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“Medicines are a divine gift.” (Herophilos)
in parallel, for, as Swiss Professor Alexander Tschirch stated one century ago, at the beginning of his treatise on Pharmacognosy, “Pharmacia soror medicinae est.” At the start of the twentieth century, Professor Guignard contended that “pharmacy is also a branch of science, an art and a profession.” The history of pharmacy is vast, comprising the following: the history of medical doctrines, of the natural and physical sciences; the history of the pharmaceutical art itself, including the archeological survey instruments that have been used throughout time; the history of pharmacists, regarded as manufacturers and distributors of drugs, healthcare analysts and advisors to patients. What we are actually referring to here is a part of the history of human evolution itself.

For two or three millennia, pharmaceutical work was not differentiated from the medical one, being practiced by one and the same person, who prescribed and prepared the medicine—this was an era when the two activities were carried out in tandem. This is the farthest period in time the history of medicine and pharmacy can access, the archaic inscriptions, historical relics and monuments dating back to those times enabling us to discover the origins of these sciences.

From the use of empirical medicine to the complex drugs of our days, to the isolation of their active principles, the determination of their chemical structure and their action at cellular level, the progress of scientific inquiry has been very long and difficult. Notwithstanding the moments of stagnation and decline, the evolution of both pharmacy and the act of healing has always been in the service of humanity.

With the emergence of humans as beings endowed with consciousness, due to compulsory daily concerns, the most important of which were food and defense, what also made its presence felt was the need to treat various pathologies: fractures, cuts, dental afflictions, epidemics (less frequent at first), and so on. The identification of the medical practices used for curing those conditions is particularly difficult, as the only surviving testimonies are the traces they left on skeletons (broken bones, trepanned and scarred skulls, or chronic degenerative and acute infectious rheumatic diseases), attesting to the existence, at the time, of certain orthopedic and surgery concerns.

The early humans considered that illness had either a physical cause (injuries, nutrition, poisoning, physical factors, effort), in which case physical remedies/factors were administered (exposure to cold or warm temperatures, pricking), or a mythical-magical cause (spirits, spells, curses, charms), when incantations, purifications, disenchantments were resorted to, etc. The idea of alleviating such suffering through the administration of a remedy will have occurred to the human who invented the first cure. Early therapy was based on empirical practices, which primarily used healing herbs, the first “medicines”—some of which were very effective—being plant products: emetic, purgative, diuretic, vermicidal, an-
tidiarrheal, abortifacient, antipyretic, diaphoretic drugs, etc. Remedies of animal origin (milk, honey, fat), as well as minerals (salt, clay, mud, mineral and thermal waters), were also used.

In ancient times, the necessity of caring for the sick led to the appearance of healers, who knew the signs of various sufferings and their remedies. It can be assumed that the first physicians appeared out of a survival necessity, their natural observations and conclusions leading to the acquisition of special healing skills. Religious practices also played a role in this respect, and even though they were sometimes carried out on animals, the sacrifices that were performed in temples resulted in the accumulation of solid anatomical knowledge. The very first “pharmacist” in history may have been one of the healers, who would have been entrusted, by his confrères, with the preparation of remedies, either because they were swamped with work or because he was particularly disciplined, patient, skillful and meticulous. Such individuals could be found among the priests from the temples of ancient Egypt. More than 4,000 years ago, the remedy maker was called urmus in their language. His symbol was a man holding a mortar and pestle. Just like the high priests who were contemporaneous with the pharaohs, prior to learning the secrets of this art, the urmus was obliged to swear a strict oath, by which he committed to never indulge in wine and women. The word urmus is the first term recorded in history with reference to a specialist dealing with the preparation of medicine. The healers—both priests (sorcerers, rhu-iht, those-who-are-skillful) and laymen (medicine men, sunu)—were physicians and pharmacists at the same time, a conclusion that can also be drawn from the hieroglyph for “physician,” which comprised three components: a sitting man, a lancet and a pharmaceutical bowl. According to Herodotus, in ancient Egypt the physicians’ hierarchy was clear: chief physicians, inspector-physicians and court physicians, each of these categories being specialized in the treatment of a particular disease.

According to a legend, the god Thoth himself dictated to a scribe a lot of information covering numerous domains, which resulted in 42 books known as The Emerald Tablets of Science. There are also five major medical papyri, named after the city in which they were found or after their finders: the Ebers Papyrus (a medical-pharmaceutical encyclopedia containing more than 800 prescriptions), the Hearst Papyrus, the Edwin Smith Papyrus, in London and Berlin, as well as others from the New Kingdom period. These prescriptions contained the active principle—the basic ingredient, along with excipients and adjuvants. Herbal remedies were among the most frequently used: sedatives, somnifacients, narcotics (opium, mandrake, henbane, Indian hemp); antiphlogistics (chamomile, mint); aromatics, stomachics (anise, cumin, absinthe, coriander, onion, garlic), diuretics (sea onion), anthelmintics (garlic, pomegranate, drinks with honey and
oil), disinfectants, by way of fumigation (myrrh, terebinth, incense). The forms of administration were extremely various: eye washes, ointments, suppositories, fumigations, inhalations, powders, pills, decoctions, maceration extracts. In addition to those, there were also used constituents of animal origin (milk, eggs, wax, fats, organs, blood, honey) and minerals: sulfur, mercury, gold, silver, copper, sodium carbonate (commonly known as natron and used for the embalming process), sodium chloride, copper sulfate (alum), ammonium salts. All these led Homer to say that “the fertile land of Egypt is the richest in cures.” Among the most frequently treated were ocular, respiratory, gynecological and dental afflictions, headaches etc. Despite the well-known conservatism of Egyptian therapeutics, its influences continued to be felt by all the peoples in the Mediterranean basin for a long time after this flourishing civilization died out.\(^2\)

In Mesopotamia, there were sorcerers (\(\text{\textasciitilde}\text{\text{\textasciitilde}}\), who resorted to magic to treat diseases of supernatural origin, and physicians (\(\text{\textasciitilde}\)), who treated natural diseases caused by physical, mechanical or physiological factors through empirical medicine, the Mesopotamian doctors being known as the first practitioners of this profession in the Semitic world. Medical and pharmaceutical knowledge was preserved on clay tablets and “treatises” (assembled clay tablets), which the scribes imprinted with indiscriminately collected information about the art of healing. A tablet of this kind, signed by Nabû-Leû, had three columns that included: plant species—indicating, firstly, the part of the plant that was to be used and the manner of gathering it, secondly, the disease, and thirdly, the cure—the preparation and manner of administration. The oldest Mesopotamian medical text (2100 B.C.), discovered in Nippur, comprised empirical remedies, and the Code of Hammurabi (1760 B.C.) dealt with physicians even though it was a legal code. In the treatment of patients, basic remedies—which acquired the sense of medicine administered to patients—were derived from a lot of plants (\textit{sammu}), such as: cedar, palm tree, pine, tamarisk, almond, fig tree, saffron, cane, mustard, onion, garlic, sesame, chicory, as well as from other plants with names that hardly have an equivalent in translation (sweet-plant, life-plant, etc.). The pharmaceutical forms consisted of solutions, ointments, powders, suppositories, maceration extracts, fumigations and poultices, which had animal or mineral compounds in their composition (sulfur, alum, metal oxides, and gypsum).\(^3\)

The development of Indian healing practices corresponds to the three different historical periods in the evolution of this society: pre-Vedic (certain drugs are mentioned); Vedic (1600–1500 B.C.), which includes the medical and pharmaceutical knowledge contained in the Vedas (\textit{Rgveda}, or Knowledge of Verses, and \textit{Atharva\textit{veda}, or Knowledge of the Magic Formulas}); and Classical.

Most of the notions were permeated by myth and religion, but some were also based on observation—especially those resulting from the examination of the organs of sacrificed animals. Like in other cases, Indian medicine was based
primarily on plants—over 700 (asadibi, herbs used as remedies)—administered as powders, fumigations, maceration extracts, tinctures, eye washes, infusions and ointments, which had different effects: tonic, sedative, laxative, revulsive. The very name of medicine derives from this term, ansadhi, and the so-called physicians were divided into two categories: kaviraj, the pilgrim healer, and vaidya, physicians with seven years of medical school. In the treatment of various diseases, products of animal and mineral origin were also used alongside herbs.

Between the 6th century B.C. and the 2nd century A.D., there appeared several works containing medical notions: Ayurveda, Sushruta-Samhita, Charaka Samhita, Yoga-Sūtra. On the whole, medical knowledge was rudimentary, sometimes erroneous, supernatural causes being attributed to various diseases. In ancient India, the grounds of healthcare organization were laid, too, in the form of a sort of hospital establishments, used for humans, but also for animals.

The links between the Asian countries fostered the transmission of medical-pharmaceutical knowledge/works and drug exchanges, the role of India in Asia being compared to that of Greece in Europe.

In ancient China, particularly during the third Royal Dynasty (1066–256 B.C., the Zhou Dynasty), the Nei Jing or The Inner Canon, a medical-pharmaceutical collection, was completed, as were other encyclopedias; it was during the same period that the character corresponding to the physician (Yi-shen) appeared and that the character Yi, designating medicine, was modified. Numerous treaties on pharmacology/pathology were also written. The first one appeared during the Xia Dynasty and comprised over 360 prescriptions of so-called remedies/drugs, with antipyretic, vomitive, diuretic and sedative effects. Various chemical substances were mentioned, too: sodium sulfate, iron, arsenic, mercury, zinc, saltpeter, cinnabar, carbon black, lead and silver, used as medicine or in various technologies. In his Description of China, Nicolae Milescu, a high-ranking Moldavian nobleman, mentioned their medical books and other crafts, their art of healing, which was superior to those in our lands, as well as the herbs, roots and stones they used. Last but not least, mention was made that “in apothecary shops they sell a lot of healing roots, some of which are not found in Europe.”

Ancient Greece, one of the most flourishing human civilizations, was a fountain of knowledge in all fields, and medicine and pharmacy were no exception in this regard. Like in the other countries, everything had both a mythological and a real side. The Greeks had two branches of medicine: sacerdotal and secular. They widely used occult practices and plants, and they worshipped Apollo—the god of healing—and his son, Asclepius—the patron of physicians. The temple dedicated to the latter was called asclepeion; the patients treated there were recommended various drugs, diets and practices. Note should be made of the influence exerted by the medical “schools” of Kos and Knidos, as well as of the numerous types of people engaged in the art of healing: physicians (iatros),
those who prepared and sold medicine (pharmakopoles), those who prepared vegetal remedies (rhizotmos), those who prepared concoctions/mixtures/poisons (mignatopoles), those who prepared perfumes (myropoles) etc. It was also in Kos that Hippocrates (c. 460–377 B.C.) was born. Known as the father of medicine, he wrote more than 60 works (Corpus Hippocraticum), which are based on manifold views or theses (the humoral thesis, the thesis of the four temperaments, the prognosis thesis) and contain about 300 prescriptions. Well into the Middle Ages, this collection of works remained the foundation of the art of healing. It can be assumed that the physician’s activity consisted in identifying the disease based on the symptoms, researching the cause thereof, determining the prognosis and applying the required treatment. The therapy resided in the administration of drugs (hypnotics, uterine stimulants, emetics, purgatives, expectorants, anticonvulsants, stimulants), which were relatively few in treatment, in a diet (the use of honey in mixtures, cereal drinks, unfermented wine), and in the intake of mineral salts. The medicines were administered in the iatreion or supplied for home use.

The Hippocratic Oath, sworn even today by all medical graduates, includes both medical and pharmaceutical precepts, as the quintessence of what it means to work in the service of human health. The end of the Greek era, with Theophrastus of Eresos, Diocles of Karystos and others, was particularly rich in works on plants, metals, stones, poisons, deadly drugs, etc.

Hellenistic Alexandria and Rome reached the apogee in terms of the advancement of medicine and pharmacology. Important medical schools developed: the Hippocratic School in Kos, the dogmatic one in Athens, as well as the Methodic, Empiricist and Pneumatist Schools, where notions of anatomy, physiology, pharmacology, botany, pharmacognosy, dietetics, pharmaceutics, surgery, toxicology, etc., were taught. Thus, Herophilos said that “Medicines are a divine gift.”

At the beginning, in the Royal Period, the art of healing in ancient Rome experienced strong Etruscan influences and was also marked by the cult of the healing gods: Asclepius, Salus (the goddess of good health), Lucina (the protector of motherhood), Febria (a goddess protecting humans from fever). Gradually, there were accepted Greek physicians trained at the Methodic School—initially, less scientific—(founded by Temison), as were, subsequently, those from the Pneumatist School: Asclepiades—the physician of Mark Antony, Cicero and Crassus; Antony Musa—the physician of Augustus and Horace, who wrote De herba vettonica; Philo of Tarsus; Scribonius Largus, who wrote De Compositione Medicamentorum and who was Claudius’s physician; Andromachus, Nero’s physician.

The period of intensive development of medical-pharmaceutical concerns was undoubtedly the Imperial period, when the chief physicians (archiatros) appeared.
At the end of the 1st century A.D., Pedanius Dioscorides of Anazarbus wrote about healing plants and animals in *De materia medica*, a collection of six books describing over 600 plants, recognized until the end of the Renaissance, and in *De venenis animalibus*.

The father of preparative pharmacy, Galen of Pergamum (A.D. c. 130–c. 201) wrote over 500 works in all areas of medicine—his *Ars Magna* (14 books dedicated to the therapeutic method). He was a surgeon of gladiators and a dietician, classified drugs into nine groups, perfected the so-called Galenic mixtures (pills, ointments, patches, etc.), which, even today, is known as “Galenic pharmacy,” developed toxicology thanks to his knowledge regarding the action of antidotes and the removal of poisons, and his influence was huge in the Christian, Jewish and Muslim worlds.

At the time, pharmaceutical practice resorted to instruments that are well known and still used today: pots, mortars, scales, spoons and spatulas, made of different materials: glass, alabaster, wood, metal, ceramics, and also a system of measuring weights. Specifications were made concerning the known toxic substances (poisonous mushrooms, opium, hemlock, mandrake, hellebore, arsenic salts and lead) and their antidotes, as the practice of poisoning was widely used.

On the Dacian territory and, later, in Roman Dacia, the starting point was Thracian medicine, rich in magic and gods with healing powers: thermal and mineral waters, plant remedies, plant and animal poisons. Under the Roman rule, sacerdotal medicine was practiced in temples and the empirical, autochthonous medicine resorted to remedies. The medical, pharmaceutical and cosmetic instruments discovered at Sarmizegetusa, Apulum and Potaissa were almost identical to those found at Pompeii, suggesting the transfer of knowledge to all areas during the Roman conquest. The Zalmoxian School taught medicine, too.

A fact which that has been less frequently noted by researchers is that the oath sworn at present by physicians around the world, known as the Hippocratic Oath, is the same oath that was taken by physicians of the Zalmoxian School, albeit in expanded form. The Dacian physicians’ rules of conduct were included in the so-called Belaginae Laws and can partly be ascertained from the philosopher Plato’s account, who had the very famous wise man Socrates relate about the manner in which patients were treated in Dacia.

Prior to administering incantations/drugs to patients, Confession and the Forgiveness of sins, the Healing of the human soul were also mentioned in Christianity.

*As a spiritual physician, the priest should know: 1. The patients’ diseases of the soul, in general and in particular, that is, their sins, in various forms and occurrences.*
2. The sources and causes of sins, for the sources of sins are weaknesses of the flesh, darkening the mind and rebelling the will. Once the spiritual (the physician of the spirit) has come to know the disease of the soul, its source and its cause, he should awaken first, in the sick (person), through strong reasoning, the longing for getting healed, for getting better, and then he should make available to him the appropriate means for regaining health and lead him to use these tools and work with the divine means towards regaining health.

These were actually the methods of Zalmoxian physicians, who could be doctors of the soul or of the body, those methods being found later in the Christian world as well.\textsuperscript{11}

In the Old Testament, conceptions about illness and healing start from the idea of man’s passing through the world, unfolding at the boundary between life and death, health and disease, joy and suffering. Man wants to live a healthy life, to feel alive in his being, to see the outer light as a hope of escaping death. However, summoned by God from non-existence to existence, man often forgets the true meaning of his life, forgets or ignores the voice of conscience, which is the Creator’s voice inside him, and thus he violates the Divine Commandments.\textsuperscript{12} In an authentic biblical exegesis of the Old Testament, it can be seen that disease, suffering and death are placed in close relation to the original sin of Adam.\textsuperscript{13}

According to the Old Testament, the origin of diseases, afflictions, weaknesses, degradation and death, as well as all the evils that affect human nature must be sought in the way the first man managed the exercise of his will, in the wrong way in which he used the gift of free will and in the sin of disobedience to God committed by Adam in the Garden of Eden.\textsuperscript{14} The suffering caused by disease and the ensuing death are direct consequences of human disobedience to the Divine (Gen. 2, 16, 17, 3, 1–19). Weaknesses appeared because of the fall of the first man and it was through such weaknesses that physical and mental ailments settled in the body, which cause human suffering and finally bring death unto him (Gen. 3:19).\textsuperscript{15} This understanding of illness and suffering is expressed everywhere in the books of the Old Testament.

For instance, in the Biblical Book of 2 Samuel, it is written that a son of David’s, born to Bathsheba his wife, the ex-wife of Uriah the Hittite, became ill and died because of the sin committed by David unto that family: “Nevertheless, because by this deed you have utterly scorned the Lord, the child that is born to you shall die” (2 Sam. 12:14).\textsuperscript{16}

Thus, sin is reckoned to be the first cause of disease and suffering: the original sin, then the personal sins of each and every one, and the sins of some that have an impact on others, such as the parents’ sins, which can have a negative impact on their children. The concept of punishing children for the sins of their parents is quite common in the biblical period of the Old Testament. God Himself refers
to “visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children to the third and fourth generation” (Deut. 5:9). Moreover, this concept can also be inferred from the biblical expression “The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children’s teeth are set on edge” (Jer. 31:29).

The conception of the ancient Jews about the sick was that the human had done something wrong before God, which is why illness and suffering afflicted him. The Book of Job is an edifying didactic poem in this regard. Noteworthy are the “comforting” speeches of Job’s friends. They attempted to convince Job that he must have committed a sin before God; that was the sole explanation they could find for the pitiful state of their friend.

The Old Testament presents innumerable situations when disease sets in the human body as a result of sin, in its various aspects. For example, because of his sinful love of money, Gehazi, the prophet Elisha’s servant, received the illness of leprosy as punishment: “Therefore the leprosy of Na’aman shall cleave to you and to your descendants forever. So he went out from his presence a leper, as white as snow” (2 Kings 5:27).

Another case was that of King Uzzi‘ah. He was also punished with leprosy because he had violated God’s Commandment, daring to burn incense in the Lord’s Temple, a sacerdotal act reserved only for priests: “Then Uzzi‘ah was angry. Now he had a censer in his hand to burn incense, and when he became angry with the priests, leprosy broke out on His forehead, in the presence of the priests in the house of the Lord, by the altar of incense” (2 Chron. 26:19).

Addressing his countrymen, the prophet Isaiah pronounced divine judgment, whereby illness and suffering were the consequences of sin: “Why do you cry out over your hurt? Your pain is incurable. Because your guilt is great, because your sins are flagrant, I have done these things to you” (Jer. 30:15).

From the same Scripture of the Old Testament we find that some diseases are caused by the devil, out of his envy of man (Job 1:6–12; 2:1–5). It should be noted that the devil is not omnipotent. He cannot govern man’s actions according to his will; he cannot even touch man’s goods or body without God’s permission. The Book of Job attests to this: “And the Lord said to Satan, ‘Behold, all that he has is in your power; only upon himself do not put forth your hand’” (Job 1:12) or, “And the Lord said to Satan, ‘Behold, he is in your power; only spare his life.’ So Satan went forth from the presence of the Lord, and afflicted Job with loathsome sores from the sole of his foot to the crown of his head” (Job 2:6–7).

In addition to diseases caused by sin or the envy of the devil, God also allows for certain illness and suffering to afflict humans for therapeutic purposes. These diseases are part of the Divine pedagogy plan. The Book of Job tells us that disease and suffering have, as a purpose, the catharsis or purification of the soul: “Behold, God does all these things, twice, three times, with a man, to bring back his soul from the Pit, that he may see the light of life” (Job 33:29–30).
Often, a disease is a test, putting the sufferer in Job’s situation. Disease has the capacity to change the relationship of the ailing with the Divinity and his fellow humans, as well as rebuild the human mind, either by casting it into despair or by offering hope and redefining us as human beings. Since suffering is in the immediate proximity of disease or even death, it gives man a new outlook on life, awakening in man the desire to follow the true purpose of life. Suffering reminds us that health and life are not permanent and that the body will gradually waste away, ending in death. Suffering and disease are only forms of the painful and ultimate revelation of the Divinity, a dialogue of tears, with ever fewer words.

Another cause of disease and suffering in the ancient biblical world was the improper care for the body. The Biblical Book of Leviticus provides a host of rules for both ritual lustration and for the intimate hygiene of individual or conjugal life. In this respect, one of the Old Testament books from the category of the Anagignoskomena talks about preventing illness: “Before you speak, learn, and before you fall ill, take care of your health” (Wisdom of Jesus son of Sirach 18:19). It follows that it is not only sin that causes disease, but also neglecting to properly care for the body.

The Old Testament refers to several physical illnesses.

Leprosy: “But when raw flesh appears on him, he shall be unclean. And the priest shall examine the raw flesh, and pronounce him unclean; raw flesh is unclean, for it is leprosy” (Lev. 13:14–15; 2 Sam. 7:3–10; Job 2:7). In the Jewish world, leprosy generally amounted to a dermatological disease, but also referred to molds that appeared on garments or on walls. In the same group of diseases fell leprosy itself, called taarat in the Hebrew language. The disease was considered incurable, which is why lepers were considered dead for society. In the case of leprosy, as well as of all patients with contagious diseases, quarantine was instituted, the isolation of those patients from the community being mandatory. They were taken away from the camp and, later, the city and could not return to their families until they made a full recovery. In the state of isolation, the leper had to wear torn clothes and remain bareheaded. If someone approached him, the leper had to cover his upper lip or moustache and to shout: Unclean! Unclean! It was the sign of the presence of a man suffering from leprosy. What was recommended was the avoidance of contact with the lepers. One can see here an early example of preventive medicine. The state of healing was declared by the priest (Lev. 13).

Boils and blisters: “And it shall become fine dust over all the land of Egypt, and become boils breaking out in sores on man and beast throughout all the land of Egypt” (Exod. 9:9) or, “When a man has on the skin of his body a swelling or an eruption or a spot...” (Lev. 13, 2, 18, 21).
Fever: “I will appoint over you sudden terror, consumption, and fever that waste the eyes and cause life to pine away” (Lev. 26:16; Deut. 28:22).

Dysentery or rotting entrails: “And you yourself will have a severe sickness with a disease of your bowels, until your bowels come out because of the disease, day by day” (2 Chron. 21:15).

Silence: “and he (Lord) had opened my mouth by the time the man came to me in the morning; so my mouth was opened, and I was no longer dumb” (Ezek. 33:22).

Speech impediment: “But Moses said to the Lord, ‘Oh, my Lord, I am not eloquent, either here to fore or since thou hast spoken to thy servant; but I am slow of speech and of tongue’” (Exod. 4:10; Isa. 35:6).

Blindness: In this case, the Old Testament speaks of progressive blindness caused by aging: “When Isaac was old and his eyes were dim that he could not see it ...” (Gen. 27:1), or “Now the eyes of Israel were dim with age, so that he could not see” (Gen. 48:10; 1 Sam. 4:15; Eccles. 12:3). The Old Testament also speaks of sudden blindness: “And they struck with blindness the men who were at the door of the house, both small and great, so they wearied themselves that grooping for the door” (Gen. 19, 11; 2 Sam. 6:18).

Emaciation and damage of bodily organs: “Leah’s eyes were weak. . .” (Gen. 29:17; Zech. 11:17).

Disease accompanied by leg pain, probably gout: “In the thirty-ninth year of his reign, Asa was diseased in his feet” (2 Chron. 16:12).

Divine plagues came in the form of epidemics which caused mass deaths. In some cases, reference was made to the plague (Num. 11, 33, 14, 37, 16, 46–47; Gen. 9, 15; 2 Sam. 24, 15; Ezek. 33, 27).

Menstrual disorders: “If a woman has a discharge of blood for many days, not at the time of her impurity, or if she has a discharge beyond the time of her impurity, all the days of the discharge she shall continue in uncleanness; as in the days of her impurity, she shall be unclean” (Lev. 15:25).

Mental and nervous disorders: “Now the Spirit of the Lord departed from Saul, and an evil spirit from the Lord tormented him. And Saul’s servants said to him, ‘Behold now, an evil spirit from God is tormenting you. And whenever the evil spirit from God was upon Saul, David took the lyre and played it with his hand; so Saul was refreshed, and was well, and the evil spirit departed from him’” (1 Sam. 16:14–15, 23; Dan. 4:33). It can be seen that in the Jewish world music therapy was indicated for diseases of the nerves.

Malformations (deformities) in both humans and animals: “Say to Aaron, none of your descendants throughout their generations who had a blemish may approach to offer the bread of his God. For no one who has a blemish shall draw near, a man blind or lame, or one who has a mutilated face or a limb too long, or
a man who has an injured foot or an injured hand, or a hunchback, or a dwarf, or a man with a defect in his sight or an itching disease or scabs or crushed testicles” (Lev. 21, 17–20; Exod. 12, 5).

According to the Old Testament, healing and the relieving of the suffering body and soul could be obtained from the God of Salvation Himself. He was considered the Perfect Doctor. The Old Testament gives many arguments supporting the notion that the Jews were cured by God Almighty the Healer. We can mention a few of these arguments: “I am the Lord, your healer” (Exod. 15:26). In the Book of Deuteronomy, God addresses his people and says, “I wound and I heal ...” (Deut. 32:39; Job 5:17–18). The great King David the Psalmist considered his God a source of forgiveness and healing: “Bless the Lord, o my soul . . . who heals all your diseases” (Ps. 103:1, 3). Because God was considered the Perfect Doctor, patients first resorted to this doctor, by denying all evil and by engaging in prayer. Since sin was considered the main cause of illness, prayers and the return to God were considered the most effective healing remedies. A good example is that of King Hezekiah, who became seriously ill and, through prayers, implored for divine help when he was in deep suffering (Isa. 38:1–5, 16–17, 20; 2 Kings 20). Judging by King Hezekiah’s prayer, the healing of his sickness was the consequence of God’s forgiveness of his sins. This is yet another argument that disease was deemed to be an outcome of sin. Also, Hezekiah promised to raise thankful songs in front of the temple. What is presented here is a well-established order that the sick man had to follow in his prayer addressed to the God of all healing: first, he had to ask for the forgiveness of his sins, then he had to entrust himself to God’s hands, and finally, he had to thank God for his recovery.24

In many cases, as a result of prayer, God healed the man who faithfully and fervently asked Him for this. The idea is outlined in the Book of Prayers: “O Lord my God, to thee I cried for help, and thou hast healed me” (Ps. 30:2). Obeying the words of the Lord and keeping His commandments could be a real cure for health: “My son, be attentive to my words; incline your ear to my sayings. Let them not escape from your sight; Keep them within your heart. They are life to him who finds them, and healing to all his flesh” (Prov. 4, 20–22). The same thing is stated by Jesus Sirach in his book, “My son, when you are sick do not be negligent, but pray to the Lord, and He will heal you” (Wisdom of Jesus Son of Sirach).

Searching for other healing remedies and putting the divine power in the second place was not well regarded. Mention should be made of a situation where King Asa was suffering, “diseased in his feet, and his disease became severe. Yet even in his disease he did not seek the Lord, but sought help from physicians” (2 Chron. 16:12). King Asa was admonished with those words because, during
his suffering, he did not think first of the healing power of God, but of remedies offered by the people.

Although the cure of diseases was always attributed to the divine power, the physicians’ healing interventions were not negligible. Their contributions were considered useful, and the physician, assimilated at the time with the pharmacist, was deemed to be worthy of honor: “Honor the physician with the honor due him, according to your need of him, for the Lord created him. And give the physician his place, for the Lord created him; let him not leave you, for there is need of him. There is a time when success lies in the hands of physicians, for they too will pray to the Lord that he should grant them success in diagnosis and in healing, for the sake of preserving life” (Wisdom of Jesus son of Sirach 38:1, 12–14).

Sometimes, the prophets of the Old Testament appeared, on the Lord’s behalf, as healers, but these situations were less frequent. For example, the prophet Elisha was involved in the healing of Naaman, the Syrian leper. At the word of the prophet, Naaman, captain of the King of Syria’s army, dipped himself seven times in the Jordan and was cleansed of leprosy (2 Kings 5, 14).

In addition to sacerdotal ministry, priests represented a kind of physicians (not in the sense that they prescribed treatments), but especially when they ascertained the presence of an illness, as well as the recovery from diseases, especially leprosy. Even if they did not treat diseases, priests had knowledge of medicine, obviously, at an empirical level. Priests were not healers. They had to decide the presence or absence of disease. If the priest declared the patient unclean (ill), the latter was forbidden to contact other community members, he was isolated and had to take care of himself. When the priest considered that the healing process had been completed, he allowed the healed to return to his family and community (Lev. 13; 14, 15–18). Chapters 13 and 14 of the Biblical Book of Leviticus represent a genuine treatise on the diagnosis and treatment of leprosy.

The Old Testament mentions several therapeutic remedies, treatments based on natural substances. Even in the Laws of Moses, medical care of the sick or injured is mentioned (Exod. 21:19), which shows that God is not against caring for the sick, and that, since ancient times, various remedies have been used to cure diseases.

According to the Biblical text, Jews resorted to balm for healing purposes. References to this can be found in the prophet Jeremiah’s book, where he speaks of the balm of Gilead (Jer. 8, 22, 46, 11; 51:8). We do not know the ingredients that balm was prepared from; the fact is that it had curative properties.

Another cure referred to in the Old Testament is oil. Anointment with oil had been practiced since time immemorial. This treatment was used for patients thanks to its healing properties, especially in case of physical injuries: “From the
sole of the foot Even to the head, There is no soundness in it, but bruises and sores and bleeding wounds; they are not pressed out, or bound up, or softened with oil” (Isa. 1:6; 2 Chron. 28:15). Oil was also used for anointing the lepers who were cleansed of leprosy. Healing was symbolized by pouring oil on the head and lubricating the tip of the right ear, the thumb of the right hand and the big toe of the right foot. This symbolical ritual meant that the priest considered that the cured had been cleansed of leprosy. They could thus become re-integrated into society (Lev. 14:15–18).

The fig cake is presented as having curative properties. At the Lord’s command, the prophet Isaiah applied such a treatment for healing King Hezekiah. Although this remedy has healing properties, the suggestion is nonetheless that Hezekiah was healed miraculously by the power of God, following the king’s fervent prayers (Isa. 38; 2 Kings 20).

Even in the non-canonical parts, the Biblical text refers to the preparation of healing (therapeutic) ointments: “The skill of the physician lifts up his head, and in the presence of great men he is admired. The Lord created medicines from the earth, and a sensible man will not despise them. By them he heals and takes away pain; the pharmacist makes of them a compound. His works will never be finished; and from him health is upon the face of the earth” (Wisdom of Jesus Son of Sirach 38, 3–4, 7–8). All those remedies had curative properties, but according to the Old Testament, the recognized healing power belonged to God.

If we were to make a summary of all that has been written, it would become obvious that in Antiquity, the secular and the religious were particularly closely entwined. Whether the studied ancient civilizations relied on priests or healers, under whatever name those entrusted with healing were known, it is undeniable that polytheistic and, later, monotheistic faith played an important role in the curative process. In addition to this, the remedies that were administered were primarily of plant, animal or mineral origin, these diverse cultures resorting, to a greater or lesser extent, to knowledge derived from nature. This knowledge was often transmitted from father to son, but it also circulated between different countries, contributing to the increasing development of the medical, healing process, or to the preparation of ever more complex drugs, serving as avenues with multiple destinations.

The works written during those ancient, incredibly distant times bear the imprint of the flourishing civilizations that produced them, civilizations that were outstanding not only from a cultural, architectural point of view, as regards the buildings and vestiges of inestimable value inherited by mankind, but also because they made possible the appearance of genuine collections of knowledge
about healing, about the manner in which it was perceived and achieved and, last but not least, about those who practiced this occupation.

Notes

18. Ștefan Iloaie, “Preliminarii: suferința ca percepție a vieții,” in Medicii și Biserica (Cluj-Napoca, Renășterea, 2004), 79.
26. MacDonald, 135.
27. Usca and Usca, 69.

Abstract
Between Religion and Science:
Some Aspects Concerning Illness and Healing in Antiquity

Being a pharmacist or a physician is not a job, but a profession. Since the emergence of man as an evolved species in the biological chain of life, the need for healing, for finding “cures,” for “surgical interventions” has gradually become a prerequisite for survival. Thus, since ancient times, from the very first healer to the apothecary of the Old Testament and, further on in time, to the modern druggist, the notion of pharmacist—as we understand it today—has continuously developed. Moreover, irrespective of whether we speak of the first medicine men, priests, healers, or of physicians, as they are understood today, their purpose has always been that of healing the soul and the body. This study aims to provide as complex as possible an overview of what “healers” meant throughout history, as well as to highlight the secular and religious meanings associated with illness and healing over the course of more than 2,000 years of ancient history.

