdorog. Among the historical arguments of the Hajdúdorog Movement, links between the Hungarian nation and Byzantine Christianity in the Árpád era (897–1301) had an emphatic presence.<sup>63</sup> The first visual imprint of this was Révész's mural.

In his choice of a subject, Révész may also have been inspired by members of the large Klimkovics family of painters in Košice,<sup>64</sup> with whom he was good friends, and who in 1854 produced several versions of their composition of Saint Stephen, in which the Holy King appears as victor over paganism and the founder of Hungarian Christendom.<sup>65</sup> One version of the painting was also placed on the side altar of the Roman Catholic church of Abaújszántó, which, according to the signature in the lower left-hand corner, was also painted by Béla Klimkovics in 1854.<sup>66</sup> Klimkovics also undertook to paint the iconostasis of the church of Veľaty (*Velejte*) a decade later.<sup>67</sup>

Révész also lived and worked in Munich in the 1860s, as from the middle of the century more and more Hungarian painters went to study there instead of Vienna.<sup>68</sup> According to the signature in the lower left corner, he painted his painting of the Saviour sweating blood in the Garden of Gethsemane found on the Table of Oblation of the Greek Catholic church of Trebišov (*Töketerebe*), in Munich.<sup>69</sup> In 1874, he presented two pictures to the Museum of Upper Hungary in Košice.<sup>70</sup> He also painted altarpieces for several Roman Catholic churches: In Oradea, he was commissioned to paint images for four side altars (Saint Anne, Saint

<sup>59</sup> MNL HBML V. B. 145/a. (Hajdúdorog város pénztárnokának iratai) 1. d. (Házipénztári számadási iratok 1851–1869).

<sup>60</sup> On the mural: TERDIK 2013, 189–190, Picture 1. It was repainted in 1930s.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. TÓTH 2016, 103–136.

<sup>62</sup> *Ó-bírói imádságos és énekeskönyv – Az egy szent közönséges apostoli anyaszentegyház napkeleti vagyis görög rendje szerint – Görög-katolikus keresztények lelki épületére*, Fordítás és szerkeszté Roskovics Ignác, Debrecen, 1893, 13<sup>7</sup>. It was published firstly in 1862.

<sup>63</sup> On the movement of Hajdúdorog: JANKA 2019; VÉGHSEŐ 2019.

<sup>64</sup> On the Klimkovics Family: LYKA 1981, 314–315.

<sup>65</sup> On Ferenc Klimkovics' (1825–1890) paintings: KERNY–SMOHAY 2013, 364, kat. 100. (Gábor Gaylhoffer Kovács)

<sup>66</sup> The photograph of the painting: MÉM MDK, Fotótár, 22442 ND. Béla Klimkovics Béla painted similar works. Cf. KERNY 2004, 43–44.

<sup>67</sup> DAZO fond 151. opis 12. no 737. fol. 20–22. The present iconostasis of the church was made by Antal Helfer: <https://www.velaty.sk/cirkev/greckokatolicka-cirkev/fotogaleria/greckokatolicka-farnost-velaty-96sk.html> (accessed: 20/01/2020).

<sup>68</sup> For more detail on this subject, see: HESSKY 2009, 21–37.

<sup>69</sup> Révész 1869 München (!) Photographs of the picture courtesy of Fr Makariy Medvid.

<sup>70</sup> Cf. *Archaeologiai Értesítő*, 8 (1874), 76.



James, Saint Norbert and Saint Augustine) in the Premonstratensian church in 1874.<sup>71</sup> In Úbrež (*Ubrezs*), Ung County, the altarpiece of the high altar, depicting King Saint Stephen of Hungary, was also painted by him.<sup>72</sup> As this aspect of Révész's oeuvre is as yet unprocessed, further altarpieces are expected to surface. In his final years, he would also emerge in Sátoraljaújhely, where his younger brother, András Révész, lived with his family. According to his obituary, he died at 11 a.m. on 10 August 1875. From the parish register entry, the place of his death may be established as Balsa, as distinct from Sátoraljaújhely. He was laid to rest in the Greek Catholic cemetery of Sátoraljaújhely at 4 p.m. two days later.<sup>73</sup>

One of his last commissions is likely to have been a Last Supper altarpiece for the church of Penészlek. In February 1875, András Tivadar, Vice Dean and parish priest of Fábíánháza, approached Tamás Fesztóry,<sup>74</sup> parish priest of Sátoraljaújhely, to help him contact Révész because a Penészlek parishioner wished to have an altarpiece painted for their church. Tivadar must have known Révész for a long time since – as has been seen – it was during his tenure as parish priest that Révész worked on the iconostasis of Aranyosapáti. From Fesztóry's reply a few days later, it is clear that Révész would accept the commission, but he required the exact dimensions of the altar to set a price. However, in early July, he informed his fellow priest that Révész was terminally ill. He even returned the 25 forints previously donated for the altarpiece. To replace Révész, he recommended Béla Klimkovics, a teacher at the Secondary Modern School of Košice, for the task.<sup>75</sup>

Bishop Popovics's opinion of Révész would not change significantly after the War of Independence, either. Even if he had been appeased, the painter's

military past would have made it unrealistic to employ him as an eparchial painter. However – as has been shown – he did not forbid him from accepting individual commissions. For the above reasons, the search for a suitable person for the post of eparchial painter began as early as 1851. It was then that Ferdinánd Vidra, a Roman Catholic born in Veszprém, influenced by the art of the Nazarenes and with a study trip to Italy behind him, was considered a widely-travelled artist.

The Greek Catholic priest János Rakovszky, who, as the official state-appointed Rusyn translator of the Legal Gazette, lived in Pest (between 1850 and 1859), was given the task of finding an eligible artist.<sup>76</sup> In his letter dated 9 April 1851, he reports to the Bishop on the outcome of his assignment: He met three painters staying in Pest to discuss the assignments required in the churches of the Eparchy.<sup>77</sup>

The first one, a man called 'Gora' – he does not specify his first name – has previously done similar work in Bucharest, by his own admission. With a view to obtaining a more precise answer, he and Rakovszky went to see the paintings in the Eastern Rite churches of Pest<sup>78</sup> to find out about the size of the paintings needed for the churches of the Eparchy of Mukachevo (*Munkács*). The painter in question does an excellent job; his best price for painting the sovereign-tier images would be 60 gold coins and, for the ones in the upper rows, 20 – without gilding.

The second painter's name is Ferdinánd Vidra. He presented Rakovszky with a letter from Episcopal Secretary Bazil Hadzsega, revealing that the Eparchy had previously ordered 'church flags' from him, so the Bishop should be familiar with his painting skills. He charges 50 gold coins for the large pictures and 8 for the smaller ones, also without gilding.

<sup>71</sup> These paintings are mentioned in: LYKA 1982, 43; PÉTER I. 1992, 72.

<sup>72</sup> Photographs of the altarpiece courtesy of Fr Makariy Medvid. Cf. GÜNTHEROVÁ 1969, 345–346.

<sup>73</sup> His obituary: SZM – KEMKI ADK

<sup>74</sup> Tamás Fesztóry (1818–1885), was the parish priest from 1851 until his death in Sátoraljaújhely. BENDÁSZ 2023, 242, no. 109.

<sup>75</sup> Two letters of Fesztóry to the Vice Dean, and the letter of Tivadar to the parish priest of Penészlek: GKPL IV–2–b, 27/1875.

<sup>76</sup> János Rakovszky (1821–1885), Cf. <http://lexikon.katolikus.hu/R/Rakovszky.html> (accessed: 01/02/2020). See also: BENDÁSZ 2023, 710, no. 49.

<sup>77</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 10, no. 477, fol. 18–20. The letter was written in Russian, translated by Xénia Golub.

<sup>78</sup> He was probably writing about the two orthodox churches of Pest, and the Serbian cathedral of Buda.

The first painter has a family and a flat, while the second one is unmarried and can undertake the assignment without any problems. The former provides a greater guarantee of completing the work, while, in the case of the latter, more care needs to be taken about the task assigned, given his modest financial background. Nevertheless, Rakovszky considers him capable of completing the assignment. Both ask to be informed by the end of May whether the Bishop has selected them and they wish to know in advance in how many churches and for how long they would be employed. If they are chosen for the assignment, they will claim travel expenses, etc.

Rakovszky went to see the third painter, a man by the name of Telepi (he does not mention his first name, either), on the Bishop's orders, in order to guide his son, who studied painting, towards the acquisition of the Greek ecclesiastical style. The father gratefully informed his son, who was in Bavaria at the moment, of the Bishop's intention. At the same time, he also assured the Hierarch that he would accept the assignment himself if he were not bound by a contract for two years from now to work as a stage technician at the Theatre of Pest. He also offered that if he could provide the Eparchy with any pictures that he could paint there on site, he would be happy to dispatch those.

The first artist to be visited by János Rakovszky must have been the famous Biedermeier portrait painter of the period, János Alajos Hora (1812 – after 1868), who was educated in Vienna and lived in Bucharest for a while after 1843, before moving to Budapest.<sup>79</sup> The third artist was György Telepi, who might have been better known in the Greek Catholic community as he was born on 7 October 1800, the son of Antal Telepianovics, parish priest

of Kisléta. He used his surname in a shorter, more Hungarian-like form after 1837. Although his father intended him to be a priest, Telepi preferred to be an actor and also worked as a set painter. At one time, he even taught the young Miklós Barabás to paint. His son, Károly Telepy (1829–1906), whom the Bishop hoped to win for the assignment, later became a famous painter and, during these years, he was in Munich on account of his involvement in the War of Independence.<sup>80</sup> The Hierarch finally chose Ferdinánd Vidra.

Relatively little is known of Vidra's earlier work, though the press of this period regularly published reports on his various activities. In 1840, he won a 300 forint scholarship from King Francis I to study in Rome for two years.<sup>81</sup> Besides the Monarch, his studies were also supported by Count Károly Zichy.<sup>82</sup>

He was said to have painted his large canvas painting *Pannonia* in 1844 in gratitude for the state aid he had received. This allegorical composition, depicting Pannonia as a woman seated on a high throne, was exhibited at the Art Society of Pest in 1845. The artist would later donate it to the National Museum's Picture Gallery.<sup>83</sup> Another memento of his studies in Rome is a pencil drawing showing a detail from Raphael's fresco *Disputa* kept at the Vatican Stanzas. This work was donated to the National Gallery by József Stoffer in 1851.<sup>84</sup> His oil painting *The Angel Appears to Saint Joseph* may also have been painted during his stay in Rome.<sup>85</sup>

Undoubtedly, Ferdinánd Vidra was one of the few Hungarian artists who were influenced for life by the so-called Nazarene painters' movement. In 1809, Friedrich Overbeck and Franz Pforr founded the 'Lukasbund' (Sankt Lukas Brüderschaft – the Fraternity of St Luke) in Vienna, and the following year they settled in Rome, where they lived a

<sup>79</sup> M. KISS 1952, 90. Cf. *Művészeti lexikon* 2, Budapest 1966, 418.

<sup>80</sup> TELEPY 1993, 54. Here, Nagyléta is erroneously mentioned as the birth of place of Telepi György.

<sup>81</sup> *Athenaeum*, 2 (1840), 828; *Hírnök*, 1840, 103. szám, 411.

<sup>82</sup> Cf. *Honderű*, 2 (1843), 156.

<sup>83</sup> Oil on canvas, 225 × 185 cm, Szépművészeti Múzeum – Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, Inv. 2672. SZABÓ 1985, 170–171. (kat. 129.); SISA 2018, 124.

<sup>84</sup> The title of the drawing: Theologia. *Hölgyfutár*, 2 (1851), 687. Szépművészeti Múzeum – Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, Inv. GRO 1905–1682, (675 × 960 mm)

<sup>85</sup> 45 × 35 cm (50.6 × 42.5 inches). Private Collection. Cf.

[https://axioart.com/tetel/vidra-ferdinand,-1815-1879-az-angyal-megjelenik-szent-joz\\_1345380](https://axioart.com/tetel/vidra-ferdinand,-1815-1879-az-angyal-megjelenik-szent-joz_1345380) (accessed: 20/01/2020).

virtually monastic life in the former Monastery of St Isidore. Several young painters would join them.<sup>86</sup> The artists' community was characterised by a fervent Catholic spirit and a strong sense of solidarity. Even the Protestant founders became Catholics. The society's life was governed by its own guild rules. In Rome, they left behind two important monuments: the fresco cycles of Casa Bartholdi (1816–1817) and Villa Massimo (1822–1832). (The former is currently on display at the Alte Nationalgalerie in Berlin.) The main aim of the Fraternity was to renew the fine arts, especially painting, in the religious spirit of the Middle Ages, while also numbering the early renaissance masters and Raphael among their precursors, as their choice of name suggests. Of the founders, Overbeck and Joseph von Führich (1800–1876) remained true to their original objectives all along; the former died in Rome in 1869. Among the Hungarian artists, Ferenc Szoldatics (1820–1916), who lived in Rome until the end of his life and worked in the Nazarene spirit, is also worth remembering.<sup>87</sup>

No further details are known about Vidra's studies in Rome; he may have stayed there after the state grant expired as advertisements for him claim that he spent ten years abroad, while others only talk about three years.<sup>88</sup> When at home, he attempted to profit from his knowledge, but finding commissions was not easy for him. In 1845, he was commissioned to paint two altarpieces for the Cathedral of Veszprém, his home city.<sup>89</sup> His portrait of Palatine Joseph was also placed on the bier during the funeral Mass for the soul of the deceased Palatine in the Cathedral of Szombathely on 9 February 1847.<sup>90</sup> In its coverage, the newspaper *Nemzeti Újság* wrote about the painting in more detail, and a footnote reference also described Vidra's

activities in brief: His 'drawings' can be found in the Episcopal Chapel in Veszprém and, more recently, in the Castle Chapel of the Bishop of Szombathely. The latter was commissioned by Bishop Gábor Balassa, and it depicts the Annunciation. Thanks to the painting, the 'place of worship' has recently acquired the name Gabriel's Chapel. At the time, Vidra worked on the *Sepulchrum Domini* of the Cathedral.<sup>91</sup>

Vidra advertised in the newspapers in 1848, looking for work.<sup>92</sup> In 1850, the editorial office of the newspaper *Katholikus Néplap* recommended him to prospective clients.<sup>93</sup> It is also recalled that he painted an *Immaculata* image, commissioned by the Chapter of Vác, which was exhibited in the Franciscan Religious House. The editor uses the opportunity again to bring the artist to the attention of the public.<sup>94</sup> The press must have played a role in attracting the attention of the Bishopric of Mukachevo to this young artist, who was keen to paint images with a religious theme.

Ferdinánd Vidra arrived in the territory of the Eparchy of Mukachevo in the summer of 1851. In July of that year, from Irshava (*Ilosva*), Dean Bazil Vaszkó<sup>95</sup> had sent the Bishop two quotations compiled by Vidra: one for the iconostasis of the church of Svaliava (*Szolyva*) and another for the iconostasis of the church of Bilki (*Bilke*), the former representing work worth 1000 forints, while the latter worth 1850 forints.<sup>96</sup> However, he would not work in these churches until the following decade, as will be demonstrated later. Nevertheless, he must have received enough commissions – although details in this regard remain unknown – because he did not return to the capital or to the Transdanubian region. In 1854, he already worked on the iconostasis of the church of Sts Peter and Paul in Buj, Szabolcs

<sup>86</sup> Cf. HOLLEIN–STEINLE 2005; SUHR–KIRCHBERGER 2012.

<sup>87</sup> LYKA 1981, 171–175; BÍRÓ 1969.

<sup>88</sup> The letter of Bertalan Talapkovics about the life of Vidra (28/06/1906). SZM – KEMKI ADK, 1563/1920. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 477–478.

<sup>89</sup> The Vidra's works are not identified in the Cathedral. Cf. ÁDÁM 1912, 475; KARLINSZKY–VARGA 2010.

<sup>90</sup> *Jelenkor*, 16 (1847), 106.

<sup>91</sup> *Nemzeti Újság*, 1 (1847), 150.

<sup>92</sup> *Budapesti Híradó*, 1 (1848), 232.

<sup>93</sup> *Katholikus Néplap*, 10 (1850), 82, footnote.

<sup>94</sup> *Katholikus Néplap*, 10 (1850), 177; *Pesti Napló*, 1 (1850), 209. szám, 3.

<sup>95</sup> Bazil Vaszkó (1802–1867). Cf. BENDÁSZ 2023, 890, no. 75.

<sup>96</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 10, no. 477, fol. 30–36.

County. In that year, the parishioners of Buj asked the Bishop for an artist to paint their iconostasis, which had been finished in 1842.<sup>97</sup> Vidra still painted directly on the wooden panels here. His style and compositions did not change much later, either; everything that would be characteristic of his art for two decades was already present there. It is difficult to decide whether he originally applied gold background in the paintings, or whether it is the result of subsequent conservation. His work is commemorated in a long Hungarian inscription on the back of the iconostasis, indicating that he painted this icon screen from April to the end of November.

Two years later, in the summer of 1856, he felt the time had come to propose to Bishop Popovics that he be appointed eparchial painter.<sup>98</sup> He was very grateful for the Bishop's support so far, but now felt that if he wanted to stay in the Eparchy in the long term, he needed a more secure base to do so, so that commissions could come more steadily. At this stage, he has not yet received a response, and requests that the Consistory collect opinions on his previous works from the competent Deans.

In the autumn of 1856, Vidra received a commission in Uzhhorod: He was required to design and execute the interior decoration of the new chapel in the former Drugeth Castle, used as a Greek Catholic seminary at the time.<sup>99</sup> He designed figural compositions only for the chapel's vaulting, while envisaging decorative painting for the side walls. With the plans, he also enclosed pencil drawings of the baldachined altar and the Table of Oblation, without naming his carpenter. He presumably worked with Mihály Krajnyák, as he would do several times in the following years as well. No iconostasis was planned here, either. He undertook the whole assignment for 970 forints. The chapel

was completed by the end of the following year, 1857.<sup>100</sup>

The following year, Vidra was commissioned for an even larger task: the 'conservation' of the Cathedral of Uzhhorod. In addition to renovating the existing wooden furnishings, he also painted a large-scale ceiling mural on the nave's previously unpainted barrel-vault.<sup>101</sup>

Vidra first finished painting the walls, which was followed by conservation work. In the process, he radically repainted the faces of the two central images in the Sovereign Tier of the iconostasis.<sup>102</sup> He marbled the back of the iconostasis and commemorated the details of the assignment in the commemorative inscription in the centre. On the reverse of the Calvary set, he placed his own Crucifixion set painted on tin. He was greatly assisted in this work by the gilder Ferenc Povolny, who came from Pest and then stayed in this part of the country for a long time thanks to the many commissions he received. At first, Vidra underestimated the costs and had to request several modifications, which were approved by the Bishop and the Chapter. At this time, he also painted and gilded the canon's stalls. Vidra also made more radical changes to the four side altars, altering the pediments of two of them, on which he placed his own paintings. This work extended into the following year.<sup>103</sup>

The Cathedral was re-consecrated on 14 November 1858. The event was reported in the pages of the journal *Religio* by a priest who did not wish to be named. Before describing the celebration in detail, he also describes Vidra's new paintings. The author was impressed by the large number of figures (about seventy) in the ceiling mural of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, the central element of which was an iconostasis painted as part of the church interior. Next, with overwhelming enthusiasm, he describes

<sup>97</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 10, no. 1099, fol. 26.

<sup>98</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 10, no. 1532, fol. 54r. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 442–443.

<sup>99</sup> The description of the iconography with a sketch and the bid of the work: DAZO fond 151, opis 10, no. 1532, fol. 69r, 73–75. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 443–445.

<sup>100</sup> MÉSZÁROS 1861, 17. The chapel was renovated in 1907, Vidra's murals were destroyed. The new murals were painted by Ferenc Lohr. DAZO fond 151, opis 3, no. 553, fol. 4–5. Cf. КОБАЛЬ 2008, 26.

<sup>101</sup> TERDIK 2011a, 74, 188, 99. kép. This mural was repainted by József Boksay in 1940s: ЕРФАН 2016, 27–28.

<sup>102</sup> The original form of the icons was restored a few years ago.

<sup>103</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 10, no. 1882, fol. 69r, 77, 88, 101, 110. Quotations for the renovation of the 4 side altars: DAZO fond 151, opis 10, no. 2095, fol. 11, 13. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 445–449.

the renovation of the wooden furnishings, especially of the iconostasis, re-gilded carvings of which had a great impact on the 'spiritually ecstatic' souls of those present.<sup>104</sup>

It was certainly these two large-scale tasks in Uzhhorod that convinced Bishop Popovics to appoint Vidra as eparchial painter, also in compliance with the painter's earlier request. The artist thanked the Hierarch for his outstanding confidence in him in April 1859. He felt that he could now settle here since he had not had a permanent home since 1839, when he had left his family to study.<sup>105</sup> Bishop Popovics informed the clergy of his appointment in the autumn of 1859, and, in his circular, he repeatedly regulated in detail the responsibilities of the eparchial painter and the duties of the priests.<sup>106</sup>

That year, Vidra painted the walls of the church of Zarichovo (*Záricsó/Drugetháza*), from where he sent a quotation to the parish priest of Svaliava for the painting of the iconostasis and the walls of the church there.<sup>107</sup>

Naturally, Vidra was unable to deliver all the painting tasks in the still vast Eparchy on his own. In October 1859, the painter Károly Unghy from Sighetu Marmătiei (*Máramarossziget*) wrote that the people of Bedevlya (*Bedőháza/Bedő*) had already hired him to paint their church and iconostasis. He was pleased with the Bishop's decision that his works should be assessed by Vidra.<sup>108</sup>

In Vylók (*Tiszaújlak*), Pál Sereghy asked that Péter Fenczik should be allowed to paint the iconostasis. Having raised 400 forints, the parishioners had previously made an agreement with him about a 900 forint fee.<sup>109</sup> As was predictable, the eparchial authorities refused to approve the assignment until

Fenczik had at least two of his paintings assessed by the eparchial painter. The parishioners stood by Fenczik, promising to meet the conditions in their October letter.<sup>110</sup> The continuation of the case is not known, but it seems that Fenczik may have worked here, as the current iconostasis of the church may indeed date from this period.<sup>111</sup> It consists of only two rows: the Sovereign Tier and the Apostle Tier. Its structure is strongly reminiscent of the iconostasis of the Cathedral of Prešov; the two central images in the Sovereign Tier are patterned on the same model: Raphael's Sistine Madonna and Cima da Conegliano's Saviour.<sup>112</sup> However, rather than the icon screen of Prešov, the iconostasis in the parish church of the Dormition of the Theotokos in nearby Mukachevo is likely to have been a direct prototype here. The construction of the church of Mukachevo began in 1829, using the walls of the Episcopal Residence, which had been started in the 18th century and then abandoned; the church was consecrated on 27 August 1859.<sup>113</sup> The iconostasis was destroyed in the second half of the 20th century, and only old postcards can help form an idea of its appearance.<sup>114</sup> From these, the paintings of the iconostasis seem to have been rather different from Vidra's style. Their painter strove to adhere to the compositions of the Prešov iconostasis instead. Albert Tikos is conventionally credited as the painter of the iconostasis in Prešov. He may have painted some of the pictures in 1845 and 1846, while the work was continued by Jan Bogdanski (1852–1917) in 1881.<sup>115</sup> Franz Joseph also contributed to the construction costs of the church of Mukachevo.<sup>116</sup> The name of Gusztáv Zempliner, a sculptor and gilder, appears several

<sup>104</sup> *Religio*, 2 (1858), 357–358. A photograph of the mural was published in: *Листока*, 8 (1892), 270; TERDIK 2011a, 118, 99. kép.

<sup>105</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 10, no. 2096, fol. 38r. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 449–450.

<sup>106</sup> PUSKÁS 2006, 130–131; PUSKÁS 2008, 261–262.

<sup>107</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 10, no. 2095, fol. 32–36. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 450–451.

<sup>108</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 10, no. 2096, fol. 60. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 451–452.

<sup>109</sup> 30 July 1859. DAZO fond 151, opis 10, no. 2097, fol. 52. The letter of the Dean: DAZO fond 151, opis 10, no. 2095, fol. 52–53.

<sup>110</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 10, no. 2096, fol. 67r. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 452.

<sup>111</sup> For its photograph, see: MAROSI 2014, 127.

<sup>112</sup> The iconostasis of Prešov: TERDIK 2011a, 71, Pictures 83–84.

<sup>113</sup> LEHOCZKY 1904, 133, 134; СИРОХМАН/СЫРОКХМАН 2000, 158.

<sup>114</sup> A photograph from 1939: BARANYI/БАРАНИЙ 2006, 87, Picture 135.

<sup>115</sup> The central two main icons were probably painted by Tikos, the others by Bogdanski. Cf. МАКАРИЙ 2021b, 25.

<sup>116</sup> 25 September 1858. For the costs of furnishing the church, it was asking for a 2,000-forint loan from the diocese. DAZO fond 151, opis 10, no. 1884, fol. 47. The Treasury gave 6,000 forints, but so far they have only received forints 4,000. DAZO fond 151, opis 10, no. 2094, fol. 41.

times in the archives, but no reference to the painter has been found so far.<sup>117</sup> In any case, if Péter Fenczik really worked in Vylok, he must have based his work on the iconostasis of the church in Mukachevo.

In 1866, Fenczik's name is mentioned again in connection with the iconostasis of the church of St Basil in Kalná Roztoka (*Kálnarosztoka*). In April, the local parish priest asked for permission to consecrate the finished iconostasis, claiming that Vidra had already assessed Fenczik's work and found it acceptable. In mid-May, however, Vidra visited the site personally and found Fenczik's paintings to be acceptable, in particular the altarpiece of the Virgin Mary, but the gilding was deficient, and he believed that the irregularities in the order of the paintings could be corrected by a more in-depth study of the Uzhhorod iconostasis.<sup>118</sup>

No verified biographical data is available on Péter Fenczik. The 1899 obituary of his son, the painter Kornél Gyula Fenczik reads: 'He was born in Mukachevo in 1856. His father, Péter – having studied image painting from a famous Italian artist (i.e. a female painter) – was employed as an ecclesiastical painter there' (translated from the Hungarian original). Kornél took over his father's workshop.<sup>119</sup> Which famous Italian artist Péter Fenczik studied with remains a mystery for now. In any case, it is apparent that he was keen to rely on the compositions of the great Italian masters as models. On 22 July 1880, he applied to János Pásztelyi, Bishop of Mukachevo, for the title of 'second painter' in the Eparchy as he had seven children to care for. He argues that he has worked in the Eparchy for thirty years, sometimes under the 'supervision' of

Ferdinand Vidra and sometimes independently. He encloses two certificates confirming the latter, in which the competent parish priests express their satisfaction.<sup>120</sup>

In 1862, the parishioners of Streda nad Bodrogom also felt that the time had come to have their iconostasis, decorated with paintings by Révész, gilded and, presumably, to have its carved structure painted. Vidra's offer was too much for the parish priest, so he sought permission through the Dean to work with the Krichbaum brothers, who had performed a similar assignment in Rudabányácska a few years earlier. Vidra was inclined to let someone else take the work but warned that if they used inappropriate materials (he deduced this from the low price), they would be obliged to pay compensation for any damage occurring later. It is clear from the items recorded in the parish account book that Ferenc Povolny eventually gilded the parish with the help of János Thoma, and that Vidra also painted something in Streda nad Bodrogom during the years 1862 and 1863.<sup>121</sup>

Vidra settled in Bilki, Bereg County, in 1862. In the following years, he worked on the iconostasis of the monumental church there, but he also painted the walls of the church, employing a peculiar mock-architecture – no doubt anachronistic-looking in his time as well – which he also endeavoured to perfect behind the high altar of the Cathedral of Uzhhorod. He was assisted in the painting by János Varjú. The gilding was completed by Ferenc Povolny here, too.<sup>122</sup> In the iconostasis, perhaps uniquely within his oeuvre, Vidra painted figures seated on thrones in the sovereign-tier images,<sup>123</sup> a common

<sup>117</sup> The Zempliner's letters written in German: DAZO fond 151, opis 10. no. 2094, fol. 57, 80; DAZO fond 151, opis 10, no. 2310, fol. 25. Zempliner worked on the altar of Baktakék in 1863. He was specified as „Bildhauer und Vergolder” from Prešov. MEL V-4-c.

<sup>118</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 12, no. 1080, fol. 18, 37–38. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 453–454.

<sup>119</sup> N.N., Fenczik Kornél Gyula (1856–1899), *Görög Katolikus Naptár 1900-iki évre*, Ungvár 1899, 54–55.

<sup>120</sup> The Fenczik's request: DAZO fond 151, opis 16, no. 2013, fol. 1. Published in: TERDIK 2022a, 185–186. One of the certificates was issued by the caretakers of Yanoshi (*Makkosjánosi*) on April 29, 1871, in which the master is praised for the gilding of the iconostasis and pulpit. DAZO fond 151, opis 16, no. 2018, fol. 1. The other certificate is dated August 11, 1879 in Pistr'alovo (*Pisztrabáza*), in which the painting of the iconostasis is praised. Ibid. fol. 2.

<sup>121</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 12, no. 113, fol. 49, 57–59. Published in part: TERDIK 2020f, 454–456. Accounts kept in the parish archive: TERDIK 2020f, 456–457.

<sup>122</sup> A letter from parish priest Talapkovits from 1865 regarding the painting in Bilki, mentions the names of Vidra and Povolny. DAZO fond 151, opis 12, no. 1080, fol. 3r

<sup>123</sup> About the church and iconostasis of Bilki: СИРОХМАН/СЫРОХМАН 2000, 258–259; ПРИЙМИЧ 2014, 158–159, 164. The iconostasis of Bilki was probably carved by Stefan Kovács and Onufrij Kokodinják, who were mentioned by the inscription on the back of the iconostasis in Horbok (*Kissarkad*) (1868–1870). Vidra was the painter, János Varjú and Ferenc Povolny gilded the iconostasion here, too. СИРОХМАН/СЫРОХМАН 2000, 258–259; ПРИЙМИЧ 2014, 162.

arrangement in the iconostases of the Romanian wooden churches of Marmaroshchyna/Maramureş a few decades earlier.

In 1864, Vidra permitted the faithful of Jovsa (*Jósz*a) to hire Antal Mihályi but he obliged the master to use real gold.<sup>124</sup> According to a surviving contract, Mihályi was also commissioned by the parishioners of Ubl'a (*Ubl'ya/Ugar*) in 1866,<sup>125</sup> but, a year later, he and his brother Sándor were also counted on by the parishioners of Ruský Hrabovec (*Oroszhrabóc Nagyereblyés*), who had received permission from the Bishop to start the work in 1859 but had been unable to implement it at that time.<sup>126</sup> It is not known whether these Mihályis were related to János Mihályi. The former lived in Humenné (*Homonna*), and their father was called Lukács, who was also engaged in painting; he was forbidden from painting the iconostasis in Vyšný Orlík (*Felsőorlik/Felsőodor*) in favour of János Rombauer, as has been pointed out. Their aforementioned iconostasis has perished by now. In Ubl'a, however, four oval sovereign-tier images – possibly Mihályi's works – survive on the walls of the nave.<sup>127</sup> The former iconostasis here was also carved by Bódis, as has been suggested earlier, and he had a predilection for applying oval sovereign-tier images.

Also in 1864, Vidra tried to settle an acrimonious dispute with the parishioners of Verkhni Vorota (*Felsőverecke*), who had stopped paying him the instalments for his work, claiming that Vidra had not fulfilled his obligations properly. The exchange of letters suggests that he worked together with the carver Mihály Krajnyák here as well. He painted some of the pictures on wood, others on canvas and the four sovereign-tier images on tin.<sup>128</sup> His

letters on the matter also reveal something about his working methods. He procured good quality canvases and paints from Vienna, for example.

In the summer of 1863, he submitted an offer for painting the walls of the church of Rakovo, where Révész had worked a decade earlier.<sup>129</sup> He describes the iconographic programme in detail, which may be modified according to the amount available.<sup>130</sup> A few years later, however, another painter would be commissioned.

In 1864, the eparchial government decided that iconostases should be painted on metal plates rather than wooden panels in order to make them more durable. Vidra also contributed to the discussion, stressing his agreement in his expert opinion but offering some important considerations regarding the material, form and mounting of the metal plates. At the end of the letter, he calls for the proper ventilation and maintenance of wet churches.<sup>131</sup>

The construction of the iconostasis in Nyírkarász, where Mihály Krajnyák was supposed to carve (*viz.* he was contracted in 1863) was also delayed for years, but he could not start in time due to his other assignments. Citing this delay, the parishioners of Nyírkarász intended to pay him less. Krajnyák did not begin carving until 1866; he completed one third of the iconostasis and promised to be on site by October of that year. According to the 1880 inventory of the church, the structure was finally completed in 1867. In 1860, Vidra was asked for a quotation, but the costs were deemed to be too high. One of the landowners recommended Hermann Tieger, a painter from Nyíregyháza, with whom a deal was struck. In his contract, the parishioners set the iconostasis of the church of Ópályi as a model.<sup>132</sup> In 1862, however, Vidra instructed Tieger

<sup>124</sup> The request of the community: DAZO fond 151, opis 12, no. 587, fol. 33r. The opinion of Vidra: Ibid. 15r. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 457–459.

