

Károly Zsolt Nagy:

“Preserve their piety, their biblical preaching – this is our mission.”

Reformed Confessional Identity of Young People in Transcarpathia¹

When we talk about the migration or forced migration, we mainly think about those individuals and communities, who leave their homes, or who need to leave it. And when we talk about the culture of migration or forced migration, we mostly think of cultural patterns, which characterize the migrants, or the ways of migration, or preservation of the identity of migrants (cf. e.g. Brettel/Hollifield: 2015, 3–36; Barkhof/Smith: 2014). In my presentation I would like to address an aspect, which is slightly less often talked about: those who stayed at home. My example is the long-time isolated Transcarpathian Hungarian Reformed Church.

I'm going to talk about three topics.

1. The first topic is the impact of “málenkij robot” as a special kind of forced migration on the Transcarpathian Reformed communities.
2. The second topic is the evolving of the cultural memory of the migration.
3. And finally, the third topic, the relationship between the young Calvinist people and the emphasized elements of this cultural memory.

1.

As a result of the Treaty of Trianon, the northern and north-eastern counties of Hungary were annexed to Czechoslovakia. Subsequently, in August 1921, the Bereg, Ung and Ugocsa Protestant Dioceses that had belonged to the Transstibiscan Church District, decided to establish the separate Reformed Church in Transcarpathia (Csohány: 2012; Gulácsy: 1991, 107-110; Gulácsy: 2005; Tóth: 2011). Back then the new church consisted of sixty-five thousand congregation members, seventy-seven churches, three subsidiary parishes and three missionary congregations. Seventy-six pastors and five assistant pastors served the churches. At this time fifty-one Protestant schools operated in Transcarpathia. The Czechoslovak government hindered the church's life in many ways. Many schools were secularized. The state did not automatically give citizenship to the Protestant clergy, and did not recognize the leadership of the church. At this time was the “Eastern Circle of Friends” formed in Transcarpathia (Gulácsy: 2005; Orbán: 2009). It was a revival movement that aimed at a self-conscious, Bible-based Calvinist upbringing within the church – in accordance with the processes of the church at that time in Hungary and Transylvania. This revival movement had a great impact in the Transcarpathian Reformed Church, but in many places the church leaders and pastors opposed it. Some of them explained it before the congregation as a new religion, and not as a renewal movement within the church. As a result of the First Vienna Award in 1938 and the Hungarian military operations following it in March, 1939, the

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Transcarpathian Reformed Church also returned to the Transtibiscan Church District. However, after the Soviet army marched in (in October 1944) the Transcarpathian churches became a part of a new state, the Soviet Union. This was the time when the greatest trauma in the history of the Hungarians of Subcarpathia occurred. In November 1944, about ten thousand Hungarian and German men were dragged away to the Soviet camps from the region. The Soviet soldiers carrying out the deportation calmed down the frightened inhabitants by stating that they were taking the men for a reparation work lasting only three days. A little bit of work, that is, “маленькая работа” (malenykaja rabota) – this Russian expression fixated in the minds of those left behind, and became known as the “málenkij robot”. However, the men were not taken for work; they were swung to the relocation camp of Szolyva, and from there to the forced labor camps of the Gulag. A lot of them died there, and those who returned were considered to be war criminals, and were not allowed to talk about what they had gone through. According to a research that took place at the end of the 1990's, the “málenkij robot” had 4,359 registered victims (Bognár: 2009; Molnár D./Tóth: 2009; the Database of Victimes at <http://kmf.uz.ua/mr/index.html>). There were a lot of pastors who also tried to avoid the forced labor. In 1944 about a hundred pastors served in the congregations, but in those days forty pastors abandoned their service, and so the church was nearly paralyzed. The ecclesiastical institutions were secularized, and many churches were closed down – mostly at those settlements, where the pastor had fled. The church structure collapsed. Churches could only operate with state permission. The state banned evangelization, religious education and services performed outside the church (with the exception of funerals). The state restricted the sweep of pastors, illicit printing, and distribution or import of religious literature, particularly the Bible. Total atheist propaganda went into effect.

In this situation, the re-organization of the church began mainly by the Eastern Circle of Friends. About half of the pastors became supporters of the revival movement. Despite the prohibition, evangelism was conducted, Bible studies and church services were held. In their work their main focus was on the young people. Unfortunately, the official church leadership was fundamentally hostile to the evangelical movement.

