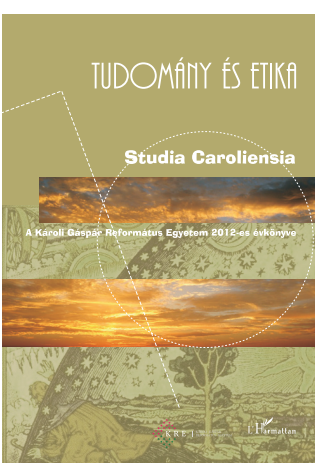
STUDIA CAROLIENSIA



This volume is the first, introductory volume of the Yearbook of Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church, born of the periodical Studia Caroliensia. The 2011 thematic volume focuses on Europeanness. The contributors, professors of the University deal with European issues in law, the arts, theology and the history of pedagogy.

The papers in the 2011 Yearbook address highly actual issues that have a broad social interest: the political-economic aspects of the Hungarian EU presidency, the issue of death penalty, the European situation of due process, political manipulation as a translation studies phenomenon and liturgical research today. The majority of the papers in the arts section connect to interculturalism and the search for identity as well as the European aspects of modern and contemporary Hungarian literature.



After the successful launch in 2011, readers now have the opportunity to browse the second Yearbook of Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church, entitled Studia Caroliensia. The idea remains unchanged: we publish the academic writings of our professors annually, grouped around a topic of broader social interest. It is our professed aim to create a tradition that closely follows the century-old value-creating attitude of Calvinist culture. We decided to choose the relationship between science and ethics as the subject of our present yearbook. This is partly due to the endeavour to train specialists of a remarkable knowledge who take responsibility for the lines of development and fields of application in their respective areas. Another reason for choosing the subject is our preoccupation as researchers and educators of a new generation with a major question of the 21st century: can science develop, guided at the same time by fundamental moral and life-supporting values?

Confessionality and University in the Modern World – 20th Anniversary of "Károli" University

2013 Yearbook of Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church in Hungary

Edited by Enikő Sepsi, Péter Balla, Márton Csanády

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LECTORI SALUTEM!

The purpose of the conference organised at and by Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church in Hungary between the 15th and the 17th of October 2013 was to discuss the basic theological principles that led to the foundation of two new Christian Universities (Pázmány Péter Catholic University and Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church in Hungary) twenty years ago, after the collapse of Communism. The conference was initiated by KRE who proposed to host the event. The conference also intended to celebrate the founding of our university.

The work has been organised in three panels: *Christian Universities; Confessionality and Nation; Religiosity and Protestantism Today.*

Presenters of the first panel were asked to discuss the challenges and opportunities for Christian universities and to redefine a vision for their work and presence in the current postmodern, secular world. Representatives of both the Catholic and the Protestant Universities were requested to reflect upon their missions within the traditions of their respective European and North American Catholic and Protestant higher educational contexts.

Invited North American speakers were asked to reflect upon the past, present and future of their Christian educational heritage and to share their experience and insights with their Hungarian colleagues. We were deeply honoured by their symbolic presence at our university and we strongly believe that this ceremony has strengthened not only personal but our respective institutional relations as well.

Special attention was given to introducing the activities of the two Christian Universities in Hungary as well as the one in Lithuania and the two Hungarian-speaking Christian Universities in Transylvania (Romania).

This conference panel was an essential part of a three-day celebration, organised by the dean Enikő Sepsi and professor Tibor Fabiny, director of the Jonathan Edwards Centre and the Institute of English Studies at the Faculty of Humanities. The programme took first shape at Chicago Airport on their way back from Calvin College in Grand Rapids, Michigan, where the very inspiring annual IAPCHE meeting took place in Spring 2013.

The second panel was organised essentially by the rector Prof. Peter Balla and the dean of the Faculty of Theology, József Zsengellér and sponsored by the Centre of Reformed Culture and Public Life. The theme, confessionality and nation, had a certain topicality this year in Hungary. As the first speaker, Gottfried Adam *(*"Church and Education: Religious Education in Schools"*)* connect-

ed the topic of the first panel (education) to that of the second panel *(Confession and Nation).* Professor Adam highlighted the basic principles of the Church's educational efforts: a) the foundational task of opening access to the Gospel, b) education refers to human beings at any stage of their lives and educational careers. He maintained that a democratic and pluralistic state is open to including a positive appreciation of religious and other worldviews and co-operation with the relevant communities for the common good. Professor Adam supported the efforts of Hungarian churches to be present in schools with religious education.

István Karasszon ("National Identity and Confession in the Old Testament") and Viktor Kókai Nagy ("Confession and Nation in the Writings of Paul") shed light on the Biblical roots of the notions confession and nation. On the one hand, in the Old Testament the celebration of national identity moves within the framework of a triangle: individual – community – and the mighty acts of God in history. The given society should shape its social institutions in accordance with this confessional statement. On the other hand, according to the writings of Paul what binds the community together is not the matter of human descendence, which is the will of the flesh, but being born of the Holy Spirit, which is the act of God. Such a community will declare what was previously the characteristic of the Jews, that they will be the beloved of God, called to be saints, the elect children of God, who can call him Father (Romans 8,14-17). In the early church to be a Christian did not mean giving up the self, but it meant giving up one's nationality.

The last two papers concerned 20th century Hungarian church history. Réka Kiss ("National and Congregational Identity in the Shadow of Dictatorships") presented problems with the complex relations of church – nation – state in the life and work of bishop László Ravasz, a confessor who not only experienced two totalitarian dictatorships, but for a long while governed the Church through the grim times of the 20th century. András Csűrös ("A Declaration of Confession, 1955") demonstrated how difficult it was during the communist era to make an open confession. The authors of the "Declaration of Confession" in 1955 did not know they were writing a document of ecclesial history. And even though this confession did not change the situation of the Hungarian Reformed Church, its content and the courage of their writers teach us still today how to be confessional during critical periods for the nation.

The panel session on the third day entitled *Religiosity and Protestantism Today* was organised by Márton Csanády and our sociologists at Károli Gáspár University and was opened by the former Prime Minister of the Netherlands, professor Jan-Peter Balkenende. This panel examined the change in the role of

religion in international and Hungarian context. Presentations of the first half of the panel session introduced trends taking place in the Netherlands, Germany and the United States of America. The participating researchers of religiosity focused most prominently on the changing role of Protestant churches in society, as well as issues of individualisation and secularisation. How to express a Protestant identity in public and everyday life was also discussed.

During the second half of the panel session, various data from Hungarian empirical research studies were closely scrutinised. Evidenced by census data since the 19th century up to more recent times, presentations showed both a decline in denominational commitment and a change in the respective shares of Protestantism and Catholicism within the population. Other papers focused on the past two decades. Based on secondary analysis of diverse datasets, authors analysed the relationship between regional differences, settlement types, age, as well as other socio-economic factors and, on the other hand, religiosity. Approaching these issues from different perspectives, the researchers discussed, several themes such as youth religiosity shaping the future religious composition of the society, or the importance of churches as social actors.

We hope this anniversary volume will launch other fruitful discussions and reflections on our respective specific institutional missions, engaged in a world where religious decline and unchurching is a tangible phenomenon.

Advent 2013.

Prof. Dr. Péter Balla
Rector

Dr. Enikő Sepsi
Dean of the Faculty of Humanities

GREETINGS AND SALUTATIONS

Reverend Bishops and Chief Curators,
Honoured Rectors,
Dear Celebrating Brothers and Sisters,
Dear Guests,

I am delighted to convey greetings in the name of the Reformed Theological University of Debrecen to the leading board, professors, guests, and all the students of the Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church in Hungary, and to this truly significant conference devoted to the celebration of the twentieth anniversary of its foundation. I would like to convey Rector Dr. Károly Fekete's warmest regards to the Károli Gáspár University and those present. Unfortunately, he cannot be here because of a previously agreed engagement abroad. Furthermore, I am also greeting those present in the name of the entire community of our university. We consider the Károli Gáspár University both a sister institution, and one of the most significant partners in training church workers and intellectuals in the Reformed Church.

Our University, as a member of the Reformed College of Debrecen, is celebrating its four hundred and seventy fifth anniversary of its foundation. This is more than twenty times twenty two years. However, only two years ago did our institution become a university in the classic sense, when the church district merged it with the Kölcsey Ferenc Reformed Teacher Training College in Debrecen. Since 2011 we have offered both secular programmes in addition to theological courses; within our region we provide teachers, informatics librarians, journalists, and other professionals in the field of communications. And though the number of our student body and teaching staff has more than trebled with institutional integration, two years is still only a tenth of twenty and the current one thousand is still only a fraction of that of the Károli University.

Thus it has happened that the Reformed Theological University of Debrecen with its four hundred and seventy five years and rich cultural and historical heritage is the uncle of the Károli University on its mother's side, on the one hand, whilst on the other hand it is the younger brother of the university in Budapest. The younger brother who is eager to learn and see good examples and can learn the most about the state of the Reformed University, its mission, the harmony between its theological and secular programmes, and besides its heritage he can learn from both the failures avoided and results achieved.

Reformed spirituality and University – even today, these two concepts do not combine as naturally as these others: Reformed spirituality and public education,

Reformed spirituality and general education, Reformed spirituality and the birth of the natural sciences in Hungary, or Hungarian literature and Reformed Bible-orientedness.

Truth be told, university-level education has been the norm at Reformed colleges throughout the centuries, and later on other faculties appeared within these colleges: teacher training, humanities, and law schools. There are historic reasons for these colleges not having attained university status, and they did not really wish for it for a long time out of fear of losing their western contacts. Just as there are historic reasons that the Transtibiscan Reformed Church District gave up the idea to turn its college into a church university. On behalf of national unity, it offered its three-faculty academy to the new state university to be founded in the late nineteenth century. And though during the communist dictatorship the academy was asked to leave the state university and once again was run by the Reformed church, it never lost its university privilege of offering doctoral degrees, just as the predecessor of the Károli University, the Reformed Theological Academy in Budapest, was entitled to this right. Nevertheless, as institutions without faculties, neither of them were able to achieve the classic university ideal, and to integrate besides theology, humanities, sciences, medicine, law or pedagogy. Quite the opposite, the training of ministers in Budapest and Debrecen went on in an ideologically hostile medium, was paralysed financially and was forced into a spiritual ghetto. Then ministers were sent out into a society which had officially blotted church heritage from its history, and declared the Christian faith, its worldview, theology and institutional church structure to be the most dangerous plague of common people and of the intellectual elite.

After the democratic change at the end of the 1980s, Budapest and the Danubian Church District had the privilege of being the first to establish a Reformed Church University for the first time in Hungarian history. A Reformed University that was what a university is meant to be, not only in level of education, but also in its name, its legal position and its social embeddedness. It teaches and trains professionals at the highest academic level, all the while conveying church values to students and through its graduates to society at large.

As heir to the Reformed College of Debrecen, and making use of the two decades' experience of the Károli university, we too want to develop a university that is a church institution not simply because it trains both ministers and religion teachers in one of its institutes, but also because in questions of doctrine it stands on the Holy Scripture, and sees the confessions and decrees of the Reformed Church as binding on itself. It expects its teaching staff, all employees

and students to have respect for the whole range of Reformed values. Though far beyond this legal minimum we cherish a braver vision which cannot be achieved by regulations, but only through the power of the Spirit, through the pedagogic and tutorial work of generations of teachers: We hope to become a university where in every faculty, programme, and training course, students and staff will know the articles of faith and traditions of the Hungarian Reformed Church, accept Christian values, and can convey them to the Hungarian public education and cultural institution system authentically, with inner conviction and with love for their church.

On behalf of the Reformed Theological University, I wish the Károli Gáspár University much strength to fulfil its everyday tasks, to achieve its aims and its long-term strategy! On behalf of the sister institution in Debrecen, I wish on the entire community of the Károli Gáspás University God's providential love, the strength of the Spirit, and the joy of work well done. I wish you professional success, a friendly atmosphere, and above all students with a true thirst for more and more knowledge, with a longing for real intellectual existence.

Prof. Dr. Zoltán Kustár
Vice-Rector
Debrecen Reformed Theological University

Honourable Mr. President of Károli Gáspár
Reformed University,
Honoured Ladies and Gentlemen, Dear Sisters and Brothers,
Dear teachers and students,

With great honour and respect I would like to greet the Károli Gáspár Reformed University on behalf of the Evangelical Lutheran Theological University on this special conference day. Our institution belongs to the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Hungary. Our institution has its roots in the education of pastors that started back in 1557 in Sopron. This historical influence has marked Lutheran theological thinking and also the life and ministry of pastors, teachers and religious educators.

Our institution had to move to Budapest in 1951 and since then it has been functioning as the Evangelical Lutheran Theological University. At present we have 170 students – 71 of them are preparing for the pastoral ministry, others are preparing to be religious-education teachers, congregational workers or church musicians. We offer studies that are important for the life and work of our church. We have 15 full-time teaching staff and 20 other teachers help our teaching ministry with special courses.

What can be seen from these numbers is that the most important thing for us is the education of pastors for congregations in Hungary. But of course, we would also like to offer the academic background for the educational and academic ministry of the church. Since the changes in our society, the education of religious educator has developed as the demand has considerably grown both in schools and in congregations.

In the last decade we have also been educating teachers working in church-run schools. This is an upcoming possibility to extend theological education for those who teach children and young people in kindergartens, primary schools and in secondary schools. This is enriching for us, too, as we are experiencing a fresh and relevant dialogue in finding new answers to topical questions in interdisciplinary fields.

We feel specially blessed in the field of Master of Theology education. We have numerous interested people who are seeking theological education in their lives, but are not preparing for the pastoral ministry. Christian ethics and Biblical research theology has found a common way in this education field. This is a very interesting challenge for our academic staff, too and we are witnessing the development of a new theological vocabulary and a newly formulated curriculum

in this education. This activity – we hope – means the education of a future Christian intelligentsia.

When we look forward, we would like to see a vision that shows what kind of ministry will be needed in the church. We are in the kind of transitory period when the most we can do is to evaluate present needs. We are going through very important times in theological education, because the need – arising from our church and also from society – calls for a mission-oriented, open and theologically well-educated clergy. We would like to develop the areas of communication, community-building and also offer more practical types of education for everyone preparing for various types of ministry in our theological university.

It is not an easy task to find the funding for our teaching work, but the past decades have shown that members of our church and also the people who are interested in our education find what we do important. Research, intercommunication and knowledge-sharing are especially relevant in our teaching ministry. We are working for a Lutheran Centre of Knowledge, where pastors and lay people receive equal opportunities to attain relevant and useful knowledge so they can carry out a mutually enriching dialogue in relevant theological questions in our present society.

It is also crucial to keep our relationship with international theological faculties alive. Though our university has only one faculty, we are working on an open, interdisciplinary relationship with other academic fields, too. We are not a big institution, but in every year we organise conferences in many academic fields where we heartily welcome also the collegues of Károli Gáspár Reformed University. In the past 20 years we were able to organise various conferences and meetings, where Reformed and Lutheran academic teachers were able to teach and discuss important questions together. We hope that this co-operation will remain this strong and fruitful in the future.

Karl Barth has often refered to the indispensable idea of astonishment that stands at the beginning of every theological perception, inquiry and research. This astonishment is the joy of discovery. In every age we need to find this ability to be able to welcome the findings arising from the Word of God. This interest and this astonishment bring forth newer and newer questions. In our rapidly changing world, even theology and the academic field must be fresh and new. It has to be dynamic. We need to grasp burning and relevant questions. And these relevant questions must reach us, theologians, too, to be able to speak about all those questions that our contemporaries put forward. This must happen both on the personal and also on the community level. They are equally important.

In all these endeavours I wish rich blessings and results for our Reformed fraternal university. We would like to be part of your work, and we wish to mutually enrich each others' ministry and lives. I wish all of us to carry out research and teach the Word of God in such a way that it could become an open and honest ecumenical thinking in the future. God bless the life and the ministry of your university institution!

Prof. Dr. Lajos Szabó
Rector
Evangelical-Lutheran Theological University

Your Excellency, Magnificence, Dear Colleagues, Ladies and Gentlemen,

We are here to salute the Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church on its 20th birthday on behalf of the Rector and the leadership of the PPCU. It is an honour for us to be here to celebrate and to have the opportunity to say the following few words.

First and foremost it is worth mentioning that there is only one single year difference between the dates on which the PPCU and the Károli Gáspár University were established. We should emphasise that both of them have an ecclesiastical mission to fulfil, they supplement each other, and – the most important point – they accomplish this mission at the highest level of excellence for the benefit of Hungarian society.

They share the common feature that their mission statements incorporate values that are very similar for the philosophy of both universities. Firstly: humanism and Christian ethics are requirements for everybody starting from the reception desk right through the administration to the professors. Secondly: attention is expected from students in order to help and care for each other, and this must also be attained in the personal tutor-student relationship, not to mention the harmonious community of professors and tutors and instructors – whichever religious background they come from. We are aware that excellent professors are on the staff of the PPCU, who adhere to the Reformed Church, and professors of identical quality with a Catholic background are employed at the Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church. We also share the notion that spiritual and liturgical education plays a central role in the curriculum of both universities. This is one part of the lungs that breathe life, and the other part is the library for which both universities have made substantial efforts to obtain the highest quality acquisitions in the region of Central-Eastern Europe. We have been working on these assignments in order to achieve the high level of integrity of the Hungarian nation and the Hungarian people from both spiritual and physical points of view.

In a nutshell: our goals are identical.

May the blessings and the support of Our Almighty God and our Saviour Jesus Christ lead us on our common way and we specially supplicate for the good of the Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church.

Prof. Dr. György Fodor
Prorector
Pázmány Péter Catholic University

Ladies and Gentlemen, Dear Friends,

As the deputy rector of the Jewish Theological Seminary – University of Jewish Studies, I am greeting you on behalf of the Rector and the University Council of our institution on this special occasion. Thank you for the invitation and for the chance to introduce ourselves.

The present day institution is the legal successor of the Rabbinical Seminary founded in 1877, with the main goal to train rabbis with expertise not only in traditional Jewish studies but also in related secular subjects, such as classical and modern languages, exegesis, history, literature, etc. Among the professors of the Rabbinical Seminary we can find scholars of world fame: Wilhelm Bacher, David Kaufmann, Ludwig Blau, Alexander Scheiber, just to mention a few. The Holocaust and the following forty years of anti–religious atmosphere left their destructive marks on the functioning of the Seminary, but thanks to the efforts of the Jewish community of Hungary and the board of professors, the training of rabbis continued even under harsh conditions, uniquely in Central-East-Europe.

Since the early nineties, the Rabbinical Seminary has developed into an institution that faces the challenges of the modern era.

Nowadays, the Jewish Theological Seminary – University of Jewish Studies in Budapest, as the only accredited Jewish university in Europe, offers unique opportunities to those interested in religious and secular studies at three levels: BA, MA an PhD.

We have BA–degree level training in Judaism, Jewish Social Work, Jewish Liturgy, Jewish Community Building and Assistant Rabbi Training. MA–degrees can be achieved in History of Jewish Culture and Rabbinical Studies. Our state accredited PhD School attracts students from all over the world. Beside the above-mentioned learning possibilities, the institution runs a special course for Jewish Cantor training. The BA and MA diplomas, as well as the PhD degree issued by the Jewish Theological Seminary – University of Jewish Studies are acknowledged all over the world.

Our board of lecturers and professors include not only outstanding Hungarian academics, but also famous scholars chiefly from Israel, the United States, and also from other parts of the world. The total number of all the publications of our lecturers and professors reached 2,000 this year.

The traditional study synagogue of the Jewish Theological Seminary – University of Jewish Studies attracts a lively community comprising not only the

lecturing staff and the student body but also numerous people from the closer and more distant neighbourhoods.

Although our institution is Jewish in its character and traditions, it maintains excellent relationships with the institutions of the historical churches in Hungary. Co-operation with the various theological institutions of the Reformed Church in Hungary is an outstanding example of this activity. We have a close and friendly relationship with the Karoli Gaspar University, the Reformed Theological Academy of Papa and Sarospatak. This co-operation includes receiving guest students from the Doctoral School of the Karoli University and also from Sarospatak, and organising conferences together on a regular basis. Our activities serve the shared goals of the Reformed Church of Hungary and the Jewish Theological Seminary – University of Jewish Studies as the institution of the Alliance of the Jewish Communities of Hungary, that is, to contribute to the enrichment of the religious and spiritual life of our country.

On this special jubilee occasion, I would like to congratulate you from the bottom of my heart and I wish rich blessings from above on your communities and on your activities. Allow me to express my best wishes with the words of the Torah (Numeri 6, 24-26):

HaShem bless thee, and keep thee; HaShem make His face to shine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee; HaShem lift up His countenance upon thee, and give thee peace.

Prof. Dr. Judit Ungar-Komoly
Deputy Rector
The Jewish Theological Seminary – University of Jewish Studies

CHRISTIAN UNIVERSITIES

Dr. Jeffrey P. Bouman[1]

ATHENS AND JERUSALEM, BUDAPEST AND GRAND RAPIDS: AMERICAN CHRISTIAN HIGHER EDUCATION IN ITS HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Church father Tertullian asked "What has Athens to do with Jerusalem?" in what was probably one of the first written expressions questioning the ways that the Christian religion and higher education should interact with each other.[2] On the one hand there is Athens, bastion of worldly philosophy, now represented by the so-called secular, objective, scientific method of inquiry and discovery. On the other hand there is Jerusalem, symbolic city of that way of knowing informed, in large part, by faith, in an ephemeral, spiritual world of unseen realities. The academy has long wrestled with how, or whether, to integrate religious faith with higher learning. The environment in today's academy is no exception, as evidenced by this conference, the IAPCHE organisation, and many American faith-based colleges and universities. A primary task of this essay is to address in detail the process of secularisation in American higher education, as well as the development and persistence of deeply Christian colleges and universities.

From their very beginnings American colleges and universities have debated whether to lead with the head or the heart. Finding a place for God, and for faith, in the centre, the periphery, the classroom or the chapel, has always been a central and contentious debate.

This essay will attempt to tell the story, in brief, of faith-based higher education in America.

How have American colleges and universities experienced and interacted with Christian faith? What is the relationship between Christianity in its Protestant

[1] Director of the Service-Learning Center Calvin College, USA.

[2] See Wolterstorff, Nicholas, *Tertullian's Enduring Question*, in Wilson, John (ed.), *The Best Christian Writing 2000,* New York, Harper Collins Publishers, 2000, 304-330. The chapter was reprinted from *The Cresset*, Trinity, 1999. Tertullian's quotation is cited by Wolterstorff as originating in *Prescriptions against Heretics 7.* Tertullian's question is also referenced in Plantinga, Theodore, *Rationale for a Christian College*, St. Catherine's, Ontario, Paideia Press, 1980, 11-12.

and Catholic forms and the many types of institutions of higher learning that have existed in America? Is it possible for faith and higher learning to coexist in a mutually beneficial harmony?

In the waning years of the nineteenth century, the American university dealt with its religious roots in ways that continue to inform colleges and universities more than a century later. University of Michigan president James Angell presided for nearly four decades at a flagship American university that embodied the societal shifts that precipitated a clearly-drawn line between secular, nonsectarian, and sectarian institutions of higher learning that developed as the nineteenth flowed into the twentieth century. During Angell's tenure, a variety of changes took hold, from an end to the requirement that students attend chapel at this state university, to the rise of the social sciences as a replacement for age-old capstone courses on "Evidences of Christianity" and Moral Philosophy. Early in his presidency, in 1878, Angell spoke the fears of his generation of leaders when he wrote,

> "A sad day, indeed, would it be for both the College and the Church, if the College should so far drift from its present position as to forfeit the confidence of wise Christian friends of learning, or if the Church, from idle fears or mistaken caution, should fail to exercise its legitimate influence in imbuing all schools of learning with the warmest spirit of devotion to Him, the fear of whom is the very beginning of wisdom."[3]

Angell was acknowledging the rapidly changing landscape of American higher education during this period. To better understand the present situation for faith-based colleges and universities in the United States, we must first look backward to the two centuries leading up to this moment of change, and then follow the trajectory forward from Angell's Michigan to today's postmodern landscape. Indeed, the question of how religion, and in particular Christianity, interacts with higher education in America is as relevant as it has ever been.

To tell this story effectively, it matters that we tell it thoroughly. And to tell it thoroughly, this story must begin in New England, with the pious Puritan founders of Harvard College in 1636. Harvard began in 1636 as a school to train an educated clergy. In accordance with that vision, Harvard's "Rules and Precepts", adopted in 1646, declared that "every Student be plainly instructed, and

[3] Angell, James, Burrill, The Relation of the American Colleges to Christianity, *Quarterly Review of the Evangelical Lutheran Church,* January, 1878, 65-79.

earnestly pressed to consider well, the maine end of his life and studies is, to know God and Jesus Christ which is eternal life (John 17:3) and therefore to lay Christ in the bottome, as the only foundation of all sound knowledge and Learning. And seeing the Lord only giveth wisedome, Let every one seriously set himself by prayer in secret to seeke it of him (Prov. 2:3)"; and that "every one shall so exercise himselfe in reading the Scriptures twice a day, that he shall be ready to give such an account of his proficiency therein, both in Theoreticall observations of Language and Logick, and in practical and spiritual truths, as his Tutor shall require, according to his ability; seeing the entrance of the word giveth light, it giveth understanding to the simple (Psalm 119:130)." The motto of the University adopted a few decades later in 1692 was "Veritas Christo et Ecclesiae" or "Truth for Christ and the Church." The next logical step in this discussion that begins with Harvard is to ask how it is that this university, and so many of its imitators, have so completely abandoned these first principles and fundamental values? Understanding this, however, requires attention to American history and culture.

University of Notre Dame historian Mark Noll provided a template for understanding changes in Christian thinking in America in his lengthy introduction to William Ringenberg's book chronicling the Protestant college movement.[4] Noll argues that between 1636 and 1925 there were four historical stages defining Christianity and American higher education. The first, beginning with Harvard's founding and lasting through the great theologian Jonathan Edwards's life, was a period of stability and synthesis, buttressed by the Puritan worldview. The second, from Edwards' death in 1758 until the period of the Second Great Awakening – roughly from 1795 until 1820, was a period of transition marked by an "abandonment of tradition, history and hierarchy in favour of innovation, the future, and egalitarianism."[5] Then from 1820 until approximately 1870 came another period of stability, understood best as a "Christian-Cultural synthesis."[6] And finally, another period of transition between 1876, when Johns Hopkins University began the era of the research university in America, until 1925 when the Scopes Trial dealt its death blow to American fundamentalism's desire to react with simple dualism to Charles Darwin's writing on evolution.

A second set of stages informs our understanding of the rest of the twentieth century, into the beginning of the twenty-first. These are drawn from philo-

[4] Ringenberg, William, *The Christian College, A History of Protestant Higher Education in America*, Grand Rapids, MI, Eerdman's, 1984, 1-36.
[5] Ringenberg, *The Christian College*, 10.
[6] Ringenberg, *The Christian College*, 15.

sopher Nicholas Wolterstorff, who suggested a three-stage paradigm for understanding American Christian higher education in the twentieth century.[7]

Wolterstorff proposed, in brief, that when "the darkness descended" in the aftermath of the 1925 Scopes trial, most Protestant, faith-based, colleges responded predictably by going "underground", and by emphasising personal piety, evangelism and foreign missions rather than the intellect. Rather than toward social and cultural engagement, these schools withdrew from culture, and erected walls of protection.

The second stage began as college enrollments burgeoned after World War II, and was still in fashion when he gave his address in 1982. In this second stage, educators and leaders at faith-based and church-related colleges and universities once again began to realise the value of the liberal arts tradition of preparing students to fully engage with the stream of high culture – work from the natural sciences, theology, philosophy, music, painting, poetry and architecture. Good and beautiful ideas, and skills for students to develop and master. Integration became the watchword, and already in 1982 the idea of the "integration of faith and learning" was so prevalent that Wolterstorff proposed a ten-year moratorium on the phrase.

But most intriguing about his paradigm is the way it anticipated what was to come next, in the third stage. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, Wolterstorff was in the middle of his own personal renaissance as it related to justice and scholarship. He had recently become more personally aware of the actual plight of oppressed minorities in South Africa, and of Palestinian people in the Middle East, and in the light of these personal experiences, he anticipated a third stage, in which the leaders and educators in church-related higher education would begin to move from integration and culture to "reforming society." This stage assumes all the good work of stage two, and does not turn its back on the importance of the cultural heritage of human beings. But the important new move would be from "works of culture" to the "person" of society. Prisons and urban areas, hunger and racism, communism and war – or peace – studies would enter the consciousness of these church-related colleges and universities, and students would begin to leave the cloistered ivory towers and learn in the midst of the people.

[7] Wolterstorff, Nicholas, The Mission of the Christian College at the End of the Twentieth Century, *Reformed Journal*, 33, No, 6, June, 1983, 14-18. Wolterstorff, a past president of the American Philosophical Association, and former professor of Philosophy at Calvin College (1959-89) taught for more than a decade as the Noah Porter Professor of Philosophical Theology at Yale University, pioneering intellectual work that addressed areas including epistemology, aesthetics, political philosophy and philosophy of education.

In addition to Noll's and Wolterstorff's historical stages, several typologies of faith-based higher education have emerged in the literature, including Hughes and Adrian's *Models of Christian Higher Education*, James Burtchaell's *Dying of the Light*, Robert Benne's *Quality with Soul*, and others. Hughes and Adrian describe two institutions in each of seven denominational traditions, as follows: in the Roman Catholic tradition, the University of Portland and St. John's University, College of St. Benedict; in the Lutheran tradition, California Lutheran and St. Olaf University; in the Reformed tradition, Whitworth University and Calvin College; in the Mennonite tradition, Fresno Pacific and Goshen College; in the Evangelical / Interdenominational tradition, Wheaton College and Seattle Pacific University; in the Wesleyan / Holiness tradition, and Point Loma Nazarene University and Messiah College; and in the Baptist / Restorationist tradition, Pepperdine and Samford University. Robert Benne's typology includes four types of church-related colleges he names as Orthodox, Critical-Mass, Intentionally Pluralist, and Accidentally Pluralist. Benne describes six institutions in detail, Calvin College from the Reformed tradition, Wheaton College from the Evangelical tradition, St. Olaf, and Valparaiso University from the Lutheran tradition, the University of Notre Dame from the Roman Catholic tradition, and Baylor University from the Baptist tradition.[8]

The story of Catholic higher education is a complex one, and it experienced a notable shift in the wake of the Kennedy presidency, and the papacy of John XXIII and the second Vatican Council. In this era, according to historian Alice Gallin, "many attempts were made by Catholic colleges to enlarge areas of freedom for the students and to involve them in the governance of the institution, the ecumenical efforts in their local communities, and volunteer service to the poor."[9] Catholic universities, having come later to power and numbers in the United States, are fewer in number and therefore, in influence. Catholic theologian Monika Hellwig identifies five characteristics that mark unique contributions from the Catholic tradition to Christian higher education. These are: "an emphasis on the continuity of faith and reason, respect for the cumulative wisdom of past generations in the tradition, an effort to be inclusive in membership

[8] Burtchaell, James T., *The Dying of the Light, The Disengagement of Colleges and Universities from their Christian Churches,* Grand Rapids, MI, Eerdman's, 1998, Benne, Robert, *Quality with Soul*, Grand Rapids, MI, Eerdman's, 2001, and Hughes, Richard T., & Adrian, William B., *Models for Christian Higher Education: Strategies for Success in the Twenty-First Century,* Grand Rapids, MI, William B. Eerdman's Publishing Company, 1997.

[9] Gallin, Alice, O.S.U., *Negotiating Identity, Catholic Higher Education Since 1960,* Notre Dame, IN, University of Notre Dame Press, 2000, 31.

and values, acknowledgement of the communitarian aspect of the redemption, and the pervasive appreciation of the sacramental principle."[10]

Another major difference between Protestant and Catholic universities, of course, is the nature of Catholicism's centralised authority. Here the fundamental tension between guild or discipline and Church authority is most obvious. The Catholic university has endured a more problematic history in this regard, and continues its challenge, most recently in the 1990 Papal Encyclical, *Ex Corde Ecclesiae*. Deciding on the proper proportion of "dedicated and committed" Catholics at Catholic universities continues to be a significant challenge to their future and identity.

Before proceeding, the term "secularisation" requires definition, and must be taken into account. While much has been made of the process of secularisation in the history of American higher education, and some cogent arguments explain it while others deny its existence, I take the view that while it may not have been inevitable, universal, or all-encompassing, as a process it did occur.[11] By this I mean that in America, over time, institutions of higher education moved further from, rather than closer to the authority of or any connection with organised religion. Within this definition there has often been a mistaken assumption that as institutions have moved away from religious influence, so have their constituent students, faculty members, and supporters. Not necessarily so. A complicated process to fully understand, secularisation sometimes takes place within institutions while individual members of those same institutions are actually becoming more religious. Often it is the very threat of institutional secularisation that prompts individuals toward religion.[12]

In American higher education, Protestant Christianity served as the repre-

[10] Hellwig, Monika, "What Can the Roman Catholic Tradition Contribute to Christian Higher Education?" in Hughes & Adrian, *Models for Christian Higher Education*, 14.

[11] Micro- and macrosocial secularisation theories outline differences between how *institutions* and *individuals* responded to changes in the religious landscape in America, See Smith, Christian (Ed.). *The Secular Revolution: Power, Interests, and Conflict in the Secularisation of American Public Life*, Berkeley, CA, University of California Press, 2003, 6-13. Historian Rodney Stark argued that the entire secularisation thesis was based on false and misleading information regarding trends in religious belief and participation. See Stark, Rodney, Secularisation, The Myth of Religious Decline, *Fides et Historia,* Vol. XXX, No. 2, Summer/Fall, 1998, 1-19. Smith notes that Stark's argument makes the case against micro-social secularisation effectively, but does not address macro-social secularisation.

[12] General secularisation is distinguished from what Marsden has called "methodological secularisation." He argues that the first phase of secularisation in the mid-nineteenth century, that of welcoming methods of discovery that were separated from one's religious commitments, obscured the arrival of secularisation more broadly because Protestant Christians were generally very welcoming of secular methods that seemed to bring about a greater understanding of God's truth while also improving the human condition. See Marsden, George, *The Soul of the*

sentative manifestation of religion for the first 250 years. And the conversation regarding the place of religion in American colleges and universities remains vigorous.[13] Whether one asks if science and theology can find common ground, or if a campus Christian group can bar gay members from its leadership, dealing with religion is a fact of life for many students, faculty and administrators in higher education. Historian George Marsden has contributed much to this discussion with his numerous historical publications.[14] Not only have Marsden and

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American University: From Protestant Establishment to Established Nonbelief, New York, Oxford University Press, 1994, 156-59.

13 A comprehensive list of articles and letters to the editors of various publications would be long, but a few recent examples are: Davis, Edward, God's Relationship to the Natural World, *Chronicle of Higher Education*, September 14, 1994; Mooney, Carolyn, Devout Professors on the Offensive, *Chronicle of Higher Education*, May 4, 1994; Monaghan, Peter, Evangelical Colleges Urged to Fight Anti-Intellectual Bias, *Chronicle of Higher Education*, February 28, 1997; Wolfe, Alan, A Welcome Revival of Religion in the Academy, *Chronicle of Higher Education*, B4, September 19, 1997; Turner, James, Something to be Reckoned With: The Evangelical Mind Awakens, *Commonweal*, January 15, 1999; Wolfe, Alan, Catholic Universities Can be the Salvation of Pluralism on American Campuses, *Chronicle of Higher Education*, February 26, 1999; Kiernan, Vincent, Can Science and Theology Find Common Ground?, *Chronicle of Higher Education*, April 30, 1999; Sweeney, Douglas, Taking a Shot at Redemption, *Books and Culture*, May-June, 1999; Greisinger, Emily, A Hermeneutic of Faith, *Books and Culture*, July-August, 1999; McMurtrie, Beth, A President's Forceful Vision Divides the World's Largest Baptist University, *Chronicle of Higher Education*, July 23, 1999; Laurence, Peter, Can Religion and Spirituality Find a Place in Higher Education? *About Campus*, November-December, 1999; McMurtrie, Beth, A Christian Fellowship's Ban on Gay Leaders Splits Two Campuses, *Chronicle of Higher Education*, A51, May 12, 2000; Wolfe, Alan, The Opening of the Evangelical Mind, *Atlantic Monthly*, October 2000; Young, Jeffrey, Gay Student Forced to Resign Leadership Post in Religious Group at Iowa's Central College, *Chronicle of Higher Education*, November 6, 2002; Wolfe, Alan, What Would Jesus Do at Baylor? *Chronicle of Higher Education*, B20, October 3, 2003; Silverstein, Stuart & Olsen, Andy, Evangelical Colleges Make Marks in a Secular World, Enrollment Rates and Public Acceptance Are Up as Scholarship Moves Toward the Mainstream, *Los Angeles Times*, November 30, 2003; Swidey, Neil, God on the Quad, New England's Liberal College Campuses Have Become Fertile Ground for the Evangelical Movement, Which is Attracting Students in Record Numbers. But After They Graduate, Will They Keep the Faith? *Boston Globe*, November 30, 2003; Paulson, Amanda, Religious Upsurge Brings Culture Clash to College Campuses. *The Christian Science Monitor*, December 10, 2003; and Winters, Rebecca, Higher Learning, Christian Colleges are Booming – and Reinventing the Meaning of a Faith-based Education, *Time*, January 26, 2004.

14 Along with his book, *The Soul of the American University,* Marsden co-edited (with Longfield, Bradley), *The Secularisation of the Academy,* Oxford University Press, 1992, and wrote *The Outrageous Idea of Christian Scholarship* (Oxford University Press, 1997). He has also produced numerous articles and chapters which include, but are not limited to: "The Ambiguities of Academic Freedom", *Church History*, 62, (June, 1993) 221-36, "Pluralism, Yes. Religion, No!" *Planning for Higher Education, 22*, Spring 1994; "Church, State, and Campus", *New York Times A23*, April 26, 1994; Christian Advocacy and the Rules of the Academic Game, in Kuklick, Bruce and Hart, D.G., *Religious Advocacy and American History*, Grand Rapids, MI, Eerdman's, 1997; Liberating Academic Freedom, *First Things*, December 1998; "The Task of the Scholar in the

others wondered aloud whether Christian scholars should approach their scholarship through lenses of faith, they have also recently begun to examine and chronicle important shifts in practice made by leaders in higher education.[15] The role of religion on campus has long been important for decision-makers in higher education, primarily because it marks the intersection of two profoundly influential spheres of American life: religion and education.

While one hallmark of the United States has always been the "freedom of religion", working out the practical meaning of this freedom has proven an enduring challenge. Prior to the mid-nineteenth century, church, state, school, and family all accepted responsibility for the moral and religious nurture of individuals in society. This sense of parallel responsibility ensured that colleges founded during the colonial era, as well as into the years of the early republic, were essentially Protestant institutions committed to cultivating civic and moral responsibility in the lives of the boys under their care.

Many variations of the integration of religion with higher education exist in the current American educational landscape. These include explicitly Christian colleges and universities, theological seminaries, nominally and historically Christian colleges and universities, programmes and departments of religious studies within colleges and universities, religious student groups on and off campuses, as well as the personal faith commitments motivating many faculty, staff and students. This variation has been present in American higher education throughout its four centuries.

A better understanding of the evolving nature of the relationship between religion and higher education provides a useful lens for comprehending the influence of religion and other powerful forces on higher education in America.[16]

Christian University", *Lutheran Education*, September/October, 1999; The Meaning of Science for Christians: A New Dialogue on Olympus, in Livingstone, David, Hart, D.G., and Noll, Mark, *Evangelicals and Science in Historical Perspective,* New York, Oxford University Press, 1999; and The Incoherent University, *The Hedgehog Review*, Fall, 2000, 92-105.

[15] See Ringenberg, William, *The Christian College: A History of Protestant Higher Education in America*, Grand Rapids, MI, Eerdman's, 1984; Roberts, Jon and Turner, James, *The Sacred and the Secular University*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2000; Hart, D. G., *The University Gets Religion: Religious Studies in American Higher Education*, Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999; Kemeny, Paul, *Princeton in the Nation's Service: Religious Ideals and Educational Practice,* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998; Reuben, Julie A., *The Making of the Modern University: Intellectual Transformation and the Marginalisation of Morality,* Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1996; Marsden, George M., *The Soul of the American University*, and Sloan, Douglas, *Faith and Knowledge: Mainline Protestantism and American Higher Education*, Louisville, KY, Westminster John Knox Press, 1994.

[16] Between 1850 and 1920 the classical model of collegiate education was challenged by and eventually gave way to a new model of scientific research. Disciplines were born and specialisation and expertise became the norm, rather than breadth of knowledge. The English model of high-

It has been fashionable among the educated elite since at least the late nineteenth century to foretell the imminent demise of popular religion. And yet, religious devotion continues to grow in unexpected ways worldwide as evidenced by an emerging literature detailing the surprising growth of Evangelical Christianity in countries outside North America and Europe.[17] Yet the face of American religion *has* changed as time has gone forward, and there is much to learn from these changes, especially as they took hold throughout the nineteenth century.

Early in the nineteenth century, a few American men of learning went to Germany for their education and returned home eager to transplant the serious German commitment to cultured scholarship (*bildung*), to academic learning (*wissenschaft*), to a students' freedom in learning (*lernfreiheit*) and to a professor's freedom in teaching (*lehrfreiheit*).[18] Change proved elusive, however, and in 1828, the Yale Corporation issued its organic and definitive response to calls for a radical shift in American higher education curricula.[19] The report reaffirmed the importance of the classical curriculum, claiming that a rote recitation of Latin and Greek, as well as a smattering of mathematics and a minimal amount of general science provided both essential elements to a learned person, the discipline and the furniture of the mind. Furniture was the general knowledge that all learned men should know, centred around the Greco-Roman clas-

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er education was replaced by an American version of the German model. The selection of the boundaries 1850 and 1920 were somewhat arbitrarily based on secondary scholarship on the rise of the research university. See Geiger, Roger L., *To Advance Knowledge: The Growth of American Research Universities, 1900-1940,* New York, Oxford University Press, 1986.

17 See Berger, Peter L., "The Desecularisation of the World: A Global Overview", in Berger, Peter L., (Ed.), *The Desecularisation of the World: Resurgent Religion and World Politics*, Grand Rapids, MI, Eerdman's Publishing Company, Washington, D.C., Ethics and Public Policy Center, 1999, 6-9. See also Noll, Mark A, Who Would Have Thought? *Books and Culture*, November-December, 2001. Noll outlines some of the proceedings of a recent conference on World Christianity held at the University of Pretoria, South Africa. He points out that over the course of the twentieth century the percentage of the world population that is Christian held steady at close to one-third, mostly due to unforeseen growth in China, Korea, parts of India and most of Africa that would have surprised any futurist at the beginning of the last century. Of course, as Berger and Noll mention, Christianity is not the only growing religion globally, but as the focus of the current project, it is in this case highlighted.

18 See Noll, Mark A., "Christian Colleges, Christian Worldviews, and an Invitation to Research", Ringenberg, William C., *The Christian College: A History of Protestant Higher Education in America,* Grand Rapids, MI, Wm. B. Eerdman's, 1984, 26. Noll reports that of 700 American scientists listed in the 1900 edition of Who's Who, 300 had studied in Germany. See also Roberts and Turner, *The Sacred and the Secular University*, 91.

19 The Yale Report was published in 1829 as "Original Papers in relation to a Course of Liberal Education", in *The American Journal of Science and Arts, XV* (1829), 297-351. Cited in Rudolph, Frederick, *The American College and University: A History,* Athens, GA, University of Georgia Press, 1962, 1990, 131.

sics, and discipline was the ability to train the mind's faculties to approach and solve the intellectual problems of the day. Yet contrary to some popular critiques, the Yale Report did allow for, portend, and even welcome a variety of very gradual structural reforms.[20]

The Supreme Court resolution of the Dartmouth College case in 1819, the Yale Report in 1828, and the cultural commentary recorded in the writings of Alexis de Tocqueville provide contextual markers for the importance of religion in the period between 1819 and 1840.[21] The Dartmouth case established the right of private colleges to exist outside the control of the states, and it is no coincidence that the massive proliferation of small, private, mostly denominational colleges began in earnest soon after the decision was reached. The Yale Report answered charges that the system of higher education was impractical and elitist. Both of these issues directly related to the involvement of religion in higher education. Historians John Brubacher and Willis Rudy commented on de Toqueville's visit during the 1830s, "that although the country lacked a national church, religion was its foremost institution, more influential than any other. The denominational college was one of the main reasons for this. 'By 1830 the nineteenth century pattern of village thought in America had been set' with Deism and 'infidelity' in full retreat and the Evangelical churches in the ascendancy."[22]

The revivals of the second great awakening during the 1830s and 1840s infused a young America with a renewed interest in formal religion.[23] Soon after these revivals and the subsequent concern for organised religion and the natural rise of denominationalism, the slavery question pressed the nation into a tremendous struggle over the scope of states' rights and the nature of our federalist democracy. Woven into most conceptions of early America were notions of God's manifest blessings on the new nation. The Civil War tested these assumptions mightily.

[20] Potts, David B., 2001 History of Education Society Annual Meeting, presentation and publication on Yale Report, Yale University.

[21] For a helpful context for both the Dartmouth College case and the Yale Report, see Crane, Theodore R., (Ed.) *The Colleges and the Public, 1787-1862*, New York, Teacher's College Press, 1963, chapters 5 and 7.

[22] Brubacher, John and Rudy, Willis, *Higher Education in Transition,* New York, Harper and Row, 1958, rev. 1968, 1976, 75-76.

[23] Noll, Mark A., Ordinary People, Extraordinary Times, The Moral Complexity of the American Revolution, *Books and Culture*, July-August 2001. See also the two-fold thesis laid out by Noll, George, Marsden and Nathan, Hatch in *The Search for Christian America*, Helmers & Howard: Colorado Springs, 1989, 17; Finke, Roger and Stark, Rodney, *The Churching of America, 1776-1990: Winners and Losers in our Religious Economy,* New Brunswick, NY, Rutgers University Press, 1992, 1-4; and Dayton, Donald W., *Discovering an Evangelical Heritage,* Hendrickson Publishers, 1976.

Following the war, as the country expanded and entered into the realm of global trade and politics, the need for infrastructure prompted serious reflection regarding the nature of education in America. From early in the history of the colonies, the American people were more committed to formalising a communal system of higher education, public or private, than public elementary or secondary schooling. Private Harvard College and the College of William and Mary, for example, were founded before 1700, and state universities began to appear just at the end of the eighteenth century, while the common school movement (widespread public lower education) waited until well into the nineteenth century to gain a footing.[24]

In the immediate postbellum era in the 1860s and 70s, the relationship between society and religion in America was dramatically transformed, in some ways comparable to the dynamism and volatility brought on by the rise of postmodernism. Later in the century, the establishment of Johns Hopkins University in 1876 and the University of Chicago in 1892, as well as the formation of graduate schools at Harvard in 1890, Michigan in 1891, and Yale in 1892 were reflections of a profound shift in the curricular emphasis of American colleges and universities, which coincided with a move away from a strong Protestant influence on the curriculum.[25]

The rising tide of agnosticism of the late nineteenth century may have its parallel in current postmodern thought. As contemporary scholars begin to recognise the logical inconsistencies of a pervasive relativism, so in the light of Biblical criticism, scholars of the 1880s began to doubt the existence of a personal God. And the mid-nineteenth century circling of Protestant wagons against the influx of immigrant Catholics may be matched today by an Evangelical culture that protects itself against the secular humanist culture of the day through means such as the home-schooling movement, Christian schools and colleges, Christian popular culture, and Christian political positions that drive elements of both liberal democratic and conservative republican movements.

Notably, several Protestant and Catholic institutions were founded during this mid- to late-century period that have persisted as colleges and universities deeply committed to their Christian faith. Among them are University of Notre Dame (1842), Wheaton College (1860), Calvin College (1876), and Catholic University (1889).

[24] Cremin, Lawrence A., *American Education: The National Experience, 1783-1876*, New York, Harper & Row, 1980, 149.

[25] Geiger, Roger, *The American College in the Nineteenth Century*, Nashville, TN, Vanderbilt University Press, 2000, 29-33.

While the constitutional mandate requiring a separation between church and state is certainly relevant to this discussion, a misguided concern with violating this principle of separation has unfortunately interfered with a full understanding of the ways religion and public education have historically interacted. To the point, the First Amendment of the United States Constitution prohibits the government from making any law that would establish any religion, setting it apart from its European forebears, where the monarch was often the head of the church as well as the state. In addition to other freedoms, the First Amendment also guarantees citizens the right to free speech, and the right to the free exercise of religion. The complexity involved in a commitment to all three of these ideas, especially as they relate to the interaction between religion and government-funded educational institutions, is sufficient to prevent any clear interpretive unanimity. For example, how does the right to free expression of religion address the desire of people of deep religious faith to provide an education for their children that is rooted in the particular faith tradition to which they subscribe? While private schools are an obvious option, what is not so obvious is to what extent the government can interact with a private religious school, or to what extent the dominant ideology in America's public schools, secular humanism, is in fact a system of religious beliefs. However these questions are answered, the commonly accepted contemporary idea that there must exist a "wall of separation" between church and state is neither constitutional nor helpful. The "wall" phrase derives from Thomas Jefferson's correspondence and has been elevated by the courts and the media in the twentieth century to nearly unquestioned "constitutional" status.[26] Examples abound demonstrating that the notion of America as a "Christian nation" was widely accepted throughout the nineteenth century.[27] Getting beyond this simplistic misunderstanding is crucial to appreciating the tremendous differences between state educational institutions prior to the twentieth century and those we know today.

[26] For a helpful discussion of the evolution of how the courts and the American people have understood the "wall of separation" between church and state, see Marsden, *The Outrageous Idea of Christian Scholarship*, 37-43. See also Driesbach, Daniel L., Thomas Jefferson, a Mammoth Cheese, and the "Wall of Separation Between Church and State", in Hutson, James H., (Ed.)., *Religion and the New Republic: Faith in the Founding of America*, New York, Rowman & Littlefield, 2000, 65-114.

[27] See Kemeny, *Princeton in the Nation's Service*, 28. Kemeny cites the 1892 Supreme Court Justice David Brewer declaring outright that American was a "Christian nation." *Church of the Holy Trinity v. United States*, 143 U.S. 457 (1892) at 471, as quoted in Handy, Robert T., *Undermined Establishment: Church-State Relations in America, 1880-1920,* Princeton University Press, 1991, 13. See also Frieze, Henry S., in his 1887 commencement address on the fiftieth anniversary of the University of Michigan, The Relations of the State University to Religion.

Three terms are also crucial in comprehending the place of religion in the founding and governing of institutions of higher education during the mid-nineteenth century: sectarianism, non-sectarianism, and secularism. Understanding the distinctions inherent among these terms is essential to a proper conception of how institutions experienced the complex historical shifts from sectarian to nonsectarian, from nonsectarian to secular, and even in some cases from secular to nonsectarian, or from nonsectarian to sectarian. Adding an intermediate period to the unnecessarily dichotomous spectrum of periods from sacred to secular gives the historiography of this era a greater accuracy.

Sectarianism refers to the singular control of a college or university by one religious denomination. Historically the term has meant both to belong to a sect of some sort, as well as simply to be narrow-minded. This dual definition complicates its present day meaning, leading to misunderstanding when reading both historical and contemporary texts. As a result, its use has tended to be predominantly negative, rather than objectively descriptive. In most histories of American higher education, it is not uncommon for small religious liberal arts colleges to be characterised by bigotry and sectarianism when compared with the liberal openness of the emerging state universities.[28] Colleges that were sectarian were typically supported and governed by a particular denomination. As such, they were often (but not always) bound to certain restrictions in curriculum, the selection of their faculty, the admission of their students, and the election of trustees, presidents, and other administrators.

Non-sectarianism alludes to a broad Protestant commitment to the inclusion of religious principles in the ethos and curriculum of a college without allowing any one denomination to have control. Historian Howard Peckham, in his analysis of the nonsectarian nature of the early University of Michigan, reported that "'nonsectarian' meant no favouritism toward any denomination, not religious indifference."[29] This assumption of an ethos of Protestantism without committing to any specific sect is at the heart of the meaning of nonsectarian. Historian George Marsden made the case that by the 1850s this type of religion was dominant, even at denominationally controlled institutions. He argued that in what was essentially a free market for a small pool of students, colleges were

[28] Frederick, Rudolph, for example, describes Princeton as the best of the "petty sectarian" colleges that abounded prior to the Civil War, but adds that there were also, "dozens of frighteningly narrow and inconsequential Presbyterian, Baptist, and Methodist colleges in the backwaters of the South and West." In *Rudolph, The American College and University*, 68.

[29] Peckham, Howard H., *The Making of the University of Michigan, 1817-1992*, Ann Arbor, MI, University of Michigan Press, 1967, edited and updated by Margaret L. Steneck, and Nicholas H. Steneck, 1992, 25.

more likely to emphasise moral benefits rather than theological distinctions as competitive advantages in recruiting students.[30]

Secularism refers to a position free from the authority of or any connection with organised religion.[31] It is generally assumed by commentators that colleges and universities are secular if their primary paradigms of research, and teaching and learning are devoid of central religious influence. This assumption, however, does not account for other university-sponsored influences on students' lives, their character formation, that continued to be predominately Christian. As a construct, this limited approach to secularisation has restricted the conversation to curricular influence and left important, and often structural, influences on students outside the realm of conversation when addressing secularisation.[32]

The college-to-university transition of the late nineteenth century, particularly as it was made manifest in the shift from a traditional to a modern curriculum, was complex. Historians have often conflated this epistemological evolution – from an Evangelical Protestant conception of knowledge as divinely inspired, finite and discoverable, to the scientific, positivistic notion of knowledge as infinite and ever new – with the secularisation of the university. However, it is naïve to believe that the shift was due to the intentional efforts of secular forces, that it happened quickly, or that a defeated "religion" was simply removed from the university. Rather than a defeat, this was truly a transformation, one that would ultimately end in a much greater manifestation of secularisation, but only after many years of middle ground nonsectarianism. By and large, faculty members in American higher education remained either Evangelical or affiliated with a more progressive liberal Protestantism. But with a few notable exceptions, both groups failed to include their religious beliefs explic-

[30] Marsden, *The Soul of the American University*, 80. In some ways this description fits both KGRE and Calvin College in today's educational landscape.

[31] Secularisation theorists and commentators have been strikingly unwilling to narrowly define the major term under analysis, secularisation. Christian Smith, for example, in his *The Secular Revolution*, distinguishes between micro- and macrosocial secularisation, but does not provide any concise definition of either. See Smith, 6-13.

[32] Rather than a dualistic approach conceding the life of the mind to secular forces and relegating "Christian influence" to the periphery of university life, I am arguing that a more integrated understanding of the intellectual essence and purpose of the university will *include* extracurricular influences such as those obtained in YMCA Bible studies, missionary band activities, social service efforts, and even denominationally-sponsored Bible classes in ways that dividing the university into intellectual and allegedly non-intellectual realms cannot. It may be helpful to note here the long tradition prior to the seventeenth and eighteenth century rise of German scholarship of conceiving of the central task of higher education as that of character formation. See Whitehead, Alfred North, *The Aims of Education.*

itly in their curricula. This failure, by most accounts, led to the relegation of religious ideas to the periphery of the academic curriculum. However, such a marginalisation of religious thought did not mean that religion ceased to be important in the minds of presidents, in the mission of the university, and in the lives of students and faculty, both on and off campus. For students in particular, religion remained more central. In the private worlds of students and faculty, outside of formal syllabi and admissions requirements, many remained deeply religious, and the effect of Protestant Christian thought and moral structures may have strengthened during the era most associated with secularisation.

Since the 1950s scholars in the history of American higher education have argued convincingly that several markers identified the secularisation of the university. When university decision-makers removed religious training from the required curriculum; chapel and other religious services were made optional and later abolished; it no longer mattered to universities whether faculty members held orthodox, or even liberal Protestant religious views; connections to denominations weakened and were cut; presidents ceased to be selected exclusively from the ranks of the Protestant clergy; and the number of students entering the Christian ministry declined dramatically, then it was evident that a university was, or would soon be, secular.

While on the surface the argument for secularisation appears to be borne out by curricular changes decreasing the requirements in traditional courses such as Evidences of Christianity and Moral Philosophy, a closer look reveals that courses in the budding Social Sciences actually allowed initially for a more widespread integration of Christian principles and values into the educational lives of students. In addition, the abolition of required chapel did not end religious expression on the part of university students – on the contrary, many reports suggest that campus worship improved with voluntary attendance. Simultaneously, increasingly religious student activities such as campus Bible studies, local relief work, and global missions provided a sizable percentage of students with meaningful Christian fellowship and the opportunity to love God and love one's neighbour. This complex interaction between institutional, or macro-social secularisation and increased individual participation in religious activities suggests that there is more to the story of secularisation.

As the research university took shape and specialisation and fragmentation naturally developed within the college and university milieu, students continued to find ways to discover and express Protestant Christian values and activities both inside and outside the classroom. Radical changes did occur, changes that removed foundational courses in Moral Philosophy and the Evidences of Christianity from the heart of the curriculum, students weathered these changes and

shifted their curricular and co-curricular efforts to grow in religious faith to courses in the social sciences, as well as Bible study, missions, and social service efforts in local and international settings. Socialism, the social sciences, settlement work and mission opportunities all provided outlets for students interested in giving expression to their Christian faith in an age of curricular secularisation.

This essay is relevant in a twenty-first century America where many colleges and universities continue to wrestle with their core religious identities. Theologian James Burtchaell has recently detailed the demise of relationships between denominational colleges and their sponsoring churches, but case studies cited by theologians Richard Hughes and William Adrian report a growing interest on the part of both Catholic and Protestant colleges and universities in retaining and strengthening their identities as Christian institutions.[33]

Hughes and Adrian provided a succinct overview of the prominent denominational traditions that have maintained vibrant, deeply Christian colleges and universities in the United States. They describe the relationship between three Reformational traditions, Calvinists, Mennonites, and Lutherans. While Calvinist higher education generally approaches transformational learning with a thinking model designed to change students' living, the Mennonites approach learning in the reverse, with a radical, Christocentric living model designed to change students' thinking. Their Lutheran siblings, meanwhile, have an understanding of the world that holds the Kingdom of God (or grace) and the Kingdom of the world (or nature) in a dialectical tension, not attempting to reconcile the two, but rather living in the midst of the tension. Catholic institutions find common ground with the Mennonites in a commitment to discipleship, place, and a concern for the poor, and with Lutherans they share a conviction that the world is created by God and as such is an object of love and grace. Additionally, there are strong numbers of Baptist, Methodist, Wesleyan, Restorationist, and Evangelical traditions that maintain a presence within American higher education. The story as it currently stands in the early years of the twenty-first century is one of many institutions, though a small minority of the whole, successfully and uniquely navigating the tensions between providing excellent academic programmes alongside, and embedded within, fundamental and strong historic faith commitments.

[33] See Burtchaell, James T., *The Dying of the Light: The Disengagement of Colleges and Universities from their Christian Churches*, Grand Rapids, MI, Eerdman's, 1998; and Hughes, Richard T. & Adrian, William B., *Models for Christian Higher Education: Strategies for Success in the Twenty-First Century,* Grand Rapids, MI, William B. Eerdman's Publishing Company, 1997.

Dr. Perry L. Glanzer[1]

THE RESURRECTION OF PROTESTANT HIGHER EDUCATION IN EUROPE[2]

In 1980, it appeared that Europe, the continent that saw the birth of Protestant higher education, would also see its death. From a high of 31 institutions in 1850,[3] Protestants and Protestant churches in 1980 could not claim to guide one European university. The one remaining university that previously identified itself as Protestant, the Free University of Amsterdam,[4] had started to accept government aid in the 1960s and had since demonstrated all the signs of losing its Christian identity. At its one hundred year anniversary in 1980, the Rector H. Verheul proclaimed, "to develop Christian science as one used to think of it is no longer the pretence of the Free University."[5] Soon afterwards, an administrator would straightforwardly admit, "The Free University is not a Christian university."[6] For all practical purposes, not one Protestant university existed in Europe in 1980. What had happened? Who or what killed Protestant universities in Europe? Or was the death self-inflicted?

THE DEMISE OF PROTESTANT UNIVERSITIES IN EUROPE

While a variety of factors can be blamed for the loss of these Christian institutions, two processes, set in motion usually by academics and politicians, played a particularly important role: nationalisation and secularisation. It is important to distinguish between the two movements.

[1] Professor, Baylor University, USA.

[2] Rüegg, Walter, "Themes" in Walter Rüegg (ed.), *A History of the University in Europe*, Volume 3, New York, Oxford University Press, 2004.

[3] Rüegg, Walter, "Themes" in Walter Rüegg (ed.), *A History of the University in Europe*, Volume 3, New York, Oxford University Press, 2004.

[4] The "Free" originally referred to the fact that neither the state nor the church controlled the university.

[5] Van Deursen, Arie, Theodorus, *The Distinctive Character of the Free University in Amsterdam, 1880-2005: A Commemorative History*, Grand Rapids, MI, Eerdmans, 2005, 386.

[6] Ibid., 386.

NATIONALISATION: 1773-1918

Hans Kohn, the well-known scholar of nationalism, defines it as, "a state of mind in which the supreme loyalty of the individual is felt to be due the nation-state."[7] This "state of mind" can apply to the mission and culture of an institution. The nationalisation of universities occurs when leaders change a university's governance, purposes, curriculum and culture to make the interests and ideology of the state the foremost corporate identity of administrators and students outside of the university, certainly more important than the interests and theology of the Church. In other words, the nationalisation of a university does not remove Christianity from a university; it merely dethrones it.

The seeds for nationalisation in Protestant countries germinated with the church-state arrangements that resulted from the Reformation. Lutherans, Calvinists and Anglicans relied heavily upon political authorities for both protection and unity. This protection and privilege came with a price — European leaders eventually subordinated the Protestant Church's interests to their own agenda, and national purposes took precedence. Universities were no exception. One British parliamentary critic of the Christian nature of Oxford University in the 1800 expressed a typical attitude: "Oxford ought to be a national institution but is bound hand and feet by the clergy of one sect."[8] Politicians wanted universities in their nations to be primarily national institutions instead of Lutheran, Calvinist, or Anglican institutions.

Catholic countries, however, were not immune from this trend. For instance in 1773 Pope Clement XIV made the momentous decision to disband the Jesuit order. Since the Jesuits governed numerous universities in the Hapsburg Empire, the state stepped into the void left by the Jesuits.[9] Not surprisingly, the educational reforms initiated by rulers such as Joseph II (1780-90) resulted in the direct state control and financing of universities in the Empire. Former Jesuit universities such as those in Nagyszombat (moved to Buda in 1777) and Lemberg (Lviv, Ukraine today) became primarily national educational institutions with Catholic affiliations. Joseph II also opened the universities to Protestants, Orthodox and Jews (1781). Three years later, he outlawed teaching classes in Latin and required all classes to be taught in German (1784). The Hungarian university was resurrected and placed under state control (1777/1784). The purpose of these reforms, as Robert Anderson observes, was "to create supra-national loyal-

[7] Hans Kohn, *Nationalism: Its Meaning and History*, Princeton, NJ, D. Van Nostrand, 1955, 9.
[8] Green, V.H.H., *Religion at Oxford and Cambridge*, London, SCM Press, 1964, 153.
[9] Anderson, Robert, *European Universities from the Enlightenment to 1914*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2004, 26.

ty to the dynastic state among peoples of diverse languages and cultures" and "a reformed Catholicism subordinate to the state."[10]

Overall, this period saw both Catholic and Protestant universities become state enterprises, for state purposes, with policies, curricula and regulations that served the state. Of course, Christianity did not disappear. Anderson summarises, "Although by the early nineteenth century universities were essentially secular institutions in the sense that the state rather than the church was the directing authority, religion had by no means lost its importance."[11] What the Christian Church did lose was creative initiative. The major Protestant churches (Anglican, Lutheran, and Reformed) stopped creating new universities. For example, after the founding of Durham University in 1834, the Anglican Church played little role in the formation of additional English universities. Most new universities in Lutheran countries or Reformed areas would first and foremost be state institutions with Lutheran or Reformed theology departments.

The Netherlands, however, would be the country where a new Protestant model of higher education emerged. The new vision would not come through the older universities. Even when the state disestablished the Reformed Church in 1821, liberalised confessional theology departments at state universities continued to exist. Instead, Abraham Kuyper, the well-known Dutch theologian, pastor, politician and journalist helped found the Reformed Free University of Amsterdam. Kuyper envisioned the university offering an education in all faculties (and not just theology) that would be grounded in the Reformed *Weltanschauung* or worldview). Funded by the Reformed Churches and other private contributions, the university hired only scholars who understood and sympathised with Kuyper's brand of neocalvinism. Against proponents of more nationalised and secularised universities, Kuyper and his associates succeeded in establishing one of the last vibrant Protestant universities in Europe that successfully promulgated a neoCalvinist approach to Christian scholarship and teaching for the first eighty years of its existence.[12]

SECULARISATION, 1918-1980

Secularisation was the final process that led to the death of Protestant universities in Europe. By secularisation I mean the removal of Christianity from a

[10] Ibid., 27.
[11] Ibid., 88.
[12] Van Deursen, Arie Theodorus, *The Distinctive Character of the Free University in Amsterdam.*

university or college's mission, governance, public rhetoric, membership requirements, curriculum, and ethos (e.g., worship).[13] In some cases, what led to this secularisation was the fact that after World War I, various European states began disestablishing their state churches. As a result, the state universities reduced or stopped promoting theology or other forms of Christian study or devotion.[14] Even in countries where established churches remained, institutional secularisation at the university level increasingly gained strength. For instance, the secularisation of Oxford and Cambridge in the fifty years after World War I "proceeded steadily" and today, Oxford and Cambridge can no longer be described as Christian in a broad institutional sense.[15] The same thing is true of Durham and King's College, London. A similar process occurred in other European countries.

The Free University of Amsterdam also followed the path of secularisation, aided by the fact that in the 1960s it began receiving government funds and opened up admissions to all citizens. In addition, due to its inability to fund qualified professors within the Calvinist tradition, it began to broaden its hiring practices and its outlook to become more ecumenical. Consequently, "the number of teachers who seldom if ever any longer posed the question concerning the relationship between belief and science increased."[16] Moreover, due to the influence of Marxist thought, faculty and students began placing more emphasis upon the social implications of Christianity in ways that neglected or downplayed theological distinctive. As the quotes mentioned in the introduction in-

[13] C. John Sommerville provides an insightful overview of the five understandings of secularisation employed by scholars. When discussing secularisation scholars may refer to the secularisation of society, institutions, activities, populations, or mentalities or some combination of these five. My definition would encompass all these types of secularisation within a university setting. In other words, secularisation occurs when a particular college or university separates itself from church governance and financial support (secularisation of institutions), drops religious requirements for entrance, and no longer requires Bible or theology and courses (activities), the faculty and students are not held to any religious requirements (populations), and scholars abandon the use of Christianity to make sense of the world and their work (mentalities). Sommerville, C. John, Secular society / Religious population: Our tacit rules for using the term "secularisation", *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion,* Vol. 37, 1998, 249-253.

[14] Various German principalities disestablished their state churches in 1918, Austria in 1918, Czechoslovakia in 1920, Finland 1919, Wales in 1920 and Scotland in 1921.

[15] Green, Vivian, Hubert, Howard, *Religion at Oxford and Cambridge*, London, SCM Press, 1964, 338. Some colleges or halls affiliated with the two institutions are still sponsored by particular Christian orders or churches. Thus, the colleges have denominational chaplains and activities, but the universities as a whole no longer identify themselves as Christian or Anglican. See D'Costa, Gavin, *Theology in the Public Square: Church, Academy, and Nation,* Malden, MA, Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2005.

[16] Van Deursen, Arie Theodorus, *The Distinctive Character of the Free University in Amsterdam*, 303.

dicate, by 1980, the Free University had largely secularised. Consequently, one could argue that during the early 1980s, not one Protestant university remained in Europe.

WAS THIS SECULARISATION AND DEATH INEVITABLE?

In light of these changes during the twentieth centuries, sociologists began to view these developments as the inevitable wave of the future. Sociological prophets of secularisation theory, such as Peter Berger, proclaimed to *The New York Times* that by "the 21st century, religious believers are likely to be found only in small sects, huddled together to resist a worldwide secular culture."[17] Not surprisingly, writers addressing higher education, such as Christopher Jencks and David Riesman, reflected this cultural perspective when writing about the future of Protestant colleges in America. They believed "the future of small-town Protestant colleges committed to orthodoxy is bleak indeed."[18]

Today, however, some sociologists, including former adherents of this outlook, have begun to recognise that secular revolutions, while tremendously powerful, are not always inevitable or thoroughgoing.[19] In other words, secularisation is not a natural and inevitable historical process but instead is something akin to a political revolution or the rising and declining waves of nationalisation.

This position finds support if one examines Christian higher education around the globe.[20] Christian higher education declined or died in many areas, not because it followed some sort of natural sociological law of nature linked to modernisation, but because it suffered the consequences of the actions of political and intellectual actors who led revolutions that ultimately led to the demise of Christianity's influence in many institutions.

Two basic types of political secularisation occurred — abrupt and gradual. Gradual secularisation is the process described above in Western Europe. Abrupt secularisation is the product of abrupt political revolutions, and results in the abrupt demise of Christian universities, such as occurred to Catholic institutions

[17] Berger, Peter, A bleak outlook is seen for religion, *New York Times*, 25th of April, 1968, 3.

[18] Jencks, Chistopher and Riesman, David, *The Academic Revolution*, New Brunswick, NJ, Transaction Publishers, 1968/2002, 333.

[19] Smith, Christian, Rethinking the Secularisation of American Public Life, in Christian Smith (ed.), *The Secular Revolution: Power, Interests and Conflict in the Secularisation of American Public Life*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 2003, 1-96.

[20] Anderson, Robert, *European Universities from the Enlightenment to 1914*; Joel C., Carpenter, Perry L., Glanzer and Nick, Lantinga, eds., *Christian Higher Education: A Global Reconnaissance,* Grand Rapids, MI, Eerdmans, forthcoming, 2014.

in France after its revolution[21], and in China[22] after communist revolutions as in Central and Eastern Europe.[23] In these cases, Christian higher education was forcefully nationalised and secularised within a short period of time.

The effects of these kinds of secularisation have not been consistent by country or by Christian tradition. Older Catholic universities that proclaim a Christian identity have survived in many places, such as Belgium, Colombia, Italy, the Philippines and Venezuela, largely because of the independent strength and cultural authority of the Roman Catholic Church. In contrast to the Catholic universities, Protestant universities appear to be much more susceptible to nationalisation and secularisation. Protestants' decentralised organisation and unstable communal solidarity make them less able to withstand pressures to conform their institutions to nationalising norms. Not one Protestant-founded university anywhere in the world that was started before 1817 still proclaims a Christian identity, and many have become secular in much shorter order. Reformed or Presbyterian institutions are good examples of this worldwide trend. Presbyterian/Reformed universities on virtually every continent have been nationalised and many others, even if remaining independent, have secularised. Prominent examples include MacKenzie University in Brazil, Yonsei University in South Korea, the Free University of Amsterdam in the Netherlands, Potchefstroom and Stellenbosch universities in South Africa, and Princeton and Rutgers universities in the United States.

Still, even for Protestant institutions, secularisation comes in various shades and degrees, which vary by region. The oldest Protestant college that still claims its Christian identity is not in Europe or North America; it is CMS College in India (f. 1817). India's approach to religious pluralism within a modern secular state has evidently been much less hostile to religious institutions.[24]

Furthermore, if one examines global Christian higher education, Christian higher education continues to thrive and grow in various areas. Part of the evidence can be ascertained from a global survey of Christian higher education I

[21] Anderson, Robert, *European Universities from the Enlightenment to 1914*, 39-50.

[22] [53] Lutz, Jessie Gregory, *China and the Christian Colleges, 1850-1950,* Ithaca, NY, Cornell University Press, 1971; Bays, Daniel H. and Widmer, Ellen, eds., *China's Christian Colleges: Cross–Cultural Connections, 1900-1950,* Palo Alto, CA, Stanford University Press, 2009.

[23] Glanzer, Perry L. The Role of the State in the Secularisation of Christian Higher Education: A Case Study of Eastern Europe, *Journal of Church and State*, Vol. 53, 2011, 161-82.

[24] Additional older Christian colleges in India include Bishop's College (1820), Scottish Church College (1830), and Madras Christian College (1837).

undertook with some colleagues.[25] Overall, we identified 1088 institutions.[26] Outside the United States and Canada we found 595 Christian universities.[27] In various parts of the world, we also found various patterns of growth and decline that usually relate to political arrangement. For instance, Africa is now experiencing the highest growth of Christian universities. In fact, more Christian universities have been started in Africa in the past decade than the rest of the world combined. The reason is that African countries such as Nigeria, Kenya and Nairobi began to allow the creation of private institutions. A similar growth

[25] Glanzer, Perry L., Carpenter, Joel A., & Lantinga, Nick, Looking for God in the University: Examining Trends in Global Christian Higher Education, *Higher Education*, Vol. 61, 2011, 721-55. We defined as "Christian" those universities or colleges that currently acknowledge and embrace a Christian or denominational confessional identity in their current mission statements and also alter aspects of their policies, governance, curriculum and ethos in the light of their Christian identity (e.g., required courses in Christian theology or the Bible; the presence of Christian worship at protected times that is supported by the institution, a college-funded Christian chaplaincy). This definition relies upon Robert Benne's typology developed in *Quality with Soul, Quality with Soul: How Six Premier Colleges and Universities Keep their Faith with their Religious Tradition*, Grand Rapids, Mich., Eerdmans, 2001, 48-65. Our definition excluded universities that merely recognise a historic connection to a church, denomination or Christianity (e.g., Oxford University and Yale University). In addition, we excluded colleges that are members of religious associations of colleges and universities due to these historical connections but that do not identify their religious identity as influencing their mission or as being central to their identity (e.g., many of the universities listed on denominational association web sites). Admittedly, this approach still results in some difficult borderline cases. We also excluded from our list state-funded universities that exist in nations with a state church that do not identify themselves primarily or equally as Christian institutions. For instance, state churches still exist in Denmark, England, Greece, Iceland, Malta, Norway, Scotland, and various cantons of Switzerland, and close links with particular churches exist in many other countries. Nonetheless, both the churches and Christian perspectives play only a limited role in the life of the national universities in these countries. Moreover, universities in these countries identify themselves first and foremost as national institutions and not as Christian institutions (although they may sponsor a theology faculty linked to a particular church).

Regarding what counted as a university, we only included institutions that are the equivalent of baccalaureate colleges, master's colleges and universities, and doctoral-granting universities. We did not include special focus institutions, such as seminaries, teachers colleges, schools of engineering and technology, or associate's colleges. Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, Classifications, accessed January 2, 2013, http://classifications.carnegiefoundation.org/). To make a clear delineation with seminaries, we only listed colleges that offer majors in at least *two* distinct areas of study beyond those related to church vocations (e.g., theology, Biblical studies, church music, and Christian/Church education). We also only included universities that have at least one faculty/school beyond theology and/or canon law.

[26] For specific information about our method and the various types of data gathered see Glanzer, Carpenter, and Lantinga, "Looking for God in the University", 726-27.

[27] The International Association for the Promotion of Christian Higher Education (IAPCHE) website provides a list of all the institutions and their web sites. International Association for the Promotion of Christian Higher Education, http://iapche.org/wordpress/?page_id=275, accessed January 2, 2013, 2:00 p.m.

spurt occurred in Latin America in the 1960s when the government encouraged private forms of higher education.

Secularisation is not inevitable. Where allowed, Christian higher education institutions continue to be created and grow, because Christians persist in creating new institutions. Christians do not always sustain the Christian identity and mission of these institutions and governments may inhibit their creation. Nonetheless, flourishing Protestant and Catholic universities are still expanding their influence throughout the globe. They are also being rebirthed in areas where such institutions had ceased to exist. Protestant Education in Europe provides an example of the latter.

THE EUROPEAN RESURRECTION AND NEW CREATIONS

Today, a small but significant rebirth of Protestant higher education is taking place across the European continent. Now, almost a dozen institutions could be said to espouse a mission rooted in their Protestant identity.[28] Two developments made this possible. First, Protestants and Protestant churches, particularly in Western Europe began taking specialised Protestant institutions focusing on one particular profession (e.g., teaching) and enlarging them into institutions offering a wider array of majors and specialties. Second, the fall of communism created the opportunity for new Protestants to form institutes, colleges and universities in formerly atheistic systems of higher education.[29]

In both situations, the ability to form the institutions came from one of two types of arrangements with the state — either the state began allowing privately-funded forms of higher education or the state began funding a variety of forms of religious education. An example of each of these developments can be found in Western Europe. Diakonhjemmet University College in Norway is the only Christian university in Norway. It is categorised as a private university, which is the reason they are able to cultivate and maintain their Christian identity.[30]In England, one of the most robust Christian universities, Liverpool Hope University, is a result of the state's policy of supporting universities from a variety of Christian confessions. In 1980, under the United Kingdom government's pressure to reduce the number of teacher-training colleges, the Catholic Archbishop and Anglican Bishop for Liverpool visited the Secretary of State for Education

[28] For a list see Glanzer, Perry L., The Death and Resurrection of Protestant Higher Education in Europe, 196.

[29] Ibid., 195-224.

[30] http://www.diakonhjemmet.no/DUC, accessed October 10, 2013, 2:58 p.m.

to request permission to merge two Catholic teacher-training colleges (Notre Dame, founded 1856; Christ's College, founded 1964) and one Anglican teacher-training college (St. Katherine's, founded 1844). Reportedly, he granted permission for the merger to form the Liverpool Institute of Higher Education because he did not think this unique partnership would last long. In 2005 it was granted the right to award degrees and changed its name to Liverpool Hope University. Currently, it educates over 7,500 full-time students and could be said to be the first and only university that attempts to be fully Anglican and fully Catholic.[31]

PRIVATE UNIVERSITIES IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

Changing state policy also influenced the rise of Christian higher education in Central and Eastern Europe and Russia. Similar to Western Europe, only where private universities are allowed or religious universities are given equal funding have Protestant universities emerged. Indeed, a few Protestant universities did emerge in Russia,[32] but when Russia recently took away the tax-exempt status of private universities in order to protect state universities during the population decline, these universities had to transform themselves into more narrow professional or theological schools.

The two remaining private Christian universities in Central and Eastern Europe with Protestant roots are LCC International in Lithuania and Emanuel University in Romania, both of which enjoy the blessings of new campuses. The bulk of LCC International's funding comes from three different charitable foundations in Canada, Lithuania and the United States, and tuition. Emanuel University, even though it could legally receive public funding, is completely funded by private sources such as student tuition, gifts from Romanians and local churches in Romania, an endowment and gifts from international sources. The board decided not to receive government money to maintain institutional freedom and preserve its Baptist identity.[33]

Since both institutions survive on private funding they are small (Emanuel educates 500 and LCC 600) and provide only a limited range of majors. Emanuel

[31] Glanzer, Perry L., Searching for the Soul of English Universities: An Analysis of Christian Higher Education in England, *British Journal of Educational Studies,* Vol. 56, 2008, 163-83.

[32] Petrenko, Konstantin I. and Glanzer, Perry L., The Recent Emergence of Private Christian Colleges and Universities in Russia: Historical Reasons and Contemporary Developments, *Christian Higher Education*,Vol. 4, 2005, 81-97.

[33] Glanzer, Perry L., The Death and Resurrection of Protestant Higher Education in Europe: A Case Study" in Jeynes, William and Robinson, David, eds., *The International Handbook of Protestant Education*, New York, Springer Press, 2012, 195-224.

offers B.A. degrees in Pastoral Theology, Social Work, Business Management, Music and Literature and Master's degrees in Pastoral Theology and Missiology, Entrepreneurial Management and Social Work. LCC grants bachelor's degrees in business administration, English, psychology, and theology (Evangelical).

EMANUEL UNIVERSITY (ROMANIA) [34]

Emanuel University (EU) originated as an underground training school for pastors and missionaries. It is currently the only Protestant university in Europe that actively seeks to limit both student and faculty membership to "Evangelical born-again" believers. They primarily attract students by promoting the university in churches, and Christian Evangelical High Schools. They also require that students be active members of a local Evangelical church in Romania. Moreover, even though a number of universities in Romania have abandoned entry examinations due to the declining student population in Romania, EU has an entrance exam, which includes an interview that touches on spiritual, moral, and academic skills of the applicant as well as a written part where the students are asked to write a paper. Their academic rigour has helped their reputation. Emanuel University has been successful in sustaining a high academic profile for a young institution. They are ranked fifth among private universities in the country by the Romanian Ministry of Education, and 35th overall by one ranking agency.[35]

To encourage the integration of faith and learning every liberal arts specialisation has a theological module. Students take courses in New Testament, Old Testament, Doctrine, Christian Life, Missions, Evangelism, and Christian Ethics. Many of them also take a course in Biblical counseling. The reason for such extensive theological requirement is that they see their students as "missionaries: in the market place, in public schools, in social care institutions, on the mission field in another part of the world. No matter where they go, they should be able to embody the Gospel and to articulate the Gospel."[36]

In the co-curricular domain the university requires weekly church service attendance, missionary assignments and weekly chapel services. The school also assigns a faculty mentor to each student, prohibits students from drinking,

[34] Portions of this section appeared previously in Glanzer, Perry L. and Cimpean, Claudiu, The First Baptist University in Europe: An Explanation and Case Study, *Christian Higher Education*, Vol. 8, 2009, 1-11.

[35] Topul universităților din România – Clasamentul general – 2007.

[36] Negrut, Paul, personal interview, October 19, 2007.

smoking, or dancing, and provides clear dress code expectations. The students meet with mentors for Bible study and prayer and have certain events, such as a retreat in the mountains for a weekend. In addition to on-campus worship and spiritual formation, they college requires students to go into local churches and be part of a local community.

LCC INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY

LCC International began in 1990, the year Lithuania declared independence from the Soviet Union, through the invitation of Lithuania's Minister of Education, Darious Kuolys, to a group of Protestants. When Art DeFehr, one of the original founders, asked why the new Lithuanian government invited Protestants to join such a university, Kuolys told him that "they had studied the west and observed that societies that were more plural and more Protestant tended to be more democratic."[37]

Since LCC considers itself an international higher educational institution, classroom instruction takes place in the English language. This allows the college to attract students and faculty from a variety of backgrounds. Thus, while sixty percent of LCC's students come from Lithuania, the other forty percent come from twenty-one different countries.[38] The teaching staff also includes Lithuanian faculty as well as instructors from North America and Western Europe.

LCC is not aligned with a particular Christian denomination and in this respect is not specifically Protestant. Both the Board of Directors and the faculty are expected to subscribe to the Apostles Creed and the Nicene Creed, as well as profess a relationship to Jesus Christ. LCC does not require students to be Christians, although many of them come from a variety of Evangelical churches and denominations. It does state in its admissions material, "that every student, whether Christian or non-Christian, must conform to [LCC's] policies and regulations relating to the academic and social character of this institution."[39]

LCC is explicit about its attempts to integrate faith and learning. When explaining its mission in relation to its curriculum, LCC makes clear that "One of the goals of LCC International University education is for students to have an understanding of all of creation as the object of God's redeeming love through Jesus Christ. Students explore the integration of Christian faith with all of life

[37] Klassen, Sarah, *Lithuania Christian College: A Work in Progress,* Winnipeg, MB, Leona DeFehr, 2001, 3.

[38] LCC International University, http://www.lcc.lt, accessed 2 October 2013, 4:00 p.m.

[39] Ibid.

and they are invited to align their lives with God's mission to renew all things."[40] To fulfil this mission, LCC offers a core curriculum which seeks to impart eight core values: critical thinking, Christian worldview, conflict transformation, servant leadership, multicultural perspective, effective communication, multidisciplinary knowledge and community building. All students are required to take two courses in the Bible, a theology course, an introduction to conflict studies, and a moral philosophy course. As for the cocurricular arena, it holds weekly student-led chapel services that include worship, teaching, and the sharing of faith stories. It also devotes considerable resources and time to the spiritual formation of students, fostered by a chaplain and two spiritual formation coordinators.

LCC International also provides a strong example of the rebirth of civil society in former communist countries. Consequently, the campuses have become meeting places for academic conferences linked to the academic concerns of the Christian communities in these regions (e.g., a conference addressing the Recreation of the Person in the Post-Soviet Context at LCC). Another major redemptive emphasis involves an emphasis upon service leadership. The destruction of civil society in communist society destroyed voluntary associations and the voluntarist impulse. To reverse this trend, LCC students have also been involved with service projects at a local orphanage as well as sponsoring Christmas events for local children. Also, LCC students and faculty support a St. Francis Cancer Support Centre in Klaipėda by giving the centre's volunteers English language lessons free of charge that will help them when they attend training seminars in the United Kingdom.

PUBLICLY FUNDED INSTITUTIONS

The two Protestant universities that benefit from a public funding system are Károli Gáspár University (KGU) in Budapest, Hungary and Partium Christian University (PCU) in Oradea, Romania, both of which are Reformed universities. It should be noted that the universities do not receive full funding. For instance, KGU's funding is largely derived from student tuition along with some direct government support (19 percent) for which they must apply yearly.[41]

Both universities also serve the Hungarian population (PCU primarily serves ethnic Hungarians in Romania). For instance, PCU's mission contains both a

[40] Ibid.

[41] Szűcs, Ferenc, personal interview, October 15, 2007.

