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THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION AMONG CROATIAN BAPTISTS TO 2000 A Socio-Historical Survey¹

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 *Rationale* There has been little study of the history of Croatian Baptists, let alone of theological education amongst them.² The Croatian Baptist Union (CBU) was established in 1991 after it became clear that the former state of Yugoslavia, and therefore also the former Yugoslavian Baptist Union, had irrevocably dissolved. The Croatian Baptists elected new leaders and adopted a new constitution. The CBU then had about thirty churches with about 1,000 members. By summer 1999 there were over forty churches and membership had doubled.³ In the aftermath of the break-up of Yugoslavia and during the resulting war Baptists, with other Evangelicals and Protestants, became involved in humanitarian aid. The volume of Baptist aid has been disproportionate to their size. This has earned them an attentive ear from the government, the Roman Catholic (RC) Church in Croatia and the media.

A socio-historical study of a minority religious group is relevant in the current historical and political circumstances in Croatia, where the RC Church is the majority religion. Efforts towards ecumenical dialogue and better understanding and co-operation among Christian churches have intensified, so interest in the history, cultural contribution and heritage of Protestantism has been revived among Christian and non-Christian historians. There has been intense debate over new laws regulating the relationship between the non-RC churches and the Croatian state. All these factors highlight the need for renewed study of the identity of churches in the Protestant, Free Church and Evangelical traditions in Croatia.

1.2 *Sources and their Limitations* Sources are scarce. A few publications exist for relevant theological institutions, but it is almost impossible to access some institutions' official records, such as those of the Theological Faculty 'Matija Vlacic Ilirik' (MVI) in Zagreb. Many sources from the Novi Sad Baptist Theological School (BTS) have been irretrievably lost.

Theological education among Croatian Baptists is relatively recent. Their total number of theological educators is relatively small, and many are still alive, so it has been possible to gain much first-hand information. However, some have died, moved abroad, or are unavailable, and a few were suspicious when approached and refused to co-operate.

1.3 *The body of information* There are practical problems over analysing the information. Crucial is the question of what criteria to use to decide whether an individual is a Croatian and therefore to be included. Should all those who automatically gained the right to Croatian citizenship in 1991 be counted? Is family ethnic background, or place of birth, or place of life and work determinative? What

about those from mixed marriages? What about foreigners who have lived in the Croatian part of the former Yugoslavia for decades? Should Croatian expatriates living abroad be included?

I compiled a list of everyone who could possibly be included:⁴ all ethnic Croatians, naturalized Croatians (through marriage or extended stay), Croatians who had died or moved to another country, and members of other ethnic groups who had lived in the former Yugoslavian Republic of Croatia. The total was over 220, which was relatively small and manageable. There might be some omissions but not many and these should not affect the overall results. Arguably some could be included in similar overviews of other countries, such as Austria, Germany, Hungary, the former Yugoslavia, and the former Czechoslovakia.

Not all individuals are included in every category in the section 'Analysis' because despite every effort information was incomplete. Thus the figure in each category may differ from the sum total. Some figures are approximate, and a few items of information are informed guesses (mostly pertaining to years of study). This should not affect the conclusions.

1.4 Terminology The term 'theological education' is used to cover most formal and informal educational systems: theological faculty or college within or outside a university system, seminary training for pastoral ministry or other practical Christian ministry, Bible school, and institutions providing training in religious education (RE). It would be difficult to draw consistent distinctions between these in the Croatian Baptist scene. Unless otherwise indicated, non-residential and correspondence students and students of RE are excluded from the general discussion. Where possible the level and/or format is specified, but this is often difficult. Most relevant theological education was provided at institutions accredited neither by an accrediting body (which is not, as a rule, usual in Europe anyway) nor by the state nor by a university. In continental Europe universities jealously guard their idiosyncratic autonomy which prevents a more coherent and comprehensive system from arising. Moreover, in Communist Eastern Europe universities tended to exclude theological faculties, seminaries and colleges for ideological reasons.

1.5 Goals The paper is intended to aid the search for self-identity of a relatively young European Baptist Union. It attempts to map out and explain the theological diversity among Croatian Baptists, correlate this with the theological education received, and locate it in the history of Croatian Baptists. The paper will serve as initial research for a chapter in the projected monograph on Croatian Baptists, the need for which has been recognized by the CBU. Task groups such as the CBU Commission for Theological Education, and the European Baptist Federation (EBF) Division for Theology and Education encourage and support similar studies.

2 HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

2.1 Introduction The Baptist witness in the wider geographic area of former Yugoslavia, started in the later nineteenth century but received impetus only after

the First World War on the return of several who had embraced the Baptist Christian faith in the USA. In the early 1920s the Baptist Union of Yugoslavia (YBU) was formed.⁵

Until 1914 the Baptist churches of the former Yugoslavia were mostly led by individuals who had no formal theological training, except for foreign missionaries who worked there, mostly as colporteurs.⁶ Wilhelm Lichtenberger and Adolf Locher, early colporteurs in Serbia, were sent in 1868 by the Pilgermission St Crichona school in Switzerland, and perhaps received their training there.⁷ Locher was connected with the Lotz family and often stayed in their house in Daruvar in Croatia. The German Baptist missionary to Croatian lands, August Liebig, attended the Hamburg Baptist Seminary (Predigerseminar der deutschen Baptisten zu Hamburg-Horn) for a short time in 1865. Heinrich Meyer, the great German Baptist missionary to south-east Europe, studied for six months in Hamburg in 1882.⁸ The course of study there was recognized by the University of Hamburg. In 1890 Julius Peter from Germany came to Novi Sad as the church's first pastor, again after theological studies in Hamburg in 1888-1891.⁹

The pioneer of Baptist work in Yugoslavia, Vinko Vacek,¹⁰ a Croat, appears to have received some theological training before returning to Yugoslavia. Most sources on his life omit this, but his daughter, Fanny (Frances) Matetic, relates that:

Several months after this [i.e. after induction on 6 December 1920: note, Ruben Knezevic] the whole family moved to Chicago: there were six children, Mum and Dad. Here in Chicago Dad attended Moody Bible Institute to gain better knowledge of the Bible in preparation for the great ministry waiting for him in the Old Country. Two years later, i.e. on 8th September 1922 the nine of us (now seven children) departed from Chicago for New York.¹¹

On 30 September 1923 three students from former Yugoslavia, all of German background, left for Hamburg. Adolf Lehotsky¹² and Johann Wahl completed the four-year course (1923-27). Lehotsky served in the former Yugoslavia for many years.¹³ Wahl¹⁴ returned to the former Yugoslavia, but later emigrated to Canada, probably well before 1964. Johann Sepper interrupted his studies in 1924 but continued by correspondence.¹⁵ A fourth student, Johann Wegeszer, may have applied at the same time, but whether he actually studied is uncertain.

A few others¹⁶ from diverse backgrounds are listed below roughly in chronological order. A Czech national, Václav Zboril, completed basic theological education at the Baptist Seminary in Prague in 1925-1928,¹⁷ and graduated from the Northern Baptist Seminary in Chicago in 1933.¹⁸ He married a Croatian lady from Vukovar in Croatia and spent thirteen years (1934-1947) serving in several Baptist churches in the former Yugoslavia before returning to Czechoslovakia.¹⁹ A Slovenian, Vekoslav Korošec, took 'a Bible course in Villach, Austria', at the Bibelschule Sankt Andrae, 1925-1928.²⁰ The school, started in January 1922, does

not exist today; it was located on the Ossiacher See near Villach. Other Slovenians who studied theology at St Andrae before 1939 were Jurij Cater, Martin Hlastan senior and Andrej Thaler: it is not clear whether they completed the course. Karoly Tary, of German-Hungarian background, who later lived in Rijeka, acquired his basic theological training at St. Andrae in 1932-1935.²¹ A later pastor of the Belgrade church, Ljudevit Drobny, also studied at St Andrae, probably before July 1936 when he was ordained in Belgrade. He went on to pastor the church in Severin na Kupi (1936-1938), then possibly Vršac and/or Vinkovci (1938-1940), and finally Beograd from 1940 to his death in 1969.²²

Andrija Mikulic from Moščenica near Sisak spent one year at the Theological Seminary in Prague²³ in 1930-1931.²⁴ Phillip Scherer attended Hamburg in 1932-1935.²⁵ Finally, J.D. Hopper mentions that another Slovenian, Andrew Derchar (Andrej Dercar), studied at the Moody Bible Institute, some time before World War II when Derchar went missing and was presumed killed.²⁶ Another source states that 'Derchar ... had been educated in America. Before he returned to Yugoslavia he attended the Bible School at Los Angeles, because he wanted to preach the Gospel of Christ to his countrymen'.²⁷ (I have not been able to ascertain which Bible school this was).