<sup>125</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 12, no. 1076, fol. 11. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 466. The work was executed in 1879. Mentioned in: TERDIK 2022a, 182.

<sup>126</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 12, no. 1463, fol. 21. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 467.

<sup>127</sup> TERDIK 2020f, 294–295, Pictures 55–56.

<sup>128</sup> The quotation of Vidra from 1859: DAZO fond 151, opis 12, no. 586, fol. 31, 118; DAZO fond 151, opis 12, no. 587, fol. 19–20. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 459–463.

<sup>129</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 12, no. 587, fol. 22–23.

<sup>130</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 12, no. 794, fol. 115. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 463–464.

<sup>131</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 12, no. 585, fol. 13. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 465.

<sup>132</sup> The iconostasis was probably carved by Molnár Demeter: TERDIK 2014g, 210, 215–216. The iconostasis was painted in 1839 according to the 1875 inventory of the church, but the painter is not named. DAZO fond 151, opis 15, no. 2126, fol. 15.

to demonstrate his skills in 'historical pictures'. This would probably end in a failure because Vidra's colleagues (János Weichrich and the gilder Ferenc Povolny) were eventually contracted to paint the pictures in 1886.<sup>133</sup>

In 1869, Vidra also painted the iconostasis of the church of Garadna, which belonged to the Eparchy of Prešov at that time; the gilding was done by András Peregrini from Košice, who also carved the structure.<sup>134</sup> In 1861, he also recommended himself to the Eparchial Bishop of Mukachevo.<sup>135</sup> The paintings in Garadna were made on canvas, fixed onto wooden boards. They aptly display Vidra's style, which cannot be said of his works in present-day Transcarpathia, as most of them have been substantially repainted. One example is the church of Yanoshi (*Makkosjánosi*), where not only the iconostasis but the entire woodwork painting is also his work, dating from the 1860s.<sup>136</sup> He painted the Last Judgement on the central nave vault section, and his signature may be deciphered in the fire of Gehenna: Vidra F. 1867 (?).<sup>137</sup> Three of his paintings on the altar table, depicting Old Testament sacrifices, have also avoided repainting: Noah after the flood in the centre, the sacrifice of Melchizedek on one of the shorter sides and the sacrifice of Isaac on the other.

In 1874, Vidra even allowed Ferenc Berky, a painter living and working in Satu Mare (*Szatmárnémeti*), to work on the iconostasis of Gebe (now Nyírkáta), after inspecting his paintings.<sup>138</sup> The following year, Berky received part of the fee for the paintings.<sup>139</sup>

In 1860, the new Greek Catholic church of Vyshkovo (*Visk*) was completed. It was also supposed

to accommodate the much smaller Roman Catholic community. The local parish priest was strongly opposed to sharing, fearing that, in the long term, this might lead to preferential treatment of the 'dominant religion' (i.e. the Roman Catholic faith), forcing the Greek-rite faithful out of their own church. To prevent this, he asked the Hierarch 'to order the image carver approved by the County's government to be banned from performing work in any other churches for a short while and to have him summoned to Vyshkovo as soon as possible because the vault of the church will be finished shortly, and I should mourn until my coffin is closed, with my heart broken in grief, and beyond the grave I could expect the curse of the Greek Catholic faithful of Vyshkovo if, in the shared church of Vyshkovo, Aloysius<sup>140</sup> were to be seen instead of a Greek iconostasis' (translated from the Hungarian original).<sup>141</sup> His wish was fulfilled only a decade and a half later, when Mihály Krajnyák completed the carving of the iconostasis in 1874. Vidra did not live to paint the images. The assignment was given to János Zahorai (1835–1909), a drawing teacher at the Grammar School of Mukachevo, who worked in a style evocative of Vidra's – especially in the case of the sovereign-tier images – though in a much fresher, more modern academic manner.<sup>142</sup> Zahorai was no stranger to the diocesan authorities as, in 1877, he was commissioned to paint portraits of several Bishops of Mukachevo.<sup>143</sup>

Among the officially appointed eparchial painters of the Greek Catholic Bishopric of Mukachevo, Ferdinánd Vidra, a Roman Catholic, had also painted altars before fully committing himself to the Greek Catholics. It is noteworthy that, during

<sup>133</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 12, no. 112, fol. 19, 21, 29, 31, 52; DAZO fond 151, opis 12, no. 585, fol. 2; DAZO fond 151, opis 12, no. 1080, fol. 62; DAZO fond 151, opis 12, no. 1076, fol. 50, 61. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 468–474. The painting contract of 1886: TERDIK 2011a, 77, 133–134.

<sup>134</sup> TERDIK 2011a, 74; TERDIK 2020f, 299–304, Pictures 63–69.

<sup>135</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 10, no. 2536, fol. 43.

<sup>136</sup> The photograph of the iconostasis: MAROSI 2014, 74; TERDIK 2020f, 296–298, Pictures 58–61.

<sup>137</sup> The sign of the painter, who repainted the murals: Glagola J. (?), 1981.

<sup>138</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 15, no. 1532, fol. 27–28; DAZO fond 151, opis 15, no. 1533, fol. 3, 12.

<sup>139</sup> Archives of the Eparchy of Nyíregyháza (NYEL), II–18–a (Box 1). I wrote about the iconostasis, although I did not know its painter at the time: TERDIK 2011a, 76. He worked in Szatmár and Máramaros, he lived from 1847 in Satu Mare (*Szatmárnémeti*), died in 1881: LYKA 1981, 239.

<sup>140</sup> He is thinking of Saint Aloysius Gonzaga (1568–1591).

<sup>141</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 10, no. 2097, fol. 83; DAZO fond 151, opis 10, no. 2310, fol. 54. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 474–477.

<sup>142</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 14, no. 105, fol. 27–29. About Zahorai see: *Művészeti lexikon* 2, Budapest 1935, 625.

<sup>143</sup> PUSKÁS 2009, 106.



his service in the Eparchy of Mukachevo, there is no record of him receiving painting commissions from the Latin Church.

From 1876, Vidra's eyesight gradually deteriorated; he spent his last year blind, his legs were also affected by illness, and he could no longer walk. He died in Bilki in November 1879; he was buried in the church's graveyard there. He left behind many debts, for he was poor. His funeral service was performed according to the Greek Rite because the Latin parish priest did not receive the letter in time, as the local Greek Catholic parish priest Bazil Talapkovics reports.<sup>144</sup> In 1906, his son, Bertalan Talapkovics, parish priest of Velyki Lazy (*Nagyláz*), who served as chaplain by his father in Bilki at the time of Vidra's death, also composed a small commemorative document on the painter's life.<sup>145</sup> His last lines highlight the fact that Ferdinánd Vidra embraced and practised the Nazarene ideals not only in his painting, which during his activities in the Eparchy was limited to pictures on religious subjects and church murals, but also in his whole way of life: 'He was an outstanding philanthropist, excessively modest and extremely undemanding. For his funeral, he forbade all external parading' (translated from the Hungarian original).

Before Vidra's death – in response to the news of his ill health, even Ferenc Heverdle, a drawing teacher from Uzhhorod, approached the Bishop with the request to appoint him as eparchial painter.<sup>146</sup> Vidra probably only considered resigning from his post but, eventually, he did not do so. Thus, it was only after his death that the idea of appointing someone else arose. A student of Vidra and Heverdle was the young Ignác Roskovics, who came from a clerical

family and was in Uzhhorod after his studies in Budapest. (See his brief biography at the end of this chapter.) In a letter dated 7 January 1880, he informed the Bishop that he had heard of his possible appointment. He would be honoured if this was the case, but he also indicates that he is about to go on a study trip abroad and that the Ministry of Religion and Education has appointed him to the institute aimed at laying the groundwork for domestic glass painting.<sup>147</sup> For now, it is unknown exactly when his appointment document was signed. In July 1880, he was asked to referee the new iconostasis of the Greek Catholic church of Úbrež (*Ubrezs*). He was very critical of the ensemble made in the workshop of the Galician Bogdanski dynasty of painters. At the end of his assessment, he also points out to the diocesan authorities that, when he was appointed eparchial painter, he was not made aware of the eparchial regulations on church decoration, which he urges them to rectify. He also indicates that he receives no remuneration from the Eparchy for his work and, therefore, in connection with subsequent criticisms, he states that 'apart from reimbursement of my expenses' – which probably refers to travel and accommodation – 'I shall demand additional remuneration, for – to use the words of Scripture – the labourer is worthy of his hire'. (Cf.: Luke 10:7)<sup>148</sup>

Roskovics had painted a picture of St Cyril and Methodius in 1876, which might be seen as a kind of introductory specimen for the Eparchy.<sup>149</sup> At the end of the decade, he was given commissions of varying magnitude in several churches: He painted two sovereign-tier images for the iconostasis of the Greek Catholic church of Uzhhorod-Tsehol'nyans'ka (*Ungvár-Cebolnya*) (1878)<sup>150</sup> and

<sup>144</sup> Dated on 26 November 1879, Bilki. DAZO fond 151, opis 16, no. 1513.

<sup>145</sup> SZM – KEMKI ADK, 1563/1920. Published in: TERDIK 2020f, 477–478.

<sup>146</sup> His letter dated on 10.06.1876, Uzhhorod. DAZO fond 151, opis 16, no. 239, fol. 51–52. Published in: TERDIK 2022a, 180.

<sup>147</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 16, no. 2011, fol. 13. Published in: TERDIK 2022a, 183–184.

<sup>148</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 16, no. 2002, fol. 37–38. Published in: TERDIK 2022a, 184–185. In August 1879, the dean indicated that the painters brought by the carver were 'Poles' (he does not know their names) who had already worked in the Eparchy of Prešov. They are waiting for the expert opinion of the people there about their work, but it also indicates that the painter Antal Mihályi and his colleagues would work cheaper: DAZO fond 151, opis 16, no. 1515, fol. 66. Published in: TERDIK 2022a, 30, 182–183, Picture 26. Finally, Pawol Bogdanski painted here: МАКАРІЙ 2021b, 22.

<sup>149</sup> About the painting: TERDIK 2022a, 20–23, Picture 14.

<sup>150</sup> МАКАРІЙ 2021a, 37–41.

four for Tiszabüd (now Tiszavasvári),<sup>151</sup> as well as a complete iconostasis for Krasna (*Krasznisora/Tarackraszna*) (1879), jointly with Péter Kovaliczky, a master carver from Uzhhorod (1879).<sup>152</sup>

From the autumn of 1880, Roskovics began to accept commissions in more and more distant places: He painted the murals of the Cathedral of Prešov but stopped working in December of the following year.<sup>153</sup> At this time, he was granted a scholarship to Munich and then to Rome,<sup>154</sup> and when he returned to Uzhhorod in 1884, he was only able to hold a post as a teacher of drawing at the grammar school for a year. Instead, he moved back to Budapest, where he soon became nationally renowned for his portraits, genre paintings, murals and altarpieces in Roman Catholic churches.<sup>155</sup> Despite his absence, the Greek Catholic press also sought to report on his various successes.<sup>156</sup> Living far away from the Eparchy of Mukachevo, he retained his eparchial painter title. Although, according to sporadic archival records, his name seems to have surfaced occasionally in connection with certain commissions (for example, the Vyshkovo iconostasis or the painting of the seminary chapel in Uzhhorod),<sup>157</sup> he would not undertake any major assignments.

At the peak of his artistic career, after a serious eye disease, Roskovics again undertook a major commission for the Greek Catholics: In 1905, he painted an image of Our Lady of Hungary, which became the altarpiece of the newly founded first Hungarian Greek Catholic church in Budapest, with the same title feast. Roskovics had produced a sketch of the composition for the cover of the volume presented to Pope Leo XIII on the occasion

of the pilgrimage of Hungarian Greek Catholics to Rome in 1900. Among Greek Catholic Hungarians, in whose various organisations the artist was active, Roskovics's work was an enormous success. The movement (also) considered it an 'iconic' work in the modern sense and distributed copies of it.<sup>158</sup> The new parish in Budapest was initially under the jurisdiction of the Archdiocese of Esztergom. The capital city gave it St Elisabeth's church at Rózsák tere, out of use at the time, which was soon to be converted according to the Byzantine Rite. Roskovics certainly played a part in the construction of an iconostasis in this space, with only a few icons, but of a monumental size. Three large paintings (the Teaching Christ, the Theotokos and the Last Supper) were painted by him in 1907, while the other smaller compositions were completed a few years later by Ferenc Lohr.<sup>159</sup>

From 1908, Roskovics designed illustrations for liturgical books prepared for new editions on behalf of the Bishops of Prešov and Mukachevo. He worked on this task for years, but it was not completed and the books were not published.<sup>160</sup>

Due to Roskovics's absence, minor masters were also given more space in the Eparchy. In July 1880, Péter Fenczik, a painter from Mukachevo, wished to receive at least the title of second painter, as has been discussed. His son, Gyula Kornél (1856–1899), made the same request to the diocesan authorities in March 1895. He notes that his activities have been met with general satisfaction for eighteen years but only mentions his paintings in the church of Carei (*Nagykároly*) (1887)<sup>161</sup> and of Mukachevo (1893). He refers to the fact that,

<sup>151</sup> The iconostasis was installed in 1869, carved by János Bódis: GKPL, IV-2-a. 113/1869; TERDIK 2022a, 25–26, Pictures 17–20. The other paintings are probably the work of Mikola Holovcsák, who was originally from Galicia but settled in Bereg. Father Makariy Medvid drew my attention to this.

<sup>152</sup> TERDIK 2022a, 26, Pictures 21–24.

<sup>153</sup> TERDIK 2022a, 27–34, 186–191, Pictures 27–56.

<sup>154</sup> TERDIK 2022a, 105.

<sup>155</sup> TERDIK 2022a, 105–140.

<sup>156</sup> *Kelet*, 1 (1888), 6. szám; ZSÁTKOVICS Kálmán, Roskovics Ignác műtermében, *Kelet*, 5 (1892), 25. szám, 2.

<sup>157</sup> TERDIK 2022a, 138–139, 216.

<sup>158</sup> TERDIK 2022a, 141–144.

<sup>159</sup> TERDIK 2022a, 144–148, 210–214.

<sup>160</sup> TERDIK 2022a, 148–150, 217–223.

<sup>161</sup> TERDIK 2014c, 72, 82.

while in the case of sculptors, Péter Kovaliczky<sup>162</sup> was given the title ‘first eparchial sculptor’ and Antal Novakovszki, a Roman Catholic master from Vynohradiv (*Nagyszőlös*), was made ‘second sculptor’, the Bishop might as well appoint him ‘second painter’ alongside Ignác Roskovics as first painter. The draft of Bishop Gyula Firczák’s reply shows that he does not consider it appropriate to appoint him as a second painter alongside Roskovics, but that he would support his work being brought to the attention of the clergy. He also asks that, if Fenczik is commissioned to paint an iconostasis, he should present a few pictures to the eparchial authorities beforehand.<sup>163</sup> This condition suggests that not everyone at the episcopal centre was convinced of the quality of Fenczik’s works.

Not much is known about Kornél Fenczik’s education; he took over his father’s workshop in Mukachevo.<sup>164</sup> His murals in Mukachevo were regarded as some of his most successful works, and photographs of some of his compositions were even published in the journal *Listok*<sup>165</sup> and other publications. Several of his iconostases were known previously as well,<sup>166</sup> but some specimens have come to be associated with him only in recent years.<sup>167</sup> In the eclectic iconostasis of Nyírbélték, the sovereign-tier image of Saint Nicholas displays his signature (K. Fenczik) – with no date though – in the lower right corner.<sup>168</sup> In Nagykálló, a contract was signed with Gusztáv Vurczer, a ‘sculptor and gilder’ from Carei, as a contractor sculptor, in January 1890. The ten-point contract describes

in detail the ensemble to be created, referring to its design, which unfortunately has not survived. Subsequently, the subjects of the pictures are specified, but, as to the painter, it is only noted that he is Kornél Fenczik, ‘a painter of good reputation’.<sup>169</sup> The iconostasis has been removed from the church, and the surviving pictures do not bear Fenczik’s signature. On the whole, it is reasonable to suggest that Fenczik’s works mostly reflect the influence of the religious themes of the Nazarene painters.

Gusztáv Vurczer worked for the Greek Catholics elsewhere, too. In 1894, he signed a contract with the Nyírgyulaj community for making a new iconostasis, painting the walls of the church, as well as renovating and gilding the old altar and pulpit. In all its features, the iconostasis was to follow the old one, which the master would need to dismantle and remove.<sup>170</sup> The sculptor would also supply the images for the new ensemble, but it is not specified from whom or where, only that they will be painted on metal plates. Judging by the style of the paintings of the iconostasis in Nyírgyulaj, which exists to this day, it seems that Vurczer did not employ a separate painter any more but bought the paintings from the so-called ‘arts-and-crafts companies’.<sup>171</sup>

During these years, Ferenc Gosztincsár and János Nep. Nagy worked in two parishes in Szabolcs County. Gosztincsár was from Makó, the son of the local cantor. He repainted the damaged paintings of the baroque iconostasis of their own church in 1887.<sup>172</sup> It is not yet known how he came to the attention of the Eparchy of Mukachevo, but he also

<sup>162</sup> Kovaliczky was born in 1840 at Šarišský Štiavnik (*Sósfüred*), settled in Uzhhorod. He was the official sculptor of the Eparchy from 1876, he died in 1907. Cf. МАКАРИЙ 2021a, 38–40. In the territory of today’s Hungary he worked at Felsővadász (1885, main altar and iconostasis; TERDIK 2011a, 78) and Abaújszolnok (1896, altar; TERDIK 2020a, 217, 12 footnote.), and at Nyíregyháza (1897, altar; NYIRÁN–MAJCHRICSNÉ UJTELEKI 2017b, 15, 92).

<sup>163</sup> DAZO fond 151, opis 17, no. 101, fol. 16–18. Published in: TERDIK 2022a, 198–199.

<sup>164</sup> N.N., Fenczik Kornél Gyula (1856–1899), *Görög Katolikus Naptár 1900-iki évre*, Ungvár 1899, 54–55.

<sup>165</sup> For example: Saint Cyril and Methodius, *Ацмока*, 7 (1891), 270; Resurrection, *Ацмока*, 9 (1893), 186.

<sup>166</sup> PUSKÁS 2008, 265.

<sup>167</sup> He also worked in Ópályi. TERDIK 2014g, 217.

<sup>168</sup> TERDIK 2011a, 83.

<sup>169</sup> NYEL II–11–a. (Box 4)

<sup>170</sup> The contract was signed on June 20, 1894 in Gyulaj. NYEL II–13–a (2. doboz); Bevétel és kiadási napló 1853–1898, NYEL II–13–a. 11. doboz, 2. kötet. For the contract, see: TERDIK 2011a, 134–135. The plan of the iconostasis: TERDIK 2011a, 195, Picture 122.

<sup>171</sup> I suspect that it may have done the same thing probably by Vurczer in the Greek Catholic church of Ciumești (*Csomaköz*), built at the end of the 18th century, whose iconostasis may have been made around 1910, and shows rococo and eclectic forms. For a photograph of the iconostasis, see: SZÓCS 2010b, 34.

<sup>172</sup> TÓTH 1997, 4; PUSKÁS–TÓTH 2004, 14–19; PUSKÁS 2008, 265.

painted the iconostases of the churches of Oros<sup>173</sup> and Napkor. The latter work was accepted by a three-member committee on 30 April 1896. The minutes of the inspection reveal that Gosztincsár, ‘currently a resident of Makó’, had also decorated the church with murals.<sup>174</sup> His paintings were painted on canvas, and the carved structure was also made based on his designs at the workshop of ‘János Nep. Nagy, a sculptor and gilder, now a resident of Satu Mare’.<sup>175</sup> Unfortunately, no archival sources are known about the iconostasis in Oros, but the similarity of its style to the one in Napkor seems to suggest that the same pair of artists worked on this assignment, too. János Nepomuk Nagy was from Kunszentmárton, opened a workshop in Satu Mare at the end of the 19th century and then moved to Timișoara (*Temesvár*).<sup>176</sup>

Nothing may be established about the training of János Spisák, a native of Abaújszántó, who is known for his elaborate woodwork, based on baroque forms, as well as for his less sophisticated paintings. When he married in 1865, he was listed in the register as an ‘*opifex*’, i.e. carpenter.<sup>177</sup> He made the former pulpit of the Greek Catholic church in Tolcsva in 1879, according to the inscription on the back wall under the canvas painting of Saint Michael.<sup>178</sup> A few years later, he would work on the furnishings of the Greek Catholic church of Tokaj: In 1885, he made a new iconostasis, pulpit and pews, and completely renewed the high altar and the Table of Oblation. His work was damaged by the great flood of 1888, so the following year

he started to repair his works. However, death prevented him from completing the additional sections on the pulpit vase. This work was left to his assistant and nephew, József Spisák.<sup>179</sup> The name of János Spisák may also be detected in the signature ‘Spisák J.’ on the neo-baroque illusionistic painting dating from 1887, which once covered the walls of the church of St Nicholas in Ulič (*Utcás*).<sup>180</sup> The altar and the iconostasis here may also date from this period, the latter being his work on the basis of the style of the carvings, as the Royal Doors are almost identical to those in Tokaj and their structures exhibit many similarities. The murals of the Greek Catholic church of Shyshlivtsi (*Sislóc*) near Uzhhorod, which he worked on in 1888, have recently been discovered.<sup>181</sup> As he died soon after, this may have been one of his last completed works.

After 1890, Imre and Gyula Spisák received several important commissions. Based on their biographical data in the registers, it is clear that they were the children of János Spisák. Imre was born in Abaújszántó on 5 October 1866; his father was the sculptor János Spisák.<sup>182</sup> Gyula was born in Dobrá nad Ondavou (*Nagydobra*) on 12 April 1869,<sup>183</sup> which suggests that the family had moved in the meantime or had temporarily settled in the area according to the father’s commissions. Imre attended the Hungarian Royal National School of Arts and Crafts in Budapest between 1888 and 1890, and Gyula between 1889 and 1891, the former studying sculpture and the latter painting.<sup>184</sup> Imre may have been more talented and he received

<sup>173</sup> PUSKÁS 2008, 265.

<sup>174</sup> *Kelet*, 7 (1896), 7. szám, 3.

<sup>175</sup> NYEL II–23–a. 1. doboz

<sup>176</sup> On his works of Kunszentmárton and Mesterszállás, see: JÓZSA 1991, 99; BARNA 1995, 140. After Satu Mare, he lived at Timișoara: *Alkotmány*, 6 (1901), 208. szám, 13. On the local carvers: SZEKERNYÉS 1995, 20.

<sup>177</sup> See: <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-CSV4-B9Y2-1?i=260&cat=33388> (accessed: 12/01/2023).

<sup>178</sup> The pulpit was demolished around 2010, only the painting and its framework were preserved.

<sup>179</sup> About the furniture: MEL V–34–b. Spisák died on 28 March 1889, he was 47 years old, lived in Tokaj: <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-CSV4-TS3W-K?i=463&cat=421027> (accessed: 01/08/2023).

<sup>180</sup> GÜNTHEROVÁ 1968, 350–351; TERDIK 2011a, 190, Picture 107.

<sup>181</sup> The church was consecrated in 1872, but it was profanised between 1949 and 1991. Cf. MAROSI 2014, 56–57. During the conservation of the murals in 2021, his signature was found on one of the vault paintings: Spisák János 1888. The titles of the saints are always in Hungarian.

<sup>182</sup> He was baptized on October 7, 1866 in the Roman Catholic church in Abaújszántó, but his father was a Greek Catholic, so he was registered at the local parish. His father’s occupation is given as ‘sculptor’.

<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-CSSB-NBPX?i=191&cat=409889> (accessed: 12/01/2023).

<sup>183</sup> He was registered at Kvakovce (*Nagykőpatak*):

<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:S3HT-D5B3-KXR?cc=1554443> (accessed: 01/02/2023).

<sup>184</sup> HELBING 1930, 88.

several tuition fee waivers and ministerial grants. One of his benefit applications has survived.<sup>185</sup> Their education was financed from loans from November 1889 to December 1890 by the Basilian monk Árkád Pásztor (1844–1917), who was also Hegumen of the Religious House of Maliy Bereznii (*Kisberezna*) at the time (1885–1890). This was probably necessary because their father had died in 1889. They promised Pásztor that they would repay the loan through their work. However, their patron cannot have been satisfied with this because, in 1909, he sued them, winning the lawsuit.<sup>186</sup>

In 1892, as an ‘ecclesiastical sculptor’, Imre Spisák was awarded part of the art grant (350 forints per year over a period three years), founded by Lajos Haynald, Archbishop of Kalocsa, and later administered by his successor, György Császka.<sup>187</sup> It is not known how he made use of this opportunity. He worked not only as a sculptor but also as an illustrator<sup>188</sup> and a painter. In 1904, they both Magyarised their names by changing it to ‘Szepesi’.<sup>189</sup> In August 1905, Imre Szepesi, an ‘academic and ecclesiastical sculptor’, requested Gyula Firczák, Bishop of Mukachevo, to loan the painting of Saint Nicholas in his possession, which he had painted, for the exhibition to be held in the Museum of Applied Arts in October to mark the 25th anniversary of the foundation of the School of Applied Arts.<sup>190</sup>

Imre Spisák’s grant lasted until 1895, and their first known iconostasis was erected in Felsőzsolca in 1894.<sup>191</sup> Afterwards, there would be a major Greek Catholic commission almost every year. The Basilian Árkád Pásztor was also certainly keen to

recommend them to his Religious Order: In 1896, they were commissioned by Basilian Prior Szilveszter Lupis to conduct a complete renovation of the interior of the pilgrimage church of Máriapócs.<sup>192</sup> All the paintings in the iconostasis were replaced or repainted: The images in the Apostle Tier were mostly based on Nazarene models; the Feast Tier is the least successful part, yet the depiction of the Annunciation does stand out, though only because it was copied from Roskovic’s altarpiece in Máriaradna.<sup>193</sup> Some of the baroque pictures on the side altars were copied and replaced, and the walls were also repainted.<sup>194</sup> The work was not finished until 1 November 1897, but the clients were pleased with the result as Lupis enthusiastically recommended them to the clergy.<sup>195</sup> Presumably, they were also given the task of renovating the churches of other Basilian monasteries at this time. In 1890, Pásztor was made Prior of the Monastery of Bixad (*Bikszád*), Szatmár County. During the restoration of the monastery and the church, which burnt down in 1898, he had a new iconostasis made by Imre Spisák. However, there were efforts meanwhile to remove Pásztor from the Order, so the iconostasis failed to be installed.<sup>196</sup> Nevertheless, photographs of the interior of the church taken in the 1930s show that this iconostasis was in fact incorporated into the church later.<sup>197</sup>

The Spisák brothers made a complete iconostasis in Choňkovec (*Alsóhunkóc*), Ung County (1899), replacing the earlier baroque ensemble. The two new central images in the Sovereign Tier were based on baroque prototypes, while the former 1781

<sup>185</sup> Dated on 05.02.1889. Az Iparművészeti Iskola töredékes iratai. Documentation Department of the Museum of Applied Arts.

<sup>186</sup> BFL VII.2.c. I. 1219/1909. The copy of the documents is available in the GKPL, too.

<sup>187</sup> Cf. *Pesti Hírlap*, 14 (1892), 85. szám, 4; *Budapesti Hírlap*, 12 (1892), 114. szám, 3.

<sup>188</sup> Cf. *Corvina*, 32 (1909), 33. szám, 235.

<sup>189</sup> *Budapesti Közlöny*, 38 (1904), 65. szám, 2; *Pesti Hírlap*, 26 (1904), 80. szám, 38.

<sup>190</sup> The picture was sent to the capital. DAZO fond 151, opis 2, no. 1698, fol. 161–168.

<sup>191</sup> PUSKÁS 2008, 265.

<sup>192</sup> The contract: TERDIK 2011a, 135–137.

<sup>193</sup> The altarpiece: TERDIK 2022a, 113–115, 156. kép

<sup>194</sup> On the Pócs renovation: TERDIK 2014a, 70–72.

<sup>195</sup> Köszönetnyilvánítás, *Kárpáti Lapok*, 4 (1898), 7. szám

<sup>196</sup> Cf. HONCA 2020, 291. DAZO fond 64, no 457, fol. 151r. The old iconostasis of the church may have been made around 1807. Cf. TERDIK 2008a, 327. Presumably, details of this can be seen in the photo taken by photographer György Klósz from Budapest, in which Árkád Pásztor and a small group are standing in front of the iconostasis. Privately owned item.

<sup>197</sup> Photograph by Dénes Szabó, possibly taken between 1935 and 1940, on which the top three rows of the iconostasis are clearly visible, and based on the style of the images, it may be the work of the Spisák brothers: OSZK, Fényképtár, jelzete: hu\_b1\_fua\_00038. The church’s furnishings were destroyed after 1949.

altarpiece of the Protection of the Virgin Mary was copied, and the original was sold.<sup>198</sup> In 1901, they worked on the iconostasis of the church of Timár.<sup>199</sup> No information about their subsequent Greek Catholic commissions is available; perhaps, Pásztor's 1909 lawsuit against them was not helpful in this regard, either. Gyula Spisák's later works are not evidenced; he died in Budapest in 1920.<sup>200</sup> Imre lived and worked as a sculptor in Kispest; he died in 1938.<sup>201</sup>

István Hegedűs of Košice was a talented painter,<sup>202</sup> who, in 1895, would paint the four sovereign-tier images of the iconostasis of the Greek Catholic church of Zemplén (*Zemplén*) already in the United States.<sup>203</sup> It is conceivable that the parishioners emigrating from the village found their compatriot, who also lived abroad, and commissioned the assignment from him there. The style of the paintings draws on a Byzantine version of the Nazarene tradition, but the images also reflect the artist's unique vision.

In the early decades of the 20th century, Béla Mihályi was an 'ecclesiastical painter' in Uzhhorod. He also undertook all kinds of assignments relevant to interior painting in churches. It cannot be known whether he was related to the other painters by the same surname appearing in the 19th century and discussed in previous chapters. Nor is it apparent what training he received. His known works suggest that he had proper drawing skills but did not strive

to achieve artistic output on his own, preferring to be content with copying the works of baroque and Nazarene artists. He copied two badly worn sovereign-tier images by Roskovics in the parochial church of the Tsehol'nyans'ka District of Uzhhorod. Data on his activities date from 1898 to 1934.<sup>204</sup>

After 1870, industrial-scale manufacturers of religious items would play an increasingly greater role in the production of church furnishings and especially paintings. In Hungary's Greek Catholic churches, the first iconostases of this type appeared in the Eparchy of Prešov. In Sajópetri, according to the minutes of a church visitation in 1877, the canvas paintings for the new iconostasis were purchased from Munich via 'Michael Dymet', a Lviv-based religious items dealer, while the carved structure was made in Hungary, painted and gilded by Károly Müller of Debrecen.<sup>205</sup> In 1885, the iconostasis of the church of Felsővadász was completed. According to the Church Slavonic inscription on the back of the depiction of the Last Supper, it was carved by Péter Kovaliczky, and the paintings were by Franz Bergmann of Jablonec nad Nisou (*Gablonz*). The former had been the official sculptor of the Eparchy of Mukachevo for nearly a decade, while Bergmann was little known. His images were produced on metal plates and appear to be printed oil paintings rather than painted ones. Also in 1886, Kovaliczky carved the new iconostasis of the church of Trebišov (*Töketerebes*), Zemplén

<sup>198</sup> I wrote about this in more detail in Chapter 1. Picture of the current iconostasis: TERDIK 2011a, 191, Picture 109.

<sup>199</sup> NYEL II-17-a. 1. doboz, 2. kötet. The iconostasis is considered a baroque work of the same age as the church: ENTZ 1987, 330–331, 407. kép. About its restoration: MÉM MDK Tervtár ÁMRK 349. It is already referred to Spisák's exchange of pictures: PUSKÁS 2008, 266. Perhaps they, or even János Spisák, made the iconostasis of the church in Balsa, but it is not known when. The two main icons of the iconostasis already follows Roskovics' 1907 paintings of Budapest, Rózsák tere Church. The paintings are the works of Béla Mihályi. Cf. МАКАРИЙ 2021a, 44.

<sup>200</sup> Gyula Szepesi died on 28 February 1920.

<sup>201</sup> He died on 18 February 1938. Cf. MACSE Állami anyakönyvek-Elhalálozások adatbázis.1938. Budapest.

<sup>202</sup> Hegedűs was born in Košice around 1850, then worked in Pest and Munich, and in 1882 he also got a job in Vienna. He lived in Košice, painted altarpieces and hinged pictures, 'he emigrated to America around 1900.' Cf. *Művészeti Lexikon* 1, Budapest 1935, 448.

