

## **Changing Religious Structure of the Population and the Secularization in the Carpatho-Pannonian Area during the 20<sup>th</sup> Century**

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### **Abstract**

The Carpatho-Pannonian Area is both religiously and ethnically the most diverse region of the present-day Europe. This area has to be considered the scene of competition between Western and Eastern Christianity since the 9<sup>th</sup> century. The religious spatial structure closely connected with the natural and social environment, mainly with the ethnic structure, with the traditional life style of the population, with the 'soul of the people' was radically changed during the last century. In the second half of 20<sup>th</sup> century an abrupt change occurred in the state-church relations, when secularisation accelerated during the atheistic, anticlerical communist period. Following the collapse of the communist regime a trend of slowing down secularisation and considerable religious revival has been observed. This paper attempts to outline the main changes and the present state of the religious structure during the last century.

**Key words:** Carpatho-Pannonian Area – geography of religions – secularization – religious pluralization

### **Introduction**

The investigated area known under the name of Carpatho-Pannonian Area includes the following present day administrative units: Hungary, Slovakia, Transcarpathia in Ukraine, the Transylvanian counties of Romania, Voivodina in Serbia, the Pannonian (Central European) counties of Croatia, Prekmurje (Transmura) region in Slovenia and Burgenland in Austria.

During the course of our geographical researching and mapping of religious spatial structure and processes, we were under the necessity to rely on census data brought out according to diverse categories in nine countries of the Carpatho-Pannonian Area in different periods of time.

During the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the sometime- and today's countries of the region relating to the investigated area, except the atheist Soviet Union and its Ukrainian successor state, had gathered information about the religious and denominational affiliation of population (Hungary 1900, 1910, 1920, 1930, 1941, 1949, 2001; Austria 1923, 1934, 1951, 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991, 2001; Czechoslovakia 1921, 1930,

1950, 1991; Slovakia 1940, 2001; Romania 1930, 1941, 1948, 1992, 2002; Yugoslavia 1921, 1931, 1953, 1991; Serbia 2002; Croatia 2001; Slovenia 2002).

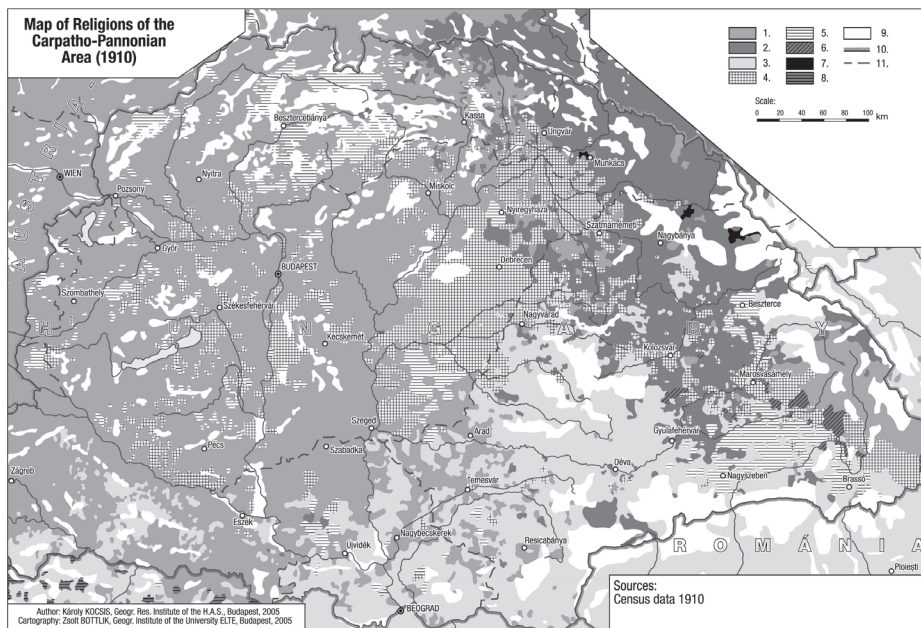
In the Carpathian-Basin the modern religious statistics have relatively deep historical roots (1850, 1857, 1869) in contrast with the western part of Europe, where religion is considered the most private personal affair. Due to these historical traditions of the newly joined member states, the European Union relying on its own specific interest too, doesn't raised objections to collect data on religion. In fact during the latest census some recommendations were made up: "Religion (non-core topic). Some countries may wish to collect data on religion. Most relevant are: a) Formal membership of a church or a religious community; b) Participation in the life of a church or a religious community; c) religious belief. Where only one question is asked it is suggested that data be collected on 'formal membership of a church or a religious community', allowing respondents to state 'none'" (Czibulka 2002).

With the complex meaning of 'secularization' being in the title and having a rich bibliography we are certainly fully aware. Taking into consideration the character of the available census data, requiring to our survey, we had to pay attention to spatial changing of the number and proportion of those inhabitants who declared themselves to be without any religious affiliation. This population is very heterogeneous, including atheists, 'non-religious' people, who are indifferent to whatever religion or Church, people with no religious affiliation and those people who don't want to answer this question.

Regrettably, the countries of the investigated area made known data about population with no religious affiliation without such fullness of details and in required territorial breaking down only occasionally and not on the basis of the same principles. In the same time we consider that the relation of the Carpatho-Pannonian Area's population to religion and Church – changing in space and time – is reflected in the geographical survey of the atheists, non religious people and group of people without any religious affiliation.

#### **Period until 1918**

According to the last Hungarian census (1910) in the territory of historical Hungary from the total 20.9 million inhabitants 52.1% Roman Catholics, 9.7% Greek Catholics, 14.3% Orthodox, 12.5% Calvinists, 6.4% Lutherans and 4.5% Israelites were registered (Tab. 1, 2). In that time 99.4% of the Serbs belonged to Orthodoxy, 98.8% of the Croats had been Roman Catholics, and 98.1% of the Ruthenians (Rusyns) Greek Catholics. An absolute majority of the Hungarians, Germans and Slovaks belonged to the Roman Catholic denomination (59–71%), 61% of the Romanians had been Orthodox and 38.4% Greek Catholics. The Unitarians (98.6%), Calvinists (98.2%) and Israelites (75.6%) had a higher ratio among Hungarians.