Keywords
healing, apothecary, physician, Jewish world, pharmacist, ancient times
Religion and Power in Ioan Petru Culianu’s View

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“\nThe power which in pseudo-specific societies the individual had to lose and regain ritually has returned today to the pure state of aggressiveness.”

Ioan Petru Culianu was born in Romania in 1950. After he finished his studies at the University of Bucharest, he immigrated to Italy where he completed his religious studies. In 1976 he moved to the Netherlands, at the University of Groningen. Supervised by Michel Meslin, he received the State Doctorate (Doctorat d’État) at the Sorbonne, France, in 1987. Finally, following his mentor Mircea Eliade, he moved to Chicago to become a professor at the Chicago Divinity School. Unfortunately Chicago was also the place where he was shot in 1991.

Culianu was a scholar of religious studies, with great interests and contributions in other fields of study such as the history of ideas, literary theory or the philosophy of culture. Culianu is known mainly as a specialist in Gnosticism and Renaissance Magic. His first scholarly approach to the study of religion was historical, but in his last books Culianu’s point of view moved

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toward a cognitive approach to religion. The latter assumes this hypothesis: if people from different places are thinking of the same thing, for example the soul, and have the same premises—which can be: the soul is separated from the body, the body is mortal and the soul immortal, and so on—, these people will come with similar (not identical) solutions for the problem of the soul. Culianu affirms that there is no need to search for origins, as they reside in the human mind, or for transmission from one culture to another, as it is from mind to mind. It is enough for one person to hear or to find out some opinions and ideas about the soul in one place, and to remember only few fragments of them (for example, from a speech one hears): he or she will meditate on that topic and come with his or her own opinion and ideas. The fewer the premises, the more limited the solutions. A simple case exemplifies this possibility with the conclusion of a math exercise. If we take two pairs of opposites, for instance: A & non A (|A), and B & non B (|B), there are only four logical combinations:

1. A\-B
2. A\-|B
3. |A\-B
4. |A\-|B

If we use the dichotomy soul/body instead of symbols and the premises are:

1. The soul preexists the body (A)
2. The soul does not preexist the body (|A)
3. The soul is created (B)
4. The soul is not created (|B)

Then the results are:

1. The soul is created and preexistent (A\-B)—this is a conception that can be found for example in Hinduism, Platonism, with some Gnostics and Origen.
2. The soul is created and does not preexist their bodies (A\-|B)—it can be found with Orthodox Christians and it started with St. Augustine.
3. The soul does not preexist the body, but they are created (|A\-B)—this doctrine is called Traducianism, and was advocated by Quintus Septimius Florens Tertullianus (or Tertullian; c. 160–c. 225). It claims that, in the same way as an individual’s body is the resultant from the bodies of the individual’s parents, the soul is derived from the souls of the parents.
4. The soul does not preexist the body, and they are not individually created (|A\-|B)—a conviction of many North American populations: they believe there is a reservoir of soul substance, and the souls go back to it after dying. The same belief is shared by Averroes (1126–1198), also known as Ibn Rushd, the master of Aristotelian and Islamic philosophy.

Subsequently, as the number of premises increase, the results chart becomes more complex. At any rate, says Culianu, complexity is not an impediment: important is the fact that any religion can be split up in different parts that follow
the same cognitive pattern. He illustrates this in a more complicated example, of
the human versus divine nature of Christ:
  • divine (1) versus human (2);
  • only divine (Docetism) (1.1) versus not only divine (1.2);
  • not only human (2.1) versus only human (Psilanthropism) (2.2);
  • more divine than human (1.2.1) versus equally divine and human (1/2) versus more human than divine (2.1.1);
  • did not have human soul (Athanasius) (1.2.1.1) versus had human soul (Origen) (1.2.1.2 or 1/2.1);
  • was tertium genus (Monophysism) (1.2.1.2.1) versus was not tertium genus (Orthodoxy) (1.2.1.2.2 or 1/2.1.1);
  • was permanently associated with the divine (Antiochene School) (2.1.1.1) versus was not permanently associated with the divine (Adoptionism) (2.1.1.2 but also 2.2.1);
  • the union between God and man took place by nature (Cyril of Alexandria) (1/2.1.1) versus the union did not take place by nature (1/2.1.2 but according to some 2.1.1.1.2).

All these significant dichotomies that make the system work could be distinguished easier in Fig. 1.

**Fig. 1. The nature of Christ—divine versus human**

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Only divine (Docetism)</th>
<th>Was tertium genus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Divine</td>
<td>Did not have human soul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>More divine than human</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Not only divine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Not only human</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Union took place by nature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Union did not take place by nature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Permanently associated with divine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Transitorily associated with divine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Only human (Psilanthropism)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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</table>

Culianu affirms (Eliade and Culianu 1993, 17–18) that the same method, as demonstrated in the case of Gnosticism (Culianu 1992), or in the case of out-of-body experiences or ecstasies (Culianu 1991), applies to any religion: although some are more complex than others, and consequently harder to identify, all religions are built on this sort of mental constructs. Some of these are ‘winners’ and one way or another they become paradigms and laws for which people are willing to die and kill. This is quite an unfortunate situation; what is more, during our history, it really happened but it should not have, as Culianu proves in one of his last books (Culianu 1992). This time Culianu bluntly affirms that “the main theological debates that led to the establishment of Christian doctrine were mind games people played with one another for centuries, mind games not different from chess (only perhaps less complex), which should not have had any consequences for the parties involved and could not be properly won by anyone, for, unlike chess, they did not include a rule for checkmate. Yet they nevertheless accomplished the moral and physical destruction of many and were won by an exercise of power” (Culianu 1992, 267).

As Aurel Codoban affirms in his study, there are major differences between Culianu and Mircea Eliade, both in their themes of research and in their methodological approach to religion. For Eliade, who is well-known as a generalist and phenomenologist of religion, the most important category is the Sacred, and its manifestation into the world, named hierophany. For Culianu, more important was the kratophany, which is the manifestation of power. “If we concentrate the difference between Eliade and Ioan Petru Culianu in a short formula, we can say it is about a different perception of the sacred: as form or as force, ‘power,’ namely about the difference between hierophany and kratophany in the manifestation of the sacred” (Codoban 2002, 93–94). Actually this is valid not only regarding the sacred. Culianu had really been preoccupied by power and its manifestation since his youth, as his oeuvre proves.

In his first publications, which were several prose pieces he wrote when he was a student, he concentrated more on the political power. Culianu was born and spent his youth in some of the most awful years of the communist regime. In his stories written as a Romanian student he dared to say more than the regime permitted. His first volume of prose, which was supposed to be published in 1971, was printed only in 2002 with a lot of effort put into recovering his stories. One of them, “Să nu pierzi acest act” (Do not lose this document) is illustrative for the senseless and dreadful dictatorial system that was Romanian communism. The document in question is so important that people cannot live without it: they will be sent to prison and left to die there if they are caught without the document. The narrator gets his paper but the minute he leaves the
clerk’s office he loses it (somebody robs him). So he forces his way back and asks for a new document. The official explains to him how the system works. The document is stolen from everybody. Some take the risk and live all their life in fear of being discovered. Others come back and stay in front of his door for years, waiting in vain for another one. But what the narrator did had never happened before, even though that is the way everybody should act, “if they were not so frightened” (Culianu 2002, 95). The truth is that nobody has the document. The structure is founded on nothing except fear. The whole system is an immense machinery working in the void, founded on anxiety and suspicion, “a huge apparatus controlling the world” (ibid., 98).

In 1981, Culianu turned his attention from authority (which is the power of institutions) to power in general, power per se. In a less known essay published in Italian at the age of thirty-one (Culianu 1996), Ioan Petru Culianu expounds what power is and how it has manifested itself in individuals and societies throughout human history. The main question now is whether Culianu’s essay is out of date or not, since it is an essay published at a time when Europe (and some other regions of the world) was divided in two: the communist bloc and the “free world” (i.e. Western Europe)? In fact, it remains quite topical nowadays.

Culianu defines power as “a modification of the internal state suffered by an individual or a collectivity, through an investment variable in its nature” (Culianu 1996, 164). Culianu classifies power in two ways: “power in a subjective way, which is experienced by a subject” and power in an “objective or cultural way, because the cultural norms invest from outside the whole realization of the abilities of an individual” (ibid.). The subjective power is in a permanent conflict with the objective power. Except for the “specialists in power” (or, in Eliade’s terms, in the sacred: Shamans, Masters of Yoga or Zen, Christian Ascetics, or Islam’s Sufis are only a few examples of this sort of specialists in the sacred who transcend the norms), individuals obey the norms. There are rituals that allowed individuals to periodically escape from the norms in a controlled process of abolition of rules. In traditional societies (in Culianu’s terms: pseudo-specific societies: tribes, clans, and so on) the proper function of the rituals that helped people relieve themselves from the strain of the power of norms was assumed by religion. It had the role to create and maintain the proper frame for different rituals to compensate between normal boundaries all the assimilated repressions; that is why they are called rituals of compensation.

If an individual or even a society has in rituals an instrument of compensation, for culture there is only one instrument to counteract the norms: nihilism. Culianu also included Gnosticism in this category, in a study published for the first time in Romanian: “The gnosis is nothing else but a species belonging to
the nihilist genre” (Culianu 2003, 144). Contrary to what is usually said, utopia, far from opposing nihilism, is actually its continuator. Culianu underlined that, in extremis, when the utopian antinomian attitude against capitalism was applied in history, it led to three negative political consequences: communism, Nazism, and terrorism (Culianu 1996, 215–216). There is no profound difference between the three.

In time, the role of religion as a creator and maintainer of rituals of compensation was gradually assumed by the state, as it happened in what is called ‘secularity.’ But the state proved to be incapable to provide the proper environment, so the next result was a real issue because “the power which in pseudo-specific societies the individual had to lose and regain ritually has returned today to the pure state of aggressiveness” (Culianu 1996, 219). In conclusion, when the state tried to replace religion, the results could and did degenerate into “pure aggressiveness.” But the corollary is also accurate, and the present days prove it: when religion tried to replace the role of the state, in some cases the result could lead to something as destructive as a new kind of terrorism.

Culianu resumes his thoughts on religion and state in his subsequent books, this time with a better circulation among specialists. One of them is Eros and Magic in the Renaissance. Here Culianu makes an ingenious distinction between different kinds of states: one is called Magician-State and the other Police-State. When they deteriorate—the first because of too much subtleness and suppleness, and the second because of the complete absence of subtleness and suppleness—they become Wizard-State and Prison-State (Culianu 1994, 146–147). One can easily recognize the two political structures: on the one hand capitalism and on the other hand communism and other totalitarian systems. Of course, adds Culianu, although far from being perfect, the Magician-State is preferable to any other state, and the future seems to belong to it. In the wake of the Eastern European revolutions and the fall of the communist bloc, it seems that Culianu was right. But is he also right after all that happened between the events occurred in the USA on 9/11 and in France on 1/11?

The answer to the main question this article asked—‘What is religion?’—can be inferred from Culianu’s last books and articles: religion is a process started by the human mind and transmitted throughout time (i.e. our history) from one mind to another in a complex way, following a particular set of rules, perfectly logical, and no more than that. If Culianu was once again right and this definition is also true, then killing in the name of religion is nothing else but a derisory excuse for an actual act of killing in the name of subjective power.
Note


References


Abstract

Religion and Power in Ioan Petru Culianu’s View

Ioan Petru Culianu is known mainly as a specialist in Gnosticism and Renaissance Magic. His first scholarly approach to the study of religion was historical, but in his last books Culianu’s point of view moved towards a cognitive approach to religion. This article analyses Culianu’s main viewpoints on religion, state and power. It examines some writings of Culianu which have not yet been translated into English, for example some prose pieces from his Romanian period, an essay published in Italian, and a text written in French but published for the first time in Romanian in 2003. In the end it will infer from Culianu’s last books a definition of religion, a definition that contradicts any act of terrorism made in the name of religion.

Keywords

Ioan Petru Culianu, Mircea Eliade, religion, state, power, terrorism
“The success of an organization based on the national Christian program is absolutely safe.”

When 19 Romanian intellectuals met in Cluj, on 23 June 1923, to lay the foundations of a new organization, the “Romanian Action,” they had already undergone a process of ideological clarification and had thoroughly assessed the political and social timeliness of their undertaking. Several previous meetings and, above all, the public success of the conferences they had delivered in Transylvanian towns convinced them that they were treading the right course.¹

What was needed was an organization with a well-devised program, which should be positioned outside the existing political parties in order to capture and harness the energies unleashed in society over the past few months, during the large student demonstrations.² Such student protests had gradually been organized in all the university centers in the country, but the outbreak of these manifestations had taken place in November 1922, right there, in Cluj, in the dissection halls of the Faculty of Medicine. This and the subsequent events, which kept the students away from the lecture theaters throughout the academic year 1922–1923,³ led some of their profes-

Maria Ghitta

A Priest in the “Romanian Action”
Dr. Titus Mălaiu
sors, their leaders and other public figures in the city to join the ranks of the newly founded structure. The local and regional significance of these events (for the entire Transylvania) could not pass unnoticed. A new type of nationalism was born here, with different accents and overtones from that practiced in the decades leading to the year 1918, when Transylvania’s union with Romania was accomplished. The new institution received the name “Romanian Action,” the implications of this choice being self-evident. It was time Romanians mobilized themselves and defended their own interests, for a change, taking the example of the Allies and, particularly, of the French, their ancient brethren, with whom they were united by virtue of their shared Latinity and civilization and who had founded the Action Française more than two decades before. The influence of the French spirit on Romanian culture took a different shape now. Although the original was not explicitly invoked at any moment, its impact was quite obvious, in terms of both the name of the political movement and the program it adopted. At least some of the founding members were familiar with the European movement of political ideas, from which they extracted those that best fit their own intentions. These ideas had already imposed themselves on the market, representing the most cogently articulated form of such intentions. In 1923, the other political programs outlined by the same ideological family were still very recent, unverified and too little known about.

The Romanian academics and lawyers looked up, in fact, to another group of intellectuals. They did not simply copy a name and a program, but adopted and adapted them. The famous watchword (desideratum) of integral nationalism, which appeared in the French version, became, in their interpretation, “a great and vast program of intransigent nationalism,” leveled against external enemies but, most of all, against internal foes. Whereas for one of the founders of the Action Française (Henri Vaugeois), the three powers that had morally ruined the French Republic were “the Freemason spirit, the Protestant spirit and the Jewish spirit”—to which Maurras was to add the “metics” (métèques) in the formula of “the four confederate estates” that destroyed the essence of Frenchness on a daily basis—, for the “Romanian Action” the identification of the enemy was to prove more vague in one sense and more accurate in another.

The programmatic declaration published in the first issue of the journal with the same name makes reference to “petty-hearted Romanian elements” which, to satisfy their vanity and greed, do not hesitate to associate “at times with enemies within and without,” jeopardizing thus the higher interests of the state. Next, reference is made to “elements foreign to our race” which, “by virtue of an external, rather than a profound, spiritual assimilation, claim to have become Romanian.” Without them being named as such, this description targeted the Jews, who had acquired citizenship in the Romanian state only in the context of the peace regulations from the aftermath of World War I, which had just been
ratified by the Constitution adopted in March 1923. An even more trenchant and explicit formulation is found in the next paragraph: “We will fight to weaken the economic, cultural and political power of the foreign element, especially of the Jewish element, bringing it down to a just proportion.” The Oath that the members of the group took becomes even more expressive (through the juxtaposition of a pejorative term and the promise of compliance with the law): “We will fight against the enemies of the Romanian Nation within and without, especially against the Yids, with every means and in every possible legal way.”

This post-emancipation anti-Semitism (the emancipation of the Jews), which had begun to manifest itself several decades before in France, became the common denominator of the two “Actions.” The movement in Transylvania gradually added more local nuances to that common denominator. It was inevitable that the two movements would share certain tenets: neither “intransigent nationalism,” nor “integral nationalism” would have been conceivable without anti-Semitism.

While the emergence of the French original was indelibly entwined with the outbreak of the “Dreyfus affair,” the beginnings of the corresponding phenomenon in Cluj must be related to the undertow of the student movements that took place during that academic year. The very provision inserted in the program with regard to the struggle for reducing the share of the foreign element, “especially of the Jewish element, [and] bringing it down to a just proportion” was, in fact, merely an extension, at the “economic, cultural and political” level, of the by now famous numerus clausus: the student protesters had ardently clamored that it should be applied in the distribution of places in higher education.

There were also pillars of the Maurrasian doctrine that were not taken over in the programmatic declaration of the new organization, such as the necessity of restoring the monarchy or of the Catholic Church and Catholic values to their rightful place in society. The reasons were obvious: Romania was, at that time, a monarchy, but it was also a country with a majority Orthodox population. However, we cannot omit the fact that in all the political formulas that the “Romanian Action” was to give rise to, loyalty to the monarchy would always be invoked as a major objective. As regards the possible valorization of the Catholic influence, things were slightly different here compared to the rest of the country: in Transylvania there was an important Romanian Greek-Catholic community, with an already well-consolidated elite.

Among the first aims that the “Romanian Action” set out to accomplish in its political activity in the public sphere, there was one which, paradoxically, would eventually lead to its dissolution. This was not seen as a calamity; on the contrary, it was regarded as the fulfillment of a higher need: the unification of the “nationalist current,” for “the common good of the Homeland and the Nation.” Advanced negotiations, in this sense, with the “National Defense League
under the leadership of Mr. A. C. Cuza” had already been announced (for the autumn of 1924).¹³

Before setting off towards the political party that had been launched in Iași,¹⁴ in March 1924 (three months before the one in Cluj), and that was led by the notorious anti-Semitic professor and before becoming “one body and one soul” with it, the “Romanian Action” was to pick up a local flower on the way. This was the Social-Christian Group, based in Gherla, whose members were to join the ranks of the organization from Cluj in February 1925. This entailed organizational and doctrinal consequences. The announcement of the merger was made by the so-called defenders of intransigent nationalism and integral Christianity, and the changes were published in the following order: 1. The official name of the organization became the “Romanian Action, a National-Christian organization”; 2. Article 1, paragraph I of the statutes was amended as follows: “A national and Christian movement shall be launched outside the framework of the political parties, a movement of Romanians everywhere—in the ethnic sense of the word—regardless of sex, confession, religion and social class”; 3. Two members were co-opted in the provisional Central Committee, “Dr. Titus Mălaiu, academy professor from Gherla and Dr. Alexandru Ciplea, academy professor from Gherla.”¹⁵

The organization had received a second fundamental doctrinal foundation. Besides intransigent nationalism, integral Christianity fully defined its essence now. The aforecited article from the Statutes also contained at least two significant details: first, Romanians should be understood in the ethnic sense (not in that of nationality!, for those who had just acquired it might have demanded recognition as such); second, those Romanians should not be differentiated by confessional or religious criteria. Unlike some representatives of extreme right-wing ideologies, who recognized only Orthodoxy as capable of delivering true Romanians (see Nichifor Crainic, for instance), the Transylvanian National-Christian organization imposed no such restrictions. On the contrary, it had just included among its leaders two “academy professors from Gherla,” that is, two professors from the Greek-Catholic Theological Academy.¹⁶ This detail had actually been omitted from the official statement. It was, in fact, a strategy of preventing the Orthodox from becoming hostile to the movement and of averting the loss of the Greek Catholics’ support. These were, after all, the two large audiences the movement counted on in its quest for adherents and, ultimately, for votes. The title of the editorial published in the journal issue announcing the arrival of the new group indicated the two terms in opposition (the “Yids” v. the Church), reinforcing this idea in the text itself: “Whatever the confession, the church is an element of order and moral authority that is essential to sound advancement.”¹⁷ In other words, the organization received reinforcements in the fight against the true enemies (the minorities, the “Yids”) and this support came
from men of the church, that is, the institution (or the institutions) that had
defended the values of the nation and of Christianity every so often in history.

Of the two theologians co-opted in the leadership, Titus Mãlaiu was the one
who assumed the role of compiling a doctrine for the new direction and was
an active presence in the political organization. He detected the absence of a
Christian component in the main political trends of the time (“in the concep-
tions of the Romanian political programs today, the Christian ideal is altoget-
ther absent”). This component was also lacking in the program of the Romanian
National Party, the main political force in Transylvania. It was precisely the
element that, in his opinion, would guarantee the party’s success: “The
success of an organization based on the national Christian program is absolutely safe”18
(emphasis his).

From the very first moments of his commitment to this cause, in writing
or in deed, the young theologian became one of constant contributors
to the mouthpiece of the party and participated in its various political
activities. Still, who was Titus Mãlaiu? Born in 1893, in Năsăud County (at
Leșu), in the family of a notary (with many ties to the priestly milieus), he at-
tended the gymnasium in Năsăud in the years 1904–1912. During this period,
he was orphaned of both parents (when he was only 11 years old) and, under
the influence of his religion teacher, who was none other than Alexandru Ciplea,
he decided to become a priest. He studied theology in Oradea and Budapest
(1912–1916) and obtained his doctorate in theology in Vienna in 1919.

For Titus Mãlaiu, that year, poised on the cusp between worlds, bore witness
to several happy events in his life: his marriage and ordination as a priest, as
well as his appointment to the Department of Philosophy and Sociology at the
Theological Academy in Gherla. Here he contributed to launching the official
publication of the diocese, Curierul creștin, and it was from here that he was
transferred to the Ministry of Religious Confessions and Arts in Bucharest in
1922–1923, as deputy director. The summer of 1924 dealt him a harsh blow, as
his wife passed away. At the age of only 31 years, the priest became a widower
with two small children.19 This was the point in Titus Mãlaiu’s life that coincided
with his entry into politics and these were the professional qualifications he had
to offer: he was a young and promising professor and theologian, with some
experience in popularizing journalism, and had worked for the central admin-
istration for a brief period, at the Ministry of Religious Confessions and Arts.

His priestly, theological training transpires from the first articles he signed
as a contributor to the official mouthpiece of his political party. In what we
might call an “Easter Sermon,” Mãlaiu combated those who would question
the triumph of Christ (without naming the “perfidious Jews” or making aggres-
sive or defamatory comments about them)20 and, in an attempt to legitimize
his recent political options, he immediately made a statement that might be surprising (at first glance): “All true Romanians follow a single banner, the banner of Christianity. Surely, through Christ our Lord—the man who is truly risen from the dead—we hope to accomplish the resurrection of our nation, which is carrying the torch of Western civilization at the gates of the Orient” (emphasis ours). For this nationalist, the salvation of the nation was not grounded in autochthonism and the rejection of Western influences, but precisely in the cultivation of these influences. It was an idea that the school of thought of the Greek-Catholic Church, well known as the Transylvanian School, was not unfamiliar with. Quite the contrary.

This westward gaze was not uncharacteristic of Titus Mălăiu. It was an inherent reflex, rather. Something was good, valuable, acceptable if it was confirmed, verified, produced in the West. The same perspective defined the National-Christian political trend he had adhered to: “One remains deeply impressed by this phenomenon, which is encountered not only here, but in so many enlightened countries. There is a worldwide trend, and we Romanians are part of its electric circuit.” Here is a reason for pride: we are on a par with the civilized, “enlightened” world, and this is an occasion for us to gain confidence and power “when we see that others are also driven by the holy National Christian ideal.” France, Belgium, Germany, Czechoslovakia, Austria and Yugoslavia are listed as examples and confirmations of the Romanian nation’s correct choice. This overview of the situation in other countries has yet another reason: it outlines a feature that may become extremely useful for the Transylvanian organization. Because “in all these similar battles waged on the political front in different countries, we can identify a common note. Namely, nowhere is National-Christian politics made. Aconfessionalism is a genuine characteristic of politics.” The conclusion goes without saying: “That is why it would be utterly wrong to give the ‘National-Christian Action’ the name of ‘National Orthodox, or Uniate, or Catholic Action.’” This message must be understood by the Orthodox and the Uniate clergy and they must clarify their “attitude towards the new organization.” If for no other reason, then because “it would be tragic and reprehensible if a political action that is Christian through and through met the opposition of the Christian clergy.” As he was a priest himself, Mălăiu was very well aware of the influential impact “this social body” can exert on believers, who periodically turn into voters. That is why Mălăiu could not miss the opportunity to send a double message: to the priests, in order to draw them into the new organization; and to his organization, which was urged to take into consideration the persuasive potential of the priesthood.

Titus Mălăiu did not use only references to imaginary journeys (literary, ideological and political) to the West. Some of these journeys were all too real and concrete, helping the publicist to convey and communicate various experiences:
“The Romanian pilgrimage to Rome was a happy occasion, enabling us, the 150 Romanian pilgrims, to see that in fascist Italy a hand of steel keeps the national consciousness awake, in full dignity,” or that “fascism is policing the observance of Christian mores, as in Italy today swearing and a woman’s exposed cleavage are prohibited under severe penalties.” The dismantling, “with military rigor” of masonic societies and other organizations, the legal prohibition of divorce and other such “achievements” of the regime led the traveler to conclude, full of admiration and gratitude: “What a sublime exhortation for us, Romanians of noble Latin origin, that we should also fight with dignity to defend ‘Romanianism,’ taken in a genuine sense, just like Italian fascism defends the life of its country, pithily expressed through the word italianità. During the Romanian pilgrims’ journey through Venice, Florence, Rome, up to Naples and Valle di pompei, the fascists of Mussolini were their intimate and inseparable friends.”

Titus Mălaiu placed his skills as a priest and theologian, but also as a sociology and social psychology professor in the service of his organization. More precisely, he combined them, finding not only good justifications for the decisions of the organization, but also suggesting future courses of action and objectives to be fulfilled: “We shall mold the national and Christian public opinion in the country, in our homeland.” How? “With the entire apparatus of the legitimate means of modern propaganda.” This reference to modernity may seem surprising, but it is reiterated in the article published by Titus Mălaiu. He was clearly influenced by Gustave Le Bon, the specialist in the psychology of the masses, who had noticed a mutation that was underway in the new times, when public opinion had come to represent a genuine force in society. Shaping (using) this public opinion in the desired direction was vital. It was a goal for which many more means than, “for instance, a journal” had to be set into motion. The teachings of the Apostle Paul, used to propagate, this time, not Christianity but the National-Christian doctrine, “relentlessly, under all circumstances, both with good cause and without cause,” were worth taking into account. They deserved consideration as a peaceful (non-violent and, ultimately, Christian!) alternative to more radical methods of imposing a concept, as had happened elsewhere. “In Mussolini’s country evil was so great that terrorist actions had to be taken in order to nip it in the bud. We believe that terror is not required here and that our conscious struggle, within the frame of the law, will suffice. The National-Christian trend in Romania must be a movement that upholds order.”

At the time when Mălaiu wrote such articles, the process of unification was following its course in the nationalist movement, even though not all the opinions inside the movement converged and not all encounters with the partners from the Christian National Defense League (cndl) took place in the best conditions. “Ion Zelëa Codreanu is visiting Cluj, coming to the ‘Romanian Action,’ as Secretary General of cndl and as A. C. Cuza’s envoy. He is making a terrible
impression with his frivolous and infantile antics. The youth are pushing for a deal with A. C. Cuza and for a merger between the two movements. The existence of certain differences of opinion was proved by the successive rounds of meetings between the two sides and by the dissimilarities of program and representation that an analysis of the published documents may reveal.

On the days of 12 and 13 April 1925, “representatives with full powers of the Nationalist Christian Democratic Party, based in Iaşi, united with the Christian National Defense League, based in Bucharest, and the ‘Romanian Action,’ based in Cluj, which also comprises the former Socialist-Christian Party, based in Gherla, met under the chairmanship of Prof. A. C. Cuza, at his residence.” Acknowledging that they were “governed by the same doctrine, they decided: 1. Our aforementioned organizations shall come together in a political party called the National-Christian Action (nca), with the headquarters in Bucharest, under the presidency of Prof. A. C. Cuza; 2. The leadership of the National-Christian Action shall be entrusted to a committee consisting of eight members, headed by the president. Four of the members of this committee shall be appointed by the National Christian Defense League and four by the ‘Romanian Action’.”

Titus Mălaiau was one of the signatories of this act of union and he became secretary general of the new party, as well as a member of the executive committee. In this party, the older (by now) “Romanian Action” maintained a prominent place, made visible by the inclusion of part of its name in the new designation and in the parity representation in the new committee. The particle “Christian” had been useful, of course, to the program of the “Romanian Action.” Now, at the time of this unification, the coincidence of doctrines between the signatories was evident.

The political program that was made public on this occasion introduced significant clarifications in two of its chapters. When Minority Matters were brought into discussion (Chapter IX), a distinction was made between the “native minorities and the Yids.” A series of measures were stipulated for the latter, with a view to “solving the Jewish matter, even to the point of completely ousting the Yid element from the country.” This surpassed the objectives previously assumed in this regard by the “Romanian Action.” As for the Church Matters (Chapter VI), the prospects the program envisaged were more than encouraging for the church to which Titus Mălaiau belonged: “In the history of our nation, the two national churches have stood in for the National State. They have the same merit in ensuring our ethnic and cultural preservation. The nation must be thankful to the national churches and elevate them to their due authority and importance in public life.” Without being named as such (Orthodox or Greek Catholic), the two churches were placed, without discrimination, on a par.

The above quotation (referring to the two national churches) was reiterated, word for word, in the “Program of the Christian National Defense League,”
published in the autumn of the same year. In other respects, however, things stood differently. From spring to autumn, the balance of forces between the two movements had changed. A. C. Cuza was no longer so willing to be generous and emphasized his supremacy (as a star of nationalist politics, with a well-known reputation) and the hegemonic position of his party in the Act of Union signed in Bucharest, on 18 September 1925. In that document it was stated that the representatives of the Christian National Defense League, of the National-Christian Action and of the Romanian National Fascia had “decided the following: 1. Our organizations, mentioned above, shall merge into the political, economic and cultural organization entitled the Christian National Defense League, with the headquarters in Bucharest, under the chairmanship of Professor A. C. Cuza, based on the doctrine, the program, the statute and the regulations of the Christian National Defense League. By virtue of this act, the organizations the Christian National Action and the National Romanian Fascia shall cease to exist.”

This was the act that announced the death, at least from a formal perspective, of the “Romanian Action.” Some of its members were among the signatories of the document, attesting the fact that they had acquiesced to this important step: Dr. Valeriu Pop, I. C. Cătuneanu, Dr. Valeriu Roman and Dr. Titus Mălaiu. Some members left the movement, disgruntled by the turn things took after that moment. Mălaiu maintained his position as a member of the Central Executive Committee.

The changes also became evident on the frontispiece of the gazette announcing them. After months in which Înfrângerea românească (The Romanian Brotherhood) had been published with the subtitle “A journal of science and social matters” (so as to temper down the harsh response of the authorities, which had banned its publication in the past, on account that it supported a movement that infringed the constitutional order), it now became a “publication of the Christian National Defense League.” The front page featured a “Proclamation to the country,” signed by A. C. Cuza. The layout, the emphases, the content of the document and the tone of writing—all of these indicated the new direction, the new desiderata. This was an all-encompassing (at least at the level of intentions) and, in places, delirious anti-Semitic manifesto, reminding us why one of the researchers of right-wing politics in Europe described Cuza as a Romanian “sub-Drumont” (by comparison with the French original, Édouard Drumont), who practiced a “fanatic, repetitive and sterile” anti-Semitism.
hood. . . . Romania belongs to the Romanians! . . . Romania can only belong to the Romanians by eliminating the Yids,” etc.  

With messages like these, through which the new (old) organization wished to position itself above the existing political parties, as the voice of a national need, the Christian National Defense League undertook extensive propaganda actions in several Transylvanian counties in the autumn of 1925. There were forthcoming elections (local elections were held in February 1926, while general elections took place that same year). Hence, the League had to form and consolidate its presence in the territory. In November A. C. Cuza visited in person several localities in Transylvania, much like the founder of a country, who had come to take the new territories into possession. The appellatives with which he was greeted placed him either among the great historical figures, or among the apostles. Odes were dedicated to him and various regional leadership members of the CNDL filed in a procession to welcome him. In the villages or the towns through which they passed, the leaders of the communities came to meet them. Among them, priests were virtually a constant presence, whether they were Orthodox or Greek Catholic, coming to greet them separately or together. In some cases, these priests welcomed the guests on behalf of the local people and, above all, they carried out an action that marked the climactic moment of the meeting, namely, they performed the ceremony of consecrating the flags. The messages that the CNDL had brought these villagers and townspeople were not only verbally expressed (the most powerful and concise of these messages was echoed in the slogan “Christ, King and Nation!”); they were also encapsulated in a palpable object that was invested with symbolic meaning: the swastika flag bearing their organization’s name. In many cases, these priests kept hold of this treasured object, as proof that they were presidents of their organizations; at other times, they were just leadership members.

A memorable episode took place on Saturday, 21 November 1926, in Cluj, at the sports arena of the city, in front of “about 5,000 people” and in the presence of A. C. Cuza. The by-now customary flag consecration service was celebrated by “Rev. Spătaru (Gk. Orth.) and Rev. Moldovan (Gk. Cath.).” This was extremely unusual in the relations between the two confessions and did not pass unnoticed. “We note with great satisfaction that the representatives of the two national churches have performed service together for the first time in a religious ceremony, namely, in that of the League.”