Christian and ethnic Hungarian emphasis. It states, "Our purpose is to form an academic community, in which Christian love, rightfulness, solidarity, the values of good-mannered behaviour are enforced and excelled", but it also emphasises other aims:

> "The university has a strategic role in terms of national politics as well. Its purpose is to assure the equal educational opportunities for the Hungarian community in Partium and in Transylvania, and to educate well-trained and internationally competitive experts, according to the most excellent educational and research requirements. By forming intellectuals, the university also fulfils a cultural mission: it educates new professionals who will transmit and further develop Hungarian culture."[42]

In this respect PCU shares some similarities with another university that was sponsored by the four historic churches in Hungary, Catholic, Lutheran, Reformed, and Unitarian, and also exists in Romania, Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania. It also states that its mission is to "To promote universal human and Christian values."[43]

KGU and PCU are the largest Protestant universities in Central and Eastern Europe with PCU educating 1,350 students and KGU educating over 5,000 students. In fact, KGU is the largest Protestant university in mainland Europe. Both institutions also have the most extensive range of faculties. PCU has faculties in Economics, Arts and Human and Social Studies. KGU has faculties in theology, teacher education, humanities and law. KGU's humanities faculty alone offers degree programmes in communication science, Dutch, English, German language and literature, History, Hungarian language and literature, Japanese, Psychology, Hermeneutics and General Humanities. Its wide array of academic offerings and current academic reputation give KGU tremendous leadership potential for being the only large Protestant research university in all of Europe. Thus, the following institutional summary will focus upon KGU.

KÁROLI GÁSPÁR UNIVERSITY

Károli Gáspár University (KGU) is named after a 16th century Hungarian Bible translator. It traces its history to a theological faculty founded in 1855 to train

[42] http://www.partium.ro/en/mission-statement, accessed October 11, 2013, 9:00 a.m.
[43] http://www.sapientia.ro/en/mission-statement, accessed October 11, 2013, 9:30 a.m.

ministers for the Reformed Church of Hungary and the Lutheran Church of Hungary (the Lutherans left after ten years). In 1900, the Hungarian Parliament granted the faculty university status, which was later taken away by the Communist Party. After the fall of communism in 1989, the Hungarian Parliament gave university-level status back to the theological faculty. Later in 1993 the General Assembly of the Hungarian Reformed Church approved the establishment of a university with a wide range of faculties, a decision later ratified by the Hungarian Parliament.

KGU unabashedly affirms its Reformed heritage and sees its mission "to offer diversified, multi-level, broadly-based, high-level education in conformity with the intellectual heritage of the Reformed Church" which includes serving "the development of Church and Nation, through educational and academic activity carried out in the spirit of an *universitas scientarium*."[44] The Rector must be a member of the Reformed Church and the Reformed Church plays a role in its governance. The university, however, due to the fact that it receives state funding, cannot discriminate among students. In fact, questions about religious identity are regarded as sensitive information and cannot be asked of students by the university. Although KGU has the possibility of serving the 1.6 million people (15% of the population) in the country who identify as Reformed Christians, professors estimate that only between 20-30% of students come from a Protestant Christian background while the large majority comes from a Roman Catholic background. KGU, however, does not want merely to be a university that only serves the church population. As the present rector noted, "we do not want our university to be in a bad sense sectarian, which means too closed up. We want to be open to new ideas, compatible with academic requirements."[45]

KGU possesses greater freedom regarding its faculty hiring requirements. The rector and all theology faculty members must be members of the Reformed church and other faculty members could be hired on the basis of religion (although it is often difficult to do so). Indeed, one finds faculty active in aiding and promoting Christian intellectual life. KGU also boasts a number of creative contributions to academic and popular dialogue on well-known subjects such as the Jesenius Science and Faith Center, the Albert Miller Szenci Institute of Theology and Religious Art, which also publishes a well-respected journal on literature and religious art.

KGU seeks to provide for the Christian education of their students in a number of ways. All students are required to take an Introduction to Christianity

[44] http://www.kre.hu/english/index.php/articles, accessed October 11, 2013, 9:00 am
[45] Balla, Peter, personal interview, October 15, 2007.

course. The content of the course involves knowledge of the Bible, the milestones of faith and theologians of Christianity, the theological background of differences in religions, and the structure and characteristics of the Protestant church and practical information. The university leadership also seeks to make sure that devoted Christian teachers teach these courses. In addition, the former Rector observed, "And in every subject the view of the curriculum is based on the Christian culture, the ground of Hungary and Europe and so on, which is Biblically based. So, we really want to form the worldview of our students, not in a direct way I think, not to push Christianity on them, but to show them really what Christianity is."[46] Specific majors, such as those connected with theological training, the training of teachers for religious schools, literature, and history, also incorporate distinctly Reformed elements. The curricular emphasis upon Christianity is supplemented by voluntary weekly worship services as well as film clubs and discussion groups organised by the university pastor. Students also attend a worship service to open the academic year and take a vow that governs their behaviour at KGU.

THE FUTURE

How can Protestant higher education be nurtured in Europe as a whole and Central and Eastern Europe in particular? Protestant higher education will not move forward by worrying unduly about nationalisation and secularisation. Just as a good marriage does not involve the spouses focusing upon worries about adultery, but instead focuses upon building a good marriage, the robust Christian university must seek first to fulfil a positive mission. I have argued elsewhere that Christian universities should focus their mission not on vague Christian values or even the integration of faith and learning but upon the creation and redemption of learners and learning.[47] This mission rests upon the belief, grounded in Genesis 1:27-28, that the Christian's calling is to bear the image of the triune God in whose image we are made. Theologically speaking, God does not go about integrating faith and learning. Our need to integrate faith and learning stems not from our imitation of God's actions, but our human limitations – our lack of omniscience and our fallenness. Biblically speaking, however, God is in the business of creating and also redeeming his fallen creation. By understand-

[46] Szűcs, Ferenc, personal interview, October 15, 2007.

[47] See Ream, Todd C. and Glanzer, Perry L., *The Idea of a Christian College: Expanded for the Contemporary University*, Portland, Cascade, 2013.

ing their task as creating and redeeming learners and learning, Christian universities and scholars undertake the noblest of tasks – imitating and joining in the actions of the triune God. Creating just laws and structures, true and beautiful literature or inspiring music reflects God's creativity. Uncovering falsehoods in scholarship and reversing past evils through patient writing and research are redemptive endeavours.

Sustaining this mission is why faculty hiring proves the most important decision for maintaining a robust Christian university. Students come and go but faculty endure — sometimes it seems like forever. They are the most important element in maintaining a Christian university. From those Christian faculty your future leaders will emerge. They need the ability to think theologically about the university's mission. For Protestant universities in Europe, I believe this remains one of the biggest challenges. For example, KGU's former rector acknowledged, "we cannot fill all the faculty positions with devoted Christians."[48] Protestant universities in Central and Eastern Europe must find ways to nurture and develop young Christian intellectuals.

Once hired, the strongest Christian universities find ways to nurture the Christian development of faculty members in their personal and professional lives. What do you do to nurture the creative and redemptive development of learners and learning? In my own study of Christian colleges and universities in America, I have found that those with the most robust Christian vision were those that cultivated a common theological language that pervaded their institution.[49] Thus, the danger facing LCC International is that it lacks theological roots tied to a denomination. Its advantage is that its international student body and faculty mean it will not succumb easily to the temptations of nationalism. In contrast, the other three institutions have deep theological roots within a tradition that need to be nourished and used. Their temptation is that they also have deep ethnic ties, especially the Hungarian institutions.

Third, Christian universities prosper when they encourage the creation and redemption of learning education through general education and the cocurricular. In many cases, global universities outside North America offer no such thing as general education. The Protestant universities in Central and Eastern Europe are clear exceptions to this trend. All that I have studied require at least some form of Christian general education in Bible, Theology or Christian worldview. I would merely add that they may want to consider a class on church history as

[48] Szűcs, Ferenc, personal interview, October 15, 2007.

[49] Glanzer, Perry L. and Ream, Todd C., *Christianity and Moral Identity in Higher Education*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.

well. Just as we teach national history to students to enrich their sense of national identity, we must teach the story of the Christian Church to enrich students' Christian identity. This can be done in creative ways. For instance, the Ukrainian Catholic University created an oral history project documenting the underground church. The Rector, Father Boris Gudziak, remarked, "Kids who are 18 years today, were born after the church came out of the underground."[50] Thus, all of the students in theology classes undertake an oral interview with a subject, an experience which serves as a unique instrument of faith development for young people. As Gudziak noted, "That story of how there were underground seminaries, monasteries, it's an authentically heroic story."[51] As a result of the project, the Institute of Church History currently houses 2,000 interviews and over 80,000 pages of transcriptions from clergy and lay leaders (both men and women) involved with the underground church. Students from other Central and Eastern European countries could learn from the history of the underground Protestant Church as well.[52]

One of the other weaknesses of European universities is the failure to cultivate a rich student communal experience outside the classroom. Yet, much of the consolidation of students' undergraduate learning happens outside of the classroom and in students' co-curricular experiences.[53] Again, a number of Protestant universities in Central and Eastern Europe are an exception. European Christian universities will continue to benefit greatly and provide a stark counter-cultural witness by investing time, creativity and resources into the student life side of education. Again, I will use UCU as an example. They have helped give institutional support to The Emmaus Center, the Ukrainian Branch of L'Arche that ministers to the mentally handicapped with various students often volunteering. UCU students or graduates have also started a military chaplaincy, a student chaplaincy, a prison chaplaincy, and orphanages. Student initiative has been unleashed for redemptive purposes.[54]

Finally, I think there is a greater need for "bilateral" global partnerships between older and more settled Christian universities and newly founded ones in dynamic settings of need. This remains the responsibility of older and established Christian institutions. The University of Notre Dame in the United States

[50] Fr. Borys Gudziak, interview by author, 8 May 2008, Lviv, Ukraine.

[51] Ibid.

[52] Glanzer, Perry L., The First Ukrainian Christian University: The Rewards and Challenges of Being an Eastern Anomaly, *Christian Higher Education,* Vol. 11, 2012, 320-30.

[53] Astin, Alexander W., "Student Involvement: A Developmental Theory for Higher Education", *Journal of College Student Development,* Vol. 40, 1984, 518-529.

[54] Glanzer, Perry L., *The First Ukrainian Christian University*, 320-30.

provides a positive example. The formation of the University of Notre Dame Australia (f. 1989) marked the beginning of the first Christian university in Australia, and this university would not have been possible without the help of the University of Notre Dame in the United States. As one chronicler of the history wrote, "Indeed, the early NDUS commitment and involvement was the perhaps most important single factor in causing this project to proceed beyond the feasibility study stage."[55] Notre Dame has participated in similar global partnerships with young Central and Eastern European Catholic universities in Hungary, Poland, Slovakia and Ukraine.

Protestants have been more successful at building global partnerships of institutions. The International Association for the Promotion of Christian Higher Education (IAPCHE) is an example of this development and the various regional networks of Christian universities are another example (e.g., Council for Christian Colleges and Universities in North America and the Asian Christian Universities and Colleges group in East and Southeast Asia). Interestingly, there is no European association or partnership for Protestant universities or Christian universities in general.

These types of partnerships are especially important when facing external threats. For instance, Károli Gáspár University and Partium Christian University will face the nationalist temptation to prioritise their Hungarian identity over their Reformed and Christian identities. One way to keep this temptation at bay would be to partner with other Christian colleges in Europe so that the focus is first on the common Christian identity while national identity is still given its proper attention.

Another one of the significant challenges to Protestant higher education in Europe is state policy that fosters secularisation. For instance, one Romanian scholar goes so far as to argue that the higher education policies of post-socialist Romania constitute "a new wave of secularisation and nationalisation" that will have adverse effects upon Emanuel University and Partium Christian University.[56] Evidence of these pressures can be seen in the curricular adjustments forced upon Emanuel University. Before 2004, the university required all students to receive a double major in theology and another discipline. Theology professor Corneliu Simut describes the advantage of this approach, "In Romania, you could send the [double major student] to any remote village, he could pastor, he could teach letters …he could get money from the state [as an elementary or

[55] Tannock, Peter, The Founding of the University of Notre Dame Australia, accessed May 2, 2012, broome.nd.edu.au/university/history.shtml.

[56] Szolár, Éva, Church-Related Higher Education in Romania, Debrecen, CHERD, unpublished research paper, 2008, 1.

secondary teacher]."[57] Unfortunately, due to the Bologna process: "theology was dropped not because we wanted to, but that's the system… the law does not allow you to function like that." The best Emanuel can do is require five theology courses of all students. Simut laments, "Now, you have a social work graduate, he goes to that village, but he only has one field in which to specialise."[58] Partium Christian University has experienced similar secularisation pressures due to the implementation of the Bologna process.[59] A partnership with other Christian universities in a country or region can help Christina universities band together to address these matters.

CONCLUSION

In the conclusion to his recent work, *God's Continent: Christianity, Islam and Europe's Religion Crisis*, Philip Jenkins summarised his findings, "Contrary to expectation, then, Christianity is surviving amid European secularism and often achieving more than mere survival."[60] The same could be said for Protestant colleges and universities on the continent. Actually, one could say that they rose from the dead since Protestant universities actually had, for all practical purposes, died by the 1980s. Today, Protestants have created new institutions or expanded old professional schools to create a number of institutions that are doing more than merely surviving. While certainly far from embodying their strong institutions of the past, the new institutions maintain a small but significant presence on the continent. In fact, the narrative of Protestant higher education in Europe supports Jenkins' final concluding sentences of his book about religion in Europe, "Death and resurrection are not just fundamental doctrines of Christianity; they represent a historical model of the religion's structure and development"[61] Certainly, this describes Protestant higher education in Europe.

[57] Simut, Corneliu, interview by author, 19 October 2007, Oradea, Romania.
[58] Ibid.
[59] Szolár, Éva, Church-Related Higher Education in Romania, 2008.
[60] Jenkins, Philip, *God's Continent: Christianity, Islam, and Europe's Religious Crisis*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2007, 288.
[61] Ibid., 289.

Dr. Mwenda Ntarangwi[1]

EMBRACING UNITY WITHIN DIVERSITY: IAPCHE'S WORK AROUND THE WORLD AND IMPLICATIONS FOR THE FUTURE OF CHRISTIAN HIGHER EDUCATION

INTRODUCTION

We live in a diverse, complex, interconnected, and interdependent world. What happens in one corner of the world has effect on another corner; decisions made in an office in one city have repercussions in another; products produced in a farm in one country have consumers in a country in a different continent; and diseases emanating from a small village in one location will threaten the lives of community members in another country. This global reality is present even in our own sphere of Christian higher education. We gather here to celebrate twenty years of the existence of Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church in Hungary and ponder the next twenty and beyond. My hope is that I can contribute meaningfully towards this celebration by sharing the story of a small association with a big agenda and large global network poised to engage the key issues shaping global Christian higher education today. I want to share with you the vision and practices that the International Association for the Promotion of Christian Higher Education (IAPCHE) has embraced in its work around the world since 1975 and in that process provide a framework that might inform how we think about the future of Christian higher education here in Hungary as well as at similar other universities around the world. As an association, IAPCHE's history and the diversity of identities, practices, and experiences brought by many of our partners in higher education globally, have helped shape the work we currently pursue.

Prior to mid-90s the bulk of IAPCHE's membership recruitment and programmes were focused on what we may refer to as "the family of reformed institutions" located mostly in Europe and North America. Over time, however, such denominational and geographical restriction could not be sustained, especially if the association was to expand its reach and embrace the reality of the expanding world of Christian higher education such as in the global south in

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the late twentieth century. As IAPCHE leaders travelled around the world participating in professional conferences and consultations, they became aware of something they could not ignore. Fellow Christians in newly instituted Christian universities and colleges, as well as older institutions that were seeking to recapture their past Christian identity, were all attracted to IAPCHE's mission of promoting and supporting integral Christian higher education but came with diverse denominational commitments and expressions. How did IAPCHE respond to this challenge of serving a diverse body within Christian higher education while remaining faithful to its founding philosophy? In this paper I will use the approach IAPCHE used to respond to this challenge or opportunity and share some reflections on its history plus some projections on its future with the hope that we will all find them relevant to the distinct work we carry out in our respective contexts. To do this I propose to focus to three key areas that I share with you. They are:

a) History and operations of IAPCHE,

b) The value contextualising all we do, and

c) The desired unity that our fidelity to Christ brings to our otherwise diversified work.

I will address each one of them individually.

IAPCHE AND GLOBAL CHRISTIAN HIGHER EDUCATION

IAPCHE is a network of institutions and individuals worldwide committed to advancing Christian education through training, capacity building, scholarship, and networking in ways that reflect both the universal (shared view of Christ's centrality in our identity and work) and the local (attending to the specific realities and practices of where and who we serve). It was founded in 1975 in South Africa with the aim of bringing together reformed higher education institutions through networking and mutual exchange. Over the years IAPCHE became more and more ecumenical as it spread its networks to all corners of the world with membership from all Christian denominations, and governed by a ten-member board representing Africa, Asia, Europe, Latin America, and North America. IAPCHE's central office is located on the campus of Calvin College, Grand Rapids, Michigan and three regional offices in Costa Rica, Kenya, and India.

IAPCHE's main goals are centred around the following three areas:

1) *Informing* its members about events, thoughts and activities of its members worldwide through a quarterly newsletter, *Contact* and through *Insert*, an

academic bulletin that addresses current issues in higher education. IAPCHE also publishes scholarly books drawn from regional or international conferences organised and attended by its members;
2) *Connecting research* partnerships through an online interactive membership directory and through regional and international conferences; and,
3) *Equipping* members through training/enrichment programmes for integrating faith and learning, improving teaching, and developing Christian strategies for leadership and student outreach.

IAPCHE pursues these goals through the following programmes:

1. *Faculty Development and Leadership Training*: Providing periodic faculty development that enables participants to stay abreast of best practices in pedagogy as well as in their respective disciplines. Also provides forums for scholarship and intellectual exchange through symposia, conferences, and workshops. The overall goal is the *Training of Trainers*: developing and implementing foundational skills for local trainers who turn around and train faculty, staff, and administrators in their respective campuses, nations and regions, specifically on how to improve quality of teaching and administration that is anchored in Christian faith.
2. *Curriculum Enhancement*: Working with scholars from member institutions and regions to collaboratively come up with strategic ways to shape existing curriculums for general education and courses for faith-shaped teaching, learning, and service. The content and delivery are informed and responsive to local contexts and realities.
3. *National, Regional, and International Conferences, Seminars, and Workshops* that bring together members to share and discuss experiences, skills, and resources that enable them to effectively carry out their work and to shape, through publications, this work for the benefit of others and future generations.

Why is such programming important? There are two main reasons: first, the nature of the work that IAPCHE is involved in, as well as the composition of its membership are both simultaneously global and local, diverse and unified. Bringing together its members to focus on the project of integral Christian higher education, while affirming each member's unique contribution to its mission, given the diverse contexts within which we work, calls for a complex approach. Granted Christianity has always been global but today we recognise we are living in a different age and IAPCHE has to be responsive to this reality. Thanks

to technological innovations, flows of people across national borders, plus capital and information across vast geographical areas, and the growth of local missionary movements, Christianity has continued to grow. As Christianity has grown so has Christian higher education. Since 1990, for instance, there have been over a hundred and twenty new Christian universities outside North America — 46 in Africa, 32 in Latin America, 25 in Asia and Australia, and 19 in Europe[2] (Károli Gáspár University is one of these new institutions). As a result of this expansion in Christian higher education there is a need to prepare teachers and administrators for integral Christian higher education to match that growth.[3]

Second, we live in a multi-faith world that calls for an effective framework of engagement across multiple religious and faith identities. Our graduates — and ourselves as well — need to know how to understand and conduct ourselves appropriately with those of other faiths while remaining anchored in Christian faith. As we encounter and interact with diverse people globally, we need well-developed skills for listening to and learning from non-Christians and even Christians who are very different from ourselves. We must be ready to bring a well-grounded, theologically-informed Christian faith to bear on interactions and intersections with those from other faith traditions, to honour the authenticity of their religious commitments without replacing vibrant Christian faith with vague spirituality, with relativism regarding central Christian truths, or with a form of tolerance that doesn't encourage sharing Christ's saving grace. IAPCHE considers these realities to be excellent opportunities to continue focusing on higher education around the world given that the most enduring professional formation today occurs in college or university. The "what" and "how" of the education provided in these institutions is critical for the future of not only the recipients of such education but the societies in which they serve globally.

In today's world those individuals will be making critical decisions that will profoundly shape lives even in places far away from where they live. Our work ought to cultivate in our students and colleagues a set of qualities not just for global citizenship but for *Kingdom Citizenship*, providing them with integral

[2] See, Joel, Carpenter, Perry, Glanzer, and Nick, Lantinga, *Christian Higher Education: A Global Reconnaissance*, Grand Rapids, Eerdmans, 2014. Data for this project was collected through IAPCHE and is available at http://iapche.org/wordpress/?page_id=286

[3] By "integral Christian education" I mean an education that assumes that all aspects of the education are shaped by Christian faith, that they are connected, coherent, and inescapably tied to Christian perspectives.

Christian training that is built on a sound acknowledgement and understanding of the sovereignty of God in all of creation, and with skills for critical thinking, servant-leadership, wise judgment, empathy for others, pursuit of justice and mercy, global awareness, intercultural competence, humility, and service to others. Paying close attention to context is therefore an important ingredient for the future of IAPCHE as I am sure it is for you all here in Hungary.

CONTEXTUALISING CHRISTIAN HIGHER EDUCATION

While it may seem a banal aspect of what we do, the idea of context is critical in not only understanding cultures but also in understanding Christian higher education. It is true that we all serve the same Christ and that we share the same holy book, the Bible. But we receive and understand Christ and the Bible through our cultures. We also communicate with God through structures and sensibilities made meaningful in our cultures. So how does this fit into what we do as promoters of Christian higher education worldwide?

We start by acknowledging that while we all are Christians seeking to provide an integral Christian education in our respective institutions, our ability to do so hinges on the contexts within which we are able to practice. Any government support or restricting policies, availability of a pool of good candidates for teaching and administrative positions, student and parent preferences and choices of programmes, as well as the general position of Christianity in the country or region, all play an important role in the kind of work we do in our institutions. In the limited exposure to the global reality of Christian higher education that I have had through IAPCHE, I have come to appreciate the diverse range of educational practices and opportunities available and practiced by our members and friends around the world. How is it possible, for instance, for a secular nation like the Netherlands to have almost two thirds of its children studying in Christian institutions?[4] Why would a senior administrator in a Christian university in Tanzania say that their job is not to convert students to Christianity but to offer a service and yet the stated mission of the institution is to cultivate intellectual and spiritual resources for the renewal of church and society? How is it that a school in one state in India is able to hire a certain percentage of Christian professors when another in a neighbouring state cannot? All these are examples

[4] Anneke de Wolff, Doret de Ruyter, and Siebre Miedema, "Being a Christian School in the Netherlands", *Journal of Beliefs & Values*, Vol. 24, no. 2, 2003, 207.

of Christian colleges or universities but they operate in different contexts. I want to use this notion of contextualisation here to explore the ways in which our work is attentive to place and practice around the world as well as within our institutions. Let me share some specific examples:

Kenya

In my own native country of Kenya public data tells us that we have about 82% of the total population claiming a Christian identity[5] and in the last twenty years there have emerged fourteen Christian universities with three more awaiting accreditation by the government body for higher education.[6] As a result of this, Christianity has enjoyed a long period of public presence that was very much taken for granted at least until 2010, when a new constitution introduced religious boundaries in public life. On the issue of religious freedom the constitution states:

32. (1) Every person has the right to freedom of conscience, religion, thought, belief and opinion.

(2) Every person has the right, either individually or in community with others, in public or in private, to manifest any religion or belief through worship, practice, teaching or observance, including observance of a day of worship.

(3) A person may not be denied access to any institution, employment or facility, or the enjoyment of any right, because of the person's belief or religion.

(4) A person shall not be compelled to act, or engage in any act, that is contrary to the person's belief or religion.

While this seems to affirm the freedoms accorded religious identity for all Kenyans, upon further scrutiny it is clear that religious organisations, including schools and universities, can no longer reject admission or deny employment to any applicant or employee based on his/her beliefs even if such an individual's belief runs contrary to the religious beliefs of the institution. Many religious institutions potentially run the risk of being sued on the basis of discrimination for refusing admission or employment to persons not of similar faith. They also risk being sued for compelling students to attend chapel or observe certain re-

[5] According to date from the Kenya National Bureau of Statics (KBNS) found here http://www.knbs.or.ke/Population%20by%20Religious%20Affiliation%20and%20Province.php, accessed October 8, 2013, 6:23PM.

[6] This is according to data obtained from the Commission for University Education in Kenya available at http://www.cue.or.ke/services/accreditation/status-of-universities, accessed October 8, 2013, 7:10PM.

ligious rituals considered an important part of the institution's Christian identity. The flip side of this "threat" is that it allows Christian institutions to really be intentional in how they think and operationalise their mission for projecting Christ in all they do.

When Christianity is present in all aspects of life there develops a tendency to take it for granted and not make much effort to strategically make choices that lead to actions that enhance one's faith and identity. I have heard from many students I talk to about their experience in US public schools especially when the same students come from Christian elementary schools or Christian homes, that it is in the public schools where they are finally able to process and even defend what and why they believe. They also say that it is in this context that they were able to "own" their faith. As a majority religion, Christianity will continue to enjoy some relative power in Kenya for many years to come despite these recent constitutional changes but the approach that many Christian institutions will take to admitting students, hiring their faculty and staff, as well as choosing their curriculum, will have to contend with this new reality.

India

What happens in places where Christianity is not the majority religion as in the case of India? In August 2012 I learned from talking with some senior leaders of Christian institutions in India that while Christianity is a minor religion it is somewhat protected by the Indian constitution. The constitution prohibits discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth, and that the state shall not discriminate against any citizen on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth or any of them (Article 15 (1)). As such, Christians as a minority religion are protected by the constitution and (technically) have the same access to the state machinery as the majority religious group represented by Hinduism. This, however, does not give them any special preference when it comes to access to Christian education. It is in Article 30 of the constitution where such protection is enshrined. It states in a clause on the "right of minorities to establish and administer educational institutions", that

(1) All minorities, whether based on religion or language, shall have the right to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice.

(1A) In making any law providing for the compulsory acquisition of any property of an educational institution established and administered by a minority, referred to in clause (1), the State shall ensure that the amount fixed by or determined under such law for the acquisition of such property is such as would not restrict or abrogate the right guaranteed under that clause.

(2) The State shall not, in granting aid to educational institutions, discriminate against any educational institution on the ground that it is under the management of a minority, whether based on religion or language.[7]

There are many advantages to this constitutional provision especially for Christians in India and many have taken advantage of it and continued to support Christian colleges. I might note here that the term "college" in the context of India means something slightly different compared to its use in the US or Kenya. In India a college can offer doctoral degrees while in the US it cannot and in Kenya it denotes a "junior" institution that only offers a certificate or diploma but not a degree. In the Netherlands it could denote a high school as in the case of Gomarus College, a Christian High School in the northern part of the Netherlands.

Universities in India do not usually offer undergraduate degrees and mostly focus on research and graduate training. As a result colleges seek to affiliate with universities that then give them guidance on their curriculum development and offerings. There are a number of Christian colleges that are not affiliated with any university but instead have an "autonomous" status. Such colleges set their own curriculum but have to apply formally to the University Grants Commission for permission to operate autonomously. Examples of autonomous Christian colleges include Madras Christian College, Bishop Heber College, Lady Doak College, and St. Christopher College of Arts and Sciences. Even these autonomous institutions still have some affiliation with larger universities. For instance, Lady Doak is autonomous but also affiliated with Madurai Kamaraj University in Tamil Nadu state. Lady Doak College offers doctoral degrees in physics, economics, Tamil, microbiology, and biotechnology. What is notable in this context of autonomy for colleges is that it really depends on the state. In the state of Kerala in the South-West part of India (neighboring Tamil Nadu) there are no autonomous colleges as a result of a state government policy.

Why is this the case? Colleagues I spoke with in 2012 in India mentioned that the reason for this absence is that Kerala state government has a leftist leaning (following the 1957 elections that saw the communist-led government come to power) and there is a strong school management union that consequently leads the state to worry that if it allowed for autonomous institutions the state would lose control over them to the unions. However, given the reality of state governance gradually withdrawing from providing major support for higher education throughout India there is a push towards what is called a "self-financing" model

[7] See, Indian Constitution Act of 2011 available at http://indiacode.nic.in/coiweb/welcome.html, accessed October 9, 2013, 7:30AM.

of higher education, in which institutions have to collect much of funds necessary for operations through tuition charges.

This new model of financing does not totally remove state influence over Christian institutions especially where the state provides salaries for teachers and institutional management. States often decide the fees/tuition structure for students in all institutions even when pursuing a "self-financing" model, making each institution respond accordingly to state mandates on education. What becomes even more challenging for Christian colleges in India are cases where the state cannot afford to support educational programmes that are expensive to run such as computer science, medical, or engineering programmes and yet ask that 50% of students be charged fees according to the laid-down state structures and the other 50% according to the school management structures. As a result institutions may have two sets of students on the same campus. Moreover, because such institutions need to make money in order to run these programmes they are not quite able to pay privately contracted teachers' salaries at government rates. Consequently, Christian colleges wishing to provide fair remuneration to their employees have to contend with making choices between programmeming and paying fair salaries.

How then does one talk about Christian higher education in India? In my very limited understanding of India's education terrain I see that context matters, even within the same country because educational policies and practices vary from state to state. Let us compare two states in their admission policies. In Kerala the state has set admission quotas for students as follows:

1) 50% enrollment spots open to all students; 2) 20% open to Christians; and, 3) 30% to other minorities or special groups such as certain caste members and tribes as well as people with disabilities.

In Tamil Nadu, a state that borders Kerala to the east, the following admission policy prevails:

1) 50% for Christians and 2) 50% follows state guidelines for all other groups. In this way it is possible for Christians within the same country to have very different options by merely being in different states. Moreover Kerala state has the largest number of Christians among all states but state control over private education has its foundation in the 1950s. A new education bill introduced in Kerala in the late 50s stipulated that, "all fees collected must be given to the government (that) will then pay salaries to their teachers through the headmaster or manager."[8] This policy operates, albeit in some modified form, to date.

[8] See, Juhanon Thoma, "Private Education and the State: India", *Christianity and Crisis*, Vol. 17, No. 24, 1958, 190.

These examples of a nation where Christianity is protected by the state give us some sense of how even within a minority religious status Christian higher education can thrive but within contextual constraints. As long as states remain free to apply their own interpretations of the constitution to educational practices, delivery of education will always be complex. But there are other challenges. For instance, what strategies does one employ to integrate Christian faith into one's curriculum and teaching? One thing I noted while visiting colleagues in India was their commitment to providing a "moral education" as their signature Christian identity. At first this seemed unclear but given the different expectations that each state has for Christian higher education institutions it is now clear that each provider will have to create a "product" that responds creatively to the prevailing context. If one cannot hire all Christian faculty how can one require them to integrate Christian faith and their teaching and service? If one is only permitted to enroll 20% of students from the state's Christian population, what will be the enrollment benchmarks? What about Christian institutions that are allowed to enroll up to 50% of their students from a pool of Christians in a state without as many eligible students who are Christian?

Netherlands

The Netherlands provides an interesting example. Since 1917 the state has financed both public and private institutions on an equal basis and in a nation that is considered secularist, up to two thirds of its elementary and high school students attend private schools many of them Christian. As mentioned above, this is because two thirds of elementary (primary) schools in the Netherlands are Christian. This overwhelming number of Christian schools and the reality of the very secularity of the nation is surprising, especially given predictions of the demise of Christianity with expanded secularism. Similarly surprising is the negligible number of Christian universities that exist in the Netherlands. As in the case of India, Christian education in the Netherlands may respond to the secularising ethos with an appeal to "moral education." Let us consider a specific example.

Gomarus College's web information states that parents are asked, "to comply with the views of the school because we believe our teaching is an extension of the upbringing in the home and helps the students develop into responsible Christian adults." It further notes that, "Each school day is started and ended with Bible devotions and prayer. Within the lessons as well as in the school as a whole, we pay attention to Christian attitudes and life style. Each location of the school has its own style and manner of carrying out this aspect. This may be through moments of prayer, singing together, special days, attention for how to

carry out your Christian character within a work placement, and how the Christian celebrations are held. Whatever style or form may be chosen, the school recognises that each child is a unique creation entrusted to the care of the school during some of the most crucial years of their lives. At Gomarus College one learns for Life."[9]

To understand Christian higher education means starting with these kinds of contexts within which such education is being offered. IAPCHE's work with our partners and collaborators around the world follows this approach of what we may call contextualised understanding. Rather than assume that we have a set of standardised procedures or practices of what it means to be a Christian college of university, we seek to come alongside our members and first understand how their unique context shapes their policies and practices but also how such work informs and is informed by our shared adherence and fidelity to Jesus Christ. Christianity often wears the cultural jacket of the place it inhabits.[10]

AFFIRMING UNITY IN CHRIST

While Christian higher education in any location will take up the form of Christian expression found in that location, we as Christians are called to be present fully in all the places we inhabit because, despite our diverse cultural and geographical realities, we are unified by Christ. Christ's Lordship over our lives gives us the fuel and framework to function as believers within higher education irrespective of our diverse backgrounds. This indeed is captured well in Ephesians 4:4-6: "There is one body and one Spirit — just as you were called to one hope when you were called — one Lord, one faith, one baptism; one God and Father of all, who is over all and through all and in all." Moreover, the work we do is also informed and shaped by this identity as followers of Christ as captured in Colossians 1:15-17: "The Son is the image of the invisible God, the firstborn over all creation. For in him all things were created: things in heaven and on earth, visible and invisible, whether thrones or powers or rulers or authorities; all things have been created through him and for him. He is before all things, and in him all things hold together."[11] Given this unifying reality of Christ how do our institutions then become spaces and entities that reflect such unity and commit-

[9] See school's website at http://www.gomaruscollege.nl/breed.aspx?steID=10&itmID=12974, accessed October 8, 2013, 10:00PM.

[10] See, Andrew, Walls, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History: Studies in the Transmission of Faith*, New York, Orbis Books, 2000, for a more elaborate discussion of this reality.

[11] Both quotes and subsequent ones excerpted from the New International Version of the Bible.

ment to a Christian identity? I suggest that it is in their ability to cultivate specific strategies and practices that define a Christian university.

WHAT CONSTITUTES A CHRISTIAN UNIVERSITY?

No matter where one is in this complex reality of Christian higher education one thing is clear, for an institution to maintain its Christian identity it has to have very intentional practices, structures, and means through which to constantly cultivate and articulate such identity. It is not a given, neither does it just emanate from having a Christian national or regional ethos. George Marsden, in his work that historicises Christian higher education in America and more recently in the Academic Insert for the June 2013 issue of CONTACT,[12] makes clear that many American Evangelicals who were part of Christian institutions that had operated within a dominant Christian public culture assumed that such a context will continue in years to come. He notes

> "The early nineteenth-century American Evangelical experience had been shaped in the context of cultural dominance. The prevailing assumption had been that, even though it was important that individuals convert to Christianity, the principles of Christianity and the principles of mainstream American democratic culture could be pretty much co-extensive. Natural science and scientific thinking in general had been considered to be objective and in harmony with Christianity if rightly understood."[13]

Moreover, even as the US developed parameters for democratic public spaces, Evangelicals assumed that Christian higher education principles would coexist with American democratic ideals of public life. Now in hindsight we see that more was needed beyond such an assumption of coexistence and continuity. A similar reading could be extended to a number of African countries I am familiar with, where Christian universities exist in a Christian context that is assumed to be the default mode of operation (or at least one that is not challenged publicly as a mode of living and of ordering daily activities). In countries such as Kenya, Uganda, Zambia, and Ghana, to name just a few, there is an assumed *de facto* existence of a Christian ethos in both private and public life. To be a

[12] Read newsletter here: http://iapche.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2013/07/June-2013-CONTACT-Newsletter.pdf

[13] Ibid., 3.

Christian university in these contexts, besides the absence of a culture of a faith-shaped intellectual engagement in all disciplines, means that one is expected to reflect Christian principles (as if they emanate from just having a Christian ethos). IAPCHE maintains that to be a Christian university is a deliberate activity that is woven around mission, practices, and structures of the institution that allow for constant reshaping and rethinking of strategies and vision.

The question then is, given the increasingly growing number of Christian universities around the world especially in Africa, Latin America, and Asia, what strategies should they have in place for avoiding the same fate that befell their counterparts in Europe and North America? What advice would I as an observer offer our partners within the larger IAPCHE community on how to maintain their identity as institutions that provide integral Christian education in ways that form and shape participants for "faith-full" living? I see such an identity being shaped by three related questions: first, what is the overall vision of the university (why does it exist?) and what does it hope to accomplish through its presence in a specific place at a specific time? Second, what specific strategies or steps are in place to accomplish that vision? Third, what specific programmes, curricular, personnel, facilities, and other related infrastructure does the institution engage in order to support those strategies?[14]

These same questions can be replicated at different levels of the institution (but always making sure the overall mission of the institution remains the guiding principle for such practices). I can, for instance, imagine an institution asking itself, "What kind of graduate do we seek to produce from this institution?" or a teacher asking, "What kind of student do I hope to see leave this course at the end of the semester?" Answers to these questions will shape the strategies and practices employed at each level to accomplish the set goals/mission of the institution, course, department, or programme. Other questions to ask include: how would courses be developed and taught? What kind of teachers and administrators would be hired to accomplish this and how would they be resourced and supported throughout their work? And, what kinds of communities would be formed on and off campus to support these goals? What kind of curriculum and pedagogies would be suited to these goals? Answers to these questions form the basis of a Christian university.

Beyond these very specific issues of mission, strategies, and practices, I also see Christian universities, like other institutions of higher learning, responding to the core goals of higher education in general. Such goals are woven around

[14] By "institution" here I mean the structure as well as the people and programmes associated with it.

the following tasks: Exploring God's world through various perspectives (study); cultivating and shaping that world in ways that enhance our ability to glorify God (reworking); developing habits and values for caring for that world (stewardship); helping participants to acknowledge and be ready for a world occupied by others with different experiences and perspectives (self-knowledge and empathy for others); and, preparing students to see and understand their world for what it is (discernment).

In general, universities 1) are places where the discovery, improvement, and dissemination of knowledge occurs and is encouraged; 2) are social institutions that provide a safe and encouraging space where ideas are explored without fear or favour; 3) provide opportunities for seeking truth; 4) challenge social values, policies, practices, and institutions; and for Christian universities specifically, 5) exist for the formation of people; 6) comprise communities of intellectually curious learners whose work reflects their anticipation of the coming of the kingdom of God in its fullest; 7) exist to make/create and conserve culture and discover new ways of being a follower of Christ and new things about God's world; and, 8) allow their members to critically analyse existing knowledge and recast it for the good of society in a way that reflects Biblical truth.

SEEKING TO RECONCILE UNITY WITH DIVERSITY

Being aware of the complex cultural, political, and even economic contexts within which many of our members operate it is quite tempting to expect that for a Christian institution to be "truly Christian" it has to be "distinct" or "different." Granted, when we come to Christ we become new creations, but should Christian universities be different from non-Christian ones or should Christian scholarship and teaching be different from any other teaching? My first impulse is to say, "of course they have to be different!" But upon further reflection I do think the answer is much more complex than a simple yes or no. I have come to believe with philosopher Nicholas Wolterstorff that Christian scholarship, for instance, need not be distinct but rather faithful and by extension a Christian university need not be distinct but faithful. What does being faithful mean?

In *Education for Shalom*, Wolterstorff insists that Christian education should not be conceived of as simply being distinctive for distinctiveness's sake; neither should the act of teaching and learning be to blindly integrate faith and reason in a way that faith follows reason or vice versa. For Wolterstorff, a Christian view of higher education should be *faithful* both to the central concepts of the Christian faith and to the practice of bringing social justice and human flourishing,

what he calls *shalom*, to a broken world.[15] As Joe Creech notes in his review of Wolterstoff's book, "In making the claim that Christian learning or research is marked by faithfulness rather than distinctiveness, and that teaching be aimed at social practice rather than solely at developing a Christian worldview, Wolterstorff offers a compelling suggestion for how Christian scholars can integrate research and teaching by seeing themselves and their students as people who practice faithful learning directed at bringing *shalom* to the world."[16]

As a strategy for seeking not distinctiveness but faithfulness Wolterstorff advises scholars to instead cultivate both the *mind* and *voice* of a Christian, since Christian scholars and teachers will be looking at and experiencing similar realities to those of non-Christians who live in the same world.[17] As such as Wolterstorff notes that scholarship is part of habits and practices that are socially constructed. As such:

> "The Christian scholar participates as Christian in those social practices that are the disciplines. Those practices are not a project of the Christian community, nor are they the project of some anti-Christian community. They are human; they belong to all of us together – just as the state is not for Christians nor for non-Christians but for all of us together."[18]

Once we recognise that as scholars, teachers, and even administrators, we do not necessarily have to carve out our "little slice of the world" that is distinct from what is available to others, we can understand that, as Wolterstorff continues to argue, we engage with our disciplines, our everyday, and our research with a Christian mind, allowing us to both critique those assumptions that we find mistaken and affirm those that are OK. To do this, however, one has to be Biblically literate, having the kind of knowledge of the Bible that allows for one to fully engage with disciplinary as well as cultural material. Many times we try to provide a Christian voice when we are clearly inept in bringing an informed sense of what God's relationship with humanity is as revealed in the Bible. Bible

[15] Nicholas, Wolterstorff, *Educating for Shalom: Essays on Christian Higher Education,* Clarence W. Joldersma and Gloria Goris Stronks, eds., Grand Rapids, Eerdmans, 2005

[16] Joe, Creech, Review of Nicholas Wolterstorff's Educating for Shalom: Essays on Christian Higher Education, in *The Cresset,* Easter, Vol. LXX, No. 4, 2007, 66-68, available at http://thecresset.org/2007/Creech_E2007.html, accessed October 8, 2013, 8:13PM.

[17] see, http://blog.emergingscholars.org/2012/08/wolterstorff-advice-to-Christian-scholars/, accessed June 12, 2013, 2:00PM.

[18] Ibid.

verse hunting will not do because it does not quite capture the full drama of scripture captured by Craig Bartholomew and Michael Goheen.[19] Such knowledge allows one to have personal knowledge and understanding of the Word of God so as to be an informed witness.

What about a Christian voice? Here again Wolterstorff notes that

> "The Christian voice will be a voice of charity; it will honour all human beings, as Peter puts it in his letter in the New Testament. It will never be abusive. But there is also a more subtle matter to be raised here. The voice with which one speaks must be a voice such that one can be heard – a voice such that one genuinely participates in the dialogue of the discipline."[20]

For this voice to be heard one has to know how to speak in the voice appropriate to one's discipline. It means having the right language and depth to speak in the appropriate voice of our discipline or profession. To be a faithful Christian in higher education, therefore, one has to successfully hold two or more worlds together in almost the same way a person who is fluent in two or more languages is able to understand all and glide in and out of each speech community as necessary (being multilingual). Unlike multilingualism, however, being a faithful Christian means simultaneously belonging to two or more worlds in ways that do not minimise or obscure one's fidelity to Christ. Christ, after all was able to be both human and divine at the same time, providing us with a great example of how to remain rooted in our life of faith without abandoning or being completely absorbed by the world. If we are not careful, Christian higher education can get absorbed in the values and practices of the non-Christian in the same way Christians can be absorbed in the non-Christian values and practices of their society. Such absorption may occur subtly as noted in Stanley Hauerwas' critique of American Protestants. Hauerwas shows how American Protestantism developed along with America's capitalist identity in ways that soon conflated the two. He says that

> "Protestantism came to the land we now call American to make America Protestant. It was assumed that what it meant to be American and Protestant was equivalent to a faith in the reasonableness of the common man and the

[19] See, Craig, Bartholomew and Michael, Goheen, *The Drama of Scripture: Finding Our Place in the Biblical Story,* Grand Rapids, MI, Baker Academic Books, 2004.

[20] Ibid.

> establishment of a democratic republic. But in the process the church in America became American."[21]

As a result of this conflation between what it means to be America and what it means to be Protestant many American Protestants end up relating to what Hauerwas calls the "American god", a god that is basically a reflection of American cultural values of efficiency, freedom, choice, individualism, and maximising returns. As such, as Hauerwas notes, even though

> "More Americans may go to church than their counterparts in Europe, the churches to which they go do little to challenge the secular presumptions that form their lives or the lives of the churches to which they go. For the church is assumed to exist to reinforce the presumption that those that come to church have done so freely. The church's primary function, therefore, is to legitimate and sustain the presumption that America represents what all people would want to be if they had the benefit of American education and money."[22]

Such a reality need not lead us to reject "the world" altogether but rather seek to discern ways in which our world works and how we can embrace that which is valuable while shaping it to conform to God's master plan (reforming or redeeming it). Following this approach we can see how we might actually embrace existing knowledge and mission of universities in order to understand the role played by Christian universities. I argue that the role played by secular or public universities today is critical to our own understanding of what Christian universities ought to live for and do. After all the foundational missions and strategies for the majority of universities that exist in the world today, was structured and cultivated within a Christian ethic. Many such universities even when they became secular have still been heavily influenced by the earlier foundations built by Christians.

Let me share three definitions of a university that I recently came across, which convince me that our goal of the work we do in Christian universities is not in distinctiveness but faithfulness. The first one is from a University of Chicago Law school professor named Geoffrey Stone. In 2007 Professor Stone hailed the university's decision not to divest from Darfur and in the process shared his personal views on why universities exist. He noted

[21] Stanley Hauerwas, The End of American Protestantism, *ABC Religion and Ethics*, July 2, 2013, 2, available at http://www.abc.net.au/religion/articles/2013/07/02/3794561.htm, accessed October 8, 2013, 10:30PM.

[22] Ibid., 3.

> "Universities – most especially this university – exist for a very special reason. They exist to create a forum in which students, professors, and researchers may explore every issue from every side without fear of official condemnation or judgment. They exist to enable talented and committed individuals to seek the truth. They exist to serve as a safe haven in which even the most controversial and despised views may be aired, confronted, and considered."[23]

This general statement of what a university stands for is applicable to our own Christian institutions without falling into any trap of secularisation. The pursuit of truth (in our case as revealed through Christ), providing a safe haven for inquiry, and allowing diverse perspectives, all align with what it means to be followers of Christ through university education. Unfortunately some universities started by Christians often tended to be reactions to the secular universities as noted by George Marsden in the case of the US where after natural science opposed and challenged Christian ways of explaining lived reality, Evangelicals "retreated into Bible Institutes and fundamentalist colleges", frequently engaging in the rhetoric of "taking back America."[24]

The second definition of what a university is all about also comes from the University of Chicago but recorded forty years earlier, in 1967. It comes from a report by a committee known as the "Kalven Committee", charged with the duty of exploring critically the university's role in political and social action, in which the authors noted in part that:

> "The mission of the university is the discovery, improvement, and dissemination of knowledge. Its domain of inquiry and scrutiny includes all aspects and all values of society. A university faithful to its mission will provide enduring challenges to social values, policies, practices, and institutions. By design and by effect, it is the institution, which creates discontent with the existing social arrangements and proposes new ones. In brief, a good university, like Socrates, will be upsetting."[25]

Maybe because of the time it was put together, this definition is even more closer to what would constitute a Christian university's definition of its mission

[23] Geoffrey Stone, "Darfur and the Kalven Report: A Personal Journey" found at http://uchicagolaw.typepad.com/faculty/2007/02/darfur_and_the_.html, accessed July 7, 2013, 1:12PM.

[24] Same as footnote 11 above.

[25] Kalven Committee "Report on the University's Role in Political and Social Action" published in November 1967 and found at http://www-news.uchicago.edu/releases/07/pdf/kalverpt.pdf, accessed July 7, 2013, 1:17PM.

today especially in its mandate to "provide enduring challenges to social values, policies, and practices, and institutions." Christians are to be salt, light, and yeast of the worlds they inhabit and challenging the status quo is one of Christians' enduring qualities even though many times we come short of the goal.

The third and final example that is drawn from a more recent case in an essay in the *New Statesman* titled "What Are Universities For?" by Alan Ryan, who argues that the term university has taken on multiple meanings, including being used for a number of institutions that for the most part have nothing in common other than the fact that they provide some version of post-secondary training. Ryan states that universities differ based on numbers of students enrolled, programmes offered, quality of research produced, and specific emphasis laid on specific programmes. He says

> "… universities provide post-secondary education beyond vocational training, pursue advanced scholarship or research not wholly dictated by immediate practical needs, do this in the context of more than one discipline and enjoy a measure of institutional autonomy in doing it."[26]

Again, nothing in this definition would be in opposition to what occurs or ought to occur in a Christian university. Instead what all these expressions of the mission of a university do is highlight the shared components and goals existing between Christian and non-Christian institutions. The challenge we face, however, lies in our desire and even action of seeking to construct distinctive institutions. As a result we may end up with two artificial worlds or a dualistic view of the world that operates within a post-enlightenment perception of reality (a materialist determinism) that says there is the secular and the sacred. Some of this dualism may lead us to think that we do "Christian things" in church and theology and the rest of life outside of that realm. However, as mentioned above, Colossians 1:16 and 17 challenges such a dichotomy by confirming that, "all things are reconciled in Christ."

John Van Dyk in an essay on the Christian College curriculum has tried to explain this reality and notes that even within a Christian institution this dualism lingers. He states that there is

> "Fragmentation and compartmentalisation of the Christian school into a programme of 'spiritual' activities such as prayers, Bible reading and chapel

[26] Alan, Ryan, "What are Universities for?" found at http://www.newstatesman.com/books/2012/02/universities-university, accessed July 7, 2013, 4:20PM.

> exercises, built alongside but detached from an essentially secular curriculum. Too often the emphasis has been placed on Christian behaviour, proper ethics, the cultivation of virtues and the imprinting of doctrinal knowledge, to the neglect of the content of the curriculum."[27]

Many of today's universities inherited a post-enlightenment European model of education that prefers separating academic and spiritual matters with the latter being served through a chaplain's office (if one exists in an institution) and academic matters left to professionally trained teachers who graduate from research programmes that hardly engage the spiritual aspects of their graduates. Van Dyk's critique, however, has to be understood in context. For many Christian universities in the US it is possible to seek to truly be integrative or integral in their approach to faith and learning because of the policies that govern higher education. In Europe, India, and parts of Africa, for instance, such an approach is not possible because government policy does not allow for institutions to hire faculty according to their faith commitments. Some governments in these regions also provide funding for the institutions and often regulate certain operations that the institutions follow. These restrictions notwithstanding we as Christians have a duty to use whatever opportunities are available to us to provide integral Christian education.

Our starting point as Christians is to remember that God created the world and saw it good but the same world was distorted by sin and all our work is an attempt to respond positively to that distortion with the goal of understanding and correcting it to the best of our ability. Our task as those who study, teach or lead in universities, is to try and understand that world using our disciplines as perspectives, or as a set of lenses through which to see the already existing reality created by God. We discover what is already there because God created it and our disciplines and theoretical approaches become ways of understanding or making sense of that reality. It is important to emphasise that we do not create the things we study, that our studies or methodologies do not create what we have in the world. We found the world here and our academic work and service are ways of trying to make sense of that world as curious and creative beings seeking to glorify our creator God. Again John Van Dyk offers us a useful clarification here. He shows how a world created by God is what makes it possible for us as academics to study and advance our work, when he says:

[27] John, Van Dyk, "A Key Component of a Christian College Curriculum", in *Building the House: Essays on Christian Education*, edited by James De Jong and Louis Van Dyke, Sioux Center, IA, Dordt College Press, 1981, 100-101.

> "Mathematics [for instance] is to be understood as the activity of human beings investigating an already existing mathematical dimension of reality. Without that God-ordained [reality], mathematics would not be possible, just as botany would not be possible if the Lord had not created plant life."[28]

Many times we come to our disciplines as if they have their own nature, as if they exist outside of human action. Such an approach leads many of us to say things like "Chemistry is Chemistry whether you are a Christian or not", implying some kind of universality and neutrality that encompasses Chemistry. I insist that Chemistry is a specific way of viewing and understanding the world just as does Biology, economics, or history. The assertion of universality and neutrality of a discipline is especially prevalent in conversations about the natural sciences. This is probably because of these disciplines' methodological approaches that are often assumed to represent an essence in and of itself. Moreover, in the last few decades, advances in the natural sciences have led some of its practitioners to construct a seemingly antagonistic relationship between science and faith. With the rise of atheism, especially in the West, some observers have argued that science and faith are incompatible.[29]

British noted physicist and theologian John Polkinghorne rejects such an assertion, noting that the scientific method or science in general and religion or faith are both concerned with the search for truth. That search is based on motivated belief but focuses on different dimensions of truth shaped by asking questions of the "how" and the "why" of our world respectively.[30] In this view Polkinghorne would argue that religion and science complement each other. Such an understanding of the complementarity between science and faith allows us to avoid statements meant to reaffirm these assumed divisions such as: "Two and two is always four … and God is always the same; you can depend on Him."[31] While nothing said here is untrue, one wonders how this helps a learner make sense of these otherwise related entities. I argue that what such a statement requires is to be placed within a sociology of disciplines — a systematic analysis and understanding of our disciplines as well as their methods and assumptions

[28] Ibid., 103

[29] See, for instance, Victor, Stenger, *God and the Folly of Faith: The Incompatibility of Science and Religion*, Prometheus Books, 2012.

[30] John, Polkinghorne, *Science and Religion in Quest of Truth*, New Haven, CT, Yale University Press, 2012.

[31] David, Wolfe, "The Line of Demarcation Between Integration and Pseudo-Integration", in Harold Heie and David L Wolfe, eds., *The Reality of Christian Learning: Strategies for Faith-Discipline Integration*, Grand Rapids, Christian University Press, 1987, 4.

that affirms that they are culturally determined by our contexts and positionalities.

A sociology of disciplines postulates that disciplines and what we do with them are social activities that are subject to the same social determinations prevalent in all human activities and especially the social contexts within which these disciplines emerge(d). Wolterstorff sees academic disciplines as "social practices … shaped by worldviews."[32] As a result the institutionalisation of academic knowledge embodied by disciplines results not only from the internal dynamics of each discipline but also from the social conditions within which they are produced and disseminated. It is, therefore, important for us as scholars and particularly as Christians to understand the building blocks of our disciplines as well as the worldviews that shape them. Such knowledge helps us to avoid blindly accepting assertions about incompatibility of faith and science or the neutrality of any discipline. Indeed, without such an understanding we would teach and carry out research in a disengaged and even uncritical manner, assuming that the perspectives privileged by our disciplines are immutable. Even scholars who are themselves not committed to the Christian faith do not support such immutability because they recognise this sociality and constructed nature of their disciplines. Here are some examples:

French social scientist Pierre Bourdieu and philosopher Jacques Derrida have been widely credited with what we may call the deconstructionist movement, which challenged existing assumptions about the disciplines of philosophy and literature, among others. Specifically Bourdieu challenged the classical structuralist constructions of society through categories of thought and instead suggested the use of constructive structures of practice.[33] Similarly Michel Foucault developed sound arguments about the relative autonomy of scientific practice, arguing that all thoughts, perceptions, and actions derive their meaning from a specific social universe in which the social agents who produce them are located. That social universe constitutes a "field" that has its own specific logic, more or less formalised, which reflects its specific ends and the particular nature of the

[32] "Nicholas Wolterstorff: Advice to Those Would be Christian Scholars" available at http://blog.emergingscholars.org/2012/08/wolterstorff-advice-to-Christian-scholars/, accessed June 2, 2013, 9:00PM.

[33] Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, Richard Nice, Trans., Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1977. Let me add also that within Christian scholarship and teaching the way some of us have emphasised worldview has been done in a way that has privileged knowledge over praxis. Sometimes I worry that in our focus (even in many IAPCHE conferences) on teaching our students and colleagues the basics of a Christian worldview in order to help them responsive to their specific world, we might disregard the importance of actual practices that accompany our faith.

games that are played within it. He further noted that there is a level of internalisation (what he called "habitus") of such a logic that enables the coordination of individual members of the field. Some of the "habits" come from specific choices made.[34] This can also be associated with what we may refer to as the 80s and early 90s focus on "standpoint epistemology."

Standpoint epistemology developed from feminist criticisms regarding women's absence from, and/or marginalised position in, social science. Although social science was supposedly objective and value free, feminists argued that it was conducted largely from male perspectives and male interests. In order to make the meaning of women's lives more visible, it was necessary to analyse it from their point of view. The significance of standpoint epistemology lies in its challenge to descriptions and classifications of social life that are based on universalistic male assumptions. Key to its argument is the idea that women and men lead lives with differing contours as shaped by their roles within their societies, which in turn leads to different kinds of knowledge and experiences. Here is an example: An international NGO that was interested in working with farmers in a rural community in Central Kenya, sent a message that its representatives would like to meet with all the farmers on a set day. On the day of the meeting only men showed up to the meeting. The NGO representatives went ahead and started collecting necessary information from the farmers including asking them: how many kilos of coffee beans do you bring to the local factory each week? How many liters of milk do you deliver to the collection point each week? All the men started looking at each other in ways that signaled they did not quite have the answers to share. Why this dilemma? The answer lies in our understanding of what the local people consider to be the meaning of the term "farmer" as well as who is expected to represent a community to outsiders. Within the specific community in question, such an identity representation would be assumed to be male. But if a farmer is considered to represent who actually does the work each day on the farm and not who owns or lays claim to the land, then it would be women. The men finally said to the NGO staff, "we would have to ask our wives about those specifics and come back to you with real answers." The disconnect between the assumed identity and the actual experience attached to such an identity is what supported standpoint epistemology. In the same way our positions and experiences matter in the ways we construct and mobilise our disciplines.

[34] See, for instance, Pierre Bourdieu, *Science of Science and Reflexivity*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2001.

Even in other aspects of the academy we can see how one's position shapes the discipline in which one operates. The kind of research questions one asks, the specific research agendas that move forward with the support of research funds, as well as the specific research results that are valued enough to be published for peer and public consumption, all constitute the social practices we attach to our disciplines. Moreover, scientific knowledge for the most part is also a work in progress. The reclassification of Pluto as a star from a planet, then a "dwarf planet" in 2006 and a "plutoid" in 2008 or the redefinition of what was earlier considered "junk DNA" into much more worthwhile material, are two examples of science as inconclusive and always changing with time. Clearly, there are so many things we do not understand about the world that to assume our disciplines and their methods are immutable, or that "chemistry is chemistry", is to simply to disengage from reality.

CONCLUSIONS

These complex issues have provided IAPCHE with a tremendous opportunity to not only share the expertise and experiences of its members accordingly but to also listen to the wisdom that comes out of the places many of these issues are being developed and debated. As we reflect on the last twenty years of Christian higher education in Hungary with the inception of Károli Gáspár University in the post communist era, we inevitably have to acknowledge and respond to this complexity even as we keep an eye onto the future. We have to be aware of the global nature of the kind of education we are seeking to uphold in our institutions and the centrality of Christ in it. The opportunities and challenges that the diversity of our experiences and missions bring to our work have to be navigated through a unified framework of the Lordship of Christ. IAPCHE has responded to these realities by focusing on our diversity and unity, upholding the value of locally-informed and generated understandings and strategies for Christian higher education that are ultimately brought together through our shared fidelity to Christ. Let me end by sharing two resources, the first is the words of a dear friend — John VenderStelt, whom I have come to admire and whose service and dedication to IAPCHE has been unwavering. In a lecture given in memory of Dr. Kun Sam Lee at Kosin University in South Korea John noted:

> "The aim of Christian higher education is to be open-minded as we closely observe the world as God's marvelous handiwork, to be fascinated in learning about his laws for created reality, and to understand more fully the calling of

humans as his covenant image-bearers. Such living requires being relevant for the culture in which we live and the kind of witness we provide to God's love for a world in great need."[35]

The second is a paraphrase of four points found in the Nairobi Statement on Worship and Culture produced by the Lutheran World Federation that applies well to Christian higher education. The four points are (and here are revised to specifically fit our Christian higher education context) that Christian higher education:

1. Is transcultural — it transcends and is beyond any particular culture because it is shared by all cultures
2. Is contextual — it occurs and is rooted in a particular culture through which it is expressed and understood
3. Is counter-cultural — it does not conform to the world but is transformed with it
4. Is cross-cultural — it relates to all people and cuts across all barriers because each one's contribution is understood and valued.[36]

I look forward to another fruitful and focused twenty years of Károli Gáspár University and a continued strong relationship with IAPCHE as we engage in this open-minded God's handiwork as his covenant image-bearers, knowing that our work ought to simultaneously be transcultural, contextual, counter-cultural, and cross-cultural.

[35] John C. Vander Stelt, "Dr. Kun, Sam Lee and Reformational Theology Memorial Lecture", March 31, 2008, Kosin University, Pusan, S. Korea, available at http://www.iapche.org/memorial-lecture.pdf, accessed October 11, 2013, 9:31AM.

[36] These four points titled Nairobi Statement on Worship are available at http://www.elca.org/~/media/Files/Worship/LWF%20Nairobi%20Statement.pdf, accessed October 11, 2013, 8:23PM.

Dr. Marlene Wall[1]

LITHUAN CHRISTIAN COLLEGE: THE CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES OF MISSION

Greetings from LCC International University in Klaipeda, Lithuania. It is a privilege to be with you today to help celebrate your 20 years of influence as a Christian university here in Hungary. We celebrated our 20th anniversary in 2011, so we share a similar history and role in Christian higher education.

LCC TODAY

LCC International University is a residential Christian liberal arts university located on a modern campus in Klaipeda, Lithuania, a city on the Baltic Sea. LCC is fully accredited by the Lithuanian Ministry of Education to offer Bachelor's and Master's degrees, with students coming from 25 countries. The language of instruction is English. That's who we are today. Where did we begin?

LCC: A BRIEF HISTORY

LCC began in 1991 in a context that did not have a framework for a western-style institution, a Christian institution, a liberal arts institution, or a private institution. We were, however, invited to begin a Christian liberal arts institution, and did have the support of several key government officials, which was particularly important during those first few volatile years after the collapse of the Soviet Union.

The founder of LCC was a Canadian Christian businessman, Art DeFehr, with family ties to the east, and with a passion for seeing a new generation of leaders with a new set of values contribute to societal change in the aftermath of the Soviet system. Art DeFehr, together with a young Bible-smuggling Lithuanian pastor, Otonas Balciunas, established LCC. And they hung on for the rocky ride during the 90s.

[1] President of LCC International University, Klaipeda, Lithuania.

In 1992, LCC was relocated to the coastal city of Klaipeda, due to greater religious openness there. The story is told that the mayor noted that in the 1500s, Klaipeda missed the opportunity to establish a university which eventually moved south and was located in the city of Konigsberg. He stated that Klaipeda would not let that happen a second time.

In 1996, just 5 months prior to our first graduation, LCC was almost shut down, having been incorrectly placed on a list of illegal foreign higher education institutions. The first four graduating classes (from 1996-2000) did not receive recognised Bachelor's degree diplomas, as LCC had not yet gained government recognition. Those graduates received a piece of paper indicating an "equivalency" to a degree. Those first few years of constant promises and many trips to the capital city for Ministry-level talks were exhausting, but were absolutely critical to the longevity and sustainability of LCC. Uncompromising efforts toward the institutional accreditation of an uncompromisingly Christian liberal arts university have made the LCC of today possible. And the support of many Christian university partners in Canada and the United States, who accepted our early graduates into Master's studies, added to our credibility as we continued to seek recognition.

In the year 2000, LCC was recognised by the Lithuanian government as a degree-granting institution, offering three Bachelor's degrees (in English, Theology, and Business Administration).

In 2001 the Board of Directors confirmed a mission statement – which continues until today, with only slight wording adjustments. "LCC International University provides Christian liberal arts education within a diverse learning community that transforms people for service leadership."

In 2002, we began what became a 6-year process of adding another degree programme. In retrospect we probably targeted the most difficult degree programme in the country. In a small country, with only 3 million citizens, everyone is either related or friends. And the competition between schools is intense. In fact, it should be noted that Lithuania has more universities per capita than the United Kingdom. So Lithuania did not need another university, but we have always believed that we are not just another university. The challenge has been in asserting our uniqueness as justification for our existence, but realising that our uniqueness is not always understood.

So LCC pushed for a new Psychology programme. We believed very strongly that Lithuania could use psychologists trained in a Christian worldview. Lithuania has more suicides per capita than every other country in the world, except Belarus and Russia. Alcoholism is a large problem. The country has had a dark and heavy past. It is a society that could benefit from Christ-centred caregivers.

In getting our Psychology degree accredited, we realised that we would be challenged by our peers who believed they had the monopoly. Eventually, because we were being denied accreditation on the basis of an illogical technicality, we followed the appeal process all the way to the Supreme Court of Lithuania, which was the first time this had been done in the country. Several days after it was announced that we had won our case, we began to get phone calls from other institutions in the country. They wanted to know how much it had cost us to get that decision. They were shocked to hear that no bribes were paid. Those challenging circumstances ultimately helped us to gain the reputation of "the ethical school." If "Christian university" was still a misunderstood concept, at least we were becoming known for the values that we lived by.

In 2004, the board of directors made a strategic decision to expand our target market to include Eastern Europe and Central Asia. This was primarily tied to our desire to serve the churches of the entire region. From that point on, our student demographics shifted dramatically. We had been almost 100% Lithuanian, and now we are 50% Lithuanian and 50% non-Lithuanian, with students coming from 25 countries in the region. Russia, Ukraine, Moldova, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Albania, Azerbaijan, Georgia, etc.

In 2007 another strategic decision was made, with a new window of opportunity to do so. We changed our name. The name of the institution in the early years was Lithuania Christian College. From a North American perspective, this name worked. But from an Eastern European perspective, every word in the name was a problem.

- Lithuania: This word no longer carried the same importance, as our students were coming from many countries.
- Christian: This word always had to be unexplained before we could explain it. We had to explain that we were not a monastery or that we did not train priests or that we were not a seminary. And we did not know how many people had already self-selected not to even bother talking with us because of their own interpretation of this word in our name.
- College: In the United States, both colleges and universities can grant equivalent degrees. Not in Lithuania. So we were being viewed as a vocational school.

The process of a name change took two years. The name needed to work in English, in Lithuanian, and in Russian. And every time we thought we had a name, we would find out that it was the name of a Soviet military brigade or a Chinese computer or some other conflicting item. In the end we realised that our brand, LCC, was well-known and carried no negative baggage. So, our name, LCC International University, certainly carries the legacy of our previous name,

but in fact LCC now means nothing. We figure we are in good company. No one asks what IBM stands for these days.

LCC DISTINCTIVES

We have recently adopted a new 5-year strategic plan. In doing so, we took the opportunity to assess and recommit to our non-negotiables. We now speak frequently about our 6 distinctives – all of which set us apart in Lithuania and Eastern Europe. I'd like to quickly use these distinctives as the framework for my final comments.

Christian: LCC is uncompromisingly Christian. We ensure that all faculty and staff are in agreement with the Nicene or Apostles Creed. We are not associated with a particular denomination or Christian tradition, although most professors are Protestant. I have many dear colleagues from the Roman Catholic and from the Orthodox traditions as well.

It was a deliberate decision not to be affiliated with a particular church tradition. This is what I find to be one of the most refreshing aspects of LCC's mission, and it can also be a considerable challenge.

In order to help explain our Christian mission, we have developed 6 statements of description.

A. LCC is a Christian university grounded in the Evangelical tradition and respectful of other religious traditions.
B. The Christian mission of LCC International University is grounded in the historic Christian faith, as expressed in the Nicene Creed and Apostles' Creed.
C. Theological education at LCC is based on the Bible, which we view as foundational and authoritative.
D. LCC is a Christian university; we are not a church nor are we an extension of any church.
E. We recognise a variety of Christian traditions within our university community. We aim to strengthen students' commitment to their home churches and to Christian community, as well as to expose them to varieties of Christian practice.
F. One of the goals of LCC International University education is for students to have an understanding of all of creation as the object of God's redeeming love through Jesus Christ. Students explore the integration of Christian faith with all of life and they are invited to align their lives with God's mission to renew all things.

According to the 2011 census, the self-declared religious affiliation of Lithuanians is as follows: Roman Catholic – 77%, Orthodox – 5%, Evangelical Lutherans – 0.6%, Evangelical Reformed – 0.2%, Other religions – 0.8%, No religion – 6%, Did not specify – 10%.

And we are the border country to a very large Orthodox region of the world to the east of us. We would cease to be relevant to the largest groups in our region if we only served the very small Protestant community.

LCC has become a neutral place for inter-denominational, inter-Christian-tradition conversation. This cannot easily be done on the home turf of any of the church traditions. LCC has a unique role in this regard. I have come to appreciate Henri Nouwen's definition of hospitality – as "the creation of free space where a stranger ... can become a friend."[2] He acknowledges that this sometimes requires a "voluntary poverty of mind",[3] "an articulate not-knowing."[4] In a similar way, LCC is not located in Lithuania in order to make more Protestants, to make more Baptists or Methodists or "fill in the blank" with any other denomination. We believe that we have fulfilled our Christian mission when our students, at whatever stage of seeking they are, have moved closer to Christ in whatever Christian tradition they may be in. We hold out the Gospel of Jesus Christ to all students through relational means. We do not use the classroom as a place to aggressively proselytise, nor do we simply want to be a passive presence.

We are not yet quite understood as a Christian university. Even at our most recent institutional evaluation Site Visit in November, we were asked quite directly by the team members from England, Sweden, Hungary, and the Netherlands – "So, what is up with this Christian thing?" They seemed to believe they would catch us in an act of brainwashing. For some reason the word "transformation" in our mission statement causes concern. And yet I question any educational institution which is not transformational. Shouldn't all students be different at the end of a course? In any school, Christian or not?

Liberal Arts: LCC is a liberal arts university. In a context in which the hard sciences dominated during the Soviet period, and in a world where the values of integrity and honesty and trust are still developing, and where interpersonal and team-building skills are sought after, the integrative and multidisciplinary approach is promoted. We hope to send out T-shaped graduates, those who possess the narrow discipline-specific skills as well as the broader soft skills, values and interpersonal skills.

[2] Nouwen, Henri J.M., *Reaching Out: The three movements of the spiritual life*, New York, Doubleday, 1975, 71.
[3] Nouwen, op cit., 105.
[4] Ibid., 105.

To that end, we have a set of core competencies that permeate our curriculum – Christian worldview, service leadership, conflict transformation, effective communication, community building, critical thinking, multidisciplinary knowledge, and multicultural communication. In addition, our core curriculum consists of a set of courses from a variety of disciplines that are required for all students.

Our Annual Academic Conference is intentionally inter-disciplinary, focused on a broad topic which can be addressed through a variety of disciplines.

International: LCC is international to the core. With 50% of our degree-seeking students coming from outside Lithuania, with 2/3 of our professors coming primarily from North America, with at least 50 North American study abroad students each year on campus for a semester of studies, we are indeed international. We recruit internationally – sending admissions staff to many countries in the region at least twice a year. We have 5 satellite Summer Language Institutes each summer – in Russia, Ukraine, Georgia, Kazakhstan, and now adding Albania and Belarus for 2014.

It is important to note that, without our intentionality in internationalising our campus, we would probably by now have shut our doors. The dramatic decline in birthrate in Lithuania, coupled with a mass migration to London and Ireland, has left the country searching. And in a country where there truly are too many universities, other universities now want to accompany us on our international recruitment trips in order to remain relevant. In fact, what will likely happen is a merging of universities into regional entities.

North American Style: While we are clearly international, we do not shy away from saying that we are decidedly North American. We are seeking US accreditation. Our liberal arts model is much more common in North America. We are an international affiliate of the CCCU (Council of Christian Colleges and Universities), based in the US.

We are supported by two foundations, one in the US and one in Canada – which exist to channel funds to LCC. We have benefited from the generosity of many donors in North America over the years.

Relational: LCC is intentionally relational in style. We are a residential campus – with about 60% of our student body living in the residence halls on campus. We work hard to eliminate the hierarchy that can dominate universities. I am Marlene to the students on a daily basis. For formal events that is different, of course.

We work hard to maintain an open door policy – so that students feel comfortable asking for help and the time of visiting professors. We create opportunities for small group interaction. We are intentional about programming in our residence halls.

Philantropic: And finally, we are perhaps one of the (or perhaps *the*) largest philanthropic projects in Eastern Europe. In order to keep our tuition prices low, we encourage our faculty and staff from North America to come with a co-operative funding model, in which they help to support themselves while at LCC. This model does a few interesting things – it creates a natural support team for each professor, it creates amazing "mission" conversations with students who wonder why people are at LCC, and it reduces the LCC budget by over $1 million USD a year.

A second important aspect of our philanthropic nature is the amount of financial aid and scholarships that we give to our students. While our tuition is quite low, our students coming from the east are often unable to pay. We provide some level of needs-based financial aid and merit-based scholarship funding to over 60% of our students. These funds come primarily from North American donors, who are committed to seeing a new generation of leaders emerge.

At the most recent meetings of the Board of Directors, we approved the creation of the *Institute for Philanthropy*. We want to help shape a culture of giving in our own students, and we want to share these concepts with local non-profits who are eager to learn. We see this leading to a degree programme in Non-Profit Management or Philanthropy, and look forward to expanding this mindset of giving back in the years to come.

CONCLUSION

We have selected Matthew 5:14-16 as our theme verses at LCC International University for the 2013-2014 academic year.

> "You are the light of the world. A town built on a hill cannot be hidden. Neither do people light a lamp and put it under a bowl. Instead they put it on its stand, and it gives light to everyone in the house. In the same way, let your light shine before others, that they may see your good deeds and glorify your Father in heaven."

This is my wish for each of us as institutions of Christian higher education, that we may all remain faithful to this challenge, in being the light of the world, to the glory of God.

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Emőd Farkas[1]

CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR CHRISTIAN UNIVERSITIES IN THE 21ST CENTURY – THE CASE OF THE SAPIENTIA HUNGARIAN UNIVERSITY IN TRANSYLVANIA

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Transylvania established its earliest connections with European universities at the time when the first such institutions were founded. Between the 12th and the 16th centuries nearly 3,000 Transylvanian young people studied all across Europe, following their studies at famous Western European institutions[2].

Compared to the foundation of the earliest universities in Europe, in Bologna (1088), Paris (around 1150), Oxford (1167), Modena (1175), Cambridge (1209) or Montpellier (1220), the roots of higher education in Transylvania only go back to the late 16th century. That was the time of the Principality of Transylvania, which came into being as a result of the Treaty of Speyer in 1570, and the time of the Transylvanian Reformation. The first ruler of the Principality, John Sigismund (1540-1571) was also the first one to recognise the need for an academic institution within the borders of the country.

John Sigismund tried to persuade Petrus Ramus (1515-1572), an influential French humanist and educational reformer, the professor of the University of Paris and a Protestant convert to become the head of the planned new higher education institution, but eventually he entrusted the organisational task to Pál Gyulai (1550-1592), the physician, humanist historian, a scholar that had studied in Bologna, and later on to Giorgio Biandrata (1515-1588), his Italian Anti-Trinitarian court physician. John Sigismund, who became an Anti-Trinitarian, or in other words a Unitarian, himself, did not follow religious denominational objectives, he only tried to do what he thought was in the best interest of the new country. His attempts remained unsuccessful, mostly because of his untimely death[3].

[1] Office Director, Sapientia Foundation, Transylvania.

[2] Tonk, Sándor, *Erdélyiek egyetemjárása a középkorban* (Transylvanian students at Foreign Universities in the Middle Ages), Kriterion könyvkiadó, Bukarest, 1979.

[3] Gaal, György, A Ferenc József Tudományegyetem és előzményei, Az erdélyi magyar felsőoktatás

In 1581 Stephen Báthory (1533-1586), the Prince of Transylvania, and later the King of Poland, founded the first Transylvanian university in the mediaeval town of Kolozsvár (Cluj), entrusting the society of the Jesuits with its implementation. In his deed of foundation, dated the 12th of May 1581, he entitles the new university to confer baccalaureate, master and doctoral degree diplomas with the same value as the ones issued by the universities abroad. The institution is given the rank of an academy by Pope Gregory XIII in the next year[4]. For a quarter of a century, the institution operates sometimes with as many as 30 professors and more than 300 students, following a Jesuit curriculum recognised all over Europe[5]. Denominational disputes ended the functioning of the university in the summer of 1605, and this is the year when the Jesuits are banished from Kolozsvár.

Seventeen years after the end of the Jesuit university, a Protestant academy is born, at the initiative of the Calvinist Prince of Transylvania, Gábor Bethlen (1580-1629). As at that time Kolozsvár was still predominantly Unitarian and resisted the establishment of a Calvinist university[6], Bethlen's plan was to make Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia), where he held his court, become the Heidelberg of Transylvania[7]. He invited famous scholars, like Martin Opitz (1597-1639), the German poet and theoretician to teach philosophy at the new college, Johann Heinrich Alsted (1588-1638), professor of theology and philosophy at Herborn Academy, Philippus Ludovicus Piscator, professor at the University of Heidelberg, or Johann Heinrich Bisterfeld (1605-1655), the German philosopher, logician and encyclopaedic writer, an adherent of English Puritanism, who also became a secret counsellor of the Prince. A new generation of Transylvanian scholars were educated by them, like János Apáczai Csere and his circle. The school is destroyed by Tartar hordes in 1658, but in 1662 it is reorganised and relocated to Nagyenyed (Aiud) by Prince Michael Apafi I (1632-1690)[8]. The

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kezdeteitől (The Franz Joseph University and its Antecedents, The beginnings of Transylvanian Hungarian Higher Education) 1919-ig, in *Fehér könyv az erdélyi magyar felsőoktatás kálváriájáról* (White Book about the Calvary of Transylvanian Hungarian Higher education), Bolyai Egyetem Barátainak Egyesülete, 2009, 21-22.

4 Somai, József, Az erdélyi magyar felsőoktatás kronológiája, Események, viszontagságok (The Chronology of Transylvanian Hungarian Higher education. Events and Hardships), in *Fehér könyv az erdélyi magyar felsőoktatás kálváriájáról* (White Book about the Calvary of Transylvanian Hungarian Higher education), Bolyai Egyetem Barátainak Egyesülete, 2009, 203.

5 Ibid, 22.

6 Ibid, 22.

7 Tonk, Sándor, *A kolozsvári Tudományegyetem bemutatása, A magyar főiskolai oktatás hagyományai,* (Presentation of the University of Kolozsvár. Traditions of Hungarian higher education), manuscript, 3.

8 Váró, Ferenc, *Bethlen Gábor kollégiuma* (The College of Gábor Bethlen), Nagyenyed, 1903.

institution ceases to be an academy, and becomes a college that still exists today. The college becomes the most important centre for training Hungarian Protestant intellectuals over the following centuries.

At the end of the 17th century, the Habsburgs gradually began to impose their rule on Transylvania, which was subjected to the direct rule of the emperor's governors. From 1711 onward, Habsburg control over Transylvania was consolidated, and the princes of Transylvania were replaced by governors. From the perspective of higher education this meant the return of the Jesuits and the restarting of the university college in Kolozsvár. The initiator this time is Empress Maria Theresa (1717-1780) and her court in 1753. When the Pope suppressed the Jesuits in 1773, the school was taken over by the Piarists. The university had four faculties (theology, law, philosophy and medicine). Among its most famous teachers we find the astronomer and Jesuit priest Maximilian Hell (1720-1792), and the natural scientist János Fridvalszky (1740-1784), teacher of the Latin language, and of mathematics[9]. Joseph II withdraws the academic rank of this institution in 1784.

In the almost one century that followed, which included the 1848 revolution and the oppression that came after that, Transylvania had no real university in the proper sense of the word. "Higher level education was practically tackled by the different religious denominations themselves, ensuring training in theology, teaching and law"[10].

In 1872 the Franz Joseph University was established in Kolozsvár, with four independent faculties (law, medicine, humanities and history, mathematics and natural science) where teaching was conducted in the Hungarian language. After World War I when Transylvania became part of the Romanian state, Hungarian language higher education was discontinued, and the Franz Joseph University was moved to Szeged. Very soon leading intellectuals among Transylvanian Hungarians realised that without an independent university in the Hungarian language, the ethnic minority can hardly secure its future as a community. Given the special situation in Transylvania, where the members of the Hungarian community traditionally belong to different religious affiliations from the Romanian majority, the traditional Hungarian churches (Protestant and Catholic) soon became the institutions that took an active role in safeguarding the preservation

[9] Tonk, Sándor, *A kolozsvári Tudományegyetem bemutatása, A magyar főiskolai oktatás hagyományai,* (Presentation of the University of Kolozsvár, Traditions of Hungarian higher education), manuscript, 3.

[10] Ibid., 3.

of Hungarian language and culture. Thus, in 1920, the traditional Hungarian churches of Transylvania decided to establish a new, independent Hungarian language university, in order to fill the intellectual and cultural needs of Transylvanian Hungarians. The bishops of the Roman Catholic, Reformed and Unitarian churches, Gusztáv Majláth, Károly Nagy and József Ferencz set the target to found a university with six faculties: Roman Catholic theology in Gyulafehérvár, Protestant theology with Reformed, Unitarian and Lutheran departments in Kolozsvár, law, medical science, humanities, and natural sciences. The attempt was thwarted by the Romanian government[11].

During World War II, following the Second Vienna Award (the 30th of August 1940) the Franz Joseph University was able to start functioning again for a couple of years in Kolozsvár. After the end of World War II the re-establishment of Hungarian language secondary and higher level education began very promisingly. A series of theoretical and vocational schools were set up. In 1945 the Bolyai University was established by royal enactment, and Hungarian language university education was also instituted at the Agronomic, Fine Arts and Musical Colleges in Kolozsvár, while groups with Hungarian language education started to function at the Technical College. Yet, largely following and as a consequence of the 1956 Revolution in Hungary, another setback in Hungarian language education at the universities and faculties ensued in the mid-fifties. The Bolyai University was merged in 1959 with the Romanian language Victor Babeş University in Kolozsvár. Hungarian language education was progressively and consciously reduced over the years at the newly established Babeş–Bolyai University. As a consequence only a small number of students and a group of old professors lived to see the changes in 1989.

HUNGARIAN HIGHER EDUCATION IN TRANSYLVANIA AFTER 1989. THE PRIVATE UNIVERSITY NETWORK

The representatives of Transylvanian Hungarians, their newly (re-)established organisations and the historic Hungarian churches joined forces again in 1990

[11] Csetri, Elek, A magyar felsőoktatás és tudományművelés Erdélyben (Hungarian Higher Education and the Cultivation of Science), in *Fehér könyv az erdélyi magyar felsőoktatás kálváriájáról* (White Book about the Calvary of Transylvanian Hungarian Higher education), Bolyai Egyetem Barátainak Egyesülete, 2009, 46-47.

to elaborate large-scale plans for higher education. In this way a comprehensive independent higher education network, that would have included all significant professional fields, was supposed to be established. However, it soon became quite clear that this was not going to happen in a short time.

Nonetheless, in the last decade of the 20th century significant positive changes occurred from the perspective of instruction in the Hungarian language at Babeş-Bolyai University, and partly at the University of Medicine and Pharmacy and the Theatre Academy in Marosvásárhely (Tg. Mureş). The number of Hungarian students and of study programmes in Hungarian have progressively increased over the years.

In spite of these positive changes, a number of essential problems affected Transylvanian Hungarian higher education at that time, most of which still persist today:

– In many professional fields, of the public Romanian higher education system, there was no instruction in the Hungarian language at all, or teaching was conducted only in part in Hungarian (e.g. in the fields of law, engineering, agriculture and music no significant results have been achieved from the perspective of Hungarian language education). The situation today is almost the same, with the exception of law and engineering, which are taught at the Sapientia University.

– The proportion of ethnic Hungarian youth in Romanian higher education was 4.8%, and only one third of them were studying in their mother tongue. Against this, the proportion of the Hungarian population according to official statistical data represented 6.6% of the population of Romania. This state of affairs has not changed significantly in the past 10 years.

– The inadequate territorial distribution of higher education has disadvantaged many of the ethnic Hungarian-inhabited counties.

– The situation of the Hungarian sections at the Babeş-Bolyai University in Cluj (Kolozsvár) and the University of Medicine and Pharmacy in Tg. Mureş (Marosvásárhely) was not legally regulated; there were (and there are) no standalone departments or faculties, although only these structures possess decision-making authority. Proposals from the Hungarian section can be rejected by majority vote in decision-making bodies. Again, no significant changes have occurred in this respect.

With the exception of the Babeş-Bolyai University, the University of Medicine and Pharmacy and the Theatre Academy in Marosvásárhely, the Senates of other universities continue to resist against even the partial reintroduction of instruction in the Hungarian language. Characteristic examples are the "Gheorghe

Dima" Music Academy, or the University of Agricultural Sciences and Veterinary Medicine in Cluj-Napoca.

After all the unsuccessful attempts to establish a separate university and the failed endeavours to become independent, respectively realising that the creation of autonomous Hungarian sections are repeatedly rejected by the Romanian majority, at the initiative of the leaders of the historic Transylvanian Hungarian churches and other groups of intellectuals, with support from the Hungarian Parliament, the Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania came into being.

The already existing Partium Christian University, the successor in title of the former "Sulyok István" College (established in 1991) became part of the same Transylvania-Partium system.

The Hungarian Government and National Assembly decided to support Transylvanian Hungarian higher education, more precisely the establishment of an independent Hungarian University in 1999, and allocated the necessary funds for that purpose within the framework of the 2000 budget.

On the 3rd of February 2000, in order to make sure that the support provided is used in accordance with the intentions of donors, and to provide a moral background, eight leaders of four Transylvanian Hungarian churches – Archbishop György Jakubinyi, Bishops József Tempfli, Pál Reizer and Martin Roos on behalf of the Roman Catholic Church, Bishops Kálmán Csiha and László Tőkés on behalf of the Reformed Church, Bishop Árpád Szabó on behalf of the Unitarian Church and Bishop Árpád Mózes on behalf of the Lutheran Church – established the Sapientia Foundation, which was registered at the Law Court of Kolozsvár on the 16th of March 2000.

