

UNIVERSITATEA „BABEȘ BOLYAI” CLUJ NAPOCA
FACULTATEA DE TEOLOGIE ROMANO-CATOLICĂ

**Istoria Diecezei Romano-Catolice Oradea între anii 1945–
1989**

**A nagyváradi Római Katolikus egyházmegye története
1945 és 1989 között**

Conducător științific:

Prof. univ. dr. Marton József

Candidat

Lőrincz Francisc Carol Octavian

2013

Content

Abbreviations. 5

Introduction. 6

1. The Evolution of Roman Catholic Diocese of Oradea before the second world war. 11

1.1. Oradea Diocese after the death of Szécsenyi Miklós bishop. 13

1.2. Oradea Diocese in the years of Fiedler István episcopacy. 16

1.3. Oradea Diocese between the two world wars. 24

2. Social and political changes in Romania, namely their effects on the life of Oradea Diocese. 32

2.1. Social and political changes in Romania in the years after the second world war. 32

2.2. Implementation of the communist ideas with determinant character on society. 35

2.3. Social and political changes in Romania starting with 1948. 41

2.4. Development of the communist state regime in Romania. 49

2.5. Political manifestations that affected religion/dioceses. 53

2.6. The outcome of political changes in Oradea. 63

3. Oradea Diocese between 1944–1948. 66

3.1. The Catholic clergy in Oradea in the period of transformation. 69

3.2. Priests activity after war. 73

3.4. The evolution of „unification” of Oradea and Satu-Mare diocese at the beginning of communism. 79

4. Oradea Diocese during the state law in the years 1948. 84

4.1. Political changes in Romania 1947/1948. 84

4.2. Constitution of 1948 and Church. 86

4.3. Cancellation of the concordat. 87

4.4. The Cult law and its effects on the Catholic church. 90

4.5. The Catholic church status project. 97

4.6. Nunciature abolishment. 100

4.7. State's control and intervention on the Catholic Church „in the spirit” of the Cults law. 102

4.8. Pacifist priests movement favoured by the state. 106

4.8.1. Târgu-Mureş peace assembly. 108

4.8.2. Gheorgheni peace assembly. 109

4.8.3. Cluj-Napoca „Statutory Assembly” 111

5. Defensive reflexes of the Catholic Church in 1948. 114

5.1. The interdiction of peace assemblies. 114

5.2. Holly Chair „Nominatio substitutorum” disposition. 115

5.3. The secret bishop of Oradea: Dr. Bogdánffy Szilárd. 118

5.4. Priests activity after changes. 125

5.5. Issues concerning the administration of Oradea diocese in the years 1949/1950. 129

5.6. The death of Scheffler János, the bishop and head of Oradea diocese. 132

6. Oradea diocese in the period of pacifist priests (1951–1955). 134

6.1. Attempts to set-up the Roman-Catholic Church without the implication of Rome. 134

6.1.1. The role of the press in setting-up the Catholic schism. 134

6.1.2. The answer of the Catholic clergy to the submission „in the name of peace”. 137

6.4. Oradea priests in the joint administration of Satu-Mare dioceses. 143

6.5. A typical example of a priest in the period of pacifist priests.	156
6.6. The position of Oradea diocese archdeacon.	175
7. The vicars of Oradea diocese.	177
7.1. Pop József vicar (1952–1960)	177
7.2. The surrender and general vicar Lestyán Endre (1957–1960)	191
7.3. Bélteky Ferenc vicar (1960–1968)	194
7.4. Hosszú László general vicar (1968–1982)	206
7.5. The vicar, ordinarius Dászkál István (1982–1990)	216
8. Monks in Oradea diocese between 1945–1989.	225
8.1. Monacal orders for men.	227
8.1.1. Premonstratensian.	227
8.2.2 Franciscans.	232
8.2.3. Lazarists.	234
8.2.4. Capucins.	236
8.2.5. The Order of merciful monks.	238
8.2. Monacal orders for women.	238
8.2.1. The Franciscan sisters from Mellersdorf.	239
8.2.2. The Ursuline Order.	240
8.2.3. Sisters of the Order of Mercy.	242
8.2.4. The Vincentine sisters.	244
9. Training of Oradea diocese priests at the joint theological Seminar in Alba Iulia.	244
9.1 The illegal theological seminar of Alba Iulia and Oradea clergy.	247
9.2 The interests of Oradea diocese at the legal theological seminar of Alba Iulia.	251
10. The activity of Oradea priests in the communist period.	266
10.1. The assemblies of Oradea priests in the communist period.	266
10.2. The Archbishops' Council and the priests' senate.	277
10.3. The Consistorial Court of Oradea in the communist period.	279
10.4. Priests' spiritual exercises and repeated exams in the communist period.	280
10.5. The Pensions Institute and the priests' financial situation.	285
10.6. Churches and mass.	290
10.6.1. Churches restoration and building.	290
10.6.2. Introduction of liturgical dispositions in the communist period .	295
10. 7. Religious education.	305
10. 8. State orders concerning the priests.	308
10. 9. Measures concerning the parishes budget tax.	313
10. 10. Measures concerning the inventory.	318
10. 11. More severe seizures concerning Oradea diocese.	324
10. 12. „Attempt” to demolish Saint Ladislau church of Oradea.	330
11. Slovak Catholics in Oradea diocese.	333
12. Conclusions.	339
13. Annexes.	348
13. 1. Annex I. The declaration of sister Hessz Márta from the „Hear of Jesus” order about the events of opposition against „demolishing” Saint Ladislau church.	348
13. 2. Annex II. The part translated in Hungarian language from the speech of Dr. Petru Groza held on 14 May 1946 in Oradea:	364

13. 3. Annex III. The opening speech of Dr. Hosszú László. 365
13. 4. Annex IV. The document appointing Bélteky Ferenc in the position of secretary. 367
13. 5. Annex V. The list of books that had to be destroyed. 368
13. 6. Annex VI. The Cults Department Organisation. 370
13. 7. Annex VII. The draft of the letter made by Dr. Jakab Antal, the substitute ordinarius from Alba Iulia, to Papa Pius the XII-th. 372
13. 8. Annex VIII. Nominatio Substitutorum. 373
13. 9. Annex IX. Márton Áron's letter to dr. Pop József. 380
- 13.10. Annex X. Information report on the legitimacy of the administration of Roman-Catholic dioceses in Ardeal. 381
- 13.11. Annex XI. The second information report on the authority of Oradea and Satu-Mare dioceses. 394
- 13.12. Annex XII. Dr. Pop József's circular letter of 14 April 1955 to Oradea clergy. 397
- 13.13. Annex XIII. Assistence at Dr. Pop József's golden mass. 399
- 13.14. Annex XIV. Dr. Hosszú László's Christmas call of 1981. 401
- 13.15. Annex XV. Dr. Dászkál István: Retrospection. 404
14. Bibliography. 406
- 14.1. Sources. 406
- 14.2. Special Bibliography. 408

...

Keywords

- Oradea
- Roman Catholic
- Diocese
- Bishopric / Diocese
- Changes
- Communist
- Religion
- Clergy
- Pastor
- Romania
- Constitution
- Cult law
- Concordat
- Nunciature
- Statute
- Pacifist priest
- Secret bishop
- Governor
- Peace
- Priest
- Vicar
- Monk
- Theology
- Archbishops assembly
- Pensions Institution
- Church
- Mass
- Religious education
- Budget
- Inventory
- Saint Ladislau
- Slovaks
- Pension
- Cult Department
- Assistance
- Satu-Mare
- Book
- Real estate
- Confession
- Confirmation
- Wedding
- Funeral

Abstract

The History of the Roman-Catholic diocese of Nagyvárad between 1945–1989

In my dissertation I look at the history of the Roman-Catholic diocese of Nagyvárad in the communist regime. I feel authorised for the task since I have lived the bigger part of my life in the communist regime and I had first hand experience of its actions and measurements regarding religion. In my childhood in the 1950-60s I came close to the reality of the bans on attending Sunday school or a church mass. I was familiarised with the dishonest methods of collectivisation and later in my youth I had to cope with the atheist pedagogical methods common in state schools. I experienced socialist holidays where we had to praise first the labour than the communist party. As a seminarist (1969-1975) I had to realize the upside-down character of the regime and the work of the so-called Securitate. As a priest I encountered obstacles meant to paralyze the work of the church. In my dissertation I look at all these.

I was ordained priest of the Catholic church by the honored bishop Áron Márton, a great opponent of the communist regime, on 22 June, 1975. Since my ordain I have been working as priest of the Roman-Catholic diocese of Nagyvárad. The first part of my work (1975-1990) I had to develop within the frames of an anti-religious society. The communist spirit left its imprint on the whole clerical community. The *stigmatised* clergy and the people practicing their religion often had to face the open or disguised attacks of the faithful followers of the regime. The relationship between the clergy and the congregation was determined by fear and distrust. The Roman-Catholic diocese of Nagyvárad, which, at that time, was lacking a bishop, was not an exception. I attribute it to God's mercy that the congregation remained loyal to its Church, community and hierarchy even in such atheist times. The hard times were not able to rob the faith of the congregation. Their view of life was determined by Christian hope, honest thinking, love and perseverance in truth so they were able to come victorious even in the darkest situations.