*Fig. 1* Map of Religions of the Carpatho-Pannonian Area (1910) – Absolute or relative majority of the believers: 1 = Roman Catholic; 2 = Greek Catholic; 3 = Orthodox; 4 = Calvinist (Reformed); 5 = Lutheran; 6 = Unitarian; 7 = Jewish; 8 = Muslim; 9 = Uninhabited territory or area without permanent settlement; 10 = State border (1910); 11 = Present state border

The Roman Catholics constitute a main denomination in the territories west from the Vukovar – Temesvár/Timișoara – Arad – Szolnok – Miskolc – Kassa/Košice – Bártfa /Bardejov line, Greek Catholic majority had been in the northeastern (mostly Ruthenian and Romanian) part of our region. An absolute majority of Orthodox population are to be found in the Romanian and Serbian ethnic territories of South-Transylvania, Körös-vidék /Crișana/ and Banat. Out of the above mentioned denominations only the Calvinists had greater religious blocks (in East Hungarian ethnic areas) east of the rivers Tisza and Fehér-Körös (Crișul Alb) (Fig. 1).

### Period between 1918–1938

After World War I., according to the Peace Treaty of Trianon (1920) Hungary had lost 71.4% of its historical territory, 33% of the ethnic Hungarian population, 98% of the Orthodox population, 91.9% of the Greek-Catholics, 63.9% of the Lutherans, 56.2% of the Roman Catholics and half of the Israelites.

In the period between 1918–1924 enormous migrations were taking place connected with the new state boundaries. From the detached territories 350,000 ethnic

Hungarians fled to the new, little territory of Hungary (most of them were Roman Catholics, Calvinists /Reformed/, Israelites), in the meantime approximately 20,000 Orthodox left Hungary in the frame of repatriation (Petrichevich – Horváth E. 1924).

The above mentioned migrations hadn't modified considerably the denominational structure of population. However, because of the increasing immigration of the Romanians and Serbs, of the mass fled and repatriation of ethnic Hungarians and the great extent of German emigration, the proportion of Orthodox people grew in Transylvania and in Voivodina, while the number of Roman Catholics and Protestants decreased to a similar extent.

The Czechoslovakian government patronized intensively the development of pro-Russian consciousness of Greek-Catholic, "Hungarophil" Ruthenians (Rusyns) however, and their conversion from Greek-Catholic religion to the Orthodox one. For the above reasons the proportion of Orthodoxes from the total population of Transcarpathia increased from 0.04% to 15.3% during the period between 1910 and 1930, while the proportion of Greek Catholics diminished from 64.3% to 49.1%.

With the division of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy as a great domestic market and with the emergence of new state borders, the destruction of former economic relationships, the economic development was halted and slackened and, because of the more and more unfavourable political situation and anti-Semitic atmosphere, the number of Israelites gradually declined, mainly through the exodus and their conversion to Christian.

#### **Period between 1938 and 1945**

During the period between the two World Wars, similar to other European countries, the religious freedom was restricted and the human and civil rights of citizens belonging to Israelite religion were endangered. Due to the influence of the Nazi Germany meeting with the demands of Hungarian extreme right wing parties, which had become more and more confident, between 1931–1942 lots of discriminative laws were framed against Jewish population. There were applied socio-, economic sanctions against them, but also penalties against their private life.

During the World War II – as a result of the provisional territorial revision success between 1938 and 1941 and return of the detached territories with Hungarian majority – the territory of Hungary grew from 93,073 km<sup>2</sup> to 171,753 km<sup>2</sup> and the population number from 8.7 million to 14.7 million. According to the census of 1941 in the territory of the contemporary Hungary, 55% of the population declared themselves to be Roman Catholics, 11.6% Greek Catholics, 19% Reformed, 3% Lutherans, 4.9% Israelites and 3.8% Orthodox.

681,000 people (of them 618,000 under the German Occupation of 19 March 1947) were deported from the 825,000 ones, who were claimed Jewish by origin,

but who mainly had Hungarian as mother tongue and were of Hungarian identity between 1941–1944.

At the end of 1945 the total number of Jewish people, who survived the Holocaust in place or returned from deportations, respectively, had been 260,000 in the enlarged territory of Hungary between 1941–1944. In today's Hungarian area their number had been 195,000 (from this 144,000 persons in Budapest) (Stark 1989: 26).

After 1938 in other areas of the Carpathian Basin beyond the borders of Hungary the Israelites were totally deprived of their civil rights. Most of them were deported too. Following the German occupation of Austria (March 12–13, 1938), in Burgenland the 3,200 Jewish people's chasing out and dragging to concentration camps had started immediately. With disintegration of Yugoslavia, following the proclamation of the 'Independent Croatian State' on 10 April 1941, the majority of Jewish inhabitants' gathering and extermination in the death camps were taken place. In the similarly Nazi satellite Republic of Slovakia 87,000 Jews living was disastrous, owing to discrimination against them and their liquidation in the concentrating camps in 1940–42 (Hromádka 1943: 121, Sas 1993: 69). In the Romanian South-Transylvania and in Banat the Jewish people, whose estimated number had been 45,000 then, weren't deported by the Romanian authorities, in contrast with other parts of Romania (ex. in Moldova, Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transnistria), where due to pogroms, internments, deportations, holocausts more hundreds of thousand Jews felt victims. In today's territory of Romania in 1940 the estimated number of Jewish people had been 760,000, from which 400,000 persons were exterminating (out of them 260,000 were executed by the Romanian authorities) (Carp 1946: 2).

#### **Period between 1945 and 1989**

After World War II., between 1945–1948 – following the repeated territorial changes of state power – significant changes occurred in the ethnic and religious structure of the region as a consequence of the migrations, concerning more hundreds of thousand inhabitants. From the present day territory of Hungary 254,712 Germans (Roman Catholics and Lutherans) had to flee, had been deported or had fallen into captivity (Czibulka 2004). According to the Czechoslovak-Hungarian Population Exchange (1946) between 1947–48 73,273 Slovaks (Roman Catholics and Lutherans) had left Hungary (Vadkerty 1999: 166). As a result of the flight and deportation of the majority of Lutheran Germans and Slovaks, the population number of Lutherans had decreased from 557,000 to 482,000 in Hungary between 1941–49, by 104,000 in Transylvania between 1930–1948, by 44,000 in Voivodina between 1931–1953. The majority of the 120,000 Germans, who were evacuated, deported or flight, had been Roman Catholics, but with the forced removal of Lutheran Saxons and with the settling of mainly Roman Catholic Slovaks to their places, the Lutheran majority of more dozen villages in the valley of Gelnica, near

the feet of the High Tatras (in the northern foreground of Poprad and in the southern foreground of Podolin) had disappeared totally (Die Vertreibung... 1957). Between 1945–48 from Slovakia 89,660 Roman Catholic and Reformed Hungarians were deported to Hungary and 43,546 to Czechoslovakia. Their places were mostly occupied by Roman Catholic Slovakian settlers (Vadkerty 1999).