The Board of Trustees of the Sapientia Foundation is appointed by the founding churches, and their task is to define and implement the goals of the Foundation, aiming to support Hungarian language higher education in Romania. In the founding declaration of the university, the Board of Trustees declared on the 14th of April 2000: "The Sapientia Foundation established in Kolozsvár by the eight leaders of the Transylvanian Hungarian churches, exercising the right bestowed upon it by the Founding Churches, being fully aware of its responsibility toward the Founders and toward the Hungarian community as a whole, on this day decided on the foundation of the Transylvanian Hungarian Private University."[12]

[12] Nyilatkozat az erdélyi magyar magénegyetem létrehozásáról (Declaration on the Establishment of the Hungarian Private University in Transylvania), 2000, In *Magyar Kisebbség*, 2000, 2, (20).

The President of the Board of Trustees, appointed by the church leaders, Dr. Sándor Tonk (1947-2003) writes: "In our view, [the Hungarian university of Transylvania means] a full-fledged *'universitas'*, which does not only teach in the Hungarian language, but by its education policy aims to serve the interests and the future of Hungarian society in Romania. Such a university, just as do other higher education institutions in Romania, must have the autonomy to carry out its specific goals, and to create its own spirituality."[13]

In April 2000 the Co-operation Agreement between the Sapientia Foundation and the Office for Hungarians Living Outside Hungary about the funding of the Transylvanian Hungarian Private University was signed. Today funding is ensured by the Gábor Bethlen Fund established by the Hungarian Government.

The development concept of the Sapientia University was adopted by the Board of Trustees in the autumn of 2000. In order to obtain provisional accreditation from the Romanian authorities, the members of the Board of Trustees and one representative from each teaching location formed the interim senate of the university in May 2001, and the President of the Board of Trustees became the first interim rector of the new university. On the 8th of October 2001 education started in Csíkszereda (Miercurea Ciuc) and Marosvásárhely (Tg. Mures), and in 2002 also in Kolozsvár.

The Sapientia University functions in three Transylvanian towns (Kolozsvár – Cluj, Marosvásárhely – Tg. Mureş, and Csíkszereda – Miercurea Ciuc), partly undertaking to fill the higher education needs of Hungarian-inhabited regions, and guided by the demographic, economic, and cultural aspirations of the Transylvanian Hungarian community. The Sapientia University operates as a uniform entity, respecting the autonomy of its pillars, and the three locations of study. The three pillars have their own specific profiles, and form a unified university structure, which – in addition to completing public higher education in the Hungarian language – wishes to ensure a full-spectrum higher education, that is one in line with the necessities of the Hungarian community in Romania.

Beginning with the academic year 2000/2001, the Sapientia Foundation also supports the functioning of the Partium Christian University in Nagyvárad (Oradea). Both institutions have been operating in the past thirteen years according to Romanian law as private universities. The founder of the Sapientia University, and the umbrella organisation for both universities is the Sapientia

[13] Tonk, Sándor, Romániai magyar magánegyetem (Hungarian Private University in Romania), in *Magyar Kisebbség*, 2000,1, (19).

Foundation, which is in charge of making decisions regarding financing and strategic planning.

The Mission Statement of the Sapientia University reflects its role established by the Founding Churches and the Sapientia Foundation. It defines the institution as the autonomous European university of the Hungarian minority in Romania, with the objective of providing education for the Hungarian community and sustaining the academic life of this minority. It assumes the responsibility for the level of knowledge offered to students, for the future of professors, the good quality of research and for the transparent functioning of the institution.

The mission statement clearly states the goals of the institution, also reflecting its Christian character:

– To enforce Christian and universal human values;

– To conceive a system of academic education and research of high performance and excellent quality, and to preserve Transylvanian traditions of education in Hungarian;

– To ensure a transparent and consistent manner of functioning, to validate professional values and those characteristic of the academic spirit;

– To build up a modern system, integrated within a unified institutional framework and to offer solutions for specific regional problems;

– To establish wide professional contacts, based on the principle of open gates, of trust, dedication and reciprocity.

Christian values are further underlined in the last paragraph of the Mission Statement: "Our wish is for this academic community to function in the name of human values and brotherly care and under the sign of equity, consistency and justice. Our primary expectations include moral tenure and a knowledge of and respect for Hungarian and universal cultural values. The activity of our institution is guided by the principles of participation and academic autonomy."

The major achievement of the past decade has been the accreditation of the University. In Romania there is a two-step accreditation system in force, where academic programmes are initially granted a provisional authorisation, and only after the graduation of 3 consecutive classes can the final accreditation of the programme in question be applied for. Following its standard procedure the Romanian Agency for Quality Assurance in Higher Education (ARACIS) has given official approval for 16 programmes of the Sapientia University. The institutional accreditation of the Sapientia University – after a thorough evaluation process – was also approved by ARACIS in July 2010. Finally, in 2011 and 2012 a law covering the accredited University was also approved by the two chambers of the Romanian Parliament. This law was published in the Official Journal of Romania on the 3rd of April 2012.

THE ROLE OF THE FOUNDERS ACCORDING TO THE STATUTES OF THE SAPIENTIA FOUNDATION AND THE CHARTER OF THE SAPIENTIA HUNGARIAN UNIVERSITY OF TRANSYLVANIA

In their capacity as founders, the leaders of the historic Transylvanian churches reiterated their intentions to remain guardians of Sapientia University. They reiterated that, in accordance with the Statutes of the Sapientia Foundation, the principle of the harmonious and balanced development of the private university network resided in consistently maintaining the strategic and financial authority of the Board of Trustees of the Sapientia Foundation.

The basic principles according to which the founders could exercise their role were at first laid down in the Statutes of the Sapientia Foundation, and from there they were taken over by the Charter of the University. The board of trustees of the Sapientia Foundation is appointed by the founding churches for a period of 4 years. The president of the board is also appointed by the eight leaders of the four traditional churches.

In order to achieve its goals, the Foundation will determine the principles of development of the Sapientia University, and will participate in the management of the institution. The board of trustees delegates members into the senate of the university.

The charter of the accredited University declares that the founder and supporter of the university is the Sapientia Foundation, which exercises its rights in accordance with the statute and the charter. The foundation has a role in the funding of the institution, in its strategic planning, and in the guidance, coordination, supervision and control of the activity of the university. The administrative council of the university is appointed by the Sapientia Foundation, in accordance with Romanian education law.

More concretely, the foundation, either directly, or through the administrative council oversees the following domains of the activity of the university: the establishment of the basic principles and values of the activity and the supervision of their implementation; the modification of the university charter and its annexes in order to ensure that the founding principles are observed; the adoption of the strategy and the development plan of the university and controlling its implementation; the approval of the annual budget of the university; the approval of the number of students that can be enrolled; the approval of the new study programmes; the management of the assets of the university; etc.

The decisions of the senate can be vetoed by the foundation within 5 days after their announcement, and the board of trustees has the right to initiate certain decisions, after consultation with the university leaders.

The board of trustees must approve in advance all the applications for the positions of rector and faculty deans.

In addition, the board of trustees has a supervisory role regarding legal regulations, the stipulations of the charter, senate and administrative council decisions; it controls the activity of the university, can inspect all its official documents, etc[14].

In case the university ceases to exist, all of its assets and property are taken over by the Sapientia Foundation. In case the Sapientia Foundation terminates its activity, its assets and property are inherited by the historic Hungarian churches of Transylvania.

Finally, the principles formulated by the founders, stipulated in the statutes of the Sapientia Foundation, and taken over by the university charter can only be modified with the approval of the board of trustees of the Sapientia Foundation.

THE PRESENT SITUATION – FACTS AND FIGURES

Organisational Structure and Teaching Activity

The number of full-time students at the Sapientia University in the academic year 2013/2014 is 2,068 studying in 29 undergraduate and 6 master's degree programmes in the three Transylvanian towns altogether (120 students are enrolled in MA degree programmes). At the beginning of the academic year the teaching staff of the university consisted of 182 full-time lecturers, and 128 associated lecturers from other universities in Romania or abroad, all specialists in their fields. In addition to that, the university employs an administrative staff of approximately 150. One of the priorities of university managers is to attract valuable young people to pursue a university career by offering PhD scholarships to full-time lecturers, thus enabling them to acquire various professional skills and academic titles.

[14] The Charter of the Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania.

The Organisational Structure of the Sapientia University[15]

Faculty	**Study programmes**
Faculty of Economic and Human Sciences – Miercurea-Ciuc	• Accounting and Management IT (A) • Agro-alimentary Economy (A) • General Economics • Environmental Economics (wind-out programme with no new enrolment) • Romanian Language and Literature – English Language and Literature (A) • Marketing • Statistics and Economic Forecasting • Universal and Comparative Literature – English Language and Literature
Faculty of Technical and Social Sciences – Miercurea-Ciuc	• Sociology (A) • Communication and Public Relations (A) • Engineering and Environmental Protection in Industry (A) • Food Engineering (A) • Industrial Biotechnology • Engineering and Management in Public Food Supply and Agro-tourism
Faculty of Natural Sciences and Arts – Cluj-Napoca	• Environmental Science • Cinematography, Photography, Media (A) • International Relations and European Studies • Law
Faculty of Technical and Human Sciences – Târgu-Mureş	• Pedagogy (wind-out programme with no new enrolment) • Communication and Public Relations (A) • Public Health Policies and Services • Translation and Interpreting • Computer Science (A) • Mechatronics (A) • Computer Engineering (A) • Automation and Applied IT (A) • Machine Manufacturing Technology • Telecommunication Systems and Technologies • Horticulture

Scientific Research Activity

The development of scientific research is also one of the most important tasks of the institution. Research is organised within internally accredited research centres or departments, in close co-operation with the study programmes they

[15] A – accredited study programmes

co-ordinate. Taking into account the former provisional status of the University, which limited its participation in national and international competitions, the Sapientia Foundation developed its own framework in order to support research by establishing the *Institute of Research Programmes – IRP* that offers the opportunity to obtain individual or collective grants based on competition.

The research results obtained by the lecturers at the University are presented in publications and at various national and international scientific events, or used within grants and research contracts. The number of publications has been rising constantly, some of them being published in ISI rated journals (247) or appearing in different indexed databases (279). It must also be mentioned that the university has been acting as a forum for major scientific and professional events at national and international level.

The university has its own publishing house, set up in 2001, later accredited by Romania's National University Research Council. Manuals, courses and guidebooks necessary in the educational process, volumes of scientific events organised by the university as well as books in different fields of science are published here.

The scientific journal of the University, **Acta Universitatis Sapientiae**, covers the following five fields of science: arts, social sciences, natural sciences, technical and agrarian sciences; economic sciences and law. The first issues of the following series of publications have already been published (22 issues): Mathematica; Informatica; Alimentaria; Electrical and Mechanical Engineering; Agriculture and Environment; Film & Media Studies; European and Regional Studies; Philologica.

Buildings and Property

While at the beginning the university functioned mainly in rented locations, at present, as a result of important investments, it owns several estates adequate for education and research activity. The university has just finished the construction of the building of the faculty in Kolozsvár, and is about to begin the building of a student hostel in Marosvásárhely, as well as the modernisation and rehabilitation of the Csíkszereda campus. These construction projects are in the elaboration phase.

Course rooms are equipped with modern, lastest generation audio and video systems, while laboratories have been provided with modern instruments and devices, suitable for teaching and research purposes.

CONCLUSIONS

It has become clear in the 25 years since the change of the political system in Romania, that the establishment or support for an independent public system of Hungarian higher education institutions are not realistic political aims. Although the Hungarian community in Transylvania has not given up its claim for a full-fledged, independent educational system in the Hungarian language sustained by the Romanian state, the foundation of the Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania and of the Partium Christian University successfully freed the cause of Hungarian language higher education from the realm of unrealistic objectives. There is no political will today in Romania for the re-establishment of the symbolic Bolyai University, and at the same time it is also clear that a significant part of the Hungarian section of the existing Babeş-Bolyai University rejects the thought of separation. Besides, the most recent Romanian Law on Education does not even provide for the possibility of an independent public university teaching in the Hungarian language (only allowing for Hungarian departments and faculties). Such independent institutions can only be established by foundations or churches.[16]

The Hungarian community in the Romanian system of higher education is still significantly under-represented in comparison with the Romanian community (the proportion of the Hungarian population is 6.5% according to the 2011 census, and the proportion of Hungarians in the higher education is around 5%), and many ethnic Hungarian students study at Romanian universities (often at affiliated departments of questionable quality).

Under these circumstances the private university network provides an alternative that makes up the basis, or the backbone, of the independent Hungarian language higher education network. The existence, development, support of the two accredited universities (Sapientia University and Partium Christian University) are decisively important from the point of view of Hungarian national policy, which must counterbalance many decades of oppressive Romanian national policy, in order to eliminate the backwardness of the Hungarian regions and population. After so many decades of discriminative education policy, these two institutions can be the ones to be called "the independent Hungarian university of Transylvania".

Finally, the fact that these higher education institutions, which regard Hungarian traditions and identity as a special value, are directed by autonomous

[16] Dávid, László – Tonk, Márton – Hauer, Melinda, Presentation of the Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania, 2012.

bodies (the Senate and Board of Trustees) that are under the patronage and the supervision of the Hungarian churches, also reinforces the role of the churches in safeguarding the preservation of the Hungarian community in Transylvania. The private higher education institutional network indirectly supervised by the Hungarian churches is the only one in Romania today that can guarantee the conditions for the achievement of Hungarian national policy objectives. None of the other (public) higher education institutions, where there is Hungarian language teaching at the moment, are able to do that.

Levente Székedi[1]

THE PARTIUM CHRISTIAN UNIVERSITY OF ORADEA (NAGYVÁRAD): A COMMUNITY-ORIENTED CHRISTIAN UNIVERSITY OF THE ETHNIC HUNGARIAN COMMUNITY OF WESTERN ROMANIA

INTRODUCTION

The Partium Christian University (PCU) in Oradea was established in the year 2000 as a result of an ecumenical initiative by the Reformed and Roman Catholic Churches, and came into being as a Hungarian-language university, making good the absence of such an institution in Romania since the abolition of the Bolyai University in Cluj in 1959, and as a result of the failure to refound or restor a Hungarian-language university in the years that followed the change of regime in 1989.

The name of the university refers to its Christian background, ethos and its church-relatedness, and the historical region of Partium. Oradea is the centre of the region, divided between three states (Hungary, Romania, Ukraine). Presently the Partium name mostly refers to the Romanian part of the region (Bihor, Satu Mare counties; in extended usage parts of Sălaj, Maramure, Arad counties are included). The Hungarian population is considerable (2011 census – Arad: 36,568; Bihor: 138,213; Satu Mare: 112,580; Sălaj: 50,177; Maramure: 32,618). Oradea is the capital of Bihor county, which is one of the multicultural territorial-administrative regions of Romania located on the north-western border with Hungary, also generally regarded as one of the administrative units of the country where conditions for economic development are comparatively good. Besides its proximity to the border, there are additional advantages deriving from the relatively well-developed infrastructure and human resources, which make the region attractive to foreign investors. It is worth mentioning here that the proportion of university and high school graduates is significantly higher than the Romanian average.

PCU was accredited in 2008 as a legal entity governed by private and public

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law. According to the law, it is a private non-profit institution. The founder of the university is the Pro Universitate Partium Foundation, the members of which are the representatives of the historical Christian churches as well as civil organisations. PCU is a community university even though this concept does not appear as such in Romania's official documents. That means the university serves the needs of the Hungarian minority, the founding members are the representatives of the churches, and the university's financing has been mostly ensured by the Sapientia Foundation, which, in turn, is funded by Hungary's government[2].

At present, the Partium Christian University organises its study programmes, that is, human and social studies, economics and arts, within the framework of three major faculties. Thanks to the institution's accreditation it has become possible to organise MA programmes, thereby completing the second cycle of the Bologna System based education. More than 1,000 students are enrolled in the PCU's 16 BA and 8 MA programmes, and with the setting up of new departments this number will hopefully be raised to 1,200 to 1,300, which would mean restoring conditions that held before the adoption of the Bologna System.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The Christian secondary and higher educational institutions of Transylvania are the traditional maintainers of the ethnic Hungarians' religious and national identity. After 1920 they were forcefully inserted into the newly created secularised education system of greater Romania. The gradual destruction of congregational education and Hungarians' vernacular schools and universities continued under several decades of communist rule[3]. The fusion of the Hungarian and Romanian universities of Cluj in 1959 (establishing the Babeş-Bolyai university) intensified and accelerated the dissolution of the ethnic Hungarian education network. By 1989 Hungarian-language high school and university education was almost abolished in communist Romania[4]. Moreover, the confessional educational system maintained by the Catholic and Protestant historical

[2] Gizela, H., Flóra, G., Balogh, B., Székedi, L., et al., *Self-evaluation Report (prepared for the European University Assocation's Institutional Evaluation Programme),* Oradea, 2013, 1 [unpublished internal document].

[3] Szolár, Éva, Church-owned Higher Education and the Democratisation of Romania, in *Time of Decline, Time of Hope: Scientific, Cultural and Political Engagement of the Study of Religions – 8th Conference of the European Association for the Study of Religions, Czech Republic, Brno, 7-11 September 2008,* 3-4.

[4] Belényi, E., Flóra, G., Hausmann, A. & Szolár, É., *Újrateremtve önmagát, A partiumi magyar*

churches was almost entirely destroyed (with the notable exception of a few places with theological specialisations).

Romania's 1989 regime change brought new challenges for the historical churches of the ethnic Hungarian community, such as the need for a thorough reorganisation, starting the difficult process of the restitution of nationalised state properties, the rebuilding of religious identities and the restoration of the social-cultural-ethnic functions of churches.

The widened church institutional network needed supplementary human resources. The newly introduced religious education in secular schools and the prospective restoration of the denominational schools required qualified educators[5]. The Hungarian minority started the development of a new institutional framework, this also calling for professionals. Historical churches, political and cultural organisations of the Hungarian community formulated the goal of developing a vertically and horizontally integrated vernacular education system. Although mixed-language state universities did introduce new Hungarian-taught programmes, the founding of a state-funded Hungarian university was perceived by Romanian stakeholders as a threat to the unified national state. History had already revealed the vulnerability of Hungarian study programmes inserted in the course selections of mixed universities.

This is the context in which the 39/1990 Resolution of the Directory of the Diocese of Királyhágómellék (Piatra Craiului) establishes the "Sulyok István" Reformed College and a provisional institute council (19 May, 1990). Teaching started with 238 students studying to become teachers of religious education on 1 October. In 1991 February the Ecclesiastical Under-Secretary licensed "Sulyok István" Reformed College as the Reformed Theological Faculty of the Protestant Theological Institute of Cluj Napoca. In the following years full-time degree programmes are introduced: teacher of religious education – German language and literature, teacher of religious education – legal science, teacher of religious education – social work.

The Arany János Students' Hostel was established to provide accommodation and canteen services for the students of the Reformed College and the pupils of the Lorántffy Zsuzsanna Reformed High School.

In 1994 the National Council of Academic Evaluation and Accreditation of Higher Education Institutions issued a temporary operating licence to the religious studies teacher – social work and the religious studies teacher – German

egyetemépítés két évtizede, in Tamás Kozma & Gabriella Pusztai (eds.), *Régió és oktatás VII, A Partium esete*, Debrecen, CHERD, 2010, 33–34.

[5] Hausmann, A. & Szolár, É., A Partiumi Keresztény Egyetem, *Mester és tanítvány,* 2008/19, 56.

language and literature major programmes. The teacher of religious education – legal science degree programme did not receive an operating license, thus, with the College's assistance, its undergraduates transferred to other institutions.

In 1995 the spectrum of specialisations was enlarged with the following degree programmes: church music – music pedagogy and economics – church intendant. In November 1995 the institute council decided to separate from the Protestant Theological Institute of Cluj-Napoca and declares the establishment of an independent institution, the Partium Christian University. In 1996 the Higher Education Council of Transylvania approved the development of the Sulyok István Reformed College into an independent Hungarian university. The Királyhágómellék Reformed Church District's board of directors appointed Professor Béla Kovács, PhD, as rector. The Rector's Council was established. A decision was made to introduce new degree programmes: junior teacher – foreign language teacher and junior teacher – cantor.

In 1998 Oradea, the ecumenical congress declared its intention of establishing the Partium Christian University and sends a letter to the Minister of Education. In 1999 September by Decision no. 118/N/1999 of the Bihar County Court the Pro Universitate Partium Foundation is officially registered, which provides the legal background for the Partium Christian University. The president of the foundation was László Tőkés, Bishop of the Királyhágómellék Reformed Church District.

The decision of the founding members and of the Foundation's advisory board provided for the establishment of the Partium Christian University and its accreditation process. In 2000, November 29 Government Decision No. 1215/2000 authorised the operation of the Partium Christian University.

With the establishment of the Sapientia Foundation and the Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania the Hungary-funded Transylvanian system of higher education emerged, including the Partium Christian University.

The PCU Senate decided on the organisational and management structure of the university. Two university faculties and a college faculty were established, as well as the Sulyok István Theological Institute. Seven departments started operating within this institutional framework. Between 2000–2003 further fields of study were offered: English language and literature, English language and literature – Romanian language and literature, philosophy, sociology, social work, tourism, fine arts (graphics).

In 2002 the Hungarian Ministry of Education provided access to the electronic information service for the Partium Christian University and the Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania, the use of which, along with 1,500

scholarly journals and the research database, greatly facilitated academic work and research. The first issue of the Partiumi Egyetemi Szemle (Journal of the Partium University) came out, helping to promote ongoing scholarly research at the PCU.

In June, 2004 The National Council of Academic Evaluation and Accreditation of Higher Education Institutions accredited the teacher of religious education – German language and literature and teacher of religious education – social work degree programmes.

In March, 2006 the University Council was established, the president of which was László Tőkés, Bishop of Királyhágómellék Reformed Church District.

In July, 2007 the philosophy department was accredited by the National Accreditation Council.

In September 30, 2008 – after an interruption of almost half a century – the first state-recognised, autonomous Hungarian higher education institution of the Transylvanian Hungarians, the Partium Christian University, was founded. On that date Romania's parliament adopted the law which stated the final accreditation of the university as well as the accreditation of the following departments: social work, German language and literature, and Reformed didactic theology.

In July, 2009 the first MA programmes were introduced: European social politics, philosophy, art in public space, and multilingualism and multiculturalism, being accredited by the Romanian Agency for Quality Assurance in Higher Education. The Hungarian language and literature degree programme received an operating licence. The Romanian Ministry of Education confirmed the appointment of Associate Professor Szabolcs János-Szatmári, PhD, as rector, elected by the senate of the Partium Christian University.

In 2011 the following MA programmes were accredited: religious studies, musical art in contemporary culture, fine arts – graphics: visual communication, and business development management. The finance and banking BA programme received an operating licence.

The Ministry of Education approved the new charter of the Partium Christian University. The Founders Council was established, representing the founders of the Partium Christian University, whose members were trustees of the Pro Universitate Partium Foundation. Its president was László Tőkés.

In 2012 the Partium Christian University was added to the list of institutions of national importance by the Hungarian government, serving the preservation and development of the Hungarian community. The pedagogy of pre-school and primary education degree programme received an operating licence. The PCU Senate decided to establish an institute of psychopedagogy within the faculty of human and social-studies.

UNIVERSITY MISSION AND SELF-DEFINITION

Partium Christian University is a community university with a regional role, mostly serving the Hungarian minority in Romania, a university that is essentially based on Christian values, European cultural values, science as well as on the traditional values of the Hungarian communities in Romania. Its mission and goals are laid down in the Charter of the University as follows: teaching, research, preservation and dissemination of cultural and educational values, with a focus on academic co-operation.

The term "Christian University" defines the value system that the University intends to promote implicitly. PCU aims to be an academic institution, a university with a full profile, organised like other modern academic institutions. Education is carried out in an ecumenical, tolerant, and critical spirit.

PCU's mission is academic education and research in the spirit of cultural values specific to the Hungarian community in Romania. The term "Christian University" defines the set of values promoted by the university, which is an ecumenical and secular institution[6].

Though legally it is a private and secular university, it was initiated by the historical churches. They still supervise the long-term strategy of the university: church representatives participate in the Board of Founders and the Sapientia Foundation's Board (The latter institution intermediates the funding of the PCU and controls the proper functioning of the Hungarian university network of Transylvania.)

PCU is a community-oriented university, for its foundation resulted from the ecumenical initiative of numerous religious communities related to the Hungarian minority in Romania. Its strategy does not aim to promote "fashionable" specialisations that might attract a great number of students, but rather the formation of specialists who can effectively contribute to the strengthening of the Hungarian community in Romania in such domains as culture (humanistic and artistic specialisations) and economy (economic specialisations). It strives to improve the teacher-training programme for pre-university education on the notion that the survival of a national minority depends on the possibilities of children being schooled in their mother tongue. It promotes a sensible social policy for students with low-income or disadvantaged background, as well as students with disabilities, or otherwise socially marginalised.

[6] Gizela, H., Flóra, G., Balogh, B., Székedi, L., et al., *Self-evaluation Report*, 3.

PCU is a community university with a regional role, mostly serving the Hungarian minority in Romania, a university that is essentially based on Christian values, European cultural values, science, as well as on the traditional values of the Hungarian communities in Romania. PCU's mission and goals are laid down in the charter of the university as follows: teaching, research, preservation and dissemination of cultural and educational values, focus on academic co-operation. This regional status of the university is reflected by the geographical origin of the students and by the fact that the university's courses, as well as its cultural and scientific activities, are based on the needs of the country's northern and western regions[7]. The courses offered by the university are continually adapted to the demands of the regional labour market, though community interests cannot be overshadowed by the sheer prospect of financial gain. This regionalism can also understood in the European context. PCU has close relationships with universities in the eastern border areas of Hungary that are geographically close and belong to regions that face the same problems that the Bihor County has to deal with.

The university is a Christian higher education institution not merely on a declarative level. It has an active department of theology, with BA and MA programmes, Christian disciplines are integrated in the teaching curricula (completion of the Introduction in the World of Religions module is a scholarship-requirement for each BA specialisation, there are elective courses of theology and related disciplines). The university is community-oriented, student-teacher relations are special, based on Christian closeness and empathy (targeting the implementation of an open-doors policy, pastoral role of the academic year tutor etc.) All university programmes are developed with the criteria of social inclusiveness in mind, for instance Roma students are offered tuition-free places and special scholarship.

Regular religious services are not only on Sundays, but on weekdays (each Tuesday morning). According to the principles established in the university charter, the Partium Christian University – as its name also suggests – aims to offer more religious possibilities than any other academic institution, therefore a pastor serves both students and teaching staff. Teachers and students are members of the academic congregation, regardless of their religion. Our aim is to take Jesus' command seriously and "make disciples of all nations." Besides church

[7] Flóra, G. & Szilágyi, G., Hungarian Minority Educational Policies and Opportunities in Bihor County, in Gabriella Pusztai, Adrian Hatos, & Tímea Ceglédi (eds.), *Educational Research in Central and Eastern Europe, Third Mission of Higher Education in a Cross-Border Region*, Debrecen, CHERD, 2012, 56.

services regular Bible classes are organised. In 2012 the university launched a new public dialogue series: conversations with public figures whose career and life demonstrate how one can remain a theist, human and good professional in a contemporary context. Our regular programmes, implemented with the aid of student volunteers, are: Advent wreath making, meeting with Santa Claus, charity campaign for poor children (Shoe Box of Love), Christmas Celebration and craft classes, Silent Day on the Feast of the Ascension, Theology Day (during the University Days), participating in national holidays and commemorations. We also have a pastoral office open to all those who have a need for conversation or have questions regarding faith or encounter such problems that they would like to talk about. During these discussions we try to find Christian answers together. Promoting student volunteering is a foremost goal of the pastoral office, for partnerships regarding volunteering enrich the process of teaching with professional elements in the respective field and strengthen the Christian community role of the university.

EDUCATIONAL OFFER

Faculty of Human and Social Sciences

The main objective of the Faculty of Social and Human Sciences is to provide high-level training in the fields of modern languages and social sciences. By emphasising the study of national identity and cultural heritage in their fruitful dialogue with other cultures and traditions, our graduate and undergraduate programmes prepare students to regard tolerance and equal opportunities as fundamental values, at the same time encouraging them to keep an open mind and a learning heart towards any new developments in their areas of specialisation.

- *Accredited BA specialisations*: German language and literature, social work, sociology, philosophy, English language and literature – Romanian language and literature, Reformed didactic theology (teachers of religion).
- *BA specialisations with provisional authorisation*: Hungarian language and literature, Hungarian language and literature – English language and literature, Hungarian language and literature – German language and literature, pedagogy of the primary school and preschool education (educators' training)
- *Accredited MA specialisations*: multilingualism and multiculturalism, European social policies, contemporary political philosophy, philosophy and arts in the public space, religious studies.

Faculty of Economic Sciences
The Faculty trains economists who can hand on Transylvanian Hungarian traditions. Our main objective is to ensure our students specialised knowledge and guarantee them up-to-date professional knowledge, a business-ethical approach and language skills that will help them find better positions in the labour market and at the same time become socially responsible members of economic life.

- *Accredited BA specialisations*: management; the economy of commerce, tourism and services
- *BA specialisations with provisional authorisation*: banking and finance
- *Accredited MA specialisation*: the management of company development

Faculty of Arts
The Faculty of Arts encompasses the Fine Arts and the Music Department. Both departments have accredited bachelor and master education. The goal of the Faculty of Arts is, according to today's high quality requirements, to educate professionals, to successfully join the European higher education, research and art space. This endeavour is served not only by our Erasmus programme, but by our relationships with other universities, scientific and artistic workshops, or our students and teachers national and international exhibitions, concerts.

- *Accredited BA specialisations:* musical pedagogy (music teachers' training), fine arts (advertising & graphics).
- *Accredited MA specialisations:* musical arts in contemporary audiovisual culture, visual communication.

Teachers' Training
The University's strategic goal is to establish itself as the centre of Hungarian-language teacher-training in the Partium region. In 2010 the Teachers' Training Institute was accredited. In 2012 the TTI initiated its first programmes: accredited training courses for teachers, the authorisation of the Educators' Training BA (the pedagogy of the primary school and preschool education).

Future Plans
The university is continually adapting its training structure to the demands of the regional labour market and the human-resource needs of the ethnic Hungarian community. Besides new BA and MA study programmes, in the long term the university plans the development of joint-degree international MA programmes and the founding of an interdisciplinary doctoral school.

New Study Programmes (Short and Medium-Term)

- *Plans for new BA programmes:* New philological double majors (Hungarian – Romanian, German – Hungarian); diacony (church-related social work); cultural mediator; Roma studies; computerised photo and video processing; economic informatics; agricultural engineering; horticulture
- *Plans for new MA programmes:* Didactic MA programmes (teachers post-graduate training): language and literature, philosophy and social sciences, music, fine arts
- *Disciplinary MA programmes:* in the fields of commerce and tourism

SERVICES FOR STUDENTS

Scholarships

The university offers three types of scholarships: merit grant, scholarship and social grant. Approximately one third of the students are provided scholarships and grants. In addition to these, there are special grants offered by PCU's partners (e.g: Pető grant for excellence, OTP grant).

Students may participate in mobility programmes to other universities outside the country (ERASMUS). Due to collaboration with institutions outside the university framework students may take part in the activities of business or cultural institutions or even in the work of local authorities, as well as volunteer in projects supporting the local community.

Dormitory and Canteen

The Partium Christian University assumes responsibility not only for the quality of education, but also for students' living conditions. Since many students come to Oradea from distant places, the university provides accommodation for them in the Arany János Dormitory during the academic years.

The institution aims to be more than a simple dormitory. Its objective is to strengthen the ecclesiastical, collegiate and academic spirit, and at the same time to ensure a deserving home for its students. It offers three important conditions to boarders: everybody has the possibility to study, rest and have fun. With its public programmes and events the institution works to develop a real community for those who find a home here during their academic years. The dormitory houses almost 200 students every year at a reasonable price. At the same time the canteen assures three meals per day and the lunch has three courses. The modern, well-equipped rooms with 2, 3 or 4 beds also offer free internet access.

During the summer holiday the dormitory and canteen also offer accommodation and meals for students, tourists or groups. The canteen can be rented for (Christian) family celebrations.

University-Funded Students' Organisation
The Students' Organisation of the Partium Christian University is a non-governmental and non political student organisation. It was founded in 1995 as the Students' Organisation of the "Sulyok István" Reformed College. In 1999, when the Partium Christian University was set up, the organisation was renamed.

It mainly organises cultural, sports and professional events. The main events are: freshman's camp, freshman's day and party, Partium University Days, Pannonian Basin Economic Competition, Partium Academic Students' Conference, Pannonian Basin Summer University. The organisation takes care of social scholarships and grant affairs and represents the PCU students and university in national and international forums (related to students' life). The students' organisation has good relationships with different student associations (Romanian, Hungarian and international) and other youth organisations.

University Library with New Titles and Free Access to International Databases
The Partium Christian University Library was established in 1990. The basis of the book collection was provided by the National Széchenyi Library and Pro Hungaris Foundation with 5,000 volumes. The collection is growing constantly through tenders, planned acquisitions and donations by private individuals and institutions. Since 2012 the University Library has taken pride in managing a collection containing more than 5,000 volumes collected by András Görömbei, a Kossuth Prize-winning literary historian and full member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, and Attila Tamás, emeritus professor of the University of Debrecen. The collection was donated to the Partium Christian University through the College of Nyíregyháza. The collection of the university library currently has more than 50,000 volumes.

Thanks to the constant growth of our collection, at the moment – until a new wing is completed – visitors have access to four different places provided with up-to-date academic material, a user-friendly library system and extended opening hours.

As stated in the contracts signed with the Roman Catholic Episcopate of Oradea and the Reformed Church, teachers and students of the Partium Christian University have the right to use the 25,000 volumes belonging to the Diocesan Library and the Királyhágómellék Reformed Church District Documentary

Center. Exploring these resources in the future may assure a wider spectrum for adequate research in the field of humanities.

Among the cultural institutions of the Partium communities the library also looks for relationships with representatives of the local civil life. It is not an entirely public library but has its doors open not only to the teachers and students of the university, but also to local people. As the sustaining institute occupies an increasingly important role in the cultural life of Oradea and the Partium region, the university library wishes to become its knowledge centre and serve the whole community of the Partium region.

The Janus Pannonius College for Advanced Studies

PCU's Janus Pannonius College for Advanced Studies was established in 2010 after a long process – the city's Hungarian higher education needed to introduce the College for Advanced Studies as an institution.

The initiators wanted to establish a college through which they could have the chance to select and bring together all those students who – by their talents, diligence and motivation – stand out from the others. For them the college guarantees such conditions that will help them develop their skills, develop their personalities, improve their character and thus leave the university and college as accomplished specialists.

Not confined within the borders of the small college community, its members would like to contribute to the popularisation of scientific life in this region and to the spread of interesting and well-grounded knowledge by trustworthy people. The college regularly invites nationally and internationally recognised specialists, personalities and researchers.

Accepting the basic triple principle of colleges for advanced studies, namely the value of professionalism, community and social sensibility, the college is open to any public issue or social problem that, to some extent, might be solved. The twofold goal of the institution is to provide the labour market and social life with qualified young people, and to shape individual characters who – as useful members of their milieu – will genuinely represent the values of their university and college, thus contributing to the development of the civil sphere and culture of this region.

The college strives to build a close relationship with Hungarian colleges for advanced studies. It has managed to make strong partnerships with the István Bibó, László Rajk and István Hatvani Colleges for Advanced Studies.

The college has three different workshops. The Economic and Social Science Workshop aims to transmit knowledge to the students in a wider scope and to

encourage them to organise by themselves programmes, courses, study trips that contribute to their enrichment with unique experiences and knowledge. It endeavours to have close co-operation with figures of economic life, thus helping the students find better jobs. The Language and Literature Workshop offers training in the fields of Hungarian, German and English language and culture. The members of this workshop take part in personalised professional guiding and tutorial systems and they work regularly on problem-centred projects in small groups, seminars. The workshop puts great emphasis on supporting individual research work and widening members' professional scope.

The Philosophy, Theology and Art Workshop strives to help the development of gifted students in the interdisciplinary fields focusing on their professional improvement and creativity. Every student participates in individual or group research work or takes part in individual or long-term group art projects. The programme of this workshop offers professional training, interdisciplinary workshops, trips and personalised professional support in a tutorial system aiming to broaden their cultural horizon.

RESEARCH & DEVELOPMENT

The visibility of research activity is enhanced by the Partium Publishing House and the university's own journal, the multilingual Partium University Review (Partiumi Egyetemi Szemle). The Partium University Review is the place for dialogue among various scholarly fields, serving as a link between the members of the academic community and, last but not least, between teachers and students. The Publishing House has so far printed lecture notes, anthologies, papers, essays, reference materials, books, occasional publications (brochures, promotional publications, conference volumes, admissions booklets, etc.).

We also possess university research centres, like Sulyok István Insitute for Theological Studies, Social Sciences Research Workshop, Visual Creation and Education Research Workshop, Philosophical Research Institute, Research Institute for German Studies, Musical Sciences Research Workshop, Foreign Languages Research Workshop, Research Workshop on British and American Studies, Economics Research Workshop. Research programmes within theses centres can be funded by the Sapientia Foundation's Institute for Research Programmes, part of the Hungarian university network of Transylvania.

The university has managed several cross-border, EU funded projects (mostly implemented together with Hungarian universities). Just to mention the ma-

jor ones: Roma employment (research & development); European, National and Regional Identity (identity research); Higher Education for Social Cohesion Cooperative Research and Development in a Cross-border Area (educational research); Adult Learning (adult education); Social Professionals (joint training); CEPEVIT (visual culture); Best practice (training in the field of tourism); Ethnic Revival (joint training).

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND MOBILITY

The Erasmus Programme is the lifelong EU mobility programme's most successful part. The programme creates opportunities for students and faculty to study and work in the states of the EU, Switzerland, Croatia and Turkey. Applicants are granted from three to twelve month scholarships, so they have the opportunity to study abroad, get in touch with new cultures, make lifelong friends and gain practical knowledge and experience in their chosen profession. The Partium Christian University joined the programme in 2010 and it has so far been a great success among both students and teachers. Thanks to inter-university contracts, our students can study at various universities in Belgium, Denmark, Hungary, the Netherlands, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Switzerland, and Turkey, and also do internship at companies inside the EU. As former Erasmus students declare, experience gained during the Erasmus programme helped them find jobs more easily, therefore the Partium Christian University aims at sending ever more students on the Erasmus programme.

The university has also established wider academic collaborations with major Hungarian universities and other European higher education institutions: College of Nyíregyháza, College of Szolnok, Zsigmond Király College (Budapest), Driestar Educatief (Gouda), Eötvös Loránd University (Budapest), Eszterházy Károly College (Eger), Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church in Hungary (Budapest), Kölcsey Ferenc Reformed Teachers' Training College (Debrecen), Miskolc University, Pázmány Péter Catholic University (Budapest), Poznan University College of Business and Foreign Languages (Poland), Protestant Theological Institute (Cluj), Sapientia University (Cluj), Selye János University (Komárom), University of Debrecen, University of Pécs, University of Szeged, Saint Stephen University (Gödöllő), Western Hungarian University (Sopron).

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Dr. Gyula Bakacsi[1]

APPENDICES TO THE CASE OF THE SAPIENTIA HUNGARIAN UNIVERSITY IN TRANSYLVANIA

This script intends to supplement the studies of Emőd Farkas and Levente Székedi in this volume. Therefore, the reader is supposed to rather take it as a set of elongations than a solid study.

WHY CHRISTIAN?

The mission statement of the University says:

> "The Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania is the independent university of the Hungarian community in Romania, which aims at providing education to the members of our community and performing scientific research at a high professional level. We consider ourselves responsible for the knowledge offered to our students, for the future of our teaching staff and colleagues, for the quality of our research activity and for transparency in our work.
>
> Our mission:
> - To promote universal human and Christian values
> - To offer competitive, quality education and research, and to ensure the continuation of the traditions of Hungarian education in Transylvania
> - To maintain the transparent and consistent management of the university, and to enforce professionalism and the values of academic spirit
> - To develop a modern, uniform institutional framework that is able to meet regional demands
> - To develop a wide network of partnerships, based on openness, trustworthiness, dedication and reciprocity.
>
> We strive that our academic community be guided by nearness, fraternal love, equity, steadiness and righteousness. Our fundamental expectations are ethical behaviour, cognition of and respect for Hungarian and universal cultural

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values. The life of our institution is defined by participation and the practice of university autonomy".[2]

Let me highlight three parts of this statement:

– independent: in practice this means "non-state financed". Since 1990 the epithet "private" in the development of the Romanian higher education is the synonym of low quality (with some honourable exceptions). Yet, it was a conscious decision to establish a university independent of the Romanian higher education authorities, at least for a while.
– to the Hungarian community in Romania: this has been intended to start (restart) the Hungarian language education for the Hungarian minority in Transylvania. Emőd Farkas had already discussed the fact of "under-representedness" of young Hungarians in higher education going hand in hand with the lack of mother-tongue instruction.
– Christian values: although the value base of Sapientia could have been other than Christian I try to underpin the choice to be Christian.

Historically, after the Treaty of Trianon in 1920 Transylvania was annexed by Romania, with two Hungarian majority ethnic islands remaining: one next to the border (Partium), the other inclusion quite separate from Hungary (Seklerland). According to the census of 1992, these two ethnic islands remain clearly identifiable (see Figure 1.)

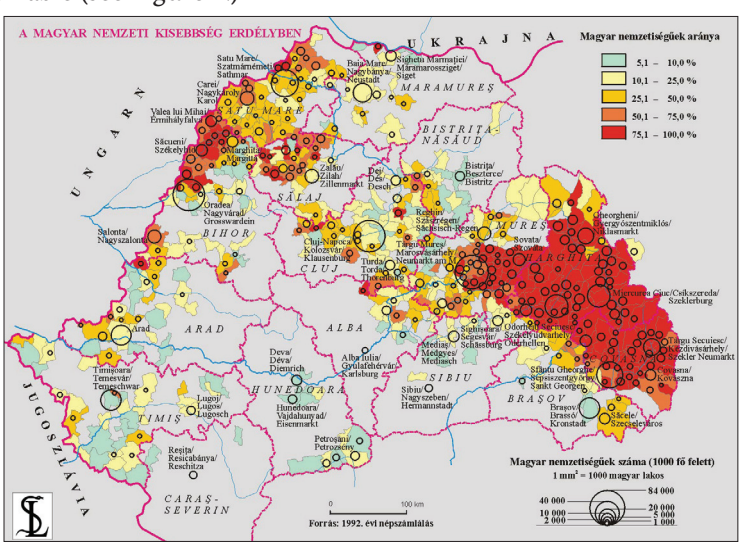


Figure 1. Ethnic Hungarians in Transylvania (ethnic ratios by the census of 1992)

[2] http://www.sapientia.ro/en/mission-statement

This denominational distribution of this ethnic Hungarian population, differs from both the one of the parent state (Hungary), and the one of the host state (Romania).

At the time of the foundation of the university (2001) Hungary was then dominantly Catholic (Roman Catholic: 52%), with 16% belonging to the Reformed Church, and about one fourth a "Non-church" population (not responding or reporting not belonging to any denomination or religious community).

Religion	1930	1941	1949	2001	2011
Catholic	67,2	68,2	70,5	54,5	39,0
Out of which: Roman Catholic	64,8	65,7	67,8	51,9	37,1
Greek Catholic	2,3	2,5	2,7	2,6	1,8
Orthodox Christian	0,5	0,4	0,4	0,1	0,1
Reformed	20,9	20,8	21,9	15,9	11,6
Lutheran	6,1	6,0	5,2	3,0	2,2
Baptists	0,1	0,2	0,2	0,2	0,2
Unitarian	0,1	0,1	0,1	0,1	0,1
Jewish	5,1	4,3	1,5	0,1	0,1
Other denomination	0,0	0,0	0,1	0,7	1,4
Not belonging to any denomination, religious community	0,0	0,0	0,1	14,5	18,2
No answer, not responding	–	–	–	10,8	27,2
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Table 1. Source: Hungarian Central Statistical Office The denominational distribution of the population of Hungary (1930-2011)

Based upon privately collected and analysed data from communities in Transylvania in 1992 we can see a significantly different religious composition – see Table 2.

Please, notice that in this statistics the 7.7 million souls of Transylvania cover both ethnic Romanians and ethnic Hungarians, roughly 80-20% distribution for Romanians).

The most noticeable differences compared to the ratios in Hungary are the following:

– Transylvania is dominantly Orthodox Christian (70%),
– the relative weight of the Roman Catholic and the Reformed Churches are almost balanced, and
– the proportion of non-believers is vanishing.

If we compare, now, this denominational distribution to the one of Romania overall, again, one can recognise tangible differences – see Table 3.

Religion	#	%
Catholic	1 068 943	13,89%
Out of which: Roman Catholic	861 851	11,20%
Greek Catholic	207 092	2,69%
Orthodox Christian	5 395 762	70,13%
Reformed	796 727	10,36%
Lutheran	56 463	0,73%
Baptists	95 021	1,24%
Unitarian	75 979	0,99%
Jewish	2 776	0,04%
Other denomination	200 710	2,61%
Atheist	126	0,00%
Not belonging to any denomination, religious community	922	0,01%
No answer, not responding	285	0,00%
Total	7 693 714	100,00%

Table 2. The denominational distribution of the population of Transylvania (1992) Source: *Varga E. Árpád, Erdély etnikai és felekezeti statisztikája* (Ethnic and denominational statistics of Transylvania), Pro-Print Kiadó, Csíkszereda (Miercurea Ciuc), 2002.

	Transylvania (1992)	Romania overall (2002)
Religion	%	%
Catholic	13,89%	5,08%
Out of which: Roman Catholic	11,20%	4,33%
Greek Catholic	2,69%	0,75%
Orthodox Christian	70,13%	81,04%
Reformed	10,36%	2,99%
Evangelical	0,73%	0,31%
Baptists	1,24%	0,56%
Unitarian	0,99%	0,29%
Jewish	0,04%	0,02%
Other denomination	2,61%	3,26 %
Atheist	0,00%	0,10%
Not belonging to any denomination or religious community	0,01%	0,09%
No answer, not responding	0,00%	6,26%
Total	100,00%	100,00%

Table 3. Comparison of the denominational distribution of the population of Transylvania (Varga, 1992) and Romania overall (2011). Source: Transylvanian data from Table 2, 2002 data of Romania, Institutul National de Statistica.

Although Transylvania itself is Orthodox, this rate is even higher in Romania (81%). On the other hand, the believers of both the Catholic and the Protestant churches are over-represented in Transylvania.

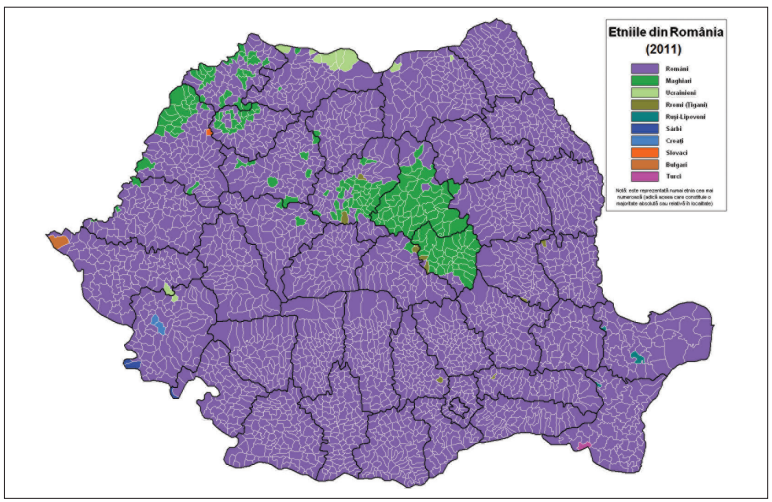


Figure 2. Ethnic map of Romania in 2011. Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Romania_harta_etnica_2011.PNG

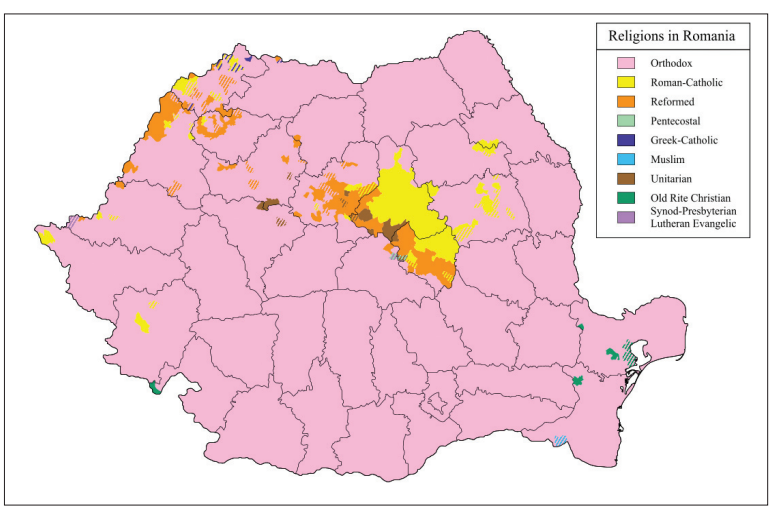


Figure 3. Distribution of religions in Romania, based on data from the Romania's 2002 Census. Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Religion_in_Romania, Author=Olahus, 2011.

The superposed projection of the ethnic and denominational spread seems to be more than telling – see Figures 2 and 3.

The conclusion goes without saying: the Hungarian-majority territories and the spread of the non-Orthodox churches practically overlap.

If we investigate a little bit further, the strongholds of both the Catholic and Protestant Churches are the Hungarian-majority regions (see Figures 4. and 5.).

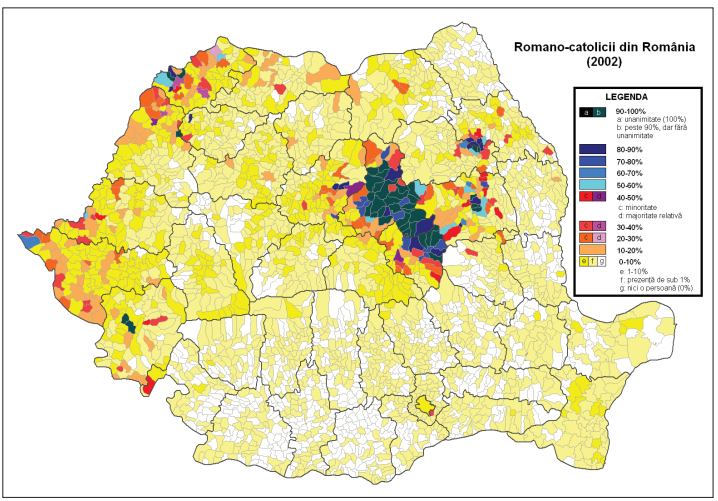


Figure 4. The distribution of Roman Catholics in Romania (census 2002) Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Religion_in_Romania, Author=Olahus, 2011.

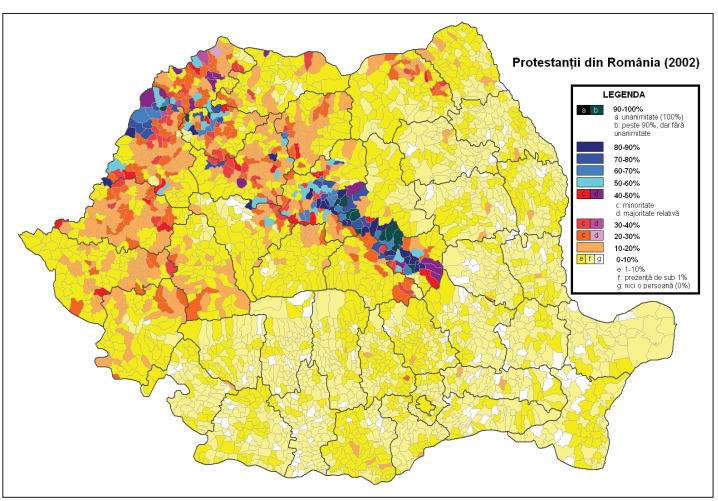


Figure 5. The distribution of Protestants (Reformed, Lutherans, Baptists, Pentecostals, Unitarians, Plymouth Brethren, Adventists) in Romania (census 2002)
Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Religion_in_Romania , Author=Olahus, 2011.

At the same time one may recognise, that the Orthodox church is underrepresented in those regions.

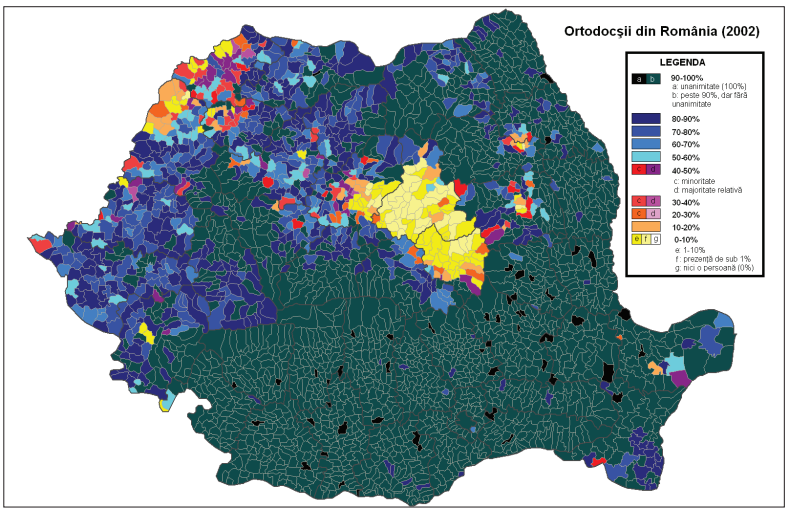


Figure 5. The distribution of the Orthodox Church in Romania (census 2002)
Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Religion_in_Romania, Author=Olahus, 2011.

Therefore there is no denying the fact that the minority issue is at the same time a religious issue.

And, as a conclusion, it was not by chance that the Sapientia Foundation (which founded the Sapientia University) was founded by the historic churches of Transylvania:

1. Roman Catholic Archdiocese Alba-Iulia (Gyulafehérvári Római-katolikus Érsekség);
2. Roman Catholic Episcopate Oradea (Nagyváradi Római-katolikus Püspökség);
3. Roman Catholic Episcopate Satu Mare (Szatmárnémeti Római-katolikus Püspökség);
4. Roman Catholic Episcopate Timiş (Temesvári Római-katolikus Püspökség)
5. Romanian SP Evangelical-Lutheran Church (Romániai SP Evangélikus-lutheránus Egyház)
6. Transylvanian Reformed Church District (Erdélyi Református Egyházkerület)
7. Királyhágómellék Reformed Church District (Királyhágómelléki Református Egyházkerület)

8. Unitarian Church (Unitárius Egyház)

The bishops of these churches have been delegated as members of the Board of Trustees.

The founding "capital" of Sapientia Foundation 10.000 RON (equivalent of roughly USD 3,000) was a clear sign of the fact, that although founding and governance responsibilities were put onto the shoulders of the churches, the finances (budget) came from somewhere else, namely from the Hungarian State Budget[3].

THREE-TIER GOVERNANCE MODEL

As the Sapientia Foundation holds the most important scope of authority (decisions about annual budget, key people, development), a special three-tier governance-management system has emerged (see: Figure 6.)

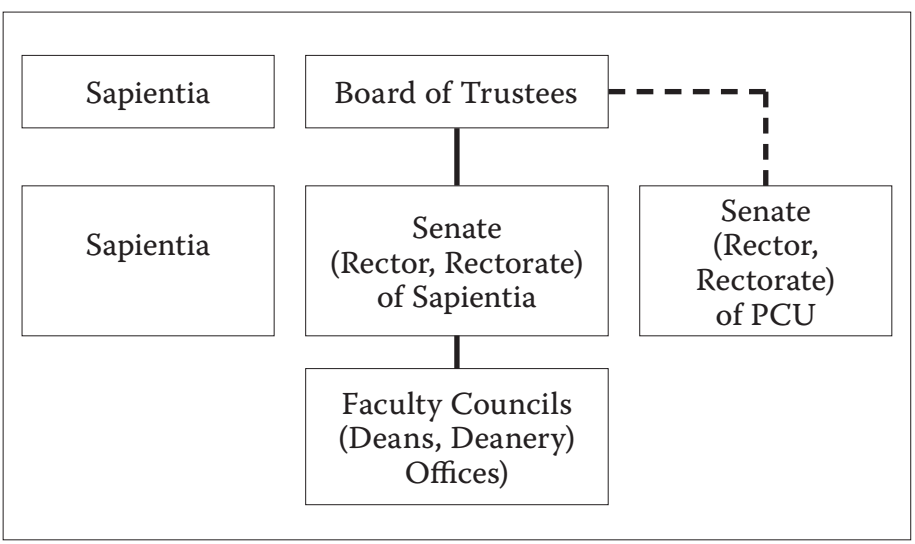


Figure 6. The three-tier governance model of the Sapientia system

KEY PEOPLE IN THE HISTORY OF SAPIENTIA

Throughout the first thirteen years of the history of the Sapientia about three dozen people have played key roles in the development of the university. Table 3

[3] About budgeting, see later in this study.

offers a summary overview of those key contributors. At the risk of subjectivism, let me highlight four of them:

		2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Chairman of the Board of Trustees	1	Sándor Tonk				Béla Kató									
Members of the Board of Trustees	2	Birtalan Ákos			Kun Imre										
	3	Brassai Zoltán								Csentery András Levente					
	4	Marton József (Secretary of the Board)								Diósi László					
	5	Szilágyi Pál													
	6	Tolnay István								Kállai Péter					
	7	Toró Tibor												Berky Anna Mária	
	8	Tőkés Elek			Kolumbán Gábor					László Pál István					
	9	Tánczos Vilmos (Vice-Chairman)								Molnos Lajos				Daradics Kinga Ágnes	
	10				Kató Béla					Szilágyi Éva Gabriella					
	11									Várady Zoltán				Gyerő Dávid	
	12									Zilahi László				Jakab Ilona	
Rector		Tonk Sándor				Szilágyi Pál			Dávid László						
Vice-Rectors		Szilágyi Pál				Dávid László			Szép Sándor						
		Tánczos Vilmos				Bakacsi Gyula									
Deans		Marosvásárhely			Hollanda Dénes								Kelemen András		
		Csíkszereda		Lányi Szabolcs		Györfi Jenő	Bakacsi Gyula				Makó Zoltán				
							Rostás Zoltán			Bíró A. Zoltán					Kósa István
		Kolozsvár						Tonk Márton							
Nagyvárad (Rector)				Kovács Béla		Geréb Zsolt				Horváth Gizella	János Szabolcs				

Table 3. Chronology of people in key positions at Sapientia (2000-2013)
Source: edited by the author

– Sándor Tonk, historian, the first chairman of the Board of Trustees and the first rector, with his energy, faith, and charisma played an crucial part in launching Sapientia. His early and sudden death in 2003 left a chasm and a management crisis to his successors.
– Ákos Birtalan, member of the Board of Trustees, and founding head of the department of economics and business in Csíkszereda (Miercurea Ciuc), a young energetic economist (Ph.D.) and politician (member of the Chamber of Deputies for three terms, former minister) was the engine of the political and legislative issues and real-estate acquisitions and renewal. Sadly, due to serious illness, his contribution was for a limited time, but invaluable. He passed on at a very young age (49) in 2011.
– Pál Szilágyi, mathematics professor, founding and the only continuous board member, vice-rector, and rector in the past-Tonk era, with his wisdom and decades-long experience in higher education, had a key role in consolidating the system.
– Béla Kató, suffragan bishop, took over chairmanship of the board after Sándor Tonk, and with his moral sturdiness and courage, sophisticated sense of balance, and wisdom he was the consolidation master of the process of getting to the harbour of accreditation.

I am convinced that Sapientia owe these gentlemen a lot, and in the Pantheon of Sapientia (if such a place will be set up sometime) they will have an honoured place.

INTERIM AND FINAL ACCREDITATION

Concerning the accreditation status of the university it is worthwhile to notice that the Romanian accreditation system is somewhat unusual. Essentially it has a post-accreditation, and not a prior-accreditation, logic:

– A newly established university should launch its study programmes with the curriculum of an existing programme with a so-called interim accreditation status, and
– the students of the first three graduating years should take their state exam (terminal exam, diploma defence) at an independent third party state university;
– once each of the first three years of students pass above a 50% score the state exam, the programme may apply for programme-accreditation (approval comes from ARACIS, the Romanian accreditation agency);
– finally: with required number of accredited programmes (at least 3) the university may apply for institutional accreditation.

The institutional accreditation is a three-step process:

– first step: professional approval (ARACIS)
– Parliamentary approval
– Presidential approval

The whole process is not entirely free of politics, and may last as much as ten years. In the case of Sapientia it was 11 years, and the university got official accreditation in the spring of 2012.

WHERE THE MONEY CAME FROM, AND WHERE IT WENT

The budget of the Sapientia system came almost 100% from the Hungarian State, as part of the annual state budget.

Yr	Total budget (mn HUF)	Operations (incl.: equipments)					Operations total	Development (real estate)				Development total
		Kolozsvár (Rectorate + Faculty)	Marosvásárhely	Csíkszereda	Nagyvárad (PCU)	Rectorate, RPI, Foundation Office, others		Kolozsvár (Rectorate + Faculty)	Marosvásárhely	Csíkszereda	Nagyvárad (PCU)	
2000	1 850,90	30,30	94,50	108,20	213,50	97,10	543,60	305,40	58,70	614,80	328,40	1 307,30
2001	1 895,50	0,00	193,00	198,60	258,80	169,90	820,30	226,00	511,40	159,80	178,00	1 075,20
2002	1 687,10	15,60	177,20	215,00	319,40	293,20	1 020,40	206,70			460,00	666,70
2003	1 837,05	75,42	225,00	280,23	357,13	299,27	1 237,05		600,00			600,00
2004	1 448,72	51,00	181,86	209,27	213,94	135,48	791,55		637,97	19,19		657,16
2005	1 746,59	91,08	371,43	378,77	417,19	214,14	1 472,31	63,57	154,19	30,69	25,52	273,97
2006	1 380,01	107,03	347,09	361,41	377,39	187,09	1 380,01					0,00
2007	1 278,79	105,45	332,98	324,89	357,05	147,60	1 267,97		10,82			10,82
2008	1 317,00	107,06	346,65	361,73	382,66	118,90	1 317,00					0,00
2009	1 580,59	140,38	421,13	421,11	426,21	171,76	1 580,59					0,00
2010	1 536,02	136,22	408,66	408,66	441,54	140,94	1 536,02					0,00
2011	2 000,00	143,96	436,30	437,30	480,56	171,88	1 670,00	330,00				330,00
Total	19 558,27	1 003,50	3 535,80	3 705,17	4 245,37	2 147,26	14 636,80	1 131,67	1 973,08	824,48	991,92	4 921,15
		6,86%	24,16%	25,31%	29,00%	14,67%	100,00%	23,00%	40,09%	16,75%	20,16%	100,00%

Table 4. Operations & Development budget of Sapientia (2000-2011)
Source: edited by the author

Figure 7. summarises the structure of yearly budgets between 2000 and 2010.

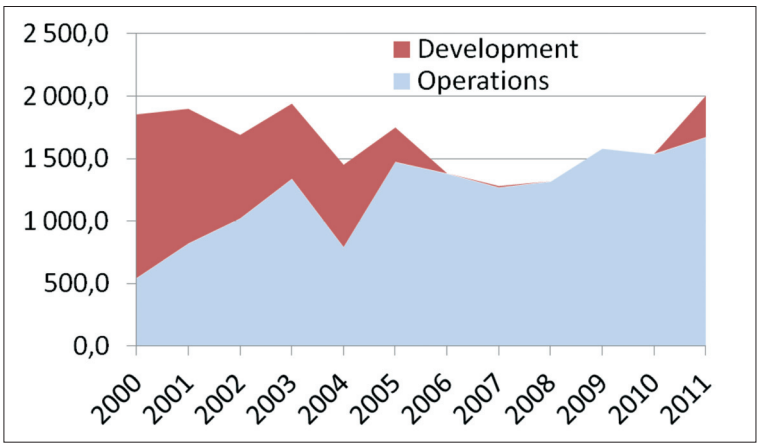


Figure 7. Operations & Development budget of Sapientia, 2000-2011 (mn HUF)
Source: edited by the author

The budget trends may be approached from two angles:

- to what extent the broadening of the Sapientia system correlates with budget trends?
- to what extent the budget trends correlates with the administration scheme of Hungary (the parent state)

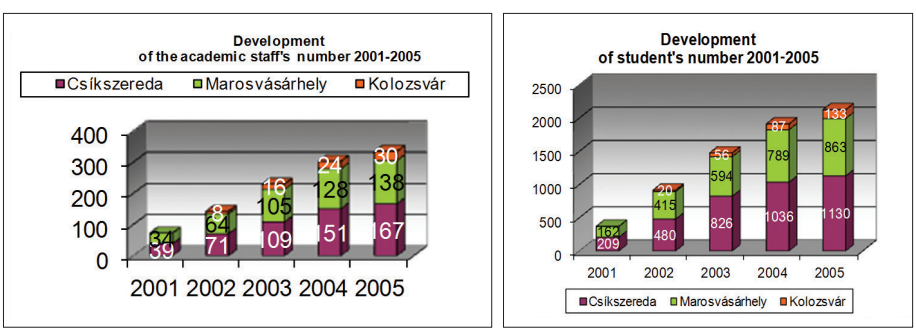


Figure 8. Indicators of the unfolding of Sapientia University (2001-2005)

Figure 8. tangibly pictures the numbers of the growth of the university[4]. In 2001

[4] Please, notice, that these numbers do not include Nagyvárad (Oradea), that was an established operation as of that time being.

only one class of students had enrolled into the start-up specialisations (fewer than 400). By 2005 all the years of all of the specialisations (including new ones) were in the pipeline, with all in all 5 times more than at the beginning. Similarly, the initial number of faculty in 2001 (fewer than 75) increased to 4.5 times more by 2005. To get a better understanding of the limitedness of the overall budget, it is worth mentioning that the sum of this budget (less than 2 bn HUF) was comparable to the budget of a single faculty in Hungary, although Sapientia University was a dispersed (four location) operation with specialisations of relatively small number of students (therefore lacking economies of scale).
Analysing the structure of the budget:

– the operational budget roughly proportionally followed the increasing number of students and faculty (still: by nominal values);
– the development budget shrunk from 2002 to 2006, and practically disappeared in the next four years.

If we add to this big picture the political landscape of those years (see Table 5), it becomes clear, that the friendly years of the (founding) centre-right governments had turned into lean times during the social-liberal administrations.

<table>
<tr><th>Yr</th><th>Prime Minister</th><th>Government</th><th></th><th>Budget change (100% = previous year)</th></tr>
<tr><td>2000</td><td rowspan="2">Viktor Orbán</td><td rowspan="2">FIDESZ - Christian Democrats</td><td rowspan="2">centre-right</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>2001</td><td>+ 2,41 %</td></tr>
<tr><td>2002</td><td rowspan="3">Péter Medgyesi</td><td rowspan="5">Hungarian Socialist Party – Free Democrats</td><td rowspan="8">social-liberal</td><td>– 10,99 %</td></tr>
<tr><td>2003</td><td>+ 11,4 %</td></tr>
<tr><td>2004</td><td>– 25,21%</td></tr>
<tr><td>2005</td><td rowspan="2">Gyurcsány Ferenc (1st gov't)</td><td>+ 20,54 %</td></tr>
<tr><td>2006</td><td>– 20,97 %</td></tr>
<tr><td>2007</td><td rowspan="2">Gyurcsány Ferenc (2nd gov't)</td><td>– 7,33 %</td></tr>
<tr><td>2008</td><td>+ 2,99 %</td></tr>
<tr><td>2009</td><td>Bajnai Gordon</td><td>Hungarian Socialist Party (supported by Free Democrats)</td><td>+ 20,01 %</td></tr>
<tr><td>2010</td><td rowspan="2">Orbán Viktor</td><td rowspan="2">FIDESZ - Christian Democrats</td><td rowspan="2">centre-right</td><td>– 2,82 %</td></tr>
<tr><td>2011</td><td>+ 30,21 %</td></tr>
</table>

Table 5. The political landscape of Hungary (2000-2011) Source: edited by the author

From 2012, surviving the budget squeeze, earning accreditation and with political support winding down (increasing budget elbow-room) Sapientia opened a new chapter in its development history. But that is subject of another study ...

Prof. Dr. Mihály Kránitz[1]

THE PÁZMÁNY PÉTER CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY: ITS TWENTY YEARS

INTRODUCTION

In the 20th century unity for the Christian churches became a way to meet the demand of Jesus Christ that "They may all be One".[2] The Catholic Church joined the ecumenical movement with the 2nd Vatican Council.

We have already some fruits of the common work among Christians but we have taken to heart the cause of this unity for churches and religions. This lecture will examine how the different ways of thinking, culture, and praxis of teaching could help the understanding of each other in the Catholic University for promoting more unity and more peace, in the context of higher education in Hungary.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE PÁZMÁNY PÉTER CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY

Péter Pázmány (1570-1637), cardinal and archbishop of Esztergom, founded a university in 1635 in Trnava (Nagyszombat, Historic Northern Hungary). From a Protestant faith he returned to Catholicism.

- he joined the Jesuits in 1587; studied in Cracow, in Vienna, and in Rome.
- he became a lecturer of philosophy and theology at the university of Graz.
- he was appointed in 1616 as archbishop of Esztergom and appointed cardinal by Pope Urban VIII in 1629.

Péter Pázmány was the greatest Catholic character of the Reformation period in Hungary, and the most influential figure of the 17th century in the country whose works prepared the way for the blossoming of literary Hungarian.

[1] Professor, Head of Department, Pázmány Péter Catholic University, Budapest, Hungary.
[2] John 17, 21.

During the Turkish occupation, Pázmány established the university by his founding letter of 12 May 1635, which is significant in the history of the Hungarian educational system and church culture. This newborn university, which he called "Benjamin", became the first viable higher education institution in Hungary. At that time, the university comprised the faculties of theology and humanities, and later on, it was enlarged by faculties of law and medicine.

After the First World War, in 1921 the Royal Hungarian University of Science in Budapest was named after its founder, Péter Pázmány. The university bore its founder's name and kept its original structure until 1950, when it was restructured by the communist state. The faculties of medicine and theology were separated from the university, and the main institution changed its name to Eötvös Loránd University of Sciences (ELTE). However Pázmány's university is the oldest Hungarian *universitas* that is still in use.

The heritage of Péter Pázmány was carried over by the faculty of theology, and the degree issued here was recognised by the state. The Catholic University was awakened from its sleep during the change of the political system in 1990. This was the time for the Catholic Church to act according to its vocation in terms of higher education. The "old-new" institution was born through the expansion of the Academy of Theology.

The Conference of the Hungarian Catholic Bishops founded the Pázmány Péter Catholic University through the establishment of the Faculty of Humanities on 30th January 1992 with the licence of the Holy Apostolic See. The Hungarian Parliament registered the new institution in January 1993, and later in 1995 it was enlarged with a faculty of law and political science. Recently, in 2000 a faculty of information technology started, while the Postgraduate Institute of Canon Law in 1996 has been working with the permission of the Holy Apostolic See (Vatican). Four years ago a pedagogical faculty was incorporated in the Pázmány Péter Catholic University but this year, in 2013, it was renamed Vitéz János Center for Pedagogical Studies.

THE TASK OF A CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY IN SOCIETY

In 1990, more than twenty years ago, John Paul II published a document on Catholic education, and speaking about evangelism he defines evangelisation as "bringing the Good News into all the strata of humanity, and through its influence transforming humanity from within. Therefore by its very nature, each Catholic university makes an important contribution to the Church's Evangelical

work.[3] Besides cultural dialogue, a Catholic institute can offer a contribution to ecumenical dialogue too. It is a living *institutional* witness to Christ and his message[4]

But the other side for a Catholic university is very important too, the dialogue with society: in its service to society, a Catholic university will relate especially to the academic, cultural and scientific world of the region in which it is located.[5] Already John Paul II has developed and prepared an idea as to how the Catholic Church could make contact with other religious faiths.[6]

Two years ago The Congregation for Catholic Education (for Seminaries and Educational Institutions) edited the *Decree on the Reform of Ecclesiastical Studies of Philosophy* (2011).[7] The apostolate of the Church is to evangelise the world. The Magisterium with this new document gives as some ideas how we can use philosophy to understand man, the world and the Absolute made by different cultures, for example Asian and African cultures. Theological institutions should transmit wisdom that considers the first and fundamental principles of reality, and seeks the ultimate and fullest meaning of life.[8]

THE SPECIAL ROLE FOR A CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY: DIALOGUE BETWEEN CHURCHES AND FAITHS

For the future of the Church it is particularly important, that an ecumenical point of view should work on different levels of education for teachers too: "This obligation demands from them a deep knowledge of the doctrine of the Church, an adequate competence in academic subjects, unfailing prudence and a balanced attitude: all these qualities should enable them to help their students to harmonise their own life of faith with openness to others."[9]

The work of those who participate in higher education is closely united with

[3] John Paul II, *Ex corde ecclesiae*, *Apostolic Constitution on Catholic Universities* (1990), 48–49, see on this website: http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_paul_ii/apost_constitutions/documents/hf_jp-ii_apc_15081990_ex-corde-ecclesiae_en.html.

[4] *Ex corde Ecclesiae*, 47.

[5] *Ex corde Ecclesiae*, 37.

[6] John Paul II, *Tertio millennio adveniente* (*Apostolic letter*), 52–53, see http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_paul_ii/apost_letters/documents/hf_jp-ii_apl_10111994_tertio-millennio-adveniente_en.html.

[7] *Decree on the Reform of Ecclesiastical Studies of Philosophy*, see: http://www.vatican.va/Roman_curia/congregations/ccatheduc/documents/rc_con_ccatheduc_doc_20110128_dec-rif-filosofia_en.html.

[8] *Decree on the Reform of Ecclesiastical Studies of Philosophy*, 3-4.

[9] *Directory* II, 89.

the ordained ministers, catechists and laity. So "Catholic universities and institutes of higher education, as well as seminaries and other institutes of formation, can contribute to permanent formation".[10] Initiatives are numerous, where Catholic universities should to advance: 1. To foster, when the subject calls for it, an ecumenical dimension to methods of teaching and research. 2. To organise discussions and study days on ecumenical and interreligious questions. 3. To organise conferences and meetings for joint study, work and social activity among faiths, traditions, churches and religions. 4. Space could be given in university journals and reviews to report on ecumenical and religious events, and also to deeper ecumenical studies, with preference given to comments on the documents resulting from inter-church dialogue and interreligious dialogue. 5. There is very much to recommend good relations between Catholics and other Christian students, between Christians and other students belonging to other religions. 6. It is important to give emphasis to prayer for unity, not only during the Week of Prayer for this purpose but also at other times during the year. Depending on circumstances of place and persons, and in conformity with existing rules about shared worship, joint retreats under the guidance of a spiritual master, may also be envisaged. 7. There is a wide field of common witness in social or welfare works. Students should be trained and encouraged in this—not only theology students, but also those of other faculties, such as law, sociology and political science. By their contribution these students will help to promote and realise such initiatives.[11]

The Catholic Church has joined the cumenical movement only with the 2nd Vatican Council, giving an ecumenical impulse to the whole Catholic Church. The decree of *Unitatis redintegratio* is the fruit of a theological work – according to the statement of Walter Cardinal Kasper, former president of the Pontifical Council for Promoting Christian Unity.[12]

Ecumenical needs specialists in the Catholic University for the future, and other institutes have to be equiped with good documentation on ecumenism and religion. These institutes should be well informed and up to date with what is going on in interconfessional dialogue and with the progress accomplished.[13] Experts trained this way will supply personnel for the ecumenical task in order

[10] *Directory* II, 91.

[11] *Directory* II, 89. Chaplains, student counsellors and professors will have a particular concern to carry out their tasks in an ecumenical spirit, especially by organising some of the initiatives indicated above.

[12] Kasper, W., *Harvesting the Fruits, Basic aspects of Christian Faith in Ecumenical Dialogue, Ecumenical Consensus, Covergences and Differences*, Continuum, London, 2009.

[13] *Directory* II, 90.

to promote the ecumenical movement in the Catholic Church.[14] The special task of the faculty of theology is to continually refresh ecumenical – interreligious work.

Theological institutes could contribute to the good of society through dialogue with different churches and religions. This attitude is related to the *Charta Oecumenica*, signed by different religious leaders in Europe in 2001 in Strasbourg.[15] The Magisterium, and especially the Congregation for Catholic Education, the Pontifical Council for the Laity and Pontifical Council for Culture have delivered a booklet *The Presence of the Church in the University and in University Culture*. In 1994 this document mentioned an urgent need, the synthesis between culture and faith as a necessity not only for culture, but also for faith. Concretely, the Church's presence and mission in university culture should take varied and complementary forms.[16]

The situation for Catholic theological institutions is not easy in countries which were or still are subjected to a materialistic and atheistic ideology (for example in Hungary), especially in the fields of the human sciences, of philosophy and history.[17] The Church must not forget that her action is carried out in the particular situation of each university centre and that her presence in the university is a service rendered to the people in both personal and social senses. The type of presence is therefore different in each country, which bears the marks of its historical, cultural, religious and legislative tradition.[18]

There are great efforts to learn how a Catholic university and especially a Catholic theological institution is able to bring together its characteristics as a "university" and as "Catholic". Remembering about his original mission, the Catholic university must study the grave problems of the day and propose solutions that express the religious and ethical values proper to a Christian vision of the human person.[19] The document on the ecclesiastical responsibility dealing with the problem of higher education, determines that a further aspect of the

[14] *Directory* II, 90.

[15] Conference of European Churches and the Council of European Bishop's Conferences, *Charta Oecumenica,Guidelines for the Growing Co-operation among the Churches in Europe*, Sankt Gallen, 2001, 12.

[16] Congregation for Catholic Education–Pontifical Council for the Laity–Pontifical Council for Culture, *The Presence of the Church in the university and in university culture*, see on this website: http://www.vatican.va/Roman_curia/pontifical_councils/cultr/documents/rc_pc_cultr_doc_22051994_presence_en.html.

[17] *The Presence of the Church in the university and in university culture*, I/7.

[18] *The Presence of the Church in the university and in university culture*, II/1 (Presence in the structures of the University).

[19] *The Presence of the Church in the university and in university culture*, II/2 (The Catholic University).

mission of the Catholic university is, finally, a commitment to dialogue between faith and culture, and the development of a culture rooted in faith. The relation among professors themselves is very important, how they could find ways to facilitate dialogue between theologians, philosophers and scientists, for a profound renewal of attitudes and to create new and fruitful relations between Christian faith, theology, philosophy and the sciences in their concrete search for truth.

THE PRESENT AND THE FUTURE OF PÁZMÁNY PÉTER CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY

The Pázmány Péter Catholic University has been consciously constructing its strategic plan for the future, The Catholic university endeavours to build the best possible relationships with other "sister universities" from different denominations. Our Catholic university attaches special importance to this work, including Rabbinic-Jewish universities.

As for the national network, this Catholic university established outstanding strategic partnerships with three excellent universities in Budapest, the Semmelweis Medical School, ELTE Faculty of Arts and Sciences, and the Corvinus University of Economics. This university network guarantees co-operation not only with the universities situated in the capital, but on the national level as well.

The partnerships with various universities across the borders have played at least as significant roles as the above-mentioned. These co-operations form the basis on which acquiring the title of research university and quality of excellence on a national level is built. The university is highly indebted to IRUN (International Research Universities), FUCE (European Federation of Catholic Universities), and IFCU (International Federation of Catholic Universities). The university has been an active participant in several sections within all of the three networks. As for the science section, I would like to highlight the University of Notre Dame (IL), with whom the IT faculty has had fruitful co-operation in the field of Bionics. And as for the theology section, the University of Toulouse and the University of Kaslik in Lebanon, have participated actively in co-operation.

The Research Project for Eastern Christianity has connected us to universities such as Lyon, Amman, Beirut – and we sincerely hope that this mission will prove to be successful. Thanks to these international networks, several Phd Schools have been able to deepen their ties.

SUMMARY

We can conclude our reflections with the recommendation of the Pontifical Council for Culture's document, intitled *The presence of the Church in the University and University Culture* (1994), that remains pertinent for the 21th century too: "Service of the individuals involved in the Catholic theological institutions, and through them, service of society, the presence of the Church in the university milieu enters into the process of inculturation of the faith, as a requirement of evangelisation".[20]

High-level scientific and theological studies, deep understanding, and visible unity: this is the goal of the Pázmány Péter Catholic University and this is the goal for the Catholic Church.

[20] Pontifical Council for Culture, *The presence of the Church in the university and university culture*, Conclusion,(*Developing the apostolate of the laity, especially of teachers*), http://www.vatican.va/Roman_curia/pontifical_councils/cultr/documents/rc_pc_cultr_doc_22051994_presence_en.html.

Dr. Attila Kálmán[1]

THE FOUNDATION OF KÁROLI GÁSPÁR UNIVERSITY OF THE REFORMED CHURCH IN HUNGARY

"A city with one million inhabitants viewed from an airplane offers fewer sights than an anthill in the fields if we watch it squatting beside it."

(Péter Veres)

THE ORIGINS

As early as the 13-14th centuries, shortly after the foundation of the first European universities, there were attempts to found universities in Hungary as well, in Óbuda, Veszprém, and Pécs. The first Protestant schools[2] were established in 1530-31, in Mezőtúr, Pápa, and Sárospatak. At the end of the 16th century these schools already considered it important to teach theology.

At first, students studied theology, philosophy and natural sciences at a higher level at academies and universities in Western Europe for a few semesters. After returning home, they made their knowledge useful as professors within the "tutorial system" of colleges which gradually added faculties of philosophy, humanities, law, etc. to their faculties of theology in Sopron, Debrecen, Gyulafehérvár, Pápa, Sárospatak. The language of teaching was Latin in these institutions as well, but the use of their mother tongue was also considered important from the point of view of national culture.

These efforts were assisted by the following:

1.) At the national assembly at Torda, Transylvania, in 1568, the Catholic, Lutheran, Calvinist and Unitarian denominations were granted the right to freely practise their religions for the first time in Europe;

[1] Former Secretary of State, in charge of education.

[2] Most of them gradually becoming Calvinist instead of Lutheran.

2.) In 1590, Gáspár Károli, dean of Gönc, and his companions were the first to translate the entire Bible into Hungarian, which greatly influenced the development of the literary standard of Hungarian.

The Hungarian Calvinist educational institutions, including those in higher education, which had developed high standards over the centuries, were almost entirely dissolved in the 20th century, first by the peace dictates following the two world wars, and then by the process of nationalisation at the time of the socialist dictatorship (1948-52).

Of the more than one thousand institutions established earlier, only the Reformed Theological Academies of Budapest and Debrecen and the Reformed College[3] of Debrecen remained in the possession of our church in the period between 1952 and 1989.

THE TREE THAT WAS CUT DOWN WILL SPROUT AGAIN[4]

Between 1988 and 1990, the last "socialist" Parliament – already forced to make concessions – passed several laws that prepared the country for its democratic transformation. One of these laws was Act IV of 1990 on the Freedom of Conscience and Religion and the Churches, whose Article 17(1) reads: "The legal entity of a church can provide such educational and cultural (…) functions (…) that the law does not reserve exclusively for the State (…)." At this time, the Prime Minister was Miklós Németh and the Minister of Culture was Ferenc Glatz.

The centre-right government that won the 1990 elections, which were the first free and democratic elections in decades, did not have the two-thirds majority in Parliament necessary to pass the most important laws. Furthermore, Hungary inherited a huge public debt, the Soviet occupation forces were still here; the country was a member of the military and economic alliance led by the Soviet Union; and the representatives of the old regime still had power over the economy, finances, representative bodies and councils, future local councils, as well as the media.

At the end of 1990, the leadership of the Reformed Church in Hungary was completely renewed. All office-holders of the church districts, presbyteries and the Synod elected in 1988 resigned, which made it possible for the congregations to elect new people to lead our Church.

[3] Gymnasium, i.e. Grammar School
[4] Paraphrase of Job 14,7.

All this information is necessary for us to appreciate the efforts that led to the establishment of Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church in Hungary.

THE FOUNDATION OF THE TEACHER TRAINING COLLEGE OF THE REFORMED CHURCH IN NAGYKŐRÖS

The first "new" Calvinist institution that appeared in Hungarian higher education was the teacher training institution in Nagykőrös, established in 1839, nationalised in 1948, closed in 1957, and reopened as a college in the autumn of 1990. This moment was truly *kairos*.[5] In March of the same year, following a decision by the Council of Ministers, most of the real estate of the former ruling party was transferred into the possession of the local councils. The town of Nagykőrös received the old party headquarters to be used for educational purposes.

Consultations had taken place previously between the congregation of Nagykőrös,[6] the local council led by Kálmán Huszár, and the Teacher Training College of Jászberény[7]. After Bishop Károly Tóth declared that the church district would ensure the part of the operational costs above the support received from the state,[8] a licence for the foundation of the college was requested from Minister Bertalan Andrásfalvy.

At my suggestion, János Szabó, a teacher-archivist from Esztergom, was asked to become the organising director. He accepted the challenge and, together with his wife, a medical doctor who was expecting their third child, they left behind their newly built family home.

As the licence of the college arrived after the publication of the booklet containing information on admissions, students could only be recruited with the help of the media. Out of the 85 applicants, 30 Calvinist and 2 Lutheran students were admitted. The local press commented that "Instead of communists, now clergymen rule in Nagykőrös."[9] On 3 September, the college received most of the former party headquarters, which was almost empty but had some other tenants as well. For example, the only telephone in the building was in the party office which remained in the building for several weeks, and whose guests

[5] "appointed time"
[6] Minister-president, Ferenc Fodor.
[7] Director general, József Nagy.
[8] An expected 4-5 million forints per year.
[9] Even today, only Protestants are admitted to the catechist, cantor and deacon majors, while anyone who achieves the required scores can gain admission to the other majors.

were greatly annoyed when, at the campaign meeting preceding the local governmental elections, they were compelled to listen to psalms and hymns.

