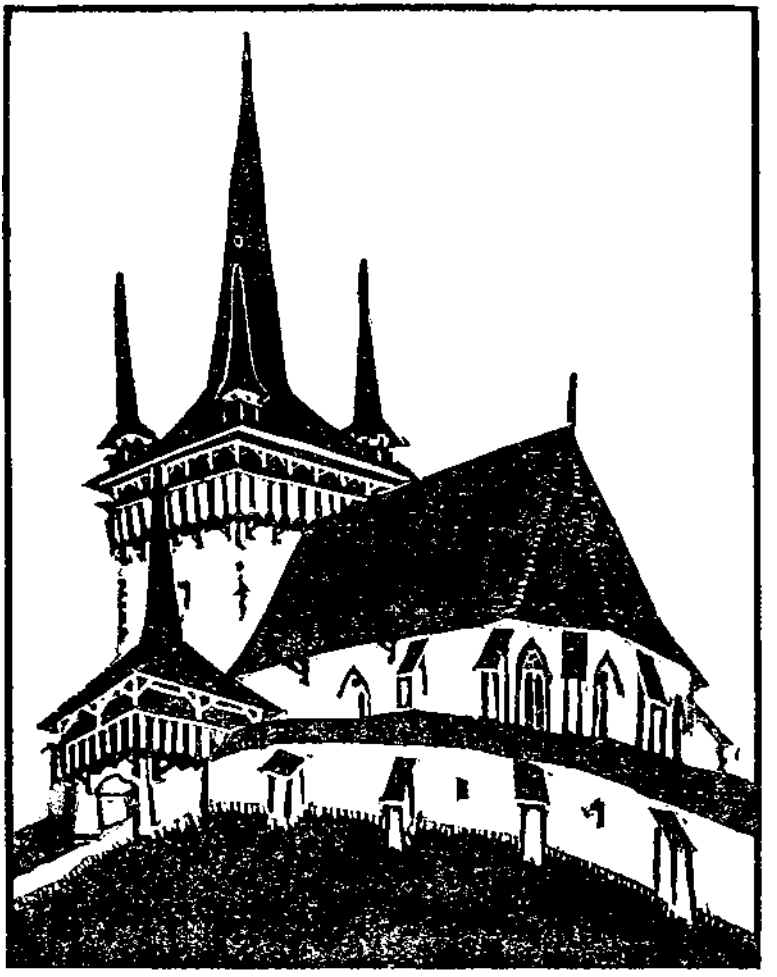
TRANSYLVANIA



Cover picture: Reformed Church in Magyarvalkó

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TRANSYLVANIA
The Pathos of a Reformation Tradition

M. EUGENE OSTERHAVEN

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PREFACE

The history of certain areas, nations, and people has a rare fascination which defies comparison. Transylvania is such an area. A relatively small and, to most people, unknown, piece of territory, its mixed population seems to have experienced more than its share of the joys and sorrows which play on the emotions of people.

The story of Transylvania should interest those who cherish the Reformation tradition, for the Lutheran and the Reformed churches there reach far back into the sixteenth century. Hungarian Calvinists and Saxon Lutherans have written an impressive chapter in the history of their respective traditions and together have striven for the principles of the Reformation, their common possession. In later years these two traditions have cooperated with the Roman Catholic Church in Transylvania in the interests of a western Christian tradition which they felt was threatened.

Of special interest to some who will read these pages is the long history of friendly association of the Hungarian Reformed Church and other Reformed churches in Europe, particularly that of the Netherlands. Literally thousands of Magyar students studied in the Dutch universities, three thousand of them studying theology there in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Many of these students came from Transylvania and returned to their homeland when their studies were complete.

Now, then, on with the story.

THIS IS TRANSYLVANIA

In many parts of the world there are regions stamped with identities unmistakably their own, even though they are parts of sovereign states. One such region in Europe is Transylvania. Perhaps a subtle combination of history, population, spirit, and the beauty of the land shaped Transylvania into a unique community where different nationalities, religions, and cultures have lived side by side for centuries.

Certainly, geography too has helped imbue Transylvania's five and one-half million people with a special character. Roughly the size of Portugal, or slightly larger than the State of Maine, Transylvania is situated on a high plateau in the eastern part of the Middle Danube, or Carpathian Basin. Bastionlike, the Carpathian Mountains' easternmost and southern arc presents a natural border to the northeast, east, and south that separates Transylvania from the plains of Wallachia and Moldavia. The western border, less of a natural barrier, is marked by wide valleys and hilly regions, gradually descending to the Great Hungarian Plain.

Apart from a period of independence in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries brought about by Turkey's conquest of Hungary, Transylvania has always been part of an autonomous state — Rumania after World War I and Hungary for one thousand years before that. These centuries of identification with independence undoubtedly exerted a great influence on both the historical significance and the spiritual development of this land and its people.

No less significant was its role in the expansion of Protesantism. Its early embracing of the new teachings made Transylvania — already the easternmost outpost of Western Christianity — Protestantism's eastern bulwark. This was soon followed by a declaration of religious freedom, the first in Europe, and, indeed, the entire world. This act, reflecting the foreknowledge and enlightenment of the people and their leaders, occurring under Hungarian sovereignty, preceded the major religious wars in Western Europe by more than a half a century.

For many centuries in Transylvania three nationalities have lived together — Hungarians, Rumanians, and Saxons. Despite linguistic and cultural differences, these three diverse strains proved able to co-exist with tolerance and mutual respect. This acceptance of varied outlooks and beliefs, coupled with a love for freedom, grew over the centuries

into that peculiar philosophy, or state of mind, often referred to as the "Transylvanian Spirit."

Another phenomenon peculiar to Transylvania, where Eastern and Western Europe have met throughout history, is the existence, side by side, of the three major Christian religions: Roman Catholicism and Protestantism embraced by the Hungarians and the Saxons, and the Orthodox and Eastern Rite Catholic churches of the Rumanians.

Today another threefold condition characterizes Transylvania. Geographically she is situated in Central Europe. Politically she is in Eastern Europe. And culturally she is more or less in Western Europe.

Since the end of World War II, Transylvania, like other parts of Europe and Asia, has been exposed to a new ideology, Marxism. It is perhaps too early to conclude how the "Transylvanian Spirit" has reacted to the new influences. It is certain, however, that the internationally-minded Marxist philosophy, coupled with Rumanian nationalism, will have a pronounced impact on the Transylvanian way of thinking, as it already has had on the Transylvanian way of life.

This brief treatise seeks to illuminate facets of the country not usually treated in the common tourist guides. There is a short description of the land and of those tied by strong bonds of love to their native soil, the serene mountains and forests, the rivers and sparkling lakes, and the cities and villages. Some highlights of Transylvanian history were regarded as indispensable to an understanding of the people and the destiny of their land. A separate account is provided of the emergence, in the sixteenth century, of the law bestowing religious freedom on Transylvania.

A special chapter is devoted to the city that was for many centuries Transylvania's cultural capital and whose history is indispensable to the student of Transylvanian Protestantism. The Hungarian majority calls it Kolozsvár; to the ruling Rumanians it is Cluj; and the Saxons know it as Klausenburg.

Finally, the interesting, and hitherto little-known, circumstances in which Hungarians, the largest non-Rumanian nation, live in today's Transylvania are described.

We hope this narrative will serve as a key to unlock the mystery of the fascination of this land astride "both Europes" where so many diverse forces have helped forge an unmistakable, enduring character: the Transylvanian Spirit.

THE LAND AND ITS PEOPLES

After World War I, the three great powers, the United States of America, Great Britain, and France, re-shaped the face of East-Central Europe. The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, and with it, the unity of the Danubian Basin, was dismantled and broken into small states. Transylvania, an integral part of Hungary for almost one thousand years, was given to Rumania.

The area awarded by the Trianon Peace Treaty of 1920, known today as Transylvania, is substantially larger than the historical Transylvania which played such an important role between 1526 and 1691 as an independent principality, guarding freedom of culture and religion, while Hungary proper languished under Ottoman occupation. It contains also a wide strip of the Great Hungarian Plain adjoining it from the west.

We noted earlier that Transylvania is approximately the size of Portugal. That means that its forty thousand square miles makes it about two and one-half times as large as Switzerland to which it is similar in geography and in its diversity of population. According to the last prewar census its people declared themselves to be Rumanians (53.8%), Hungarians (31.6%), and Germans (10.7%), with the rest being Serbians, Ruthenians, Slovaks, Bulgarians, and others (3.9%).[1]

Transylvania belongs geographically to the Hungarian Danubian Basin, which, as we have seen, is bordered on the north, east, and partly on the south by the Carpathian mountains which separate it from Poland, Bukovina, and the old Rumanian territory. In the west a large mountain range spreads towards the Great Hungarian Plain. This range consists of the Transylvanian ore-bearing mountains (Érchegység), the mountain chain of Bihar, and the Gyalu alps. It is divided and bordered by the river beds of the Szamos and the Maros, flowing into the basin of the Hungarian Plain, thus providing wide entrances from the Hungarian Plain into the heart of Transylvania. All of Transylvania's rivers, with exception of the Olt and Zsil, flow into the basin of the Hungarian Plain.