<sup>203</sup> In the lower right corner of the two central icons can be read: 'Hegedűs István / Trenton N. J. 895.' In the Saint Nicholas picture, most of the text is covered by the frame, in the Ascension it is not visible. According to the inscription on the back, the iconostasis acquired its current form in 1936-37, the work of János Paulisinecz. The prototype comes from the company Rétay és Benedek, cf. *Ikonosztázion. Műintézetünk tervezete, Egyházi Műipar*, 6 (1905), 3. szám, 8.

<sup>204</sup> About the iconostasis: МАКАРИЙ 2021a, 37, 134–140. He collected data on his works: *ibid.* 43–45. In 1909, Mihályi also painted the church in Szerencs, partially repainting the pictures of the old iconostasis. Cf. *Görög-Katolikus Szemle*, 10 (1909), 350; DAZO fond 151. opis 3. no. 1221, fol. 88r. About the iconostasis of Szerencs: TERDIK 2011a, 63. In 1910, he also painted the church in Nyírlugos: *Templommegáldás Nyírlugoson, Görög-Katolikus Szemle*, 2 (1911), 2. szám, 5. After that, he moved to Ungvár, where he regularly published a price list of his currently available products. A copy: DAZO fond 151. opis 7. no. 1968. I thank Father Makariy Mevid for its photo.

<sup>205</sup> AGKA Inv. č. 480. Rok 1877. Sigm. 47, p. 16. 'Mihály Dömet' advertised himself for a long time in the Greek Catholic press, for example *Kelet*, 2 (1889), 5. szám.

County, and Bergmann decorated it with his paintings.<sup>206</sup> The pictures of these three iconostases clearly indicate the types that – even to the modern observer – appear icon-like yet modelled on the principles of academic and late Nazarene painting, and which were to form the basis of the picture stock of Hungarian arts-and-crafts companies all the way to the 1930s.

According to a letter from 1894 addressed to the Bishop of Mukachevo, Bergmann had delivered assignments for the Eparchy since 1876.<sup>207</sup> He was a representative of the ‘industrialised’ painting tradition that became characteristic of the Sudetenland, a region inhabited by Germans in northern Bohemia, from the mid-19th century. At the end of the 18th century, with the moral and financial support of Joseph II and the local landlord, the painter Johann Schöffel (c. 1750 – 1830) founded a factory for the production of lacquer boxes in his native Reichenau bei Gablonz (now Rychnov u Jablonce nad Nisou), near Gablonz an der Neisse (now Jablonec nad Nisou). Small cylindrical or slit-shaped lacquer boxes made of papier-mâché, popular at the time, were decorated with miniature pictures of profane and religious themes on the top. In 1864, between 280 and 300 people worked in the lacquer box trade in Reichenau, including 50 to 60 painters.<sup>208</sup> By the end of the 19th century, the production of lacquer boxes had ceased, but the painters continued to work as family-run manufactories, supplying the whole of Central and Eastern Europe with a steady

supply of religious paintings of a consistent quality, inspired mainly by the work of the late Nazarene painters.<sup>209</sup> Their customers were to a large extent the Orthodox and Greek Catholic communities of the Hapsburg and Russian Empires, who usually received their goods via dealers in Vienna and Budapest.<sup>210</sup> Of the entrepreneurs who produced and sold paintings in Gablonz and Reichenau, direct data from the Eparchy of Mukachevo are mostly available on the aforementioned Franz Bergmann.<sup>211</sup> Serbian Orthodox communities in Hungary were often associated with the business of the Hofrichter family of Reichenau.<sup>212</sup>

In Hungary, perhaps the very first company producing and distributing religious items was the one founded by Alajos Oberbauer (1838–1883) in Pest in 1863.<sup>213</sup> In the 1876 Schematismus of the Eparchy of Mukachevo, Alajos Oberbauer is listed as custodian of the church items.<sup>214</sup> In the 20th century, they also undertook the making of iconostases, but not at this time. From the 1870s, many Hungarian Catholic communities purchased their wooden furnishings from Tyrolean masters, who until World War I played an important role in supplying equipment for Catholic churches in the countries of the Hapsburg Empire.<sup>215</sup> They were often seen as competitors by the domestic altar-construction companies that emerged at the end of the 19th century and sought to supplant their specimens.

In 1894, the merchants Béla Rétaý (1863–1908) and Lajos Benedek (1875–1918) bought a cassock

<sup>206</sup> The iconostasis was carved and gilded by Péter Kovaliczky, and the decorative painting was done by master József Király from Košice. See: –k –s., A tőke-terebesi gör. kath. egyház és templom, in *Görög katolikus naptár az 1901-iki évre*, Ungvár [1900], 80–87: 85–87. The iconostasis was moved to Nižný Komárnik (*Alsókomárnok*) in 1949. МАКАРІЙ 2021a, 39.

<sup>207</sup> МАКАРІЙ 2021a, 36, 40–41.

<sup>208</sup> About the history of the ‘painting industry’ in Reichenau: Die Dosenfabrikationen in Reichenau, *Die Reform*, 4 (1865), 1244–1247; BENDA 1877, 240–305. The history of the company, with Schöffel’s biography: PEUKERT 1990, 24–98. On the history of European lacquer box production: HOLZHAUSEN 1959. This factory is mentioned here among the late enterprises: Ibid. 238–239. See also about the 18<sup>th</sup> – 19<sup>th</sup> century lacquer boxes: RICHTER 1988.

<sup>209</sup> In one of the workshops in Reichenau, there was a large cabinet where the engraving and photographic prototypes were kept, mainly of the religious-themed pictures of Nazarene painters. PEUKERT 1990, 110.

<sup>210</sup> PEUKERT 1990, 118–128.

<sup>211</sup> From 1881, he already delivered pictures for iconostases in the Mukachevo Eparchy: МАКАРІЙ 2021a, 36, 40.

<sup>212</sup> NAGY 1994, 118–119, 124.

<sup>213</sup> After Oberbauer’s death, in 1889, József Kronberg (1865–1927) and his wife, from Košice, bought the business from the widow, and later their children carried it on under the name ‘Oberbauer Successor’. („Oberbauer Utóda”). TERDIK 2022c, 177.

<sup>214</sup> *Schematismus* 1876, 93. It no longer appears in the 1881 edition.

<sup>215</sup> It describes and summarizes their work well: RAMPOLD 2007, 502–504, 514–518, Kat. 244–249.

making workshop, which became the basis of their religious items manufacturing business.<sup>216</sup> Three years later, they invited Albin Hölzel, a sculptor who had graduated from the Arts Academy of Vienna, to become foreman, and he soon became a member of the company.<sup>217</sup> His father, Mór Hölzel, had founded a carving school in Bardejov (*Bártfa*) a few decades earlier.<sup>218</sup> In 1900, they launched their own periodical, *Egyházi Műipar* [Ecclesiastical arts and crafts], which, in addition to art history articles, also included a significant number of their plans and designs, including iconostases in various versions, from Gothic to Neo-Baroque, and letters from readers praising the finished works, with no secret advertising purpose. In the first issue, they advertise themselves as the ‘court suppliers’ of György Császka, Archbishop of Kalocsa, and Viktor Mihályi, Greek Catholic Archbishop of Alba Iulia-Făgăraș (*Gyulafehérvár-Fogaras*).<sup>219</sup> After the fire in Bardejov, which destroyed the school (1902), Hölzel left the company and returned home to help his father. Following his father’s death soon afterwards, he continued operating the business with his brother Lajos – also an academy-graduate painter – under the name ‘Mór Hölzel’s Sons.’<sup>220</sup> They also received commissions from the Greek Catholics, and after his separation from Rétay and Benedek, he even recommended their workshop in Bardejov to the Bishop of Mukachevo.<sup>221</sup>

Within two decades (1899–1920), the Company Rétay & Benedek produced the largest number of iconostases – over a hundred – in the Carpathian Basin.<sup>222</sup> Even for ensembles in a simpler, neo-Romanesque, eclectic style, offered in various price ranges, the designs of Mór Hölzel probably continued to be used after the master’s departure as well. However, they also worked on the basis of designs by other, more renowned architects, such as for the seminary chapel in Uzhhorod (1906) and the church of Debrecen (1910), the furnishings of which – altars in both cases – were designed by János Bobula Jnr. They also produced iconostases for Hungary’s Serbian communities on the basis of Mihály Harmincz’s designs.<sup>223</sup> It is likely that they also purchased paintings for iconostases and altars from Bohemian arts-and-crafts companies. However, the inscriptions on the paintings, whether biblical quotations or donation inscriptions, were made by them – in Church Slavonic, Hungarian or Romanian, according to the clients’ requirements.<sup>224</sup> Many of their works are still to be found in Hungarian Greek Catholic churches, for example, in Sárospatak (1905),<sup>225</sup> as well as in its affiliated parish in Vajdác (1912),<sup>226</sup> or in Jánk.<sup>227</sup> They would always ensure to find favourable solutions for communities of limited financial means: In Peleş (*Nagypeleske*), the new iconostasis was completed in 1907 by utilising the better-preserved parts of the earlier carved furnishings among the ornaments

<sup>216</sup> TERDIK 2008b, 325–360.

<sup>217</sup> ‘Rétay, Benedek és Hölzel’ started operating on March 1, 1899. *Központi Értesítő*, 24 (1899), 38. szám, 599.

<sup>218</sup> DIVALD 1897; DIVALD 1898; VAS 1901, 15–26; Hölzel Mór, *Budapesti Hirlap*, 23 (1903), 205. szám, 10; Hölzel Mór, *Magyar Nemzet*, 22 (1903), 179. szám, 9; GYÖNGYÖSSY László, Hölzel Mór, *Ország-Világ*, 24 (1903), 41. szám, 813; DIETZ 1930, 21–24; SISA 2005, 92, 98.

<sup>219</sup> *Egyházi Műipar*, 1 (1900), 1. szám, 16.

<sup>220</sup> A bártfai kép- és műfaragó intézet bomlása, *Pesti Hirlap*, 24 (1902), 181. szám, 6; Hölzel Mór, *Pesti Hirlap*, 25 (1903), 204. szám, 7. See their ad for example: *Alkotmány*, 9 (1904), 38. szám, 12.

<sup>221</sup> They made the main altar of the Greek Catholic church in Bardejov in ‘Byzantine style’, as well as the altar and iconostasis of the churches in Humenné (Homonna) and Šumiac (Sumjác). (The plans for the Šumiac iconostasis, pulpit and altars, which were largely realized with donations from the Bulgarian King Ferdinand as a benefactor, were announced: *Egyházi Műipar*, 2 [1901], 3. szám, 9–10; *ibid.* 4. szám, 10–11). The company operated until 1914. Hölzel moved to Budapest, where he spent a lot of time in the Lipót Mező mental hospital due to his worsening psychiatric illness. Cf. D. E. [Dientz Emil], Egy elfeledett magyar faragó művész. Hölzel Albin művei, *Nemzeti Újság*, 12 (1930), 27. szám, 38. Hölzel also made a marble portrait at this time: PERENYEI 2013, 63, 16. footnote.

<sup>222</sup> I have in my possession a fragmentary catalog of their products published after 1913, in which their earlier works were summarized by county. One hundred and twenty iconostases are mentioned in this (cf. pp. 169–170).

<sup>223</sup> TERDIK 2022c, 177–183, 223–228.

<sup>224</sup> A Romanian inscription was made, for example at Istrău (*Esztró*). A brief history of the church: SZÖCS 2010a, 46–47.

<sup>225</sup> LOVRA 2021, 252–255.

<sup>226</sup> MEL V–30–c.

<sup>227</sup> *Görög Katholikus Hirlap*, 2 (1904), 2. szám, 7.



decorating the nave.<sup>228</sup> In some of the churches, only the altars were made by them. In 1904, they also made the new altar for the pilgrimage site of Klokočov (*Klokocsó*).<sup>229</sup>

Apart from the Company Rétay & Benedek, other altar builders were granted commissions as well. For the iconostasis of Végardó, a contract was signed with the contractor Adolf Rollny and the sculptor Dénes Ozoróczy from Sátoraljaújhely on 10 December 1899. The work was only completed in May 1903, and, finally, they were paid 1700 forints instead of the originally agreed 1500 forints. They also provided the paintings, which were probably purchased from arts-and-crafts companies.<sup>230</sup> The advertisements of János Blaskovits (Bátori) from the Southern Territories of historic Hungary are encountered in several newspapers from 1900. His workshop existed until

about 1912, after which it may have been taken over by one of his students. No iconostasis by Blaskovits has been evidenced so far.<sup>231</sup> For years, János Schmidt from Budapest also advertised for iconostasis construction assignments.<sup>232</sup> He made a neo-baroque iconostasis for the principal church of the Basilian Monastery of Chernecha Hora near Mukachevo in 1909, which exists to this day.<sup>233</sup> István Strizs, who lived in Isaszeg, made designs for iconostases, and the one for Nove Davydkovo (*Újdávidháza*) was even realised.<sup>234</sup> Sándor Szabó, an altar builder from Satu Mare, also produced several iconostases: for example, in Velyki Kom'yaty (*Magyarkomját*), Znyats'ovo (*Ignéc*) (1908) and Velyka Kopanya (*Felsőveresmart*) (1906). As a rule, he would also order the pictures from arts-and-crafts companies and would sell valuable old pieces.<sup>235</sup>

<sup>228</sup> TERDIK 2014e, 168–173.

<sup>229</sup> The letter from the local parish priest Gyula Király and the plan for the new altar: *Egyházi Műipar*, 5 (1904), 6. szám, 5. A few years ago, this structure was remodeled.

<sup>230</sup> TERDIK 2011a, 83. The iconostasis in Sajópálfala and Csobád is very similar to this one. The former was made in 1892, the latter in 1896, it must be the work of András Peregrini. Cf. *Görögkatolikus templomok* 2014, 41, 116–117.

<sup>231</sup> On his activities, see: LAZIC 2022, 16–24.

<sup>232</sup> In 1903, his company received an award: *Budapesti Hirlap*, 23 (1903), 137. szám, 8. His ad: *Görög Katolikus Hirlap*, 4 (1906), 40. szám, 7. In 1914, he writes that his company has been in existence for 35 years: *Alkotmány*, 19 (1914), 153. szám, 14.

<sup>233</sup> DAZO fond 64. opis 5, no. 386. fol. 5.

<sup>234</sup> He was contracted to work in 1914, but he worked on it even in 1917, during the war. DAZO fond 151. opis 4, no. 1259. fol. 20–22. It was written of his work, referring to his surviving iconostasis designs: BAKÓ–KOVÁCS 2019, 399–406.

<sup>235</sup> TERDIK 2006, 152. In 1913, the baroque iconostasis in Velky Kom'aty (*Magyarkomját*) became the property of the Museum of Applied Arts in Budapest with his help. Ibid. 151.

## György Révész (1821–1875)

Although some sources claim that he was born in Uzhhorod (*Ungvár*), the short commemorative article published in *Vasárnapi Ujság*, a Hungarian weekly paper of the time, the year when he died suggests that the talent of the child from a poor family was first discovered by his parish priest in Timár. This circumstance could indicate that he spent his childhood in this village by the River Tisza or, alternatively, he might even have been born there. At the parish priest's recommendation, Vazul Popovics, Bishop of Mukachevo (*Munkács*) (1837–1864), would act as the young boy's guardian. Apart from the Bishop, the brief obituary also mentions Zsigmond Bernáth (1790–1881), Member of the Hungarian Parliament and Lord Lieutenant of Ung County, as the painter's patrons. Thanks to their support, Révész was able to enrol at the Arts Academy of Vienna in 1843, at the age of 22. Once he returned home, he would self-confidently style himself 'academic painter'.

Not much is known of his studies in Vienna; he may have made a trip to Italy as well at that time, which is not recorded in the obituary cited above. It appears that Révész stayed in Vienna only for a year as, according to archival data – with the approval of the Bishop of Mukachevo – he was contracted to paint the iconostasis of Rakovo (*Rákó*), Ung County, as early as September 1844. In the next two years, his name emerges in connection with the painting of the iconostases of Rus'ki Komarivtsi (*Oroszkomoróc*) and Pasika (*Pászika*) as well.

After Vienna, Révész probably took up residence in Uzhhorod – at least, this may be surmised on the basis of archival sources. Presumably, he hoped that he would receive assignments from the Bishop and would over time be appointed to replace the ailing Mihály Mankovits as eparchial painter.

Of his works from the period, his pictures painted for the iconostasis of Streda nad Bodrogom (*Bodrogszerdahely*) have survived in their original location. The he began the assignment in the summer of 1846 and completed it in the

following year. In 1847, at the request of Bishop Vazul Popovics, he also worked in the Episcopal Chapel in Uzhhorod, situated in the north oratory of the Cathedral. He painted pictures to be fitted into the new furnishings and, subsequently, started painting the walls, too. Révész's pieces must have been replaced in the 1930s at the latest.

During those years, he is likely to have painted the iconostasis of the church of Nižný Hrabovec (*Alsóhrabóc*) as well, the pictures of which exhibit a large number of similarities in form with the panels in Streda nad Bodrogom. The icon screen of Nižný Hrabovec was transferred to the collection of the Museum of Michalovce (*Nagymihály*) in the second half of the 20th century.

Révész also took an active part in the Hungarian War of Independence of 1848–1849, though little is known of his engagement; he eluded retribution in Košice (*Kassa*) during the years of reckoning. It was probably due to his involvement in the political events of 1848 and 1849 that he could not obtain the title 'eparchial painter' after Mankovits's death. Later, he would have a regular presence at the exhibitions of the Art Society of Pest, while also receiving church orders.

In 1859, he gained permission from the Bishop of Mukachevo to paint the iconostasis in Bácsaranyos. In 1862, he painted a composition of the Holy Trinity for the high altar of the Greek Catholic church of Sátoraljaújhely, along with Noah's Sacrifice for the front plate of the altar table. At that time, he also painted the walls of the sanctuary, but the murals have perished by now. As the fourth sovereign-tier icon, he painted the Assumption of the Virgin Mary for the iconostasis.

Révész worked in Hajdúdorog as well: He painted a picture of the Last Supper for the high altar (1857). In 1868, he was commissioned to paint the composition 'Saint Stephen Destroys Idols' on the vault over the gallery in the same location; the painting would be whitewashed in the 1930s.

Révész lived and worked in Munich as well, presumably attending the Academy of Fine Arts there. In 1874, he presented two pictures to the Museum of Upper Hungary in Košice. At that time, he painted altarpieces for Roman Catholic churches, too: for four side altars in the Premonstratensian church of Oradea (*Nagyvárad*) and, subsequently, the altarpiece of the high altar in the church of Úbrež (*Ubrezs*), depicting the patron saint, King Saint Stephen of Hungary.

In his final years, he would also emerge in Sátoraljaújhely, where his younger brother, András Révész, lived with his family. According to his obituary, he died at 11 a.m. on 10 August 1875. From the parish register entry, the place of his death may be established as Balsa, as distinct from Sátoraljaújhely. ‘The cold remains of the deceased’ were laid to rest in the Greek Catholic cemetery of Sátoraljaújhely at 4 p.m. two days later.

## Ignác Roskovics (1854–1915)

Ignác Roskovics was born in Slavkovce (*Szalók*), Zemplén County, on 28 September 1854. His father, Ignác Roskovics Snr (1822–1895), was ordained a Greek Catholic priest in Uzhhorod (*Ungvár*) in 1848. Roskovics Snr’s first place of service was Slavkovce, from where he was transferred to Nyírkarász in 1856 and, subsequently, to Hajdúböszörmény in 1862. His wife also died here at a young age. With his six half-orphaned children, he moved to Nyírpilis in 1866. In 1875, he was transferred to Uzhhorod to teach various theological subjects at the Seminary. Later he was made canon and subsequently arch-provost; he died there in 1895.

Along with his other male siblings, Ignác Roskovics Jnr was taught by his father at home. In Nyírpilis, he fell gravely ill, which left him hard of hearing for the rest of his life. He completed his secondary school studies partly as a private student under the supervision of his father, but he also attended the Grammar School of Uzhhorod for a few years. At the latter institution, his art teacher was Ferenc Heverdle. In the summers, he would work under the professional guidance of painter Ferdinánd Vidra (c. 1815–1879).

Roskovics began his higher-level art studies at the Hungarian Royal Drawing School and Art Teachers’ College, Budapest, in 1876. In all, he was enrolled for four semesters as an art student. In those years, he already worked for Greek Catholic churches:

He produced four sovereign-tier icons for the iconostasis in Tiszabüd (today’s Tiszavasvári) and two for the church of Uzhhorod-Tsehol’nyans’ka (*Ungvár-Cebolnya*), while painting all the icons of an entire iconostasis in the church of Krasna (*Tarackraszna*) in 1879.

Thanks to financial support from the foundation of Lajos Haynald, Archbishop of Kalocsa, he would pursue his painting studies in Munich from October 1880 but completed only one term at the Academy and then rented a private studio in the city. Minister of Religion and Education Ágoston Trefort intended him to master the craft of glass painting as well, but nothing is known of his accomplishments in this area. While in Munich, he participated in competitions targeting the renewal of ecclesiastical painting. The Chair of the Committee advertising the competition and assessing applications was Arnold Ipolyi, Roman Catholic Bishop of Banská Bystrica (*Besztercebánya*), with whom Roskovics maintained friendly ties. Of his altarpiece drafts, the Descent of the Holy Spirit even received an award. He proceeded to paint it, and the picture was installed in the Roman Catholic church of Porva, where it is still to be found. His altarpiece drafts of Saint John of Nepomuk, the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, the Holy Trinity and Saint Joseph were also made in Munich.

Parallel to his studies in Munich, he began to paint the murals of the Greek Catholic Cathedral

of Prešov (*Eperjes*) in 1880, but – presumably due to financial disputes – some of the paintings remained unfinished. This is also indicated by Roskovic's signature on the north wall of the Cathedral, in the bottom left corner of the mural depicting Christ on the Mount of Olives: *Félbe hagyatott 1881: Dec. 16. Roskovics* [ordered to be left incomplete; 16 December 1881; Roskovics]. Nevertheless, archival sources suggest that he continued to work here as late as 1882.

From 1882, he spent two years in Rome. It was there that he painted the large-size altarpiece of Saint Joseph for the Piarist church of Levice (*Léva*). Already in Munich, he started making genre paintings mainly representing themes from the everyday life of ordinary people in a style fashionable in the period; he signed one of his drafts in the Eternal City in 1884.

Afflicted by a minor creative crisis after his return from Rome, he lived in Uzhorod for a year and subsequently moved to Budapest to spend the rest of his life there.

His art-related experience acquired in Munich would dominate his entire life. In Budapest, he would regularly participate at the exhibitions of the National Society of Hungarian Fine Arts. Several of his works attracted attention at that time: In 1885, his painting entitled *The Little Red Apple* won the Society's First Prize (600 Forints); in the following year, in 1886, Franz Joseph bought his picture *Before Lunch* (both paintings have been lost or are kept in unknown locations). Besides his genre paintings popular in his day, of which only a few were admitted into public collections, his portraits of contemporaries and historical figures proved to be particularly successful. He painted a full-figure image of Lajos Kossuth for the City Hall of Szeged, as well as for the County Hall of Pest (1894–1895). He would regularly enter his portraits of officials for the Society's exhibitions. In the meantime, of course, he painted altarpieces as well (e.g. Saint John of Nepomuk, Saint Anne and Patrona Hungariae for the Roman Catholic parish church of Snina [*Szinna*]; Saint John of Nepomuk for the chapel of the Csekonics Mansion in Jimbolia [*Zsombolya*]).

In addition, he also took part in the nationwide competitions associated with the 1896 Millennium

celebrations. Though failing to win a prize with his draft made for the city of Szeged commemorating the visit of Franz Joseph at the time of the Great Flood, the city would purchase the design. In 1895, however, the city of Cluj (*Kolozsvár*) commissioned him to paint a picture of the union of Hungary and Transylvania proclaimed in 1848. Although he worked on the large-size canvas painting (4 × 7 m) (13.12 × 22.96 ft) for long, he did not complete it before his death.

From 1885 to 1900, Roskovic prepared a large number of illustrations for various publications. Many of his drawings are included in the series *Az Osztrák-Magyar Monarchia írásban és képen* [The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in words and pictures], with his series of Rusyn peasants representing remarkable aesthetic standards.

In 1894, he worked on the wall-paintings of the parish church of Józsefváros in Budapest and, in 1901, of the main church of Kecskemét. For the latter, in 1902, he received the Lotz Award, which was conferred on him by Károly Lotz, still alive at the time.

Of his altarpieces, the painting for the high altar of the Franciscan pilgrimage church of Radna (*Máriaradna*) (Annunciation, 1892), as well as – in Budapest – two altarpieces from the Kőbánya church of St Ladislaus (Saint Ladislaus and Saint Margaret of Hungary, 1894) and one of the altarpieces of St Elisabeth's Church at Rózsák Tere (Crucifixion, 1910) deserve special mention. The most substantial assignment in this genre was the large altarpiece, showing King Saint Stephen with his son, Saint Emeric, to be painted for the Chapel of St Sigismund in the Castle of Buda. He received the request in 1900 but was unable to finish the work before his death.

At the same time, he could take part in the design of the interior decoration of St Stephen's Hall as part of the reconstruction of the Royal Castle of Buda overseen by Alajos Hauszmann: He painted Hungarian rulers and saints, as well as two scenes from the life of King Saint Stephen on canvas, executed by the Pécs Zsolnay Factory in ceramics. Unfortunately, the latter pieces were almost completely destroyed in the war, but a significant portion of the canvas pictures have survived.

These forgotten works were conserved in 2001. The reconstruction of St Stephen's Hall began in 2015 and ended in August 2021.

In conjunction with the compositions in St Stephen's Hall, he painted his series of Hungarian Saints for the parish church of St Theresa of Avila in Budapest in 1914 and 1915.

In Budapest, Roskovics consciously participated in the work of the National Federation of Hungarian Greek Catholics, joining their fight for the sanctioning of Hungarian as a liturgical language and for the establishment of an eparchy of their own. He painted a small-size picture of Our Lady of Hungary for the cover of the decorative album commemorating the 1900 pilgrimage of the Hungarian Greek Catholics to Rome. He would paint the same composition again on a large scale,

on canvas, in 1905 for the first Hungarian Greek Catholic church of Budapest, located at Rózsák tere. For the same church, he also created the major icons of the iconostasis a few years later: the Theotokos with the Child, the Teaching Christ (1907) and the Last Supper above the Royal Doors (1909).

From 1906, he suffered from a grave eye disease and even lost his sight for some time. Roskovics died in Budapest on 29 November 1915; he was buried in the Fiume Road Graveyard on 1 December. An exhibition of his legacy was organised in the Budapest National Salon in 1918. His plain, black granite tomb was erected by the City Council of Budapest on the initiative of the National Federation of Hungarian Greek Catholics; it was blessed in October 1931.

## Changing Art Trends in the 20th Century (1912–1972)

From the year of the foundation of the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog (1912), throughout the period of World War I, the Arts-and-Crafts Company Rétay & Benedek continued to receive the largest number of commissions all the way to 1920, the year not only of the Trianon Peace Treaty with a significant impact on the borders of the country and the Eparchy but also of the dissolution and sale of the company. The most remarkable monument to the last decade of their operation is the furnishings of the Greek Catholic church of Miskolc. The first new church in the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog happened to be the church of Miskolc. In April 1911, parish priest Andor Szólon Schirilla first commissioned Antal Helfer, a sculptor from Bardejov (*Bártfa*), to design the furnishings, promising him part of the execution as well. The master prepared his plans in the 'Romanesque-Hungarian' style, but, in the end, it was not he who won the contract but the Company Rétay & Benedek, as indicated by Helfer's complaint in 1913.<sup>1</sup> The exact reason for the change is not known, but financial considerations may have played a part in it.

The furnishings of the Miskolc church are truly unique and special among the works of the Company Rétay & Benedek. In accordance with the parish priest's request, the baldachined high altar erected in 1912 and the Table of Oblation were decorated with 'Hungarian-style' motifs, followed by the pulpit and the two side altars. The demand for 'Hungarian style' was met by decorating the smooth, paintable surfaces of the furnishings with ornamental designs that were considered 'national' at the time, which basically meant using motifs

from the idiom of folk art. From the end of the 19th century, tendencies claiming to discover the ancient layers of the art of individual modern nations in ornamentation intensified, particularly thanks to the work of the Transylvanian art teacher József Huszka (1854–1934). In Hungary, the introduction of this oriental artistic idiom in architecture was attempted by Ödön Lechner (1845–1896), the most notable outcome of this effort represented by the building of the Museum and School of Applied Arts in Budapest opened in 1896. In the case of the Miskolc high altar, in addition to the Hungarian ornamentation, the recessed, notched columns of the baldachin are reminiscent of the ceramic-clad columns of the open foyer of the Budapest Museum of Applied Arts, created by Lechner with reference to the Eastern roots of the Hungarian nation, inspired by the forms of Indian and Persian buildings. Commissioned in 1917 and installed already in the following year, the Miskolc iconostasis is also covered with Hungarian-style ornamentation.<sup>2</sup> In the Parish Chronicle, parish priest Schirilla noted that 'the iconostasis was made based on my sketch at the workshop of the Company Rétay & Benedek.'<sup>3</sup> Almost completely filling the triumphal arch, the Royal Doors of the icon screen are unusually wide, apparently in order to allow the baldachined high altar to remain visible. The wings of the Royal Doors are formed by iron bars, as in the case of the iconostasis in the Rózsák tere church in Budapest, erected a decade earlier. In Miskolc, despite the unconventional arrangement, the iconostasis was able to accommodate all the images expected at

<sup>1</sup> GKPL I-1-a. 1913/1380. Antal Helfer stayed in Czechoslovakia after 1920, he was certainly able to study at Hölzel's school. In the 1920s, he also worked for the Uzhorod Cathedral.

<sup>2</sup> GKPL I-1-a. 1917/3801.

<sup>3</sup> The iconostasis cost 8,600 korona. MEL V-22-a, pp. 99–101. Cf. PAPP 2010, 69–79.

the time, although six feasts were originally only placed on the communion rail.<sup>4</sup>

In other churches where, at that time, the Company Rétay & Benedek was commissioned to make the furnishings, mostly eclectic style iconostases were produced, which had already proved their worth over the two decades of the Company's operation and were presented in their journal *Egyházi Műipar*. In the first year of the war, they made new high altars for several communities, only renovating earlier iconostases. In 1917, the high altar of the church of Nagykálló burnt down, and they were commissioned to make a new one. A special feature of the altar is that a prominent element of the tabernacle is the model of a church steeple,<sup>5</sup> precluding the use of an altarpiece. They also received major commissions at the end of the war: The church of Kisvárdá was completely furnished in 1918;<sup>6</sup> in Tolcsva, the installation of the iconostasis of a peculiar arrangement ordered at the same time was delayed until 1920 owing to the Communist takeover.<sup>7</sup> The same was the case in Kállósemjén, where the new furnishings and the painting of the walls were undertaken in 1918, but the delivery was delayed until the following year.<sup>8</sup>

The centre of the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog was initially in Debrecen. Subsequently, after the bomb plot of 1914, Bishop István Miklósy moved to Nyíregyháza. The Government's made commitment at the time of the foundation of the Eparchy, i.e. to ensure the establishment, construction and maintenance of the necessary institutions, could not be realised due to the war and the territorial losses of the country. As a result of the Trianon Peace Treaty, the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog lost all its

parishes in Szeklerland, but a significant number of parishes in Szatmár and Bihar Counties were also transferred to Romania. In north eastern Hungary, however, two dozen parishes from the Eparchy of Prešov (*Eperjes*) and one from the Eparchy of Mukachevo (*Munkács*) remained. The Apostolic See founded the Apostolic Administration of Miskolc for these parishes in 1924 and appointed Titular Archbishop Antal Papp as its head. He settled in Miskolc, featured in the name of the Exarchate yet still belonging to the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog, and would perform the liturgical part of his episcopal ministry in the Church of the Assumption, which by then was well equipped.

Another centre of the Exarchate of Miskolc was Múcsony. The church, built at the beginning of the 19th century, was extended in 1925 with a transept and a new sanctuary, and the iconostasis was commissioned from *Ecclesia RT*, which had also acquired the Company Rétay & Benedek. This commission was slow to take shape: In 1925, the representative of the company corresponded with Episcopal Vicar Antal Vaskovics Jnr (1869–1943), the local parish priest,<sup>9</sup> about the cost of extending the old iconostasis by 70 cm (27.55") on each side. The company sent carpenter János Verbanits to the site, and, based on his report, a quotation was prepared. In their budget, dated June, they named István Vedródi, who had previously painted the Sajószöged iconostasis, as the painter of the new pictures.<sup>10</sup> The following year, the walls were painted by László Keipert, an 'artist' from Nyíregyháza, who completed the assignment.<sup>11</sup> Previously, he had worked in several Roman Catholic churches and, in 1925, he painted the murals of the Greek Catholic

<sup>4</sup> Around the turn of the millennium, this communion rail was removed from the church, and the festal icons were placed on the rail of the Royal Doors.