Titus Malaiu had correctly sensed the human capital value that priests could bring into such a nationalist-Christian organization and their capacity to overcome the differences between Orthodoxy and Catholicism, in the name of the national cause. He became aware of this at the scene of the place as he was always a participant in the great tours of the CNDL in Transylva-
nia. He gave countless speeches at these meetings, as a talented orator who had acquired experience with the sermons he had delivered. His merits were not overlooked and in the elections of May 1926 he was at the top of his party’s list in Bihor and Sălaj counties, without, however, becoming a parliamentarian.

While he participated in a large deployment of forces in the territory, Mălaiu also found the time for new contributions to the journal. His topics were adapted to the watchwords of the day, but he approached them with the instruments of an erudite scholar. In mid–1926, there was a sort of hiatus in Rev. Mălăiu’s activity within the nationalist movement. We do not know (yet) if such an apparent withdrawal had anything to do with the events that occurred in France and at the Vatican in the autumn–winter of 1926.

Several tense episodes and disputes between the representatives of the Action Française and those of the Catholic Church pushed things to the brink of a fracture. On 20 December 1926, Pius XI’s papal address expressed a disavowal of the movement: “Catholics are not allowed to actively adhere to those ideologies that place party interests above religion, making it serve their own interests.”

Could this prohibition have reached Rev. Mălăiu and his colleagues? Insofar as Titus Mălăiu was concerned, such a withdrawal from an organization that fit the Pope’s description could only be formal and ... very provisional. The commitment he had made to the cause of Christian nationalism in the early 1920s was to prove long lasting, finding ever newer ways of manifestation.

(Translated by Carmen-Veronica Borbély)

Notes

1. See “Cuvântul Acţiunii Româneşti către cetitor,” Acţiunea românească (Bucharest) 1, 1 (1 November 1924): 1.

2. This is how one of the founders evoked the moment and its significance: “The initiative of a group of intellectuals from Cluj, aiming to channel the students’ movements towards a constructive activity; Ciortea, Professor Iuliu Haţeganu, I. I. Cătuneanu, Iuliu Moldovan, Coriolan Tătaru, Valer Roman, Valeriu Pop, etc. After numerous meetings, they set up an organization that was independent of the parties, called the ‘Romanian Action,’ with a well-defined statement of purpose. The first public meeting was held in in Cluj December 1923, in the Memorandum Hall, which was packed full.” Valeriu Pop, Amintiri politice (Bucharest: Vestala, 1999), 189.


4. As is known, Ernst Nolte regards the Action Française as one of the great classics of European fascism (with certain nuances and reconsiderations), emphasizing the
“high intellectual and political standing” of the organization’s leadership and “the enormous capacity of attraction and influence it exerted especially in France, but also in Italy,” particularly after 1908, the year when its own newspaper was founded. See Ernst Nolte, *Fascismul in epoca sa: Action française, Fascismul italian, național-socialismul*, trans. (Bucharest: Vivaldi, 2009), 201, 204.


7. On 1 November, a bimonthly journal bearing the same name and having the same program as the organization began publication—again, like in the French case in the beginning. The successive bans imposed by the authorities on its publication led to several changes in the title of the journal, but not in its content or affiliation. See also Maria Ghitta, “*Acțiunea Românească* (1923–1925): The Circumstances of Its Establishment,” *Transylvanian Review* 17, 2 (2008): 93–103.


11. Prévolat, 10.

12. Article 2 of the first Chapter of the Christian National Action stipulated the “Protection of the constitutional monarchy, headed by the glorious dynasty founded by King Carol I.” See *Înființarea românească* (Cluj) 1, 1 (1 May 1925): 1. Article 1 of Chapter 1 of the Program adopted by the Christian National Defense League continued the sentence above as follows: “out of the belief that royalty is not a fleeting form of government, but the best form of State organization and the only one that is congenial to the spirit and the tradition of the Romanian people.” See *Înființarea românească* 1, 11 (1 October 1925): 5.


14. One of the participants described the events that took place in Professor Cuza’s home on 4 March 1924: “The problem concerning the name of the organization that was to come into being was raised there. Captain Lefter suggested: the National Defense Party, like in France. It sounded good to me. Professor Cuza added—not a party, but a league, the Christian National Defense League. That was it.” Corneliu Zelea-Codreanu, *Pentru legionari* (Sibiu: Ed. Totul pentru Țară, 1936), 118–119. What should be noted, once again, is how appealing the French models were for the elites in Romania. The episode is also recorded in Horia Bozdoghină, *Antisemitismul lui A. C. Cuza în politica romanescă* (Bucharest: Curtea Veche, 2012), 81.


16. The Theological Academy operated at Gherla, where the see of the Greek-Catholic Diocese was located at that time. In 1930, the diocesan residence was moved to Cluj. Silvestru Aug. Prunduș and Clemente Plăianu, eds., *Cardinalul Iuliu Hossu*, (Cluj-Napoca: Unitas, 1995), 70–86.


23. Ibid., 8–9.

24. Ibid., 8.


29. Ibid., 3.


32. This is how Valeriu Pop presented the events: “The founding of the National-Christian Action, the dissolution of both Romanian Action movements and of the CNDL. The recognition of Cuza as a leader. Cuza did not respect the agreement and did not dissolve the CNDL. The disgruntlement of some Romanian Action members and their withdrawal from the movement...” Pop, *Amintiri politice*, 189.

33. *Înființarea Românească* 1, 11: 10.


37. Iustin Ilieșiu, “Bine Ați Venit,” *Înființarea Românească* 2, 3 (1 December 1925). A note from the editorial staff states that “this poem was read by the poet... on 7 November 1925, when Prof. A. C. Cuza walked on Transylvanian soil for the first time.”

38. Wherever a priest happened to be absent, the fact was registered as an exception and as a betrayal. This was the case in Bistrița, for instance: “This is the only place in our triumphant tour where we had the opportunity to notice the pro-Jewish attitude of
Mr. Petrinjel, archpriest, Dr. Pahone, attorney, and Mr. Bejan, bank director, a subject we shall return to. “Intrarea triumfală a dlui A. C. Cuza,” Înființarea Românească 2, 2: 11.

39. In Ilva Mică: “We stopped by the school, where the welcome speech was delivered by Rev. Bal. Prof. A. C. Cuza replied.” At Rebreșoara: “Rev Archpriest Anton Precup received us and wished us a warm welcome.” Ibid., 10.

40. At Bârgău: “On 7 November this year, at 9 am, the first tricolor flag adorned with the ‘swastika’ of the Christian National Defense League in Transylvania was consecrated in the Romanian Orthodox church, against the chimes of the tolling bells. The divine service was officiated by Revs. Archpriests Dan Eliseu and Suceava, the latter delivering a speech on this occasion...” Ibid., 9.

41. “After this, the flag of the League in Năsăud County was consecrated, in front of the Greek-Catholic church, the flag being then entrusted to Rev. Greabu, president of the local organization...” Ibid., 11. At Maier “Mr. Cuza bestowed the presidency of the CNDL local committee on Rev. Iuliu Ciorba.” At Feldru “the local committee was set up, the leader being the parish priest, Rev. E. Ștefânuț”. At Ilva Mică: “Rev. Bal was elected delegated-president of the CNDL Committee.” Ibid., 10.


43. See also “Marele turneu de propagandă a LANC din Cluj și în județul Someș,” Înființarea Românească 2, 2: 14–15.

44. See “Candidații noștri,” Înființarea Românească 2, 14 (15 May 1926). In those elections, the CNDL obtained approximately 5% of the votes in the national elections, with 10 MPs.

45. One of his articles is entitled “Cursa ce ne-o întinde pansemitismul” (published in Înființarea Românească, 15 November), while the other is “Jidanul rătăcitor” (Înființarea Românească, 15 March 1926).

46. Apud Nolte, 221.

Abstract
A Priest in the “Romanian Action”: Dr. Titus Mălaiu

19 Romanian intellectuals met in Cluj, on 23 June 1923, to lay the foundations of a new organization, the “Romanian Action,” an organization with a well-devised program, which should be positioned outside the existing political parties in order to capture and harness the energies unleashed in society over the past few months, during the large student demonstrations. The famous watchword (desideratum) of integral nationalism, which appeared in the French version, became, in their interpretation, “a great and vast program of intransigent nationalism.” The organization had received a second fundamental doctrinal foundation. Besides intransigent nationalism, integral Christianity fully defined its essence now. Of the two theologians co-opted in the leadership, Titus Mălaiu was the one who assumed the role of compiling a doctrine for the new direction and was an active presence in the political organization.

Keywords
“Romanian Action,” Action Française, nationalism, antisemitism, confession, Dr. Titus Mălaiu
Aspects of Religiosity in the Social Institutions Operating in the Romanian Public Space

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Religio means: to reconsider what you are doing, to notice again through thought and reflection, to double your attention and effort.

Introduction

The new European policies have succeeded in uniting many countries under the heading of the European Union. This economic-political movement has also brought about many upheavals. One of the great upheavals of the past few years concerning the European Union, in relation to the importance of Europe’s Christian roots, was occasioned by the drafting of the European Constitution. Several thinkers, politicians, and researchers, among others, brought an amendment to the European Constitution precisely on account of the fact that the Europeans had denied the Christian origins of this continent.¹ Most of the adverse reactions to the European Constitution came from the Eastern European countries, where, unlike in the West, the states are not defined as secular and where religiosity is much higher, as their citizens either practice Christianity intensely or are self-avowed Christians, in their vast
majority. After the legacy of Antiquity, Christianization was the second decisive layer for Europe, as Jaques Le Goff stated. The formation of the European nations was ultimately predicated on a strong Christian influence.

We may ask ourselves: what has become of religion in modern society, where its role appears to be ever more isolated? This question may be approached starting from attempts to analyze what is known as the “new religious movements.” They first appeared in the US in the 1970s, where the counter-culture fostered a renewal of religious interests in a research on what might be called a “new consciousness.” “These new religious movements evinced, in any case, a great diversity, following four main directions:

• the rapid expansion of the Protestant Evangelical and Pentecostal sects and churches;
• an enthusiasm for Eastern religions, reintegrated into American culture;
• the development of movements aimed at highlighting the ‘human potential,’ in such a way as to integrate the contributions of philosophy and to adapt certain religious ‘technologies’ (meditation, asceticism, etc.), in order to free the individual from his inhibitions and restore his ability to live together with the others;
• the appearance of authoritarian sects and cults centered on the personality of a charismatic leader.”

Compared with the United States, the Christian churches in Europe underwent, starting from the early 19th century, a profound process of secularization. There was clear evidence of secularization, in the sense that membership and participation in Christian churches registered a decline. Still, religious identity continued to play an important role in national identity and consciousness, in Ireland and Poland, for example. Ernst Troeltsch argued that the oscillation between church and sect that had shaped much of the history of Europe ended with the final collapse of the universal church, while the sects continued to flourish. There is overwhelming evidence attesting the institutional decline of mainstream Christianity. Within this general pattern of decline, there are obvious differences between the predominantly Roman Catholic and the Protestant regions and states.

Based on these considerations, what really draws the attention of most thinkers “is the fact that the aspects of Christianity and the Christian values that have contributed tremendously to the development of European civilization and culture are not mentioned at all in this fundamental law of the European Union, which is the European Constitution.”
A Sociological Approach to Religion in a Modern and Secularized Europe

A sociological study on religion and the way in which it influenced the social life of the European peoples should be carried out according to the rules imposed by sociological research.

The sociological—and, more generally, the rational—analysis of religion or of the religious face a major difficulty deriving from the very nature of its object. This problem can be most easily detected in the opposition between the sacred and the profane, which seems to enjoy the adherence of all the specialists. It is an opposition that, as everyone agrees, is placed at the heart of religiosity. It appears because scholars are not only by definition on the side of the profane, but they must also reduce the sacred to the profane if they wish to address it rationally. In any case, if the sacred is perceived as profane, it ceases to belong to the religious sphere and the science of the religious misses its object.11

To penetrate deeper into the theoretical foundations of this work, we will focus on several etymological aspects of the word religion. The etymology of the word religion is interesting. This word may have come from the Latin word ligare, reli-gare, which means to bind, to unite. “Religion should then be that which binds, which connects people amongst themselves and people to the divine, to the heavens. But religion could also derive from the Latin verbs legere, meaning to collect, and relegere, which means to collect again, to recollect.”12 According to Emile Benveniste,13 religio means: to reconsider what you are doing, to notice again through thought and reflection, to double your attention and effort. “This attention granted to the etymology of the word presses the need to distinguish between the societies in which the word itself exists to designate certain beliefs and certain rites and which have isolated sacredness from a sociality called, at that time, profane, and the societies that are not accustomed to this distinction.”14

Another approach considers that religion “refers to those processes and institutions that make the world social and intelligible and that authoritatively link the individuals to the social order. Religion is, therefore, a matter of central importance for sociology. Writing in a sociological manner inevitably entails working in a specific tradition, which has identified in advance certain issues and themes that are typical for defining the social phenomenon.”15 This approach to religion as a social phenomenon is very interesting because a classical sociological tradition that has already defined the domain in advance seems to be particularly important in the case of religion.16 In a sociological approach to
religion, special attention should be paid to the first sociologists who addressed the religious from a perspective that is close to religious life, rather than merely tackling it as a social phenomenon. Emile Durkheim and Max Weber defined the main problems in the field, taking a keen interest in the analysis of the sacred and of charisma.

The sociology of religions studies the diversity of religious phenomena, as well as the many world views they have developed, and examines the relations with society as a whole. The objects and fields of study pertaining to the sociology of religion are also determined by the various conceptions of religion espoused by its researchers. It is possible to distinguish at least seven different conceptions of religion: religion as a primitive stage of social evolution (Comte); religion as a study of the evolution of the individual psyche (Freud); religion as an ideological tool in the relations of domination (Marx, Horkheimer and Adorno); religion as a means of satisfying the cultural needs of society (Thomas Luckmann); religion as an institution that regulates various spheres of behavior (Durkheim and Robert Bellah); religion as a determined historical and cultural manifestation of the supernatural dimension (Max Weber); religion as the basis of symbolic elements that are present in every culture (Edward B. Tylor, Clifford Geertz).

In addition to these, approaches to the influence of religious phenomena on social life are also found in numerous studies, such as those of A. Oberschall in the field of social movements, of A. O. Hirschmann and H. Mendras in the field of development, of J. March and H. Simon or M. Crozier in the sociology of organizations, of M. Olson in the area of collective actions, of R. Boudon and M. Cherkaoui in that of stratification and mobility, of R. Horton in the sociology of religion, of Thomas S. Kuhn in the sociology of science, all inspired by the principles of the sociology of action, which see any social phenomenon as the result of individual actions inspired by comprehensible motives, in relation to the social and historical context to which they belong.

The processes of modernization, industrialization and urbanization that have occurred in the European countries over the past few centuries have diminished the role that religion plays in social life.

Challenged by some, supported by others, the thesis of the secularization undergone by the European societies is, however, strongly supported by the findings of the numerous studies dedicated to religiosity. Unlike in Western societies, where the diminishing social role played by religion was a natural consequence of the modernization process, in the Central and Eastern European countries, which were under Soviet influence in the 20th century, religious persecution and the attempt to impose Marxist ideology mattered very much in the evolution of the religious field. After at
least five decades of atheism imposed by the communist power, religion plays a different role in the societies of Central and Eastern Europe. Thus, in the Czech Republic and in Eastern Germany, secularization is rather well entrenched, and few are those that still profess to be religious, while in Poland, religious values continue to strongly influence people’s lives.³⁰

According to sociological surveys and the censuses of recent years, Romania is one of the most religious countries in Europe, regardless of whether we define religion in terms of affiliation, religious practice or subjective religiosity.³¹ As a specifically Romanian identity marker, the Romanians’ religious behavior shows the individuals’ degree of religiosity, which varies “depending on a number of socio-demographic factors, and we are justified to expect interdependencies between specific values and the degree of religiosity. In other words, we rely on the idea that people differ among themselves in terms of their individual priority values and, as a result, these priority values are more or less compatible with religiosity and, respectively, with religious teachings.”³² For example, the Romanians who, to a vast extent (with the exception of 2%, who are declared without a religion), are dedicated from a religious perspective are likely to lay greater emphasis on the values associated with risk avoidance and are less likely to capitalize on the values associated with individualism and self-achievement, such as, for instance, the freedom of thought and action.³³

“There are also a number of studies that, in addition to the socio-demographic factors — have examined the link between values and religiosity. Based on Rokeach Value Survey, there have been highlighted, on the one hand, positive links between religiosity and the preference for moral values, security, forgiveness and, on the other hand, negative associations between religiosity and the preference for values such as pleasure, excitement, independence.”³⁴ The relationship between Schwartz’s fundamental human values and subjective religiosity has, in turn, been investigated successively in different cultural and religious contexts and the findings of these studies show that religiosity is one of the most important factors determining inter-individual differences in terms of value preferences.³⁵ Schwartz and Huismans and, later, Roccas advanced a series of hypotheses about the association between the ten fundamental values and religiosity.

From among the values of conservatism, religiosity should be most strongly associated with tradition and least strongly (but still positively) with values such as compliance and security. The values corresponding to openness to change should be associated negatively with religiosity, since such values lay emphasis on the acceptance of new, modern outlooks on the world and promote the importance of material needs. For instance, attachment to the family and the
importance attributed to the family continue to remain high in Romania (85% of the respondents declare the family as “important” or “very important”), but the percentages are not so high as in some Catholic countries, which are more conservative in axiological terms (Poland, Ireland, Italy), but also more traditionalist (Turkey), where this threshold exceeds 90%. In this symbolic confrontation with other major existential benchmarks, the family ranks first, followed by work, religion, friends, leisure (all over 70%), political life occupying an unimportant position: below 20%. Moreover, the pattern described above has been characterized by remarkable stability in time, the “waves of research in the European Values Surveys/World Values Survey (EVS/WVS) from 1993, 1999, 2005 and 2008 indicating a continuation of this referential tendency. Only religion has witnessed a significant increase in the importance it has been given, similar to the importance attributed to work (always occupying the second place in these referential hierarchies), which reflects a general trend at odds with the general European one, where the gradual withdrawal of the Church from public life through the process of secularization is accompanied by a decrease of the symbolic significance ordinary individuals associate with it.”

A study conducted by the Soros Foundation Romania shows that more than half of the Romanians pray daily. Although confidence in the Church is high, the respondents do not approve of the political advice offered by the priest to the faithful. 90% of the respondents attend church at least on the major feast days, 70% contribute with money, and 61% say that prayer is part of everyday life. This proves that religiosity has remained rather firmly rooted among the Romanians at the existential level.

In our research, we will approach the presence of the Church in the public space in Romania, more precisely, the way in which it is present through its symbols, as well as through ritual, in child protection activities. We will undertake a research at national level on the presence of the Church (religious attitude, symbols and rituals) in the GDSACP (General Directorate of Social Assistance and Child Protection), focusing on the existence of a specific place destined for religious activities at the level of the county directorates in Romania. In order to examine in detail the aspect of religiosity in the public Romanian organizational space, we have chosen to carry out scientific testing by administering a standardized questionnaire among the employees of an organizational unit in the territory, whose activity consists of social work in the GDSACPS CS.
Religiosity at the Organizational Level in the Sphere of Social Work in the Romanian Public Space

Since 1997, when GDSACPPs were established at the county level, operating in the field of child protection, the relation between the Church and this newly established institution became active and, we might say, complementary. We have no data regarding the presence of priests in orphanages or special needs schools before 1990, but after this year, the presence of the priest started to be felt and many institutionalized children, who came from the former regime, received the Sacrament of Baptism, being Christened and becoming members of the Church. After 1997, the presence of a priest in the GDSACP institution entailed more than the fulfillment of the christening ritual. The Romanian legislation on the conduct of social care activities in the Romanian public space also takes into account the Church.

Our work aims mainly to highlight the existence of religiosity in the social care institutions operating in the Romanian public space through the assumption, both by the beneficiaries and by the employees, of the ecclesial specificities (religious attitude, adherence to the Christian symbols and rituals). Throughout our entire approach we focused on child protection as our field of experimental investigation.

In the scientific approach we have carried out, we have opted for a mixed research, given the need for qualitative research in the first part of this scientific inquiry and for a quantitative research in the second part of scientific testing.

As regards the working methods and techniques, we have resorted to the following: biographical analysis, the analysis of social documents, participant observation, psycho-social investigation (the administration of a questionnaire was necessary for a quantitative measurement of the data), a case study, a questionnaire with closed questions, etc.

The Methodological Design of the Research

Population sample:

a. a psycho-social survey through the application of a questionnaire with closed questions: 47 GDSACP organizations from Romania, 47 relevant members of the institution;

b. employees (only social workers) of the GDSACP CS apparatus, 120 subjects. The age of the subjects who participated in the survey was between 23 and 60 years. Seniority ranged from 1 year up to 20 years in the field of social
work. As it is a social care institution, most of the employees are of the feminine gender.

2. Procedure: data collection based on a questionnaire with closed questions.

3. General objective: to highlight the existence of religiosity in the social care institutions in the Romanian public space through the assumption, both by the beneficiaries and by the employees, of the ecclesial specificities (religious attitude, adherence to the Christian symbols and rituals).

4. Research hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1 (H1): In the child care institutions in the Romanian public space there is substantial adherence to the Christian symbols and rituals, through the creation of special spaces for carrying out the specific worship activities.

Hypothesis 2 (H2): In the gdsacps, the religious attitude of the beneficiaries and the employees, expressed through their participation in prayer in spaces of worship created on the premises of the child protection institutions and in the specific community locations to which they belong (parish churches) is embraced by the majority of people.

Hypothesis 3 (H3): Among the gdsacp cs employees, the religious attitude is determined by a high religious orientation, through involvement in non-formal community activities.

Data Collection and Answer Reception

To test hypotheses 1 and 2 of our research, we collected information through a standardized questionnaire from of the all 47 gdsacps in Romania. It should be noted that in each county in Romania there operates such a directorate at the central level, and as regards Bucharest, each sector has such a directorate within the local council. Thus, there are 41 counties including Ilfov County, while at the level of Bucharest there are 6 sectors. All in all, it was necessary to receive information from 47 directorates (gdsacps) throughout the country.

What should also be noted is the incidence of the answers received: from all the gdsacps in the country. The incidence of affirmative answers in the psychosociological surveys conducted in Romania in the years 2000–2010 represents a percentage of 20%–30% at the level of respondents. In our research, the percentage was close to the maximum: nearly all the gdsacps in the country sent formal and personalized replies (except for those that were contacted by telephone and responses came by fax, without an official address, solely through questionnaire completion: 5 directorates).

For testing scientific hypotheses 1 and 2, Table 1 provides the following data:
TABLE 1. PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS OBTAINED IN THE RESEARCH AT NATIONAL LEVEL

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County GDSACP of Romania</th>
<th>Religious attitude Participation in the worship act (ritual) by using Christian symbols</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The beneficiaries and the employees attend service in a specially designed space for religious service in the placement centers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The beneficiaries and the employees attend service in the community church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No connection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>16</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As regards the second part of our research (the scientific testing of hypothesis 3), we chose to administer a questionnaire with two scales:

A. *The assessment scale for the way in which the GDSACP Cs employees are involved in community issues outside working hours*, achieved sui generis, consisting of 5 items, on a scale from 0 ("not at all") to 5 ("very much"), which describe various actions concerning the subjects’ involvement in a series of tasks that do not involve their explicit job requirements, highlighting their willingness to assist “those in need” outside the working hours in the organization. The scale has a very good internal consistency, the Cronbach alpha index being (0.82).

B. *The religious orientation scale*\(^ {38} \) is an instrument that measures religious orientation. The authors of this instrument that appeared in 1967 are Allport and Ross. The ROS appeared following Allport’s efforts\(^ {39} \) to describe mature religious sentiment and, then, to differentiate between the types of religious orientation—intrinsic and extrinsic. The instrument contains 20 items divided into two scales, the extrinsic scale (identifying sources for religious orientation mostly among “external” factors, such as social recognition, prestige, openness to rituals, symbolic rewards for overt religious affiliation, etc.) and the intrinsic scale (identifying the sources of religious orientation among integrated self-values, firmly assumed ethical criteria, strong religious beliefs, etc.). The scale of extrinsic orientation includes items 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 13, 15, 17, 19 and 20, and the scale of intrinsic orientation includes items 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 12, 14, 16 and 18. For each item there are 5 possible answers, signifying the degree of agreement with each statement (1: very strong disagreement, 2: disagreement, 3: neither agreement, nor disagreement, 4: agreement, 5: very strong agreement).
The Analysis of the Findings and the Validation of the Hypotheses

In Table 1, we can see the findings of the research: in 16 gdsacPs, the beneficiaries, together with the employees, have an area destined for the religious ritual, and in 31 of these institutions, the beneficiaries of social services and the gdsacP employees attend religious service at the churches of the community they belong to. According to our research, there are no gdsacPs in which the beneficiaries or the employees are totally devoid of religious attitudes. In percentages, we have the following values: 34% of beneficiaries and employees attend religious service in the dedicated area in the placement centers; 66% of beneficiaries and employees attend religious service at the church in the community; 0% have no connection with religion.

As regards the first hypothesis (H1), according to which in the child care institutions operating in the Romanian public space, there is substantial adherence to the Christian symbols and rituals, through the creation of special spaces for carrying out the specific worship activities, if we examine it carefully, the existing space destined for worship in the organizational framework represents 1/3 of the total, meaning that the existence of such spaces is substantial. Thus, Hypothesis 1 is confirmed.

**Chart 1. Validation of Hypothesis 1**

Distribution of dedicated worship areas within the GDSACP in Romania

- 34% Area devoted to Christian symbols and rites within the DGASPC
- 66% Community church
- 0% Area of the DGASPC
- 66% No connection
According to the same Table 1, the data also reveal the manner in which the beneficiaries and the employees of the GDSACP organization throughout Romania adopt a religious attitude. Both the beneficiaries of social services within the GDSACPs and the employees thereof are characterized by significant religiosity. The substantial presence of specific ecclesial spaces in the child protection institutions shows their own and their employees’ adherence to the Christian ritual and the presence of Christian symbols. If we evaluate the other 2/3 of the answers provided by the GDSACPs concerning the fact that there are no specifically designed areas in the institutions for attending religious service and that the beneficiaries, accompanied by the employees, attend service in the church community, we may see that the beneficiaries and the employees have a relationship with the Church. This presence proves a significant religious attitude in the social institutions of the Romanian public space. This confirms Hypothesis 2: In the GDSACPs, the religious attitude of the beneficiaries and the employees, expressed through their participation in prayer in spaces of worship created on the premises of the child protection institutions and in the specific community locations to which they belong (parish churches) is embraced by the majority.

![Chart 2. Validation of Hypothesis 2](image)

To see how the aspects of religiosity are valorized at the local level of the GDSACP institutions in Romania, we have chosen to scientifically evaluate such a unit: GDSACP Cs. To test Hypothesis 3 (H3. Among the GDSACP Cs employees, the religious attitude is determined by a high religious orientation, through in-
volvement in non-formal community activities), we applied the questionnaire mentioned in the data collection and answer reception section to the group of employees participating in our study from within the GDSACP CS. In Table 2, we present the analysis and the findings after data processing in SPSS.

### Table 2. Presentation of the Correlation Data Between Religious Orientation and Non-Formal Community Involvement

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Non-formal community involvement</th>
<th>Extrinsic religious orientation</th>
<th>Intrinsic religious orientation</th>
<th>Religious orientation—global</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Non-formal community involvement</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td>.178</td>
<td>.271**</td>
<td>.055</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extrinsic religious orientation</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td>.277**</td>
<td>-.661**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intrinsic religious orientation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td>.538**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious orientation—global</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1.000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* p<0.05  
** p<0.01

We were able to scientifically ascertain that religiosity is encountered not only at the level of the individual in Romania, or at that of small groups (such as the family), nor is it a feature of the private domain, pertaining to the privations of humans, but also in certain public institutions, such as those that perform social welfare activities, where the proportion of religiosity is significant. We resorted to a standardized scientific research using SPSS, to see if there is a correlation between the first two hypotheses, which test the religious attitude in the GDSACP institutions, and the third, which tests the intrinsic religious orientation of the employees from a unit in the territory. Table 2 shows that there is a statistically significant correlation between intrinsic religious orientation and non-formal community involvement (r = 0.271, p <0.01). The fact that intrinsic religious orientation shows a very significant correlation with non-formal community involvement confirms once again what we stated under Hypothesis 1 (H1) and Hypothesis 2 (H2). Religiosity in Romania turns out to be something characteristic even at the level of social work institutions. Involvement in non-formal community activities proves the existence of intrinsic religiosity among the employees, who carry out these activities out of an inner impulse anchored in faith. Thus, Hypothesis 3 (H3) is also confirmed.
Conclusions

In the early 1990s, atheism in Romania was extremely low: only 6% of subjects in a study stated that they did not believe in God. This is a very interesting aspect because after almost half a century of communism, with the strong wave of freedom and with the desire for renewal among the Romanians, only 6% of the respondents declared themselves as being non-affiliated with any religion. For example, in sociological research on religiosity (Eurobarometer 2000) in countries like Russia, Ukraine, Estonia, etc., ten years after the fall of communism, religious affiliation remained at quite high percentages at the level of the individual: more than 45% in Russia, approximately 42% in Ukraine and up to 75% in Estonia.

Our research shows the presence of religiosity among the Romanians not only at a social, cultural level in the context of deprivation, but also in public institutions. Romanians have outstanding levels of trust in the Church, and this prevents its presence in the public space from being diminished or prohibited by law, as it happens in some European countries. We can even say that its presence in the public space has increased. There are priests who are employees of the Romanian state and who embark on a professional career as a priest in healthcare or military institutions, in hospices and placement centers, in the education system, etc. For instance, priests employed by the Romanian state in these institutions have created specific spaces for prayer, such as chapels, oratories and even churches. We have addressed, in our research, the epistemological aspects of religiosity in the public spaces from public institutions that carry out the activity of social care. The Church is present not only in publicly funded social care institutions, even though we have only focused on child protection, an area in which quite a few reforms have been made, also following the conditions imposed by the European Union with a view to Romania’s accession to the great European family.

After the fall of the communist regime, the coordinates of the religious field changed. There occurred a genuine religious liberalization, the restrictions that had been imposed were lifted, and new religious movements emerged. The Romanians continued to consider themselves as a prevalently Orthodox nation. The results of the 2011 census showed that as regards the Romanians’ belonging to Orthodoxy, there were nearly 88% Orthodox among the population. Despite the competition on the religious market, the Orthodox Church continued to play a very important role, as also proved by our research.

Insofar as the Romanians’ trust in state institutions is concerned, aside from the city halls that registered an increase of the levels of trust vested in them,
from 1993 to 2005, almost all the other institutions declined in this respect. Parliament appears to have always represented a reliable institution for at most one-third of the population, which is rather little. Moreover, as regards justice in Romania, it may be noticed that while the year 1997 saw a high of about 60% confidence in this institution, by 2005 it had decreased to around 30%, which signaled a decline of the Romanians’ trust in the administration of justice. Since 2005, the Romanians have vested most of their trust in the Church, proving that their society is still imbued with traditionalist values.

The values of our research recorded among the employees of the GDSACP Caraș-Severin reveal a strong link with the values recorded at national level as regards religiosity among the Romanians. We see that it is not by chance that the percentage of religious non-affiliation among the Romanians fell from 6% in 1990, the year that marked the end of the communist period and the recovery of democratic values, to 2% religious non-affiliation among the Romanians in 2000: this was not due to systematic and aggressive influences coming from the Church as an institution, but because of the religiosity the Romanians demonstrated at a personal level, as individual subjects.

Research limitations:
1. the lack of diversification in our research;
2. the tendency to subjectively approach certain aspects, due to one of the authors’ double specialization;
3. the lack of standardization in formulating the questions for the psychosocial survey in the first part of the research, which aimed to test the first two hypotheses (H1 and H2).

Notes
15. Turner, 284.
Abstract
Aspects of Religiosity in the Social Institutions Operating in the Romanian Public Space

In our scientific approach, we will focus on what already represents an empirical certainty related to the presence of the Church and its involvement, through its specific activity, both at the level of symbols and at that of ritual, in the public domain of social assistance in Romania. In particular, we will focus our research on the field of child protection. The approach we will embark on entails the epistemic knowledge of the manner in which religiosity among the Romanians constitutes a real presence in the social institutions of the Romanian public space, being, therefore, a very topical undertaking, with highly significant outcomes.

Keywords
religiosity, sociology of religion, social work, child protection, Church, religious attitude

34. Ițut and Nistor, 327.
In this paper I tried to focus on the very moment of the emergence of civil society, on the initial forms of manifestation and expression of the Romanian public sphere.

**Introduction**

This paper aims to bring into discussion a case study regarding the use of the public square both in the process of seeking official recognition for the Greek-Catholic Church and of (re)constructing, starting with the 1990s, the religious identity of Greek-Catholics from the Transylvanian city of Cluj-Napoca, and for the purpose of initiating a public sphere in post-communist Romania. If using public squares as venues either for the reinforcement of a group or of a religious minority, for the manifestation of new religious phenomena, for religious renewal or for the articulation

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of religious identity was not a singular undertaking in the recent past, the struggle led by the Uniate religious community for acquiring legitimacy in post-communist Romania, the need to compete for the right to practice their religious traditions in spaces considered sacred such as churches, demanding, thereby, the legal recognition of their community interests and properties, stand, in my opinion, as a unique feature in the panorama of public sphere reconstruction within post-communist, transitional societies. As I have shown in a number of previous works, the status of private (group) interests and property is critical to the emergence of modern—especially liberal—model of the public sphere. Private interests and property represent, basically, the foundation not only of any modern public sphere, but they are also intimately linked to any type of democracy. In this respect, it is quite simple to frame the Uniate struggle for the public recognition of their property rights in the broader post-communist Romanian crusade over the issue of private property, and consequently, over the adoption of a (liberal) type of democracy.