From Transylvania, in the last months of 1944 100,000 Germans were evacuated (48,000 Lutheran Saxons and 52,000 Roman Catholic Swabians), between 1945–47 75,000 Germans (26,000 Lutheran Saxons, 49,000 Roman Catholic Swabians) were removed by force to labour camps in the Soviet Union. During the Romanian agrarian reform of 1945 in the places of evacuated or fled Roman Catholic and Lutheran Germans, Orthodox Romanians were settled (mostly from the Romanian Moldova and from Bessarabia, the latter annexed by the Soviet Union). As a result of forced migrations, the areas by a majority of Lutherans from Transylvania and Roman Catholics from Banat were disintegrated, their centers by Lutheran and Roman Catholic majority until 1945 (Sibiu, Mediaș, Sighișoara, Timișoara, Arad, Reșița) became centres by Romanian Orthodox majority. In the area of present day Serbian Voivodina, in 1941, because of the approaching Red Army and the Yugoslavian (Serbian) partisan formations, 43% mostly Roman Catholic Germans from 318,000 ones had left their homeland, mainly through recruiting in the German military forces, flight and deportations. In the place of the uproot Catholic Germans (in smaller part Lutherans) there were settled 225,000 mostly Orthodox and atheists inhabitants from the Balkans (162,000 Serbs, 40,176 Montenegrins and 12,000 Macedonians) between September 1945 and July 1946 (Gaćeša 1984). Due to ethnic-religious cleansings, the western and southern parts of Bačka, the most part of the total Banat, as well as the most important centres of the region by Catholic majority (e.g. Novi Sad, Bačka Palanka, Zrenjanin, Vršac) had become Serbian Orthodox. Out of the present day territories of Hungary, because of the flight and deportation of mainly Roman Catholic Germans and Hungarians, the number of Roman Catholics had diminished by 100,000 in Transylvania between 1930–1948 and by 180,000 in Voivodina between 1931–1953. In the meantime between 1944–48 from the detached areas (from the present day territories of Romania, Slovakia, Serbia, Ukraine) 230,100 ethnic (Reformed and Catholic) Hungarians fled, were deported or expelled to the present-day territory of Hungary (Stark 1989). Due to this massive ethnic Hungarian immigration, for the first time in the 20<sup>th</sup> century the proportion of Calvinists in Hungary had increased by 4.1% between 1941–49. This increase was of higher ratio, than the Roman Catholic one, which was 2%.

Because of the emigrations mainly to Israel the exodus of the Jews surviving the War has continued. As a result of these facts between the end of 1945 and 1949 the number of Israelites had decreased from 195,000 to 134,000 in Hungary. As a consequence of these emigrations, besides the Holocaust, between 1930–1948/51 the proportion of Israelites had fallen from 3.5% to 1.7% in the present day Transylvania, from 5.1% to 1.5% in Hungary, from 14.1% to 3.1 in Transcarpathia and from 4.1% to 0.2% in Slovakia. With the migrations of almost all of the Israelites and



more than half of the Roman Catholic and Reformed Hungarians, the affiliation aspect of the two main cities of Transcarpathia, Užhorod and Mukačevo were changing radically. The population of these two cities had been essentially Israelite, Roman- and Greek Catholic denominational until 1944, but between 1945–50 with the immigration of approximately 20–20,000 Orthodox and atheists Russians, their religious structure had completely modified. With the significance of the above mentioned migrations rivalled the offensive against the Ruthenian and Romanian Greek Catholic Churches between 1946–1950 lead to the liquidation of the Greek Catholic churches, with 1,2 million Transylvanian, 450,000 Transcarpathian and 225,000 Slovakian members around 1950, and to the declaration of these members to be Orthodox. The priests, who refused to be converted from Greek Catholic to Orthodox religion, were deported (Botlik 1997: 279, Fedor 1993: 30, 275, Gesztelyi 1991: 69). In Transcarpathia with the liquidation of the Greek Catholic Church, the destruction of ethnical identity of the pro-Hungarian, separatist, Greek Catholic Ruthenians and their conversion to Orthodox Ukrainians subordinated to patriarch of Moscow, were the primary goals. Due to these conversions and the mass colonisation of Orthodox Russians, Ukrainians and Serbs from Kraina, Bosnia and Central Serbia, in Transcarpathia and Voivodina an Orthodox majority came into being until 1950. With calming down the above mentioned massive migrations, at the beginning of communist regimes take-over, in the end of 1940's and in the first half of 1950's, in the countries of the region there were taken place those census, which surveyed the populations' religious and denominational affiliation for the last time in the following long decades (Table 1, 2). During this time only 0.1% (12,000) of the population thought themselves non-religious, atheists. In Slovakia in 1950 from the 3.4 million population 99.6% declared themselves to be religious, from which 76.2% Roman Catholics, 6.6% Greek Catholics, 12.9% Lutherans, 3.2% Reformed. In the areas belonging to Yugoslavia, the victory of the partisan warfare of communist ideology led by Tito, the proclamation of the communist Yugoslavia in 1945, had influenced greatly the religiousness of the mainly Serbian population living in regions devastated by war and their relation to Churches. This secularization by communist motivation achieved great success among the Serbs living in Croatian Kraina and Serbian settlers from Balkans (mainly ex-partisans) living in the areas of Voivodina (inhabited mostly by Germans until 1945). Due to these inhabitants and members of the Yugoslavian Communist Party, during the Yugoslavian census of 1953 only 86.3% of the population of Voivodina declared themselves to be religious and 87.3% of the Pannonian territories of Croatia.

In the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century not only the ethnical and denominational structure of the population had changed significantly, but also the relation between state and Church following the communist take-over. Because of the atheistic policy of communist regimes, the grandparents' passive practice of religion, the parents' compromising passivity, the younger generations' atheists, anticlerical and anti-religious ideological education and dissolution of the inheritance of religious tra-

ditions among generations, the proportion of non-religious people or directly atheists became more and more greater. About their proportion – without census data – estimations, surveying were giving information. In Hungary the proportion of non-religious or atheists were estimated by World Christian Encyclopedia, in 1970 to 8.1% or 7%, in 1980 8.7% or 7.2% (Barrett 1982: 364).

According to certain estimations of 1988 the proportion of atheists and non-religious had been 15.9% in Hungary and Romania, 16.7% in Yugoslavia and 20.1% in Czechoslovakia (Britannica. Book of the Year 1989). The above mentioned ‘index of secularisation’ of 1970, which had been accelerated and hastened by communist regimes, the estimated proportion of non-religious and atheists population fell behind the indexes of Soviet (51.3%) and Eastern Asian ones (54.8%) including China too, but then it exceeded considerably the ‘index of secularisation’ of Europe (9.8%) and North America (4.8%) (Barrett 1982: 783–785) (Table 3). In the years of 1970’s and 1980’s the crises phenomena of socialist society had increased (poverty, family crises, alcoholism, suicide, delinquency, etc.), but the communist system wasn’t prepared to resolve them, because for the ‘socialist human type’ planned by the socialist ideology had to be unknown the so called ‘confusions of social integration’. Due to these processes more and more people tried to establish relation with Churches and religion.