Franjo Klem started theological studies in the Baptist school in Belgrade in 1940, but after its closure his options were Baptist seminaries in Hamburg or Bucharest, Romania, but he ended by studying at the Baptist seminary in Budapest. He completed eight semesters there (1941-1944) despite deficient prior education.²⁸ In an article written after 1964 Klem reviewed the theological educational level among former Yugoslavian Baptists:

The number of preachers and elders is about 15. The demand for workers is still great. Among those preachers are only three who have attended theological schools, one in Hamburg [Lehotsky], one in Budapest [Klem], and one partially in St. Andra, Austria [Tary], the two first mentioned in a Baptist Theological Seminary, the last one in a Bible School of the Alliance.²⁹

Klem's list is not exhaustive. He must have known about Derchar's studies because he had worked with Derchar for nine months in Slovenia in 1939.³⁰ In addition, Pavle Chany (Canji) went to Hamburg at the same time as Klem, studied until 1944, and then transferred to Prague, where he graduated in 1950.³¹ The only woman in this period for whom there is evidence of theological study was Ogica (Agica) Domic (Agata Smith), Youth/Women's Secretary from Cerna, who enrolled in the Baptist School in Belgrade in 1939³², and after its closure studied in Budapest³³ during World War II. Then she and her American husband moved to Germany and later to the United States. In 1961 both were reported as studying at the Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, Forth Worth.³⁴

Another Yugoslavian to study in Hamburg was Gerhard Volweiter, born in 1942

in Vojvodina; he graduated in October 1967. He was apparently of German background and does not appear in YBU records, so presumably emigrated to Germany after the Second World War and enrolled from there. The last Yugoslav to study at Hamburg, a Croatian Branimir Bajer, graduated from the four-year Baptist Theological Seminary programme in 1965, after which he completed further studies at Hamburg.³⁵

In summary, before 1954, apart from the four German Baptist missionaries, twenty-one Baptists, either born in or later to work in the wider geographic area which later comprised Yugoslavia, enrolled in theological programmes. Three or four completed their studies in the USA. Of these eight are relevant for the present study: Vacek, Zboril, Mikulic, Tary, Drobny, Klem, Domic, and Bajer.

2.2 *Baptist Theological Seminary, Novi Sad, Serbia, Yugoslavia (Baptistička teološka škola - BTŠ)/Bible Theological Training Center 'Logos' (Biblijsko bogoslovni centar 'Logos')* from 1993. Some time before the Second World War Yugoslavian Baptists felt the need for a theological institution to train pastors and other workers. There had been earlier attempts to organize training courses. Nikola Dulic held a two-week course for Sunday School teachers in Novi Sad in February 1923, followed by a four-week course for lay pastors and mission workers.³⁶ In January 1925 Carl Sepper led a conference in Crvenka, Vojvodina.³⁷ A two-week course on 'The New Testament Churches' was led by Dr J.A. Gill, Alois Erlich and Vinko Vacek in Mošćenica in the autumn of 1933. The next year a booklet was published in Croatian containing materials from the course.

The decision was made to found a theological school. Some Baptist leaders supported the initiative,³⁸ but Klem relates how others were critical, considering trained preachers 'worldly and not worthy to preach the Gospel of Christ.'³⁹ Some even attempted to stop the process by threatening to exclude applicants from churches.⁴⁰ Instrumental in, if not the driving force⁴¹ behind, the decision to proceed, was Dr John Allan Moore, Southern Baptist Foreign Mission Board (FMB) missionary to Eastern Europe.⁴² A month-long seminar was held in a newly purchased building in Belgrade in November 1939,⁴³ and another three months later,⁴⁴ but the school opened properly on 29 September 1940 with six students who contributed towards the cost by doing household tasks.⁴⁵ The school closed on 6 April 1941 because of the war. After the war it was not immediately possible to restart the school, but short seminars were held, usually twice a year between 1946 and 1950.⁴⁶ Reopening was proposed in 1952, decided in 1953, and achieved in 1954 in Zagreb.⁴⁷ In 1955 it was transferred to Daruvar, and relocated to Novi Sad in 1957.⁴⁸ In 1956 and again in 1960 Franjo Klem went to Nashville, Tennessee, to attend courses on 'seminary and church organizational work' at the Sunday School Board,⁴⁹ which may have been connected with his work at BTŠ. In 1967 BTŠ moved to newly built premises at another location in Novi Sad.⁵⁰

In 1954 BTŠ began with a two-year secondary level programme, requiring for enrolment only completed elementary education. In 1957 the programme was

extended to four years to bring it up to the standard of secular secondary education. BTŠ enrolled ten men and five women that year.⁵¹ From its inception BTŠ was intended to train pastors and most students were men. In 1975 the school underwent reform, to become not only a pastoral training school but also a theological school. It upgraded the curriculum and enrolment requirements and recruited more teachers to reach the first post-secondary level (*Viša škola*), although below tertiary, university level: 'In effect, the first two years of classes cover the equivalent of American Junior college level courses. The second two years are geared to professional ministry'.⁵² Simultaneous study at a university in Novi Sad was encouraged to prepare students for bi-vocational careers.⁵³ Student enrolments soared to an all-time high of forty-three in autumn 1976.⁵⁴ In Zagreb all lecturers were from Yugoslavia, whereas some visiting lecturers from abroad taught in Daruvar. Throughout the BTŠ history most lecturers have been Yugoslavian citizens or foreigners residing in Yugoslavia, with some visiting lecturers from abroad.

BTŠ was subsidized by the Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention (SBC) who paid for the building in Novi Sad,⁵⁵ and provided lecturers' salaries. From the time of the BWA Executive in London in 1920 Yugoslav Baptists were supported by the FMB.⁵⁶ Nationals contributed in kind to the institution. Serious financial problems occurred when FMB finances were scaled down in the late 1980s, and eventually cut off. In the past ten years BTŠ has had constant financial problems, made worse by the Yugoslav war.⁵⁷ Since 1991 there has been fierce debate about ownership of BTŠ and from 1997 BTŠ has not enrolled any new students and rumours of closure have intensified.

In addition to the residential programme, BTŠ, as an arm of the Union, ran 'theological weeks'. One was held in Novi Sad 22-25 August 1961; another, called the first, in Daruvar on 4-11 February 1964; then one in Sisak on 19-25 January 1965.⁵⁸ A lay-training programme was planned in 1973,⁵⁹ as a joint project of BTŠ and the Croatian Baptist Men's Movement.⁶⁰ Weekend courses, or 'seminars for permanent education' were also organized. From 1977 to 1984 thirteen of these were held⁶¹ and a few later.