<sup>5</sup> The company Rétay and Benedek published the design of this type of altar in their own magazine in 1909, as having already been completed for Zbeňov (*Zebegnyő*). Cf. *Egyházi Műipar*, 9 (1908), 142.

<sup>6</sup> *Görög Katolikus Szemle*, 19 (1918), 24. szám, 3; PONCSÁK 2000, 142–143.

<sup>7</sup> TERDIK 2011a, 83, 139–143.

<sup>8</sup> GKPL I–1–a. 942/1919; *Ibid.* 825/1920.

<sup>9</sup> He served here from 1909 until his death, between 1924–25 was the General Vicar of the Exarchate. VÉGHSEŐ 2015, 55–56.

<sup>10</sup> The iconostasis was made in 1923: GKPL I–1–a. 1817/1923; MAJCHRICSNÉ UJTELEKI 2014b, 167.

<sup>11</sup> MEL IV–24–c. Keipert was an officer of Austrian origin who settled in Nyíregyháza in 1918. Cf. *Művészeti Lexikon* 1, Budapest 1935, 537. In 1917, he already had an exhibition at the grammar school in Nyíregyháza: Keipert László háborús képművészete, *Nyírvidék*, 38 (1917), 9. szám, 3. He lived in Alsóörs between 1935 and 1944, and died in Vác in 1954. Cf. ALBRECHT 2012. His various works (portraits, cityscapes) can still be found in the town hall of Nyíregyháza: KOMISZÁR 2006, 207.

church of Tokaj.<sup>12</sup> The execution of the iconostasis in Múcsony was left to 1926. The updated quotation sent at that time no longer speaks of the restoration of the old iconostasis but the erection of a new ensemble. Vedrődi and László Dienes submitted bids for the painting of the images.<sup>13</sup> According to the company's detailed budget, dated 9 August, the work of both artists was expected. A sketch of the left half of the new iconostasis prepared to scale survives in the archives. A note written on it reads: 'Designed by Antal Vaskovics Jnr, after the iconostasis in Miskolc'. Indeed, the finished building follows the example of Miskolc, in this case *Ecclesia* partly continuing the formal heritage of its predecessor, Rétay & Benedek. Thus, the sketch was made either by the parish priest or rather on this basis of his instructions. In one of the price lists of *Ecclesia*, a photograph of the new Múcsony icon screen was also published, but the caption specified 'graduate architectural applied artist' János Hegyesi as the designer.<sup>14</sup> Little is known about János Hegyesi's work; he studied furniture design at the Hungarian National College of Applied Arts between 1916 and 1921.<sup>15</sup> He worked as a designer for *Ecclesia* and, in the late 1920s, he was involved in the production of several pieces of furniture<sup>16</sup> supplied by the company to Greek Catholic churches in the

United States, as remembered in a short review in *Görögkatolikus Szemle*.<sup>17</sup> Some of his other works for Roman Catholic churches and his designs for a Greek Catholic baldachined altar and Table of Oblation were also published on the price list of *Ecclesia*.<sup>18</sup> For the latter, he breaks with the established historicising forms, the geometricised baroque details of the drawings harking back to the Art Deco style of the period (for example, the furniture of Lajos Kozma), but the realised versions of the designs remain unknown. In 1926, Hegyesi also exhibited several works in the applied arts section of the Church Art Exhibition organised by the National Catholic Association in the Budapest National Salon. István Vedrődi also exhibited in this section;<sup>19</sup> his artistic background is little known; allegedly, he also studied in Vienna and Munich.<sup>20</sup>

It is noteworthy that price lists of *Ecclesia* already place great emphasis on including the names of the designers of the various types of objects, which is a significant change of approach compared to the Company Rétay & Benedek, whose journal does not contain the names of masters, except for Albin Hölzel and a few architects. In its first decade of operation, *Ecclesia* won numerous national and international awards.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>12</sup> A tokaji gör. kath. templom freskói, *Nyírvidék*, 46 (1925), 278. szám, 2.

<sup>13</sup> His name is sometimes written as Dénes. He obtained a drawing teacher's certificate in Budapest, and then took part in a study trip to Munich. Cf. *Művészeti Lexikon* 1, Budapest 1935, 248.

<sup>14</sup> *Ecclesia* rt. Templom berendezések és felszerelések, [árjegyzék, Budapest, 1933?], 4. szám, 79. The iconostasis was blessed on 29.06.1930: Fényes egyházi ünnep Mucsonyban, *Görög Katolikus Szemle*, 2 (1930), 14. szám, 3.

<sup>15</sup> HELBING 1930, 84.

<sup>16</sup> 'In recent years, our company has carried out major works in the following locations in the United States of North America: South-Fork-iconostasis, main altar, zhertveniks, Cleveland-iconostasis, Bayonne- iconostasis, side altar, Homestaed-Eastern Sepulchre- altar, Minersville-iconostasis.' The photograph of the last one is also published, while the plan of the iconostasis in South Fork is published. The form of the latter may have been taken from Rétay and Benedek, and is most closely related to the Tolcsva iconostasis. Cf. *Ecclesia* rt. Templom berendezések és felszerelések, [árjegyzék, Budapest, 1933?], 4. szám, 80.

<sup>17</sup> 'An artist, who plans iconostasis. This special artistic task requires a specially trained person who is aware of the peculiarities of the Eastern rite. Our most excellent expert is János Hegyesi, architect, graduate student of the college of applied arts. One of his works went to Cleveland, to the Greek-Catholic church there, but he created works for several churches in the USA. The main merit of his creations is that they are adapted to the style of the church. – János Hegyesi, if he is approached, is ready to prepare plans for the church. Upon request, he undertakes the full execution of the work, even with a suitable budget. Address: Budapest, IX., Ferenc-körút 26. Telefon Aut. 661–42.' *Görög Katolikus Szemle*, 2 (1930), 10. szám, 3.

<sup>18</sup> *Ecclesia* rt. Templom berendezések és felszerelések, [árjegyzék, Budapest, 1933?], 4. szám, 83–86, 89.

<sup>19</sup> Both of their works included liturgical textiles, but several of Hegyesi's designs were also exhibited, including a design for a baptismal font made for the Greek Catholic parish in Johnstown: *Egyházművészeti kiállítás 1926*, [Budapest, 1926], 19–20. The photograph of the baptismal font was later published in the price list of *Ecclesia*: *Ecclesia* rt. Templom berendezések és felszerelések, [árjegyzék, Budapest, 1933?], 4. szám, 87.

<sup>20</sup> *Művészeti Lexikon* 2, Budapest, 1935, 579; U. B., Vedrődi István (1879–1941), *Országos Polgári Iskolai Tanárjegyesületi Közlöny*, 45 (1940–1941), 9. szám, 362.

<sup>21</sup> SZENTMIKLÓSSY Géza (szerk.), *A magyar feltámadás lexikona*, Budapest 1930, 404.



In 1921, prior to the foundation of the Exarchate, the construction of the new church of Rakaca, a Ruthenian settlement with a long history in Borsod County, was completed according to the plans of Pál Árva (1887–1935), an architect from Miskolc.<sup>22</sup> The imposing building with an octagonal nave stands at the top of a hill on the edge of the village. The interior was painted by József Korény, a decorative painter from Eger.<sup>23</sup> The iconostasis was made a few years later, probably by *Ecclesia RT*. Its structure is evocative of the arrangements in the church at Rózsák tere, Budapest: It consists of only two sovereign-tier images, pushed to the sides due to the narrow triumphal arch, and the three doors are separated by pillar trusses. The door wings, however, are not of iron but are carved from wood, with small images. The painter's name is not known. The sovereign-tier images are reminiscent of those in Múcsony (for example, the Sistine Madonna as a sovereign-tier image) – perhaps by Vedrődi – in fact perpetuating the tradition of the iconostasis of the principal church of Prešov, the Cathedral of the former Mother Eparchy.

József Korény also worked in several other places within the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog: in Hejőkeresztú in 1924,<sup>24</sup> in Nyírparasznya in 1931<sup>25</sup> and in Fábánháza in 1933;<sup>26</sup> ten years later he was to be granted an assignment in Sajószöged.<sup>27</sup> By the present, only his work in Rakaca has survived without repainting.

In May 1931, the new church in Alsóregmec, also built according to Pál Árva's plans, was consecrated. The monumental basilical building was completed in several stages. The imposing baldachined high altar, with a tabernacle evoking the Ark of the Covenant, was designed by Manó Petrasovszky, as were the preparatory altars and the so-called High Place. The paintings for the latter were painted by him in the year of consecration, and he also completed the two outer sovereign-tier icons of the later iconostasis, but the central sovereign-tier images and the Royal Doors were not installed until 1949.<sup>28</sup>

Despite the difficult economic conditions between the two World Wars, some new churches were built, and efforts were made to improve the existing ones in the 1930s as well. In Nyíregyháza, the church of St Nicholas, consecrated in 1896, was used as a cathedral. Its ornate baldachined high altar was constructed at the end of the 19th century, but the church had no iconostasis. The first decorative painting of the interior was completed in 1931. At that time, the Evangelists were painted in the four sections of the central ribbed groined vault by the sculptor Károly Berecz,<sup>29</sup> 'assisted by the renowned amateur painter Lajos Csonka.'<sup>30</sup> A year later, six stalls were installed for the members of the Chapter,<sup>31</sup> and, in 1938, it was decided that the church should be enlarged.<sup>32</sup> Although the grandiose undertaking came to nothing, in the same year, the church interior was enriched by several canvas paintings, and, behind the altar, a large painting

<sup>22</sup> On his life, see: Árva Pál műépítész, kormánytanácsos meghalt, *Felsőmagyarországi Reggeli Hírlap*, 44 (1935), 173. szám, 3.

<sup>23</sup> His sign is in the lower right corner of most of his figural compositions. Korény was born in 1881 in Rimávská Sobota (*Rimaszombat*), studied at the School of Applied Arts in Budapest (between 1901 and 1905, cf. HELBING 1930, 85), and in Munich. He settled in Eger in 1908 and was mainly involved in church painting. *Művészeti Lexikon* 1, Budapest 1935, 582. See also: HORTOBÁGYI Jenő (szerk.), *Keresztény magyar közéleti almanach* 1, Budapest 1940, 539.

<sup>24</sup> GKPL I–1–a. 976/1924.

<sup>25</sup> It was renovated in 1958 by Géza Veress and Pál Kolozsvári: TERDIK 2014h, 228–229.

<sup>26</sup> GKPL I–1–a. 1587/1933.

<sup>27</sup> GKPL I–1–a. 1921/1943.

<sup>28</sup> On the furniture of Alsóregmec: TERDIK 2022b, 83–90, 95–101. kép. The sketches for the altar made by him, are in private collection.

<sup>29</sup> In the press of Szabolcs County between the two wars, he is listed as a sculptor from Nyíregyháza, and his works can be found in the city and surrounding settlements.

<sup>30</sup> *Nyírvidék*, 52 (1931), 187. szám, 3; NYIRÁN–MAJCHRICSNÉ UJTELEKI 2017b, 124.

<sup>31</sup> *Nyírvidék*, 53 (1932), 16. szám, 5; NYIRÁN–MAJCHRICSNÉ UJTELEKI 2017b, 125.

<sup>32</sup> *Nyírvidék*, 6 (1938), 55. szám, 3; NYIRÁN–MAJCHRICSNÉ UJTELEKI 2017b, 129–130.

of the Crucifixion by Sándor Kürti<sup>33</sup> was placed, in fact a poor-quality copy of Mihály Munkácsy's (1844–1900) monumental *Golgotha* (1884, 460 × 712 cm [181 × 280"]).<sup>34</sup> Lajos Csonka later worked for several churches near Nyíregyháza.

In parts of the Eparchy in Szatmár and Szabolcs Counties, new churches were built in Rozsály,<sup>35</sup> Szabolcsveresmart,<sup>36</sup> Nyírgelse,<sup>37</sup> Ura,<sup>38</sup> Penészlek,<sup>39</sup> Nyírpazony<sup>40</sup> and Nyírbátor.<sup>41</sup> Smaller churches were built in the north eastern areas, in Berzék<sup>42</sup> and Kisrosvány.<sup>43</sup> The blessing of the enlarged and newly painted medieval church of Csegöld in 1931, where the craftsman László Benke and Géza Molnár, a young teacher at the Academy of Fine Arts,<sup>44</sup> worked, also received some press coverage.<sup>45</sup> The work and the fund raising campaign were organised by 'deputy pastor' István Pataki (1893–1965),<sup>46</sup> and the finished building was blessed on the church's title feast on 8 September. The service was presided over by Vicar Jenő Bányay, who gave Bishop Miklósy a detailed account of the celebration, including a special report on the painting of the church.<sup>47</sup> He modestly omitted to mention that the ceiling painting of the church also features Bishop István Miklósy, who is clearly recognisable in the crowd. The archival material relating

to the rebuilding of the church in Csegöld includes several photographs: one showing the building as it is demolished and another of the painter Géza Molnár sitting next to a large 1:1 scale cartoon of the ceiling painting, perhaps in a schoolroom.

It seems that this was the beginning of a series of Greek Catholic commissions for the painters Géza Molnár<sup>48</sup> and László Benke, lasting for several decades. In Csegöld, Géza Molnár mainly painted his murals in the new parts of the church: Above the triumphal arch, he placed two Prophets, at the two ends of the east wall of the galleries, on the south side, he accommodated the Annunciation, and on the other side, as its counterpart, the Holy Family. On the two sides of the nave windows, the standing figure of the Apostles were painted, while at the west end of the nave, Saint Cecilia plays the organ, with groups of angels with musical instruments marching towards her. In the nave, on the sides of the columns supporting the galleries, he painted a medallion of the Four Evangelists, with a painted background imitating a gilded mosaic. Saint John the Evangelist appears to be the artist's self-portrait. According to his son, Géza Molnár Szegedi Jnr, the artist, who had just returned from a one-year scholarship in Rome, also married here.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>33</sup> He was born in Horgos, or Borotapuszta, in a simple family, during the First World War he was taken prisoner of war in Nizhny Novgorod, where he began to draw. He was celebrated in the press as a 'native genius': m. l., Kanászgyerekből konyhalegény, konyhalegényből portréfestő, *Délmagyarország*, 12 (1936), 297. szám, 6; Kanászgyerekből festőművész, *Felsőmagyarországi Reggeli Hírlap*, 47 (1938), 179. szám, 2.

<sup>34</sup> *Nyírvidék*, 6 (1938), 184. szám, 5. The painting was removed from the church: NYIRÁN–MAJCHRICSNÉ UJTELEKI 2017b, 131.

<sup>35</sup> It was built by Rezső Kozma in 1921, a copy of his plans: GKPL I–1–a. 1420/1921.

<sup>36</sup> It was consecrated on July 1, 1923: TÓTH János, Uj templom Szabolcsveresmarton, in *Máriapócsi Naptár az Úr Jézus Krisztus születésétől számított 1924. esztendőre*, Nyíregyháza, 128–129.

<sup>37</sup> A medieval church was demolished here in 1924: TERDIK 2014k, 180–182.

<sup>38</sup> It was consecrated in 1932: GKPL I–1–a. 1081/1932.

<sup>39</sup> It was built by Rezső Kozma. TERDIK 2022b, 95, 98.

<sup>40</sup> GKPL I–1–a. 253/1930; GKPL I–1–a. 1432/1931. The plan of the church from 1931, the work of Lajos Csávás and József Barucha: NYEL II–45–a. Lajos Csávás, an architect, lived in Szolnok, József Barucha was an architect from Nyíregyháza.

<sup>41</sup> It was built between 1932 and 1935, according to the plans of the engineer Géza Jánky from Nyíregyháza: TERDIK 2014j, 257.

<sup>42</sup> GKPL I–1–a. 1088/1935. It was built between 1933 and 1935: *Görögkatolikus templomok* 2014, 30–31.

<sup>43</sup> It was built between 1925 and 1935: GKPL I–1–a. 1950/1935. The altar was donated in 1938: GKPL I–1–a. 2229/1938.

<sup>44</sup> He graduated from the Academy of Fine Arts in 1930. He was also a teaching assistant, and in 1932 he received a scholarship from the Collegium Hungaricum in Rome. Cf. *Magyar Életrajzi Lexikon* 3, Budapest 1981, 741–742.

<sup>45</sup> MÉCS Alajos, Templomszentelés a végeken. Restauráltak és művészien átalakították a csegöldi Mátyás-korabeli templomot, *Magyarország* 12 (1931), 207. szám, 4. This text was cited in part, here: Fejlődésünk, *Görög-Katolikus Szemle* 3 (1931), 18. szám, 2.

<sup>46</sup> He served in between 1922 and 1935 in Csegöld. VÉGHSEŐ 2015, 116.

<sup>47</sup> The extension began in the spring of 1931, designed by Rezső Kozma. GKPL I–1–a. 848/1931. Jenő Bányay's report is dated September 30. GKPL, *ibidem*.

<sup>48</sup> On the works of Molnár Szegedi: ABA NOVÁK–MÉRŐ–SZEGEDI MOLNÁR 1996; SZEGEDI MOLNÁR 1988, 166–168.

<sup>49</sup> Although this episode seems more like an anecdote. ABA NOVÁK–MÉRŐ–SZEGEDI MOLNÁR 1996, [8]. He was able to work in Csegöld just before his scholarship in Rome, which he won in 1931. Cf. KONTHA 1985, 100.

Géza Molnár Szegedi (1906–1970) began working in the new church of Nyírbátor before the Second World War, in 1937–1938. He probably started with the altarpieces painted on canvas, though he could finish the whole assignment only in 1948. From an iconographic point of view, the composition above the triumphal arch depicting Christ the King, the title feast of the church at that time, was a unique piece, expanded not only with Hungarian saints but also with irredentist elements.<sup>50</sup>

Géza Veress, a Greek Catholic painter born in Hajdúböszörmény, who settled in Debrecen after his wanderings in the Middle East, also painted in several churches at this time. (See his brief biography at the end of this chapter.) He worked in the Greek Catholic church of his hometown,<sup>51</sup> and then in several parishes in Bihar and Szabolcs Counties. In Kisléta, he painted four large sovereign-tier images for the new iconostasis. A special feature of the iconostasis is that, alongside the Annunciation, the Royal Doors also feature the Dedication of Hungary by King Saint Stephen.<sup>52</sup> He also painted the altarpiece of Jesus Christ on the high altar of the great church of Nagyléta (now Létavértes) in 1942.<sup>53</sup> In Vértés (now Létavértes), the iconostasis was dismantled in the 1940s. In lieu of it, Géza Veress painted the sovereign-tier images and some other compositions on the walls, while the new pulpit was decorated with the upright images of the Apostles.<sup>54</sup> Portraits of several church figures,<sup>55</sup>

as well as canvases on religious subjects for private use, have also survived.<sup>56</sup>

Ferenc Papp from Debrecen, who worked in Aranyosapáti together with Sándor Kertész from Kisvárda, also undertook church interior painting assignments.<sup>57</sup> Ferenc Papp also painted in Bodrogekereztúr in 1936, where several of his figural compositions have survived, albeit significantly repainted.<sup>58</sup> In Nagydobos, he also painted the images of the new iconostasis in addition to the wall paintings in 1938.<sup>59</sup> In both places, the main emphasis was on the compositions painted above the triumphal arch, showing groups of Hungarian saints paying homage to *Patrona Hungariae*. Several factors were influential in the popularisation of this characteristically Hungarian thematic selection: On the one hand, after the Trianon Peace Treaty, the general view of Greek Catholics in Hungary would become hostile again, their Hungarian identity was often questioned, and they were sometimes labelled as Romanian, sometimes as Slavs, prompting the respective communities to accentuate their national identity in churches as well. On the other hand, the jubilee years in honour of Saint Emeric and Saint Stephen in the 1930s also led Hierarchs to encourage their faithful to give the Hungarian saints a prominent place in the iconographic programme of Greek Catholic churches.<sup>60</sup> From the joint work of Papp and Kertész, the images from Aranyosapáti have survived without reworking, suggesting that they continued to follow the historicising patterns

<sup>50</sup> TERDIK 2014j, 257, 259.

<sup>51</sup> *Debreczeni Ujság*, 33 (1929), 221. szám, 8; KATHY–SZ. KÜRTI 1979, 87.

<sup>52</sup> The Mother of God painting signed in the lower right corner: Veress Géza 1940.

<sup>53</sup> SZ. KÜRTI 1977, 154.

<sup>54</sup> SZ. KÜRTI 1977, 154.

<sup>55</sup> For example: The portrait of Dénes Tkacsuk OSBM (1867–1944), oil on canvas, 105 × 75 cm (with frame), NSZBRGY, Inv. 01/06/2017

<sup>56</sup> The portraits of Daniel Végshéó (1886–1971), parish priest of Hajdúböszörmény (1927–1951), and his wife, Anna Jaczkovics, are in private collection. For his biographical data, see: VÉGHSEŐ 2015, 86.

<sup>57</sup> About the renovation of the church: GKPL I–1–a. 986/1936

<sup>58</sup> GKPL I–1–a. 1839/1934, GKPL I–1–a. 694/1936; TERDIK 2013, 203, 52. footnote

<sup>59</sup> The parish priest József Tartally also corresponded with the *Ecclesia* in 1937 about the new iconostasis. In addition to the design of a new iconostasis, they also offered the iconostasis from the Lengyelszállás (Ruzicska), which had been in storage since 1920, and which the Czech authorities did not allow to its destination. Tartally found all this expensive, so he also corresponded with Oberbauer Utódai, but he could not come to an agreement with them either. Cf. NYEL II–10–a. 5. doboz. Finally, László Csécsy, who might have been the carpenter, was paid 841.04 pengő for the iconostasis, and Papp was paid 227.52 pengő for the murals and iconostasis pictures. NYEL II–10–a. 9. doboz, 3. (Bevételi és kiadási napló: 1902–1944; 1939). The renovated church was blessed in September 1938: GKPL I–1–a. 2097/1938.

<sup>60</sup> For more detail on this subject, see: TERDIK 2013, 193–197.

typical of the second half of the 19th century. On other occasions, Kertész worked with Géza Veress, for example on the painting of the church in Kisvárdá in 1937.<sup>61</sup> When he also took on the painting of the church of Nyírkarász in the same year, the parish priest referred to Kertész's earlier works: He mentioned the churches of Ajak, Révaranyos, Gyulaj, Nyírtass and Kisvárdá.<sup>62</sup> He painted the Nyírtass church in 1931; the altarpiece (The Protection of the Theotokos) was also painted at that time.<sup>63</sup> The figural parts in both Nyírtass and Nyírkarász were made by Géza Veress.<sup>64</sup> Kertész's colour sketch for the decoration of the church of Nyírgyulaj is kept in the archives.<sup>65</sup>

During these years, the carpenter János Juhász from Máriapócs received several commissions,<sup>66</sup> whose son, Mihály, would take over the workshop after his father's death, running it until 1945.<sup>67</sup> They no doubt had their ecclesiastical commissions thanks to the attention of diocesan priests visiting the pilgrimage site and the Basilian fathers looking after it, of whom the future Eparchial Bishop, Miklós Dudás, and his brother Bertalan, who would later become Provincial, came from the household next to that of the Juhász family. János Juhász carved the high altar of the church of Piricse in 1930<sup>68</sup> and, a year later, he also made a two-tiered

iconostasis for the same church.<sup>69</sup> The high altar of the neighbouring church of Encsencs may also be his work. The complete interior renovation of the church in Vencsellő was started in 1933, and the new iconostasis and altar were ordered from János Juhász.<sup>70</sup> In 1935, he must have worked on the high altar in Álmosd.<sup>71</sup> In 1937, his son Mihály Juhász carved or completed the new furnishings of the church of Nyírbátor – the baldachined high altar, side altars, pulpit – although the wood inlay Evangelist portraits on the latter were not prepared by him.<sup>72</sup> The altar in the church of Kisrosvágy in Bodrogköz was also his work in 1938,<sup>73</sup> and a year later he carved the baldachined high altar of the church of Porcsalma.<sup>74</sup> He worked on the high altar of the church in Pocsaj in 1940: An earlier painting of the Crucifixion was used as the altarpiece.<sup>75</sup> The furnishings (pulpit and altar) of the small church in Nagyléta were also made at Juhász's workshop from the donation of Sándor Gyulai and, subsequently, of his widow and his son, Sándor Gyulai Jnr, in 1942, in connection with the rebuilding of the church.<sup>76</sup> In neighbouring Vértes, Juhász worked at the end of the war. There, he mounted fretwork carvings around a 19th-century altarpiece.<sup>77</sup> A 19th-century *Immaculata* was also added to the newly-carved high altar in the small church of Vértes. In Máriapócs,

<sup>61</sup> Cf. GKPL I-1-a. 834/1937.

<sup>62</sup> The letter of Jenő Sereghy, see: GKPL I-1-a. 1491/1937.

<sup>63</sup> The painting was finished in summer, but the name of the painter is not mentioned in the documents: GKPL I-1-a. 1422/1931; request for blessing: GKPL I-1-a. 1742/1931.

<sup>64</sup> The painting of Veress in Nyírtass is mentioned: KATHY-SZ. KÜRTI 1979, 87.

<sup>65</sup> NYEL II-13-a (4. doboz)

<sup>66</sup> János Juhász János carpenter was born in 1887-ben at Máriapócs, he was died in 1937. Both branches had carpenter ancestors. He married Mária Meggyesi in 1911, and they had eleven children.

<sup>67</sup> Their first son, Mihály, was the fifth in line, born in 1919. He also obtained a master's degree in Debrecen in 1943. After his father's death, he also worked a lot with his brother-in-law, Ferenc Komiszár. In the 1960s, he was the council president of Vállaj and then of Máriapócs. He started sculpting again in his retirement years, he also created two iconostases: one for the seminary chapel in Nyíregyháza (removed to Nyírpazony in 2018), the other one for the church of Nyírtass. Cf. FARKAS Kálmán, *A pócsi fafaragó, Kelet-Magyarország*, 46 (1986), 175. szám, 10; KOMISZÁR 2004, 100–101. Mihály Juhász died in 2008, he was buried on June 20 in Máriapócs. Cf. *Kelet-Magyarország*, 65 (2008), 141. szám, 15.

<sup>68</sup> There is a memorial inscription on the back of the tabernacle.

<sup>69</sup> A commemorative inscription can also be read on the back of the iconostasis. We do not yet know the painter of the pictures.

<sup>70</sup> GKPL I-1-a. 2773/1943.

<sup>71</sup> It was made with a donation from an anonymous donor: GKPL I-1-a. 2448/1935.

<sup>72</sup> TERDIK 2014j, 257, 259–261.

<sup>73</sup> The altarpiece was painted by Manó Petrasovszky: TERDIK 2022b, 37, 31. kép

<sup>74</sup> There is a memorial inscription on the table of the altar.

<sup>75</sup> An inscription on both sides of the tabernacle tells about the makers and donors.

<sup>76</sup> TURÓCZI Barnabás, *A Kossuth utcai Kistemplomról, Létavértesi Hírek*, 29 (2020), 5. (263.) szám, 6.

<sup>77</sup> There is a memorial inscription on the back of the tabernacle. The altarpiece was painted by Károly Dozsnay (1813–1850) around 1840. Sz. KÜRTI 1977, 154.

several altars from Juhász's workshop survive, two of which were originally the Table of Oblation and the *Diaconicon* of the pilgrimage church. According to archival records, they may also have made the complete furnishings of the newly founded chapel of the Basilians in Hajdúdorog.<sup>78</sup> The works of the Juhászs are dominated by unpainted, stained lacquered surfaces, with occasional use of bronze powder painting on the flat-carved ornamentation. Their altars follow the Latin patterns of the period; around the tabernacle, they usually constructed a *reredos* consisting of small candlestick pedestals, combined with turned and carved elements.

Emmanuel (Manó) Petrasovszky graduated from the Hungarian Royal National School of Arts and Crafts in 1927 as a decorative painter. (See his brief biography at the end of this chapter.) He came from a family of priests. His father, Leó Petrasovszky Snr, was also the founding director of the boys' public school in Prešov, as he refused to take the Czechoslovak oath of allegiance, he was soon expelled from the new state and settled with his family in Sátoraljaújhely. It was there that Petrasovszky returned to after completing his studies, and he would soon marry. For his first major assignments, he worked together with his schoolmate István Takács (1901–1985) from Mezőkövesd, with whom he had a lifelong friendship.<sup>79</sup> Petrasovszky's first works for Greek Catholics were basically small-scale oil paintings, and, in 1929, he produced plans for the interior painting of the Greek Catholic church of Sátoraljaújhely.<sup>80</sup> Two years later, he designed the furnishings of the newly built church in Alsóregmec and painted some oil paintings for it.<sup>81</sup>

In 1933, the capital city, as advowee, commissioned István Takács and Petrasovszky to paint the interior of the Greek Catholic church at Rózsák tere in Budapest. Takács painted a large proportion

of the figural compositions, while, on the south wall of the nave, Petrasovszky depicted an event – presumably a fictitious one – which was considered emblematic of Byzantine Christianity and the Hungarian nation at the time: King Saint Stephen and Queen Giselle visiting the Byzantine nuns of Veszprémvölgy who worked on the coronation robe. The choice of subject was certainly inspired by parish priest Gábor Krajnyák, who also wrote a study on the history of the coronation robe.<sup>82</sup> From an iconographic point of view, this picture is the only outstanding example of the Hungarian thematic orientation characteristic of the interwar period.

Between 1933 and 1935, he also worked in the church of Vencsellő, where, in addition to painting the walls, he was commissioned to paint the iconostasis as well: The structure of the iconostasis was based on the system of forms of the Rózsák tere ensemble.<sup>83</sup> He painted the interior of the Vajdácská church in 1935, without employing figural elements.<sup>84</sup> In 1937, he was also commissioned to paint the altarpiece of the high altar of the newly built church of Penészlek, which is an upright-figure variant of the icon 'Our Lady of Perpetual Help'. In his letter to the parish priest, the artist wished to show here how he conceived of 'the Byzantine way of thinking' in practice.<sup>85</sup> During this period, several highly notable articles on Byzantine art were published in the pages of the journal *Keleti Egyház* in Miskolc. These texts testify to Petrasovszky's familiarity with the tradition and principles of icon painting, though it is hard to tell what his readers understood from his explanations in the absence of illustrations.<sup>86</sup> A review of his oeuvre also makes it clear that, until the 1970s, his clients did not really require Byzantine paintings, either: He was mostly commissioned to paint subjects adopted

<sup>78</sup> Archival recordings of the furnishings of the former chapel have survived in NSZBRGY, Máriapócs.

<sup>79</sup> Detailed biography, early works: TERDIK 2022b, 22–40, 66–82. See, also: OLBERT 2007; OLBERT 2010.

<sup>80</sup> The plans are privately owned. After completing the mural, he went on a study trip to Rome. TERDIK 2022b, 83.

<sup>81</sup> TERDIK 2022b, 83–91, 96–97. Pictures 98–99.

<sup>82</sup> KRAJNYÁK 1926. See, also: TERDIK 2013, 193–197, Pictures 3–4; TERDIK 2022b, 33, 79–82, Pictures 25, 87–90.

<sup>83</sup> TERDIK 2022b, 90–91.

<sup>84</sup> Cf. MAJCHRICSNÉ UJTELEKI 2014a, 129.

<sup>85</sup> TERDIK 2022b, 95, 98–100, Pictures 133–134.

