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**COOPERATION AND CONFLICTS AMONG THE LOWER CLERGY. CHURCH
DISCIPLINE IN THE DIOCESE OF VESZPRÉM BETWEEN 1840 AND 1855**

Doctoral (PhD) Dissertation Summary

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1. Topic and objective of the doctoral thesis

In the dissertation, in a broader sense, I examined the official and pastoral relations of the secular lower clergy of the Diocese of Veszprém in the middle of the 19th century (1840–1855), within which I analyzed the conflict situations and the emerging problems of church discipline and moral discipline (drunkenness, concubine keeping, fighting, etc.) interpreted from a „bottom-up perspective"

In my work, I assigned an emphatic role to the disciplinary function of the Institute for Old Priests, named after St. Paul, which provides a home primarily for elderly priests who have become unable to work in Veszprém. This includes shedding light on their status through the conflicts involving clergymen (Sándor Szalay, Gábor Fittler, János Nemesovits, Ignác Kováts) who were confined in the institution for extended periods as punishment for disciplinary issues, with the help of the analysis of personal sources.

I built the chapters of the dissertation around the conflict situations and disciplinary problems of a total of six diocesan priests. János Mujszer, parish of Tés (1830–1849); János Mórítz, administrator of Gyékényes (1833–1845); Ferenc Vidra, parish of Ollár (1837–1866); Sándor Szalay (1801–1855); János Nemesovits (1800–1863); Lajos Gyömöreý, administrator of Csabarendek (1841–1846). Among them, the presentation of the figures of Sándor Szalay and János Nemesovits was given a more prominent role. The analysis of the personalities of Gábor Fittler and Ignác Kováts is also closely related to them. The last two diocesan priests gave detailed reports about what Sándor Szalay wrote in their letter of complaint dated 30 July 1850. Ignác Kováts and János Nemesovits served their sentence together in Bratislava, in the convent of the Orders of Mercy (1847–1848).

Sándor Szalay, János Nemesovits, Ignác Kováts and Gábor Fittler were among the diocesan priests who had disciplinary problems during the examination of their careers at all their stations. However, it is important to mention the fact that the clerics listed later were extreme cases, they cannot be generalized to the classification of the disciplinary status of the clergy performing pastoral service in the diocese of Veszprém. Nevertheless, the source availability of the cases provides an opportunity for a deeper analysis and comparison of cases. The possibility of comparing these cases with other dioceses is rather limited. In the course of my research, I have not come across any uniform summary works that would have set the goal of arranging the ecclesiastical disciplinary cases that arose in the middle of the 19th century into a collection by diocese and presenting in detail the cases considered to be extreme from the aspect of the topic. Based on this, there was no possibility of comparison at diocesan level in general. On the topic of disciplinary cases, primarily case studies have been published, whose authors focused on the conflicts involving atypical priests. Although monographs have been written on the topic of the 19th-century lower clergy, the authors of these works focused primarily on the relationship between the community of believers and their spiritual leader, as well as the parish priest and his assistant. Of course, disciplinary problems can be explored within the framework of social interaction analysis, which also reveals norm violations and conflict situations. In the focus of this dissertation, I have placed disciplinary cases, for the interpretation of which it is essential to map the immediate environment of the clergy intended for "sampling".

My original concept was to collect the disciplinary cases occurring in the period under review and analyze them in a chronological system. However, during the research I was confronted with the situation that the lack of sources on the subject and the disorganization of the consistory documents do not allow me to analyze all the cases of the Holy See concerning the period in full, without contradictions. On the other hand, I consider the amount of resources that can be arranged around certain conflict situations and accused priests to be suitable for illustrating the problems of church discipline by creating individual cases. When outlining the statistical data of the diocese, I used the period between 1840 and 1855 as a basis. The cases explained in detail can also be placed in the indicated time interval.

The documents created in the Archdiocesan Archives of Veszprém, at the court of the Holy See, are separated into several groups of sources. One fond contains documents related to the disciplinary affairs of the clergy, the other large unit contains the documents of litigation organized around the institution of marriage. In the former case, the registry mentions 9 clergymen between 1800 and 1855 against whom proceedings were initiated by the Holy See. With regard to the period under review, the names of three persons are included in the list, indicating the year of their litigation (János Nemesovits, 1844–1845; Lajos Gyömöreý, 1846–1847; Pál Nagy, 1852–1854). The problem arises from the fact that there are no documents related to these priests mentioned by name in this source group. I collected, arranged and analyzed the material related to the case of János Nemesovits in the Holy See from the

Acta Dioecessana and the *Acta Personalia*, which contains the documents of the clergy related to specific persons. The latter fond also contains sources from the Holy See with regard to Sándor Szalay. I also found documents directly or indirectly related to the affairs of Lajos Gyömörey in the Holy See in 1846–1847 in the unit containing the documents of the church government.

The types of sources I have processed include mostly indictments, letters of complaint, petitions, witness interrogation and witness recording protocols, which provide detailed information about the circumstances of the cases. Most of these documents are quite subjective in terms of their content, but they can provide a large amount of information about the frictions that unfold in certain local communities. These materials form the main source base of my thesis. In addition, I included in the analysis the protocols made on the crowns of the deanery districts, from the serial sources, pastoral circulars, church visit protocols, fragmentary material of the visitation documents, and ordination protocols.

In my work, I sought answers to the following questions: What types of disciplinary cases arose in the diocese of Veszprém in the middle of the 19th century? What factors were shown in each conflict situation? How can the motivational factors of origin and orientation towards a priestly career be related to disciplinary problems? What was the social perception of those clergymen whose careers were characterized by recurring transgressions? How did their fellow priests and members of the faithful communities relate to them? How did the disciplinary problems affect the ecclesiastical career of the cleric concerned? What common patterns can be observed in the writings of the priests presented in the treatise?