The religious patterns hadn’t modified considerably, only the urban centres in relation with inner migrations of socialist urbanization had lost their former denominational majority. In Hungary and Slovakia a number of towns (e.g. Békéscsaba, Hódmezővásárhely, Leninváros (today Tiszaújváros), Liptovský Mikuláš, Veľký Krtíš) having Lutheran and Reformed majority previously became Catholic in greater part. In Transylvania only 34.2% had been Romanian from the total urban population (47.5% Hungarian, 11.9% German, Varga 1998) until 1941. The Romanian prominently important ethno-political aim of socialist urbanisation was to turn cities and towns with a Hungarian character into ones with a Romanian ethnic majority. For this reason in the course of the extremely forced industrialisation the mobilizable Romanian rural population were directed towards cities and towns with Hungarian and German character (Roman Catholic-Protestant) ensuring hereby their Romanian majority. According to these Romanian urbanisation, colonisation and the already mentioned liquidation of the Greek Catholic Church, the cities with Reformed /and Hungarian/ majority had become by turns Orthodox one (e.g.: until 1955 Nagyvárad/Oradea, Kolozsvár/Cluj, until 1965 Szatmárnémeti/Satu Mare, until 1970 Zilah/Zalău, until 1980 Marosvásárhely/Târgu Mureş).

#### **Period following 1989**

In 1989–91 in the socialist countries of Europe, parallel with the collapse of communist regimes and the Soviet economic, military federative systems, economic and socio-political ‘change-of-regim’ was beginning, which through the



partial financial and moral compensation of Churches had changed the relation between state and Church fundamentally. It seems, that after the 'change-of-regim', the population in the region's societies grew weary of the great, all-comprehensive ideologies, organisations and set up a claim for traditional, moral norms, smaller organisational units and small regional-local identities. This was the religious "renaissance" in most of the former socialist countries in the years of 1990's, which near the slackening and frequently turning of secularisation resulted in the consolidation of the smaller free churches and smaller religious communities, in the growing religious 'pluralisation' at the expense of the great national, historical churches (e.g. the Roman Catholics, the Reformed, the Lutherans, the Orthodox) (Andorka 1991).

Following the 'change-of-regime', the Hungarian census of 1990 prepared in the socialist period hadn't asked about the religious and denominational affiliation of population, but in the neighbouring countries the censuses of 1991–92 had already put this question. In that time out of the total 30.6 million population in Carpathian Basin only 44.5% (13.6 million) and 3.3% (1 million) declared themselves Roman or Greek Catholics. The latter one has become officially recognized denomination again in Ukraine and Romania since 1989. For this reason the number of Greek Catholics could grow only in Hungary and Voivodina, where this religion wasn't exposed to harsh persecution in the last half century. In the years of 1990's in Slovakia, Ukraine and Romania a mortal combat had started, mostly in form of negotiations between the Greek Catholic and the Orthodox Churches for giving back the previously confiscated churches and other real properties, and for the former believers having Greek Catholic family traditions. In the sabotage of this process the Ukrainian state supporting the Orthodoxy was also taking part (Botlik 1997). By keeping of 50–90% (Transcarpathia, Transylvania) of the Greek Catholic population, who were regarded as ethnic Ukrainians and Romanians of Orthodox religious affiliation between 1949–50, the number of inhabitants by Orthodox denomination exceeded over 7.7 million in 1991.

Among the region's major protestant denominations, with a relatively low natural increase and stricken by significant (German) migration loss, the population and the proportion of the Lutherans sank under one million and 3%. Within the total population of the investigated area, the proportion of the members of the mainy Transylvanian and Hungarian based Protestant Church was considerably repressed. Mainly at the expense of the historical churches, the free churches and smaller religious communities had consolidated. Their inhabitants number increased from 109,000 to 665,000, to 2.3%. Out of the total 1.3 milliard Muslims (2004) in our Earth, in the Carpathian Basin more than 44,000 believers (principally Bosnians) represented them in the beginning of 1991, mostly in the areas of Pannonian-Croatia (31,000) and Voivodina (10,000). In this point of view the data of the remarkably diversified population of Transylvania throwed on the close relationship between ethnic group and denomination. In 1992 in Transylvania 95.3% of the Romanians had been Orthodox, 47.4% of the Hungarians had declared themselves

Reformed, 41% of them Roman Catholics, 4.6% Unitarian, 74% of Gypsies (Roma) had been Orthodox, 9.4% Roman Catholics, 8.7% Reformed and 60.1% of Germans belonged to Roman Catholic denomination, 28.2% to Lutheran one (Varga 1998).

According to the latest census the proportion of the population belonging to religion, denomination in Hungary (74.6%) had been lower than in the neighbouring countries: in Romania 99.8% (2002), in Serbia 95% (2002), in Croatia 94.2% (2001), in Austria 86% (2001), in Slovakia 84.1% (2001), except Slovenia (67.1%) and Ukraine (62–75%). The character of religiousness has changed and it doesn't mean necessarily churlishness and less and less a devotion to the historical churches.

### **Present-day religious patterns**

According to the censuses of 2001–2002 in the Carpatho-Pannonian Area from the 29.2 million population 47.6% declared themselves Catholic (44.5% Roman Catholic, 3.1% Greek Catholic), 11.6% Protestant (from which 8.6% Calvinist), 23.9% Orthodox. More than 2.7 million inhabitants declared themselves to be non-religious or atheists, and 1.5 million (5.2%), who did not want to response the question prying their religious, denominational status. During the period after 1992, according to the census of 2001–2002 the inhabitants' religiousness has grown in Slovakia and Serbia, it has stagnated on a high level in Romania and Croatia and decreased in Austria and Slovakia. The proportion of the population belonging to religion, denomination, according to the latest census in Hungary, is lower than in bordering countries, except Slovenia and Ukraine (Table 1, 2). The extent of the secularisation has been high in Budapest and in other Hungarian and Slovakian big cities (Bratislava, Košice, Banská Bystrica), and over the Transcarpathia belonging until 1991 to the atheist Soviet Union, in the regions of heavy industry inhabited mostly by the working-class (e.g. (Dunaujváros, Oroszlány, Tatabánya, Salgótarján), and in the central part of East Hungary with Protestant majority it has been extremely high (Fig. 2). This latter mentioned areas are those lowlands, where the poor peasantry had already been very susceptible to socialist ideas at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, where the Hungarian Communist Party (near big industrial areas) achieved extraordinary success in 1945, where the Christian-Democratic People's Party could approach only very few voters at the elections after 1989, and where the Protestant Churches could keep their believers and slacken the secularisation less and less.

