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Good Calvinist Citizens in the 18th century in Debrecen

Debrecen in the eighteenth century was in a peculiar situation in contemporary Hungary in several respects. It had been a free royal town since 1693 and the largest town in Hungary with a significant population (28,551 in 1785), and was often referred to as the 'Calvinist Rome'. The local government of the town was headed by a senate (a chief constable and twelve senators), which, in the eighteenth century, considered its mission to protect the autonomy the town had enjoyed, together with its church, its Calvinist-Protestant religion, its college, its culture and its pure Hungarian character against the political objectives of the Catholic Habsburg court, which promoted unification and Catholicism. This situation – enmity with the Court and the protective stance of the Protestant religion – impacted the ethics of the citizens.

Although the percentage of citizens possessing full citizenship was usually only ten percent of the population of Debrecen, their characteristically 'exemplary' behaviour and values were considered a pattern to follow for the other residents of the town. One of the most important requirements for acquiring the right of citizenship besides undertaking to pay public duties, owning a house and paying citizen taxes was leading a moral life. Citizens had to pledge to respect the authority of the chief constable and the town council as well as the privileges, the liberty and the law and order of the town.

The ethical norms and standards of the majority of the population of Debrecen in the eighteenth century began in the sixteenth century. Bálint Török of Enying acquired Debrecen as a pledged property in 1536 and then he moved a priest named Bálint there, thereby starting reformation in the town. In 1545, at the synod of Erdőd, the new church of Debrecen separated itself as a congregation from the Roman Catholic Church. In 1551 Márton Sánta of Kálmáncsehi started preaching his sermons and one year later the Catholic Church ceased its activities in Debrecen. The Calvinist Reformation, which prevailed through the activity of Péter Méliusz Juhász and his companions from 1558 on, required first of all consistent adherence to Old Testament laws and the Ten Commandments on the part of its followers. In the eighteenth century the town council, owing to its religious and ethical convictions,

considered it as its moral duty to control the religious education of the population. We can see this in the church leadership activity of Márton Domokos, the Chief Constable of the times, who studied theology in Halle, and also in his translations of religious books as well as in the different orders of the statutes with religious and ethical significance.

However, the efficiency of religious education, was mainly reinforced by the judiciary practice of the judges. We can find numerous examples of the intertwining of secular litigation and religious education in contemporary minutes (the so-called '*Black Books*'). Besides compliance to laws and statutes, the worldview of the people of Debrecen was shaped by the Calvinist doctrine of predestination. The words of Méliusz exerted an influence throughout the centuries, giving honour and appreciation to hard-working and prospering citizens. The sermons preached in the services, the interpretation of the Bible contained in them and the printed works on religious ethics were the channels of moral values and ethical norms, which, together with the traditional values imprinted in the common consciousness, contributed to the ethical characteristics of the population of Debrecen in the eighteenth century. The model image of the citizen of the age can be put together from the different instructions that were phrased for secular purposes, from the regulations of the guilds and from the texts of different civil and official oaths, based on the civil virtues considered as exemplary and the negative characteristics to be avoided. The major virtues of a good citizen of Debrecen involved integrity, honesty, diligence, punctuality, thriftiness, justice, secrecy, obedience, sobriety, respectful behaviour, modesty, obedient Christian life, fear of God, neighbourly love and generosity. In contrast of these, the list of human sinfulness is contained in the *Protocollum Nigrum* (the "*Black Books*") and between these two extremities we can find the ethics that actually characterized the population of Debrecen.

***The Relevance of Protestant Social and Economic Ethics
at the Age of Globalization***

One has very mixed feelings hearing the word “globalization’ and hearing about the phenomena and the developments that go together with it. Some expect hidden riches of new economic, political and cultural opportunities and welcome “globalization’. Others are afraid of or feel sorry about the unforeseeable disintegration and distortion of living circumstances in their own or other peoples’ lives. Besides, the challenges of economic policy related to “globalization’ are also in the foreground. Will our governments lose their ability to control the economy purposefully? Will the classical instruments of economic policy lose their efficiency? Will the welfare and social state have to be sacrificed in the process of globalization? Globalization necessarily involves continuously increasing unemployment in the more prosperous countries?

Globalization is the “*compression of the world*’. We compress the world through the development of the media of communication including speech, writing, printing, electronic communication, radio, television and the Internet and also through the development of extensive transportation facilities on rail, on water and by air. Distances and alien feelings between people, life-worlds, markets, intellectual systems and cultures are all diminishing. Some claim that theoretically the process of globalization is as old as the development of human culture and the first steps of globalization can be traced back to hunters, nomadic cultures and early migrations. Others consider writing, printing and the development of international educational systems as the main driving force of globalization. Still others hold modern economy and world trade responsible. They generally agree, however, that interactive electronic communication and the rapid development of extensive transportation of goods and long-distance travel brought about an extremely fast acceleration of the process of globalization, which keep us in suspense now.

Economy, media, politics, law and culture - a whole syndrome of powers and forces exert an influence together in the order of developments, which open up possibilities of conflicts between civilizations as well as new opportunities for meeting and association. Globalization is simply the development of an increasingly dense network of associations and dependencies between people and cultures. In this process tensions, conflicts and clashes between cultures, political-economic interests, legal systems and systems of values can become more visible. In the presentation we will examine whether Protestant social and economic ethics offer a valid answer to the challenges of globalization and if yes, what the answer is.