In general the territory of Transylvania is covered by mountains or hills. Flat land can only be found along the river basins and the border area at the Great Hungarian Plain. This border area, however, is not part of Transylvania proper, although it was awarded to Rumania with

its overwhelmingly Hungarian population. The mountains are mostly covered by forests, while the hills and valleys are under intensive agricultural cultivation.

Transylvania is especially rich in minerals. Gold, iron, salt, coal, and natural gas make possible a prospering industry. Its rivers offer hydro-electric power; the plentiful quarries in the mountains facilitate the construction and maintenance of roads. The forests, although greatly depleted by excessive and unwise exploitation under Rumanian rule, are the foundation of a thriving lumber industry and supply the needs of building.

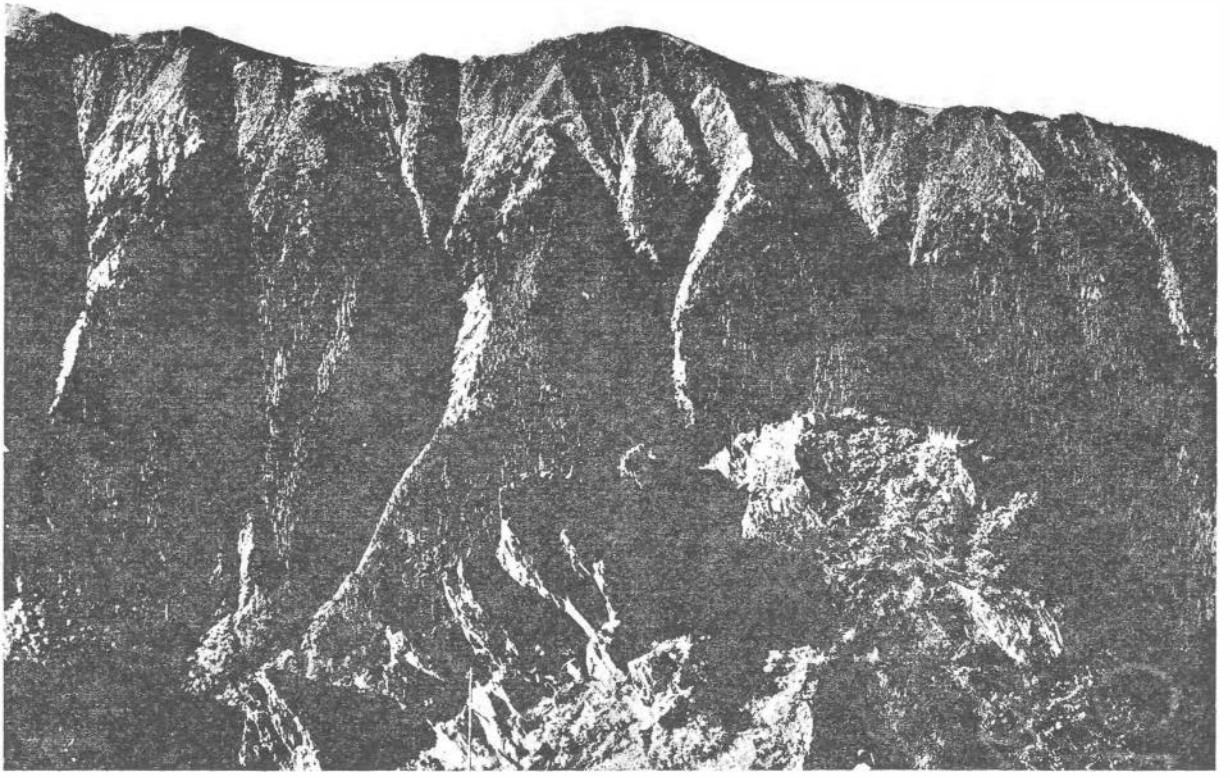
POPULATION

The population picture is complicated throughout the Danubian Basin. This is even more true in Transylvania. The three main nationalities, Rumanian, Hungarian, and German live in settlements that can not be easily divided inasmuch as most of the territory is dotted by mixed communities of varying ethnic proportions.

The Rumanians live in two relatively pure ethnic concentrations, one in the south comprising the counties of Szeben/Sibiu, Fogaras/Fagaras, Hunyad/Hunedoara, Krassó/Caras, and part of Bihar/Bihor. The other is in the north spreading over Máramaros/Maramures, Beszterce/Bistrita, and Szolnokdoboka/Somes.

Similarly there are two large, contiguous Hungarian areas, one on the wide strip of the plains now under Rumanian sovereignty around the cities of Szatmárnémeti/Satu-Mare, Nagykároly/Carei, Nagyvárad/Oradea, Arad, and Temesvár/Timisoara. The other is the Székelyföld (Seklerland), in the easternmost corner, and is the largest homogeneous Hungarian concentration in that area. The counties of Csík/Ciuc, Udvarhely/Odorheiu, Háromszék/Trei-Scaune, parts of Marostorda/Mures, and Brassó/Brasov are located here. According to the Rumanian census of 1930 there were 546,567 Hungarians in these counties, 257,435 Rumanians, and 65,989 others (mostly Germans).[2]

In 1952 the Rumanian government consolidated this area into the Hungarian Autonomous Territory, an administrative district that had a seventy-six percent Hungarian majority (565,510 Hungarians and 146,830 Rumanians) with Marosvásárhely/Targu Mures as the capital.[3] In 1960 the area was reorganized by cutting off most of Hungarian Háromszék/Trei-Scaune and attaching the Rumanian districts of Marostorda/Mures to the "Autonomous Territory." Thus the Hungarian/Rumanian proportion was changed to 473,154:266,403 [4] and the area was renamed the *Mures-Magyar Autonomous Territory*. On October 12, 1967



Section of the Alps of Fogaras in the Southern Carpathians. Average height 6600 feet, highest peaks 8320, and 8346 feet. The view is from Transylvania, beyond the crest lies Muntenia (Wallachia).

the Executive Committee of the Rumanian Communist Party decided to abolish all administrative districts, including the *Mures-Magyar Autonomous Territory* and return to the prewar county system. This spells the end of the hitherto nominal autonomy of this Hungarian area.

Overwhelmingly German areas can be found in the southern counties of Kis-Küküllő/Tarnava Mica, Nagy-Küküllő/Tarnava Mare, Alsófehér/Alba, Szeben/Sibiu, Fogaras/Fagaras, and around Brassó/Brasov. The 1948 census listed 145,713 German speaking people here.[5]

These Germans were settled by the Hungarian kings in the thirteenth century; they call themselves Saxons. Another large group used to live around Szászrégen/Reghin, in the county of Marostorda/Mures and Beszterce/Bistrita but most of them emigrated to Germany and Austria at the end of the Second World War. The 1948 census found only 2,162 Transylvanian Saxons in the county of Marostorda/Mures and 5,370 in Beszterce/Bistrita.[6]

Other Germans, called Swabians are in greater strength on the plains, formerly part of Hungary proper, in the districts of Temes-Torontál/Timis-Torontal, Krassó/Caras, Szörény/Severin and Arad. These Swabians were settled by the Hapsburgs at the turn of the eighteenth century on the newly reoccupied territories where the Turks almost exterminated the original Hungarian population. In the county of Temes-Torontál/Timis-Torontal the 1910 Hungarian census shows the Germans in the majority (185,010 Germans versus 174,692 Rumanians and 85,920 Hungarians). Twenty years later the 1930 Rumanian census already counted 190,705 Rumanian, 177,757 German, and 81,423 Hungarian inhabitants in the same area. By 1948 the number of Rumanians had increased to 289,905 while the Germans decreased to 108,481 and the Hungarians remained at 81,381 in number. Other important German settlements are in Krassó/Caras (20,827 in 1910, 14,780 in 1948), in Szörény/Severin (25,661 in 1910, 13,689 in 1948), and in Arad (51,508 in 1910, 34,072 in 1948).

All cities of the territory awarded to Rumania were founded by either Hungarians or Germans. This fact was reflected in their ethnic composition until the Trianon Peace Treaty of 1920. The following census statistics indicate the shift brought about by the forcible rumanization practiced among the population of the twenty-five largest Transylvanian cities:

	Hungarian sovereignty		*Rumanian sovereignty*		
Census	*1890*	*1910*	*1938*	*1948*	*1956*
Hungarian	58.8%	65.3%	46.6%	41.0%	36.0%
Rumanian	15.8	15.6	32.0	47.9	51.9

The Rumanian authorities have been doing everything within their power to accelerate this development by refusing settling permits in these cities to the surrounding Hungarian population while promoting the influx of ethnic Rumanians from the Regat, the Rumania of the pre-Trianon years.