In the investigated area 52% of the believers (44.5% out the total population, 13.1 million persons) are Roman Catholics representing an absolute majority in Pannonian-Croatia (88%), Burgeland (79%), Slovakia (69%), Prekmurje (68%) and Hungary (52%). In contrast with the Protestant Churches it could keep and indeed increase their believers number (by 3.2%). The proportion of Roman Catho-

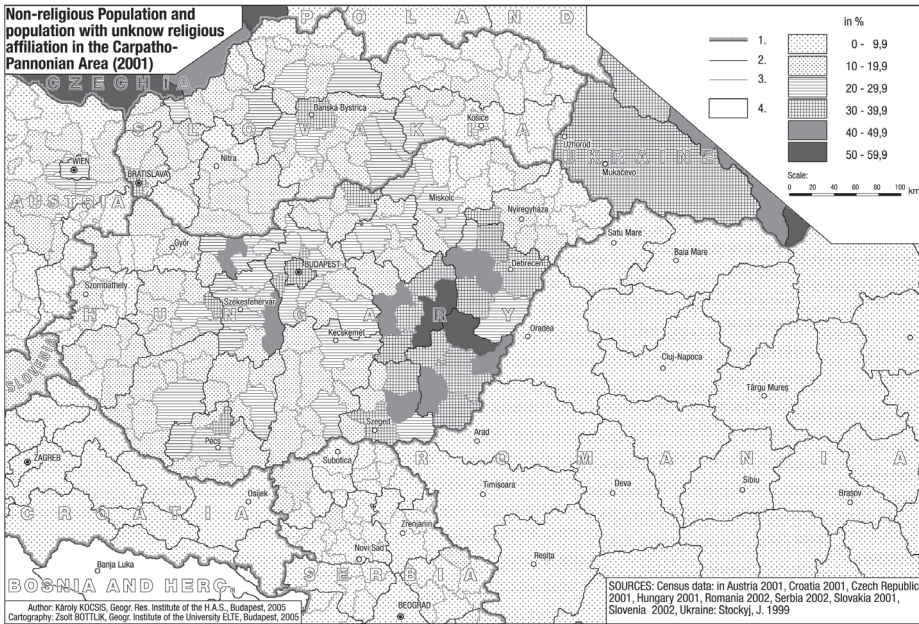


Fig. 2 Non-religious population and population with unknown religious affiliation in the Carpatho-Pannonian Area (around 2001, in %) – 1 = State border; 2 = County, regional boundary; 3 = District boundary; 4 = No data available

lics and their devotion to the Church were specially high in Croatia, in Southwest and North Hungary, in Northwest Slovakia and in Northeast Szeklerland (East Transylvania) (Figure 3). In the period after the election of 1989 this regions ensured a stable background to the right parties by national-christian character. According to the census of 2001 the most Roman Catholics live in the following cities (1,000 persons): Budapest (808), Zagreb (679), Bratislava (243), Košice (138), Osijek (97), Pécs (95), Szeged (92), Győr (86) and Miskolc (78).

After 1989 in Ukraine and Romania the officially recognised Greek Catholic Church could keep or entice back only 902,000 believers from the Orthodoxes (in smaller part from Roman Catholics) out of the 2.5 million former Greek Catholics before 1950. The Greek Catholics of part Ruthenians, part Romanian origin live in Slovakia (220,000) in the out-of-the-way, mostly mountainy Ruthenian areas of Spiš, Šariš, Zemplin, in Transcarpathia (225,000) mainly in West, in Transylvania (181,000) in a high ratio in the Maramureş, Satu Mare, Cluj counties, in Hungary in the borderland of Hajdú and Szabolcs and in the northern part of Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén county.

In the Carpathian-Basin the most powerful Protestant Church is the Reformed (Calvinist) – as well as one century ago – having 2.5 million believers, 8.6% of the total population. Out of the total Reformed denominational inhabitants from the Carpatho-Pannonian area, 64% live in Hungary, 27% in Transylvania, 4.4% in Slo-

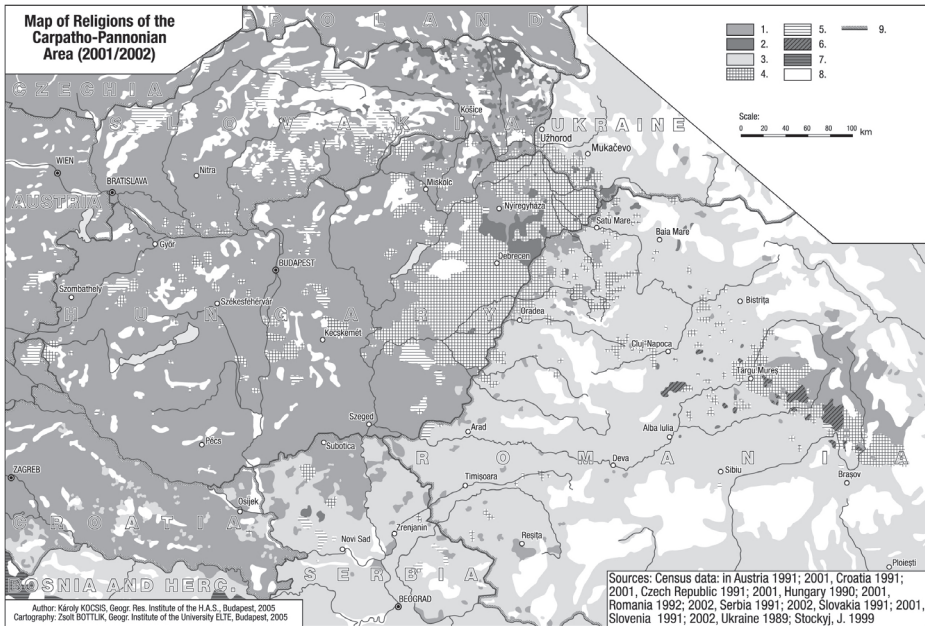


Fig. 3 Map of Religions of the Carpatho-Pannonian Area (2001/2002) – Absolute or relative majority of the believers: 1 = Roman Catholic; 2 = Greek Catholic; 3 = Orthodox; 4 = Calvinist (Reformed); 5 = Lutheran; 6 = Unitarian; 7 = Muslim; 8 = Uninhabited territory or area without permanent settlement; 9 = State border

vakia and Transcarpathia. Except the Csángó-Hungarians of Moldova and the northeastern Szeklers, the Reformed is an outstanding denomination of the Hungarians, living in east from the rivers Tisza and Fehér-Körös, having a dominant role in the maintenance of ethnical identity of the Hungarian minority. In Transcarpathia around two third of Hungarians declare themselves to be Reformed, in Transylvania half of them, in Hungary one sixth and in Slovakia one tenth. In the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the Refomed Church could keep its believers at least in the following Hungarian regions: Nagykovács, Békés and Hajdúság. The most populous Calvinist communities live (in 1,000 persons) in Budapest (224), in Debrecen (82), in Târgu Mureş/ Marosvásárhely (48), in Miskolc (41), in Cluj-Napoca/ Kolozsvár (40), in Oradea/ Nagyvárad (37) and in Nyíregyháza (26).