2. The methodology followed

The term ego document was introduced to the public consciousness by the Dutch historian, high school and later university professor Jacques (Jacob) Presser (1887–1970) in the late 1950s. He defined this term as an umbrella term for documents in which the "I" is occasionally "He" as the subject of writing and description, is constantly present in the text. Another definition is to include those sources in which the ego reveals itself, intentionally or unintentionally.

The concept of the ego document was first used and supported by Peter Burke in English-speaking countries. In Germany, Winfried Schulze was the first to adopt Presser's concept in the first half of the 90s. The German historian proposed a broader interpretation of the concept. In his opinion, for example, court hearings, witness testimony, CVs, applications and other official documents can also be considered ego documents.

- Schulze defined the common criterion for all texts that can be called ego documents in that they contain statements or fragments of statements that, although in a rudimentary and implicit form, point to a person's self-perception in his family or community, on a voluntary basis or under duress, provide information about the country or social group to which he belongs, and reflect on his relationship to these systems and their changes. On this basis, the litigation materials generated in court forums (secular, ecclesiastical), due to the subjective manifestations that can be read in them, can be classified as ego documents. On this basis, the minutes of the Holy See, the testimonies of witnesses and the letters of complaint, although not for their own consideration, but under the influence of external coercion, were not necessarily written in their own hand, nevertheless they can reveal individual manifestations and thoughts. Consistory sources can even be understood as narrative texts, in which the narratives are actually constructed stories.
- A good example of the former statement is Sándor Szalay's indictment dated 7 March 1845, in which he reported the events he experienced in a historical, narrative manner, in such a way that, in addition to his perceived or real grievances, he provided information about the nature of his relationship with the servants, or about the personal composition of the household of József Tóth, the parish priest of Kisbár. The text is also suitable for a detailed presentation of the relationship between the parish priest and the chaplain. János Mórítz, administrator of Gyékényes, also gave a detailed description of the assault that took place on 26 April 1845 in

the market town of Csurgó, and its antecedents in his clarification letter submitted to the Holy See of Veszprém, and the deputy parish priest presented his message as a complete story. The indictment letter of Ignác Kovács and Gábor Fittler, dated 30 June 1850, published a characterization of Sándor Szalay and Béla Biró, from which the threads of a story also unfold.

These examples also show that litigation materials are "exceptionally normal" cases that can reveal the hidden reality of a marginal event, and can contain statements that can be related to a historical period or a local community, or they can reveal data related to a person's life, such as the quality of their social relationships and their way of thinking. There are usually two ways to learn about historical figures and their circumstances. On the one hand, through texts written voluntarily or dictated, that is, on one's own initiative, which contain information about the life of the authors (such as autobiographies, memoirs, diaries, chronicles, travelogues or the letters). The other way to obtain information is to make unintentional or unintentional statements in documents created in the context of jurisdictional or economic processes. Together, the two categories make up Winfried Schulze's proposal in the early 1990s.

Schulze's concept was criticized by historian Benigna Von Krusenstjern, among others, who primarily objected to the overly generous use of the term. While autobiographies, memoirs, diaries can be used to examine a person's life as a whole, only incoherent information about the person's life and thoughts can be obtained from official sources and court documents. In contrast to the "Schulze" definition, Krusenstjern emphasized that the self-confessions were written by their authors, or at least dictated, i.e. the sources were born of their own accord and not under duress. The research and exploration of the types of sources in which the individual shares information about himself or herself – be it a letter, a diary, a legal action or a request for clemency – makes it possible to get to know the driving forces and values of each person's behavior. Finally, it was agreed that only those texts can be included in the framework of the concept that are subjective and their message changes from reader to reader.

Benigna Von Krusenstjern distinguished four types of self-confession:

- The first type includes testimonies in which the reference to the "I" occupies a central place and constitutes the majority of the content of the text.
- In the second type, the historian referred to texts in which the "I" reports on itself, but at the same time also refers to what interests and touches it, for example.
- In the third version, the external circumstances come to the fore, while the "parts of the ego" are pushed into the background.
- Finally, the sources of the last type can only be considered self-confessions to a limited extent, since there is no explicit self here; instead, an implicit "I" appears, for example, in the person of an urban chronicler, or, to stay with the topic of research, a parish priest, or in the person of a cleric with a fellow sufferer.

Let us briefly look at the example of Krusenstjern's statement taken from the treatise:

- On 4 August 1850, Sándor Szalay, a resident of the House of Elderly Priests, asked for his departure from the institution and from Veszprém, with the condition that the diocese should pay a nursing fee to his brother, Lázár Szalay, for his care. The person of the priest occupies a central place in the text. In the document, he listed the arguments behind Szalay's decision, i.e. he reported on himself, communicated his own impressions and presented his immediate environment. Thus, based on Krusenstjern's concept, the document can be classified into at least three categories mentioned above.

In the case of the authors of certain memoirs, the use of writing was justified by the occurrence of a life situation or condition that could be interpreted as liminal from an anthropological point of view. Liminality actually denotes the transience that has taken place in standard life. Such situations are, for example, old age, captivity, travel, exile. The work of remembering selects, and therefore the events that

are of decisive importance in a given career come to the surface the most. One of the "protagonists" of the treatise, János Nemesovits, was only a relatively old man at the time of his pension applications (4–6 July 1848). He referred to his age in the documents by saying that he had already lived half a century, he had already lived the best part of his life. Although the sources mentioned as examples are not memoirs, but two letters in which the writer recalled the most important stages of his ecclesiastical career, a liminal phase in his career can be perceived from this point of view as well. Ageing obviously also plays a role, but exile and the hopeless existential situation play a much more central role in the use of writing.