Therefore, the history of the Uniate community of Cluj-Napoca during the first ten years towards transition or of post-communism shows the thorny Romanian path towards understanding and internalizing democracy. For the Romanian framework, it is as if this tortuous path from communism to democracy had been artificially conceived, with the purpose of initiating the neophyte into the practice of the “power of the people,” i.e. in the techniques of either building, or (re)constructing a public sphere. Such a manifestation of the power of the people, a certain form of democracy, seems to have been affirmed and practiced also by the Uniate community of Cluj-Napoca starting with the 1990s. The entire Romanian Greek-Catholic Church, but especially the Uniate community of Cluj-Napoca, by daring to perform their religious rituals and by demarcating “sacred” spaces right at the core of the urban public space, went beyond the mere assertion of their religious meanings and significance. These religious rites and “sacred” appropriations of the public space represent, in my view, a peculiar form of social construction of spaces such as the public sphere. As I see it, even though the main focus of the Romanian Greek-Catholic Church after the fall of the communist regime was to reinforce its own position among the other Christian denominations and to regain official recognition, by being forced to celebrate their masses into public square(s), was challenged by the eventual slight transformations of the religious rites and practice into a type of democratic creed and ideology. Thus, the specific location/square in which the Uniates were compelled to gather ended up by guiding and transforming their “private,” religious interests and purposes into rather public, political/ideological ones. Moreover, the case of the Uniate community of Cluj-Napoca also seems to me unique in that it ended up by “using” religious means—which had become extremely powerful, especially within the Romanian post-communist context—in order to assign almost “sa-
cred” meanings to the idea of the public sphere. Hence, the Uniate community of Cluj-Napoca highlighted the role of religion in effecting changes of mentality. Paradoxically, the space/square used by this community with the cardinal aim of gaining religious significance eventually brought about rather symbolic landscape transformations. In what follows, I will try to bring in a few arguments that defend my thesis that the Uniate community of Cluj-Napoca represented a miniature prototype or a layout of the Romanian post-communist public sphere.

The Argument of Recognition

As Romanian history shows, on 23 August 1944 Romania was invaded by the Soviet army and on 6 March 1945, the communist government gained all the political power. The conflicts between the Greek-Catholic Church and the authorities started ever since the first months of the pro-communist government, and sharpened during the election campaign of 1946, due to the fact that in the local organizations of the National Peasant Party there were many Greek-Catholic priests. The dissolution of the National Peasant Party in July 1947 had a negative effect on the evolution of the Greek-Catholic Church. It was at that particular moment that the number of priests who were arrested increased significantly. If the process of concentrating “all public authority in the hands of a self-appointed and self-perpetuating corps of the elect who call themselves a party” was to be accomplished together with the annihilation of the last political enclaves of opposition to communism through the trial of the National Peasant Party, which had begun in October 1947, and the dissolution of the National Liberal Party in November 1947, the establishment of the communist regime had to include two more steps: to prevent any possibility of group resistance and to control the country’s economic resources. In this equation, with its number of believers, its cohesive force and its properties, the Greek-Catholic Church was, among all other denominations, the most feared by the communist regime of the time. Therefore, the setting up of the communist regime led to the reunification of the Orthodox Church in Transylvania. The atheistic totalitarian state dissolved the Greek-Catholic Church through Decree no. 358 of 2 December 1948, transferring its assets to the Romanian Orthodox Church.

Thus, before the fall of the communist bloc, the Uniate Church suffered a major marginalization: the Uniate community was under-privileged and its property, its entire institutional space was confiscated and given to the Orthodox Church. By transforming such a religious property into possession contingent on satisfactory service to the ruling party, the Romanian communist regime took one of the major steps towards the “ideal propertyfree society” and towards the concentration of the entire authority and control in its already “almighty”
hands. For the Romanian Communist Party, this “satisfactory service to the ruling party” was (at least for a short while) represented by the Orthodox Church.

Yet another reason for making this decision to outlaw the Greek-Catholic Church and to marginalize other religious forms of manifestation as well, besides that of following the path of a propriety-free society, was that, from the perspective of the communist regime of the time, it was clearly easier to control only one great institution. Religious pluralism, which stands, in fact, as one of the founding principles of democracy, had also been rejected.

Thus, during communism, the Greek-Catholics had to hide their religious identity and had to find ways to resist. The representatives of the Uniate Church, the priests and the believers had to express their religious affiliation in hidden, rather private spaces. A certain process of “privatization” of religious feeling and expression would be the most appropriate way to describe the case of the Uniate church and communities during communism. So, even though officially this problem had been solved through the “reunification” of the Greek-Catholic Church with the Orthodox Church, the many Uniate communities, through the clergy and believers that had clung to their faith, endured in the years that followed, even without a “recognized” identity. A sort of “underground,” dissident religious movement was developed during Romanian communism by the Uniate Church, which was therefore called the “Church of the catacombs.” The fact that part of the Greek-Catholic clergy, along with some of believers who abided by their faith, manifested a form of resistance either by carrying out, during the Romanian communist period, several clandestine religious activities, or simply by respecting the truthfulness of their unalterable inner faith, or even by merely treasuring the hidden hope that there would come a time when the age of terror that started with 1948 would come to an end, made possible the sudden Uniate exit from the “underground,” from the “catacombs” right after the 1989 Romanian Revolution. Thus, one of the first decisions that had to be made in order to begin the application of the principles of democracy in Romania was that of officially recognizing the denominations that had been marginalized under the former totalitarian rule. Thus, Decree-law no. 9 of 31 December 1989 issued by the Council of the National Salvation Front nullified Decree no. 358 of 1948 and legally recognized the Romanian Greek Catholic Church. Moreover, not long after the Vatican had named the heads of the five Greek-Catholic Dioceses and anointed Alexandru Todea as Metropolitan on 14 March 1990, and not long after the hierocracy had been recognized by the Romanian state by means of a Presidential Decree, another Decree-law concerning the return of the properties of the Uniate Church was issued. Yet, as one can easily notice from the legal text, the Romanian state did not entirely assume the responsibility of an ultimate decision concerning the buildings of the Uniates, generating interpretations and discussions between the Orthodox Church and
the Greek-Catholic one. This decree was even more ambiguous, if not para-
doxical, controversial, for, ultimately, it left it to the “will of the communities
to which these buildings belonged”\textsuperscript{12} to decide over these properties. Such a
Decree-law was, thereafter, merely contextually applicable. It would be a crude
simplification to believe in the innocence of such a Decree-law and generally of
the Romanian post-communist state. It would be naive to believe that by issuing
such decrees and/or laws, the Romanian post-communist state only intended
to apply the idea of democracy by literally or etymologically interpreting it as
the “power of the people” or as the “will of the majority.” For even if it were
so, when confronted with the open conflicts between Orthodox communities
and the Greek-Catholic ones in the years that followed, the state should have
assumed at least a mediating role. Yet, not even this happened. The “silence” of
the post-communist Romanian state, especially with regard to property rights,
but also concerning other acute problems which challenged the Romanian so-
ciety in the transition from communism to what followed, was simply a sign of
the lack of the state’s willingness to enforce democratic principles and values.
Unfortunately, as I will try to show in what follows, leaving things unsolved in
the Romanian post-communist framework was not equivalent to encouraging
groups and/or small communities to become vocal and, thereby, to stimulate
the creation and preservation of a vivid public sphere. This kind of silence was
not the sign of constructive listening and submission of the state to the voices of
the people; on the contrary, it was only a symptom of the dumbness of a post-
communist state, which still mirrored the totalitarian one.

Surfacing form the “underground,” from the privacy of homes, where mass
had been performed for forty years, stepping out of the “catacombs” of illegal
religious manifestation, the Greek-Catholic Church and community found itself
adrift. Thus, it turned to the light of the public gatherings and actions, seeking
proper recognition of its religious identity, fighting for the return of its entire
property and for the permanent, i.e. legal, irrevocable, confirmation of all their
property rights.

The Argument of Legitimacy

The public recognition of group/community identity and the legitimacy
of a group’s (expression of) interests and will represent the pillars of any
modern public sphere. The two were essential among the requirements
of the Romanian Uniates after the fall of the communist bloc. Even though
according to Article 2 of the Decree, the Orthodox Church was obliged to ret-
ocede all the churches which had belonged to the Greek-Catholic Church, the
Orthodox Church took advantage of the contradictory Article 3 of the same Decree and ended up returning only a very small number of them. But in spite of the very fact that, for a long period of time, the Orthodox Church had held most of the churches in Romania, the Uniate Church, which was no longer a banned Church, considered itself bereft of its proper spaces of religious manifestation. In these conditions, the Greek-Catholic clergy and community were forced to challenge and take unilateral action against the contradictions and vagueness of the Decree’s provisions and sought to gain official recognition of their property and, consequently, of their identity rights. But this rather “private” endeavor, this cry for justice, this reclamation of the entire Uniate patrimony according to the *restitutio in integrum* principle, represented only one of the many warning signals—yet to come—that the legislative provisions of post-communist Romania, confusing and blind as they were, were inappropriate for a democratic legitimacy of the state. A clearer formulation and a better i.e., non-discriminatory implementation of the legal system were the priority of the Romanian Uniate Church and communities all throughout the first ten years of transition. Placing religious requirements as subsidiary to legislative regulations, hence taking political action, the Romanian Uniate clergy, together with its community, revealed itself as one of the first—and very few—avatars of the Romanian public sphere.

On 23 February 1996, priest Matei Boilă, who at that time was a senator in the Romanian Parliament, introduced a draft law concerning the church buildings that had been confiscated by the state in 1948 and handed over to the Orthodox Church, which had used them up to 1989. A rational solution was offered within this draft law: taking account of the number of churches within each community, two possibilities emerged: if the population within a certain community was split, belonging either to the Orthodox Church, or to the Greek-Catholic Church, and in case there was only one building which historically belonged to the Uniate Church, the believers should share the same church for religious purposes. If, on the contrary, there were more buildings, out of which at least one belonged to the Uniates, this should be handed over to the newly re-established Greek-Catholic Parish for its exclusive use. Moreover, when it comes to the alternative use of the church or buildings returned to Greek-Catholics, this draft law said that the Orthodox Church would not be required to pay any rent; the maintenance payments were to be shared according to the size of the two communities. Thus, within each village or town, a dialogue between the two denominations should have been immediately established, irrespective of the number of believers that represented each of them.

Unfortunately this draft law had a tortuous trajectory from the very beginning, being first rejected by the Romanian Senate in 1996, and receiving the same institution’s approval as Law no. 312/1997 only one year later. After a
few years, in September 2001, this draft law was rejected by the Chamber of Deputies; it was irrevocably rejected by the plenum of the Senate in December 2001.\textsuperscript{15}

Thus, no uniform juridical approach to the requests and contestations coming from the Greek-Catholic Church was reached until 2005. At the same time, confronted with the pressure to respond to the increasing number or requirements for returning the nationalized buildings\textsuperscript{16} the state had to immediately issue a law to set up rules for the restitution of religious buildings.

Through Law no. 182/2005,\textsuperscript{17} the Romanian Parliament adopted the Emergency ordinance no. 64/2004, regarding the summoning of a joint dialogue committee and sending to the courts all those litigations that could not be solved by an agreement between the parties involved. In the same year, in order to ensure a unitary practice, the High Court of Cassation and Justice expressly established the legal character of the cases/court actions initiated by the Romanian Greek-Catholic Church against the Romanian Orthodox Church, canceling, thereby, all the sentences that rejected the claims of the Greek-Catholic Church and sending them back to the lower courts.

Even though there are churches that have been recovered by the Greek-Catholic Church, as a result of a dialogue between the two denominations, the recovery of most of them comes as a result of legal action. In addition to the 2005 legal provisions mentioned above, gaining the buildings through the courts was possible because these buildings were not officially registered as the property of the Orthodox Church and the Greek-Catholic Church still had the deeds to the church buildings. It is important to notice that the Greek-Catholic Church claimed only the proprieties that were legitimately and legally its property.

The Argument of Visibility

\textbf{T}herefore, in the absence of a space in which Greek-Catholics could express their identity and denomination, left without churches, the Greek-Catholic clergy, together with the Uniate community, decided to practice and organize openly their religious activities in squares, parks, show rooms, classrooms, or even, as they used to, in private homes.

Confronted with a paradoxical situation in which, in spite of the repeal of the 1948 Decree, and even though the Uniates were no longer considered a marginal denomination, the Greek-Catholic community barely had spaces where to gather. Most emblematic for the challenges that confronted the Greek-Catholic communities within the Romanian post-communist framework was the dialogue between Orthodoxy and Greek-Catholicism in the Transylvanian city of
Cluj-Napoca. The beginning of this dialogue was a negative one of mutual denial. The lack of a prompt new law meant to guarantee the "right to property," in conjunction with the right to religious freedom, generated a particular phenomenon: representatives of the Uniate Church, in the absence of churches or parishes in which they could perform the religious service, decided to resort to the most central public square of the city of Cluj-Napoca. For 11 years (1990–2001), the Uniate inhabitants of the city gathered regularly, each Sunday or on holidays in the city center, in the public square called Piața Unirii (Union Square). This represented a sort of a political manifesto, for the Uniate Church had to regain its churches, in order to gain its ultimate formal and official recognition. Surely enough, regaining their own churches, parishes and other buildings from the Orthodox Church and/or from the state was not only a task of great political importance, one that could have had an impact upon all legislative matters concerning the idea of property in post-communist Romanian framework, but it was also critical for the reconstruction of the Greek-Catholic religious identity. As well as in other Christian denominations, such as Orthodoxy, certain inchoative rituals of the Holy Mass are to be performed respecting the rules of concealment, hidden form the sight of the churchgoers. Of course, on the improvised, stage-like, spectacular “altar” of the Uniate community of Cluj, everything was exposed to the public eye. Similarly, the Way of the Cross, which represents a special piety in the praying life of a Greek-Catholic believer, is also bound to the physical space of a Church. Therefore, if only churches and monasteries can harbor and protect such pieties, in the absence of these sacred spaces the expression of Uniate faith and feeling of denominational belonging remained critically challenged throughout the first decade of transition from communism to what followed.

Still, oddly enough, besides all inconveniences, performing religious rituals in the “publicness” of the central square also had a positive role: that of bringing the Uniates together, in a strong and vivid community. The openness defining any urban public square—and offered profusely by the European architectural elements of the medieval city center—enabled the inclusion of everyone who wished to participate in the religious practice, irrespective of their religion or denomination. Thus, another essential condition for the idea of public sphere was fulfilled. Public approval—yet another prerequisite of adequacy to the emergence of any modern public square—of the majority of the inhabitants of Cluj, including the approval of city authorities, was implicitly granted by allowing these public performances in the city center.

Also, as the presence in the public squares had become an increasingly important—if not the singular—instrument in fostering Romanian democracy in early post-communism, this religion-oriented type of political action pursued by the Uni-
The Argument of Continuity

The reconstruction of the religious identity, together with a permanent struggle for legitimacy and recognition, represent two axes which are essential to turning the Uniate community from the city of Cluj-Napoca into a real civil movement that contributed to the emergence of Romanian post-communist public sphere. The main traits of this metamorphosis of the Uniate community of Cluj-Napoca into a civil movement became noticeable when a real conflict occurred among the representatives of the two Christian denominations, following the Orthodox Church’s refusal to give back one of the buildings that had been regained by the Greek-Catholic Church as a result of a legal trial. On 13 March 1998, the Orthodox believers opposed the execution of the court ruling, blocking the access of Greek-Catholics believers to the church. On the same day, after the intervention of the police, the officer of the court applied the court ruling and constrained the Orthodox Church and believers to return the church to the Bisophric of Cluj-Gherla.

The Greek-Catholic community represents an atypical case in the general manifestation of religious minorities within the early Romanian post-communist context. Due to the steadfast manifestation of its religious creed in the public square, due to its fight for a proper separation between church and state and for the affirmation of religious pluralism, due to a relentless demand for legitimacy and resistance when faced with the state’s disregard of their claims, the Transylvanian Uniate Church and community is atypical in that it is the first visible web of human relations which developed into a specific, local, “religious” public sphere. Due to the assiduous affirmation of its identity and rights, it stands, in my view, as the first occurrence of a long-lasting enclave of public sphere expressing itself in post-communist Romania. Its continuance in the negotiations for public—when challenged by other denominations such as the Orthodox one—and/or official —when confronted with state’s refusal of its claims—approval represents the concluding, but decisive argument in describing the Romanian Uniate community and especially the Greek-Catholic community of Cluj-Napoca as a public sphere in nuce. Its uncompromising will and action during the first ten years of transition that followed the collapse of the communist block makes this community uncharacteristic when compared to the other religious minorities of post-communist Romania.
Conclusions

In this paper I tried to focus on the very moment of the emergence of civil society, on the initial forms of manifestation and expression of the Romanian public sphere. I have tried to argue that the use of urban public squares for expressing religious identity and for gaining public/official recognition for the religious minorities has transformed, within the Romanian post-communist framework, these urban public spaces into social constructs, into public spheres which are no longer used “as a passive arena, a context in which takes place the social interaction, but as a social construct which is used for generating discourse, redefining social interaction.” Particularly, I have tried to demonstrate that in the case of the Greek-Catholic community from the Transylvanian city of Cluj-Napoca, the appropriation of the urban public square for religious purposes does not coincide with the setting up of certain divisive boundaries, but on the contrary, it represents the foundation of an agora, of an open, real, public space, imposing no conditions for attendance and participation. In the case of the Uniate community of Cluj-Napoca, the challenge to revive its religious identity coincides with the emergence of a germinal civil movement contesting and attempting to diminish the monolithic influence of a majority religious group over the state. I have brought about the four main arguments (the argument of recognition, of legitimacy, of visibility and that of the continuity of negotiation) to demonstrate that the Uniate community—and especially the one in Cluj-Napoca—represented a cohesive force in the creation of the Romanian post-communist public sphere. The proper recognition of the principle of religious pluralism, the acknowledgement that “healthy” democracy requires clear legislative resolutions and the rule of law are only a few of the amendments brought forth by the multiple and constant challenges raised by the Uniate Church against the Romanian post-communist state.

Notes

2. In spite of its slow uptake within the Romanian post-communist political and legal framework, the idea of private property has been seen by the Romanian people, ever since the days of the 1989 Revolution, as a critical issue. The Xth amendment of the Proclamation of Timișoara stands as an early milestone among the claims for the recognition of the right to private property: “Although we advocate for the re-Europeanization of Romania, we do not plead for copying the Western capitalist systems, for they all have their shortcomings and inequities. But we are definitely in
favor of private initiative. The omnipotence of state property stood at the economic foundation of totalitarianism. Yet, political pluralism is unconceivable without economic pluralism. There are, however, voices which, in keeping with the communist line, (mis)take private initiative for ‘exploitation’ and for the danger/catastrophe that some may turn up wealthy. These voices only cry out the envy of the lazy and the fear of labor of one who has been used to privileges in the communist enterprises. The proof that the people of Timișoara are not afraid of privatization lies in the fact that several companies have already announced their intention to convert into joint-stock companies. However, in order to control the way in which these shares are to be purchased, in order to guarantee and certify that these purchases are made with clean money, every city should establish commissions with the purpose of taking stock of the assets of the former protégées of power, of those corrupted and those who kept the people in poverty. Moreover, the shares of each company ought to be first offered for purchase to its workers.

We consider that, albeit radical, the idea of privatizing these state companies by first offering their workers an equal number of shares—and, consequently, by reducing the shares held by the state to a small percentage of funds which are needed only in order to insure its minimum control over the activity of a certain company—is constructive. In this way, equal chances of prosperity would be offered to all workers. If the lazy ones miss their chance, they would not be entitled to complain about being discriminated.” For an extended Romanian version of this Proclamation, see http://proclamatia.wordpress.com/, accessed on 2 December 2012.

5. “Article 1. Following the return of the local Greek-Catholic communities (parishes) to the Orthodox denomination and according to article 13 of the Decree no. 177 from 1948, the central and statutory organizations of this denomination such as: the metropolitan, the bishoprics, the chapter, the organs, the congregations, the archpriesthoods, the monasteries, the foundations, the associations, as well as any other institutions and organizations, under whatever name, shall cease to exist.

Article 2. The movable and immovable assets belonging to the organizations and institutions mentioned in article 1 of the present decree, with the specified exception of the former bishoprics’ assets shall return to the Romanian state, which shall take them over immediately.

An interdepartmental commission composed of delegates of the Ministries of Denominations, Finances, Internal Affairs, Agriculture and Domains and Public Education, shall decide the purpose of those assets, and assume the prerogative to distribute part of them to the Romanian Orthodox Church or to its different branches.” This decree is a follow-up of Decree no. 177 of 1948, which concerns restraining measures regarding all religions and Christian denominations.
6. “Property which by its very nature sets limits to state authority is either abolished or transformed into possession contingent on satisfactory service to the ruling party.” Cf. Pipes, 211.
7. Here, we deliberately use the term “propertyfree society” so as to distinguish it from the concept of a “propertyless society” as it was largely discussed by Richard Pipes. Richard Pipes’ book represents an endeavor to demonstrate “that acquisitiveness is universal among humans as well as animals and that it involves a great deal more than the desire to control physical objects, being intimately connected with the human personality by promoting a sense of identity and competence” (ibid., 65). Consequently, Pipes sets up an entire conservative system of arguments on the idea that a society which lacks something essential to people’s desires, i.e. a propertyless society, is an artificial one, or that it rather represents a “mirage.” Whereas the communist ideology is rather oriented towards the achievement of a “propertyfree” society, that is, a society which has surpassed, through rational arguments and through a-posteriori conclusions, any desire or need for private acquisitiveness. Within the communist ideology, private property emerges together with the division of labor, and it represents eo ipso an unequal distribution of labour and, consequently of its products. Cf. Karl Marx, *Die Deutsche Ideologie*, in Karl Marx, *Die Frühschriften* (Stuttgart: Alfred Kröner Verlag, 1971), 346.

8. At the end of the 1940s, this “reunification” could have been viewed by the high Orthodox clergy as a sign of the communists’ acceptance of the “national” Orthodox Church. Therefore, this “reunification act” could have been easily interpreted as a sign of the Romanian Orthodox Church’s subservience to the communist authorities. Yet, by the beginning of the 1950s, the Romanian communist regime decided to expand the oppression and, consequently, thousands of Orthodox priests and monks were imprisoned or exiled from monasteries, thus sharing the fate of the Greek-Catholic priests and bishops who had not agreed to sign this return to the Orthodox Church.


10. For the entire text, see the *Official Journal* no. 9 of 31 December 1989.

11. Decree-law no. 126 of 24 April 1990 regarding certain measures concerning the Romanian Uniate (Greek-Catholic) Church:

Issuer: The Interim National Union Council;
Published in the *Official Journal* no. 54, of 25 April 1990

The Interim National Union Council decrees:

Art. 1. Following the abrogation of Decree no. 358/1948 through Decree-law no. 9 issued on 31 December 1989, the Romanian Uniate (Greek-Catholic) Church is officially recognized. The Romanian Uniate (Greek-Catholic) Church shall be organized and function according to the general juridical regime for the Romanian religious denominations.

Art. 2. The assets that had been taken over by the state as a consequence of Decree no. 358/1948, which have been part of the state’s patrimony, with the exception of the estates, are to be returned, in their present state, to the Romanian Uniate (Greek-Catholic) Church. In order to identify, to take stock of these assets and hand them over, a commission formed by the government’s representatives and the repre-
sentatives of the Romanian Uniate (Greek-Catholic) Church’s shall be appointed by government decision.

Art. 3. The juridical situation of the religious buildings and parochial houses which belonged to the Romanian Uniate (Greek-Catholic) Church and were taken over by the Romanian Orthodox Church shall be established by a joint committee, formed of ecclesiastical representatives of the two religious denominations, taking into account the wishes of the believers from the communities that hold these assets.

Art. 4. In the localities in which the number of religious buildings is insufficient in regard to the number of believers, the state shall support the construction of new buildings for religious purposes, by offering, to the respective denominations, land for construction, in the case in which these communities do not possess such land and by contributing with money to the raising of the necessary financial resources.

President of the Interim National Union Council, Ion Iliescu


12. It is important to notice that, within this decree, there is no reference to the procedure and criteria through which such a decision can be made.

13. See the draft for the Law no. 243/1996. If, for example, in a village there is a single church and there are two communities, an Orthodox one and a Greek-Catholic one, the church should be used alternatively. In the villages where there are two churches, one of those should be exclusively used by Greek-Catholics, in the case that it was taken over by the Greek-Catholic Church, and in so far as, in that particular locality, the Greek-Catholic Parish is to be refunded. When it comes to the Orthodox Church, this draft law states that this institution owes rent neither for the exclusive use, nor for the alternative use of the building or buildings that are the property of the Greek-Catholic Church. Moreover, maintenance payments are to be shared proportionally to the number of members of the two communities.

14. If, for example, there is a single church in the village/town, but both the Orthodox and a Greek-Catholic denominations claim their rights, the church should be used alternatively; one community should use it in one Sunday, the other in the next one.

15. Until Law no. 10/2001 was adopted, the general juridical restitution procedure of the goods and assets which belonged to the religious denominations was provided in the Government’s Emergency ordinance no. 94/2000. The latter treated the restitution problem within a limited approach, because it allowed for the restitution of only 10 buildings for each religious denomination. Cf. Cu jumătate de măsură: Raport privind procesul retrocedării proprietăților care au aparținut cultelor religioase din România, report made by Ethno-cultural Diversity Resource Center, Cluj-Napoca (March 2004), 8. The whole Romanian text of the report can be consulted at http://www.edrc.ro/docs/docs/provocdivers/010-032.pdf, accessed on 3 December 2012.

Moreover, Law no. 501/2002 and Government Decision no. 1167 issued on 17 October 2002 constitute a step forward in solving the restitution requests, but were still far from solving the problem entirely.

16. “On 4 March 2003, when the first deadline for filing requests for the return of religious buildings expired, the following statistics resulted: of the total number of
7,568 requests registered at a national level, the Greek-Catholic Church registered 2,207, the Jewish community 1,809, the Roman-Catholic Church 992, the Reformed Church 899, the Orthodox Church 770, the Evangelical Church 690, other religions and denominations 201.” Cf. ibid., 21.

17. For the entire text, see the *Official Journal*, no. 505 of 14 June 2005.

18. This devotion symbolizes the reiteration of Jesus Christ’s Calvary path. It is performed by stopping for reflection and prayer in 14 different places, which are usually suggestively marked by crosses or icons that illustrate the Way of the Cross, representing the main stops on Jesus Christ’s Calvary path. In the absence of a proper space/building to shelter these symbolic icons, performing this piety becomes almost impossible.

19. The refusal of the Orthodox Archbishopric of Vad, Feleac and Cluj to return one of the religious buildings from the center of Cluj-Napoca, namely the church called “Schimbarea la Față” (the Transfiguration), which had belonged to the Bishopric of Cluj-Gherla since 1924, led to an eight years-long lawsuit which was assigned to several Romanian courts. Eventually, based on the suspicion that Courts from different cities in Transylvania had apparently favored, throughout this trial, the Greek-Catholic Church, the file was assigned to the Ploiești Court of Appeal. The Ploiești Court of Appeal decided that the Greek-Catholic Bishopric of Cluj-Gherla owned the building and ordered the immediate restitution of the building.


**Abstract**

Religion and the Public Sphere: Transitional (Post-communist) Representations of the Uniate Community of Cluj-Napoca, between Religion and Politics

The aim of this article is to highlight the way in which the Greek-Catholic Church, following its legal recognition immediately after the fall of the Romanian communist regime, has contributed to the emergence of the Romanian public sphere. Through its visible manifestation within the public space, the Uniate community of Cluj-Napoca offered, in the last decade of the 20th century, a model for the setting up of the Romanian democratic public sphere. By bringing forth and discussing four specific arguments (the argument of recognition, the argument of legitimacy, the argument of visibility and the argument of continuity), the study aims at demonstrating that this religious-based protest helped increase the Romanian state’s accountability with respect to the fairness of its justice system and, consequently, to the accomplishment of democracy.

**Keywords**

Greek Catholic-Church, Uniates, Romanian public sphere, post-communism, democracy, legal system, retrocession of property, identity reconstruction, Cluj-Napoca
Pilgrimage and Its Infrastructure in Post-communist Transylvania

Mircea Sergiu Moldovan

Architecture and communication pathways have truly become the infrastructure of the new pilgrimages, their nodal points and threads.

The Situation in 1989

The atheistic nature of communism, the tendentious education promoted under that regime and the religious persecution perpetrated against the population have been dwelt on excessively, to the point of their becoming trite commonplaces in the literature devoted to this topic. In reality (and this might even be the subject of a separate monograph), especially after the communist takeover of power, there was a certain competition in matters of faith, which could provide a much more convincing explanation of the entailing religious persecutions. In the programmatic documents of the communist regime, it was repeatedly insisted that communism would effect not so much reversible physical transformations on the people, but irreversible “chemical” changes, by modifying the “material base” and the “superstructure” of society. Compared to the downfall of the communist regime, the collapse of the rightist totalitarian regimes (which had operated under capitalism) was quasi-complete; moreover, the latter
regimes were sanctioned historically (internationally), as well as morally/politically (in those countries), far more drastically than the communist regime has ever been...

We can only surmise why only a small minority of the authors in the field have mentioned the possibility and ambition of communism being transformed into a religion and why the majority have considered it an aborted/abandoned process. As we are moving away from those events through a “time tunnel” whose effects are already visible, we should nonetheless recall a few elements.

For certain layers of the population, in the good tradition of offering “opiate to the masses,” a certain “mystique” was developed, its panoply displaying hagiography, rituals, monuments, relics and reliquaries, and even a certain kind of pilgrimage. Leaving aside the hilarious aspects thereof (even though for the “heretical” victims of the time, they must have been far from hilarious), we ought to remember the pilgrimage to the “new Rome/Mecca,” Moscow (which had aspired, throughout the Tsarist period, to become “the third Rome”), the adoption of the well-known occult phrase “the light comes from the east,” the prostrations, processions and parades from the mausoleum of the infallible “Great Teachers,” the mummification and worship of their relics, the celebration of the major rituals in personal or social life at the “Heroes’ Monuments” (the new martyrs) and so on.

We do not know if it is to the religious instruction bestowed by Comrade Stalin, to his entourage or simply to certain fundamental elements of cultural anthropology that we owe those infamous binomials of the time, such as: confession/self-criticism, the Holy Spirit/the boundless wisdom of the party, the chosen people/the working class, catechumens/party candidates, the original sin/unsound origins, penance/re-education through labor and, of course, there are so many other correspondences...

On the very eve of the Eastern bloc’s implosion, several concepts related to the so-called “new man” represented sublimated ingredients of the traditional cult of personality and marked the ever more poignant failure, the alienation and irrational abuses that had been spawned by a doctrine which had originally declared itself rational, in its pursuit of objective-dialectical materialism. Accordingly, the “orthodox” doctrine stipulated that it was the masses and progress that engendered personalities; it asserted that the role of a locomotive had been played by the great visionary leaders, who had “dragged,” in their wake, production relations and production means; moreover, in certain places, even the “dynastic issue” reared its ugly head. Ironically, two of the factors that contributed to the final dissolution of this regime, on account of its loss of the techno-economic competition, resided in the banning of cybernetics and genetics on ideological grounds...

Romania was not spared by this tide: let us remember the monument in Carol Park in Bucharest and the dispute it sparked after 1990, the manner in
which the communist leaders of the time had to have a custom-made cell at Doftana Prison—just like Prophet’s chamber in the first mosque from Medina, or the literature, fine arts and “prison” music of the period. Still, in a country with such a rural demographic weight, the saving principle highlighted by Karel Čapek in *The Absolute at Large* was at work—in this case, in the well-known form of “double speak” or of the public vs. family life dichotomy, not to mention the numerous new churches erected outside Bucharest, the two Christmas trees celebrating Santa Claus (Moș Crâciun) and his communist foil, Moș Gerilă, on the balcony, etc.

### The Situation Post–1989

In the countries of Eastern Europe, the post–1989 period has witnessed a return to pre-communist traditions and a re-synchronization with the West, including through a religious revival. The oscillation between synchronism and protochronism is somewhat traditionally entrenched in Romania’s history and the post-revolutionary religious revival has fuelled both of these configurations, sometimes leading them to the brink of exacerbation. Religion has benefitted from the prestige of: the Roman Catholic Church, considering its contribution to the victory over communism; the Protestant and Neo-Protestant Churches, regarded as saviours of the country from its economic morass, by virtue of the prosperity that can be derived from the work ethic they espouse; the Greek-Orthodox and Greek-Catholic Churches, because of their role in the preservation of the national identity and tradition; and Judaism, on account of its originary contribution.

In a manner similar to the “negative developing” strategies deployed in the former Iberian dictatorships, with a view to “compromising the church” in its association with fascism, European communist initiatives are still launched today, papal visits are accompanied by much-publicized protests, and Romania and most post-communist countries have become havens for the “true believers.”