<sup>86</sup> TERDIK 2022b, 41–44.

from the Latin tradition (e.g. The Sacred Heart,<sup>87</sup> Saint Thérèse of Lisieux<sup>88</sup> or Saint Anthony of Padua<sup>89</sup>). As a novelty in his work, instead of murals in the sanctuaries of churches, Petrasovszky painted large-scale oil paintings as altarpieces, which were placed detached from the altar structure. Such a monumental composition was painted for Sárospatak in 1942, depicting the church's title feast, the martyrdom of the Princes of the Apostles. This work by Petrasovszky bears testimony to the fact that, during his two study trips to Rome and Italy, he was indeed influenced by the great masters of renaissance and baroque religious painting.<sup>90</sup>

His monumental panel painting in the apse of the pilgrimage church of Máriapócs painted during the last years of World War II came to represent the culmination of the historical thematic orientation, as well as of Petrasovszky's oeuvre, which, besides demonstrating Hungarian Marian cult, also displays the key characters in the history of the pilgrimage site and of Hungary's Greek Catholic community: The Protectress of Hungary receives the homage of the Hungarian saints, with King Saint Stephen dedicating the country prominent among them and a Byzantine bishop – most probably Hierotheos – who headed Byzantine missionary work appearing in their midst; alongside historical figures linked to the history of the pilgrimage site, groups of pilgrims of various nationalities are also shown. The Basilian monks looking after the pilgrimage site planned to have the dilapidated church restored from the late 1930s. The first step was to insulate the building, followed by the repainting of the vaults by József Boksay, who lived in Transcarpathia and was employed in the religious houses of the Order remaining in Czechoslovakia and then in Uzhhorod (*Ungvár*) as well after the re-annexation of Transcarpathia, not only by the Basilians but also by the Bishop during the renovation of the Cathedral. (See his brief biography at the end of this

chapter.) Boksay retained much of the decorative painting from the 1750s when painting the ceiling paintings, fitting his new compositions in it. He was also hired to design the conversion of the baroque side altar in the north lateral apse, intended as a new place for the miraculous icon. The restoration and conversion of the wooden furnishings were performed in the woodcarving workshop of the Franciscans of Pécs.<sup>91</sup>

The baroque St Florian's Chapel in Fő utca, Budapest, acquired by the Greek Catholics of Buda, was also renovated in 1938 with the support of the Capital City as advowee, similarly to the church at Rózsák tere. At that time, with real engineering bravura, the floor level of the church, which was well below the street level due to siltation, was raised without any damage to the baroque building. A few years earlier, István Gróh (1867–1936), retired director of the School of Applied Arts, had also suggested that one of the Greek Catholic iconostases kept in the collection of the National Museum would be installed in this church.<sup>92</sup> This failed to materialise though, and no iconostasis was made at all during the renovation. Altars left from the original baroque furnishings of the church, which had been stripped of their sculptural decoration by this time, were fitted with new pictures. A Table of Oblation and a *Diaconicon* with two large oil paintings were placed in the sanctuary, while smaller oil paintings, including a replica of the miraculous icon of Máriapócs, were set in new ornate frames in the niches near the entrance. On the vaulted ceilings, in richly moulded stucco frames, murals were painted: Above the altar, Jesus praying in the Garden of Gethsemane; on the side of the triumphal arch facing the nave, the Good Shepherd with the Four Evangelists; in the nave, the Exaltation of the Holy Cross and the Protection of the Theotokos, each complemented by the depictions of two Hungarian saints. In the two large compositions in the nave,

<sup>87</sup> The Heart of Jesus was painted by him in Zemplén (*Zemplén*). See the letter from local parish priest Endre Andor to the bishop of Hajdúdorog (June 1, 1937), in which he reports on the already completed and planned works. GKPL I–I–a. 1360/1937.

<sup>88</sup> For example in Sárospatak, in 1939. Cf. MAJCHRICSNÉ UJTELEKI 2014a, 137; TERDIK 2022b, 107, Picture 141.

<sup>89</sup> For example in Dámóc, in 1929: TERDIK 2022b, 30–31, Pictures 19–21.

<sup>90</sup> TERDIK 2022b, 107–110, Pictures 142–143.

<sup>91</sup> TERDIK 2013, 195–197, Pictures 5–6; MAJCHRICSNÉ UJTELEKI–NYIRÁN 2019, 201–209; TERDIK 2022b, 110–129.

<sup>92</sup> GRÓH István, A szent Flóriánnak szentelt budai görögkatolikus templom, in *Máriapócsi Magosz Naptár. A görög-katolikus magyar hívők részére. Az 1929. évre*, Budapest [1928], 71–72.

some of the ancillary figures are portraits of contemporary personages. The new, modern paintings, as well as the vaulted seccoes are the works of Jenő Medveczky (1902–1969), who studied in Rome as a scholarship holder.<sup>93</sup> The iconographic programme was developed by the Greek Catholic art historian Tibor Gerevich (1882–1954), the *spiritus rector* of the so-called Roman School, the artists studying in Rome on scholarship before World War II.<sup>94</sup>

It is somewhat odd that, for the assignment in Buda, István Takács from Mezőkövesd and Manó Petrasovszky, who also worked in the Pest church, were not counted upon. The reason for this could be that they were not part of Gerevich's circle, and they graduated not from the School of Fine Arts but from the School of Applied Arts, not even as painters but as decorative painters, which meant a lower 'rank' within the internal hierarchy of artists.<sup>95</sup> Gerevich obviously counted on his former Rome scholarship holders, who were considered more skilled and artistically more independent. Béla Kontuly (1904–1983), who was also one of the 'Roman School' artists, was commissioned to paint the pictures of the Table of Oblation and the *Diaconon* created inside the sanctuary of the Rózsák tere church in 1935. It is possible that Gerevich, through the Ecclesiastical Art Committee, was better able to impose his will in this case.<sup>96</sup>

## After World War II

Despite the post-war economic crisis and the gradual shift to the left, eventually turning into autocracy, artistic activity did not cease, but, in fact, it was in the most anti-church period, the 1950s, that it gained a strong impetus. With the end of the system of advowson, the faithful could only finance new artistic commissions from their own resources. As

a rule, these commissions were awarded to the same artists who had already received major commissions in the decades before the war. For many, because they refused to align themselves with the direction defined by Communist propaganda, these church commissions provided the only means of livelihood.

Géza Veress continued to live in Debrecen, where he headed the Free School of Art between 1952 and 1960,<sup>97</sup> and many of his students became artists.<sup>98</sup> He made the obligatory rounds towards the Socialist expectations as well and was awarded the Munkácsy Prize in 1953. Nevertheless, he would not decline church commissions, either.

Géza Molnár Szegedi, who lived in Budapest and was truly marginalised, also received a large number of commissions in the 1950s. In Nyíregyháza, he painted the interior of St Nicholas' church in 1956.<sup>99</sup> In keeping with the earlier painting, he placed the images of the Four Evangelists in medallions on the square groined vault, while on the short side walls of the sanctuary – as an iconostasis substitute as it were – the full-figure depictions of the Theotokos and the Teaching Christ were accommodated. Molnár Szegedi's style did not change much from the pre-war period: He continued to paint in bright colours, employing dynamic but frequently robust-looking figures, dressed in exaggeratedly pleated clothes.<sup>100</sup> From a technical point of view, it is noteworthy that he used a real fresco technique for the figural parts. For nearly a decade (1952–59), he worked for the church of the Protection of the Theotokos in Debrecen: In 1952, he was commissioned to paint a Way of the Cross, together with a canvas painting of the Crucifixion. The latter was temporarily placed above the high altar, while the old altarpiece was moved to the transept.<sup>101</sup> The reason for exchanging the paintings was that the oval altarpiece on the high altar depicted *Patrona Hungariae*, based on Roksovcics's work in the Rózsák tere church,

<sup>93</sup> P. SZÜCS 1987, 110.

<sup>94</sup> LEGEZA 2011, 30; TERDIK 2013, 195–196. The oil paintings were changed in part recently.

<sup>95</sup> Cf. GRASSKAMP 2009, 11–12.

<sup>96</sup> BIZZER 2003, 103, kat. 139–140

<sup>97</sup> TÓTH ERVIN, Veress Géza emlékezete, *Hajdú-Bihari Napló*, 31 (1974), 219. szám, 5.

<sup>98</sup> KOMISZÁR 2004, 36, 70, 94, 136, 170, 180, 192, 194.

<sup>99</sup> NYIRÁN-MAJCHRICSNÉ UJTELEKI 2017, 164–165.

<sup>100</sup> The murals were destroyed in 1989. NYIRÁN-MAJCHRICSNÉ UJTELEKI 2017, 17.

<sup>101</sup> GKPL I–1–a. 1360/1952.

highlighting the Hungarian coat-of-arms, which had been altered by the Communists and could thus not remain in a central position. The large painting of the Crucifixion was eventually placed in the apse of the south transept, and Molnár Szegedi painted an oval-shaped image of Christ for the altar.<sup>102</sup> Two years later, he was commissioned to paint a large image of the Virgin Mary for the side altar of the north transept.<sup>103</sup> In 1958, he also began to paint the walls of the church.<sup>104</sup> The partial interior painting of the Debrecen church was completed as early as 1910, the year of its consecration: Ferenc Lohr, an artist from Budapest, who had worked with Roskovics earlier painted only the sanctuary apse and the dome, as well as the four pendentives.<sup>105</sup> In the sanctuary, a monumental figure of Christ opening His arms in the shape of a cross, while, in the dome, the Virgin Mary, seated on a throne and spreading her robe as a protective gesture, obviously invoking the church's title feast, were placed. The Virgin's figure is surrounded by a host of *Art Nouveau* angels, while the seated figures of the Four Evangelists appear in the pendentives. At the end of the 1950s, funds were insufficient to paint the whole church, but Molnár Szegedi was given a great opportunity: He could work in the sanctuary apse of the church and, instead of Lohr's image of Christ, he created a large-scale fresco. He was able to wall in the ten windows of the apse so that a much larger surface was became available to him: In the semi-dome, the individual Persons of the Holy Trinity are featured, on the same level as Christ, with the figure of the Virgin Mary, to the left of whom the three victims of the 1914 bomb plot are shown, while, on the other side, a group of pilgrims on their way to Máriaipócs are represented. In the procession, the then Eparchial Bishop István

Miklós may be identified partly covered by the altar canopy. This apse image is essentially intended to visualise the two cornerstones of Hungarian Greek Catholic identity: being part of the Hungarian nation, symbolised by the victims of the bomb attack, and the greatest unifying force, love for the Máriaipócs pilgrimage site and the veneration of the miraculous weeping icon. Molnár Szegedi did not touch the dome or the pendentives; he painted five more large scenes in the two transepts instead. One of the factors that may have contributed to Molnár Szegedi's commission in Debrecen was that István Árkosy (1898–1964) was already the local parish priest at the time, who had also employed the artist for several years in the church of Nyírbátor.<sup>106</sup>

László Benke (1903–1983), a painter from Jászberény, who graduated from the School of Applied Arts in 1934, also received many commissions. He had previously worked in Csegöld together with Géza Molnár Szegedi.<sup>107</sup> In 1954, he was contracted to paint the interior of the church in Ajak. The contract included an iconographic description as well; for the side walls of the nave, Hungarian saints were envisaged.<sup>108</sup> In addition to new paintings, he also undertook 'restoration' work – for example, in Kisléta, in the same year<sup>109</sup> and, in Nyírbétek, in 1956.<sup>110</sup> In Pocsaj, he painted the church interior in 1957. There he placed figural parts on the stuccoed ceiling of the single-space church, with frames reminiscent of baroque-style illusory architecture.<sup>111</sup> In the same year, he worked in Nyírácsád, where the interior of the baroque church, which had been enlarged two years earlier with a transept and a new sanctuary, was to be painted.<sup>112</sup>

In Nagyléta, he made a bid for the painting of the entire interior of the main church in 1958. His colour sketch submitted to the eparchial authorities

<sup>102</sup> After the political changes, in the 1990s, this was replaced by the restored old altarpiece.

<sup>103</sup> GKPL I-1-a. 2111/1954.

<sup>104</sup> GKPL I-1-a. (17) 1599/1958.

<sup>105</sup> TERDIK 2020e, 355, Picture 6; TERDIK 2022a, 126–127, 138–139, 146.

<sup>106</sup> Árkosy moved in 1922 to Nyírbátor, he served from 1946 until his death in Debrecen. VÉGHSEŐ 2015, 130–131.

<sup>107</sup> About his life: EGRI-JÁNOSI 2001, 7–20. The list of his church commissions is not based on archival data and contains many inaccurate data: *ibid.* 66–67.

<sup>108</sup> GKPL I-1-a. 569/1954. The murals were destroyed.

<sup>109</sup> On the Dormition: 'fest. Adam Gyula / 1912. Rozsnyó', and: 'Restaurálta BENKE LÁSZLÓ 1954'

<sup>110</sup> GKPL I-1-a. 1732/1956.

<sup>111</sup> The color sketches were reviewed by Jenő Palatitz. GKPL I-1-a. 1070/1957.

<sup>112</sup> The color sketches were reviewed by Jenő Palatitz. GKPL I-1-a. 1316/1957.



was refereed by Jenő Palatitz (1926–1997), who pointed out that the ornamentation of the designs fitted the style of the building.<sup>113</sup> In the same year, he and his co-workers were also engaged in Ópályi, where the vaults of the nave were decorated with the ‘Allegory of the Holy Mass’, the Assumption of the Virgin Mary and the Our Lady of Hungary composition.<sup>114</sup> In Kállósemjén, Benke painted the whole interior of the church in neo-baroque style in 1960. On the back wall of the sanctuary, he placed the Crucifixion and, on the vault, the Apotheosis of the Eucharist. For the vault sections of the nave, he envisaged the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, the Nativity and the Resurrection of Jesus and the Coming of the Holy Spirit.<sup>115</sup> One year later, he painted in Nyírmada, where Bishop Dudás requested several modifications as indicated by the plans.<sup>116</sup> In Nyírmihálydi, he was contracted to paint the nave of the church in 1964.<sup>117</sup>

The other painter from Jászberény was János Gy. Riba (1905–1973), whose only known Greek Catholic assignment was the interior painting of the Greek Catholic church of Kótaj, where he worked in 1962.<sup>118</sup> He worked in a style similar to Benke’s, but the quality of his compositions vary.

In the 1960s, Gábor Döbrentey (1897–1990), a painter from Szombathely, who studied at the College of Fine Arts of Budapest between 1928 and 1933, received several commissions.<sup>119</sup> In 1961, he worked in Alsóregmec<sup>120</sup> and, a few years later, in Dámóc.<sup>121</sup> Compared to other painters, his works are characterised by a more modern and more refined idiom.

Manó Petrasovszky was given several major commissions in the post-war years: He painted

altarpieces of varying size for Máriapócs (the angels of the devotional altar playing music and the altar of Saint Basil) (1948). Next, he would design new glass windows for the pilgrimage church continuously, preparing 1:1 scale cartoons and small-scale colour sketches for them. The stained glass windows were made in Budapest. Even after the dissolution of the Basilian Order in 1950, Petrasovszky continued to receive commissions from the parish priests looking after the pilgrimage site, all the way to 1965, with occasional interruptions of various durations though.

In the post-war period, in producing church murals, he was supported by his brother, Leó Petrasovszky Jnr, a graduate of the Budapest College of Fine Arts, who, pursuing a military career, worked as an art teacher in Pécs. With the rise of Communism, he was sidelined and put on the so-called ‘B-list’ (a list of public servants disqualified for political reasons). He and his family had to leave Pécs, settling in his elderly parents’ house in Sátoraljaújhely. To help them, Manó tried to give work to his brother as well.<sup>122</sup> They received their first joint commission in Rudabányácska, where they painted the murals of the church, preserving some of the earlier elements. Some of their cartoons for the new murals have survived.<sup>123</sup> They painted the interior of the church of Végardó, near Sárospatak, in 1950. Only Leó Petrasovszky’s name is mentioned in the contract for the assignment, though it would be hard to believe that he did it all himself. Even if he did, Manó certainly played a major role in the design and the making of the cartoons. This is the most baroque of their murals, intended to suit the architectural style of the church. The dynamic

<sup>113</sup> GKPL I–1–a. 1769/1958. On Jenő Palatitz, see: VÉGHSEŐ 2015, 202.

<sup>114</sup> TERDIK 2014g, 217.

<sup>115</sup> GKPL I–1–a. 1361/1960.

<sup>116</sup> GKPL I–1–a. (17) 1281/1961.

<sup>117</sup> GKPL I–1–a. (17) 1000/1964.

<sup>118</sup> On the works of János Gyulavesi Riba: MALETICSNÉ DR. RIBA [2000], 13–15, 29–30.

<sup>119</sup> On Gábor Döbrentey: HORVÁTH 1984, 382–393.

<sup>120</sup> The Good Shepherd can be seen above the triumphal arch, and the artist’s signature appears in the lower right corner of the composition: ‘Döbrentey G. 1961.’

<sup>121</sup> On the north wall of the nave, in the lower part of the mural of Our Lady of Lourdes on the first wall section, his signature can be read.

<sup>122</sup> On Leó Petrasovszky: MATITS 2010; MATITS–OLBERT 2010; PETRASOVSZKY 2011.

<sup>123</sup> TERDIK 2022b, 129–136, Pictures 184–192. Drawings for the Four Evangelists: *ibid.* 89, Pictures 102–105.

setting of the figures in the Végardó paintings gives individual compositions a sense of vividness.<sup>124</sup>

In 1951, they also worked together on the painting of the interior of the church of the Dormition of the Theotokos in Miskolc.<sup>125</sup> In the sanctuary, the main accent is on the Heavenly Liturgy, with the central element being the individual Persons of the Holy Trinity, represented by symbols on the vault, and the angel deacons holding up the Species of the Eucharist. On the side walls, this is matched by angels serving in liturgical vestments and compositions alluding to the sacrifice of the cross as the ultimate origin of the Eucharist (the Crucifixion and the *Pietà*). On the outside of the triumphal arch, above the iconostasis, Our Lady of Hungary appears in the company of Hungarian saints and blessed ones. It cannot have been a coincidence that this powerful visualised invocation was conceived in the darkest years of growing Stalinism in Hungary, when both national and ecclesiastical life was subject to severe repression. A similar style was used in painting the interior of the church of Szuhakálló in 1955, where the compositions of the Holy Trinity in the sanctuary and the Protection of the Theotokos on the end wall of the nave command attention.<sup>126</sup>

Leó Petrasovszky also undertook church interior painting assignments on his own (e.g., in Abod, Sajópálfala, Viszló and Buj), though he mostly relied on Manó's cartoons<sup>127</sup> Their last joint work, when Manó still worked on site, was in Görömböly in 1968.<sup>128</sup> The colour of the murals of the church of the Protection of the Theotokos is still unusually bright, as the figural parts were painted in oil paint. The expressive depictions of the Four Evangelists were first applied in the Roman Catholic church of Hercegkút, followed by Szuhakálló, and a decade and a half later here as well.

From the 1960s, Manó Petrasovszky painted mainly in oil, chiefly large altarpieces, but he also accepted commissions for smaller formats (*Epitaphioses*, tin images of Christ, etc.). In 1954, he was commissioned to paint the Holy Trinity crowning the Theotokos for the Cathedral of Hajdúdorog, where the influence of his studies in Italy is clearly visible: He applied the results of late-renaissance and baroque altarpiece painting of the Catholic Revival in an individual way.<sup>129</sup> In 1962, he painted images of Saint Nicholas and the Sacred Heart on two wooden panels with gold backgrounds, engraved Greek inscriptions and floral patterns, for the Rózsák tere church, which were interpreted in the period as a return to icon painting.<sup>130</sup> In 1965, he painted a large Crucifixion painting for the church of St Nicholas in Nyíregyháza. He was also commissioned to design a new, full iconostasis for the church. Although the plans were drafted, along with his small-size sketches of the sovereign-tier images, the work was never completed.<sup>131</sup>

A good friend of Petrasovszky's, István Takács from Mezőkövesd, also received some commissions at this time. In the years after finishing their studies, they worked together on a number of occasions. Takács lived and worked in Budapest until World War II and, after the end of the war, he returned with his family to his hometown, Mezőkövesd, from where he would undertake mostly church interior painting assignments all over the country.<sup>132</sup> His work is characterised by a neo-baroque attraction leaning towards naturalism, with excellent drawing skills and use of vivid colours.<sup>133</sup> Akin to Petrasovszky, he adhered to the principles learnt at the School of Applied Arts: They both endeavoured to plan painting programmes in accordance with the architectural style of the respective churches.

<sup>124</sup> TERDIK 2022b, 136–141, Pictures 194–206.

<sup>125</sup> TERDIK 2022b, 143–147, Pictures 213–229.

<sup>126</sup> TERDIK 2022b, 152–158, Pictures 234–248.

<sup>127</sup> For examples in Viszló and in Buj: TERDIK 2022b, 51, Pictures 52–53. He painted an altarpiece in Vajdáccka (Our Lady of Lourdes). It is signed: 'Ifj. Petrasovszky Leó 1954'

<sup>128</sup> TERDIK 2022b, 177–179, Pictures 275–287.

<sup>129</sup> TERDIK 2022b, 148–152, Picture 232.

<sup>130</sup> TERDIK 2022b, 173–175, Pictures 271–272.

<sup>131</sup> TERDIK 2022b, 163–173, Pictures 267–270.

<sup>132</sup> On his life and works: BÁN 1996.

<sup>133</sup> Cf. ERDŐSSY 1983, 46.

In Nyírlugos, the parish decided to have the church interior painted on 9 May 1955. According to the minutes of the parish council, the decorative painting was undertaken by József Korény from Eger, who sent his plans, while the figural parts were done by István Takács, whose plans were still expected.<sup>134</sup> The painting was well under way by August, and the consecration took place on 30 October.<sup>135</sup> In addition to the large compositions in the sanctuary and on the triumphal arch, the Greek Church Fathers painted in the nave are particularly remarkable.

In Penészlek, the painting of the interior of the church was undertaken by István Takács's brother András, involving mainly ornamental painting.<sup>136</sup> He also worked in Hejőkeresztúr, where the most qualified liturgy specialist of the Eparchy at the time, Ferenc Rohály (1904–1982), was the parish priest.<sup>137</sup> The bid for the assignment was submitted at the end of 1970, but it was not completed until 1972. Due to limited financial resources, the painting was essentially ornamental. Parish priest Rohály's only requirement was that a figural composition be painted on the ceiling of the nave. This was undertaken by István Takács, whose drafts, based on the parish priest's instructions, were approved by the eparchial authorities in June 1972. Rohály described the theme of the ceiling mural in a letter dated 6 February 1970:

'The Hejőkeresztúr family of the people of God, following in the footsteps of the ascended Christ, are on a pilgrimage (Pilgrim Church) to the Heavenly Jerusalem, led by the priest who represents Christ. The guide is the Second Ecumenical Vatican Council, with the Virgin Mary of Máriapócs as its patroness' (translated from the Hungarian original).

Ferenc Rohály was certainly impressed by the Constitution *Lumen Gentium* of the Second Vatican Council, its teaching on the Church – especially Chapter VII entitled 'The Eschatological Nature of the Pilgrim Church and Its Union with the Church in Heaven'.<sup>138</sup> Simultaneously with the painting of the church interior – in the spirit of conciliar revival – Rohály also modified the altars of the church: He had a new 'proper' stone altar built to replace the high altar also used as a cabinet at the back in line with the practice of Hungary's Greek Catholics from the late 18th century; he had the side altars in the *kliroses* dismantled. The new high altar was built on a marble base, with four pillars supporting the top, and a recess in the centre for holding a relic. The top of the new altar from Rakaca marble and artificial stone is a regular square (140 × 140 cm [55.12 × 55.12"]). On the altar, he placed a tabernacle of wood and glass, with a very simple seven-branched candleholder behind it, constructed out of soldered and painted metal rods. He kept the old canopy, albeit with minor modifications, and set the altarpiece of the Crucifixion in the apse of the sanctuary, behind the High Place.<sup>139</sup>

The spirit of the document of the Second Vatican Council on the Eastern Churches (*Orientalium Ecclesiarum*) is easy to discern behind the transformation of the furnishings of the church. In Point 6 of this document, the Council Fathers exhorted Eastern communities to be faithful to their ancient traditions: '[...] they should attain to an ever greater knowledge and a more exact use of them [i.e. their rites], and, if in their regard they have fallen short owing to contingencies of times and persons, they should take steps to return to their ancestral traditions'.<sup>140</sup>

<sup>134</sup> GKPL I-1-a. 1193/1955.

<sup>135</sup> GKPL I-1-a. 2226/1955.

<sup>136</sup> His sign in the side chapel: 'TAKÁCS ANDRÁS / FESTVE: 1964.'

<sup>137</sup> About his life, see: VÉGHSEŐ 2015, 140–141.

<sup>138</sup> ALBERIGO–L. DOSSETTI 1991, 887–891.

<sup>139</sup> Regarding the new altar, in 1970 he corresponded with László Lakatos, parish priest of Beregdaróc, who had a new, 'regular Byzantine' altar built in Rakacaszen a few years earlier. He also recommended the master stonemason, József Petró from Szikszó. One of the master's letters reveals that at that time, in 1971, an altar like this was also ordered from him for the church in Abaújlak. MEL V-14-b.

<sup>140</sup> ALBERIGO–L. DOSSETTI 1991, 902. In English:

[https://www.vatican.va/archive/hist\\_councils/ii\\_vatican\\_council/documents/vat-ii\\_decree\\_19641121\\_orientalium-ecclesiarum\\_en.html](https://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_decree_19641121_orientalium-ecclesiarum_en.html).

The painter János Szilágyi (1911–1978), who had graduated from the College of Applied Arts before World War II, represented a painting style more in line with the conciliar exhortation. In his church paintings, the influence of medieval forms, compositions and ornamental elements is clearly detectable. His first Greek Catholic commission was to paint the interior of the church of Matészalka in 1969.<sup>141</sup> A draft of his painting design was reviewed by Professor of Theology Marcell Mosolygó. It is worth citing his introductory lines, describing the ideas of the time about the relationship between tradition and modernity:

‘I consider it a brave and commendable effort to finally paint one of our churches in a Byzantine style but, at the same time, in a modern way, instead of slavishly imitating some old Byzantine or Russian work. In my opinion, given the modest financial means of the parish, the design is quite well suited to this ambition. Without being ultra-modern or over-archaic, it conveys a sense of permanence, tranquillity, hierarchical order, Christo-centrism and unity of the earthly and heavenly liturgy’ (translated from the Hungarian original).<sup>142</sup>

The large-scale mural painted by Szilágyi in the apse of the church is no doubt a work inspired by depictions of the *Pantocrator* and the *Deesis* in medieval Russian icon painting. The mural also commemorates the first Hungarian Divine Liturgy celebrated in Rome during the Second Vatican Council on 19 November 1965 by Eparchial Bishop Miklós Dudás, as evidenced by the inscription below the painting.<sup>143</sup>

A few years later, in 1973, János Szilágyi painted his most icon-like murals in the church of Csengerújfalú. On the basis of his colour sketch presented

to the Hierarch in the previous year, Bishop Dudás himself asked him to make the compositions iconographically even more Byzantine.<sup>144</sup>

## Changes in the view on iconostases

In the 20th century, the attitude towards the iconostasis changed radically several times among Hungary’s Greek Catholics. The beginning of a break with tradition is indicated by the fact that while, in the majority of urban churches built around 1900, at the time of the jurisdiction of the Eparchy of Mukachevo, iconostases were no longer made (e.g. Nyíregyháza, Hajdúböszörmény and Debrecen), communion rails corresponding to the Latin model were installed in their place. A similar procedure was followed in several village churches in the vicinity of Nyíregyháza (e.g. Kótaj and Biri). In the interwar period, existing iconostases were dismantled in several places. Some of these either represented no real artistic value or were extremely compromised structures. This process continued until the 1960s.<sup>145</sup> However, as has been seen, there were also instances – though far fewer – of iconostases being constructed (e.g. Pircse, Kisléta and Nyírvasvári).

It would appear reasonable to ask why, within the Carpathian Basin, it was precisely in the centrally located towns of the future Eparchy of Hajdúdorog that the iconostasis, a special furnishing item of Greek Catholic churches, was first consciously neglected. No doubt, the financial resources of the local communities, as well as the attitude of the priest and of the faithful, were decisive in this respect. As regards financial background, it must be noted that World War I proved to be fatal for several

<sup>141</sup> The construction of the church in Matészalka began in 1940, according to the plans of the engineer Géza Jánky from Nyíregyháza, and it was consecrated on Sunday, August 29, 1948. PIRIGYI–FARKAS–PAPP 1998, 64–66.

<sup>142</sup> Dated in Nyíregyházán, on 25 April 1969. GKPL I–1–a (17) 1463/1969. On the life of Marcell Mosolygó (1928–2001), see: IVANCSÓ 2020, 33–59.

<sup>143</sup> Price off from painter János Szilágyi and painter Bonaventúra Gyurkó from 1969, at the request of parish priest Imre Mosolygó. They asked 50,000 forints for the work, and they worked on site in July. GKPL I–1–a (17) 1463/1969. On the St Liturgy of Rome: VÉGHSEŐ–TERDIK 2012, 86–87. The inscription was published in: PIRIGYI–FARKAS–PAPP 1998, 71.

<sup>144</sup> Communication from my father, Mihály Terdik (1937–2020), the parish priest at the time. The starting point for the iconography of the murals in Csengerújfalú may have been the album in our family’s possession, presenting Novgorod icon painting. Cf. LAZAREV 1969, Fig. 11, 45, 49, 72.

<sup>145</sup> I have dealt with this question before: TERDIK 2012, 59–66.

parishes because the funds raised for iconostases had been invested in war-loans, which were completely devalued subsequently, leaving no financial cover for projects of this kind. The attitude towards the Byzantine liturgy certainly changed among some of clergy and the faithful by the beginning of the 20th century, and this became predominant in the first half of the century.<sup>146</sup> In response to Roman Catholic influences, more and more thought that the altar and the priest were to be made visible during liturgical actions. The iconostasis was felt to be a wall of separation, disturbing the view. It is hard to determine which group played a greater role in disseminating the new view: the clergy or those members of the faithful who endeavoured to conform overall to the majority of society and, thus, also to the majority component within the Catholic Church, i.e. the Latin Rite, which was felt to be of superior standing at the time.

The example of the seminaries, the places where the clergy were educated, could have been an important factor in the development of the opposition to iconostases: The inner chapel of the Seminary of Uzhhorod, built in the mid-19th century, did not have an iconostasis, nor did the Bishop's private chapel within the Cathedral. Moreover, during the interwar period, the Greek Catholic clergy of post-Trianon Hungary – in the absence of a seminary of their own – studied almost entirely in Roman Catholic environments, which posed a threat to the Byzantine Rite. The issue had been raised by István Miklósy, the first Bishop of the Eparchy, when he urged the state to establish a seminary. Although seminarians studying at the Latin seminary had rite-specific instructors, the two churches in Budapest did not provide particularly good examples in terms of furnishings.

With the emergence of the Hungarian-language Greek Catholic press, the question and the tradition of the iconostasis would be occasionally addressed.<sup>147</sup> At the beginning of the 20th century, it was already noted in the Eparchy of Mukachevo that iconostases were not built in a number of new churches. This negative trend also is mentioned among the lessons learned from the so-called schism-suits. 'Some of our new churches are without iconostases. In whatever style they are built, it is not suitable for the rite. The layout of our churches also fails to correspond to the nature of the rite' (translated from the Hungarian original).<sup>148</sup> Nonetheless, in the Eparchy of Mukachevo, many iconostases were built during the early decades of the 20th century, mainly with the involvement of the Arts-and-Crafts Company Rétay & Benedek, which was able to offer affordable price ranges even for poor rural communities.<sup>149</sup>

Revised several times and published in multiple editions in the interwar period, the book *Görög-katolikus szertartástan* [Greek Catholic Liturgics], which was used as a religious education textbook, gave a detailed description of the pictorial system of the iconostasis and the theological significance of individual images.<sup>150</sup> The liturgics textbook considerably abridged and published in poorer quality during the years of Communism discusses the iconostasis in much simpler terms, using simplified sketches rather than photographs to facilitate understanding.<sup>151</sup> This suggests that, in principle, the iconostasis was regarded as a distinctive feature of the proper rite, though, in practice, many preferred to ignore it.

In the late 1950s, the dismantling of iconostases was a matter of concern for the eparchial authorities as well. In 1960, Bishop Miklós Dudás requested

<sup>146</sup> This can be considered Latinization. About its nature and effects, see: DOBOS 2020a, 59–60; DOBOS 2020b, 389–391; DOBOS 2022, 651–659.

<sup>147</sup> MIKITA 1890; ROSKOVICS 1903; SZÓCSKA 1905.

<sup>148</sup> REVIZOR, A szigeti pör tanulságai, *Görög Katolikus Szemle*, 15 (1914), 10. szám, 1–2.

<sup>149</sup> In the first issue of its magazine launched in 1900, Rétay and Benedek already dealt with the iconostasis separately, after a short summary presentation, taking from the magazine *Kelet* an article by Bálint Bilkei Gorzó praising the work done by the company in the church in Dubróka (*Kelet* 1899, 45. szám). A plan for a smaller iconostasis was also attached to the text. Cf. *Az ikonosztázió, Egyházi Műipar*, 1 (1900), 1. szám, 7–8.

