

REFORMATION MINISTER'S NEO-PROTESTANT MISSION IN VOJVODINA IN THE 19TH CENTURY

Abstract: *The Reformation has mostly been present since the second half of the 18th century in Vojvodina. In this area, the history of the predominantly reformed settlements, their own communities, and their congregations has already been more or less researched. In Vojvodina, the Reformation does not live in a block, but in a relatively dispersed manner. In addition, among the reformed church districts in the Carpathian Basin, the Serbian Reformed Christian Church is still one of the smallest church communities with its twelve thousand souls approximately. This was the southern bastion of European Protestantism, where even the reformers had to fight a huge battle against the opponents of the Lutheran and Calvinist doctrines, especially against the Orthodox Church. Despite the difficulties, many reformed churches were established. However, about a hundred years later, in the second half of the 19th century, the reformed ministers of Vojvodina were already intolerant towards the members of the new Protestant religious movements. There were hardly any exceptions in their circles. The article aims to present the conditions of the time and the state of religious freedom in Vojvodina through the thoughts of a progressive 19th century reformed minister. He does this by pointing out the difficult situation of the historic Protestant churches, the role, importance and challenges of the internal mission in parallel with the spread of the rapidly spreading neo-Protestant trends. The question arises as to how a responsible pastor can maintain the basic theological teaching of his own church while being open to adopting the missionary methods of small religious communities classified as sects at the time. Can we discover a kind of early ecumenical approach in this openness, or is the situation different? The author tries to answer these questions with the help of numerous contemporary sources, archival materials, newspaper articles and minutes.*

Keywords: *Internal mission, Free Church communities, Universal priesthood, Protestant pietism, Ecumenism.*

REFORMISANA EPISKOPALNA NEOPROTESTANTSKA MISIJA U VOJVODINI U 19. VEKU

Sažetak: *Reformacija je u Vojvodini uglavnom prisutna od druge polovine 18. veka. U ovoj oblasti, istorija pretežno reformisanih naselja, njihovih zajednica i njihovih kongregacija je već manje-više istražena. U Vojvodini reformacija nije zbijena na jedno mesto, već relativno raspršena. Pored toga, među reformisanim crkvenim oblastima u*

¹ Rector, Head of Department of Church History, Hungarian Adventist Theological College, Pecel, Hungary. E-mail: tibor@adventista.hu

Karpatском басену, Срpska reformisana hrišćanska crkva je i dalje jedna od najmanjih crkvenih opština sa oko dvanaest hiljada vernika. Ovo je bio južni bastion evropskog protestantizma, gde su čak i reformatori morali da vode ogromnu bitku sa protivnicima luteranske i kalvinističke doktrine, posebno protiv pravoslavne crkve. Uprkos poteškoćama, osnovane su mnoge reformisane crkve. Međutim, stotinak godina kasnije, u drugoj polovini 19. veka, reformisani vojvođanski ministri su već bili netolerantni prema pripadnicima novih protestantskih verskih pokreta. U njihovim krugovima jedva da je bilo izuzetaka. Članak ima za cilj da prikaže tadašnje prilike i stanje verskih sloboda u Vojvodini kroz razmišljanja jednog naprednog reformisanog ministra iz 19. veka. On to čini ukazujući na tešku situaciju istorijskih protestantskih crkava, ulogu, značaj i izazove unutrašnje misije uporedo sa širenjem neoprotestantskih trendova koji se brzo šire. Postavlja se pitanje kako odgovoran pastor može održavati osnovno teološko učenje svoje crkve dok je otvoren za usvajanje misionarskih metoda malih verskih zajednica koje su u to vreme klasifikovane kao sekte. Možemo li u ovoj otvorenosti otkriti neku vrstu ranog ekumenskog pristupa ili je situacija drugačija? Autork pokušava da odgovori na ova pitanja uz pomoć brojnih savremenih izvora, arhivske građe, novinskih članaka i zapisnika.

Кljučне речи: unutrašnja misija, slobodne crkvene zajednice, vasseljensko sveštenstvo, protestantski pijetizam, ekumenizam.