In my dissertation I deal with the history of vicissitudes of the diocese between 1945-1989. I discuss partly the history of the Szatmár-Nagyvárad diocese united in equality in 1930, focusing on details relevant for Nagyvárad, more precisely the history of the Romanian side of the ancient diocese. For quite a long period few studies have been published on the Nagyvárad diocese in the period that I propose to deal with. Some works on clerical institutions and personalities have been published, however really valuable publications on the history of the parishes have not occurred. This made necessary some thorough research in the local archives and the evaluation of the documentation available.

Although the regime was trying to annihilate clerical activity in the period that I am looking at, there is no lack of documents relating to the life of the church. I had the opportunity to research the Domus Hungarica found in the parishes, the Archives of the Nagyvárad Diocese, the records of the Nagyvárad chapter, the archives of the Szatmár diocese, the archives of the Roman-Catholic College and Archbishopry of Gyulafehérvár, and the town archives of Nagyvárad. Of great help were the letters of bishops which gave an insight into church problems and their solutions. Although I had to read between the lines, still Ovidiu Bozga's *Cronica unui eșec privizibil* from 2004 was of great help. It was highly useful because it

contains descriptions of church policy, orders of the Religious Department in Bucharest, and information related to clerical personalities and events sent in to him. I have to point out that in order to synthesize the reality from the letters of the inspectors we must know well the period under focus. This is why Bozgan's book is of great documentary value but its contents can be judged valid only together with the clerical documents. To this I have to add the various writings of Msgr. József Fodor, the grand provost of the Nagyvárad Cathedral. He has been working as secretary, later as office manager at the bishopry since 1967. An important source I consider the two-volume book *Ut a vertanusaghoz*, published in honour of Szilárd Bogdánffy in 2011. In reality the two immense volumes are documents of the work of the beatified Szilárd Bogdánffy and the beginnings of the communist regime.

During my research I often encountered difficulties because of the scantiness of the parish almanacs or of the chronicles (*historia domus*, *historia parochie*) Maybe out of fear or maybe to the advice of the leaders of the clerical hierarchy the parish priests did not document everything, noticing only facts that would have passed an eventual state evaluation without problems. I also had to face that often there were pages missing from the conscientiously written accounts. The lack of professionalism of the parish chronicles was also an obstacle although chroniclers of the Nagyvárad bishopry (Bunyitay Vince, Gánóczy Antal, Kereszturi József Alajos, Zimmermann Károly, Málnási Ödön, Karácsonyi János, Ipolyi Arnold, Fraknói Vilmos) did a good job in documenting everything for those to come. I also had difficulties in using the archives of the Nagyvárad bishopry since it was under construction in the past years.

At the dawn of the 20th century the life of the Nagyvárad parish was determined by the new times while it was also affected by the measurements of the peace dictates that modified the borders of countries. Outstanding clergymen and intellectuals were trying to build spiritual life. I felt it necessary to present the period prior to communism since the changes in the hierarchy determined the life of the diocese. In the part of the diocese annexed to Romania the bishop's tasks were carried out by Miklós Széchenyi. Following this, until 1930, provisional appointments were held by bishop Imre Bijelik and pastoral governor Antal Máyer. This period saw discussions of concordat between the Romanian government and the representatives of the Vatican. The concordate signed on 10 May, 1927 and ratified in 1929 equally united (*aeque principaliter*) the dioceses of Nagyvárad and Szatmár. The decision was carried out on the basis of the pastoral letter of 5 August, 1930, beginning with *Sollemni conventione*. István Fiedler was appointed to lead the united diocese of Szatmár-Nagyvárad. Bishop Fiedler started his work with great enthusiasm. During his period took place the synod of 1938 the decisions of which served as basis for pastoral work later in the communist regime. Due to misunderstandings or perhaps to provocation, Fiedler had to resign his chair as the bishop of the Szatmár-Nagyvárad diocese. He continued to live in Nagyvárad until his death in 1957 and with state authorisation he performed (ordainings, confirmations, consecrations). The abandoned diocese was taken over by Áron Márton, bishop of Gyulafehérvár has governed it with the help of vicars for two years. (1940-1942).

The decision of Vien of 1940 established a new situation in the life of the Nagyvárad diocese. 95% of its original territory was restituted and the circumstances were given for normalisation of the canonical law. However it was difficult to carry out these desires because the social and political situation resulted from World War II. was characterised by ambiguity. The fact that the diplomacy of the Apostolic See had to be prepared for everything explains the decisions taken in the period. The Apostolic See was limited and it could not allow the breaking

of measurements taken 10 years ago, in the midst of a politically uncertain war. On June 28, 1941, Pope Pius XII reunited the two Romanian parts of the diocese, (that were united since 1929) with the Debrecen reGENCY. I must point out that after 1929 the inner independence of the two dioceses remained intact and in both locations independent chapters were functioning. When on March 26, 1942 Dr. János Scheffler was appointed bishop of the new independent Szatmár bishopry, Nagyvárad remained without a bishop. Two days later Pope Pius XII appointed the same Scheffler provisional pastoral governor. The following period was one governed with the help of vicars.

The whole organisation of the Nagyvárad diocese was determined by the World War II and its tragic consequences. The atheist state installed after 1945 banished the monks, dismissed religious organisations, confiscated church cemeteries and ultimately physically ruined churches. The period of Christian suffering has begun and it was highly experienced by the Nagyvárad diocese where numerous priests and members of the congregation were imprisoned: bishop Dr. János Scheffler, secret bishop Dr. Szilárd Bogdánffy, Dr. Ernő Andrassy and Károly Fekete priests, a.s.o. With the decapitation of the clergy a whole generation was robbed of their Christian heritage. Still my dissertation will not be determined by pessimism but by the positive views of the Christian man. I believe that history, moreover, clerical history, is the result of a series of God's divine actions. With the embodiment of Jesus Christ God became part of human history. This encourages me to look even at dark periods as Christ-centred.

In my thesis I tried to face the past of my diocese within the given time frame with the help of the written documents. As the saying goes: there is the past, there is the remembered past and there is the recorded past. In my dissertation I try to look at the three together. We cannot get to know the past in its totality because history is always a problematic and imperfect reconstruction of what was. The historical data, texts and sources are hard to understand and it is not enough just to fit them together. The remaining documents are far better witnesses of the past that tell stories if the questions are well formulated. I was compelled to address elderly priests, journalists active in the communist regime and teachers of history. Although it is hard to remain faithful in the historical web I still tried to follow the principle of justness.

After his release from prison, Áron Márton made an interesting declaration related to the uncovering of past events. He said the following to the clergy taking part in spiritual exercise at Gyulafehérvár: „We do not want to just account the past, but to repair and then forget it to be able to face the future in organised lines and to serve the cause of Jesus Christ loyally even if this service presupposes the biggest sacrifice.” The truthful bishop did not want to disregard the value of any knowledge of the past but he did want to see the end of the era of peace priests installed during the time he spent in prison.

The historical past of the church was always valued by the clergy Transylvania and the Partium. The bishops of Nagyvárad paid special attention to the documentation for the following generations. We also cannot remain idle in front of the historical events of the near past in the Nagyvárad diocese. We must connect to it in the development and maintenance of our Christian identity. Piety induced me to start research on the intact field of the history of my diocese.

As I have already mentioned, briefly I had to look at the period between the two world wars in order to understand the developing legal debate between the priests of Szatmár and Nagyvárad. Bishop Scheffler wanted to re-establish the situation from before 1941 (union in equality) so in July 1948 he travelled to Bucharest to ask for the help of the papal legate of

Bucharest, Patrick O'Hara. But O'Hara, conscious of the plans of the cult law and the government's intention to cancel the concordate decided for the maintenance of the status quo. (*Maneant omnia uti hucusque erant*). In reality this answer meant that there would be no uniting papal bull and bishop Scheffler would remain only pastoral governor in Nagyvárad. The diocesan bishop announced the chapter of both dioceses about the discussion with the papal legate and restated the status quo.

Formally, the union of the two dioceses was never complete and the validity of the relevant papal letter is also debatable. Still the clerical documents seem to prove that they were valid. The cause became groundless in 1948 because the 22nd paragraph of the cult law of 4th August stated that a diocese must have 750 000 members. According to this the Romanian government acknowledges two dioceses of the Latin church: the bishopry of Bucharest-Jászvásár and the bishopry of Gyulafehérvár to which the dismissed Temesvár, Szatmár and Nagyvárad bishopries were annexed. This caused uncertainties because every diocesan bishop had legal rights in their own bishopries and they did not interfere in affairs of jurisdiction. This was the exclusive privilege of Rome without which there could be no decision taken. They had to stick to their principles because, with regard to the position of Rome, the nunciature did not consider necessary to follow the requirements of the government. Moreover, all discussions with government representatives were openly banned. According to this the bishops avoided discussions. The first one whom the government tried to persuade was Áron Márton bishop of Gyulafehérvár, but after some unsuccessful attempts he was eliminated, arrested and condemned in show trial. The nunciature was dismissed and numerous clerical personalities were arrested: Alexandru Cisar bishop of Bucharest, Anton Durcovici diocesan bishop of Jászvásár, Dr. János Scheffler bishop of Szatmár-Nagyvárad, Dr. Ágoston Pacha bishop of Temesvár. The first to go was the archbishop of Bucharest, Alexandru Cisar, who was first retired by the National Assembly, his office was declared empty and he himself sent to a controlled lodging in a Franciscan monastery. To this we may add the arrested Greek-Catholic priests.