Religious composition in the former Hungarian territories closely follows the ethnic divisions. Hungarians are Roman Catholic, Calvinist, and Unitarian; the Transylvanian Saxons are Lutherans, the Swabians of the Bánát/Banat are Roman Catholics; the Rumanians belonged to the Greek Orthodox and Greek Catholic churches until after the Second World War when the latter was forcibly integrated into the Greek Orthodox Church. The proportions based on the census of 1910 that tabulated the data for *historical* Transylvania only are as follows:

Greek Orthodox	794,864	
Greek Catholic	749,404	
	1,544,268	
Rumanians		1,492,021
Roman Catholic	375,325	
Calvinist	399,312	
Unitarian	67,749	
	842,386	
Hungarian		918,217
Lutheran	229,028	
German		234,085
Jewish	64,074	

1. "Population Conditions in Transylvania" Journal de la Soc. Hongroise de Statistique, Budapest, 1939.

2. Recensamentul General al Populatiei Romane din 1930, Institutul Central de Statistics, Bucuresti, 1930.

3. Annarul Statistic al R.P.R.,Bucuresti, 1960.

4. Annarul Statistic al R.P.R., Bucuresti, 1961.

5. Populatis Republicii Populara Romane le 25 Januarie 1948, Institutul Central de Statistics, Bucuresti, 1948.

6. *Ibid.*

A BRIEF HISTORY

Transylvania first appears in written history in Roman times as the home of the Dacians. Conquered by the Emperor Trajan, it became a Roman province after 106 A.D. and persons from all parts of the Empire settled there replacing the nearly extinct native population. An exposed outpost, Dacia was given up in 261 by the Emperor Aurelian who, to quote the historian Vopiscus, "led away both soldiers and provincials," settling them in northern Bulgaria.

The Roman settlers having completely abandoned the province, Transylvania remained the crossroads of migrating peoples during the next seven centuries, beginning with the Carps and ending with the Slavs and Avars. Any accomplishments of Roman rule were extinguished and the province played only a tangential role in the region's history.

Following the Magyar conquest of the Carpathian Basin in 896, Hungarian tribes entered the province through the Maros (Mures) valley and the Meszes Gate establishing themselves on the central plains. The tribal dukes (gyula) adopted Byzantine Christianity and entertained relations with Constantinople during the tenth century.

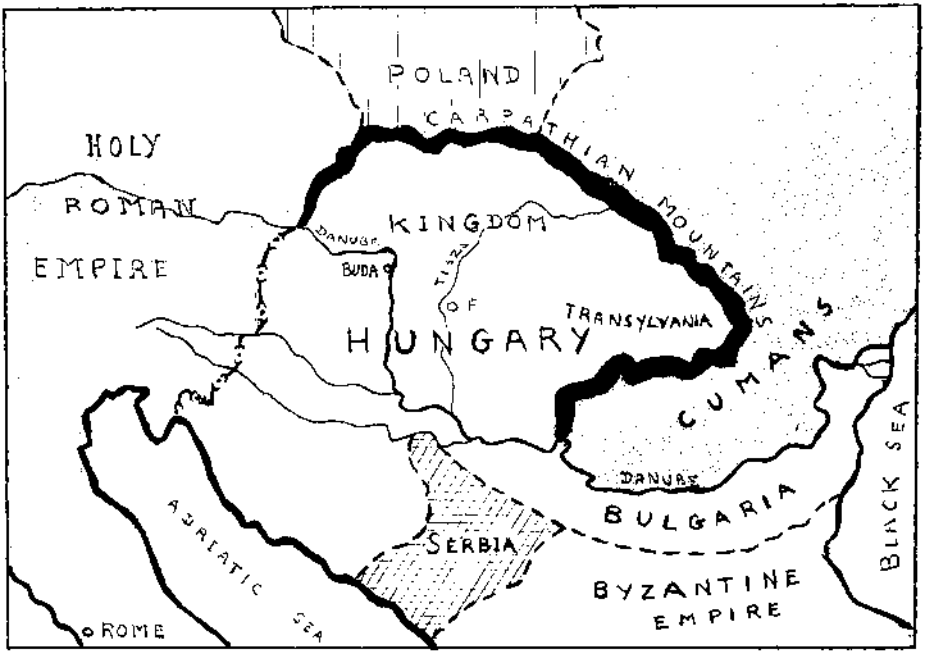
Their rule was broken by King St. Stephen (1001-1038) who centralized royal power and Christianized Hungary, introducing Latin Christianity. He established royal counties in lieu of the tribal organization that had prevailed in Transylvania. Commerce and mining had a new beginning, but recurrent Pecheneg and Cumane raids in the eleventh and twelfth centuries prompted the Hungarian kings to invite new settlers in order to faciliate defense and exploit the natural riches of the region.

Documents of 1147 mention another group, the Szekelys. There is no certainty about the date of their settlement in Transylvania. Some maintain that they are descendants of Attila's Huns or are a Magyarized Turkic tribe antedating the Hungarians in Transylvania, yet every relic of their language is Hungarian. Others describe them as Hungarian frontiersmen settled in the southeastern part of Transylvania for defense purposes. They maintained their own tribal organization and privileges until the sixteenth century.

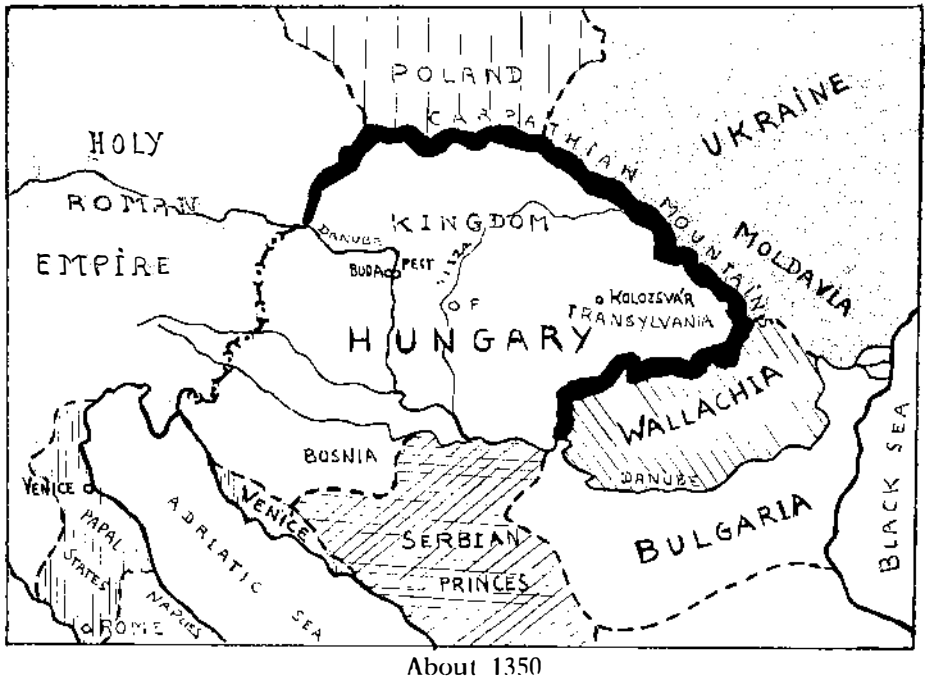
As the Hungarian settlers were unable to provide adequate protection against the growing number of Pecheneg and Cumane invaders from the south and the east, Hungarian kings invited German (Saxon)

TRANSYLVANIA

PART OF HUNGARY SINCE THE END OF THE 9TH CENTURY



About 1100



About 1350

settlers to migrate to the southern districts between 1160 and 1220. These Saxons were granted far-reaching autonomy, as registered in King Andrew II's Charter of 1224. Their privileges regarding administration, military service, courts, and taxation remained in effect almost unchanged until 1867.

Documents from 1222 on mention the presence of Rumanians (Vlachs, Blacci) in the southern Fogaras (Fagaras) district under their own chief *(kenez)*.

The watershed of Transylvanian history is the Tartar invasion of 1241-42 when the towns and fertile river valleys were devastated. This destruction determined also the permanent decline of direct royal power inasmuch as the kings from now on had to rely on the nobles in order to rebuild Transylvanian settlements and their economy. To secure their loyal cooperation Hungarian kings donated further estates to them. Rumanian mountaineers and shepherds coming from the northern Balkans were permitted to enter Transylvania in order to compensate for the manpower losses of 1241. Most of them settled in the Bihar (Bihor) Mountains and the Mármaros (Maramures) regions or the Hunyad (Hunedoara) and Fogaras (Fagaras) areas.

The fourteenth century witnessed further development of the "historical" nations. The king's first-born son, who up until now had held power, no longer acted as the ruler of the province, but the *voivod*, usually a local noble, assumed administrative powers. His rule, however, was limited by the estates composed of the Hungarians, Saxons, and Szekelys. Commerce flourished, cities were founded, agriculture progressed, and semi-nomadic Rumanian and other elements were settled down, but not without some strife. During this century Transylvania served as a pivot of expanding Hungarian influence. The princes of Moldavia and even some of the Wallachian princes became tributaries of the Hungarian kings, and Hungarian influence prevailed there until 1460.