Introduction

In the second half of the 19th century, times were hard and troublesome for the Protestant churches and congregations of Central Europe. The churches in large towns had become partially abandoned and more or less regular churchgoers were motivated more by adherence to tradition than by personal, living faith (Bíró et al., 1949: 352). There were exceptions, of course, the overall picture, however, was not all rosy and the prospects of the accepted churches were not promising at all, either in the short term or in the longer run. It is not much of an exaggeration to say that Protestantism was facing a deep crisis in the mid-19th century, which undoubtedly facilitated the inflow of new religious ideas and, as a result, the emergence of new communities (Tonhaizer, 2020: 239). Several factors helped the rapid reception of thinking with a pietistic orientation. After the Austro-Hungarian Compromise² of 1867, the development of the region's economy showed consistent growth, quickly leading to the restructuring of the society. It also resulted in significantly increased social mobility and rapid urbanisation. Poverty-stricken masses moved from the world of villages and farms to towns, modern by comparison to rural areas in which they had dwelt, with factories, schools and healthcare institutions, and promising more secure livelihood. This

2 A two-centred dualist state, the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy was created based on a compromise. In addition to having the common king, Austria and Hungary were also connected by the joint ministries of foreign affairs, finance and war. In the state operating as a constitutional monarchy, both countries had independent, bicameral legislatures and their own competent government. The Austrian and Hungarian governments managed the internal politics of the two equal parts of the empire (public administration, justice, education, etc.) independently of each other.

trend, together with the high-sounding antireligious phrases of the left-wing political movements emerging about that time, quickly reshaped the traditional thinking of the working class that was growing more and more numerous. In parallel with cutting themselves off their roots, maybe not right away, but eventually their religious attitude began to wane, and there seemed very little that churches, lacking the necessary means, could do about it (Bucsay, 1985: 223). Of course, there was a significant number of those whose religious upbringing did not disappear without a trace, but they found their way more easily to small missionary communities – that moved their thoughts and provided moral, not dogmatic, answers to their questions – than to traditional churches. Of course, it is also true that, on political or religious grounds, Social Democratic movements and communities of a pietistic bent espoused, in part, similar views, where the former thus somehow gave a new momentum to the latter. Some of those included the principles of social justice, the pursuit of legal and economic equality, as well as freedom of religion. On the other hand, among the underlying reasons were biblical criticism, becoming more predominant in theological studies, rugged rationalism and, consequently, sermons becoming boring, and - last, but not least - stodgy and ossified ecclesial life (Fekete, 1993: 92–93). According to the contemporary and apt wording, ‘the people have become weary of dry speeches’ (Bíró et al., 1949: 364–365). It is not surprising that in one place Jenő Szigeti writes that the mid-19th century brought about the first wave of secularisation in the history of Hungarian Protestantism (Szigeti, 2004: 175–181). ‘In the 1880s, small Protestant, mainly Reformed peasant ecclesiastical communities were disappearing. Theological liberalism had won. House churches excluded from churches sought for and found support in Baptist congregations’, we read in Szigeti’s other study (Rajki & Szigeti, 2012: 96). By the late 19th century, house churches, as ‘the workshops of Protestant godliness’, had become more and more suspicious and less and less accepted organisations in the eye of official churches (Szigeti, 2009: 60).

In order to remedy the situation, inner (or home) missionary³ endeavours gained strength in several places within the Hungarian Reformed Church, which operated on the grounds of spirituality and could steer a fair number of former followers to the mother church (Czékus, 1858: 553–557). The news about the Reformation awakening traveled far (Révész, 1943). Not to underestimate the effectiveness of those endeavours, it must also be taken into account that, in addition to attempts related to inner mission, several free church communities with tolerated status

3 Internal mission: It was a spiritual renewal movement with a pietistic spirit that developed from the middle of the 19th century within the Reformed Church. Its main purpose was to counterbalance the rational, enlightened thinking found in the theology of the church, and then also in the congregations. The persistent adherence to the message of the Bible created base communities and drove many believers back to the Reformed Church. The movement was also suitable for presenting the spiritual values of traditional Protestantism to the members of the Free Church communities (Baptists, Nazarenes, Adventists).

(Gergely et al., 1997: 166) were developing in the Carpathian Basin, including the afore-mentioned Baptists (Mészáros, 1996), Nazarenes and, sometime later, Adventists. The spirituality and Puritan religious practice of those communities had an important influence on the life of the population, especially of the peasantry on the Hungarian Great Plain⁴ and in Vojvodina, the lower-middle class living in market towns, while it also impacted some Protestant pastors' thinking and pastoral service. József Szalay (Jozsef Szalay) Reformed minister in Zrenjanin was one of them.