Documents (letters of complaint, letters of clarification, witness statements) created in the administration or in court forums are also characterized by the fact that the writer adapts his message, emotions and thoughts to the circumstances. Types of sources close to everyday life, such as letters, also contain powerful literary references (in the documents written by the priests examined, they are primarily quotations from the Holy Scriptures), oral models expressing emotions, which can be interpreted as tools of persuasion. The person of the recipient plays a decisive role. If the addressee represented a higher social prestige than the sender, the latter had to convey his subordinate role in the hierarchy throughout the message of the letter. In the present research topic, this is manifested in the fact that the place of the two parties (bishop – parish priest; bishop – chaplain) in the ecclesiastical structure can be perceived when the texts addressed to the bishop or the vicar general are addressed or introduced. It was an important aspect that the letter to the superior should always be humble and polite. In my opinion, what most emphasizes the social differences is the closing formula of the texts. I am thinking of examples such as the *„legméltatlanabb szolgája Méltóságodnak”, „Méltóságodnak engedelmes fia”, „legérdemtelenebb fia”* etc.

3. Results of the thesis

In the Diocese of Veszprém, between 1840 and 1855, a total of 428 priests served. In the statement attached to the treatise, the names of the priests who had any kind of disciplinary problems in the first half of the 19th century are listed. Not all of the clergy committed their transgressions during the period examined in the treatise, but they were still alive during the mentioned period. Based on this, 48 priests were involved in the topic. In the dissertation itself, a total of 42 cases of 22 diocesan priests in the Holy See are included, most of them in a comparative manner.

On the basis of the accusations formulated in the individual letters of complaint and in the minutes of the Holy See, four main groups can be distinguished regarding the nature of norm violations: moral, official, material and political. In the case of the persons placed in the centre of the chapters, it can also be seen that in addition to drunkenness, swearing, and intimate relations with the hostess, the church community or any accuser also listed other accusations in their letter of complaint, in which, for example, they objected to the performance of liturgical acts, or mentioned some kind of material violation of norms. A rather narrow line can be drawn between the nature of the violations, as one violation of norms could result from another. Due to excessive alcohol consumption, a fight or a sexual transgression may have taken place. These problems, in turn, may have resulted in official or financial omissions.

- In the case of the clergymen included in the dissertation, I analyzed in more detail primarily moral and official norm violations, and to a lesser extent material ones. I have only touched on political transgressions in view of the processing of the topic. I include drunkenness, suspicious alliances with women, swearing, and fighting.
- Violations committed by a priest during his pastoral service are of an official nature. For example, he stood unadorned in front of the altar, or read the wrong gospel, neglected religious instruction, or did not give the last anointing to the dying in time. In addition, I included the consumption of meat dishes during the fasting period in this category. In the case of chaplains, he left his post without the permission of his parish priest, he performed his duties negligently, and often socialized with individuals of questionable morals.
- Material offenses include illicit gambling, dealings with usurers, or misappropriation of parish property, or the accumulation of a large amount of debt, which the cleric in question had

difficulty in paying. In the writings of almost all clergymen struggling with disciplinary problems, financial difficulties and debts are mentioned. For example, Lajos Gyömörey, administrator of Csabrendek, in order to be able to settle his financial situation and pay off his debts, sold some of his possessions, which was considered a church offence. The diocesan authority saw the real reason for the clergy's change of denomination in 1846 in escaping prosecution. János Pflum, parish priest of Jásd (1835–1845), also accumulated a considerable debt and was forced to part with his remuneration due to the misappropriation of the church's property.

During the 1848-1849 Revolution and War of Independence, clergymen who joined the army were violated by official norms on the one hand, and political on the other. Military service and the carrying of weapons are not the same as the rules of the Church. In addition, the sedition of the people and the accusation of disloyalty to the ruling family must also be highlighted. Ignác István Koller, parish priest of Mesztegyő (1837–1860), was the parliamentary representative of the Marcali constituency in 1848–1849. He was put on trial in 1849 for insulting his majesty. The imperial and royal court-martial in Pest acquitted him of the charges. The pastor, through the intercession of Bishop János Ranolder, received an amnesty from Franz Joseph. "He had only a passive role in the illegitimate parliament", so the proceedings against him were terminated. Sándor Trimmel, chaplain of Gógánfa, was arrested by the gendarmes on 2 January 1852 for his peace-disturbing and inflammatory behaviour, and an official investigation was ordered against him. He was sentenced to four months in prison, after which he is found in deficit as a repeat offender of the church. Regarding the latter clergyman, it can be said that his entire career was characterized by various kinds of violations of norms.

Causes of friction:

- An important factor was how much the pastor respected the traditions of the community entrusted to him. Financial aspects, such as the parish priest's financial excesses or the accumulation of considerable debts, could also be the result of a serious conflict situation. The laws passed at the last Diet of the Estates (1847–1848), such as the abolition of the priestly tithe or the establishment of the National Guard, greatly influenced the relationship between the parish priest and the community of believers. There have been cases in the diocese when the pastor complained to his parishioners who refused to work the land or their debts that had nothing to do with the lord's burdens. In the summer of 1848, János Mujszer, parish priest of Tés (1830–1848), was accused by the faithful community of drunkenness and suspicious alliance with a woman. Among the accusations was that the pastor neglected the religious education in the school, did not confess several of the students or swore at them. If we examine the letter of complaint more closely, it can be perceived that the real crime of the Josephinist parish priest, who was accused of moral norm violations, was that he was more concerned with the condition of the church's movable property than with the pilgrimage habit of his parishioners. The case clearly included the accusation of excessive alcohol consumption and a criminal relationship with the landlady as aggravating circumstances. The goal of the community of believers was for the diocesan bishop to remove their pastor who had been serving in the village for 18 years at that time. If the moral life of the parish priest was questioned, he could endanger the religious economy, and the harmony between the community and its spiritual leader was disturbed. Thus, the letter of complaint focused on the accusations that were most contrary to the church's system of norms.
- The frictions could also have had financial causes. On 30 December 1846, the faithful of Sümegcseh drafted a letter of complaint against György Huszár, parish priest and district subdeacon (1845–1851). The charges, similarly to the "Mujszer case", included a suspicious relationship with the farmer and violations related to the performance of ceremonies. The "deep drilling" carried out in the cases that arose proved in his case that the confrontation between the faithful and the parish priest was caused much more by György Huszár's materialistic nature and official-priest mentality than by his moral transgressions. The priest

was arrested on 23 June 1849 on charges of treason.