The arrest of the clerical leaders shook the dioceses but still their jurisdiction should have been intact because they were replaced by clergymen whose jurisdiction was above debate according to the Canon C.I.C. 198. Problems started to occur when these vicars were also arrested for holding on to their views. This started a flow in the Transylvanian dioceses by the internation of bishop Scheffler and the arrest of Dr. Lajos Czumbél vicar.

Scheffler's bishopries were regarded as deaneries from May 4, 1948. He was robbed of his freedom, sent to Kőrösbánya, later to the prison of Jilava where he died on December 6, 1952. The church could not rest. Until Scheffler lived the clergy was relatively peacefully organised, and even during the double government of Gyulafehérvár between 1952-1955 there was agreement between the vicars. The application of the *Nominatio Substitutorum* at Szatmár and Nagyvárad caused revolt. The possession of the jurisdiction became a question of prestige until 1983 when the Apostolic See officially solved the problem.

The death of bishop István Fiedler (25. October, 1957) caused problems because he used to perform ordains in Nagyvárad. Áron Márton bishop of Gyulafehérvár, who represented Nagyvárad in front of the state, wanted to clarify the situation. With other words he considered the two dioceses as united, the Szatmár diocese was governed by the vice ordinarius, while the Nagyvárad diocese was governed by the delegated vicar of the vice ordinarius vicar. The Nagyvárad vicars appointed by the the ordinarius substitutes of Szatmár were the following from 1957: Dr. Endre Lesztyán (1957-1960), Ferenc Bélteky (1960-1968), Dr. László Hosszú

(1968-1982), Dr. István Dászkál (27. June, 1982 – 29. September, 1983) after the separation of 27th May, 1983.

In the communist regime a certain percentage of the Nagyvárad clergy had to show a loyal attitude towards the local authorities which was tolerated by the vicars as well. The ambition for survival caused some members of the clergy, especially those in higher positions to adopt communist friendly attitudes. It must not be forgotten that these priests, as well as communist Hungarian intellectuals in Romania embraced the Soviet power, the communist ideas, especially those promising solutions for the ardent social problems. The socialist utopia covered the fact that unconsciously, they were contributing to the establishment of a hard dictatorship. This is especially true for the priests who with all their good will helped install a regime based on one party rule. Whatever the case, they were constantly searching to reconcile their dedication to the cause of the church and their loyalty to the state. They did not realize their mistake in time, they believed in the proclaimed freedom of the church and the constitutional freedom of religion. The small positive signs coming from the state were unmeasurably magnified while the difficulties within the church and especially rumours from the Vatican were seen darker and darker. They did not notice that in the name of religious freedom a real religious persecution has started. They believed in democracy so they did not consider the state laws (constitution, orders, cult law) offensive in their own but they were simply misapplied by local authorities.

Part of my dissertation is dedicated to writings of Dr. János Ópalotay (1908-1986) priest of the Újváros Szent László parish included in the Domus Historica which demonstrate priestly attitudes and thinking in the period. He was touched by the ideas of democracy fairly late in 1948, (age 40) although he knew about the difficult systems of ideas having completed his studies in Rome. In his diocese he worked as teacher of theology and became parish priest in 1947. He governed the parish with great skill, helped people in need and the still studying seminarists at Gyulafehérvár. He cultivated a good relationship with the religious department in Bucharest, however, he still had to leave office in 1963 when he was officially suspended. Later he was allowed to continue his spiritual work until his death. I tried to focus on the specialties in his notes, to things he paid attention to, newspaper articles he felt important to keep. He pointed out that although the Soviets were communists, they were also understanding and Christian people showing signs of religious freedom and allowed religious masses. During an incident in 1944 (On a dinner at the parish the table was covered with a sheet of paper with the image of Christ on the back. The Soviet officer discovered this and stated that although he was a communist Christ should still remain Christ.) Ópalotay found the answer for his questions: it is possible to serve Christ and his church even if he adopts the ideas of the new regime. So this chronicler remained a man of compromise until the end. In his opinion those who represent progress do as little as possible in their church service. In one of his representative confessions he stated that he considers himself a servant of the people because he was declared within the first in the line of peaceful priests by the transcongregational council and received bonus from the ministry of cult three times. So he fought for socialism.

The most influential member of the Nagyvárad clergy in the communist regime was Dr. József Pop cathedral canon and abbot of Szentjobb. In the beginning of the regime he proved high skills of diplomacy and built direct relations with the president and the representatives of the ministry of cult. From 1951 he played a great role in the newly started Theology seminar in Gyulafehérvár following the publication of the cult law in which article 49. proclaimed that the

Catholic church could only keep one theology seminar and all the rest were dismissed. Áron Márton began negotiations between the dioceses in this respect but his arrest prevented any further action. In the fall of 1951 started the so-called Szovrom with state help. József Pop was the first rector but many teachers of theology from Nagyvárad started teaching there: László Hosszú, József Nemeček, Ferenc Zitzmann. The institute could only function 4 years as university. Released from prison, Áron Márton interfered into the work of the Institute of theology, dismissed the existing board of teachers and looked for new teachers. This act was acknowledged by the ministry of cults and from April 16, 1955 released Pop from his office. For two weeks the rectorate was taken over by József Nemeček who later came to lead the School of Theology until 1978 in which time Áron Márton counted on his abilities to represent the institute in front of the state.

On his return to Nagyvárad, József Pop took over the diocese and in a letter he greeted his fellow priests asking them to be of help of the state in every possible way. Pop wanted to establish a clergy loyal to the state at Nagyvárad. Pop did not allow exaggerated church services so he reduced masses with the excuse of agricultural work, elections, national holidays, a.s.o.

The year 1957 was of great importance in Pop's life as he was elected representative in the National Assembly and received a high state decoration. He announced the parishes and encouraged the congregations to vote since in his view this election was different from the previous ones because this time there he was as independent candidate above the communist party. Although political activity was not allowed in the church, he believed that the state has already showed signs of helping the Catholic church three years ago. Although Pop privately talked about asking the permission of the Apostolic See, he never did, and later as representative of the National Assembly he suspended his activity as Vicarius Capitulare. He appointed Endre Lestyán for the job because in reality he never tried to do his job properly and always asked others to do so. Even his 50th jubilee was a celebration organized by others in the presence of congregational leaders and state representatives on June 25, 1959. In his letters and other writings he usually approaches problems intelligently and cleverly orients his fellow clergymen to loyalty in front of the state. He often used the teachings of the Holy Script for his own purposes to an extent that the representatives of the state authorities often quoted him for problematic individuals. He often closes his letters highlighting the justification of the socialist systems.

Pop's political and clerical career ended on February 6, 1960 when he died of stroke. With his death a difficult period ended in the history of the Nagyvárad diocese but his impact did not vanish. Ferenc Bálteky followed him in his office and in the following period the question of the Nagyvárad diocese became more and more ardent. The state made it clear that it would greet Nagyvárad's independence from the Szatmár diocese. According to the Codex the request of Bucharest could be best fulfilled by chapter vicar election but officially the new vicar could only take jurisdiction from the Szatmár ordinarium substitutus and not from the chapter. In this situation Dr. Lajos Czumbél was recognised as governor of the Szatmár Diocese since August 3, 1956 and that he appointed Bálteky vicar to the Nagyvárad diocese, and leader of the „Oradea deanery”. Thus the question of jurisdiction was finally solved. The deanery appointment was highly important since the state recognised the bishoprics only as deaneries.

Bálteky also had to face state interference in church matters. He adopted a voice of peace in his letters but its frequency suggested communist peace theories. Pope Paul VI introduced

January 1 as the International Day of Peace in 1967 which managed somehow to approach the discrepancies.

After Bélteky's death in 1968 the Szatmár ordinarius substitutus Ferenc Sipos appointed László Hosszú general vicar to the Nagyvárad diocese which was welcome by the religious department because he was approved by the regime. Hosszú governed the Nagyvárad diocese for the longest period (1968-1982) and his skills were useful in representing the interests of the diocese in front of state authorities. It is however still unclear why could Hosszú represent the Romanian Catholics together with the vice vicar of Bucharest, Petru Pleșa at the last session of the second synod of the Vatican. Socialist countries hardly allowed their bishops to the synod, and the number one representative to go should have been Áron Márton, as the single approved Catholic diocesan bishop. Still László Hosszú, Petru Pleșa and Károly Pakócs proved to be trustworthy enough to protect the prestige of the country and they were prepared for any eventual official enquiry from the Vatican. Not without purpose.

Hosszú arrived to Rome on October 29, 1965 and was still there in January, 1966. During his stay he had the opportunity to meet officials like Augustino Casaroli, secretary of the congregation of Eastern matters, who allowed him 5 audiences. Hosszú reported on the situation of the Catholic Church in Romania, spoke in detail about specific matters and pointed out the existence of the state's desire for religious freedom. He tried to protect Francisc Ausgustin, leader of the Bucharest diocese, and labelled as fake the accounts of the Vatican in regard of him. In contrast, he declared that Áron Márton did no good to the Catholic Church of Romania and that his retirement and substitution would be desirable. During the discussion the question of the Romanian Greek Catholic church was also addressed but Hosszú pointed out that the Romanian state considers it closed and would not like the Apostolic See to relaunch it.