The Formation of József Szalay's Vocation in Light of Inner Missionary Endeavours

József Szalay was born in Makó on 30 July 1855. He attended the first to fourth grade in a secondary school in his hometown, then pursued his secondary education in Bratislava in 1870. He began his tertiary theological studies in Budapest in 1874 and at the same time attended courses of the Faculty of Humanities. He was educated at the University of Edinburgh from 1878, from where he returned to his own country two years later. He became an assistant pastor in Pancevo in the summer of 1880 and was inaugurated as an ordinary pastor in Zrenjanin from December. Thanks to his studies in Scotland and his excellent English language skills, he had a good relationship with Alexander Moody Stuart (1809–1898), the head of the Scottish mission in Budapest (Kovács, 2006: 895–914), who gave extensive and exhaustive answers to Szalay's questions, highlighting the need for and urgency of inner mission.

Those were far from empty words, as Szalay took action and began to build a church and a parsonage almost from the beginning of his activity as a pastor in Zrenjanin, as is apparent from the relatively well-documented sources (*Debreczeni Protestáns Lap*, 1881: 283–284). Because of the lack of sufficient funds to cover the construction of the buildings, he began to actively raise funds in a somewhat unusual manner: he embarked on a series of tours to a number of Reformed congregations in the first half of the 1880s to draw his brothers' attention to the significance of the building project in Zrenjanin. Every penny raised was accounted for in the general assembly of the Vojvodina Diocese (*Tiszántúli Református Egyházkerület Levéltára*, I.29, 61–70).

His first articles were published in *Szabad Egyház* [Free Church] and *Debreczeni Protestáns Lap* [Protestant Journal of Debrecen]. From 1885 to 1886, he was the editor of the latter journal. The journal *Keresztyén* [Christian] (1892–1899) was also published under his editorship, and then he got involved in the inner mission activities and, in fact, became, as the pastor of Zrenjanin, a prominent

⁴ A plain in the central part of the Carpathian Basin along the course of the Danube and Tisza rivers, divided into sandy areas, loess ridges and watercourses.

figure of the first period of the inner mission (Rajki & Szigeti, 2012: 117), as well as a widely renowned and respected leader of the awakening in the Southern Great Plain Region. He defined the spread of the gospel, i.e. the mission, as one of his most important pastoral activities and top priorities. In his view, as made clear in his articles, that was indisputably necessary, since the people living in the region were 'spiritually dead', and it was also highly questionable whether they would 'resurrect in the awakening springtime' (Tiszántúli Református Egyházkerület Levéltára, I.29). He believed, and this was also agreed with Menyhért Lónyay elected to be the lay president of the Danubian Church District in 1871, that successful mission and renewal required education, development and appointment of devout pastors who did not see pastoral service as a mere livelihood (Protestáns Egyházi és Iskolai Lap, 1871: 741). He regarded the low number of ministers in the region, and farms left without pastoral presence and care as serious problems. In his opinion, effective inner mission could help alleviate those problems, in which (and in this he was also partly taking into account lessons learned from foreign examples) itinerant ministers or, in more archaic parlance, itinerant preachers would roam the region. Well, this is the point where we might ask ourselves some questions: Did Szalay remain on the ground of Reformed inner missionary endeavours or did he enter the uncharted waters of free churches? But even if he indeed remained in the bosom of the Reformed Church, a legitimate question may be raised: to what extent and in what fields the beliefs held and exercised by the communities of free churches influenced him.

Szalay's Relationship with Communities of Free Churches and Their Doctrines

Considering the articles written by him and other contemporary documents, József Szalay most likely had relationships with the leaders and members of various communities belonging to free churches. Putting it very simply, he showed ecumenical openness not only upwards and horizontally but also downwards at a time when such ideas were still very much advanced. It is safe to say that he was ahead of his time in that regard. Reverend Szalay's weekday Bible study often held in servants' quarters for wage-labourers - among whom land-stewards also appeared occasionally - became widely known. Not only Protestants but also members of other denominations and religious communities attended his Bible readings. There is no indication in the sources whether the religious affiliation of the participants of the Bible study was of concern to the minister, although most of the diocesan reports on those readings have survived (Tiszántúli Református Egyházkerület Levéltára, I.29). However, the minister taking up the case of inner mission got in touch with free church doctrines not so much through personal contacts, but more particularly through literature, by studying various publications of devotional literature.