***Protestant Values, the Architecture of Society
and the Significance of Dr. Abraham Kuyper***

Today there are many discussions about governance. The role of the nation-state is changing. More and more we will see the necessity of new alliances between governments, businesses and NGO's. The governance issue has a clear connection with the role of values.

Traditionally Protestant thinking contributed to a clear view on the architecture of society. In the Netherlands at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th Century dr. Abraham Kuyper played a very important role in this respect. The key question is how Protestant values can be a source of inspiration for crucial governance issues in the 21st Century.

Enlightenment, Religion, and Science.

The talk questions the assumption of an axiomatic difference between religion and science in the age of Enlightenment. Instead it brings to prominence the manifold interrelations between religion and science during the 18th century, that could not at all be described as one-dimensional or unilateral. These interrelations were, however, characterized by a dissolving of the traditional distinct spheres of both religion and science. Put bluntly; it would be misleading to interpret Enlightenment science as secular.

Protestantische Pastoren und Lehrmeister in Ungarn als Weinbauer, Gärtner und Landwirte - Ihr fachliterarisches Schaffen und die Wirkung ihrer Musterwirtschaften um die Wende des 18-19. Jahrhunderts

Da die protestantischen Kirchen im Vergleich zur katholischen mit geringeren Einnahmen auskommen mussten, waren die Pastoren gefordert, die kleinen Gärten oder Grundstücke beispielhaft zu bewirtschaften. Der Wechsel der Jahreszeiten, das Wachsen der Gärten erinnerte an das ewige Leben, die zum neuen Leben erwachende Natur an die Vergänglichkeit und das Heil des Menschen nach dem Tod. Im Zeitalter der Aufklärung, des Rationalismus und des Merkantilismus standen die zielstrebige Wirtschaft zur Versorgung der Städte und der gute Steuerzahler im Mittelpunkt, der fähig war, auch sich selbst zu helfen. Der Staat propagierte auch die sinnvoll wirtschaftenden Bauern, die Futtergetreide und Industriepflanzen anbauten, ihre Leibeigenen schützten und höhere Steuern zahlen konnten. Zahlreiche neue Ansichten und Lehren reformierten die Wirtschaftsleben, das erste ungarischsprachige Fachbuch erschien am Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts. Das Werk des Calvinisten János Nagyváthy aus dem Jahre 1791 wurde durch seine Neuartigkeit und seine zusammenfassende Detailliertheit ein großer Erfolg, bildete aber nur die Spitze des Eisberges.

Pastoren als Gärtner waren keine Besonderheit dieser Epoche, auch andere Beispiele können im Lauf der Geschichte gefunden werden. Jedenfalls können wir seit dem Beginn der Reformation mit Pastoren rechnen, die das Wirtschaften von Gärten auf einer fachwissenschaftlichen Ebene betrieben. Man denke da nur an den auch in Debrecen tätigen Peter (Juhász) Melius, István Beythe und seinen Sohn, András Beythe in Németújvár (heute Güssing in Österreich), oder an den auch von ihnen unterstützten, europaweit bekannten Botaniker, Clusius. Neben den berühmten kirchlichen Persönlichkeiten haben auch zahlreiche namenlose, oder kaum bekannte Pastoren auf verschiedenen Fachgebieten wertvolle Beiträge geleistet. In meinem Aufsatz möchte ich ihnen ein Denkmal setzen, den Bekannten und Namenlosen, die um die Wende des 18-19. Jahrhunderts mit dieser gottgefälligen Tätigkeit nicht nur ihrer Kirche, sondern auch ihrer Gemeinde und der Wissenschaft einen Dienst erwiesen hatten. Auch zeigten sie damit den protestantischen Bauern sowohl praktisch, als auch theoretisch-spirituell ein Beispiel. Sie bildeten die Grundlage für die erstarkende Erkenntnis des 19. Jahrhunderts, wonach die zu wirtschaftlichen Vorbildern gewordenen Pastoren und Lehrmeister die Voraussetzung für das Allgemeinwohl bedeuteten. Auf sie stützte sich der spätere Staat, und sie zeigten nicht nur persönliche Beispiele, sie nutzten für die Weitergabe des neuen wirtschaftlichen Wissens sowohl die Kanzel als auch den Katheder der Schulen.