It is characteristic of those times that all of the church publications that formerly had to be presented to the State Office of Church Affairs, the authority that controlled Hungarian churches for years, were transferred into the library of this college when these publications were removed from the inventory of the State Office. It is also interesting to note that if one were to turn around the marble plate now bearing the inscription "Reformed Catechist and Teacher Training College of Nagykőrös and of the Danubian Church District", one would find the names of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the Young Communist League and the Workers' Militia on the back.

In the first academic year introductory and methodological subjects were taught by the state-owned Teacher Training College of Jászberény, the theological subjects by the Theological Academy of Budapest, while physical education and languages were taught by part-time teachers from Nagykőrös. The college gradually became independent, but it continued to enjoy the support of Jászberény for a long time.

On taking possession of the entire main building, classroom issues were solved, and this also provided the chance to build up a library and a computer room. A building for the purpose of a dormitory was purchased, and the heating and plumbing systems were renovated with the support of the church district.

1992 brought significant changes. The Reformed Church became the maintainer of the elementary practice school, correspondence programmes in catechist and deacon training were launched, and a campus of the College began its operation in Marosvásárhely, Transylvania, led by Pastor Dénes G. Fülöp and director László Barabás. On 1 August, Pastor István Nagy won the call for applications of the board of directors and became the leader of the college, having a long-lasting impact on the spirit of the institution. His main helper in this was the current dean, Árpád Szenczi, who has played an important part from the time of the preparation of the college to the present day.

PREPARATION AND FOUNDATION OF THE UNIVERSITY

In April 1991, I participated at the ministerial meeting of the Ministry of Culture and Public Education as the Ministry's under-secretary for political affairs. At this meeting, our head of division Iván Platthy proposed that the leaders of the historic churches should be convened in order to present their plans concerning

their institutions of higher education of a non-theological character, which could guarantee appropriate standards and a consensus on needs and demands.

The council of Prime Minister József Antall – while discussing the affairs of the newly founded Hungarian Catholic University – raised the suggestion that if the Reformed Church also decided to establish a Hungarian Protestant university, this initiative should also be supported. The discussion was based on an early work by Kunó Klebelsberg, minister of Culture 1922-31, in which he envisioned a Central European Protestant University in Sárospatak, justifying this suggestion with the fact that Protestantism did not spread beyond the ranges of the Carpathians, and that Sárospatak was in an area neighbouring other cultures, Russian, Byelorussian, Slovakian, Romanian, and especially the long-neglected Rusyn culture. The details above were recorded by Csaba Varga, high councillor of the Prime Minister's Office. It was also he who informed bishops Loránt Hegedűs and István Mészáros, chief elder Dániel Szabó and collection director Mihály Szentimrei a few months later about the legal background and the difficulties of founding a university, as well as about the useful experiences related to the foundation of Pázmány Péter Catholic University.

Loránt Hegedűs and Dániel Szabó enthusiastically supported the idea of founding a university, and the latter suggested that the so-called Miskolc Association of the Humanities and his own Dutch contacts should also be involved. The other two leaders, struggling with the practical difficulties of the newly reopened Theological Academy and dormitory in Sárospatak, could only imagine the organisation of a Reformed university in their church district as a long-term goal.

The foundation of the Catholic university on 30 January 1992 served as a stimulus for Calvinists as well. Meetings of school committees of the synod, negotiations with the ministry, discussions in the church district and in the synod followed one another.

The original idea was to unite the Reformed institutions of higher education in the country into two universities. The Theological Academy of Debrecen and Kölcsey Ferenc Teacher Training College[10] wished to become part of the University of Debrecen. For this reason, the prospective "Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church in Hungary" could only be organised around the Reformed Theological Academy of Budapest.

On 12 January 1993, the letter of Bishop Loránt Hegedűs, the clerical president of the synod, called on the Theological Academy of Budapest to "declare whether it wishes to expand itself and adopt new faculties, thereby creating

[10] Also of Debrecen, and about to become a Calvinist institution.

Károli Gáspár Hungarian Reformed University". He also asked the other Reformed institutions of higher education to state whether "they wish to join Károli Gáspár Hungarian Reformed University."

The answers were typical.

1.) The Theological Academy wished to expand itself with a major for training teachers of religion, and it wished to affiliate the Catechist and Teacher Training College of the Danubian Church District and Nagykőrös as a college-level faculty. At the same time, it reserved the right to decide on the affiliation of other new institutions later, when appropriate documents became available.

2.) The Board of Directors in Nagykőrös unanimously decided that they were open to the idea of joining the university, provided that the institution could preserve its college-level autonomy. It reserved the right to revoke the intent to join after learning the content of the foundation documents.

On 25 January, the director of the Association of the University of Debrecen and the rector of Kossuth Lajos University of Debrecen wrote a letter to the Synod, specifically calling attention to the fact that there already were too many institutions of higher education in Hungary, and the establishment of new ones could endanger the operation and quality of these already existing institutions. Furthermore, without the affiliation of the Reformed Theological Academy of Debrecen and of Kölcsey Ferenc Teacher Training College of the Reformed Church both the Association of the University of Debrecen and the Hungarian Reformed University would be weaker.

On 26 January 1993, a nationwide open forum on the future of Reformed higher education was held at Ráday Kollégium. Invitations were sent to the leaders and teachers of Reformed colleges, the Calvinist teachers of state-owned universities and colleges, as well as all those who were committed to and willing to assume responsibility for the cause of Reformed higher education.

The ceremonial hall was almost full. The majority of the participants opposed the foundation of an independent Calvinist university. I will not mention names, not in the least because many of these people later provided occasional help, and some of them even accepted a teaching postion at our university. I, too, used cautious words. As the chief elder of the Transdanubian Reformed Church District, I had the obligation to support the foundation of the university, but as an under-secretary I was aware of all the material and personnel requirements as well. In the end, those opposing the idea wrote a joint letter to the leaders of the Church and of the Reformed institutions of higher education. They were of the opinion that, instead of a Calvinist university, there was greater need for an independent college for advanced studies, similar to Eötvös Collegium, for the

Calvinist students studying at various state-owned universities, at least in Budapest and Debrecen.

The leadership of our Church and of the Ministry for Culture and Public Education discussed the main steps of founding the university on 22 February.

After animated debate, the meeting of the synod on 24 February 1993 accepted the arguments brought by Bishop Loránt Hegedűs, the clerical president of the synod, and adopted the decision to found Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church in Hungary. The university was to be established not as a new institution, but through expanding the currently operating university-level Reformed Theological Academy of Budapest and affiliating it with the Reformed Catechist and Teacher Training College of the Danubian Church District and Nagykőrös, which was to remain a college-level faculty of the university. The headquarters of the university was to be in Budapest.

At its meeting of 14 April, the Reformed Theological Academy of Budapest wrote a letter to the synod, asking it to reconsider the name of the new university, mainly because an educational institution bearing the name of Gáspár Károl(y)i was already functioning in Budapest, managed by the "Transylvanian Congregation". This institution trained pastors for Transylvanian congregations.

Their proposals for the name of the university were in alphabetical order: János Apáczai Csere, Pál Ráday, László Ravasz, István Szegedi Kis, Albert Szenci Molnár, Miklós Tótfalusi Kis, Pál Török. The teachers of the Theological Academy were in favour of the name Pál Ráday. On 5 May, the Synod confirmed the name Gáspár Károli with 35 votes in favour, 23 against and 7 abstentions. The spelling Károli was adopted because this is how the "holy old man" and Bible translator spelt his own name, as well as in order to avoid confusion with the politician whose merits are disputed by many, Count Mihály Károlyi.

THE FOUNDATION OF THE FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

The synod established a committee tasked with exploring the possibilities of expanding the university with additional faculties.[11]

The ministry had rejected the request of the Miskolc Association of the Humanities to be awarded university status several times due to insufficient funding and personnel. The association had proposed previously to "function within

[11] The affiliation of the Teacher Training Faculty of Eötvös Loránd University or of the so-called Miskolc Association of the Humanities, the establishment and affiliation of a faculty of law or college of state administration in Kecskemét.

the framework of the Hungarian Reformed University in the future". To confirm this intent, they asked several of the leaders of our church to teach in their institution, and Dutch Calvinist associations also offered their support.

On 5 May, at the recommendation of its delegated committee, the synod firmly rejected the offer from Miskolc due to unacceptable conditions. In Kecskemét the local council, the congregation and the teacher training college would warmly welcome and provide a sufficient number of buildings for any variety of higher-level training in law, and they believed a location for the faculty of humanities could also be found later in the county seat. What is more, apartments were also offered for leading professors.

On behalf of the Dutch brethren, secretary general Jan van der Graaf and Pastor István Tüski emphasised at the synod that they were willing to provide material support for the initiative so that the university could stand firmly on the foundations of the Bible, the Heidelberg Catechism and the Second Helvetic Confession.

The pace of events picked up in summer 1993. The building at 4/c Reviczky u. was returned to our church, half of it in a deplorable condition. Engineer Jenő Barátossy, chief elder of our congregation at Szabadság tér, who had also taken part in the establishment of the state universities in Veszprém and Miskolc, became the secretary general of the future institution. He spared no effort in renovating the newly returned part of the building and in obtaining declarations of intent from professors with appropriate academic credentials for three planned majors.

Some of those who signed declarations of intent:

Hungarian language and literature: Géza Bodolay, Mihály Czine, Tibor Fabiny, Loránt Hegedűs, Sándor Iván Kovács, István Szathmári, Enikő Szíj, Ferenc Szilágyi.

History: Kálmán Benda, László Cseh-Szombathy, István Erdélyi, István Gedai, Katalin Péter, Péter Püspöki Nagy, László Tőkéczki.

English language and literature: Tibor Fabinyi, István Karasszon, Tamás Magay.

According to the signed declarations of intent, 10 professors with a doctorate and 21 with a candidature from the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2 instructors with a PhD, 11 with university doctoral degrees and 3 without a degree applied for the three majors together.

Preparing the curriculum for 10 semesters of individual departments was assisted by Professor Miklós Maróth, Dean of the Faculty of Humanities of Pázmány Péter Catholic University, as well as several of those who signed the

declarations of intent, under the leadership of the professors whose names are underlined above and many others.

A few of the proposed subjects specifically suited for Károli:

– Hungarian translations of the Bible and the literary language, literature and cultural history of the ages of Humanism and Reformation, Protestant church music

– History of the medieval church, Reformation and Counter-Reformation, the countries of Central Europe and the history of the Hungarian minority

– English translations of the Bible, the Reformation in England, pilgrimage – puritanism, missions in Eastern Europe

The university's officials designated historian and academic Kálmán Benda as temporary rector. This was supported by both the faculty of the university and by the minister as well, thus he was appointed by the president of Hungary.

After thorough preparatory work with the ministry, especially with the help of head of division István Bakos and his deputy, Zsolt Szövényi, as well as László Szögi, the ministerial councillor responsible for the affairs of church-owned institutions of higher education, the proposal to establish Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church in Hungary was drafted with the contribution of the committee of the synod led by Bishop Mihály Márkus and the committee of the church district led by chief notary Tibor Nagy. This was approved first by the government, then on 22 September 1993 by parliament with 199 votes in favour, no votes against, and one abstention.

On 6 October, Bishop Loránt Hegedűs asked Minister Ferenc Mádl to approve the launching of a training programme for teachers of religion within the faculty of theology of KRE, as well as programmes in Hungarian language and literature, English language and literature and history teacher training as part of a separate faculty. The activity of the latter three majors was to be regarded as subject to the accreditation procedure on the basis of the submitted documents.

On the same day, the foundation document of the university was also drafted, according to which "the aim of these faculties is to educate youths who consciously proclaim the universal moral and spiritual values of Christianity in the spirit of the Biblical Word, and to train good professionals with up-to-date education for Hungarians both within and outside our borders."

The Minister replied in December that he acknowledged the declaration, but his approval of the establishment of non-religious majors was subject to the official opinion of the National Accreditation Board.

Applications were processed in early October. 164 applicants were recruited with help from the media and deans contacted by phone. Out of these, 94 met

the requirements and were admitted to the above-mentioned three majors in the first week of October under the supervision of Dean Ferenc Szilágyi. On 11 October, the ceremonial opening of the academic year was held in the great hall of Ráday Kollégium. On 13 October, teaching commenced in the part of the 4/c Reviczky street building which was renovated at the expense of 10 million forints. Dutch brethren contributed to the beginnings with used school furniture and 4.8 million forints. The furniture of the company gradually moving out of the building was also obtained at a very favourable price and used to furnish the classrooms.

The Rector's Office was temporarily placed on the second floor of Ráday Kollégium, in a small space situated in the hall.

The haste was justifiable, but several people suggested that greater circumspection in the beginning might have helped to avoid later tensions; the point was not to have a large number of students, but a university with high standards and with a Christian spirit. We should also strive to train only teachers with two majors, since teachers of religion with another major are more welcome in most schools, not only because they can teach a greater number of subjects, but also because they can present religious and ethical topics relying on a more thorough knowledge of literature or history. On the other hand, qualifications for teaching religion and ethics may be considered an advantage by a school with such values.

The Faculty of Humanities expanded year by year. The Department of Dutch Language and Literature was set up in the academic year 1994-95. Dutch religious and secular communities offered not only furniture and money, but also teaching aids and valuable grants for teachers and students who wished to attend training courses or summer camps in the Netherlands.

The Japanese major was also launched in 1994-95. It received native speakers as teachers and part-time instructors, as well as an up-to-date computer room and equipment for two studios, worth 80 million forints. The Japanese language examination centre in Hungary is at Károli University.

Following the establishment of the Department of German Studies in 1997, not only a lot of textbooks and aids arrived, but all employees of the university also received the so-called *Partnerhilfe*, donations collected by German pastors to help those working on Eastern and Central European missions.

The Department of Psychology of the Faculty of Humanities was set up in 2000, while the further training centre with special courses in mental hygiene was established in 1998 at Illyefalva, Transylvania, and in 2002 in Budapest, and it became known all over the country due to the work of professors Emőke Bagdy, Béla Buda, Ferenc Grezsa and András Varga. The Centre of Foreign Languages organised by Márta Kelemen-Farkas elaborated – among others – a sys-

tem of examinations in religious terminology, which was accredited and became known as Theolingua. This Examination Centre now has 12 examination sites in Hungary.

The organisational units of the Faculty of Humanities in autumn 2013 are the following: Institute of English Studies; Institute of Oriental Languages and Cultures; Institute of Social and Communication Sciences; Institute of Hungarian Linguistic, Literary and Cultural Studies; Institute of German and Netherlandic Studies; Institute of History; Institute of Psychology; Teacher Training Centre; Institute of Arts Studies and General Humanities; Doctoral School of History; and the Centre for Hermeneutical Research.

PARTICIPATION IN LAWYER TRAINING IN KECSKEMÉT

Training at the Reformed Academy of Law in Kecskemét commenced in 1831 and continued until 1949, with the exception of eleven years between 1849 and 1860 when its operation was suspended. For this reason, Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church in Hungary intended to launch its lawyer training programme primarily in Kecskemét. However, the professors with the best academic qualifications did not wish to leave the capital and move to Kecskemét, and despite all efforts of Dean Gábor Szabó and Chief Pastor László Varga, the support of the locals also diminished. Therefore, more easily accessible sites in Nagykőrös or Gödöllő were also proposed.

In the end, only a correspondence programme was licensed in Kecskemét. The Faculty of Law of József Attila University of Szeged and Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church in Hungary signed an agreement of co-operation regarding joint lawyer training in Kecskemét on 14 March 1994. Rector Kálmán Benda passed away on the day before signing the agreement, so the document was signed on behalf of the university by secretary general Jenő Barátossy, who replaced him for half a year.

According to this agreement, the University of Szeged would provide the curriculum and ensure the teaching and supervision of professional subjects; Károli University would be responsible for the material conditions, operation and administration, as well as for the teaching of non-professional subjects. Diplomas were also provided by the University of Szeged, as these documents could only be issued by institutions offering full-time education. The rather unusual programme was launched in autumn 1994, with Péter Szentgyörgyvölgyi as its first dean, and István Török as its general local organiser.

THE FACULTY OF LAW IN BUDAPEST

Since professors of law with good academic reputations were only available in Budapest, a site for the faculty of law with full-time courses of the Reformed university was sought in the capital. The offer by the borough council of Újpest proved to be the most favourable. The contract involved the school at 2-4 Viola street. in the 4th district of Budapest, offered for fifty years without rent. This was an empty building of 2370 sq m with a courtyard of 3500 sq m including two sports courts. The ceilings in some of the rooms had fallen in, but the building was in an acceptable condition. Later on two other buildings were offered under similar terms, in which department offices and a dormitory were established. The local council also provided help in the restoration of the three buildings, as the body of representatives led by Mayor Tamás Derce, deputy mayor Zoltán Hock and Lajos Koronka were convinced that it benefited the district to become home to a prestigious institution of higher education.

The education plan of the faculty was prepared by professors László Trócsányi, Gábor Máthé and Lajos Lőrincz. The first dean, who also organised the construction besides education, was the former secretary general of the University of Szeged, Károly Tóth. He was appointed by academic József Ujfalussy, our second Rector.

The full-time programme of the law major was advertised for 1998. The faculty included such renowned academics as Tibor Király, Lajos Lőrincz, Béla Kádár and András Szabó.

Today the faculty of law has a total of over 1,400 correspondence and full-time students. Not all of them are devout Christians, but they obtain a deeper knowledge of our system of values in the course of their studies. In their career as lawyers, they will face cases with human, family, religious and moral aspects. Hopefully, they will treat these with greater understanding than they would if they had been prepared for their career at another university.

The Departments of the Faculty of Law in autumn 2013 are the following: Constitutional Law; Criminal Procedure Law and Penitentiary Law; European Law and International Law; Infocommunications Law; History and Theory of Law and Religious Law; Commercial Law and Financial Law; Economic; Public Administration Law; Labour Law and Social Law; Civil Procedure Law; Civil Law and Roman Law.

SUMMARY

The number of students enrolled in autumn 2013 reflects development within the past 20 years.

	Total:	Correspondence:
Faculty of Law	1,422	756
Faculty of Humanities	3,085	747
Faculty of Theology	155	125
Faculty of Teacher Training	781	498
Total:	5,443	2,226

The words of Péter Antalóczy, Dean of the Faculty of Law, count for all four faculties of Károli University: "Thanks to the efforts of the past twenty years, our university has contributed with its spirituality to the training of intellectuals with traditional European Christian and conservative values. Furthermore, academic and research centres of high professional standards have been formed at our university. All this justifies the decision of the synod 20 years ago." This is also confirmed by the existence of the academic research workshops, doctoral schools, at present in theology and in history, wide-ranging international contacts and prestigious publications.

May God grant that Károli University may fulfil its mission for a long time to come for the benefit of all Hungarians in the Carpathian Basin. Thanks be to all who have helped our university in this with their prayers, work, donations and confidence.

SOLI DEO GLORIA!

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Prof. Dr. József Zsengellér[1]

THE FACULTY OF THEOLOGY OF KRE – CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT AND HUMAN RESOURCES

A SHORT INTRODUCTION

In this short paper three topics are discussed, an overview of the history of the faculty, the structure of training and educational policy at the faculty, and a vision on the role of theology today and tomorrow.

158 YEARS THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION – A SHORT HISTORY

The Reformed Theological Academy of Budapest was founded in 1855 as a joint institute of the two main Protestant churches of Hungary, the Reformed (Calvinist) and the Lutheran churches.[2] Just to highlight two names of the fathers of this complicated but historical work, bishop Pál Török,[3] and professor Mór Ballagi[4] must be mentioned. It was their devoted and deliberate work which resulted in the opening of this successful institute.

[1] Dean of the Faculty of Theology, KRE, Budapest, Hungary.

[2] The original name at the time of the foundation was *Egyesült Protestáns Theológiai Tanintézet* (United Prostetant Theological Educational Institute). On the foundation and first years of the Academy see Csekey, Sándor, *Az alapítás kora (1855-1870)*, in Papp, László – Bucsay ,Mihály (eds.), *A Budapesti Református Theologiai Akadémia Története 1855-1955*, Budapest, A Református Egyetemes Konvent Sajtóosztálya, 1955, 7-37.

[3] Pál Török was the pastor of the congregation of Pest from 1839, and bishop (superintendent) of the Danubian District of the Hungarian Reformed Church since 1842. He organised a grammar school, a secondary school and the Theological Academy in Pest. His life and work is discussed by Szatmári, Judit, Török Pál pesti lelkészsége, in Kósa László (ed.), *Református Budapesten 1.*, Budapest, Argumentum – ELTE BTK Művelődéstörténeti Tanszék, 2006, 495-501.

[4] Mór Ballagi (Bloch), Jewish in origin, reformed theologian, worked first at the Theological Academy at Kecskemét, and became the organiser of the education at the new Academy at Budapest. He was the founder of modern theology in Hungary, member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and worked as a professor at the Academy between 1855 and 1877. On his life see Ballagi, Aladár, *Ballagi Mór*, Protestáns Új Képes Naptár az 1879-ik évre, Edited by Dúzs Sándor, Budapest, and Waktor, Andrea, A Ballagi család három nemzedéke, in Kósa László (ed.), *Református Budapesten 1.*, Budapest, Argumentum – ELTE BTK Művelődéstörténeti Tanszék, 2006, 709-719.



Figure 1. Pál Török, 1808-1883

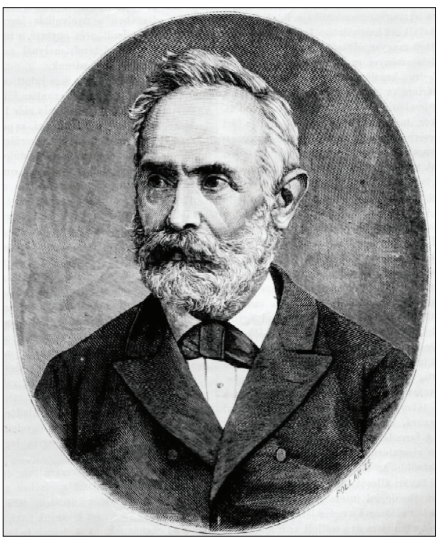


Figure 2. Mór Ballagi 1815-1891

After ten years of co-operation in 1865 the Lutherans left the institute and the Theological Academy as the youngest institute for training of Calvinist ministers came under the jurisdiction of the Danubian Reformed Church District. After moving between several different locations in the neighbourhood, in 2nd November 1912, that is 101 years ago, the new building of the faculty in Ráday street opened.





Figure 3 and 4. Final building in Ráday street

The library of the famous Reformed noble family, the Rádays, was located in the same building to provide the theological students with academic literature.[5]

[5] On the history of the Ráday Library see Pruzsinszky, Pál – Hamar, István, *A Budapesti Református Theologiai Akadémia Ráday-könyvtárának múltja és jelene*, Budapest, 1913; and Papp László – Berecz Ágnes, A Ráday Könyvtár, in Ladányi Sándor (ed.), *A Károli Gáspár Református Egyetem Hittudományi Karának története 1855-2005*, Budapest, KRE HTK 2005, 284-295.



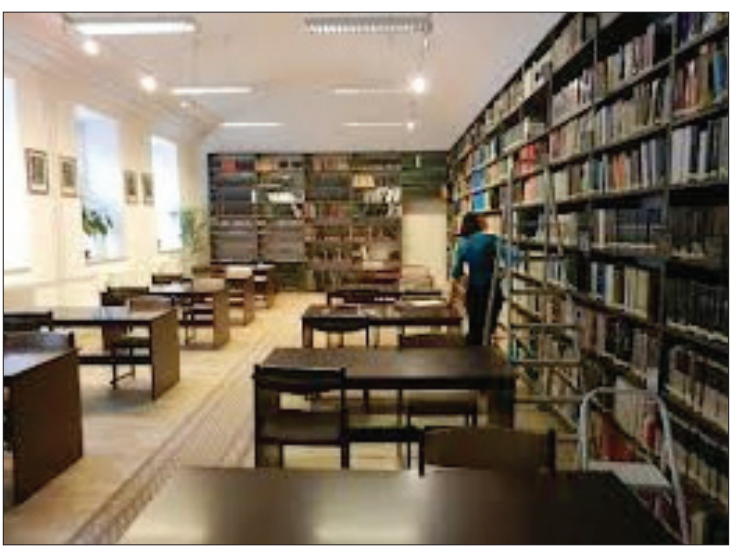


Figure 5 and 6. The Ráday Library then and now

The faculty had intensive international contacts especially with Dutch, German and Swiss faculties. Famous theologians like Friedrich Niebergall and Karl Barth visited and gave guest lectures. Graduated students gained scholarships in Amsterdam, Utrecht, Kampen, Strasbourg, Paris, Monpellier, Edinburgh, Aberdeen,

Glasgow, Dayton, Lancaster, Princeton, Zürich, Geneva, Basel, Halle, Heidelberg, Kassel, Bethel, Münster, Erlangen, Tübingen, Berlin etc.[6]

The faculty played an important role in the theological and public life of the church through its famous and well known professors and teachers, who were at the same time office-holders within the Hungarian Reformed Church.

The Reformed Theological Academy of Budapest was one of the two academies of the Hungarian Reformed church which were allowed to continue higher education during the communist era. Its students took part in the 1956 revolution and two of them were killed during the fights. They were buried first in the courtyard of the faculty; nowadays there are memorial statues and tablets. Students were protected during these days by László Papp, the dean of the faculty.[7] Education was more or less controlled ideologically by the state or the socialist party. From 1964 the academy gained the rights to issue doctoral degrees in theology which provided the possibility to reconnect with the accepted scholarly world again, though there was no intentional training of the coming theological teacher generation. Nevertheless international academic contacts were also kept alive during the socialist era, albeit in a minimal manner.

After the political changes the academy was granted university status by the Hungarian Parliament in 1990. Since 1993, when the General Assembly of the Reformed Church in Hungary took the decision to establish a multi-faculty university, the academy has been operating as the Faculty of Divinity of the Károli Gáspár Reformed University. Nowadays all of our full-time teachers have PhD degrees, three of them gained abroad.

In 2005 the academy/faculty celebrated its 150th anniversary. The Hungarian Post issued a special postcard and a jubilee stamp.[8] Even the Hungarian National Bank minted a special coin of 5000 Ft value with the coat-of-arms of the Károli University and the building of the Faculty of Theology.

[6] Cf. Nagy, Barna, A történelmi kálvinizmus kora (1914-1944), Kapcsolatok a külföldi Protestantizmussal és a világ keresztyénségével, in Papp, László – Bucsay, Mihály (eds.), *A Budapesti Református Theologiai Akadémia Története 1855-1955*, Budapest, A Református Egyetemes Konvent Sajtóosztálya, 1955, 106-148, esp. 139-145.

[7] László Papp was a well known Old Testament scholar (Papp, L. *Das israelitische Neujahrfest*, Kampen, Kok, 1933). On the events at the faculty in 1956 see Papp, László, *Tíz év és ami utána következett 1945-1963, Adalékok a magyarországi református egyház XX. századi történetéhez*, Bern, Európai Protestáns Magyar Szabadegyetem, 1992.

[8] On the picture side of the postcard there is a photomontage showing external and internal parts of the university building. The internal elements of the magnificent building shown in the picture are the entrance hall, a stairway and two glass windows. The stamp picture of the postcard with the value printed on it is also decorated with a glass window from the university building, with the coat-of-arms of the Ráday family on it on the graphic of the special cancellation stamp there is a part of the university's coat-of-arms.

Today the Faculty of Theology celebrates the 20th anniversary of the Károli University as its smallest but oldest existing faculty.



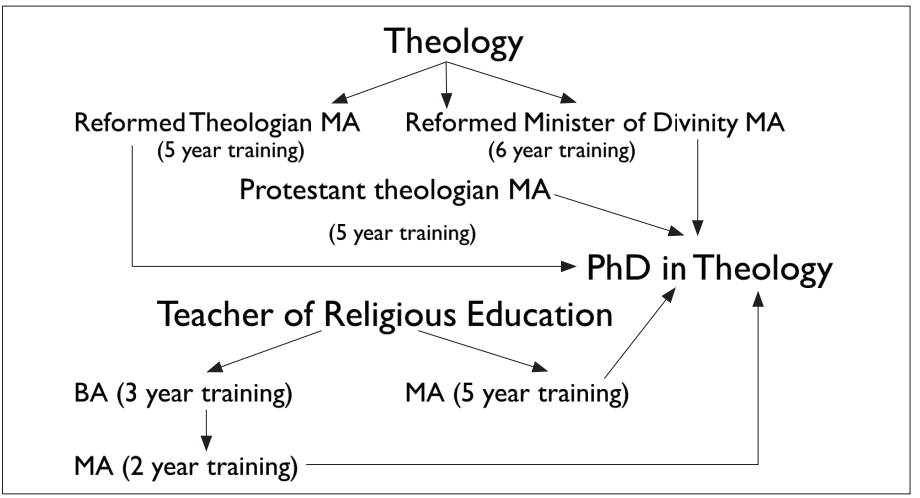


Figure 7 and 8. Coin minted for the 150th anniversary

THE STRUCTURE OF TRAINING AND EDUCATIONAL POLICY

The Faculty of Theology is dedicated to the training of Ministers of Divinity and Teachers of Religious Education. The Faculty offers tertiary-level degree courses: five year Reformed Theologian; six year Minister of Divinity, both end with an MA diploma; and at this moment still a three year Teacher of Religious Education BA and Teacher of Religious Education MA diploma. The MA degree in Teacher of Religious Education can also be acquired by means of a two-year supplementary programme building on the basis of the ministerial and Teacher of Religious Education BA courses. We offer also an MA degree weekend course of Protestant Theologian for those who interested in theology, but who will not or cannot undertake ministerial service.

Students who, having completed their university MA studies, display a more profound interest in the field of academic theology can study for the Doctorate in Theology. As a result of the traditionally strong links between our faculty and our church, every year a number of students are able to carry out academic research at foreign universities.



Structure of training

Structure of Education

Next to the five major disciplines of Theology: Old Testament, New Testament, Systematic Theology, Church History and Practical Theology, our faculty has three additional departments in all of the three main areas: Biblical Theology and History of Religions, Philosophy and Pedagogy of Religion and Pastoral Psychology. Unfortunately due to shortage of funds the faculty is not in the position to employ more qualified full-time teachers.

	Biblical Studies			**Systematic Studies**			**Practical Studies**	
Department	Old Testament Studies	New Testament Studies	Biblical Theology and History of Religion	Systematic Theology and Ecumenical Studies	Church History	Philosophy	Practical Theology	Pedagogy of Religion and Pastoral Psychology
Chair	Prof. Dr. Karasszon István	Prof. Dr. Balla Péter, rector	Prof. Dr. Zsengellér József, dean	Dr. Békési Sándor associate professor	Dr. Horváth Erzsébet associate professor	Prof. Dr. Pethő Sándor	Dr. Nagy István associate professor	Prof. Dr. Németh Dávid, vice-dean
	Dr. Egeresi László Sándor associate professor	Dr. Pap Ferenc associate professor	Dr. Pecsuk Ottó assistant professor	Prof. Dr. Szűcs Ferenc professor emeritus		Dr. Kendeffy Gábor associate professor	Dr. Literáty Zoltán assistant professor Dr. Papp Anette associate professor	

Structure of education

Educational Policy

In order to apply for degrees of Reformed Theologian /Minister of Divinity and Teacher of Religious Education, interested young people must possess a certificate of reformed confirmation obtained at least two years prior to their application, and they should feel that they have a vocation for church service.

The discipline of theology is studied in accordance with Biblical scripture and the Reformed tradition, and in this respect the faculty endeavours to prepare its students for their vocation as Ministers of Divinity or Teachers of Religious Education. The students at the faculty are young people who are willing to pledge themselves to the service of the word of God in the Reformed Church, and who will, through hard work, strive to live up to their calling as ministers and teachers.

Students taking the degree course in Theologian/Minister of Divinity must first master the Biblical languages (Hebrew and Greek), in order to enable them to make a deeper study of the scriptures. Additionally, knowledge of Latin is indispensable to the study of church history and systematic theology. In the second half of their training, there is increasing emphasis placed on the subjects of practical theology. These prepare our students for their work in preaching the Gospel, ministry and teaching religion.

Students preparing to qualify as ministers can gain experience and practical knowledge in the 11th-12th semester within a congregation. It is later needed for an independent and responsible job but cannot be obtained within the educational institution. On successful completion of their final exams, graduates are awarded the degree of "Reformed Theologian" or a degree of Minister of Divinity.

Reformed Minister of Divinity MA	91
Reformed Theologian MA	2
Protestant Theologian MA	9
Teacher of Religious Education BA	6
Teacher of Religious Education MA	30
PhD Studies	17
Total	155

Current number of students

Spiritual Life and Community Activities

Education is accompanied by spiritual guidance and supervision. Every year has its own leading teacher who supports and helps the students throughout their studies. These year-leaders organise regular meetings for the students. Students can also choose a tutor from the teachers for a semester or longer period to help them with spiritual problems or in study and research. Professors and teachers

can be reached in their consulting hours or by phone too. Students are required to live in the dormitory of the faculty which is provided by the church district. Next to the inspector of the dormitory there is a full time spiritual leader who offers individual spiritual talks and free time activities for the students. The dean organises a "faculty hour" every month to discuss public or personal problems.

Students have their own organisation called Student Presbitery which manages the life and activities of the students. Members and leaders of the Student Presbitery are elected every year. Student Presbitery and the spiritual leader organise several visits to reformed congregations inland or abroad. During these visits students give a presentation about their studies and personal devotions. Students are obliged to take part in a *legatio* every major Christian holiday. During a *legatio* students visit a reformed congregation and help the local pastor in preaching and leading the festive services.

VISION ON THE ROLE OF THEOLOGY TODAY AND TOMORROW

We are living in an age when Protestant theological faculties are closing down in the heart of Christianity, Europe. This trend is most obviously noticable in Germany and in the Netherlands. In the Netherlands, where I spent some of my study years two decades ago there were six universities offering theological education for students who wanted to be Protestant ministers. Nowadays this number is reduced to only two. Here in Hungary, our four Calvinist theological faculties, two of which were reopened only two or one and a half decades ago have financial problems and a shortage of teaching staff, though at the moment there are students enough. Christianity has to be renewed, consequently Christian theology and theological education has to be renewed too. If we plan any renewal in our system of theological education, first of all, we have to find how to reorganise our acting faculties. But this new system depends on the goal of theological education.

According to my opinion, our goal in this new epoch after the postmodern era is to redefine the position of theology as a system of thoughts and belief in society. On the one hand there is an increasing need of spirituality in the materialist milieu of everyday life. On the other hand there is still obvious hostility against spiritualising or moralising of political decisions, against the theologising of thinking. I do not believe that Abraham Kuyper's theologising of politics is the right way, but in a more intensive presence of theological opinions in the media, a more intensive presence of evangelisation in society is the requirement of our Christian beings, and our epoch.

At our faculty, or let's say, at our Károli Gáspár Reformed University we are planning to organise a series of open lectures on urgent social, political topics from a theological perspective. These lectures can be followed on the internet and one of the public television channels. Through these lectures we want to bring non-believers into theological discussions. This is a form of opening. Other way of opening could be the publishing of more theological literature on these topics by well-known non-ecclesiastical publishers. And these books should be written by our Hungarian theologians who discuss our Hungarian situation. Who could write these books? We do not have enough theoretical theologians. So, one of the tasks of our theological education is to train more theoretical theologians too.

Furthermore, or first of all, we have to form the content of our theological education to train ministers who have the ability to address people in their own situation. Traditional types of evangelisation seem to be not enough. Traditional leading of congregations seems to be no longer effective. People are more mobile than before, the traditional form of congregations is changing. Pastors should be trained for this new situation.

From my pragmatic point of view as the dean of a theological faculty not only the curriculum of the education has to be changed – which we have already done last year by putting more practice into the programme[9] – but the content of some previous lectures or subjects needs to be revised. The traditional Biblical orientation of theological education must be held, since the foundation of our message is the Bible. We still have to focus on its interpretation in this new situation. How to address people believing in new types of atheism, how to address people believing in new paganism, how to address people believing in nihilism, how to address people believing in mysticism, how to address people believing in esoteric thinking, how to address people believing in other non-Christian religions? Apologetics has a new dimension in this new educational system. In short, remaining traditional in and faithful to the foundations of our Protestant Christian belief and opening up to the new situation of the world, being part of this is the task of today and tomorrow. In doing so we are faithful to our duty, or mission received from Christ before he left this earthly realm: "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", (Mt 28,19)

As a faculty of a Protestant/reformed university our theological faculty has also the task of being the leaven to help the other faculties in forming disciples from their students and even from their teachers.

[9] Cf. the previous and current curriculum patterns: http://www.kre.hu/htk/index.php/mintatanterv.html (2014.11.01.).

Dr. Péter Antalóczy[1]

THE FACULTY OF LAW OF KRE – CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT AND HUMAN RESOURCES

In the past centuries legal education developed in Hungary in different institutions and in several forms. Due to the enthusiasm of reformed education the teaching of legal sciences started already in the 12th century. At this time legal subjects were incorporated into the curriculum of high schools. Among these first legal subjects we may find public law, Roman law, natural law and international law.

The next step of development was the establishment of legal departments at the end of the 18th century, from which a straight path led to the founding of legal academies with independent educational frameworks and permanent, organised educational programmes. One of the main reasons for setting them up was that in the first half of the 19th century the only university of the country was not able to fulfil the needs of legal education. In Trnava (in Hungarian: Nagyszombat) legal education had been more or less continuous since 1667, but only Catholics were allowed to attend the courses. Religious diversity was the other reason for establishing legal academies, because Protestants were not allowed to establish higher education institutions for a long time. Due to this restriction they tried to develop their already established high schools by introducing theological and legal studies, as well as philosophy and arts based on international patterns. In the meantime the Catholics established the archiepiscopal legal lyceum of Eger and the Episcopal legal lyceum of Pécs. Religious division determined the difference between legal academies also from the aspects of their founders up to their shutdown in the 20th century.

It is clear that at this time due to the fact that their educational system was a transition between universities and high schools the venues of special studies of higher education institutions were legal academies and legal lyceums. During the existence of legal academies this transitional feature motivated those managing the issues of education to approximate the level of these institutions to the level of high school education. In the focus of the polemics has been the always discussed but never settled issue according to which some experts favoured the education of "legal technicians" focusing on practical aspects, while others be-

[1] Dean of the Faculty of Law, KRE, Budapest, Hungary.

lieved in high quality, broad-scale university education of experts able to solve both theoretical and practical questions.

In general, legal academies differed from university education in the feature that the student completing the studies was not allowed to be called a doctor, and the institution was not allowed to give university-level private-teacher qualifications. This odd situation existed from their establishment until their shutdown.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

At the historical beginnings of legal academies, churches financed those institutions which managed significant legal education. Opinions differ on the issue of whether Protestants motivated the establishment of Catholic legal academies or the other way around. It is a fact, however, that in the college of Presov (in Hungarian: Eperjes) legal education started in 1667, while in Sárospatak education was organised upon religious beliefs already in 1664.

It is undoubted that the exclusion of Protestants from universities, and at the same time the opportunities provided by the Reformation to visit foreign universities provided firm professional grounds for starting Western-European level legal education. This practically meant the emergence of denominational legal education in Hungary. For Protestants, whose freedom of religion had been quite limited for some time, acquiring expertise in political life and law was essential.

A specific feature may be mentioned, namely that from the ten domestic legal academies operating at the beginning of the 20th century, half of them were financed by the Reformed church. In the background of this the special education policy of Hungarian Protestantism may be observed, which was developed during the 17th century, and which considered public education one of the main areas of spreading new religious ideas throughout the rampant battles of the counter-reformation.

The reason for establishing the two Catholic legal academies was to ensure that poor Catholic youths were able to face Protestants successfully in debates with their legal knowledge.

The legal framework of the operation of legal academies was established by the Ratio Educationis issued by Maria Theresa in 1777, which added four royal legal academies to the existing denominational schools. Due to the act new institutions were established and started legal education in Trnava/Nagyszombat, Győr, Oradea/Arad, Kosice/Kassa and Zagreb. According to article 184 the task of legal academies was *"… to train proper officers for the king and for the public"*.

The curriculum was determined accordingly, and focused mainly on the mechanisms and operational rules of state administration. However, this approach was unacceptable for denominational legal academies, because students trained by them did not want to serve the interests of the "king and the public", therefore denominational legal academies separated from publicly financed schools as independent units. It shall be stressed that Catholic legal academies were approved by the government as state institutions. Due to significant developments that took place in the 19th century there were three types of institutions: state-financed institutions in Trnava/Nagyszombat, Győr and Kosice/Kassa; legal academies in Pécs and Eger belonging to the Catholic church; and finally among Protestant legal academies the ones operating in Debrecen, Sárospatak, Kecskemét, Pápa, Sopron, Presov/Eperjes and Bratislava/Pozsony. The difference between schools did not affect the qualification provided by the diploma, because at that time students were mainly assessed upon their expertise. Growth trends are well indicated by the fact that in the academic year 1840/1841 the lyceum in Eger had 400 students.

The period after the revolution of 1848/49 made the future of legal academies uncertain, because some became more like independent forms of education, while others wished to define them as introductory courses leading to university studies. There were no textbooks; courses were held by more than one teacher, so students were able to choose their professors freely. The provisions of 29 September 1850 defined legal academy education as studies leading to university education, and set it as a requirement to become a civil servant. What was now university level education was intended to provide a doctorate, which was a condition of working as lawyer or public notary. Five years later, in 1855, however, the concept was modified again, with legal academy education, independent of the structure of university education being increased to three years, and mainly serving the training of state civil servants, i.e. judges and public administrative experts. Issuing doctorate qualification remained the privilege of universities with an independent educational structure, into which the years spent at a legal academy could not be counted. Regarding Protestant denominations this provision was only symbolic, as there was no education in any of the institutions between 1851-1855.

After the end of neo-absolutism the intermittent denominational legal academies were revived; for the purpose of unified regulations their operation was settled similarly to state academies. The restoration of Hungarian legal subjects was an important change in the curriculum. In 1867, at the meeting of the directors of legal academies organised by the minister for public education it was decided that heads of departments should be suitable for teaching and should

possess university private teacher habilitation. One year later article 26 of act XLIV of 1868 declared the right of churches to establish higher level educational institutions. This provision also ensured the further strengthening of denominational legal academies, which was observable also in the number of students. In the 1872/1872 academic year the total number of students studying at legal academies was 1,925.

After the Compromise of 1867, decree nr. 12.917/1874 of the minister for religion and public education introduced a split which determined that the length of legal education should be four years and also defined the system of exams. An earlier doctorate was possible in a unified procedure, but at this time the system of conditions for obtaining doctorates in political sciences and legal sciences took different directions. Three comprehensive exams had to be passed for a legal doctorate, while two for doctorates in political sciences. However, before taking comprehensive exams state exams had to be completed in each case.

Within the reform of 1874 the ministry for religion and public education urged the legal academies and universities to become more similar. Several measures aimed at facilitating this, among them the freedom to change institutions, or that tuition fees were to be the same at universities and legal academies. However, the ministry of justice opposed the opinion of the ministry for religion and public education, and under the leadership of Tivadar Pauler it succeeded in enacting the following regulation set forth in article 5 of act XXXIV of 1874: *"the examination board may allow only those to take the lawyer's exam who have obtained legal doctorate at a domestic university"*. Due to this decision the number of legal academies significantly dropped. At the turn of the century the total number of students studying at the ten legal academies operating in Hungary was 1,652 in the first semester, while 1,559 in the second. Out of these 244 studied in Debrecen, 202 in Presov/Eperjes, 119 in Kecskemét, 90 in Sárospatak and 95 in Eger.

In the mentioned period there was a long lasting debate within the Hungarian Association of Jurists about reforming legal exams. In 1902 a proposal was made by Gyula Wlassics to unify the education of those preparing for judicial and administrative careers. Opposed to this, Viktor Jászi, teacher of the legal academy of Debrecen trusted legal academies with the basic education of those who were aiming at working at lower level judicial and administrative positions, while the higher level education of judges and administrative experts would have been done at universities. The first proposal was not discussed in Parliament, therefore the old curriculum and exam system remained.

The undefined difference between state and church legal academies was fur-

ther deepened by act VII of 1912 on lawyer's examinations. The final strike at legal academies was made by the extension of doctorates to judges. This meant that the diploma obtained at legal academies was enough only for an administrative career.

In the revised territory of Hungary after the Trianon peace treaty the Roman Catholic legal academy of Eger, the Episcopal legal academy of Pécs, and the reformed legal academies of Kecskemét and Sárospatak remained, which, interestingly enough, were all denominational.

Not only the national tragedy of the Treaty of Trianon had various effects on certain institutions, but also act XXV of 1920, which determined that the number of students to be admitted to legal academies should be limited to between 40 and 100. The limitation became necessary because of the dismissals after Trianon and the lack of new jobs increasing unemployment among law graduates. Many students withdrew their application from certain institutions and favoured those legal academies which provided more opportunities and chances. This resulted in institutions competing for students.

As result of increasingly worsening economic conditions, on 13 June 1921, with a decree the minister for religion and public education terminated supplements attached to the salary of legal academy teachers. However, relying on their votaries more than ever, denominational legal academies were able to overcome this financial crisis. The two Catholic legal academies were supported from archiepiscopal and prebendal property, while the two Protestant legal academies were aided by their home towns. Unfortunately the reformed institution of Sárospatak had to give up the fight for existence and closed after the academic year 1922/1923.

With its transcription nr. 50,139 (IV of 1927) the minister for religion and public administration in practice made the operation of legal academies impossible, as according to the transcription only science universities were allowed to issue qualification necessary for a career as a civil servant. This order was further supported by article 65 of act XXX of 1929, as it regulated that only final certificates might be issued at legal academies, therefore those aiming at careers in public administration had to obtain legal doctorates at universities after completing the legal academy.

During the Second World War, upon the provisions of act XXVIII of 1940 only two classes were allowed at legal academies. As institutions clearly objected to this provision, it often happened that the minister for religion and public education issued further permits each year in order to facilitate the third and fourth academic year. Interestingly, the minister referred to act II of 1939 on national defence as the basis for issuing the permits.

In order to understand this backwards trend it should not be forgotten that after the Second World War only the Catholic legal academy of Eger, the Reformed legal academy of Kecskemét and the Lutheran legal academy, which moved from Presov/Eperjes to Miskolc, survived. All state institutions shut down. In the academic year of 1946 the rules of doctoral comprehensive exams were modified and doctorates in legal sciences and political sciences were unified.

It is worth noting that Government Decree 12,700/1947 allowed for establishing evening classes at legal academies, allowing workers to attend these institutions.

However, in line with act XXXIII of 1948 schools were socialised, which affected also the remaining legal academies financed by churches. Even though one more academic year was completed, the final closure came upon Government Decree 4105 in 1949.

Dr. Enikő Sepsi[1]

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES OF KRE 1993-2013 – CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT AND HUMAN RESOURCES

FOUNDATION AND ACADEMIC GOALS

The Deed of Foundation of the Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church in Hungary proclaims that "the aims and objectives of the university are the education of young people, who consciously strive for the universal values of Christian morality and spirituality under the Word of God and the training of effective professionals with a contemporary knowledge of their subjects".

The context of the question of Christian identity is of a university legally maintained by the Hungarian Reformed Church, but economically dependent on government financial support for 60% of its budget (40% is the income from tuition fees). It is a church university within Hungary's system of secular higher education. Consequently, the university is faced with the constant challenge of meeting the state's requirements of academic excellence (which the Church also requires) and religious neutrality in the secular curriculum offered and defined by national legal standards, whilst fulfilling its Christian mission.[2]

The university and the faculty at its foundation, as also described in Attila Kálmán's paper, launched only a few academic programmes. The number of programmes accredited by the Hungarian Accreditation Board increased each year as the first figure shows us.

[1] Dean of the Faculty of Humanities, KRE, Budapest, Hungary.

[2] Cf. Kodácsy, Tamás, Interdisciplinary Courses and the Christian identity of a University, *Acta Missiologiae,* 2008/1, 55-66.

Academic programmes launched in

1993/1994
(dean: Ferenc Szilágyi)
History
Hungarian language and literature
English language and literature
Teacher of religious education

1994/1995
(dean: Ferenc Szilágyi)
Dutch language and literature

1995/1996
(dean: Ferenc Szilágyi)
Japanese language and literature

1996/1997
(dean: Ferenc Szilágyi)
Mathematics
Information Technology
(both progs ended in 2000 and were handed over to ELTE)

1997/1998
(dean: Endre Barkó)
German language and literature
Communication studies

1999/2000
(dean: Kulin Ferenc)
Communication studies

2000/2001
(dean: Ildikó Györke)
Psychology

2001/2002
(dean: Ernő Raffay)
Supervisor specialist postgraduate programme

2002/2003
(dean: Ernő Raffay)
(Mental hygiene specialist postgraduate programmes

2004/2005
(dean: Ferenc Kulin)
Doctoral School of Literary Studies
(terminated in 2012)

2006/2007
(dean: Ferenc Kulin)
(introducing the consecutive programme cycles /Bologna Process studies/ in Hungary)
Communication and Media Science (BA)
Dutch Studies (BA)
English Studies (BA)
General Humanities
German Studies (BA)
History (BA)
Hungarian Studies (BA)
Oriental Languages and Cultures (BA)
Psychology (BSc)

2008/2009
(dean: András Szabó)
teacher of English language and literature (MA)
teacher of Hungarian language and literature (MA)
teacher of German language and literature (MA)
teacher of history (MA)
Mental hygiene specialist postgraduate programme (Illyefalva, Transylvania, Romania)

2009/2010
(dean: András Szabó)
Hungarian Literary and Cultural Studies (MA)
Japanese Studies (MA)
Dutch Language and Culture Studies (MA)
Psychology (MA)
Theatre Studies (MA)
History (MA)
Religious Studies (MA)

2010/2011
(dean: Enikő Sepsi)
teacher of Hungarian as a foreign language (MA)

2011/2012
(dean: Enikő Sepsi)
Terminology (MA)

Hungary joined the Bologna Process in 1999. The Hungarian Parliament passed a new Bologna-compatible higher education law in June 2005.

2012/2013
(dean: Enikő Sepsi)
Sociology (BA)
German Language, Literature and Culture (MA)
English Studies (MA)
Doctoral School of History
Communication and Media Science (MA)

2013/2014
(dean: Enikő Sepsi)
(introducing single cycle long teacher training)
teacher of Hungarian language and literature
teacher of English as a foreign language
teacher of German language and culture
teacher of History and Civics
special translator specialist postgraduate programme (in 1 or 2 languages)
Drama/Theatre pedagogy specialist postgraduate programme
specialist postgraduate programme in Ethics from a Christian point of view specialisation in Art History (within BA in Liberal Arts)
specialisation in Chinese Studies (Oriental Languages and Cultures, Japanese Studies BA)
In preparation: specialist postgraduate programme in Kodály culture in Hungary and worldwide

Figure 1. Academic programmes

Hungary joined the Bologna process in 1999 and Hungary's Parliament passed a new Bologna-compatible higher education law in June 2005. The faculty introduced the consecutive (BA, MA) programme cycles in the academic year of 2006-2007. The first was the Doctoral School of Literary Studies which started

in 2004/2005 and ended in 2012. The second was the Doctoral School of History which started in 2012/2013 with 19 students. In the 2013/2014 academic year, the faculty, following new legal rules, introduced single-cycle-long lecturer training. The number of specialist postgraduate programmes has also significantly increased.

Since its foundation, within a 20-year period, 10 deans have worked for the faculty:

Ferenc Szilágyi 1993-1997
Endre Barkó 1997-1999
Ferenc Kulin 1999-2000
Emőke Bagdy 2000
Ildikó Györke 2000-2001
Ernő Raffay 2002-2004
Isabella Kesselheim 2004-2005
Ferenc Kulin 2005-2008
András Szabó 2008-2010
Enikő Sepsi 2010-

The faculty started to work in small buildings under reconstruction, growing into three separate buildings by 2013 (Reviczky street and its neighbourhood; Bécsi road in Buda, and the newly rented property in Dózsa György road 25).



Central Building
Budapest, VII. district
4 Reviczky Street



Institute of Psychology
Budapest, III. district
324 Bécsi Road



New building
(from September 2014)
Budapest, XIV. district
25-29 Dózsa György Road

KRE

Figure 2. Buildings of the Faculty

Under Károli Gáspár University's regulations, there is a compulsory "Church Studies" course for all non-theological students at the university. The course was introduced into the curriculum of all students in Humanities as a compulsory course in the Autumn term of the 2006/07 academic year and was taught by Tamás Kodácsy, the University Chaplain and Zoltán Bóna (the following semester). Since 2007-08 John Brouwer gives this course in English as well.

This course given mainly by the university chaplaincy aims to introduce the most important ideas within the Christian faith and not to provide a rigorous theological education. The chaplain states in an article published in *Acta Missiologiae:* "As a chaplain, I use this course to meet students of all religions and beliefs, including atheists. This provides a good opportunity to interest them in religious interdisciplinary topics. (…) This demands that the chaplain maintains a clear distinction between the roles of lecturer and pastor. This is not only a demand of responsible pedagogy and pastoral care but also of a responsible theological approach: the context of the lecture theatre is theological education, whereas the context of the chaplain's study is theological pastoral care. This has been a learning process for me as chaplain. When I deliver a public lecture, I often cite Paul Tillich; students often respond well to Tillich's approach. However, in my office when a student asks me about Christianity, Karl Barth's portrait looks down at us from the wall."[3]

Another course, *Biblical Studies* (Bibliaismeret), was introduced into the curriculum of students in Communication and media as a compulsory course in Spring 2004/05 (and under the name of Biblical self-knowledge – Bibliai önismeret – as an elective course since 2000) and as an elective course for the whole faculty since Spring 2010/11.

All programmes/curricula have been revised several times and more and more Christian aspects were introduced as far as disciplinary requirements, the credit system and personal involvements of heads of departments allowed it.

Before the Bologna system, 10% of the courses could be general intellectual courses, whilst now 10 credits out of 180 can be used during a BA programme for elective courses. That's why we attempted to introduce some Christian points of view and subjects which are not necessarily part of the official mainstream canon.

In 2012, we created a structure where institutes are the main entity each containing several departments. Actually we have 8 institutes, 1 Teacher Training Center, 1 Doctoral School and 39 organisational units (including administrative entities).

[3] Ibidem.

Institutes and departments of the faculty today

Institute of English Studies
Department of English Linguistics
Department of Literary and Cultural Studies in English

Institute of Oriental Languages and Cultures
Department of Japanese Studies

Institute of Social and Communication Sciences
Department of Communication and Media Studies
Department of Sociology

Institute of Hungarian Linguistic, Literary and Cultural Studies
Department of Hungarian Linguistics
Department of Modern Hungarian Literature, Comparative Literature and Literary Theory
Department of Modern Hungarian Literature, Comparative Literature and Literary Theory

Institute of German and Netherlandic Studies
Department of German Language and Literature
Department of Netherlandic Studies

Institute of History
Department of Ancient History and Auxiliary Historical Sciences
Department of Medieval History
Department of Early Modern, Economic and Educational History
Department of Modern and Contemporary Hungarian History
Department of Modern and Contemporary World History

Institute of Psychology
Department of General Psychology and Methodology
Department of Personality and Clinical Psychology
Department of Social and Intercultural Psychology
Centre of Specialist Postgraduate Programmes in Psychology
Department of Developmental Psychology

Teacher Training Centre (TTC)
Educational Psychology Group
Pedagogy Group
Methodology Group

Institute of Arts Studies and General Humanities
Department of General Humanities
Department of Theatre Studies

Doctoral School of History (DSH)

Hermeneutical Research Center
Jonathan Edwards Center Hungary

Figure 3. Institutes and Departments

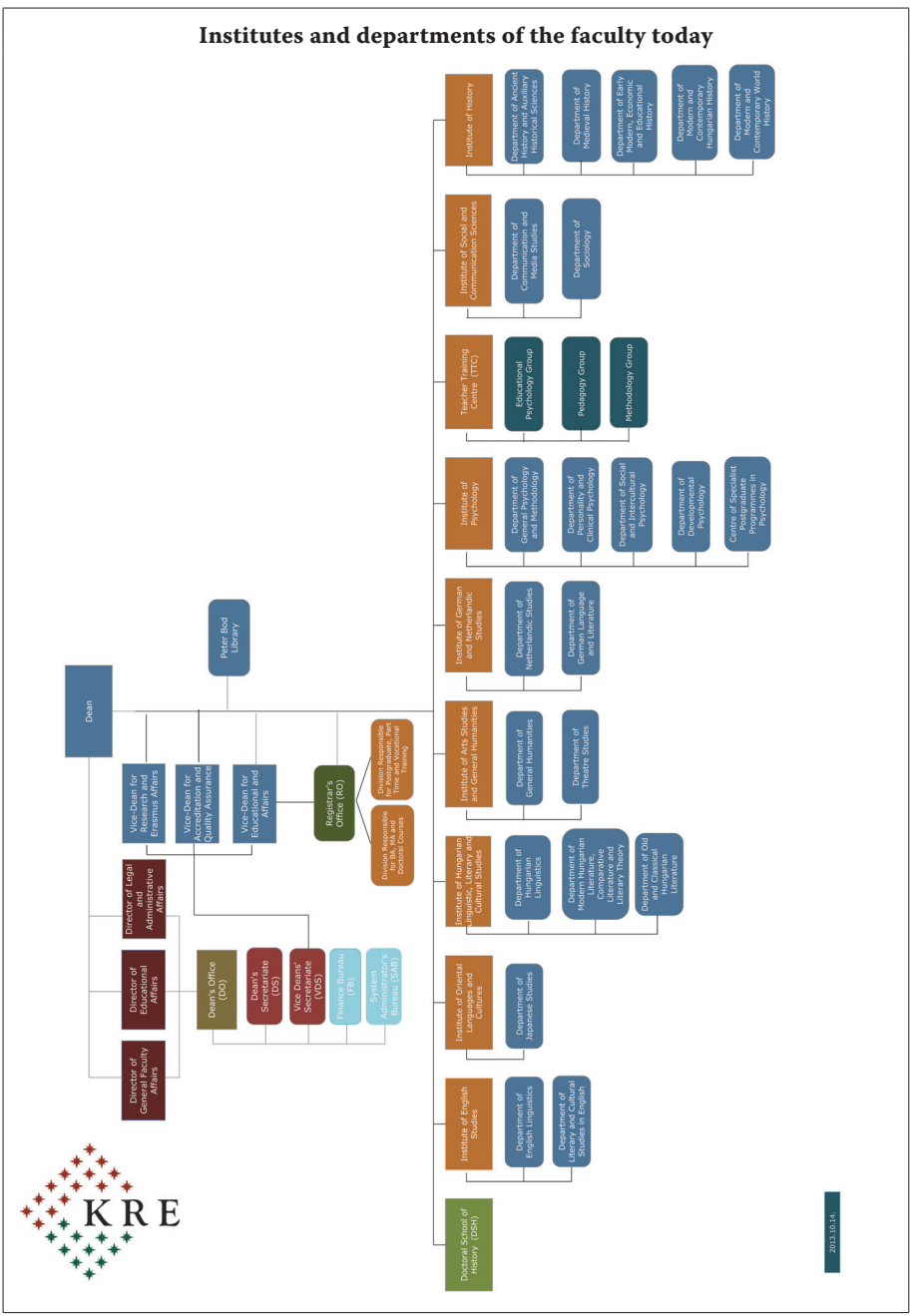
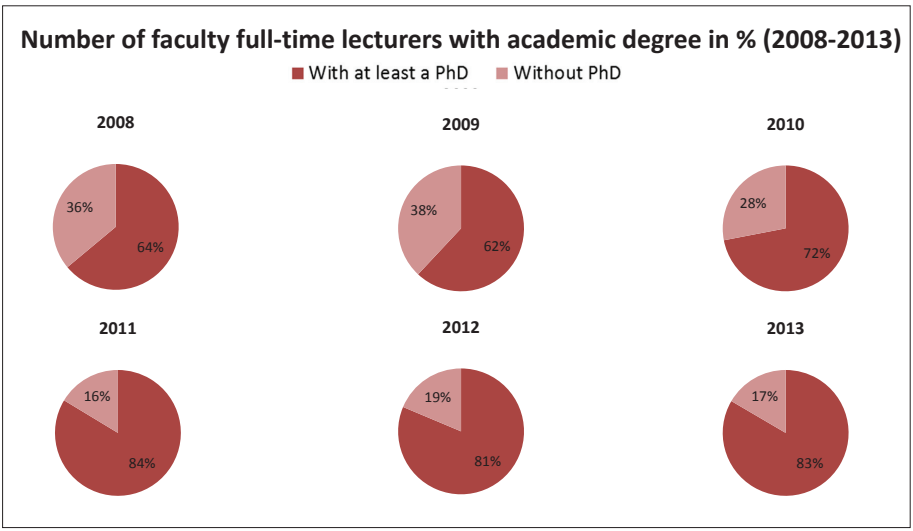


Figure 4. Organisational chart of the faculty

To meet the state's and the Church's requirements of academic excellence, the faculty has considerably increased the percentage of full-time lecturers having at least a PhD. In Figure 5 and 6 you can see the result of this strategic plan between 2008 and 2013. In 2008, 64% of the full-time lecturers had at least a PhD degree (which is close to the 2013 average in Hungarian secular universities, ie. 66%), whilst in 2013, 81% of the full-time lecturers have at least a PhD degree.



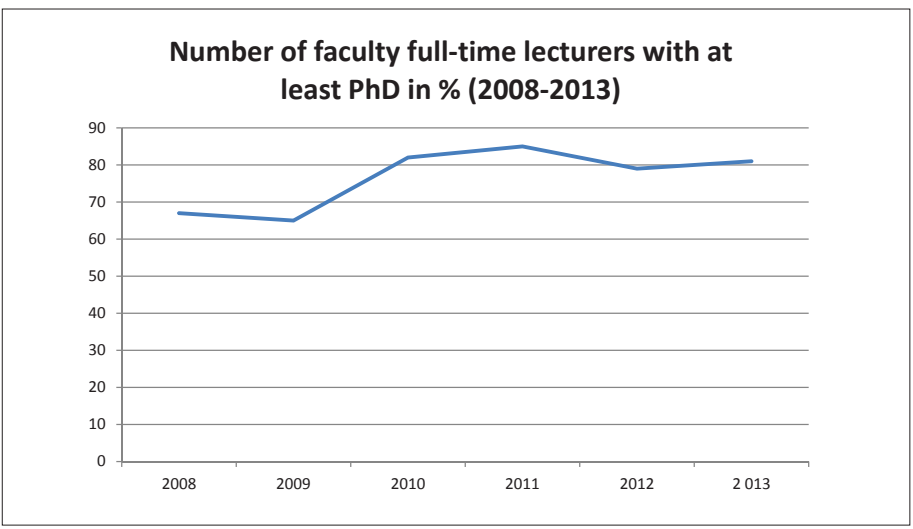
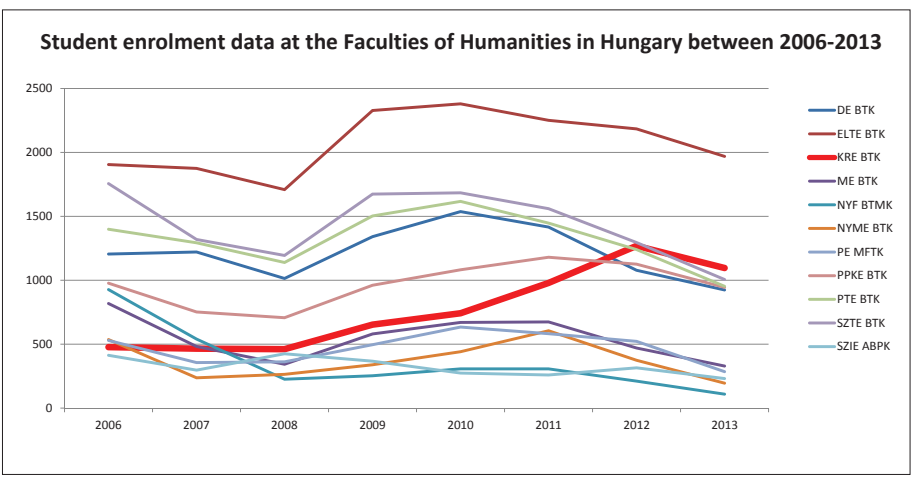


Figure 5/a and 5/b faculty full-time lecturers with at least a PhD

According to HVG magazine Diploma 2012 and Diploma 2013 supplements, the KRE Faculty of Humanities was ranked 5th overall, out of 162 faculties in Hungary (based on professor and student excellence).

In the early years of the 21st century the faculty had only a thousand students, while in 2013 we reached the number of 3,000 (including all programmes of all levels). 20% of the students entering the BA level are graduates of Church-related secondary schools, 8% come from secondary schools of the Reformed Church (out of 29 secondary schools belonging to the Reformed Church). 80% of the students come from other secular secondary schools. (*Figures 6a and 6b*)



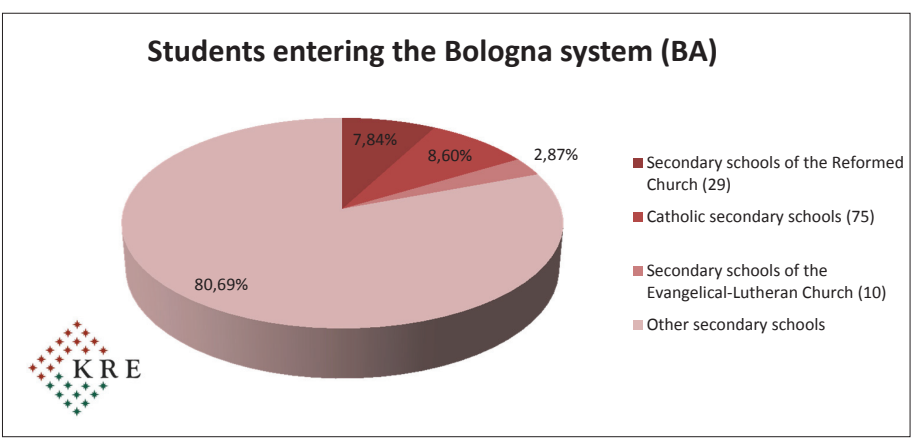


Figure 6/a and 6/b

OD (ORGANISATIONAL DEVELOPMENT) TRAINING

That's also the reason for considering the so-called training week launched in Autumn 2011/2012 as an important part of our educational activities. This specific academically active week allows all kind of extra-curricular activities each term.

During the training week of the spring of 2012 at the Faculty of Humanities, there were three kinds of compulsory programmes for regular students: they could choose between professional courses, conversation in spiritual topics and health preservation (sports or mental health) courses. The reason behind this is the holistic concept that the purpose and health of man is principally manageable on a mental, spiritual and physical level. The duration of activities was 90 minutes with two breaks for 30 minutes in between. There were altogether 200 courses for the university students at the Faculty of Humanities in the training week, which were primarily held by our lecturers. The training groups had various themes, thus students could choose according to their own interest. 10% out of all courses were courses in spirituality held by professors and students from the Faculty of Theology (this percentage varies from one training week to another between 10 and 17 %). The percentage of spiritual courses can be seen in Figure 7.

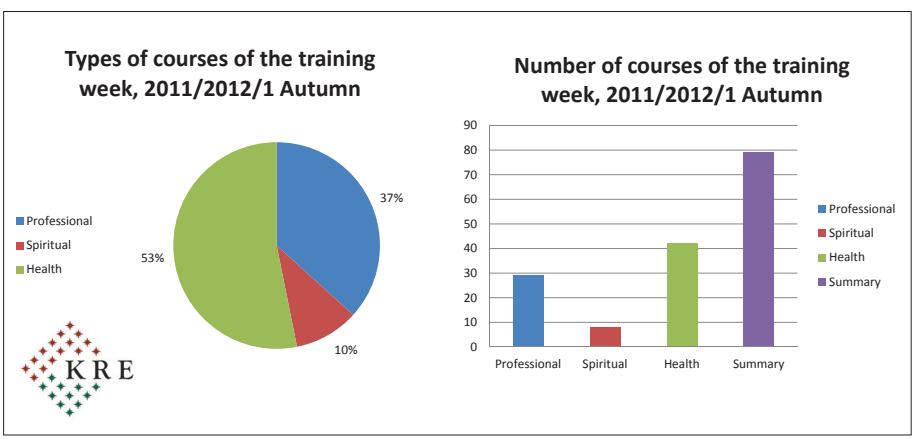


Figure 7. Types of courses of the training week 2011/2012 Autumn

I. The evaluation of the training sessions in general (weighted average)
Did the training week meet your requirements? 2011/2012 Autumn

Yes, absolutely	66%
Yes, roughly	26%
Yes, more or less	6%
No, not really	2%
No, not at all	-
No answer	1%



Please, evaluate the training week! 2011 Autumn

	Very Good	Good	Acceptable	Bad	No answer
Manner of lecturing of the lecturer	71%	24%	4%	-	1%
Knowledge of the lecturer	81%	14%	2%	-	2%
The tasks done at the training week	54%	36%	6%	2%	2%
Handouts	56%	35%	4%	1%	4%



Please, evaluate the training week! 2011 Autumn

	Very much	It helped	Less	Not at all	No answer
New information	45%	44%	8%	2%	1%
Practical skills	33%	42%	19%	4%	1%
New relationships	21%	39%	28%	10%	3%



Figures 8-10 Evaluation of the training week 2011/2012 Autumn

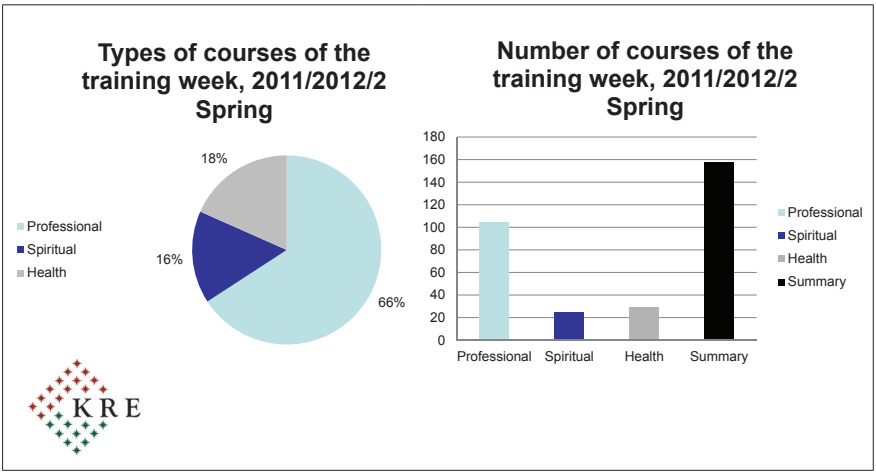


Figure 11. Types of courses of the training week 2011/2012 Spring

Examples for courses in spirituality:

– Benediction in Jesus
– The care of God
– Trust in God
– The love of God
– Truthfully in front of God
– Liberty or licence
– The personal experience of God
– To serve God

Examples for Mental Health Courses:

– The treatment of stress
– Self-knowledge development
– The healing power of cinematic art: Lars von Trier: *Melancholy*
– Art therapy
– The difficulties of the Z generation from a psychological perspective
– Time management
– Family and self-knowledge
– The Argentine tango as therapy
– Life–recipes
– Meditations in everyday life

Please, evaluate the training week! 2011 Autumn			
2012/2013/Spring	Number of candidates	Number of filled out questionnaries	Rate of filling out
Professional programmes	1535	1088	70,87%
Spiritual programmes	292	234	80,13%
Programmes for mental health	1054	688	65,27%

Figure 12. Distribution of Professional Programmes, Spiritual Programmes, and Programmes for Mental Health during the training week 2011/2012/ Spring

According to student feedback, the courses of the training week mainly gave new information and practical knowledge. The most popular activities were from topics such as the knowledge of mankind, self-knowledge, personality development as well as mental hygienic psychological courses, gastronomic activities and the artistic courses like photography, films, fine arts, theatre, music and dance.

Spring 2012	Absolutely suitable	Roughly suitable	More or less suitable	Not at all suitable
Professional programmes	75%	19%	5%	1%
Spiritual programmes	61%	32%	6%	3%
Programmes for mental health	72%	22%	5%	1%

2012/2013 Spring	Number of candidates	Number of filled out questionnaries	Rate of filling out
Professional programmes	1535	1088	70,87%
Spiritual programmes	292	234	80,13%
Programmes for mental health	1054	688	65,27%

Figure 13. Evaluation by students of the three types of programmes of the training week 2011/2012 Spring and 2012/2013 Spring

Moreover a lot of students felt their self-knowledge had developed. The students found the training both colourful and useful, since they had the opportunity to have an insight into other sciences and to participate in the interactive and practical activities of smaller groups. Hereafter the organisers of the training week formulated their ideas and their recommendations for the upcoming next training week in accordance with their experiences and students' feedback.

CHANGE MANAGEMENT TRAINING

Besides the student courses, we introduced professors' training, facilitating adaptation to a rapidly changing environment (increasing student number, financial cut backs) and facilitating identification with a university having both an academic and a spiritual mission after the changes of the 1990s.

Strategic plans have been largely discussed within the faculty and university during the last 3 years and the training weeks, especially with the World Café method. (www.theworldcafe.com) The training course was a powerful instrument in this process. World Café is a change management method introduced by Juanita Brown, an American organisation developer. The method is based on the idea that every effective change relies on understanding and acceptance, implied by small group conversation. Basic assumption is that we can get closer to inner solutions by focusing on them in order to overcome a difficult situation. The key point of every change is the engagement towards the purpose and the direction of changes. For engagement, we need trust and mutual understanding. If deep questions are approached in a relaxed atmosphere, creative solutions come out more easily. World Café is a method which can help in defining the concrete steps of a strategic direction.

World Café – an Example 2012

Lecturers and other employees of the Faculty of Humanities participated in the World Café workshop for the second time in 2012 in order to share their opinions, feelings and impressions about the life and operation of our university. The World Café was a separate programme for lecturers and for other employees organised and moderated by professional colleagues.

Four topics were primarily discussed and chosen by the organising team in future tense in order to easily sidestep a difficult present situation that would not have been an ideal starting point for conversation.

1. Our university will become an internationally acknowledged, medium-sized institute for the 500th anniversary of the Reformation in 2017.

– How can we achieve this?
– What will we do for it?
– How could I personally contribute to this?

2. What will we become? What does our "brand" mean in 2017?

– What is our organisational culture like?
– What is our scientific acknowledgement like?
– What kind of social virtue associations does the brand of Károli create?

3. We will have created a strong and supportive community by 2017, by activating and mobilising individual powers.

– How can we achieve this?
– What can already be achieved of this in 2013?

4. How does it show in our work in 2017 that we are working in a Christian, Protestant, Reformed university?

5. How can it appear in the fields of education, research, public and social service?

110 out of the total of 176 professors worked together in small groups constituted in a random way and discussing each of the question by turning over each time to an other table (each table was dedicated to one topic). This training can thus be considered as a focus-group analysis. The answers given to question 4 are relevant for our actual topic:

- in service learning and nation building (spiritual)
- in high ethical and professional measure?
- in our social awareness, solidarity and community, co-operation, love and respect, trustworthy life
- being a link between the Church and society
- in strengthened international relations with Christian universities as well (students' and professors' exchange)
- in organising scientific debates on social issues with Christian and non-Christian participants

- our actual Christian identity is expressed in mediating general human and ethical values and not give them up because of the pressure from the outer/ outside world
- having a Protestant critical and self-critical view aiming at reality and objectivity
- We should express ourselves in a way that our words don't derive from ideological rigidity but rather original Christian understanding of phenomena.
- University motivates young people to service learning within the society by offering volunteer work in partner organisations and keeping touch with the Missionary Department of the Synod.

This World Café helped us to revivify our strategic plan and gel it into an annual action plan, worked out from the evaluation of small work group results.

An earlier case-study on value preferences was run in 2002 among 120 Károli students (of which 30 were communication students) and Babes Bolyai students in Cluj (67 students) by professor Piroska Komlósi.[4] The case-study was entitled "Difficulties in Teaching Christian Values in a Hungarian Protestant University". The questionnaire was a list of 39 values. Students were asked to decide which values they would like to convey in three roles: a/ as parents to their children, b/ as lecturers to their students, c/ as communicators to the public. Finally they were asked to choose from the list d/ "Christian values".

I would present here some relevant results of the case-study: the highest rated "Christian values" were:

love, religious belief, forgiveness, generosity (*),
fairness, understanding and unselfishness (**)
peace, salvation, humility, family, truthfulness.

As for Cross-cultural aspects: generosity and unselfishness items were in the Transylvanian sample much lower rated (20%* and 30 %** lower), than in the Karoli sample. Further differences appeared in lower identified "Christian values" in the Transylvanian sample: *unselfishness (-25%), trustworthiness (-26%), respect for rules/norms* (– 35%), *respect for authority (– 25%).* Piroska Komlósi

[4] The survey was presented at an International Conference on "Challenges for committed Christians in Communication", organised by Christelijke Hogeschool Ede (NL), November 12-14, 2002. Veres, Sándor presented at the same occasion a paper on "Biblical view on self-concept. (Group-work in communication training)", as well as Prof. Balla, Peter on "The Nature, Place and Task of Christian Higher Education in Contemporary Culture: Some Strategic Considerations – Biblical Foundation."

concludes from the survey that there is a vague understanding of Christian values, cross-cultural differences between the two samples are sharp. She also emphasises that she found low scores for crucial values (respect for authority, that of others and rules, responsibility, durability, courage, consistency of principles, etc.).

In the spring of 2013, the method for training lecturers was not the World Café for the first time, but activities in smaller groups and it was organised around problems that emerged at the final occasion, the semester before (the year before). These sessions took form of training in pedagogical methodology: 3 groups with 20 lecturers (Prezi.hu interactive presentation platform; The secrets of presentation; Moodle educational module) and event-consulting groups: 10 lecturers in 7 groups.

The compulsorily optional programmes for lecturers were also work-related, for instance the lecture of the executive director of L'Harmattan Publishing House, which was held about an e-book and a lecture about the Collection of Hungarian Scientific Writings (MTMT) by György Wolf from the Hungarian Academy of Science.

For administrative employees IT and Neptune training was and is organised. The whole community could attend plenary lectures on wider topics such as empathy and human communication and the treatment of stress, for example (Béla Buda and Emőke Bagdy). At the Faculty Night informal community programmes such as pop music, Irish dance club, teahouse etc. take place.

Training for Mid-Level Managers

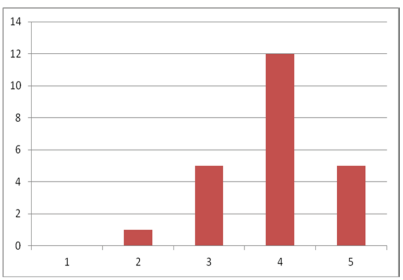
In the training session for the middle managers, the leadership of the faculty (dean, vice deans, faculty directors), the heads of institutes and departments, the head of the Registrar's Office and the head of the Library participated. Mid-level managers are considered to have a key role in every successful management initiative.

In the training session, the mid-level managers analysed a document on the 7 principles of interpersonal communication and compared and evaluated the competence of both the lecturer and the leader.

This autumn, the training will focus on consulting managerial situations, exams, techniques of supervision. The training will help participants in phrasing and mapping out problems, which is the basic requirement for finding possible solutions.

I. The evaluation of the training for the mid-level managers

1. Did the training week meet your requirements?



0	1	5	12	5

Average: 3,91

2. In what did the training week help you?

	Persons
Acquiring new information	7
Acquiring practical skills	10
Establishing new relationships	5
No answer	1

Figures 14 and 15. Evaluation of the management training 2012/2013 Spring

Middle managers found that the training helped them in acquiring practical skills (10 people out of 23) and new information (7 out of 23).

As the consultative summary about the experiences of the World Café of Faculty members and administrative employees, as well as the training session for the mid-level managers, showed during the training week in the Autumn of 2012, relations with the students both from the managers-lecturers' and the administrative employees' perspective, was rife with tension.

The two most important actions articulated by the middle managers for forming the relationship with the students was to state that it would be expedient to establish a Student Advising and Mentoring Center, as other universities do. In the case of lecturers, it would be worthwhile to establish an Event Consulting

Group to regularly address their questions in relation to the treatment of the students and the possible solutions of eventual problems under guidance.

Besides this training, the satisfaction surveys among professors and other employees also show a high identification with the published strategic plan of the university (85% in 2013) Publishing activity launched in 2010 in co-operation with L'Harmattan publishing (*Figure 16*) helps also us to articulate our proper identity. International relations, the work with IAPCHE (International Association for the Promotion of Christian Higher Education) and our new application for CCCU (Council for Christian Colleges & Universities) membership our long collaboration with Calvin College in Grand Rapids, Michigan and also with our Transylvanian partners urge us to articulate, discuss, question and live our Christian identity, for which this conference is an excellent opportunity.

Prof. Dr. Tibor Fabiny[1]

THE THEOLOGICAL MODELS OR VISIONS OF A CHRISTIAN UNIVERSITY – A COMMUNITY OF FAITH IN THE COMMUNITY OF KNOWLEDGE

"Some seek knowledge for the sake of knowledge: that is curiosity; others seek knowledge that they may themselves be known: that is vanity; but there are still others who seek knowledge in order to serve and edify others, and that is charity."

St. Bernard of Clairvaux

INTRODUCTION: AN OXYMORON?

Let us start our train of thought with a reflection on the nature and mission of a Christian university. What is the "Christian university"? Is there such a thing?

At first sight the idea of a "Christian university" might strike us as an oxymoron, i.e. a contradiction in terms. Christian faith means commitment to a closed (declarative, assertive and dogmatic) set of values while a university is committed to curiosity, openness, questioning, scepticism and academic freedom. To put it bluntly: if it is Christian, it cannot be a university, if it is a university, it cannot be Christian. Of course, I exaggerate, but I am doing this in order to clarify the identity of a "Christian university".

The church and the university represent two ways of thinking and perhaps even two kinds of languages which, sometimes even seem to be incompatible with each other. Neither the language of science nor that of the humanities conform to the language of the church which is, ultimately, authoritative. The church from the very beginning speaks with the voice of authority invested upon her by its Founder. The university with its openness refuses to acknowledge such

[1] Head of the Institute of English Studies, Director of the Hermeneutical Research Centre (including the Jonathan Edwards Center), KRE, Budapest, Hungary.

an apriori authority; however, it recognises aposteriori authority, i.e. authority in retrospect when it has proved itself and has been approved by the community of knowledge.

True, there have always been committed Christian scientists and scholars who were able to live up to the requirements of this "double citizenship": they were loyal members of their churches, sometimes even of high ecclesiastical rank, and at the same time fully acknowledged members of their academic communities. As members, "citizens" of the "community of faith", they were also citizens of the "community of knowledge".

My thesis in this paper is, that the Christian university could be a common space for these two different, even diverging, communities: the community of faith and the community of knowledge.

THEOLOGICAL MODELS

According Bob Benne there are three components of the Christian tradition that are publicly relevant for Christian colleges and universities: its vision, its ethos (practice) and the people who "understand and articulate the Christian vision and embody the ethos of that particular tradition".[2]

A Christian university is born out of a theological vision. Though at the end of my paper I shall argue for the relevance of a Christian rather than of a denominational identity, it must be acknowledged that a theological vision is usually the result of a particular theological interpretation. I would like to offer three such theological interpretations: the Roman Catholic, the Reformed, and the Lutheran. It seems useful to relate these interpretations to three of the five models offered by H. R. Niebuhr in his now classic *Christ and Culture* (1951).[3]

The Catholic Vision

The Roman Catholic vision, characterised by unity and integrity, corresponds to the model of "Christ above culture". According to this vision Christ appears "as a supernatural fulfillment of the aspirations of culture, in the same way that grace is seen as perfecting nature and theology as perfecting philosophy… All learning pointed, with the assistance of revelation and grace, toward the supernatural source of the world and reason and toward the supernatural end of

[2] Benne, Robert, *Quality with Soul, How Six Premier Colleges and Universities Keep Faith in Their Religious Traditions,* Grand Rapids, Eerdmans, 2001, 8.

[3] Niebuhr, H. R., *Christ and Culture,* New York, Harper and Row Publisher, 1951.

humanity, which is the contemplation of God".[4] We can recall here the ideas of the 19th century Catholic Cardinal John Henry Newman (1801–1890) and his influential *The Idea of the Christian University* (1854), in which the Catholic convert eloquently argued for the principles of "unity", "universality" and "integrity" (loosely coinciding with the Trinitarian framework of Creation, Redemption and Sanctification).[5]

A Catholic university, as John Paul II declared in his Apostolic Constitution, is born out of the "heart of the church" – "*Ex Corde Ecclesiae*" (1990). It is explicitly said that

> "A Catholic university's privileged task is to unite existentially by intellectual effort two orders of reality that too frequently tend to be placed in opposition as though they were antithetical: the search for truth, and the certainty of already knowing the fount of truth."[6]

This sentence hits the nail on the head as it recognises that both the community of faith and the community of knowledge are concerned with the question of truth. The former is committed to the search for truth and the latter is to the "certainty of the fount of truth". Accordingly, the vision of a Christian (or Catholic) university is to "unite" these two orders of reality.