The number of Lutherans in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century – because of the emigration of Germans and secularisation – decreased to 836,000, by 40%. In 2001 45% of the Lutherans lived in Slovakia, 36% of them in Hungary. Groups of settlements of Lutheran character are to be found in peripheric areas of Central Slovakia, in the White Carpathians, in NW Burgenland, in North-Prekmurje, in Hungary in the environs of Pápa, in Békés county, in common margins of Nógrád and Pest counties, and in Slovakian enclaves of Voivodina. The most Lutheran believers (in 1,000 persons) can be found in Budapest (46), Bratislava (25), Békéscsaba (14), Nyíregyháza (12), Banská Bystrica (11) and Martin (10).



The Transylvanian Szeklers constitute the main basis of the Unitarian Church having 79,000 believers, who live in the environs of Odorheiu Secuiesc/Székelyudvarhely and south of Turda/Torda. Most of the Unitarians can be found in Odorheiu Secuiesc/Székelyudvarhely, in Budapest, in Târgu Mureş/Marosvásárhely and in the episcopal seat of the Unitarian Church of Transylvania, in Cluj-Napoca/Kolozsvár.

In the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century with the incorporation of the majority of Greek Catholic believers, with the colonisation of many 100,000 Balkanic, Wallachian and Moldovan Orthodoxes (Serbs, Romanians), their proportion increased from 14% to 24% in the Carpatho-Pannonian area. As a result of these facts out of the total believers, the proportion of Orthodox population has already reached 75% in Voivodina, 70% in Transylvania and 50% in Transcarpathia. In the meantime in the predominantly Catholic countries of the region the ratio of the Orthodoxes gradually decreased, because of the assimilation of Orthodox ethnic minorities in Hungary, of the gradual religious dissimilation of Ruthenians (from Orthodox back to Greek Catholic) in Slovakia and of flight of the Serbian minority from Croatia during the war between 1991–95. Their most populated communities in the predominantly Orthodox countries are in accordance with the Romanian-, Serbian and Ukrainian ones. In the predominantly Catholic countries of the Carpatho-Pannonian area most of the Orthodoxes live (in 1,000 persons) in Zagreb (15), in Vukovar (10) and in Osijek (9).

The number of Israelites – because of the Holocaust and their emigrations – decreased to the level of the two centuries before. According to the census data based on self-identification their number has been 18,000, but according to estimations there are 100,000 persons. As a result the majority of Jews could avoid the deportations of 1944, two third of them are inhabitants of Budapest nowadays. The others live mostly in Bratislava, Debrecen, Košice, Szeged, and Miskolc.

### **Conclusion**

The Carpatho-Pannonian area is a scene where the European Catholic, Protestant, Orthodox blocks and Judaism meet each other for around a half millenium, where an only church is regarded as a pillar of national identity in case of only few ethnic groups (e.g. Serbs, Croatians, Romanians, Ruthenians). The establishment of the kingdom of Hungary in around 1,000 aheaded far the establishment of modern nation in 19<sup>th</sup> century, what the Hungarians lived among splited conditions between more churches. However, the Catholic Church retained its dominant role politically until 1946, the ending of the kingdom. Between 1945–49 the official segregation of state and churches was taken place in the region. It was followed by the atheist, anticlerical policy of communist autocracy. For then the relation between state and the church is arranged according to European experience, in which near this valid separation, devision of labour and cooperation also can be observed.

The religious spatial structure closely connected with the natural and social environment, mainly with the ethnic structure, with the traditional life style of the population, with the ‘soul of the people’ was radically changed during the last century. In the second half of 20<sup>th</sup> century an abrupt change occurred in the state-church relations, when secularisation accelerated during the atheistic, anticlerical communist period. Following the collapse of the communist regime a trend of slowing down secularization and considerable religious revival has been observed. In the last decades not only the Austrian areas, but also the Hungarian and Slovakian ones became from emigration into immigration countries, but with the immigration of believers belonging to not historical churches or denominations (Islam, Buddhism, Hinduism) connected to religious pluralisation seems completely negligible in comparison to West-European countries.

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Tab. 1 Religious Structure of the Population in the Carpatho-Pannonian Area (1900–2001)