Hosszú's Roman declarations are considered self-conscious however they are still oversewn with state expectations and there is no doubt that he invited Casaroli to Romania to state order. The state authorities were satisfied with vicar Hosszú's work, he had to encounter much less obstacles than bishop Áron Márton. Towards the end of his life he tried to fulfil one of his life-long dreams: to publish his sermons and letters in book form. In 1982 he addressed the chairman of the Ministry of Cults to allow him to publish his book for his 70. birthday. The permission was given with some minor changes and László Hosszú's *My Dream Is Love and Peace* became the single book published in the Nagyvárad Roman Catholic Diocese between 1948-1989.

Dr. Hosszú was followed by Dr. István Dászkál who received his degree in Studies of the Holy Scripture at Budapest, he read and translated the Greek and Hebrew Script, spoke Russian, Latin, German, Italian, French, English, Spanish and Slovak, and constantly tried to educate himself. He was an expert in arts, especially interested in painting of which he had a marvellous collection. Contemporary painters and collectors of Nagyvárad were his friends who highly respected him. He was ceremoniously inaugurated on June 27, 1982, on Saint Leslie Day by his precursor. He held the state's approval and the single problem seemed to be that the separation of the two dioceses was still not complete.

Based on the nunciature addresses of archbishop Luigi Poggi, Dászkál signed the clerical documents as „Ordinarius” instead of „vicarius generalis” although the two dioceses were still not divided. This caused the disapproval of the Szatmár ordinarius Ferenc Sipos and led to the question whether Dászkál had clerical jurisdiction or not. The state did not interfere because they have already regarded Nagyvárad as separate archbishopry. It must be admitted that Luigi

Poggi should have not started with the titles of the clerical leaders but he should have first clarified the situation of the dioceses. This was still a problematic issue because, when in 1941 the dioceses were united the Romanian state opposed the decision. In 1983-83 the state was already willing to consider the two dioceses as separate.

The years-long debate of separating Szatmár and Nagyvárád was always filled with obstacles. In October 1982, Luigi Poggi was not allowed to cross the borders of the country so it was his secretary, Jan Bukovszky's job to face the tension around the title. On his return to Rome, Bukovszky officially solved the problem of jurisdiction and John Paul II signed the papal decree starting *Quandoquidem spiritali Christifidelium* which became the separating document on October 9, 1982. This papal decree suspended the union and Dr. Antal Jakab diocesan bishop of Gyulafehérvár carried out the decision on May 27, the next year. Thus István Dászkál was appointed Ordinarius ad nutum Sanctae Sedis, until the Apostolic See otherwise would decide. Legally the separation is valid from May 27, 1983.

In retrospect the clerical leaders had a great deal of debate around the title but taking into considerations the events of December, 1989, we must admit that it was not in vain since on March 14, 1990, John Paul II could appoint József Tempfli as bishop precisely because this separation. The life of the Nagyvárád diocese went on governed by Dászkál as ordinarius. The political situation stayed the same and the established measurements of the communist regime were still functioning until 1998.

I discuss the monks active in the diocese in a separate chapter since their centuries long presence is of great importance in the development of the spiritual life. Their presence conferred a particular image to Catholicism and this is why the dismissal of religious orders in 1949 was a great shock to the diocese. The struggle started with the introduction of the educational law of 1948 and went on on July 29, 1949 with banishing the activities of all Catholic orders working in education, health and social care. On August 3, 1949 the monks were ordered to move to specially assigned cloisters and to occupy positions defined by the state. The law was applied immediately after introduction and male and female orders were banned from their previous activities as these became exclusively state duties. The educational law proclaimed the seizures of religious schools as well. After the first shock some members of male orders (Premonstratensians, Lazarists, Capuchins, Franciscans) were allowed to work as priests in the diocese but officially there were no nuns during the communist regime. The laws regarding female orders affected the Ursulines, Vincentine sisters, Franciscan sisters. Clerical leaders tried to negotiate with the state but without any result: houses were expropriated, congregations were dismissed, the monastic robe was banished, members were simply made homeless. They sought shelter with relatives or other acquaintances. Some of the nuns could work on as nurses for a little longer but in 1955 they also had to go. However, slowly but surely the members of these orders were again present almost everywhere: in hospitals, offices, parishes. For instance Márta Hessz nun of the Heart of Jesus order fruitfully continued her activity playing an important role in preventing the demolition of the Saint Leslie Church.

The members of the female orders tried to live their usual lives even in these restricted times. They saved their wages to be able to assure their basic living conditions, they attended mass at parish churches and renewed their oaths yearly. They wore everyday clothes and they were highly appreciated for their work all through the communist period when they proved to be vital forces of the church.

A separate chapter I dedicated to theological seminars since the rector of the Theology Seminar and College of Religious Sciences of Gyulafehérvár was the Nagyvárad born József Nemeček, who held the trust of bishop Áron Márton. He went to Gyulafehérvár in 1955 but was asked to stay, for his abilities proved necessary in the discussions with the representatives of the Ministry of Cults which in its turn came to appreciate his work. Thus Áron Márton recognised in Nemeček the most suitable person to become hope for the future priesthood and at the same time somebody who was able to represent the cause of the Roman Catholic church in front of the state.

I dedicated some space for presenting the work and spiritual life of the priests, their relationship with state authorities and participation at peace assemblies. Having attended them for 15 years, I managed to sum up the subjects of these assemblies and seminars from 1951-1989. I discussed the problem of the reorganised institution for retired clergymen and the basic aspects of the liturgy as such. The reforms introduced before the second synod of the Vatican and the change in the language from Latin to the language of the people applied after it took place in the communist regime and gave new hope and power to go on for clergy and congregation alike.

Religious education was a basic principle of church life. After the school law of 1948 when it was banned from schools the Nagyvárad clergy recognised the need to hold on to this type of education even if it had to take place only in the church or within the families. The priests were obliged to register all the children and to provide the suitable religious education for all of them. The law did not forbid religious education officially but the lawmakers tried to prevent this activity by assigning Saturday afternoons and Sunday mornings for religious education when the priests had other tasks to fulfil (wedding, baptism, evening prayer, mass). While in Gyulafehérvár bishop Márton stood up for religious education, in Nagyvárad, in the lack of our own bishop, this caused problems. This however did not mean the total lack of religious education. Beside priests there were teacher-priests who fulfilled the tasks of religious education. The real problem was the lack of religious books and manuals. On March 27, 1958 the bishop of Gyulafehérvár requested permission from the Ministry of Cults as a result of which the Roman Catholic Catechism was published in 15 000 copies of which Nagyvárad could also purchase some. In the 1970-1980s after the second synod of the Vatican the issue of Catechism spread all around the world and the younger generations of the priests tried to purchase these new manuals and to teach according to the new spirit.

As the priest is the representative of a social institution I also looked at state measurements related to the church. The most work and energy of the priests was required by elaborating estimate calculations and clearing of accounts. Religious authorities became the forwarding body of new laws and orders out of which some were rightful but there was a great deal of provocation and useless measurement. It was considered acceptable that every religious institution must have its own calculation that was controlled by the Ministry of Cults but control soon became permission thus the religious institutions became the subordinate of the Ministry. Parallel to calculations there were regular financial controls as the Ministry of Cults considered every clergyman leading whatever denominational institution on the territory of the People's Republic of Romania as property trustee. As such they were also submitted to the specific state laws and were obliged to carry out measurements that their new status required. To this we may add the continuous flow of arrests that made the life of the priests almost impossible.

I felt necessary to deal with the question of expropriations because the Nagyvárad diocese was far the richest. After World War II 96% of its wealth was confiscated and this process went on after Trianon. During the communist regime the chaper garden, forests, fields, the bishop's palace, the library, valuable works of art, parish estates and cemeteries were taken away. In May 1964 the Nagyvárad diocese had to go through hard times. It was without precedence that Protestant and Orthodox congregations joined the Catholics in an attempt to save the Saint Leslie Church from demolition. The state order was given and on the second day of Whitsuntide, on May 18, the last mass was held by László Dászkál. The congregation did not leave the building and other people came representing other congregations as well as nations, prayed and sang together even when the men of the Securitate came to apply the decision. Young people made banners calling people to save the church. The Reformed Ferenc Perei willingly took the risk of the overexaggerated punishment in defense of the church. Masons sent to carry out the demolition were simply prevented from starting work while the police, against every effort, was unable to stop the gathering. After three days of resistance the authorities understood the situation, the church was saved, the demolition plans were suspended. Saint Leslie's Church is still standing strong today.

I dedicated the last chapter of my thesis to the Slovak-Catholic parishes in the diocese during the communist era. The most important Slovak settlements in the Nagyvárad diocese were: Bodonos, Baromlak, Sóllyomkővár, Magyarpaták. In these locations there is Slovak mass. The first Slovak village in the diocese was Bodonos where already in the 19th century (1803) Slovak people were living. In the beginning of the 20th century a coalmine and bitumen mine were established in the region which provided work for the men. The glass factory in Fekete erdő also provided workplaces and not only for the Bodonos people but also to those living in the surroundings (Élesd, Sóllyomkővár, Földes, Cserpaták, Derna, Újsásstelek). These Slovak villages were never very closed communities since many of the people worked in nearby towns where smaller communities were established. The Hungarian-Catholic communities influenced these small Slovak communities both culturally and nationally in a peaceful way but their national identity was kept even when partially assimilated into their new society. This might have been attributed to their deep religiousness even in the communist regime.