Significant change occurred in the life of the church after the Circle of Friends wrote a letter to Stalin in 1947. The letter called Stalin an instrument of God's judgment, and compared him to the biblical Nebuchadnezzar. “But you should know – they wrote – that you are a tool in the hands of God, and you have to obey the Lord's will.” (Horkay: 1998, 117.) The letter did not remain unanswered. Two of the letter writers, Barna Horkay and József Zimányi were arrested immediately. Several chaplains were also arrested. They were accused with anti-Soviet activity. Those who survived returned from captivity in May 1956. As one of them, Mr. Gulácsy puts it in his memoirs: “Back then we were convinced, but by now it was particularly evident that God has done well and the seven and a half years of imprisonment served in our favor. That was where we had to be, where thousands of our people were deported without a reason. It would have been a shame on the Church, if it had not taken part in the punishment deserved. The other priests lived at home through the humiliation, eviction, suspensions, disqualifications, threats and very difficult financial circumstances.” (Gulácsy: 2005, 21.)

After this the Transcarpathian church continued to live an isolated life, which only began to ease in the 1980s.

This isolation and the lack of spiritual leaders, Bibles and songbooks led to the intensification and self-organization of religious life. We can find the roots of this self-organization in the peasant ecclesiolas with their layman Puritan origins on the one hand, and in the revival spirit of the Circle of Friends on the other.

The story of the peasant ecclesiolas dates back to the 18th century. In the almost one hundred years following the expelling of the Ottoman Habsburg emperors an institutional “counter-Reformation” took place. A means of paramount importance to this end was to deprive Protestant communities from their spiritual and intellectual leaders, pastors and preachers. This historical circumstance resulted in the assimilation of Protestant communities in many places. However, at other locations, conversely, it triggered abandoned communities to take the organization of their religious life into their own hands. In addition to reading the Bible, singing and praying, the opportunity of elucidation of the Holy Scripture was provided to all Calvinist followers. This was declared by the Reformed teaching on the universal priesthood of believers, and such communities raised these forms of individual religious exercises to the community level. The professional literature calls communities run this way peasant ecclesiolas. (Szigeti: 2013, 469–470.)

These self-organized communities may also have played a major role in the life of the Church in the second half of the 19th century, when under the influence of the prevailing theological paradigms “pastoral care” was considered unnecessary by pastors. These patterns revived in the work of the Peasant Prophets and in the Ecclesiolas formed around them. In the late 1930s, two Calvinist Peasant-Prophetesses worked in Transcarpathia. The main religious lay-leader was Mrs. Mariska Borku (she was born in 1910 – and she died in 1978). The community she was leading operated between 1937–1977 in Tiszaágtelek. “Her highly important work, the so-called “Third Testament” is a manuscript, written under the influence of the Holy Spirit. It was considered by Mrs. Mariska Borku and her followers as a holy text, a continuation of the Bible. These almost 800 biblical “quasi loci” were spread in hand-written copies and were read aloud at religious meetings in the Hungarian villages of Carpathian Ukraine, even fifteen years after her death. Beside the biblical paraphrases, religious songs and prayers, one fourth of the text consists of her visions. The prophetess never explained these visions and the Holy Spirit’s “verbs” to her followers – only announced them. Recently the largest religious community of her followers, mostly women over fifty, exists in the village of Dercen.” (Küllös: 2001, 153.) Its lay-leader, Miss Ida Balla, can explain the Words of the “Third Testament”, and the visions of Mrs. Mariska Borku. The other prophet, Borbála Szanyi Mikó, lived and worked in the neighboring village of Nagydobrony for two decades. She organized a prayer group called the congregation of Erdős or Rekesz around herself mostly from the group of her family members and relatives. She also wrote down her “Words” she received in the form of revelations in a work titled *Örökkévaló Evangélium* (Eternal Gospel). (Sándor: 2003, 157.)

As has been demonstrated by the researchers Imola Küllös and Katalin Sándor, in these communities the Puritan and Pietist tradition of the Reformed religiousness was determinant. The main elements of this tradition are as follows:

- regular Bible reading and Bible study with the community;
- intensive prayer and devotion, and
- exercise of the community of other believers

I think these three elements can be supplemented by a fourth. One of the central ideas of the pietistic piety is the mystical unity of believers with Christ, which is achieved through the experience of the suffering of Christ. This is not a new idea, but it basically came to Protestantism through pietism.