Internal unrest and impending Turkish invasions disrupted this golden age. The successful attempts of the nobles to enforce extensive services from the peasants rendered them virtual serfs and led to an uprising in 1437. The rebellion was quelled by Hungarian and Szekely nobles and Saxon burghers who then agreed at Kapolna upon a common government of the three "nations," Hungarians, Szekelys and Saxons, over Transylvania, and thereby froze the constitutional situation for several centuries. Since the Rumanian *kenezs* had been mostly Magyarized by the fifteenth century and no autonomous Rumanian region existed, the Rumanians were not recognized as a nation.

Through the Hunyadi family from southwestern Transylvania, the

province played a major role in Hungarian and European history between 1440 and 1490. John Hunyadi, general and later regent of Hungary, conducted many campaigns against the Turks and in the battle of Belgrade (1456) succeeded in halting Turkish expansion for the next seventy years. His son, Mathias, king of Hungary (1458-1490), became a true Renaissance king, collecting a large library of codices, founding universities, and actively participating in the affairs of the Holy Roman Empire. Temporarily he even acquired the territories of Moravia, Silesia, and Lower Austria for the Hungarian crown.

Upon the death of Matthias. the Zapolya family became powerful in Transylvania. John Zapolya was elected king of Hungary following the fateful battle of Mohacs (1526) against the Turks. However, civil war ensued when part of the Hungarian estates elected Ferdinand of Hapsburg as king of Hungary. Upon Zapolya's death, his widow and infant son, John Sigismund, advised by Cardinal George Martinuzzi, claimed the throne and called for Turkish help. The Turks conquered Buda and established John Sigismund in Transylvania, leaving local rule in the hands of the prince and the estates.

The new Transylvanian principality was faced with the divisive forces of the Reformation. Lutheranism was soon replaced by Calvinism among the Hungarians though retained by the Saxons while Unitarianism found adherents among the Szekelys, part of whom, however, remained Catholic. Religious strife flared, but was ended by the decision of the Diet of Torda in 1557 which provided for the toleration of the four denominations, the first legislation of its kind in Europe. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Transylvania became the citadel of Hungarian Protestantism. Its princes fought on the side of the Protestant powers and France in the Thirty Years' war against the Hapsburgs and moderated the attempts of the counter-reformation in Western Hungary.

The principality never desired to be a permanent independent entity. Until 1612 attempts were made to reunite it with royal Hungary but insufficient Hapsburg power and active Turkish resistance prevented success. The Transylvanian people also disliked the Roman Catholic character of the Hapsburg Hungarian kingdom. Though paying annual tribute to the Turks, as indeed the Hapsburgs did also, Transylvania elected its own princes and administered its own affairs. Under Gabriel Bethlen (1613-1629) and George Rákóczy I (1630-1648) Transylvania served as an important factor in the European balance of power promoted by Cardinal Richelieu and prevented excesses of counter-reformation activity in royal Hungary. The only time that Rumanian (i. e., Wallachian) princes from outside Transylvania played any role in the territory was at the time of the civil war in 1599 when Michael the Brave of Wallachia

was called in by Moses Székely against the reigning prince Sigismund Báthory only to perish at the hand of the assassins of General Basta, representing Imperial Austria, after one year of rule.

Prince George Rákóczy II (1648-1660) led a campaign to acquire the Polish crown in 1657 but the Turks intervened fearing the growth of his power. Transylvania was devastated but survived as a principality for another thirty years and continued to be a Turkish and French ally against the Hapsburgs.

The successful reconquest of Hungary by the multi-national Hapsburg armies ended Transylvanian independence. This independence had helped to preserve Hungarian culture during the Turkish period, a time when the province achieved international fame and provided a king for Poland in the person of Stephen Báthory (1576-1586). Upon the death of Prince Michael Apaffy I, the chancellor, Michael Teleki, signed the transfer of the province to the Hapsburgs. Transylvania rejoined the Hungarian Crown but was administered by a separate chancery in Vienna. The chancellors were members of the nobility of the "historic nations" but Hapsburg control was not permanently assured until the defeat of the armies of Prince Francis Rákóczy II in 1711.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries new waves of Rumanian settlers moved into Transylvania as the wars of 1598-1604 and the Turkish-Tartar invasion of 1658-61 decimated the Hungarian and Saxon population. Inasmuch as the Orthodox religion of the Rumanians caused them to resist assimilation and Protestant missionary work, which included Bible translations into Rumanian, a Greek Uniate Church subject to Rome was established in 1701. However, two-thirds of the Transylvanian Rumanians resumed Orthodoxy by the mid-eighteenth century in spite of Hapsburg attempts to keep them in the Roman fold. During this time the seminaries of the Uniate Church produced the first educated elite of the Transylvanian Rumanians. Culture during this century was at a high level in Transylvania. Among the best known scientists of the day were Farkas and John Bolyai, father and son, the latter being the founder of non-Euclidean geometry; and the explorer, Alexander Csoma de Kőrös whose grave is located in Darjeeling, India.

Nationalism permeated Transylvania slowly. While the revolts of the late eighteenth century had socio-economic causes, it was not until 1848 that Transylvanian Magyars, conscious of their nationality, wanted to rejoin Hungary. The Saxons, however, remained jealous of their autonomy, and the Rumanians wished to be recognized as a separate "nation." Louis Kossuth's struggle against Viennese absolutism in 1848-49 found Transylvania divided. The Hungarians and Szekelys supported him, while the Saxons, and for a long time the Rumanians too, resisted

him openly. Following the Hapsburg victory, Saxon influence prevailed in Transylvania for eighteen years but Hungarian Szekely passive resistance finally resulted in the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867 under which Transylvania rejoined Hungary administratively.

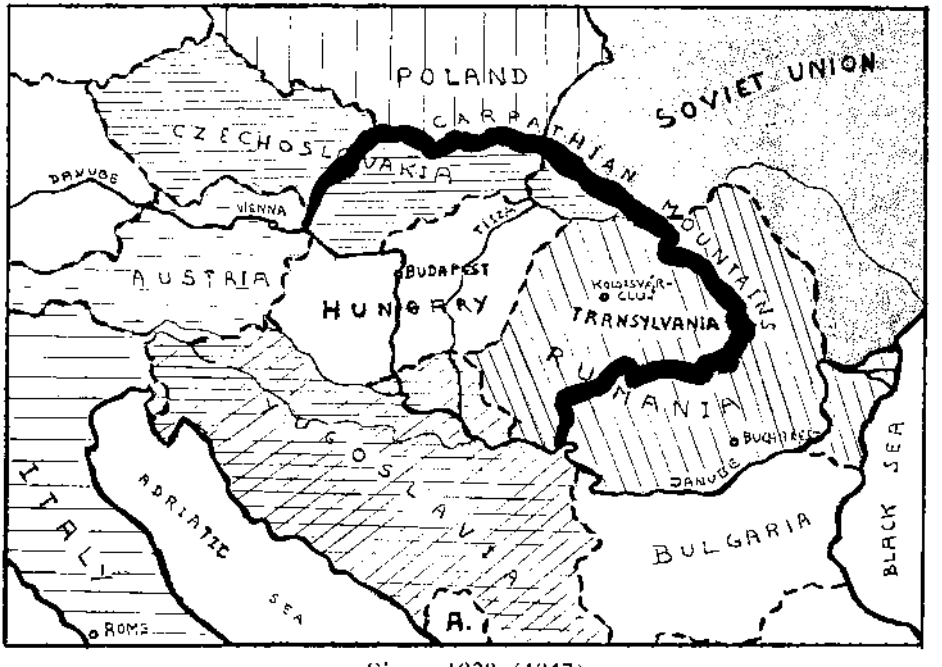
The period between the Compromise and the First World War saw the beginnings of industrialization and railroad expansion. Economic progress failed, however, to overcome the national antagonisms among the nationalities despite the liberal Nationalities Law of 1868 which was based upon respect for the freedom of the individual. Transylvanian Rumanians resented their lack of territorial autonomy although most of them preferred to live in the Hapsburg Monarchy than in the Rumanian state formed in 1860 out of the union of Moldavia and Wallachia whence they received financial and moral support. Despite dissent, order was maintained and great progress was made in the fields of commerce, health, education, and industry. A new Hungarian, Saxon, and Rumanian middle class emerged from the ranks of the growing numbers of high school graduates, the University of Kolozsvár (Cluj) and various resident theaters were founded, and elementary education was made compulsory.

Rumania, a nominal ally of the Triple Alliance consisting of Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy, changed sides in 1916 and attacked the Hapsburg Monarchy, occupying sections of Transylvania for from two to three weeks. However, there was no rising of Transylvanian Rumanians in their favor, the troops were ejected, and Rumania was defeated. In November of 1918, after the breakdown of the Hapsburg Monarchy, Rumanian troops entered Transylvania while the Allies forbade any Hungarian resistance to their advance. On December 1, 1918, the Transylvanian Rumanians and the Saxons, the latter induced by large-scale concessions, declared the union of Transylvania with Rumania without the assent of the Hungarians and Szekelys. As Hungary soon fell into chaos and temporary Communist rule, Rumania was able to persuade the peace conference to accept its claims to Transylvania.