- The result of the frictions that arose in pastoral and official relations is partly to be found in the violation of the priestly identity. In February 1843, Ferenc Vidra, parish priest of Ollár, committed bodily harm against József Fodor, an innkeeper in Szepetk. The abuse, as it turned out, happened because the couple violated the pastor's priestly honor. At the same time, there were both material and moral reasons for the conflicts. The chapel of Szepetk was located opposite the inn. József Fodor tried to attract those who wanted to go to church to him on several occasions, and while Ferenc Vidra was celebrating mass or confession, gypsy musicians were playing music in the restaurant. At masses, the priest punished those who were disorderly and intrusive with corporal punishment for the purpose of educating them. In the case of a fire, efforts to extinguish it, and the rebuke of drunken youths all point to the parish priest's role as a moral authority. The confrontation between Mihály Virth, parish priest of Kapornak, vice-dean of Kanizsa and the parish priest of Ollár, unfolded from a church disciplinary problem. The vice-dean reprimanded his liberal-minded chaplain, József Víz, for wearing a moustache and beard. In fact, a dispute arose between the parish priest of Ollár and his immediate superior, the sub-dean of Kanizsa, due to the violation of norms by the chaplain of Kapornak. The main source of conflict was that the parish priest came to the defense of the assistant pastor, with which he overruled his immediate superior in front of his ecclesiastical and lay guests. Although Ferenc Vidra had disputes with the diocesan authority (as we have seen with his fellow priest) and with a believer, he cannot be classified as a "bad priest" due to his disciplinary problems. Borbála Badacsány angered the parish priest of Csicsó, by making a negative comment about the landlady's morals. With this, the woman was in fact challenging the pastor's role as a moral authority. In the case, the local community collectively stood by the parish priest, as they expected the pastor to reprimand the woman who disturbed the mass and stirred up discord among the villagers. This was the significance of the scene when János Nemesovits proudly showed the pieces of the dogwood stick broken on the woman in front of the assembled crowd. There is also a reading of the conflict between Nemesovits and István Vaszary: in the autumn of 1840, on the eve of the district crown of the dean of Balatonfüred, the vice-dean summoned the parish priest of Csicsó, who then attacked him with a knife.

The social composition of the clergy of the diocese of Veszprém (1840–1855) is characterized by the fact that 116 out of 274 priests were of noble origin. By the middle of the 19th century, the proportion of people who chose the ecclesiastical vocation had increased, who did not belong to the group of privileged strata in terms of origin, but were citizens, officials, or perhaps from families engaged in agriculture. In the case of clerics whose father was a schoolmaster, assistant teacher, cantor or organist, since these professions were closely linked to the parishes of rural or market towns, without examining in detail the mentality of the priest in question, it can be assumed that religious conviction is a motivating factor.

Of the 48 clergymen who were involved in any kind of violation of norms, we know the origin of 30:

- Of these, 14 were nobles, the other 16 priests mostly came from industrial, bourgeois and intellectual families. This is a rather small figure to look for a connection between origin and transgressions. However, the fact that Sándor Szalay or János Nemesovits, as well as some of the clergymen who joined the military, such as Sándor Trimel or István Kukacz were most likely motivated towards a career in the church by the career opportunity, can be supported by concrete sources.

If we place origin as a starting point, we can also deduce from it the motivation for a career in the church. A good example of the question raised is the origin of one of the "protagonists" of the treatise, Sándor Szalay. His father was a manorial official, he owned acquired nobility and a small landed estate. Of his siblings, Imre, like Sándor, chose the priestly profession, while their brother Lázár chose a legal career. In the case of János Nemesovits, I have not yet found any data that would have specifically indicated his origin. My view is that the noble mentality was felt the most in his character. However,

there were references in their writings from both priests that suggest that they primarily saw a career opportunity in the church.

Statistical and Analytical Sections:

- The age of the clergy of the diocese was aging in the period under discussion (1840: 43.6 years; 1855: 45.5 years; 1875: 47.9 years).
- The tenure of parish priests and chaplains was lengthened. While the average tenure of a parish priest was 28 years, it followed that newly ordained priests who graduated from the diocesan seminary had to wait up to 9 years to receive parish benefits.
- An average of 8 graduates were ordained priests in the diocese each year between 1840 and 1855. During that same period, 129 priests died. There were 220 parishes in the diocese, of which 26 were pastoral services provided by members of a religious community.

From the analysis of the examined parish priests' complaints, it can be concluded that among the diocesan priests who joined the 1848-1849 Revolution and War of Independence, it was not only patriotism that drove chaplains to the battlefield, but also the hope of a better, more financially stable life prospect on their part. István Kukacz, Sándor Trimel, István Görgei, all three are glaring examples of people who are tired of being in the position of assistant pastor for a long time. In their case, secular clothing, moustache and beard growth, and the frequent search for the company of ladies came to the fore, which clearly indicate that the liberal spirit may have influenced their way of thinking. In the case of these priests, I did not experience any elevation in the church hierarchy during the examination of their careers, they remained chaplains throughout their careers, and repeatedly committed various types of norm violations.