Between the two World Wars pietistic religiosity characterized mostly the awakening or the so called domestic mission in Hungary (Bíró/Szilágyi: 1995 [1949], 383–417). This school had sometimes ferocious fights with another devotional and spiritual school known as historical Calvinism. Historical Calvinists tried to revive the Church through the actualization of the rediscovered doctrines of Calvin. For them dogmatic and confessional doctrines and through these the establishment of clear borders between the different denominations held uttermost importance, and the emotional dimensions of religion were not so important. As a result, many of those who were devoted to the liberal or rationalist theology preferred this school. The school of domestic mission on the other hand did not consider the dogmatic and confessional doctrines too important, so it was a naturally characterized by ecumenical openness (Révész 1923; Tavaszy: 1925). This circumstance is important to us because the way the religious life of Subcarpathia was divided between the two World Wars according to the recollections, is a reflection of this conflict. The church leadership – the pastors and the leaders of the church organization – belonged mostly to the school emphasizing the denominational traditions. But a large portion of the followers, with a few pastors in the beginning continuously increasing in number, followed the devotional school characteristic of the domestic mission and pietism. Among them there were two peasant prophets, whose work was disapproved by the official church; they were considered to be sect leaders and their work was believed to further divide the already deranged religious community (Küllös/Sándor: 2009, 64-66).

Between the two world wars in Hungary and Transylvania, regardless of denomination a specific form of “national religious allegory” spread. The allegory paralleled Christ’s suffering to the suffering of Hungarians because of Trianon. [Picture 1. The cover of Louis Kossuth Birinyi’s book: “Why the Treaty of Trianon is Void” (Grand Rapids MI: V. L. R. Simmons) from 1938.] We don’t know if this allegory was known in Transcarpathia. It can only be assumed that between 1938-1944, when Transcarpathia belonged to Hungary again, people were exposed to it through the press. The effect of Allegory cannot be demonstrated in the two peasant prophet’s texts clearly. It is assumed, however, that the Christ-mysticism, which marks the texts very strongly, caused such crosstalk in the audience.

Mariska Borku worked until 1977. The organization of Transcarpathian Reformed Church was significantly degraded by the end of 1970s. The number of pastors strongly lessened. Just twenty mostly elderly clergyman served in eighty-one congregations. Since 1974, however, there was some slight relief in the relationship between church and state. The church received permission to train two pastors, and this was repeated every two years after 1977 (Gulácsy: 1991, 112).

2. After the political changes in the Ukraine, the KRE allowed to carry out the work legally but under very difficult circumstances. A lot of people who had no contact with the church previously joined the more and more active churchlife. A number of young people who have lost their Hungarian Protestant religious roots as well as their Hungarian language and cultural

roots matriculated in the re-organized denominational secondary schools. Therefore, it was necessary to reformulate the Hungarian Reformed identity, in a way that they can understand. This process in Transcarpathia was emphatically apolitical until recently – as opposed to other Hungarian Protestant communities. The synod of KRE distanced itself from all types of political activity, and the redefinition of identity was based mainly on the religious dimension of faith. However, this situation has been slowly changing in recent years. Since 2010, in order to ensure the institutional existence, there has been a strong demand towards the KRE to take a more active role in political and public life. This change is taking place currently, so we cannot base our interpretation on extensive research. We can assume, however, that one of the reasons is the generational shift among pastors. The majority of young pastors are trained in Hungary. These young people are not only theologically more informed, but during their studies they also observe how the Hungarian Reformed Church tries to enforce its interest in politics and public life. Returning home, they are trying to use this experience for helping their Reformed community, which is in danger of subsistence as religious and ethnic minority as well. For the elder pastors it is the attribute “Reformed”, whereas for the younger pastors the attribute “Hungarian” in the name of the Church that has become significant.

These two relevant dimensions are two different – but complementary – narratives, which play a role in forming the memory of the dictatorship in the Church.