Bildungsreisen eines evangelischen Intellektuellen in den 1860er Jahren

Mihály Zsilinszky (1838-1925), der begabte Sohn einer wohlhabenden Bauernfamilie im großen, mehrheitlich von evangelischen Slowaken bewohnten Marktflecken Békéscsaba auf der Ungarischen Tiefebene, machte eine glänzende Karriere in der Zeit der Österreich-Ungarischen Monarchie. Sein Vater ließ ihn studieren, damit er ein evangelischer Pastor wird, also einem traditionellen Weg des sozialen Aufstiegs folgt. Nach dem evangelischen Gymnasium von Szarvas studierte er weiter an der vereinigten Protestantischen Theologischen Akademie in Pest, und er beendete seine Studien an den theologischen Fakultäten der Universitäten Halle und Berlin. Zurückgekehrt in die Heimat, erhielt er eine Lehrerstelle im Gymnasium von Szarvas. Neben dem Unterricht begann er zu forschen, übersetzen und publizieren und wurde schon 1874 zum Mitglied der Ungarischen Wissenschaftlichen Akademie gewählt. Es war aber eine Ausnahme damals, dass er auch als Politiker eine Karriere machen konnte. (Von 1875 an mehrmals zum Abgeordneten gewählt, zweimal zum Obergespan ernannt, 1895-1905 Staatssekretär für Religions- und Unterrichtswesen.) Er nahm mehrere bedeutende Posten und Funktionen in der evangelischen Kirche, in der literarischen und wissenschaftlichen Öffentlichkeit ein. Als Historiker war er ein Kenner der französischen und englischen positivistischen Geschichtsschreibung, deshalb erkannte er die Wichtigkeit der Kulturgeschichte und der Bildung der Gesellschaft. Sein Fachgebiet wurde jedoch vor allem die ungarische protestantische Kirchengeschichte. Zsilinszky war ein gebildeter, vielseitiger, aufgeklärt und liberal denkender, aber zugleich ein tief religiöser Mensch, der mit seiner Tätigkeit besonders dem Vaterland und der evangelischen Kirche dienen wollte.

Sein umfangreicher schriftlicher Nachlass wird im Evangelischen Landesarchiv in Budapest aufbewahrt. Im Aktenverzeichnis sind die Dokumente seiner Studien und auch die Reisetagebücher in vier Heften des jungen Zsilinszkys angegeben. Die Hefte enthalten Tagebücher von drei frühen Reisen: eine Reise 1861 von Berlin aus durch Deutschland, die Schweiz und Österreich, eine im nächsten Jahr in Oberungarn (in der heutigen Slowakei) und schließlich eine Reise in Italien und in der Schweiz im Jahre 1864.

Auch diese Tagebücher stellen eine interessante Mischung von traditioneller protestantischer Peregrination (*peregrinatio academica*) verbunden mit ausländischem Universitätsbesuch, von Reiseberichten aus der ungarischen Reformzeit (1825-1848), in denen der fortgeschrittene Westen vielfach als Muster den zurückgebliebenen ungarischen Verhältnissen gegenübergestellt wurde, und endlich von modernem Tourismus dar.

Reisen gehörte in Ungarn seit langem zur akademischen Ausbildung. Den Reisezwecken der Bildung und Nützlichkeit gesellten sich bei Zsilinszky auch die Lust und Unterhaltung. Seine Reisen waren natürlich viel mehr individueller als die der protestantischen Vorfahren, aber das Reisen blieb gewissermaßen immer noch eine 'ars'. Er plante sorgsam seine Reisen, er musste mit Geld und Zeit wirtschaften, es gab Sehenswürdigkeiten, die er besichtigen sollte, er benutzte Reiseführer (in Buchform oder Cicerone), schließlich sollte er als Reisender Tagebücher schreiben. Diese führen den Leser nicht nur in verschiedene Länder, Landschaften und Ortschaften, sondern auch zur besseren Kenntnis der Persönlichkeit ihres Verfassers. Der Vortrag beabsichtigt, diese Aspekte der Tagebücher zu erörtern und sie aufgrund verschiedener Gesichtspunkte der Reiseforschung zu interpretieren.

The Reformation Hermeneutics of William Tyndale

William Tyndale (c1497-1536), Bible translator and martyr, the most prominent representative of the first generation of the English Reformation is also credited to develop a radically new hermeneutics.

As most Reformation theologians, Tyndale also rejected allegory and claimed that there was only a literal sense in Scripture. However, he also affirmed that '*God is spirit*', '*his literal sense is spiritua*'. Thus he echoed Luther's insight that, unlike in medieval exegesis, the letter is not to be separated from the spirit but the spirit is to be discerned within the letter. His literal sense, therefore, is complex and it preserves the typological or figural sense of Scripture. The paper offers to place Tyndale's dynamic hermeneutics, especially his original notion concerning the 'process of the text' within in the context of the history of hermeneutics.

A Pioneer of Modern Pedagogy in Hungary: Sándor Karácsony (1891-1952)

In the first half of the 20th century, Sándor Karácsony developed a unique educational theory in Hungary, based on a novel approach to psychology, linguistics and philosophy. He came from Hungary's Protestant heartland, the area east of the River Tisza, and had his secondary education in the College of the Reformed Church in Debrecen. His Protestant background had a deep influence on his thinking. He obtained teaching qualifications in the university of Budapest, and visited several European universities. In 1919 he started his teaching career at a secondary school. Subsequently he became professor of pedagogy at the University of Debrecen. Parallell with his scholarly work, he was also a leader of Christian youth movements.

He was well-read in the philosophical, psychological and linguistic literature of the day, but it was his teaching experience that made him aware of the most acute psychological and linguistic problems of contemporary school education. Seeing that school instruction and education, based on the psychology of the individual and direct methods of teaching was largely ineffective, he came to the then novel conclusion that education is only possible if it is based on a psychology of interpersonal relations, which he termed 'interpersonal psychology'. He also emphasized the autonomy of the children's psyche, which cannot be approached on the basis of the psychology of the individual and cannot be educated directly. He summed up the main points of his pedagogical, linguistic and philosophical inquiries in the phrase 'the discovery of the other person'. About this time, or somewhat later, parallel developments occurred on the international scene.

He stressed the importance of language in education, maintaining that the success of education crucially depends on language used for communication.