Oppressive policies were undertaken by subsequent Rumanian governments against the Hungarians and Szekelys. About 150,000 civil servants and teachers were expelled from their positions under the Optants Law, constitutional and extra-constitutional means were used to reduce the importance of the Hungarians, and police terror was applied widely. The Council of the League of Nations was called upon to intervene and condemned Rumania for her violations of the Minorities' Treaties with the Allies. Dissatisfaction was felt also by Transylvanian Rumanians who were not given a role in the new state commensurate with their superior education and administrative experience.

TRANSYLVANIA
IN THE 20TH CENTURY

1914



Since 1920 (1947)

Originally a French ally, Rumania fell under German influence in 1940 after the Soviet ultimatum forcing her to cede Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina to the U.S.S.R. at the same time Bulgaria and Hungary were pressing territorial demands agains her. Hungarian demands were arbitrated on August 30, 1940 in the Vienna Award restoring to Hungary the northern and southeastern counties of Transylvania where the bulk of the Hungarian and Szekely population was concentrated.

In 1941 Rumania joined the Third Reich in its fight against the Soviet Union, but once German war fortunes declined and Soviet troops had entered Rumania, the government was overthrown and on August 23, 1944 Rumania joined the allied powers. As a reward she was allowed to administer Northern Transylvania and, joining the Communist bloc before Hungary, she regained that territory under the Paris Peace Treaty of 1947.

FREEDOM OF RELIGION AND CONSCIENCE IN TRANSYLVANIA

Before the advent of the science of cultural anthropology scholars depended for their understanding of the national characteristics of a people on the accumulated observations of the centuries. Many of these national characteristics, known as *nationum proprietates* in the scholarly Latin of the time, were no more than *ortsneckerei,* or local jesting, but there was in them much thoughtful observation based on facts as well. With respect to Transylvania the most common characterizations came to be "the land of freedom," or "the land of freedom of religion and conscience." The origin of these proverbs is the declarations for religious freedom declared in sixteenth century Transylvania.

The surprising fact is that between 1544 and 1574 some twenty-two laws granting freedom for the practice of new theological opinions were enacted by the parliament, called the Diet of Transylvania. No other parliament anywhere passed so much legislation concerning religious freedom in so short a time. And this was in the sixteenth century! This fact alone shows that the members of the Diet were seriously attempting more than stop-gap measures. In 1557 a fundamental piece of legislation was enacted, which provided the base for subsequent declarations whence it came to be regarded as "the basic law." Following the ancient Hungarian parliamentary practice, the Diet first passed the resolution, in this case unanimously, and then sent it to the ruler for approval. The Roman Catholic queen, Izabella, who ruled the country for her young son, John Sigismund, signed the document, called the *Supplicatio,* and it became the law of the land. It read:

> *Inasmuch as We and our Most Serene Son have assented to the most instant Supplicatio of the Peers of the Realm, that each person maintain whatever religious faith he wishes, with old or new rituals, while we at the same time leave it to their judgment to do as they please in the matter of their faith, just so long, however, as they bring no harm to bear on anyone else at all, lest the followers of a new religion be a source of irritation to the old profession of faith or become in some way injurious to its followers —therefore, Peers of the Realm, for the sake of procuring the*

peace of the churches and of stilling the controversies that have arisen in the gospel teaching, we have decreed to establish a national synod, wherein, in the presence of devoted ministers of the Word of God, as well as other men of rank, genuine comparisons of doctrine may be made, and under God's guidance, dissensions and differences of opinion in religion may be removed.

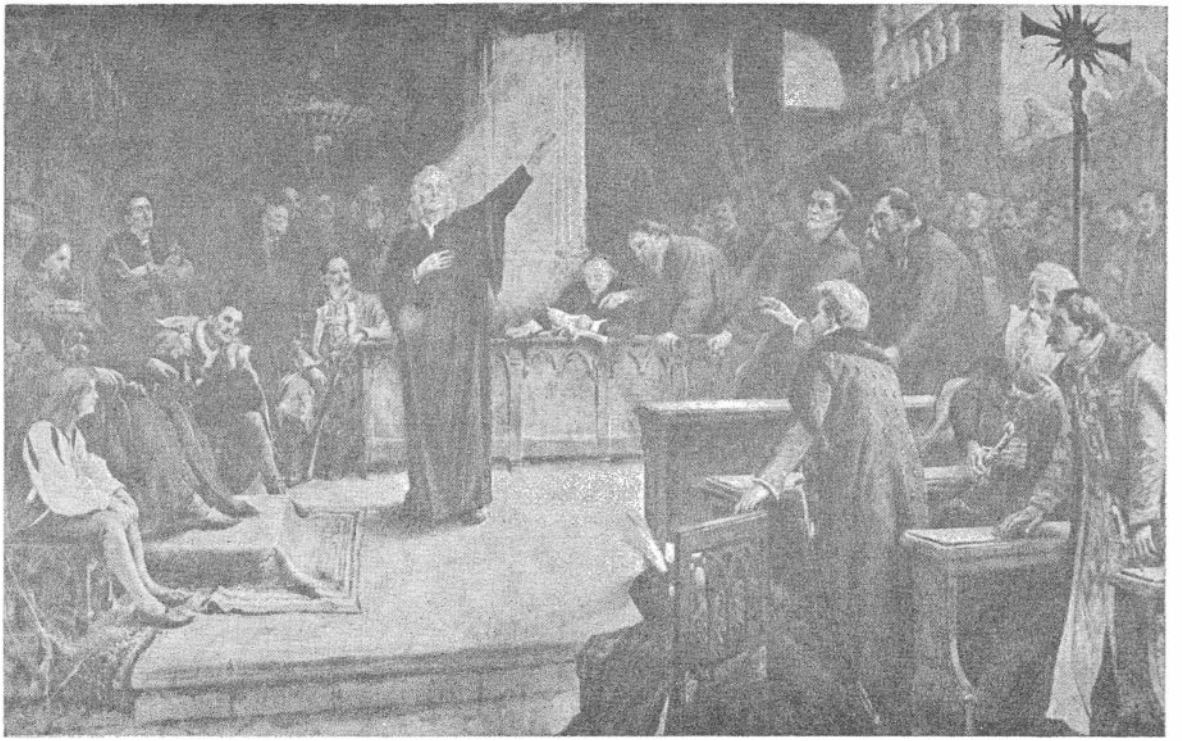
This was the first legislation guaranteeing freedom of religion in any country. It declares that new religions would have to participate in a national synod where, in the presence of ministers of the Word of God and erudite laymen, comparisons of doctrine might be made. Three of the twenty-two laws mentioned above do not grant freedom of the practice of religion to three new religions, although they affirm the idea of religious freedom in general, because the representatives of the new faiths were unwilling to discuss their teachings before the national synod. On the other hand, practically every new piece of legislation concerning religion was enacted after discussion by the synod whose meetings were similar to congressional hearings today. Members of the Diet of Transylvania would attend as auditors and debates on religion were well organized. King John Sigismund himself, after his mother's death, often attended although he never presided. The presiding officer was usually appointed by the king and was invariably a learned and respected person such as George Blandrata, physician and reformer, or Gaspar Békés, chancellor of the state. Debate was unhurried, some lasting for two weeks.

A remarkable turn of events that occured during these debates was the conversion of Francis David, first Bishop of the Magyar Reformed Church, to Unitarianism. The impassioned David soon took the King, John Sigismund, and the majority of the Diet and of the Reformed Church with him into the new faith. In order to insure the protection of the new teaching the Diet passed a law in 1568, the four hundredth anniversary of which is remembered this year, which reads as follows:

Our Royal Highness, as he has decreed—together with the Diet—in the matter of religion, now again confirms that in every place the preachers shall preach and explain the gospel each according to his understanding of it, and if the congregation likes it, well; if not, no one shall compel them, but they shall keep the preachers whose doctrine they approve. Therefore none of the Superintendents (Bishops) or others shall annoy or abuse the preachers on account of their religion, according to the previous resolutions of the Diet, or allow any to be imprisoned or punished by removal from his

post on account of his teaching, for faith is a gift of God; this comes from hearing, and hearing by the world of God (the Scriptures).

Francis David strayed further from Scripture in his antitrinitarianism, so shocking his followers that most of them returned to the Reformed Church. King John Sigismund died unexpectedly at the age of twenty-nine years in 1571. The next ruler of Transylvania, Stephen Báthory, confirmed the previous laws, which indeed had never been abolished, but forbade further debates in the National Synod. A new concept emerged, the system of "received religions" which recognized the Roman Catholic, the Lutheran, the Reformed, and the Unitarian Churches but forbade further major religious innovations. Apart from the limitations of this new concept, the spirit of freedom of religion became a tradition in Transylvania and was interpreted as the freedom of conscience as well, as subsequent centuries testify when the Transylvanians were pioneers of freedom in every field, including political liberty.