- A. The first narrative focuses on the piety, and the religiosity of the victims. A good example of this narrative is the speech of Transcarpathian Bishop Alexander Zán Fábíán at the inauguration ceremony of the memorial of deported pastors. [Picture 2 & 3. The inauguration of the Memorial of Martyr Pastors. Beregszász, 2008. Source: http://refua.tirek.hu/data/gallery/14463/thumbs/pic_1elkxszekx_elxljrxk.jpg.140x87q85.jpg] As the official account appearing on the website of the church puts it: “Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil: for thou art with me; thy rod and thy staff they comfort me.’ (Psalms 23: 3–4) – quoted psalmist’s words Sándor Zán Fábíán, bishop of the Subcarpathian Reformed Church; lines that served to encourage our deported pastors.” After this part the account discusses in length how the bishop explains this section of the Bible in the historical context of the “malenkij robot”: “The psychological terror of the authorities together with the terrible poverty and an economy destroyed by the war practically paralyzed the people. Men separated from their families in the distance, widows in eternal black at home, mothers who lost their children. Furious atheism and the enormous vulnerability of ordinary people. Our pastors had to talk about the power of victorious and retaining faith in such difficult circumstances. (...) These pastors did not call for revolt, they preached gently. Living the Faith was what they were persecuted for, for which they were sent to their deaths. For who had faith, were dangerous to the system. Here is the saddening balance: After 1944 forty Protestant pastors were deported because of their faith. Many of them established living communities behind the barbed wires. On their return from captivity, during the Great Awakening in the nineties they were the yeast of the renewal period. They could serve in the suffering church, and left us a legacy. Preserve their piety, their biblical preaching - this is our mission. Because today there is a great need for preachers of the living faith, for the existence of our Hungarian communities is at risk again.” (Marton: 2008 [online]) Thus, the bishop believes that they have to walk on the old and tried way among the new threats.

B. The second narrative focuses on the resistance motif. As a young pastor says: “When we talk about it, we always emphasize that we have so many martyrs because they were not willing to cooperate with the oppressive atheist power. (There are some scarce examples for this as well – they got away). In the case of the pastors this is even more true; basically it can be stated that in our region none of them were recruited, so most of them put the pastoral robe down, or died as a martyr.” (Interview with K.L., on 18.11.2014.) This formulation essentially follows the theory of right of resistance from Calvin. **Picture 4 & 5. Commemoration of martyrs. Rát, 2014. Photograpy: Tibor Szimkovics.**

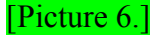
In order to understand the difference between the two narratives and to see the slight shift between them, it is worthwhile to note down in a few sentences what the idea of the Calvinian right to oppose consisted of – as Calvin himself wrote about it in the fourth book of the *Institutio*. The Calvinian right to oppose was an important motivational factor in the freedom fight of István Bocskai in 1604–1606, and has been an important factor in the Reformed thinking connecting the feudal and national freedom with the freedom of religion. In this context Calvin is mostly referred to just as the person who theologially justified the possibility to oppose tyranny, and thus liberated Protestants to start an – if necessary, even armed – resistance. But Calvin's train of thought is more complex than that, and discusses it in details who and under what circumstances have the right to resist. Now I would like to highlight only two of his ideas that are important in understanding the analyzed narratives.

On one hand Calvin urges obedience towards the worldly authority. Namely, authority comes from God, who puts it to the top of society with special tasks to fulfil. Even if this authority fails its tasks and becomes unworthy to its privileged situation, revolt cannot be our first reaction. As he writes: “Wherefore, if we are cruelly tormented by a savage, if we are rapaciously pillaged by an avaricious or luxurious, if we are neglected by a sluggish, if, in short, we are persecuted for righteousness’ sake by an impious and sacrilegious prince, let us first call up the remembrance of our faults, which doubtless the Lord is chastising by such scourges. In this way humility will curb our impatience. And let us reflect that it belongs not to us to cure these evils, that all that remains for us is to implore the help of the Lord, in whose hands are the hearts of kings, and inclinations of kingdoms.” God standeth in the congregation of the mighty; he judgeth among the gods.” Before his face shall fall and be crushed all kings and judges of the earth, who have not kissed his anointed, who have enacted unjust laws to oppress the poor in judgment, and do violence to the cause of the humble, to make widows a prey, and plunder the fatherless.” (Calvin: 2002 [1599], 915–916.)

On the other hand it follows from this that the rebellion and the revenge for the “depravity” of the authority is not the assignment of the “people” in general, but of the chosen ones of God. So, Calvin continues: “Herein is the goodness, power, and providence of God wondrously displayed. At one time he raises up manifest avengers from among his own servants, and gives them his command to punish accursed tyranny, and deliver his people from calamity when they are unjustly oppressed; at another time he employs, for this purpose, the fury of men who have other thoughts and other aims. Thus he rescued his people Israel from the tyranny of Pharaoh by Moses... (...) Let princes hear and be afraid; but let us at the same time guard most carefully against spurning or violating the venerable and majestic authority of rulers, an authority which God has sanctioned by the surest edicts, although those invested with it should be most unworthy of it, and, as far as in them lies, pollute it by their iniquity.