<sup>150</sup> MIKITA 1891, 23–29; MELLES 1937, 21–26. (edition 4)

<sup>151</sup> *Görögkatolikus szertartástan. Az általános iskolák V. osztályának görögkatolikus tanulói számára*. Szerkesztette a hajdúdorogi Egyházmegyei Főhatóság által kijelölt bizottság, Budapest 1958, 9–10.

all the Deans to submit in writing where, when, by whom and why iconostases had been removed in the individual deaneries. In the second half of his letter, the Bishop emphatically reminded the clergy that no action should be taken concerning the furnishings of churches without written permission. Only some of the responses are known today.<sup>152</sup> Dean János Mitró (1894–1982) wrote extensively about what had happened in his Deanery during the previous half a century. Iconostases had been dismantled in three locations: in Csegöld, during the expansion of the church (in 1931, as has been noted), in Porcsalma and in Pátyod, 38 years earlier (i.e. in 1922). The justification in these cases also had to do with the low requirements for the buildings concerned. He served in these places at the time, and, in Porcsalma, a new structure was indeed constructed to replace the old one.<sup>153</sup>

During this period, a type of iconostasis modelled on those of the Rózsák tere church in Budapest and the Búza tér church of Miskolc, creating the dual impression of ‘yes and no’ simultaneously, with disproportionately wide Royal Doors to preserve the visibility of the altar – a factor deemed to be important – proved highly attractive. In 1962, Szabolcs Papp applied for permission to have a baldachined altar and an iconostasis erected in the church of Nyírmártonfalva, built shortly before. He was granted permission by Bishop Miklós Dudás in June of the same year. He had the images of the iconostasis painted by János Papp (1913–1971), the parish priest of neighbouring Nyírac nád.<sup>154</sup> His finished work was blessed on 8 July by Dean István Fodor (1894–1983), parish priest of Nyírgelse. In

his report to Bishop Dudás, dated a few days later, he wrote the following about the newly installed pieces:

‘Fine in itself, the altar is greatly enhanced by the canopy resting on four pillars. The altar is fully visible and duly emphasised, but this is to the detriment of the iconostasis, which is incomplete. I told the priest that a different arrangement could have been devised if he had not announced the erection of an iconostasis as a practically definite fact but had sought Your Excellency’s opinion. There would have been room to accommodate all four sovereign-tier images and the twelve Old Testament Saints’ images as well; the altar would still have been well emphasised’ (translated from the Hungarian original).<sup>155</sup>

This open icon screen must have been designed by János Papp, who was trying his painting talent at the time. His painterly inclinations may also have been reinforced by the circumstance that, on his father’s side, he was related to the painter Ignác Roskovics. The old Nyírac nád iconostasis also fell victim to the open iconostasis concept.<sup>156</sup>

A radical change was ushered in by the decree of the Second Vatican Council on the Eastern Catholic Churches, exhorting them to return to the original traditions of their respective rites, as has been quoted above. Naturally, this also had consequences for the formation of liturgical spaces. After a long time, in 1965, an iconostasis was constructed in the Eparchy, and in no other place than the chapel of the Seminary, on Pál Bacsóka’s (1929–1995) initiative, with the blessing of Bishop Miklós Dudás.<sup>157</sup> The images of the iconostasis were painted by Alice B. Bélaváry.<sup>158</sup>

<sup>152</sup> GKPL I–1–a (17), 1771/1960.

<sup>153</sup> Dated in Porcsalma, on 12 October 1960. GKPL I–1–a (17) 1771/1960. Mitró served between 1920 and 1970 in Porcsalma. VÉGHSEŐ 2015, 119.

<sup>154</sup> About the Papp’s life, see: VÉGHSEŐ 2015, 171.

<sup>155</sup> All correspondence: GKPL I–1–a (17), 1400/1962.

<sup>156</sup> Here he eliminated the Royal Doors and the two central icons were moved at the border of iconostasis. He painted new pictures on canvas, which he attached to the old wooden panels. The iconostasis was reconstructed in original form at the end of the 20th century. About the original two central icons discovered: PUSKÁS 2008, 83, 227, Pictures 83–84.

<sup>157</sup> Új ikonosztázion Nyíregyházán, *Új Ember*, 21 (1965), 52. szám, 6. He refers to the synod and briefly outlines the process: NAGYMIHÁLYI 1987, 78–80.

<sup>158</sup> Alice B. Bélaváry lived in Pestszentlőrinc, she was the daughter of the painters István Burchard-Bélaváry and Enrica Coppini, the widow of the painter Ödön Vaszkó, she died on December 19, 1972 in Budapest. His art was determined by the modern trends of the time. His art was praised mainly in the Catholic press in the 1960s. See: Freskókartonok között, *Új Ember*, 18 (1962), 46. szám, 4; SINKÓ Katalin, Bélaváry B. Alice műtermi kiállításáról, *Vigilia*, 28 (1963), 373; ERDÖSSY 1983, 64.

It was a serious problem that artists well-versed in icon painting were nowhere to be found at that time as technical and iconographic knowledge had been wearing thin even in Orthodox communities from the 19th century, with their masters also coming almost completely under Western influence. Attitude to icons began to change radically in the whole of Western culture from the early 20th century, especially after World War I. Despised by painters championing realist and naturalist art favoured by the academies, icon painting was rediscovered by *Art Nouveau* and later by modern and avant-garde groups of artists, amid their search for a national style, mesmerised by the abstract nature of icons in particular. The Soviet Union sold a great many of the icons of the demolished churches to the west, though the conservation of some more valuable specimens was started even by the Soviets themselves, leading to a better understanding of the traditional techniques of icon painting.<sup>159</sup> Hungarian Greek Catholics may have learnt about the second flowering of icons from Manó Petrasovszky's articles in the 1930s,<sup>160</sup> even though it seems that ecclesial customers were not really able to make sense of this. From the 1960s, however, the atmosphere at the Seminary of Nyíregyháza was defined by a sense of receptiveness to icons: Seminarians collected calendars and albums with icons, and many of them even glued icons to wood.<sup>161</sup>

Under the influence of the Seminary Chapel, iconostases in parochial churches also began to be constructed. In Beregdaróc, the decision to build a new iconostasis was taken in 1969, during

the ministry of László Lakatos as parish priest.<sup>162</sup> The four sovereign-tier images had been painted years earlier by the previous parish priest, Miklós Szekerák (1913–1981), who was also a self-taught painter of icons.<sup>163</sup> Parish priest Lakatos notes that the new structure is modelled on the iconostasis of the Seminary Chapel, enclosing a plan with his request. The aim was to expand it with additional images once the four sovereign-tier images were installed, and it happened that way.<sup>164</sup>

The practice of highly stylised iconostases continued into the following period. These include the former ensembles in Mátészalka and Biri, consisting of only two images and a transparent metal structure.<sup>165</sup> The iconostasis of the church of Anarcs, with a single row but six sovereign-tier images, was built in the 1970s, clearly reflecting the ensemble of the church of the Basilian Monastery on the Aventine in Rome, made by a Studite monk in 1960.<sup>166</sup> The model was probably chosen by Fr Bertalan Dudás, the last Provincial of the Basilica Order before the war, who visited Rome several times and served in Anarcs after the dissolution of the Order.

One of the first so-called full iconostases was built in Rozsály in the early 1970s.<sup>167</sup> The model for the structure was an illustration by Manó Petrasovszky in the 1946 edition of Ilona Tartalaly's book *Ékes virágszál*, a novel based on the history of the pilgrimage site of Máriapócs, representing an imaginary iconostasis of the former wooden church of Pócs.<sup>168</sup> The structure was basically made of furniture panels on which carved repeating

<sup>159</sup> On these processes, see: TARASOV 2001, 73–101; JAZYKOVA 2002; GATRALL–GREENFIELD 2010; KOTOULA 2023.

<sup>160</sup> PETRASOVSZKY 1934a–f; PETRASOVSZKY 1935; PETRASOVSZKY 1936; PETRASOVSZKY 1937a–c.

<sup>161</sup> According to Dr. Miklós Verdes, the theology teachers also helped in this process, they gladly passed on the calendars received from the West.

<sup>162</sup> GKPL I–1–a (17) 2070/1969.

<sup>163</sup> Szekerák served here between 1942 and 1956: VÉGHSEŐ 2015, 168.

<sup>164</sup> The iconostasis was completed by 1973.

<sup>165</sup> The images of Mátészalka are relief in copperplate, the icon of iconostasis in Biri were painted by János Szilágyi. Instead of the two iconostases were made a new one in 1990s. The structure of Mátészalka was moved to Erdőhorváti, the other one from Biri to Pácin. Cf. *Görögkatolikus templomok* 2014, 52–53, 102–103.

<sup>166</sup> The icons were painted by Juvenalij Mokrickiy (1911–2022). The mosaics decorating the walls of the church were made by Francesco Vignanelli (1888–1979), a Benedictine monk from Monte Cassino. About the history and church of Christ the King Monastery: Монастир Христа Царя (Рим) — Вікіпедія (wikipedia.org)

<sup>167</sup> It was built on the iconostasis between 1970 and 1973. Personal communication from Elek Tóth.

<sup>168</sup> TARTALALY Ilona, *Ékes virágszál... A máriapócsi könnyező Szűzanya*, Máriapócs 1946, 47. I thank András Szemán for drawing my attention to this.

surface patterns were placed, the latter inspired by the headings of the Greek Catholic hymnal.<sup>169</sup> The paintings were made by Pál Kolozsvári, a painter from Debrecen, who was a student of Géza Veress. Kolozsvári worked mainly on canvas, drawing on Russian and Greek icons available in high-quality reproductions as models, but the painter's creative

talent was also evident in the case of the Apostle and Prophet Tiers. He usually used gold backgrounds, a novelty at the time.<sup>170</sup>

János Szilágyi's murals and Pál Kolozsvári's iconostases represent a new chapter in the art of Hungary's Greek Catholic community, marked by a heightened sensitivity towards Byzantine traditions.

<sup>169</sup> *Dicsérvétek az Urat! Göröszertartású katolikus énekeskönyv*, Budapest 1960.

<sup>170</sup> Pál Kolozsvári was born on April 19, 1916 in Miskolc. From 1948 he lived in Debrecen, where he attended the Free School of Fine Arts founded in 1947. In 1955, he became a member of the Debrecen fine arts working group together with Géza Veress and other artists. He also worked as a window designer, created posters and decorations at Company of Cimena, and led the advertising painting group. He died in 1980. I thank his daughters and grandson, Marcsi Vargyas, for the biographical data.



## József Boksay (1891–1975)

József Boksay was born into a Greek Catholic priest's family in Kobylets'ka Polyana (*Gyertyánliget*), Máramaros County on 2 October 1891. He completed his art studies at the College of Fine Arts of Budapest between 1910 and 1914. His master was Imre Révész (1859–1945), though he was also strongly affected by the art of Ignác Roskovics, whom he presumably knew even personally. He was conscripted in World War I and fell into Russian captivity. After returning home, he became an art teacher at the Grammar School of Uzhhorod (*Ungvár*). After 1920, he remained in his native land incorporated into Czechoslovakia; in 1927, he founded a free art school with Béla Erdélyi (1891–1955).

In the period between the two World Wars, he received a number of assignments in the Eparchy of Mukachevo (*Munkács*). In the 1930s, he painted the murals of the Basilian monastery church in Maliy Berezniy (*Kisberezna*), and his wall paintings would decorate the church of the Basilian Monastery of Uzhhorod (a former Orthodox church near the castle) as well. Both of these works of his were destroyed in the Soviet era.

He completed the painting of the Episcopal Chapel in the north oratory of the Cathedral of Uzhhorod in a similar style. Following the re-annexation of Transcarpathia, the Hungarian state contributed a significant sum to the renovation of the Cathedral of Uzhhorod in 1939; Boksay was employed as part of that project. In the chapel, he set panoramic views of the early wooden churches of the Eparchy among the historicising, *Art-Nouveau*-type ornaments, while filling larger areas with Gospel scenes (e.g. The Handing Over of the Keys), as well as painting episodes from the lives of saints (Saint Nicholas the Bishop and the Poor; Saint John Chrysostom Celebrates the Liturgy). It was at that time that he was requested to paint the nave of the Cathedral as well. On the barrel-vault, he placed a grandiose representation of the title feast of the church, the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, in

a rectangular field, with half-length images of the Church Fathers in smaller medallions around it.

In 1943, he was commissioned to reconstruct the murals of the pilgrimage church of Máriapócs: Boksay was assigned to design the figural details, while, for the decorative painting, church painter Sámuel Szarnovszky, also from Uzhhorod, was hired. In Máriapócs, work commenced with the removal of the 1896 repainting, with care taken to preserve the baroque illusory architecture painting dating from 1756. Eventually, the church was completely repainted though, with deviations from the original compositions in several places. On the sanctuary vault, Slavonic inscriptions were substituted with Hungarian ones, while the painted false windows above the upper cornice were replaced by the paintings of the Four Fathers of the Church. In the nave, the Assumption of the Virgin Mary was placed on the groined vault in front of the triumphal arch, surrounded by the original baroque elements. In the next vault section, in the central large illusionistic dome, the original composition was expanded by the addition of two angels rendering adoration to the Eucharist. Even though the original, severely damaged baroque murals were discovered under the light 19th-century painting in the four corners of the vault, Boksay painted new Evangelist depictions to replace them. In the two lateral apses, the areas above the cornice over the side altars came to accommodate new pictures: The Sick Going Before the Wonder-Working Virgin Mary of Máriapócs for Healing and The Liturgy of Saint Basil the Great, in the opposite alcove. On the vault over the choir gallery, Boksay painted the Archangel Saint Michael, patron saint of the church of Máriapócs, while he featured the Apotheosis of Saint Basil on the west vault section of the nave. His cartoon drafts for the Máriapócs murals survive among his family's possessions to this day.

The furnishings of the pilgrimage church were also modified. He intended to move the

miraculous icon from above the Royal Doors of the iconostasis to a devotional altar created by transforming the north side altar. For the modification of the altar of the Holy Cross, Boksay prepared even two plans in 1943. These were used by the Franciscans from Pécs requested to undertake the execution, though a number of details would be altered during the work. The miraculous icon was ceremonially transferred there on 8 September 1945.

A large-size oil painting on canvas showing the enthroned Theotokos and the Infant Jesus in an environment decorated by lilies and peonies, with Boksay's signature and the date 1944 in its bottom right corner, has been preserved in the Nyíregyháza Seminary. At that time, it was considered that the pictures of the iconostasis of Máriapócs made in 1896 might be replaced; the aforementioned painting was meant to be used by Boksay as a model. The modification of the iconostasis was cancelled due to the World War.

Following the occupation of Boksay's native land by the Soviets, the new political regime abolished the Greek Catholic Church in 1949, forcing it into catacomb existence, which made the overt manifestation of religious painting impossible. Nevertheless, he continued to produce works of art on religious themes for 'family' use later as well. Boksay would not abandon fine arts altogether: From 1950 to his retirement in 1956, he taught at the Lviv School of Applied Arts. His works were also exhibited in the museums of the Soviet Union, and several of his paintings were even purchased by state collections. He died in Uzhhorod on 19 October 1975.

An exhibition presenting his oeuvre was organised at the House of Dialogue in Budapest by his grandson, Ferenc Erfán, Director of the Art Museum of Uzhhorod, bearing his grandfather's name from 1990. Specimens owned by the artist's descendants, kept in Hungary and Slovakia, were put on display at the exhibition (from 12 December 2018 to 15 January 2019).

## Emmanuel (Manó) Petrasovszky (1902–1976)

Emmanuel (or – as he would most often sign his works – Manó) Petrasovszky was born as the fifth child into a Greek Catholic priest's family in Svetlice (*Világ*), Zemplén County, on 11 January 1902. His arrival was followed by the births of five other siblings. He completed his grammar school studies in Prešov (*Eperjes*), where his father, Leó Petrasovszky Snr, was founder and catechist of the Greek Catholic boys' public school. As a result of the political changes after World War I and the Peace Treaty of Trianon, impacting on family life as well, Emmanuel took his secondary-school leaving (*matura*) examination already in the Slovak language. However, once they had to leave Czechoslovakia in 1920 and soon settled in Sátoraljaújhely, Hungary, he was examined there in Hungarian, too. Drawing skilfully even as a child and consciously developing his talent as a young man, following his *matura* examination, he studied

art at a tertiary level from 1922. After five years of training, he graduated from the decorative painting programme at the Hungarian Royal National School of Arts and Crafts, in Budapest with top marks and honours in 1927. Originally, he was allegedly set to apply to the Hungarian College of Fine Arts, but, owing to illness, he was not able to take the entrance examination of that institution. Through his grandmother (Izabella Mankovits) on his mother's side, he was distantly related to the painter Mihály Mankovits (1785–1853). Of his siblings, his military-school graduate elder brother, Leó Petrasovszky Jnr (1896–1981), completed the painter training programme at the College of Fine Arts of Budapest. Before World War II, Leó Petrasovszky Jnr taught drawing classes at the Military Secondary School of Pécs and painted mainly portraits. From 1946, when, forced by politically motivated neglect, he settled with his family at his

parents' place in Sátoraljaújhely, he also took part in his brother's church-painting assignments. Their younger brother, Pál Petrasovszky, was happy to make drawings and paintings, too.

In the final years of his art studies, as well as immediately after graduation – at his teachers' recommendation – Manó Petrasovszky began to work alongside his peers, mostly on church painting assignments (e.g. in the Roman Catholic churches of Szigetvár, Dunaföldvár, Tolcsva and Sátoraljaújhely). In 1930, he travelled to Italy with his painter friend, István Takács, for a long study trip. In 1931, one year after his return, he married and settled in Sátoraljaújhely. He would deliver his increasing number of assignments while living there or using this location as his base. In 1939, he travelled to Italy again with István Takács, this time for a shorter study trip. He produced works of art in a variety of genres (graphic book illustrations, murals, panel paintings, etc.) and in many places.

In 1933, he worked on the painting of the church at Rózsák tere in Budapest, alongside István Takács. Among his murals, a specimen of great significance not only in terms of size but also of the artistic techniques employed is the cycle in the sanctuary of the pilgrimage church of Máriapócs (1943–45), which he painted after his two-year military service. The two panel pictures depicting angels playing music over the newly created devotional altar, as well as the canvas pictures of the altar of Saint Basil (1948) were also painted by Petrasovszky. He made the drafts of the stained-glass windows of the pilgrimage church between 1946 and 1953; they were implemented by József Palka's workshop in Budapest. Of his later window designs, the best-known one is his composition from 1958 intended for the three windows of the sanctuary of the Greek Catholic church of St Nicholas of Nyíregyháza (Cathedral of the Eparchy of Nyíregyháza from 2015).

After World War II, he was given several church painting assignments, in which his brother, Leó, was also involved: Rudabányácska and Végardó (1949–1951); in the Búza tér church of Miskolc (Cathedral of the Eparchy of Miskolc from 2015), they painted on the outer side of the triumphal arch and in the sanctuary (1951–52). Of his murals, the

cycles painted for the Greek Catholic churches of Szuhakálló (1954–55), Mezőzombor (1951–1953), Sátoraljaújhely (1965) and Görömböly (1968) are also prominent. He worked for Roman Catholic communities as well on multiple occasions: He has murals in Erdőbénye and Herceggút (1955), for instance.

Besides the murals, he also painted several large-size canvas pictures: 'The Charge of Miklós Zírnyi', hero of the Siege of Szigetvár (1566) for the Cadet School of Pécs in 1938, as well as a representation of Our Lady of Perpetual Help for the church of Penészlek in the same year. For the church of Sárospatak, he prepared a canvas painting of the martyrdom of the patron saints, Saint Peter and Paul (1942). For the church of Nyíregyháza, he produced a monumental Crucifixion composition (1964–1965), while, in Nagykálló, he painted a canvas picture between 1960 and 1962, visualising the history of the local community as well. Of his late altarpieces, the composition depicting Saint Elijah and Elisha, painted for the chapel of Vámosújfalu, is particularly notable.

At the invitation of Titular Archbishop Antal Papp, Petrasovszky would actively participate in the work of the Ecclesiastical Art Commission of the Apostolic Administration of Miskolc from 1931. He published several studies in the pages of the periodical *Keleti Egyház*. In these papers, he dealt with icons and the liturgical nature of Byzantine art, arguing that only through these could the art of the Western Church be renewed as well. Thus, it may seem surprising that the pictures in his two early iconostases, in Vencsellő (today's Gávavencsellő) and Alsóregmec, display hardly any affinity with the Byzantine tradition. A more perceptible change occurred in the period following the Second Vatican Council, when he designed a complete iconostasis of four rows in 1965. (It failed to be implemented). This shift became even more evident subsequently, during his final years, when he painted sovereign-tier icons for two iconostases in Sajószentpéter and Penészlek, though both works were left incomplete, which is particularly disturbing in the latter. He died in Sátoraljaújhely on 10 October 1976. His grave is in the town cemetery.

## Géza Veress (1899–1970)

Géza Veress was born into a Greek Catholic family of ten in Hajdúböszörmény, on 7 July 1899. His father was a wheelwright, while his mother was a costermonger. He began his art studies at the College of Fine Arts of Budapest in 1916, under the guidance of the Impressionist painter István Csók (1865–1971). During World War I, he fought on the North Italian front at Udine; following an injury, he convalesced in Venice. While on the front, he also met János Vaszary (1899–1963) and László Mednyánszky (1852–1919), painters who would become famous later. He was captured and taken as a prisoner of war. Following his return home, he resumed his studies in Oszkár Glatz's (1872–1958) class from 1921 for two years. In 1924, he embarked on a tour: He roamed Turkey and the Middle East for five years, making a living out of painting assignments. Once home again, he took up residence in Debrecen; his art would come to be dominated by landscapes and conversation pieces. He was most affected by villages in the wine-growing region of Tokaj–Hegyalja, the Bodroglóköz Region and the Tisza Region, as well as by everyday scenes and the settings he saw there. As of 1930, his presence at exhibitions would be regular.

Apart from painting, he also created works of art in graphic genres; linocut appealed most to him.

In 1948, he won the Petőfi Prize. In the fifties, even themes of socialist realism were not missing from his art. His works found their way to various group exhibitions: at the Hall of Art/Kunsthalle in Budapest (1951 and 1953), at the Ernst Museum, Budapest (1954 and 1957), and in Miskolc (1967). As a teacher, he had a great impact on future generations as he was head of the Debrecen Free School of Art from 1952 to 1960. In 1953, he was awarded the Munkácsy Prize for his painting *Girl Embroidering Dove of Peace*. Between 1961 and 1964, he even had three individual exhibitions, while, after his death, exhibitions of his works were held in Hajdúböszörmény (1977, 2011) and Debrecen (1984) as well.

In the territory of the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog, he was given his first assignments in the 1930s (ceiling painting and altarpiece for the high altar, Nyírtass, 1931; murals, Nyírkarász, 1937). During the years of World War II, he also made the murals of the church of Vértes, as well as the Apostle Tier on the pulpit; he painted the pictures of the iconostasis in Kisléta (1940). In 1942, he completed the painting of the walls in the small church in Nagyléta (today's Létavértes). One of his altarpieces is found in the Greek Catholic church of his native town, though he is believed to have painted murals for the demolished former church as well. In the late 1940s, he worked on the murals of the church of Szakoly. (Albeit repainted, they still exist.); he painted the pictures of the iconostasis in Szabolcsveresmart (1947) (changed in 1981). In 1958, he painted the walls of the church in Csengerújfalú (destroyed by now), alongside his student Pál Kolozsvári, who – despite being a Calvinist – painted several Greek Catholic iconostases in Hungary (e.g. in Rozsály and Baskó) in the 70s. In the years prior to World War II, he received regular assignments from Basilian fathers and Greek Catholic priests' families as well, evidenced by a number of portraits, as well as by religious canvas paintings surviving among the possessions of the respective families.

Veress died in Debrecen on 18 September 1970. His name sounds familiar mainly to individuals with an interest in local history; his works are kept at the Déri Museum, Debrecen, and at the Hajdúsági Museum, Hajdúböszörmény. The latter institution acquired over sixty of his specimens thanks to his widow's offer.

Of Géza Veress's students – in addition to Pál Kolozsvári – László Pikó Snr, a fellow Calvinist, also worked for numerous Greek Catholic churches in the last decades of the 20th century.

His brother, Ferenc Veress (Hajdúböszörmény, 1908 – Budapest, 1983), was a design engineer, inventor, painter and poet, though he never worked on church assignments.

## Summary

The overview presented in this book started in the late 18th century and ended after the middle of the 20th century. Within the 19th century, special attention was paid mainly to the decades when the title 'eparchial painter' appearing in 1813 still denoted a post with effectively practical responsibilities, as well as an honourable appointment. The title became impoverished during the activities of Ignác Roskovics, who was the first Greek Catholic artist in Hungary to earn a nationwide reputation, rendering the (financial and professional) opportunities afforded by the Eparchy of Mukachevo (*Munkács*) limited for him. While his master, Ferdinánd Vidra – despite his Roman Catholic origins – found an environment most suitable to him in the employ of the Eparchy of Mukachevo (his style remaining largely unchanged during the quarter of a century spent there), Roskovics could capitalise on his academic training to create a world of his own for his religious paintings. After Vidra's death, the Eparchy would also regard Roskovics as an official 'diocesan' painter, though it became apparent that, owing to his major commissions, he would be able to deal with matters there to an increasingly lesser extent. Nevertheless, his opinion was sought later as well.

Parallel to this, i.e. besides painters with academic training, enterprises specialising in the production of inexpensive and fast-manufactured furnishing items and religious items – the so-called arts-and-crafts companies – some of which survived all the way to Communist-era nationalisation, came to be ever more prevalent on Hungary's Greek Catholic 'market' in the last decades of the 19th century. Due to the powerful presence of these companies, the number of commissions for individual painters decreased considerably. These businesses produced mostly carved structures at their own workshops; as for paintings, representing a subtype of Nazarene

artistic heritage drawing on Byzantine traditions as well, they would also procure these from the offer of factories within the Hapsburg Monarchy or in the neighbouring countries. Painters with poorer training would frequently copy such works, at even lower prices.

In the early decades of the 19th century, formal arrangements customary in the late-baroque period continued to exist. This tendency was reinforced by the iconostasis of the Cathedral of Uzhhorod (*Ungvár*) becoming a constant point of reference. Even as late as 1859, this icon screen would be seen as a model, and the influence of the Uzhhorod ensemble was initially evident in the style and composition types of paintings as well. By the mid-19th century, however, painters would tend to rely on prototypes, known to them from engravings, which were regarded as popular in their day, gradually bringing about a nearly complete transformation of the iconographic tradition. Thus, Byzantine motifs, chiefly detectable only in the positions of sovereign-tier images, gold backgrounds and the use of inscriptions, had almost totally been abandoned. This trend is already obvious in Mihály Mankovits's works, too, though it would culminate in a real conflict, familiar to posterity as well, only in the activities of György Révész: He was reproached for the absence of a gold background, while other artists were criticised for their unconventional arrangements. Although the epithet 'scandalising' was commonly used to describe works of art assessed as unacceptable, it remains difficult to reconstruct what exactly could be meant by the term. Around 1848, considerations novel in comparison with the previous decades were also articulated by artists. In their disputes with customers, they would argue for the freedom of art, celebrate the decline of guild-based limitations and voice their criticism even about the preservation of

ecclesiastical tradition, calling for painting to be recognised as a 'liberal art'. Neither party could by any means be in an easy situation. No texts with ecclesial customers precisely defining how they conceived of works of art acceptable to them have been discovered so far. Although scatter allusions to 'Byzantine' and 'Easter' style emerged as early as the 1840s, it is hard to establish what these were understood to mean. Hierarchs no doubt saw the religious painting of the period as an example to follow. This could explain why it happened that the Sistine Madonna, considered to be an unsurpassed masterpiece of sacred art at the time, acquired the status of a real icon as an iconic work of religious painting in a way that its replicas were placed in the Sovereign Tier of iconostases (e.g. in the Cathedral of Prešov and the parish church of Mukachevo).

It would seem that the model-setting role of the iconostasis of Uzhorod was already restricted mainly to imitating the form of the carved structure, implying that a full iconostasis was to consist of four or five rows, with three doors and approximately fifty images. Such a large number of images would pose a great challenge not only to communities placing orders but to the craftsmen and artists hired as well: The former were usually short on resources, while the latter were faced with the prospect of their artistic creative powers being tested by the spectre of monotonous work, also likely to impinge on inspiration. Therefore, this form-related expectation would push both parties towards exaggerated and, at times, even unfeasible goals. Seldom did they have the courage to apply the principle 'less is sometimes more'.

This period saw the growing dominance of the understanding that the carved structure of an iconostasis was to be prized higher than the images. Painters would often be commissioned only years after the completion of the carved parts. In such cases, they were to adapt to what they found on site. Once it all but disappeared from paintings, gilding would come to be dominant on carvings, also resulting in unrealistically high costs for smaller communities. Traces of this circumstance are evident in sources in which eparchial painters attempt to deter minor artists from using ersatz or spurious materials.

As a result of the process described, the 'icon' function of images gradually faded, in many cases becoming mere decorative elements in even otherwise ornate edifices. This could be accounted for by the fact that the traditional panel picture form had been compromised and unfamiliar compositional forms unusual in the old tradition had become widespread (e.g. oval sovereign-tier images). From the 1870s, pictures would begin to be painted on bases of a new, hitherto uncommon type (metal plates or canvas), mostly for practical reasons, to ensure durability. The view rating carved structures over icons continues to be felt to this day. A carver is often sooner contacted than an icon painter even these days; the latter is sometimes not even asked for what type of structure he would envisage the icons. This way, a secondary element (the structure) takes precedence over the primary components, i.e. the icons.

Masters receiving commissions during the first half of the 19th century worked to extremely divergent standards. Judgement would often be passed on their works as early as the end of the century, and they would be replaced by new ensembles from arts-and-crafts companies, seen as representing higher aesthetic value. This process continues to this day: The rapid degradation of worn-out ensembles is especially evident in Transcarpathia and Romania. Sometimes even accommodating these in museums seems impossible; occasionally specimens are victims to inter-confessional conflicts. The present work investigated an as yet lesser-researched group of specimens – in some cases involving the works and oeuvres of artists who have – to put it bluntly – been consigned to oblivion justifiably. However, it must not be forgotten that these works, most of them rather simplistic and naïve, have by now come to be virtually the sole and indispensable witnesses to the creative faith that worked in the communities of the period, overcoming countless hardships.

Patterns of the 19th century would recur in the course of the 20th century as well. Academy-graduate painters struggled to find their place amid tradition-driven expectations: It would be difficult for them to identify with the Byzantine compositional heritage, imposing – as they felt – restrictions on their artistic creativity. A major change in this

respect was the spirituality developing as a result of the Second Vatican Council from the 1960s, though it remained hard to find artists with a sense of the abstract world of icons; scarcely were any masters who could combine creative power with artistic tradition to be found; mostly painters adept at copying existing models tended to be successful.

Although this did give the impression that the system of transmitting tradition was restored, something was palpably missing. The appearance of artists creatively matching artistic experience with tradition (e.g. László Puskás, László Kárpáti and Zsolt Maklár) would herald a new era outside the perimeters of the present project.





# Appendix

## Abbreviations

- AGKA – Archív gréckokatolického arcibiskupstva, Prešov  
BFL – Budapest Főváros Levéltára, Budapest  
BIGKKL – Bendász István Görögkatolikus Könyvtár és Levéltár, Beregszász  
DAZO – Derzhahsky Arkhiv Zakarpatskoi Oblasty, Berehovo  
GKPL – Görögkatolikus Püspöki Levéltár, Debrecen  
MEL – Miskolci Egyházmegye Levéltára, Miskolc  
MÉM MDK – Magyar Építészei Múzeum és Műemlékvédelmi Dokumentációs Központ, Budapest  
MNL HBML – Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Hajdú-Bihar Megyei Levéltára, Hajdúböszörmény  
MTA BTK MI – Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont, Művészet-  
történeti Intézet, Budapest  
NSZBRGY – Nagy Szent Bazil Rend Gyűjteménye, Máriapócs  
NSZBRL – Nagy Szent Bazil Rend Levéltára, Máriapócs  
NYEL – Nyíregyházi Egyházmegye Levéltára, Nyíregyháza  
OSZK – Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Budapest  
SZAGKHF – Szent Atanáz Görögkatolikus Hittudományi Főiskola, Nyíregyháza  
SZM – KEMKI ADK – Szépművészeti Múzeum – Közép-Európai Művészettörténeti Intézet Archívum  
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# FIGURES





## THE SECOND HALF OF THE 18TH CENTURY AND THE EARLY 19TH CENTURY



Royal Doors, iconostasis of the Greek Catholic Cathedral in Hajdúdorog. Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2010.





Iconostasis, Greek Catholic Shrine of Máriapócs.  
Credits: Gellért Áment, 2014.



The iconostasis of Máriapócs, around 1900.  
Copyright: NSZBRGY



The iconostasis of the Transfiguration Serbian Orthodox church in Szentendre. Credits: Iván Jaksity, 2023.



P. Csongrádi, The Prophet Elias. Iconostasis of Máriapócs.  
Credits: Márton Somogyi, 2010.



P. Csongrádi, The Prophet Solomon. Iconostasis of Máriapócs. Credits: Márton Somogyi, 2010.





Christ between two dragons. Segment of the iconostasis of Máriapócs. Credits: Gellért Áment Gellért, 2014.