In conclusion I would state the following:

- The Nagyvárad diocese changed together with the changes in power. In 1929 it was equally united with the Romanian part of the Szatmár diocese, 11 years later the two entities were separated to be reunited in 1948. This uncertain situation had a negative effect on the clerical hierarchy in the communist era. The problem was finally solved in 1983 when the two dioceses were definitely separated but the uncertainties had left their impact on the Nagyvárad diocese because it always had a subordinate role besides Szatmár.

- The Cult law of 1948 degraded Nagyvárad, together with the Szatmár and Temesvár dioceses to archbishopries and annexed them to the Gyulafehérvár bishopry. In reality this situation lasted only a few years (1948-1955) during which 5 Nagyvárad priest, who later played an important role in the life of the Nagyvárad diocese, were working in the Gyulafehérvár centre.

- Bishop János Scheffler pastoral governor from 1948 on the basis of *Nominatio Substitutorum* appointed an ordinarius substitutor to Nagyvárad: Béla Schriffert was nominated on first place, while on the second and third were Endre Lestyán and Zsolt Beóthy canons. With this step he regarded the two dioceses as separate and the title ordinarius substitutus was

justified. But if the two were considered one united diocese (as the Romanian state regarded it until 1948) the title becomes debatable. Scheffler solved the problem and Béla Schriffert governed the diocese as general vicar of bishop Áron Márton pastoral governor between 1939-1942; as general vicar of bishop Scheffler pastoral governor between 1942-1950; as ordinarius substitutus of bishop Scheffler between 1950-1952, until his death.

- After the arrest of Schriffert (August 19, 1952) the office of the ordinarius substitutus should have been taken over by Endre Lestyán but as neither he nor the next candidate Zsolt Beóthy were willing to take the appointment a quite illegal option was chosen. Chapter elections were banned so both held in Bucharest and at Gyulafehérvár were illegal. To the interference of the state József Pop was appointed to lead the Nagyvárad bishopry in 1952.

- Although the title of ordinarius was lost, the jurisdiction could be solved in a simpler way by the vicars of the diocese. It is hard to understand the conflicts between the clergymen of the two dioceses that went on until 1983, when the two dioceses were finally and officially separated. I consider more important the fact that István Dáskál could govern the diocese as ordinarius. Of great importance I also consider the fact that in the chaos of December, 1989, the separate status of the two dioceses made it possible for the Apostolic See to appoint József Tempfli bishop of the independent Nagyvárad diocese on March 14, 1990.

- During the communist regime the diocese was clerically governed by vicars and legally by archbishops. All the leaders were learnt people and fought for the independence of the diocese.

- József Pop came against to power in 1951 with rather ambiguous past and state friendly attitudes. He cultivated good relations with the Romanian government between the world wars, after the World War II and in the communist regime as well. After the second decision of Vien Pop escaped to the southern regions of Transylvania and played a quite unpleasant role in the question of the forests possessed by the diocese. In the communist period he was in a rather privileged position of which he benefitted and not always in the name of the diocese but rather for his own personal purposes. He used his position to reach his goals in his clerical carrier. Although he did not manage to become bishop of Gyulafehérvár he could still become the governor of the Nagyvárad diocese in the time when the Gyulafehérvár centre was established for the four Transylvanian dioceses. Between 1952-1955 he was the rector of the College of Religious Sciences in Gyulafehérvár but after the release of Áron Márton he had to return to his diocese where he was not satisfied by his clerical position and became a representative in the National Assembly. He was in excellent relationship with state authorities, his minor requests were usually answered and during his time the Nagyvárad diocese could function wholly independently. The ones who followed Pop could not change the situation too much. Vicars were not bishops and the state was much more aggressive with them than with the bishop of Gyulafehérvár so they were easier to induce into compromise.

- Because Pop occupied the leading position of the diocese to state pressure he could have no legal effect. But he was protected against the clerical hiatus because he solved the question of ordainings, confirmations by reactivating István Fiedler former-bishop. This was however weird because the released bishops (Béla Boros, János Dumea) were always dealt with carefully while Fiedler could work freely. On his death, the vicar László Hosszú pointed out that his spiritual greatness became even more evident after his retirement. And this could only be due to the person behind his back, József Pop.

- The question of jurisdiction became actual again with Fiedler's death in 1957 because Áron Márton could not ordain seminarists lacking dimissory status, which Pop was not authorised to give. On the other hand Pop was much more preoccupied with his appointment to the National Assembly so his official duties were taken over by Endre Lestyán who received jurisdiction from the Szatmár ordinarius Lajos Czumbél in 1957 and until Pop's death he remained the governor of the diocese.

- The governors who followed Pop remained on the established path respecting and praising each other's work. On the death of Ferenc Béteky László Hosszú held an elevated speech while Hosszú's book on dreams and service of peace was foreworded by István Dászkál and who was the one to hold valedictory speech for the retiring bishop from his office. The difference between them was that Béteky accepted his position as vicar of the ordinarius of Szatmár, Hosszú was eager to get the title of ordinarius, while Dászkál simply took the opportunity to use his status as appointed ordinarius ad nutum Sancte Sedis.

- The disappearance of the young bishop Szilárd Bogdánffy was not even dealt with in the communist period. The vicars did not talk about him, and did not praise his martyrdom. But he was connected to Nagyvárad and today his life is considered a riddle: what made this young Temesvár graduate to become priest in Nagyvárad? Based on my research I can state that his decision was highly influenced by the Piarist Károly Mertz who was spiritual leader of Bogdánffy. To Metz's influence Bogdánffy left the highly restricted seminar at Temesvár where from the 19th century a strong pressure of using the Romanian language was established. At the same time the German influence was also strengthening so Bogdánffy felt the need to change and started his theological studies at the Theology Seminar of Nagyvárad. Bogdánffy had the promise of bishop Antal Máyer to continue his studies in Rome but István Fiedler decided otherwise. Possibly because of his Temesvár roots, he identified with the seminar in losing a valuable seminarist so preventing Bogdánffy from going to Rome he sent him to Budapest.

- In the communist period the life of the Nagyvárad diocese kept its Baroque style. The clergy was preoccupied with outer image rather than the inner values. On special occasions they solicited the help and support of the minor parishes who received nominalised invitations with detailed indications.

- In the cathedral the tradition of concerts did not cease, thus trying to attract people to the church while gradually substituting common singing with dumb concert attendance.

- It was interesting to see the impact of the liturgical preparations preceding the second synod of the Vatican which was meant to prepare the ground for the reforms of the synod. The changes were welcome but priests and congregation alike tended to hold on to the usual methods which were now replaced or eliminated.

- Nagyvárad's spiritual life was highly influenced by the presence of the various religious orders. During the communist era the members of the male orders had to restrict their activities to preaching while the members of the female orders were in a more humiliated situation. While the men could remain active in peace movements and later in parishes, the women had to find more profane tasks within the congregation. Among the Ursulines we can even find martyrs (Gabriella Hajdu).

- The Nagyvárad diocese was abandoned but its priests had to meet the requirements of the state. I consider that with the 1948 secularisation of the clergy eliminated the clergymen from public life. I rather point out that their help was presupposed to serve state interests: recruitment, decreasing the number of church masses to the morning hours in order not to

interfere with any communist activity, and they were requested to take part more intensely in the agricultural work. The priests were turned into administrators in the 1950-1960s so that they were practically unable to fulfil their spiritual tasks.

- It was very interesting to see the relationship between clergy and communism especially in the light of the programs promising solution for the existing social problems. The socialist utopia covered the reality and nobody realised that their efforts unconsciously helped in building the communist regime. While the clergy was trying to find the golden path between their faith and their loyalty towards the state their ideas of religious freedom were turned into religious chase. They still believed in a democracy of the people and considered the state as functional.

- The parishes of Nagyvárád were paralysed by the movement of the important celebrations to the cathedral. This was an attempt to attract the people from the smaller parishes which provided the image of a lively diocese whenever there was need for a spectacular show up. While the smaller parishes felt the impact of losing their congregation, the occasionally invited important guests (Luigi Poggi 1980, bishop Lajos Bálint 1982, bishop Antal Jakab of Gyulafehérvár 1989) could leave with the idea of a well-organised diocese and a numerous congregation in the cathedral. I suggest the suspension of this centralised form of organisation because this keeps the clergy of Nagyvárád in an extras statusz. There is still the danger of practicing the same old communist methods when we tended to calm our conscience by occasionally gathering a group of people to represent a seemingly good surface.

- The autonomy reached by József Pop resulted in the isolation of the Nagyvárád diocese which thus did not connect to the religious seminars and religious exercises organised at Gyulafehérvár. There were very few priest exams although the Clerical Codex does encourage this activity. While the clergy of Szatmár and Temesvár often gathered at Gyulafehérvár, our clergymen stayed away and were even banned from participating in the summer religious seminar of 1977 although there would have been some young priests who would have gladly taken part. A sad consequence of the isolation was that the Crown gatherings had the character of peace assemblies. In Transylvania the presentations were usually held by teachers of theology, in Nagyvárád the theological subjects were kept unimportant.

- The religious education could only be successful in isolated places like in Slovak communities. The Saturday-Sunday time of the religious activities caused problems. The two basic principles of religious education on the level of the diocese were the joint preparation of the confirmation and first communicants.