The Torda Diet, in 1568, declaring freedom of religion and conscience. On the left John Sigismund, the elected king, is sitting on his throne and listening with dignity to the speech of Francis Dávid, the leading apostle of Unitarianism. Oil painting by Aladár Körösfőy-Kriesch.

KOLOZSVÁR
THE CAPITAL OF TRANSYLVANIA

(In Rumanian: Cluj; in German: Klausenburg)

The capital of Transylvania is Kolozsvár. Today it is not an administrative or political capital but rather a cultural one. It is the largest city in the territory that Hungary was compelled to cede to Rumania in the peace treaties of 1920 and 1947. Its statistics over the last few decades are as follows:

Year	Total Population	Hungarian	Rumanian	German	Others	Footnotes
1910	60,808	50,704	7,562	1,676	866	1
1930	100,844	54,776	34,836	2,702	8,530	2
1948	117,915	67,977	47,321	360	2,257	3
1956	157,723	74,155	74,033	990	8,545	4

The religious affiliation of the population in 1910 was:

Reformed	20,726
Roman Catholic	19,021
Greek Catholic	8,646
Jewish	7,046
Lutheran	2,016
Unitarian	1,921
Greek Orthodox	1,359

The religious affiliation of the population changed from 1910 to 1956 in proportion to the shift in ethnic groups in the city. It is now the second largest city in Rumania being surpassed only by Bucharest.

The loss of the city was painful to Hungary, not only because its population was ethnically eighty-four percent Magyar, but because Kolozsvár was the most important cultural center in Transylvania. For centuries it has been a trustee of the Hungarian language, history, and other values which together determined its cultural heritage in the past and, in spite of present hardships, offer some hope for the future.

The history of Kolozsvár is an essential, inseparable, and dramatic part of the history of Hungary, its every stone testifying to this fact. From the time of the founding of the country, glory and gloom, devastation and new beginnings, freedom and oppression, turbulence and peaceful progress have been the destiny of the city. Scourged by Tartar hordes in the thirteenth century, defended against Turkish siege in the sixteenth, marauded and oppressed by Austrian mercenaries in the seventeenth century, invaded by Russian armies in 1849 and 1944, and occupied by the Rumanians in 1919 and 1944, the people of Kolozsvár have had more than their share of hardship and suffering.

But "Kolozsvarians" have also written some of the most glorious records of Hungarian history. During the reigns of the kings of the House of Árpád, Hungary's first dynasty, Kolozsvár developed into an important city. In the fourteenth century it was a veritable state within a state; it was overwhelmed with privileges by the Hungarian kings. Mathias Corvinus, the great king, was born here in 1443.

In the sixteenth century Kolozsvár was the city which became famous because of its strong stand for liberty of conscience.

Kolozsvár gave spiritual leadership to the Reformation in Transylvania and its population became the champions of Protestantism in that most eastern stronghold of the Protestant world. Francis Dávid proclaimed his conviction: "God is One," here and Kolozsvár has been the Rome of Unitarianism in Europe since that time. As early as the sixteenth century both the Reformed and the Unitarian churches had colleges in Kolozsvár. It was here that the first Hungarian printing press was set up, in 1580. From the fourteenth century on artists, silversmiths, painters, and sculptors chose Kolozsvár as their home. Here too the first Hungarian theater arose, the National Theater founded in 1792.

Another reason for its fame was its development into a veritable fortress of education. It was second only to Budapest in the total number of teachers and students but a strong first in proportion to its population. In 1910 twenty-five percent of its inhabitants were either educators or students in one of Kolozsvár's many schools. At the time of the transfer of Transylvania from Hungary to Rumania in 1920 there were eighty-nine educational institutions in the city. Among them were a university, three theological seminaries, two teachers' colleges, a conservatory of music, an agricultural academy, a number of high schools, trade, and commercial schools. Museums, professional and cultural organizations, literary clubs, publishing houses, numerous periodicals, and five daily newspapers add to the impressive list of cultural institutions within the city. The health and welfare of the city and its environs were served by three large hospitals including the university clinic, several

smaller hospitals, old peoples' homes, charitable institutions, and sports clubs. In all instances it was the Hungarian element of the city's population which founded these institutions. This makes it doubly hard for Hungarians there or, for that matter, for people of good-will anywhere, to witness the suppression of Hungarian culture in Kolozsvár today.

HISTORICAL LANDMARKS OF KOLOZSVÁR

Kolozsvár is one of the oldest cities in old Hungary. During the time of Roman rule a town known as Napoca stood there, probably built over the site of a former Dacian population center. Several centuries later the Hungarians who came to occupy the area built the oldest part of the present city, the Óváros Old Fortress, on the ancient ruins. In the main plaza at the center of this Old Fortress the charter given by King Stephen V was proclaimed before the town burgesses in the middle of the thirteenth century. The Old Fortress was a fortified town surrounded by huge walls. The greater part of the town, the section that came to be built outside the walls of the Old Fortress, was itself surrounded by protective walls. These walls, fortified with bastions, were demolished at the end of the nineteenth century and only a few sections have been left intact. The most striking section, complete with its corner fortification, the so-called Bethlen Bastion, may be seen at the continuation of Farkas Street (today: Strada Kogalniceanu) and it provides a clear ture of the formerly impressive walls and bastions.

Within the Old Fortress, built on the ruins of a former Roman church, is a church originally built along gothic lines by Dominicans. Subsequently taken over by one religious order after another, it served the Reformed cause for about one hundred years before it was rebuilt in the baroque style and taken over by Franciscans. The refectory, however, has been preserved almost in its original form and is an interesting example of Transylvanian architecture which applied a foreign style with a particular interpretation.

The largest church, and one of the oldest in the land, is St. Michael's, a magnificent piece of Transylvanian gothic architecture. It was built in the middle of the great plaza in the center of the city. Its present baroque tower is the third that the church has had, the two previous towers having been destroyed. Begun in the second half of the fourteenth century, the church received substantial assistance for its completion from King Sigismund around the year 1400. His coat of arms is seen at two places on the church's facade.

South of the cathedral stands the equestrian statue of King Matthias I, executed by János Fadrusz and erected in 1902.

Kolozsvár in the 17th century. Engraving by Georg Houfnagel from the drawing of Van der Rye in 1617.

Originally, the plaza was surrounded by renaissance-style homes of well-to-do burgesses and later by the palatial homes of Hungarian aristocrats. Many of these buildings have been preserved in their original form. The parish house, the Jósika mansion, the Szathmáry mansion, and the baroque Bánffy palace are a few. One of the most beautiful baroque-style buildings in the city is the former Toldalagi-Korda mansion at the corner of Király and Minorite Streets (today: Strada Augustus 23) that was built between 1801 and 1807 by the Italian architect Carlo Justi.

In the southern section of the city, near the Bethlen Bastion, there is located one of the most characteristic structures of Transylvanian ecclesiastical architecture. It is the great Reformed Church on Farkas Street (today: Strada Kogalniceanu) and is one of the old fortified churches of the country. This towerless and single-nave structure, built by King Matthias I, was once a Minorite church but since the Reformation has served a congregation. Michael Apaffy, a Prince of Transylvania, is buried in the church's crypt.

Until Kolozsvár came under Rumanian rule, Farkas Street was the Latin Quarter, the street of schools and colleges in Kolozsvár. Next to the Reformed church is the building of the church's former high school, generally known as the "Reformed College." The former high school of the Piarist Fathers is at the head of the street and is built over the site of a former Jesuit university founded by István Báthory, Prince of Transylvania and later King of Poland. St. Joseph's Seminary is in the vicinity of this school. With the loss of independence and the imposition of Hapsburg rule in Transylvania the Jesuit university ceased to exist. The Piarist Fathers for a while maintained a "Lyceum" with faculties of law, philosophy, natural science, and medicine. The large main building of the Hungarian university, constructed in the neo-renaissance style and occupying an entire block, was also built here in 1872. This school, the University of Kolozsvár, became one of the most respected universities in Central Europe.

The "Stone Theater" was also built on Farkas Street. The cost of construction was covered by popular subscription and it was opened in 1821. Most of the leading Hungarian actors and actresses performed on its stage. After the completion of the new Hungarian theater, which today is the Rumanian Opera House, the old theater was turned over to the university. With Rumanian occupation it was rebuilt as a mess hall for students. Today this old theater building bears no trace of the purpose for which it was built and can no longer be considered an historic monument.

A fitting note on which to close this chapter is to mention the large,

ancient Házsongárd Cemetery in Kolozsvár. At the foot of the Felek Mountain, it is the resting place of many church dignitaries, municipal and public figures, and the members of outstanding Transylvanian families. In spirit far removed from present ideological and cultural strife, it symbolizes the passing of a proud tradition which, though forgotten by men, is known to God.

1. "Population Conditions in Transylvania," **Journal de la Soc. Hongroise de Statistique,** Budapest, 1939.

2. **Recensamentul General al Populatiei Romane din 1930,** Institutul Central de Statistics, Bucuresti, 1930.