Another important aspect of BTŠ work was theological education by extension (TEE) or *ekstenzivno teološko obrazovanje* (ETO).⁶² This was distinct from a basic Bible correspondence course reported as having been running in 1975. The intention was to provide theological education for active pastors and workers who could not leave their jobs for full-time study. Plans were made to produce appropriate theological textbooks. The driving force behind the programme was Dr James A. Williams, a Rüschklikon graduate, FMB missionary in Yugoslavia and a lecturer at BTŠ, who exercised great influence on a number of young Baptists.⁶³ He had the idea in 1977, and the programme started in 1979.⁶⁴ In September 1980, Williams was killed in a car accident and Ruth Lehotsky became the programme director.⁶⁵ In the following years due to a number of factors the programme diminished, although in 1991 it was still seen by some as a strategic YBU endeavour with great

potential.⁶⁶ BTŠ also occasionally organized one-off sessions, such as the 'Theological Primer' in 1988.⁶⁷

BTŠ was the seminary of the Yugoslavian Baptist Union, serving the whole country under six successive presidents: Dr J.A. Moore (1939-1940), Josip Horak (1954-1956)⁶⁸, Adolf Lehotsky (1956-1970), Franjo Klem (1971-1974), Stjepan Orcic (1974-1986), and Zelimir Srnc (1986-). Croats were represented among students and faculty from 1954 until 1991 when the Yugoslavian war put an end to this state of affairs.⁶⁹ The last Croatian Baptist student at BTŠ enrolled in 1989.⁷⁰

There are no official BTŠ statistics about Croatian students as such; apart from sporadic and terse summary reports in press releases,⁷¹ the only statistical information deals with all BTŠ students in the period 1954-1982,⁷² supplemented in early 1998 by a statistical survey of all BTŠ students prepared by Ruth Lehotsky, BTŠ Secretary, Registrar and lecturer for many years. The total number of Croatian Baptist students enrolled in a BTŠ residential programme of any duration between 1954-1989 is fifty-six,⁷³ averaging 1.6 per year. Thirty-nine were male and seventeen female. At the secondary level, fifteen completed a two-year course, one a seven-semester (Bible school plus pastoral) course, and seventeen a four-year course. Only one Croatian graduated from the four-year post-secondary programme. Eleven BTŠ students transferred to other schools (detailed below): two to the Evangelical Biblical Institute (EBI), two to the International Baptist Theological Seminary (IBTS), two to MVI (before 1984), four to the Evangelical Theological Faculty (ETF), one to ETF RE; six eventually completed theological studies elsewhere, and five are currently enrolled elsewhere.

2.3 Baptist Theological Seminary, Rüşchlikon, Switzerland/International Baptist Theological Seminary, Prague, Czech Republic (IBTS) The Baptist Theological Seminary was founded in 1949 in Rüşchlikon, Switzerland, by the FMB to provide high-quality theological education for European Baptists.⁷⁴ The study was full-time and residential,⁷⁵ with scholarships provided for students from countries unable to pay full costs. After defunding by the FMB and resultant change of ownership from FMB to EBF, the seminary eventually moved in 1995 to Prague, Czech Republic, as the International Baptist Theological Seminary. Further change in the nature and scope of the academic programme took effect from September 1998.⁷⁶

The first student from the former Yugoslavia⁷⁷ to study at Rüşchlikon was a Slovenian, Franc Zupan (1954-1955).⁷⁸ Ten Croatian students, five men and five women, enrolled at Rüşchlikon⁷⁹ between 1972 and 1994, including three married couples. Rüşchlikon always encouraged prospective European students first to complete whatever theological education was available in their countries. Three early full-time students had completed four years at BTŠ, for which they received some credit. One late student had graduated from the Katolicki bogoslovni fakultet (KBF), and another had studied at MVI. Two students dropped out within a short time, two were Special Studies Opportunity non-degree students, one completed a Certificate programme, one completed a Diploma in Theology, three earned BD degrees, one

did not complete. Two completed the MTh programme and proceeded to PhD studies elsewhere.

2.4 *Protestant Theological Faculty 'Mathias Flacius Illyricus' Zagreb, Croatia (Protestantski teološki fakultet 'Matija Vlacic Ilirik' - MVI)* MVI opened on 31 October 1976 to serve a wide array of Protestant churches in the former Yugoslavia as an institution of higher learning. The stimulus came from the Lausanne Congress in 1975, according to the Special Report of the Founding Committee, published in the European Baptist Press Service (EBPS).⁸⁰ Another EBPS news release of the same date records that the Faculty was founded jointly by the Baptist Union of Yugoslavia and the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Yugoslavia. The registration document officially lodged with the Secretariat of Education, Culture and Physical Activities mentions as representatives of these bodies Dr Josip Horak for BUY and Senior Vlado Deutsch for the Lutherans.⁸¹ Dr Horak became the first Dean (dekan), and Senior Deutsch Vice-Dean (prodekan): 'the Baptists and Lutherans will each name 40 per cent of the teachers. Other Protestant denominations taking part will provide the residual staff.'⁸² After the first few years most Protestants on the faculty and administration left, leaving Horak and Deutsch in leadership, with most of the faculty from the Catholic KBF. From the outset the institution used the premises of the Lutheran church in Zagreb. It was non-residential, with most lectures at weekends. It offered a five-year undergraduate degree programme.

In 1976 MVI had fifty-five students (another source gives fifty-one), from ten different denominations.⁸³ Eighteen Croatian Baptist students enrolled at MVI, eight in 1976⁸⁴ but only three after 1981. There were fourteen Baptist men and four women, including one married couple. Several students transferred there. There was great initial interest among Croatian Baptists in a Protestant theological institution perceived as academically respectable and implicitly recognized by the Roman Catholics through the co-operation with KBF. MVI started negotiations with the University of Zagreb seeking accreditation or affiliation but these have been inconclusive. The CBU never formally supported MVI, but did not take a negative stance, though MVI soon acquired a liberal theological reputation among Croatian Baptists.

Within a short time drop-outs were high and the success rate low. Two Baptist students completed a three-year programme and one the full course in 1997. Eight transferred to other institutions, mostly ETF. Six have since completed their studies in these and two are now studying elsewhere. One MVI graduate has enrolled on the ETF postgraduate programme. Three students are currently at MVI.

The low success rate, among Baptist students and others, is partly due to the weekend study format, but more to internal disorder in record-keeping, frequent change of course requirements, inaccessibility of records, and idiosyncratic academic advice. Moreover, Dr Deutsch, who replaced Dr Horak as dean, was also the Senior of the Lutheran Church in Croatia for several decades and became the focus of controversy and conflict; he was eventually deposed in 1996 by the Croatian

Lutheran Church National Assembly, but has refused to comply with the decision.

2.5 Evangelical Biblical Institute, Vienna, Austria (Evandeoski biblijski institut - EBI)/Eastern European Biblical Institute, Vienna Austria (EEBI)/(Conservative) Theological Bible Academy, Cakovec, Croatia (TBA) The Greater Europe Mission School (later also supported by European Christian Mission from England) began when Michael Johnson came to Zagreb in 1974; courses were first taught there in 1978, followed by courses in Vienna, Austria, and in the Croatian Baptist churches in Pušćine and Cakovec. In 1981 premises were rented in Vienna and a three-year BTh residential programme was commenced with Johnson as Director. Most of the faculty have been Baptists, although EBI is interdenominational. Johnson was succeeded as Director in 1990 by Herbert Lamp who resigned in 1992. That July the decision was made to close the residential programme in Vienna and begin extension work in Croatia and Serbia. Soon after Gene Whiting moved to Croatia. He was formerly an EBI lecturer and is now EBI Director in Croatia. He continued extension classes, 'Church Biblical Training' (Crkveno biblijsko obrazovanje),⁸⁵ in several Croatian Baptist churches. An attempt is now being made to start a residential Conservative Baptist Theological Seminary in Cakovec.

The relationship between EBI and the YBU, as well as CBU, has been fraught with difficulties, stemming from the sometimes implied and sometimes explicit assumption on the part of the EBI leadership that the YBU official school, BTŠ (and the later BTI/ETF), was too liberal or charismatic or both, that it did not serve the Union well, and that another institution was necessary to complement or replace it. EBI accepted a self-avowed conservative doctrinal statement endorsing the Chicago Statement on Inerrancy. As a result, in 1981 the YBU leadership wrote a circular letter to all member churches advising against co-operation with and study at EBI. In 1993 the new CBU leadership distanced itself from this radical view and tried to build a bridge. Repeated attempts at co-operation have had little success.⁸⁶

While the residential programme in Vienna was operating (1978-91), eleven Croatian students enrolled at EBI, six men and five women, including one married couple. Four completed a three-year BTh programme. Five transferred to other institutions, mostly ETF. Between 1992-97 an additional ten students enrolled in the extension degree programme. None is close to graduation.

2.6 Biblical Theological Institute, Zagreb, Croatia (Biblijsko teološki institut - BTI)/Evangelical Theological Faculty, Osijek, Croatia (Evandeosko teološki fakultet - ETF) The Pentecostal Church in the former Yugoslavia published materials for Bible study by correspondence in 1962, followed by pastoral seminars in 1968. In 1972 an institute (BTI) was opened to train pastors and others in biblical studies and theology in Zagreb under the presidency of Peter Kuzmic. The next year the building was purchased with support from the Assemblies of God. When the residential programme ended in 1978, work continued at several extension centres.