- During the communist period the diocese lost a lot both quantitatively and qualitatively. The Nagyvárád clergy was famous for the great number of its members who completed their studies abroad and applied for a doctoral programme. During this period those who had the opportunity left the diocese (Mihály Bauer 1975, István Rencsik 1987).

- Dr. István Rencsik priest's *Historica Domus* of 2000 brilliantly characterises the situation of the diocese in the communism. In it he points out that the glory of the Nagyvárád diocese has faded in the last decades and today nothing more than a beautiful name is meant to keep account of its past glory: Nagyvárád Diocese, the Diocese of Saint Leslie, chronicled by Vince Bunyitay; we remember and celebrate, and commemoration is the surest sign of the fact that we are diminishing. I consider Rencsik's voice a little too pessimistic, so besides accepting some of his points I also cannot agree with him in others. My doctoral thesis is the proof that the

history of the diocese full of vicissitudes ended in 1990 so the collapse cannot and should not be inevitable.

To sum up I would like to point out that although the history of the diocese in the communist regime was dark and desperate I judge that today's clergy and the congregation need not be ashamed for its past. The most important role of the Roman Catholic Church of Nagyvárad was always to serve the salvation of the people even if obstacles were erected in front of it and its social institutions were expropriated. We should however feel ashamed for disregarding this period of our history. Bishop Arnold Ipolyi canon of Nagyvárad also criticised his contemporaries for this: "The biggest difficulty is still the unknowing audience, their lack of sense or idleness in front of the national cultural ideas, the knowledge of the past, the sacred missions of the future." With my dissertation I tried hard to avoid precisely this accusation.

Bibliography

I. Primary sources

Ecclesiastial documents:

- Acta Sanctae Sedis. Commentarium Officiale. Città del Vaticano (1909–)
- Codex Iuris Canonici. Liberia Editrice Vaticana. Roma 1917.
- Codex Iuris Canonici. Liberia Editrice Vaticana. Roma 1983. Magyarra fordította Erdő Péter. SZIT. Budapest 1985.
- DENZINGER, H.–HÜNERMANN, P.: Hitvallások és az Egyház Tanítóhivatalának megnyilatkozásai. (Ford. és szerk. Fila B., Jug L., Burger F.) SZIT. Budapest 2004.
- Sancta Congregatio Consistorialis decretumai 1941, 1942.
- XXIII János: Pacem in terris. SZIT. Budapest 1963.
- XI. Pius: Quadragesimo Anno. In: Az Egyház társadalmi tanítása. Dokumentumok. (Szerk. Tomka M.–Goják J.). Szent István Társulat Könyvkiadó. Budapest é. n.
- X. Szent Pius: Quam singulari decretum ASS 2 (1910) 582 skv. Denzinger Enchiridion 2137–2144. sz. 606–607.
- VI. Pál: Indulgentiarum doctrina. Roma 1967. (magyarul lásd: Bűnbocsánat és Oltáriszentség. Budapest 1976. 321–334.)
- Ioannes Paulus Episcopus: Sacrae disciplinae leges kezdeti apostoli rendelkezését ld. Az egyházi törvénykönyv, a Codex Iuris Canonici hivatalos latin szövege magyar fordítással és magyarázattal (Szerk., ford., és a magyarázatot írta Erdő Péter). SZIT. Budapest 1985. 30–46.

Documents of Archives written and printed:

- Corpus legislativ privind viața religioasă din România. Vol. I. (Ed. Anghelescu, Gheorghe– Stoica, Valeriu–Bourceanu, A. Claudiu). Vasiliana. Iași 2008.
- Gyulafehérvári Batthyaneum Könyvtár.
- Gyulafehérvári Érseki Levéltár
- Fond. A Gyulafehérvári Papnevelde iratai.
- Fond. Papnevelde tanulmányi iratai.
- Fond. Hallgatókkal kapcsolatos iratok.
- Fond. Tanári értekezletek jegyzőkönyvei.
- Fond. Szentszéki iratok.
- Fond. Püspöki körlevelek
- Fond. Más egyházmegyék körlevelei
- Fond. Márton Áron Múzeum
- Gyulafehérvári Hittudományi Főiskola Levéltár
- Nagyvárad Püspöki Levéltár
- Fond. Püspöki körlevelek
- Fond. Más egyházmegyék körlevelei
 - Fond. Személyi hagyatékok

- Fond. Papok személyi nyilvántartása
- Nagyváradi Székeskáptalan Levéltára,
 - Fond. Káptalani jegyzőkönyvek
- Szatmári Püspöki Levéltár
 - Fond. Körlevelek
- Historia Domus, Nagyváradi Székesegyházi Plébánia,
- Historia Domus, Nagyváradi Velence Plébánia,
- Historia Domus, Nagyváradi Óssi Plébánia,
- Historia Domus, Királydaróc Plébánia,
- Historia Domus, Nagyváradi újjvárosi Szent László Plébánia,
- Historia Domus, Szilágycseh Plébánia
- Historia Domus, Szilágysomlyó Plébánia
- Historia Domus, Tasnád Plébánia
- Historia Domus, Tasnádszántó Plébánia
- Tasnádi Plébánia Levéltár
- Nagyváradi Városi Levéltár
- A nagyváradi egyházmegye történelmi szemlézete. Nagyváradi 1995.
- A nagyváradi egyházmegye történelmi szemlézete. Nagyváradi 2003.
- A nagyváradi székeskáptalan 1948. szeptember 29-én tartott rendkívüli ülésének jegyzőkönyve. In: Út a vértanúsághoz. Bogdánffy Szilárd emlékkötet I. (szerk. Emödi András). Nagyváradi 2011.
- A Vatikán romániai ügynökeinek kémpere. Sikra. Budapest 1952.
- Jakab Antal 1951. július 25-én kelt levele ld. GYÉL. Num. 1460–1951.
- Kovacs, Dusan: Dejiny Slovenska. Nakladatel stvi Lidov naviny. Praha 1998.
- Lakatos Attila: Boldog Bogdánffy Szilárd vértanú püspök élete. In: Út a vértanúsághoz. Bogdánffy Szilárd emlékkötet I. (szerk. Emödi András). Varadinum Script Kiadó. Nagyváradi 2011.
- Litterae Circulares Dioeceseos Varadinensis Lat. Nr. I. Anno Domini 1948.
- Pakocs Károly: Küzdelem a lelki vakság ellen. 1953. (kézirat). In: GYÉL. Pakocs-hagyaték.
- Márton Áron 1955. augusztus 3-án kelt jelentése a Szentszékhez. In: MÁM. Személyi hagyaték.
- Schriffert Bélának Márton Áronhoz írt 1956. augusztus 23-án kelt levelét a GyFL a 2321/1956. sz.
- Tájékoztató az Erdély-rész Római Katolikus Egyházmegyék vezetésének törvényességéről. In: Historia Domus, Szent László Plébánia II. kt. 106–112.

II. Works of general importance, historical documents

- Bodeanu, Denise–Novák Csaba Zoltán: Az elnémult harang. Egy megfigyelés története, Pálfi Géza élete a Securitate irataiban. Pro-Print Könyvkiadó. Csíkszerda 2011.
- Bozgan, Ovidiu: Cronica unui eșec privizibil. România și Sfântul Scaun în epoca pontificatului lui Paul al VII-lea (1963–1978). București 2004.

- Böcskei László: Imafüzet Isten szolgája Bogdánffy Szilárd vértanú püspökhöz. 1–36. Kiadja a Nagyvárad Római Katolikus Püspökség. 2010.
- Bura László: Boldog Scheffler János. Szatmárnémeti 2011.
- Bura László: Hűségesen, fáradhatatlanul. Scheffler János szatmári megyéspüspök életútja. Szatmárnémeti 2002.
- Dukrét Géza (szerk.): Római katolikus intézetek Nagyváradon. Varadinum Script Kiadó. Nagyvárad 2011.
- Fleisz János: Nagyvárad várostörténete. Sapientia Varadiensis Alapítvány, Europrint Kiadó. 2011.
- Fodor József: Jóságos atya és püspök. Fiedler István püspök élete. Szent László Könyvsorozat 2. Nagyvárad 2007.
- Fodor József: A nagyvárad egyházmegye ideiglenes főpásztorai a XX. században. Kolozsvár 2008.
- Godó Mihály: Önéletrajz. Testamentum. Glória Kiadó. Kolozsvár 2002.
- Grossu, Sergiu: Cavalerul României creștine. Editura Vremea. București 2006.
- Hetényi Varga Károly: Papi sorsok a horogkereszt és a vörös csillag árnyékában. II. kt. Lámpás Kiadó. Abaliget 1994.
- Hosszú László: Álmom a szeretet s a béke. Kiadja a Római Katolikus Esperesi Hivatal. Nagyvárad 1982.
- Jakubinyi György: Romániai katolikus, erdélyi protestáns és izraelita vallási archontológia. Kolozsvár 2010.
- Kolbai Mária (összeállította): A kis Gepida Kiadja a Római Unióhoz tartozó Szent Orsolya Rend. 2010.
- Kupán Árpád: Mezőbikácsi hősök és áldozatok a 20. század első felének tragikus sodrában. Nagyvárad 2005.
- Lőrincz Ottó: A Szent László királyról nevezett Várad-Újvárosi plébánias és templom monográfiája. Nagyvárad 2004.
- Marton József: Az erdélyi katolicizmus 90 éve (1900–1990). Kolozsvári Egyetemi Kiadó. 2008.
- Paál Árpád: A kisebbségi lét tanulóévei Erdélyben II. Pallas-Akadémia. Csíkszereda 2008.
- Péter I. Zoltán: Nagyvárad. Múltidéző, városnéző kalauz. Prolog Kiadó. Nagyvárad 2011.
- Salacz Gábor: A magyar katolikus egyház a szomszédos államok uralma alatt. München 1975.
- Tempfli Imre: Sárból és napsugárból, Pakocs Károly püspöki helynök élete és kora 1892–1966. METEM könyvek. 2002.
- Tyukodi Mihály: Lendítse kistestvér! (Tyukodi Mihály írásaiból válogatta. Tempfli Imre). Szatmárnémeti 2000.
- Virt László: Katolikus kisebbség Erdélyben. Egyházfórum könyvei 7. Budapest–Luzer 1991.
- Virt László: Nyitott szívvel. Márton Áron erdélyi püspök élete és eszméi. Teleki László Alapítvány. XX. Század Intézet. Budapest 2002.