Since it can be shown in part or in full that the possibility of existential stability was a determining factor in the choice of career, I came to the conclusion that disciplinary problems can be related to the nature of motivational factors. Those who were looking for a career opportunity in the church and experienced a stagnant situation during their career (e.g. the extension of the time of chaplain service) had a greater chance of committing various norm violations than those who were inspired to pursue a church career by a deeply religious mother or a cantor teacher, organist or father working alongside the local parish priest.

In the case of chaplains, the stagnant situation experienced in their careers may have had consequences as we have seen, that the assistant pastor fled to alcohol as a result of the experience of failure in his ecclesiastical career, which resulted in scandals, neglect of his duties, involvement in fights, and sexual misconduct, in addition to the fact that he had difficulty tolerating subordination, he left his parish priest without permission. This constellation prevailed, among other things, in relation to one of the atypical individuals, the aforementioned Sándor Szalay. It can be seen from the elaborated cases that the demographic situation of the diocese as an external circumstance may have increased the chance of committing various violations of moral norms.

Church punishments could be of two kinds in nature. Corrective punishments, intended to reform clergy members who had committed transgressions who was stubborn but still qualified as correctable and who had committed some kind of transgression, and revengeful punishments, which were applied by the Church against seemingly incorrigible offenders, which were intended to maintain the authority of the ecclesiastical laws. In the latter case, too, there is a tendency to repentance of the guilty person. These included the exercise of ecclesiastical office and suspension from usufruct, loss of benefices, suspension, or in the most serious cases, dismissal from the clergy.

This sentence was pronounced on clergymen who committed serious crimes subject to public punishment. Such crimes included murder or offenses against the crown. The sinful individual, before being handed over to the secular court, was deprived of all rights of ecclesiastical orders, including the priestly character, in a solemn ceremony. Such serious crimes have not been committed in the diocese of Veszprém. Of the cases I examined, the most serious sentence imposed by the diocesan court was in the case of Lajos Gyömörey's conversion of denomination. His punishment was deposition and

excommunication from the Catholic Church. As a result, the guilty individual was forbidden to exercise all the rights of the ecclesiastical order and office, but in this case the priestly character remained. The other more serious case was that of János Nemesovits. In order to avoid the official proceedings initiated against him, the priest voluntarily resigned from his parish in Csicsó, on February 12, 1845. The strict ecclesiastical punishments applied against the clergy were transfer, which consisted of transferring the guilty benefice to a smaller benefice or to a lower office by the diocesan authority as a punishment. Deprivation of benefices, in which the person declared guilty has lost his or her remuneration. In the disciplinary cases arising in the diocese of Veszprém, the primary goal of the Holy See court was to ensure that the priesthood of the accused person was not violated. In the case of priests convicted of disciplinary problems, the form of punishment was generally uniform:

- It could be imprisonment in the St. Paul's Institute in Veszprém, the performance of penitential practices (confession, spiritual exercises), the observance of certain fast days (usually on Wednesdays and Fridays), or on the subject of moral or pastoral theology, the priests who committed the transgression had to submit a written dissertation to the court of the Holy See, and such individuals were suspended from all priestly duties for a fixed or indefinite period.
- To the latter, it should be added that sending to the institution did not in itself automatically mean suspension. This was used in more serious cases or in the case of repeat offenders. For example, in the case of István Görgei, it can be seen that the suspension and curfew, i.e. the imprisonment of the guilty person in the lower apartment, took place for the second and third time, respectively, after he was convicted several times by the consistory on the basis of the same charges. János Nemesovits also committed offences as a resident of the old priests' house, such as drunkenness and disorderly conduct. After that, he imposed a total of four weeks of curfew on the court.
- If a parish priest reported his chaplain to the episcopal consistory, it was typically preceded by a private warning. If there was no significant change in the objectionable behavior of the assistant pastor after this, the parish priest addressed an official report to the diocesan bishop. The diocesan authority, after admonishing the chaplain in writing, automatically transferred him to a parish belonging to another deanery district.
- If a lay person or the community of believers has collectively complained about the objectionable behavior of the assistant pastor before the court of the Holy See, the bishop or the vicar general has ordered an on-the-spot inspection. The competent sub-dean and a pastor appointed by the authority interrogated the witnesses along the lines of questions compiled on the basis of the accusations contained in the letter of complaint. The consistory was based on the letter of complaint, the parish priest's report and the testimonies of witnesses. In this case, too, the assistant pastor was transferred to another station, or was assigned a short period (two or three weeks) of penitential exercises in the diocese's "priestly correctional institute", or sent to one of the monasteries. If the punishment had been sufficiently carried out, the priest continued his active pastoral activity. A good example of this is the person of Sándor Szalay. As can be seen from the fifth chapter of the treatise, the priest was initially transferred due to disciplinary problems, then he was imprisoned for eight days (1833) and for a quarter of a year (1837). After that, he continued his pastoral activity until 1845. From that year on, due to his constant disciplinary problems, he spent a long time in the house of the old priests.
- If a lay person or members of the local community filed a complaint against the parish priest in a communal manner, an on-site inspection was also carried out. No one was transferred to another station or deprived of his remuneration without the case being investigated by the Holy See court. The conflict between Ferenc Vidra, parish priest of Ollár, and the innkeeper József Fodor and his wife, or from the conflicts between János Nemesovits and Borbála Badacány, it can be shown that the diocesan bishop tried to solve the problems that arose privately and reach an agreement, to prevent the cases from falling under secular jurisdiction. József Fodor filed a complaint against Ferenc Vidra before the