Although the Lord takes vengeance on unbridled domination, let us not therefore suppose that vengeance is committed to us, to whom no command has been given but to obey and suffer. I speak only of private men. For when popular magistrates have been appointed to curb the tyranny of kings (...). So far am I from forbidding these officially to check the undue license of kings, that if they connive at kings when they tyrannise and insult over the humbler of the people, I affirm that their dissimulation is not free from nefarious perfidy, because they fraudulently betray the liberty of the people, while knowing that, by the ordinance of God, they are its appointed guardains.“ (Calvin: 2002 [1599], 916.) Finally Calvin phrases the criterion of choosing between obedience and opposition the following way: “But in that obedience which we hold to be due to the commands of rulers, we must always make the exception, nay, must be particularly careful that it is not incompatible with obedience to Him to whose will the wishes of all kings should be subject, to whose decrees their commands must yield, to whose majesty their sceptres must bow. And, indeed, how preposterous were it, in pleasing men, to incur the offence of Him for whose sake you obey men! The Lord, therefore, is King of kings. When he opens his sacred mouth, he alone is to be heard, instead of all and above all. We are subject to the men who rule over us, but subject only in the Lord. If they command anything against Him let us not pay the least regard to it, nor be moved by all the dignity which they possess as magistrates – a dignity to which no injury is done when it is subordinated to the special and truly supreme power of God.“ (Calvin: 2002 [1599], 916.)

Basically this train of thought can be discovered in what happened in Subcarpathia. To the foreign, oppressing, godless authority – that is, an atheist authority radically limiting the freedom of religion – the first reaction of the awakening movement developing around the Circle of Friends was that of impenitency, and this voice can be seen in the letter written to Stalin. The second reaction was the resistance towards the authority, but its form reflected the principle mentioned by Calvin as well, that of “We must obey God rather than men” (Acts 5: 29); thus, they resisted by doing their work: continuing the organization of religious communities despite the authority forbidding it. In the center of the resistance there were the pastors, who have – just like Bocskai – often been compared to Moses in the Reformed “folklore” (Bitskei: 2004, 358-361) and whose doom was caused by this.

However, this is just one of the cultural roots of this narrative. The other is the community, which is experienced in suffering. This is the motif that I mentioned earlier, and the wording, which I quote here (in very rough translation) can be traced back to the Hungarian national anthem. On 23 November 2014 in Beregszász there was a ceremony commemorating the victims of “malenky robot”. On the invitation card  the following verse can be read:

“Sadly Hungarians pray
Heavenly Father to you.
Turn to us, Hungarians,
Your benevolent holy face.
Crying we ask and pray to You,
To thee our souls fly.
Such a sea of pain
We do not deserve.” (Tóth: 2014 [online])

The two situations represented by the two narratives are somewhat different. The first story is about pastors. This is a narrower Protestant cause. The second story is the Transcarpathian Hungarian community's case, and it is broader. However, in both stories Reformed people remember the fate of their own communities, and with these different acts of remembrance they are trying to include the various elements of the Protestant identity in a group of problem-solving competencies, which can be used in everyday life. In the first case, the sense of vocation, self-denial and self-sacrificing work in the community for the glory of God is important. In the second case the resistance to tyranny can be interpreted as a consequence of the fifth "sola": "Soli Deo Gloria", that is all the glory is to be due to God alone, which means that no one man should be so honored as God.

3. But the question is what community members think about these identity elements?

In order to find out the answer, in the autumn of 2013 I conducted a questionnaire-based research in the four Transcarpathian Hungarian Reformed high schools. **[Picture 6. Map of Transcarpathia.]** The questionnaire consisted of two parts. The first part included the usual issues of social background and religiosity. In the second part there were issues with which I tried to refine the image related to the respondents' religiosity and denominational identity. The respondents had to indicate their agreement or disagreement related to the 95 statement on a five-point scale where the number "1" meant total refusal and the number "5" full agreement with the statement. Consequently, the number "3" was used to express indetermination. Now I'm going to highlight the results of three statements.