The school reopened its residential programme in Osijek in 1984. Four major changes occurred in the later 1980s. The name was changed to the Evangelical

Theological Seminary. In 1987 the institution became interdenominational and enrolled forty students from nine nationalities and five denominations, recruiting students from Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union countries.⁸⁷ In 1989 the basic three-year BTh programme was replaced by a four-year BTh. The Overseas Council International, an interdenominational foundation, replaced the Assemblies of God as the main partner of BTI/ETF. The ETF Board of Directors now has representatives of various denominations. Because of the war the academic year 1991/1992 was spent in Slovenia. As well as the four-year BTh. ETF offers one and two-year certificate programmes. Courses may be taken in Croatian or English. With six to nine resident staff, ETF relies on visiting lecturers giving a week or two of concentrated lectures (fifteen teaching periods a week).

In the early 1990s the Board of Directors decided to add a postgraduate programme to meet the needs of evangelical churches in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union: an ETF brochure proudly calls it 'the first evangelical graduate programme in all of Eastern Europe and the Balkans.'⁸⁸ This opened in Zagreb in 1992 under the direction of Dr Emmanuel Gitlin. The original group of a dozen students met for seminars twice a month. In 1994 the programme moved to Osijek under the direction of Dr Davorin Peterlin and became a full-time residential two-year programme. In addition to its own general Master's programme, from 1999 ETF offers an MA in Biblical Studies validated by the University of Leeds, UK.⁸⁹ In the early 1990s ETF held consultations with Osijek University about possible incorporation as the Protestant Faculty of Theology (with the RC seminary in neighbouring Djakovo as the RC Faculty), but these talks have been unsuccessful so far.

Currently ETF co-operates with several schools which can be loosely termed its extensions. That in Timisoara, Romania, was started in 1990, and has depended on ETF for lecturers and degrees, although the new administration under Principal Dr Ian Hall is trying to increase self-dependency while retaining collegiate relationship with ETF and expanding student intake. The extensions in Mostar, Bosnia and Herzegovina (founded in 1996), and Ljubljana, Slovenia (also 1996), were started by individuals loosely connected with ETF, and links have been established similar to those with Timisoara.

The ETF correspondence programme started in the mid-eighties, based on International Correspondence Institute (ICI) materials translated into Croatian. Later the programme was expanded and other literature in Croatian was added. With the departure of the programme administrator, J. Djelibašić, in 1998 there seems to have been a shift back towards a more pentecostal emphasis. Fourteen Baptist students have enrolled since 1975, ten men and four women. Of these two completed a one-year course, two transferred to residential study at ETF, and some transferred to other programmes with transfer of credits.

On 18 October 1993 Baptist and other evangelical Christian educators asked the CBU to start an RE programme to qualify primary school teachers of religion⁹⁰,

but the CBU did not have the resources to do this alone. In 1984 the Commission for Religious Education of the Protestant Evangelical Alliance of Croatia (Protestantsko evandeosko vijeće - PEV), led by Nela Williams,⁹¹ developed the course which was approved by the state authorities. The ETF Religious Education Programme (RE) started in autumn 1994 under the direction of Ela Balog in Zagreb and Rijeka, and later in Mostar.⁹² Excellent co-operation has been established with state institutions: the Department for Pedagogical Sciences, University of Zagreb, and the Pedagogical Faculty, University of Rijeka provide some instructors. The full programme takes five semesters and is in two divisions: theology and pedagogy. Students who have completed courses from either division at another institution need only take those in the other division. Preparations are being made to offer an additional track since the state authorities have decided to introduce 'Ethics and Religion' in Croatian secondary educational institutions.

Since the start of the programme thirty-eight Baptist students have enrolled, but three dropped out. Eleven enrolled for teaching RE in secondary schools, and twenty-four for primary schools. By the end of the academic year 1996/7 three had graduated at each level. Of the thirty-five (eight men and twenty-seven women), three already had a two-year degree in theology, one a three-year BTh, and one a four-year BTh; one switched, after completing the teaching course, to full-time theology leading to a BTh., while another enrolled in parallel with a full-time BTh course at another institution.

The attitude of the Baptist Union towards BTI/ETF has varied over the years. The Yugoslavian BU was suspicious and unsupportive of the first Baptist students at BTI in the mid-eighties, arguing that all Baptist students should study at BTŠ.⁹³ As Yugoslavia broke up, the newly-founded Croatian Baptist Union grappled with the realization that the seminary in Serbia would not be an option for Croatian Baptists for many years to come. A proposal for a new Baptist residential seminary was rejected. Instead, the Union decided to recognize ETF as the seminary for training its pastors and for theological education for the period 1995-1999, when the decision would be reviewed.⁹⁴ Recently there have been talks about starting a separate Baptist institute in Osijek, complementing the ETF programmes. No concrete steps have yet been taken.

The total undergraduate enrolment at ETF so far is forty, and total postgraduate enrolment nine. In addition, fourteen have enrolled on the correspondence course, and thirty-five in the RE programme. Five have graduated on the two-year Certificate programme, four on the (old BTI) three-year BTh programme, thirteen on the four-year BTh. Two have completed Masters degrees, and three are currently studying for them. Four have dropped out.

2.7 *Catholic Theological Seminary, Zagreb, Croatia (Katolicki bogoslovni fakultet - KBF)/Institut za teološku kulturu laika, Zagreb, Croatia (The Institute for the Theological Education of the Laity - IKBF)* This institution dates from the fourteenth century and was one of two founding members of the University of

Zagreb in 1669. By Communist decision it was excluded from the University in 1952, but the Government of the Republic of Croatia declared this decision null and void in 1990 and KBF rejoined the University as its Faculty of Theology. While information about the earlier period is missing, between 1930-1995 1,825 students graduated from KBF and 154 students received masters degrees (which between 1874-1952 was required before the doctorate). Between 1874-1995 152 students received doctorates from KBF,⁹⁵ which has an academically strong and respected faculty of thirty professors and forty-nine lecturers. In 1994/5 the total enrolment was 1,250 students. The courses include three undergraduate academic programmes, two undergraduate professional programmes (one being the Institute for the Theological Education of the Laity - IKBF), and post-graduate programmes leading to Masters and Doctorates. KBF runs four research Institutes, has four affiliated theological seminaries (in Split, Djakovo, Rijeka and the Franciscan theological seminary in Makarska near Split), and publishes three academic journals.⁹⁶

The Yugoslavian Baptists took a rather negative attitude towards KBF, partly because of the historic Protestant antagonism towards Roman Catholics, partly due to Baptist anti-intellectualism, and partly because the KBF undergraduate programme did not provide appropriate theological education and ministerial training for Free Churches. This attitude changed with time, but CBU does not actively support study at KBF, feeling that other institutions offer more appropriate undergraduate education. Six Croatian Baptists, four men and two women, studied at KBF or IKBF. Of these one graduated, one is currently studying, three transferred to ETF, and one was killed in a car crash. Two of the six enrolled as RC Christians, and became Baptists later; neither finished their studies at KBF.

2.8 *Catholic Theological Seminary, Rijeka, Croatia (Katolicka bogoslovija u Rijeci - KBFR)*⁹⁷ Of several in Croatia,⁹⁸ this is the only other RC theological educational institution at which Croatian Baptist students have enrolled. KBFR is a branch of KBF Zagreb, and runs several programmes, including a five-year academic programme in theology, and another five-year programme at the Institute for the Education of Laity. In 1977 there were 140 students.⁹⁹ Four Croatian Baptists have enrolled at KBFR, all within the past six years, two men and two women, of whom two are current students, one interrupted studies and transferred to the University of Zagreb, and one transferred to ETF in 1998/1999.

2.9 *Other institutions* Some Croatian Baptist students have studied at theological institutions located outside Croatia. The total number of such students per institution is small,¹⁰⁰ and there is no discernible pattern of enrolment. There are other theological institutions within Croatia with no Croatian Baptist enrolment.¹⁰¹

Two other initiatives complete the picture: in 1997 the Bund Evangelikaler Gemeinden Österreich (BEG Austria) expressed interest in organizing a TEE programme (adapted from Biblical Education by Extension - BEE - in Croatia with

the approval of, although not in co-operation with, the CBU.