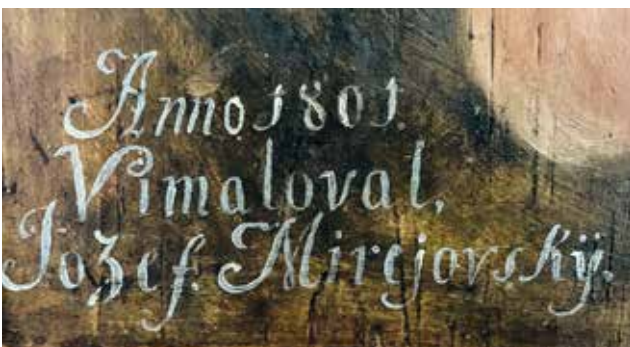
P. Csongrádi, Christ, the High Priest. Transfiguration Orthodox church in Szentendre



The Baptism. Processional cross, Vajdácska. Copyright: Magyar Képzőművészeti Egyetem, 2023.  
Crucifixion. Processional cross, Vajdácska. Copyright: Magyar Képzőművészeti Egyetem, 2023.



J. Mirejovsky, Christ, the High Priest. Nižný Mirošov, Greek Catholic church. Credits: Hieromonk Makariy, 2021.



Mirejovsky's sign on the Icon of Christ, the High Priest. Nižný Mirošov, Greek Catholic church. Credits: Hieromonk Makariy, 2021.





M. Spalinszky, Annunciation. The former cover page of the Album of *Congregatio Mariana*, Uzhhorod. Copyrights: Budapest, Iparművészeti Múzeum, Adattár, Kőszeghy Elemér ingóságeltára, 1941



The former iconostasis of the Monastery church in Maliy Berezniy, Perekhresnyi, Orthodox church. Credits: Hieromonk Makariy, 2022.



The iconostasis of the Greek Catholic church in Sátoraljaújhely. Credits: Gellért Áment, 2021.





The former iconostasis of the Monastery church of Maliy Berezniy, around 1940. Copyright: NSZBRGY



M. Spalinszky, The Pentecost. Perekhresnyi, Orthodox church. Credits: Hieromonk Makariy, 2022.

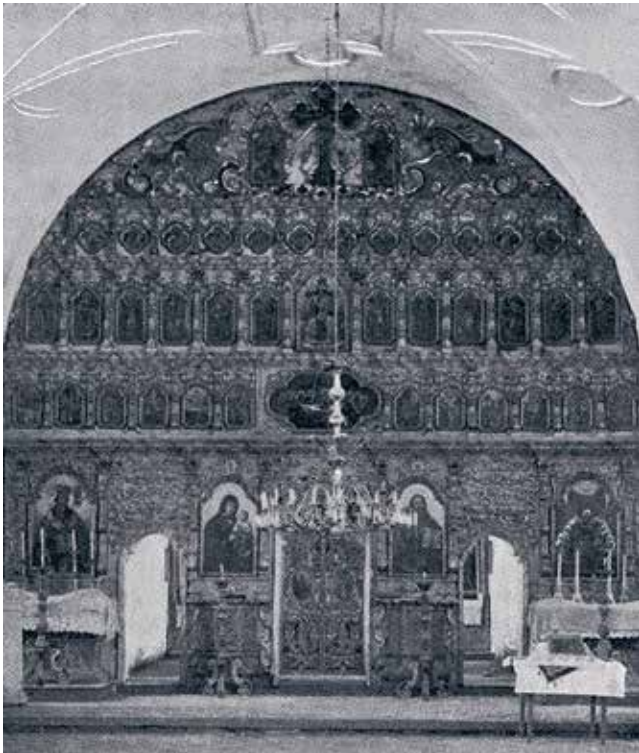


The interior of the Virgin's chapel, Krasny Bród. Credits: Szilveszter Terdik, 2008.



M. Spalinszky, The Icon of the Theotokos, Krasny Bród. Credits: Szilveszter Terdik, 2008.





The former iconostasis of the Monastery church in Krasny Bród.  
Source: BOROVSKY 1905.



Theotocos, an icon from the former iconostasis of the Monastery church in Krasny Bród.  
Copyright: Görögkatolikus Múzeum, Nyíregyháza



M. Spalinszky, The Birth of the Theotokos and the View of the Monastery of Imstychovo





The iconostasis of the Greek Catholic Cathedral in Uzhhorod. Credits: Attila Mudrák, 2012.



M. Spalinszky, Theotokos. Iconostasis, Greek Catholic Cathedral, Uzhhorod. Credits: Hieromonk Makariy, 2022.



M. Spalinszky, Christ. Iconostasis, Greek Catholic Cathedral, Uzhhorod. Credits: Hieromonk Makariy, 2022.





M. Spalinszky, The Birth of the Theotokos. Choňkovce, Greek Catholic church. Credits: Hieromonk Makariy, 2020.



M. Spalinszky, The Entry of the Theotokos into the Temple. Choňkovce, Greek Catholic church. Credits: Hieromonk Makariy, 2020.



M. Spalinszky, The Nativity of Christ. Choňkovce, Greek Catholic church. Credits: Hieromonk Makariy, 2020.



M. Spalinszky, The Flight to Egypt. Choňkovce, Greek Catholic church. Credits: Hieromonk Makariy, 2020.





M. Spalinszky, The Protection of the Theotokos. Former Altarpiece from the Greek Catholic church of Choňkovec. Copyright: Szépművészeti Múzeum–Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, Budapest



M. Spalinszky, Christ, the High Priest. Nyíregyháza, Görögkatolikus Múzeum. Credits: Gellért Áment, 2020.



M. Spalinszky, St Mark. Nyíregyháza, Görögkatolikus Múzeum. Credits: Gellért Áment, 2020.



M. Spalinszky, St John. Nyíregyháza, Görögkatolikus Múzeum. Credits: Gellért Áment, 2020.





The iconostasis of the Greek Catholic church in Tokaj.  
Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.



M. Spalinszky, St Peter and St Marc. Greek Catholic church in Tokaj. Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.



M. Spalinszky, Theotokos. Nyíregyháza, Görögkatolikus Múzeum. Credits: Gellért Áment, 2020.



M. Spalinszky, Jesus Christ. Nyíregyháza, Görögkatolikus Múzeum. Credits: Gellért Áment, 2020.





The altar of St Basil the Great, around 1900. Máriapócs, detail of the Fig. on p. 302



The iconostasis of the Greek Catholic church in Nyírparsznya. Credits: Gellért Áment, 2014.



Theotokos. Greek Catholic church in Nyírparsznya. Credits: Gellért Áment, 2014.



Jesus Christ. Greek Catholic church in Nyírparsznya. Credits: Gellért Áment, 2014.





T. Spalinszky, Theotokos. Greek Catholic church in Kalná Roztoka. Credits: Hieromonk Makariy, 2021.



T. Spalinszky, Jesus Christ. Greek Catholic church in Kalná Roztoka. Credits: Hieromonk Makariy, 2021.



Segment of the Inscription of Christ's icon, Kalná Roztoka. Credits: Hieromonk Makariy, 2021.



Segment of the Inscription of Christ's icon, Kalná Roztoka. Credits: Hieromonk Makariy, 2021.





Theotokos. Mezőzombor, Greek Catholic church.  
Credits: Gellért Áment, 2021.



Segment of the Theotokos' icon, a photo made under raking light. Credits: Gellért Áment, 2021.



J. Szécsényi (?), Theotokos. Shalanki, Greek Catholic church.  
Credits: Eszter Kutas, 2006.



J. Szécsényi (?), Jesus Christ. Shalanki, Greek Catholic church.  
Credits: Szilveszter Terdik, 2006.





The icon of St Nicholas under conservation. Fanchikovo, Greek Catholic church



The icon of Theotokos under conservation. Fanchikovo, Greek Catholic church



The icon of Theotokos after conservation. Fanchikovo, Greek Catholic church



The icon of Jesus Christ under conservation. Fanchikovo, Greek Catholic church. Credits: József Lángi, 2015.



The former iconostasis of Velyki Kom'aty, 1913. Copyright: Budapest, Iparművészeti Múzeum



The iconostasis of Kenézlő. Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.



The reconstruction of the iconostasis of Velyki Kom'aty, 2019. Copyright: Tímea Bakonyi, Szilveszter Terdik





The iconostasis of Nyírácsád. Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.



Two Prophets of the iconostasis of Nyírácsád. Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.

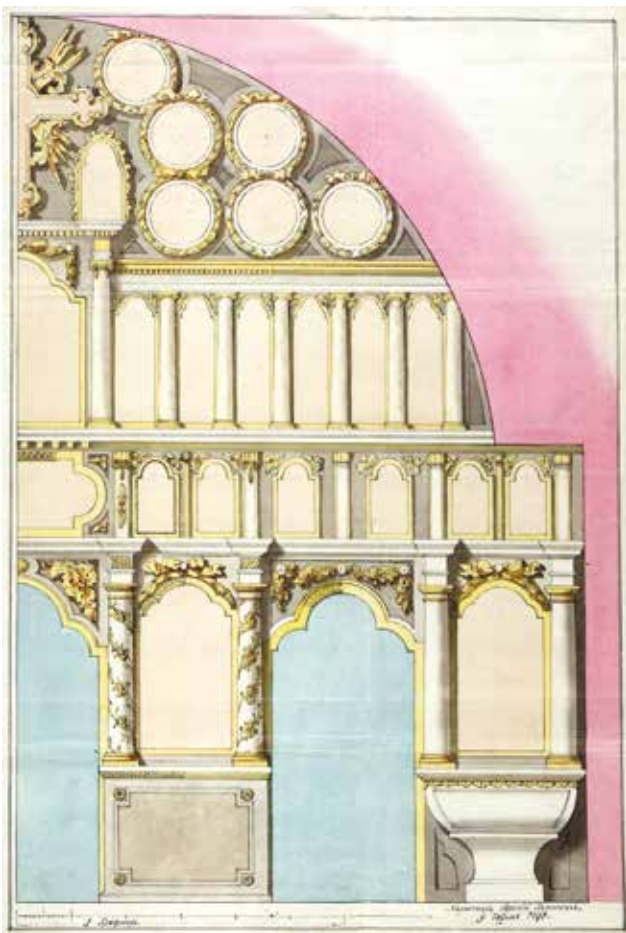


Theotokos of the iconostasis in Levelek. Credits: Margit Kiss, 2004.



The iconostasis of Levelek. Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.





A. Teodorović, The plan of the iconostasis of Kamienska.  
Copyright: MNL OL



The iconostasis of Jarabina.  
Credits: Hieromonk Makariy, 2022.



I. Kraudy, Theotokos.  
Iconostasis of Jarabina.  
Credits: Hieromonk Makariy, 2022.



I. Kraudy, Jesus Christ.  
Iconostasis of Jarabina.  
Credits: Hieromonk Makariy, 2022.



Altar of the Theotokos in the church in Jarabina.  
Credits: Hieromonk Makariy, 2022.





The iconostasis of the Greek Catholic Cathedral in Hajdúdorog.  
Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.



The iconostasis of the Greek Catholic church in Szerencs. Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.



The icon of Jesus Christ.  
Sajópálfala, Greek Catholic church.  
Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.





The iconostasis of the Serbian Orthodox church in Baja.  
Credits: Iván Jaksity, 2011.



A. Teodorović, The icon of St Nicholas.  
Baja, Orthodox church.  
Credits: Iván Jaksity, 2011.



The icon of St Nicholas. Hajdúdorog,  
Greek Catholic Cathedral.  
Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.



The Face of St Nicholas. Hajdúdorog, Greek  
Catholic Cathedral.  
Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.



The icon Jesus Christ. Hajdúdorog,  
Greek Catholic Cathedral.  
Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.





The Face of Christ. Hajdúdorog, Greek Catholic Cathedral. Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.



The Entry of the Theotokos into the Temple. Hajdúdorog, Greek Catholic Cathedral. Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.



The Flight into Egypt. Hajdúdorog, Greek Catholic Cathedral. Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.



M. Hittner, Theotokos. Hajdúdorog, Greek Catholic Cathedral. Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.



The Face of the Theotokos with the Child. Hajdúdorog, Greek Catholic Cathedral. Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.





The Miraculous Icon of Pócs, engraving. Copyright: OSZK



Theotokos. Nevytske, Greek Catholic church.  
Credits: Szilveszter Terdik, 2009.



Theotokos. Šarišský Štiavnik, Greek Catholic church.  
Credits: Hieromonk Makariy, 2022.



Theotokos. Irota, Greek Catholic church.  
Credits: Szilveszter Terdik, 2022.





The Episcopal Throne.  
Hajdúdorog, Greek Catholic  
Cathedral. Credits:  
Zoltán Bakos, 2011.



The pulpit of the Cathedral in  
Hajdúdorog.  
Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.



The Sower, painting of the pulpit in  
Hajdúdorog. Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.



The Bronze Serpent, mural in the Sanctuary of the  
Cathedral in Hajdúdorog. Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.



The Grapes of Canaan, mural in the Sanctuary  
of the Cathedral in Hajdúdorog. Credits: Zoltán  
Bakos, 2011.



The iconostasis of the Greek Catholic church in Poľany.  
Credits: Gellért Áment, 2017.



The Royal Doors, iconostasis, Poľany.  
Credits: Gellért Áment, 2017.





M. Hittner, Theotokos, iconostasis, Pol'any. Credits: Szilveszter Terdik, 2008.



M. Hittner, Theotokos, iconostasis, Pol'any. Credits: Gellért Áment, 2017.



M. Hittner, St Nicholas, iconostasis, Pol'any. Credits: Gellért Áment, 2017.



M. Hittner, Jesus Christ, iconostasis, Pol'any. Credits: Gellért Áment, 2017.



M. Hittner, The Birth of the Theotokos. Iconostasis, Pol'any. Credits: Gellért Áment, 2017.



M. Hittner, Christ, the High Priest. Iconostasis, Pol'any. Credits: Gellért Áment, 2017.



M. Hittner, Christ, the High Priest, detail, iconostasis, Pol'any. Credits: Gellért Áment, 2017.





The Nativity and the Baptism of Christ. Iconostasis, Pol'any. Credits: Gellért Áment, 2017.



Three Apostles, iconostasis, Pol'any. Credits: Gellért Áment, 2017.



Aaron and David, iconostasis, Pol'any. Credits: Gellért Áment, 2017.



The iconostasis of the Greek Catholic church of Nevyszke. Credits: Szilveszter Terdik, 2009.



The iconostasis of the Basilian Monastery church in Buková Hôrka. Credits: Szilveszter Terdik, 2008.





F. Peer (?), St Nicholas, Korytniany, Greek Catholic church.  
Credits: Vasyl Derbalj, 2021.



F. Peer (?), Theotokos, Korytniany, Greek Catholic church.  
Credits: Vasyl Derbalj, 2021.



F. Peer (?), Jesus Christ, Korytniany, Greek Catholic church.  
Credits: Vasyl Derbalj, 2021.



The iconostasis of the Greek Catholic church in Fábánháza. Credits: Gellért Áment, 2014.





F. Peer (?), St Nicholas, Fábíánháza, Greek Catholic church. Credits: Gellért Áment, 2014.



F. Peer (?), Theotokos, Fábíánháza, Greek Catholic church. Credits: Gellért Áment, 2014.



The Royal Doors, Uzhhorod – Domaninci, Greek Catholic church. Credits: Szilveszter Terdik, 2017.



The Holy Crown of Hungary on the iconostasis in Uzhhorod – Domaninci. Credits: Szilveszter Terdik, 2017.



The Holy Crown of Hungary on the iconostasis in Yarok. Credits: Szilveszter Terdik, 2017.





## THE FIRST EPARCHIAL PAINTERS: MANKOVITS AND MIKLÓSSY



The Royal Doors. Greek Catholic church in Abaújszántó. Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.





The iconostasis of the Greek Catholic church in Čabalovce. Credits: Szilveszter Terdik, 2017.



A. Tapolyi, St Luke the Evangelist. Painting on the pulpit of the church in Radvaň nad Laborcom. Credits: Tamás Mankovits, 2019.



M. Mankovits, Theotokos. Iconostasis of the Greek Catholic church in Kvačany. Credits: Szilveszter Terdik, 2017.





The iconostasis of the Greek Catholic church in Kojšovce. Credits: Hieromonk Makariy, 20)



M. Mankovits, The Fall of man. Painting, Uzhhorod – Domaninci, Greek Catholic church. Credits: Szilveszter Terdik, 2017.



The altar of the Greek Catholic church in Mizhhir'a. Credits: Szilveszter Terdik, 2017.





M. Mankovits, St George, icon of the former iconostasis in Mizhhir'a. Credits: Hieromonk Makariy, 2022.



M. Mankovits, Theotokos, painting of iconostasis in Pastilky. Credits: Szilveszter Terdik, 2017.



The iconostasis of the former Greek Catholic church in Pastilky. Credits: Szilveszter Terdik, 2017.



Detail of Theotokos in Pastilky. Credits: Szilveszter Terdik, 2017.





M. Mankovits, Theotokos, painting of the former iconostasis in Novosad. Copyright: Zemplínska múzeum v Michalovciach.



M. Mankovits, Jesus Christ, painting of the former iconostasis in Novosad. Copyright: Zemplínska múzeum v Michalovciach.



St Cosmas the Unmercenary Physician. Detail of the painting of the former iconostasis in Fulianka. Credits: Szilveszter Terdik, 2017.



St Damian the Unmercenary Physician. Detail of the painting of the former iconostasis in Fulianka. Credits: Szilveszter Terdik, 2017.





M. Mankovits, Theotokos. Iconostasis, Greek Catholic church in Ňagov. Credits: Tamás Mankovits, 2017.



M. Mankovits, Christ the High Priest. Iconostasis, Greek Catholic church in Ňagov. Credits: Tamás Mankovits, 2017.



M. Mankovits, Pietà. Altarpiece, Greek Catholic church in Inovce. Credits: Tamás Mankovits, 2017.



J. Mihályi (?), The Protection of the Virgin. The former altarpiece of the Chapel in Uzhhorod-Ceholnya. Source: MIKITA 1891.





The iconostasis of the Greek Catholic church in Inovce. Credits: Tamás Mankovits, 2017.



The iconostasis of the Greek Catholic church in Abaújszántó. Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.





J. Miklóssy, St John the Baptist. Iconostasis, Greek Catholic church in Abaújszántó. Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.



J. Miklóssy, St Nicholas. Iconostasis, Greek Catholic church in Abaújszántó. Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.



J. Miklóssy, Jesus Christ. Iconostasis, Greek Catholic church in Abaújszántó. Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.



The altar of the Greek Catholic church in Homrogd. Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.





The iconostasis of the Greek Catholic church in Homrogd. Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.



M. Wandza, Theotokos. Iconostasis, Homrogd. Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.



M. Wandza, Jesus Christ. Iconostasis, Homrogd. Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.





The iconostasis of the Greek Catholic church in Abod. Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.



Cima da Conegliano – W. Overbeck, *Salvator Mundi*, engraving



A. Tikos, Jesus Christ. Iconostasis, Greek Catholic Cathedral, Prešov.





The iconostasis of the Greek Catholic church in Černina. Credits: Szilveszter Terdik, 2009



J. Rombauer, Annunciation. Iconostasis, Černina. Credits: Szilveszter Terdik, 2009.



J. Rombauer, St Nicholas. Iconostasis, Černina. Credits: Szilveszter Terdik, 2009.





The iconostasis of the Greek Catholic church in Kány. Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.



J. Boda, Theotokos. Iconostasis, Kány.  
Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.





The iconostasis of the Greek Catholic church in Irota. Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.



Gy. Szabó, The Virgin Mary. Felsőzsolca, Greek Catholic church. Credits: Tamás Seres, 2023.



Gy. Szabó, The Virgin Mary. Sajópetri, Greek Catholic church. Credits: Szilveszter Terdik, 2009.





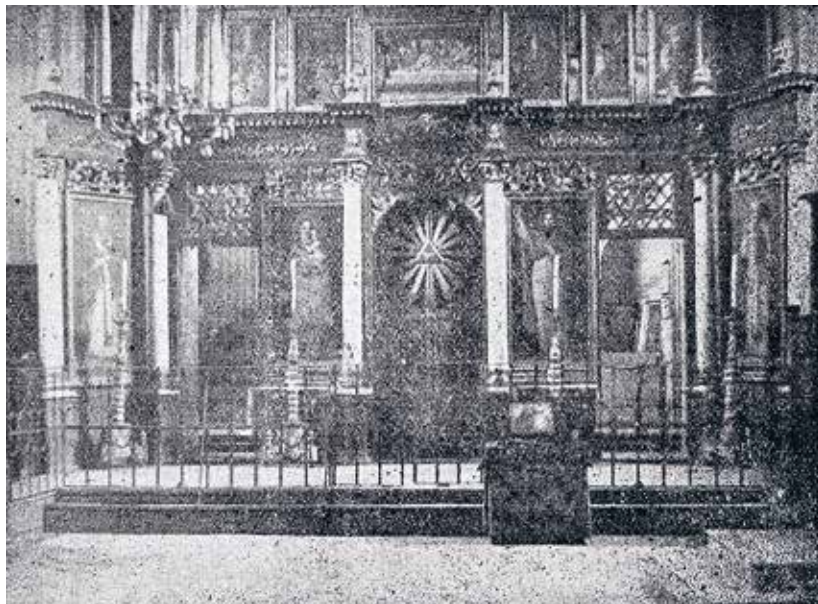
# CARVERS AND PAINTERS BETWEEN 1820 AND 1860



The Royal Doors. Iconostasis, Stanča. Credits: Gellért Áment, 2017.



The iconostasis of the Greek Catholic church in Kráska. Credits: Hieromonk Makariy, 2010.



The former iconostasis of the Basilian Monastery church in Mukachevo.  
(*Listok*, 1896)



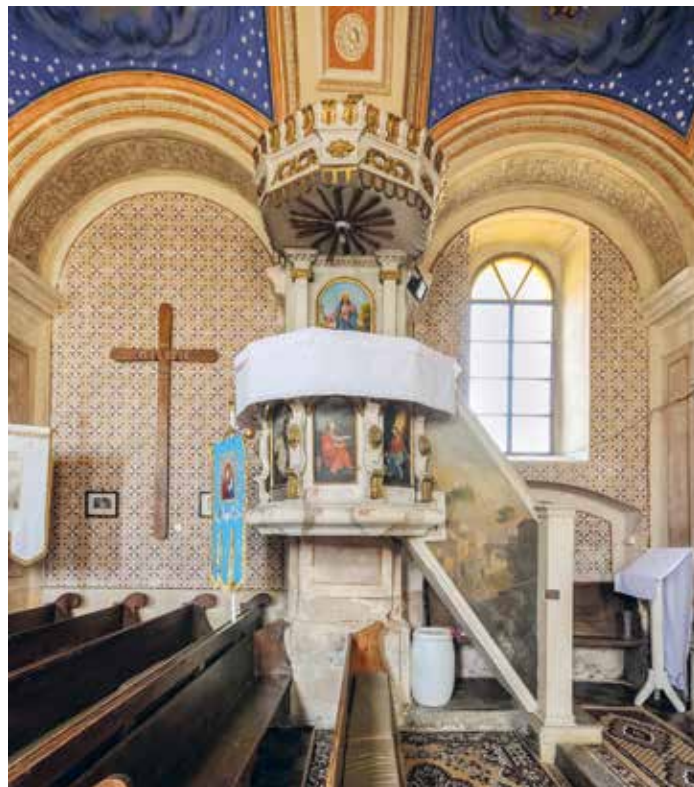


The iconostasis of the Greek Catholic church in Streda nad Bodrogom. Credits: Gellért Áment, 2017.



The iconostasis of the Greek Catholic church in Buj. Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.





The pulpit of the Greek Catholic church in Aranyosapáti.  
Credits: Gábor Gaylhoffer-Kovács, 2013.



The iconostasis of the Greek Catholic church in Dobrá. Credits: Vivien Hutóczki, 2014.





The altar of the Greek Catholic church in Pol'any.  
Credits: Gellért Áment, 2017.



The pulpit of the Greek Catholic church in Pol'any.  
Credits: Gellért Áment, 2017.



G. Szalóki(?), The Last Supper. Iconostasis, Stanča.  
Credits: Gellért Áment, 2017.



The iconostasis of the Greek Catholic church in Stanča.  
Credits: Gellért Áment, 2017.





G. Szalóki (?), Christ, the High Priest. Iconostasis, Stanča.  
Credits: Gellért Áment, 2017.



G. Szalóki (?), St Michael the Archangel. Iconostasis, Stanča.  
Credits: Gellért Áment, 2017.



G. Szalóki (?), Annunciation. Iconostasis, Stanča.  
Credits: Gellért Áment, 2017.



G. Szalóki (?), Presentaion of the Lord in the Temple.  
Iconostasis, Stanča. Credits: Gellért Áment, 2017.





The pulpit of the Greek Catholic church in Stanča. Credits: Gellért Áment, 2017.



Jesus and Samaritan Woman. Pulpit, Stanča. Credits: Gellért Áment, 2017.



The Sower. Pulpit, Stanča Credits: Gellért Áment, 2017.



Flowers. Pulpit, Stanča. Credits: Gellért Áment, 2017.





The iconostasis of the Greek Catholic church in Bodrogkeresztúr. Credits: Bakos Zoltán, 2011.



Inscription on the back of the Tabernacle in the Roman Catholic church Bodrogkeresztúr. Credits: Szilveszter Terdik, 2023.



The altar of the Greek Catholic church in Stanča. Credits: Gellért Áment, 2017.



Jesus and Samaritan Woman. Pulpit, Greek Catholic church, Bodrogkeresztúr. Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.





The iconostasis of the former Greek Catholic church in Ruske. Credits: Hieromonk Makariy, 2019.



J. Prighel, Apostles and Festal Icons. Iconostasis of Ruske. Credits: Hieromonk Makariy, 2019.



K. Schuller, St Matthew the Evangelist. Pulpit, Aranyosapáti. Credits: Gábor Gaylhoffer-Kovács, 2013.



K. Schuller, St Nicholas from Tornyospálca. Nyíregyháza, Greek Catholic Museum. Credits: Gellért Áment, 2020.





K. Schuller, Theotokos from Tornyospálca. Nyíregyháza, Greek Catholic Museum. Credits: Gellért Áment, 2017.



K. Schuller, Jesus Christ from Tornyospálca. Nyíregyháza, Greek Catholic Museum. Credits: Gellért Áment, 2017.



Friedrich John, *Salvator Mundi*, engraving, 1822.  
(Aglaja, 1822)



The altar of the Greek Catholic church in Tiszaadony.  
Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.





The iconostasis of the Greek Catholic church in Tăuții de Jos.  
Credits: Gellért Áment, 2017.



K. Schuller, Theotokos. Iconostasis,  
Tăuții de Jos.  
Credits: Gellért Áment, 2017.



K. Schuller, Jesus Christ.  
Iconostasis, Tăuții de Jos.  
Credits: Gellért Áment, 2017.



K. Schuller, St Nicholas. Iconostasis,  
Tăuții de Jos.  
Credits: Gellért Áment, 2017.





K. Schuller, St Michael.  
Iconostasis, Tăuții de Jos.  
Credits: Gellért Áment, 2017.



K. Schuller, Festal Paintings. Iconostasis, Tăuții de Jos. Credits: Gellért Áment, 2017.



K. Schuller, The Last Supper.  
Iconostasis, Tăuții de Jos.  
Credits: Gellért Áment, 2017.



K. Schuller, Festal Paintings. Iconostasis, Tăuții de Jos. Credits: Gellért Áment, 2017.





J. Krichbaum (?), St Basil the Great, mural in the sanctuary of the church in Zemplénagárd. Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.



J. Krichbaum (?), St John Chrysostom, mural in the sanctuary of the church in Zemplénagárd. Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.



The Royal Doors, iconostasis of Dobrá. Credits: Vivien Hutóczki, 2014.





The Ascension. Iconostasis, Dobrá.  
Credits: Hutóczki Vivien, 2014.



The X-ray photo of Ascension. Iconostasis, Dobrá.  
Credits: Mátyás Horváth, 2014.



J. Mihályi, The Circumcision and Annunciation. Festal icons,  
Dobrá. Credits: Vivien Hutóczki, 2014.



J. Mihályi, The Nativity and Baptism of Christ, Festal icons,  
Dobrá. Credits: Vivien Hutóczki, 2014.





The iconostasis of the Greek Catholic church in Zemplénagárd. Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.



The Royal Doors in Zemplénagárd. Credits: Szilveszter Terdik, 2010.



The Pelican of Royal Doors in Zemplénagárd. Credits: Szilveszter Terdik, 2010.





K. Unghi, The Twelve-Year-Old Jesus in the Temple. Mural, Săliște de Sus, St Nicholas wooden church



J. Mezey, The Entombment of Christ, Horbok. Credits: Hieromonk Makariy, 2020.



The iconostasis of the Greek Catholic church in Carei.



The former iconostasis of the Greek Catholic church in Csegöld, around 1900. Copyright: MÉM MDK



# EPARCHIAL PAINTER WANTED: RÉVÉSZ, VIDRA OR ROSKOVICS?



The Royal Doors, iconostasis of Buj. Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.



M. Krajnyák, A plan for the Eastern sepulchre to the Cathedral of Uzhhorod, 1845. Copyright: DAZO



M. Krajnyák, A plan for the Eastern sepulchre to the Cathedral of Uzhhorod, 1845. Copyright: DAZO



M. Krajnyák, A plan for the Eastern sepulchre to the Cathedral of Uzhhorod, 1845. Copyright: DAZO



S. Vezendy (?), St Nicholas. Greek Catholic church, Palota. Credits: Hieromonk Makariy, 2010.



S. Vezendy (?), Jesus prays in the Garden of Gethsemane. Greek Catholic church, Palota. Credits: Hieromonk Makariy, 2010.





S. Vezendy (?), St Basil the Great. Copyright: Nyíregyháza, Görögkatolikus Múzeum



Gy. Révész, St Michael the Archangel. Iconostasis, Streda nad Bodrogom. Credits: Gellért Áment, 2017.



Gy. Révész, Theotokos. Iconostasis, Streda nad Bodrogom. Credits: Gellért Áment, 2017.



Gy. Révész, Jesus Christ. Iconostasis, Streda nad Bodrogom. Credits: Gellért Áment, 2017.





Gy. Révész, The Nativity and the Flight to Egypt. Iconostasis, Streda nad Bodrogom. Credits: Gellért Áment, 2017.



Gy. Révész, The Resurrection. Iconostasis, Streda nad Bodrogom. Credits: Gellért Áment, 2017.



Gy. Révész, The Ascension. Iconostasis, Streda nad Bodrogom. Credits: Gellért Áment, 2017.



The Ascension, engraving. Copyright: Pannonhalmi Főapátsági Múzeum





Gy. Révész, St John the Apostle. Iconostasis, Streda nad Bodrogom. Credits: Gellért Áment, 2017.



Gy. Révész, St Jude the Apostle. Iconostasis, Streda nad Bodrogom. Credits: Gellért Áment, 2017.



Gy. Révész, Three Prophets. Iconostasis, Streda nad Bodrogom. Credits: Gellért Áment, 2017.



The Royal Doors. Iconostasis, Streda nad Bodrogom. Credits: Gellért Áment, 2017.





Gy. Révész, St Luke the Evangelist. Iconostasis, Streda nad Bodrogom. Credits: Gellért Áment, 2017.



Gy. Révész, The Holy Trinity, Streda nad Bodrogom. Credits: Gellért Áment, 2017.



Gy. Révész, St Luke the Evangelist. The former Iconostasis of Nižný Hrabovec. Copyright: Zemplínska múzeum v Michalovciach.



Gy. Révész (?), St Luke the Evangelist. Iconostasis, Rakoshino. Credits: Hieromonk Makariy, 2019.





Gy. Révész (?), Apostles and Festal Icons. Iconostasis, Rakoshino. Credits: Hieromonk Makariy, 2019.



Gy. Révész, The Last Supper, oil on canvas, 1857. Hajdúdorog, Cathedral. Credits: Gellért Áment, 2020



The iconostasis of the Greek Catholic church in Aranyosapáti. Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.



The altar of the Greek Catholic church in Sátoraljaújhely. Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.



Gy. Révész, St Stephen destroys the idols in Hungary. A former mural in the Cathedral of Hajdúdorog. (*Listok*, 15.05.1892, p. 114.)



Gy. Révész, Jesus Christ, Sátoraljaújhely. Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.

Gy. Révész, The God Father, Sátoraljaújhely. Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.





F. Vidra, The Royal Doors and two icons of the iconostasis in Buj. Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.



F. Vidra, Sts Peter and Paul. Iconostasis, Buj. Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.



M. Spalinszky – F. Vidra, Theotokos. Iconostasis, Cathedral, Uzhhorod. Credits: Maxim Mordovin, 2006.



F. Vidra, The Exaltation of the Holy Cross. The former mural of the Cathedral in Uzhhorod. (*Listok* 1892, p. 270.)



M. Spalinszky – F. Vidra, Jesus Christ. Iconostasis, Cathedral, Uzhhorod. Credits: Maxim Mordovin, 2006.





The iconostasis of the Greek Catholic Cathedral in Prešov. Credits: Szilveszter Terdik, 2014.