court of Zala County in the spring of 1843. In the background of both cases, from a socio-historical point of view, there was the question of the abolition of the ecclesiastical court privilege (*privilegium fori*). The Zala County Court cooperated with the Holy See Court, and the case was finally decided by the ecclesiastical forum. If the agreement had not been reached between the Fodor couple and the parish priest, the consistory would have applied some ecclesiastical punishment to Ferenc Vidra. In the other case, an agreement was reached between the confronting parties. The consistory tried to settle the tension between the parish priest of Vörs György Pongrácz (1842–1860) and the faithful community by ordering the pastor to make peace with his parishioners first of all. If there was no positive change in the relationship between the community of believers and the parish priest, then the authority called on the accused pastor to exchange benefices. If there was a serious disciplinary offence, such as misappropriation of church property or severe disciplinary infractions, as we saw in the case of János Nemesovits, the diocesan bishop was forced to initiate an official deprivation procedure against the compromised pastor.

- If the diocesan bishop became aware of circumstances outside of judicial proceedings, such as a secret crime or disciplinary offence, he could suspend the pastor from the exercise of his office without initiating criminal proceedings. The suspension of János Móritz, presented in the third chapter of the treatise, was based on this. János Móritz, administrator of Gyékényes, after being abused in the spring of 1845, was transferred to the parish of Badacsonytomaj by the diocesan authority.

The parish priest or the administrator could also be punished by transferring him to the head of a parish with a lower benefit, or by the condemned person becoming a chaplain again. A good example of a decline in the church hierarchy is the case of parish priest János Pflum. On the occasion of a church visit held in the parish of Jásd on 20 May 1845, several serious accusations emerged against János Pflum, namely the misappropriation of the church's funds, as a result of which the pastor, fearing the dubious outcome of the proceedings against him, voluntarily renounced his remuneration. The members of the episcopal see found the behavior of the said parish priest rather impetuous, and even remarked that János Pflum „*elméjében is megháborodottnak látszanék*”. At the end of the official procedure, it was decided that before the condemned priest could be employed, he was to be closely monitored in the Franciscan convent in Veszprém for an indefinite period of time. In this way, they should make sure whether the condemned priest can be employed in the pastoral ministry or not. The following year he was transferred to Pettend as a chaplain. So he turned from a benefit into an auxiliary.

János Ranolder saved his priests compromised during the Revolution and War of Independence from prison in the diocese of Veszprém by ordering them to appear before the consistory and sending them to monasteries or to the deficit. When the military authorities searched for these clergymen, the archbishop replied that they were already punished and were still serving their sentences. From the dean's reports on the behaviour of the clergy of the diocese of Veszprém during the 1848-1849 Revolution and War of Independence, it can be seen that the sub-deacons representing the church districts defended the priests and presented them as victims of the circumstances, mostly praising the loyalty of the clergy of their district to the emperor during the revolutionary period. The relationship between the diocese and the Hungarian government was quite tense in the summer of 1849, several priests were taken into custody (for example, György Huszár, parish priest of Sümegcseh), but they were not physically abused. In a study published in 2024, Péter Zakar mentioned that after the revolution, not a single priest from the Diocese of Veszprém was in prison. Among the priests of the bishopric who served as soldiers, for example, Sándor Lakner, József Tartsay, or Károly Papp continued their pastoral careers after a short period of imprisonment in the deficit, as can be said for the vast majority of priests. In the case of István Kukacz, Sándor Trimel and István Görgei, participation in the revolution and freedom fight and its consequences did not mean a breaking point in their careers, but in their case different types of norm violations were evident, both before and after 1848.

In the narrative of the writings of Sándor Szalay, Gábor Fittler, János Nemesovits, Ignác Kováts and Lajos Gyömörey, similar patterns can be discovered, which may be valid even in the case of the letters

of other "moderately" extremist clergymen, such as János Pflum.