He took an active part in the translation of some of them. Szalay enjoyed reading the Baptist Spurgeon's (1834–1892) sermons and, according to contemporary sources available, even used them in his own sermons, in the form of references (Szalay, 1902: 156–159). The only one who preceded him in this regard was the two-decade-older excellent expert translator and pastor, Kálmán Könyves Tóth (1837–1924), who was also influenced by the great English preacher's thoughts in productive ways. It would be an exaggeration to call it a strong long-term relationship, but the fact is that, among others, the Adventists of the period also knew of his work, as the Adventist Rottmayer family (Szilvási & Tonhaizer, 2017: 307). living in Cluj-Napoca were subscribers and avid readers of the journal *Keresztyén* [Christian] edited by the minister. The relationship was mutual since the article 'Közel-e a vég? [Is the end near?]' published in the June 1893 issue of the journal was translated into Hungarian by Mária Rottmayer.

Probably thanks to that relationship, Szalay established the First Hungarian Mission Society in 1894, but, before that, Ludwig Richard Conradi (1856–1939), Adventist missionary and pastor coordinating the European mission, had visited him in Zrenjanin and had a cordial discussion with him (Szilvási & Tonhaizer, 2017: 305–306). Szalay described the visit in his journal:

'Conradi, a missionary from Hamburg, as the secretary for the association distributing international religious writings, came to Nagybecskerek (Zrenjanin) and, after discoursing on the publication of Hungarian and Serbian religious documents with the editor of this journal and Bogdán Popovich, held an interpretation of the Scriptures in the Reformed pastor's house on the 19th of last month. After giving his discourse, Lay President Vécsey thanked Mr. Conradi for the courtesy of visiting Nagybecskerek (Zrenjanin) and giving a discourse' (*Keresztyén*, 1893: 16).

Due to that connection, he obtained a copy of the widely published and distributed 'Steps to Christ' written by Ellen Gould White (1827–1915), a well-known Adventist authoress, and was the first person to translate her work into Hungarian under the title 'Jézushoz vezető út' only two years after its original English edition (1894).⁵ Szalay also played an active part in the distribution of the printed work, which he described to its future readers as 'the doctrines of Christian living' (*Keresztyén*, 1894: 96).

However, he said more than that in the dedication, which is little known but all the more remarkable: 'I can say that I have never read a better work that would provide more exhaustive and clearer coverage of spiritual life and Christian living than this book. I highly recommend it. I wish to say to my fellow Christians that if they cannot afford it, they should sell their coats and buy the book because it is

5 Significant issues, including repentance, confession, knowledge of God, faith in Christ and growth in His grace, are discussed from a pietistic approach and from the viewpoint of practical Christianity in the book.

worth it. And I will send the book to those who do not have any coats to sell but wish to possess a copy of it free at the expense of the mission fund' (Keresztyén, 1894: 48).

It is safe to assume and can even be pointed out in certain cases that, in addition to the general ideas and practices of the inner mission of the Reformed Church, Szalay's views and versatile pastor work were also influenced by the above ideas of free churches. He recognised the Advent waiting preachers' education and training for providing basic medical knowledge. He stated his conviction that not only was that in harmony with the nature and message of the ministry of/serving Jesus that heals both body and soul but also was of great importance concerning the mission as the healing of the body makes the spirit more accessible (Szigeti, 64–72). He also recognised the effectiveness of the methods used by the communities for many years to increase the number of their members in his articles that examine the reasons for the remarkably rapid progress of the Baptist and, partly, Nazarene missions (Szalay, 1891: 65–66). Here we can mention, *inter alia*, the intention to extend the principle of priesthood of all believers discussed below. In his view, it was hardly the devil's work that ministers in the Reformed Church kept contacts with the heads of rapidly growing religious communities, and if there was anything worth considering after the example offered by these communities, his Church would better do so (Szigeti, 1976: 71–77). His articles caused quite a stir within the Reformed Church, which opened the door to true and false accusations against him. It should not surprise us, if we try to imagine that, understandably, the incredibly rapid spread of new religious movements stirred dislike and dread within the prominent representatives of the Church. The following words of Szalay's contemporary Sándor Nagy, a Reformed Church minister, echoed his contemporaries' dread that appeared to be legitimate but proved to be groundless from our modern perspective: 'Truly I say to you that the Hungary that was only debilitated, but could not have been broken, by the Tatar herd and Labanc [German loyal to emperor] mercenary troops [...] is going to be devastated by the Baptists and Nazarenes' (Nagy, 1881: 744–745).