3 ANALYSIS

The secondary level programme in theology at BTŠ begun in 1954 was the only one available for almost twenty years. This was tailored to the needs of the times and academic background of prospective students. The relatively large number of graduated students testifies to its usefulness. The last Croatian Baptist to graduate from one of these programmes was in 1983.

Interest in undergraduate studies in theology among Croatian Baptists coincided with and possibly resulted from the founding of MVI and BTI in the early 1970s. Very few MVI students completed their studies, but most who enrolled at BTI, and especially at ETF in the early and mid-nineties, completed their studies. BTI/ETF graduated by far the largest number of students. At present, with eleven Croatian Baptist students, ETF holds a near monopoly of Baptist theological education within Croatia.

Postgraduate studies among Croatian Baptists are a relatively recent development. With two understandable exceptions¹⁰², the first Croatian Baptist enrolment on a master's programme was in 1986, and in a doctoral programme in 1988. They enrolled outside Croatia, except for ETF, which accounted for almost half of all Masters students. Currently there are six Croatian doctoral students. Enrolment in post-graduate programmes does not betray any particular geographic pattern or Baptist Union deliberate strategy.

As for educational background, several early students had less than six grades of elementary schooling,¹⁰³ and others no secondary education. Some came from technical schools (crafts, etc.). Most later students, however, had secondary education but only a minority at general secondary schools (*gymnasium*) which provide excellent wide instruction in the humanities. A few students started studying theology only after graduating from a secular tertiary educational institution. The evidence does not support the hypothesis that university drop-outs often choose to study theology. The numbers of those who completed secular undergraduate studies before starting residential theological studies and those who had not are almost identical. The overwhelming majority of those who undertook secular undergraduate studies simultaneously with residential theological studies completed them. The same is true of students in RE and extension programmes.

The overwhelming majority of Croatian Baptist students undertook their studies in the former Yugoslavia. Almost one-third undertook undergraduate studies in Croatia, as opposed to Serbia where BTŠ was located. None who studied in Serbia earned an undergraduate degree (BTŠ did not offer such a degree). More Croatian students studied in Croatia in 1991-1998 than in the whole earlier period, probably due to the recognition of ETF by CBU. The countries with the next largest number of enrolled Croatian Baptist students are Austria (EBI) and Switzerland (Rüschlikon). The countries with the largest number of graduated Baptist students are Croatia

(before 1991 six, after 1991 sixteen), Austria, Switzerland, USA and Germany (four each), and the UK (three). Most Croatian Baptist students studied theology at undergraduate level in their home country, with a few notable exceptions distributed fairly evenly among the five countries mentioned.

The geographical distribution of postgraduate students is different. While Croatia still has the largest number of students after 1991, this is only slightly more than the USA, and considerably less than the sum of all other countries. More students have done their advanced studies abroad than at home. The mobility of students between institutions and programmes is notable. A large proportion transferred from BTŠ to upgrade their degree and from MVI to continue and finish interrupted studies. Most students who made transfers came to ETF.

The male/female student ratio varied with time. Until 1971 almost all were men, but after that almost half were women. Most were ethnic Croatians, with ethnic Serbs totalling about one-fourth the number of Croatians. Nine other ethnic backgrounds are represented.

It has been impossible to collect information about students' age on enrolment. A number enrolled as couples, and several more married during or immediately after studies. Fifteen to twenty theology students became Baptists during or immediately after their studies; the majority of these came from a charismatic background. Only four joined another denomination. However, it is often difficult to establish direct correlation between this change and theological study.

All eight current CBU full-time ministers and one unpaid have degrees: a three-year BTh (5), four-year BTh (1), five-year BTh (1), MA in Practical Theology (1), MTh (1), with five currently pursuing higher degrees. All six ordained CBU ministers involved in other ministries hold qualifications: a two-year certificate (1), a four-year certificate (1), a four-year BTh (2), MDiv (1), PhD (1), with two currently pursuing higher degrees. All five retired CBU ministers have qualifications: four-year secondary level certificate (4) and four-year BTh (1).

4 CONCLUSIONS AND PROSPECTS

Croatian Baptists have developed from a fairly low level of general education, accompanied by an anti-intellectual grass-roots movement, and now have a distinct interest in theological education. Both the CBU and individual believers have recognized the need for formal training of future pastors and leaders.¹⁰⁴ Today all relevant institutions require at least secondary qualifications, and most lecturers have Masters degrees or higher.

It appears that interest in the study of theology (KBF, KBFR, ETF) is on the increase, and concern for academic quality more important than denominational loyalty. It is not clear whether the increased enrolment in RC seminaries is just a fad (as some observers think), or accidental, or indeed a trend that will increase in time. On the other hand, ETF has established itself in the past ten years as the preferred residential theological institution in Croatia for the majority of Baptists.

Devoid of a national Baptist seminary, Croatian Baptists' enrolment demonstrates two prevailing theological directions. The first is towards increased inter-church co-operation: from a BU school in the past to a non-denominational Baptist school (EBI-GEM), then slowly Pentecostal-turned-evangelical interdenominational and liberal Lutheran/Protestant institutions, and even an RC seminary. No-one has studied at an Adventist seminary, but there was an exchange of professors between the Adventist Theological Seminary and ETF in 1995/6. The second leads to the hardening of theological positions: from the EBI residential programme in Vienna, to a dislocated programme, to the refounding of EBI in Croatia, and to plans for a new theological institution marked by an explicit conservative/fundamentalist position. The result is extreme theological differentiation among Croatian graduate students of theology: from self-designated liberals to charismatics, conservatives and fundamentalists.

The study would benefit from comparison with a control group. Most useful would be Baptist theological students from other countries of the former Yugoslavia, predominantly Serbia, or the Croatian Pentecostal (Evangelical) Church theological students in the same period. Unfortunately information about these was unavailable.

Croatian Baptists will have to come to terms with several issues concerning theological education in the immediate future.

(i) *Which institution?* Croatian Baptists will have to revisit the question of a permanent theological institution. BTŠ in Serbia will not be an option, and as the new IBTS does not provide undergraduate theological education, the choice will be either to strengthen the relationship with ETF and make it ever more truly an interdenominational institution where Baptist interests will be secured (the present position of the CBU leadership), or to try to start an independent CBU institution. The new conservative Baptist institution will not command the approval of most Croatian Baptists, so at least two institutions may serve Croatian Baptists.

From 1991 CBU has considered theological education for lay leaders, combining TEE and weekend-course format. After considerable discussion and preparations, a programme was due to start on 6 February 1999.¹⁰⁵ The 'Baptist Institute' will be administered in several centres in Croatia by qualified Croatian Baptists in co-operation with the International Mission Board of the SBC.¹⁰⁶ The Director is Ksenija Magda and the IMB co-ordinator Dr Jeffrey Ritchey. It waits to be seen what effect this will have on theological education among Croatian Baptists. It appears to be a step away from co-operation with ETF in correspondence/TEE studies. The Reformed Church in Croatia and part of the Lutheran Church in Croatia have also started their own correspondence/TEE courses.¹⁰⁷

It appears that the needs of Croatian Baptists for teachers of RE on all levels will be met by the current number of students.

(ii) *Accreditation?* Whichever institution Baptist students attend, they seek an officially recognized and accredited institution. Until now no theological institution, apart from KBF, has had formal official accreditation. BTI/ETF and MVI have

attained informal recognition: both have used local universities' examination application forms and indexes with university logos. Their students have been able to postpone military service on the basis of the certificate of student status from BTI/ETF and MVI, which in practice puts them on a par with other Yugoslavian/Croatian tertiary educational institutions. Finally, a number of their graduates were able to enrol in universities and seminaries abroad for higher degrees on the basis of BTI/ETF and MVI degrees.

ETF has recently started seeking accreditation for the undergraduate programme through affiliation with Osijek University, and validation for an increasing number of courses through the University of Leeds, or perhaps through the formation of a regional self-accrediting consortium of evangelical theological institutions offering a postgraduate programme (East European Post-Graduate Studies in Theology - EEPGST). MVI will try to enter the Zagreb University as its Protestant Faculty. IBTS is introducing several masters courses validated by British universities.