The Reformed Vision

The Reformed theological vision corresponds to the model of "Christ the Transformer of Culture". According to this vision, everything on earth and in human existence belongs to, and is therefore ruled, by Christ. A leading figure of the Reformed vision of education was the Dutch Abraham Kuyper (1837–1920), a theologian, university founder and politician. Kuyperian Calvinists lay the emphasis on the integration of faith (revelation) and learning (culture). Followers of Christ are, therefore, invited to transform this world. Christian philosophers, politicians, artists, it is believed, can make this world better. No wonder therefore, that it has been a frequent practice, both globally and also in Hungary, that

[4] Here I shall rely on the analysis of an excellent article by Edwards, Jr. Mark U., Christian Colleges, A Dying Light or a New Refraction?, *Christian Century*, April 21–28, 1999, 459–463. Available also on the internet: http://www.religion-online.org/showarticle.asp?title=547. I am quoting the internet source.

[5] Cf. Schwehn, Mark R., A Christian University, Defining the Difference, *First Things*, Vol. 93, May 1999, 25–31. Also available on the internet: http://www.firstthings.com/article/2007/01/a-Christian-universitydefining-the-difference-17 . I shall quote the internet version.

[6] http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_paul_ii/apost_constitutions/documents/hf_jp-ii_apc_15081990_ex-corde-ecclesiae_en.html last visited on May 1st 2013.

Reformed clergymen who begin their careers as congregation pastors eventually end up as politicians in their hope that once they are in the arena of the public square, they would make it better.

The Kuyperian theology has been embraced by, for example, Calvin College, Michigan and this vision is basis of the American Calvinist Historian of Religion George M. Marsden's magisterial book *The Soul of the University. From Protestant Establishment to Established Nonbelief*[7], in which he first alerted the public concerning the negative effects of secularisation of originally church-founded institutions of higher education. He is right to regret the loss of Christian values of the once church-related colleges and universities and the marginalisation of "Christian scholarship".[8] In reviewing the book a Jesuit scholar while hoping that Catholic universities and colleges will not likewise fall victim to this cultural process confirmed that

> "most of the colleges and universities founded in the U. S. before the 20th century had a strongly religious, usually Protestant Christian, character and that virtually all of these institutions have no significant religious identity today. The best known example is Harvard, founded for the provision of learned ministry', whose motto for three centuries was Christo et Ecclesiae', but scores of other institutions – including Yale, Princeton, Chicago, Stanford, Duke, Boston University, and even the publicly founded state universities such as Michigan and California – had a pronounced Christian character in the early years of their existence and abandoned it in the 20th century."[9]

Marsden notes that within this process of secularisation theology became more liberal and religious sentiment was translated into commitment to patriotism and democracy; the concept of academic freedom was felt incompatible with dogmatic belief and by establishing "departments of religion", religion itself became merely an object of scientific study, religious tests for faculty hiring were abandoned and the principle norm became exclusively academic excellence. According to the Calvinist vision when universities are transformed "from Protestant establishment to established nonbelief", then the project of transforming this world into something better will necessarily become less and less feasible.

7 Marsden, George, *The Soul of American University, From Protestant Establishment to Established Nonbelief,* Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1996.

8 Marsden, George, *The Outrageous Idea of Christian Scholarship*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1997.

9 http://www.bc.edu/content/dam/files/offices/mission/pdf1/ra2.pdf, last visited on May 1st 2013.

The Lutheran Vision

The Lutheran Vision, argues the Reformation historian and the Lutheran St Olaf's College ex-President Mark U. Edwards, is characterised by the niebuhrian – ultimately Lutheran – model of "Christ and Culture in Paradox". Luther made a distinction between the two kingdoms, the sacred and the secular; the world of Christ and the world of culture. Though both realms are ruled and governed by God; it is done in different ways. Luther said that it is the art of making distinctions that defines a theologian. He recognised the tension and the paradox between the worlds and deliberately avoided creating any "synthesis" between them. Education definitely belongs to the secular realm and, therefore, suggests Edwards, we should not lament the disappearance of "Christian scholarship". For Edwards, both the Catholic and the Reformed visions or models opine for an ideal, normative view of what Christian education "should be" and they see every deviation from this ideal regrettable. Unlike them, the Lutheran Edwards sees the present situation not necessarily as the time of the "dying light" but, rather of a "new refraction". His conclusion is worth quoting:

> "We need to remember that the faithfulness of the church and of the church's institutions, including colleges, depends ultimately not on what we do for ourselves but what the Holy Spirit does for us. God has shown throughout the centuries, in the Bible stories and in church history, that God can accomplish God's purposes despite all the human weaknesses and foolishness that stand in the way. A sense of humility and, yes, an accompanying sense of humour are not out of place. We need to be able to laugh at our pretensions and shortcomings. And God can be trusted to preserve the colleges of the church in the form and way that God wills."[10]

In fact, a very similar conclusion was drawn by a Valparasio Lutheran theologian Mark R. Schwehn. Though at first he also evokes Newman's *The Idea of the University* concerning the principles of "unity", "universality" and "integrity"; towards the end of his essay, he comes to argue that the "Christian university is the one that is most at odds with Newman".[11] With the philosopher Charles Taylor, Schwehn believed that "modern culture, in breaking with the structures and beliefs of Christendom, also carried certain facets of Christian life further than they ever were taken, or could have been taken, within Christendom."[12]

[10] Edwards, *op.cit.*
[11] Schwehn, *op.cit.*
[12] Schwehn, *op.cit.*

Similarly to Mark U. Edwards Jr, Schwehn also proposes "to be more sanguine about the present state of Christianity and higher education". This Lutheran *hilaritas* is the underlying tone of the representative views of the third model.

> "The Christian university can truly be itself only in a context of institutional pluralism, as one of several models, perhaps even a model on the margins, of university education. Christianity functions most truly and most effectively when it is disenthralled. And in this regard the life of the ideal Christian university is like unto the life of the individual Christian. Insofar as Christians relax their grip upon the reins of earthly dominion and contract the scope of their temporal ambitions, they so far increase the range of their spiritual influence and so the more steadily secure their hold upon eternity. This too should be a teaching of a Christian university."[13]

Therefore, the three versions of a Christian vision of university can be summarised by the following three statements: the Catholic vision encourages an overarching conversation between a secular and a robust theological perspective; the Calvinist vision seeks to transform secular culture completely; the Lutheran vision is happy to accept a more modest role for the Christian voice in the cacophony of the pluralistic community of a university.

Acknowledging the insights of Marsden and others the Lutheran ethicist Robert Benne in his book *Quality with Soul. How Six Premier Colleges and Universities Keep Faith in Their Religious Traditions* was able to uphold the examples of Calvin College (Christian Reformed Church), Wheaton College (Evangelical Tradition), Baylor University (Southern Baptist Convention), The University of Notre Dame (Roman Catholic Church), St Olaf College (Evangelical Lutheran Church in America) and Valparaiso University (The Lutheran Church – Missouri Synod).[14] Benne thoroughly studied the original mission-statements (vision) and the present practice (ethos) of these colleges and universities which, while preserving academic excellence by successfully integrating faith and learning, were able to resist the pressure of culture to give up their Christian identity.

According to Benne, next to the vision it is the ethos that is a mark of a Christian university. Ethos is concerned with what is being done to achieve the identity of a Christian university. What are the characteristic contents of a Christian higher education? Schwehn in the above-mentioned article said that in a Christian institution of higher education there should be a department of theology,

[13] Schwehn, *op.cit.*
[14] Benne, *op cit.*

an active Chapel-ministry, a faculty "that carry in and among themselves the DNA of the school"[15] and a curriculum including courses that articulate the vision.

Benne's third mark of the Christian university is the people. In view of Schwehn's categories this one is indeed problematic, namely, that faculty should "carry in and among themselves the DNA of the school". At some American colleges (e. g. at Calvin College) where faculty is hired only if they are members of the sponsoring church and sign a statement that they would be committed to integrate faith and learning in their teaching, the Schwehn-criterion of the "DNA" might work.

However, for several church-related Christian schools (including the just 20-year-old Hungarian Pázmány Péter Catholic and Károli Gáspár Reformed universities) this model would not work, partly because these institutions are also sponsored by the state, and because it is only a minority of the faculty that come from the university's respective church tradition. As suggested earlier, the situation is based on a compromise: the church-related universities need enough expertise (most professors have to be hired from "outside" their church) and, on the other hand, academics with PhDs are happy to be offered a job that they are qualified for. They are only requested to respect the church-related foundation of their institution. Thus within a Christian university it is usually a minority that belongs also to the faith-community, the majority is only a member of the community of learning. A Christian university is, using the term of St Augustine, is a *corpux mixtum* with a vengeance!

How can, or should, a Christian university which is both a community of faith and a community of knowledge, reconcile its inherent tensions? How far do these two communities overlap with each other? Or, are they the only communities at Christian universities?

My focus is now on the Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church in Hungary. We had leaders, some of them better than others; new ideas, new structures have been introduced, some other structures have suddenly disappeared. We have wonderful colleagues and wonderful students, most of us are happy to teach within our walls, but unfortunately rarely, or hardly ever, do we stop to reflect on the mission (vision, ethos, people) of our church-affiliated university. Theoretically, a good innovation has been the introduction of the so-called biannual "training weeks" (short-term mandatory classes of great variety for students and leadership development workshops with entertaining programmes for faculty) at Károli University, but there has not been enough reflection on their effects.

[15] Schwehn, *op.cit.*

How far can the community of faith define the profile of a Christian institution of higher education? Can the community of faith affect the community of knowledge? A Lutheran scholar Ned Wisnefsky offered an answer to this question:

> "There are three principal ways in which a community of faith can affect a community of learning within Lutheran Colleges: by establishing a religious context within which learning takes place, by helping set the goal of learning; by influencing the content of what is learned."[16]

It is significant that Wisnefsky's focus is not only on the structure of such an institution or on the faculty but on the students for whom he insists on defining the context, the goal and the content of learning.

CONCLUSION: THE VISION OF A VIBRANT, OPEN-MINDED, FAITH-ORIENTED COMMUNITY

In conclusion, I am suggesting that the Christian University should really be concerned with trying to discuss, continuously define and again redefine; i.e. to "thematise" its Reformed/Protestant/Christian identity.

We should honestly raise such issues as, for example, how far should this identity be manifested in the personal commitment of faculty and the formation of the curriculum? At the Pázmány Péter Catholic University (where I taught between 1993–2007), the requirement was that at least 50 % of the faculty should be Roman Catholic and the rest could be anything. Frankly, I felt somewhat uncomfortable that as a Lutheran Christian, I found myself in the group of atheists, agnostics, i. e. "the anything".

In my view the community of faith, especially in the age of ecumenism, should have more of a Christian rather than a rigid denominational identity however differently theological interpretations (models) determined the visions of the founding fathers. Ultimately, a Christian vision, including the input of Orthodox, Roman Catholics, Lutherans, Calvinists, Evangelical believers should be able to contribute to the making of the identity of a Christian university, whether Roman Catholic or Reformed.

[16] Wisnefsky, Ned, The Lutheran College, A Community of Learning and a Comminity of Faith, *Papers and Proceedings of the 79th Annual Meeting, Lutheran Educational Conference of North America*, February 7–10, 1993, 6–13, Quotation is page 6.

The larger community of knowledge should respect the identity-forming efforts of the community of faith while the community of faith should respect academic excellence.

The third and so far undiscussed community is that of the administration. They interfere with both the community of faith and the community of knowledge. The professional aspect has to be emphasised here, too: you do not have to be necessarily a committed Christian to be a good manager. However, it is good to know that there are some excellent Christian managers too!

Both at the Catholic University and at the Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church (where I have been teaching since its foundation in 1993) my overall impression has been, among colleagues academically brilliant but not explicitly confessing Christians, that thematising the issue of our Christian identity is a rather non-desirable topic, perhaps even a sensitive taboo.

However, I believe, that raising such issues, even, for example, by organising such a conference, the first one in twenty years, we are breaking taboos. By making these borders visible, non-believing faculty members could honestly pursue their professional and educational efforts without being forced to hypocrisy or sycophancy. Such an openness would be mutually productive. A vivid and honest discussion of faith-issues would make a Christian university in a sense different from any other secular universities where faith-issues are assigned only to privacy, if not ridiculed. The faith-community can, of course, rejoice to notice when some of the faculty, though perhaps coming from an atheistic or agnostic background, are open to embrace its values. I have first-hand personal experience of colleagues who, during their tenure, were baptised and became very active members of their local congregations. Much to their credit, very wisely, I think, they remained discreet about it before their colleagues so that they did not irritate those only of the community of learning. True, at a Christian university, the direction of this process might also work the other way. In a secularised world, whether we like it or not, faith can also diminish and formerly committed Christians might start talking about their newly adopted "post-Christian" views. Is not it even harder to define the category of a "Christian" than the category of a "Christian university"?

Whatever the situation is, the open-minded church-related university I envision, would promote vibrant and honest discussions of faith-issues. How fruitful could it be to initiate "faith and learning" discussions for both faculty and students or organise "questions of faith" series for members of both communities of learning and communities of faith!

It cannot be emphasised enough, as Marlene Wall convincingly argued in her

lecture[17] that the university is not a church, not even an extended hand of a church; and Mwenda Ntarangiwi was also right to quote Woltersdorff that "Christian education should not be conceived of as simply being distinctive for distinctiveness's sake; neither should the act of teaching and learning be to blindly integrate faith and reason in a way that faith follows reason or vice versa… a Christian view of higher education should be *faithful* both to the central concepts of the Christian faith and to the practice of bringing social justice and human flourishing, … *shalom*, to a broken world."[18]

"Distinctiveness" is a result of an ideology, and ideology (and Christianity is not an ideology!) by its nature is, closed. Faithfulness, however, results in openness. By making a Christian university distinctively "Christian" it might be embarrassing, if not existentially threatening, to those "outside" the faith-community but without whom the university would not function as a university. Intellectuals and academics in our country have already experienced the threatening nature of Marxist ideology and they have learned the skills and techniques of survival and adaptation. A Christian university, however, should be able to uphold that it is different than an educational institution of an ideological or political power.

We Christians at a Christian university are not meant to make our non-Christian colleagues or students "Christian". At the same time, however, it is also important to notice that good teachers, whatever convictions they have, apart from teaching their subjects, are usually concerned with transmitting their values to their students' minds and personalities. Why should then "professing" (Christian) professors refrain also from doing that?

It is obvious that aggressive proselytisation is not to be permitted. However, by possessing what we believe a "treasure in earthen vessels" (2 Cor 4:7); i.e. the Gospel, we can articulate the voice, or noise of this treasure through the honest teaching of our discipline.

When Christians teach their disciplines with professional integrity, i.e. correctly, this voice might also be heard through what and how we teach.

The rest is not our work – it is grace.

[17] Wall, Marlene, The Lithuanian Christian University, Its Foundation and Twenty Years, Lecture at Károli's Conference on *Confessionality and University in the Modern World* in Budapest on October 15, 2013. See this lecture in the present volume.

[18] Ntarangwi, Mwenda, Embracing Unity Within Diversity, IAPCHE's Work Around the World and Implications for the Future of Christian Higher Education, Lecture at Károli's Conference on *Confessionality and University in the Modern World* in Budapest on October 15, 2013. See this lecture in the present volume.

CONFESSION AND NATION

Prof. Dr. Dr. h.c. Gottfried Adam[1]

CHURCH AND EDUCATION: RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN SCHOOLS

I thank you for the invitation to participate in the panel "Confession and Nation". My approach to the topic of this panel is through a question of current politics: Religious Education in Hungary's state schools. Religious Education is formally being taught as an elective subject since the beginning of this school year. In the introductory text to the conference it states that one of its aims is to "take a look into the future opportunities". That is exactly what I would like to do now in regards of confessionality and the national schools in Hungary. I will structure my presentation in three parts:

First: The Reformation's Educational Impulse,
Second: Church and Education in the Modern World and
Third: Dimensions of a confessional Religious Education in state schools.

THE REFORMATION'S EDUCATIONAL IMPULSE

When we look at the history of Christianity, we find the link between faith and education an ancient one. It has been a distinct characteristic from the earliest beginnings of the Christian Church. Throughout its history, we find Christianity open and welcoming towards education, a trait that sets it apart from other religions.

With the Reformation of the sixteenth century, a further educational impulse was introduced. This theological and spiritual departure developed a new form of religiosity and a new form of church. Closely interwoven with these new beginnings was a departure from earlier educational tradition. This new, reforming impulse

- referred to a form of education that was demanded and, indeed, considered indispensable on account of faith,
- but also looked to the social and political realities of education within its time, concretely, the question of professional and vocational preparation in schools and universities.

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The Protestant faith and the aims of educational reform are closely related. It is no coincidence that almost all leading Reformation theologians also were school and university reformers and founders of educational institutions. In their thought and action, they always looked at education from a twin perspective:

- *On the one hand*, education is made necessary by the principle of *sola scriptura* – enabling the faithful to read the Bible for themselves. Faith and understanding, faith and thought, are indivisible. To Reformation theology, the fact that each individual Christian should understand Scripture and come to his or her own conclusions is a central tenet. This is the reason the catechism was created, and also the reason why the faithful needed to be taught to read so as to have immediate access to the Bible.
- *On the other hand*, the Reformers valued education for its capacity to produce good pastors, good administrators, good lawyers etc. The key aspect here was the acquisition of professional qualification in the spirit of Jeremiah 29,7: "Also, seek the peace and prosperity of the city".

This led to a flowering of education in Hungary's Reformed Church. Let me just mention one example: Debrecen and the outreach of its integrative educational system reaching from elementary school up to the university level. Where medieval education was largely structured with the aim of producing recruits for the need of the Catholic Church, the Protestant Reformers believed that schools existed to provide education for everyone and to benefit all human life or, as we would say, the common good. For some time in the twentieth century, it seemed as though Protestantism was suffering from education fatigue. Since the 1990s, though, we have seen vigorous new departures. This leads us to the question: What is the relationship between them.

CHURCH AND EDUCATION IN THE MODERN WORLD

To this day, a Protestant church is characterised by a strong interest in education. This sets it apart even from other Christian confessions (esp. the Orthodox Church).

Foundations

• (1) "Education is Both an Element and Consequence of Faith"

Protestant theology understands the Christian faith as a trusting relationship with God as He is revealed in Jesus Christ. It must therefore refer to the Biblical tradition. This makes education important because it enables everyone to study

the Bible and understand what is meant by being created in God's image. Thus, education must be considered an integral element of faith. For example, Ephesians 4,14 stresses religious maturity in the sense of independent judgement. I quote the King James Version:

> "That we henceforth be no more children, tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine, by the sleight of men, and cunning craftiness, whereby they lie in wait to deceive."

Yet education is also a consequence of faith in that the ability to account to ourselves and others for our faith is part of being a Christian. We need education to lead a Christian life, not least in view of the charge of the *dominium terrae* that is placed on humanity created in God's image. It places a responsibility on us to maintain and serve all creation. Education can provide the knowledge and skills required to meet this challenge. An ethical education is equally necessary to the faithful for their ethical orientation, in order to inform their understanding of good and evil. And ethical education is necessary for people living together in society.

Children are a promise and a gift of God (Gen 12ff.). The Bible clearly includes, already in the Old Testament, religious education in the charge of caring for future generations. Thus in Dtn 6,20f.we read (King James Version):

> "And when thy son asketh thee in time to come… Then thou shalt say unto thy son …"

Thus, religious education is also rooted in an intergenerational relationship which includes the transmission and explanation of the Biblical tradition.

• (2) "Through its educational efforts, the church also assumes responsibility for society and the globe."

Here, we must emphasise ethical education towards peace, justice and social cohesion as foundational elements of a Protestant understanding of education. The church actively embraces its social responsibility especially in providing religious education in state schools, maintaining its own parochial schools and other educational institutions that serve society.

Two Basic Principles of the Church's Educational Efforts

• (1) First Principle: "The Foundational Task of Opening Access to the Gospel"

Reference to the Gospel is a constitutive part of all Protestant education across the efforts of the church and its affiliated organisations. In practice, this means:

"The Christian understanding of humanity and reality, referred to in short as the Christian ideal of humanity (christliches Menschenbild), thus is the foundation of an understanding of education that nonetheless remains open for all insights science can offer."[2]

By communicating the Gospel, the church's educational efforts open a multitude of doors to the Christian faith for everyone it addresses.

• *(2) Second Principle:* "Education refers to human beings at any stage of their lives and educational careers."
The church's educational responsibility is realised through different ways of acting.

- *On the one hand within its own ambit,* in its own institutions and activities: the parish, e.g. in working with children and young people, in confirmation education, in acting with adults and increasingly with senior citizens. In this case the church is independent of any external funding and imposed curricular guidelines.
- *On the other hand the church´s educational task it is realised in co-responsibility with the state* as partners of a positive co-operation. This is true in its own parochial schools and church related universities, and in providing religious education in state schools. In these activities the church is financially dependent on the state and partly bound by curricular requirements.

We must bear in mind this entire scope of the church's educational responsibility when we now turn to religious education provided in government-run schools – and ask for its special profile.

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN STATE SCHOOLS – PROFILE AND BASIC ARGUMENTS FOR ITS EXISTENCE

Some Introductory Remarks
With the beginning of this school year, as we all know, an elective subject of Religious Education or Ethics was introduced throughout the Hungarian state school system. It is now being implemented in two grades. From my point of view

[2] Kirchenamt der EKD (ed.), *Kirche und Bildung*, Gütersloh, Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2009, 44: "Das christliche Verständnis von Mensch und Wirklichkeit, das abgekürzt auch als 'christliches Menschenbild' bezeichnet wird, stellt damit die Grundlage des Bildungsverständnisses dar, das zugleich offen bleibt für die Erkenntnisse der Wissenschaft."

this is a welcome development, though it presents both administrative problems and questions of subject matter that will have to be addressed in the coming months and years. Above all, though, it is a unique opportunity for a new outreach into society.

As far as I have been able to follow the discussion in the Reformed Church here in Hungary, religious education has primarily been considered in its socio-political impact and its confessional orientation. It is without doubt necessary to reflect on these factors. I do not wish to go into these areas of discussion. About these you are much better informed and qualified than I am. Rather, I would like to invite you to join me in reflecting about some further aspects of the whole matter which might broaden the horizon within which we consider Religious Education and add some further dimensions to the thoughts on the subject. I am convinced that a theory of religious education for the 21st century can only gain from this broadening of perspectives

- because it helps to clarify the purpose and goals of religious teaching more precisely in the pedagogical perspective and thereby helps to foster the relevance of what is taught in the subject religious education;
- because religious education is and will be controversial in society and therefore is in need of being argued;
- because, in the long run, these perspectives help to ensure that religious studies does not end up as a marginalised subject, but grows into a full partnership with the school and its pupils. After all, it has to offer a content that no other school subject can provide: man´s and woman´s destiny as God´s beloved children, offering boys and girls a basic identity, including a sense of responsibility for oneself and society.

In addition to the core theological argument I just mentioned and in addition to the legal dimensions establishing the framework for teaching religious studies in schools there are four additional basic arguments that should be considered when arguing in favour of a confessional religious education in public schools.

Basic Arguments for Religious Teaching in State Schools

A well-founded justification of confessional religious education provided through public schools is well advised to include in its argumentation the following aspects:

(1) The argument from cultural history;
(2) The argument from societal considerations;
(3) The educational perspective;
(4) The anthropological argument.

Taken as a whole together with the theological and legal arguments, we are convinced that these arguments can justify the provision of Christian religious teaching in public schools very well, and may have some power to convince even people who are affiliated with neither the church nor Christianity.[3]

(1) Argument from Cultural History

The first argument in favour of a scholastic religious education is that from history of culture and mentality. Though it would not, on its own, suffice to justify its provision, in concert with others it is a weighty aspect of a convincing justification. The tradition of hermeneutically oriented religious teaching championed by *Martin Stallmann* and *Gert Otto* has especially emphasised and developed this aspect.

This position is rooted in the well-founded conviction that the Biblical tradition and its concrete historical expressions are of fundamental importance for our Western civilisation. It is realised in an understanding of the school as both a place and an advocate of tradition. The educational responsibility of the school is concretised "by educating in the interpretation of tradition"[4]. In that endeavour, individual subjects are assigned specific areas of tradition. The task of Christian religious teaching is to address Christianity and the Biblical tradition in a manner commensurate with its nature and scope. This requires, among other things, inculcating a basic understanding and knowledge of the Bible as a "document that has centrally contributed to the becoming and being of our world"[5]. With a view to the present, it also means that society needs religious education as part of its cultural transmission mechanism to prevent a loss of cultural achievements, including religion, faith and the church. This argument from cultural history finds its limits, though, once we address the question of a scholastic religious education rooted in a non-Christian, non-Western tradition (such as Islamic religious education).

[3] In the following I refer to a large content to Adam, Gottfried, Lachmann, Rainer, *Begründungen des schulischen Religionsunterrichts,* in Rothgangel, Martin, Adam, Gottfried, Lachmann, Rainer (eds.), *Religionspädagogisches Kompendium*, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, [7]2012, 144-148.

[4] Otto, Gert, *Schule-Religionsunterricht-Kirche, Stellung und Aufgabe des Religionsunterrichts in Volksschule, Gymnasium und Berufsschule*, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, [3]1968, 49: "durch Unterricht im Sinne von Interpretation der Überlieferung".

[5] Wegenast, Klaus, *Art. Bibel*, in Zilleßen, Dietrich (ed.), *Religionspädagogisches Werkbuch*, Frankfurt a.M., 1972, 147: "Dokument, das wesentlich zum Werden und Gewordensein unserer Gesellschaft beigetragen hat."

(2) *Argument from Societal Considerations*

The argument from cultural history needs to be augmented with societal considerations regarding the current social environment and experience of the pupils. This justification needs to embrace both situationally pragmatic and ethically normative aspects. It is founded on an understanding of the purpose of education and especially of the school as providing orientation and enabling independent action in the present environment.

The curricular content of religious education encompasses issues of great and immediate relevance for social life. First and foremost, this refers to the encounters with Christianity in the lives of the pupils. Regardless of their individual attitude towards Christianity, pupils will encounter believing and committed Christians and participate to a degree in occasions marked by church services. Beyond this, we should not forget the calendar divided into seven-day weeks and structured by the Christian feasts of Christmas, Easter and Pentecost, the Christian content in literature (here you have a rich tradition in Hungary), art and music, and not least its influence on philosophy, politics and education itself. Finally, we have to consider the manifold expressions of the churches' presence in the social environment of the pupils.

A second important consideration is the societal need for ethical norms and values. Religious education contributes to a great extent to this ethical education and value formation. The same is true of its co-responsibility for fostering a sense of stewardship for the environment and an active interest in peace and justice. The trend towards greater religious pluralism also places greater emphasis on the relationship between the religions. A social justification for Protestant religious teaching includes an interreligious dimension in encounters with other religions, their adherents and practices as it occurs in the social reality of pupils today. This aspect might be not so prevailing in Hungary at the moment, but without doubt it will increase in the future as pluralism and globalisation increase.

(3) The Educational Perspective

The above avenue of justification is closely interwoven with the educational perspective. In this, the church as part of society and current representation of the Biblical tradition and Christian religion becomes centrally relevant. The school, as an institution of the state which is by law required to maintain neutrality in religious and faith questions provides its pupils with religious education to enable them to effectively exercise their basic human right to freedom of faith, conscience and religion enshrined in the respective laws (Fundamental Law, Art.

VII; Act C on the Right to Freedom of Conscience and Religion etc. [2011]). Within this formal framework, the churches provide the content. Who else could do it? It is in this sense the guidelines on "Church and Education" of the Evangelical Church in Germany (EKD) state that the church's involvement in public school instruction through Protestant religious education is in support of "the active exercise of freedom of religion"[6].

In providing religious teaching, the state fulfils the civic right to education by binding the school to enable individual pupils to exercise their basic human and civil rights in the sphere of religion, conscience and confession. Education can only be called holistic if it includes the dimensions of religion and conscience. However, the basic principle of religious freedom requires an alternative elective subject to be instituted alongside religious education, be it called Ethics, or Norms and Values. Because, if religious education is really an integral part of a character or personality education, those pupils that don´t participate in religious teaching deserve the chance to engage with the questions of life orientation and ethics in some other subject.

> "The contribution of the churches is evident in providing the content of religious education that addresses the fundamental questions of personal identity, life orientation and ethics. The subject explores the basic right to freedom of religion and conscience along with the issues of liberty and human dignity it relates to. To that end, Religious Education must maintain a realistic estimate of the realities of society and take place in accordance with the realities and the curricular provisions of state schools."

The pupils must be addressed as and where they individually are. They have a right to expect religious education to support them in their individual religious biography and guide them in a critical engagement with the Christian faith. Therefore participation in religious education does not have as prerequisite the faith of the pupils, but the willingness to ask and seek answers. Religious teaching has to be open in this sense. It has no catechetical profile. For the confessional profile and essence it is only necessary that the teacher and the content of the teaching are of confessional character. The key document to develop the criteria of judgement to approach Christianity and the Christian faith through independent interpretation is the Bible. Therefore, it is necessary to teach pupils to competently read and interpret the Bible both to improve their critical faculties and their ability to arrive at individual judgement in religious matters.

[6] Kirchenamt der EKD, 2009, 40.

(4) The Anthropological Argument

The fourth argument in favour of religious education in public schools is based on existential anthropological considerations. It is rooted in the school's mission to aid the pupil in the development of his individual personality. In the process of education, holistically understood, pupils must be engaged in the question of who they are, what the meaning and purpose of their existence is, how to deal with liminal experiences and how to balance self-alienation and self-actualisation. This poses the anthropological question whether the sense of the transcendent represents an opportunity in this endeavour. Is a disposition towards transcendence part of human nature?

When *Friedrich Schleiermacher* writes "Man is born with the religious capacity as with every other"[7], he is speaking of exactly such a "sense of the religious". Molecular biologist *Dan Hamer* drew attention, in 2005, with his claim that human spirituality was a hereditary part of our make-up, that the human genome included a "God gene". Certainly the assumption of a "God gene" must be subject to critical questions, but we can clearly state that neuropsychological research is "providing convincing evidence that spirituality is indeed a universal phenomenon and an anthropological constant"[8].

In English-speaking research, efforts to empirically explore the spiritual side of human nature have been under way for some time now.[9] The question posed is whether spirituality is a fundamental precondition of religiosity and thus any kind of religious learning. British researcher *David Hay* understands spirituality in this sense "as a fact that is constitutive to human existence, an anthropological constant"[10]. His view is based on numerous empirical studies he conducted on spiritual and religious experiences in adults as well as – regarding anthropological considerations – the work of zoologist *Alister Hardy*, "according to whom, spiritual or religious experience is part of humanity's biological

[7] Schleiermacher, Friedrich, *On Religion, Speeches to its Cultured Despisers*, translated, with Introduction by John Oman, London, Kegan Paul, 1898, 125.

[8] Bucher, Anton, *Psychologie der Spiritualität, Handbuch*, Weinheim / Basel, Beltz PVU, 2007, 20f.: Die neueropsychologische Forschung "liefert triftige Indozien dafür, dass Spiritualität ein universals Phänomen und damit eine anthropologische Grundkonstante ist." (2008, 20 f.)

[9] Freudenreich, Delia/Mette, Norbert, 'Spiritualität und interreligiöses Lernen', in Schreiner, Peter et al. (eds.), *Handbuch Interreligiöses Lernen, Eine Veröffentlichung des Comenius-Institutes*, Gütersloh, Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2005, 304-314; Hay, David, Nye, Rebecca, *The Spirit of the Child*, London, Fount, 1998.

[10] Freudenreich, Mette, 2005, 306.

nature"[11]. Theologian *Anton Bucher* and psychologist *Fritz Oser* similarly state that "religiosity and spirituality are phenomena that may take different forms, but are rooted in identical neuropsychological structures."[12]

Rebecca Nye developed the concept of an awareness of living in relationships as the core category of children's spirituality. This "relational awareness" pertains to relations between humans as well as with oneself, God, and the natural environment. It must also be understood as a cognitive activity, "a strongly reflective consciousness which allows the child to become aware of the remarkable nature of its own mental activities"[13]. *Norbert Mette* summarises the findings of spirituality research and the educational challenge they pose thus:

> "On the one hand, spirituality does not enter human consciousness through the explicit embrace of a given religion, but is part of its existential nature that is the heritage of all humanity and extant from childhood, but that must unfold according to the individual's development lest it wither."[14]

The school must take account of this fundamental anthropological fact in its teaching design and its educational mission. This requires children to be allowed space and opportunities to consider questions and explanations of meaning and deal with religions and belief systems. This happens in the critical encounter with living traditions, experiences and relevant answers passed down to them. For Protestant religious education this means above all the Bible and its tradition. Its understanding of human existence as life "before God" – i.e. living in God's image and in responsibility for God's creation – can become an important contribution to the goals of both the ethical orientation and the development of an independent identity of the pupils.

[11] Ibid., 306 f.: "nach dem eine spirituelle oder religiöse Erfahrung zur biologischen Natur des Menschen gehört."

[12] Bucher, Anton A., Oser, Fritz, Entwicklung von Religiosität und Spiritualität, in Oerter, Rolf/Montada, Leo (eds.), *Entwicklungspsychologie*, sixth edition Weinheim, Basel, Beltz PVU 2008, 614.

[13] Freudenreich, Mette, 2005, 309 f.: Es handelt sich "um ein ausgeprägt reflektierendes Bewusstsein, das es dem Kind bis zu einem gewissen Grad ermöglicht, sich der bemerkenswerten Natur seiner eigenen mentalen Aktivitäten […] bewusst zu sein."

[14] Ibid., 313: "Einerseits gelangt Spiritualität nicht erst durch die ausdrückliche Annahme einer bestimmten Religion in den Menschen hinein, sondern ist eine existenzielle Verfasstheit, die jedem Menschen zukommt, die bereits in der Kindheit angelegt ist, die allerdings der individuellen Entwicklung gemäß zur Entfaltung gebracht werden muss, wenn sie nicht verkümmern soll."

SOME CLOSING REMARKS

Freedom of religion, freedom of conscience, and freedom to profess a religious or philosophical creed enshrine one of the most fundamental rights of human existence in our Western societies. A democratic and pluralistic state can´t tie itself to any one religious, philosophical or humanistic position, it has to adopt an open and tolerant stance towards all of them (neutrality). But this position on the part of the state does not mean it must subscribe to no values or be dismissively indifferent towards the beliefs held by its people. Rather, it is open to including a positive appreciation of the religious and other worldviews and co-operation with the relevant communities for the common good.

An established scholastic religious education may be understood as an instance of such limited and justifiable co-operation between the state and the religious beliefs existing in its people. That also means that the establishment of religious teaching cannot be read as a privilege of the established churches, but it is a service of the religious communities to the society. Religious education is taught in the interest that students receive an education that serves all aspects of their personality.

Finally: This panel was opened up with remarks about the church´s outreach in today´s society and that the presence of faith and spirituality in society is the test of today and tomorrow. I quite agree with this perspective. From the topic I have been lecturing about I have a respective suggestion: For the next three years put substantial effort into the project of religious education in the state schools. Ask your church leaders and the synod to appropriate money for the starting phase of this project, to bring a timely limited project on its way to give the subject religious teaching a good start. Religious education in Hungary should be of good quality: theologically sound and didactically excellent. I am sure, every effort that is made and every amount of money that is spent will be a good investment for the future outreach in society. I hope, this year´s start of religious education in Hungarian schools will be the beginning of a successful story.

Prof. Dr. István Karasszon[1]

NATIONAL IDENTITY AND CONFESSION IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

How to make both meet? National identity refers to our consciousness of the collective, and confession, on the other hand, reflects our personal decision. It is true, there are confessional writings (or rather credos) of different denominations; but it is necessary that teenagers declare in the public that they are not only born in this or that denomination, but that they are consenting to the basic document of their respective denominations.[2] It seems that our subject "National identity and confession" is not only a two-faced title, but it will also explain how we understand our personal existence in any given society. We will try to gain some clarification on this against the background of the Old Testament, as it is the main source of our faith and life.

One further preliminary remark: It seems to be a general inclination of nations and peoples to retroject their respective identities to the very beginning of history. Of course, we Hungarians think that the best person was Prince Árpád, or the first king Stephan – though it is clear that they did not know anything about our present-day existence. Why would it be different with the Old Testament? Abraham, the first among the Jews, is not only the ancestor of the people, but he is the prototype of all Jews, even that of all believers, i.e., Christians also. Critical investigations, however, showed that the portrait of Abraham was shaped not earlier than in the 5th century B.C., and there were other ancestors with different character[3] – Jacob is, perhaps, the oldest one.[4] The honorary doctor of our faculty, A. de Pury, showed just within these walls that the choice of

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[2] Hungarian Reformed people regard confession to be crucial to their special piety. To my knowledge, the Hungarian Reformed Churches are the only Christian communities which hold two confessional writings binding in their lives, the Heidelberg Catechism and the Confessio Helvetica Posterior.

[3] The Biblical portrait of Abraham is composed of different layers. It is not the place here to go into details. Rather we refer to the outstanding study of B. Ziemer, *Abram – Abraham, Kompositionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu Genesis 14, 15 und 17* (BZAW 350), Berlin-New York, W. de Gruyter, 2005, which expounds the theological implications of the redactional process of the narratives about Abraham. See most recently also T. Römer, Abraham Traditions in the Hebrew Bible Outside the Book of Genesis, in C.A. Evens-J.L. Lohr-D.L. Petersen (eds.), *The Book of Genesis, Composition, Reception, and Interpretation*, Leiden-Boston, Brill, 2012, 159-180.

[4] Cf. A. de Pury's opus magnum, *Promesse divine et légende cultuelle dans le cycle de Jacob,*

the ancestor ("Le choix de l'ancêtre") is the elementary form of shaping the common consciousness of a community[5] – this was true in the history of Israel also.

It is commonly held among scholars of the Hebrew Bible that national identity first appeared on the scene of the history of Israel in the last decades of the 7th century B.C., in the course of the so-called Deuteronomistic reform. This revival of national feelings was rendered possible by the decline of the Assyrian Empire, when Israel could be free of the foreign yoke.[6] Headed by the king, Israelites set out to search for their own history, to collect their specific traditions, and present an all-embracing view about their place in the world – all this implied, of course, the reshaping of the Israelite religion, also. It is worth enumerating the methods and tools they resorted to in doing so.

The reform was a political one – politics are important, though not everything, of course.[7] It was one of the goals of the reform to restore the Davidic kingdom, so the reforming king, Josiah, made efforts to regain the territories Israel had lost before. His power was limited, but it is certain that he tried to win considerable parts of the Northern Kingdom, of Transjordan also.[8] We can hardly measure his success in his efforts, but his endeavour is documented in

Genèse 28 et les traditions patriarcales, I-II. (Études Bibliques), Paris, Gabalda, 1975, which is the basis of subsequent researches also.

5 De Pury's paper is published in *Die Patriarchen und die Priesterschrift, Les Patriarches et le document sacerdotal, Gesammelte Studien zu seinem 70. Geburtstag, Receuil d'articles à l'ocasion de son 70e anniversaire* (AThANT 99), Zürich, TVZ, 2010, 109-118.

6 Historical circumstances are, of course, complex, and theological evaluation is also far from being evident. Here we follow *grosso modo* E. Otto's views, *Das Deuteronomium, Politische Theologie und Rechtsreform in Juda und Assyrien* (BZAW 284), Berlin-New York, W. de Gruyter, 1999. The author, who had formerly been involved for many years in cuneiform studies as well as in Biblical exegesis, sees many similarities between the laws of Deuteronomy and the Assyrian legislation. However, literary dependence served also for Israelites to assume the autonomous character of their national traditions and state which only depended on God's will and mighty acts.

7 No question: the connection between the narrative about the reform (2Kings xxii-xxiii) and the Deuteronomistic law was one of the greatest discoveries of Old Testament studies. It goes back to the beginnings of the 19th century, when W.M.L. de Wette published his "Dissertatio critico-exegetica" (1805). On de Wette's life and scholarly achievements see J. Rogerson, *W.M.L. de Wette, Founder of Modern Biblical Criticism, An Intellectual Biography* (JSOTS 126), Sheffield, JSOT Press, 1992.

8 So M. A. Sweeney, *King Josiah of Judah, The Lost Messiah of Israel*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2001, 176: "The interest in the restoration of the northern kingdom to Davidic rule in the Josianic DtrH (=Deuteronomistic History) aids in explaining the often noted focus by the DtrH on the northern kingdom of Israel." Sweeney correctly remarks that this interest does not square with the intention of the king to centralise the Israelite cult. The exclusive role of the sanctuary in Jerusalem and the focus on the Northern Kingdom must then be two preoccupations of the reforming king.

different lists of the boundaries of Israel which were composed in his time. At the same time it is necessary to warn politicians: politics are important, but the success of the reform did not depend on the political achievements. The reforming king died early, in 618 B.C. when the ruling Pharaoh, Necho II, killed the Israelite king. However, no end was put to the reform and to the national revival. Indeed, it continued among the people, and even more: it was able to keep people alive in the time of national catastrophe (i.e., the Babylonian exile) and it proved to be a solid basis on which restoration could be built a century later, when returning from Babylon.[9] I repeat: politics are important but political means can only mediate the spiritual power of national identity which are the real factors of shaping the history of the given community.

If this community tries to determine its distinctive character among other communities,[10] so it will be necessary to keep its own history in honour and to reflect this respect of the ancestors in the rules of its everyday life.[11] In the Deuteronomistic law there are plenty of positive examples of how this respect could be implemented in the then present legislation of the state. If one reads, e.g., Dt xvii 15, the rule seems to be a sheer nonsense: "*one* from among thy brethren shalt thou set king over thee: thou mayest not set a stranger over thee, which *is*

[9] This is quite clear in the book of Zechariah. However, there remain further questions, too, e.g., the use or neglect of the Deuteronomistic theology in Deutero-Isaiah during the Babylonian exile. It seems clear that the interpretation of the exile by the prophet differs profoundly from the Deuteronomistic History. See A. Labahn, *Wort Gottes und Schuld Israels, Untersuchungen zu Motiven deuteronomistischer Theologie im Deuterojesajabuch mit einem Ausblick auf das Verhältnis von Jes 40–55 zum Deuteronomismus* (BWANT 143), Stuttgart, Kohlhammer, 1999.

[10] The Deuteronomistic History was a history writing of this kind – on this elaborated M. Noth's masterpiece work, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien*, Halle, M. Niemeyer, 1943, engl. transl., *The Deuteronomistic History* (JSOTS 15), Sheffield, Academic Press, 1991. Since then many studies have appeared, with many modifications of Noth's theory. We roughly follow T. Römer's presentation, *The So-Called Deuteronomistic History, A Sociological, Historical and Literary Introduction,* London, T. & T. Clark, 2005. It is highly useful to consult the review articles in volume 9 of *Journal of Hebrew Scriptures* (2009) with the contributions of R.F. Person, R.D. Nelson, S.L. McKenzie, E. Otto and Y. Amit as well as Römer's response to the critics.

[11] There is a difference between Deuteronomy, which contains the Deuteronomistic law (Dt xii-xxvi), and the Deuteronomistic History writing which is the national history of Israel containing the books of Joshua, Judges, 1–2 Samuel and 1–2 Kings. It is, of course, subject of scholarly debate how these two different literary entites relate to one another. One of the recent evaluations of the research is given by K. Schmid, Das Deuteronomium innerhalb der "deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerke", in E. Otto/R. Achenbach (Hrsg.), *Das Deuteronomium zwischen Pentateuch und dem Deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerk* (FRLANT 206), Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004, 193-211. – About the most recent development of the research one may consult the volume edited by T.B. Dozeman, T. Römer and K. Schmid, *Pentateuch, Hexateuch, or Enneateuch? Identifying Literary Works in Genesis through Kings* (Ancient Israel and Its Literature 8), Atlanta, Society of Biblical Literature, 2011.

not thy brother." In Jerusalem no stranger could become king; the king came from the house of David and was necessarily a Jew. Not so, however, in the Northern Kingdom where there was no royal dynasty. Could it happen that the king was of foreign hailing? Scholars presume that there were such cases, though it is far from being certain. It is said, e.g., that Omri was perhaps of Canaanite descent (*'umaru* is a common Arabic name still today)[12], and allegedly his rule betrayed the true Israelite faith to the syncretism of Canaanite religion. Ahab, his son, married the Phoenician princess, Jezebel, and this turned out to be fatal for his office: the queen persecuted the prophet of Israel's God. – The Deuteronomistic law-giving remembers the old events and draws lessons from them, and that is why it records former legal sentences which seemingly had nothing to do with the reality of the 7th century. Though this law of king was obsolete in Josiah's reform, the teaching of history seemed to be important for the reforming people!

Of course, king was one of the most important offices in ancient times – is it not racism to exclude foreigners from this office? Would it happen in one of the countries of Europe, we would be entitled to speak of discrimination and racism; however, the thinking of the Deuteronomistic legislators and historians was anything but racist.[13] Even the founder of the dynasty, David, had foreign wives – and there was no problem with this. However, the foreign wives of Solomon are mentioned as the major weakness of the rule of this great king, and a Phoenician princess as wife of the king Ahab was a real shibboleth for the Deuteronomistic history writers! Foreign people, including foreign wives, are dangerous in that they entice Israel (*sut* hi. is a key-word in Dt xiii) and draw it to serving other gods.[14] National integrity equals, in this, loyalty towards God, and *vice*

[12] This was suggested by M. Noth, *Geschichte Israels*, Berlin, EVA, 1976, 210: "Über die Herkunft Omris meldet die Überlieferung nichts. Das ist vielleicht kein Zufall. Sein Name klingt nicht sehr israelitische, und der Name seines Sohnes Ahab auch nicht. Omrikönnte als Chef des Heerbannes leicht aus dem Söldnertum hervorgegangen sein, und in einer Söldnertrupe finden sich gern Elemente sehr verschiedener Herkunft zusammen." Noth's impact on the subsequent research can hardly be overestimated! He is considered, almost unanimously, the "father of Deuteronomistic History Writing". See S.L. McKenzie, M.P Graham (eds.), *The History of Israel's Traditions, The Heritage of Martin Noth* (JSOTS 182), Sheffield, Academic Press, 1994, especially W. Dietrich's study in the volume, Martin Noth and the Future of the Deuteronomistic History, 153-175. I think, everybody agrees with Dietrich's statement: "The first question is whether deuteronomistic and pre-deuteronomistic material can always be clearly distinguished." Indeed, this is an ever-green problem in research!

[13] Old Testament exegesis has had, from time to time, to fight against such misunderstandings of the wording of Biblical texts. Certainly today we would express ourselves in different ways! However, when summarising the message of the Old Testament, further books should be taken into consideration also – e.g., the book of Ruth or the ironic novel of Jonah which would eliminate any kind of incorrect interpretation.

[14] Dt xiii is a baffling text! Its dependence on the language of the Assyrian vassal treaties is shown

versa: loyalty to God is the foundation for our national distinctiveness. The enemy of God is automatically the enemy of the nation, and offending the rules of the society is rebellion against God. This unique message of the Deuteronomistic reform is put plainly in the 1st Commandment of the Decalogue: "(I *am* the LORD thy God,) which brought thee out of the land of Egypt, from the house of bondage" (Dt v 6) – it means: the foundation of the nation, the inauguration of Israel as people, was founded by God's miracle, by the mighty act of God when he delivered his people from the Egyptian bondage.[15] National identity is preserved when all the members of the nation keep the law: "Thou shalt have none other gods before me." (V. 7.) History records why we cling together, and God's action with His people displays graphically the integrity and distinctiveness of the national community. This is not surprising: our European national feeling is also nourished by historical remembering, and each nation tries to formulate its own view of history. What is, however, new in comparison with the European nations is that this history writing by the Deuteronomistic reform is, at the same time, a confession: God did marvelous miracles when founding us as a nation.

This confession is linked to the self-understanding of Israel, but it seems that it was more than the summary of a historical summary of Israel's specific experience. According to Dt xxvi individuals are summoned to celebrate Israel's national identity, and the best occasion of a festival of this kind is a yearly held sacrifice.[16] The sacrifice documents Israel's thankfulness toward God in that it offers God the first of all the food of the earth which was given Israel by God. The celebration of a festival is – we learn it from the recent work of J. Assmann[17] – part of the cultural memory of the society, so Israel strengthens its national integrity when organising and celebrating this yearly sacrifice. But now, we read something more! It is suggested in this chapter of the Deuteronomistic law that

clearly by T. Veijola, Wahrheit und Intoleranz nach Deuteronomium 13, *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche,* 92 (1995), 287-314.

15 W. Harrelson's interpretation (*The Ten Commandments and Human Rights,* Philadelphia, Fortress Press, 1980, 53) is excellent: "The Yahweh who identifies himself to the people is intimately connected with their history and with the history of their deliverance."

16 In this context one should also refer to the sabbatical year in Dt xv: each seventh year a debt release is ordered – this is a special sign of national solidarity! It should be mentioned that this sabbatical year seems to have formerly been a seventh-year fallow of the land, as written in the Covenant law (Ex xxiii 10-11). This agrarian habit was transformed in Deuteronomy to an all-embracing national act. However, the history and later development of the sabbatical year, especially the year of Jubilee after the Babylonian exile, makes the research of this subject even more complicated. See further J.S. Bergsma, *The Jubilee from Leviticus to Qumran, A History of Interpretation* (SVT 115), Leiden-Boston, Brill, 2007.

17 J. Assmann, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis, Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen,* München, Beck, 1997.

individuals chant a credo, which is called in the literature of the Old Testament the "small historical credo", when standing before God and before the whole of the community. A.S. van der Woude's excellent words tell us about the characteristic of this confession: "According to its character, a credo tends to be more of a summary of already existing traditions rather than a point of departure for the formation thereof or a framework within which such formation is facilitated."[18] This famous "small historical credo" looks back in time upon former events, but mentions God's deed which prevails in His presence also: "My father was a wandering Aramean, and he went down to Egypt and sojourned there, few in number; but there he became a great, mighty and populous nation." (Dt xxvi 5) At the first sight it seems that this "small credo" speaks of different things than the 1st Commandment: the main figure here is Abraham, the father of all Jews. Recent scholarship renders rather "fugitive Aramean": it identifies Abraham as one of escaping the power of the expanding Aramean states in the 2nd millennium B.C.[19] Nevertheless the "small credo" states that the constitution of the nation was done by God and in Egypt – in this respect there is no difference between the two major texts. The same is assumed in Ps cxiv 1-2: "When Israel went out of Egypt, the house of Jacob from a people of strange language; Judah was his sanctuary, *and* Israel his dominion." But what has the individual to do with half-millennium old story of Abraham? Indeed, nothing – but the individual has to do very much with the community once established by God through miracles in Egypt.[20] The celebration of national identity moves within the framework of a triangle: individual – community – and the mighty acts of God in history.

[18] T. C. Vriezen – A. S. van der Woude, *Ancient Israelite and Early Jewish Literature*, Leiden-Boston, Brill, 2005, 159.

[19] Of course, we do not know very much about the early history of the Aramean states; only a rough sketch of the events can be given. It seems to be certain that the Hittite kingdom, which had formerly controlled the territory of Syria, collapsed during the invasion of the "Sea Peoples", and the political vacuum was filled by intruding migratory groups in he course of the 12th century B.C. These groups founded their petty kingdoms on the basis of their family ties. The Aramean states normally use the term *bīt-* in their names: Bit Adini, Bit Agushi, Bit Zamani, etc., which speaks for the importance of kinship among the newcomers. It is possible, but not documented, that the ancestors of Israel were in these times compelled to leave their former homes and fled toward the South. See M. Liverani, *Israel's History and the History of Israel,* London, Equinox, 2003, 32ff.

[20] T. Römer's clear formulation on this subject deserves being quoted: "Un certain nombre de psaumes postexiliques, comme… le Ps 114 (commençant par la sortie d'Egypte et mettant en parallèle la traversée de la mer et celle du Jourdain) … attestent l'utilisation hymnique de l'histoire dans le culte du deuxième temple. Les motifs historiques servent alors à démontrer l'universalisme de Yhwh, le seul vrai Dieu, et la relation privilégiée qu'entretient avec lui Israël, son peuple élu. Cette 'preuve historique' se fait, en ce qui concerne l'histoire d'Israël, à partir de l'exode." T. Römer, Résumer l'histoire en l'inventant, *RThPh,* 125 (1993), 21-39, quotation 33.

Of course, human society has changed enormously since then, but individual and community can meet at the occasions where the confession shared by all is celebrated – this model works today as well. However, the model has some prerequisites also. It is necessary for history to be a point of reference and not the debated issue for members of the society. In the Deuteronomistic history, the past was not reason for self-justification, rather for thankfulness toward God and repentance. It is also necessary that the given society should shape its social institutions in accordance with this confessional statement. It would take long if we wanted to mention all the institutions of the Deuteronomistic reform that reflected the confession of the religious revival of this time. First we should refer to the centralisation of the cult: in Deuteronomistic theology the only temple where sacrifice could be offered was the sanctuary of Jerusalem. In the Deuteronomistic mind one temple – one God – one people belonged together. The holy calendar was also prescribed, i.e., those special times when people had to show reverence to God and to bring the first fruits to Him as a sign of thankfulness. Also the jubilee year celebrated national identity as an act of solidarity among members of the people of God. The great achievement of the Deuteronomistic legislation was that all this could be formulated in one grandiose lawbook, which was theology, social order, temple service and everyday life at the same time! – It would be promising to compare the Hungarian network of social institutions with the Deuteronomistic legislation: How much do our social institutions reflect Hungarian national identity, how do they express our common belief or the expectations of the society? Do they canalise the acts of individuals, do they express solidarity among members of the society? I think, it is not my task to answer all these questions, rather I confine myself to an anecdote. Twenty years ago, when our Károli Gáspár Reformed University was founded, or to put it correctly: when the Reformed Theological University of Budapest was developed into our present university, the moving idea behind the decision was that Hungarian learning and education for our future should be shaped according to the Reformed faith. The decision was fed by the conviction that Reformed confession could serve as a model for the whole of society. Indeed, this important step was construed as a *service*: service to mankind, and service to God. Looking back upon these twenty years, the question could be raised: did we reach this goal? It is imperative to answer this question; however, there is something more important, and that is to see and to perceive clearly the goal and to continue to work for reaching it. I wish God's abundant blessing on this effort!

Dr. Viktor Kókai Nagy[1]

CREED AND NATION IN THE TEACHING OF PAUL

SETTING

In the Roman Empire there existed two categories of nationhood: the nation/people (ἔθνος) and the barbarians (βάρβαρος). Rome was looked upon as the defender of the former against the latter.[2] For this very reason it was in the interest of all ethnic groups to be regarded as a nation. In order to prove this, every ethnic group had to demonstrate that it is ancient in origin, and that it has good testimonials, in other words it was necessary to be regarded as a nation by a number of acquaintances, relatives, supporters.[3] Although in the case of Judaism the Israelites were in general considered a nation by New Testament times,[4] it appears that Philo and Josephus felt it necessary to continuously emphasise this for their audiences. On the other hand – as seems important in this regard – they looked upon Judaism only as a nation, and not as a religion. This has a simple reason: the notion of "religion" does not have its equivalent in ancient civilisations. There are religious rituals, myths, but the category of religion as such does not exist.[5] Every ethnic group had to have distinctive characteristics in terms of its nature, its past, its ancestry, its mythology as well as its customs, laws, traditions and constitution. The cult of a given nation had to be distinctive and easy to define, something that we would call today religious practice. Since the category of religion as such did not exist, individual communities within a certain religion were labelled as philosophical movements, for philosophy con-

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[2] See Mandell, Sara, Did the Makkabees Believe that They Had a Valid Treaty with Rome?, *Catholic Biblical Quarterly, 53*, 1991, 202-221, 209.

[3] See the comment of K. Bringmann in Haag, Ernst, *Die hellenistische Zeitgeschichte*, Stuttgart, Kohlhammer, 2003. 90.

[4] It seems that the Maccabees have already fought this battle (for the topic see Viktor, Kókai Nagy, Die Beziehung der Makkabäer zu fremden Nationen – die Bündnisse mir Rom und Sparta, in Géza, Xeravits, Jan, Dušek (ed.), *The Stranger in Ancient and Mediaeval Jewish Tradition*, Berlin, de Gruyter, 2010, 107-117.

[5] In the writing of Josephus Apion does not appear as a member of another religion, but as an opponent of the Jewish nation. Philo makes a number of references to the fact that the Jews constitute an evqnoj, Moses is their lawgiver, who provided them with a constitution. The significance of translating the Bible to Greek was to enable other nations to read the laws of the Jews.

cerned ethics, it concerned humans as beings with soul, it concerned the question of the other world, finally – though using a distinctive approach – it concerned sorcery and divination. This is the reason why Philo and Josephus call the various movements, such as Essenes, Therapeuts, Pharisees and Sadducees – which we would call religious communities – philosophical movements. "This was no deceit: they were using the most appropriate category. Religion was not in the lexicon."[6]

For non-Jewish authors the criterion in determining whether a person is a Jew was ethnic denomination. There are no references in such works to changing one's religion, since in a polytheistic milieu this would not have been necessary. Although they were aware of the monotheistic character of the religion of Judaism, it was not in any way considered threatening or fundamentally disturbing. In contrast, it was looked upon as an ideal philosophical conviction.[7] In a polytheistic milieu monotheism is acceptable,[8] but not vice versa. "Wo man sich aber durch das philosophisch geschulte Denken über die naive polytheistische Naturreligion des einfachen Volkes erhob und die bildlose, "geistige" jüdische Gottesverehrung mit Wohlwollen betrachtete, hatte man doch kein Verständnis für die alle anderen Formen der Religiosität ausschließende Verankerung dieser Religion im Gesetz und ihre untrennbare Bindung an das jüdische Volk und dessen Geschichte."[9]For the Greeks and Romans, who had their distinctive views on the function of citizenship and on who and how can acquire it, the thought that one can become the member of the Jewish nation, by following the JHWH cult, abiding by its laws and leaving behind one's own nation, was alien.[10] The latter criterion appears to be the most problematic in viewing the Jews, and not their way of life, their cultic ordinances or faith. "To be sure, the Jewish faith

[6] Mason, Steve, *Josephus, Judea, and Christian Origins*, Hendrickson, Massachusetts, 2009, 164.

[7] The notion that the various cults are fundamentally the manifestations of the one divine essence developed and affected the thought of the Gentiles in the time of Hellenism. Therefore it was not problematic for non-Jewish authors to accept the religious convictions of the Jews, and this is the reason why they found it difficult to accept the lack of the same openness on the part of the Jews. Worshipping the "greatest, supreme" God meant for the non-Jewish authors to identify Him with another deity: the name is only an "envelope", which over time became attached to the name of the ONE deity, regardless of whether he is called Jupiter, Zeus, Gaia, or Helios (see the Letter of Aristeas, 15-16).

[8] Hellenistic monotheism was not equal to Jewish monotheism (see the article of Amir, Yehoshua: Die Begegnung des biblischen und des philosophischen Monotheismus als Grundthema des jüdischen Hellenismus, *EvTh,* 38, 1978, 2-19; 4-5), since the former never opposed polytheism, of which it was part (op. cit., 10-11); this distinction should be understood from the Jews' point of view, the Gentiles did not consider it to be overly problematic.

[9] Hengel, Martin, *Judentum und Hellenismus*, J.C.B. Mohr, Tübingen, 1988, 475.

[10] Goodman, Martin, Identity and Authority in Ancient Judaism, *Judaism,* 39, 1990, 192-201, 196-197.

did not strike most Romans as especially wise or admirable. Writers in Latin or Greek regularly labelled the creed of the Jews as *superstitio* or *deisidaimonia*."[11] Therefore to become a member of this religious community and nation was for the Romans a barbaric trait. In labelling the Jewish way of life as barbaric the Romans primarily based their judgment on outward characteristics, those that are the object of derision or critique in most of the writings reflecting on Judaism: the keeping of the Sabbath, the prohibition of eating pork, and most abominable of all is circumcision. It is noteworthy however that the works of Jewish authors – even those who recognised the values of Greek culture – such as Eleazar in the Letter of Aristeas, Philo or Josephus betrayed sarcasm towards Greek faith and at times their writings contained strong critique of the ethics and customs of non-Jews.[12] In other words we see here an attitude characteristic of both parties.

We may summarise here that in New Testament times the category of religion did not exist; the various religious movements were compatible with each other in the background of polytheism.[13] It was not so much monotheism that made Judaism so distinct from other religions, but the fact that only those could be part of the community of JHWH-worshippers who became Jews themselves,[14] and that the Jews felt the necessity of "belonging to a larger entity: Israel, the People of God, concretely represented by the land of Israel and the Temple in Jerusalem".[15]

CREED AND NATION IN THE TEACHING OF PAUL

For the members of Pauline Christianity, breaking with the category of evqnoi has meant on the one hand the possibility of becoming universal in character, but on the other losing the advantages of belonging to a nation as opposed to barbarians. The members of the communities consisting mainly of non-Jews were new converts, who were not born into this faith – this is the reason why

[11] Gruen, Erich S., *Diaspora, Jews Amidst Greeks and Romans*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge-Massachusetts-London, 2002, 43.

[12] For a detailed survey see Gruen, *Diaspora*, 215-216.

[13] For the detailed discussion of the topic see my "A zsidó ‚vallás' Jézus korában", in Balog M.-Kókai Nagy V. (ed.), *Újszövetség és eszkatológia (Acta 4.)*, DRHE, Debrecen, 2013, 119-144.

[14] Among the various movements the proselytes do not represent an exception; the category of godfearers (fobou, menoi) on the other hand may raise some questions. In my view belonging to this group did not involve life-long commitment, but was a certain prerequisite of becoming a proselyte.

[15] Meeks, Wayne A., *The First Urban Christian*, London, Yale University Press, 2003, 80.

Michael Wolter uses for them the term "conversion religion" (*Bekehrungsreligion*). The characteristics of these communities – among others – are that in terms of their place in history and in society they do not go back such a long time as other movements.[16] Thus the significance of the members of the community being named Christians for the first time in no other place than Antioch, the Empire's third largest city is attested by Luke (Acts 11,26). We have two important corollaries to follow from Luke's comment. First, that those belonging to this community are not defined as Jews by their environment, which implies that the Christian communities in the area must have been distinct enough for others to perceive their distinctiveness.[17] This included distinctive characteristics and changes within the community itself as well. "Die bisherigen religiösen, sozialen und nationalen Unterschiede verloren an Bedeutung, und es bildete sich eine pneumatisch bestimmte Gemeinschaft heraus, die von außen als eigenständige Gruppe und neue Religion wahrgenommen wurde."[18] On the other hand, this has meant acquiring some form of sovereignty in judicial matters. This judicial status was equal with that of contemporary voluntary associations *collegia tenuiorum*, burial societies, or private associations which governed the life of Jewish communities.[19] Such associations could be formed by virtually anyone, by sojourners to the city just as well as by local residents with citizenship, or they could be formed on the basis of belonging to the same trade, or of being the members of the same cult.[20] It is noteworthy that the lists of members available to us attest that the members – by giving their signature – have pledged to keep the law (νόμος) of the association, and that their transgressions entailed monetary fines.[21] Paul obviously uses the notion of law in a different context and with a different meaning; however, even for pagan readers it must have been apparent that in this "association" there are no such laws by which to abide. In preserving the identity of Jewish communities however, keeping the laws and adhering to traditions were essential. "[…] it is an essential criterion for the diaspora (name-

[16] Wolter, Michael, Die Entwicklung des paulinischen Christentums von einer Bekehrugsreligion zu einer Traditionsreligion, *Early Christianity,* 1, 2010, 15-40, 16.

[17] This distinctiveness explains the titular use of Christoi for the community by those in their environment, see Schnelle, Udo, *Paulus, Leben und Denken*, Berlin-New York, de Gruyter, 2003. 108f, who argues that the term Christianoi is a latinisation, which implies that it was given to the community by outsiders.

[18] Schnelle, *Paulus*, 109.

[19] See Meeks, *The First Urban Christians*, 77-81

[20] We are especially well informed of the situation of Judaism in Rome, where – according to epigraphic evidence – the Jews formed such associations (Leipoldt, Johannes – Grundmann, Walter (ed.), *Umwelt des Urchistentums I.*, Belrin, Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, [2]1967. 304).

[21] See Kloppenborg, John S., Membership Practices in Pauline Christ Groups, *Early Christianity,* 4, 2013, 183-215, 195-202.

ly, in the case of the Jews), that the diasporised people maintain a constitutive Jewish identity in the centre of which is Jerusalem and Judah, despite the fact that they do not live in the Homeland. Without this we can only speak of assimilitation which entails losing such identity."[22] In the communities formed under the influence of Paul the basis of membership was presumably baptism; although in the earliest epistle of the apostle we do not read about this sacrament, 1 Corinthians – which was written only a few years later – suggests that baptism became the "identity marker" of the congregation; this seems confirmed in the Epistle to the Romans.[23] For the Gentile, Pauline congregations the breaking point with Jews and Jewish Christian congregations was circumcision, because it signified belonging to a nation, and as one of the main characteristics of Judaism was more than one of the many regulations of the Jews.

Those Jews who became Christians did not cease to be Jews, they continued to belong to Israel, and – as I have mentioned above – this community could be labelled as philosophical movement (φιλοσοφία), or a heresy (αἵρεσις)[24] within Jewish religion, or as M. Wolter calls it, the so-called Tradition-religion. (*Traditionsreligion*).[25] For Jewish Christians preserving their identity on the other hand was less of a problem, since they had their own longstanding tradition in the light of which to interpret the new challenges of the present.[26] It was however problematic to come to terms with Gentile Christians for both Jewish Christians and Jews. "Erschwert wurde die Lösung dieser Probleme durch den Umstand, dass in der Tora keine eindeutigen Aussagen für das Zusammenleben von Juden(-christen) und Heiden(-christen) *außerhalb Israel* zu finden sind. Die jungen Gemeinden aus Juden- und Heidenchristen waren eine Größe sui generis, die Tora sah eine solche Situation nicht vor."[27] In such a situation the Gentiles found themselves facing the same exclusivity within Christianity as shown by Jews towards syncretism and polytheism; for Gentiles to tackle the issue of identity they would have needed the category of nation since the category of religion

[22] Kessler, Rainer, *Az ókori Izráel társadalma* (original title: Sozialgeschichte des alten Israel, Eine Einführung, 2008), Budapest, Kálvin Kiadó, 2011, 198.

[23] Kloppenborg, *Membership*, 207.

[24] These are the terms employed by Josephus. For an introduction of the groups, the three "philosophical schools" or "movements" see Ant. 13,171-173; Bel. 2,119-166; Ant. 13,288-298; Ant. 13,401-415; Ant. 17,41-45; Ant. 18,11-25.

[25] For the characteristics of the *Traditionsrelgion* see Wolter, *Die Entwicklung*, 18.

[26] It is worthy of note that Paul in the Epistle to the Galatians and the Epistle to the Romans considers keeping the Tora problematic even for Jewish Christians. The statement of Gal 2,16 could not be used by Paul in arguments at the council of Jerusalem or in Antioch in his dispute with Peter – see Schnelle, *Paulus*, 134.

[27] Schnelle, *Paulus*, 120.

did not exist. In other words within the context of polytheism to become a follower of another cult did not present a problem, since – in the present sense of the word – a person continued to belong to the same "religion". This was not the case with Jews and especially not with Christians. Paul faced these difficulties when the congregations he founded in Galatian territory came under criticism. "Die Gegner waren christliche Juden, die sich Christen nur innerhalb des Judentums vorstellen konnten. […] Für sie waren Heidenchristen und Judenchristen in erster Linie nicht Christen, sondern Heiden und Juden. Bei Paulus verhielt es sich genau umgekehrt."[28] This is the background against which to interpret the significance of the requirements for Christians to become Jews, more accurately proselytes through circumcision.[29] Therefore to become Christians within Judaism was only possible for James and his followers by consistently keeping the Law of Moses as well.[30] As the argument so far made it evident, from the viewpoint of the Jewish Christians attacking Paul it was a reasonable step for a person to become a Jew before becoming a Christian, for they could only think within the category or concept of nation. Being a Christian for them was only comprehensible within the framework of Judaism. This is exactly what presented a peril for the Gentiles, since they integrated into the same society, and since – similarly to Jewish Christians – only the category of nation made sense to them, which they had to leave behind for another category, the category of religion, which for the people of the time was impossible to grasp or comprehend. For Paul such a peril was apparent and it was the experience of his own conversion – the account of which is purposefully placed in Gal 1,12-17[31] – that made it clear for him: belonging to Christ means a different identity altogether, in which being Christian is more important than to which nation a person belongs (see Rome 1,14-16; 10,12; 1Cor 12,13; Gal 3,28). Therefore it was essential for the apostle to demonstrate that Gentiles need not become Jews in order to belong to the people of God (Gal 3,26). "Durch Taufe und Geistempfang sind die Heidenchristen bereits vollwertiger und gleichberechtigter Teil des Volk Gottes (vgl. Gal 3,1-5.26-28; Acta 10,44-48)."[32] The image of family employed by Paul serves to point in this direction, for Paul is depicted as the "father" (cf. 1Thess 2,7.11;

[28] Wolter, Michael, Das Israelproblem nach Gal 4,21-31 und Röm 9-11, *ZThK,* 107, 2010, 1-30, 3.

[29] Cf. Cserháti Sándor, *Az Újszövetség teológiá*ja, Luther Kiadó, Budapest, 2012, 143.

[30] Schnelle, *Paulus*, 131.

[31] It is noteworthy that the text of Rome 9–11 is to be interpreted as expressing the personal concern of the apostle. Such reading and the example of his own conversion are necessary to understand the troubling question: What then of Israel? – see Theobald, Michael, Unterschiedliche Gottesbilder in Röm 9-11, In U. Schnelle (ed.), *The Letter to the Romans*, Leuven-Paris-Walpole, Uitgeverij Peeters, 2009, 135-178, 147-173.

[32] Schnelle, *Paulus*, 124.

1Cor 4,15; Gal 4,19; Philem 10) of the members of the congregations, his "children" (1Cor 4,14.17; 2Cor 6,13; 12,14; Gal 4,19).[33] The reference to Abraham underlines this and in this context should we understand the significance of faith, as the prerequisite for Abraham to belong to God. Thus faith seems to function as a social criterion in Paul's thinking, a thought that is unparalleled elsewhere. "Es gibt keine andere menschliche Gruppe oder Gemeinschaft, von der man sagen könnte, dass sie durch "Glaube" zu einer Gruppe oder Gemeinschaft wird."[34]The communities that are formed by faith will be recognised as being sanctified by the Holy Spirit. Such a gift of the Holy Spirit is the basis of the members belonging to the same community, moreover, of being the heirs of Abraham, since according to Paul the gift of sanctification is given to Abraham's heirs (Gal 3,16.19.29).[35] Therefore what binds the community together is not the matter of human descendency, which is the will of the flesh, but being born of the Holy Spirit, which is the act of God. Such a community will declare what was previously the characteristic of the Jews, that they will be the beloved of God, called to be saints, the elect children of God, who can call him Father (Rome 8,14-17). The new way of existence for the community does not mean giving up their identity, on the contrary, it means that the personality of the believer becomes complete with the gifts of the Holy Spirit: by the grace of God each member receiving different, but equally important gifts, as seen regarding the body of Christ (1 Corinthians 12).

While to be a Christian does not mean giving up the self, it means giving up one's nationality. "Zwischen Christen und Juden besteht derselbe unüberbrückbare Gegensatz wie zwischen Freien und Sklaven oder wie zwischen Isaak und Ismael."[36] Equality in the congregation is only possible, if everyone is standing on the same basis; in this case if Gentiles must give up their belonging to a certain nation, Jews must do the same. Only this way can we see that since all are under the power of sin, all are now justified by his grace through faith (Rome 3,23).[37] The members of such a community will not be bound together through the will of the flesh, but through Christ; through Him we will be the children of God. Turning to God means turning away from our former ways; the new creation is a new beginning as well. Between the members of the congregation there

[33] For the topic see Wolter, *Die Entwicklung*, 20.
[34] Wolter, *Das Israelproblem*, 5.
[35] Cf. Wolter, *Das Israelproblem*, 6.
[36] Wolter, *Das Israelproblem*, 16.
[37] We find a number of references to the salvation of all nations in Romans: cf. 1,5.16; 3,4.9.12.19f.21f; 4,16; 5,11f etc. for the topic see Nicklas, Tobias, Paulus und die Erretung Israels. Röm 11, 25-36 in der exegetischen Diskussion und im jüdisch-christlichen Dialog, *Early Christianity*, 2, 2011. 173-197, 174-176.

can be no more differences based on lineage, social standing or age. Through the teaching of Paul the church of Christ became "universal" in character, but through this "universalism" the communities lost not only the protection entailing from being members of an eqnoi, but much more. They gave up their past, their traditions, in other words, they gave up everything that helped them in their orientation in the world at large (Matt. 10,37; 19,29; Mark 10,29). Practically all they had left was their faith.

SUMMARY

In New Testament times religion and nationhood within Judaism were inseparable; one could identify oneself with Judaism, but in order to become its full member one had to become a proselyte. Conversely, one could only lose one's religion by losing one's nation as well. What is also clear that this issue only arises in a monotheistic context, since in polytheism to worship a national deity there was no need to give up one's national belonging. Such terminology should only be used with caution, since in the Greco-Roman world the term monotheism did not exist, apparently because there was no need for such a term, and since polytheism – which we use to describe the Gentile world – cannot be considered a form of religion, and which makes the term Gentile inappropriate as well.[38] All this significantly changed with the appearance of Christianity, or more accurately with the spread of Pauline Christianity which eventually became an important factor within society.

[38] Gruen, *Diaspora*, 43.

Dr. Réka Kiss[1]

NATIONAL AND CONGREGATIONAL IDENTITY IN THE SHADOW OF DICTATORSHIP

We are here at this conference, to commemorate the 20th anniversary of the founding of the Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church in Hungary.[2] Two decades ago the founding fathers summarised the mission of the university in the preamble of the founding document as follows, I quote:

"The aim of the university is the education of young people who, in the spirit of the Word of the Bible, consciously pledge themselves to the universal Christian moral and spiritual values; and also the training of qualified professionals with up-to-date knowledge for the sake of the Hungarian nation between and beyond borders"[3]. Education of confessionally conscious Christians – for the sake of the nation.

The two concepts exposed in the preamble, that is, confession and national commitment, accompanied the grim history of the 20th–century Reformed Church in Hungary. One can say that they were its key issues. And it was in a historical period much graver than the political transformation of the 1990s that our predecessors had to find the answer to the following question: what constitutes the responsibility of Christians towards the national community, and also, how denominational and national identities relate to each other.

"A question has arisen, which is defective at its foundations, yet, seemingly, it is vital and enormous: am I primarily Hungarian or Christian?"[4] – A Hungarian Reformed minister from the mid-1930s angled the problematics of the relations of national and Christian identities (in his text) in that way. What makes the (figure of the) author, Kálmán Rácz, interesting is that he, as teacher of religion in the famous Reformed College of Pápa, in all probability faced this "question arisen" amongst his own students and in his own surroundings. And it highlights the fact that in certain segments of Hungarian society and, inside of

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[3] Founding document of the Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church in Hungary ttp://www.kre.hu/portal/index.php/alapito-okirat.html.

[4] Rácz, Kálmán, *A református keresztyénség apológiája*, Pápa, 1934, 274.

the Hungarian Reformed society, this question probably appeared as a real dilemma in that period.

In order to interpret the conflict suggested by Kálmán Rácz, and also the proposed answers to it, it may be worth providing at the beginning, a brief overview of the main characteristics of early- 20th century church history, and of the history of ideas. It is well-known that the interwar period brought drastic changes, and moreover vigorous renewal to the life of the Hungarian Christian Churches, including the Reformed Church. This renewal, generally considered as "Religious Renaissance", or even as a kind of "second confessionalisation" was, in fact, born out of an answer to a multifactorial crisis.

The drastic changes were compelled by the coefficiency of at least four factors.

1: By the end of the 19th century, the Reformed Church in Hungary found itself in a highly secularised society. Mass laicisation from the mid-century brought to surface symptoms of crisis in the social presence and the religious life of the church. The apparent decline of the patterns of traditional religious practice and the formalisation of ecclesiastical life made it clear that the framework of the "people's church" had become hollow. Due to migration to cities, especially to Budapest (which was expanding into the size of a metropolis in those decades), the number of Reformed worshippers who had abandoned religion, alongside their homes, their lifestyle, or at least its traditional forms, increased in number. These deeply-rooted structural problems compelled the Hungarian Reformed Church to radically reevaluate its status, message and social engagement.[5]

2: Adding to this, the great intellectual currents of the 19th century, alongside with its derivative theological teachings and ideas of church, proved inadequate to cope with new challenges. The period brought the harsh critique of the liberal theology of the optimistic 19th century. The very reason for Reformed believers being particularly sensitive to this was that one of the greatest influences on the shaping of Hungarian Reformed identity (and at the same time on the forming modern national consciousness) was just made by the 19th-century interpretation of history, rooted in Romanticism and Liberal traditions.[6]

[5] Bogárdi Szabó, István, Kálvin hagyománya Dunamelléken, in Farbaky, Péter – Kiss, Réka (eds.), *Kálvin hagyománya – Református kulturális örökség a Duna mentén*, *A Budapesti Történeti Múzeum kiállítási katalógusa*, Budapest, Budapesti Történeti Múzeum, 2009, 20.; Kósa, László, Bevezetés: reformátusok kisvárosban – nagyvárosban – világvárosban, In Kósa, László (ed.), *Református̈sok Budapesten*, Vol. 1., Budapest, Argumentum Publishing House, 2006, 11–35.

[6] Brandt, Juliane, A protestánsok és a millennium (Felekezeti és nemzeti identitás a késő 19. század nemzeti ünnepeinek tükrében), *Századvég,* 1998/11, 167–193; Brandt, Juliane, Felekezeti és nemzeti identitás a 19. századi Magyarországon: a protestáns egyházak, *Századvég,* 2003/3, 57–93; Kósa, László, Protestantism in Hungarian Culture, in Gereben, Ferenc (ed.), *Hungarian*

This was the time, when certain long-lived ideas concerning Protestantism took root: such as

– the topos of Protestantism playing an excessive role in the creation of national culture; (similarly to general intellectual patterns Europe-wise)
– the intellectual structure that connected the sources of liberal and democratic traditions with the Reformation;
– furthermore: the thesis of connecting the Reformation with progress through the Enlightenment;
– finally, an interpretation of primary importance; the interpretation of history declaring Protestantism as the depositary of struggles for religious freedom and national independence.

By the middle of the 19th century, the national character of Protestantism, primarily the national character of Hungarian Calvinism became the topos of contemporary public life.

This tone of 19th-century national historiography strongly influenced the views of Hungarian Protestantism on history as well. This was the time when theories on the culture-building vocation of Calvinism, and on the intertwining of the the Hungarian Reformed Church and the national history became crucial points of Hungarian Reformed self-interpretation. What is more, it was then that the association of Hungarian ethnicity with the Reformed denomination gained a new meaning.

The "Hungarian Religion", (as Hungarian Reformed people were inclined to call themselves, alluding to the ethnic composition of the church), was not only simple ethnic identification but a sort of national religion. This meant both filling the religion with national-political content and the other way round, filling the national ideology with religious symbolism. Meanwhile, this gave a wide range of possibilities for Protestant denominational ties to express historical and cultural traditions, rather than doctrines and pronounced religious identity. However, it is important to reemphasise that this 19th-century nationalism with the idea of "Calvinism/Hungarian religion", as we have seen, was originally liberal. All later criticism, from every angle, aimed at this aspect.[7]

3. Concerning the third dominant factor which had enormous effect on the religious thinking of the discussed period, we must highlight the well-known events, cataclysms of public history and politics: the defeat in the World War,

Minorities and Central Europe: Regionalism, National and Religious Identity, Piliscsaba, Pázmány Péter Katolikus Egyetem BTK, 2001, 178-193.

[7] Kósa, László, Felekezeti és nemzetiségi azonosságtudat kapcsolódása: A magyar protestáns példa, in Papp, Richárd – Szarka, László (eds.), *Bennünk élő múltjaink. Történelmi tudat – kulturális emlékezet*, Zenta, Vajdasági Magyar Művelődési Intézet, 2008, 391-400.

the resultant revolutions, the peace treaties closing the war, and the trauma of the collapse of historical Hungary. The trauma of the treaty of Trianon became the definitive experience of a generation, and, obviously, the Reformed Church also experienced it as an exceptional tribulation. Think about it: the Hungarian Reformed Church, only a generation after having been unified in 1881, was scattered again in the successor states of Trianon. Or: In 1909, at the Calvin anniversary in Geneva, it was the Hungarian Reformed Church which represented the largest unified church with Calvinist roots in Europe, and ten years later it became the largest Protestant diaspora in Europe.[8]

4. Finally, as the fourth factor one must call attention to the demographic and political strengthening of post-Trianon Hungarian Catholicism. The appearance of an expressly innovative, political Catholicism; its recent and successful synthesis with a neo-nationalism of governmental background; the national-Catholic rhetoric of the new course all posed serious challenges to Reformed Hungarians. According to certain accounts, at the beginning of the 1920s, the speeches of the well-known Jesuit Father, Béla Bangha, concerning the Christian renewal of Hungary, were more widely heard by Reformed people than Catholics. This obviously resulted in a defined sense of minority status among the Hungarian Calvinists.[9]

These together, that is: 1. the increasingly obvious signs of inner crisis and secularising tendencies 2. the decline of liberal Protestantism 3. the trauma of Trianon, and 4. the sense of minority status all together led Hungarian Protestantism to a serious sense of being at the crossroads. One of the determining persons of this path-finding, and of the redefinition of Reformed denominational identity; the most influential figure of interwar Hungarian Protestantism was the bishop László Ravasz.

Thus, in the following I would like to outline briefly his relevant views relating to the question of nation and confession, highlighting only a few aspects of these complex issues.

László Ravasz, as part of his ambitious episcopal programme in 1922, declared "the creation of an integral Calvinism: pure in its institutions, worldview and confession with its first and most important duty of preserving the essence:

[8] Hatos, Pál, Az 1909-es Kálvin-jubileum. In Kósa, László, *Református Budapesten,* Vol. II. Budapest, Argumentum Publishing House, 2006, 1163–1178.

[9] Hatos, Pál, A magyar Protestantizmus és eszmei fordulata Tisza Istvántól Ravasz Lászlóig, *Múltunk,* 2005/1. 89–117.

Evangelical Christianity"[10]. Thus, for László Ravasz the starting point of the intellectual renewal of Protestantism lay in the return to Biblical foundations and in pledging to the traditions of Luther and Calvin, which defined Protestant theology – in other words, it lay in the primacy of the religious roots of Reformation and of Reformed identity, in concentrating on their religiousness. This ideological-theological shift provides the interpretative framework for the bishop's concepts on nation and on the relations of nation and Christianity.

Concerning this, let me highlight a few aspects of this complex question.

It is well-known that one of the great temptations of modernity was the conception of political ideologies (including nationalism) as a kind of political religion, that is, the sacralisation of those ideologies. Ravasz reflected on this phenomena in his text titled "Spirit of the age/ or *Zeitgeist* and revelation". As he puts it: "While *Zeitgeist* is a temporal trend rooted in the human intellect and is historically defined, revelation is eternal. The problem begins when these two are interchanged: the dignity of revelation is bestowed upon *Zeitgeist*, or the truths of revelation are reduced to the level of a particular *Zeitgeist*".[11] The first process results in a false substitute for religion, in idolatry; the second leads to scepticism or faithlessness. But both – argues Ravasz – "endanger Christianity in its wholeness". Ravasz consistently defines the Reformed position in opposition to two intellectual agenda. One is Ultramontane Catholicism, the other is secularisation, which (and the bishop here makes a fundamental recognition) "has deviated from the ideological world of the Enlightenment to that of nationalism". Accordingly, in Ravasz's reading, the secular threat to Christianity is twofold: one is Bolshevism resurrecting the anti-religious traditions of the Enlightenment. The other is nationalism functioning as a secular substitute for religion, as a political religion, which took its most threatening form in Nazi neo-paganism. This recognitionby Ravasz is apparent at quite an early time. I quote from his speech in 1931: "It is no wonder that the totalitarian state, especially when born through revolution, lays its will into the hands of one man, who thinks for it, wills for it. We should not be surprised if this will imagines itself as lawmaker for and above the church and wants to tell the church what to believe and how to act. It is the secular image of the Catholic Church, based on some unsound biological theses of race. This approach – argues the bishop – shatters the concept of church".[12]

[10] *Dr. Ravasz László dunamelléki püspök beiktatása alkalmával elhangzott beszédek és imák,* B. Major, János (ed.), Budapest, Dunamelléki Református Egyházkerület, 1921, 35.

[11] Ravasz, László, Koreszme és kijelentés, in id. *Isten rostájában,* Vol. III. Budapest, Franklin Publishing House, 1941, 195-211.

[12] Ravasz László, Egyház és állam – nemzet és emberiség, *Protestáns Szemle,* 1931. november, 243.

Ravasz sharply turned against secular nationalism functioning as a replacement for religion. Since Ravasz considered national feeling as a definitely religious, transcendent phenomenon, for him the concept of nation was primarily an issue of worldviews. "The nation is not the product of earthly forces, not the sum of arbitrary things but the creative thought of God" – he writes.[13] That is why its cohesion is not defined by material factors: "it is an utterly basic truth that the nation is not held together by land, not by the organisation of state, not by economic fellowship but by spirit".[14]

Thus, for Ravasz the national bond is a spiritual bond, first and foremost. Linguistic, regional and economic characteristics are secondary. To put it differently, his concept of nation is not defined by political fellowship, but by emphasising the spiritual sense of nation. He outlines three acts here: 1. the knowledge of national traditions 2. pledging to history experienced as a national community 3. the missionary aspect of being Hungarian.