Karácsony proposed that, instead of grammar parsing, communication-oriented grammar teaching should be introduced, showing how people communicate with the help of grammar. He exemplified this in his book *A Hungarian Grammar Based on Interpersonal Psychology*.

In reading his works one realizes with surprise that he was in many respects well in advance of his age. Many of the pedagogic and linguistic principles he advocated are now among the basic tenets of these sciences.

The adjective *Hungarian* appears in the title of most of his works (*The Hungarian Way of Thinking, A Hungarian Grammar Based on Interpersonal Psychology*, etc.). However, this has nothing to do with nationalistic political movements: it simply marks the starting point of his investigations. Since it was the Hungarian language and culture that he knew best, he started his in-depth study of language and culture at this point.

As a teacher, a scholar and a youth leader, Karácsony had a powerful impact: his scholarly work, his widely read pedagogical books and lectures and his activities in the youth movements made him one of the best-known pedagogical authorities in the country. He also played an important role in the renewal of the Hungarian Reformed Church. However, the Communist dictatorship in the post-war years had little sympathy with Karácsony, because the transcendental bases of his thinking were irreconcilable with prevailing vulgar materialistic doctrines. In 1950 he was deprived of his university position and was soon forced to retire. Under such conditions there was no opportunity to make his work available to international audiences. This paper is an attempt to make up for this lacuna, highlighting some aspects of his unique educational and linguistic theories.

***The University of the Reformation - The Reformation of the University:
The Case of Wittenberg***

The paper seeks to explore two intersecting sets of questions. Firstly, in 1518 Melancthon, the humanist par excellence among North German Reformers, arrived in Wittenberg with a program to renew the study of Aristotle, which, under the influence of Luther's scathing critique of the Philosopher, he quickly abandoned - only to return to it after the mid-1520s. Over the centuries, Melancthon has received very bad press for corrupting the purity of Reformation teaching by selling out to reason in theology, yet his Aristotelian program was inaugurated and, to a considerable extent, carried out during Luther's lifetime, who does not seem to have been vehemently opposed to it.

On the other hand, in the early decades of the Reformation, Wittenberg University was the unrivalled intellectual centre of the new movement, which in turn profoundly shaped the very institution that was so crucial to the dissemination of its revolutionary ideas. Wittenberg University reforms came in two major waves. The first, around 1518, was not yet an evangelical restructuring. It was, much rather, a humanist reform, in which Wittenberg merely followed the lead of a number of other institutions. The second wave, after 1523 and reaching into the mid-1530s, was properly the result of the new approach, shaping the university's curriculum and very structure along Reformation lines.

I will review those changes in some detail, focusing especially on how professorships were rearranged between 1516–1536. It will also become clear that Melancthon's return to Aristotle can be correlated with the university reforms and mirrors a new understanding of the role of philosophy made possible by a distinction, central to Lutheran theology, between law and gospel.

Research for this paper was supported by the Bolyai János Research Scholarship of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

Fürstenspiegel in der protestantischen Literatur und Pädagogik

Die Fürstenspiegel-Literatur ist im Alten Orient, in Ägypten geboren, dann hat seine Blütezeit vorwiegend während dem klassischen Altertum gelebt. Zu den ersten Exemplaren werden die Lehre des Ptahotep und die Erzählung von Sinuhe gezählt, aus der griechisch-römischen Zeit können wir z.B. die Xenophons *Kyropädie* und Ciceros *De officiis*, oder Senecas *De clementia* als emblematische Werke erwähnen. Die Gattung bietet ein breites Spektrum von politisch-theoretischen Traktaten, staatsphilosophischen Schriften, Ratschläge-Texten, Prunk- und Mahnreden, die ein Bild oder besser gesagt einen Spiegel über die jeweilige Gesellschaft aufzeigen. Das sog. *Speculum regis* ist aber im Mittelalter nicht gestorben, sondern hat eine Fortführung sowohl in Byzanz als auch im karolingischen Westen gehabt.

Die Reformation, vorwiegend in Deutschland hat wieder einen Aufschwung für diese kulturhistorische Literaturgattung bedeutet, weil die Höfe der protestantischen Fürsten als erstrangige Auftraggeber gegolten haben. Es sind nicht nur neue Aufsätze, sondern auch Übersetzungen aus Latein und Griechischem geschrieben worden. In Ungarn kann man die Wirkung der deutschen Literatur im Laufe des 17. Jahrhunderts ganz lebhaft spüren, wie bei folgenden Autoren: György Szepsi Korotz (1602), János Draskovich, András Prágai (1628) und Mihály Teleki d. Jüngere (1689) etc.

In meinem Vortrag möchte ich es erläutern, welche Werke aus diesem Themenbereich aufbewahrt, welche Autoren während der Periode der Reformation, im protestantischen Unterricht weitergegeben und gelesen worden sind. Mit Hilfe dieser Ergebnisse würde ich ein Bild über die Tendenzen der protestantischen Erziehung und des Hochschulwesens aufzeichnen.

“Progressive Revelation’: *History and Protestant theology in the Scottish and German Enlightenment*

“*Providence and progress*’ have been identified as two organizing principles of the historical oeuvre of the Scottish ecclesiastical and university leader William Robertson. The combination of these two principles is detectable already in his first published work, an 1755 sermon, which was also translated into German in 1779. While the German public took little notice of the slender piece - at time when the author’s reputation had already been established across the continent by bulky volumes - there were a number of historical works and theories available on the German intellectual scene which, on account of their similarities with the outlook of the Scottish historian, could have been instrumental for preparing the ground for the reception of his work, while the differences are also noteworthy. In this paper I propose to compare Robertson’s relevant views with several strands in contemporary German religious thought.