### Pilgrimage—a Dimension of Orthodox and Catholic Spirituality

According to most sources, pilgrimage is generally defined by an end-of-the-journey ritual; however, in some cultures, various elements of initiation and events occurring along the way can also become complementary. In Byzantinism, *proskinitis*, the term used to designate a pilgrim,
also meant worshiper. Another synonymous term referred to “peregrination, the wandering from one place to another of monks and ascetics who refused to settle in a human society of any kind.” The latter meaning is somewhat synonymous with “rupture, detachment, alienation, and voluntary exile.”

In the Latin area, *peregrinus*, derived from *per-agrare*, designated, by extension, a foreigner, the one who crosses a space or a frontier. Words from various other languages define a trinity: “the separation, the peregrination and the quest for the holy place.” Byzantine Orthodoxy appears to have consecrated the practice of organizing processions during certain holidays (Lamentations to the Lord on Good Friday, Lamentations to the Holy Virgin, or walking on one’s knees around the church). The latter is not a monopoly of Orthodoxy, as in Catholicism it is related to the famous scallop shell. Pilgrimage sites are also associated with an aquatic element, in various forms, and they can also be related to various penitential practices. The journey may also be seen as effecting a “conversion,” “an abandonment of the self for a return to God” and a rebirth.

Historically, the first pilgrimages were made either to biblical places or to “famous” monks. The loss of Jerusalem and of the holy places in the Orient imposed a series of Western succedanea. Thus, the monuments erected on the sites of torture—the so-called *Martyria*—became consecrated sites of pilgrimage. Another important element that deserves mention is the fact that the society of pilgrims only lasts until the pilgrimage is complete, its nature being “ephemeral.”

Some clerics are firmly convinced that the organization of pilgrimages could also lead to “catechesis, conversion and the discovery of traditional values, the representatives of other confessions being barred from participating in them.”

**Pilgrimage and Its Context in the New Europe**

In 1987, the Council of Europe launched the program *Cultural Routes*, which is based on the principles governing its policy on cultural diversity and identity, dialogue and cross-border mutual development. Its ultimate aim is that of interconnecting and raising awareness of the common European cultural heritage. Notably, the first pilgrimage route promoted by the newly established European Institute of Cultural Routes was *El Camino*—to Santiago de Compostela. After 1987, the program Cultural Routes and the specialized European Institute fostered the proliferation of several pilgrimage routes, including the *Holy Virgin’s Trail* for Central and Eastern Europe.

Let us take advantage of the context of this discussion and recall a few notions. Architecture and its image in an urban environment tend to become a platform for the assembly of people, as it functionally and quasi-permanently
interacts, in a somewhat unifying manner, with all the members of these cultures and sub-cultures that coexist under multiculturalism, sometimes ignoring or abhorring one another, in a more or less cordial manner. The Silk Road and Marco Polo have been replaced today by the apostles of syncretism or by those who circulate elements across these cultures for lucrative purposes. Architecture and communication pathways have truly become the infrastructure of the new pilgrimages, their nodal points and threads.

What is recognized as essential for traditional aesthetics is the “primacy of the complexes of feelings-moods-sentiments generated by mere contemplation, disregarding the use value of certain human creations.” The contemporary expansion of beauty is deemed to have the attributes of globalism, as it virtually affects all of humanity’s spheres of manifestation. As far as we see it, the phenomenon should not seem surprising, as some authors contend, but rather normal: if the aesthetic is to be associated with human creativity and if the present-day reversal of the relation between the natural and the synthetic (with all the prevalence given to the latter) is taken into account, it appears perfectly logical that the aesthetic should propagate itself proportionately, at the very least.

Another mutation refers to the increase in leisure time and in the spare time that can be devoted to aesthetic experiences. As regards the expansion of the beautiful through forms pertaining to the system of art, paradoxically, it is in the artistic domain that there is a certain restraint concerning the expansion of the beautiful, due to the fact that contemporary aesthetics takes the aesthetic rather than the beautiful as its object or level of approach (we are not referring here solely to the aesthetics of ugliness or to the Hegelian idea of the death of art). Regarding the expansion of art through the establishment of museum institutions (which are also architecture and, let us not forget, almost all the tenors of contemporary architecture have created museums, most of them demolishing the traditional functionality of the program), tourist mobility, the devotion of some leisure time to the growth and integration of the arts in the ambient and the ubiquity of the media, we may safely assume and state that, in this regard, art has indeed become a quotidian presence in people’s lives.

Let us return to our subject more concretely: starting from the second half of the twentieth century, with the shift from modernism to postmodernism (beyond its strict association with the architectural trend of the same name), the beginning of the post-industrial age, the democratization of entertainment and the great demographic migrations, the transition from the wars of culture to the strategy of “seduction through culture” and so many other transvaluations of values, there occurred a paradoxical mutation through which architecture has come to be recognized as a “resource” and to mark out the stages of cultural pilgrimages.
Unlike the brutalization through labor prevalent at the turn of the Industrial Age, the Post-Industrial Age programmatically reduces work time and expands free time, and the latter can no longer be valorized in any superior and recuperating manner except through leisure. Hence, the great cultural tourism migrations of our time, the foregrounding of architecture as a “book of mankind” and the reimplantation of urban images and architectural configurations upon the return home.

Journeys have always had an important role in ventilating architectural concepts. Comparative architecture provides an abundance of data in this regard and shows how constructive and environmental determinisms have been overcome through knowledge and through the trafficking of models (see the French Romanesque School of pilgrimage churches). Emphasis has often been placed on the role that companionage or the Crusades played in the Middle Ages, on the importance of pilgrimages to Mecca for forging the synthesis and continuity of Islamic architecture, on the momentum of Jewish European architecture after emancipation, the allogeneic contributions to the First Temple in Jerusalem or the Temple Platform Rotunda and so on. Moreover, globalization and the consciousness of belonging to a certain community or configuration require expression, and architectural symbolism is acknowledged as a form of expression in this sense.8

Today, when the means of communication and transport are so diverse and comfortable, the widespread idea is that pilgrimage represents a fad of the twentieth century. In our view, the war of cultures has been silenced, and those in charge of the resources have moved to “seduction through culture,” a strategy that operates very efficiently through architectural images. Moreover, coercive measures and those of putting the opposition on the defensive (see the ban on parabolic antennae or the denial of access to the Internet, etc.) should not be targeted at the youth, for whom the architectural framework is very important (including for procreation). When I made a comparison with the genesis of the Middle Ages, I also evoked the oasis of prosperity besieged by the ravenous migratory tribes...

Pilgrimage and Its Infrastructure in Present-Day Transylvania

By virtue of its history and traditions, Transylvania has had a strong multicultural and multiconfessional character. In this area, there is a history of the pilgrimages undertaken to this day, nuanced for each denomina-
tion (Greek-Orthodox, Roman Catholic, Greek-Catholic, etc.) but also marked by mutual influences, a certain emulation and even consequences like changes in ownership over various places of worship. The post-communist period has brought about a typically postmodern dimension of pilgrimages: cultural tourism and the ineffable touch of ecumenical syncretism.

The pilgrimages of the Byzantine/Orthodox rite revolve around the monasteries of this denomination and have at least three main forms: pilgrimages to a particular place of worship, throughout the year; pilgrimages to monasteries, during their patron saints’ feasts; pilgrimages organized along a route/circuit, inevitably tinged by tourism—in a more or less blatant manner.

Some of the most highly frequented monasteries and their sites, which are promoted on the Internet, would be:

- **Afteia Monastery**, for monks, dedicated to the Holy Great Sovereigns Constantine and Helen; pilgrimage day: 21 May (Săliște commune, Alba County, 14 km south of Săliște, 31 km south-west of Sebeș, 40 km west of Oraștie).
- **Annunciation Monastery**, a nunnery dedicated to the Annunciation; pilgrimage day: 25 March (under the hills of Șimleu, near the town Șimleul Silvaniei, Sălaj County, 5 km south-east of Șimleul Silvaniei, 25 km west of Zalău), established in 1994.
- **Bâșoara Hermitage**, for monks, dedicated to the Holy Cross; pilgrimage day: 14 September, a pilgrimage day repeated on the first day of May (Bâșoara commune, Cluj County, 37 km south-west of Cluj-Napoca, 35 km west of Turda), established in 1991.
- **Bălan Monastery**, for monks, with a nascent congregation, dedicated to the Assumption of the Mother of God; pilgrimage day: 15 August (Chendrea village, Bălan commune, Sălaj County, 13 km south of Jibou, 47 km east of Zalău), established in 1993.
- **Bârsana Monastery**, a nunnery dedicated to the Synaxis of the 12 Apostles; pilgrimage day: 30 June; also the third day after the celebration of the feast (Bârsana commune, Maramureș County, 22 km south-east of Sighetul Marmăției), which was re-established in 1993.
- **Berevoi Monastery**, for monks, dedicated to the Holy Apostle Andrew; pilgrimage day: 30 November (Berivoi village, Recea commune, Brașov County, 12 km south of Făgăraș, a monastery founded in the seventeenth century, attested in 1748 and 1761), re-established in 1992.
- **Berevoii Mici Hermitage**, for monks, dedicated to the Holy 40 Martyrs; pilgrimage day: 9 March (Berivoi village, Recea commune, Brașov County, 12 km south of Făgăraș), re-established in 1993.
- **Bixad Monastery**, for monks, dedicated to the Assumption of the Mother of God; pilgrimage days: the feast days of the Theotokos on 15 August and 8
September; The Holy Apostles Peter and Paul on 29 June; the Beheading of St. John the Baptist.

- Bohot-Baraolt Monastery, a nunnery dedicated to the Nativity of the Mother of God; pilgrimage day: 8 September (Bohot village, Bâile Rodbav commune, Brașov County, 10 km north-west of Făgăraș, 7 km north-west of Bâile Rodbav, 37 km south-east of Agnita), re-established in 1992.

- Boiereni Monastery (Rohița), for monks, dedicated to the Protection of the Mother of God; pilgrimage day: 1 October (Boiereni village, part of the town Târgu-Lăpuș, 13 km south of Târgu-Lăpuș and 31 km north of Dej), re-established in 1993.

- Brâncoveanu Monastery at Sâmbăta de Sus, for monks, dedicated to the Assumption of the Mother of God; pilgrimage day: 15 August, as well as to the Healing Spring; pilgrimage day: first Friday after Easter (Voila commune, Brașov County, 30 km south of Făgăraș, 11 km south-east of the town Victoria).

- Bucium Monastery, for monks, dedicated to the Transfiguration; pilgrimage day: 6 August (Șinca commune, Brașov County, 17 km south-east of Făgăraș, attested from 1737), re-established in 1990.

- Bunești Monastery, a nunnery dedicated to St. George; pilgrimage day: 23 April (Bunești commune, Brașov County, 18 km north-west of Rupea, 35 km south-east of Sighișoara), established in 1991.

- Câlne Hermitage, a nunnery dedicated to the Protection of the Mother of God; pilgrimage day: 1 October (without a pilgrimage tradition, Câlne is part of the town of Cugir, Alba County, 8 km east of Cugir, 35 km east of Orăștie), which opened in 1992.

- Câșeiu de Jos Hermitage, without a church and congregation (Câșeiu village, Cluj County, 7 km north-west of Dej, 65 km north of Cluj-Napoca, mentioned as a monastery in 1774), currently not in operation.

- Câștel Monastery of Strâmbu, for monks, dedicated to The Exaltation of the Holy Cross; pilgrimage day: 14 September (Strâmbu village, Chioiești commune, Cluj County, 28 km north-east of Dej, founded in 1765), re-established in 1991.

- Cârțișoara Monastery, a nunnery dedicated to The Holy Apostles Peter and Paul; pilgrimage day: 29 June (Cârțișoara commune, Sibiu County), re-established in 1990.

- Cergău Mic Monastery, for monks, dedicated to The Holy Apostles Peter and Paul, without a pilgrimage tradition (Cergău Mic village, Cergău commune, Alba County), re-established in 1992.

- Cetatea Colțului Hermitage, a monastery for monks without a monastic congregation at present, dedicated to All Saints; pilgrimage day: 26 June (Suseni village, Râu de Mori commune, Hunedoara County, 24 km south-west of Hațeg, 56 km south-west of Simeria), re-established in 1991.
Ciucea Monastery, a nunnery dedicated to the Nativity of the Mother of God; pilgrimage day: 8 September (Ciucea commune, Cluj County, 20 km west of Huedin, 70 km west of Cluj Napoca, 83 km east of Oradea, built in 1775?).

Crișan Monastery, for monks, dedicated to the Nativity of the Mother of God; pilgrimage day: 8 September (Ribița commune, Hunedoara County, 10 km north of Brad, 46 km north of Deva, founded in the seventeenth century), re-established in 1991.

Dejani Monastery, for monks, dedicated to the Protection of the Mother of God; pilgrimage day: 1 October (Dejani village, Recea commune, Brașov County, 14 km south of Făgăraș, 75 km west of Brașov, attested before 1700).

Gai Monastery of Arad, a nunnery, dedicated to St. Simeon Stylites; pilgrimage day: 1 September (Gai district of Arad City, 50 km north of Timișoara, 153 km north-west of Deva, 115 km south-west of Oradea), re-established in 1964.

Holy Trinity Monastery in Feleac, dedicated to The Holy Trinity; pilgrimage day: the second day after Pentecost (Feleacu village, Cluj County, 8 km south of Cluj-Napoca and 23 km north of Turda).

Voievozi Monastery, a nunnery dedicated to the Holy Archangels Michael and Gabriel; pilgrimage day: 8 November (Voievozi village, Popești commune, Bihor County, 24 km south of Marghita, 36 km north of Aleșd), re-established in 1993.

Like in the rest of Europe, by far the most important is the Feast of the Assumption of the Mother of God, celebrated on 15 August. The calendar date (15 August) brings the summer altar outdoors, as one of the focal points of the ritual's infrastructure. According to most sources, “Honouring the Virgin Mary gained tremendous impetus in the Church, particularly starting from the fourth century, more precisely, after the Third Ecumenical Synod of Ephesus, in 431.” Several sources recommend: Izbuc, Nicula, Dobric, Strâmbu, Bixad, Rohia, Sâmbara de Sus and Moisei as seven monasteries where important pilgrimages take place on the feast of Saint Mary, on 15 August, every year.

The Pilgrimage to Nicula Monastery

The most important traditional pilgrimage in Transylvania, with a dramatic history, has been, since 1990, also the most important and publicized pilgrimage, probably due to the involvement of the politicians who wanted to manifest themselves antithetically in relation to communist atheism; this, however, has not diminished its significance, thanks also to the tens of thousands of faithful who come here annually.
The ritual has certain specific elements, as the pilgrims usually arrive the day before, walk up the imposing hill, chanting pricesne and hymns, attend religious services and a memorial service, as well as the procession following the miracle-working icon (dated 1681, painted by Luca of Iclod, who cried for an entire month three centuries ago: 15 February – 12 March, 1699) around which the sanctuary was established in successive architectural layers. Notable, compared to the motorized secularization of pilgrimage today, is the pedestrian flow of the believers from the villages surrounding the area.

Compared to the current developments, the preservation of certain traditions verges on press events, as evinced by the title of Simona Munteanu’s article, “Pelerinaj de sacrificiu: 180 de kilometri pe jos pentru a se inchina iconei făcătoare de minuni de la Nicula” (A sacrificial pilgrimage: 180 kilometres on foot to worship the miracle-working icon from Nicula): “50 pilgrims from the Maramureș locality Lăpușul Românesc . . . walk all the way there and back, and have been doing this for decades”; “We have believers who have been doing this for no less than 30 years, as they learned from their parents”; and “They would travel up and down a 180-kilometre long road, eat what they have brought from home or what they receive on the road, and spend the night in the Cluj locality of Cășeiu, in the locals’ homes, as they have been doing for years.”

We do not want to enter any disputes concerning the origin of Romanian traditional pilgrimages, organized by strict rules: the assembly of the believers, before departure, in the village church, where special services are celebrated and blessings are given; the prayers in the churchyard, which must precede the departure; those who go on pilgrimage learn specific songs, which they will sing on the way; the crosses and crucifixes from the crossroads where the “pilgrims stop, sing the verse of a special chant, say a prayer and then carry on walking;” the thrice repeated perambulation and a short prayer in the churches encountered by the pilgrims along the way.

“Tourist” Pilgrimages

The Assumption of the Mother of God also occasions a contemporary approach, with a secular touch, as demonstrated by one of the many tourist brochures circulating on the “market”:

The “circuit” version: 1-12-13-14-15-16-17 August 2014; ROUTE:
Day I—Departure from Bucharest, Ploiești and Brașov—Făgăraș—Brâncoveanu Monastery, Sâmbata—Sibiу—Alba Iulia—Râmeț Monastery, accommodation.
Day II—Cășiel Monastery–Robia Monastery, the icon of the Mother of God, N. Steinhardt–Sighetul Marmăției–Săpânța Merry Cemetery and Săpânța Peri Monastery–Bârsana Monastery, accommodation.

Day III—Ride on the mocănița in Vișeu (optional)–Horses’ Waterfalls Borșa (chairlift ride, optional)–Moisei Monastery: worshipping the icon of Virgin Mary–the Church of Ieud–Bârsana Monastery, accommodation.

Day IV—Bârsana Monastery, free time, evening: attending the Lamentations to the Holy Virgin, accommodation.


Day VI—Râmeț Monastery, Holy Liturgy–Sighișoara, the Fortress and Sighișoara Monastery–Brașov–Ploiești–Bucharest.

Transportation by coach, air conditioning, audio devices, event organizer and invited priest.

Participation in the Holy Liturgy; celebration of the Feast of the Assumption of the Mother of God, Maramureș traditions, an atmosphere permeated by spirituality, as well as relaxation.

Catholic Pilgrimages in Transylvania

Together with the architect György Orbán, the author of the present study initiated, in 2011, a scientific doctoral research at the Technical University of Cluj-Napoca, focusing on the valorization of the built heritage of the Roman Catholic Church in Transylvania along the pilgrimage route known as the “Holy Virgin’s Trail” (best known so far mainly because of its branch ending in Medjugorje, Bosnia), which, for circumstantial reasons, was completed as a doctoral thesis in engineering rather than in architecture or urbanism.

The end point of this pilgrimage route is Şumuleu-Ciuc in the Ciuc Depression, one of the most representative areas of the Roman Catholic denomination in Transylvania, inhabited by Franciscan monks since the beginning of the fifteenth century; the present-day church and monastery were built between 1804 and 1834 in Baroque style, and they shelter the Miracle-Making Statue of the Holy Virgin Mary (1510–1515).

Catholics go on pilgrimage to Şumuleu-Ciuc during Pentecost (in the fifteenth century they gathered here on the occasion of the feast of the Virgin Mary). 1567 was an important year, which marked the crystallization of the pil-
grimage phenomenon: thus, the Prince of Transylvania, John Sigismund, tried to impose the Unitarian faith upon the believers in the Szekler seats of Ciuc, Gheorgheni and Casin, but the Catholics, under the leadership of the priest István from Joseni, managed to defeat them, under the protection of the prayers their families had uttered.

One of the branches of this route connects Austria to Romania, totalling approximately 1,400 km; Romanians would also embark on this route, in the spirit of “tearing down the inter-ethnic wall,” the statement of a participant sounding as follows: “Via Mariae contributes to the preservation and conveyance of the Christian values to future generations, advocates mutual awareness, peace and understanding, and helps us draw nearer to God and to ourselves.”

This kind of pilgrimage conforms to the pattern of European Catholic pilgrimage, a journey with daily stages, of about 30 km (in the reader for the course on the History of the City, I found the same pace for Transylvania, which can be travelled on foot in 60 days; its infrastructure is an obvious necessity, the Via Mariae Route in Romania, inaugurated in 2010, beginning to be effectively marked in 2011). The Trail of the Blessed Virgin Mary is thus a network of tourist and pilgrimage routes currently under construction, “whose main axis links the Marian shrines Mariazell in Austria and Şumuleu-Ciuc in Romania;” furthermore, “along the route, the pilgrims receive visas and custom-made beads, with which they can then make their own rosary, after completing the entire route.”

In our opinion, deliberately stressed in this text, the new century stands under the aegis of cultural anthropology, the impact vector of globalization residing in a certain “cultural seduction” and the appropriation of models, including a certain religious syncretism.

A long time ago, a certain ecumenism operated under the umbrella of the Greek-Catholic Church, which adapted, for the Uniates, certain pilgrimage-related Roman Catholic elements. The historical background of the Greek-Catholic Church is also relevant for the practice of pilgrimage, which lasted until the prohibition of this denomination in Romania by the communists. During the episcopate of Iuliu Hossu, there was a revival of pilgrimages to monasteries across the diocese, starting on 21 June 1921 at Bixad, 15 August at Nicula, 6 September at Moisei, and 14 September 1926 at Câșe Monastery near Strâmbu. As Bixad and Moisei were transferred, in 1930, into the Diocese of Maramureș, Lupșa Monastery in the Western Mountains came under the Diocese of Cluj-Gherla, where the bishop presided over the pilgrimage of 20 July and, after the settlement of the Basilian monks at Calvaria Monastery in Cluj-Mănăștur in 1947, he set the pilgrimage for 29 June.
Instead of Definitive Albeit Premature Conclusions

In Transylvania, the phenomenon of pilgrimage occurs essentially among the Roman Catholics, the Greek Catholics and the Orthodox/Byzantine, with characteristics that are specific to each rite. Among the members of the other denominations that flourished in this area at various times, such manifestations verge on cultural tourism and express nostalgia for those times. In all cases, the exigencies of contemporary life affect tradition (to a lesser or higher degree) and an infrastructure that is appropriate and functional is essential for a pilgrimage to unfold.

Roman Catholic pilgrimage follows the Western model, its infrastructure in Transylvania being an infrastructure that is both spiritual (an attribute of the clergy) and material: the road, accommodation and sanctuary infrastructure. The latter category involves compiling geo-referential databases featuring the administrative structure, highlighting the buildings, marking the roads for tourism, drafting the design themes for the buildings of the pilgrimage centres, and the valorization of these buildings.

Greek-Orthodox pilgrimage is marked by the phrase whereby “the Church is the flock of believers, not a mere building,” by specific features pertaining to liturgics and to rituals (migration from the church, the position during religious service and so on), territorial organization, etc. Thus, even though there is also a certain formal architectural conservatism, it can be stated that the largest number of “technical and managerial innovations” are currently underway in its bosom, in sharp contrast with the innovations of the eras when Byzantium was “Europe’s Schengen of the Dark Middle Ages.”

Greek-Catholic pilgrimage bears the brunt of the postwar tragedy it incurred, of post-December frustration and resentment (including that related to the patrimony) and the dilemma—heartbreaking and unfortunately rather poorly solved after 1990—of whether there will be, in the future, a Catholic Church of Oriental rite in this part of Europe (as desired ever since the establishment of this Church, as well as by the papal congregation upon its restoration) or it will gradually melt into Roman Catholicism.

As the Transylvanian charm stems precisely from multiconfessionalism, multiculturalism and coexistence, we believe that we are witnessing an ongoing process, whose pathways and routes are, indeed, initiated.

(Translated by Carmen-Veronica Borbély)
Notes


3. Vasilescu, “Pelerinajul.”


6. Ibid.

7. Mircea Moldovan, Peisaj cultural și dezvoltare (Bucharest: Editura Universitară Ion Mincu, 2009), the chapter “Arhitectura: de la risipitoare de resurse la resursa în sine.”


   http://transilvaniareporter.ro/maramures/pelerinaj-de-sacrificiu-180-de-kilometri-pe-jos-pentru-a-se-inchina-icoanei-facatoare-de-minuni-de-la-nicula/.


17. Mircea Moldovan and Ionuț Julean, Dotări urbane: lăcaș de cult (Cluj-Napoca: U.T. Press, 2011). For general considerations regarding pilgrimages in contemporary Romania, see


Abstract
Pilgrimage and Its Infrastructure in Post-communist Transylvania

The atheistic nature of communism has been dwelt on excessively, to the point where it has become a trite commonplace. In reality, especially after the communist takeover of power, there was a certain competition in matters of faith, which could provide a much more convincing explanation of the entailing religious persecutions. In the countries of Eastern Europe, the post-1989 period has witnessed a return to pre-communist traditions and a re-synchronization with the West, including through a religious revival. Transylvania, by virtue of its history and traditions, also has a decidedly multicultural and multiconfessional character. In this area, there is an entire history of pilgrimages undertaken to this day, nuanced for each denomination (Greek Orthodox, Roman Catholic, Greek Catholic, etc.), yet also marked by mutual influences, a certain degree of emulation and even consequences such as changes in ownership over various places of worship. The post-communist period has brought about a typically postmodern dimension of pilgrimages: cultural tourism and the ineffable touch of ecumenical syncretism.

Keywords
post-communism, religious revival, synchronism and integration, pilgrimage and its infrastructure, sacred geographies
From Double to Triple Minority
Romanian neo-Protestants from the Serbian Banat in the United States and Canada

“Although immigrant religious communities can support a form of socio-cultural integration, they are found to have a clear desire to retain, as long as possible, what they feel is their own culture.”

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Introduction

NOWADAYS MOBILITY has become a ubiquitous phenomenon, while the issues of emigration, immigrant integration and the relations of the homeland to the diaspora are crucial for understanding the migration processes. Thus, the questions of identity of people belonging to different diasporic communities are increasingly attracting research in the area of the humanistic sciences. During the last two decades, sociological and anthropological studies have placed at the center of their interests the phenomena related to migration, diaspora, foreign workers, the acculturation of ethnic communities in diaspora and transnationalism. However, the complex issues related to diaspora

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and migrations also need to be studied and analyzed from a historical perspective. It is the historical and socio-political circumstances that were often the cause of migration, especially in the communist countries of Southeast Europe. The diversity of the emigration to North America was especially prominent after the Second World War. The causes of migrations were mostly economic, but also social and political. Although the topic of this paper is a special type of migration—religious migration, it cannot be considered in isolation, but only in the broader context of migrations and of the significance of religion for immigrant communities. In the context of (im)migration, according to anthropologist Wouter Dumont, religion can constitute a basis for extensive network formation and becomes an important marker of identity and a significant instrument for self-categorization. Different forms of immigrant religiosity in new societies have affected the lives of migrants, both historically and in the present. Sociologists Yang Fenggang and Helen Rose Ebang argue that “some immigrant religious communities emphasize their members’ religious identity more than their ethnic core, whereas others stress ethnic identity and use mostly the religious institution as a means to preserve cultural traditions and ethnic boundaries.” Transcending the strict barriers of belonging to a particular ethnic community, neo-Protestants represent a true example of “worldwide brotherhood” having believers with different ethnic origins. Relying on the aforementioned distinction, our case study in this paper features the Romanian neo-Protestant immigrants in North America who show a complex ethnic and religious identity relation, becoming a triple minority—an ethnic minority twice over and also part of a religious minority.

Most neo-Protestant communities were founded in the late 19th and early 20th century. Emigration within the frame of neo-Protestantism was especially prominent during the First and Second World Wars. After the Second World War, the unfavorable position in which all neo-Protestant communities found themselves in communist Yugoslavia led to significant migration waves to North America and Australia. Some studies show that Romanian emigrants were 95% Orthodox, while the rest were mostly Greek-Catholic and Baptist. However, the results of continuous qualitative field research on the religiosity of the Romanians in Serbian Banat, which has been conducted since 2008, indicate that other neo-Protestant communities were also prone to migration (e.g. the Nazarenes, Adventists). The material collected for the purposes of this paper came as the result of preliminary research on the Romanian neo-Protestant diaspora, based on interviews with pastors from the Serbian Banat and the believers in the United States and Canada, and on the available literature. Starting from the hypothesis that the conversion of the Romanians from the Serbian Banat to neo-Protestantism is closely related to issues of emigration, whether the conversion
happened while living abroad or they were, for religious reasons, forced to leave their homeland, the main focus of this paper are Romanian neo-Protestants, originating from the Serbian Banat, as a triple minority in North America.

The paper is divided into two thematic areas. In the first part, we present a brief historical outline of the Romanians in the Banat region. The second part is devoted to the issues of emigration to overseas countries—the United States and Canada and to the integration of Romanians abroad. The issue of emigration of the Romanians to North America has occupied, so far, a number of researchers who have been trying to explain the reasons for emigration in recent history. At the beginning of the 20th century, after the Romanians from the Serbian Banat joined and formed a large number of local neo-Protestant communities, they found themselves in the position of a double minority—ethnic and religious. As the position of the neo-Protestant communities in different social and political circumstances was unfavorable, some religious groups (such as the Nazarenes), began to emigrate very early on, not only for economic reasons, but mainly in search of religious freedom. By going to the New World, now as a triple minority, the Romanians joined the already existing neo-Protestant community or they established new communities, which would greatly affect their integration into the new environment.

The Romanians in the Serbian Banat

After the end of the First World War and the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, when Banat was divided between the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, the Kingdom of Romania and the Kingdom of Hungary, due to the fact that on the entire territory of Banat the population was mixed, it was inevitable that on both sides of the state borders there were people who found themselves in the position of an ethnic minority on the territory of the state whose component they had become. Thus, in the western parts of Banat, which now belonged to the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, there were about 40 villages with a Romanian population, living either in ethnically compact, homogeneous villages, or mixed with the Serbs and other ethnic groups. After the completion of the demarcation of Banat, the position of the Romanians became much clearer than it had been in the first years after the war, when there had been some problems in terms of recognition of their civil rights in the Yugoslav state.

After the Second World War, the position of the Romanians in the Yugoslav Banat, which by the constitution of 1946 became part of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, changed. The cultural, educational and, in general, iden-
entity-related component concerning the Romanians, as well as other minorities, were orchestrated by the state government. Both in the interwar period and after World War II, in socialist Yugoslavia and currently in the modern Serbian state, the Romanian minority in the Serbian Banat has been trying to preserve its national identity, culture and language as well as the relationship with the mother country. In terms of the religious identity of the Romanians in the Serbian Banat, during the twentieth and early twenty-first century significant changes are notable, as will be discussed in the remainder of this paper.

An Overview of the Confessional Situation of the Romanians in the Serbian Banat

Throughout recent history, the religious identity of the Romanians in the Serbian Banat has undergone various changes. In the multi-ethnic and multi-religious area of Banat, the Romanians became members of different neo-Protestant communities, which largely contributed to the enrichment of the confessional life within this ethnic community. Members of the Romanian ethnic minority to a large degree belong to the Romanian Orthodox Church, which is the dominant confession, then to the Romanian Greek-Catholic Church and to various neo-Protestant communities—the Nazarene, the Adventist, the Baptist, or the Pentecostal community. The official statistical data from the census show that the number of Romanian Orthodox Christians has been gradually decreasing, as can be seen from the decreasing percentages. In 1953, out of 57,236 Romanians in Vojvodina, 87.9% were Orthodox Christians, in 1991 from the total of 42,316 Romanians, 82.4% were Orthodox, while in the year 2002 out of 34,576 Romanians 81.9% remained Orthodox. On the other hand, the number of neo-Protestants increased from 0.7% in 1953 to 2.6% in 1991 but then decreased to 2.1% in 2002. However, despite the declining trend, the number of Orthodox Romanians remains dominant in relation to the other confessions.

Conversion to neo-Protestantism has been more prominent within the Protestant population, Germans and Hungarians, but, over time, the majority Orthodox ethnic groups, such as the Serbs and the Romanians, joined the neo-Protestants. As the oldest neo-Protestants, the Nazarenes in the Serbian Banat villages were mentioned in the second half of the 19th century. Because of their pacifist beliefs and refusal to take an oath, during the First and Second World Wars, a large number of Nazarenes was sentenced to prison, while a number of believers emigrated to the United States, Canada and Australia. Although after the Second World War, freedom of religion was guaranteed and the government did not re-
quire the Nazarenes to take an oath, conflicts arose when the Nazarenes refused to participate in voting, also opposing the collectivization of property. For these reasons, in the 1950s, the Nazarenes were condemned to serve prison sentences. The disadvantageous position of the Nazarenes, from the moment they appeared on this territory, as well as during the period of communism, led to a large wave of emigration of believers, especially after 1960. The emigration peaked between 1965 and 1973 when the “open borders policy” allowed people to travel freely and legally go to work abroad. Thus, the once numerous Nazarene communities became nearly extinguished in the Serbian Banat.

The expansion of Adventism among the Romanians began in the early 20th century, when missionaries from Transylvania came to Banat. The biggest rise of Adventism was recorded between 1910 and 1920. The first Seventh-day Adventist community was established in Banatsko Novo Selo in 1910, having 13 believers, and their number was on the rise starting with the following year. Adventists in Romanian villages gathered in homes and baptisms were performed in nearby rivers or lakes. During World War II, the Adventists became officially banned, their churches were closed, and their publications prohibited. Conflicts of the state with the Adventists, according to historian Radmila Radić, were related to their demands that their children should not be obliged to attend school on Saturdays, and the workers released from their work-related duties. The Adventists whose children did not attend school were fined and imprisoned. Then there was a wave of emigration to Western Europe and North America. A more organized form of missionary work began in the fifties, by evangelizing and establishing Saturday schools in which work with children was especially cherished.

Ever since the establishment of the first community, the conversion to neo-Protestantism was associated with the mobility of missionaries and preachers. In accordance with this, German Baptist missionaries also established their first communities among the Romanians in the early 20th century. Most Romanian Baptist churches on this territory were established after World War II. For the establishment of a local Baptist church, the existence of twelve baptized believers was necessary. In some villages new churches were founded by the people returning from the United States who had converted to Baptism there. By the decision made in 1930, it was possible to cross the border between Yugoslavia and Romania with special passes, which had consequences on the contacts with Baptist communities in Romania. The communities in the Serbian Banat received the necessary literature and Bibles in the Romanian language.