The former iconostasis of the Greek Catholic church in Mukachevo, postcard. Copyright: BIGKKL



The former iconostasis of the Greek Catholic church in Mukachevo, postcard. Copyright: BIGKKL





The Royal Doors and two icons of the iconostasis in Kalná Roztoka. Credits: Szilveszter Terdik, 2008.



A. Mihályi (?), St Nicholas. Greek Catholic church, Ubla. Credits: Hieromonk Makariy, 2010.



A. Mihályi (?), St Michael. Greek Catholic church, Ubla. Credits: Hieromonk Makariy, 2010.



The iconostasis of the Greek Catholic church in Nyírkársz. Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.



The Royal Doors of Nyírkársz. Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.





The iconostasis of the Greek Catholic church in Ópályi.  
Credits: Gellért Áment, 2014.



The iconostasis of the Greek Catholic church in Garadna.  
Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.



F. Vidra, Theotokos. Iconostasis, Garadna.  
Credits: Szilveszter Terdik, 2009.



F. Vidra, Jesus Christ. Iconostasis, Garadna.  
Credits: Szilveszter Terdik, 2009.



F. Vidra, Sts Andrew and Peter. Iconostasis, Garadna.  
Credits: Szilveszter Terdik, 2009.



F. Vidra, Sts Paul and John. Iconostasis, Garadna.  
Credits: Szilveszter Terdik, 2009.





F. Vidra. St David the Prophet. Iconostasis, Garadna.  
Credits: Szilveszter Terdik, 2009.



F. Vidra, St Aaron. Iconostasis, Garadna.  
Credits: Szilveszter Terdik, 2009.



The iconostasis of the Greek Catholic church in Nyirkáta. Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.





The iconostasis of the former Greek Catholic church in Vyshkovo. Credits: Hieromonk Makariy, 2019.



The iconostasis of the Greek Catholic church in Tiszavasvári. Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.





I. Roskovics, Theotokos. Iconostasis, Tiszavasvári.  
Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.



I. Roskovics, Jesus Christ. Iconostasis, Tiszavasvári.  
Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.



The iconostasis of the former  
Greek Catholic church in Krasna.  
Credits: Mykhaylo Koshilka, 2019.





I. Roskovics, *Patrona Hungariae*, oil on canvas. Budapest, Rózsák tere. Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.



The iconostasis of the Greek Catholic church in Budapest, Rózsák tere. Credits: Gellért Áment, 2021.



I. Roskovics, *Theotokos*. Iconostasis, Budapest, Rózsák tere. Credits: Gellért Áment, 2021.



I. Roskovics, *Jesus Christ*. Iconostasis, Budapest, Rózsák tere. Credits: Gellért Áment, 2021.



I. Roskovics, *The Last Supper*. Iconostasis, Budapest, Rózsák tere. Credits: Gellért Áment, 2021.





K. Gy. Fenczik, Sts Cyril and Method, a former mural in the Greek Catholic church of Mukachevo. (*Listok*, 01.12.1891, p. 270.)



The iconostasis of the Greek Catholic church in Nyírbétek. Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.



The iconostasis of the Greek Catholic church in Nyírgyulaj. Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.





The iconostasis of the Greek Catholic church in Oros. Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.



The iconostasis of the Greek Catholic church in Napkor. Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.





The pulpit of the Greek Catholic church in Tokaj.  
Credits: Szilveszter Terdik, 2009.



The iconostasis of the Greek Catholic church in Ulič.  
Credits: Hieromonk Makariy, 2010.



The iconostasis of the Greek Catholic church in Felsőzsolca. Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.





I. Spisák, St Nicholas. Iconostasis, Choňkovce.  
Credits: Hieromonk Makariy, 2010.



I. Spisák, Theotokos. Iconostasis, Choňkovce.  
Credits: Hieromonk Makariy, 2010.



I. Spisák, The Protection of the Virgin, altarpiece, Choňkovce.  
Credits: Hieromonk Makariy, 2010.





The iconostasis of the Greek Catholic church in Timár. Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.



I. Hegedűs, Theotokos. Iconostasis, Zemplín.  
Credits: Hieromonk Makariy, 2023.

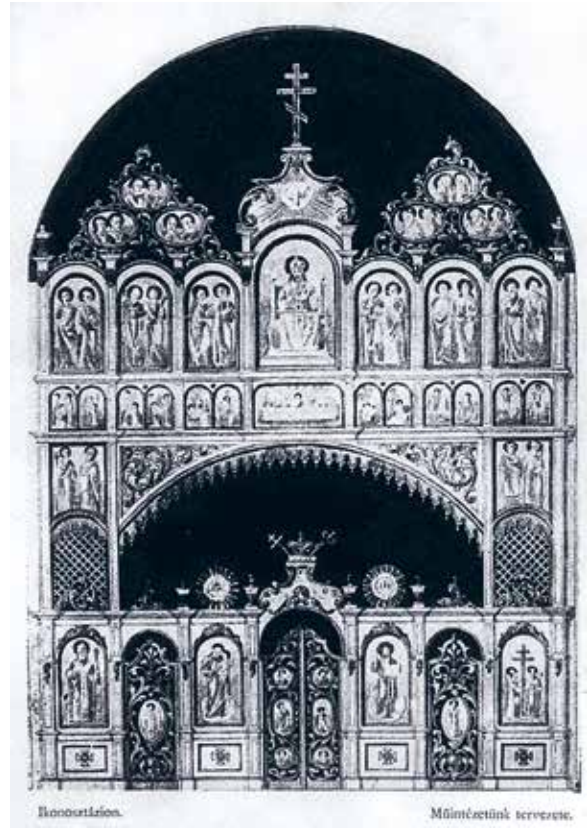


I. Hegedűs, Jesus Christ. Iconostasis, Zemplín.  
Credits: Hieromonk Makariy, 2023.





The iconostasis of the Greek Catholic church in Zemplín.  
Credits: Hieromonk Makariy, 2023.



Plan of an iconostasis.  
(*Egyházi Műipar*, 6 [1905], 3. szám, p. 8.)



The iconostasis of the Greek Catholic church in Sajópetri. Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.





The iconostasis of the Greek Catholic church in Felsővadász.  
Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.



Inscription on the back of the iconostasis of Felsővadász.  
Credits: Szilveszter Terdik, 2010.



The plan of the iconostasis of Šumiac.  
(*Egyházi Műipar*, 2 [1901], 3. szám, p. 9.)



The iconostasis of the Greek Catholic church in Šumiac.  
Credits: Hieromonk Makarij, 2022.





The altar of the Greek Catholic Cathedral in Debrecen. Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2010.

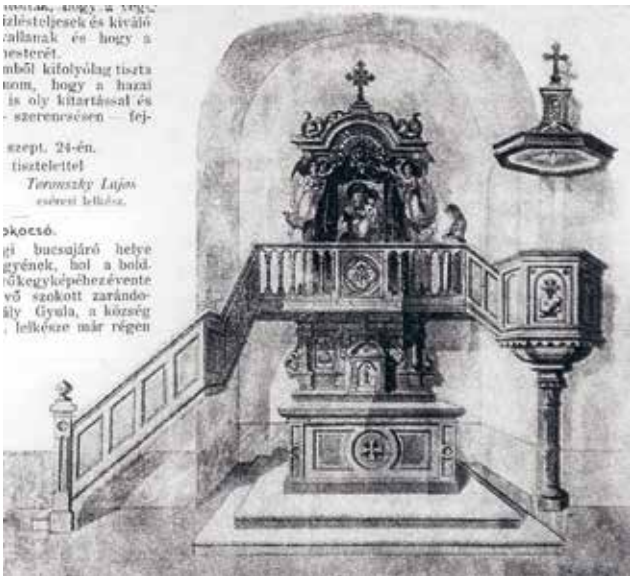


The iconostasis of the Greek Catholic church in Jánk. Credits: Tamás Gánicz, 2010.



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 Toroszy Lajos  
 eseméi lelkész.

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 lelkésze már régen



The iconostasis of the former Basilian church in Mukachevo, postcard.

The plan of the altar of Klokočov.  
 (*Egyházi Műipar*, 5 [1904], 6. szám, p. 5.)



The iconostasis of the former Basilian church in Mukachevo.  
 Credits: László Legeza, 1989.



The plan of the side altar of Abaújszántó.  
Copyright: MEL



The side altar of Abaújszántó.  
Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011



# CHANGING ART TRENDS IN THE 20TH CENTURY (1912–1972)



The Royal Doors. Iconostasis, Alsóregmec. Credits: Gellért Áment, 2021.





The Main Entrance of the Museum of Applied Arts in Budapest.  
Credits: Gellért Áment, 2011.

The altar of the Greek Catholic Cathedral in Miskolc.  
Credits: Tamás Tóth, 2023.



The iconostasis of  
the Greek Catholic  
Cathedral in Miskolc.  
Credits:  
Zoltán Bakos, 2011.





Theotokos. Iconostasis, Miskolc.  
Credits: Tamás Tóth, 2023.



Jesus Christ. Iconostasis, Miskolc.  
Credits: Tamás Tóth, 2023.



The iconostasis of the Greek Catholic church in Újfehértó. Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.





The altar of the Greek Catholic church in Nagykálló.  
Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.



The iconostasis of the Greek Catholic church in Tolcsva. Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.





The iconostasis of the Greek Catholic church in Kállósemjén. Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.



The iconostasis of the Greek Catholic church in Sajószöged. Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.





The iconostasis of the Greek Catholic church in Múcsöy. Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.



The interior of the Greek Catholic church in Rakaca. Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.





The interior of the Greek Catholic church in Alsóregmec.  
Credits: Gellért Áment, 2021.



The altar of the Greek Catholic church in Alsóregmec.  
Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.



The Throne, Alsóregmec. Credits: Gellért Áment, 2021.



G. Szegedi Molnár, Protection of the Virgin. Mural, Greek Catholic church, Csegöld. Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011

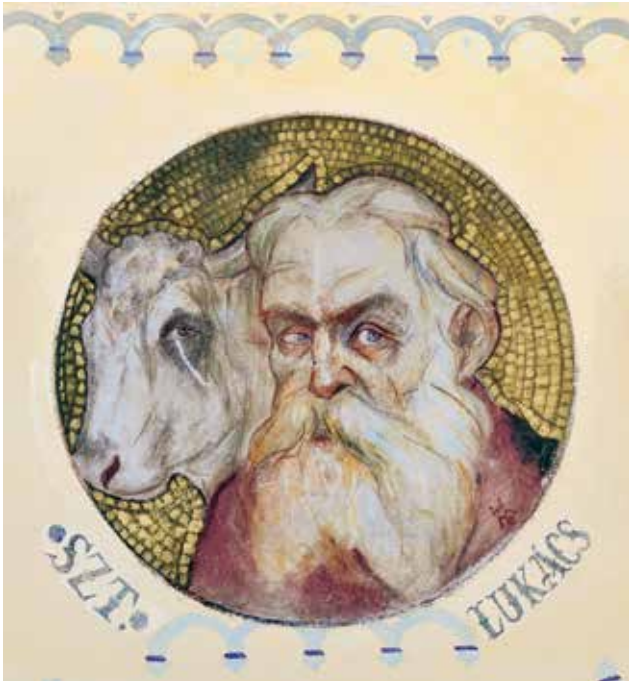




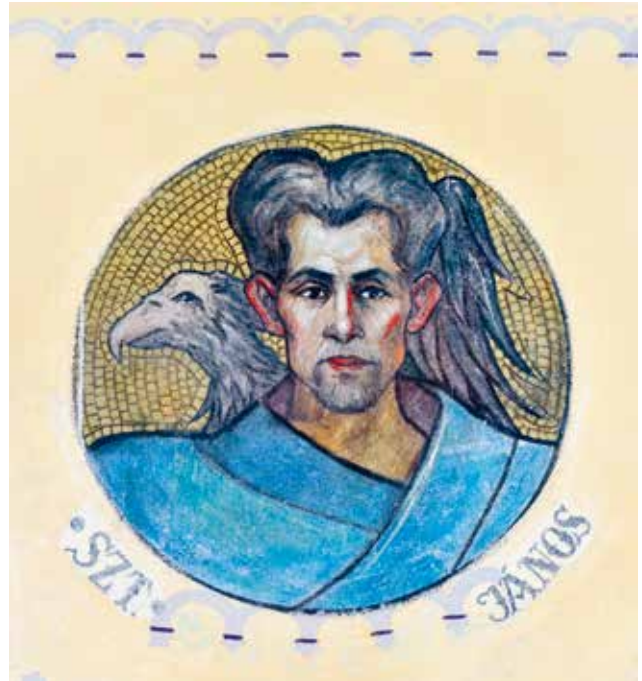
The church in Csegöld under reconstruction, 1931. Copyright: GKPL



G. Szegedi Molnár and his drawing for the mural of Csegöld, 1931. Copyright: GKPL



G. Szegedi Molnár, St Luke the Evangelist. Mural, Csegöld. Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.



G. Szegedi Molnár, St John the Evangelist. Mural, Csegöld. Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.



L. Benke, *Agnus Dei*. Mural, Csegöld. Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.



The interior of the Greek Catholic church in Nyírbátor. Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.





G. Szegedi Molnár, Crucifixion. Mural, Nyírbátor.  
Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.



The iconostasis of the Greek Catholic church in Kisléta. Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.



The interior of the Greek Catholic church in Vértés (Létavértés). Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.





G. Veress, Protection of the Virgin. Mural, Vértés.  
Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.



The iconostasis of the Greek Catholic church in Nagydobos.  
Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.



The iconostasis of the Greek Catholic church in Piricse. Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.



The iconostasis of the Greek Catholic church in Vencsellő.  
Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.



The altar of the Greek Catholic church in Álmosd.  
Credits: Szilveszter Terdik, 2021.





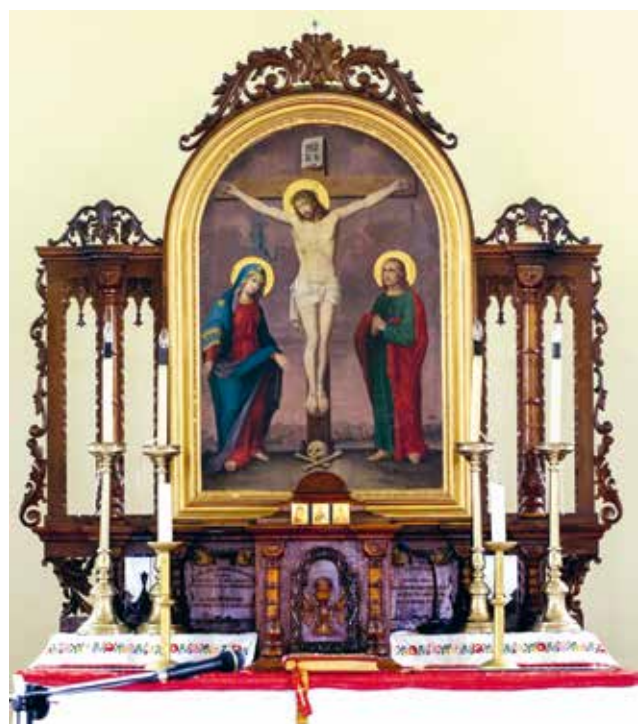
The altar of the Greek Catholic church in Nyírbátor.  
Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.



The altar of the Greek Catholic church in Porcsalma.  
Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.



The altar of the Greek Catholic church in Nagyléta  
(Létavértes). Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.



The altar of the Greek Catholic church in Pocsaj.  
Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.





The altar of the Greek Catholic church in Vértés.  
Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.



The former altars of the Basilian Chapel in Hajdúdorog.  
Copyright: NSZBRGY



M. Petrasovszky, St Stephen of Hungary and his wife visit the nuns of Veszprémvölgy. Mural, Budapest, Rózsák tere.  
Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2013.



M. Petrasovszky, Virgin of the Perpetual Help.  
Altarpiece, Greek Catholic church, Penészek.  
Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.





M. Petrasovszky, *The Martyrdom of Sts Peter and Paul*. Altarpiece, Greek Catholic church, Sárospatak.  
Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.



M. Petrasovszky, *Patrona Hungariae*. Mural in the Sanctaury of the church in Máriapócs.  
Credits: Gellért Áment, 2013.





Detail of the *Patrona Hungariae*. Credits: Gellért Áment, 2013.



J. Medveczky, The altar of St Nicholas. Greek Catholic church, Budapest, Fő utca. Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.



J. Medveczky, The Nativity. Greek Catholic church, Budapest, Fő utca. Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.



J. Boksay, The Evangelists, mural in the nave of the church in Máriapócs. Credits: Gábor Gaylhoffer-Kovács, 2013.





J. Medveczky, Jesus prays in the Garden of Gethsemane. Mural, Greek Catholic church, Budapest, Fő utca. Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011



J. Medveczky, The Exaltation of the Holy Cross. Mural, Greek Catholic church, Budapest, Fő utca. Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.



J. Medveczky, The Protection of the Virgin. Mural, Greek Catholic church, Budapest, Fő utca. Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.



B. Kontuly, The Nativity. Greek Catholic church, Budapest, Rózsák tere. Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.



B. Kontuly, The Crucifixion. Greek Catholic church, Budapest, Rózsák tere. Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.





G. Szegedi Molnár, The Disciples of Emmaus. Mural, Greek Catholic church, Nyírpilis. Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.



The Interior of the Cathedral of Nyíregyháza, around 1960. Copyright: GKPL IV-I. (Dudás-album)



G. Szegedi Molnár, Jesus Christ. A former mural in the Cathedral of Nyíregyháza, around 1960. Copyright: GKPL IV-I. (Dudás-album)



F. Lohr, The Protection of the Virgin. Mural in the Dome of the Cathedral in Debrecen. Credits: Gellért Áment, 2020.



The interior of the Cathedral in Debrecen, around 1960. Copyright: GKPL IV-I. (Dudás-album)





G. Szegedi Molnár, The Protection of the Virgin. Mural in the Sanctuary of the Cathedral in Debrecen.  
Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.



G. Szegedi Molnár, The Victims of bomb outrage in 1914. Mural in the Sanctuary of the Cathedral in Debrecen.  
Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.



G. Szegedi Molnár, The Procession of Máriapócs. Mural in the Sanctuary of the Cathedral in Debrecen.  
Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.



L. Benke, The Assumption. Mural, Greek Catholic church, Nagyléta (Létavértes). Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.



L. Benke, The Assumption. Mural, Greek Catholic church, Kállósején. Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.





M. Petrasovszky, St Basil the Great. Greek Catholic church, Máriapócs. Credits: Gellért Áment, 2021.



M. and L. Petrasovszky, Murals in the Greek Catholic church in Végardó (Sárospatak). Credits: Gellért Áment, 2021.

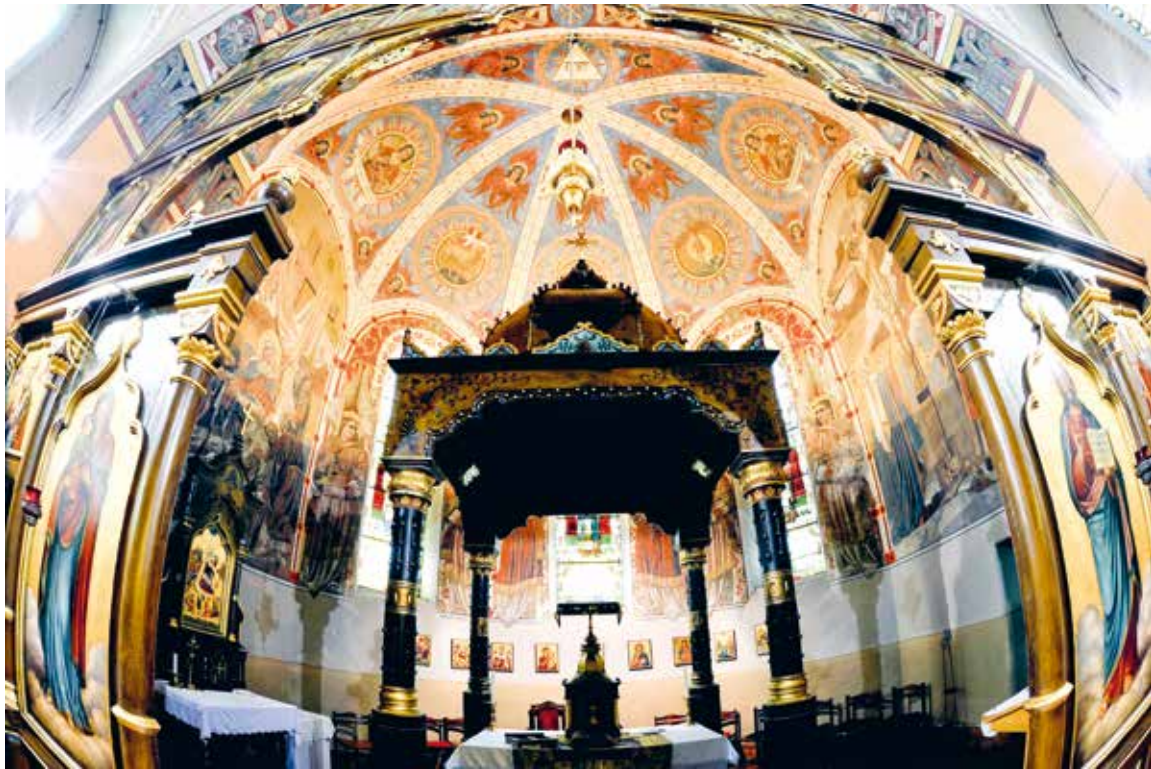


M. and L. Petrasovszky, Theotokos. Mural in the Cathedral of Miskolc. Credits: Gellért Áment, 2021.



M. and L. Petrasovszky, Mural in the Greek Catholic church in Végardó (Sárospatak). Credits: Gellért Áment, 2021.





M. and L. Petrasovszky, Mural in the Sanctuary of the Greek Catholic Cathedral in Miskolc. Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.



M. Petrasovszky, The Protection of the Virgin. Mural, Greek Catholic church, Szuhakálló. Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.



M. Petrasovszky, St Mark the Evangelist. Mural, Greek Catholic church, Görömböly (Miskolc). Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.



M. Petrasovszky, The Pantokrator. Mural, Greek Catholic church, Görömböly (Miskolc). Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.

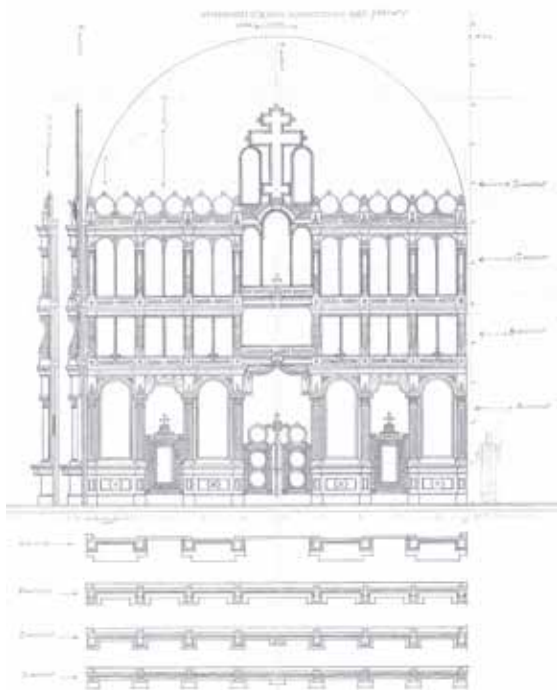




M. Petrasovszky, The Coronation of the Virgin. Altarpiece, Greek Catholic Cathedral, Hajdúdorog, Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.



M. Petrasovszky, St Nicholas. Greek Catholic church, Budapest, Rózsák tere. Credits: Gellért Áment, 2021.



M: Petrasovszky, The Plan of the Iconostasis of the Cathedral in Nyíregyháza, 1965. Copyright: GKPL



I. Mezőkövesdi Takács, The Preaching of St Peter. Mural, Greek Catholic church, Nyírlugos. Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.





The interior of the Greek Catholic church in Nyírlugos. Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.



I. Mezőkövesdi Takács, Christ sending the Apostles in Mission. Mural, Greek Catholic church, Nyírlugos. Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.

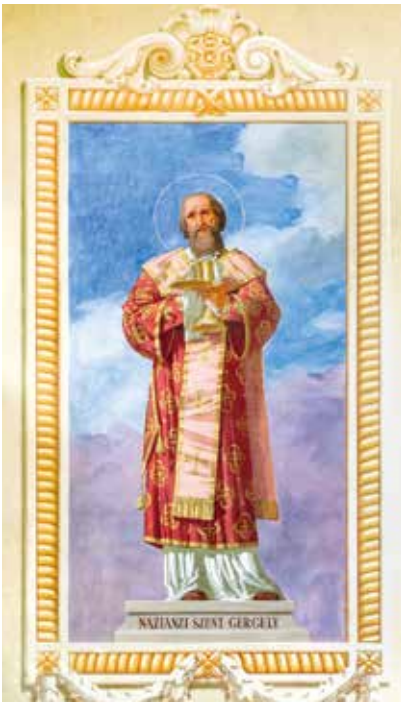


I. Mezőkövesdi Takács, The Saints of Hungary. Mural, Greek Catholic church, Nyírlugos. Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.



I. Mezőkövesdi Takács, The People of God. Mural, Greek Catholic church, Nyírlugos. Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.





I. Mezőkövesdi Takács, St Gregory of Nazianz. Mural, Greek Catholic church, Nyírlugos.  
Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.



I. Mezőkövesdi Takács, St Basil the Great. Mural, Greek Catholic church, Nyírlugos.  
Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.



I. Mezőkövesdi Takács, St John Chrysostom. Mural, Greek Catholic church, Nyírlugos.  
Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.



I. Mezőkövesdi Takács, The Preaching of St Paul. Mural, Greek Catholic church, Nyírlugos. Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.



I. Mezőkövesdi Takács, The Immaculate Conception. Mural, Greek Catholic church, Újfehértó.  
Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.





I. Mezőkövesdi Takács, The Ascension. Mural, Greek Catholic church, Hejőkeresztúr. Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.



The altar of the Greek Catholic church in Hejőkeresztúr. Credits: István Baán, 1970's.



J. Szilágyi, Deesis. Mural, Greek Catholic church, Mátészalka. Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.



J. Szilágyi, The Dormition of the Virgin. Mural, Greek Catholic church, Csengerújfalú. Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.



J. Szilágyi, The Crucifixion. Mural, Greek Catholic church, Csengerújfalú. Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.





The iconostasis of the Greek Catholic church in Nyírmártonfalva. Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.



The iconostasis of the Seminary Chapel of Nyíregyháza. Credits: Gellért Áment, 2020.

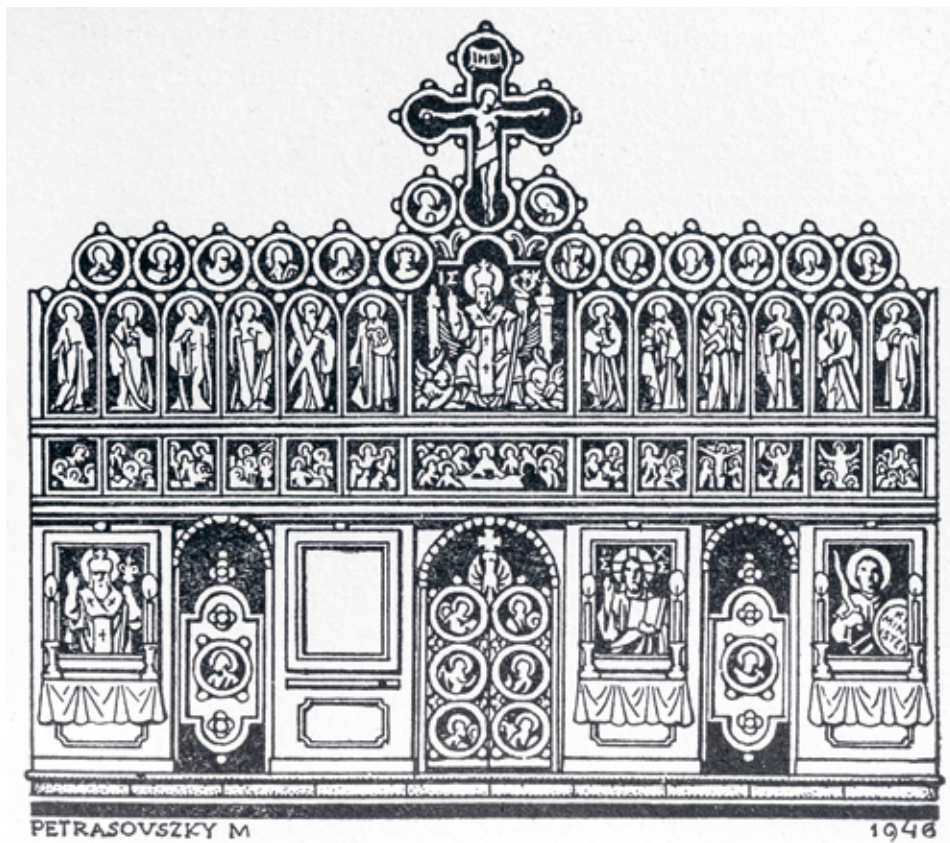


The iconostasis of the Greek Catholic church in Anacs. Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.



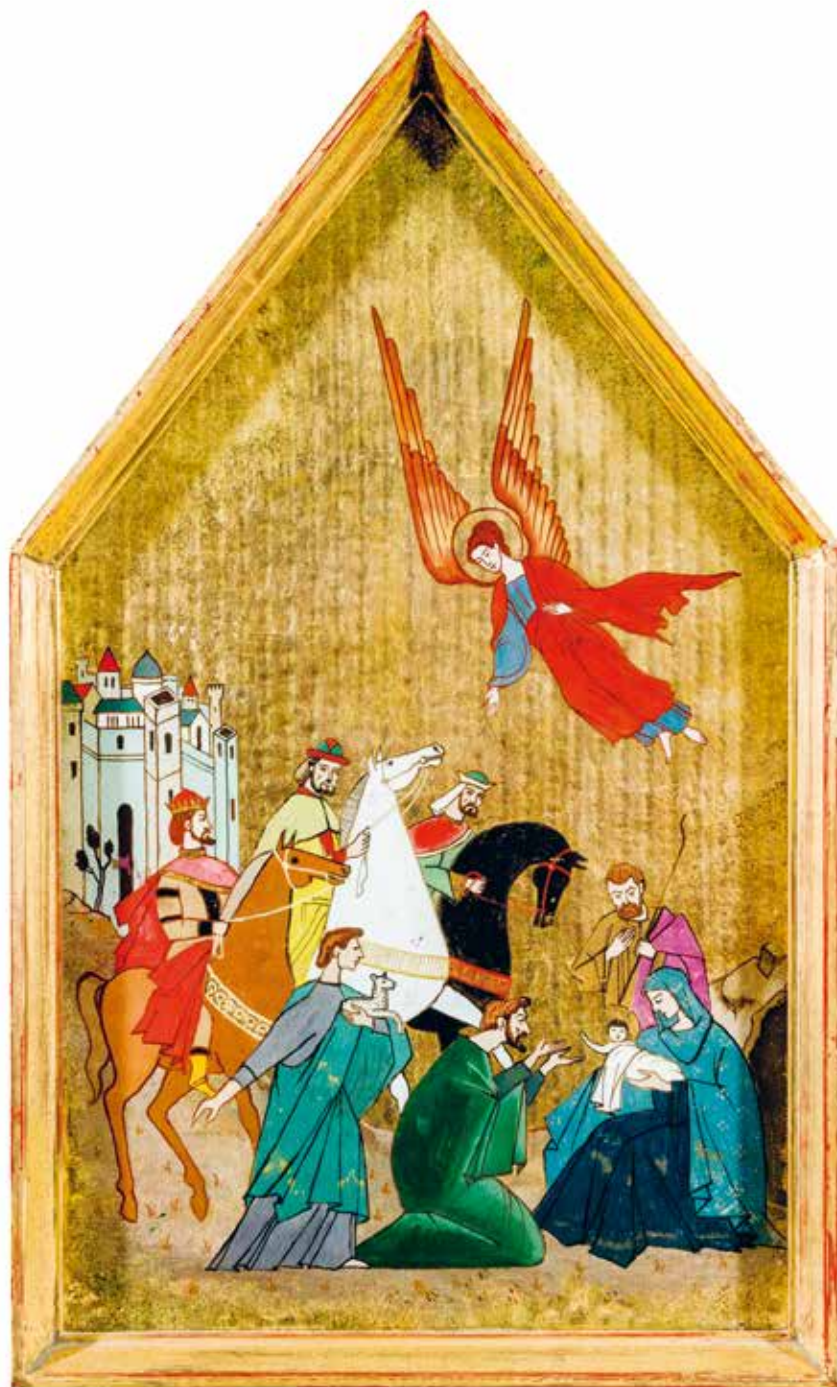


The iconostasis of the Greek Catholic church in Rozsály. Credits: Zoltán Bakos, 2011.



M. Petrasovszky, The iconostasis of the former wooden church of Máriapócs, book illustration.





J. Szilágyi, The Adoration of the Kings. Private Collection. Credits: Gellért Áment, 2020.