The result of this is that for Ravasz the nation is not only a spiritual concept, but at the same time, also a moral-ethical one. I quote: "belonging to the nation is always an intellectual and moral approach, a spiritual reality".[15] Searching for the intellectual sources of this range of ideas, we find his background of the so-called Transylvanian school, incorporating the influence of Károly Böhm, the greatest Hungarian Neo-Kantian philosopher. The theologians present here can describe, much more subtly than me, the role of the Neo-Kantian philosophy, and of the value theology played in the formation of Ravasz's views, and the historians can find the set of arguments of the trend in the history of ideas, which is connected to Gyula Szekfű, the significant historian of the period.[16]

What is important for our purpose here is that Ravasz defined being Hungarian primarily as a concept of value, the realisation of Christian morality on the national level. The nation and Hungarian identity for him served one purpose: Christian faith and value system. It is for this purpose people should be good Hungarians and a strong nation. "Since the most super man is the Christ-like

[13] Ravasz, László, Nemzeti lét és nemzeti öntudat, in id. *Legyen világosság,* Vol. III., Budapest, Franklin Publishing House, 1938, 230.

[14] Ravasz, László, Szellemi egység, in id., *Legyen világosság,* Vol. III., Budapest, Franklin Publishing House, 1938, 301.

[15] Ravasz, László, Asszimiláció és disszimiláció, in id. *Isten rostájában,* Vol. III. Budapest, Franklin Publishing House, 1941, 356.

[16] Hegedűs, Loránt, *Újkantiánus és értékteológia*, Budapest, Mundus Publishing House, 1996; Tóth-Matolcsi, László, *Műhely a lehetetlenséghez, Ravasz László és Bibó István kapcsolata*, Budapest, Argumentum Publishing House, *Eszmetörténeti Könyvtár,* 4, 2005, 142-148.

man, our duty, as Hungarians, is to become Christ-like in order to become truly Hungarian".[17]

This religious, national metaphysics results in a number of fundamentals:

1: Since for Ravasz nation was a moral concept – as we have seen in a previous quotation – he clearly opposed any kind of racial theories. As he puts it in 1927: "Being Hungarian is not a racial notion but a moral marker".[18] According his argumentation: the best Hungarian is the highest on a moral level. And for Ravasz this highest moral level is the Reformed moral conception.

2: Consequently, the issue of social problems, including that of national renewal, is basically an issue of mission. Thus, mission based on Christian faith and morality is the duty of the church, for the sake of the national community. But here, a fundamental dilemma arises, concerning the way home and foreign missions of the church – prioritising evangelisation and spiritual renewal – relates to a) secular society and b) to non-Christian layers of society. Also, how can it voice and represent basic Christian values and realise them with consequence in the political world. These dilemmas became potential pitfalls in the time of Anti-Jewish Laws, when the church had to take a stance on the issue. The lack of success in the synthesis of theological, political and humanitarian angles led to the well-known contradictory historical situation, that while the leadership of the Reformed Church, including Ravasz, had responsibility in passing the first and second discriminative Anti-Jewish laws, his merits are indisputable in rescuing Jews during the Holocaust and organising church protests.[19]

3: The fact that the church considered the nation as the object of its mission programme had apparent relations to society, and resulted in a church attitude highly sensitive of social, economic and communal problems. It is a well-known fact that the Reformed Church took up the role of representing significant national problems of the age. The issue of the excessively ill-proportioned land ownership, or the problem of single children in Transdanubia come to mind here.[20]

[17] Ravasz, László, A nemzeti lélek, in id. *Legyen világosság,* Vol. III, Budapest, Franklin V, 1938, 255.

[18] Ravasz, László, A keresztyénség és az erkölcs, in id, *Tudom, kinek hittem,* Budapest, Studium Publishing House, 1927, 16.

[19] Hatos, Pál, The Post-war Reformed Church in face of the Holocaust, *Hungarian Studies 2004*, Vol 18, 2004/2, 199-213; Tóth-Matolcsi, László, *ibid*., 168-190, 229.

[20] Kiss, Réka, Ravasz László püspöki működése, in Kósa László (ed.), *Református Budapesten,* Vol. I, Budapest, Argumentum Publishing House, 2006, 537–578.

4: For Ravasz the consequent separation of national and state entities was crucial: while the nation is an ethical category, the state is a political one. One may support its political aims, as Ravasz supported, presumably, the Christian-based politics of prime minister István Bethlen's liberal-conservative consolidation, yet he was more inclined to find alternatives to the close ties between church and state. As he puts it in his speech as bishop: "Increasing state power is desirable, yet by that increase, social autonomy diminishes, and with it the autonomy of church, the noblest and socially most important of all, also diminishes. Today there is utter harmony between leaders of church and state, but the moment they turn against each other the whole structure of the church of today would collapse (…) I perceive that every church that grows into vital fusion with the state collapses, in its apparent external structure, in the time of a state crisis".[21]

What I would like to emphasise from the last quotation is the essential concept of church autonomy.

Now, we have no time to elaborate on the way Reformed theological teachings was modified during the post-war years (1945-48) and was distorted by the 1950s. Instead, I would like to conclude my presentation with 1956, with two quotations of bishop Ravasz from that time. The concerns of the revolution pertaining to church history, the antecedents of ecclesiastical renewal and the major turning points of the revolution are well-known. The exceptional importance of 1956 for the sake of our story is that it permitted the freedom of speech after almost a decade of totalitarian dictatorship. After a dictatorship which was both openly anti-religious and suppressed national sovereignty.

The first quotation is from Ravasz's radio statement on the first of November. I draw attention to this text because it was the first and final occasion for Ravasz to speak freely, to the entire Hungarian public and express his thoughts beyond the framework of the Reformed community. That is why the text contains, essentially condensed, everything Ravasz thought of the situation of the church and its connection to the national community. I only want to emphasise one aspect of the speech, what Ravasz says about the revolution itself, namely, that the revolution of '56 was a moral liberation in its essence. "The Reformed Church in Hungary turns with admiration and reverence to the heroes of the national revolution … who achieved the victory of our moral liberation with their blood"

[21] Ravasz László *17. püspöki jelentése,* Budapest, 1938.

– the quotation goes.[22] What demands our attention is that Ravasz does not emphasise the liberation from political or social oppression nor the recovery of national liberty and sovereignty, but moral liberation. This is the starting point from which he unfolds the account on the previous decade of the church, and defines accordingly what the duties of Reformed people are, including ministers and elders.

The other quotation comes from the proceedings of the Reformed Renewal Movement on the 30th of November, 1956.

"When I resigned from my service as bishop, my final words were these: all must set aside every work and look for funding members for the church so that the church could survive without external subsidies. These were my last words. That was not what happened. They instead went to the State Office for Church Affairs, and looked for the greatest possible subsidies (…) The church became a paid employee of the state to reach its goals in state politics. The church was recognised by the state as the best tool for propaganda, because it retained its past honour, and it reached those regions of the soul which the state could not (…) This was the reason for all kinds of corruption."[23]

The fundamental message of this informal observation is in harmony with the public proclamation of the Renewal Movement. We know that the bishop, who experienced much, wrote the public proclamation amid rapidly changeable, vague, unforeseeable, malleable conditions in politics and church politics after the military suppression of the revolution. The appeal struggled for the renewal of the church and stretched the limits defined by political reality. Both, the condensed, almost thesis-like wording of the programme and his informal observation revealed clearly that the cornerstone of Ravasz's church politics was as follows: the restoration/preservation of the inner autonomy of the church is a basic requirement.

Summing up: the most important message of bishop Ravasz in 1956 was that ecclesiastical and national renewal must be based on morality and autonomy, morality and freedom.

Looking back on his life, the elderly, and by that time permanently retired bishop drew the lesson of his career, richly marked both with successes and failures. I quote: "My achievements and disappointments multiply certify that

[22] Ravasz, László, A magyar reformátusok szava, rádiószózat, in Bárczay, Gyula (ed), *Ravasz László Válogatott írások* 1945-1968, Bern, Európai Protestáns Magyar Szabadegyetem, 1988, 274-275.

[23] Kiss, Réka (ed), *Kelt mint fent, Iratok a Református Megújulási Mozgalom történetéből (1956-1957),* Budapest, Dunamelléki Református Egyházkerület, 2007, 425.

ecclesiastical life must be spiritual, must be independent, it must not connect to political systems but must find its calling in service".[24]

For the elderly, former bishop the problematic of the complex relations of church – nation – state was reduced to three basic principles: morality – service – freedom. I think, we can read his words as a testimony of an outstanding but not infallible confessor of the Hungarian Reformed Church. A confessor who not only experienced two totalitarian dictatorships, but for a long time governed the Church through the grim history of the 20th century.

[24] Ravasz, László, *Emlékezéseim,* Budapest, Református Egyház Zsinati Irodájának Sajtóosztálya, 1992, 395.

András Csűrös[1]

A DECLARATION OF CONFESSION, 1955

The Theological Declaration of Barmen has become an important document in the ecclesial history of the universal church, it a prophetic work born under the shadow of all encompassing dictatorship. I would like to talk of a similar Confession. In the darkness of the dictatorship of 1950's Hungary a few faithful reformed church ministers and theologians decided to take a similar step. They did no more than to confess their faith in the Word of God.[2]

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

Coming out of the shock of the Soviet occupation, Hungarians were confronted with Stalinism, as it gradually grew from 1945 until it took complete control of politics in 1948.

Hungary was characterised by a dual reality, firstly there was the political police which sought for enemies in the name of the "people's democracy", sowing suspicion between neighbours and setting brother against brother. In the other reality there was a great awakening, we witnessed masses coming to the faith. Reformed churches filled to overflowing, filled with souls given to God, the Holy Spirit strengthened the church for the next forty years.

Soviet church policy changed in 1943, from complete persecution to apparent co-operation. The attempt was now to persuade the "mental corpse defilers", as Lenin called Christian priests and ministers, to collaborate, co-operate, that is to say give in. This practice was instituted in Hungary and unfortunately it found a few followers in the Reformed Church. The official church leadership began to support collectivisation and the five-year plan using Biblical texts. They stood in the first row at the signing of the so-called peace loan ("Békekölcsön"). They created a theology for compromise, and called it the "theology of the narrow path". The leadership practically saluted the secularisation of the schools and the confiscation of properties. They replied yes to the very politics that moved

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[2] Here I would like to express my special thanks to Tivadar Pánczél, Zoltán Szabó and dr. Géza Németh for the possibility of oral reports.

from limiting religious freedom to persecution and praised the idol of the age, Stalin, and his "greatest Hungarian disciple" Rákosi. Bishop János Péter stated "We love, serve and strengthen the people's democracy, that which calls itself the dictatorship of the proletariat, and is led by the Hungarian Workers Party. [...] We do not fear, but love with all our hearts, a well-planned, strong authority serving the people's advancement, and this includes the army and police force."[3]

Our church's leadership was not thinking according to Calvinist synodal-presbyterian principles, but looked to the machinations of Stalinist party leadership as a model to be followed. For the first time in Hungarian history the church's entire leadership bowed its head before foreign conquerors.

An Orwellian document, "Rules for Mission Work" was issued and it used administrative means to shut the church's missionary work behind closed doors. This was followed up by another ironically named document, "Brotherly Message", issued by the church leadership. It was "Christology between brackets"[4] and sought to keep the Church behind stone church walls.

It was against this that several well-known, and today lesser-known, *confessors* and some *martyrs* raised their voices. I will only mention a few among the better known, the greatly respected Dean Béla Pap, who only took a Bible with him for his four and half years imprisonment. Another deserving of mention was István Pógyor, an active witness of Christ before he was tortured to death.

Centrally issued homily notes were written and their use was, in theory, mandatory. However ministers put these aside and hardly ever used them. At one meeting Andor Békési bravely asked "What if the Holy Spirit presents me with another part of scripture, or congregational life demands another Bible passage or comments to be preached from the pulpit than the one centrally prepared?"[5] This practical question called attention to the discrepancy of this practice to Protestant theology.

[3] Tibori, János, Dr., *The history of Churchdistrict in Tiszántúl, 1944-1957,* (in Hungarian: *Tiszántúli Református Egyházkerület története 1944-1957*) Debrecen, Hungary, Archives of the Reformed Church district in Tiszántúl, 1995, 208-209, author's emphasis.

[4] Bogárdi, Szabó, István, *The situation of the Hungarian Reformed between 1945-1989,* (In Hungarian: A magyar reformátusság helyzete 1945-1989 között.) Protestáns Szemle, III (new) year, 1994, ed. 1., 32.

[5] The archives of Reformed church of Ócsa, 1951-1955.

THE CASE OF PÉTER FEKETE AND TIBOR KOVÁCS

In 1954 the organisation of agricultural co-operatives was the main political programme of the dictatorship.[6] This was aided by the "obedience in faith" theology, as ministers were obliged to preach in favour of collectivisation. A church circular gave the necessary information and it gave texts related to the topic. At a meeting of ministers in Debrecen on March 12th 1954 two representatives of the younger generation Tibor Kovács and Péter Fekete, associate pastors, protested. They openly declared that they would not preach on the given topic and would not obey the directives from above. Tibor Kovács stated that it was not out of spite or rebellion that he would not preach, but because of his conscience. It was theologically unacceptable to impose a passage about salvation onto entering an agricultural co-operative. Péter Fekete expressed his agreement. As a result the two associate pastors were relieved of their ministry.[7] Gyula Gombos wrote "Never in history has their been such an attempt on such a scale to make uniform and centrally regulate preaching than during these few years in Hungary."[8]

THE DEVELOPMENT AND CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE DECLARATION OF CONFESSION

The words of Tibor Kovács and Péter Fekete were the starting point of events in the church that inspired a few young theologians, ministers and laymen worried about the church to compose a confessional document.[9]

Their clarity of vision in dogmatic and theological matters, of these children of the awakening, was helped by their knowledge of Holy Scripture and the fact that Barna Nagy was professor of dogmatics at the Budapest Faculty of Theology.

[6] Ladányi, Sándor, *Reformed Church Politics in Hungary between 1955-1956* (In Hungarian: Egyházpolitika és a magyarországi református egyház magatartása, tevékenysége, megújulási kísérletei 1955-1956-ban, in Ladányi, Sándor, The Hungarian Reformed Church in relation to 1956 (In Hungarian: A Magyarországi Református Egyház 1956 tükrében), Budapest, Hungary, Mundus Publisher, 2006, 260.

[7] Pap, László, *Ten years and what followed, 1945-1963* (In Hungarian: Tíz év, és ami utána következett 1945-1963 – Adalékok a Magyarországi Református Egyház XX. századi történetéhez) Bern, Switzerland/Budapest, Hungary, EPMSZ Publisher, 1992, 325-328.

[8] Gombos, Gyula, Lean years, The crisis of Hungarian Calvinism (In Hungarian: Szűk esztendők, A Magyar kálvinizmus válsága.), Washington D. C. (USA), Occidental Press, 1959, 63.

[9] According to the oral report of Pánczél, Tivadar.

According to Géza Németh, Barna Nagy gave the theologians the Declaration of Barmen, and this inspired them to write a confession.[10]

Gyula Bárczay, István Debreczeni, Lóránt Hegedűs, Miklós Molnár, Géza Németh, Tivadar Pánczél, János Pásztor, Zoltán Szabó, and historian Sándor Dizsery gathered in 1955.[11]At times others joined their gathering (for example Árpád Hatolkay), and at times not all listed were present at the meetings. We do not have time to examine the lives of the participants, though it would be an interesting study.

According to Tivadar Pánczél they wanted to compose a document in case they found themselves in the same situation Tibor Kovács and Péter Fekete did. They would then have a Confession that was well prepared and composed to fall back on. So "they wouldn't be surprised" in such a confrontation, as he recalls.

They also wanted a comprehensive picture for themselves of what was happening in Hungary and within the Reformed Church. They wanted to illustrate in detail, based on the Bible, what a wayward path the church was on, and what exactly was wayward about that path.

They wanted the Confession to state what they had to do. After writing the theory, they wanted to deduce the practice. "What can we say to those people who were forced to join the co-operative? [...] despite the paralysing effect of the Brotherly Message what opportunities are there."[12]

The Declaration of Confession was penned by Zoltán Szabó and the words were deeply influenced by the Barmen Confession. They first met in Szentendre (where they later met on several occasions) "to study the situation of the Hungarian Reformed Church". They studied the document in great detail, going sentence by sentence through the text prepared by Zoltán Szabó. Géza Németh lead the discussions.[13] They must have begun in early spring 1955, and were still writing during the summer, completing it in September.

They once gathered in the office of Sándor Joó, but he was not present. Andor Békési was though. They once met at Árpád Hatolkay's house "somewhere in Kőbánya". According to some recollections they showed the text to Sándor Joó and Endre Gyökössy, who contributed to the script's refinement.

[10] Németh, Géza, *Why is vision important to the Church?* (In Hungarian: Miért fontos… az egyházi jövőkép? Németh Géza a református megújulásért), Budapest, Hungary, Méry Ratio, 2013, 131-134.

[11] Ladányi, 281.

[12] According to the oral report of Pánczél, Tivadar .

[13] This may be a reason for the spread of the opinion that Géza Németh wrote the basic text.

MAKING THE TEXT KNOWN[14]

The Declaration of Confession's words are a well-composed and complex document. They include four larger points. The discussion of the points is as follows: 1. A Bible verse, 2. A positive discussion and actualisation (thesis), 3. A negative discussion and actualised counterpoint (false thesis). The theses are positive in their tone and end with a motivational sentence. For Example "For this reason we see it necessary to remind all our brethren, that when they stand before state or ecclesial superiors they obey without fear the will of our Lord, and through their words and actions be prepared to confess both "yes" and "no" without misunderstanding and deceit." In the Barmen Confession the ecclesiological action is within the thesis, while in the 1955 Hungarian Confession it is mainly after the false thesis. Not as an absolution, but as action.

The text of the Barmen Confession and the Hungarian Declaration are significantly different, there is not one identical scripture passage and of the Barmen Confession's six theses there is only one that is similar to the Hungarian. That one is the condemnation of dictatorial church leadership, the "ruling clique".[15]

The Barmen Confession denies the theological stance of the *deutschechristen*, while the Hungarian's four theses speak instead of the deficiencies (Mission, prophetic ministry, and synodal – presbyterian system). The two confessions' common point is the correct refutation of dictatorial church leadership from a theological perspective.

The four theses of the Hungarian declaration are the following:

1. the false theology of unbroken progression
1. lack of Mission
2. lack of Prophetic ministry
3. synodal-presbyterian leadership in place of dictatorial clique rule

The fourth thesis is the longest and acts as a conclusion. It discusses the dogmatically false positions and bad practice of church leadership, its Stalinist methods, and its corruption.

According to Tivadar Pánczél's verbal account a lot more could have been said

[14] The text is presented based on the following publication: *Additional information to the events of the Hungarian Reformed Church in 1956-1957* (In Hungarian: Adalékok a Magyarországi Református Egyház 1956-1957-es történéseihez), ed., Ladányi, Sándor, Budapest, Hungary, Kálvin János Publisher, 2006.

[15] The Barmen Declaration has been analysed based on the following publication: Fekete, Károly, ifj., The Theological Declaration of Barmen (In Hungarian: A Barmeni Hitvalló Nyilatkozat) Budapest, Hungary, Kálvin János Publisher, 2009.

about mission activity, that is the lack thereof, but they concluded the writing phase, as a great occasion presented itself where the declaration could made public.

4. The centenary of the Budapest Theology Faculty

The centenary celebrations of the Budapest Reformed Church Theological Academy[16] came as a great opportunity, and it was thought a good idea to give the confession to foreign – Western – church leaders. Zsigmond Ritoók translated the text into German in one night. The plan was to hand it over to Western theologians in secret, to smuggle it to them.

Minister József Siklós gave it to the head of the World Council of Churches, Visser't Hooft, either before or after the Sunday service at the church on Kálvin square. This must have been interesting feat, as the Head Secretary, who preached that day, was difficult to approach. Géza Németh handed a copy over to theologians Ethelber Stauff and Dominique Michelli at the faculty of theology.[17] The former event must have been the most adventurous, as Géza Németh followed Michelli into the restroom, where in a stall, in basic German he tried to explain his strange actions had theological reasons.

The Confession was well received in the West, and appeared in the press. It was translated into English, French and spread throughout the Hungarian diaspora. Tivadar Pánczél stated that only Martin Niemöller did not like it.

AFTERLIFE

When the World Council of Churches' central committee gathered on Galyatető between the 28th of July and August 4th 1956, the foreign participants came knowing the Declaration.[18] Some brought it with themselves and gave it to their friends in Hungary, causing no small headache for the church leadership.

János Péter, bishop and collaborator stated that the declaration was "conceived in disobedience [...] which has no home in the Hungarian Reformed Church."[19] The Declaration of Confession was a precursor to the activities within the church during 1956, and that were realised in the Renewal Movement.

Gyula Bárczay wrote briefly of the Declaration's conception in 1956, in the

[16] It is now the Faculty of Theology of Károli University.

[17] Pap, László, 194.

[18] *History of the Károli Gáspár Reformed Church University, Faculty of Theology,1855-2005*, Ladányi, Sándor ed., KRE HTK, Bp., 2005, 197.

[19] *Beginning again* (In Hungarian: Újrakezdés idején) Az Út 1956. október 22., 1.

newspaper *Reformáció*, which saw only one issue.[20] After the revolution was crushed Géza Németh was interrogated, and asked who wrote it, but he did not reveal the authors.[21] It remained a secret, and others have stated that until the fall of communism no one asked them about it, nor were they discriminated against because of the Declaration of Confession. It seems it never became widely known who the authors were.

The authors of the Declaration of Confession did not know they were writing a document of ecclesial history. They simply recognised their *status confessionis*, as did the German Christians in 1934. They did not want to take notice of the peril they put their lives in by writing such a document, especially by spreading it to the West. The age in which they lived cried out for prophets, and they thus became not servants of Pontius Pilates' province, but courageous citizens of the Kingdom of Jesus Christ.

[20] Three of the authors of the Declaration of Confession wrote in this revolutionary newspaper.
[21] Németh,132.

RELIGIOSITY AND PROTESTANTISM TODAY

Prof. Dr. Jan Peter Balkenende[1]

"'WE ARE CALVINISTS' – RISKS AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR PROTESTANTISM IN THE 21ST CENTURY"

The title of my lecture is "'We are Calvinists' – Risks and Opportunities for Protestantism in the 21st Century". I met the Prime Minister of Singapore last month and at the end of our meeting he suddenly said: "We are Calvinists". I expected a lot from this Prime Minister, but not that he would say "We are Calvinists". People talk in terms of Calvinists as being hardworking and devoted people, which is usually the image we have of them. It is important to underline that when we talk about Calvinists and Protestants, indeed it is about hardworking, future-oriented people. I remember the words of Martin Luther when he said, "Even if I knew that the world would be destroyed tomorrow I would plant a tree today." That is the kind of conviction we have, always hardworking, devoted in taking up responsibilities things because of our Christian belief. They are in fact some of the essential elements of being Protestant.

What I intend to do is to make some remarks about the historical significance of Protestantism, in connection with which I will mention seven elements. I will then focus on three topics. The first one is confusion worldwide. The second is the necessity to be aware of the moral background of today's social issues and the significance of Protestantism. The third topic is criticism of the architecture of society. I will conclude by making some remarks about the relationship between confessionality and university.

With regard to the relevance and historical significance of Protestantism, in my opinion, there are seven elements. First, Protestantism is about having a true source of inspiration. Your Christian belief is a matter of conviction. The second element is about the direct relationship between God and human beings. That was an essential component of the Reformation and different compared to the way of thinking of the Roman Catholic Church. The third element is Protestant theology, one of the topics of discussion during this conference. The fourth element is freedom of religion. The Reformation led to the conviction that people should have religious freedom. My country, the Netherlands, started as a nation

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at the end of the 16th century as a result of our struggle against Spain, a war that lasted for 80 years. But it was also a struggle against Roman Catholic oppression and the right to have your own religion. The fifth element is the organisation of the church. An organisation in which the members of the church had their own rights. This development was also relevant to the more general process of democratisation. The sixth component is the significance of Protestantism to the organisation of a plural society. The seventh component has to do with societal engagement. Protestants are active everywhere in the world.

Protestantism is about deeply-rooted Christian belief, strong convictions about theology, church and society and long-term approaches. In fact, Protestantism gives you a moral compass. Which brings me to the three topics I would like to discuss.

The first topic is the global trend of confusion. Let me say something about governments, businesses and society. Talking about the role of the state, you may have watched on television what happened in the United States yesterday. Although the issue of blocking government expenditure was resolved, the extremely difficult debates have led to a great deal of people having serious doubts about the functioning of US Congress, about the functioning of democracy and democratic institutions. Democracies today, Western democracies, are facing populism, nationalism and short-sightedness. There is a lack of confidence in democratic institutions. I believe this constitutes a risk and could jeopardise the functioning of democracy.

Research scholars? have different opinions about the role of the state. Mariana Mazzucato wrote a book about The Entrepreneurial State. It is her conviction that every innovation, whether in the pharmaceuticals or aerospace industry, or in Silicon Valley, is supported by government facilities. She underlines the importance of role of the state. Parag Khanna wrote a book entitled "How to Run the World". He describes how the traditional concept of the Nation State is gradually disappearing. Issues with a global dimension agenda – sustainability, climate change, energy – all go beyond the level of Nation States. Choices are being made by new alliances between governments, NGOs, civil society organisations and, in particular, businesses. Another view on the role of the state was presented in the book "Why nations fail?" written by Acemoglu and Robinson. They describe the conditions under which states can act successfully. These three visions from academic people with different views on the role of states and governments are examples of confusion about government intervention.

Next, the role of businesses. There was a time when people stated that the purpose of doing business was to make a profit and nothing else. In 1970, Milton Friedman said, "The business of business is business". A very easy formula, busi-

ness is business. Today, another management guru, Michael Porter, says business is about creating shared value. Companies must not only generate economic value but also social value. By embracing the needs of society, companies demonstrate their increased social engagement. Businesses cannot act alone; they have to create new alliances with other businesses, NGOs and governments.

Another element is having a long-term orientation. During the 1980s, shareholders were interested in maximising their profits each quarter. Bonuses were linked to profits generated in the short run. We all saw the outcome of that in 2008. Businesses today should focus on creating shared value, being engaged in new alliances and having a long-term approach. That would be a good way of thinking for businesses. But what do we see in practice? A recent analysis of UN Global Compact shows that the intentions of many CEOs in the world are good. They really want to run socially engaged companies and are convinced that sustainability should be part of their strategy. However, reality shows that insufficient progress is being made in the integration of sustainability into business models. Wayne Visser, a UK professor, is very critical of that progress. In his opinion, companies should speed up their sustainability strategies. There is a gap between good intentions and the reality of the policy of a lot of companies. That's also a matter of confusion.

Some words about civil society and the role of NGOs. I have always been a defender of the role of strong civil society organisations because people are not only state citizens or consumers. People are also members of organisations, families, social groups, churches and so on. I think these civil society organisations create an atmosphere of responsibility in society. Civil society organisations play a crucial role in society. But what do we observe today, especially in the Western world? Many organisations have difficulties figuring out their own identity; they have lost connection with their grassroots. Traditional civil society organisations are facing competition with social entrepreneurs. Civil society organisations experience confusion too.

Having made these critical comments, it's also good to refer to a number of positive signals. In Rotterdam, for example, there are beautiful examples of initiatives launched by young people. Observing the social projects, cultural projects, start-ups, you notice a new atmosphere of dynamism. These young people are not waiting for subsidies, or for regulations being introduced by the government; they want to reach their own goals. They intend to create a vital and vibrant city. This summer I read a fantastic book, "Abundance", written by Peter Diamandis. His message: we are able to find solutions to today's or tomorrow's big issues, such as water management, security issues, public health, etc. But we

need to have a clearly defined implementation strategy. We can do the right things, but why are we waiting so long?

Last year I attended a conference of an organisation named One Young World. 1,300 young people from more than 118 countries spoke freely about their concerns and about our planet. People are convinced that action is needed. Is it a matter of organising things in a better way only? Or is there something else that should be on our agenda? I think the latter is the case. We should underline the awareness of the moral nature of today's social issues. We have to understand the times in which we live and the fact that so many issues are connected with values.

In the 1990s, Francis Fukuyama wrote his book "Trust". He argued that economic processes cannot be understood if the element of trust in society is not taken into account. High-trust societies perform better than low-trust societies. High-trust companies perform better than low-trust companies. Trust is a moral category necessary to analyse economic processes. He focuses on the role of morality. In 2008, a terrible financial crisis which started in the US hit us all. Was the financial crisis only a financial crisis? I do not believe so. It was also a moral crisis. Short-term interests, making money in a crazy way, perverse bonus systems; all this shows a lack of morality. People often abuse government facilities. That is also evidence of a lack of morality. If NGOs fail to take into account their own identity, that is proof of a lack of morality. It is important to focus on the role of morality in analysing societal developments.

The moral background of many of today's issues brings me to the role of Protestantism. What can that role be when we see confusion everywhere and a lack of moral analysis? Values of Protestantism are stewardship, "Love thy neighbour", solidarity, public justice, responsibility and building a good society. Religion is a source of inspiration. Protestantism can provide an answer to the question: what is really meaningful in life? A large number of young people today who want to work for private companies are not interested in earning the highest salaries or driving the nicest cars, but want to know what a company is doing in the field of sustainability and corporate responsibility. Moral criteria and talking about what is meaningful in life are related to Christian values. Protestantism always had and will have a long-term view inspired by public justice, stewardship, responsibility and solidarity. It is not only about "me" and "now", it is also about "us" and "later". Stewardship means constantly thinking about the interests of next generations. It is remarkable how many family businesses do have a long-term focus.

The opportunity for Protestantism is, of course, to express values-based views on the organisation of society and long-term strategic orientations. However,

there is also a risk involved. If we only conduct internal debates, we will probably only convert the converted. We must have a dialogue with others and be willing to talk with them about what their convictions are.

This brings me to my third topic. I studied at the Free University of Amsterdam. In my opinion, it is a great university, founded by Abraham Kuyper. Let me tell you something about him. It is an interesting story. Abraham Kuyper was a reverend in the Netherlands, and an active member of the Dutch Reformed Church. The first thing he noticed was that the official state church, the Dutch Reformed Church, was not a true source of inspiration. More Christian inspiration and Kuyper's knowledge of Calvinism resulted in the foundation of the Re-Reformed Churches of the Netherlands. Besides the role of the church, he stressed the necessity of the emancipation of people having few financial and other opportunities in the Netherlands. These people needed more opportunities to express their beliefs and convictions and reach more upward mobility. This was one of the reasons he founded the Free University of Amsterdam in 1880. At the opening ceremony, he held an inaugural address entitled "Sphere Sovereignty". His message was that besides the government and free market, people had to have their own domains in society.

In his opinion, church, school, university, , family and all other circles in society were related to God. The state had to accept this plurality within society and provide guarantees for this plurality. People had to have the chance to form their own Christian communities instead of only being dependent on state organisations. He founded his own newspaper. He also founded the first political party in the Netherlands: the Anti-Revolutionary Party, being "anti" – "against" – the feelings and sentiments expressed by the French revolution. He became Prime Minister in the 20th century. Kuyper had clear views on the architecture of society. He said we had to rethink the patterns of the way we organised things in our society; they should be about plurality and about enabling Christian convictions and other convictions in society. Matters should not be dominated by the state, but by morals. His views on the architecture of society had a great impact, both in the past and today. The influence of Kuyper's vision on plurality in society. Abraham Kuyper used his Christian convictions to analyse social developments and provide guidance on how to organise society in a better way.

It is always important to talk about the architecture of society. Perhaps we have lost sight of this. We usually talk about what is in the news today: new hypes, new polls, new elections; all of them short-term items. However, when we talk about today's issues, we should be discussing long-term strategies. What about a world of 9 billion people in the long run, what about the scarcity of natural resources, what about human rights worldwide, what about the role of

social organisations, what about economic competitiveness in a world that is changing? You must have long-term focus to improve the quality of life. Therefore, we need values-based orientations. We see it more and more. That is what young people ask from us and what global society demands from us.

It is essential to talk about Christian convictions today. Providing answers to the essential questions that keep us and next generations busy. In order to maintain a good society in the long run, we must be willing to analyse things in a different way. We have to underline the role of moral issues to analyse societal developments in a proper way. A good and open dialogue with others is essential.

Kuyper had creative ideas and strategies. The impact of the book "Trust" by Francis Fukuyama was significant because of the content of its message. We have to overcome the atmosphere of confusion, which can be seen among governments, businesses or NGOs and civil society organisations. Christian inspiration can mean a lot for new hope, long-term focus and the meaning of a good society.

My final point: the issue of this conference, Confessionality and University in the modern world. Let me tell you what happened to me last year. On 10 October we organised Sustainability Day in the Netherlands. Sustainability is connected with human rights, climate change, energy, integrity and transparency. A meeting was held with Rectors, Presidents of Universities and students. The students wanted to have the sustainability issue integrated into their curricula. Students were asking for new profiles of their curricula. If young people do not receive the right educational training, this will have a great impact on their performance in society. I was happy with their pleas. Let me give you another example. I work for a large audit firm. More and more we can see the audit role changing. It is not only about providing assurance on financial reports, but also – increasingly – on social reporting. This development is known as Integrated Reporting. If an auditor wants to be active in the sphere of integrated reporting, he must be able to analyse a company's role in society, its values and the meaning of sustainability for business models. Accountancy students should therefore receive proper training in integrated reporting. In that way, they will obtain a much better understanding of corporate responsibility. Therefore it is important to talk about the role of values and their meaning for universities. Some months ago, a significant debate took place between economists and theologians about the relationship between economics and theology and the role of values. Economists are discovering that a large number of insights in fact represent old-fashioned ideas and that it is necessary to take into account moral categories. Economists and theologians can learn from each other.

In the Western world, we can see empty churches and a high level of secularisation. On the other hand, we also notice an increasing awareness of the relevance of the meaning of values in our society. There is a great deal of confusion in the world, and we need a new moral compass. I am convinced that the image of God can help understand our own views, develop new strategies for the future, and give hope to people. In the Western world we see secularization, whereas in other parts of the world we see an increase of Christianity. Christian-inspired values are a source of inspiration. That was the reason I referred to Abraham Kuyper. He started off with a small group, but he made a huge impact. Having deeply rooted convictions and values can help you make a difference.

It is wonderful to be back at this University. I congratulate you on your 20th anniversary. And I really hope that this university will inspire many students and researchers.

Dr. John Brouwer[1]

AN OUTSIDER'S INSIDER'S REFLECTIONS ON PROTESTANT CHRISTIANITY IN AMERICA

I wish to add my warm greetings to our guests, international and local, on behalf of our great university as we celebrate our twentieth anniversary. To the Dean I want to thank you for your kind invitation to an inside outsider to present a paper at this gathering of distinguished guests and scholars. I am honoured.

INTRODUCTION

America is a *huge* country: the fly time between San Francisco and Washington, D.C. is 5 hours; and the drive time from my hometown of Stockton, CA and Washington, D.C. is 50 hours.[2] I know: I have made this trip three times! America is equally hugely *diverse*. Continuing the travel motif, this summer, after our daughter graduated from college, my wife and I took a road-trip: New York City through New Jersey and across the beautiful rolling hills of Pennsylvania and into Ohio and then north-east Indiana, and back (1,682 miles). We saw deeply secular and pluralistic New York City but which is also home to Redeemer Presbyterian Church (which several thousand attend weekly) in the heart of the city, deeply religious and conservative with the Amish of Pennsylvania and Protestants in Winona Lake, Indiana, and deeply liberal in Oberlin, Ohio.

A month worth of Sundays – good, solid Puritan sermons, one and one-half hours each and two per Sunday – would be required just to scratch the surface of Protestant Christianity in America. Its vast size and significant variety creates multiple layers of complexity. It deserves a full conference by itself and, even then, treatment would be inadequate. For example, internet searches produced: [3]

"Christianity in America"	96,300,000 hits
"Protestantism in America"	3,890,000 hits
"Calvinism in America"	918,000 hits

[1] Visiting Professor of KRE, Budapest, Hungary.

[2] Average speed of 60 mph x 50 hours = 3,000 miles.

[3] Google, respectively, Christianity, Protestantism and Calvinism, 4 October 2013, 10:18 a.m., 10:18 a.m. and 12:00 p.m.

Two additional qualifications are needed: first, I have not lived in the United States for the past sixteen years, hence the title, "An Outsider's Insider's Reflections". I am an American, yet nearly half my adult life has now been lived in Europe. Secondly, I am not a sociologist or statistician by training, and cautiously enter the "dueling numbers" debate concerning the true percentages of Americans who are "Christian", "born-again" or "Evangelical". Consequently, as a former politician, I shall make comments but hope to avoid too many tough questions.[4] I shall thus lay out a few numbers, give a broad-brush overview and then offer personal reflections on Protestant Christianity in America.

STATISTICS OF PROTESTANT CHRISTIANITY IN AMERICA

The Pew Foundation, in their massive 35,000 respondent survey in 2008, lists 78.4% of Americans as "Christian". Of that, fully 51.3% were Protestant and 23.9% were Roman Catholic. Within the Protestant fold, 26.3% of Americans attended "Evangelical" churches, 18.1% attended "Mainline churches" and 6.9% "Historic Black churches".[5] Pew's survey method allows participants to self-identify whether they are "Christian" or "non-Christian".[6] George Barna, in contrast, does not allow for self-identification but rather sets criteria in order for a respondent to be categorised as "born-again". He limits the term to "people who said they have made a *personal commitment to Jesus Christ* that is *still important in their life today* and who also indicated they *believe* that *when they die they will go to Heaven because they had confessed their sins* and *had accepted Jesus Christ as their savior.*"[7] Beliefs determine how a person is counted in his surveys.

Whereas Pew conflates "born again" and "Evangelical" into one category, taking them as synonymous, and again allows for self-identification, Barna makes a distinction between them and, as with "born again", sets criteria, not allowing for self-identification. Pew simply asks the question, "Would you describe your-

[4] Any side-stepping is done not to avoid questions but to speak truthfully, in order not to mislead.

[5] Pew Research Center, U.S. Religious Landscape Survey, *Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life*, February 2008, 5.

[6] Pew, U. S. Religious Landscape, 145, "Q.16 What is your present religion, if any? Are you Protestant, Roman Catholic, Mormon, Orthodox such as Greek or Russian Orthodox, Jewish, Muslim, Buddhist, Hindu, atheist, agnostic, something else, or nothing in particular?" To clarify if respondent answers "something else" or declines to answer, they are then asked: "Do you think of yourself as a Christian or not?"

[7] Barna, George, Annual Study Reveals America Is Spiritually Stagnant (March 2001), *Think Like Jesus*, 209, n. 1., (emphasis mine).

self as a 'born-again' or Evangelical Christian, or not?"[8] There is no test for beliefs or values. Barna, in contrast, lays out several criteria for one to be considered as an Evangelical. For my Hungarian colleagues I include Barna's definition of "Evangelical". They hear the term used, but are perhaps unsure how it is meant in the American context.[9] Barna defines "Evangelicals" as "a subset of born again Christians" and, "in addition to meeting the born again criteria, Evangelicals also meet seven other conditions." They

> "say their faith is very important in their life today; believe they have a personal responsibility to share their religious beliefs about Christ with non-Christians; believe that Satan exists; believe that eternal salvation is possible only through grace, not works; believe that Jesus Christ lived a sinless life on earth; describe God as the all-knowing, all-powerful, perfect deity who created the universe and still rules it today; [believe] the Bible is totally accurate in all that it teaches."[10]

Here too beliefs determine how a person is counted in his surveys.[11]

The most stringent test of Barna's occurred for Biblical world-view: "These people believe that 'the Bible is the moral standard' and also think that 'absolute moral truths exist and are conveyed through the Bible.' In addition, they meet the 'Evangelical' criteria (above) and believe that 'the Bible is totally accurate in all it teaches."[12] Consequently, as Evangelicals form a subset of "born-again" Christians, so too, people with a Biblical world view form a subset of Evangelicals.

[8] Pew, U.S. Religious Landscape, 153. Responses are cross-tabbed with "church types", e.g. Evangelical churches, Mainline Churches and Historical Black churches, but are not broken out by "born-again" or "Evangelical".

[9] McGrath, Alister, *Evangelism and the Future of Christianity*, 27-36 generally and 29, 41-2 specifically, makes a sharp distinction between "Fundamentalism" and Evangelism. McGrath, 42, criticises those "writers [who] have persisted in applying the outdated and totally inappropriate label *fundamentalism* to Evangelism".

[10] Barna, America Is Spiritually Stagnant, and *Think Like Jesus*, 22-23.; Cf. Mark Noll, one of America's leading church historians, in *Rise of Evangelism*, 19, cites David Bebbington, "who has identified four key ingredients of Evangelism: *conversion*, or 'the belief that lives need to be changed' … the *Bible*, or the 'belief that all spiritual truth is to be found in its pages' … *activism*, or the dedication of all believers … to lives of service for God, especially … in evangelism… and *crucicentrism*, or the conviction that Christ's death was the crucial matter in providing atonement for sin", (Emphasis mine). McGrath, *Evangelism and Future of Christianity*, 17-51, devotes a full chapter, "Evangelical Distinctives", to define and characterise Evangelism.

[11] In fact, for both "born again" and "Evangelical", the "Survey Methodology" specifically notes that "Respondents were *not* asked to describe themselves as 'born again'" or "as 'Evangelical.'" Barna, American Spirituality Stagnant. (Emphasis mine)

[12] George, Barna, *Think Like Jesus*, 23.

Barna's greater rigour, in contrast to Pew, not allowing for self-identification but instead testing based on "belief systems", for me at least, as a non-sociologist and non-statistician, gives his results greater credibility, and provides a truer picture of American religious life. His precise questions delve more deeply into a person's belief and value system. Consequently, we can see how Pew and Ed Stetzer could arrive at 78.4% and approximately 75%, respectively, for Christians in America.[13] Self-selecting identification leads to significantly higher counts. It remains somewhat "popular" to be identified as "Christian" (though that is changing) but it is equally true that there are not that many actual "followers of Christ" in America.[14] Ronald Sider notes that George Barna, for example, sets the percentage of "born again" at "35-43 percent of the total US population", and lists 7-8 percent of Americans as Evangelical Christians.[15] Moreover, "only 9% of all 'born again' adults, thus a mere 3.2 – 3.9 percent of the US population, have a Biblical world view"![16]

	Pew[17]	Barna
Born again	44	35-43
Evangelical	26.3	7-8
Biblical world-view	n/a	3.2-3.9

More recently, the American Religious Identification Survey (2008) showed a precipitous drop of "10 percentage points … in self-identified Christians" in America, "from 86 to 76, since 1990" and an unsettling rise in the "'Nones'–those who claim no religious affiliation … from 8 to 15 percent" in the period from 1990 to 2008.[18] A 2012 study by Pew added more consternation when it stated that the "Nones" had increased almost five percent, "from just over 15% to just under 20% … in the last five years alone."[19]

[13] Pew, U. S. Religious Landscape, 5, Stetzer, The State of the Church In America: Hint: It's Not Dying, *Christianity Today*, October 2013.

[14] Bob Beltz, Troubling Statistics Reveal True State of Christianity in America, *Examiner.com*, February 2009, a retired Evangelical Presbyterian Church pastor, also questions the data based on theological criteria for one to be counted as a "Christian".

[15] Sider, Ronald J., *Scandal of the Evangelical Conscience*, 18, 128.

[16] Sider, op. cit., 128, citing Barna, *Think Like Jesus*, 23.

[17] Pew, U.S. Religious Landscape, 145, "Q.16 What is your present religion, if any?" See fn. 348 for full text of the question. For born again and Evangelical, see 153, "Q. 18 Would you describe yourself as a 'born-again' or Evangelical Christian, or not?" Pew conflates born again and Evangelical, making specific discrete statistics problematic. Additionally, the question allows for self-identification, further skewing results. See "Summary of Key Findings", 5, for percentage of those attending Evangelical churches.

[18] Stetzer, It's Not Dying, citing Kosmin, Barry A. and Keysar, Ariela, ARIS, Highlights and 3.

[19] Pew, Nones on the Rise (October 2012), 5.

In a recent article Ed Stetzer responded to this concern that the number of Christians had decreased 10 percent and "nones" had increased dramatically, and consequently the demise of American Christianity was imminent.[20] He argues for a 75 percent figure for Christians in America, but comprised of three kinds of Christians: "Cultural", "Congregational" and "Convictional", each constituting about 25% of the total US population.[21] My take on all this, agreeing with Stetzer, is that as Christianity becomes less the "acceptable standard" religion,[22] then fewer "Cultural" (e.g. Southern whites in the Southern Baptist Church and Hispanics in the Roman Catholic Church) and "Congregational" (e.g. Presbyterian Church USA) will identify themselves as "Christian". In other words, the "middle" will "squish" (Stetzer's term) and the truer numbers will become more apparent as nominal "Cultural" and "Congregational" Christians become less common.[23] Disagreeing with Stetzer, I think his percentage of Evangelical Christians is too high. Barna sets them at 7-8 percent, nowhere near Stetzer's approximately 25 percent.

Two related consequences are derived from the over-count of Christians in America. With fewer "true" Christians (i.e. followers of Christ) to constitute the general population, we can understand why there would be less "Christian behaviour" in the country. Additionally, as "being Christian" becomes less advantageous, fewer people will identify themselves as Christian. And consequently America will become less and less "Christian America". This leads us into a discussion of "quality", and now I would like to shift more to personal reflections and commentary which combine numbers with qualitative assessment.

REFLECTIONS ON PROTESTANT CHRISTIANITY IN AMERICA

Mainline Denominations

Thomas Oden's opening comments in *Requiem* resonate with me. People in the pews are "unnerved" and "stand bewildered at what has happened to their church

[20] Stetzer, It's Not Dying.

[21] Stetzer, op. cit.

[22] For multiple reasons, many of which have been discussed at the conference, e.g. relativism and secularisation.

[23] We might call the recent study by Pew, The Fall of the Squishy: "In *2007, 60%* of those who said they seldom or never attend religious services nevertheless described themselves as belonging to a particular religious tradition. In *2012, just 50%* of those" same people "still retain a religious affiliation – a 10-point drop in five years. These trends suggest that the *ranks of the unaffiliated are swelling* in surveys partly because Americans who *rarely go to services* [i.e. 'cultural' and 'congregational' and 'mainline'] are more willing than in the past to *drop their religious attachments altogether*." Pew, Nones on the Rise, 11. (emphasis mine)

in the last three decades" and yet "feel impotent to challenge it."[24] I might have called this section "Denominational Elites" verses "ordinary Christians". Alister McGrath's observation that "various forms of modernism managed to gain control of mainline denominations by taking over their bureaucracies and seminaries" helps us understand the cause for the transformation alluded to by Oden.[25] Members are voting with their feet, and Oden laments how "My own United Methodist Church with twelve and a half million members in 1968 now struggles [1995] to keep eight and a half million from coming unglued."[26] Yet this decline is not restricted to the United Methodist Church (UMC) but includes every mainline denomination.[27] We see this clearly with a membership chart from a 2006 study by Perry Chang, researcher for the Presbyterian Church USA (PCUSA).[28]

When we examine Chang's data to compare membership versus Sunday attendance, taking Oden's UMC and the mainline PCUSA, for example, we see that weekly church attendance is less than 50% of membership. In other words, participation of "members" is low, likely indicating a strong presence of "cultural" or "congregational" Christians, or those who keep their name on the "roll" but, voting with their feet, attend elsewhere. Either way, this paints a bleak picture for mainline denominations.[29]

Members	*Attenders*	*Members attending*	
UMC	8,186,000	3,400,000	41.5%
PCUSA	2,362,000	1,117,000	47.3%

Although this data is from 2004, the essential observation we can make is the low commitment level of mainline members to their respective churches. Chang concludes his report with British understatement: "Researchers, Presbyterians, and other mainline Protestants ought to continue monitoring these trends …

[24] Oden, *Requiem*, 21.

[25] McGrath, *Evangelism and Future of Christianity*, 32.

[26] Oden, *Requiem*, 15.

[27] Mainline denominations include the: Presbyterian Church USA, United Methodist Church, Episcopal Church USA, American Baptist Church and Evangelical Lutheran Church of America.

[28] Chang, Recent Changes in Membership and Attendance in Mainline Protestant Denominations, *PCUSA Research Services*, November 2006, 5. Cf. Kosmin and Keysar, ARIS, 2009, Highlights, The historic Mainline churches and denominations have experienced the steepest declines while the non-denominational Christian identity has been trending upward particularly since 2001, Yeakley, Richard, Evangelical Churches Still Growing, Mainline Protestantism In Decline, *Huffington Post*, February 2011.

[29] Chang, op. cit., 3, 4.

because it seems possible that this participation decline is *unique* to the *PC(USA)* and *other mainline Protestant denominations* (and is *not* found in nonmainline denominations)."[30] Reading the subtext we hear him giving his denominational superiors a discrete but firm nudge: "Look folks, this is serious, we have severe problems that *must* be addressed … or else!"

The Episcopal Church USA (ECUSA) offers a disquieting illustration of what Oden terms "free-floating church bureaucrats who seem to be accountable to no one", and what McGrath described as the takeover of mainline denominational bureaucracies.[31] The Presiding Bishop, Katherine Jefferts Schori (consecrated 2006), in a television roundtable discussion – which I watched – fully supported homosexual relationships and same-sex marriage. She said something like, "Whenever the Spirit of God is moving in new ways there will be resistance and controversy. But we must and will move forward." In effect, she endorsed same-sex marriage and ordination of homosexuals as a "work of God" and things they ought to embrace.[32] My jaw dropped! Another example of "free-floating church bureaucrats" can be found in the Presbyterian Church USA's $66,000 sponsorship of the "RE-Imagining" Conference (1993) "without any review of the conference's content"; and allegedly, during the conference "participants 'worshipped' Sophia as an Old Testament goddess of wisdom".[33] The subsequent outcry produced the largest "overtures of protest in the denomination's 200 plus year history".[34]

And yet all is not entirely well with the laity in mainline congregations either, although generally they hold to much more orthodox beliefs than denominational elites. Before I moved to England to pursue doctoral studies, I worked for a religious charitable foundation in Washington, D.C. and assisted a "convictional Christian" pastor with his church. Whereas Oden could note United Methodist Church laity being "unnerved", my experience at this small Presbyterian Church USA church unnerved me. Two vignettes will illustrate. First, in the adult Sunday school class, we were studying the Gospel of Mark. A person

[30] Chang, op. cit., 13. (emphasis his for *not*, otherwise my emphasis)

[31] Oden, *Requiem*, 21; see fn. 367 for McGrath.

[32] We can add that earlier, in 2003, she supported V. Eugene Robinson's election as bishop of New Hampshire, to become the first priest consecrated as bishop to be in an *openly practising* homosexual relationship.

[33] Morgan, Timothy, RE-Imagining Labeled 'Reckless', Christianity Today, 18 July 1994.

[34] Hailson, Donna F. G., *Touchstone* (Spring 1997), Hailson notes that a follow-up RE-Imagining conference included a "goddess wall" with "nearly 40 depictions of the goddess in her various guises. Among these: Diana, Roman goddess of the hunt; Ishtar, the Babylonian goddess of war; Queen Maya, mother of Buddha; Kali, the Indian goddess of destruction; Ochun, a contemporary, Afrocentric, panerotic goddess; and Lilith, the queen of the demons".

who had served multiple terms on the elder board did not know where to find the Book of Mark. While checking the table of contents, they asked, "Where is it?" Second, in the mid-1990s, another elder attended a city-wide evangelistic meeting. A few days later the pastor received a "commitment card" indicating that "Harry Smith" had become a Christian. Two elders, making important decisions for Christ's Church, but one was completely illiterate Biblically and the other a self-acknowledged un-regenerate.[35]

Consequently, when I examine statistics showing declining membership and attendance at mainline denomination churches, I understand why, based on personal experience. Top down denominational elites are usually not orthodox committed followers of Christ (not to mention orthopraxis); bottom up believers are frequently much better in their belief system but they too offer no guarantee of orthodoxy.

George Barna has identified a litany of problems that confront mainline Protestant denominations, putting flesh to the study that Chang suggested.[36] Families "who have children under the age of 18 living in their home", the vital core for a church, "in the past decade" there had "been a 22% drop in the percentage of adults attending mainline congregations". Similarly, "Young adults", those "25 or younger", make up "6% of the national population" but they "are just one-third as many (2%) of all adults attending mainline churches". Simultaneously, these congregations are graying: "27% of American adults are 60 or older, but more than one-third of mainline attenders (35%) are 60-plus." Minorities, especially Hispanics, tend to shun these congregations. Although "Hispanics make up 16% of the US population, they are only 6% of the mainline population." This "is especially significant" due to "the rapid increase of the Hispanic population [and] … the outflow of Hispanics from Catholicism to Protestant churches in the past decade." Barna then notes: "Most of the Hispanics leaving Catholicism for another faith community are settling into Evangelical or Pentecostal Protestant churches."[37] Fewer families, fewer young adults and fewer minorities all translate into decline and slow death for mainline denominational churches.

The significant financial giving of these churches may, Barna suggests, "mask a serious problem". Mainline church attenders exhibit a "softer commitment"

[35] Two further examples: a third elder, Chairman of the Session (Elder Board), knew and readily cited section and subsection of the PCUSA *Book of Order* – but did not know The Book. Concerning local clergy, the area minister, when preaching for the regular pastor, often drew more from the Sunday newspaper than the Bible.

[36] The following illustrations are drawn from Barna, State of Mainline Protestant Churches. Cf. McGrath, *Evangelism and Future of Christianity*, 62, 76, 78, and Beltz, Troubling Statistics Reveal True State of Christianity in America, for additional problems.

[37] My mother's church in Stockton, CA, for instance, founded "Primera Iglesia Bautista".

and "decreas[ed] engagement … with church life". He cites three key metrics to support his argument: "Adherents attend church services less frequently than they used to. Volunteerism in these churches is down by an alarming 21% since 1998. Adult Sunday school involvement has also declined, by 17% since 1998." Additionally, the "brief tenure of pastors in a church" is problematic since, "on average", mainline pastors only "last four years before moving to another congregation." It is hard to build a thriving ministry in such a short time. The brief four year tenure of a typical mainline pastor, in contrast, "is about half the average among Protestant pastors in non-mainline churches."[38]

Packer and Sider's Concerns

J.I. Packer offers a searing analysis when he quotes a "much travelled leader, a native [of] America" to describe "North American Protestantism Christianity". It is "man-centred, manipulative, success-oriented, self-indulgent and sentimental" and "3,000 miles wide and half an inch deep."[39] Ron Sider adds to Packer's critique, "Scandalous behaviour is rapidly destroying American Christianity. By their daily activity, most 'Christians' regularly commit treason" in that "With their mouths they claim that Jesus is Lord, but with their actions they demonstrate allegiance to money, sex, and self-fulfillment."[40] He offers several pieces of evidence, but we shall only review two, marriage and money.

Concerning divorce Sider cites a 1999 Barna survey which showed that the "divorce rate among Evangelicals" was "exactly the same as the national average … 25 percent of Evangelicals—just like 25 percent of the total population".[41] He then asks: "Does it make no difference to Evangelicals that their Lord and Savior explicitly, clearly, repeatedly condemned divorce?"[42] Regarding money, in 1968 "Evangelicals gave 6.15 percent" of their income which, Sider notes, although

[38] Barna, State Mainline Churches, On the last point, my brother served two congregations in 44 years of ministry; my pastor in Stockton served our church for 30 years; my mother's pastor recently retired after a 26 year tenure. In contrast to Barna's definition for "Evangelical", see fn. 352, "just one-third (31%) of mainline adults believe they have a personal responsibility to discuss their faith with people who have different beliefs."

[39] Packer, JI, *A Quest for Godliness*, 23. Cf. 12, he expands the critique to "Britain and America" and argues that "affluence seems for the past generation to have been making dwarfs and deadheads of us all."

[40] Sider, Ronald J., *The Scandal of the Evangelical Conscience*, 12-13.

[41] Sider, op. cit., 19. Cf. Barna's March 2008 survey, New Marriage and Divorce Statistics Released, with similar results.

[42] Sider, op. cit., 19. Sider, id. 19, notes "Professor Brad Wilcox … who specialises in family issues. Wilcox has studied two sets of national data, *The General Social Survey* and *The National Survey of Families and Households*. The result? 'Compared with the rest of the population, conservative Protestants are *more* likely to divorce.'"

"considerably more than the seven mainline denominations" (3.3 percent), is still "less than two-thirds of a tithe". The giving figure dropped even more by 2001 "to a mere 4.27 percent."[43] Why the difference between orthodoxy, which the "Evangelical" church generally holds, and orthopraxis? Sider attributes it to "Evangelical leaders" who are unwilling to adopt "a simple lifestyle".[44] A sentiment J.I. Packer echoes when he argues that "affluence seems for the past generation to have been making dwarfs and deadheads of us all."[45]

CONCLUSION

With mainline denominations shedding members, and "cultural Christians" and "congregational Christians" declining in number due to the reduced "benefit"for carrying the label "Christian", "Christian America" is shrinking. Consequent to that numerical shrinkage, the cultural and political power of Christianity in America will shrink. America may have been founded as a "City on a Hill" but multiple forces are at work to erode that hill.[46]

All is not well, but all is not lost.

We began by discussing the road trip my wife and I took this summer, which began in New York City, so it is appropriate to return to the City. In the midst of this deeply secular and materialistic and pluralistic city, we find Redeemer Presbyterian Church. The church was founded twenty four years ago by the Rev. Tim Keller, with "approximately 80 in attendance", yet they now meet in three separate locations (West Side, East Side and Downtown) and offer eight Sunday services , with 6,000 attending weekly.[47] Keller founded the church based on: "the Gospel changes everything; City is the most strategic place for gospel ministry; [he] wanted to be part of a movement working for the peace and prosperity of our city and other great cities."[48] In the past year alone "Redeemer City to City helped plant 45 new churches globally including 12 new churches in NYC."[49] John Roberts, a PCUSA minister, attributes Redeemer's success *not* to high-

[43] Sider, op. cit., 21.
[44] Sider, op. cit., 22.
[45] Packer, *Quest for Godliness*, 12.
[46] Postmodernism and denominational distancing from orthodoxy, for example.
[47] Redeemer Presbyterian Church, Annual Report 2012, 6, website, Sunday Services; Annual Report 2012, 4.
[48] Keller, Tim, Church Planting.
[49] Redeemer Presbyterian, Annual Report 2012, 7. In the past ten years, they assisted over 150 church plants from more than a dozen denominations in nearly 50 global cities. Keller, Tim, Church Planting.

energy or flashy programmes or charismatic leadership. Rather, the "traditional pattern" for worship and the exegetical, almost "professorial" preaching of Keller impressed him most. The service, for example, includes prelude and postlude musical pieces, but not "digital social media" or "digital projection of songs", and the "sermons engage" both "Scripture … and the culture", and "the teaching of the church … is unabashedly orthodox."[50]

We also spoke earlier of ECUSA and how it illustrates what Thomas Oden termed, "free-floating church bureaucrats who seem to be accountable to no one."[51] Traveling further south, to Northern Virginia in the Washington, D.C. area, The Falls Church Anglican (TFCA) presents another example of vibrant Protestant Christianity in America. After long deliberation and much prayer, at great cost and sacrifice, the church decided to leave ECUSA in December 2006 due to theological and moral concerns.[52] In spite of the forfeiture of all their church buildings and equipment, and the payment of $2,800,000 to the Episcopalians,[53] they continue on, "Learning to Tabernacle" without a fixed permanent home.[54] And yet, in the midst of immense upheaval and turmoil, over the past seven years, they continued to plant churches and now have seven daughter churches "throughout the neighborhood", two in Washington, D.C. and five in Northern Virginia.[55]

Both Redeemer and TFC-Anglican lie in large metropolitan areas – Redeemer in NY City and The Falls Church Anglican in Washington, D.C. Both cities are deeply secular and global hubs, one financial and the other political, and both are through and through materialistic. In NY City it is media and money

[50] Roberts, John D., Redeemer Presbyterian Church: Why Is It Thriving?, Patheos, April 2010.

[51] Oden, *Requiem*, 21.

[52] For a history of TFCA's work to reform and their subsequent withdrawal from ECUSA, see the Falls Church Anglican, Past to Present, and related links for Anglican Realignment. The tipping point likely came with the 2002 Diocese of New Windsor's decision to bless same sex marriages, and the 2003 consecration of V. Eugene Robinson. the Falls Church Anglican, Anglican Realignment 1996-2003. Belz, Emily, A Great Divorce, World Magazine (June 2012), notes how ECUSA leaders "have called into question basic Christian tenets like the physical resurrection of Jesus, and … the presiding bishop" believes "that Jesus is not the only way to God."

[53] "Longtime parish administrator Bill Deiss valued" the property "at $40 million to $50 million." Belz, op. cit.

[54] Ward, Susan O'Loughlin, Learning to Tabernacle, *TFCA Current*, Sept.–Oct. 2012, 12-15. Ward wryly notes how "At our own church, there were approximately 30 former members who started the new Episcopal congregation in 2007, compared with approximately 2,800 who worshipped at TFC Anglican at that time. The number of people who worship at TFC Anglican today has grown, even after we have planted four local daughter churches that took more than 500 of our members to new locations." Ward, Tabernacle, 12. Cf. Casey, Jill and Robson, Betsy, How We Are Serving as We "Tabernacle", *TFCA Current*, Sept–Oct. 2012, 16-17.

[55] The Falls Church Anglican, Connect & Serve, Satellite Churches, TFCA webpage.

and D.C. it is influence and power. And yet, in both cities churches are thriving and growing and planting other churches. The reports of the demise of Christianity in America have been greatly exaggerated. Both churches thrive due to their commitment to Christ, to orthodox Christian thought and to orthpraxic Christian living.[56]

Turning to my home town, Stockton, CA on the west coast, a small "mom and pop" business, LYC Electronics, chose *not* to rent the unused space (approximately 130 m^2) in their building to another business. Instead they make the space available to new churches either gratis or at significantly reduced cost. They chose the name, "Stepping Stone Place", to signify their intention that it be a temporary help to new churches with little money during their initial two or three formative years, to serve as a stepping stone until they could acquire their own facility.[57]

In one of the papers at the conference, Perry Glanzer noted that there are 483 Christ-centred institutions of higher education in North America, and most are located in the United States. They too offer hope for the future. As graduates of these schools take their place throughout society, with a well shaped and integrated Biblical world-view, they will become salt and light, working to restore society and show the way to Christ.

Even Ronald Sider observes that "Things are not as hopeless as they first appeared."[58] He can see "some rays of hope", "evidence that deeply committed Christians do live differently."[59] He cites people identified in *The Saints Among Us* as "saints" and "super-saints", the deeply committed followers of Christ, who, by 84 and 93 percent respectively, "would *not* object to having a neighbor of a different race."[60] Those few "with a Biblical worldview … are nine times more likely than all the others to avoid 'adult-only' material on the Internet."[61] By a margin of 49 to 22 percent, born-again Christians *with* a Biblical worldview, versus "non-born-again Christians", "volunteered more than an hour in the pre-

[56] We see this in their respective mission statements: Redeemer aims to "saturate every neighborhood with gospel-believing and neighbor loving communities of Christians." Redeemer Presbyterian, Annual Report 2012, 9. Similarly, TFCA's vision is "that Christ be King in our lives and in the lives of others". TFCA, Vision, Values, Mission & Ministries.

[57] Yee, Catherine, personal email, 27 October 2013, 11:10p.m. GMT. "We have 2 churches on a regular basis and SUM (School of Urban Missions – an accredited Bible college) that uses it on Mondays for classes and chapel."

[58] Sider, *Scandal*, 130.

[59] Sider, op. cit., 125, 126.

[60] Sider, op. cit., 126. (emphasis mine)

[61] Sider, op. cit., 128. For "lower domestic abuse rates" by "theologically conservative men who attend church regularly", see Sider, 128.

vious week to an organisation serving the poor."[62] Thus, "People with a Biblical worldview", a category that "largely overlaps with that of Evangelical", in fact "do exhibit better moral behaviour at several points."[63] Sider is quick to point out, however, that for this to occur, "It means living the truth that orthodoxy and orthopraxis—right *theology* and right *behaviour*—are equally important", and consequently, "Biblical orthodoxy does matter."[64]

We conclude with The Washington Institute, which exists to help average lay folk connect faith and vocation and culture. Its thesis is simple yet profound: "faith shapes vocation shapes culture. What we believe about the deepest questions of life shapes the way that we live life, and that has consequence for life."[65] By assisting people to reflect on "How do we work out what matters most–to God, to us, to the world–in what we do day by day?", they endeavor "to help each of us pursue a vision of vocation that is fully engaged with the realities of life in the 21st century."[66]

All is not lost – American Protestant Christianity is not dead but going through a transformative change: a shift away from mainline churches to Evangelical (and non-denominational) churches.[67] Life comes from Jesus, and these changes merely reflect the absence or presence of Jesus in a church. Where he is absent there will not be life; but where he is present there indeed will be life, abundant *zoe* life.[68] Sider argues for the centrally of "living the truth that orthodoxy and orthopraxis … are equally important", essentially arguing for a "worldview with legs".[69] Fortunately we have an example: Jesus was the supreme and ultimate embodiment of a worldview with legs, the One who said – "I am the truth" and "who became flesh and dwelt among us".[70] As churches, like Redeemer Presbyterian or TFC-Anglican, nurture and shape followers of Christ to incarnate a worldview with legs, they too will indeed thrive and grow.

[62] Sider, op. cit., 128. (emphasis mine)
[63] Sider, op. cit., 129.
[64] Sider, op. cit., 125, 129,
[65] Garber, Steve, An Invitation, *The Washington Institute*.
[66] The Washington Institute, Homepage.
[67] Yeakley, Richard, Evangelical Churches Still Growing, Mainline Protestantism In Decline, *Huffington Post*, 15 February 2011, updated 25 May 2011.
[68] John 10:10.
[69] Sider, *Scandal*, 125.
[70] John 14:6, 1:14.

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Dr. Harm G. Dane[1]

RELIGIONS IN THE NETHERLANDS – FROM A PROTESTANT-CATHOLIC CONTROVERSY TO PLURALISM IN A SECULAR WORLD

First of all I would like to congratulate the Károli Gáspár University on its 20th Anniversary. Also on behalf of the board of my church, The Protestant Church in The Netherlands, I bring you kind regards and best wishes at the celebration of this anniversary.

SUMMARY

Up till the Second World War and a few years afterwards, the population of The Netherlands belonged to the most Christian people in the world, though with a sharp divide between Roman Catholic Christians and Protestant Christians. After 1960 we saw a sudden decline in church membership and of the relevance of the church in personal and public life. Nevertheless a lot of people continued to believe in Christian dogma. We now see in society a lot of religion without institution. The continuing decline in church membership means new challenges for the Protestant Church in the Netherlands. This article deals with the following items:

1. Dutch church history 1560-2010, a very short sketch
2. Decline in church membership 1850-2000
3. Religion in an secular culture
4. Membership PCN 1970-2013
5. Christian faith and the church in a secular context

DUTCH CHURCH HISTORY 1560-2010

Protestantism started in the open air, at least this is how I was taught to me at primary school. The fascination for the new religion was combined with

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repulsion against the king of Spain, in those days the legal authority in the low countries near the North Sea. This rejection had a lot to do with taxes and poverty and so the iconoclasm of 1566 was not only against the wealth and power of the Roman Catholic church, but also a revolt against the Spanish king and the rich tradesmen in cities such as Antwerpen[2]. So that was the cause of the 80 Years War against the king of Spain, but it was also characterised by Protestantism: strict and sober, as you can see in the paintings of Pieter Jansz's Saenredam[3]. But the war for independence was not a guarantee for unity. The first schism was in 1618, disputing the influence of free will in becoming an obedient Christian. After that two centuries of relative rest, others said a period of uninspired dullness under the dominance of the Reformed church, being the only official state-church. Characteristics of this period are:

- Reformed church is the official state-church
- Roman Catholics and Mennonites are tolerated but they have hidden churches
- There are small groups of dissenters
- 1798: Batavian republic, freedom of religion[4]

The quietness ended in the 19th century. Though the freedom of religion was confirmed by the first king, Willem I, the official *Nederlandse Hervormde Kerk* (Dutch Reformed Church, DRC) was for Calvinistic Protestants the one and only church allowed. Among poor farmers and craftsmen there were a lot of malcontents, also due to bad potato crops in the first quarter of the 19th century. There was no way to articulate political influence, so these people sought their common strength in a religious rebellion. The inheritance of small dissenter groups and house congregations became strong, insisting that there was only one King to obey, the King of heaven. This movement resulted in the schism in the DRC of 1834 and, despite repression, the foundation of the *Christelijk Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland* (Dutch Reformed Churches in The Netherlands). After the European rebellions of 1848 the kingdom of The Netherlands became a constitutional monarchy with freedom of religion for all, but without a general right to vote. The Roman Catholic church was formally recognised in 1853 and the Roman hierarchy was re-established. In the third quarter of the century a new movement of discontented people arose within the DRC, this time consisting more of well-to-do farmers and educated people without political

[2] Kuttner, E, *Het hongerjaar 1566,* Amsterdam, 1949.

[3] Pieter Jansz, Saenredam (1597-1665), famous painter of Dutch churches.

[4] Herman J. Selderhuis, William Boer Den & Willem Asselt Van, *Handboek Nederlandse Kerkgeschiedenis,* Kampen, 2006.

influence. They were organised on the subject of free school education. They demanded the right to organise Christian schools for their children. In this movement Abraham Kuyper played an important role. This movement lead to the second schism in the DRC. About 8% of the Dutch population decided to leave the national church. The two schisms, of 1834 and of 1882, came together and in 1892 they formed together the *Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland* (the Reformed Churches in The Netherlands, RCN). In fact, this can be considered as the beginning of the so-called pillar society. Abraham Kuyper started a newspaper, and a university, the Free University, meaning free from state influence, dedicated to Christian science. And in connection with this development a lot of Christian organisations were founded, such as a labour organisations, organisations for social and health care and youth organisations.

This pillar society was the most influential in Dutch society in the first half of the 20th century. During the Second World War we were confronted with the elimination of the Jews. Also within the church there was brave resistance against this terror, but it was too little. Shortly after the war the DRC finished a process of fundamental reconstruction, in fact acknowledging that the DRC no longer was the dominant church under the umbrella of the state. This change made it possible in 1961 for 18 outstanding theologians to plead for a healing of the schisms of the 19th century. Finally, the Protestant Church in The Netherlands was a fact in 2004. What is remarkable is that the small Lutheran Church in The Netherlands joined in the process of uniting and became the third partner besides the RCN in the DRC.

DECLINE IN CHURCH MEMBERSHIP 1850-2000

A new church in a deeply changed society. In 2004 religion hardly had any impact on social and political life in The Netherlands. How did that happen? Though we might be a little surprised in 2004, we have to admit that we were confronted with a development over a long period, with an acceleration in the last 40 years.

The following are some figures.[5] Let us view a period over more than 100 years, since 1840. The number of Roman Catholics varied among 40% of the population with a little growth between 1840 and 1971, due to a strict large-family-policy of the church and a strict binding of the Roman Catholic people to the Roman

[5] The statistics used in this article can be found at the *Centraal Bureau voor Statistiek* (Central Office for Statistics, www.cbs.nl) and the *Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau* (Social and Cultural Research Institute, www.scp.nl).

Catholic social organisations. There was also a decline of Protestantism (60-35%), due to a loss of members either to the labour movement or to the liberal circles of society. Nevertheless, in 1971 still more than 75% of the Dutch population considered themselves Christians. In 1840 non-church membership did not exist. In 1971 almost 25% of the population indicated that they did not belong to a church.

	1840	1920	1947	1971
Prot	59,6	53,8	42,3	35,9
RC	38,5	35,8	38,6	40,5
None	0,1	8,8	19	23,9

Focusing on the last 40 years we see a steady decline of the Roman Catholic church and also of the total number of those belonging to one of the Protestants churches, a huge rise of non-church members (over 40 to over 60%) and about 10% of the population having another religion (3-8%). Among these are about 900,000 Muslims and 1 million non-western Christians.

	1975	1985	1995	2004
Prot	26	20	15	10
RC	30	26	19	17
None	42	52	62	64
Others	3	3	4	8

In addition to the rapid growth of non-church members we also can see in non-church members among the different generations. Among those born before 1930, and since the sixties of the last century about 40% is a non-church member. The rapid growth of non-membership has to do with my generation, born between 1945 and 1960. Here we see in the last 50 years a growth of non-church membership from 23 to 63 %. The vast majority of them left the church between 1965 and 1980. The next generation, born between 1960 and 1975, continued this development. There is a small decline of non-membership in the youngest generation: we do not yet have an explanation for this development. Nevertheless, the non-membership in this generation is the highest, about 75%.

The same figures we get when we look at the correlation between non-membership and age-cohorts. Among those older than 60 years of age there is a rather stable number of non-church members of about 40 %. But among those between 16 and 30 years of age we see an increase from just 30 to over 70 % be-

ing not a church member anymore. And here again we see that the sudden increase was between 1975 and 1985.

Not only did the number of church members decline, among those who stayed the intensity of participation got less and less when we look at church attendance and the role of the reverend in personal life. Church members going to church every week declined from 50% in 1966 in a straight line to only 16% in 2006. And those church members consulting there reverend with ethical problems declined from 35% in 1966 to 10% in 2006. That is a strong indication that also for the church members themselves the relevance of the church in personal life declined.

Where are we now? Almost 50% of the total population over 18 years old is not a member of any church or religious organisation, 27% is a member of the Roman Catholic Church, 16.6% belongs to one of the different Protestant churches, 5.7% is Muslim.

RELIGION IN A SECULAR CULTURE

Do these numbers give any indication about religious opinions among the Dutch? This is not so much the case. Only 14% see themselves as convinced atheists, although is it twice as much as in 1966. It is no surprise that those who believe in God, in one or another way, has declined from 47 to 24 %, but all who lost their faith in a personal God did not turn into convinced atheists. 36% of all people believe that there must be "something", not a personal God, but a divine power or something like that. And 26% admit that they do not know, they do not have a clear opinion.

When people are asked whether they believe in some kind of life after death you see, since 1985, a decline of those older than 50 years of age, but a remarkable increase of those between 16 and 30 years and also an increase of those between 30 and 50.

	16-30 yr	31-50 yr	>50 yr
1985	45	45	59
1996	54	53	53
2002	56	49	43

Do you believe in life after death? Percentage giving a positive answer of total age groups of the Dutch population.

The same development can be seen when people are asked whether they be-

lieve in heaven and, even more pronounced, when they are asked whether they believe in hell. The response to the question whether they think prayer is important is interesting. Here you see that despite all decline of church membership since the eighties, for a lot of people praying is important and the decline among those between 16-30 and those between 31-50 years of age is less pronounced than among those older than 50 years of age.

	16-30 yr	31-50 yr	>50 yr
1985	42	48	64
1996	35	44	61
2002	33	37	44

Is it important for you to pray? Percentage giving a positive answer of total age groups of the Dutch population.

So you see, though people do not go to church, a lot of them still have an interest in religion and a lot of them believe in a life after death, the existence of heaven and hell, the need for prayer. However, this does not mean that those people see themselves as Christians. They use all kinds of sources to find out about spirituality and religion. And they use any information they like, from different traditions. Sociologists use the term "patchwork religion", each and every one making for himself or herself a more or less coherent set of convictions. We also can say that in our culture encounters with religions is no longer a matter of meeting religious leaders, but it is a personal inner debate within modern men themselves.

MEMBERSHIP PCN 1970-2013[6]

Before drawing conclusions I will give some data about my church, the Protestant Church in the Netherlands. We have to be fair: we are faced with an on-going very fast decline in church members. In 1970 the three churches which formed the Protestant Church in The Netherlands in 2004 counted together 4.76 million members, shortly after the reunion only 2.36 million were left. And the decline went on: 2.33 in 2006, 2.09 in 2013. The remarkable figure in 2012 is due to a new system of membership registration. We feared an extra loss of members with the introduction of the new system, but there appeared to be about 100.000 members lost in the old system. But as we see, the decline goes on.

[6] The statistics of my own church can be found on www.pkn.nl

1970	1980	1990	1995	2000	2005
4,76	3,88	3,41	3,05	2,7	2,36

Number of church members Protestant Church in the Netherlands 1970-2005 in millions

2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
2,36	2,33	2,27	2,21	2,15	2,1	2,04	2,15	2,09

Number of church members Protestant Church in the Netherlands on January 1, 2005-2013, in millions

Of course the decline of the number of members has influence on the number of congregations. In 2006 there were about 1,800 congregations, in 2012 there were about 1,600. We also see that the number of merged congregations is growing and they form the majority since 2012. (Keep in mind that the fusion in 2004 was a fusion on national level; all local congregations were free to decide whether they would merge on local level with a congregation of another denomination or not.)

CHRISTIAN FAITH AND CHURCH IN A SECULAR CONTEXT

I will make some remarks about religion and church in a secular culture. First about religion. The character and form of religion has deeply changed in the last thirty years. Some topics[7]:

- Religion without institution

As I mentioned before, a lot of people are interested in religion and do believe in "God", heaven, hell, the importance of praying. But they do not have any interest in institutionalised religion and churches.

- Experience instead of dogma

People are not interested in knowledge about the Bible, confession, church history, sacraments. They want to experience something, they want to feel what is important for them and how it can help them in life.

- Belonging without binding – Community without ecclesiology

[7] For these conclusions see: Van Hierden, B & Bikker, J.M.C, *Kerk en dertigers 2.0*, Utrecht, 2013, www.pkn.nl

People are looking for other people to talk about what they think is important, but they do not want to become a member or to make a decision for a long period. In this context we use the term *liquid modernity,* introduced by Zygmunt Bauman.[8]

- Belief without theology/authority, tradition without obedience

"Do tell me what you believe and what your opinions are, but give me the freedom to disagree!" A lot of congregations in my church hesitate to make a clear profile and seek their identity in being open and welcoming to everyone. That is not interesting for people today, they want to know: what do you have to say and what do you have to offer me, that might be interesting and helpful for me?

For the church these changes have the follwing strong impact:

- Fewer people, less money
- Difficult choices have to be made: to sell church buildings, to reduce the number of reverends; this creates tension in the parishes.
- A smaller organisation on national level, less means to support the local congregations with their problems.
- Tension between generations

Dominance of older people. They feel responsible for the continuity of the church but their way of organising is seen as old-fashioned by the younger generations.

- Feel-good congregations, people looking for others with the same feelings and convictions. This makes it hard to find solutions in case of conflicts.[9]
- New position of the reverends, active social entrepreneurs instead of academic theologians.

And for the church in society:

- No political influence
- Hardly any access to mass media
- Religion considered a private matter

[8] Bauman, Z, *Liquid Modernity,* Cambridge, 2000.
[9] Nauta, R, *Paradoxaal Leiderschap,* Nijmegen, 2006.

- Active on social affairs: poverty, social care, homelessness, refugees, asylum seekers
- Efforts for tolerance and mutual understanding between religions and in society.

About the future

It is clear that the Protestant Church in The Netherlands has to face a period of reconsidering its structure in the following years. A smaller church with fewer people and less money has to reflect on priorities and processes. And more fundamental questions must be taken into account, such as the position and tasks of the non ordained members of the church board or the chance to co-operate as volunteer for those being not formal members. It is possible that not in all cases is it useful or desirable that the local congregations bear full responsibility for all aspects of church life in the future. These reflections will be necessary in the near future. That gives the church the opportunity to re-activate the old motto of Protestantism: Semper reformanda. Guidelines for this process of reconsideration are:

- Trust in God, Jesus and the Holy Spirit
- An open mind for developments in society
- No longer paralysed by decline
- Recognition of the strength of the church as institution
- … And recognition of its relativity and temporal character.
- Creativity and experiments, as in the old days of the open air sermons.

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Dr. Hilke Rebenstorf[1]

RECENT TRENDS IN RELIGIOSITY IN GERMANY

INTRODUCTION

From its very beginning the sociology of religion was concerned not only with function and meaning of religion and religiosity. Already at the turn to the 20th century scholars like Durkheim[2] and Weber[3] reasoned about the future of religion, about the transformation of its practices and symbols from the divine to the profane, about individualisation and secularisation. Since then this divide between secularisationists who advocate the disappearance of religion in the modern world due to processes of rationalisation (Weber) and individualisationists who advocate the transformation of religion from an outspoken theist orientation to a more open and diversified spirituality can be observed. Although both developments lead to a decline in classical church membership, their meaning for organised religion is quite different:

If secularisation as consequence of what Weber called the "Disenchantment of the World" (Entzauberung der Welt) is the predominant development there is hardly a way for Christian congregations to find connections to non-believers. The search for meaning, recognition of the inexplicable, comfort in times of crises and similar experiences are not linked to some transcendent dimension. Thus, references to the afterlife, the divine, to god or goddess are excluded from the "universe of the thinkable" (Bourdieu) and all efforts at proselytising are likely to run into the void.

If individualisation as a consequence of functional diversification and therefore of increasing pluralism prevails, religious beliefs do not disappear but shift from theist beliefs to other pantheist beliefs, this is: other objects of the sacred move into the horizon of attention. Thus, there is a lot of space for and, in prin-

[1] Privatdozentin, Wissenschaftliche Mitarbeiterin; Universität Hildesheim, Germany (Research Fellow of the Social Science Institute of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Germany).

[2] Durkheim, Emile, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, Glencoe, Ill., The Free Press, 1965 (French: *Les formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse*, 1912).

[3] Weber, Max, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, London, Unwin, 1967 (Original: *Die Protestantische Ethik und der Geist des Kapitalismus*, 1905), Weber, Max, *Economy and Society*, London, University Press Group, 1978 (German: *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft,* 1922).

ciple, also affinity to Christian religion and thus to Protestantism left. However, also individualisation or patchwork religion weakens classical religious adherence and knowledge because the distinct character of a particular religion vanishes.

In the following I will not be able to give an answer on the question if in Germany today secularisation or individualisation is the dominant pattern – we probably will find indicators for both developments, the scholarly dispute is far from being decided[4]. What I will present is the development of some characteristics of the (non)religious life which are strongly connected to the question concerning the future of (Protestant) religion in Germany and which can serve as base for further reasoning on the question whether the needle points into the one or the other direction. Whenever we speak about religiosity in Germany we still have to distinguish between those parts belonging to the former West German Federal Republic and those belonging to East Germany, the former German Democratic Republic. Since religious belonging and religiosity are to a great extend matters of socialisation, the more or less forced secularisation in the German Democratic Republic left its mark.

DEVELOPMENT OF CHURCH MEMBERSHIP – SPECIFICS OF "EAST" AND "WEST"

As in all industrialised societies, maybe with the exception of the United States of America[5], church membership in Germany decreased over the last decades and still is declining – in total numbers as well as with respect to the percentage of the population with religious affiliation to one of the Christian churches.

West Germany changed its character from a predominantly Protestant society, with about 60% of the population organised in the Protestant church in the immediate post-war years, over a period of even membership figures in the Protestant and Catholic Church, to a society with a somewhat higher percentage of members in the Catholic Church than in the Protestant Church. However,

[4] See for recent developments in this debate e.g. Pollack, Detlef and Olson, Daniel V. (eds.), *The Role of Religion in Modern Societies*, New York and London, Routledge, 2007; Pollack, Detlef, Müller, Olaf and Pickel, Gert (Eds.), *The Social Significance of Religion in the Enlarged Europe, Secularisation, Individualisation and Pluralisation*, Farnham, Ashgate, 2012.

[5] Although the latest data from the PEW Forum on Religion & Public Life show a decline in religiously affiliated also in the US. See: *"Nones" on the Rise: One-in-Five Adults Have No Religious Affiliation*, Online-source available via http://www.pewforum.org/2012/10/09/nones-on-the-rise/ (01.11.2013, 9:36 am).

already in the 1980s about one out of seven people held another religious affiliation than Christian, or none at all (Figure 1).

The earlier and steeper decline in church membership within the Protestant church compared to the Catholic Church can be attributed to several aspects:

a. As already Weber pointed out, the more rational character of Protestantism makes it more vulnerable to secularisation;

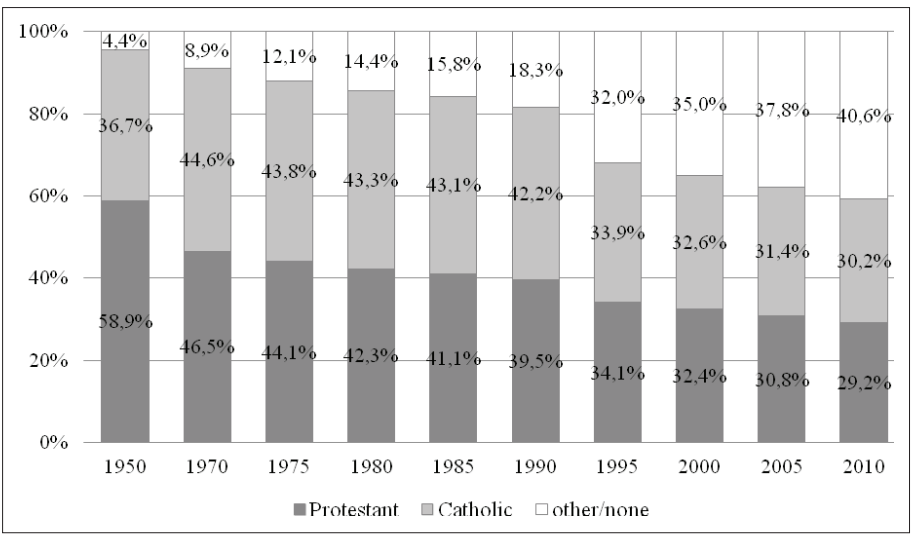


Figure 1. Church Membership by Religious Denomination 1950 to 2011, Source: for the year 1950: Pollack, Detlef and Müller, Olaf, Religionsmonitor. Verstehen was verbindet. Religiosität und Zusammenhalt in Deutschland. Bertelsmannstiftung, 2013, 32, online source http://www.bertelsmann-stiftung.de/cps/rde/xchg/SID-D36B56B3-5629DFEA/bst/hs.xsl/85217_85220.htm (01.11.2013; 9:47 am); for the years 1970 to 2010: Kirchenamt der EKD, Referat Betriebswirtschaft, IT und Statistik.

b. for a long time, Protestants held on average higher educational degrees and professional positions than Catholics[6], thus more of them belonged to those milieus particularly exposed to trends of secularisation as individualisation as well.