(iii) *Finances*. Until a few years ago theological study at all institutions was free. This has changed, so students are now charged for tuition, albeit at a reduced rate, to help cover the cost of studies. MVI, ETF and EEBI have traditionally depended on finances from abroad, mostly the USA, but it is increasingly difficult to sustain this level of funding. With their small constituencies, Croatian denominational bodies, Baptist, Pentecostal and Lutheran, and even wider evangelical or Protestant groupings, are unable to raise substantial funds to offset the cost of theological studies. In all likelihood most students will have to raise funds for their studies in Croatia and elsewhere, or look for institutions offering full scholarships.

(iv) *Reason and purpose for study*. Since theological education will become increasingly expensive as long as economic circumstances remain unchanged, a prospective Croatian Baptist student seeking funding will need to be very clear about the reasons for and purpose of study. CBU (with limited means for *finding* funds) and theological institutions, as well as international Christian foundations and charities providing scholarships, will be more inclined to offer scholarships to those able to show a record of Christian involvement in ministry, to demonstrate potential for leadership, and willing to make commitment for the future. Those wishing to study theology for sheer interest will face almost insurmountable difficulties.

NOTES

- 1 ACKNOWLEDGMENTS: I am grateful to all individuals and institutions, too numerous to mention by name, within and outside Croatia, who have graciously endured repeated requests for information, and in several instances have themselves engaged in subsequent historical research. Special thanks are also due to the participants, both faculty and students, of the post-graduate Colloquium (1998) at the International Baptist Theological Seminary (IBTS) in Prague, Czech Republic, for their comments, questions and encouragement.
- 2 For this reason the bibliography includes all known sources relevant to theological education among Croatian Baptists, but not all dealing with the general history of Croatian Baptists.
- 3 According to recent information from the CBU General Secretary, Zeljko Mraz, the (incomplete)

- number of Croatian Baptists in September 1998 was 1,926.
- 4 This list will be deposited at the CBU Archives.
 - 5 There is uncertainty over the foundation date of the YBU. In the period 1921-1924 several conferences of predominantly Baptist ethnic groups took place in the territory of Yugoslavia.
 - 6 For background, see John David Hopper, 'A History of Baptists in Yugoslavia 1862-1962', unpublished PhD dissertation, Fort Worth, Texas, USA: Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1977.
 - 7 Peter Kuzmic, *Vuk-Danicevo Sveto Pismo i Biblijska društva na južnoslavenskom tlu u XIX stoljeću*. *Analecta Croatica Christiana XVII*. Zagreb, Kršćanska sadašnjost, 1983: 208-211; also letters from the Lotz family, private collection, Ruben Knezevic.
 - 8 'Verzeichnis der früheren und gegenwertigen Seminaristen' in: *Festschrift zur Feier des 50jährigen Jubiläums des Predigerseminars der deutschen Baptisten zu Hamburg-Horn*.
 - 9 Source: Ruben Knezevic.
 - 10 See R. Tandy McConnell, 'Indigenous Baptists and Foreign Missionaries: Baptist Communities in Romania, Hungary and Yugoslavia 1872-1980', unpublished PhD dissertation, University of South Carolina, 1996, 98-100.
 - 11 Fanny (Frances) Matetic, 'Povodom 50. godišnjice smrti propovjednika Vinka Vacek. 28. jula 1939 - 1989' [On the Occasion of the 50th Anniversary of the Death of Preacher Vinko Vacek. 28 July 1939 - 1989]. ET Davor Peterlin. Four pages, typewritten, dated 25 July 1989, Orlando, Florida, page 2. Private collection, Ruben Knezevic.
 - 12 EBPS, 3 December 1970 article describing his studies and subsequent career. See also McConnell, 139f.
 - 13 J.A. Moore, 'A. Lehotsky, Baptist Minister in Yugoslavia', EBPS 15 December 1962; also Adolf Lehotsky, 'Baptizam u Jugoslaviji'. Typewritten, undated, p.3, mentions that a month earlier the first sisters left for the home for deaconesses in Altona near Hamburg: G. Bancier, i H. Possnig, now the wife of A. Lehotsky. 'Verzeichnis der früheren und gegenwertigen Seminaristen' in: *Festschrift zur Feier des 50 jährigen Jubiläums des Predigerseminars der deutschen Baptisten zu Hamburg-Horn 1030*: Nr.410: Adolf Lehotsky, born 8.5.1903 in Belgrad, from 1923 to 1927 at the Seminary in Hamburg; since 1930 Novisad. The records also mention student Nr.416 Johann Wahl, born 26.3.1889 in Kovilsentiven, from 1923 to 1927 at the Seminary in Hamburg; since 1927 in Belika Kikinda.
 - 14 'Verzeichnis der früheren und gegenwertigen Seminaristen' in: *Festschrift zur Feier des 50jährigen Jubiläums des Predigerseminars der deutschen Baptisten zu Hamburg-Horn 1030*: Student Nr. 416 Johann Wahl, geb. 26.03.1889 in Kovilsentiven, from 1923 to 1927 at the Seminary in Hamburg; since 1927 in Belika Kikinda.
 - 15 *Evangeliumsbote* October 1924, 6.
 - 16 A certain F. Frua, a priest, separated his parish from the RC Church somewhere near Rijeka. He was put in an asylum and after release co-operated with Baptists in the Sušak-Rijeka-Opatija area, and wrote and translated for the Baptist magazine *Glas evanđelja*. Whether he ever formally became a Baptist is unclear. However, he is included here because of the presumption that to be an RC priest he must have graduated from a RC seminary. *Glas evanđelja* 1 (January 1931): 15-16, (4 April 1931): 55-56 carry extensive reports without mentioning his name, while it is mentioned later in *Glas evanđelja* (4 July 1931): 103-104.
 - 17 *Z nasi Brázdi. Sborník semináre cs. baptistu k prvínmu desítileti 1921-1931*. Praha: 1931, 78.
 - 18 J.A. Moore, 'Yugoslavia', in *Europe-Whither Bound? A Symposium*. Several authors. Nashville: Broadman, 1951, 133. Cf. *Niesli svetlo evanĝelija*, Editorial Board. Bratislava: Bratska jednota baptistov v SSR, 1988.
 - 19 See *Glasnik* 6 (1960): 91.
 - 20 Hopper, 134. More precise details are found in *Zborník ob 100 letnici rojstva Vekoslava Korošca*. Ljubljana: Baptistická crkva Ljubljana, 1998.
 - 21 Hopper, 99. According to other information he studied 1928-1931. Josip Bertalan, 'Karlo Tary' *Iskre* 2/1982, 22.
 - 22 Moore, 'Yugoslavia', 133.
 - 23 The Seminary opened in 1921 and was closed during WW2. Reopened after the War, it apparently closed for good in 1950, after which Czech and Slovak students studied at the Protestant Theological Faculty, Komensky University of Prague. See Vlastimil Pospíšil, '100 let baptistické práce v Cechách a na Morave' in Vladimír Dvorak and Vlastimil Pospíšil (editors), 100 let života víry. Jubilejní sborník Bratrské Jednoty baptistu v CSSR. Praha: Bratrská jednota baptistu v C SSR, 1989, 80f. Moore, 'Yugoslavia', 133.