The first among these are the Halle Pietists Siegmund Jakob Baumgarten and Johann Salomo Semler – to whom the “historical turn’ of German Protestant theology is usually ascribed. Second, I shall draw from the writings of Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, published in the context of the famous “*fragment controversy*’ around 1780. Finally, I shall take a brief look at the philological endeavours of the Göttingen professor Johann David Michaelis to recreate the Bible as a cultural asset for modern European society. An important aspect of these developments is the fact that in one way or another each of these figures contributed to the ever more robust claims of history to the status of an independent academic discipline. This comparative investigation may thus refine our understanding of the dynamics of knowledge in the “religious Enlightenment’ recently proposed by David Sorkin.

Protestant Scholars and the Dissemination of New Economic Thinking at the Turn of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries

Many a generation of erudite ministers had graduated from the Lutheran and Calvinist grammar schools and colleges throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but it was the second half of the eighteenth century that saw a definite change in the specialization of Hungarian protestant students that went to study abroad. An increasing number of the students took to studying medicine and even the sciences. While this was still an era of scholars of encyclopaedic knowledge, new challenges as well as the influence of enlightened thinking seemed to change the agenda of young theologians.

Ferenc Pethe, theonetime student of the Calvinist College of Debrecen, read theology at the University of Utrecht during the late 1780s, but on being awarded the Stipendium Bernardinum, he went on a study tour to England, France, and Switzerland. After a short stint as an editor of the first Hungarian agricultural periodical, he became a professor of a steward training college founded by Count Györy Festetics in Keszthely in 1797. He laid an emphasis on abandoning communal field systems, promoting rational investments in farming as well as gradually replacing the free labour of serfs with hired farm labourers. After he had left Keszthely, Festetics employed a graduate from the University of Göttingen, János Asbóth, who also contributed to making Festetics's farming college a hub of new economic thinking. An other graduate from Göttingen, Károly Rummy, soon joined him in Keszthely during the 1810s whose lectures reflected the influence of Albrecht Thaer as well as Adam Smith.

This paper is intended to reveal why these three former protestant students of theology played such a formative role in Festetics's institute becoming a centre of modern agricultural training and why their activities show a landmark in the process of Hungary's modernisation in the early nineteenth century.

Marilynne Robinson's Calvinist Apology for Our Time in Fiction and Essay

Marilynne Robinson is increasingly recognized as one of the leading novelists and public thinkers in the United States. Her Pulitzer Prize-winning novel *Gilead* is coming out at the end of October in Hungarian translation (publisher: Magvető, translator: myself, Péter Pásztor). Hopefully, its twin brother, *Home*, will also be published in Hungary soon.

This occasion is a critical assessment of Robinson's attempt to provide a fictional justification of Calvinist Protestantism for our time. The passing on of the tradition in an epistolary novel raises a whole series of highly productive questions on the relation between the language of literature and religion. The fact that the letter of *Gilead* is also a string of essays calls for a discussion of Robinson's direct essay writing, particularly her critique of the mindset that pits science and religious imagination against each other in her book-length essay *The Absence of Mind* and her vindication of Calvin in her idiosyncratically feminist essay *Margueritte de Navarre*.

'Dictates to me slumbring'- *Orality, Literacy, and Education in Paradise Lost*

This paper deals with some characteristic sections of *Paradise Lost* in which learning and education - two major themes of the epic - are defined with reference to orality and/or literacy. Setting Milton's poetry against the general background of early modern educational theory and practice as well as the poet's early prose, particularly the "reformed curriculum" of the 1644 *Of Education*, I will consider the role and the significance of the written and/or the spoken word in the pre- and postlapsarian words of the epic.

Special attention will be paid to the narrator's self-presentation in the several invocations of the poem and the ways these sections transform traditional accounts of the epic poet's inspired knowledge. Another focus of the paper will be the ongoing conversations between the archangels Raphael and Michael, and the first human couple. Assessing Milton's epic from these perspectives might allow us a new glimpse of the function of education in *Paradise Lost*, but it might also give us a chance to revisit some of the epic's textual peculiarities.

How to Compose a Synod-Presbyterian Dialogue in English and in Hungarian?

One of the main concerns of our small Centre for Puritan Research founded in 2008 is to compare the purposes, the efforts, the diction, the style of Anglo-Saxon and Hungarian Puritan authors, using the methods of comparative literature. The essay is focuses on two polemic works and two dialogues, written in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The English one - with great probability – was written by Job Throckmorton, entitled: *A Dialogue Wherein Is Plainly Laide Open, the Tyrannical Dealing of L. Bishoppes Against God's Children*. It is not a plain, catechism-like text, but - due to the well-developed theatrical culture of sixteenth-century England - a miniature dramatic work, with four characters, arguing for and against the episcopal system: Jack of Both Sides, Puritan, Idol Minister, Papist. The best of these talking names is Jack of Both Sides, with an almost Bunyanian name, expressing the typical behaviour of a religious double-dealer, a figure full of hesitations. Its 'twin work', our Pál Medgyesi's *Dialogus politico-ecclesiasticus*, composed in the seventeenth century, after the author's peregrination in Cambridge, is less differentiated, as far as the talking persons are concerned. On the virtual stage of episcopal - anti-episcopal discussion only two persons are fighting: the Asking One and the Answering One. But - apart from this relative 'dramatic flatness', the text itself - without any unhealthy and empty national pride - is more rich and colourful than the English one. At some points it sounds like the libretto of an opera buffa, or a work written by Moliere. This Hungarian 'vestment' of Puritan reasoning is just a matter of different national temperament, Medgyesi was a learned and well-read theologian. In his text he mentions with great reverence Brighthman(nus), Parker(us) - though in a Latinized form - the names of two leading fighters of the Presbyterian ideas, and also a third one with its correct English orthography: Downame.