The first Romanian Pentecostal community was founded by a former Nazarene believer, Ilija Brenka, in 1932 in Uzdin. Brenka held his first gatherings in his house, but he soon came into contact with believers in Romania. The
community in the village of Uzdin had about sixty believers, who in 1933 began their missionary work in the surrounding Romanian villages. A more numerous community was established in Vladimirovac, where there had already existed a Nazarene and a Baptist community. In 1933 among the Nazarenes in the village of Margita there was an expansion of Pentecostal teachings and a new community was established. The prayer house was purchased as late as 1955, thanks to the help of the believers who came back from America, after which more than fifty people were baptized. The early post-war years mark the rise of Pentecostalism among the Romanians. Although small in number, the Romanian Pentecostal communities in the Serbian Banat had frequent contacts with the communities in Romania.

**Emigration to the West**

The first mass departures of the Romanian population originating from the area of the Serbian Banat to the United States can be found at the turn of the 20th century. The process of emigration has continued almost without interruption until the present day, caused by a variety of factors. The course of emigration itself took place in several stages, which are defined according to the socio-economic and political conditions that prevailed during the twentieth century:

1. the period from the late nineteenth and early twentieth century to the First World War;
2. the interwar period;
3. the first period of communism in Yugoslavia (1945–1965);
4. the period from 1965 to 1975;
5. the economic prosperity of Yugoslavia;
6. the breakup of Yugoslavia and the economic crisis (from 1991 to the present day).

In the first phase, the Romanians from Banat left en masse to the United States in search of work, largely independently, and in rare cases entire families went to the New World. This, of course, applies not only to the Romanian population from Banat, but also to the population on the whole territory of Austria-Hungary, as well as the greater part of Europe, as they witnessed the economic growth of the United States. After a break of several years during the Great War, the process continued in the interwar period, but this time, in addition to the US, Canada, partly Argentina and Brazil, and even Australia became attractive as well. The largest number of emigrants leaving for Canada at the end of the twenties and during the years of the Great Economic Depression
went through difficult times, desperately looking for a job in a situation where a large number of workers were unemployed worldwide. The Romanian language press that was active in the Serbian Banat asked the fellow Romanians not to go overseas, especially not to Argentina, and also pointed out the problems emigrants encountered in Canada.

Once again, the main reason for leaving the Banat village was the economic factor, because mostly poor peasants emigrated. As a non-Slavic people, the Romanians were exempt from the agrarian reform, which was conducted at the beginning of the 1920s in the Kingdom of Serbs, but there were also members of the middle peasant strata in search of a better life. More massive emigrations than before the Great War began to significantly affect the demographic situation of the Romanians in the Yugoslav Banat. After the end of the Second World War and the establishment of the communist regime in Yugoslavia, due to the fact that the peasantry were first in line to be attacked by the new regime, a large number of Romanians sought to leave the country and move to the US or Canada, or to some other Western country. The illegal crossing of the Yugoslav-Italian border was one of the ways to reach the desired goal. In the mid–1960s, the Yugoslav communist regime, realizing the economic situation and the problem of the lack of jobs in the country, decided to allow all citizens to travel freely around the world and go looking for jobs in countries that were in need of manpower. It was then that the largest wave of emigration of citizens of the former Yugoslavia to the West started, and among them there was a large number of Romanians from Banat. The Romanians mostly immigrated to the countries of North America, which provided them with job opportunities and a better standard of living. Finally, the last phase of emigration to the West began in 1991 with the outbreak of the war in Yugoslavia and its collapse, and following the consequences these events had on the security and economic situation of the citizens. Numerous emigrants flocked to western countries during the 1990s, due to the difficult political and economic situation of the country.

The population belonging to a national minority, first on the territory of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and then on the territory of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and later in socialist Yugoslavia, who went to the US and Canada, as well as to other Western countries, has built over the decades a separate identity, specific in many ways. This “multiple” identity of Romanian immigrants in different countries, regions and cities where they settled was different, and it had the clearest outlines where the population was most numerous and where to some extent they resided in communities which were more or less compact. We must mention here mainly New York City, Chicago and Detroit in the US and, for Canada, Hamilton and Kitchener, as the cities where the Romanian immigrants originating from the Serbian Banat are mostly concentrated.
In the places where they are present in greater numbers, they established various national, cultural and sports associations. The most significant is Banatul in New York, which initially included Romanians and Serbs from the Serbian Banat. In Canada, the most famous association is Banatul in Kitchener, and the Association of Romanians from Vladimirovac founded in 1954. We must not neglect the importance of the Romanian language for immigrants, which is very specific for more than one reason—it is a dialect of Romanian spoken in Banat with many borrowings from the Serbian language, brought by the immigrants from the homeland, but also containing borrowings from the English language. Different linguistic calques are especially expressed in the spoken language of the younger generation, where the language shift is also present.

Religious Communities and the Identity of the Romanian Immigrants in the United States and Canada

Whether they left as members of neo-Protestant communities or they joined one of them in North America, the Romanians from the Serbian Banat had a significant role in the establishment of the first Romanian congregations. The most numerous emigrants, of course, were the Orthodox, who in the early 20th century united into parishes, relying on the Protestant model. The Orthodox religion was an important element in the collective identity of the Romanian diaspora overseas, and therefore a large number of Orthodox parishes have been established. When it comes to neo-Protestants, mostly Romanian Nazarenes and Seventh-day Adventists emigrated. We can assume that the reason for an increased emigration among the members of the two communities, in addition to economic factors, was their religious principles, which had been challenged by the state. Many, in search of a “free” society, fled from the severe religious and political persecution. Because of their manifest conscientious objection, the Nazarenes were a community most exposed to persecution. In order to avoid military service, many Nazarenes tried to cross the border illegally. For refusing to work on Saturdays and to send their children to school on Saturdays, the Adventists were also sentenced to prison.

Back in the late 19th and early 20th century, Nazarenes from Germany and Switzerland established communities in the United States and Canada, so the emigrants from the German-speaking countries were the main protagonists in establishing relations with their brothers in faith in overseas countries. Soon, the Serbian, Romanian, Hungarian and Slovak Nazarenes would follow the German Nazarenes in search of religious freedom. There they joined the Apostolic
Christian Church, which is the official name of the Nazarene community in the United States and Canada. With the arrival of an increasing number of Nazarene emigrants from Europe, the Apostolic Christian Church split into the Apostolic Christian Church of America, the Apostolic Christian Church and the German Apostolic Christian Church. The division of the community was due to some specific religious practices of the European Nazarenes (separate seating for men and women, a certain manner of dressing, etc.), as well as the use of the German language, which, according to historian Bojan Aleksov, was the official language of the Nazarene congregations in America and Canada until the mid-20th century. As the more conservative branch of the Nazarene, the Apostolic Christian Church received the emigrants from Eastern Europe. In general, the Nazarenes remained closer to their ethnic group and worshiped in their own language after emigration. Where possible, the Nazarenes in the United States and Canada formed communities alongside members of their own ethnic minorities (Germans, Romanians, Serbs). In the cities where there were not enough members, the community would be composed of believers of mixed ethnic origins. Such is the case with certain communities in Australia, in Adelaide, where the community consists of Hungarian, Romanian, Serbian and German Nazarenes. It is interesting to compare the communities in North America and Australia. Many communities in Australia were founded by emigrants from Yugoslavia after the 1960s. Although Nazarene communities exist in major cities such as Perth, Melbourne, Brisbane, Sydney, the number of Nazarenes has been stagnating and is between 400 and 500 worshippers. Unlike the communities in North America, in Australia the Nazarenes remained more attached to the “model” of the conservative European communities. They stayed closer to their Serbian, Hungarian and Romanian roots. From a global perspective, the Apostolic Christian Church became less conservative considering that it operated in environments different from those in Yugoslavia or Romania. However, in both the US and Canada there are communities that are considered conservative by the Nazarene diaspora. A few years ago, the Nazarenes in the US divided into the “Western Conference” (liberal) and the “Eastern Conference” (moderates and conservatives). In an environment of considerable religious diversity, as well as because of the presence of less conservative communities, the members of the Apostolic Christian Church in the United States and Canada do not have much success in recruiting new members, the reason being their non-proselytizing practice. The more liberal Apostolic Christian churches promote their religious teachings to people outside the community, and some of them have also carried out missionary work. The Romanian Nazarene communities, as a triple minority, remain committed to the ethnic model of congregational organization, practicing worship in Romanian and English. Many churches in North America were influenced the German Nazarenes from Yugoslavia that immigrated to Canada in
the 1950s and 1960s; they are more pragmatic, flexible and moderate than the Romanian Nazarenes. Globally, the beliefs and practices of the various branches of the Nazarenes are no longer homogenous. They now encompass conservative, moderate, and liberal theologies and practices with respect to their original teachings. Larger Romanian Nazarene communities in the United States are located in Ohio, New York City, Detroit, and Los Angeles. The Nazarene diaspora is relatively well integrated into the new society, although they strive to maintain their mother tongue in their communities.

Emigration within the Adventist community is also linked to the period between 1950 and 1960. Adventist believers, often looking for jobs that do not involve work on Saturdays, went to Western Europe, primarily to Germany, but also to North America. Romanian Adventist emigrants from the Serbian Banat were not organized into separate churches in the United States and Canada, but went to the Canadian (American) churches, where sometimes there are sermons in the Serbian language and, where there are not, they listen to sermons in English.

The Romanians within the Baptist communities of the Serbian Banat began the migration by going to Australia in 1959. Before World War II there were no Romanian Baptist emigrants to the West, because the movement was only founded in 1930 and there was no opportunity until the war for a significant number of Baptists to emigrate to the West. Thus, emigration within the Baptist communities began only in the sixties. In 1962–63 Baptists began to immigrate in large numbers to America, first to be housed in camps in Italy, after which they continued on. According to our informants, there were almost no Romanian Baptist churches in North America at that time, not until the Romanians from the Serbian Banat left. In 1922 in Canada, only two Romanian Baptist Churches were recorded, alongside one Adventist and seven Romanian Orthodox churches. With the help of the American Baptists, the Romanians founded smaller communities and built prayer houses. In the eighties, Romanians from Romania began arriving, and especially after the Romanian Revolution of 1989, so today in these churches 95 to 98% of the Romanians are from Romania. The number of churches increased, while the number of Romanians originated from the Serbian Banat remained the same. They are integrated into the community of Romanian Baptist Churches in the US and Canada, worship taking place in the Romanian language. The Romanians from the Serbian Banat make up a small part of the Romanian Baptist communities in the United States and Canada. For example, in Kitchener, Canada, there are about 300 Romanian Baptist families and among them only 4 to 5 families are from the Serbian Banat. The situation is similar in Hamilton, Detroit, and New York City.

Similar to other neo-Protestant communities, the Romanian Pentecostals emigrated in the 1960s. After having gone to America, many believers helped the communities in the Serbian Banat to build prayer houses or buy church
buildings. An interesting fact, stated by Pentecostal pastor Marinike Mozor, is that the first songbook in the Romanian language was printed in New York in 1972 by two Romanian believers who sent it to the Serbian Banat.

**Conclusion**

The majority of historians consider that the Romanian emigration to America was essentially an economic phenomenon. In this paper we have tried to show other aspects of the Romanian emigration, from the perspective of the religious migration of the Romanian neo-Protestants. The conversion of the Romanians to neo-Protestantism in the Serbian Banat is closely related to the issues of migration, since the conversions often took place abroad or through the mediation of pastors from abroad. Having gone abroad, the Romanians remained committed to the religious communities to which they belonged, which was an important basis for a better integration in the new society, but it also showed an expression of unity. After the arrival in a new environment, they often received assistance from the existing neo-Protestant communities to raise their churches or to join existing ones. In the secular society of the United States and Canada, in a variety of different religious communities of Protestant origin, despite having a triple minority status, the Romanian neo-Protestants were free to exercise their religious practices with no restraints within the new communities. However, what is paradoxical, in addition to the commitment to supra-nationalism and the openness to the inclusion of different ethnic groups, the Romanian neo-Protestants in the diaspora remain quite isolated within their ethnic congregations. We can assume that the tendency toward organizing a community based on ethnicity represented a way of preserving their mother tongue and culture in a dislocated multi-ethnic and multi-religious space. As Dumont argues, “although immigrant religious communities can support a form of socio-cultural integration, they are found to have a clear desire to retain, as long as possible, what they feel is their own culture.” The conservatism of certain communities, as is the case with the Nazarenes, in some way contributes to the slowing down of the process of assimilation and acculturation. Therefore, we can conclude that the processes of assimilation and integration of communities in the diaspora are closely related to issues of identity of certain groups, whether ethnic or religious.
Notes

4. The research is being conducted within the project of the Institute for Balkan Studies SASA (Belgrade, Serbia).
9. On the island of Goli Otok there was the most notorious prison in communist Yugoslavia, where mostly political prisoners were sent. Testimonies of the Nazarene believers on Goli Otok, who later emigrated to the United States, were published in the study: Kathleen Nenadov, *Choosing to suffer affliction: the untold story of Nazarene persecution in Yugoslavia* (San Diego, 2006).
12. Radmila Radić, *Država i verske zajednice* (Belgrade, 2002), 626.
18. The history and role of the Romanian Orthodox Church in the United States and Canada, where there are the highest number of immigrants originating from the Serbian Banat, is beyond the scope of this paper. Gabriel Viorel Gârdan and Marius
Eppel argue that “the Orthodox Romanians from Canada have been pioneers of the church life. In 1901, they built the first Romanian Orthodox church in North America. The first Romanian Orthodox parish in the USA was founded in 1904, in Cleveland, Ohio.”

20. Ibid., 290.
21. E-mail correspondence from Peter Szabo, 24 January 2013. We would like to express our gratitude to Mr. Peter Szabo, who gave us very detailed and precious data on the Nazarenes in North America and Australia and the inspiration to start this research. We also owe our gratitude to the Baptist pastor Đorđe Barbu and the Adventist pastor Petru Trifu from Vladimirovac, for very useful information and suggestions, as well as to all of our informants.
22. Popescu, 487.

Abstract
From Double to Triple Minority: Romanian neo-Protestants from the Serbian Banat in the United States and Canada

The paper is devoted to issues of emigration to overseas countries such as the United States and Canada, and of the integration of Romanian neo-Protestants from the Serbian Banat into the Diaspora. Since the position of neo-Protestant communities in different social and political circumstances was unfavorable, neo-Protestant believers began to emigrate, not only for economic reasons, but mainly in search of religious freedom. The emigration of Romanian neo-Protestants was particularly intense from the mid-sixties onwards, when the Yugoslav communist regime allowed its citizens to travel abroad. By going to the New World, the Romanians from the Serbian Banat joined existing neo-Protestant communities or established new communities, which would significantly affect their integration into the new environment, but also the creation of a separate and in many ways specific identity of a triple minority.

Keywords
emigrants, Romanian neo-Protestants, triple minority, identity, the Serbian Banat, the United States, Canada
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La série d’événements spectaculaires dont les origines sont à chercher dans les réflexions théologiques des universitaires de Prague, devenus les catalyseurs de solidarités et d’antagonismes au sein de toute la société tchèque médiévale, ainsi que l’impact de ceux-ci sur les développements confessionnels, politiques et militaires en Europe chrétienne, continuent à représenter une provocation pour l’écrit historique intéressé par la restitution du passé médiéval. Les deux siècles de controverses entre les représentants des écoles historiographiques tchèque et allemande, avec des contributions opportunes dues à quelques directions devenues prioritaires parmi les disciplines associées à l’histoire, n’ont pas diminué l’intérêt du public instruit pour les conséquences immédiates ou éloignées de cette première révolution médiévale. D’abord, l’utilisation du concept de révolution au sujet d’un
épisode du Moyen Âge, soit-il de la taille de la réforme religieuse, qui s’est achevée par l’institutionnalisation d’une alternative théologique ayant déterminé la mobilisation pro ou contre des hommes et des nations d’Europe centrale et de l’Est, peut paraître exagérée, étant donné qu’il s’agit d’une étape historique qui, même en vertu de sa propre axiologie, est tenue pour un temps de régression et d’immobilisme socioéconomique. D’ailleurs, František Šmahel, l’auteur ayant proposé cette approche, a lui-même fini par considérer le phénomène hussite comme une anomalie historique, en raison justement de son caractère anticipatif, et a expliqué son échec par l’incompatibilité entre les idées et les innovations institutionnelles proposées par ses divers courants et les réalités concrètes de la Bohême du XVe siècle. Les historiens affiliés à la conception et à la méthode marxistes, avec l’option programmatique de celles-ci pour une lecture du passé à travers la grille de la succession des modes de production et de la dynamique de la lutte de classe, se sont montrés assez circonspects à conférer des significations révolutionnaires à un mouvement dont les origines religieuses étaient incontestables et qui a impliqué la participation de l’ensemble de la nation tchèque, ignorant les limites corporatives médiévales et pré-modernes. En dépit de quelques tentatives, dépourvues des repères de l’esprit critique nécessaires à toute investigation scientifique, de trouver des similitudes entre les expériences sociales proposées par les hussites radicaux et les idéaux égalitaires du socialisme utopique ou réel, les événements de 1419 à 1434 ont été inclus dans la série des révoltes médiévales classiques, des soulèvements paysans de la fin du Moyen Âge en France et en Angleterre ou des émeutes urbaines en Italie et aux Pays-Bas. Si le mérite des études consacrées aux évolutions économiques et aux transformations sociales survenues en Bohême dans la première moitié du XVe siècle est essentiel pour la compréhension des motivations et de la conduite des individus et des communautés, les évaluations antithétiques des historiens romantiques et positivistes se sont avérées encore plus importantes. Johan Huizinga considérait que le seul événement du Moyen Âge à pouvoir revêtir d’incontestables significations nationales est le conflit ayant opposé Tchèques et Germaniques au temps du mouvement hussite. Les considérations du réputé connaisseur du mental collectif des derniers siècles du Moyen Âge sont en même temps une conclusion pour un siècle de débat historiographique sur ce thème.

Comme d’autres épisodes de l’histoire des communautés ethniques d’Europe centrale-orientale, avec des frontières et des loyautés volatiles, soumises à la pression de voisinsages viciés et à la tentation du potentiel expansionniste des centres de pouvoir extérieurs, l’expérience hussite a généré l’enthousiasme des Tchèques et l’opprobre des Germaniques, en fonction du rôle de ces centres de pouvoir dans la projection identitaire des deux nations. Si pour František Palacký, le
fondateur de l’écrit historique tchèque moderne, le mouvement hussite a été l’expression authentique de la mission du peuple tchèque et de ses aspirations vers l’idéal moral chrétien, des auteurs de la taille de Theodor Mommsen ont considéré la conduite des Tchèques qui se sont soulevés contre l’ordre politique et spirituel du royaume comme une manifestation néfaste de la barbarie et de l’ignorance, qui a anéanti les réalisations de quelques siècles de civilisation médiévale transplantée en Bohême grâce aux artisans et aux prélats de l’empire, au temps de l’avancée des Germaniques vers l’Est.

L’appartenance aux deux écoles historiographiques et la vénération pour l’autorité des prédécesseurs n’ont pas censuré l’esprit critique, ni l’introduction de nuances interprétatives, alors que les échos que les actions et surtout le discours de légitimité diffusé par les protagonistes ont générés au niveau de la spiritualité européenne ont élargi la plage de la recherche, ce qui a conduit à l’apparition de corrélations plus appropriées au contexte confessionnel, ethnique et politique de la région.

Sans donner la priorité ni à l’un ni à l’autre des facteurs ayant catalysé la dynamique des événements emblématiques pour la biographie et la carrière universitaire du magistre Jan Hus, le martyr du peuple tchèque, nous pouvons apprécier que leur genèse a été l’expression de la crise structurelle qui affectait le monde chrétien à la fin du Moyen Âge. La dépression économique et le recul démographique provoqué par les grandes épidémies mettaient en cause la fonctionnalité des structures sociales et politiques partout en Europe du temps, le climat d’inquiétude, de pessimisme et de contestation n’étant que l’expression de la recrudescence des conflits entre les États ou des conflits civils. C’est le moment où la Guerre de Cent Ans évolue depuis une dispute des juristes et des rois sur la succession dynastique à un combat entre Français et Anglais, qui a laissé dans la mémoire de la postérité le souvenir de Jeanne d’Arc, mais aussi la dispute entre les prélats français et anglais au sujet du droit de vote des nations conciliaires, tout aussi révélatrices du pluralisme sémantique que fut le concept de natio au Moyen Âge.

Les deux piliers traditionnels du monde médiéval, l’empire et la papauté, deviennent les cibles du mécontentement du public instruit et l’objet de prédilection des tentatives de structuration d’un agenda réformiste général européen. Le mental public du monde médiéval pendant ces derniers siècles de son évolution vers le pré-modernisme est dominé par la faille creusée entre la réalité et le discours, que François Furet évoquait en relation avec les années antérieures à la Révolution française. Une série d’hommes de culture du XIVe siècle, juristes de l’Université de Bologne ou humanistes de la taille de Francesco Pétrarque, font appel à la restauration d’une puissance impériale efficace, alors que le saint Empire romain de la nation germanique était devenu une réalité nominale, investie d’une certaine force de suggestion limitée à l’espace politique pluriel des principautés germaniques, dont les intérêts basculaient
entre l’affirmation de quelques centres régionaux de pouvoir et la proclamation de la primauté formelle entre les nations chrétiennes. La soi-disant captivité babylonienne des papes à Avignon et le grand schisme ayant affecté l’Église romaine ont accentué le nationalisme religieux, reconnaissable aussi bien dans la rhétorique des théologiens des universités et des prélats réunis dans les conciles œcuméniques que dans les sermons des moines mendiants. Les arguments de ces derniers, prononcés dans la langue parlée de la communauté des fidèles et en faisant appel au peuple chrétien dans sa qualité de censeur de l’élite qui avait abandonné les paradigmes évangéliques, mettaient en cause l’une des idées-force avec lesquelles l’ecclésiologie médiévale avait opéré, l’image de la Christianitas en tant qu’unité transnationale, effectivement gouvernée par le souverain pontife dans sa qualité de successeur de Jésus Christ, et répondaient aux exigences d’un nouveau type de piété, plus introspective et orientée vers une observation plus stricte des normes confessionnelles. Cet état d’esprit va anticiper en dernière analyse la christianisation profonde de l’Europe, suite à l’institutionnalisation du pluralisme des dissidences protestantes et de la réforme catholique et, surtout, des nouveaux rapports établis avec l’orthodoxie. Comme dans le cas de la proximité des altérités ethniques, ce pluralisme a généré, dans les deux premiers siècles de son existence, des conflits endémiques, dont les règles ignoraient les rigueurs minimales de la conduite chevaleresque médiévale.

Le recours à la violence est une circonstance presque objective dans les conditions où la tolérance ne s’imposera comme paradigme éthique qu’à l’issue de ces expériences historiques. La dimension presque institutionnalisée des nouveaux types de solidarité et les disponibilités de différentes couches sociales à l’affirmation de leurs propres points de vue sont illustrées par les débats conciliaires qui visaient justement à rétablir l’unité de l’Église romaine. La dispute ayant opposé les prélats français et anglais durant le Concile de Constance est ainsi significative de la manière dont l’interrogation au sujet d’une série de questions administratives et ecclésiastiques s’acheminait par l’élaboration de paradigmes propres, avec des acceptions presque modernes en ce qui concerne le concept de nation. Les diverses solutions destinées à rétablir l’autorité pontificale et l’unité de l’Église éveillaient des conflits et des solidarités similaires également aux confins orientaux de la chrétienté occidentale, où l’éventuel succès de la mission chrétienne et la subordination des communautés orthodoxes à l’autorité du Saint-Siège constituaient les principaux objectifs de la diplomatie papale. Le mémoire rédigé par les clercs de l’Université de Cracovie et discuté dans le cadre du concile mettait en cause la légitimité de la position de l’ordre des chevaliers teutoniques comme mandataire du Saint-Siège et créait les prémisses de l’édification d’une nouvelle relation avec l’Église orthodoxe, fondée sur la reconnaissance des différences et l’intégration des élites. Cette démarche valorisait au niveau d’un acte de propa-
gande patriotique le succès remporté par l’Église polonaise, suite à la conversion des Lituaniens, à l’emploi de la persuasion et à la répudiation de facto de l’appel à la croisade permanente, l’une des principales sources de légitimité de l’État fondé par les chevaliers germaniques il y a presque deux siècles. L’activation ou l’inhibition de nouveaux types de solidarité communautaire et la contestation des repères se produisent dans un climat d’anxiété collective, où la recherche des voies du salut consiste dans le retour au paradigme de la vie évangélique.

Le Royaume de Bohême a ressenti ces transformations à sa manière, étant donné le succès remporté dans l’intégration d’une nation slave dans les cadres de la civilisation médiévale classique. Le développement économique favorisé par une relative stabilité sous la dynastie de Prémysl et l’avènement de la dynastie de Luxembourg avaient assuré au souverain des Pays tchèques la primauté parmi les princes de l’empire, position institutionnalisée par la Bulle d’or de 1356, l’empereur Charles IV de Luxembourg (1346-1378) étant considéré plutôt comme un père de la Bohême que comme un prince germanique. Le progrès enregistré par les relations de production et les échanges, suite au dynamisme des centres urbains et à l’importance acquise par les ressources minérales, ainsi que le patronage exercé par le pouvoir royal sur l’Église et la culture tchèques ne se sont pas avérés suffisants pour aplatir l’ancienne rivalité entre Tchèques et Germaniques, dorénavant manifeste également sur le plan juridique et administratif des magistratures urbaines. La générosité des donations en faveur de l’Église a eu des effets bénéfiques sur le plan culturel, mais a modifié la conduite des officialités ecclésiastiques, de plus en plus impliquées dans la politique et totalement désintéressées des besoins des fidèles. En potentielle antithèse avec cette catégorie et avec ses protecteurs séculiers on peut remarquer le mécontentement du clergé paroissial pour la précarité de ses conditions de vie, celui des prédicateurs populaires qui voyaient dans la décadence des moeurs du présent les signes de l’approche du Jugement dernier, et surtout la déception des jeunes professeurs et étudiants de l’Université de Prague, dont les réflexions réalisaient l’osmose entre l’idéal patriotique et celui de la réforme morale. Ces forces ont constitué le public sensible aux thèses réformistes formulées par Jan Hus, qui dans le sillage de John Wyclif proposait une ample restauration de l’Église in capite et in membris, au sens du retour de la communauté chrétienne dans son ensemble aux normes morales et à l’austérité matérielle prêchée par les apôtres et les pères de l’Église. Néanmoins, la dimension révolutionnaire de ses thèses ne résidait pas dans les innovations confessionnelles, populaires d’ailleurs dans les milieux universitaires européens, mais dans les finalités politiques et civiques assumées par le discours hussite. En se proposant la réforme morale de la société à tous ses niveaux, le magistère arrivait à contester la légitimité du pouvoir du souverain, dans les conditions où les actes de conduite de celui-ci entrerait en
contradiction avec la morale chrétienne. Cette idée mettait en cause les fondements mêmes des institutions médiévales, introduisant pour la première fois une censure de nature morale vis-à-vis des actes du pouvoir souverain, devenu responsable devant la société et donc dépossédé d’immanence.

Le mérite de celui que la vénération de sa nation et la tragédie de son martyre allaient inscrire dans le panthéon national tchèque est incontestable dans l’apparition des réflexions sur les devoirs des gouvernants envers les gouvernés. Elles deviennent visibles au niveau de quelques actes politiques issus d’approches empiriques, tel que le soulèvement initié par la reine Isabelle en 1326, qui va aboutir à l’abdication du roi Édouard II (1307-1327), événement que la ratification par le Parlement et la succession du pouvoir souverain en faveur du prince héritier ont enfermé dans les limites du droit civil. La légitimation d’un acte visant en dernière instance l’amendement du pouvoir royal valorisait les expériences antérieures du pluralisme politique anglo-saxon, mais le succès de cette initiative était dû à l’activation de solidarités familiales qui ralliaient les élites anglaises à celles du continent. Même si l’éthique des partisans de Jan Hus a vêtu plutôt une expression religieuse et patriotique, ses conséquences politiques ont été manifestes en Bohême après la condamnation et l’exécution du réformateur à Constance. L’attitude de la curie romaine et du pouvoir séculier durant le procès intenté au réformateur tchèque anticipait la dimension irréductible des conflits religieux du siècle prochain et en même temps le changement du style du débat théologique médiéval, dans lequel les opinions des participants revêtaient des sens et des approches non-canoniques, suivies de rétractions opportunes. L’intransigeance sur la question de l’hérésie tchèque a été l’expression de la compétition pour la suprématie qui opposait les deux nations du Royaume de Bohême, dispute dans laquelle les nuances doctrinaires liturgiques renforçaient les objectifs séculiers. D’ailleurs, Jan Hus a été accusé, entre autres, d’avoir inspiré l’expulsion des Germaniques de l’université, fait qu’il a assumé comme une victoire remportée par sa nation. La méfiance à l’égard de la conduite des structures politiques et ecclésiastiques germaniques et la tentation que les messages politiques incorporés dans le discours réformateur hussite exerçait sur une élite sociale ayant bénéficié de la participation à la gouvernance, trouvèrent des échos favorables en Pologne voisine, où les documents officiels et les chroniques témoignent de l’existence de plusieurs factions pro-hussites au sein de la noblesse et du clergé polonais, même dans les conditions où le primat Zbigniek Oleśnicki réaffirmait la fidélité de son Église à l’autorité pontificale. Le thème de l’adversité entre Thèques et Germaniques a été invoqué aussi par l’un des disciples de Jan Hus, le magistère Jérôme de Prague, durant le procès qu’on lui avait intenté à Cracovie. C’est le moment où l’intellectuel tchèque formulait une définition presque moderne de la nation, vue comme une « universitas omnium homi-

La mobilisation de plusieurs couches de la société tchèque contre le souverain légitime est l’expression d’une solidarité ethnique, de la confiance dans le caractère prédestiné du peuple tchèque d’assurer son propre salut et celui des autres grâce à la nouvelle foi, que seuls quelques aspects différenciaient de la foi catholique, au moins dans la variante utraquiste de la communion sous les deux espèces. Il s’agit ici de la phase jacobine du nationalisme tchèque, marquée par l’implication active des masses, par la violence et l’expansionnisme militaire et religieux. La proclamation de Jan Žižka adressée aux habitants de la ville de Domžlice dévoile les sens patriotiques et défensives cachés dans l’idée de nation :

Résistez courageusement au mal que nous font les Germaniques, à l’exemple des vieux Tchèques qui s’étaient battus non seulement pour défendre la loi de Dieu mais aussi pour leur honneur. Et nous, mes chers frères, en ne pensant qu’à la loi de Dieu et au bien du peuple, avons le devoir de faire encore plus d’efforts pour que tous ceux qui peuvent prendre la massue et jeter des pierres s’élèvent. Aussi, mes chers frères, vous faites-vous savoir que je ferai rassembler le peuple de tous côtés contre de pareils ennemis et démolisseurs du Pays tchèque. Souvenez-vous de votre premier combat, que vous avez mené courageusement, vous les petits contre les grands, le petit nombre contre le grand nombre, les sans-culottes contre les bien-vêtus.

Les chefs militaires des rebelles invoquent la foi et le pays tchèque également dans les manifestes adressés aux habitants. Les succès militaires remportés par les hussites sont la conséquence des innovations en matière de tactique de combat et de la qualité personnelle des dirigeants, mais ils ne peuvent pas s’expliquer en l’absence de l’adhésion des habitants au message patriotique et religieux. Le nationalisme médiéval des Tchèques a imprimé au Royaume de Bohême une dynamique politique spectaculaire dans la première moitié du XVe siècle, mais des états d’esprits similaires sont à remarquer aussi au niveau des autres communautés ethniques. Il suffit de mentionner la résurrection du patriotisme russe dans le contexte de la victoire de Koulikovo ou l’identification de la mission chrétienne au combat contre les infidèles, devenu un véritable lieu commun dans la corres-
pondance des souverains et dans la littérature officielle familière au public des États frontaliers, au sujet des ennemis maures ou ottomans.

Du point de vue des relations entre État et société, le mouvement hussite a proposé des approches révolutionnaires par rapport aux précédents médiévaux, concrétisées dans le refus d’accepter la succession de Sigismond de Luxembourg à la Couronne de Saint Venceslas et l’appel à la résurrection du projet politique polono-tchèque. Même si le Moyen Âge offre suffisamment d’exemples de dépositions et de contestations, plus ou moins violentes, le cas tchèque est révélateur par les arguments énoncés par les représentants des états réunis dans la Diète de Čáslav. La légitimité des prétentions de Sigismond de Luxembourg est deux fois invalidée : d’abord du point de vu moral, car il n’a pas respecté son engagement envers Jan Hus, ensuite en raison de sa position d’ennemi du Pays tchèque. Ce pays n’est plus vu comme la possession de droit d’un monarque médiéval, investi de droits souverains par le rituel du couronnement, mais comme la patrie des couches sociales représentées dans les institutions du pays, de ceux qui se définissaient comme « le peuple tchèque ». Les dirigeants politiques de la Bohême hussite semblent avoir été conscients de l’ascendant que leur donnait cette nouvelle approche des relations de pouvoir ; la décision d’offrir la couronne de la Bohême au duc Vytautas le Grand constitue une réactualisation des initiatives médiévales, avec des réverbérations à long terme dans l’histoire des Slaves occidentaux, à laquelle les souverains Přemysl avaient déjà eu recours durant leurs affrontements avec l’empire.