III. Monographs of clerical history and of world history

- Adriányi Gábor: A katolikus egyház története a 20. században, Kairosz Kiadó. Győr 2005
- Adriányi Gábor: A Vatikán keleti politikája. A Mindszenti-ügy. Budapest 2004.
- A katolikus papok és hívek gyergyószentmiklósi értekezlete. A Katolikus Akcióbizottság kiadása. București. Str. Bărației 27. é. n. 3–35.
- A katolikus papok és hívek marosvásárhelyi értekezlete. A katolikus akcióbizottság kiadása. 1950. 3–51.
- A Római Katolikus Státus kolozsvári közgyűlése. Kiadja a Római Katolikus Státus Igazgatótanácsa. Kolozsvár 1951. 3–39.
- Bartalis János: Halálra ítélve. Erdélyi ferencesek története 1949–1989-ig. Déva 2001.
- Bányai László: Közös sors – testvéri hagyományok. Politikai Könyvkiadó. Bukarest 1973.
- Benedek Fidél: Az erdélyi ferences rendtartomány II. Kolozsvár 2002.
- Borovszky Samu: Bihar vármegye és Nagyvárad. Nagyvárad 1901.
- Bottoni, Stefano: Sztálin a székelyeknél. Pro-Print Könyvkiadó. Csíkszereda 2008.
- Buzogány Dezső–Jánosi Csongor: A református egyház Romániában a kommunista rendszer első felében. L'Harmattan Kiadó. Budapest 2011.
- Casaroli, Agostino: A türelem vértanúsága. A Szentszék és a kommunista államok. SZIT. Budapest 2001.
- Chivu-Duță, Carmen: Cultele din România între prigonire și colaborare. București 2007.
- Cuciuc, Constantin: Atlasul religiilor și al monumentelor istorice religioase din România. Editura Gnosis. București 1996.
- Deletant, Dennis: Teroarea comunistă în România. Gherghiu-Dej și statul polițienesc, 1948-1965. Polirom. Iasi 2006.
- Emődi András: Bogdánffy Szilárd válogatott titkosszolgálati iratairól. In: Út a vértanúsághoz. Bogdánffy Szilárd emlékkötet II. kt. (szerk. uő). 171–182.
- Ferenczi Sándor: A gyulafehérvári (erdélyi) főegyházmegye történeti papi névtára. Szent István Társulat – Verbum Kiadó. Budapest–Kolozsvár 2009.
- Gagy József: Románia társadalomtörténete 1918 és 1989 között. Sapientia EMTE. Csíkszereda 2009.
- Höffner, Joseph: Die Weltkirche nimmt Gestalt an. Bonn 1983.
- Keleti Ferenc: Nagyköveti jelentése Horváth Imre magyar külügyminiszternek Alexa Augustin legfőbb ügyésszel folytatott beszélgetésről (Bukarest, 1957. október 15.). In: Magyar–román kapcsolatok 1956–1958. Dokumentumok. (Sorozatszerkesztők: Ormos Mária és Vida István). Budapest 2004. 310–313.
- Krauter, Franz: Erinnerungen an Bischof Pacha, Temesvar 1982.
- Legszentebb ügyünk a békeharc. 1950. 3–38. (Szerző és Kiadó megnevezése nélkül).
- Lipcsey, Ildikó: Romania and Transylvania in the 20Th Century. Corvinus Publishing. Buffalo – Toronto 2006.
- Martiri pentru Hristos, din România, în perioada regimului comunist. Editura Institutului Biblic și de misiune al Bisericii Ortodoxe Române. București 2007.
- Marton József: A keresztny jelenkor. Marosvásárhely 2008.

- Marton József (szerk.): Márton Áron Emlékkönyv. Kolozsvár 1996.
- Marton József: Az erdélyi / gyulafehérvári / egyházmegye története.. Gloria. Kolozsvár 1993.
- Marton József: Az erdélyi katolicizmus 90 éve (1900–1990). Presa Universitară Clujeană / Kolozsvári Egyetemi Kiadó. Kolozsvár 2008.
- Marton József (szerk.): Istenem és mindenem. Száz éve született Jakab Antal. SZIT.–Verbum Kiadó. Budapest–Kolozsvár 2009.
- Márton Áron: Papság. Márton Áron Hagyaték 5. kt. (Szerk. Marton József). Marosvásárhely 2009.
- Márton Áron: Bértmálás. Márton Áron Hagyaték 2. kt. (Szerk. Marton J.) Mentor Kiadó. Marosvásárhely 2006.
- Molnár János: A Nagyváradi (Királyhágómelléki Református Egyházkerület története 1944–1989.). Nagyvárad 2001.
- Nagy Mihály Zoltán– Olti Ágoston: Érdekképviselő vagy pártpolitika? Pro-Print Kiadó. Csíkszereda 2009.
- Péter I. Zoltán: Nagyvárad. Múltidéző, városnéző kalauz. Prolog Kiadó. Nagyvárad 2011.
- Robotos Imre: Pengeváltás. Literator Könyvkiadó. Nagyvárad 1997.
- Ruxandra, Ivan: Transformarea socialistă: Politici ale regimului comunist între ideologie și administrație, București 2009.
- Scurtu–I. Alexandrescu–(ed.): Enciclopedia de istorie României. București 2002.
- Stéphan, C.–Werth, N.–Panné, J-L.–Bartosek, J-L. M.–Paczkowski, A.: A kommunizmus fekete könyve. Nagyvilág. Budapest 2000.
- Szalay Jeromos: Vértanú püspök vértanú népe. Párizs 1955.
- Tökés István: A romániai magyar református egyház élete 1944–1989. Magyarságkutató Intézet. Budapest 1990.

IV. Studies and articles

- Bálint Lajos: A megszépítő messzeség sem képes egészen megszépíteni. In: Katonasors. Munkaszolgálatos katonák története. Pallas-Akadémia Könyvkiadó. Csíkszereda 2005. 108–189.
- Bányai László: A békéért folyó harcban felsorakoznak a becsületes katolikus hívek és lelkészek is. In: Romániai Magyar Szó. IV. évf. 787. sz. 1950. április 8.
- Boros Fortunát: A franciskánusok működése Erdélyben. In: Az erdélyi katolicizmus múltja és jelene. 494–497.
- Bozgan, Ovidiu: Tergiversări, concesii și imobiliism, problema restabilirii ierarhiei romano-catolice în contextul relațiilor Româno-Vaticane (1978–1984). In: Analele Universității București. Istorie. Anul L–2001. 95–119.
- Bura László: Pakocs (Pakots) Károly. In: Erdélyi Múzeum LXXIII/2 (2011) 121–126.
- Ciorianu, Adrian: Cuvânt înainte. In: Vasile, Cristian: Între Vatican și Kremlin. București 2003.
- Császi Lajos: A rituális kommunikáció neodurkheimi elmélete és a média. In: Szociológiai Szemle. 2001. 2. sz.