- In the case of a clergyman with a disciplinary problem, there is a complete or partial lack of responsibility and the consequent "scapegoating", the "search for hidden enemies" and, in connection with this, the perceived or real lack of episcopal patronage in an indirect or direct form. The stagnant situation experienced in the church hierarchy – and consequently in society as well – was attributed to the negative influence of circumstances and persons beyond their control. He attributed Sándor Szalay's situation and mistake to the organization of others. Among his grievances was that since he was ordained a priest (1828), the diocesan bishop had always placed him in the poorest parishes and on the side of the hardest-hearted, immoral parish priests to serve as an assistant pastor. He blamed his former parish priests, members of the ministry staff or other factors for his circumstances. János Nemesovits also wrote several times about someone from the diocese slandering him, which caused him to alienate the bishop's support from him. In the background of the lawsuit against him, he suspected the disguise of his chaplain, János Zalka. Ignác Kováts blamed the bishop of Veszprém on the one hand, and the members of the Order of Mercy in Bratislava on the other, for the development of his fate. In a letter from 1848, he expressed his suspicion that the monks wanted to poison him. Lajos Gyömörey also suspected a conspiracy in the background of the delay in the papal acquittal decision. In the writings of János Pflum, the "scapegoat search" also appears, and therefore the "perceived or real lack of episcopal protection", as well as hopelessness and shame. From this point of view, the priest's letters can be compared with the written statements of Sándor Szalay, János Nemesovits, Ignác Kováts or even Lajos Gyömörey. The latter priest's letters also showed a sense of shame, the fear that he would be discredited in front of his distinguished family because of his sins. Behind the stagnant situation in the advancement of the church hierarchy, János Pflum suspected "hidden enemies", which he expressed in several letters.
- From an anthropological point of view, it is a liminal stage in the career. The term refers to a transitional period. In a person's lifetime, this could mean ordination to a priest or joining a religious community. Imprisonment for a longer period of time (for a definite or indefinite period) as a punishment in a priestly correctional institution, or a stalled ecclesiastical career, also reflects a transitional phase as revealed in the written sources. Liminality appears in the letters (for example, in the case of János Nemesovits and Ignác Kováts) in such a way that they defined themselves as persecuted, exiled. Sándor Szalay likened his confinement to a "stone of shame". In addition to the transience, the characteristics of the period are uncertainty and lack of a vision. In the cases elaborated in more detail, in the case of clergymen whose career examinations reveal disciplinary offences of various kinds, an event or series of events can be observed that marked a breaking point in their career. (In Szalay's case, the "Kisbári case"; In the case of Kováts, the "Sümegecsehi case"; In the case of Nemesovits, the abuse of the elderly woman and the period spent in the parish of Csicsó; Lajos Gyömörey was transferred from the parish of Csabarendek and the subsequent change of denomination).
- Thoughts of death appeared in the writings of clergymen who consistently struggled with disciplinary issues, as an alternative to liberation from their imagined or real life situation. A good example of this suggestion can be found in János Pflum's two petitions written in the 1840s. In all his letters, the pastor gave an account of his hopeless existential situation. In his petitions, he indicated death as the end result of his predicament, but as in Gábor Fittler's letters, death was mentioned only as a concept. In this context, "death" could mean spiritual death, i.e., apostasy, which was one of the greatest sins that an ordained priest could commit, and we can also speak of "physical death", that is, the question of suicide, which was also considered a grave sin by the Catholic Church. *„Higgyem e, hogy akarnák szegény bűnös lelkem halálát, vagy vesztét, és nehogy megtérjek és éljek? - wrote Pflum in a letter dated June 25, 1840. Another relevant thought from a letter written by the priest in December 1842, in which he begged for the bishop's patronage: „Testi és lelki életemet ezennel leteszem lábaihoz, ha atyai jobbát nyújtja, élni fogok, ha nem vesztve vagyok, de nem csak én, hanem édesanyám is (...).”* In the case of Ignác Kováts, the idea of both apostasy and suicide arose. In his letter dated 4 September 1850, Sándor Szalay specifically mentioned that János Nemesovits was forced by the

circumstances he experienced in the shortage to take the step of changing his denomination. Johannes Kremnickó, abbot canon of Bratislava, specifically warned Domonkos Zichy that he feared that Ignác Kováts was also considering apostasy; he also informed the archbishop that the clergyman, while serving his sentence, had abandoned his cassock, wore trousers and boots, and grew a beard.

- In the area of the diocese of Veszprém, in the middle of the 19th century, a total of five denominations changed. Of the persons concerned, Ignác Hollermayer and József Heiszler were Piarist monks, while Antal Tripammer served in the archdiocese of Esztergom, but his change of denomination took place in the parish of Paloznak. Only Lajos Gyömörey and János Nemesovits were the secular priests of the Bishopric of Veszprém on the subject. Behind both cases, there may have been an alternative to getting out of a "temporary life situation". However, we have seen that this was not a solution in either case, because the period during which they asked for their return to the Catholic Church was the beginning of a new liminal period. In his above-mentioned letter, Sándor Szalay also brought up another "quit" alternative besides apostasy.
- As a consequence of the hardships and hopeless situation in the shortage, several people escaped from there (Ignác Farkas, János Polány), joined the soldiers, who lost their lives on the battlefield or in the hospital (István Görgei, János Pflum). In the case of István Görgei, the idea of becoming a soldier or changing denominations may have been formulated even before he was admitted to the House of Old Priests. However, the military is also a transitional period. I am thinking of those priests who put aside their profession for a while and went with the National Guard or joined the army. In a letter, József Mihalovits, parish priest of Nemesvid, mentioned that his chaplain left the parish on 3 November 1846 and headed to Győr to ask for help and patronage from the bishop of Győr (János Sztankovits, 1838–1848). According to the parish priest, Görgei declared in front of the carrier that he would either become a soldier or a Calvinist. In the case of János Pflum, I would not think that he was completely motivated to take action by the negative effects of the deficit, but rather by the decline in the church hierarchy and the subsequent transition period. Lajos Gyömörey mentioned that he and his father were preparing to move to Szombathely in order to obtain the transfer of the priest to the neighboring diocese. János Nemesovits, after returning to the Catholic Church after his change of denomination, asked to be transferred to the diocese of Pécs. His plans were crowned with success, as he first worked as an assistant in Kánya and then as an administrator in Vásárosdombo.

From a thorough, parallel analysis of the complainant petitions and petitions written by clergymen under punishment, the "shadow side" of the deficit can be relatively outlined, regardless of the fact that the reality of the abuses and violence can only be partially proven. A number of conflicts within the walls of the institution were uncovered. It can also be seen from the minutes made on the deanery district crowns that the clergy performing active pastoral service distinguished between priests who stayed at the St. Paul's Institute due to their old age and deteriorating health and their fellow priests who were residents of the institution due to disciplinary problems. Due to their subjective nature, it is not possible to establish general facts about the House of Old Priests from the documents written by the condemned clergy, but from these sources it is possible to establish general facts about how the individual saw his own situation, how he related to his immediate environment, and what emotional reactions he associated with it; useful information can be obtained from them for these questions.

The behavior of the servants shows that the divided priests lost their authority and it was difficult for them to reintegrate into the ecclesiastical hierarchy; They were only employed for pastoral service much later, but even then not as remunerated parish priests, but as chaplains or administrators. Behind the appointment of the administrator, we can suspect a kind of mistrust on the part of the diocesan leadership, because if there was no positive change in the priest's behavior, the archbishop could more easily place the pastor elsewhere than if he had been appointed as a parish priest.