Les réflexions d’ordre confessionnel et identitaire qui ont caractérisé la révolution hussite n’ont pas eu le caractère cohérent suggéré par les écrits contemporains. Le phénomène que les documents pontificaux et impériaux qualifiaient d’« hérésie tchèque » est issu d’une tentative de réforme de la vie religieuse et des institutions ecclésiastiques, mais il a activé aussi des rémanences de la religiosité populaire pré-chrétienne et des sectes pré-existantes. Ces dernières, par la simplicité de leur rhétorique et les principes égalitaristes de la vie communautaire qu’elles proposaient, ont capacité l’enthousiasme de certaines catégorie de la société, générant des attitudes de révolte et des réactions répressives de la part des autorités politiques et militaires, avec des options qui favorisaient les initiatives réformistes. Ce pluralisme confessionnel a annoncé la cristallisation de deux factions majeures au sein du mouvement hussite, qui sont entrées en compétition et ont eu recours à des arguments d’ordre confessionnel et identitaire. Les dissensions entre modérés et radicaux ont finalement abouti à la réconciliation des premiers avec l’empereur et à l’annihilation militaire des taborites, sans pour autant conduire au rétablissement du statu quo ante. La Bohême connaissait la première alternative théologique institutionnalisée, et le respect de cette spécifi-

Les événements spectaculaires survenus en Bohême ont influencé de la même manière ambivalente l’évolution du voïvodat de Transylvanie, entité située aux frontières orientales de la christianitas, qui évoluait vers un profil institutionnel autonome.32 L’osmose spécifique des derniers siècles du Moyen Âge entre les paradigmes de la succession dynastique et les négociations avec les élites locales qui revendiquent la participation aux décisions politiques en vertu de la théorie de la Sainte Couronne ont placé de jure la Bohême et la Transylvanie dans l’ensemble gouverné nominalement par Sigismond de Luxembourg ; cette appartenance allait se maintenir durant le règne d’Albert 1er de Habsbourg (1437-1439) et servir d’argument pour la légitimation des initiatives politiques de la Maison d’Autriche. L’union personnelle entre les Pays tchèques et les possessions de la Couronne de Saint Étienne s’est heurtée à l’opposition des factions nobiliaires hongroises, qui, durant les tentatives d’usurpation du pouvoir, activaient des solidarités régionales fondées sur des affinités ethniques ou familiales qui ignoraient les frontières étatiques.33 L’implication active dans la défense des frontières méridionales du royaume et la tentative échouée d’obtenir pour la natio Hungarica le droit de vote au Concile de Constance n’ont pas dissipé la méfiance des élites hongroises à l’égard de l’entourage germanique et tchèque du roi, et ces états d’esprit similaires à ceux des Tchèques hussites allaient se manifester aussi durant le règne de son successeur. Une chronique tchèque précisait que le roi Albert aimait la justice et protégeait ses sujets, même s’il était germanique.34 La réussite partielle du roi dans la liquidation de la contestation intérieure s’est réalisée par la fidélisation progressive des potentiels centres de résistance et par l’alternance entre l’appel aux collaborateurs liés par des rapports personnels au souverain et l’activation de nouveaux acteurs politiques, qui devenaient leur carrière aux capacités militaires et qui provenaient de couches situées...
à la périphérie du système féodal fondé sur le privilège. Ces dernières options constituent des circonstances favorables à l’ascension de la noblesse transylvaine, exposée à la double pression des révoltes intérieures et de la menace ottomane, devenues effectives après l’effondrement du système de sécurité régionale fondé sur les alliances avec les dirigeants roumains et serbes. 35 Le cas de la Transylvanie a ainsi servi d’expérience préliminaire à l’aplanissement des disputes avec les sujets tchèques du royaume, étant le résultat du recours à des solutions pragmatiques et non pas l’expression d’un acte de volonté politique. Les premières années du règne de Sigismond de Luxembourg se caractérisent par la poursuite des politiques sociales et confessionnelles visant la liquidation des dissidences du temps des souverains angevins. 36 La même fidélité aux paradigmes traditionnels de la vocation apostolique du royaume est visible vis-à-vis du danger ottoman, combattu par des appels à la croisade ou à l’expertise des ordres missionnaires. 37 L’échec de ces expériences a déterminé la réévaluation officielle des forces locales, pour lesquelles la défense du royaume s’identifiait à la protection de leurs propres fiefs, exposés aux raids ottomans presque permanents, alors que la mention des nobles roumains du comitat de Hunedoara dans les documents au sujet de l’obligation de participer à la défense de la Transylvanie marque le retour des Roumains comme collectivité distincte entre les cadres officiels du royaume et annonce l’apparition de la faction que Ioan Drăgan appelait le parti militaire des Roumains de Hunedoara. 38

L’impact des réalités hussites a généré en Transylvanie des réactions qui continuent à alimenter de vifs débats au niveau de l’écrit historique roumain et hongrois. Une conséquence incontestable de la participation aux campagnes de Bohême a été l’assimilation de l’expertise militaire matérialisée dans les succès remportés par les campagnes de Jean Hunyadi en Valachie et dans les Balkans. Un aspect resté obscur consiste dans l’influence des idées hussites dans le déclenchement de la révolte des paysans transylvains en 1437-1438. Les similitudes avec les événements de Bohême sont plutôt l’expression d’une tendance générale de contestation, accentuée par la conduite du clergé local et des tentatives des officialités locales de limiter la mobilité des habitants dépourvus de privilèges. Dans cette circonstance aussi, l’expérience de la mobilité du camp capable de contrecarrer les charges de la cavalerie nobiliaire a représenté l’apport des anciens participants aux croisades anti-hussites, mais un élément moins souligné a été la tentative d’institutionnaliser la révolte. Au cours des négociations avec les représentants des autorités laïques et ecclésiastiques, les révoltés se définissent comme des universitas regnicalorum 39, possible tentative de substitution des hiérarchies consacrées par la tradition. Ces événements ont eu des conséquences décisives pour la configuration de la spécificité institutionnelle de la Transylvanie médiévale et pré-moderne, suite à la conclusion de la soi-disant fraterna unio, devenue...
plus tard *Unio Trium Nationum*. Cette alliance formée des représentants de la noblesse hongroise et des structures juridiques des Sicules et des Saxons était destinée à combattre le danger ottoman et sauver l'ordre intérieur. Elle institutionnalisait le pluralisme juridictionnel de la Transylvanie, ayant comme élément distinct l'identification de l'appartenance ethnique au statut privilégié. L'institutionnalisation de cette solidarité des forces ayant des responsabilités dans la gestion des affaires publiques a renforcé le voïvodat de l'intérieur des Carpates en tant que structure distincte dans le cadre du royaume de Hongrie et a annoncé l'affirmation de quelques personnalités locales dans la position d'arbitres du combat pour la Couronne de Saint Étienne, au cours de la crise dynastique survenue après la mort du roi Albert. La viabilité de cet accord inspiré des paradigmes politiques et éthiques médiévaux a généré les solutions proposées par les élites locales pour la préservation du statut distinct de la nouvelle principauté autonome de la Transylvanie après 1540.40

L'appartenance patrimoniale aux possessions revendiquées par la Maison d'Autriche a placé la Transylvanie et la Bohême utraquiste en une relation ambivalente, dans laquelle la compétition pour la légitimation d'un pouvoir contestable alternait avec des réactions identitaires similaires du point de vue de l'introspection et du rapport avec l'altérité. La guerre civile qui opposait la faction légitimiste dominée par la grande noblesse du sud-ouest de la Hongrie qui soutenait les droits du roi Ladislas le Posthume à la faction dirigée par les jeunes chefs des provinces du sud-est, validés par les succès militaires remportés sur les Turcs et soutenus par la petite noblesse hostile à un pouvoir qu'elle identifiait aux intérêts germaniques ont favorisé l'apparition d'une structure de pouvoir qui perpétuait la tradition des innovations hussites dans les comitats slovaques, où le noble Jan Jiskra de Brandýs ressuscitait les disponibilités autonomistes des habitants et leurs sympathies plus récentes pour les thèses hussites.41 Comme dans le cas de la Transylvanie, cette structure dépourvue d'un statut juridique défini devait son pouvoir au support que lui assurait les centres économiques intéressés par la sécurité des voies de communication et des exploitations minières et principalement par la cohésion ethnique des forces militaires placées sous l'autorité d'un chef ayant la même origine et patronné par les leaders utraquistes tchèques, qui allaient servir de médiateurs dans les conflits de la région. Le conflit irréductible entre le chef de ces *český bratr* (frères tchèques) et Jean Hunyadi, devenu après 1446 gouverneur général de la Hongrie, est l'expression d'un transfert de solidarité des habitants du Royaume de Saint Étienne vers des pôles de pouvoir périphériques, étant renforcé par des loyautés médiévales et des affinités pré-modernes. Les deux représentants de la dynastie de Hunedoara, tellement différents comme formation et horizon politique, sont restés dans la conscience de leurs contemporains en tant que champions de la cause chrétienne, aussi bien pour...
leur rôle dans la défense des frontières face aux menaces des infidèles que pour avoir défendu le point de vue du Saint-Siège en ce qui concerne la liquidation de la dissidence utraquiste tchèque.\textsuperscript{42}

En dépit de la nécessité de contrecarrer les prétentions de l'empereur Frédéric III (1440-1493) et malgré l'origine commune du pouvoir dans l'élection de la Diète nationale au sens corporatif de cette notion, et même si l'origine roumaine du roi Mathias Corvin (1458-1490) était invoquée comme une circonstance devant invalider sa légitimité\textsuperscript{43}, le Royaume de Hongrie politiquement dominé par les représentants de la noblesse de l'est de Tisza et le Royaume de Bohême dirigé par Georges de Podiebrad se sont retrouvés en conflit diplomatique et militaire, qui s'est officiellement achevé par l'option de la noblesse tchèque pour l'élection de Ladislas Jagellon.\textsuperscript{44} La dispute durant laquelle les innovations militaires hussites ont servi en égale mesure aux deux belligérants a été doublée d'une dispute idéologique. Le souverain de Hongrie invoquait son origine roumaine et sa fidélité envers le Saint-Siège dans la question de l'éradication de l'hérésie par la croisade permanente pour contrecarrer le projet initié par Georges de Podiebrad et diffusé par l'intermédiaire des émissaires français visant la formation d'une alliance des États territoriaux en Europe en vue de la libération de Constantinople et la conclusion d'une paix permanente.\textsuperscript{45} Les succès remportés par les deux États à un moment où le monde chrétien dans son ensemble devait faire face aux derniers effets de la crise ayant affecté les structures politiques, économiques et religieuses pendant les derniers siècles du Moyen Âge étaient le résultat des solidarités entre les mêmes forces sociales, au sein desquelles la petite et la moyenne noblesse détenait la primauté et s'identifiait à la nation, au sens corporatif mais avec des significations ethniques implicites, identifiables au niveau des sources écrites par des rapports de méfiance établis avec l'altérité.\textsuperscript{46}

Les événements qui ont décisivement marqué l'histoire de la Bohême dans la première moitié du XV\textsuperscript{e} siècle et la carrière spectaculaire que la Transylvanie en tant que facteur régional de pouvoir a connue dans le combat pour la défense de la \textit{christianitas} témoignent de la vitalité des petits noyaux ethniques d'Europe centrale-orientale de s'opposer, s'adapter ou s'accompoder avec les forces susceptibles d'annihiler leur spécificité identitaire. L'étude des deux réalités illustre l'importance que les nouvelles solidarités ethniques et régionales ont acquise dans le cadre du transfert de loyauté en faveur de l'État territorial, mais aussi l'échec que de telles manifestations ont généré au niveau de l'échafaudage institutionnel.
Notes


30. *Ibid., passim.*


Abstract
The Hussite Revolution and the Rise of the Voivodship of Transylvania in the Context of the Late Crusade: Tangents and Specificities

The events that marked the history of Bohemia in the first half of the 15th century and Transylvania’s spectacular exploits as a regional power in the struggle for the defense of Christendom come to demonstrate the vitality of the small ethnic entities in Central and Eastern Europe and the importance of the new ethnic and regional solidarities that emerged amid the transfer of loyalty to the national state, but also the failure these developments brought about in terms of the institutional establishment.

Keywords
Hussite revolution, Voivodship of Transylvania, Late Crusade
In essence, Lithuania and Moldavia had “traded lanes” in the 1380s: the former should have become “Orthodox”; the latter should have remained “Catholic.”

Especially since the 1390s, the Duchy of Lithuania seemingly enjoyed the status of “favourite (co-) suzerain” of Moldavia, along with the Kingdom of Poland, Moldavia’s official (main) suzerain since autumn 1387. This enabled Moldavia to manoeuvre between Krakow and Buda, the primary and disputed suzerain of the lands east of the Carpathians. Already in 1372 Louis I of Anjou, king of Poland as well since 1370, had ensured Emperor Charles IV of Luxemburg’s promise that he would not interfere with Hungary’s plan for Moldavia, a Latin rite duchy (for some 15 years), also since 1370, under the direct protection and authority of the Holy See. Between Hungarian and Polish power plays, Witold (Vytautas) of Lithuania’s ambitions proved most useful for Moldavia, which—by choosing Avignon over Rome—during the Western Schism had basically defaulted Latin rite status and had become—with Byzantium’s approval and the support of the pro-Ottoman Genoese

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colonies—a Greek rite vassal of Poland (in essence, Lithuania and Moldavia had “traded lanes” in the 1380s: the former should have become “Orthodox”; the latter should have remained “Catholic”). Much like the Moldavian duchy after Louis’ death (1382–1386), when Eastern Podolia too came under its control, the Duchy of Lithuania embarked on its own quest for a royal crown.

Witold passed away in his late seventies on 27 October 1430 in his castle at Trakai. He was awaiting the envoys of the sixty year old King of the Romans, Sigismund of Luxembourg. They were expected to deliver a second royal crown (of Lithuania), after the first one had been halted by the Polish nobles loyal to Witold’s cousin, Władysław II Jagiello, equally in his late seventies. Witold was succeeded by his approximately sixty year old cousin Svidrigiello (Švitrigaila), Algirdas’ son, as well as Władysław’s brother, involved in Moldavian dynastic conflicts since the late 1390s, well-known for his rebellions against and reconciliation with Witold to both the Teutonic Knights and to Sigismund who offered him shelter throughout the decades (most recently in 1418–1420). The election of Svidrigiello as grand duke by the Lithuanian elite conflicted with the provisions of the Union of Horodło (1413), whereby the new grand duke had to be approved by the King of Poland. Poland and Lithuania went to war and the Union of Krewo (1385) seemed near its end. By June 1431, Svidrigiello secured the aid of the Teutonic Knights, eager to invade Poland. In September, a two year truce was sealed between the belligerents. Svidrigiello seemed to have lost his pace. Within the year, he was deposed by Lithuanian nobles and replaced with his cousin, Sigismund Kęstutaitis, Witold’s brother, in his late sixties, who resumed the union with the Polish kingdom.

In this Lithuanian clash of the “old guards,” a peculiar role was played by Alexander I cel Bun (the Just) of Moldavia, the “youngest” of them (aged fifty at most). Primarily an adversary of and a major target for Sigismund, who twice—at the congresses of Lublau (1412) and Lutsk (1429)—attempted to partition Moldavia between Hungary and Poland, Alexander I had enjoyed a special relation with Witold. In addition to the family ties (Peter I, Alexander’s uncle and Władysław II’s zjat by 1388, Roman I, Alexander’s father, and Stephen I, Alexander’s <half-?> brother, all had wed close relatives, possibly even sisters, of Władysław and Witold), Witold’s royal prospects and his Moldavian influence were the main factors behind the rapprochement between Alexander and Sigismund after Lutsk. By June 1431, Alexander I’s troops enthroned the boyar Aldea in Wallachia, successfully replacing Dan II defeated by the Ottomans. Alexander had abandoned his Ottoman arrangement, established—mainly after the death of Mircea I (1418), his “Wallachian suzerain,” and after the failed Ottoman attack on Cetatea Albă (1420)—in view of the—eventually successful—recovery of Moldavia’s former Danubian parts controlled by the pro-Hungarian crusader Dan II. Alexander I’s anti-Ottoman and pro-Hungarian commitment survived his death at the beginning of 1432, just months after...
the Polish-Lithuanian-Teutonic compromise of September 1431. The son of the late Alexander I, Elias I, upheld—victoriously at first—Moldavia’s anti-Ottoman course.

Alexander I’s designs—late in his life—seemed great and apparently blossomed after Witold’s death. In autumn 1425, his designated heir, Elias, had wed—not without Witold’s aid—Mary, the sister of Sophia, Władysław’s last wife. Alexander I had Wallachia under his grip, with Aldea also seemingly married to a daughter of his. Sigismund’s ambitions and the Lithuanian turmoil equally collected Alexander’s attention. In effect, Svidrigiello—through his association with King Sigismund—opened the southern road for Alexander, as illustrated by the talks between Sigismund, Teutonic Grand-Master Paul von Rusdorf, and Sigmund Roth, Svidrigiello’s envoy, in spring 1431.

Werbung an den Homeister zu Preussen von unsers Herren des Romischen Kunigs wegen

The negotiations were successful: by June the Teutonic Knights entered Poland (though their war with Krakow officially started only in mid–August), pushing Svidrigiello (under considerable Polish pressure) towards Lithuanian victory, while in the south, Alexander of Moldavia had expelled the Ottomans from Wallachia. Sigismund, who—given also his Hussite problem—avoided an “official attack” on Władysław II, seemed to be drawing closer to victory in the East (in the north- and south-east), while Alexander I asserted his regional influence to an unprecedented level.

The key to this—nonetheless temporary success—seems to have been Sigismund’s approval of the marriage between the unnamed—previously unknown—
daughter of Alexander and Svidrigiello and his—nevertheless reluctant—acceptance of the replacement of his favourite (Vlad II), already appointed by him in February 1431, with Alexander’s candidate (Aldea) as the new anti-Ottoman ruler of Wallachia (where, at its western border, Teutonic Knights had been stationed since 1427) thus effectively ending the truce concluded with Murad II after his failed siege of Golumbač. In the absence of further evidence, the “dynastic and confessional identity” of Alexander I’s daughter is essential for the understanding of Sigismund’s eastern policies, given both his efforts for Church Union, to which end he had also made the most out of the Byzantine-Moldavian conflict in the 1390s, and Svidrigiello’s pro-Greek stands, often condemned irrespective of his and his relatives’ “errant ways” (most notably Vytautus/Alexander/Witold and Jogaila/Jacob/Władysław travelled—almost back and forth prior to 1386—from Paganism to Greek, as well as Latin rite Christianity). Because Svidrigiello (Lev/Bolesław as a Greek, respectively Latin rite Christian, after he converted together with his brother Jogaiła in 1386) was about sixty in 1431, Alexander’s daughter must have been a teenager, born the latest around 1417, when Alexander was married to Ringalla.

Ringalla (Anna) was Witold’s forty year old sister and had no (known at least) children from any of her marriages (while her brother only had a daughter). Immediately after the failed Ottoman siege of Cetatea Albă (which probably led to a settlement between Alexander and Murad II), she requested and received from Martin V the divorce (1420–1421) because she was too closely related to her husband, whom she had additionally failed to convert to the Latin rite (still, by May 1422, to Sigismund’s dislike, Witold attempted to coerce Alexander to re-marry her). As Alexander’s last wife (after 1420), the daughter of the Moldavian boyar Bratu, Marina, can be ruled out as the mother of Svidrigiello’s wife-to-be (the latter would have been too young for her—still heirless—elder husband), two other wives must be brought into question as mothers (due to the regional stakes of the marriage, we can hardly presume that the lady was an illegitimate child). The first, Ringalla’s probable predecessor, was Anna-Neacşa (†1418), Elias’ mother (born in 1409), once viewed as the daughter of Anastasia (†1420) Ladislas-Laťcu’s child, Moldavia’s first Latin rite duke. The second, known only through a 17th century record, was Margaret (†prior to 1410), a Latin rite Christian (if she actually existed, she could have been Alexander’s first wife, possibly related—under the “terms” of his enthronement—to the Hungarian wife of Mircea I of Wallachia).

Under the circumstances, neither can be ruled out as the mother of the lady meant to become duchess, if not queen of Lithuania. She must have hence descended from a prestigious lineage, as furthermore Sigismund was familiar with Wallachian matrimonial policies, through his Angevine legacy (Clara de Ungaria, the wife of Alexander, Weida in Vlachia, had been mother to Ancha,
Empress of Serbia, and Anna, Empress of Bulgarian Vidin, the mother of Dorothea, Queen of Bosnia, and Jobst of Moravia had been married until his death in 1411 to Elisabeth-Agnes, the daughter of Władysław II, duke of Oppeln and Elisabeth, the child of Transalpine Voivode Alexander and—most likely—of the same lady Clara. However, because of the Polish-Lithuanian truce (2 September 1431), Alexander’s death (1 January 1432) and Svidrigiello’s dethronement (31 August 1432), it could seem that the Lithuanian-Moldavian marriage was not celebrated or that it was ephemeral or deprived of immediate positive results for its authors, alike other “Moldavian schemes” (such as the Gattilusio lady expedited by Murad as a gift to Stephen II in 1446 or the bride sent as a personal token of greatness by Maximilian I of Habsburg to Bogdan III in 1513). Yet, because of the useful Wallachian connections retained by Svidrigiello until the late 1430s and in the absence of further researches, it would perilous to ascribe with certainty a similar fate to the matrimonial project of 1431 brokered by Sigismund of Luxemburg and Paul von Rusdorf.

After Alexander’s death, Moldavia (or, more accurately speaking, at least a significant part of it) upheld his anti-Turkish option (possibly the most important consequence of the arrangement of the duke of Moldavia with Sigismund), further supporting this assumption. In spring 1432, the Turk attacked, but was repelled by Elias. Murad had created a Wallachian and a Moldavian “princely reservoir.” He wanted to enthrone Stephen II, Alexander’s illegitimate son, who was/became also a favourite of the influential Zbigniew Oleśnicki, Svidrigiello’s foremost Polish adversary (with Władysław II’s support, Moldavia had first come under Ottoman control in the 1390s, under Peter I and Stephen I, who had taken the throne from Roman I, Sigismund’s and Witold’s ally; the king “recovered” Stephen after Nicopolis in exchange also for Transylvanian estates). By June 1432, Aldea had acknowledged Murad as his suzerain. In November, Venice deemed Moldavia under Turkish rule. Elias attempted to recover but was dethroned by Stephen, aided by Murad and Aldea, in September 1433. After combats and failed truces in 1435, Moldavia was partitioned along the old lines of division (that Alexander had attempted to cover) between Elias I and Stephen II, quite to Buda’s, Byzantium’s, as well as Edirne’s satisfaction. By that time any Lithuanian scheme designed for Moldavia in cooperation with the Teutonic Knights and Hungary belonged to the past, like Svidrigiello and his “Moldavian fiancée” of 1431. It took Moldavia more than three decades to rebuild its regional credentials to the level of 1430-1431, in the last days of—“the hard to read”—Moldavian Herzog Alexander, den man nennet Noss.
Notes

1. Unfortunately, most recent researches have focused—chiefly in relation to the Lithuanian-Moldavian question—on later stages, providing however relevant information. In this respect, see the data in Egidijus Banionis, Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės pasiuntinybių tarnyba XV–XVI amžiais, eds. Zigmantas Kiaupa and Žydrūnas Mačiukas (Vilnius, 1998), 86–88, 181–182, 335–360.

2. Ştefan S. Gorovei, Întemeierea Moldovei: Probleme controversate, 2nd edition (Iaşi, 2014), 141–146, 268 (n. 235). The earliest matrimonial ties could date back to the 1370s (even to the 1360s).


17. Mihai Costâchescu, Documente moldovenesti înainte de Ștefan cel Mare, vol. 2 (Iași, 1932), nos. 162–163, pp. 559–603. Peter I’s oath of fealty to Władysław II was blessed by Cyprian, metropolite of Kyiv and All Rus’, Władysław’s old ally and Emperor John V Palaeologus’ special envoy.


19. Victor Spinei, Moldova în secolele XI–XIV, 3rd edition (Chişinău, 1994), 334. In 1386 (i.e. after the Union of Krewo), Vasili, Dimitri Donskoi’s son, escaped from the Tartars to Podolia, ruled by Peter I of Moldavia.


23. Lithuania’s stately foundations and dynastic imbroglios can be traced also in John Meyendorff, Byzantium and the Rise of Russia: A Study of Byzantian-Russian Relations in the 14th Century (Cambridge, 1981), with an Eastern perspective.

24. The standard study is Jonas Matusas’ Švitrigaila Lietuvos didysis kunigaikštis (Vilnius, 1991). Unfortunately, no extensive modern scholarly work (Matusas’ was initially published in 1938) in an international language is available.


26. In April 1418, Svidrigiello also found shelter for the first known time in Moldavia, from where he left for Hungary.
27. In this respect, given the clear Teutonic connections of our topic and of the discussed project, see William Urban, *Tannenberg and after: Lithuania, Poland, and the Teutonic Order in search of immortality* (Chicago, 1999), 195–196.


35. Roman I’s son (1391/1392–1394) from his second marriage, implicated in state affairs by 1392–1393, along with his baby-brother Bogdan (†1407), was enthroned by Mircea I (1400) and ruled alone, being thus probably born in the 1380s.


39. See Costâchescu, vol. 2, no. 164, pp. 605–606 (1388). *Zjat* was often translated by son- or brother-in-law (yet the age difference rules out the first option). *Close relative* seems more neutral.

40. *Documenta Romaniae Historica* (DRH), *A. Moldova*, vol. 1, 1384–1448, eds. Constantin Cihodaru, Ioan Caproşu, and Leon Šimanschi (Bucharest, 1975), no. 23, pp. 32–33 (1408). Anastasia, Alexander’s mother and the—probably second—wife of Roman I was deemed to have been either of Wallachian or Lithuanian origins. The latter option seems more likely given the *tercio affinitatis gradu* grounds for divorce between Alexander and Witold’s sister Ringalla in 1420.

41. *Codex epistolarius Vitoldi Magni Ducis Lithuaniae 1376–1430 (= Monumenta Medii Aevi Historica Res Gestas Poloniae Illustrantia, VI)*, ed. Antoni Prohaska (Krakow, 1882), Appendix, no. 6, p. 1027 (Teutonic information from 1417).


44. Officially an anti-Ottoman action, Alexander’s intervention was also intended to limit Sigismund’s influence, who had granted in late January–early February 1431 the rule over Wallachia to Vlad II Dracul, a Knight of the Order of the Dragon, as well as one of Mircea I’s numerous illegitimate sons. In this respect, see Virgil Ciocîltan, “La campagne ottoman de Transylvanie (1438) dans le contexte politique international,” *Revue Roumaine d’Histoire* 15, 3 (1976): 437–445.


49. Ilona Czamańska, *Moldawia i Włośc性zyna wobec Polski, Węgier i Turcji w XIV i XV wieku* (Poznań, 1996), 82–88. According to Jan Długosz, Alexander I died saddened by Svidrigiello’s failure, however far less obvious in the 1430s than it became decades later.

50. In relation to Wallachia as well, see the outline by Constantin Cihodaru, *Alexandru cel Bun* (Iași, 1984), 269–270.


53. Aldea (who took on the name Alexander as a ruler) became Murad II’s vassal (June 1432) after Alexander I’s death.

54. See Ilie Minea, *Principatele române și politica orientală a împăratului Sigismund* (Bucharest, 1919), 207–208. New researches on this issue are much needed.


57. Unfortunately, additional information on this—important under the circumstances—figure is not available at present.

58. The text was written after Witold’s death and Svidrigiello’s election (October 1430) and prior to Alexander’s anti-Ottoman campaign in Wallachia (before June 14, 1431, when Aldea issued his first known charter as ruler for the city of Brașov). *DRH, D. Relații între Țărivă Române*, vol. 1, 1222–1456, eds. Ștefan Pascu, Constantin Cihoda-ru, Konrad G. Gündisch, Damaschin Mioc, and Viorica Pervain (Bucharest, 1977), no. 180, p. 281. Because Vlad Dracul had been appointed ruler of Wallachia by Sigismund prior to February 8 (*DRH, D, 1*, no. 179, p. 280), unless we presume deliberate Wallachian “foul-play” on Alexander’s behalf (which his usual “conduct,” the nevertheless *ab ovo* mistrusted Hungarian rumour of early July, after Aldea’s enthronement, that Alexander’s host might even move against Brașov, and Vlad’s subsequent—yet undated—reactions could substantiate; e.g. *DRH, D, 1*, nos. 181–185, pp. 282–286), we must suppose that the text dated from spring 1431 (due to the preparations involved by Alexander’s campaign and the distances that had to be covered in this diplomatic network, the interval can be narrowed down to March–April).

59. In the Geheimes Staatsarchiv (GstA), Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ordensbriefarchiv (ODA), Berlin, no. 5542 [fols. 1r–3r].

60. In order to facilitate the understanding of the source, majuscules were inserted in compliance with modern German.

61. Because the source was calendared in *Regesta historico diplomatica ordinis S. Mariae Theutonicorum 1198–1525*, eds. Erich Joachim and Walther Hubatsch, vol. 1, pt. 2, 1198–1454 (Göttingen, 1948), no. 5542, the Romanian historiography was aware—or so it seems—of the existence of the source (e.g. Gorovei, 164), but clearly failed to search for it, like in the case of the matrimonial ties between Witold and Mircea I, recorded in late July 1416 (*Regesta historico diplomatica*, I–2, no. 2354; Zsigmondkori Oklevéltár, general-ed[s]. Elemér Mályusz <and Iván Borsa>, vol. 5. 1415–1416, ed. Iván Borsa (Budapest, 1997), no. 2023, pp. 545–546).


64. To which one certainly has to add the Hussite question, as Sigismund’s aim—at that time (unlike during Witold’s final years)—seems to have been to coerce—by using Lithuanian, Teutonic and even Moldavian means—Władysław to come to terms with him on the Hussite and Ottoman issues (as revealed also by his letter sent to Władysław “just after” the Teutonic Knights officially declared war on Poland; GSTA, ODA, nos. 5723, 5739; <16–21 August>, 17 August).

65. Throughout his first two decades of rule (until the Wallachian crisis of 1418–1420), Alexander largely moved in the shadow of Władysław II, Witold and Mircea I, while
over the next decade (until the Congress of Lutsk) his primary concern was to secure his southern parts, using Hussite refuges as well, a practice he pursued during his alliance with Svidrigiello, and with Sigismund. For instance: Şerban Papacostea, “Moldova: desăvârşirea unui stat. Țara de Sus şi Țara de Jos,” Studii şi materiale de istorie medie 29 (2011): 9–26.

66. The truce (valid until June 24, 1433) was concluded on September 2 between the allies (the duke, the Teutonic and Livonian Knights, Moldavia) and Władysław II (GStA, oda, nos. 5760–5761). Sigismund seemed naturally more concerned by Hussite and Ottoman issues that—chiefly the first one—were difficult (if not impossible) to solve without Władysław, who since April 1431 had “written proof” that he had demanded Alexander to withdraw his protection of the Hussites.


68. He then retained Vlad II Dracul stationed at the realm’s Wallachian border (e.g. DRH, D, 1, nos. 182–185, pp. 283–286).


71. In this matter, see most recently the essays and articles collected in Kaiser Sigismund (1368–1437): zur Herrschafts-praxis eines europäischen Monarchen, eds. Karel Hruza and Alexandra Kaar (Vienna–Cologne–Weimar, 2012), passim.

72. For a classical narrative from both perspectives (Greek and Latin), see the data discussed by John W. Barker, Manuel II Palaeologus (1391–1425): A Study in Late Byzantine Statesmanship (New Brunswick, NJ, 1969), 315–318, 482–483.

73. Chiefly Şerban Papacostea, “Byzance et la création de la Métropole de Moldavie,” Études Byzantines et Post-Byzantines (Bucharest) 2 (1991): 133–150. An ecclesiastically motivated feud, the conflict (ignited after the first contact between Sigismund and Manuel II in 1391) was settled only after Alexander’s enthronement and his Wallachian-Hungarian deals.


75. For instance, see (already) Joseph Pfitzner’s Grosfürst Witold von Litauen als Staatsmann (Brünn, 1930), 68–69.

76. Meyendorff, 181, 191–197; Simon, 10–16.


79. It is an assumption that has to be made, due also to Alexander’s active pro-Hussite policy initiated at the same time.

80. Archiwum Głowne Akt Dawnych (Central Archives of Historical Records), Warsaw (AGAD), Dokumnty Pergaminove (Parchment Documents), Moldavia, no. 5309 (13 December 1421); Ioan C. Filitti, *Din arhivele Vaticanului*, vol. 1 (Bucharest, 1913), nos. 20–21, pp. 34–36. The idea of a Lithuanian mother of Alexander consequently emerged.

81. *Codex epistolaris Vitoldi*, no. 1002, p. 550; no. 1013, p. 556. Sigismund’s main concern was that Witold’s—potentially military—pressure might drive Alexander even closer to the *Turk*, an endeavour that was not even canonical for Witold’s cousin (not sister), and Alexander’s wife-to-be, and the lord were closely related. Unless, Witold pushed forward another (younger) relative for Alexander, Sigismund’s complaint can be viewed also as proof for the confusing Lithuanian puzzle.