[6] They were, for instance, over-represented in the German elite of the postwar area, and Catholics were under-represented in the institutions of higher education. See, e.g. Dahrendorf, Ralf, *Gesellschaft und Demokratie in Deutschland*, München, Piper, 1965; Peisert, Hansgünter, *Soziale Lage und Bildungschancen in Deutschland*, München, Piper 1967; Müller, Walter, Intendierte und nicht-intendierte Folgen der Bildungsexpansion, in Friedrichs, Jürgen; Lepsius, M. Rainer and Mayer, Karl Ulrich (eds.), *Die Diagnosefähigkeit der Soziologie*, Opladen, Westdeutscher Verlag, 1998, 81-112.

c. Labor migrants in the 1950th and 1960th came mainly from southern European countries, were quite often devoted Catholic, labour migration from Protestant countries simply did not exist.

d. As will be shown later in this article, Catholics in Germany are more highly religious than Protestants, thus the attachment is higher, the step to leave the church less likely.

As can be seen too in Figure 1, church membership is much less prevalent in East Germany than it is in the West – indicated by the remarkable increase in the percentage of non-affiliated after German unification in 1990. A look at the figures for Protestantism separated for East and West Germany shows the difference (Figure 2).

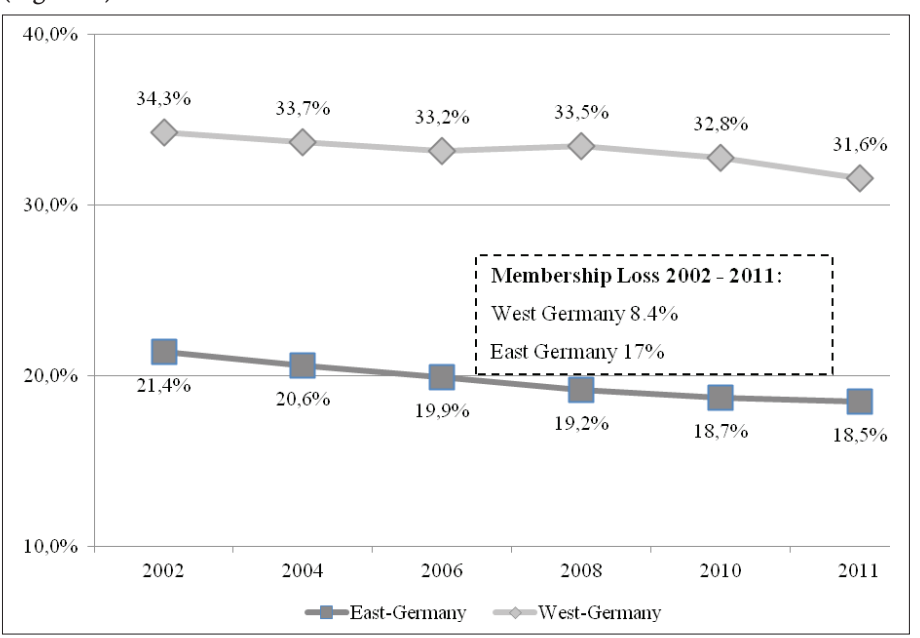


Figure 2. Membership in Protestant Church (Percentage of the Population) in East- and West-Germany, Development 2002 to 2011, Source: own calculations based on Evangelische Kirche in Deutschland (EKD), *Zahlen und Fakten zum kirchlichen* Leben. Volumes 2004, 2006, 2008, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013. Online available http://www.ekd.de/statistik/zahlen_fakten.html (01.11.2013, 10:11 am); East Germany includes the former West Berlin

Not only is the organisational degree in East Germany much lower than in the West, also the relative membership loss is twice as high in the East than it is in

the West. The drop in organisational degree in the West is not only an effect of membership decline but also of growing population due to migration, of people, who are not affiliated to Christianity.[7]

Looking at these numbers and developments one might ask what the overall importance of religion is, and how it is assessed compared to other spheres of life and society. What is the image of church and religion, and what is religious belief about?

In Germany we have a few regular surveys which can help us to find at least some tentative answers on these questions. One is the General Population Survey of the Social Sciences (Allgemeine Bevölkerungsumfrage der Sozialwissenschaften, ALLBUS) which is conducted every two years, in the years 1982, 1992, 2002 and 2012 focusing on religion. Another periodical survey is the Membership Study of the Evangelical Church in Germany (Kirchenmitgliedschaftsuntersuchung der EKD, KMU I bis V), conducted every ten years, with the first survey in 1972. Germany is also one of the countries taking part in the Religion Monitor, conducted twice – in 2008 and most recently in 2013. The following analysis will be based primarily on the data from the General Population Survey ALLBUS, because all researchers with a scholarly interest have access to these data. Data from the last Membership Survey of the Evangelical Church in Germany from 2012 are still not available beyond the group of the principal researchers[8]. Individual analyses with data from the religion monitor are not feasible.

IMPORTANCE OF RELIGION

Is religion nowadays in Germany still important for people? This is one question one would ask in an endeavour to uncover the function and meaning of religion in the modern world. Does it still bear significance for people? The General Social Survey contains one standard question which enables us not only to look at the importance of church and religion but also to compare its relevance with that of other areas of life. In Figure 3 the percentage of those is displayed, who consider the five areas as very important or important (points 6 and 7 on a 7-point-scale of importance).

[7] The share of the population in Germany who have a migration background is about 19% percent, many of them from Muslim countries. Statistische Bundesamt (ed.), *Statistisches Jahrbuch Deutschland und Internationales,* Wiesbaden, 2012, 40. Online available: https://www.destatis.de/DE/Publikationen/StatistischesJahrbuch/StatistischesJahrbuch_AeltereAusgaben.html (01.11.2013, 10:19 am).

[8] See for further information: http://www.ekd.de/si/projekte/20633.html

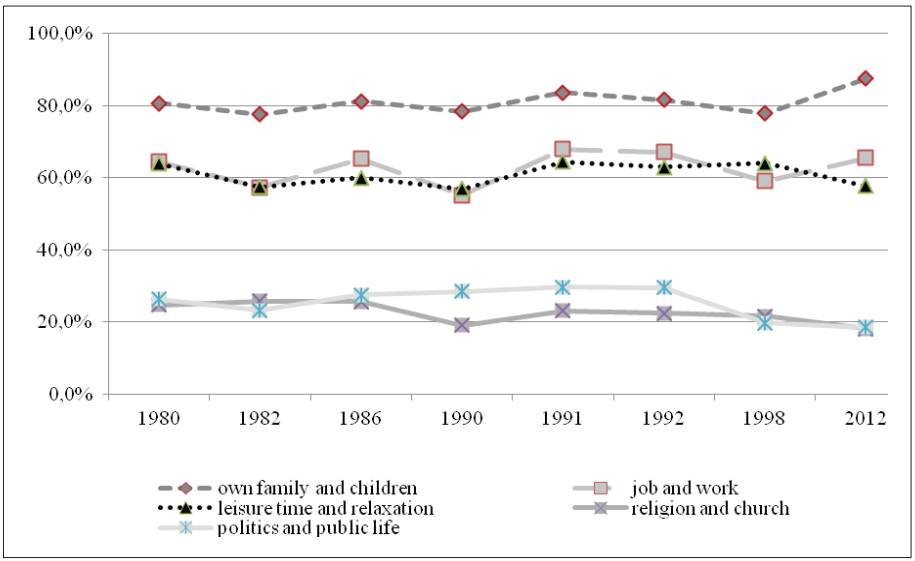


Figure 3. Importance of Different Areas of Life 1980 – 2012 (values 6+7 on a 7-point-scale of Importance, n=3.466), Source: Terwey, Michael and Baumann, Horst (eds.), *ALLBUS / GGSS German General Social Survey – Cumulation 1980 – 2010.* Study No. 4576, version: 1.0.0, doi: 10.4232/1.11488; GESIS (ed.), ALLBUS Allgemeine Bevölkerungsumfrage der Sozialwissenschaften. Supplement zum Variable Report 2012. Studien-Nr. 4614, Version: 1.1.0, doi: 10.4232/1.11634

Obviously the area of church and religion bears by far less meaning for the individuals than family, work and leisure time. However, it is as important as politics and public life. And when we consider that almost every one of those participating in the survey has the right to vote, but only roughly 70% define themselves as having a religious denomination, the figures look less bleak.

But let us have a more differentiated look at different denominations.

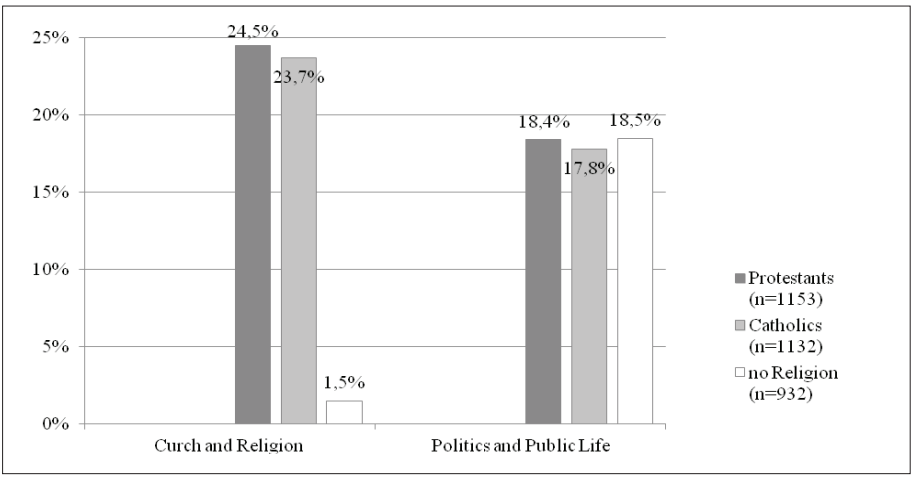


Figure 4. Importance of "Church and Religion" and of "Politics and Public Life" by Religious Denomination in 2012, Source: GESIS – Leibniz Institute for the Social Sciences (2013): ALLBUS/GGSS 2012 (Allgemeine Bevölkerungsumfrage der Sozialwissenschaften/German General Social Survey 2012). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA4614 Data file Version 1.1.1, doi:10.4232/1.11753, own calculations

As one would expect, the importance of church and religion is higher among Christians – no matter if Protestants or Roman Catholics – than on the average and particularly with respect to those who do not report any religious affiliation. And for Christians the meaning of church and religion is higher than that of politics and public life, but even the latter is for them as important as it is for the non-affiliated. Because of the much lower organisational degree of the Protestant Church as well as the Roman Catholic Church in East Germany compared to West Germany one would expect substantial differences between the two parts of the country, assuming the East German pattern to resemble that of the non-affiliated. And in fact we see pronounced differences when it comes to importance of church and religion – scoring in the East only as half as important as in the West, but also politics and public life do have less of a meaning for East Germans than for West Germans (Figure 5).

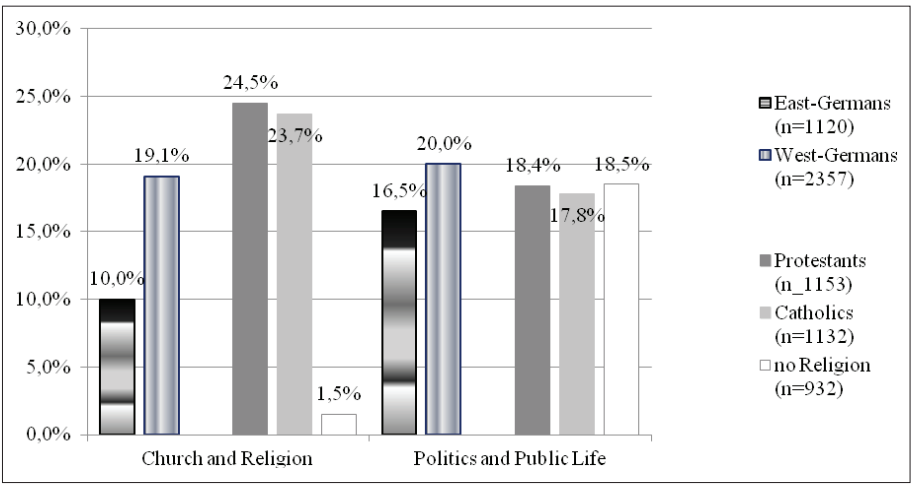


Figure 5. Importance of "Curch and Religion" and of "Politics and Public Life" by Religious Denomination and Region in 2012, Source: GESIS – Leibniz Institute for the Social Sciences (2013): ALLBUS/GGSS 2012 (Allgemeine Bevölkerungsumfrage der Sozialwissenschaften/German General Social Survey 2012). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA4614 Data file Version 1.1.1, doi:10.4232/1.11753, own calculations

But how do we have to interpret this? Is it a matter of intransigence or of indifference? One question in the General Population Survey may give as a hint – the question on trust in institutions. As can be seen in Figure 6 the trust in institutions – no matter if of political and public life or in the area of church in religion – is consistently higher among Germans in the West than in the East. Although the differences, all of them are statistically significant, are higher when it comes to churches.

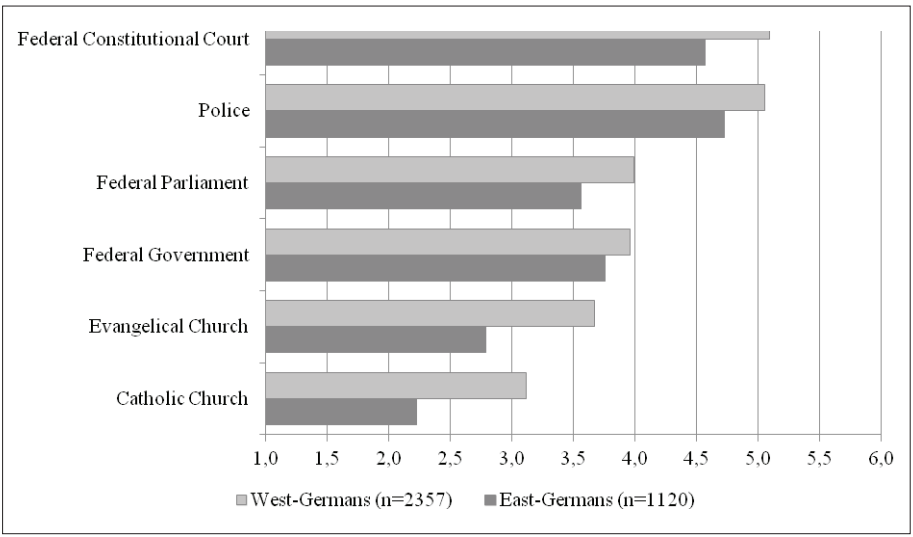


Figure 6, Trust in Institutions by Region in 2012 (mean of a scale from 1 "no trust at all" to 7 "very hight trust"), Source: GESIS – Leibniz Institute for the Social Sciences (2013): ALLBUS/GGSS 2012 (Allgemeine Bevölkerungsumfrage der Sozialwissenschaften/German General Social Survey 2012). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA4614 Data file Version 1.1.1, doi:10.4232/1.11753, own calculations

Trust in the independent justice system is highest, trust in Federal Government and Federal Parliament very similar. The churches, however, are trusted differently.

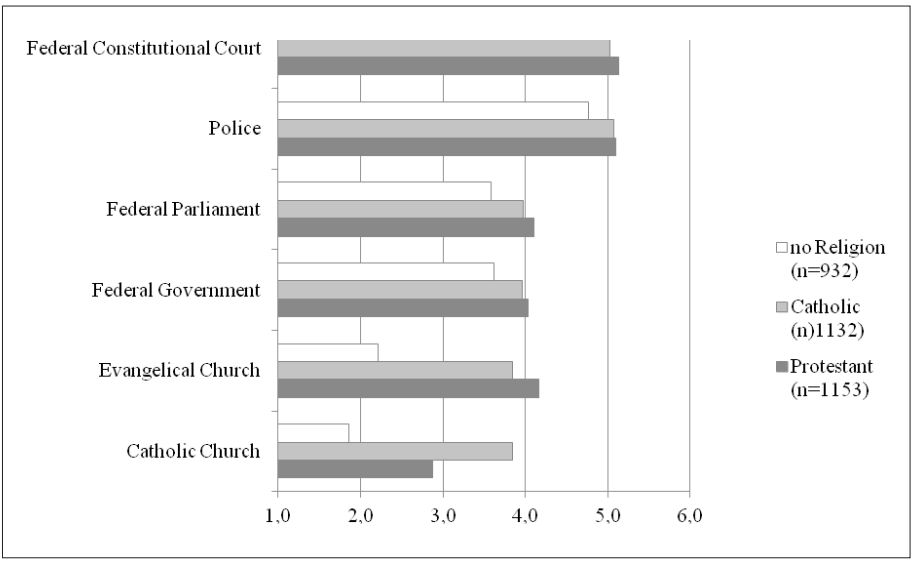


Figure 7. Trust in Institutions by Religious Denomination in 2012 (means, scale 1 "no trust at all" to 7 "very high trust"), Source: GESIS – Leibniz Institute for the Social Sciences (2013): ALLBUS/GGSS 2012 (Allgemeine Bevölkerungsumfrage der Sozialwissenschaften/ German General Social Survey 2012). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA4614 Data file Version 1.1.1, doi:10.4232/1.11753, own calculations

The trust the Protestants have in their own church is higher than the trust they have in government and parliament, but less high than their trust in the justice system (Figure 7). Their trust in their own church is much higher than the trust in the Roman Catholic Church. The Catholics on the other hand show less trust in their own church than in federal government and parliament, and their trust in the competing church is as high as in their own. The not religiously affiliated show, in general, less trust than the members of the two big Christian Churches. This holds particularly true with respect to the churches. Importance of church and religion and trust in churches are highly correlated (r=.57 Catholic Church, r=.61 Protestant Church), however, we can say nothing about causal effects. The correlation of importance of politics and public life with trust in government and parliament is much lower (r=.22 federal parliament, r=.18 federal government). *With some caution we can assume that most people are aware of the effects of public politics, although they are not actively concerned. But the meaning of church and religion is of a different nature, it is connected to trust in "clerical" institutions and to belief.*

WHAT KIND OF BELIEF IS RELIGIOUS BELIEF?

Let us first have a look at the self-description as religious. The interviewees were asked, how religious they were. In Figure 8 one can see the percentage of people in different subpopulations describing themselves as (strongly) religious (values 8 to 10 on a 10-point-scale).

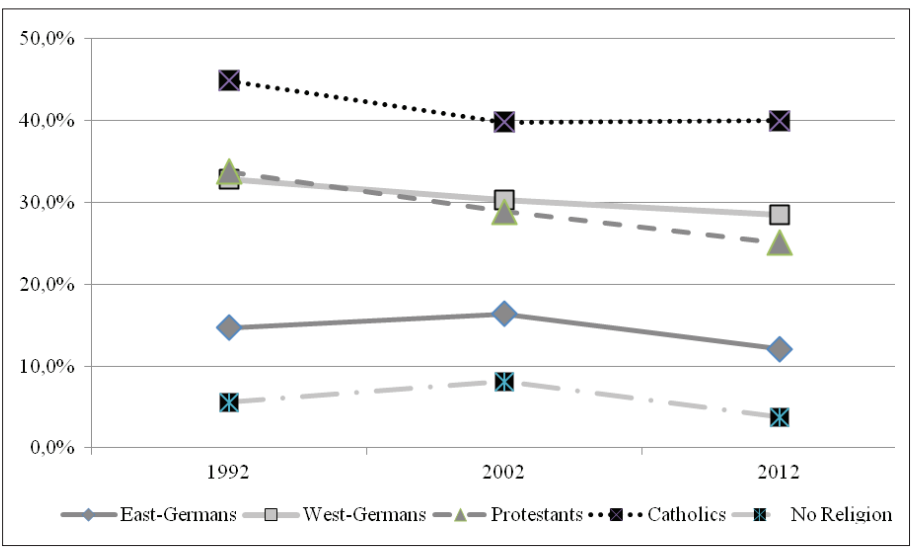


Figure 8. Self-Ascribed Religiousness and Spirituality by Religious Type (means), Source: GESIS – Leibniz Institute for the Social Sciences (2012): ALLBUS/GGSS 1980-2010 (Kumulierte Allgemeine Bevölkerungsumfrage der Sozialwissenschaften/ Cumulated German General Social Survey 1980-2010). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA4574 Data file Version 1.0.1, doi:10.4232/1.11486; GESIS – Leibniz Institute for the Social Sciences (2013): ALLBUS/GGSS 2012 (Allgemeine Bevölkerungsumfrage der Sozialwissenschaften/German General Social Survey 2012). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA4614 Data file Version 1.1.1, doi:10.4232/1.11753, own calculations

As one would expect, religiousness is much higher among the West German population than among the East Germans. In both parts of Germany religiosity declined during the last two decades. Looking at the denominations or non-affiliation respectively, we can point out two remarkable findings: first, the decline in religiousness is much stronger among Protestants than it is among Catholics and second, Catholics describe themselves as much more religious than Protestants. This latter result is in accordance with findings from the religion monitor which applied the six-dimensional model of religiosity according

to Glock[9]. Since in East Germany only about 5 per cent of the population belongs to the Roman Catholic Church, in West Germany approximately 35 per cent, this difference in religiousness also strengthens the religious divide between the East and West.

What we see in overall religiousness we also can observe with respect to single dimensions of religious beliefs (Table 1).

Catholics are more strongly connected to perceptions of a personal God and less to attitudes favouring determination of man by laws of nature – however, even among those who say that they have no religious affiliation at all every tenth approves statements about the existence of a personal God. The differences between East and West Germany are as one would expect: in the West more than twice as many interviewees than in the East believe in a personal God, while the gap is less pronounced when it comes to an idea of a deity that is more or less perceived as a spirit of the human. West Germans also share the idea of human determination by laws of nature less than East Germans.

	Protes-tant	Catholic	no Religion	West German	East German
God is personally concerned with everyone.	37%	45%	9%	39%	16%
There is one God, who wants to be God for us.	41%	53%	10%	43%	18%
I think, God is merely what is valuable in humans.	49%	42%	41%	48%	40%
God is not somewhere up there, but just in the heart of people.	75%	73%	64%	72%	63%
Our lives are determined by laws of nature.	72%	68%	84%	70%	82%
Human life is just one part of nature.	74%	66%	86%	70%	83%
Basis (n)	1153	1132	932	2357	1120

Table 1. Beliefs in God / Deity by Religious Denomination and Region in 2012 (agreement rates: values 1+2 on a 5-point scale), Source: GESIS – Leibniz Institute for the Social Sciences (2013): ALLBUS/GGSS 2012 (Allgemeine Bevölkerungsumfrage der Sozialwissenschaften/German General Social Survey 2012). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA4614 Data file Version 1.1.1, doi:10.4232/1.11753, own calculations

[9] Glock, Charles Young, On the study of religious commitment. *Review of recent research bearing on religious and character formation (*research supplement to *Religious Education,* July-August, 1962), 98-110; Huber, Stefan and Klein, Constantin, Kurzbericht zu ersten Ergebnissen des Religionsmonitor der Bertelsmann-Stiftung (Befragung in Deutschland) 2008, 9.

Let us have a look at another dimension of religious beliefs – the meaning of life (Table 2).

	Protes-tant	Catholic	no Religion	West German	East German
Life only has meaning because of God.	23%	31%	3%	26%	11%
What comes after makes life meaningful.	31%	40%	10%	34%	16%
One has to give life a meaning oneself.	89%	90%	95%	89%	93%
Meaning of life: make the best out of it.	92%	94%	95%	92%	95%
Life does not have much meaning.	2%	3%	2%	3%	2%
My opinion: Life serves no purpose at all.	1%	1%	1%%	1%	1%
Basis (n)	1153	1132	932	2357	1120

Table 2. Beliefs in the Meaning of Life by Religious Denomination and Region in 2012 (agreement rates: values 1+2 on a 5-point scale), Source: GESIS – Leibniz Institute for the Social Sciences (2013): ALLBUS/GGSS 2012 (Allgemeine Bevölkerungsumfrage der Sozialwissenschaften/German General Social Survey 2012). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA4614 Data file Version 1.1.1, doi:10.4232/1.11753, own calculations

Only a small minority of respondents, independent from religious affiliation, thinks that life has no meaning (the two bottom lines). They also almost totally agree that people are responsible themselves for giving life a purpose (the lines in the middle). Christians, and here again particularly Roman Catholics, agree upon the idea that life has a meaning because of God and because there is something coming after life – it is the orientation towards the afterlife and the divine that distinguishes Christians from Non-affiliated.

Two findings have to be pointed out: first, one out of ten of religiously non-affiliated shows, regarding the meaning of life, patterns that point to the transcendent, the afterlife. A similar result to the one we saw already with respect to the perception of God. Another remarkable result is that deriving the meaning of life from a religious belief runs parallel to the conviction that one has to give meaning to life oneself. The devoted believer accepts responsibility for life on earth.

TYPES OF RELIGIOSITY?

Since Alfred Schütz we know, that human beings as social beings involuntarily categorise their counterparts. This "reduction of complexity" is essential in order to keep the unwritten rules of the interaction order (Goffman). In social science we use ideal-types to underline the main discriminating dimension. With respect to respondent's assessments of statements on the image of God and the meaning of life we can define a few of these ideal-types:

a) The Believers: they score high on the variables:
– God is personally concerned with everyone
– There is one God, who wants to be God for us
– Life only has menaing because of God
– What comes after makes life meaningful
b) The Non-Believers score low on these variables
c) The Religiously Indifferent do not have an opinion on or have never thought about these subjects.
d) The uncategorised are the rest, they are somewhere in-between.

The distribution of the types of religiousness differs of course between East and West Germany: In the West the "Believers" make up 14%, which is more than twice the percentage in the East (Table 3). Therefore the "Non-Believers" count 41% in the East, in the West only 17% – just slightly more than the religious. Religious indifference does not differ much between East and West, but those, not categorised, who are somewhere in-between the "Believers" and the "Non-Believers" number 65% in the West, 49% in the East. And there are differences again according to religious affiliation:

	West German	East German	Total	Protes-tant	Catholic	no Religion
Believers	6%	14%	13%	11%	16%	2%
Non-Believers	41%	17%	22%	15%	11%	48%
Religiously Indifferent	5%	4%	4%	4%	4%	6%
Uncategorised / In-Betweeners	48%	65%	61%	70%	69%	45%
Base n	2357	1120	3477	1153	1132	932

Table 3. Types of Believers/Religiousness by Region and Religious Denomination, Source: GESIS – Leibniz Institute for the Social Sciences (2013): ALLBUS/GGSS 2012 (Allgemeine Bevölkerungsumfrage der Sozialwissenschaften/German General Social Survey 2012). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA4614 Data file Version 1.1.1, doi:10.4232/1.11753, own calculations

There are more "Believers" among the Catholics, more "Non-Believers" among the non-affiliated and more not-categorised or "In-Betweeners" among the Protestants.

With respect to the four statements on the image of God and the meaning of life, the types differ by definition – but how does it look with other dimensions of religious belief? When respondents have to decide whether they believe in a personal God, in some kind of Higher Being or in no God at all we find a quite interesting picture (Table 4).

	Believers	Non-Believers	Religiously Indifferent	Uncate-gorised
Believe in personal God	69%	2%	5%	21%
Believe in Higher Being	29%	13%	27%	43%
Don't believe in God	0	71%	31%	16%
Base n	452	765	139	2120

Table 4. Beliefs in God / Deity by Religious Denomination and Region in 2012 (agreement rates: values 1+2 on a 5-point scale) Source: GESIS – Leibniz Institute for the Social Sciences (2013): ALLBUS/GGSS 2012 (Allgemeine Bevölkerungsumfrage der Sozialwissenschaften/German General Social Survey 2012). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA4614 Data file Version 1.1.1, doi:10.4232/1.11753, own calculations

Of course, the "Believers" believe overwhelmingly in a personal God, although here also we find almost one third more inclined to some kind of Higher Being. The "Non-Believers" do not believe in God, at least 71 per cent do not, however 13% believe in some Higher Being, 2% in a personal God. That means that even among the non-religious – according to our definition, every 6th believes in something/-one. The uncategorised "In-Betweeners" are almost evenly distributed on the answers between believing in a personal God and not believing – but their majority believes in a Higher Being. This leads us to the question of patchwork religion – which is thought to be the result of growing religious individualisation. Religious belief is assumed to be replaced by spirituality.

The "Believers" score of course highest on the religiosity scale – self-ascribed, followed by the "In-Betweeners". And on the spirituality-scale we find the same pattern: highest among the "Believers", followed by the "In-Betweeners" in second position – also a pattern found in the 2008 Religion Monitor from 2008 working with more complex measurements.

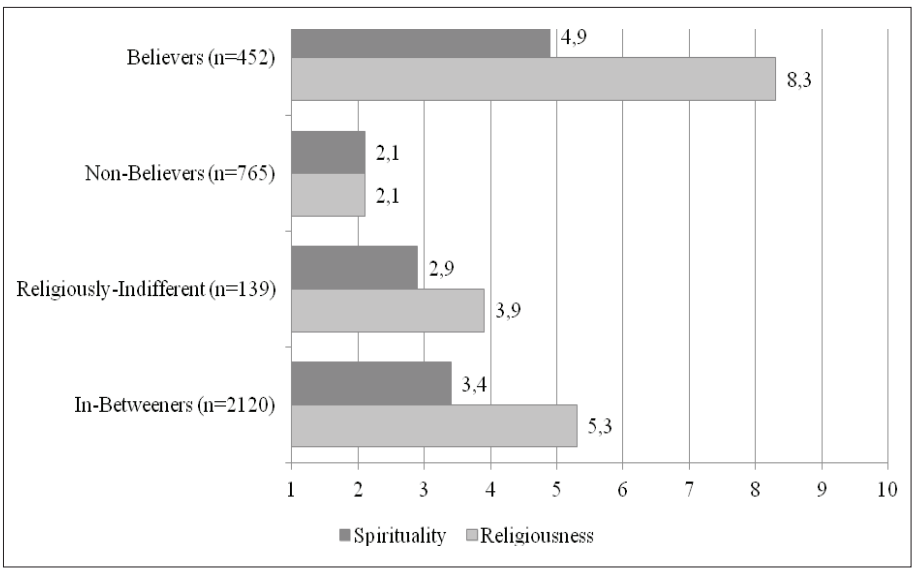


Figure 9. Self-Ascribed Religiousness and Spirituality by Religious Type (means), Source: GESIS – Leibniz Institute for the Social Sciences (2013): ALLBUS/GGSS 2012 (Allgemeine Bevölkerungsumfrage der Sozialwissenschaften/German General Social Survey 2012). GESIS Data Archive, Cologne. ZA4614 Data file Version 1.1.1, doi:10.4232/1.11753, own calculations

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Not only recent trends in religiosity in Germany are characterised by a decline in church membership as well as in self-ascribed religiousness. Church and religion carry only minor importance in the life of the population, even in the life of church members. Although on average, church and religion are perceived as important as politics and public life.

Defined along the lines of image of God or Deity and the Meaning of Life, about one out of 8 is a "Believer", one out of 5 is a "Non-Believer", and almost two thirds are in-between.

What has to be stated beyond any doubt is the religious divide between the East and the West of Germany – it is the legacy of forced secularisation during communist rule.

These findings are probably decisive for the future of religiosity and of Protestantism in Germany. Regional differences do not allow us to outline a unique picture. Moving between the two "master drafts" of secularisation and indi-

vidualisation we probably could say that at least for the East of Germany the secularisation hypothesis is not far from being verified. Since religious beliefs and adherence to religious denominations are a matter of early socialisation the prospects for a more religious development in the East are not rosy. There is not much left on which religious education can build.

In the West there is still some "healthy" religious culture left, although it also differs there between regions. And there we also find a few more indicators in favour of the individualisation hypotheses. One strong argument is the amount of neither religious nor non-religious or religiously indifferent but somewhere in-between these categories. They mix perceptions of a personal God with perception of some Higher Being. However, as opposed to the individualisation hypothesis, religiousness has not been replaced by spirituality but supplemented.

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Dr. Márton Csanády[1]

THE MAIN TRENDS OF HUNGARIAN RELIGIOSITY IN A EUROPEAN CONTEXT IN 2013

RESULTS OF THE NATIONAL CENSUS CONDUCTED IN 2011

According to the census of 2011 72.84% of the respondents answered the questions regarding religiosity. In this regard, the 2011[2] census has shown a 16.33% (89.17%) decline compared to the previous census of 2001.[3]

Hungarian census data %				
	1930	1949	2001	2011
Catholics	67,1	70,5	54,5	38,9
Calvinists	20,9	21,9	15,9	11,6
Lutherans	6,1	5,2	3	2,2
Jews	5,1	1,5	0,13	0,11
Other denominations	-	-	1-1,5	1,8
Not religious	-	0,1	14,5	18,2
Non-responders	0,7	0,7	10,8	27,16

The phrasing of the question in the questionnaire of 2011 differed from that of the 2001 questionnaire. The question asked in 2001 was: "What is your religiosity, denomination?" And the question of 2011 was: "To which religious community, denomination do you belong?" Due to the difference in what the questions measure, the two ought not to be compared. Despite this, I am now going to make the comparison.

75.04% of the respondents said that they do belong to some religious community. This value is 8.65% (83.69%) less than it was in 2001.

51% of the respondents belong to the Roman Catholic Church. This differs by

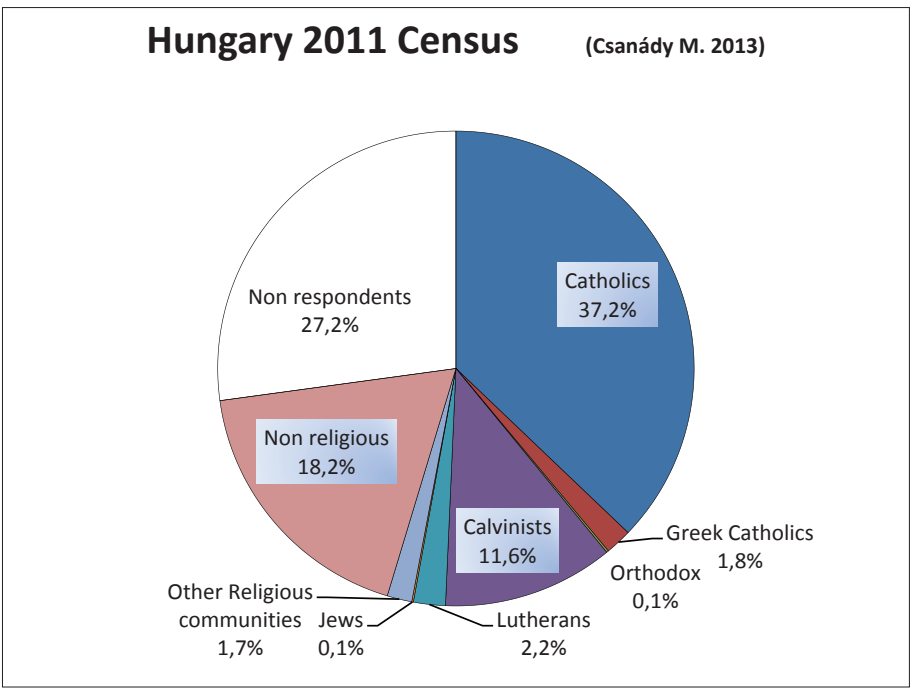
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[2] Hungarian Central Statistical Office, 2013.

[3] Hungarian Central Statistical Office, 2013.

7.17% from the results of 2001 (58.17%). According to the 2011 census 2.48% belong to the Greek Catholic Church. (In 2001 this number was 2.96)

1,153,442 people answered that they belong to the Reformed Church, which is 15.93% of the total respondents. In this case 1.91% is the difference from the 2001 census.



214,965 people belong to the Lutheran Church, which is 2.97% of the total respondents. The difference here is 0.38% (3.35%).

0.19% of the respondents belong to the orthodox churches; a 0.03% increase since the 2001 census. Earlier 0.16% said they belonged to an orthodox church. 0.15% of the respondents belong to Jewish denominations. This is a 0.01% increase compared to the results of 2001.

2.31% of the respondents belong to other smaller religious communities. This is 1.25% more than it was in 2001 (1.06%). 17,705 (0.25%) people said they belonged to the Baptist Church in 2001. The number belonging to the *Pentecostal Church* is 9,326 (0.13%) people. In 2001 5,840 (0.03%) people belonged to the Adventist Church, while in 2011 their number increased to 6,213 (0.09%). 2.416 (0.03%) belonged to the Methodist Church. In 2011 6,820 (0.09%) belonged to the Unitarian Church. 18,220 of the respondents said they belong to the Faith

Church. According to the latest census, the Baptist Church is just as popular as the Faith Church (0.25%). The biggest religious community in the category of the smaller communities is the Church of Jehovah's Witnesses. 31,727 people belong to this church (0.44%).

The most popular faith in the category of the non-Christian communities is the Buddhist, with 9,758 people belonging to their community. The second largest number of non-Christian believers belong to the Muslim community. There are 5,579 Muslims among the respondents.

CURIOSITY OF THE HUNGARIAN 2011 CENSUS RELIGIOSITY DATA

In seventeen European censuses there were questions regarding religiosity[4] Out of these, in the cases of three censuses the ratio of non-responders was higher than 11%.[5] These states were the Czech Republic, Hungary and Germany. The ratio of non-responders was especially high in the Czech Republic[6], where 46.5% decided not to give an answer to the above-mentioned questions. In the case of Germany, who seems to be the second behind CzR where the people did not answer these questions, the results are problematic. The options to the answers were very limited, and the category of "non-response" included the category "other churches (not Lutheran or Catholic)" and "not specified" at the same time. Understanding is made even harder by the fact that 4.3 million of those who chose this answer are not of German nationality.[7] In the Hungarian census, the three above-mentioned categories were separated; however, if these categories

[4] The census of 2011 was conducted in co-operation with other member states of the European Union. As part of the IPA Co-operation Programme, eight non-member states conducted the census as well. By the census in the participating countries different methods were used and the basic questionnaire was expanded. In the basic questionnaire provided by Eurostat the questions regarding religiosity were not included. The processing of the census was very slow in Hungary, as well as in other member states. There have been even more problems in the accessibility of the results. Although I tried to collect all the available data during my research, some available data might still be missing.

[5] Among the 27 member states only 12 made the results of the questions regarding religiosity available. These states are Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Finland, Ireland, Poland, Lithuania, Hungary, the United Kingdom, Germany, Portugal, Romania and Slovakia. In the case of Denmark, the data of the 2012 Statistical Yearbook and those of the Kirkeministeriet were used. The Norwegian data were collected from the National Bureau of Statistics.

[6] Czech Statistical Office, 2011.

[7] "The variable "Religion" contains under "Other, none, not specified" persons who belong to a religious society under public law other than the Roman Catholic or the Evangelical Church. Municipalities with at least 10,000 inhabitants (as well as larger regional units) additionally include persons who do not belong to any religious society, religion, persuasion or belief or

are added up, it is found that the ratio in Hungary is even higher than in Germany. In this case it can be stated that among the three countries, the ratio of non-responders is the second highest (27.16%) in Hungary.

INTERPRETATION OF 2011 CENSUS DATA WITH DATA OF EVS FOURTH WAVE (1998)

The results of the census provide an important source to understand the trends of religiosity. However, since many European states do not provide such data, and while those who do use different methods, interpreting the results can be difficult. The task is made easier by the European Value Study (EVS)[8], which provides a firm base for the diverse questions and wide range of variables utilised. Since the first EVS survey, the number of participating states has grown considerably.

This research aims to find the real reasons behind the changes of the trends of Hungarian religiosity. The primary goal is to find the reason for the increase in non-responders.

First, it has to be stated, that non-responders cannot be automatically interpreted as being non-religious or not to belong to any religious community, because options to express this were given in the questionnaire. It might be assumed that there is some other reason behind this trend. As a basic hypothesis, it might also be assumed that people do not like lying if they can avoid it. If this hypothesis is accepted, then it can be stated that there is some other reason that motivated the non-respondents.

On analysing the results of the EVS, an interesting trend becomes visible. Hungary has been participating in the EVS research since 1981. According to the results of this first survey, 42.9% of the population belonged to some church or religious community. The next study was conducted after 1991, when 56.4% of the respondents said that they belonged to some church. Since then, the results have been constant within statistical margins of error. The advantage of the EVS is, that although other studies (eg. European Social Survey) have shown different ratios, the constant methods applied by the EVS grant a chance for tracking methodological and data collection differences. The results of the EVS conducted in 1999 are the same as those of 2011 (54.64%).

There are two questions remaining to be answered. What is to be done with

whose affiliation is unknown." (Datenverarbeitung, Bayerisches Landesamt für Statistik und, 2011)

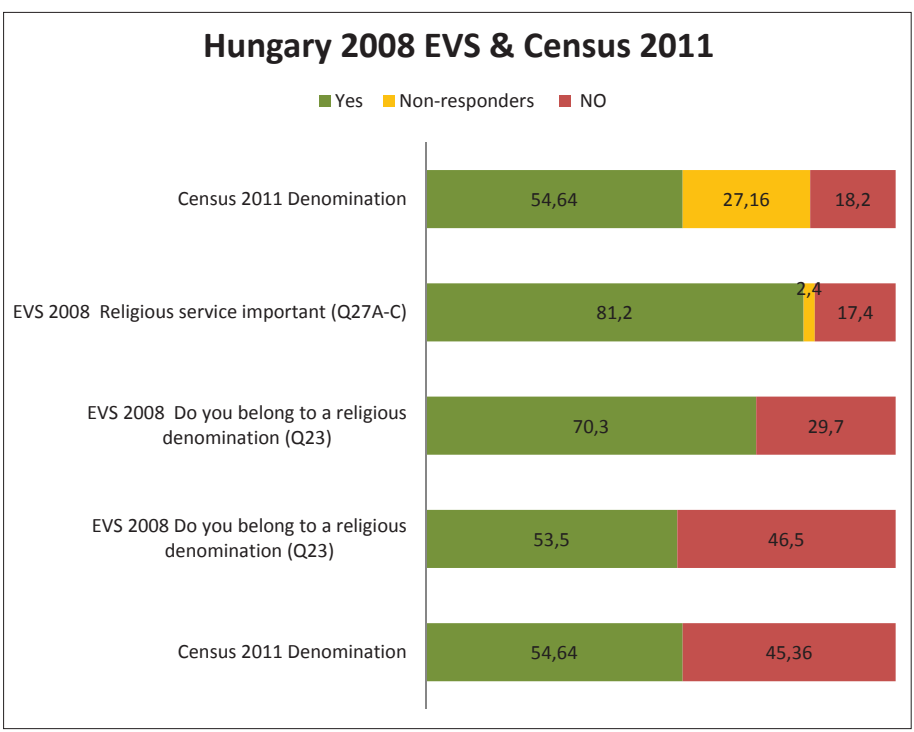
[8] European Values Study, 2010.

the group of those who gave no response? How can the higher results of 2001 census be interpreted?

In order to find the answer, some other questions of EVS are analysed. In Europe, questions regarding the importance of belief and rites of passage (birth, wedding, death) are asked in order to measure the respondents' relationship to religion.

The result of this analysis is surprising. 66.5% said that they do believe in God, while only 28.2% said they do not believe in God.

To the question regarding the importance of religious rites, such as christenings, 70.9% responded positively. 69.5% thought a religious wedding was important. 77.7% of the answerers said that religious rites were important at a funeral. 80.2% thought at least one of these ceremonies was important. However, these rituals must be connected to some church. These trends are leading to the final answer. In the census of 2011, 18.2% of the respondents said that they did not belong to any religious communities. According to the **EVS**, 17.4% of the respondents never during their lives thought religious rites to be important. 2.4% did not or were not able to answer this question.

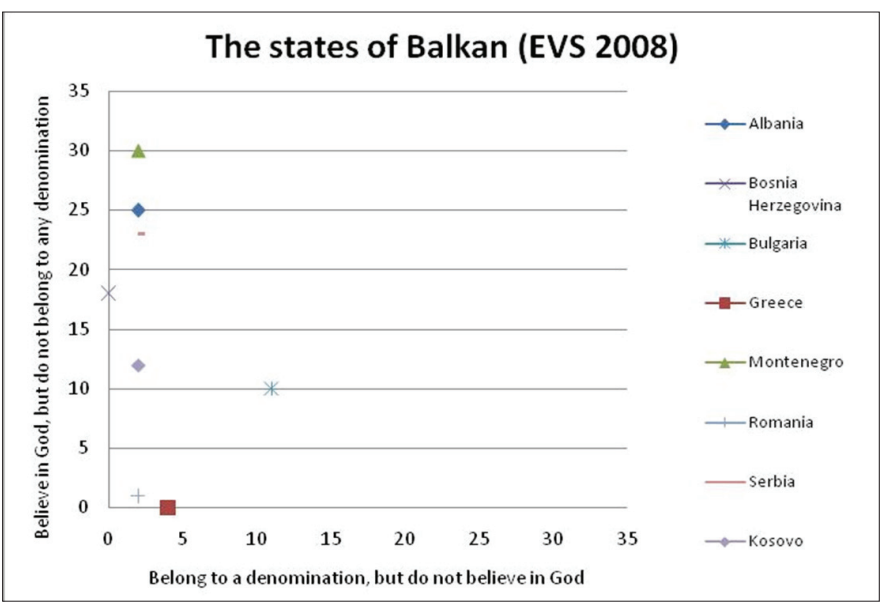


In order to be able to interpret these data correctly, similar data from other European states have to be analysed first.

IMPORTANCE OF BELONGING TO A DENOMINATION, BELIEVES IN GOD, AND RELIGIOUS RITES IN EUROPEAN COMPARISON

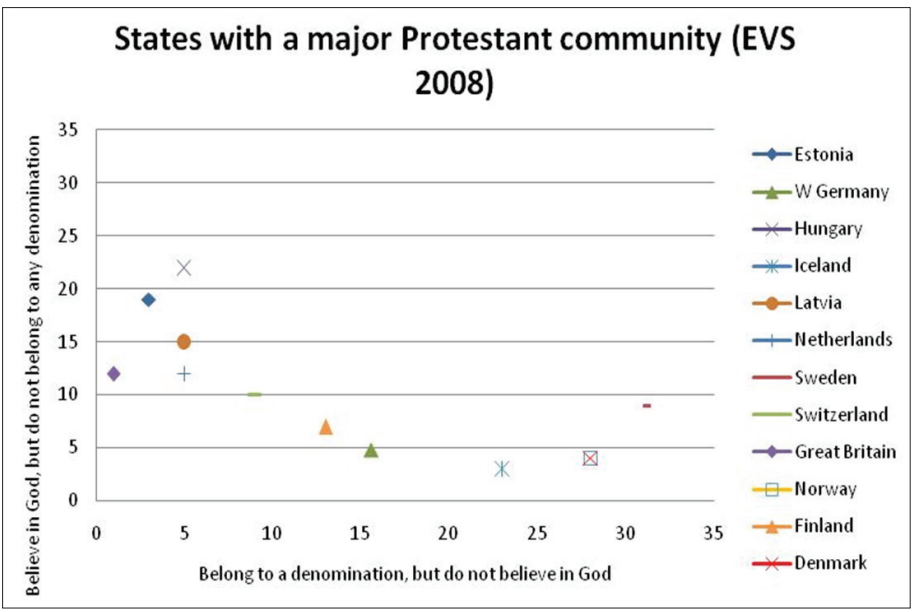
Three-dimensional contingency tables were created, out of which two have been analysed. One of these showed those who believed in God, but do not belong to any religious community; the other displayed those who do not believe in God, but do belong to a denomination.

Three states are also prominent with similar results: Poland, Romania and Greece. In the cases of these states, almost the complete population said that they belonged to some church. 96% of the Polish belong to some religious community and they almost all believe in God.



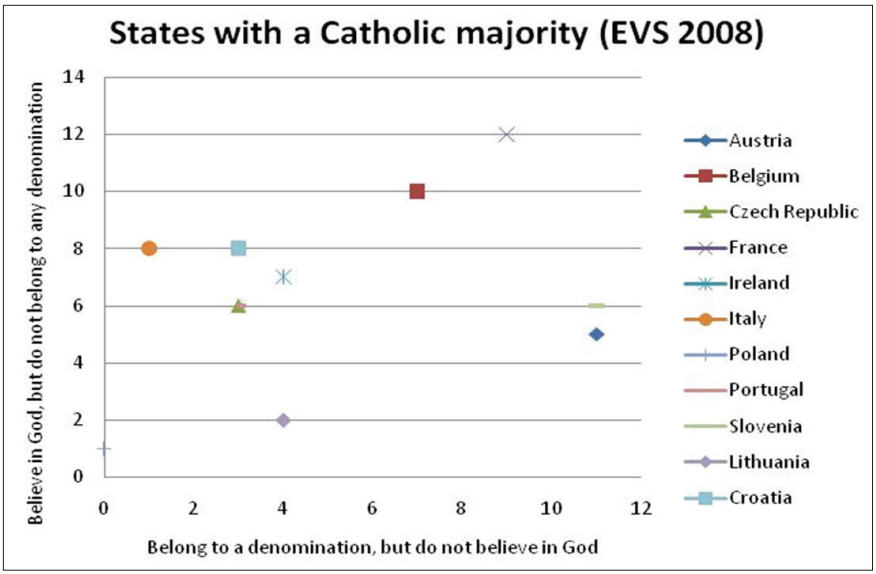
The Balkan states with a majority of orthodox Christians and Muslims show another trend. 70-80% of their population said they believed in God (with the exception of Montenegro, 59.5%). However, 10-30% said that they believe in God, but do not belong to any denomination. In these states (with Bulgaria being an exception), the ratio of those who do belong to a denomination but do not believe in God is below 5%.

An interesting ambivalence can be found in the cases of those countries that have a major Protestant community. In the Scandinavian states and the former West Germany 13 to 31% of the respondents said that they do belong to some religious community, but do not believe in God. Meanwhile, in most cases less than 5% of the respondents believe in God but do not belong to a denomination. The trend can be observed in the South-Eastern European countries, at an even higher ratio (68-93%) that belong to a denomination.

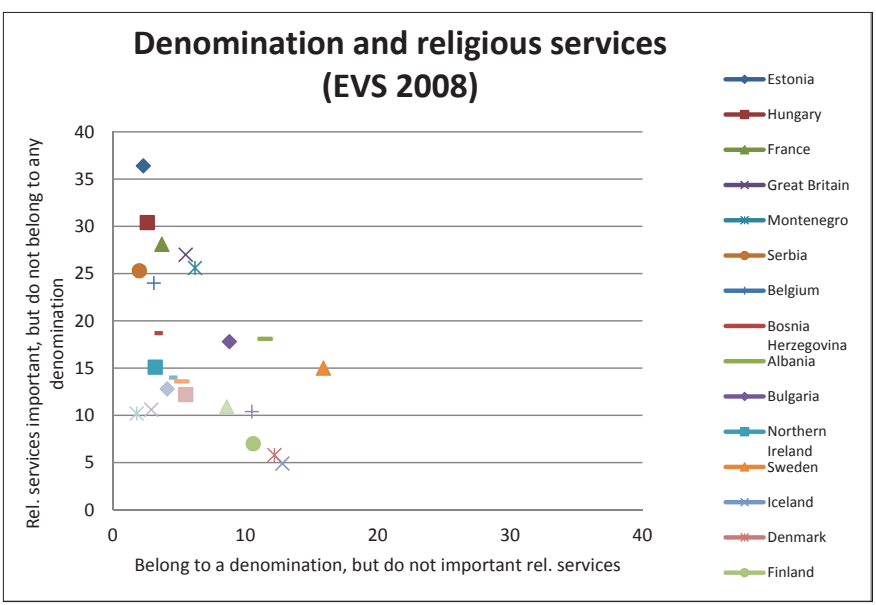


To the other group of countries with Protestant majorities belong the Baltic Protestant states (Estonia, Latvia) and Hungary, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom. These states show similar trends to the states in the Balkan region. 12 to 22% believe in God, but do not belong to any religious community, while each has a ratio less than 5% of those who do believe in God, but do not belong to a church. Switzerland is in between.

States with a Catholic majority show a more balanced ratio. As the ratio of those who believe in God but do not belong to a church grows, the ratio of those who belong to denomination but do not believe in God seems to grow, too. Two distinct trends can be observed in this group of states as well. Austria, Slovenia and Lithuania seem to converge to the Scandinavian scheme, while the rest seem to have a higher ratio than the group that believes in God but does not belong to any denomination.



It can be concluded that there are two types of secularisation in Europe. In one case, belief separates from religiosity, in the other, belonging to a church and the survival of identity is more important than belief.



FREE-RIDER[9] SEULARISATION OR RELIGIOSITY

This group contains mainly post-Soviet states, such as Albania, Bosnia Herzegovina, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Montenegro, Serbia and Kosovo. Surprisingly, Italy, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom belong to this type of secularisation.

Free-rider	**Religiosity**	**Believe**
Albania	69,8	93,3
Bosnia Herzegovina	77,1	95,8
Croatia	84,2	90,3
Czech Republic	30,6	36,8
Estonia	33,9	51
Hungary	53,5	70,2
Italy	80,6	90,2
Latvia	66,3	78,2
Montenegro	58,8	88,3
Netherlands	52,6	61,4
Serbia	69,6	91,9
Great Britain	58,1	68
Kosovo	91,8	99,6

The "free-rider" type of secularisation or religiosity might have multiple roots. In the cases of post-Soviet states, the heritage of anti-religious policies of the Soviet era might be a prominent reason. In the states of the Balkan the ethnic-religious conflicts of the past decade might be blamed for the phenomena. In the cases of the Netherlands and the United Kingdom, the large number of migrants might account for free-rider secularisation.

[9] Free-riding: a style of skiing, snowboarding and biking that is based strongly on faster and more aggressive skiing or riding off piste or off road.

"LOST IN TRANSLATION" TYPE OF SECULARISATION OR RELIGIOSITY

This group includes the Scandinavian states, Germany, Austria and Slovenia. According to recent data, Lithuania tends to converge to this group as well. In the states, a relatively small number of people live religious lives outside the boundaries of a denomination. However, the number of those who do not have a strong belief yet belong to a denomination (mostly the state church) is relatively high.

Lost in Tranlation	**Religiosity**	**Believe**
Austria	83	79,5
Denmark	88	63,7
Finland	76,4	69,8
Germany	53,9	47,2
Iceland	92	72,4
Norway	79	54,5
Sweden	68	47,4
Slovenia	71,6	66,8

BALANCED TYPE STATES

This group of states has twelve countries. They are balanced in both dimensions. This group contain the Orthodox and Catholic countries and states with a major Protestant community. In the political history dimension this group is also heterogeneous. There are countries from the former socialist camp and countries from more and less developed areas of the uninterrupted capitalist part of Europe. We find in this group very religious countries like Romania, Poland, Greece, Ireland, Portugal and Lithuania. And we find less religious countries like Belgium and France. A common feature of these countries is that neither *free-rider* and nor *lost-in-translation* type secularisation are dominant.

Balanced	Religiosity	Believe
Belgium	56,7	60,5
Bulgaria	74,6	75,8
France	51,2	54,2
Greece	96,9	94,2
Ireland	88,6	92
Lithuania	86,1	87,8
Poland	95,5	96,2
Portugal	87	90,7
Romania	98	97,7
Slovak Republic	80,3	83,8
Spain	75,9	78
Switzerland	73,2	75,6

RITE OF PASSAGE

The picture becomes more complex when interim rites are analysed too. Clearly, these rites are also important to many of those who do not believe in God or do not belong to any denominations. In the most secularised country, Estonia, 70% of the population finds these rites important.

CONCLUSION

Freerider secularisation or religiosity means the decline of the importance of belonging to a religious community. States belonging to this type of secularisation saw a belated or failed embourgeoisement and yet sudden modernisation, which lead to wanting communal identity and actions even in premodern institutions such as churches. Negative modernisation, as Elemér Hankiss[10] put it, not only weakened the community's still undeveloped new structures but had a negative impact on such old institutions as churches. This happened despite the fact that the basic ideas represented by the church are shared by most of the members of these above-mentioned communities.

The lost-in-translation type of secularisation or religiosity means that the sense of transcendence is weakened. Although the institutions are formally ac-

[10] Hankiss, Elemér, 1982.

tive, they no longer are able to support transcendent ideas and morale. These countries are highly modernised and they have a strong bourgeoisie and the society has reached such a high standard of social welfare that it caused the sensitivity towards transcendence to fade away. This lead to the diversification of religious notions across Europe. The finding of the national censuses and the EVS prompts us to work out and use a more sophisticated set of religious notions. It would be ideal to get over the barriers of politics and ideologies in order to conduct a more uniform and sophisticated census into religious ideas and trends.

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Dr. Károly Bozsonyi[1] – Dr. Lajos Bálint[2] – Bálint Durászky[3]

FIGURES, MAPS, CONCLUSIONS – SPATIAL AND DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS OF RELIGIOUS AFFILIATIONS AS REFLECTED BY 130 YEARS OF CENSUS

INTRODUCTION

Investigating the spatial and temporal distribution of religious affiliation offers important guidelines in understanding changes of religiosity taking place in the 20th century. This is one of the cornerstones of the research directed by the Committee on the Sociology of Religion of the Hungarian Reformed Church. The analysis presented in the article is partly connected to this project. Our aim is to investigate and present the changes in the religious affiliation of the religious population of Hungary between 1880 and 2011. As indicated by the dates serving as cornerstones, census figures will be used for this purpose which makes macro-analysis of the whole population possible. Between the dates of 1880 and 2011 fourteen censuses took place; out of ten of these the respondents' religious affiliation was inquired about. During the socialist era in 1960, 1970, and 1980 and after the transition in 1990, the census contained no question about the religiosity or the religious affiliation of the respondents. Therefore, the census data used in this study is confined to the 1880, 1890, 1900, 1910, 1920, 1930, 1941, 1949, 2001, and 2011 censuses.

Several indicators of the changes in religiosity are important research directions in understanding the phenomenon of religiosity. Census data, however, are suitable for describing changes in the religious affiliation of the population. Consequently, it is important to emphasise that these data provide no information about the extent or quality of religiosity.

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METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES, AND CONCERNS

Two broad areas of methodological issues need to be addressed in connection with this study. One of these derives from problems related to differences in the questions used for the purpose of data collection in the different censuses; the other concerns the problems in connection with the utilisation of different databases and the generalisability of conclusions.

Both the questions and the corresponding response options changed several times in accordance with the demands created by politics, science and the social presence of religion. On the first two occasions included in our study, that is in 1880 and 1890, respondents had to answer the question "What is your religion, religious affiliation?", while on the third occasion in 1900, the question was "What is your religion?" More detailed questions can be founded in the censuses between 1910 and 1949 where answers mostly had to be marked by underlining (Czibulka, 1999). After the censuses which contained no questions on religious affiliation, in 2001 the phrase "Your religion, religious affiliation" was used, while in 2011 the variable was again introduced in a question format "Which religious community, affiliation do you feel you belong to?" (Czibulka, 2002). Although the different questions all inquire about affiliation with religion and denomination, it casts justifiable methodological doubts on whether the same aspects are emphasised in all cases or not. The methodological debate deriving from the differences in the questions is extremely important in creating a framework of interpretation. Nevertheless, we disregard this problem in our study, and warn our readers that although changes in the questions have an influence on the differences observable in the census data, sometimes to a smaller other times to a greater extent, the differences cannot be explained solely by this effect. Therefore, we believe that these data are suitable for providing a valid description of the major tendencies of the period examined both chronologically and spatially.

The other group of methodological issues is connected to the databases. When conducting the spatial analysis of the data, the administration of the Reformed Church was used; thus, the units of analysis were the Reformed dioceses. The reason for this is that an analysis which is based on administrative structures used by the Church can assist the strategic planning of the Reformed Church better. The borders of administrative units were mapped onto the area of present-day Hungary using an earlier paper-based map. This enabled us to link even those settlements that have no parishes to dioceses. Two exceptions are the Northern-Budapest and Southern-Budapest dioceses which could not be separated as the border of the two dioceses runs across several districts of Budapest.

The data breakdown by settlements or in the case of the capital city data aggregated on higher district level are not detailed enough to allow the precise reconstruction of the diocese boundaries. Therefore, the two dioceses of the capital city appear merged in the analysis. Figure 1 presents the map used for the analysis, as described above.

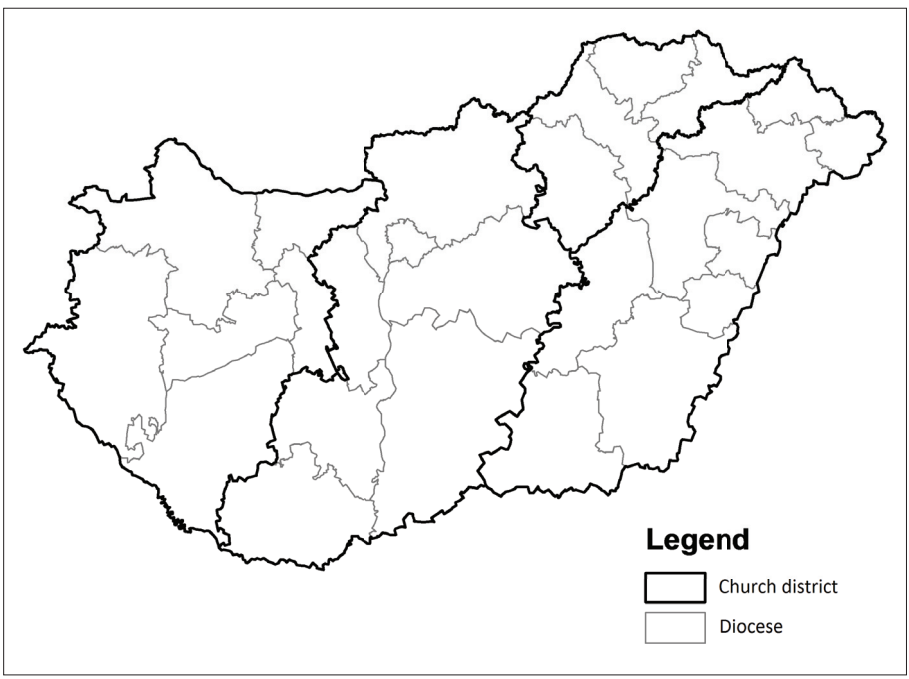


Figure 1: Administrative units of the Reformed Church of Hungary (church districts and dioceses)

Before conducting the analysis, administrative changes that took place in the past 130 years also had to be accounted for. The greatest change in this respect was the area loss which resulted from the Trianon Peace Treaty. Data after 1920 all refer to truncated Hungary, so when conducting the spatial analysis we could only take the area of today's Hungary into account even in the case of censuses before World War I. Another group of administrative changes concern the settlements. During the examined period four administrative changes could be observed on the level of settlements: new villages or towns came into existence, settlements were united or divided, others were depopulated (they ceased to exist). These problems mostly lose their significance when the settlements are aggregated into larger regional units.

DATA

Historical data (between 1880-1949) were published by the Hungarian Central Statistical Office (HCSO/KSH) in accordance with the settlement structure of 1997 in two large volumes (KSH, 1997). We also received the data in electronic format from the Central Statistical Agency. Data referring to Fejércounty was lost from the 1949 census data; therefore, we had to deal with missing data in this part of the analysis.

Data referring to religious affiliation in the 2001 and 2011 censuses are freely accessible and available on the websites operated by HCSO. All the data are available on the level of settlements. In the case of the 2011 data, HCSO failed to report observations below three per settlement. In a few dozen of cases of missing data, one occurrence per settlement was assumed.

ANALYSIS

The aim of our descriptive analysis is the heuristic investigation of the question how the spatial patterning of religions changed or did not change during the long and stormy historical period of the past 120 years. Detailed quantitative analysis was not the aim of the current study.

This analysis presents changes in the size and the ratio of the Reformed, Roman Catholic, Lutheran, Greek Catholic and Jewish populations. These data refer to the residents of the geographical area of today's Hungary at every single point of the time sequence. This is followed by the spatial-chronological statistical description of the listed denominations. The results are presented in the order of the above listing of the denominations.

REFORMED POPULATION

The increase in the absolute figure of the Reformed population between 1880 and 1949 was approximately 700,000 people. Considering their ratio within the whole population, we can no longer see an increase; what we can witness is more like a coordinated movement along the curve of the whole population with the same pace and ratio, which reflects the stagnation of the ratio of the Reformed population within the whole. This is reflected by the almost identical gradients of the blue and red lines in the figure below.

The period between 1949 and 2001 can be considered a black box since we have no information about the shape of the curve. What we can conclude from the last point before the socialist regime and the first point after the millennium is that the two curves, that of the Reformed population and that of the whole, split during this interval. The number of those declaring to belong to the Reformed denomination decreased, while the number of the whole population continued to increase somewhat during this period when we have no information about religious affiliations. As regards the period between 2001 and 2011, both curves indicate a decrease, although the drop in the Reformed population is much steeper. In order to assist the interpretation of these data, it has to be pointed out that the ratio of respondents who refused to answer the question about religious affiliation grew drastically in the 2011 census; therefore, it seems that this figure,with its ominous implications for the church, should be interpreted with caution.

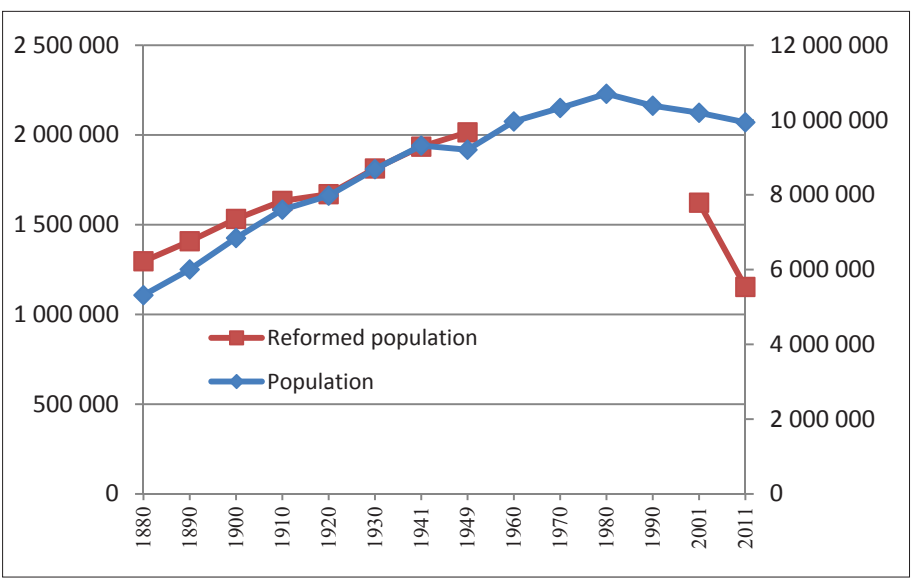
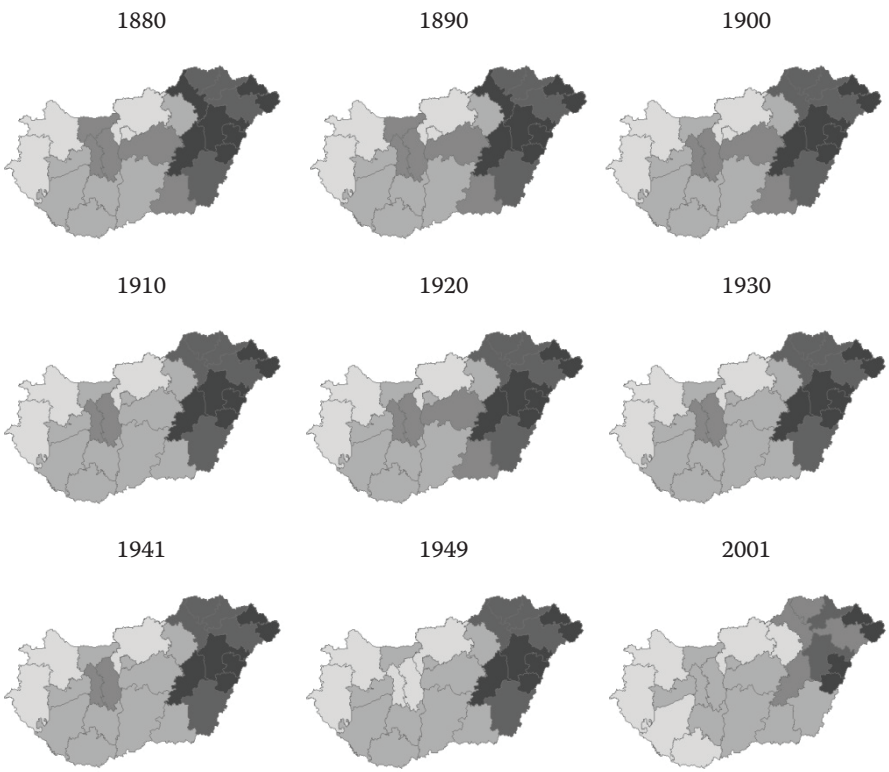


Figure 2: Changes in the Reformed population between 1880 and 2011

Having shown changes in the Reformed population of the whole country, we would like to present regional differences. Figure 3 below portrays changes in the Reformed population in each of the Reformed diocese in the country, as a ratio compared to the whole population of the diocese. As can be seen from the

top left 1880 map to the middle right 1949 one, the Reformed denomination was traditionally present in the eastern parts of the country in a greater proportion, over 80%. Slight changes can be witnessed in the first 70 years of the study as well, but the most dramatic changes in ratio are shown on the two maps in the bottom line, portraying the period after the millennium. The hitherto markedly different, lighter blue dioceses turned darker. Moreover, regions to the west of the river Tisza turned the same dark blue, indicating that the ratio of the Reformed denomination declined everywhere within the population.

The Proportion of the Reformed Church in Percent



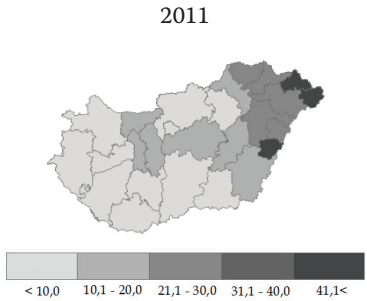


Figure 3: Changes in the ratio of those declaring themselves as belonging to the Reformed denomination according to dioceses between, 1880-2011

ROMAN CATHOLIC POPULATION

Similarly to the Reformed population, the number of the members of the Roman Catholic Church showed an undiminished increase during the period before the socialist era; on the basis of the figures, their number doubled. The number of those declaring to be Catholics increased more steeply than that of the population, so based on the figure, it can be hypothesised that their ratio within the whole population increased nearly by 10 per cent.

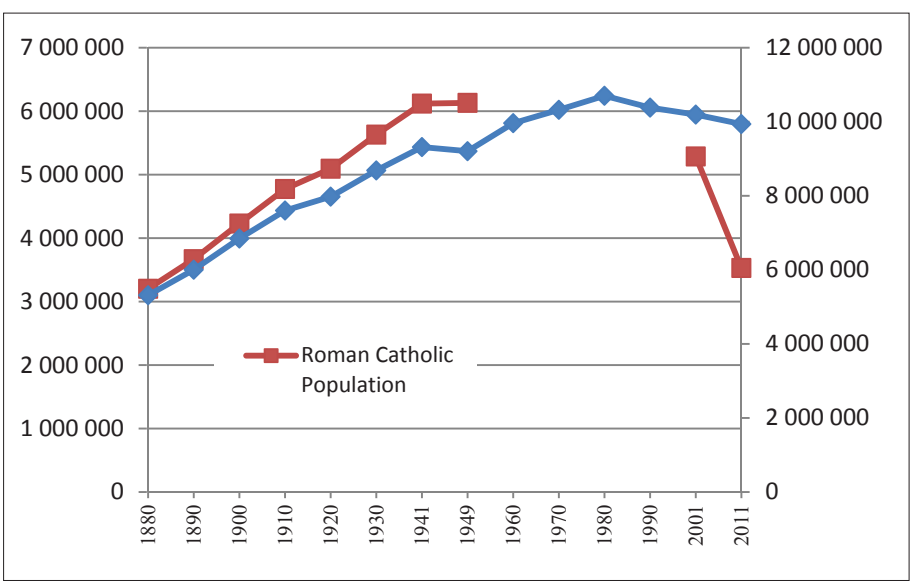
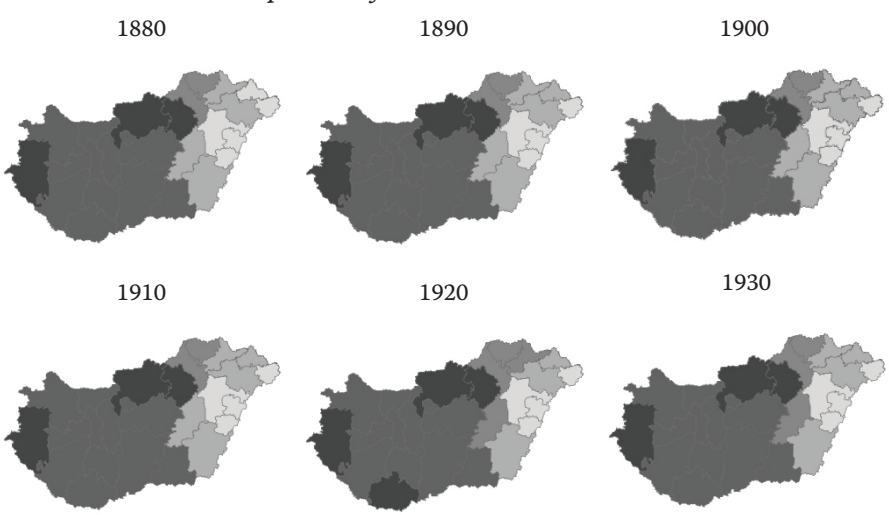


Figure 4: Changes in the Roman Catholic population between 1880 and 2011

Their data after the millennium are also similar to those of the Reformed denomination. Compared to the decrease in the population, a much steeper drop can be seen in the figure, the ratio of which exceeds the decrease of the greatest Protestant denomination within the population.

When analysing the spatial-chronological patterning, it can be seen that, with the exception of the counties with a Protestant majority, the country is characterised with a high ratio of residents with Roman Catholic affiliation. As it was also visible from the changes of the Reformed population, no significant differences can be witnessed in the first phase of the study, before the socialist era. Significant changes in the population ratios took place between 1949 and 2001, and between 2001 and 2011. During this process captured in two steps, the ratio of those declaring the Roman Catholic denomination to the west of the river Tisza dropped from an average over 80% to 40-60% everywhere. Nevertheless, even the 2011 stage clearly captures the borderline between the areas with traditionally Roman Catholic and Protestant majorities.

The Proportion of Roman Catholics in Percent



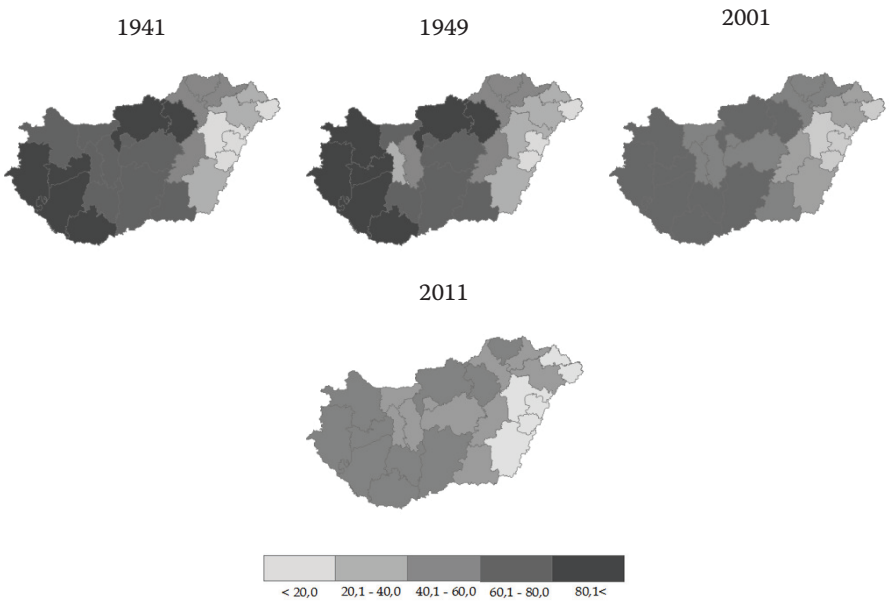


Figure 5: Changes in the ratio of those declaring to be of Roman Catholic denomination according to the Reformed dioceses between 1880-2011

LUTHERAN, GREEK CATHOLIC, AND JEWISH POPULATION

Besides the two largest denominations, we would finally like to present three historically important denominations and religions. The Lutheran denomination showed an undiminished increase before 1949, but at the last census before the socialist era, a drop of 70,000 people could be witnessed. In contrast, the Greek Catholic denomination continued its increase since 1880 even at the last census before the socialist era. Ratios of the members of the Jewish faith showed a steeper increase until 1910 compared to the other denominations shown in the figure; nevertheless, during the period before World War II fewer and fewer of them declared their religious affiliation. The diagram also presents the great loss suffered by Jewish society as a consequence of World War II. Between the last census before and the first one after World War II, the number of those declaring they were Jewish dropped to one quarter of the original figure within the whole population. Socialism and the first decade of the third republic had a

different effect on the three denominations and religion. While we can witness a 180,000 member setback in the case of Lutherans, Greek Catholics showed a slight increase. The number of those declaring themselves Jewish dropped to a few ten thousands in the period examined. In the last ten years investigated, the number of those belonging to Christian denominations showed the same steep drop. The number of Jews did no change significantly.

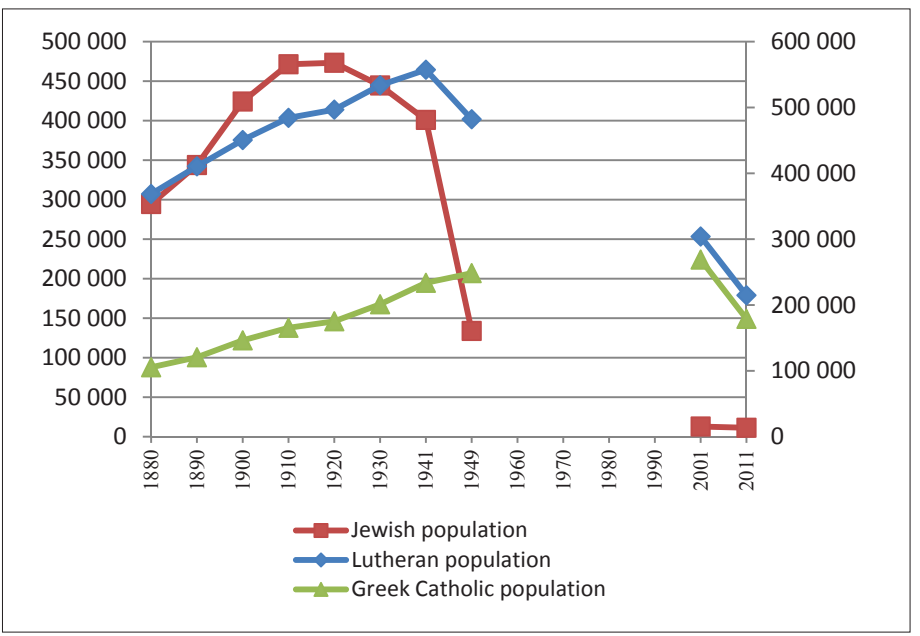


Figure 6: Changes in the Lutheran, Greek Catholic and Jewish population between 1880 and 2011

In our spatial-chronological analysis, we are going to examine the Lutheran and Greek Catholic population too. The ratio of those declaring Lutheran affiliation is the greatest in Békés county, as is well-known from Hungarian history. Until 1941, this clearly stands out from the rest of the country. Besides this, we can see lighter blue areas around Győr and in Tolna county. During the years of World War II, as it could also be seen in the previous figure, the number of Lutherans slightly decreased; this is also visible on the maps. Between 1949 and 2001 the differences almost completely disappeared, and there remained only a slight trace of the previous over-representation of Lutherans in Békés.

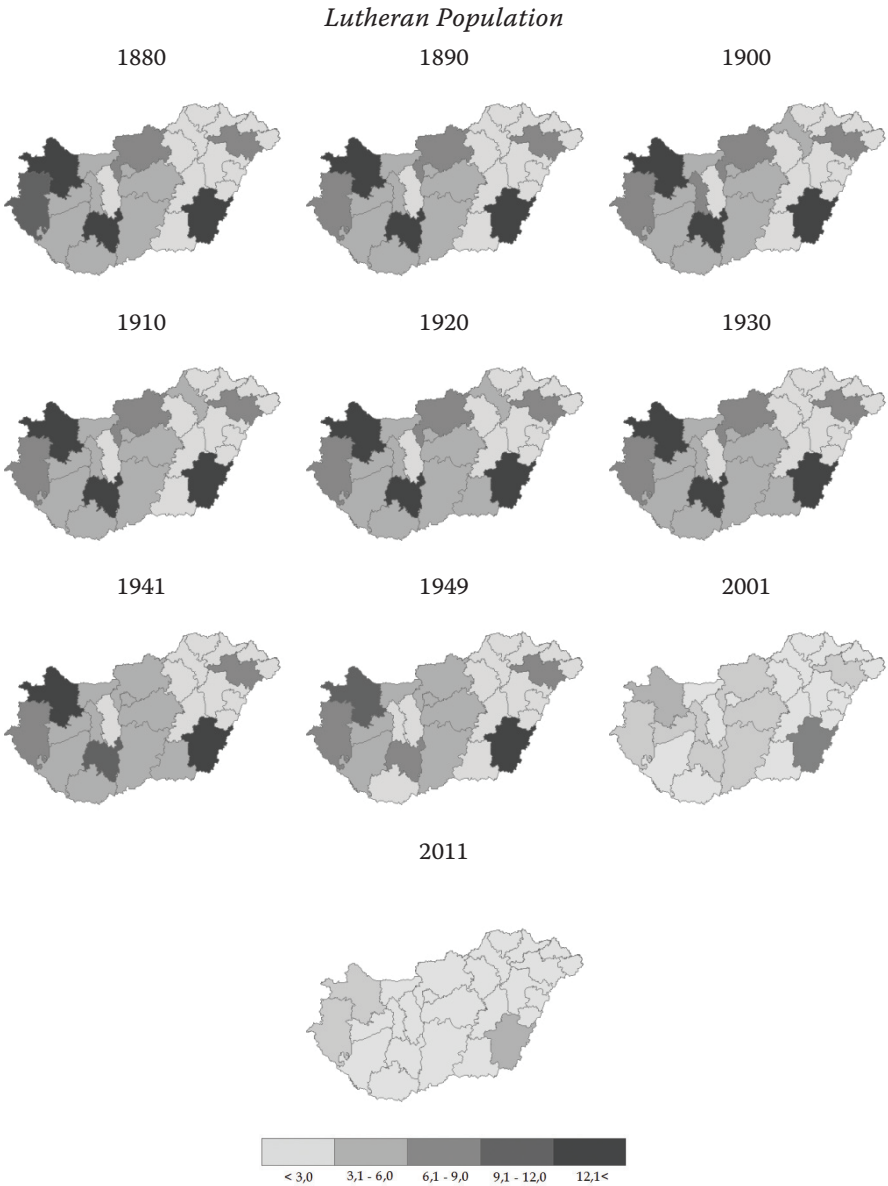


Figure 7: Changes in the ratio of those declaring themselves as belonging to the Lutheran denomination according to Reformed dioceses between 1880-2011

Continuing as well as ending our analysis with Greek Catholics, we can also witness spatial separation during the period before the 1950s. The Greek Catholic denomination has its greatest membership in the eastern end of the country. Similarly to the denominations discussed so far, in the case of the first eight censuses the area which has traditional ties with this denomination is markedly different from the rest of the country; this is especially true in the case of Greek Catholics. However, this difference also ceases to exist during the dates 1949-2001-2011, and eventually only a slight difference of shading designates the Greek Catholic region.

FURTHER RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

Finally, we would like to present further research directions as possible continuations of the spatial analysis. First, we would like to draw attention to the study of the relationship of religious and other demographic and ethnic variables. Using more complex statistical procedures, the relationships between the variables and the temporal dynamics of their relationships could be revealed using the existing data. As the next step of the study, analysis of the 2011 census data at the individual level could also be useful for interpreting the above data, for understanding the drop witnessed in the last ten years.

Finally, spatial-chronological analysis could be conducted for the whole of the Carpathian basin. Out of the three research directions this appears to be the most difficult. There is a limited access to data, so at present census data is only available with regard to the period before the Trianon Peace Treaty.

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DECLINING RELIGIOSITY AMONG HUNGARIAN YOUTH AFTER THE TURN OF THE MILLENNIUM – MAIN TRENDS AND POSSIBLE EXPLANATIONS

INTRODUCTION

Following a religious upsurge during the late 80s and early 90s, religiosity has started to decline for the past two decades in Hungary. At the same time, some indicators of individual religiosity have evidently risen. The decline of commitment to traditional institutionalised religiosity has been accompanied by a relative stability of openness to certain religious values such as belief in God across the Hungarian adult population. Thus religious change in Hungary can be well characterised by the theories of religious individualisation and religious privatisation.[3]

At the same time, changes in denominational commitment and belief show signs of secularisation: not only a growing uninterest by younger age groups in religion in general has been observable, but religious practice, religious identity and the content of religious belief has been also changing through Hungarian Youth survey waves 2000 & 2008.[4] These trends have been evidenced by several

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previous studies, too, yet it is remarkable that most of them argued for the religious individualisation as an interpretation of them.[5]

As many scholars have argued, religiosity changes to a lesser extent in adulthood,[6] as a consequence of which large-scale changes in religiosity within a society might be interpreted as a result of differing religiosity of cohorts.[7] Thus, peculiarities of religiosity of the youth are, according to most interpretations, predicting religious trends of the following decades.