3. **Populatis Republicii Populara Romane le 25 Januarie 1948,** Institutul Central de Statistics, Bucuresti, 1948.

4. **Annarul Statistic al R.P.R.,** 1960, Bucuresti.

THE PRESENT SITUATION OF HUNGARIANS IN TRANSYLVANIA

Ever since the vicissitudes of history compelled the Hungarians in Transylvania to come under Rumanian rule they have lived as third-class citizens if not prisoners of the state. And this in the territory that has been their homeland for one thousand years! Their frame of mind is best characterized as one of fear induced by terror and the Rumanian policy of oppression under which they had to live. That policy, to say *multum in parvo,* has led to the deportation of Hungarians from Southern Transylvania to concentration camps in 1940 and 1941; the mass murder, or genocide, of Hungarians in 1944 and 1945; the deportations and imprisonments, under inhuman conditions of thousands of Hungarians and the confiscation of their lands and homes; the systematic harassment and persecution of Protestant and Roman Catholic clergymen on trumped-up charges and their frequent imprisonment or deportation to concentration camps in the marshlands of Dobruja or the wastes of Baragan; the nationalization of the ancient Protestant and Roman Catholic day-school systems and the confiscation of their properties; the prohibition of the use of the Hungarian language in all government buildings and many industries and shops, and the punishment of those who break this law; the refusal to allow Hungarians to move from farmlands to towns or cities and severe job discrimination; the false interpretation of history taught in all Rumanian schools and disseminated in the press and by other mass media; the liquidation of historical Magyar cultural institutions — libraries, museums and monuments — or fraudulently transforming them, often subtly, into Rumanian institutions. These, and others unmentioned, are the hard facts of life with which Transylvanian Hungarians live from day to day, Rumanian propaganda to the contrary notwithstanding.

In an article dealing with the conditions of Hungarians in Transylvania the respected *Neue Züricher Zeitung* of December 3, 1967 stated that "the presence of the secret police is still strong. Political opponents and troublesome intellectuals are put behind bars without delay." This fear keeps people from speaking freely about their plight to visitors. They are aware of the apparent omnipresence of Rumanian officialdom in the persons of the ordinary police, security police, civil officials, members of the militia, or of the communist party and the danger of

even appearing to be giving information unfavorable to the state to a foreigner. With informants of the state in key positions it is little wonder that the Magyars dare to reveal their true feelings only within the family circle or to friends on whose confidence they can rely.

RUMANIAN ATROCITIES

To cite a particular instance of terror, after the bloody suppression of the Freedom Fight in Hungary in 1956, Rumanian authorities arrested on false charges many Hungarians, including Protestant ministers and Roman Catholic priests, and sentenced them to prison or to death. The political trials of some of these persons were described in detail in the West German weekly *Der Spiegel* in 1966. The following, taken from the article, are typical:

Irén Péterfi, a student of history, was sentenced to ten years imprisonment because she wrote in her private diary that she sympathized with the events of October-November 1956 in Budapest. The diary was found by the police during a search of her home;

András Bereczky, a member of the Communist party and head of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the Bolyai University, was sentenced to fifteen years imprisonment for having failed to report to the police that two of his friends, *Dobai* and *Varga*, planned to, but did not, ask the United Nations for assistance to help solve the Transylvanian problem through an exchange of populations;

János Bartha, a student-poet in Kolozsvár-Cluj, was sentenced to seven years imprisonment, and the other members of the university council to five years each. The trials lasted only a few minutes and were held in the prison of Szamosújvár-Gherla. The respondents learned about their sentences from prison personnel. The inhuman conditions in the prison led to prison riots on June 14, 1958. The resistance of one hundred twenty-six Hungarian prisoners in cell eighty-seven was particularly strong and machine guns were used to subdue them. Those involved in the riots were tortured;

Gyula Vári and *István Várhegyi*, university docents, were sentenced to seven and six years imprisonment respectively because they had searched for the graves of past Hungarian poets, writers, and scientists in the Házsongard Cemetery of Kolozsvár-Cluj and in doing so had "nationalistic motivation," and because it was alleged they had distributed counter-revolutionary documents, i. e., news about the Hungarian Revolution and Freedom Fight of 1956;

A university student named *Szilágyi* was sentenced to twenty-five years imprisonment because he wrote a letter to the Hungarian Writers'

Association in Budapest during the Revolution of 1956. Several hundred people were sentenced to imprisonment for periods ranging from one to three years because they had been reported to have listened to the news broadcasts of Radio Budapest;

János Dobri, a professor at the Reformed Theological Seminary, was sentenced to six years; a high school teacher named *Komáromy* was sentenced to five years; and *Dr. Dezső László*, a minister of the four hundred year old Reformed Church at Kolozsvár-Cluj, was sentenced to three years imprisonment. The charge against all three was that they had in their possession copies of the famous poem: "One Sentence about Tyranny" by Gyula Illyés, a Hungarian poet and currently member of the presidium of the Hungarian Writers' Association and deputy chairman of the Hungarian Pen Club.

George Bailey, an American journalist, described the oppression of Hungarians in Transylvania in *The Reporter* of November, 1964. According to him, after the crushing of the Hungarian Revolution of 1956

> *thousands of Hungarians were arrested, perhaps hundreds put to death. In one trial alone in Cluj, thirteen out of fifty-seven accused were executed. This year some eight thousand political prisoners were released with considerable fanfare by the Rumanian government in a general amnesty. But as far as I could ascertain in my recent travels through Transylvania, not one of the Hungarians arrested during the revolt has yet been released.*

He went on to state that "the Rumanian desire to keep the Hungarian minority in its place has found more and more ways of expressing itself."

FORCEFUL RUMANIANIZATION

Bailey's article confirmed other reports that were coming out of Rumania:

> *The most far-reaching measure, however, was the merging of Hungarian with Rumanian schools. By the end of 1962 there was no longer a single wholly separate Hungarian school in Rumania. Within two years the new dispensation had made a mockery of the constitution's guarantee of access to schools where instruction is given in each people's "mother tongue." Rumanian has effectively replaced Hungarian at every level as the language of official and public life. This is not only because the leaders and key functionaries of the region are all Rumanians who know no Hungarian; employees throughout the region have been put on notice that if*

they fail to use Rumanian in public they will be summarily dismissed.

I have seen how these regulations work. When I stepped into a shop in Targu Mures and addressed the salesclerk in Hungarian, he answered in Rumanian. I persisted in Hungarian. He persisted in Rumanian. Finally I asked him if he spoke Hungarian. "Whenever I can," he answered in Hungarian, "but we are under orders to speak Rumanian to customers." I asked if Targu Mures was not the capital of the Hungarian Region. "This is the capital of Limbo," he replied.

Rumania's transformation from an obsequious satellite practicing "genuine proletarian internationalism" to a fiercely independent national state pursuing a policy of forcible assimilation of minorities is accompanied by a propaganda offensive on a broad front that includes the reinterpretation of history as a method of furthering the Rumanianization of Rumania.

The Rumanian authorities have adopted a wide variety of other measures to isolate the Hungarian minority from contact with what most of them think of as their homeland. A Hungarian in Rumania must wait for six months to a year for permission to visit relatives in Hungary — if he is lucky. Foreign tourists in Rumania are allowed the run of the country — unless the tourist happens to be a Hungarian citizen. In this case he is restricted to a radius of six kilometers from the center of the location he designates as his destination upon entering the country. If he oversteps this limit, the Hungarian tourist is arrested, interrogated, and summarily deported — if he is lucky.

COLLECTIVIZATION BY TERROR

A few years ago the Rumanian "militia" (gendarmes, police, political police, and investigators) coerced Szekelys in the Hungarian autonomous territory by beating them up or by torturing them to make them join the agricultural cooperatives known as collectives and to hand over, without compensation, their lands, animals, and equipment. This latter was to be done "voluntarily." The results of this forced collectivization were bitterness, poverty, extremely low living standards, and abandoned lands and low yields. People without exception including clergymen, are forced to work in the collectives and even then it took beating and torture to subdue the Szekelys. In Gyergyó people fled to the forests or mountains but the Rumanian militia hunted them down and shot them. Many others were arrested and sent to concentration camps or

prisons. Many were forced to stand in water chest-deep for days until they finally succumbed and joined the collectives "voluntarily." A trustworthy witness from the United States relates that a relative he visited in 1966 was in hospital with elephant-size legs due to such treatment. Respected peasant-farmers were tied and forced to walk through the streets of Gyergyóremete-Remeteia as a lesson to others. Today these peasant-farmers who were the back-bone of the old economy are the most miserably treated members in the collectives.

In Gyergyóremete the commander of the Rumanian militia tortured and blackmailed many people until one night he was beaten seriously by young Szekelys. He was transferred to a neighboring Hungarian village where he tortured to death a young Hungarian boy. An investigation was launched at the request of the parents and it was established that the boy had been beaten to death. The murderer, however, was only transferred once again, as punishment. This same official was made a leading party functionary in Gyergyószentmiklós-Gheorgheni in the summer of 1966 enjoying considerable power.