- Dávid Gyula: Szilágyi M. Dózsa. In: Romániai Magyar Irodalmi Lexikon V/1. Kritérion Kiadó. Bukarest–Kolozsvár 2010.
- Despinescu, Anton: Un seminar omnidiecezan. In: Seminarium Incarnatae Sapientiae. Gyulafehérvár 2003. 111–118.
- Doboş, Dănuţ: Aspecte ale represiunii comuniste împotriva Bisericii Romano-Catolice (1945–1964). In: Pro Memoria. 202–204.
- Hessz Ágnes Márta: Harminc évvel ezelőtt... In: Keresztény Szó V. (1994/8) 13–14.
- Jäger Peter: Hatvanas évek a gyulafehérvári Teológián. In Seminarium Incarnatae Sapientiae. Jubileumi emlékkönyv. Gyulafehérvár 2003.
- Kacsó Sándor: A konkordátum kérdés igazi arca. In: Romániai Magyar Szó 1948. szeptember 9.
- Keresztes Albin: Az erdélyi ferencesek deportálása Máriaradnára és az eszterlaki kényszerlakhelyre (1951–1952). In: A Szent Istvánról nevezett erdélyi ferences rendtartomány II. Tanulmányok. (Szerk. Sas Péter). Kolozsvár 2002. 141–154.
- Kémenes Mónika: A nagyváradi irgalmas rendi templom 18. századi oltárképe. In: Liber Disciulorum. Tanulmányok Kovács András 65. születésnapjára. EME. Entz Géza Művelődéstörténeti Alapítvány. Kolozsvár 2011. 221–238.
- Kirner Ferenc: „És ők betértek hozzá” In: Tyukodi Mihály: Lendítse kistestvér! 99–104.
- Lázár József: A konkordátum és a Státus. In: Romániai Magyar Szó 1948. szeptember 23-i sz.
- Lénárda nővér (Egyed Mária): Konyhai szolgálat a gyulafehérvári Teológián. In: Seminarium Incarnatae Sapientiae. Jubileumi emlékkönyv. Gyulafehérvár 2003. 127–131.
- Léstyán Ferenc: Az erdélyi római katolikus püspökség a vallásüldözö kommunista rendszer alatt. In: Az Erdélyi / Gyulafehérvári egyházmegye története (szerk. Marton J.). Gloria Kiadó. Kolozsvár 1993. 196–198.
- Link, Paul: Befreidende Evangelisierung – Erfahrungen aus pastolärer und socialer Praxis. In: Sociale Verantwortung in der Dritten Welt, hrsg. von Anton Rauscher. Köln 1983.
- Marton József: Arhidieceza de Alba Iulia între anii 1948–1989. In: Raportul Credinței Biserica Romano-Catolică în timpul prigoniei comuniste: 1948 – 1989. Sapientia. Iași 2007. 7–29.
- Marton József: A mallersdorfi ferences nővérek szerepe az erdélyi katolikus identitás formálásában. In: Studia Universitatis Babeş-Bolyai, Theologia Catholica Latina, 2004/1. 109–124.
- Marton József: A Gyulafehérvári Papnevelde 1948-ban. In: Új ég és új föld. Emlékkönyv Jäger Péter 65. születésnapjára. (Szerk. Tempfli I.-Vencser L.). Szent Maximilian lap- és könyvkiadó. Budapest 2004. 125–141.
- Marton József: A gyulafehérvári Papnevelde az 1970-es években. (Szerk. Uő.) In: Seminarium Incarnatae Sapientiae. Jubileumi emlékkönyv. Gyulafehérvár 2003. 59–67.
- Marton József: A gyulafehérvári főegyházmegye a 20. században. In: Studia Theologica Transsylvaniae 8. Gyulafehérvár 2006.
- Marton József: Márton Áron életének és korának legfőbb adatai. In: Márton Áron Emlékkönyv (szerk. uő. Kolozsvár 1996. 215–245.

- Marton József: Márton Áron szabadulása. In: *Studia Theologica Transsylvaniensia* 14 (2011/2) 273–293.
- Marton József: Prefață. In: „Clopoțelul amuțit.” Preotul Pálfi Géza – o viață supraviețuită de Securitate. (Denisa Bodeanu–Novák Csaba Zoltán) Ed. Pro/Print. Miercurea-Ciuc 2011. 9–10.
- Marton József: Dr. Jakab Antal életútja a püspökségig. In: *Istenem és mindenem.* (Szerk. uő.). SzIT.–Verbum Kiadó. Budapest–Kolozsvár 2009. 27–42.
- Marton József: Márton Áron egyéniségének fejlődése. In: *Márton Áron írásai és beszédei.* (Szerk. uő.) Gyulafehérvár 1996. 139–151.
- Márton Áron: Megemlékezés Fiedler István püspökségéről (1940. jan. 1.). In: *Márton Áron: Papság. Márton Áron Hagyaték 5. kt. Marosvásárhely 2009.* 155–161.
- Márton Áron: Diakónusszentelés Nagyváradon (1940. febr. 17.). In: *Márton Áron: Papság. Márton Áron Hagyaték 5. kt. Marosvásárhely 2009.* 78–81.
- Márton Áron: Papszentelés Nagyváradon (1940. május 5.). In: *Márton Áron: Papság. Márton Áron Hagyaték 5. kt. Marosvásárhely 2009.* 82–84.
- Mészáros István: A diktatúra és az egyház 1950–1975. Márton Áron Kiadó. Budapest 1994.
- Mezey Katalin: A Teremtő társa. In: *Vigilia* 77 (2012/4) 282–287.
- Mikes János: A békeszerető katolikus tömegek visszautasítják a gyulafehérvári püspökség népellenes politikáját. In: *Romániai Magyar Szó* 1951. augusztus 7.
- Molnár József: Adalékok a nagyváradai orgonaépítés történetéhez. In: *Magyar Egyházzene* XII (2005/2006) 303–339.
- Mureșan, Lucian: Memento. In: *Márton Áron Emlékkönyv.* (Szerk. Marton J.) Kolozsvár 1996. 168–173.
- Mureșan, Luciana: Cea mai frumoasă parte a vieții. In: *Seminarium Incarnatae Sapientiae. Jubileumi emlékkönyv.* Gyulafehérvár 2003. 105–110.
- Moraru, Alexandru: Aspecte privitoare la relațiile dintre ortodocșii și luteranii din Transilvania în a doua jumătate a secolului al XX-lea. In: *Omagiu Părintelui Prof. Univ. Dr. Ioan I. Ică.* Ed. Renasterea. Cluj-Napoca 2007.
- Nikitin, Oleg: A Vatikán. In: *Utunk* IV. évf. 13 sz. Kolozsvár 1949. 1–5.
- Oláh Sándor: Közösségi emlékezet a történeti időben. Emlékezetkultúránk metamorfózisai. In: *Székelyföld* XVI/4 (2012) 89–150. Itt: 105.
- Pakocs Károly 1956. augusztus 25-i jelentését a vatikáni államtitkárságra. In: *Tempfli: Sárból és napsugárból.* 1018.
- Petcu, Adrian Nicolae: Studiu introductiv. In: *Martiri pentru Hristos din România în perioada regimului comunist.* Ed. Institutului Biblic și de Misiune al Bisericii Ortodoxe Române. București 2007. 19–40.
- Porumbăcean, Claudiu: Consecințele administrativ politice ale aplicării arbitrajului de la Viena. In: *Satu Mare. Studii și comunicări XXVII/II. Supplementum.* Satu Mare 2011. 203–212.
- Sanda Balázs: A gyulafehérvári főegyházmegeye, mint a román kultuszszabályozás tárgya. In: *Iustum Aequum Salutare.* VI. (2010/1) 91–101.
- Sárándi Tamás: Észak-Erdély közigazgatási-politikai helyzete 1944. augusztus 23. után. In: *Székelyföld* IX/7. Csíkszereda 2005.

- Scheffler János: A katolikus egyház jogi helyzete Romániában. In: Notter Antal Emlékkönyv. (Szerk. Angyal Pál–Aranyay Justin–Móra Mihály). Budapest 1941.
- Scurtu, Ioan: 1948 – Anul instaurării regimului stalinist și România. In: Istoria Românilor în secolul XX. (red. Scurtu, Ioan-Buzatu, Gheorghe), Paideia. București 1999. 550–551.
- Seewann, Gerhard: Megosztott lojalítások, egyforma közösségek. In: Aetas. 25/1. évf. 2010.
- Schönborn, Christoph: Kultúrák közötti dialógus a béke és a szeretet civilizációjáért. In: Communio 2001. Szent Szilveszter szám.
- Spătaru, Dumitru: A dialektikus és történelmi materializmus – tudományos filozófiai világ- és társadalomszemlélet. In: Tudomány, vallás, társadalom. Politikai Könyvkiadó. Bukarest 1971. 13–36.
- Szilágyi M. Dózsa: Jelentés a váradhegyfoki premontrei prépostság nagyvárad gimnáziumának 1944-45. iskolaévééről. In: Út a vértanúsághoz. Bogdánffy Szilárd emlékkötet I. (szerk. Emödi András). 414–419.
- Szépkuthy Tamás: A premontrei kanonokok Szent István első vértanúról nevezett váradhegyfoki prépostsága. In: Erdélyi katolicizmus multja és jelene. 514–523.
- Tache, Aurelian: Az ateizmus és a történelmi fejlődése. In: Tudomány, vallás, társadalom. Politikai Könyvkiadó. Bukarest 1971. 37–58.
- Tamási Zsolt: Jaross Béla and the peace movement. In: Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai Theologica Catholica 2008/1. 90–112.
- Táncoş Vilmos: Szolgabárát II. (Táncoş Vilmos beszélgetése P. Ferencz Ervin ferences atyával). In: Székelyföld XIV. évf. 6. sz. 2010.
- Thurzó Sándor: Nagyvárad egyházi hangversenyei a II. világháborút követő évtizedekben a debreceni eseményekig (1945–1956, 1980–1989). In: Magyar Egyházzene III (1995/1996) 81–107.
- Tyukodi Mihály: Ahogyan én láttam... Márton Áron kapcsolatai más egyházmegyékkel. In: Márton Áron Emlékkönyv. 149–156.
- Vencser László: Szemináriumi élet az 1980–90-es években. In: Seminarium Incarnatae Sapientiae. Jubileumi emlékkönyv. Gyulafehérvár 2003. 73–93.
- Zamfir Korinna–Nóda Mózes: Az erdélyi egyházak és vallási közösségek rövid története. (Szerk. Dieter, Brandes–Vasile, Grajdian–Lukács Olga). Reconciliatio 3. Presa Universitară Clujana. 2008. 55–78.