Summary: though the Puritan movement in Hungary remained a marginal one, we can be contented with the few coincidental parallelisms of the two *Dialogues* which strengthen our positive feelings of becoming a small part of the world's literary treasury, not only from the 19th century, - when Jókai's novels appeared all over the world, - but from a much earlier period as well, due to our ardent theological authors.

Protestant Education in Spain After the Constitutional Declaration of Freedom of Religion in 1869

The nineteenth century was the first time in Spanish history when Protestants were able to establish elementary schools, free press and book publishing. Literature refers to this as the 'second era of reform' of the Spanish Protestant Church. In a peculiar turn of events, the liberal revolutions were the events that brought freedom of religion to the Protestant Church.

In 1835 Protestants started to procrude by the activities of Rule, the English methodist pastor. The first protestant paper written in Spanish language was published in 1849 in London, titled *El Catolicismo Neto*. From 1812 until 1869, the Spanish constitutions treated Catholicism as a state religion, and therefore it is understandable, that Protestant communities spread slowly.

Due to the democratic natured revolution in 1868, Protestants finally got their freedom of religion: the following constitution of 1869 provided that. Protestant churches were opened, and several communities were restarted. The first synod of the Spanish Reformed Church was held on the 15th of June in 1869, in Sevilla. There was an uprise in book publishing, new journals and discussion papers were released. The Spanish Protestants' measures from 1869 until 1875 were aimed to develop and control elementary education. After the restoration by King Alfonso the Twelfth, the activities of the Protestant communities were reduced.

The constitution of 1876, despite it's conservative nature, agreed and strenghtened religious freedom, but still kept the public practicing of their religions forbidden for non-Catholics. The twelfth article of the constitution set out and formulated educational freedom. The Spanish Catolic Church and the small population of Protestants alike were deeply affected by it. After 1876 - the years of restoration - all the Spanish people might have been able to establish and maintain training and educational institutions due to the current legislation. Therefore the law applied to the Protestants as well, although the Catholics made serious attempts to prevent their operation.

The presentation aims to outline the position of the Protestant Church between 1835 and 1868, and then presents the effects and the role of the Church in the history of the state of primary education between 1868 and 1876, covering the situation of the institutions and book publishing which had been established by then.

***Die Gattungen der späthumanistischen Literatur in Wittenberg -
Die Werke der ungarischen Studenten 1555–1613.***

Die in Wittenberg studierenden Ungaren haben im Jahre 1555 eine Vereinigung gegründet. Das sogenannte 'Coetus Ungaricus' diente teilweise auch der Selbstbildung. Die Mitglieder schrieben lateinische (und auch griechische) literarische Werke, die dann die dortigen Buchdrucker herausgegeben haben. Diese Drucke sind nur lückenhaft erhalten geblieben, man kann aber die Gattungen identifizieren. Meine Abhandlung versucht einen Durchblick über diese Drucke zu schaffen, und auch einige konkrete Werke zu hervorheben.

Die Gattungen:

- Propempticon (carmen, ecloga, elegia) – Abschiedsgedicht für einen Heimkehrer.
- Apobatreion – Abschiedsgedicht des Heimkehrers.
- Panegyricus (encomium, carmen in laudes) – das Lob eines Menschen. (Zum Beispiel von Mátyás Csabai zu István Dobó.)
- Epithalamium – Hochzeitsgedicht. (Für die ehemaligen Lehrer zum Beispiel.)
- Epicedion (elegia lugubris, threnodia), epitaphium – Trauergedicht.
- Oratio – Eine Rede, zum Beispiel Mihály Forgách über die Bildungsreise.
- Oratio biographica (funeris) – biographische Rede, zum Beispiel György Kassai Császáz über Balázs Szikszai Fabricius.
- Epistola – Brief (zum Gönner).
- Hodoeporicon – Reisebeschreibung, zum Beispiel des János Baranyai Decsi.
- Elegia, carmen – Elegie, Lied, Gelegenheitsgedichte, Gedicht unter einem Bild
- Carmina – Gedichtband
- Paraphrasis Biblica – Biblische Paraphrasen (ein Psalm oder das Hohelied Salomons).

Es gibt auch Drucke, die in diesen Rahmen nicht einpassen: wissenschaftliche Werke, und eine Anthologie. Diese interessante Literatur ist bis heute in Ungarn nur sporadisch geforscht worden.