Obviously, the fact that in the middle of the 19th century vacancies were rare in the diocese, and when they did occur, preference was given to morally upright priests. The leadership of the diocese was

rather distrustful of those clergymen who were famous for their scandals and considered incorrigible. Thus, a priest repeatedly brought before the episcopal court for moral offenses did not necessarily ruin his career, but it had a negative impact on the advancement of the ecclesiastical career, i.e. it could slow down the advancement in the hierarchy and social advancement.

4. Writings and selected conference presentations on the topic of the dissertation

FOGL Krisztián Sándor: Gyömöre Lajos csabrendeki adminisztrátor hitehagyása a 19. század közepén. In: *A veszprémi püspökség „hosszú 19. százada”. A veszprémi egyházmegye története 1777–1917 között. A Veszprémi Érseki Főiskolán 2022. május 4-én és 2023. szeptember 28-án rendezett konferenciák előadásai.* Szerk.: KARLINSZKY Balázs–VARGA Tibor László, Veszprém, 2024, 107–135.

FOGL Krisztián Sándor: Szalay Sándor egyházmegyes pap Veszprém, az Agg papok Házában (1845–1850). *Veszprémi Szemle*, 25. évf. 69. szám, (2. sz.), 2023, 52–82.

FOGL Krisztián Sándor: Adalékok Gyömöre Lajos csabrendeki adminisztrátor szentszéki ügyéhez. In: *A Laczkó Dezső Múzeum Közleményei 30.* Szerk.: PÁTKAI Ádám Sándor, Veszprém, 2022, 17–29.

FOGL Krisztián Sándor: Fegyelmi ügyek az ego-dokumentumok fényében, a veszprémi egyházmegye példáján. In: *Múlt nélkül nincs jövő. Doktorandusz-konferenciák (2019 – 2020).* Szerk.: BANK Barbara–BEREK Patrícia–DOMJÁN Dániel–J. ÚJVÁRY Zsuzsanna, Szent István Társulat, Budapest, 2022, 167–192.

FOGL Krisztián Sándor: Nemesovits János csicsói plébános életpályája, pasztorális és hivatali kapcsolatai szentszéki peranyagok tükrében (1845–1847), In: *Papok a 18–20. századi lokális közösségekben. Történetek találkozása.* Szerk.: BÁRTH Dániel, Budapest, 2021, 495–514.

FOGL Krisztián Sándor: A plébános és az egyházközség kapcsolata a veszprémi egyházmegyében 1847 és 1849 között egyházkormányzati iratok tükrében. In: *A Laczkó Dezső Múzeum Közleményei 29.* Szerk.: S. PERÉMI Ágota, Veszprém, 2019, 263–278.

Before doctoral school:

FOGL Krisztián Sándor: Társadalmi konfliktushelyzetek a veszprémi egyházmegyében 1847 és 1849 között, (A plébános és a káplán viszonya, esettanulmányok.) In: *Vallásos kultúra és életmód a Kárpát-medencében 10.* Szerk.: PILIPKÓ Erzsébet–FOGL Krisztián Sándor, Laczkó Dezső Múzeum, Veszprém, 2017, 113–133.

FOGL Krisztián Sándor: A veszprémi egyházmegye alsópapságának fegyelmi ügyei, konfliktusai 1847–1849 között. Esettanulmányok. *Egyháztörténeti Szemle*, 4. 2015, 3–19.

Conference presentations on the topic:

1. ***Pflum János jádsdi plébános (1835 – 1845) fegyelmi ügyei.*** Népi vallásosság a Kárpát-medencében 12. konferencia, Veszprém, 2024.08.22–24.
2. ***Papok a veszprémi Deficienciában 1845 és 1855 között***
A veszprémi püspökség 1850–1917 között – egyháztörténeti konferencia, Rendező intézmények: A Veszprémi Érsekség, a Veszprémi Érsekség Egyháztörténeti Bizottsága, a Veszprémi Érseki Főiskola és a Veszprémi Főegyházmegyei Könyvtár és Levéltár, Veszprém, 2023. szeptember 29.
3. ***Gyömöre Lajos csabrendeki adminisztrátor hitehagyása a 19. század közepén***
A veszprémi püspökség 1777–1850 között – egyháztörténeti konferencia, Rendező intézmények: A Veszprémi Érsekség, a Veszprémi Érsekség Egyháztörténeti Bizottsága, a Veszprémi Érseki Főiskola és a Veszprémi Főegyházmegyei Könyvtár és Levéltár, Veszprém, 2022. május 4.

4. ***Nemesovits János csicsói plébános pasztorális és hivatali kapcsolatai egy 1845-ös szentszéki peranyag tükrében***

Az MTA-ELTE Lendület Történeti Folklorisztikai Kutatócsoport és az ELTE BTK Folklore Tanszéke által szervezett Papok a 18–20. századi lokális közösségekben. Történetek találkozása, Budapest, 2020. október 1–2.

5. ***Fegyelmi ügyek az egodokumentumok fényében a veszprémi egyházmegye példáján*** Doktorandusz konferencia, Történelemtudományi Doktori Iskola, PPKE–BTK, Budapest, 2020. február 27.

Before doctoral school:

6. ***A plébános és a hívek kapcsolata a veszprémi egyházmegyében 1847 és 1849 között az egyházkormányzati iratok tükrében***

„Népek Tavasza”, Konferencia az 1848/49-es magyar forradalom és szabadságharc 170. évfordulójának emlékére, Veszprém, 2018. április 25–27.

7. ***Köztanácskozmányok 1848 nyarán a veszprémi egyházmegyében. Előkészületek az 1848 szeptemberre tervezett Nemzeti Zsinatra***

Hitélet és Vallásos kultúra a Kárpát-medencében 11., Pápa, 2017. augusztus 21–24.