The social environment of religious practice evidently has an impact on religious practice. In this regard, Central and Eastern-European post-socialist countries have experienced radical changes during the years of political transition. On the one hand, the new political framework provided a liberated environment for churches and believers to practise religion both in the public and private sphere. On the other, re-establishment of the denominational educational system and the establishment of new denominational schools created a fresh opportunity seen by many as having a missionary aspect, too, insofar as it helps train new generations of religiously committed intellectuals.

Since 2000 the proportion of those attending church-run schools increased at all educational levels. The extent of the enlargement of the denominational education system is illustrated by the fact, that while before 1990 a total of 10 denominational educational institutions existed in the whole country, nowadays the Hungarian Catholic Church maintains 531 public education and 10 higher-education institutions, and the Reformed Church in Hungary has 210 educational institutions.[8] The rate of denominational school students has been the

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highest among secondary school pupils: in the 2011-12 academic year roughly every sixth young person went to a denominational secondary school. However, the rate of growth was stronger at lower levels of education: the rate of children going to denominational kindergarten or primary school has more than doubled in a decade. Taking every level of education into consideration, 155,690 pupils and students attended an educational institution run by a church, which amounts to 7.4% of all pupils and students in Hungary.[9]

Despite all these changes, however, young people have become apparently less and less interested in religious and spiritual values. This raises the question of the importance of more immediate socialisation agents like that of family members.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Large-scale cultural changes in a society, including religious decline, are often described as a consequence of differences between contemporary age-groups and cohorts. As it has been outlined above, these differences probably originate in the changing socialisation environment. Thus, an explanation of gradual unchurching from the aspect of socialisation is that consecutive cohorts have been exposed to different kinds of religious socialisation. This phenomenon – referred to as a cohort effect by many – underlines that the level of religiosity appears to be quite stable within cohorts.[10]

The effect of age, often described as life-cycle effect, has an impact on religiosity in the opposite direction. According to previous findings, this results in increasing religiosity as people get older.[11] Thus, the decline of religiosity is partially slowed down by the older cohorts becoming more and more religious. Despite this, however, the number of believers in Hungary has been constantly falling in the recent years. The reason for this may be that the cohort-effect – the declining religiosity of successive cohorts – is greater than life-cycle effect, and

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that in the most recent period it was just the most religious elderly population that passed.[12]

In the case of young people, however, a different kind of life-cycle effect can be observed: people in the age of post-adolescence often become less religious. According to Bahr, the period of the age between 18-30 is traditionally characterised by the beginning of independent life and, at the same time, by the weakening control of family and parental norms. The resulting decline of religious commitment is then strenghtened again only by marriage and child-rearing, both affecting religiosity of parents positively especially through the intention to transfer religious norms and values, as well as the community involvement of their children.[13] This has been argued in several societies and time points,[14] including the contemporary Hungarian adult population, too.[15]

While cohort-effect and life-cycle effect both serve as an explanation of gradual religious changes, one can easily observe temporary religious upsurges. Such fluctuating changes are frequently explained by period effects or historical effects. From this aspect, changes in religiosity result from historical events which have the same impact on all cohorts. Undoubtedly political transition in the post-socialist countries was exactly of this kind. However, as has been pointed out, freedom of conscience did not necessarily result in growing religiosity.[16]

Considering the adult cohorts, a decline of church religiosity can be explained by cohort effects, whereas growing individual religiosity can be the result of within-cohort changes.[17] As to the cohorts growing up after the political transition, a freer environment for religious practice and religious education as well as the growing number of denominational schools make a positive cohort-effect plausible. Beyond socialisation differences, a possible interpretation of this con-

[12] Tomka, Miklós, Vallásosság Kelet-Közép-Európában: Tények és értelmezések, *Szociológiai Szemle*, Vol. 19, No. 3, 2009, 64-79.

[13] Bahr, Howard M., Aging and Religious Disaffiliation, *Social Forces*, Vol. 49, No. 1, 1970, 59-71.

[14] Hout, Michael – Greeley, Andrew M., The Center Doesn't Hold, *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 52, 1987, 325-345. Lois, Daniel, Kirchenmitgliedschaft und Kirchgangshäufigkeit im Zeitverlauf: Eine Trendanalyse unter Berücksichtigung von Ost-West-Unterschieden, *Comparative Population Studies – Zeitschrift für Bevölkerungswissenschaft*, Vol. 36, No. 1, 2011, 127-160. Lois, Daniel, Wie verändert sich die Religiosität im Lebensverlauf? Eine Panelanalyse unter Berücksichtigung von Ost-West-Unterschieden, *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie*, Vol. 63, 2011, 83-110.

[15] Tomka, Miklós, *Vallási helyzetkép – 2009*, 2010, 401-425.

[16] Müller, Olaf, Secularisation, Individualisation, or (Re)vitalisation? The State and Development of Churchliness and Religiosity in Post-Communist Central and Eastern Europe, *Religion and Society in Central and Eastern Europe*, Vol. 4, No. 1, 2011, 21-37.

[17] Rosta, Gergely, 2007, A magyarországi vallási változás életkori aspektusai, in Hegedűs, Rita – Révay, Edit (eds.), *Úton… Tanulmányok Tomka Miklós tiszteletére*, Szeged, Szegedi Tudományegyetem, 2007, 297-309.

troversial process is that a different kind of religiosity may exist in different groups. Consequently, the direction and pace of change is also different. The older generations are still attached to a more traditional folk religiosity, and changes among them can be characterised as a secularisation process. Religiosity of younger cohorts is more typically based on personal choice, thus religious changes can be modeled as a "religious market" of churches competing for the faithful.[18]

RESEARCH QUESTIONS & METHODOLOGY

Based on the above considerations, in this paper we try to answer the following research questions:

(1) How have these trends changed as shown by the most recent data from the 2012 youth survey?

(2) How can these trends be explained by various socialisation factors and life-cycle effects?

In order to aswer these, we conduct a secondary analysis of the databases of Ifjúság 2000, 2004, Magyar Ifjúság 2012 Hungarian youth surveys. These studies have consisted of a standardised survey based on representative samples of Hungarian young people between 15 and 29 including about 8,000 respondents in each wave in every fourth year. Although a larger range of research areas have been in the focus of these studies, all waves included a set of questions on religiosity asked in a similar way in most cases. However, due to methodological concerns, some 2004 results have been omitted as most questions on religiosity were not asked from respondents claiming themselves non-religious or atheistic, thus excluding a significant share of the sample. (Similar methodological concerns did not affect the 2012 results to such a large extent.)

OVERVIEW OF KEY TRENDS

Results from the Hungarian Youth studies show that between 2000 and 2012 church religious identity significantly dropped among young people aged between 15 and 29. (Figure 1) Possible responses to the question used to measure this have been about the same as those developed by Miklós Tomka in the 70s and

[18] Hámori, Ádám, Református esélyek és kilátások, *Confessio*, Vol. 35, No. 4, 2011, 6-25.

used widely since then.[19] The rate of those having a religious persuasion according to the teaching of the church has been reduced from 10 to 7%. At the same time, the share of people religious "in their own way" has also decreased from 46 to 31%, thus making an explanation of religious individualisation somewhat improbable. Alongside a stable share of 7 to 8% of those having an explicitly anti-religious persuasion, only the rate of the group of those identifying themselves as "not religious" increased significantly.

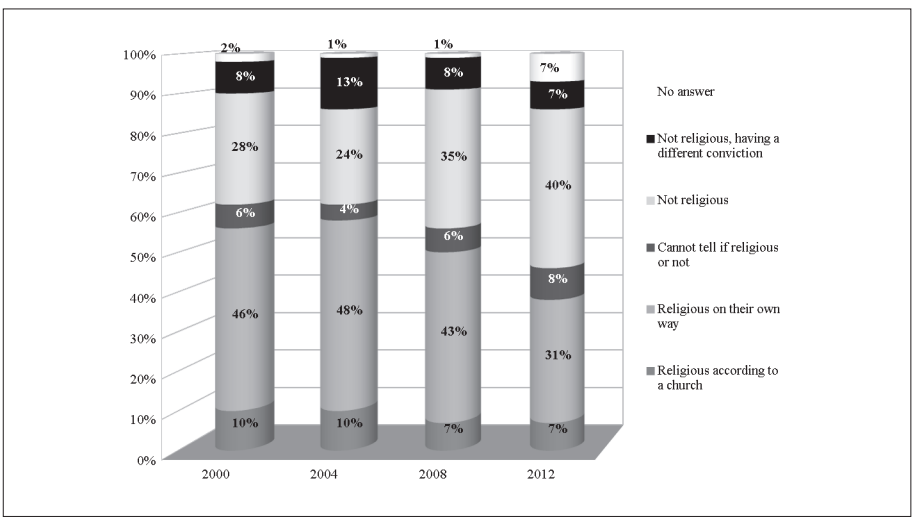


Figure 1. Religious self-identification (%)

The rate of those attending church services weekly or more frequently has been almost halved (from 7 to 4%), just like that of those attending church at least once a month (from 16 to 9%). At the same time, the rate of those never attending a church has increased from 36 to 46%. Together with those attending a church only once or less than once a year, institutionalised churches practically cannot communicate directly with more than two-thirds of Hungarian youth between 15-29. (Figure 2)

[19] Tomka, Miklós, A vallásosság mérése, *Magyar Pszichológiai Szemle*, 1973, No. 1-2, 122-135; Tomka, Miklós, A vallásosság mérése, in Máté-Tóth, András – Jahn, Mária (eds.), *Studia Religiosa: Tanulmányok András Imre 70. születésnapjára*, Szeged, Bába és Társa, 1998, 18-31; Tomka, Miklós, 1994, Vallás, szociológia, politika, *Replika*, 1994, No. 11-12, 181-196.

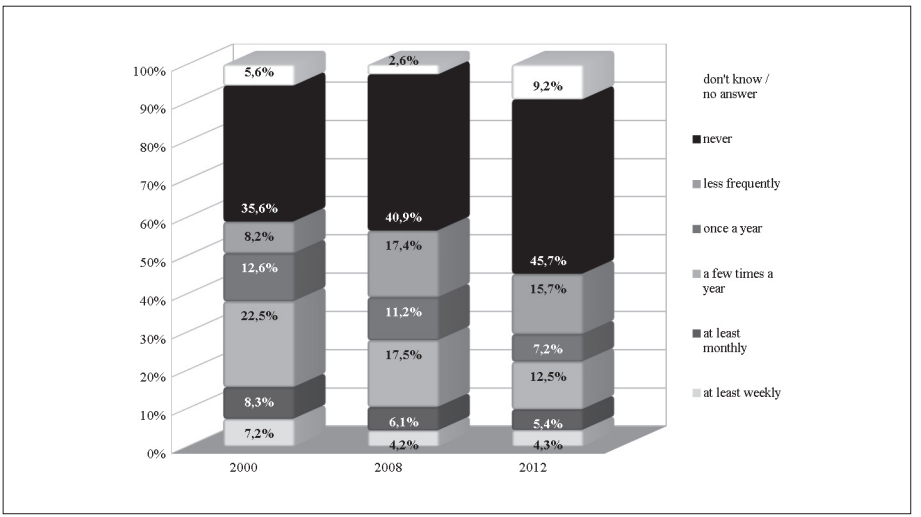


Figure 2. Frequency of attending church services (%)

To have a simple insight into different groups of youngsters by religiosity, we have compared three groups, distinguished on the basis of their religious identity, religious practice and denominational belonging. (Although no denominational commitment was asked from respondents claiming to be non-religious in 2012, this indicator was taken into account only in the religious sub-group, thus not interfering with this classification.) So in the following, we will consider young people "practising Christians" if they are religious according to the teachings of the church or in their own way, baptised or registered in and committed to a Christian denomination, and attending church services at least monthly. In parallel, we classify respondents as "non-Christians" in the case if they claim to be non-religious or to have an explicitly different conviction, and if they are registered in and committed to a non-Christian faith. Finally, members of the group in between will be referred to as "drop-outs". (It must be noted here that followers of non-Christian traditions were present in the sample in very low numbers.)

As it can be observed in Figure 3, the above described trends resulted in that the share of 8.8% of practising Christians in 2008 has dropped to a significantly lower level of 7.4% by 2012. Similarly, the group of explicitly non-religious youth has also diminished by more than 1 percentage point, so the group of "drop-outs" grew from a rate of about 83% to as high as 85.5%.

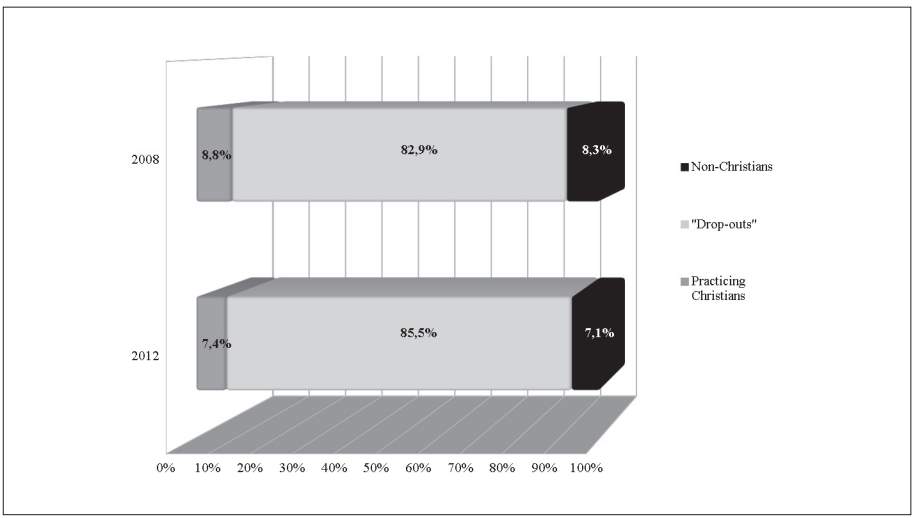


Figure 3. Classification of youth by religious practice and identity

All these tendencies suggest that lack of interest in religious issues among Hungarian youth is gradually spreading. Although we do not have comparable data on denominational commitment from 2012, previous results have shown a shrinking share of baptised respondents, which probably proves a declining willingness of parents to transfer religious traditions. However, before turning to the question of socialisation agents, it is important to see what kind of belief structure lies under the hard data of church attendance and religious identity categories.

Waves 2008 and 2012 of Hungarian Youth surveys screened the belief of youngsters by asking the level of acceptance or rejection of 16 belief contents (in 2008 these questions were asked only to a representative sub-sample of 2000 participants). To create an easy structure, we classified 10 of them as Christian beliefs, including miracles, resurrection, life beyond death, God, heaven, Satan, hell, saints, Holy Trinity, Immaculate Conception. The other 6 contents fell under the category of non-Christian beliefs, which were as follows: horoscope, lucky tokens & talismans, reincarnation, telepathy, magic, UFOs. These belief contents were then valued by the respondents using a 4-item scale in 2008 and a 5-item scale in 2012, where lowest values expressed rejection and highest values expressed acceptance of the respective contents. (As it will be made clear, during the categorisation the values in the middle were taken into account in a way that the change in the range of these value scales did not interfere with our results.)

Using these indicators, we have categorised respondents in 6 belief groups. Youngsters highly accepting Christian beliefs and rejecting non-Christian ones were classified as "Christians", whereas those of the opposite persuasion were grouped as "esoterics". While there were some highly accepting both religious domains, thus constituting the group of believers with a "mixed" belief, some others rejected almost all belief contents, forming a separate group of "refusers". As to those expressing a less consistent religious presuasion in terms of belief, we examined the variance of values attributed to all belief contents. Those having a variance of values below 1 were probably giving an acceptance/rejection value close to the middle for most contents, thus being classified as "uncertains". Those having a variance of values above I probably tended to give either the highest or the lowest acceptance/rejection value for belief contents, but doing so inconsistently within the belief domains. For this reason, they have been classified as "inconsistents". Figure 4 shows the striking change within a relatively short time period of four years. Accompanied by a significant drop of the shares of Christian, esoteric, mixed and uncertain believers from 2008 to 2012, the expansion of inconsistent believers and that of refusers is remarkable.

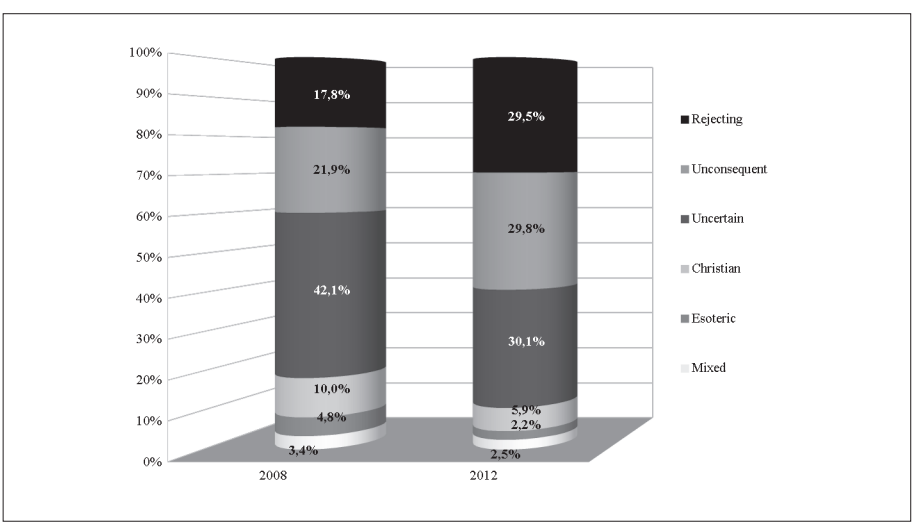


Figure 4. Classification of youth by religious beliefs

When comparing the religious persuasion of members of different groups distinguished by religious self-identification and religious practice introduced above (Figure 5), the following trends become apparent:

(1) Only half of practising Christian youth could be characterised as Christian believers in 2008 – a figure dropping to less than one-third by 2012. In all other groups, the share of Christian believers was much lower in 2008 only to decline further by the later survey.

(2) Youngsters refusing all kinds of belief domains have become more numerous in all groups for the four years that passed between the two waves of Hungarian Youth studies, the least being present within the group of practising Christians.

(3) In the case of drop-outs and non-religious youngsters, the share of uncertain believers declined substantially, while in the case of practising Christians, the share remained almost the same.

(4) The rate of esoterics diminished in all sub-groups, starting from a low share of presence even in 2008.

(5) A similar tendency could be observed in the case of mixed believers, with the exception of practising Christians, where this rate has surprisingly grown, and did to a surprising level.

(6) As to inconsistent respondents, the share of them grew within all subgroups.

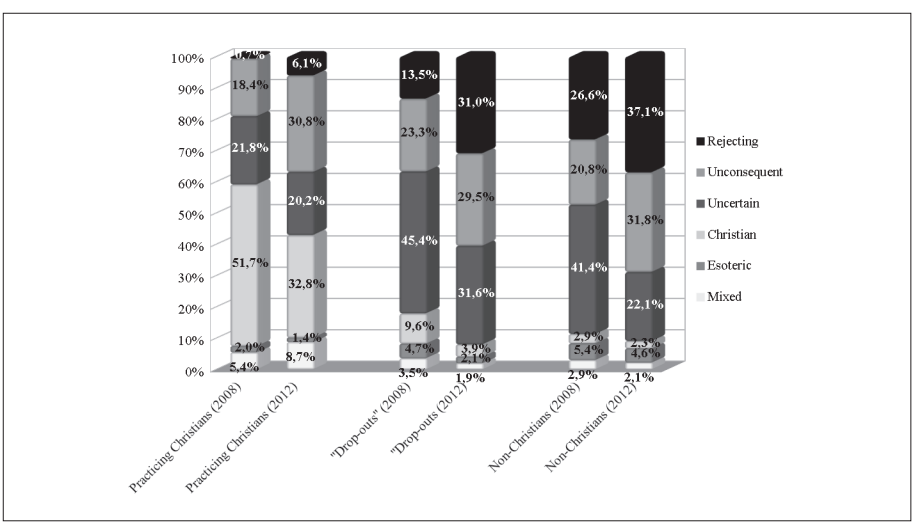


Figure 5. Beliefs among youth

EXPLAINING TRENDS BY INTRA-COHORT AND INTER-COHORT DIFFERENCES

The question should be raised here whether it is lifecycle-effect, cohort-effect or period-effect that is explaining these trends. Answering this is made possible by the relatively large sample sizes of Hungarian Youth studies that enabled us to compare coevals born in years pairwise combined. Distinguishing the following groups by birth years, we gained sub-groups of about 1,000 respondents respectively: 1971, 1972-73, 1974-75, 1976-77, 1978-79, 1980-81, 1982-83, 1984-85, 1986-87, 1988-89, 1990-91, 1992-93, 1994-95, 1996-97. As the basis of comparison, we have chosen the frequency of church attendance.

As represented in Figure 6, the share of those attending church monthly or more frequently was the highest in the youngest age groups in 2000, in 2008 as well as in 2012, although these figures already show a declining religiosity of the youngest age groups (25%, 16% and 15% respectively). Compared to them, the older age groups were significantly less religious at each point of time, although the difference between them slightly diminished throughout the examined time period (7 percentage points in 2000 and only 2 in 2008 and in 2012).

Moreover, within-cohort decrease is astonishing. Considering the cohort born between 1984-1985, the drop of the share of those attending church at least monthly was as high as 16 percentage points between 2000 and 2008, a really outstanding decline even though the trend was the same in all other age groups as well. Between 2008 and 2012 similar changes with smaller intensity took place in the youngest age groups, but the share of frequent churchgoers remained stable in the older cohorts. This suggests a negative effect of a changing socialisation environment in the case of younger age-groups and an also negative, yet weakening, life-cycle effect having an impact only by the age of 20.

What is more, when examining those born between 1983-1985 and thus surveyed in all three waves of the Hungarian Youth study, one can observe that a dramatic change happened between 2000 and 2008 and the frequency of churchgoing remained almost the same by the time of the latest study.

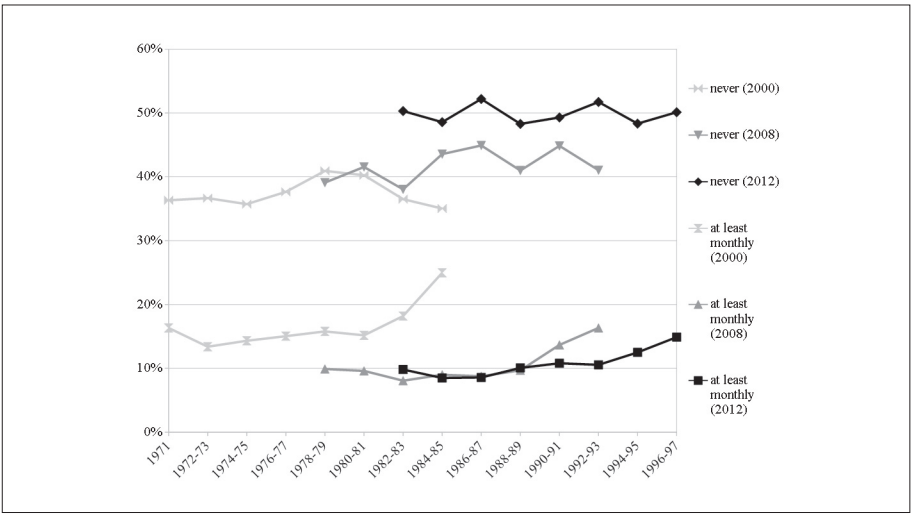


Figure 6. Frequency of attending church services by age-groups (%)

When looking at those never attending church survices, we can hardly observe any within-cohort differences, yet some increase is apparent when comparing consecutive cohorts. This can be explained by socialisation differences as well. However, when turning to the results from 2012, one can see that the rate of non-practising youth within the age groups surveyed by both waves is significantly higher with an average of 8 percentage points than in 2008. This phenomenon is more typical when a period-effect is at work, but it is difficult to tell what kind of cultural or political event (or maybe a methodological change in data collection?) could have caused such a major difference.[20]

EFFECTS OF CHANGING SOCIALISATION ENVIRONMENT?

How is it possible to measure the importance of socialisation agents and find and scrutinise the change in this factor? Hungarian Youth studies in 2000 and 2008 asked about attendance at denominational schools. On the basis of this, in a previous paper we concluded that the impact of family background was significantly stronger than that of the denominational schools. While the joint

[20] Rosta, Gergely, Hit és vallásgyakorlat, in Székely, Levente (ed.), *Magyar ifjúság 2012*, Budapest, Kutatópont, 2013, 316-330.

effect of these two was the highest, we found a higher probability of church religiosity in the case of youngsters acquiring their religious motivation from the family than in the case of those attending a denominational school only but without a religious family background.[21]

Unfortunately, the 2012 wave of the study did not contain questions on the type of school that was attended by respondents. Still we can rely on the question about family background to see its significance on religious persuasion and practice.

The share of those claiming to be raised in a religious family has dropped from 37 to 27%. However, when looking at the differences by age-groups, we can see that the greatest decline happened in the youngest group between 15 to 19. (Figure 7) Not only a lower share of the groups of the same age participating in the later waves reported a less religious family environment, but interestingly also the same group expressed a lower level of religiosity when they became older. While the former phenomenon can be more easily explained by a cohort-effect resulting from the changing socialisation environment, in the case of the latter one we can only assume that the youngsters might have changed their judgement about what they counted as a religious upbringing.

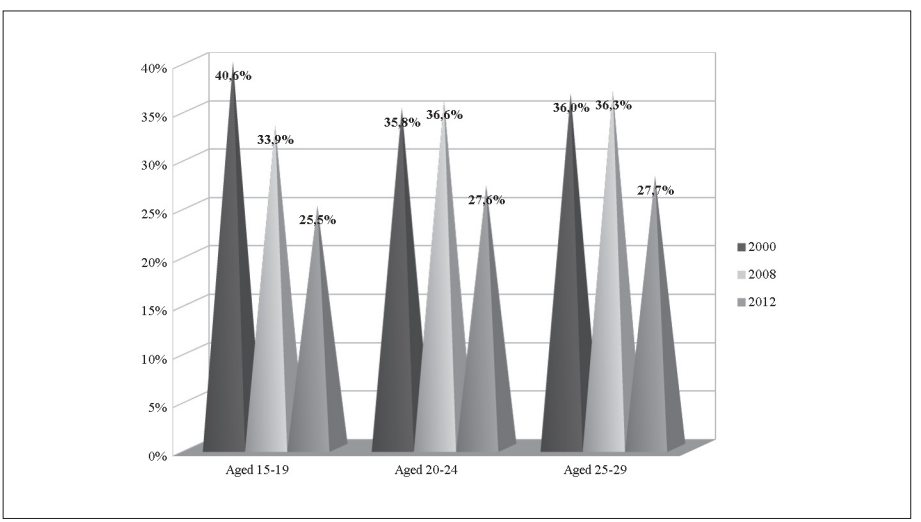


Figure 7: Religious upbringing by age-groups

[21] Hámori – Rosta, *Ifjúság, vallás, szocializáció*, 2013, 5-18.

To see the impact of religious upbringing, we can compare the religiously and non-religiously brought up groups by their religious practice and identity on the one hand and their religious belief on the other. As to the former, it can be seen in Figure 8 that while 36% of religiously raised youngsters went to church at least monthly or more frequently, this share dropped by 8 percentage points by 2012. At the same time, the rate of those never attending a church within the religiously brought up sub-group has been almost doubled. Similar, yet less uniform trends characterise those who were not raised by a religious family. In their case, church attendance is certainly much lower.

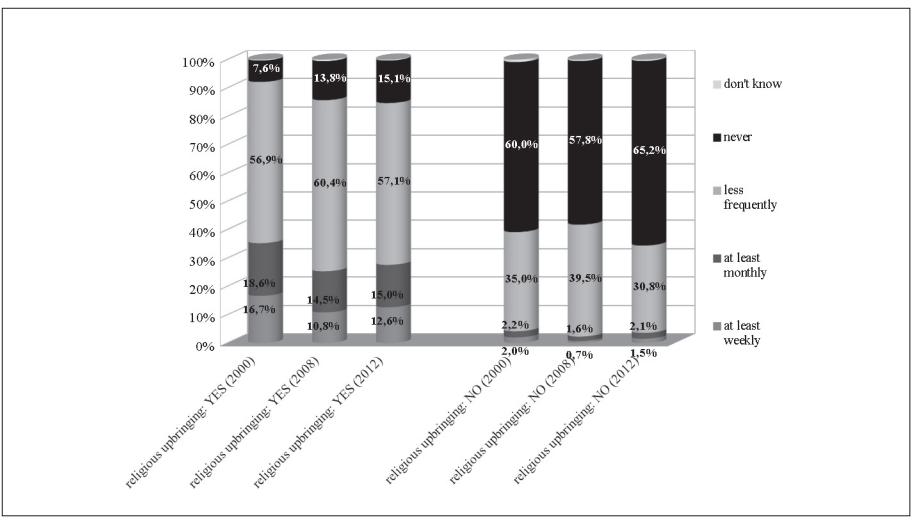


Figure 8, Religious upbringing and the frequency of attending church services (%)

As to the latter, we will use the classifications introduced above. Almost identical tendencies can be observed in Figure 9. While slightly less than one-fourth of the religiously raised sub-group could be characterised as having some sort of Christian belief in 2008, this rate fell back to less than 16% in four years, matched by a doubled share of refusers in all religious beliefs. The trends have been similar among those coming from a non-religious family with both a comparably lower share of Christian believers and a higher share of refusers. Interestingly, while the rate of religiously uncertain youth has been diminished, the share of inconsistents grew in the analysed time period.

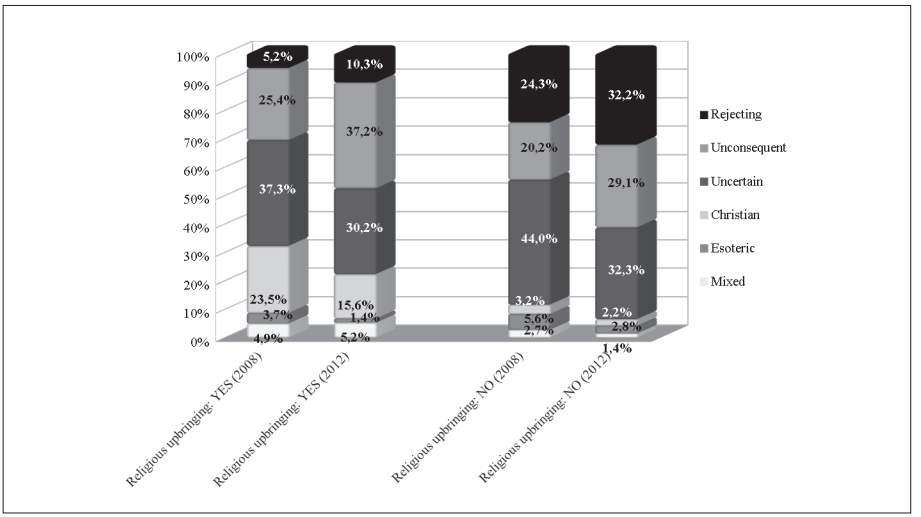


Figure 9, Religious upbringing and beliefs

SUMMARY

Youth religiosity as observed by Hungarian Youth studies from 2000 to 2012 followed a declining trend: dropping religious practice was accompanied by a weakening religious commitment. However, in contrast with previous theoretical assumptions of religious individualisation, it is rather falling interest in religion which drives this. As to the possible background of these changes, a life-cycle-effect and a cohort-effect are apparently present and reinforcing each other. What is more, a hardly explainable period-effect is also observable in the case of the non-religious group.

While religious commitment and religious practice have been weakening throughout the examined period, this decline also affected the content of religiosity: a diminishing interest in religious beliefs in general has been spreading among young people. These negative trends may result from a weakening impact of religious socialisation, which is present in a decreasing share of the young population.

All in all, these tendencies forecast a further increasing religious polarisation, that is, a future religious composition of society consisting of a small minority of religiously committed people and a growing majority of the non-religious.

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Tamás Ragadics[1]

THE SOCIETY OF MINOR HUNGARIAN SETTLEMENTS IN THE LIGHT OF THE 2011 CENSUS

Traditionally rural communities appear to be a contrast to complex urban society in the field of classical sociological literature. Whereas cities are scenes of social conflicts and development, villages represent security, tranquillity and trust with a life based on traditions.[2]

In European societies the urbanisation and secularisation of rural regions occurred at a different pace and extent. In Hungary this transformation took place in the era of socialist collectivisation, eliminating the lifestyle of peasants.[3]

In the 1990s the economic and political changes completely altered the state of minor settlements, thus their opportunities in the labour market as well as their migration trend varied. Around thriving centres, suburban villages started to develop. Further from them, besides ordinary villages, senescent, segregating, split societies are situated together with minor settlements which have become the target of social migration.[4]

This study is aimed at discussing essential questions concerning the changes which have led to the appearance of the varied rural society in the light of the 2011 Census in Hungary. Have the people in the country remained religious? Is there a connection between active piety, poverty and backwardness in society? Are the local institutional church system and religiosity of local society related? How can the Roma subgroup in Hungary be described in terms of denomination? As the racial segregation of rural regions has increased recently, this last question seems crucial.

Answering these questions is beyond the scope of this paper. Instead, this study aims to throw light on some aspects of interpretation problems related to the religiosity and choice of denomination in rural society.

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[2] See Tönnies, Ferdinand, *Közösség és társadalom*, Budapest, Gondolat Publishing House, 1983. Wirth, Lewis, Az urbanizmus, mint életmód, in Szelényi Iván (ed.) *Városszociológia*, Budapest, Közgazdasági és Jogi Publishing House, 1973, 41-63.

[3] See Kovács, Teréz, *A paraszti gazdálkodás és társadalom átalakulása*, Budapest, L'Harmattan Publishing House, 2010.

[4] Kovács, Katalin, Polarizálódás és falutípusok a vidéki Magyarországon, in Bognár, László – Csizmady, Adrienne – Tamás, Pál – Tibori, Tímea (ed.) *Nemzetfelfogások – Falupolitikák*, Budapest, Új Mandátum Publishing House, 2005, 143–144.

TYPES OF SETTLEMENTS AND RELIGIOSITY IN HUNGARY

Examining religiosity of the different settlement types in the table below, it seems obvious that the lower the state a village or settlement is placed in the hierarchy of settlements, the stronger it is connected to historic churches. In case of Budapest, the percentage of Catholic, Calvinist and Lutheran people is well under the national average. There is a slight increase in cities with county authority, though only smaller cities are able to achieve the national average. In villages Catholic people form nearly 50 per cent of the resident population, while the Calvinist reach up to 14 per cent. To sum up, the base of traditional denominations is mainly constituted by smaller settlements.

Types of settlements and religiosity in Hungary							
Area	**Catholic**	**Calvinist**	**Lutheran**	**Do not belong to denominations**	**Atheist**	**No answer**	**Σ**
Capital	517762	146756	30293	342540	53424	585475	1729040
Cities with county authority	713915	188131	44457	400227	36225	609159	2029393
Other cities	1167160	404850	68722	564738	37574	847527	3145425
Vilages	1473085	413717	71621	351518	20163	656683	3033770
Hungary total	3871922	1153454	215093	1659023	147386	2698844	9937628

Table 1. (Own calculation. Source: http://www.ksh.hu/nepszamlalas/)

CHOICE OF DENOMINATION IN VILLAGES

Analysing religiosity of villages in Hungary on the basis of the number of inhabitants, it is apparent that people in smaller settlements tend to answer the relevant questions more willingly. While in settlements with a population of 5,000 to 10, 000 inhabitants, more than one quarter of the people did not answer the question about their religion, in the smallest villages, only one seventh of respondents refused to answer. The number of atheists and people who do not belong to any denominations is under the national average in all kinds of smaller settlements, with an even decreasing tendency when progressing toward smaller settlements.

Religiosity and population of settlements							
Population	Catholic	Calvinist	Lutheran	Do not belong to denomination	Atheist	No answer	Σ
5 000–9 999	81 456	27 940	6 532	34 908	1	56 460	215 287
3 000–4 999	233 096	52 596	8 715	79 853	1	123 119	511 503
2 000–2 999	286 896	96 368	9 624	77 106	3 696	136 316	620 354
1 500–1 999	228 189	68 227	7 469	49 047	2 847	100 954	463 788
1 000–1 499	223 242	67 698	12 401	45 667	2 386	94 597	452 093
500–999	246 428	65 432	13 971	40 100	2 063	95 668	469 350
200–499	141 759	28 859	11 191	19 539	1 073	38 564	243 690
199 or less	28 472	5 745	1 568	3 618	173	7 639	47 637
Total							3 023 702

Table 2. (Own calculation. Source: http://www.ksh.hu/nepszamlalas/)

There is an inverse proportion between the size of settlement and the choice of denomination: the smaller a settlement is, the higher the rate of Catholics is. In case of Calvinists, the number of people belonging to the church decreases in settlements with a population less than 500. The reason behind the phenomenon originates from geographical and religious characteristics of Hungary: in the villages of less than 500 inhabitants in the Dunántúl (the Transdanubian region), Catholic people have got stronger religious affiliation, while Calvinists constitute a strong social base with larger communities in the counties of Alföld (the Great Hungarian Plain).

Types of settlements	Catholic	Calvinist	Do not belong	Atheist
Population	%	%	%	%
5 000–9 999	37,83	12,98	16,21	1,46
3 000–4 999	45,57	10,28	15,61	0,89
2 000–2 999	46,25	15,53	12,43	0,6
1 500–1 999	49,2	14,71	10,57	0,61
1 000–1 499	49,38	14,97	10,1	0,53
500–999	52,5	13,94	8,54	0,44
200–499	58,17	11,84	8,01	0,44
199 or less	59,77	12,05	7,59	0,36
Hungary total	38,96	11,6	16,69	1,48

Table 3. Catholic and Calvinist denomination in Hungarian villages
(Own calculation. Source: http://www.ksh.hu/nepszamlalas/)

RELIGIOSITY IN UNDERDEVELOPED REGIONS

Considering the weak religious affiliations in the more developed central region, a question emerges: Do the higher living standards and financial well-being alienate people from historic churches? Are the poor and those in need related to religion to a greater extent?

Selecting eight out of the most underdeveloped small regions from four different areas of the country, it is apparent that the rate of religious population in the poor rural area is beyond national averages, while the number of people who do not belong to any denominations or who are atheists is low. The case of Mezőkovácsháza region clearly indicates that the choice of denomination does not directly follow from poverty. This small region in the south of Alföld (the Great Hungarian Plain) with strong leftist traditions is well below the national average regarding religiosity. Poverty, however, does enhance religiosity in an indirect way: young people migrate from underdeveloped regions, thus increase the proportion of elderly people with stronger religious affiliations.

Religion in underdeveloped small regions			
Small region of	Population	Religious	Do not belong to denom. + atheist
Sásd	13080	9874 (75,49%)	1410 (10,78%)
Sellye	13798	9379 (67,97%)	1916 (13,89%)
Bácsalmás	20094	13293 (66,15%)	2154 (10,72%)
Mezőkovácsháza	40550	20396 (50,30)	11054 (27,26%)
Fehérgyarmat	37089	29253 (78,87%)	2011 (5,42%)
Csenger	13485	11352 (84,18%)	445 (3,29%)
Edelény	33314	24667 (74,04%)	2371 (7,1%)
Encs	21390	17352 (64,29%)	909 (4,25%)
Hungary total	9937628	5431018 (54,47%)	1806409 (18,18%)
Budapest	1729040	747148 (43,21%)	395964 (22,90%)

Table 4. (Own calculation. Source: http://www.ksh.hu/nepszamlalas/)

RELATION BETWEEN RELIGIOSITY AND THE LOCAL CHURCH SYSTEM OF INSTITUTIONS

Measuring religiosity may serve as feedback for historic church workers on the effectiveness of their missionary work. Questions of the 2011 Census appear to be less appropriate for measuring the effectiveness of church work. Besides the

representatives of churches, several other actors and factors take part in the process of making links to religiosity. Although the rural regions of suburbs keep lagging behind, the heterogeneity of small regions is increasing. Therefore it is difficult to compare the religiosity of individual villages. On the whole, a connection between the local priest and the higher number of people who claim to be religious can be detected; still, this relation is not apparent in all settlements. On the contrary, the number of people who do not belong to any denominations is lower in small settlements with parish centres[5] and clergy offices.

RELIGIOSITY OF THE ROMA SUBGROUP IN HUNGARY

The number of Roma people in Hungary, which was previously estimated about 700,000 to 800,000, is now 315,538 on the basis of the 2011 Census. Comparing the answers about religiosity questions of this group with people who claimed to be Hungarian, several discrepancies emerge. The rate of atheists among the Roma subgroup is noticeably lower: while their number is 1.68 per cent among Hungarians, in case of the Roma it is less than 0.5 per cent. In the Roma subgroup there are more Catholics but fewer Calvinists compared to Hungarians. This is due to the Roma system of belief, the characteristics of their traditions (e.g. their strong veneration of the Virgin Mary) and the enclosed nature of the Calvinist denomination. Compared to Hungarians, more people of the Roma subgroup tend to join smaller churches: their number is not only higher among the poorer community of Jehovah's Witnesses but within the Hit Gyülekezete (Faith Church), as well. On the other hand, 21.43 per cent of the Roma do not belong to any denomination. This rate is higher than the percentage of 19.16 among Hungarians. To sum up, according to the data of the 2011 Census, the Roma subgroup is open to religiosity and thus, may serve as an essential missionary field for historic churches and other denominations open to them.

Religiosity in Catholic centres of Roma mission

	2001					2011			
Settlement	Population	Catholic	Do not belong	No answer		Population	Catholic	Do not belong to	No answer
Alsószentmárton	1098	79,90%	2,10%	16,70%		1156	95,15%	1,70%	2,80%
Arló	4197	87,90%	2,60%	5,60%		3775	67,13%	7,23%	22,49%
Gyöngyösoroszi	1618	74,90%	9,90%	6,20%		1549	50,61%	22,72%	18,91%
Hodász	3478	54 % (44,3GK)	1,50%	13,20%		3370	46,85% (37,8G)	4,06%	12,28%
Kiscsécs	203	87,60%	na	3,30%		195	48,20%	43,58%	8,20%
Szendrőlád	1761	77,20%	na	5,30%		1954	63,30%	2,30%	23,75%

Table 5. (Own calculation. Source: http://www.ksh.hu/nepszamlalas/)

[5] Due to the integration of parish offices, owing to the lack of priests, the presence of a parish does not automatically imply that the settlement has its own priest or clergyman.

Studying the centres of Catholic Roma missionary work in Hungary draws attention to the effectiveness of the priest's work. The presence of churches does not evidently entail success between the 2001 and 2011 censuses; however, owing to the size of settlements and the complexity of the processes constituting local societies, far-reaching consequences cannot be drawn. Changes, by and large, follow national trends; still, the indicators of religiosity are stronger. For instance, in Alsószentmárton in the south of Baranya County, the number of Catholics increased and that of people who did not answer and who did not belong to any denominations decreased.

CONCLUSION

Considering the findings of the study, data from the 2011 Census can be interpreted and compared with restrictions only. It is essential to study the statistical findings in a regional, social and cultural context. It is the duty of researchers to complete the facts from the available data with qualitative research.

The contradictable transformation of the field of religion continues in the rural societies of Hungary.[6] Individualisation is stregthening, while the lack of supporting communities seems more and more apparent. Traditional religiosity decreases, smaller denominations emerge. The level of education increases in the villages, but the religious knowledge of people is ambiguous and often childlike.

Representatives of historic churches and all Christians have to set an example with their own lives and activity in the community. An active personal presence is especially important in the underdeveloped rural regions where the rate of indigent people living on the edge of society is high.

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[6] See: Tomka, Miklós, *Vallás és társadalom Magyarországon*, Budapest – Piliscsaba, Loisir, 2006, 231-249.

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Prof. Dr. András Máté-Tóth[1]

PROTESTANT IDENTITY IN PLURALIST HUNGARY – SOCIOLOGICAL AND THEOLOGICAL IDEAS

Discussing questions in the area of Protestantism and Protestant identity on the twentieth anniversary of the establishment of Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church in Hungary[2] means that certain agreements and axioms have to be reformulated since they are no longer unequivocal. To put this in sociological terms, the afore-mentioned axioms have lost their plausibility. As a Catholic theologian and a researcher interested in the Central-Eastern European processes of contemporary religious and ecclesiastical phenomena, I want to make some well-founded statements concerning the area in which Protestant identity and the state of being an intellectual are challenged. These challenges laid against Christian identity come not only and not even primarily from a sociological context. However well-known these difficulties are – may they be economical, political, or those coming from current cultural trends –, in the midst of which individuals, communities and institutions fight for the accomplishment of their mission, due to our Christianity[3], we are supposed to focus our attention elsewhere. We had better focus on those theological provocations which claim that they intend to determine the identity in question. Quoting a line from Saint Paul's Second Epistle to the Corinthians: "While we look not at the things which are seen, but at the things which are not seen: for the things which are seen are temporal; but the things which are not seen are eternal." (2Cor. 4,18) Attention is what has to be focused on the essentials and the eternal messages when there is time for reflection.

To start with, let me make my first statement, according to which the basics of Christianity are not evident either in the society in which we live or for those

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[2] The international commemoration on the 450th anniversary of the Heidelberg Catechism symbolically amplifies the question related to Protestant identity brought up at the commemoration. The Heidelberg Catechism begins with the condition of human misery and repentance. Misery in the world today indicates no less repentance and denotes no less provocation against a humble and determined testimony of hope to be found in Christianity.

[3] I keep to Protestant terminology, not merely on grounds of courtesy suitable for the occasion but also that I would indicate growing awareness of the difference between Catholic and Protestant views as well as the tradition of Catholic exclusivity and its continuous temptation at each occurrence of the word.

who intend to confess their faith. The Bible, particularly the gospels, the teachings of the Fathers and the Classics and the prophetic imprints of experienced faith in the centuries of history are only in part known to us and are known in details by experts, but they do not have such weight and evidence today as they had in previous eras, therefore, their rediscovery is the first step and the necessary basis of the work for an educated identity. The hermeneutical turn which was strengthened and completed in the history of philosophy and in theological reflection more and more questioned the existence of essentials and truths independent from interpretation, and solely regarded an understood truth, in the Christian sense a confessed truth, as possible instead. In our age which some people call late modern, others postmodern, still others new barbarism, Christian identity is conceptualised in the encounter of processes and currents, and while it stands, it does not become motionless, and when it is on the move, it still is capable of giving us a sense of intellectual and existential security.
In the second half of my lecture I intend to list the signs of plurality, religious and denominational diversity, as they are discussed by three authors favoured by me, John Hick, Diana L. Eck and Raimon Panikkar. According to my second statement, Christian identity cannot be analysed independent from a pluralist cultural area if we mean to define how it differs from what is non-Christian. Plurality is not a dimension of today's society that can be taken into consideration or can be ignored arbitrarily. I emphatically think of Hungary here and not of the so-called Western or American context, of which some people speak as if they existed somewhere else, and the Hungarian area would be separated from these by some magical boundary which we can step over if we want to, but if we do not, we can be alone inside the boundaries.

SOCIAL AREA

Today's Hungarian society, similarly to the other Central-Eastern European societies, but also different from them in many ways, is in the second wave of the post-regime change period.[4] The first wave took place directly after the change, when the salutary topsyturvydom bore the signs of a prolific chaos while the basic pillars of democracy were formed and stabilised with the help of national, but even more so with foreign helpers. Churches in the first wave, not

[4] For more of this see András, Máté-Tóth, Gärende Gesellschaft: Öffentliche Religion in Ost-Mittel-Europa, in Gregor Buß, Markus Luber (eds.), *Neue Räume öffnen: Mission und Sekularisierung weltweit*, Regensburg, Verlag Friedrich Pustet, 2013, 164-184.

only the Reformed and the Lutheran Church but also the Catholic Church and the Jewish communities of faith, saw the most important mission that can be accomplished for society in the service of the rebuilding of national sovereignty. They associated Christianity with being a Hungarian again, the state with the churches, publicity with the accentuation and emphasis of Christian values. The initially hot and effervescent atmosphere was cooled in a few years by the problems arising from operating freedom. Also, churches had to experience that for the sake of their own safety and for the conditions of missionary work, a political profile and strategy had to be made. This second wave shook and sifted the intrinsic life of churches and more or less transformed their federal system as well. In this second wave, critical loyalty to the state and to all respective governments, wise disposition and lobby in the force field of social and political publicity, and displacement of primacy in the relation system directed for the state and high politics towards a civil society in need of being rebuilt are the major power lines which are meant by arrangements done in regained freedom. This second wave can be regarded as a long-term result of regime change, which means that Christian identity and mission must be found and maintained also on a longer run under such conditions as prevalent today. It would be naivety to dream of something else, of some kind of arrival, as much as it would be naivety to dream of the restoration of the past long gone by or even further in the past gone by.

Large Christian churches have committed themselves to national pride and self-determination in the last 20 years, at the same time facing the dilemma, in theological terminology the temptation, that is, as to how national-lingual particularity can be synchronised with multilingual internationalism. While the common protection, maintenance and reimplantation of national values and Christianity form an unquestionable unit not only in Hungary but in other countries of our region as well, it appears to be more and more necessary that the universal validity and roominess of Christianity overstepping family, ethnic and language boundaries should be more emphasised in Christian discourse, particularly in the education of Christian intellectuals. While Christian support of the most significant lift of sovereignty and autonomy was an implicit requirement in the first wave of regained freedom, the same responsibility lies for Christianity today and tomorrow in the mental-spiritual exodus, guidance, that is, of multilingual Eastern European small countries out of misery.

Caring for the values of the secular world is the noble tradition of Protestantism in all of Europe, thus also in Hungary. Without having to formulate the original differences between the Catholic and the Protestant faith, Protestant intellectuals are obliged by the national tradition of a high culture-orientated Protestantism to behold and render those values in the current social and cul-

tural reality which, in their view, would neither explicitly nor implicitly be present without Christianity and would not form the hope and core of a society worthy of man and Christ. Protestantism is representative of a direct, unmediated relationship with God, advocate of the autonomy of conscience and thought, and it successfully offset its denominational minority status with achievements of outstanding quality in the fields of science, art and politics. Protestantism did not fear the world. As Max Weber emphasised, Protestantism compensated its insecurity related to salvation for diligence and performance exhibited in this world.[5] Referring to high culture-orientated Protestantism, the question comes up even today if the stance of a confessor and reformer is opposed to this world-friendly spirituality. As numerous Protestant Hungarian statesmen, scientists and artists denote their world-shaping energies to their profound faith in Christ, quality culture must also be nurtured on a deep spirituality amid today's pluralistic social conditions. László Tőkéczky's standpoint on the narrow road can be cited as valid with respect not only to the past but to the future as well: "only faith in that unity of personal ("free") faith and that of "high culture" can give us a worthy form of life".[6]

The onetime and prevalent contradiction between confessing Christianity and high culture-orientated Christianity can essentially be perceived in their different relationship to the world. The confessor regards the world as a seculum of temptations, whereas culture-friendly spirituality considers the world a home. Neither of them give up Christ, the Bible or the mission, but they regard reality strongly opposed to Christianity. Sociology and theology approach this question from the theory of secularisation. In the 1960s Peter L. Berger and others worked out a theoretical statement, according to which religiosity would attenuate both from social life and one's personal life with the advancement of modernisation.[7] Although the claim of the statement has become fulfilled in recent decades and can be considered outdated based on both a theoretical debate still taking place and the data on religiosity outside Europe, the beliefs are more or less observable and determinative in public thinking, church sermons and theological works that the interpretation of the modern world should be construed based on the biblical concept of the world and the concept of the modern world in secularisation theory. By reflecting on the views of Gogarten and others, Ervin Vályi Nagy was the first person in Protestant Hungarian theology to manifest that the world was not an enemy to Christianity; that the theory and phenom-

[5] Compare Weber, Max, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, Merchant Books, 2013.
[6] http:/ / www.parokia.hu/publikacio/cikk/38/ (accessible 12. 10.2013).
[7] Berger, Peter L., *The sacred canopy; elements of a sociological theory of religion,* Garden City, N.Y., Doubleday 1967.

enon of secularisation are not the same; that Christianity must be active in a substantive dialogue with the world instead of marking its identity and mission in a separatism from the world.[8] As we cannot talk about a testimony to Christ without a confessing Christianity, we cannot talk about the Incarnated without a Christian culture showing solidarity to the world either. The boundary between the biblical world and Christianity does not lie between church and society but between the view, practice and structure of love, solidarity, hatred and egoism which run across both ecclesiastical and social areas. As the ideological tightening of secularisation, secularism aims at achieving a religion-free society, the ideological tightening of Christianity, Christianism keeps a world-free religion and church as its ideal.

The question that among others but not at all the least arises for Christian intellectuals in the decades following the change of regime is how to look at society in which they have to fulfill their identity and mission. In so far as they take the stand on an undifferentiated confessor in which they identify society with the pursuits of secularism, they demonstrate detachment, an uncritical loyalty to the system and follow the objectives of an indoctrinated mission in their view and works. The primary contribution of Christianity to the history of the world, especially to the history of Europe, was and is twofolded. On the one hand, Christianity supported and developed a more and more modern scholarship and a more and more modern shaping of the image of man and society. On the other hand, while being embedded in this changing culture, Christianity more and more recognised the roominess and profoundness of its original message, looking for an expression in the language and theoretical system of contemporary culture. In every era in which Christianity considered itself challenged and jeopardised, it primarily concentrated on the preservation of its values, whereas in those eras in which Christianity looked at society as a place to be explored, it provided a new image both to itself and its environment. The message of Christianity is not an estate to be protected with a fence or a building in need of continuous restoration, but a vision and a language which have to be dreamt and communicated.

Temptation is great for Christianity focusing on apologetics and particularly for Christian churches to regard loyalty to the system as a primary value and an obligation. It is partly understandable that in a previous era considered to be

[8] Compare among others to Nyugati teológiai irányzatok századunkban, Budapest, Református Zsinati Iroda Sajtóosztálya, 1984. For the sociological debate on secularisation see Tomka Miklós, *Vallás a modern világban, A szekularizáció értelmezése a szociológiában,* Budapest, Semmelweis Egyetem Mentálhigiéné Intézet, Párbeszéd (Dialógus) Alapítvány, 2011.

bipolar, when religion and churches were persecuted and later almost fully supervised by the existing materialistic power, reliability was a primary value, and the boundary between or against us more or less overlapped with the limits of the church. As the inhomogeneity of the so-called forty-year-long era becomes more and more visible, the perception, which is based on a dichotomic concept of society and apologetics deriving from the same, is more and more anachronistic in today's pluralistic era. Christianity today chooses to move to the periphery or to a ghetto voluntarily if it simplifies pluralistic society as bipolar, if it only discusses its institutional, ecclesiastical dimension, if it requires a government-clerk-mentality from its members and trains janissaries to the accomplishment of its mission. As opposed to this, Christian intellectual identity can build on the words of benevolent people's conscience, is open to vivid and tortuous life stories and is ready for different cooperations in which the continuous discovery and communication of its own identity is taking place.

METHODS OF DEALING WITH DIVERSITY

There is hardly any doubt that Hungarian society is heading towards diversity, otherwise put, diversity is more and more conspicuous even for ordinary people, still otherwise put, the inhomogeneity of society is raising bigger and bigger questions for both the members of society and those in charge. The religious dimension of diversity can be explored in many dimensions. On the one hand, the diversity of personal faiths and beliefs follows the trends of Western European societies. In public surveys, the stratum of society claiming to be religious in their own manner covers at least half of those interviewed. Traditionally Christian faith contents mingle more and more with traditionally Far Eastern and esoteric contents. The diversity of religious institutions counts as more and more obvious knowledge even for the average person. All these changes are closely related to public freedom, according to many, to an unleashed freedom, which gives priority to the unusual to the detriment of the usual. These processes require an innovation in interpretation from every religious community as well as from the whole society. The following authors' interpretation of pluralism can provide input into this question.

John Hick elaborated the three models of pluralistic religious theology, the exclusivist, the inclusivist and the pluralistic model. He supports the third model which is the only adequate attitude in global contemporary conditions.[9]

[9] John Hick, Philosophy of religion, Englewood Cliffs, N. J., Prentice-Hall, 1973.

Perry Schmidt-Leukel placed a fourth model in front of the three others, which he calls a naturalistic model.[10] I want to point out the basic stance of Christian identity and mission in question with a brief statement on the four models, which means a challenge not only in Christianity based on a Protestant tradition but in every religious and ideological system.

The naturalistic model does not acknowledge any kind of transcendence, that is, a religion-free culture is the only medium of reference for it.[11] According to the exclusivist stance, transcendental contents necessary for salvation can be obtained in only one (usually in one's own) religious community. The inclusivist stance allows this knowledge to be available in other religious communities as well, but only to such an extent which equals to one's own where this knowledge is present to an extent superseding everything else.[12] In the pluralistic stance the knowledge necessary for salvation can be found in many religions, to the same extent.[13]

Diana L. Eck, the founder and spiritual mother of the Pluralism Project at Harvard University, further discusses religious pluralism. 1.) Pluralism does not peter out in sharing information about dissimilarities but means an active commitment to dissimilarities. The dynamism of pluralism: a meeting, an exchange and a current running back and forth. 2.) Pluralism does not peter out in mere tolerance related to dissimilarities. Although tolerance is significant, it does not in itself shift us from our ignorance towards others. Tolerance is too thin a basis for us to build a sacrally diverse and complex society on it. 3.) Pluralism is not a simple relativism; instead, it opens up for real and rather different religious convictions. Nowadays commitment to pluralism requires a real testimony. Pluralism does not claim that we should renounce our own faith looking for a kind of "lowest common denominator". Pluralism means the building of such a culture in which we meet dissimilarities in a critical and self-critical way, and where we rather acknowledge than cover up real differences. 4.) Pluralism requires the nurturing of a constructive dialogue in which we find mutual understanding and see real dissimilarities. Pluralism is a confession saying that there is place for every faith at a common table and the atmosphere of a critical dialogue to-

[10] Zehn Thesen zu einer christlichen und pluralistischen Theologie der Religionen, *SaThZ,* 4 (2000) 167-177.

[11] Charles Taylor and José Casanova call this stance as the immanent frame or the secular.

[12] The stance of the II Vatican Council is characterised by this.

[13] Compare to Mihály Kránitz's paper, "A vallások teológiai értékelése" in *Vigilia,* 2006 (11).

wards the discovery and acceptance of each other is indispensable for the building of a healthy society.[14]

Raimon Panikkar deepens the spirituality of interconfessional encounters and cooperations by the elaboration of some important distinctions which I can provide here only schematically.[15]

Interconfessional dialogue is not apologetics, either inwards or outwards. Believers do not participate in interconfessional dialogue in defence of their own religion because that would exclude them from the opportunity of mutual enrichment. Apologetics plays a significant part in every religion but not in interconfessional cooperation. Similarly, interconfessional dialogue cannot aim at forming a kind of religious league for the conversion of secular society by joint force, or in an extreme case, for launching a kind of new crusade. Interconfessional cooperation is grounded in a culture of trust, both inwards and outwards. The believer believes in religious truths embedded in their own religious traditions, knowing at the same time that they can never have the fullness of all truth. Real religiosity is also a search, searching for those who are ready to be saved and are ready to be confronted with truths of other religions in merit, or are ready in a sense to lose their own lives, their genuine certainty so that they could acquire a new life and new certainties through the encounters. Religion is a historical and social fact and process, and can never be confined in the intimacy of one's private life. Interconfessional cooperation does not turn its back on the history of one's own religion, but wants to lead it on amid pluralist conditions. A profound and nuanced cognition of the history of one's own religion is necessary for a substantive dialogue, which also means that it is also the making of an awareness that every religion has been shaped into the form in which they are to be recognised and followed today through numerous cultural and religious encounters. Real religious faith is not a dead chunk of stone but a live process; it does not settle for a mere repetition of the great facts and discernment of the past and for an unending hermeneutics turning to the past. If it wants to be religious, interconfessional dialogue cannot remain on the level of philosophical congresses which deal with the interpretation of traditional concepts of truth and those of traditional cultures. Without a profound and nuanced understanding of these concepts, dialogue cannot have enough roominess to really understand the key concepts of other cultures and, through that, to get closer to the

[14] Diana L. Eck, What is Pluralism, See the web page of the Pluralism Project of Harvard University.

[15] Compare among others to Raimundo, Panikkar, *Pluralism and Oppression: Theology in World Ierspective,* Lanham, Md., University Press of America, 1991.

contents communicated with an own set of concepts. However, interconfessional cooperation has to reach and involve even those who are not interested in the abstract operations of philosophy but are committed to the building of a more livable and just society burdened with less conflicts. Interconfessional cooperation cannot peter out in the work of theologians either, who methodise the teachings and traditions of their own religion. Cooperation means rather new challenges for theologians as the religious concepts of people's own religions must be reinterpreted and explained in the spiritual foreground of the key concepts of other religions. This type of theology cannot remain on an academic level; it does not only have to be of a high level but charismatic and prophetic as well, because the spiritual basis of a substantive and efficient interconfessional cooperation has to be grounded in it and it has to accompany the live process of cooperation intellectually. Interconfessional dialogue is an imperative of our age for every institution representing a noble religious tradition. The task of the assignees of churches and denominations is not to represent the interests of their own community because this stance does not mean the finding and propagation of common new solutions. Official and high-level cooperation has to be such that it would inform and encourage the followers of religions in their local communities. "God is the driving force that leads us to our neighbours so that we recognise through them and in them all that we in ourselves lack. Real love does not want to win but desires a joint recognition of truth without concealing the differences, boldly trolling the melodies of a polyphonic symphony." (Panikkar 1999, 70)

THEOLOGICAL PROVOCATIONS

Solus Christus

Together with the other four "sola" principles, the Solus Christus principle, in the Second Helvetic Confession, denotes the five fundamental pillars of the Reformation.

Wherefore, we quite openly profess and preach that Jesus Christ is the sole *Redeemer* and *Saviour* of the *world*, the King and High Priest, the true and awaited Messiah, that holy and blessed one whom all the types of the law and predictions of the prophets prefigured and promised; and that God appointed him beforehand and sent him to us, so that we are not now to look for any other. Now there only remains for all of us to give all glory to Christ, believe in him, rest in him alone, despising and rejecting all other aids in life. For however many seek salvation in any other than in Christ alone, have fallen from the grace of God and have rendered Christ null and void for themselves (Gal. 5,4). [15]

The other "sola" principles can be relativised from a theological point of view. The history of theology abounds in showing how these principles were connected to a specific church historical era and how "uniqueness" and "exclusiveness" are neither theoretically nor practically as exclusive as they seem at first. The Solus Christus principle cannot be impaired by any serious theology or kerygma because Christ is the personal centre of Christianity. As is written in the Holy Scripture: "Jesus Christ is the same yesterday, and today and for ever" (Heb. 13, 8), yesterday and today are, however, not the same. Christ was present in a different discourse in Hungary "at the peace times signified by Kádár" than at the dawn or midday of the new democracy. The Solus Christus principle was a programmatic statement standing against Catholic teaching and even more against practice, and serves today to denote the universal identity of Christianity. The theological stance referring to Christ as a centre is not only an expression of the Christian nature of Christianity but a powerful call to a continuous correction of the teaching and theology of Christianity. The Solus Christus principle meant the radical relativisation of the role of mediators, which the reformers expostulated in Catholic clericalism. The hierarchical dimension of institutionalisation is also observable in the history of Protestantism which, independent from denominations, was and is continuously being judged by the Solus Christus principle.

Beyond theology and in numerous dimensions of Christianity, focusing primarily on Christ makes us face the cultural fact that the content of a Christ-like nature raises more questions than implicit or ordinary answers are contained within. There was no need for reconstruction cultivated by Derrida and others so that Christianity would realise the emptying of its own centre and see to what an extent "the Christ" became a rhetorical element. The question comes up especially in our cultural region what is said and thought of in Christianity when Christ is referred to. Implying the contextual courage of the revised liberation theology which nowadays might yet again seem to regain civil rights, and easily and provokingly depicted Christ as a seringueiro, a person collecting caoutchouc for rubber, the question must be raised what "garment" is put on "the Christ" by Christian churches under today's circumstances. The Solus Christus imperative of reformers in this sense means a primary challenge to Christianity, including the deepening of a Protestant identity.

Reformation and Reform

"I proffer that I have written and fling it at the ungodly and those who, arrogantly and insistently, teach us their own ideas instead of the divine. I am indifferent to their coarseness, but I wish that they would come to the right

understanding . I do not despise their efforts but I differentiate their effort so far from what is really and truly Christian."[16]

By taking into consideration the work of either Luther, Calvin or the others, the Reformation started out with a commitment to the concept of an "unadulterated Christianity" amid the cultural, political and ecclesiastical conditions of the era. Reformers at the time saw that Christianity was obscured by what was supposed to represent it authentically the most, the church. The quotation above is from a late writing of Luther's entitled 'On the Babylonian Captivity of the Church' which is considered by many to be one of the most important pieces of his theological life work. In this writing, Luther expounds his own point of view related to an explication of a dogmatic nature about the seven sacraments. The accusation is greatly emphased in all of Luther's explanations that the present religious conceptions and practices are not in compliance with the Bible, they cannot be represented with an adequate theological logic, and are only worthwhile for the ministration of the excessive power and inexhaustible greed of the priests of the Catholic church.

All the churches and all the prominent theologians of the Reformation looked for and represented the unadulterated as time kept passing, the genuine Protestant churches themselves amassed their own tradition in need of reform, and the incriminated Catholic church of the time was purified in many respects from the once rightly challenged insincerities and falsifications. During the time of the Reformation, Catholics accused the church based on the Scriptures embedded in a fundamentally Christian culture. Today all the churches are standing together before the judgment seat of the gospel embedded in a fundamentally no longer Christian culture. Today's identity of reformers goes beyond the churches of the Reformation, but the claim requiring an unadulterated Christianity of today concerns all the institutionalised churches. Fellowship undertaken in reform and uncritical conservatism rejecting reforms are opposed to each other, and the boundary between these two runs across the boundaries of today's denominations. If reformation makes sense, its sense lies in representing reforms overarching denominations, the church canon of which is the standard measure for churches. As pure tradition cannot be expropriated by any churches, neither can be the Reformation.

[16] Luther, On the Babylonian Captivity of the Church, In Dillenberger, John (ed.), *Selections from his Writings,* New York, Double day and Company Books, 1961, 358.

New Pentecost

Religious researchers and theologians agree that the Pentecostal turn signifies the most notable change in the last 20 years, considering the religious nature of the world including Christianity. Although the sweeping power of this turn cannot be experienced in such a way in Europe as outside Europe but the power of its presence is indisputable. In Hungary, pentecostal spirituality and the mega church organisational form are most successfully represented by the Faith Church but this movement is a primary characteristic of numerous other churches as well and is more or less present in almost all other Christian churches. The new spirituality and the new institutionalised nature compels the integrated denomination to redefine their spirituality and institutionalised identity. I have mentioned the previous one above and, concerning the latter one, further thinking can be helped with a differentiation made between the two Hungarian equivalents for the word denomination. The English word denomination is often translated into Hungarian simply as "felekezet" (confession) which misses out on the institutional nature. Confession in Europe is built on a feudal system of social logic, whereas denomination, "denomináció" in Hungarian, is built on a market logic. Confession is in touch with the king and some further state powers, whereas denomináció draws itself up in the relation system of a civil society. The new law on religion meant a turn in the history of the Faith Church because this denomination was chosen to be among the churches. This change is in fact a step back from the denomináció to confession, while a move towards denomination would mean a greater institutional compatibility with pluralistic society for the different denominations in Hungary. Protestant ecclesiology and canon law can offer great help for Catholics in this move towards denomination in which building from the bottom and subsidiarity in the church means that they are present only among theoretical options in sufferance and their practical, legal realisation is hardly visible. Financial independence from the state belongs to the American model of denomination, which comes up again and again in Hungary as a kind of threatening image of the future. The constitutional separation of church and state is not fully realised as long as the financing of the faith life of churches is characterised by interlacement as well as separation.

EPILOGUE

The University of the Reformed Church, which started out during the first wave of the regime change, is celebrating its twenty years of existence rightly and with dignity during the second wave of the new democracy, embedded in the humus

of the last twenty years of the Reformed Church in Hungary. Intoxication of joy over regained freedom puts the wrinkle of rethinking on the foreheads of believers, church officials, theologians and social researchers ready to face reality. This is a time of celebration, but for believers in the liveliness and resurrection of Christ, this is a time of rethinking, by using a biblical word, repentance. The Greek word for repentance in a literal translation signifies a change in one's thinking. By picking up the thread of dialogue with the reality of a pluralist society and with the biblical, theological and confession historical sources, new reforms can be born which all the society is dependent on, the intellectual and institutional dimensions of society as well. [α]

[α] The research was implemented due to the financial support of the European Union and Hungary and the co-financing of the European Social Fund within the framework of the project entitled "National Excellence Program" with the identification number TÁMOP 4.2.4.A/2-11-1-2012-0001.

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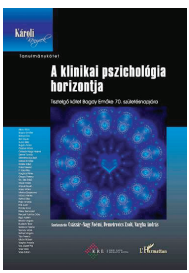
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VOLUMES OF THE KÁROLI BOOKS SERIES PUBLISHED SINCE 2010



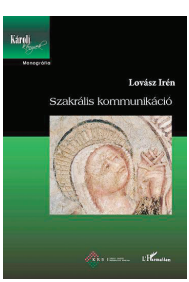
Noémi Császár-Nagy, Zsolt Demetrovics, András Vargha (eds.), ***Horizons of Clinical Psychology (Commemorative Volume in Honor of Prof. dr. Emőke Bagdy's 70th Birthday)***

Emőke Bagdy is professor emeritus of our University, an influential personality of Hungarian psychologic public life, founder of clinical psychology education in Hungary and the Institute of Psychology of the University, leader of a research group, well-known lecturer, psychotherapist and clinical psychologist with thirty years' experience in therapy. The present volume contains important analyses about her work, contributions in the theoretical and practical field, valuable studies written by colleagues and students who have had a close relationship with her.



Éva Petrőczy, András Szabó (eds),
The Psalm in Old Hungarian Literature

The year 2007 marks the 400th anniversary of the publication of Albert Szenci Molnár's Hungarian Book of Psalms. The Old Hungarian Literature conference organised by the Csokonai Vitéz Mihály Secondary School of the Reformed Church in Csurgó on this occasion centred around the psalm as a genre. Participants, literary historians and church musicians discussed the 16-18th century forms of the genre. The book contains the extended version of selected presentations and is an invaluable source for anyone interested in psalms and those who come across this genre during their university studies.



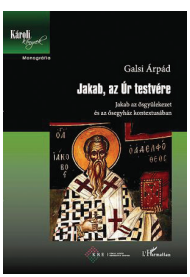
Irén Lovász, ***Sacral Communication***

The subject and methodology of the volume moves along the borderline between the theory of communication, linguistics, cultural anthropology and the science of religion. It is about a general human phenomenon that differs from culture to culture and religion to religion, namely, the way we communicate with supernatural powers. This phenomenon is called *sacral communication* by the author.



László Szávay, ***Vidimus enim stellam eius***

The title of the volume refers to the Three Wise Men who saw the Light of Life and started on their journey. Seventy-one participants at the Second International Conference of Theology of Young Researchers and Doctoral Students pointed to the need of a gradually increasing community of young religious researchers doing their PhD in Hungarian state or church universities. This community is largely varied, including Roman Catholic, Greek Catholic, Reformed Church, Lutheran, Baptist, Methodist, Unitarian and Jewish doctoral students. The volume contains studies based on conference papers presented.



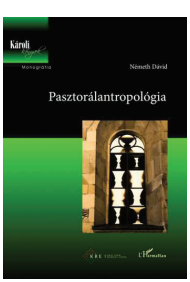
Árpád Galsi, ***James, the Lord's Brother***

Árpád Galsi's book is invaluable in Hungarian scientific life and a novelty in international research as well, as it aims to rethink James's role from a New Testament theological perspective. The author also wishes to help a better understanding of the Bible and living biblically.



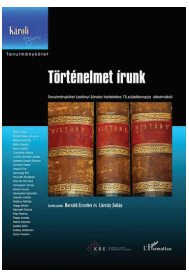
Ferenc Pap, ***The Church as Theology. Key to Ezekiel 40-48***

The volume is not a commentary of Ezekiel's church vision in the traditional sense, but a presentation of the concept, structuring principle and basic motives of the text. The interpretation moves along the borderline of Biblical theology, religious history, the science of religion, the history of liturgy, offering a key to the interpretation of the old vision and its background.



Dávid Németh, ***Pastoral Anthropology***

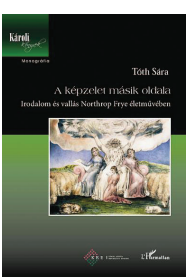
Pastoral anthropology is not a term denoting a new branch of applied theology, it does not mean theological anthropology. The author merely found it appropriate to summarise his thoughts. The aim of the volume is to offer help in pastoral work, in helping others getting to know themselves, their life-situations and problem-solving possibilities by applying the truth in God's word and the truths revealed by psychology.



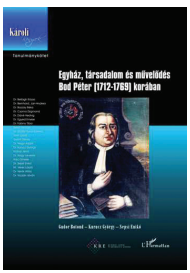
Erzsébet Horváth, Zoltán Literáty (eds.),
Writing History. Commemorative Volume in Honour of Sándor Ladányi's 75th Birthday
The historian tries to analyse, evaluate and reconstruct the past according to the sources available and researched by himself. Dr Sándor Ladányi, professor emeritus of church history at the Faculty of Religion of Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church spent most of his life in this way. His first writing appeared in 1964, almost fifty years ago. Since then, he writes history with unfaltering enthusiasm. His colleagues and students greet him with their 'history writing' in the volume. The subjects of the studies connect to the professor's main fields of research: Reformation and contemporary church history.



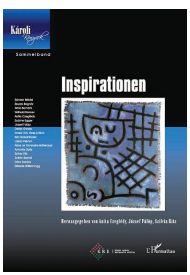
Miklós Péti, Gábor Ittzés (eds.),
Milton Through the Centuries
The international conference entitled *Milton Through the Centuries* took place in September 2008 at the Faculty of Arts of Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church. The colloqium celebrated the 400th anniversary of the greatest Protestant poet. The conference volume contains papers interpreting selected works of the Milton oeuvre. There are also studies in historical reception and works dealing with Milton's work in the context of related fields and related arts such as theology and fine arts.



Sára Tóth, ***The Other Side of Imagination. Literature and Religion in Northrop Frye's Critical Work***
The book presents the view that Frye's vision of literature based on the largest possible 'sample', woven with metaphorical paradoxes is far from being exclusionary and leading to isolated scientific attitudes. On the contrary, it can contribute to the conversation between often conflicting trends in Hungarian cultural life, a lasting balance between the old and the new.



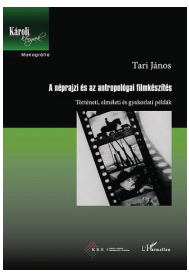
Botond Gudor, György Kurucz, Enikő Sepsi (eds.),
Church, Society and Culture in Péter Bod's Time
The volume contains studies based on papers presented at the international conference celebrating the 300th birth anniversary of Péter Bod, 18th century Transylvanian Calvinist pastor, organised in the festive hall of Bethlen Gábor College in Nagyenyed and the Calvinist Church of Magyarigen, on 2-3 May 2012.



Anita Czeglédy, József Fülöp, Szilvia Ritz (eds.),
Inspirationen
The volume of studies contains the revised version of twenty-one papers presented at a symposium organised by the German Language and Literature Department of Károli Gáspár University entitled *Inspirationen*, 16-18 June 2011. The German language studies are from various fields, celebrating interdisciplinarity. The majority of the participants deal with literary studies, broadening the scope of their writing to art history, cultural studies, musicology or theology.

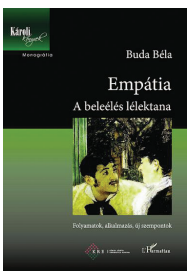


Gábor Kendeffy, Rita Kopeczky (eds.),
Multiplicity of Religious Concepts
The volume is a selection of papers presented at the *Multiplicity of Religious Concepts* conference hosted by the Faculty of Arts at Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church. The event was organised by the Institute of Arts Studies and General Humanities in cooperation with the Department of Religious Studies of the University of Szeged (11-13 November 2011). The choice of the topic was motivated first of all by the idea that representatives of Hungarian religious studies should present several trends, variants and ways of self-interpretation, concentrating on the concept of religion.



János Tari, ***Ethnographic and Anthropologic Filmmaking. History, Theory and Practice***

The first encompassing, historical overview of ethnographic and anthropologic filmmaking was written in 2002. As the last ten years have proved, this monograph can be successfully used in education and popularising science and thus we have published it again in an enlarged edition, as part of the Károli Books series. The author supplements his theoretical, methodological approach with the filmmaker's practical, creative experience.



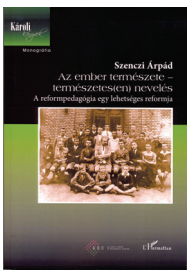
Béla Buda, ***Empathy***

This book is a history of science, about empathy, the psychological and communicational components of empathy, modern scientific results about the processes of empathy and possibilities for development. Foremost are the several fields of application where empathy helps, makes us more effective, humanises, brings us closer to each other and triggers positive reactions. This is the sixth, revised edition of the book. The text tries to keep up with scientific developments, and maintain, at the same time, understandability for the average educated reader.



Mónika Imregh's translation of
Giovanni Pico della Mirandola,
Commentary of Benivieni's Neo-Platonist Poem

Mónika Imregh's translation of Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, *Commentary of Benivieni's Neo-Platonist Poem* is the first in our subseries of literary translations. Giovanni Pico della Mirandola's (1463–94) commentary of his friend's Neo-Platonist poem (*Song about Love*) is one piece in a series, a stage in a spiral of interpretation. The work was not published during Pico's life as he was persecuted and threatened with fulmination. Biago Bonaccorsi persuades Benivieni to consent to the publication in his friend's name after the latter's death. The work was published in 1519, twenty-five years after Pico's death.



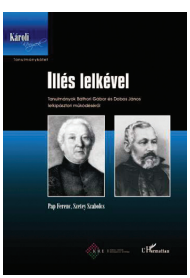
Árpád Szenczi, ***Human Nature – Natural Education. A Possible Reform of Reform Pedagogy***

The aim of the volume is to guide and help Hungarian pedagogy today, with its strong traditions, to survive. The author's analysis focuses on the Hungarian scene. He intends to approach the problematics of education today, revealing the focal points of education and creating a comprehensive work of contemporary Hungarian pedagogy.



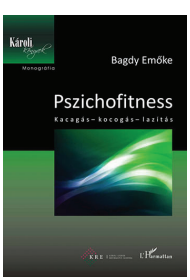
Ildikó Somodi, ***Possible Ways in Everyday Artistic Education. Transfer of Values in Artistic Education***

The editor presents creative plans devised by students, highlighting elements and possibilities of visual culture capable of innovating everyday artistic education. Her introduction shows new possibilities applicable in creative activities and processes, requiring however complex educational skills and the intention to integrate subjects.



Ferenc Pap, Szabolcs Szetey: ***Elijah's Soul. Studies About the Pastoral Work of Gábor Báthori and János Dobos***

This joint work presents relevant segments of the lifework of two Hungarian Calvinist church history personalities, Gábor Báthori (1755-1842) and János Dobos (1804-1887). Even though they did not write theoretical works, they served with the fiery soul of Elijah in their time. The two studies wish to contribute to two intertwining fields in applied theology: liturgy and homiletics. It would also like to give new impulses to those practising church service and preaching.



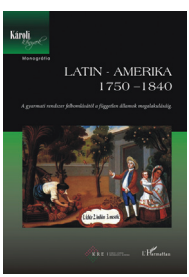
Emőke Bagdy, ***Psychofitness***

What happens to us in stressful situations? What goes on in our mind and body? What are useful coping mechanisms and dangerous escapes? What makes us strong, enduring and able to fight? What keeps us healthy? This book offers practical advice. All those who would like to feel good and enjoy life, join us: let's laugh, run and relax!



Ferenc Váradi, ***Sketches of Native-Language Literary Education in the Nursery***

The volume searches for ways in which Christian education can positively transform educational institutions and present a special Christian content and vision in the everyday life of nurseries. We cannot develop our linguistic skills in abstract. Knowledge about general, abstract and scientific systems and methods describing language is part of public education, but real linguistic consciousness and the educational skills related to it are based on specific language usage.



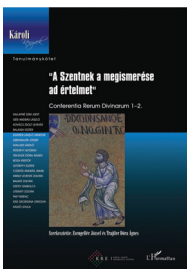
Viktória Semsey (ed.), ***Latin-America 1750–1840***

Latin-America is a multifaceted continent with a complicated ethnic composition and a peculiar past. The collapse of the colonial system at the turn of the 18-19th century marks a decisive moment in the history of the subcontinent. How can the already existing and developing diversity still be treated as a unified whole? What were the reasons, which social classes participated in or triggered change, how did the transformation from the colonial system to the foundation of independent states come about? These are some of the questions raised by this very modern, thematic work striving for objectivity.



István Dávid (ed.), ***Quo Vadis Cantor Education? Thoughts at a Conference – Nagykőrös, 5 October 2012***

Which way shall we go? What direction to follow? The question is raised ever so often in a broader context. *Quo vadis* church music? Are we uncertain? On the contrary: the situation compels us to take a stand. Formulating the appropriate answer and developing a strategy cannot be separated from a search into ecclesiastical and worldly processes today. At the same time, we have to make decisions today about the preservation of fundamental, age-old values or their discarding and negation. It is needless to say therefore how relevant this publication is. It is our sacred duty, to quote Balázs Orbán, to underline its long-term mission for improvement.



József Zsengellér, Dóra Ágnes Trajtler (eds.), "*Getting to Know the Sacred Gives Meaning*"
Conferentia Rerum Divinarum 1–2

The annual conference of doctoral students at Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church is called *Conferentia Rerum Divinarum.* This is a selection from almost thirty papers presented at the first two conferences in 2009 and 2010. It contains three thematic blocks: Biblicum, History, Systematic and Applied Theology.



Dóra Ágnes Trajtler (ed.), *Teachings and Methodology*
Conferentia Rerum Divinarum 3

Religious Studies doctoral students often face difficulties when pondering the applicability of scientific methods in their fields of research. The volume is compiled of papers presented at the third *Conferentia Rerum Divinarum* conference of doctoral students at Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church (Faculty of Religious Studies, 6 January 2012) and centres around the conjunction of methods and topics within the multifaceted field of theology.



Éva Kocziszky, *Antiphilosophers' Twenty-Five Relevant Questions to Chistianity*

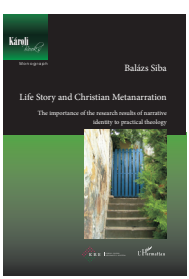
The book presents questions posed by radical Christian thinkers or thinkers and creators speculating on Chistianity who devised a focus of the European philosophical tradition different from the ancient Greek one. It is their common feature that their questions addressed to Chistianity contain an anti-philosophical approach by accepting the challenge posed by Paul the Apostle in 1 Corinthians about the Christian way of thinking: about how the teaching of the cross is madness to the philosopher's mind.



Ágnes Erdélyi, Yannick François (eds.),
Psychoanalyst in the Society
Françoise Dolto (1908-1988) is a French child physician. His work as a psychoanalyst was finally presented in April 2013 in the French Institute, Budapest. The present volume contains the lectures presented at the international colloqium, centred around three major topics: Dolto's encounter with psychoanalysis, his theoretical and clinical work and, finally, the social usefulness of psychoanalitic thinking.



Ágnes Hansági, Zoltán Hermann, *Jókai&Jókai*
"Jókai is more than a writer, even today. Jókai is a phenomenon, an invaluable treasure, even if our literary life is in one of its usual backlogs, translating the period of Joyce, Woolf and Kafka at present. Thus the perspective of an author who lived between the creation of *Zalán* and the imminent Russian revolution of 1905 might seem almost hilarious to a young aesthete. Still, we must not worry about Jókai. Let him be ridiculed, his name will survive. Even though unfashionable today and certainly forgotten abroad, he is a world phenomenon, a summary of our best and worst self, the soul of the nation, just as Arany and Petőfi." (Magda Szabó)



Balázs Siba: *Life Story and Christian Metanarration – The Importance of the Research Results of Narrative Identity to Practical Theology*
This book focuses on the connection between two stories: our personal life story and God's story in the world from a Christian perspective. These stories are interrelated. The book gives an inside view in this identity creating process in order to help the reader understanding her/his personal and collective "draft" for life. Through this book the reader gains insight into the scientific research on narratives from a theological point of view, and also goes on through a kind of spiritual journey. Reading the book of creating of our own identity through our own story, challenges the reader in what kind of scripts he/she uses, what makes an event special and other occasions less important, and how God is able to rewrite his/her story.



Ida Dringó-Horváth, Ildikó N. Császi (eds.), ***Digital Curriculum.*** **Educational Informatics** ***Skills in Teacher Training***

The relatively closed world of educational systems has perhaps kept itself far from the transforming effects of the digital world for too long. The walls of the classroom have physically and metaphorically isolated the process of formal teaching and learning. However, education development strategies today build consciously on the new applications of information and communication technologies. Stepping out of the framework of formal education, in a larger context and age population we can conclude that digital technology widens learning possibilities and changes teaching methods. In line with the scope of the conference, the present volume aims to deal with ICT competence development from various perspectives, in general and by special fields, as well as the development and spread of the methodology culture and digital learning tools of eLearning in teacher training.