***Circulation of Knowledge and its Impediments.
Staatenkunde in Hungary Around 1800***

At the end of the eighteenth century, the political relevance of *Staatenkunde* or *Statistik* was acknowledged even in the high political circles of the Holy Roman Empire. August Ludwig Schlözer (1735-1809), the most renowned professor of the discipline at the University of Göttingen, cited in his theoretical treatise, *Theorie der Statistik* (1804), the Prussian minister Ewald Friedrich von Herzberg to underscore the appeal of Statistik as the teaching for assessing the political strength of a state.

Staatenkunde proliferated not only in the German states, but flourished also in the lands of the Habsburg Monarchy. In 1777, the discipline was introduced via the educational law, Ratio Edicationis, in Hungarian legal education and the curriculum required textbooks having Hungary as their object. Despite the relative proliferation of *Staatenkunde* literature at the end of the century and in the first decades of the nineteenth century, the discipline has not stirred much interest among historians. In contrast, this essay argues that the discipline, together with its larger framework of the *Staatswissenschaften* (state sciences) played an important role, for instance by providing the scholarly basis of a new, centralized and knowledge-based administration instead of the traditional county-based system. *Staatenkunde* was useful both in the training of future bureaucrats and also, very probably, in the administrative practice.

In the entire Habsburg Monarchy, the enlightened educational policy of Maria Theresa and Joseph II intended to break the monopoly of the Churches. Indeed, the social heterogeneity of late eighteenth-century Hungary is well reflected in the structure of its educational system, divided by confessional belonging. Most dynamic were the northern and western areas of historic Hungary, with the political-administrative seat of the country in Bratislava (Pozsony, Pressburg) – to be transferred later to Pest-Buda. These areas were known for their legal academies, advanced Lutheran lycées and established ties to Protestant German universities, that prepared the scholarly career of many scholars.

After studies in Austria or Germany, these former peregrini often established themselves in the emerging Hungarian cultural capital. Most important here was the newfangled University of Pest and its faculty of law, where *Staatenkunde* was introduced in the course of educational reforms.

In the last three decades of the eighteenth century, the Catholic monopoly on higher education diminished in Hungary and Protestants had been admitted for the first time since the Counterreformation at the universities, also in the emerging Hungarian cultural and administrative capital, Pest-Buda. The Theresian and Josephist reforms placed much weight on the modernization of education to fit the requirements of the new methods of governance. To be a member of the new state administration required training in fields that had not formed part of the curriculum before: natural jurisprudence, cameralist economy (finance, commerce, populationist policies), *Polizeywissenschaft*, as well as *Staatenkunde* or *Statistik*.

Although schools in Hungary were run and largely controlled by the churches until the mid-nineteenth century, the paper argues that the educational reforms led, though not immediately, to a convergence of the curricula on *Staatenkunde*, despite confessional fragmentation. This should be demonstrated by comparing works on Hungarian *Staatenkunde*, of both Catholic and Protestant background. The paper will ask about the extent to which these milieus created divergent approaches or even 'epistemic cultures' in the discipline. The question is especially valid for the first decades after the implementation of the *Ratio Educationis*, when Lutheran milieus seem to produce methodologically more sophisticated, more informative state descriptions, also due to the vivid knowledge exchange with institutes of higher education in the German states. A case in point is the outstanding work of the German speaking Lutheran scholar, Martin Schwartner (1759-1823). A brief overview of his *Statistik des Königreichs Ungern*, in comparison with the works of his contemporaries and followers will inquire into the theoretical foundation, methods, topics and goal of contemporary *Staatenkunde*.

Auf Zwangslaufbahn – schwungvoll Das Sárospataker Reformierte Kollegium am Vorabend des ungarischen Vormärz

Das Sárospataker Reformierte Kollegium spielte an der Wende vom 18. zum 19. Jahrhundert eine führende Rolle unter den größeren heimischen Schulen. Das Kollegium wurde durch seine wissenschaftliche und pädagogische Leistung aus regionaler Ebene ausgehoben und die Pataker Entwicklungen bauten einen überregionalen Ruf aus.

Diese Errungenschaften sind in drei größere Gruppen zu klassifizieren. Zunächst sind die Änderungen des Lehrinhalts zu erwähnen. In Sárospatak konnte man nämlich relativ schnell auf die naturwissenschaftlichen Ergebnisse der Aufklärung reagieren, so wurde das Lehrmaterial für Physik, Chemie, Naturkunde und Geographie zeitgemäßer. Theologie und andere rein theoretische philosophische Fächer rückten zurück und damit parallel erschienen Kenntnisse wie Mechanik, Stastik, Pädagogie, Gesundheitslehre, Kunst im Lehrplan. Was der Inhalt der Geschichtsunterrichts anbelangt, enthielt es immer mehr Informationen über Ereignisse der modernen Epochen, die rechtlichen Fächer boten praxisorientierte Kenntnisse.

Die Geistigkeit der Schule änderte sich aus nationaler Hinsicht sehr viel. Das wichtigste Zeichen dafür ist die Tatsache, dass der ungarische Unterricht in der mittleren und oberen Unterrichtsstufe zuerst im Sárospataker Kollegium eingeführt wurde. Diese Wende spiegelte sich aber auch im Unterrichtsmaterial aus dem Fach der Geografie bzw. der Geschichte, in denen sich die Kenntnisse über ungarische Nation vermehrten. Vielleicht ist es auch kein Zufall, dass die Bewegung zur Erneuerung der ungarischen Sprache teilweise mit dem Sárospataker Kollegium verbunden ist. Mit aktiver Mitwirkung von Kazinczy versuchten sie - einstweilen ohne langfristigen Erfolg - ungarische Literaturgeschichte zu lehren.