3.1. Vocation and community.

3.1.1. [88] Service to God we fulfill in our individual career, therefore, the starting point and foundation of every good action is our vocation from God. Those who do not adapt to this, they will never walk the right path in their life. We shall not stand before God's judgment seat, if don't do what our profession requires.

[Table 1. & Diagram 1.]

The statement formulates the individual calling and the related responsibility. As shown in the table, the respondents were strongly divided. When we analyze the responses separately, we find that most of them are uncertain. The answers given to option 3 make up 41.5% of all answers. When we combine the responses located in the two poles, the result is amended slightly. On the negative pole (option 1 and 2) the proportion of those who tend to disagree is 11.9%. On the positive pole (option 4 and 5) the proportion of those who tend to agree is 44.9%. The difference between those who agree and those who are uncertain is very small.

3.1.2. [57] The Reformed man is responsible for the community in which he was born because God had placed him there. There is no accident, only a God-given mission he needs to faithfully fulfill.

[Table 2. & Diagram 2.]

This statement formulates the community aspect of the previous one. In this case, what we witnessed is “overwhelming” consensus. The overall percentage of those who prefer to agree (option 4 and 5) is 84.7%. I think this is a very important result, because the content of the two statements are linked. This is what we see in the case of the deported pastors. They had a personal calling and it determined that they took responsibility for their community. For young people who have replied to the questionnaire, this relationship between the vocation and the community is uncertain.

3.1.3. [27] The aim of the Reformed man's life is self-sacrificing service of God's glory.

[Table 3. & Diagram 3.]

As shown by the results of this question, the reason for the uncertainty is not the lack of religious commitment. As can be seen, 82.2% of the respondents agree with the fundamental doctrine that the aim of the Reformed man's life is self-sacrificing service of God's glory. The causes therefore likely to be found elsewhere. (One such reason is the lack of vocation, which can be considered as age-related characteristics as well.)

3.2. Resistance to tyranny

3.2.1. [46] For the Protestant people God is the holder of any major power, and therefore they reject all forms of despotism and working on democracy is a primary responsibility for them.

[Table 4. & Diagram 4.]

This statement, as it was mentioned before, formulates one of the fundamentals of the Reformed political thought. The adoption of the statement is important because as we have seen, this is one of those ideas, through which deportation can be interpreted as martyrdom. As you can see, the results did not show a clear consensus. Summarizing the results of the fourth and fifth option, 64.4% of respondents tend to agree. However, we can see that separately analyzing the responses to the third and the fourth option yields almost the same results. Although these though are smaller than the result with the option 5, they clearly indicate the division of the answers.

3.2.2. [15] An important task of the Reformed people is to seek God's will which is to be asserted in public affairs and politics. So they should not retract from public life or politics.

[Table 5. & Diagram 5.]

In the case of statement 15, the situation is almost the same. The difference is that the proportion of disagreeing is definitely higher here.

3.2.3. [05] I think the Church should not take part in the struggles of political parties.

Finally, the fifth statement already shows a clear attitude. The vast majority of respondents believe that the proper space for advocacy activities of the church is not politics.

[Table 6. & Diagram 6.]

Conclusion

The historical significance of the Reformed Church was that it worked as a nation retaining power. This is one of the most important identity narratives in the Hungarian Reformed Church. It helps to summarize the history of the church and helps to legitimize its public life activities. This statement – as the fourth – is also included in the questionnaire. [Table 7. & Diagram 7.] The answers given to it – in a nutshell – indicate uncertainty. The Transcarpathian Reformed youth is unsure about whether they should consider the nation retaining power of the Reformed Church in terms of politics. In order to explore the cause of the uncertainty we need to continue further research. The reasons, as I pointed out, may be age-specific features as well. It is certain that the community is important to them, but they have not found their place in it. This is important because we know that denominationality and religiosity are not the same categories. Denominationality is a cultural consciousness which refers to religiosity.

Our working hypothesis for further research – based on the data listed so far – could be that for young people in Transcarpathia this reference has lost its basis. It is very important, that this process seems to be even stronger where the respondents live in a denominational or ethnic minority. For we know that, the minority status is decisive in the life of the Transcarpathian Hungarian community more and more. We also know that changes in religiousness of a society influenced by age groups or cohorts. Thus, the difference in the use of the past as preparedness that we have seen among young people and young pastors, may be a component of the conflict affecting the fate of the community in the future.

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