RUMANIAN LIBERALISM

In order to conceal the true situation of minorities the Rumanian Communist regime takes considerable pains to show that it has adopted a more liberal attitude towards the Hungarian minority. In order to make it appear that the Hungarians are on their side they list the handful of Hungarian collaborators and traitors who, motivated by personal ambition and often using Rumanianized names, follow the orders issued by the Rumanian overlords. Authorities also mention that there is a Hungarian language press and that there are Hungarian theaters in Rumania, but they do not mention that they have been made instruments of subtle Rumanian Communist propaganda in order to nip in the bud any Hungarian nationalist sentiment, any historical consciousness, or memory. They also speak about full religious freedom in the country and that the languages of national minority groups are taught in the schools.

THE SITUATION OF THE CHURCHES

The true situation, however, is that the Hungarian churches are exposed to considerable duress and that Catholic priests and Protestant ministers are exposed to constant harassment. A Reformed minister in one of the villages in Transylvania recently characterized the situation to a relative, a United States citizen, as follows: "We are unable to resist

this pressure any longer and we shall perish. Young people do not come to the church. Only elderly people dare to come. I am unable to speak about anything at all but religion. I am under constant surveillance and I have to even be afraid of my own relatives."

For a few examples of the pressures applied to churchmen the following instances are cited:

The second floor of the Reformed Theological Seminary was taken over by the Rumanians who have used it for class rooms for political seminars given to school teachers.

In his fear of political persecution Béla Tőkés, a Reformed minister in Nagybánya, committed suicide in 1962. Prior to amnesties ten Reformed ministers were held in prison, among them Kálmán Csiha, János Fekete, Ferenc Viski, and Kálmán Varga, a minister in Abrudbánya. Those released were: Dezső László, Gusztáv András, Péter Nagyrób, and János Dobri, a Professor of Theology.

Gyula Dávid, Jr., an assistant university professor, was imprisoned because he delivered a commemorative address at the tomb of János Apáczai Csere in the Házsongárd Cemetery in Kolozsvár after the Freedom Fight in 1956. Csere was a leading Hungarian scientist of his time who founded the Reformed College of Kolozsvár and died in 1659.

The situation of the Roman Catholic Church in Transylvania is as deplorable as is that of the Reformed Church. *Áron Márton*, a Roman Catholic bishop in Transylvania, was imprisoned in 1948; he received permission to return to Gyulafehérvár-Alba Julia in 1955 but he was kept there under house arrest until the Fall of 1967. Rumors are that he is no longer under house arrest but he is not allowed to move freely outside his residence. Many Roman Catholic priests were imprisoned for periods ranging from five to ten years, some of them deported to the Baragan where they suffered inhuman treatment. According to reliable information, a number of these priests were released in the amnesties but they were not allowed to resume their work or return to their residences. They are helped by ministers who still receive their state stipends.

According to *Papi Egység*, a periodical published in Vienna, information coming from Transylvania at the end of 1966 indicates that priests who are not officially recognized or accepted by the state are left to their fate. They celebrate mass clandestinely or in private homes without the knowledge of the authorities. There are also priests who are allowed to celebrate masses in public but are forbidden to perform any other ecclesiastical functions. Young priests have to wait for as long as eighteen months to obtain their state permits to function as clerics. During that period they are allowed to work as temporary assistants without

Rumanians only so that many Hungarians in Transylvania are condemned to economic ruin while all envision a hopeless future.

The situation of our Magyar brethren in Transylvania makes a mockery of the articles of the peace treaties which were aimed at protecting national minorities. The chauvinistic policy of Communist Rumania in its Stalinist anti-Hungarianism disregards all human rights and international obligations solemnly agreed upon and promised in peace treaties. If any change in that policy is discerned, it is usually more in subtilty than in substance.

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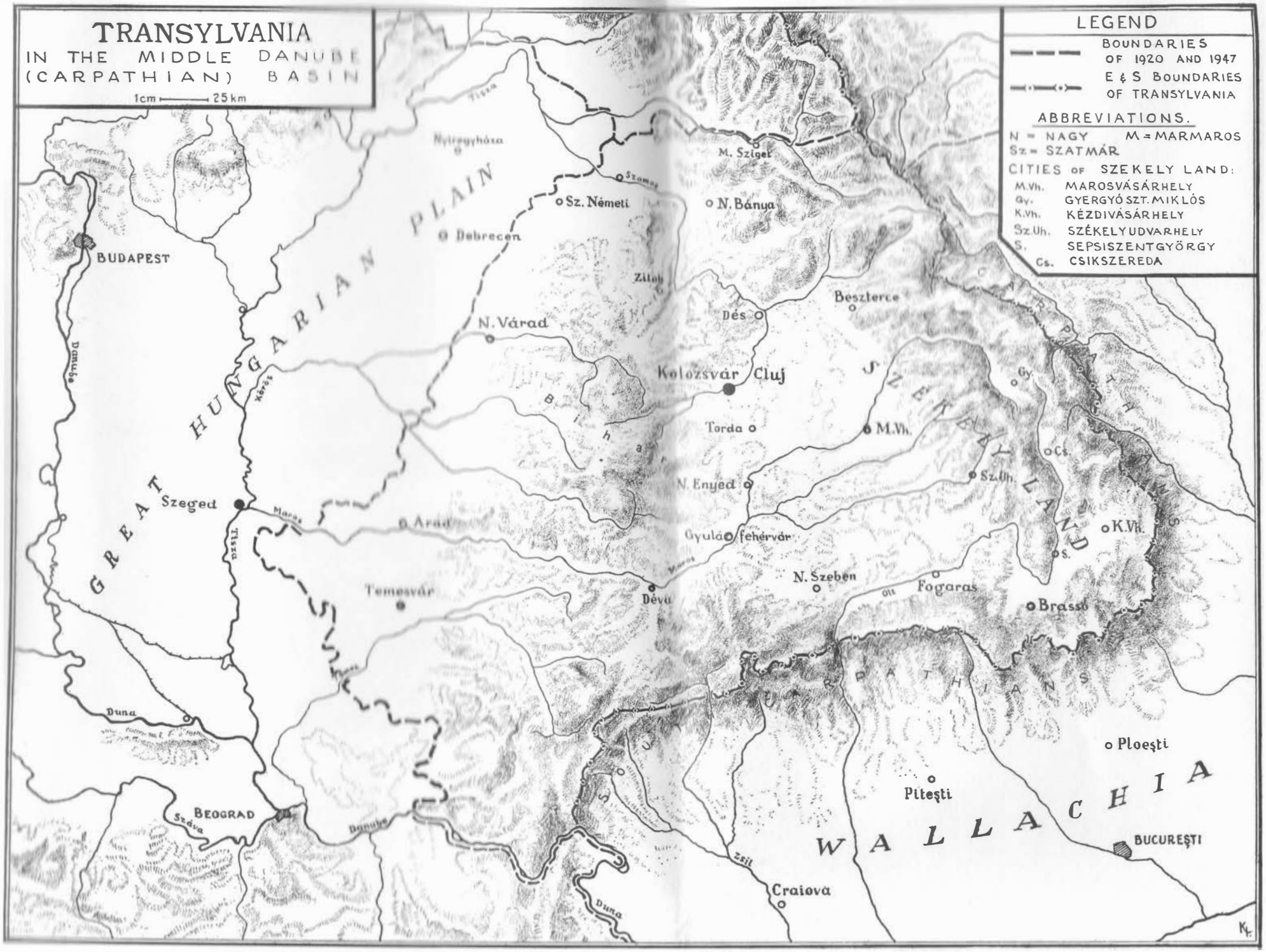
TRANSYLVANIA
IN THE MIDDLE DANUBE (CARPATHIAN) BASIN
1cm — 25km
LEGEND
BOUNDARIES OF 1920 AND 1947
E & S BOUNDARIES OF TRANSYLVANIA
ABBREVIATIONS.
N = NAGY M = MARMAROS
Sz = SZATMÁR
CITIES OF SZEKELY LAND:
M.Vh. MAROSVÁSÁRHELY
Gy. GYERGYÓ SZT. MIKLÓS
K.Vh. KÉZDIVÁSÁRHELY
Sz.Uh. SZÉKELYUDVARHELY
S. SEPSISZENTGYÖRGY
Cs. CSIKSZEREDA
GREAT HUNGARIAN PLAIN
BUDAPEST
Nyiregyháza
Tisza
Szamos
Sz. Németi
Debrecen
Zilah
N. Bánya
M. Sziget
Beszterce
Dés
N. Várad
Kolozsvár Cluj
Körös
Maros
Danube
Bihar
Torda
M.Vh.
Cs.
Gy.
SZEKELY LAND
N. Enyed
Sz.Uh.
Szeged
Arad
Gyula
fehérvár
K.Vh.
S.
Temesvár
Déva
N. Szeben
Fogaras
Brassó
Olt
Vistra
Duna
Ploești
Pitești
WALLACHIA
BUCUREȘTI
BEOGRAD
Száva
Danube
Craiova
Duna