Im dritten Punkt ist es noch erredenswert über pädagogische, fachmethodische Innovation zu sprechen. Für unterschiedliche Fächer – aber in erster Linie fürs Jurastudium – war es nämlich charakteristisch, dass die persönliche Meinung bzw. persönliche Initiative im Unterricht immer mehr begrüßt wurde. Die extrem lehrerorientierte Unterrichtsmethode geriet in Sárospatak mit einzigartiger Geschwindigkeit in den Hintergrund, was von enorm großer Bedeutung war.

Hier wurden angesehene politisierende Eliten des Vormärz – wie beispielsweise András Fáy, Lajos Kossuth, Palóczy László, Bertalan Szemere – sozialisiert.

So wurde das Sárospataker Reformierte Kollegium zu einem der wichtigsten ungarischen Instituten. Besonders ostensibel ist dieser Dynamismus, wenn wir ihn mit dem seine recht konservative Phase erlebende Debrecziner Kollegium vergleichen, das noch dazu in vielerlei Hinsicht stagnierte. Aber was stand im Hintergrund des Erfolgs dieses kleinen, ländlichen, ohne Gönner existierenden Kollegiums? Interessanterweise schmiedete das Sárospataker Kollegium sein eigenes Glück aus der nachteiligen Lage: da es existentially ausgeliefert war, musste es sich in erhöhtem Maß nach der unmittelbaren gesellschaftlichen Basis richten und den klein- und mitteladeligen Ansprüchen entsprechen. Der Bestand des Kollegiums konnte nämlich nur durch eine auf die Veränderung reagierende Strategie gesichert werden.

Diese aus Zwang aber ehrlich getragene Attitüde war in der Zeit des erwachenden nationalen Selbstbewusstseins bzw. der Verbürgerlichung von großer Bedeutung. Mein Vortrag analysiert diesen Zwang und Erfolge dessen.

The Historical Significance of Hermann Lotze (1817-1881)

The purpose of Lotze was reconciling Protestant faith with science. Thereby he influenced a whole generation. Following Kraushaar '(...) *the generation of Windelband, Rickert, Wundt, Falckenberg, Hermann Cohen, Stumpf, T. H. Green, Bradley, Bosanquet, Caird, Royce, James, Santayana, and Dewey, in his younger days, found in Lotze a respected and challenging teacher. His ideas continued to be a powerful ferment along many fronts in Continental, British-, and American philosophy up till the World War*'.

In quantitative terms, the amount of secondary literature about Lotze is already an indication of his importance. But the qualitative approach reveals an even more striking proof. A first important influence is evident in the development of the Neo-Kantian schools, as well the Marburg as the Baden one, but each in another direction, dependent on the elements accentuated in Lotze's thinking. The Marburg School emphasized the logical unity of thinking and the unity of the scientific system, while the Baden School highlighted values and thus the true nature of the cultural sciences.

Lotze was introduced in England by Bosanquet, where he influenced Neo-Hegelianism. William James, a student of Lotze in Göttingen, owes much to him in developing his pragmatism, notwithstanding the own experimental nature of the American way of thinking. Husserl, who earned his doctorate in philosophy under Carl Stumpf, who in turn studied under Lotze, read his *Mikrokosmos* while studying mathematics in Berlin in 1880 and especially Lotze's theory of the local signs. He also lectured on Lotze, namely on his logic and epistemology. Several of his students did their thesis on Lotze. Consequently, it is not surprising that many of Lotze's ideas are found back in Husserl's phenomenology. Heidegger adopted the distinction between the existence of sensual things and the existence of general reality from Lotze. According to Beyer the significance of Lotze for Heidegger's *Denkweg* cannot be overestimated. Via Frege, who attended the lectures of Lotze on *Philosophy of Religion*, but who was also acquainted with Lotze's *Logic*, Lotzean thinking also arrived at analytic philosophy.

Even Russell, in spite of his relentless criticism, was influenced by Lotze. Borden Parker Browne, who studied in Germany, was seduced by Lotze's idealism, which inspired him to develop his personalism, which had a huge impact on for all Methodist thinking. In theology Lotze's influence was mainly passed on by Albrecht Ritschl, a colleague of him in Göttingen. Especially Lotze's epistemology was significant.

Added thereto, Lotze's epistemological concept in ethics, led to a sensual approach in ethics. Even traces of Lotze's thinking can be found in the system theory of Bertalanffy, in genetics and in the development of the value theory. Although Lotze may be forgotten, his thinking influenced the *Zeitgeist* and continues to influence unfitness contemporary thinking.

***Hebrew Language and Comparative Linguistics
in the Early Centuries of Hungarian Protestantism.***

Humanism and the Reformation generated interest in Hebrew within Christian circles. The seventeenth century was a period when Hebrew was studied because it was one of the three holy languages of the Bible, it was the only language expressing the truth of Scripture, and it was the first language of mankind. Hungarian Protestant ministers educated during their peregrinations abroad started to examine the Hungarian language linguistically. As its closest relative, Hebrew was thought to produce parallels and models to the scientific description and understanding.

These linguistic studies, though sometimes naïve compared to our modern cognitive systems, provided the first Hungarian grammars, scientific ideas and comparative research in this field. This presentation tries to shed light on this forgotten topic.