Szalay's Loyalty to the Church in the Storm of Opposition

The majority of allegations against the minister of Zrenjanin came to light in the 1890s and the first years following the turn of the century. One of the gravest accusations against Szalay was that, like small religious communities, he as an ordained and thus responsible Reformed pastor allowed those who were not entitled or authorised to do so to serve from the Word of God. József Szalay denied it emphatically at the very beginning of the decade and expressed his indignation in the pages of the journal *Szabad Egyház* [Free Church]: 'We are blamed for spreading Baptism and Nazarenism by means of our activities. Even though there

are no such sects in our congregations and no one of the members of our Church has become one of them [...]’ (Szalay, 1891: 67–68). His strong protest proved to be ineffective, as, just two years later, József Tóth, a religion teacher in Oradea, accused the pastor of Zrenjanin of becoming a Baptist in secret in the journal *Debreczeni Protestáns Lap* [Protestant Journal of Debrecen], which Szalay repeatedly sought to refute in the journal he edited (Keresztyén, 1893: 67).

In the mid-1890s, József Hevesi, a Bible salesman, was one of the few people entrusted (Szigeti, 2005: 98–113), who conducted religious meetings with Reformed believers with Szalay’s alleged permission, where he preached publicly. The Reformed minister of Zrenjanin sought vigorously to deny by insisting that he absolutely had not authorised him to preach and just recommended him as a bookseller to the Bible Society of Scotland, but the situation is not so obvious according to the surviving written sources.⁶ After all, the position and injunction of the Church authority were in his favour. Although he could not clear himself of the accusation, it was proven that Hevesi had not declared anything contradicting the beliefs of the Reformed Church. In any case, it turned out that, like the members of free churches, József Szalay strongly sympathised with the biblical doctrine of the universal priesthood of all believers, also enunciated by Luther and Calvin (Fazakas, 2017: 384–386). József Szalay had to face almost the same situation a decade later, in June 1904, when he allowed Dr. Árpád Eördögh, a judge of the General Court, to preach publicly, who, on top of that, gave a Pentecostal sermon from the pulpit of the church in Zrenjanin (Eördögh, 1904: 86–88). Szalay was then accused, inter alia, of ‘openly propagating baptism’ (Keresztyén Evangélista, 1904: 86–88). Although Dean Lajos Domby warned him to refrain from doing such things in the future, Szalay was not banned or suspended.

Here, it is important to see that the excellent Reformed pastor never, in any way, turned against his own Church, despite the accusations against him. He did not formulate any doctrines that might have caused serious concerns for higher-ranking leaders and directing bodies of the Church. Like other enthusiastic supporters of the inner mission, he strongly advocated visiting families and especially the sick, holding meetings for worship at home, preparing and publication of high-quality literature evoking awakening, as well as ‘the siege of errors’ based on Dr. Aladár Szabó, a Reformed Church minister and a professor of the Reformed Theological Academy of Budapest (Kiss, n.d.: 404–405). He did not conceal - in fact, it was stressed in his writings - that he had to struggle a lot against the followers of various branches of free churches (Szalay, 1899: 464–465). There is no indication in his writings and records relating to him that he ever

6 As indicated in a letter of 11 May 1895 from Szalay to Gáborné Hegedűs, he sent Hevesi to Derecske for ‘prophesying’, giving him all relevant instructions. Szalay highly resented the non-fulfilment of the assignment.

left any room among Reformed believers for the immersion baptism practised by Baptists, Sabbath celebration of Adventists, or the Puritan morals of Nazarenes.