- 24 *Glas evandolja* 11-XI-1930, str. 175; (1931) 2, 26-27; cf also *Z naših Brázdi. Sborník semináre cs. baptistu k prvému destitileti 1921-1931*. Praha: 1931, 78, photograph between pages 64 and 65, and article by J. Procházka, 'Deset let Semináre cs. baptistu', 74-77.
- 25 Hopper, 97, 99.
- 26 Hopper, 136.
- 27 Franjo Klem, 'The Baptist Movement in Yugoslavia'. Typewritten, undated, 6 pages, after 1964, p.4.
- 28 Adams, Theodore F., *Baptists Around the World. Stories about Baptists of Other Lands*. 'Yugoslavia. Franjo Klem', 59-64. Nashville: Broadman, 1967, 60f. Cf. also Franjo Klem, 'Moja aktivnost u Zagrebu' Typewritten, 5 pages, Bonn, 1988. See also the photocopy of the official translation of Klem's Degree diploma from the Hungarian issued on 15 April 1944 in Budapest, Hungary, and signed by the Principal: Dr. Udvarnoky Bela and four others.
- 29 Klem, 'The Baptist Movement', p.6.
- 30 Klem, 'Moja aktivnost u Zagrebu', 1-2. Cf. Adams, *Baptists*, 60.
- 31 J.A. Moore, 'Yugoslavia', in *Europe-Whither Bound? A Symposium*. several authors. Nashville: Broadman, 1951, 141.
- 32 J.A. Moore as quoted in McConnell, 125.
- 33 Borovac, pp. 14-15; Cf. 'Understanding Yugoslavia', *The Window of the Youth Women Association* (April 1947): 7.
- 34 *Glasnik* 4 (1961): 62.
- 35 'Jugoslavs in Germany' *Glasnik* (Rijeka) 5 (May 1971): 62. Bajer had already emigrated to Germany and later to Switzerland.
- 36 *Evangeliumsbote*, July-August 1923, 6, Lehotsky, 'Baptizam', 2.
- 37 *Evangeliumsbote*, February 1925, 7.
- 38 Cf. wholehearted support by Ivan Bistrovic, then the editor of the only Baptist publication *Glas evandolja* in 'Vjera i učenje' *Glas evandolja* 3-4 (1940): 17-20. J.A. Moore writes: 'Bro. Vacek gave full support to my efforts to establish a seminary or Bible school in Belgrade - the primary purpose of my being sent to Yugoslavia, at the request of V.V. and other brethren there'. From the letter from J.A. Moore to Eddy and Lydia Matatic, 11 August 1980. Ruben Knezevic, private collection.
- 39 Franks, J.D. (Compiler), *European Baptists Today*, Rüslikon-Zürich: Baublatt AG., (1950) second enlarged edition, 1952. Chapter 19 'Yugoslavia', 88f.
- 40 Moore, 'Yugoslavia', 137.
- 41 The statement from his letter quoted above in (note 35) implies that Moore came in response to the explicit invitation of the Yugoslavian Baptists primarily to establish the school.
- 42 See extensive bibliography written by J.A. Moore about his experience in former Yugoslavia.
- 43 A photograph entitled 'Pastors' Bible class, Jugoslavia', might originate from this occasion: Everett Gill, *Europe and the Gospel*, Richmond: Educational Department, Foreign Mission Board, Southern Baptist Convention, 1931. Chapter VI 'Yugoslavia', pp.138-9. See also McConnell, 124f.
- 44 Moore, 'Yugoslavia', 136f.
- 45 BTŠ 5 p. 6, Dr J.A. Moore. Cf. McConnell, 125ff.
- 46 BTŠ 5, p. 8, F. Klem; Moore, 'Yugoslavia', 143.
- 47 BTŠ 5, pp. 8,9, F. Klem; 'Okružnica' no 1, Zagreb, 10 July 1953, private collection; for the curriculum of the first semester and the names of lecturers see BTŠ 5, p.11; in a letter of August 1953 Franjo Klem mentions as a possible location for the school the village of Mošćenica near Sisak.
- 48 For reasons for this move see BTŠ 5, p.12; Hopper, 161-163.
- 49 Moore, 'Tolerated Minority', 11; Adams, *Baptists*, 62f.
- 50 For plans to build see EBPS, 22 May 1965. The breaking of ground took place in summer 1966, EBPS, 8 July 1966. The dedication service was held on 2 July 1967. Cf 'New Facilities Opened in Novi Sad', *Commission* September 1967, 33; 'From the Secretary's Desk', *European Baptist* (Nov 1967): 6. 'Ground Broken for Yugoslav Seminary', *The Alabama Baptist*, 28 July 1966. Incomplete copy. 'Ground Broken for Yugoslav Seminary', *The Baptist Record*, 21 July 1966; incomplete copy.
- 51 McConnell, 149f.
- 52 Cf. 'Training Leaders: The Goal at Novi Sad', no author. *Commission*, February-March 1981, 65.
- 53 *ibid.*, and cf. EBPS, 28 February 1975.
- 54 EBPS, 11 October 1976.
- 55 One report cites \$120,000 contributed by the Southern Baptist Convention towards this project.
- 56 In 1920 at the London expanded Executive Committee of the Baptist World Alliance SBC took the responsibility for the support of the Yugoslavian Baptist work. Cf. J.A. Moore, 'Communists: Church Life Constraints Inconsistent'. *Commission*, February-March

- 1981, 10.
- 57 Cf. EBPS, 18 June 1993; 18 May 1995.
- 58 EBPS, 2 September 1961; EBPS, 2 March 1964; EBPS, 3 February 1965. For photograph of participants see *Commission*, April 1965, p.30. 'News', *European Baptist* (Sep 1965): 4.
- 59 EBPS, 28 February 1975.
- 60 EBPS, 5 March 1973.
- 61 BTŠ 5, p.49.
- 62 BTŠ 5, p.51.
- 63 Cf. EBPS, 4 January 1977. One of them was Ivica Novakovic who shares his recollection of Dr Williams in Stanley Crabb, 'Ivica Novakovic Shares His Difficult Pilgrimage', *Baptist World* July/September 1989, 5.
- 64 'Povodom smrti', p.2.
- 65 Cf. Mike Creswell, 'Staying On'. *Commission*, February-March 1981, 35; 'Ruth Helps Yugoslavian Churches Grow'. *Commission*, February-March 1981, 74.
- 66 V 44-50.
- 67 EBPS, 6 December 1988.
- 68 At the end of this period Horak earned his doctorate in Economics. In 1988, MVI granted him an honorary ThD.
- 69 Vinko Peterlin was invited to teach a course on 'Management in Church' in the autumn semester, and Nada Williams on NT Greek and 'Mass Media', but this fell through.
- 70 The two Croatian students who enrolled later were displaced ethnic Serbs from Croatia who fled to Serbia during the war and decided to study at BTŠ.
- 71 EBPS, 24 March 1964, marks the tenth anniversary of the school. Over the period 37 students enrolled, 23 finished the full three-year ministerial course, and others took shorter courses. At the time there were seven students enrolled, two of them women. Three were Methodists, the rest Baptists. See also J.A. Moore, '10th Anniversary of Yugoslav Theological School' *European Baptist* Y/3-4 (1964): 13. In an article from 1969 A. Lehotsky records that altogether sixty-seven students had been enrolled and seven were currently studying. Of these 6 had been Methodists and 2 Pentecostals. Of the 59 Baptists 26 had finished the four-year programme; 18 were women. The ethnic breakdown was: 2 Czechs, 2 Russians, 6 Romanians, 6 Macedonians, 10 Hungarians, 10 Slovaks, 13 Serbs, 19 Croats. A. Lehotsky, 'Biblijska opravdanost Seminarar' *Glasnik* 12 (1969): 123-124. EBPS, 31 May 1974, on the twentieth anniversary of BTŠ mentions that 'through its history the seminary has enrolled a total of 70 students and given 44 diplomas'. In 1981 a total of 140 students was reported. 'Training Leaders: The Goal at Novi Sad', no author. *Commission*, February-March 1981, 65.
- 72 BTŠ 5, p.14: Total enrolment: 110 men and 55 women (including non-residential). 16 left after 1 semester, 22 after 1 year, 19 completed 2 years, 3 discontinued after 3 years, 3 women completed 3 years, 41 completed 4 years.
- 73 One of the 1954 students in Zagreb was Stjepan Bistrovic who studied one semester at BTŠ but is not mentioned by Lehotsky or other sources: Milena Bi. Verban, 'Stjepan Bistrovic'. Photocopy of a typewritten page, with comments by S. Bistrovic. Dated 11 March 1998. Private collection, Ruben Knezevic.
- 74 For a good summary of the early history of the seminary see Carol Gale Woodfin, 'Rüschlikon: The Establishment and Early Development of an International Baptist Theological Seminary in the Heart of Post-War Europe'. M.A. Thesis, Wake Forest University, 1987.
- 75 SITE programme; cf. 'SITE Helps Unity', *Commission*, February-March 1981, 56.
- 76 IBTS offers MTH in Biblical Studies and MTH in Baptist and Anabaptist Studies, administered in co-operation with Spurgeon's College, London, and validated by the University of Wales. Courses in Contextual Missiology/Contextual Ministry, Human Rights, Christian Pedagogy, and Spirituality are being planned.
- 77 Excellent statistical information about all students of Rüschlikon: G. Keith Parker, 'Rüschlikon's Role', *Commission* (October 1972): and 'Rüschlikon's Role Revisited: A Report Prepared For the European Committee of the Foreign Mission Board, SBC' (unpublished, 1981).
- 78 Excerpt from Rüschlikon Register, in e-mail from J.D. Hopper, 8 August 1997; Cf. J.A. Moore, 'Once Again to Yugoslavia', *Commission* May 1951, 13: 'The intended conference in Belgrade was regarding exit permits for young Yugoslav Baptists who wish to study at our Zurich seminary.'
- 79 One enrolled at IBTS in autumn 1998 in MTH in Baptist and Anabaptist Studies.
- 80 EBPS, 20 July 1976.
- 81 Registration document, photocopy, private collection.
- 82 EBPS, 20 July 1976; 'Protestant Faculty', *Baptist World* (September 1976): 5.
- 83 Simo Ralevic, 'Otvoren je protestantski fakultet u Zagrebu' *Glas evanđelja* 4 (1976): 24; EBPS,