Country, region	Year	Total population	Religious population	Roman Catholic	Greek Catholic	Lutheran	Calvinist	Unitarian	Orthodox	Jewish	Muslims	Other religious	Non-religious	Atheist	Unknown
HUNGARY	1900	6,854,415	6,854,415	4,229,788	146,288	450,545	1,532,188	3,242	53,851	424,221		5,398			
	1910	7,612,114	7,612,114	4,774,485	165,389	484,221	1,632,588	5,101	61,012	471,370		17,948			
	1930	8,685,109	8,685,109	5,631,246	201,092	533,746	1,813,144	7,300	39,839	444,552		14,190			
	1941	9,316,074	9,316,074	6,19,600	233,659	557,310	1,934,851	8,465	38,318	400,978		22,893			
	1949	9,204,799	9,190,990	6,240,399	248,356	482,157	2,014,718	9,449	36,015	133,861		26,035	12,287		1,522
	1990	10,374,823													
SLOVAKIA	2001	10,198,315	7,610,613	5,289,521	268,935	304,705	1,622,796		15,298	12,871		96,487	1,483,369		1,104,333
	1910	2,928,266	2,928,266	2,031,373	197,804	394,868	162,677		1,490	139,373		681			
	1930	3,323,347	3,306,457	2,384,915	212,653	400,594	141,363		8,979	135,975		21,978	16,890		
	1940	3,561,900	2,589,538	2,589,538	241,061	421,087	147,332			127,663		35,249	←		
	1950	3,442,317	3,430,361	2,623,198	225,495	443,251	111,696		7,975	7,476		11,270	9,679		2,277
Transcarpathia (in Ukraine)	1991	5,274,335	3,840,949	3,187,383	178,733	326,397	82,545		34,376	912		30,603	515,551		917,835
	2001	5,379,455	4,521,549	3,708,120	219,831	372,858	109,735		50,363	2,310		58,332	697,308		160,598
	1910	602,774	602,774	54,355	387,730	1,649	70,753		582	87,612		93			
	1930	734,249	729,296	71,559	360,269	2,750	75,240		112,228	103,319		3,931	4,953		
	1941	853,949	853,949	79,342	435,141	3,219	91,651		125,637	115,999		2,960			
	1949	795,000			450,000					40,000					
Transylvania (in Romania)	1989	1,245,618								2,639					
	1998	1,280,700	794,300	62,400	225,900	→	109,500		395,800			700	486,400		
	1900	4,848,451	4,848,451	910,730	1,135,583	251,316	631,007	64,954	1,694,413	158,062		2,386			
	1910	5,228,180	5,228,180	985,155	1,235,599	262,075	694,018	68,706	1,796,352	181,597		4,678			
	1930	5,548,991	5,543,231	947,788	1,385,452	274,415	696,320	68,330	1,932,412	192,833		45,681	2,792		2,968
	1948	5,761,127													
Voivodina (in Serbia)	1992	7,723,313	7,699,704	854,935	206,833	56,448	796,152	75,978	5,360,102	2,768	534	345,954	15,365	3,649	4,595
	2002	7,225,738	7,202,175	735,330	181,347	35,551	694,793	66,532	5,042,951	1,948	2,375	441,348	10,374	3,715	9,474
	1900	1,433,387	1,433,387	679,533	15,022	109,912	43,068	122	556,128	23,510		6,092			
	1910	1,516,881	1,516,881	719,829	16,649	116,043	44,187	145	594,397	22,218		3,413			
	1931	1,624,158	1,623,789	727,213	18,026	119,140	39,130		689,296	18,179	1,608	11,197			369
	1953	1,712,619	1,478,445	561,617	19,851	105,173	←		775,722	651	3,254	12,177	230,920		3,254
	1991	2,013,889	1,723,416	458,683	←	78,925	←		1,170,694	284	9,775	5,055	79,128		211,345
	2002	2,031,992	1,875,389	388,313	←	72,159	←		1,401,475	329	8,073	5,040	12,583		144,020

Country, region	Year	Total population	Religious population	Roman Catholic	Greek Catholic	Lutheran	Calvinist	Unitarian	Orthodox	Jewish	Muslims	Other religious	Non-religious	Atheist	Unknown
Pannonian Croatia (in Croatia)	1910	2,178,318	2,178,318	1,720,377	13,992	12,935	20,218	36	389,575	20,625		560			
	1931	2,475,576	2,475,177	1,949,807	12,554	15,300	14,286		452,954	19,964	3,664	6,648			399
	1953	2,688,000	2,347,000	2,019,000	11,000	4,000	←		304,000		5,000	4,000	277,000		64,000
	1991	3,206,726	2,967,055	2,498,114	10,888	3,029	←		352,151	528	31,001	71,344	101,778		137,893
	2001	3,010,452	2,863,522	2,659,252	5,670	2,780	4,014		146,150	394	32,678	12,584	51,852		95,078
Transmura Region (in Slovenia)	1910	90,513	90,513	63,831	20	23,904	953			4	978	823			
	1931	90,717	90,717	67,114	9	22,163	761		175	476	15	4			
	1941	82,400	82,400	62,324	54	18,873	704		64	366	14				
	1953	93,888													
	1991	89,887	81,374	66,180		14,611			258	14	139	172	1,082		7,431
	2002	82,359	70,452	56,265		12,783			191		160	1,053	2,964		8,943
	1910	292,041	292,041	245,554	78	39,399	2,142	7	18	4,837		6			
Burgenland (in Austria)	1934	299,447	299,168	254,750		38,830	1,552			3,632		404	279		
	1951	276,136	275,691	236,182		37,400	1,595					514	445		
	1991	270,880	266,533	222,284		35,379	1,595					33	2,309	4,933	940
	2001	277,569	264,893	220,512	29	35,224	1,588		1,856	33	3,993	1,658	11,102		1,574
CARPATHO-PANNONIAN AREA	1900	18,836,813	18,836,813	9,647,100	1,853,932	1,284,919	2,439,516	68,546	2,679,430	848,835		11,741	2,396		398
	1910	20,449,087	20,449,087	10,594,959	2,017,261	1,335,094	2,627,536	73,995	2,843,430	928,610		25,834	2,322		46
	1930	22,781,594	22,752,944	12,034,392	2,190,055	1,406,938	2,781,796	68,330	3,235,883	918,930	5,287	104,033	24,914		3,736
	1949	23,973,886													
1991	30,199,471														
2001	29,486,580	25,202,893	13,119,713	901,712	836,060	2,542,426	66,532	7,054,084	17,885	47,279	617,202	2,755,952	3,715	1,524,020	

Source: Census data (Hungary 1900, 1910, 1930, 2001, Czechoslovakia 1930, 1991, Slovakia 2001, Romania 1930, 1992, 2002, Yugoslavia 1931, 1991, Serbia 2002, Croatia 2001, Slovenia 2002, Austria 1934, 1991, 2001) and in 1998 in Transcarpathia: Stocky, J. 1999. Religijna situacija v Ukraini: problemi i tendencii razvoitku (1988–1998), Vydavnistvo S.M.P. Aston, Ternopil.

Tab. 2 Religious Structure of the Population in the Carpatho-Pannonian Area (1930–2001, in per cent)