Conclusion

It is safe to say based on relevant research that József Szalay's thinking and service were influenced not only by the positive idea of the inner mission movement within the Reformed Church but also by the spirituality represented by free churches. Such a complex interplay of influencing factors reached the climax in an era when the Reformed Church was showing symptoms of crisis and was losing more and more active members. It is an undeniable fact according to the sources that Szalay adopted and applied several methods that had been adapted successfully and efficiently to the local contexts of Vojvodina by the communities of free churches formed as a result of foreign missionaries' activities. It is important to point out, however, that the pastor of Zrenjanin merely adopted methods, which did not imply, theological doubt about the doctrines of his Church, i.e. wavering. He was nevertheless critical with the noble intention to improve, but never offensive. He believed that the rapid spread of free church communities was due to the crisis of his own Church, and they had to fight for the survival of the Reformed congregations, which was indeed worth fighting for. He also believed that, in that fight, there was no shame in learning from others, in particular in matters of spirituality, determination and working methods. However, he remained faithful to the Reformed Church to the end of his life, despite the hostile and, mostly, unrighteous offenses against him, while he was showing curiosity, tolerance and ecumenical openness unknown at the time to those who tried to live their faith as outcasts. It is by no means an overstatement to say that József Szalay's ardent devotion and humanity that came from his deep faith in Christ - the memory of which is still living among the Reformed inhabitants of Zrenjanin - are a worthy example for the modern-day Christendom.

References

- Bereczky Lajos (ed.) (1996), „Krisztusért járva követségben” *Tanulmányok a magyar baptista misszió 150 éves történetéből* [‘We are Christ’s ambassadors’. *Studies from the 150-year history of the Hungarian Baptist mission*], Baptista Kiadó, Budapest.
- Bíró Sándor, Bucsay Mihály, Tóth Endre and Varga Zoltán (1949), *A magyar református egyház története* [History of the Hungarian Reformed Church], Kossuth, Budapest.
- Broadbent, E. H (n.d.), *Zarándok gyülekezet* [The Pilgrim Church], Evangéliumi Iratmisszió, Budapest.
- Bucsay Mihály (1985), *A protestantizmus története Magyarországon 1521-1945* [The history of Protestantism in Hungary 1521–1945], Gondolat, Budapest.
- Fazakas Sándor (ed.) (2017), *A protestáns etika kézikönyve* [Handbook of Protestant ethics], Luther–Kálvin, Budapest.

- Fekete Péter (1993), *Az egyház és a szekta [The church and the sect]*, Kálvin, Budapest.
- Gergely Jenő, Kardos József and Rottler Ferenc (1997), *Az egyházak Magyarországon [Churches in Hungary]*, Korona, Budapest.
- Kósa Lajos (ed.) (2006), *Reformátusok Budapesten 2. kötet. Tanulmányok a magyar főváros reformátusságáról [Calvinists in Budapest. Vol. 2. Studies on Calvinism in the Hungarian capital]*, Argumentum – ELTE BTK Művelődéstörténeti Tanszék, Budapest.
- Rajki Zoltán and Szigeti Jenő (2012), *Szabadegyházak története Magyarországon 1989-ig [The history of the Hungarian free churches before 1989]*, Gondolat, Budapest.
- Révész Imre (1943), *Egy fejezet a magyar református ébredés történetéből. A.N. Sommerville magyarországi körútja (1887-1888) [A chapter from the history of the Hungarian Reformed awakening. A. N. Sommerville's trip in Hungary (1887–1888)]*, Debrecen.
- S. Laczkovits Emőke and Mészáros Veronika (ed.) (2004), *Népi vallásosság a Kárpát-medencében [Popular piety in the Carpathian Basin] 6.*, Veszprém Megyei Múzeumi Igazgatóság, Veszprém.
- Szabó Aladár (1941), *Kegyelem által [Through grace]*, Gödöllő.
- Szalay József (1904), *Evangeliumi keresztyén tanítások I-II. k. [Christian gospel teachings, Vol. I–II]*, Nagybecskerek.
- Szalay József (1900) *Konfirmációi Káté – a Helvét Hitvallás alapján [Unitarian Catechism – on the basis of the Helvetic Confession]*, Gyula.
- Szigeti Jenő, *Az egészséges életmódra nevelés [Education for healthful living]*
- Szigeti Jenő (2009), *Egyházak egy világ végén [Churches at the end of a world]*, Advent Irodalmi Műhely, Budapest.
- Szilvási József and Tonhaizer Tibor (2017), *Az adventmozgalom története [The history of the advent movement]*, Adventista Teológiai Főiskola, Pécel.
- Tonhaizer Tibor (2020), *Magyar egyháztörténelem [Church history in Hungary]*, Advent – ATF, Budapest.
- White G. E. (1894), *Jézushoz vezető út [Steps to Jesus]*, Budapest.