- 10 November 1976.
- 84 Official enrolment records are not attainable. An article written later that year talks about 'fifteen students who had finished BTŠ.' In view of my figure of eight Baptist enrolments that year, it is possible that some of those mentioned in the article were members of other denominations, or ethnically not Croatians.
- 85 Brochure 1997.
- 86 'EBI, Centar u Hrvatskoj, Program za svjedodzbu 1992-1995', 'Ponuda Evanđeoskog biblijskog instituta...' (1996).
- 87 Cf. EBPS, 23 April 1987; also no author, 'Bible Institute in Yugoslavia Reaches Record Enrolment', *Decision*, April 1987, 19.
- 88 ETF brochure from 1992.
- 89 See brochure 'International MA in Biblical Studies', Osijek, ETF, n.d. [1998].
- 90 Request with attached signatures, private collection.
- 91 Cf. Mike Creswell, 'Nela Williams: Rolling With the Punches', *Commission*, December 1992, 36-39.
- 92 In 1998/1999 a similar programme will start also in Osijek.
- 93 As late as 1991 an FMB report reflects this attitude of both FMB and national Baptists: 'There is little openness by Baptists toward the ministry of the other major seminary in Osijek, Yugoslavia, which is Pentecostal in denominational affiliation': Robert D. Cochran, 'Evaluation of Theological Education Needs In Eastern Europe for the Foreign Mission Board, SBC', Report, 30 July 1991, 45.
- 94 The document argued: 1. Croatian Baptists did not have their own seminary. Until a few years ago their students normally went to the Seminary in Novi Sad, Serbia. This has been made impossible by the break-up of former Yugoslavia. 2. In the past year the possibility was considered of starting a Baptist seminary in Croatia. This proposal was eventually rejected by the Executive Committee of the CBU and the General Assembly this Summer. The reasons were as follows: (a) The Croatian Baptists could not financially support any such residential institution. The total figure of Croatian Baptists was around 1,300, too small a financial base for such an undertaking. (b) The number of prospective resident students was limited. (c) There were too few qualified indigenous Baptist educators. (d) Financial support from abroad was by and large not forthcoming, either in cash or in pledges. (e) Two protestant theological institutions already existed in Croatia (Lutheran and Pentecostal). It seemed unnecessary to duplicate their work. 3. The CBU General Assembly supported CBU sending students for resident study to the Evangelical Theological Seminary in Osijek. The reasons were as follows: (a) ETS had already existed for over 20 years. (b) ETS administration had proffered their invitation to CBU to send their students there. (c) Relationship between CBU and the Evangelical (Pentecostal) church in Croatia were that of friendly coexistence and co-operation, and improving. (d) Croatian Baptists had in the past studied at ETS. Of the current six CBU paid full-time pastors two completed their studies there (one studied at the Lutheran seminary, one at Novi Sad, and two abroad). (e) ETS strove to be broadly evangelical in doctrine. (f) ETS students represented a variety of denominational backgrounds (the majority were admittedly Pentecostal). (g) ETS had an interdenominational faculty. Of the resident faculty of all levels, three were Baptist, two Presbyterian, two Assemblies of God, one Croatian Pentecostal. (h) Six new CBU students had been enrolled for the academic year 1994/5 making ten resident CBU students. (i) D. Peterlin had just been appointed Graduate Studies Director and Dean of all Students and moved to reside in Osijek. This was met by express approval of the CBU President, Secretary, CBU Executive Committee, and the CBU General Assembly.
- 95 KBF web page <http://rektorat.unizg.hr/fakultet.bogosl.html>. One of them, and the only Protestant to earn doctorate from KBF, was Peter Kuzmic.
- 96 KBF web page <http://rektorat.unizg.hr/fakultet.bogosl.html>.
- 97 For more information see Josip Grbac, *Dan teologije u Rijeci*, 7. 12. 1996. *Rijecki teološki casopis* 5/1 (1997): 225-230.
- 98 See Mile Bogovic, 'Sjemenište i teologija u povijesti naše mjesne crkve', *Rijecki teološki casopis* 5/1 (1997): 216-224.
- 99 Grbac, 227.
- 100 Among them one can mention the International Baptist Lay Academy (IBLA) in Hungary. The institution has offered courses in English and basic theological and Biblical courses. One Croatian Baptist student attended one conference.
- 101 In the former Yugoslavia there were yet other theological institutions, mostly Catholic, at which no Baptists studied so they fall outside the

scope of the study. They are Catholic theological faculties in Plehan, Sarajevo, the Franciscan school at Trsat in Rijeka, Faculty of Theology and the Society of Jesus in Zagreb, the Adventist Theological Faculty in Maruševec. An interesting case is the Institute for Biblical Studies (TCM International), run by the Christian Church in the States, offers a two-year Master in Practical Theology (from 1991) and a three-year MDiv (1997) from Austria. The programmes, accredited by the Cincinnati Theological Seminary, are intended for pastors and church leaders in Central and Eastern Europe and former Soviet Union without formal theological training but having a secular university degree. The institution is international and interdenominational. TCM has signed a Partnership agreement with CBU but, although Dr Davorin Peterlin was the TCM Field director for Croatia and Assistant Professor 1994-1997,

no Croatian Baptist students enrolled in the programme.

- 102 The first enrolled in a programme in 1968. However, as a non-Croatian citizen he had lived in his own country and only later moved to Croatia where he has lived now for several decades. The second had already left former Yugoslavia (never to return) when he enrolled around 1980.
- 103 BTŠ 5 p.6, Dr J.A. Moore.
- 104 The Founder Klem had a BTh from Budapest.
- 105 CBU Executive committee meeting Minutes, 14 September 1998.
- 106 'Baptistički institut [Baptist Institute]'. URL <http://www.baptist.hr/bi.html>.
- 107 *Teološki institut svetog Trojstva. Nastavni plan. Školska godina 1998/1999* [Theological Institute of the Holy Trinity. Course Programme. Academic Year 1998/1999]. Document sent by Jasmin Djelibašić by e-mail.

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Arthur Lester, *Fifty Years: A Jubilee Sketch of the Work and Progress of Dawley Baptist Church 1846-1896*, Shrewsbury, 1896, 22pp, and **H. Mostyn Jones**, *Baptist Church, Dawley, 1846-1946: 100 Years of Christian Witness*, Wellington, 1946, 23pp. Reprinted by Dawley Baptist Church, 1999. £2-50 + p&p per volume from Mrs Mary Westbrook, Tyndale Lodge, Princes End, Lawley Bank, Telford, TF4 2JN.

To mark the final services in the present chapel prior to its demolition, Dawley Baptist Church, Shropshire, has republished two earlier histories of the church, which have been long out of print. Baptist work at Dawley began in 1829 with a meeting in a home. The pioneers of the work were two men of the same name, James Jones. One was a deacon of Wellington Baptist Church, who had been baptized by Dr Palmer at Shrewsbury. The other was a deacon at Broseley Old Chapel, who was able to preach an occasional sermon. The first chapel was erected in 1846 but it soon became too small and it was demolished to erect a larger building in 1860. This was a considerable venture of faith, since when the second building was opened there was still an outstanding debt of £140 on the first building. A new church building is being erected this year and it is planned to issue a new history to bring the story of the church up to date.

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