Country, region	Year	Total population	Religious population	Roman Catholic	Greek Catholic	Lutheran	Catvinist	Unitarian	Orthodox	Jewish	Muslims	Other religious	Non-religious	Atheist	Unknown
HUNGARY	1900	100	100.0	61.8	2.1	6.6	22.4	0.1	0.8	6.2		0.0			
	1910	100	100.0	62.8	2.2	6.4	21.5	0.1	0.8	6.2		0.0			
	1930	100	100.0	64.8	2.3	6.1	20.9	0.1	0.5	5.1		0.2			
	1941	100	100.0	65.7	2.5	6.0	20.8	0.1	0.4	4.3		0.2			
	1949	100	99.8	67.8	2.7	5.2	21.9	0.1	0.4	1.5		0.3	0.1		0.0
SLOVAKIA	1900	100													
	2001	100	74.6	51.9	2.6	3.0	15.9		0.2	0.1		0.9	14.5		10.8
	1910	100	100.0	69.6	6.8	13.5	5.2		0.1	4.8		0.0			
	1930	100	99.5	71.8	6.4	12.1	4.3		0.3	4.1		0.7	0.5		
	1940	100		72.7	6.8	11.8	4.1			3.6		1.0	←		
Transcarpathia (in Ukraine)	1950	100	99.6	76.2	6.6	12.9	3.2		0.2	0.2		0.3	0.3		0.1
	1991	100	72.8	60.4	3.4	6.2	1.6		0.7	0.0		0.6	9.8		17.4
	2001	100	84.1	68.9	4.1	6.9	2.0		0.9	0.0		1.1	13.0		3.0
	1910	100	100.0	9.0	64.3	0.3	11.7		0.1	14.5		0.1			
	1930	100	99.3	9.7	49.1	0.4	10.2		15.3	14.1		0.5	0.7		
Transylvania (in Romania)	1941	100	100.0	9.3	51.0	0.4	10.7		14.7	13.6		0.3			
	1949	100			56.6										
	1989	100													
	1998	100	62.0	4.9	17.6	→	8.6		30.9			0.1	38.0		
	2002	100	100.0	18.8	23.4	5.2	13.0	1.3	35.0	3.3		0.0			
Voivodina (in Serbia)	1910	100	100.0	18.8	23.6	5.0	13.3	1.3	34.4	3.5		0.1			
	1930	100	99.9	17.1	25.0	4.9	12.5	1.2	34.8	3.5		0.8	0.1		0.1
	1948	100													
	1992	100	99.7	11.1	2.7	0.7	10.3	1.0	69.4	0.0		4.5	0.2	0.0	0.1
	2002	100	99.7	10.2	2.5	0.5	9.6	0.9	69.8	0.0		6.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Voivodina (in Serbia)	1900	100	100.0	47.4	1.0	7.7	3.0	0.0	38.8	1.6		0.5			
	1910	100	100.0	47.5	1.1	7.7	2.9	0.0	39.2	1.4		0.2			
	1931	100	100.0	44.8	1.1	7.3	2.4		42.4	1.1		0.1	0.7		0.0
	1953	100	86.3	32.8	1.2	6.1	←		45.3	0.0		0.7	13.5		0.2
	1991	100	85.6	22.8	←	3.9	←		58.1	0.0		0.5	3.9		10.5
2002	100	92.3	19.1	←	3.6	←		69.0	0.0		0.4	0.2		7.1	

Country, region	Year	Total population	Religious population	Roman Catholic	Greek Catholic	Lutheran	Calvinist	Unitarian	Orthodox	Jewish	Muslims	Other religious	Non-religious	Atheist	Unknown
Pannonian Croatia (in Croatia)	1910	100	100.0	79.0	0.6	0.6	0.9		17.9	0.9		0.1			
	1931	100	100.0	78.8	0.5	0.6	0.6		18.3	0.8	0.1	0.3			0.0
	1953	100	87.3	75.1	0.4	0.1	←		11.3	0.0	0.2	0.4	10.3		2.4
	1991	100	92.5	77.9	0.3	0.1	←		11.0	0.0	1.0	2.2	3.2		4.3
	2001	100	95.1	88.3	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	4.9	0.0	1.1	0.4	1.7		3.2
Transmura Region (in Slovenia)	1910	100	100.0	70.5	0.0	26.4	1.1		0.0	1.1		0.9			
	1931	100	100.0	74.0	0.0	24.4	0.8		0.2	0.5	0.0	0.0			
	1953	100													
Burgenland (in Austria)	1991	100	90.5	73.6		16.3			0.3	0.0	0.2	0.2	1.2		8.3
	2002	100	85.5	68.3		15.5			0.2	0.0	0.2	1.3	3.6		10.9
	1910	100	100.0	84.1	0.0	13.5	0.7	0.0	0.0	1.7		0.0			
	1934	100	99.9	85.1		13.0	0.5			1.2		0.1	0.1		
	1951	100	99.8	85.5		13.5	0.6			0.0		0.2	0.2		
CARPATHO-PANNONIAN AREA	1991	100	98.4	82.1		13.1	0.6			0.0	0.9	1.8	1.3		0.3
	2001	100	95.4	79.4	0.0	12.7	0.6		0.7	0.0	1.4	0.6	4.0		0.6
	1900	100	100.0	51.2	9.8	6.8	13.0	0.4	14.2	4.5		0.1	0.0		0.0
	1910	100	100.0	51.8	9.9	6.5	12.9	0.4	13.9	4.5		0.1	0.0		0.0
	1930	100	99.9	52.8	9.6	6.2	12.2	0.3	14.2	4.0	0.0	0.5	0.1		0.0
1949	100														
1991	100														
2001	100	85.5	44.5	3.1	2.8	8.6	0.2	23.9	0.1	0.2	2.1	9.3	0.0	5.2	

Tab. 3 Ratio of the Non-religious and Atheist Population of the World (1900–2004, in per cent)

	1900	1970	1990	2004
Europe	0.5	9.7	14.0	
USSR	0.2	51.3	48.2	
Europe*	0.4	24.1	26.5	18.0
East Asia	0.0	54.8		
South Asia	0.0	0.9		
Asia**	0.0	25.6	27.1	18.7
Africa	0.0	0.2	0.3	0.7
Australia & Oceania	0.7	4.5	14.1	13.2
Northern America	1.2	4.8	8.5	10.1
Latin America	0.6	3.0	4.4	3.4
WORLD	0.2	19.6	20.8	14.4

Source: Barrett, D.B. (Ed.) World Christian Encyclopedia, Oxford University Press, Nairobi – London – New York, 1982, Britannica. Book of the Year 1991, 2005.

Remarks: Europe\*: 1900–1990 including the former USSR, 2004 the Russian Federation.

Asia\*\*: 1900–1990 excluding the former USSR, 2004 the Russian Federation.

## Résumé

### Změny religiozní struktury obyvatelstva a sekularizace v karpatsko-panonském regionu během 20. století

Karpatsko-panonský region je v současné Evropě nábožensky i etnicky jednou z nejvíce diverzifikovaných oblastí. Toto území bylo utvořeno během soutěžení východního a západního křesťanství v 9. století. Plošné rozmístění náboženských struktur bylo úzce spojeno s přírodním a sociálním prostředím, tedy hlavně s etnickou strukturou, tradičním způsobem života, resp. „duší obyvatel“. Ve 20. století však došlo k radikálním změnám. Druhá polovina 20. století se vyznačovala rychlými změnami vztahu státu a církve, když proces sekularizace byl ještě více urychlen v ateistickém a anticírkevním komunistickém období. Po zhroutení komunistických režimů došlo ke zpomalení trendu sekularizace a částečně také k náboženské obnově společnosti. Tato studie se pokouší zjistit hlavní změny religiozních struktur současných států ve 20. století na karpatsko-panonském území.

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