82. She was his wife by 1428 (Maria Ana Musicescu, “Date noi cu privire la epitrahilul de la Alexandru cel Bun,” *Studii și cercetări de istoria artei* (Bucharest) 5, 1 (1958): 75–114). Their son (Peter II) was born in 1422, soon after Alexander’s (political) divorce.

83. Rezachevici, 499, 522 (Peter III Aaron too was falsely deemed to have been Marina’s son).

84. Alexander had illegitimate—male—children, though—unlike Mircea—not as numerous as presumed and accepted in later decades because of the dynastic conflicts in Moldavia (see also Rezachevici, *Cronologia critică*, 513–515).

85. Nicolae Iorga, *Inscripții din bisericile României*, vol. 1 (Bucharest, 1905), no. 86, p. 39. It is rather self-evident that Alexander had to divorce Neașa in order to marry Ringalla (certainly by 1415). Given also Elias’ prestigious Polish marriage (1425), endorsed by Witold, a Lithuanian origin appears quite plausible in her case too.


89. *DRH*, A, 1, no. 35, p. 50. The modern German translation of his charter for Anastasia (1413) listed her as his *mother-in-law*. The recently discovered original read *aunt*. Such confusions are not uncommon in relation to Slavonic charters.

90. We must advocate caution in relation to the DNA analysis of the first princely necropolis: Lia and Adrian Bătrîna, *Biserica Sfântul Nicolae din Râdați: Cercetări arheologice și interpretări istorice asupra începuturilor Țării Moldovei* (Piatra-Neamț, 2012), 121–168, 191, 208. A brief scanning through the revised Cambridge Reference Sequence indicates for instance that the deceased in Grave 85 (“Ladislas”) was in fact unrelated to the deceased in Graves 79 (“Roman I”) and 81 (“Peter I”) on their maternal side. The influential Latin rite lady Margaret was certainly Peter I’s and Roman I’s mother (hence Alexander I’s grand-mother) and should have been the daughter of Bogdan I, who was definitely Ladislas’ father.


93. Bandini, 212. According to the inscription (now lost) transcribed in the late 1640s, the Latin rite Church St. Mary in Baia (“the first capital” of Moldavia) was erected in 1410 by Alexander in the memory of his wife, Margareta.


95. Mircea’s wife (Mara?) was probably from the Bánffy-Losonczi family. See in this matter Ioan-Aurel Pop, “Stăpânirile lui Mircea în Transilvania,” *Revista de istorie* 39, 7 (1986): 685–695, at 693.

96. At any rate the date of birth of Svidrigiello’s wife-to-be further substantiates—alongside the wedding between Anna Ringalla and Alexander (1414–1415)—the early dating (1402) of the transfer of the relics of the—anti-Latin and anti-Semitic shaped—St. John the New from the Pontic area to Suceava. For the record on the year 1402, see Grigore Ureche, *Letopisețul Țării Moldovei*, ed. Tatiana Celac (Chișinău, 1991), p. 34.

97. As the daughter of Anna, the (young) lady would have been Elisă’s sister, married to the sister of the Polish queen. As the daughter of Margaret, she would have probably been connected to the Hungarian elite. Both could have suited Sigismund’s Polish (-Hussite-Ottoman) and Lithuanian interests. In particular the latter origin would have favoured him.


99. *asv*, Reg. Aven. 172, fols. 350v, 372v; Reg. Var. 250, fol. 20r (here *Weida* was even rendered *Weyda*); 260, fols. 9r–v, 37v (18 January 1370; unlike in *Acta Urbanii PP. V*, nos. 180–d, pp. 305–307; or in Augustin Theiner, *Vetera monumenta historică Hungarica sacram illustrantia*, vol. 2, *Ab Innocentio P. VI. usque ad Clementem P. VII. 1352–1526* (Rome, 1859), no. 184, p. 95; in both cases the German style *Weida* *Weyda* was “latinized”; in Tăutu’s edition *W/Vlachia* too was turned into *Valachia*).


102. See Ivan Božilov, Фамилията на Асеневци (1186–1460): Генеалогия и просопография (Sofia, 1994), 200–202 (with focus on her parents, John Stratsmir and Anna).

103. In relation to this short-lived King of the Romans (1410–1411), with Alexander’s niece as his wife, see also Andreas Rüther, Region und Identität: Schlesien und das Reich im späten Mittelalter (Cologne–Weimar–Vienna, 2010), 91–92.

104. He had recently been elected King of the Romans. His sudden disappearance freed the imperial road for Sigismund.

105. See in particular Dieter Veldtrup’s Frauen um Herzog Ladislaus (†1401): Oppelner Herzoginnen in der dynastischen Politik zwischen Ungarn Polen und dem Reich (Warendorf, 1999), 53–60 (based on his earlier work published in 1988).

106. “Yet” his wife was Andrew Lackfi’s daughter according to Stanislaw Sroka (“Methods of Constructing Angevin Rule in Hungary in the Light of Most Recent Research,” Quaestiones Medii Aevi Novae 1 (1999), 77–90: at 84–85).


109. Because the marriage between Elisabeth and Władysław of Oppeln took place in 1355, when Elisabeth—given also the births of her three daughters (1357–1360)—was at least 12, and due to the fact Dorothea was born in 1355–1356, means that Anna was born the latest in 1340–1341 and that Elisabeth was conceived within a year or two (1341–1342).

110. Military activities (May–August) largely rule out the possibility that the marriage was celebrated prior to the truce.

111. Archivio di Stato di Milano, Milan (ASM), Archivio Ducale Sforzesco (ADS), Potenze Estere, Ungheria, cart. 650, 1452–1490, fasc. 1, 1452–1457, nn (28 April 1446). The gift backfired. Stephen was dethroned and beheaded (1447).

112. Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna, Reichshofkanzlei, Karton 29, 1513 März-Sep-tember, fasc. 23a–2. 1513 Juli–August, fol. 133r (27 August); Landes- und Regierungsarchiv von Tirol, Innsbruck, Maximiliana, Karton 20, 1513, fasc. XIII–256–9, fols. 49r–50r (9 July 1513); Acta Tomiciana (Krakow), II (1854), no. 253, p. 205; no. 269, p. 217; no. 296, p. 226.

113. In 1438, Svidrigiello found shelter in divided Moldavia, probably near Elias I (Urban, 310).

114. In addition to the Teutonic documents, new data could be found in Italian archives given the “Turkish implications.”

115. Irrespective of the actual outcome of the matrimonial plan, we must refute the mid-16th century Muscovite dating (1430) of Svidrigiello’s marriage to Anna, Ivan of Tver’s daughter (The Nikonian Chronicle, eds. Serge A. and Betty J. Zenkovsky, From the Year 1425 to the Year 1520 (Princeton, NJ, 1989), 22–25), as the project of
spring 1431 made no reference to the divorce logically implied by the future wedding between Svidrigiello and Alexander’s daughter. Given also that Svidrigiello easily took refuge in 1438 in Moldavia (Jan Długosz, Annales seu cronici incliti Regni Poloniae (= Jan Długosii Senioris Canonici Cracoviensis Opera omnia, XIII–XIV), ed. Alexander Przezdziecki, vol. 1 (Krakow, 1883), 568–571, 578–581), the Lithuanian-Russian marriage (if real at all, or—given the extant uncertainties—unless the bride had not died soon after) either predated—by a couple of years—the proposal of 1431 or was concluded after 1438–1439.

116. As clearly revealed by the conflicts (1432–1457) even after Elias was blinded (1442) and Stephen beheaded (1447).
117. See the information already collected and analysed—without neglecting King Sigismund’s role—by Ilie Minea, Vlad Dracul şi vremea sa (offprint Cercetări istorice 4) (Iaşi, 1928), 28–32.
118. Duchy had been Moldavia’s papal stately rank (1370–1385/1386) and Herzog was also used to designate Alexander, in particular during his Western papal talks in the first two decades of the 15th century (e.g. Şerban Papacostea, “La Valachie et la crise de structure de l’Empire ottoman (1402–1413),” Revue Roumaine d’Histoire 25 (1986): 23–33, at 31–33).
120. Długosz, 1: 153–154. The astute chronicler, diplomat and prelate, thought rather highly of Stephen II.
121. In particular Bertandon de la Brouquière, Voyage d’Outremer, in Recueil des voyages et des documents pour servir à l’histoire de la géographie depuis le XIIIe jusqu’à la fin du XVIe siècle, ed. Charles Scheffer (Paris, 1892), 149, 263.
122. For the Wallachian context in the early 1430s: Minea, 27; Rezachevici, Cronologia critică, 515.
123. In relation to Hungary, Lithuania and Moldavia, see in this respect Długosz, vol. 2 (Krakow, 1887), 1–2, 7–8.
124. In connection to both the alliance between Roman and Mircea (1392/1393–1394), and the relation between Mircea and Alexander (1399/ 1400–1418), we note that an anonymous apocalyptical text (early 1470s), listed Mircea, whose successful resistance against Bayezid, the fourth Ottoman regulus, was recorded, as the lord of Moldavia and Wallachia, although it confused Mircea (Dracola de Molda et Wallachia) with his nephew, the infamous Vlad III Dracula (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich (BStB), Abenländische Handschriften, Codices Latini Monacenses (clm), [mss.] 14.668, fol. 23v).
125. Johannes Löwenklau, Annales Sultanorum Othomaniarum a Turcis sua lingua scripti (Frankfurt, 1588), 312, 318.
126. AGAD, Dokumentów Tureckich, dos. 66, no. 1. See here also Franz Babinger, “Cel dintâi tribut al Moldovei către sultan,” in Fraților Alexandru și Ion I. Lapedatu la împlinirea vârstei de 60 de ani (Bucharest, 1936), 29–37.
provided the date of the submission (1395) and Löwenklau the name of the ruler. In February 1395, in the wake of the major Ottoman confrontations of 1395–1396, Sigismund attempted to dethrone Stephen I, just a few months after the latter’s enthronement, but failed to successfully complete his campaign.

128. *DRH*, D, 1, nos. 102–103, pp. 169–171. Mircea I was granted the estate of Bologa (near Cluj) prior to January 1399. By May 1398, Stephen I had to go to trial for an unnamed estate in the Târnava County. The donations were connected.


131. Virgil Ciocîltan, “Între sultan și împărat: Vlad Dracul în 1438,” *Revista de istorie* 29, 11 (1976): 1767–1790, at 1782–1783. According to Długosz (1: 561), when he finally won Wallachia in late 1436 (deposing the pro-Ottoman Aldea, Stephen II’s ally), Vlad II was married to Elias’ daughter (aged around 9–10) from his marriage to the sister of Władysław III’s mother (king since 1434). A contemporary note, in margin of a report on Murad II’s Transylvanian campaign (*Deutsche Reichtagsakten unter König Albrecht II.*, (= *Regesta Imperii*, XIII), ed. Gustav Beckmann, 1, 1438 (Göttingen, 1957), no. 283, p. 524), stated however that he was the sororius of the half-brothers Elias and Stephen, both the consanguinei regis Polonie, which made Vlad Władysław III’s *affinis* (1438). The latter record was quite biased (the note, not the report, claimed that Vlad’s Polish blood-ties had led to the Ottoman attack). The former was rather subjective (Długosz favoured Stephen; hence he too was viewed as the brother of Vlad’s wife). Still they do not necessarily have to be regarded as adverse (unless we presume that Stephen’s pro-Ottoman stand and Moldavia’s partition led to the “expansion” of Elias’ Polish and Wallachian ties). Yet, in order to accommodate both Elias and Stephen, this would mean that Alexander’s mother (Roman’s second wife) was Mircea’s relative and that either Roman’s mother (Margaret) or father (*Costea*) was related to Władysław II, Władysław III’s father (see here also note 90).

132. For this new Ottoman attack, see also Minea, 31–32; Rezachevici, 479–480.


135. As—in view of his political survival—Elias lent towards the party of his wife’s nephew, Władysław III (king since 1434), and because he established direct ties with the papacy (1435–1436), the pro-Ottoman and anti-unionist (yet adaptable), Stephen, “in charge” of Moldavia’s southern parts, came to represent Sigismund’s interests...


137. In addition to their old relation, though he could not regard without mistrust Stephen’s Hungarian and Byzantine connections (in 1444 they certainly worked—for a while—against the Sultan, yet also against Stephen; e.g. asg, Archivio Segreto, *Diversorum*, [reg.] 38/533, 1444, carta/fol. 94r; 16 October 1444), Murad had every reason to support Stephen II in order to complicate the already difficult anti-Turkish and unionist schemes at the northern border of the Ottoman realm.

138. Svidrigiello’s flight (1438) probably only weakened Elias’ position (by 1440, he lost also Cetatea Albă to Stephen). After his Sigismund Kęstutaitis’ assassination (1440), Svidrigello, compelled also to resize his ambitions (as Władysław III’s younger brother, the future Casimir IV was elected duke by the Lithuanian elite), ruled in Podolia until his death (1452).

139. Until the Polish-Teutonic Peace of Toruń in 1466 (BStB, clm, 229, fol. 95v–104r; 19 October) and the Hungarian-Moldavian war of 1467 (*asm*, *ads*, Potenze Estere, *Venezia*, cart. 354, 1468, fasc. 2, *Febbrario*, nn; 18 February).

140. BStB, clm, 22.372, fol. 467r [anonymous report sent probably to Peter von Schauberg, Bishop of Augsburg, in late 1430 (after Witold’s death), when Svidrigiello and Alexander were seizing Podolia]. *Nos* is worth further investigation.

Abstract

The Moldavian Lady and the Elder Lords of the East

The article seeks to bring a new perspective to the political and diplomatic history east of the Carpathians in the early 1430s by drawing upon a recently discovered document in the Geheimes Staatsarchiv, Preußischer Kulturbesitz (Berlin), probably dating from spring 1431, in which Duke Svidrigiello of Lithuania states his readiness to marry the daughter—hitherto unknown—of Alexander I cel Bun (the Just) of Moldavia. This document provides new information regarding the relationship between Sigismund of Luxemburg and the Duchy of Lithuania in the aftermath of Duke Witold’s death in autumn of 1430, and sheds new light on the various agendas at play between the duchies of Moldavia and Lithuania and the kingdoms of Hungary and Poland in the face of the Turkish threat commanded by the astute Sultan Murad II.

Keywords

Lithuania, Teutonic Knights, Moldavia, Svidrigiello, Sigismund of Luxemburg, Alexander I the Just
Violence in Northern Ireland

“Catholic resentment and Protestant fears were formed all those years ago, and these myths are recalled in present-day Northern Ireland, and have a significant impact on current political debate.”

The different civil rights movements of the 1960s—i.e. the Women’s Liberation Movement, the Black Civil Rights Movement—brought to the forefront of world politics the issue of minority rights. In this context the Civil Rights Association was set up in Northern Ireland, with the aim of improving the situation of the country’s Catholic minority. Although the first manifestations of protest were meant to be peaceful, they caused violent conflicts with the security forces and with members of the Protestant community, as it is well-known that the relationship between Protestants and Catholics here has always been troubled and often violent. So, at the end of the 1960s political violence was back on the Northern Irish stage.

The present work is an attempt to show how this phenomenon has pervaded social, political and cultural life in Northern Ireland and has even extended to the British mainland. The different forms in which political violence has been—and it still is—present in this part of the world will also be examined. The theoretical framework of the analysis relies upon the concept of

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violence and addresses the matters of definition and categorization, and points out the necessity of relating it to nationalism.

In order to facilitate an understanding of the conflict we will be looking at its historical roots, trying to explain how and why they are still relevant for the present realities. Naturally, the analysis will often refer to the common history of Great Britain, Northern Ireland and the Irish Republic since they constituted a single political unit until 1920.

The discussion on the contemporary forms of political violence will be dealing with the paramilitary organizations on both sides of the (national, political and religious) divide, attempting to analyze them in relation to the state power, and the two opposing communities in Northern Ireland. More precisely, we will focus on the question of whether the activities of the paramilitaries should be regarded as legitimate or illegitimate. Finally, the paper will examine the impact of the Northern Irish conflict on the political debate in Britain, namely the ways in which the parties involved have tried to find an acceptable political solution to the conflict. This task is particularly difficult, as one has to resist the fascination of history and select those pieces of information that are the most relevant for the subject matter.

An attempt to define the notion of political violence could consider separately the two words that are joined together to form this phrase. However, such an enterprise would be very problematic since there does not exist a clear-cut and widely agreed upon concept of violence; on the contrary, it is “a term that suffers from conceptual devaluation or semantic entropy” (Schlesinger 1991, 5).

The difficulties in dealing with contemporary violence come from the fact that it is an extremely diverse and omnipresent phenomenon: “Directly, it is omnipresent in the form of the traffic accident—casual, unintended, unpredictable and uncontrollable by most of its victims . . . Indirectly, it is omnipresent in the mass media and entertainment . . . Even more remotely, we are aware both of the existence in our time of vast, concretely unimaginable mass destruction . . . and also of the sectors and situations . . . Of a society in which physical violence is common and probably increasing” (Hobsbawm 1977, 209–210).

Philip Schlesinger does not even claim to try a definition of the term, limiting himself to an examination of several attempts at definition and categorization made by others, and pointing out the problems involved in these. Thus, in his interpretation of violence, he distinguishes two approaches to the problem: a rational one, and one which is based on myth, considering that violence is “itself symbol and metaphor” (1991, 7–8). The three examples of restrictive definitions quoted below are well-suited to illustrate the problems of rational analysis:

Violence in the strict sense, the only violence which is measurable and characterized as “collective.” Yet it could be argued that politically motivated acts
of violence do not necessarily involve a group of people. Individuals who act in the name of a supported cause very often carry them out by way of a group of people. Should this be interpreted as individual or as collective violence? What if one individual acts on behalf of the group to which s/he belongs, but does not have the approval of the respective group? It seems that the question of defining and categorizing violence is still open and that, for the purpose of this paper, it is best to approach the term in a descriptive way.

Thus, according to Schlesinger, the different manifestations of political violence during the past two decades are often nationalist in origin, sometimes anti-systemic, and have acquired an international dimension. To this it could be added that there has been political violence ever since the emergence of the nation-state, and, most probably, its origins could be traced back to the time of the early social formations. As Ernest Renan (1882) put it, “historical inquiry brings to light deeds of violence which took place at the origin of all political formations, even of those whose consequences have been altogether beneficial. Unity is always effected by means of brutality” (quoted in Bhabha 2008, 11). And so is separation. Such early violent events in the history of nations usually acquire mythical qualities and are passed on from generation to generation. Contemporary perceptions and attitudes to political violence in the life of a community draw very much upon these mythical past events. This is especially true for the Catholics and the Protestants in Northern Ireland, which is why it is very tempting, as William C. MacKenzie (1975) says, to abandon the rationalist strategy of definition and to approach the problem by way of myth (quoted in Schlesinger 1991, 8), capitalizing on the Northern Irish historical legacy of violence. Tempting as it is, this could not work: even though history is an essential component in understanding political violence, an analysis relying exclusively on data from the past would return a seriously truncated picture of the present situation.

Another point worth considering is the public’s perception of the political violence of “terrorism.” The dominant view on the phenomenon is shaped by the mass media, and so the public is acquainted with it as irrational, pointless destruction and killing of innocent people. A consequence of this in the case of Northern Ireland is that, as Schlesinger puts it, many see “terrorism” as the cause of the conflict there, rather than as one of its symptoms (1978, 243). Moreover, it seems that violence employed by states against their citizens receive much less attention (Schlesinger 1991, 6).

As it has been mentioned above, political violence is often of nationalist origin, and it should be related to political power within the borders of a certain state, taking into account such factors as legitimation and delegitimation, in line with the “well-known slogan that one man’s terrorist is another man’s freedom
fighter” (Schlesinger 1991, 6). A brief look at what is meant by the italicized terms will clarify the connection between them. Thus, Max Weber’s (1948) celebrated definition of the state will lead towards a categorization of violence into ‘legitimate’ and ‘illegitimate’: “The state is a human community that (successfully) claims the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory . . . The state is considered the sole source of the ‘right’ to use ‘violence’” (quoted in Schlesinger 1991, 9).

Commenting on this Gellner has shown that the idea behind Weber’s definition is “simple and seductive”: in well-ordered societies, as the liberal democracies are expected to be, private or sectional violence is illegitimate, so it cannot be employed to solve conflicts, as this is the right and the monopoly of the central political authority only, that is, the state (1980, 3). Officially, this may be regarded as still valid. However, as Gellner has pointed out, there are states which lack either the will or the means to enforce their monopoly on legitimate violence.1 In a way, this could apply to the British state in the case of Northern Ireland, since, as it is claimed by some—Connolly (1990)—the British policy has been to contain the conflict, to “keep the lid on,” but on the other hand it is common knowledge that the Anny and the Royal Ulster Constabulary were not able to put an end to the violent campaigns of the Provisional Irish Republican Anny and to the violent activities of the less conspicuous Loyalist paramilitary organizations.

As for nationalism, Gellner has defined it as primarily a political principle according to which political and national boundaries should coincide; then he goes on to define it as a theory of political legitimacy, requiring that ethnic boundaries should not cut across political ones (1980, 1). Another factor that should be taken into account is the cultural one, as suggested by Benedict Anderson in his Imagined Communities, where he expresses the opinion that “Nationalism has to be understood, by aligning it not with self-consciously held political ideologies, but with large cultural systems that preceded it, out of which—as well as against which—it came into being” (quoted in Bhabha 2008, 1).

Of course, understanding nationalism in its essence implies an understanding of nation as well, and it is at this point that the cultural factor is used in Gellner’s discourse along with that of will. His definitions, though not claiming to be definitive, are very useful for the purposes of this analysis. Thus, he considers that a community can be considered a nation ‘if and only if its members share the same culture, and recognize each other as belonging to the same nation (1980, 7). In order to define the concept of nation one should also consider Ernest Renan’s celebrated essay “What is a nation?” (1882) which, even if it was written more than a hundred years ago, is still surprisingly valid in ideal terms, with some reservations as far as Northern Ireland is concerned. His discussion of nation can...
be summed up as follows: race, language, religion and geographical frontiers are seen as totally insufficient to define a nation—which is true enough. In his view the most important are factors like that of “sharing a glorious heritage and regrets,” and “having, in the future, [a shared] program to put into effect,” or “the fact of having suffered, enjoyed, and hoped together.” The main point is that the only legitimate criterion in defining a nation is the will of its members (quoted in Bhabha 2008, 8–21)—which is true for an ideal nation, but would be a dangerous generalization if applied to contemporary reality, and was even more so at the time when it was made (1882), a glorious age of imperialist expansion. It is doubtful, for example, that the Ukrainians wished to be part of the former USSR, and it is certain that the radical section of the Catholic nationalist republicans in Northern Ireland do not wish to be part of the British nation. Besides, such factors as race or ethnicity, language and religion are not decisive if taken separately, but they cannot be dismissed since each of them has its share in the complex process of nation formation, and are vitally important for those minority communities who wish to maintain their identities.

The theoretical ideas that have been discussed up to this point can by no means be regarded as absolute; neither can they offer solutions to such complex problems as political violence and nationalism. However they can facilitate the understanding of these phenomena, often incomprehensible for those who are not directly affected by or involved in them. They can also help in looking for explanations of how some sections of certain states’ populations have come to be in serious conflict with other sections and/or with the central political authorities of the respective states, to the extent to which they view the use of force as just and legitimate, without regard for the suffering inevitably caused by it. In brief, the role of the present chapter is to provide the theoretical basis for the analyses in the next chapters of the paper.

Bhabha (2008, 1) says that the origins of nations are lost in myth. If the affinity between myth and history is to be taken into account, the same could be said about Ireland and its conquest by the Normans back in the twelfth century. The conquest was the result of what looked like a re-enactment of the myth of ancient Troy, the fall of which was caused by Helen. The analogy is evident in the account of Peter and Fiona Somerset Fry: “in 1151 . . . an event of apparent insignificance took place. Diarmait Mac Murchada, the king of Leinster, carried off Derbforgaill, the wife of Tigernan Ua Ruairk, the king of Breifne (where Cavan and Leitrim are now). The next year Derbforgaill was back under her husband’s roof; a trivial escapade seemed to be over; but as a result of it, everything was to change” (1988, 61).
Indeed, the insulted Tigernan organized a successful expedition of revenge and Diarmait lost his kingdom, so that in 1166 he appealed to Henry II of England for military help to take it back. And help came in the form of an army led by Richard Fitzgilbert de Clare, the Norman earl of Pembroke, generally known as Strongbow, who conquered Leinster for Diarmait and Ireland for King Henry II. The Normans had come to Ireland to stay, and this was what “blackened his [Diarmait’s] name forever” (Fry and Fry 1988, 61). So Oakland’s statement that Ireland was first attacked and settled by England in the twelfth century (2006, 102) is true but incomplete: the English—the Normans according to Foster (1989), Fry and Fry (1988) and Connolly (1990)—attacked Ireland because they were asked to.

Of course, with neighbors like the Normans, “aggressive cousins of those Vikings” who had almost conquered Ireland a hundred years earlier had it not been for Brian Boroime (Boru) (Fry and Fry 1988, 57) this was bound to happen sooner or later. Diarmait’s story could be considered as the first of the series of myths born out of the relationship between the Irish and the English, only that, for the two opposing communities in Northern Ireland, these myths have different and opposite meanings and their celebrations are still causing intercommunal violence.

In his *Tragedy of Belief*, Fulton examines what he calls the key mythical structures of Protestant-loyalist popular religion in Ulster which, he argues, together with the Orange order, play a part similar to that of the centralized clerical organization of Roman Catholicism in providing some element of religious unity among Protestant loyalists (1991, 122). Thus, one such crucial event in the history of Ireland that acquired a mythical value is the war of 1689–1691, more precisely the Battle of the Boyne (1690), where William of Orange won the decisive victory against the Catholic Irish army of the exiled king, James II. This was on 12 July, and the Protestants of Ulster still have huge celebrations on the same date of every year, when bonfires, marching, flags and singing are destined to remind the Protestants of their victory and the Catholics of a sad defeat.

Yet, Fulton claims that the Battle of the Boyne is not the strongest myth, that is, “not quite the one which appears to have penetrated everyday life,” suggesting that the reason for this might be that the place of the battle is within the borders of the Republic of Ireland (1991, 123). It could be argued that this claim is a bit far-fetched, since the manifestations occasioned by every 12 July provide yearly evidence of the importance of this day for the Protestant community in Northern Ireland.

According to Fulton the most powerful myth of the Protestant-loyalist account is the less decisive defense of the city of Londonderry in 1689, which
provided a walled shelter for the Protestant refugees, the inhabitants and the soldiers of the city garrison in the face of James II’s army. William of Orange, the husband of his Protestant daughter Mary, had ousted the Catholic king from the throne of England, and Ireland was his last hope. The Irish Catholics had very good reasons to help James, whose accession to the throne in 1685 had revived their hopes of recovering their lands from the Protestants and of securing their rights and an official position for their religion (Canny 1989, 149). However, despite the help of the Irish and French troops, James was defeated and fled to France. As for the siege of Derry, writes Connolly, it offers the historical explanation for such terms as ‘No surrender,’2 ‘Apprentice Boys’3 and ‘Lundy’4 which are common today and continue to influence thinking and action (1990, 17).

All these have sad and negative connotations for those on the Catholic-nationalist side of the divide. In fact, their legacy is a sad one, that of a conquered people, a legacy which has been kept alive by a sense of frustration with the past, reinforced by the events of the very recent past (i.e. the years of the Stormont rule). So, the Catholic-nationalist Irish North and South have built their own mythical-historical structures, the most powerful of each are of a comparatively recent origin, as their nationalist movement crystallized only in the nineteenth century.

However, Catholic grievances can be traced much further in the past, when the conflict was not so much about national identities. As a matter of fact, it is doubtful that anything of the kind existed, for instance, at the time of the Norman conquest of Ireland, since Kee (1986, 10) claims that some Normans became “more Irish than the Irish themselves” (quoted in Connolly 1990, 13). Going back to the grievances of the Catholics in the past, in 1641 the native Irish rose in revolt hoping to take back their lands and 2,000 English settlers were killed. This rising is an interesting one because historians’ opinions differ on this point. For example, Boyce (1991, 83) claims that Cromwell’s reprisal, in its turn, was extremely cruel: “A Cromwellian army came which was in no mood to distinguish between one kind of Catholic or another, between those innocent of massacre and those who were guilty.”

On the other hand, according to Connolly’s account (1990, 16), many of the poor and the men-at-arms were not treated very badly, the latter being allowed to emigrate, revenge being reserved for those who owned land. So, the conflict was basically about landed property, which meant power, and if the things are looked at from this angle, then indeed such past violence can be viewed as political violence. In terms of mythical-historical structures, the 1641 rising secured for Cromwell, as Connolly has put it, the highest place in Irish Catholic demonology.

Probably one of the most vivid memories is the Easter Rising of 1916 which is still commemorated today. Organized by radical nationalists who believed in
blood sacrifice—though not in victory (Fry and Fry 1988, 292)—the rising did not elicit popular enthusiasm in the beginning. Nevertheless, overreaction on the part of the government turned the initial fury and disgust at the human and material wastage into “a sentimental cult of veneration for the martyrs” (Fitzpatrick 1989, 240) who were imprisoned and shot by the English by way of reprisal. For the Catholic nationalists Easter 1916 has a double significance: it marks the yearly commemoration of the martyrs and the celebration of the first proclamation of the Republic of Ireland.

Another important event in the same vein is connected with one of the emergency measures authorized under the Special Powers Act of 1922, and reintroduced on 9 August 1971, that is, internment without trial. Hadden (1990) speaks about complaints that this measure was used mostly against republicans (6) and if Foster’s figures are right this was indeed so: 450 arrests were authorized on 9 August and 346 prisoners rounded up on the basis of outdated police lists, and, despite the prominence of the Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF), none of them was Protestant (1989, 590). This is commemorated in the Catholic areas in Northern Ireland as ‘Internment Night,’ on 8 August, and it is marked by manifestations which have often caused riots and violent confrontations with the security forces or between members of the two opposing communities.

Such events as those discussed above prove that the roots of the Northern Irish conflict can be traced very far back in the country’s history, and it is maintained that the events of the seventeenth century influenced developments in Ireland (and Northern Ireland) for over two hundred years. In Connolly’s opinion, “Catholic resentment and Protestant fears were formed all those years ago, and these myths are recalled in present-day Northern Ireland, and have a significant impact on current political debate” (1990, 17).

This is a debatable point. It likely applies to the hardline militants on either sides of the divide and to popular political manifestations, like the Orange march on 12 July, or to the commemoration of Internment Night. However, it is less probable that these myths should influence political debate at the highest levels, were the main issue has been that of re-establishing normal life in Northern Ireland. It is possible that the point made by Connolly applies to those situations when political debate is about the very events mentioned above, or about problems connected with them. Besides, it would not be very reasonable to let the past guide judgement on the present too much, for things like forfeited land or killing to acquire/recover it, for example, were the norm till well into the modern age, especially in the case of conquest and colonization.
Notes

1. Gellner’s example to illustrate this could be a useful resource for a comedian specialized in black humor: “The Iraqi state, under British tutelage after the wwi, tolerated tribal raids, provided the raiders dutifully reported at the nearest police station before and after the expedition, leaving an orderly bureaucratic record of slain and booty” (1980, 3).

2. ‘No surrender—the Protestants’ watchword during the great siege of Derry.

3. ‘Apprentice Boys’—thirteen apprentice boys locked the gates of the city of Derry against the troops of James, defying the city’s governor, Robert Lundy.

4. ‘Lundy’—Lieutenant-colonel Robert Lundy, governor and commander of the garrison in Derry. He wanted to surrender the city to King James but was strongly opposed by the citizens and had to flee in disguise. Today, being called a ‘Lundy’ is an insult for a unionist politician (Connolly 1990, 17).

5. Fry and Fry (1988, 291) suggest that this lack of enthusiasm was caused by the German connections of the revolutionaries, which is understandable, given that the rising took place during wwi.

6. UVF—loyalist paramilitary organization founded in 1912 by way of preparation to oppose home rule by force.

References


**Abstract**

Violence in Northern Ireland

Approaching the subject of political violence in Northern Ireland is an enterprise both easy and difficult. It is easy in the sense that almost all information about this part of the UK is relevant to the matter under discussion. The difficulty arises from this very point, as there emerges the necessity of a thorough selection of the information needed for a paper of this kind. The present work is an attempt to show how this phenomenon has pervaded social, political and cultural life in Northern Ireland and has even extended to the British mainland. The different forms in which political violence has been—and still is—present in this part of the world will also be examined. The theoretical framework of the analysis relies upon the concept of violence and addresses the matters of definition and categorization, and points out the necessity of relating it to nationalism.

**Keywords**

conflict, politics, nation, violence, rights
For the past two and a half decades, capitalism has remained largely outside the purview of Romanian social scientists. With few exceptions (e.g., Pasti 2006), local social scientists have ignored political economic structures and dynamics, while at the same time producing countless analyses of “transition,” which take capitalism more as a normative given than as an object of critical inquiry. All this in spite of capitalism being a traditional topic of theoretical reflection and empirical interest and, just as importantly, in spite of the ongoing turmoil that characterizes present-day Romanian economy and society. Hence, with little to no locally produced knowledge, the Romanian case has been severely underrepresented in the growing literature on the development of capitalism in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) in the aftermath of 1989 (e.g., Bohle and Greskovits 2012). More recently, this situation has been partially compen-
sated for by the work of a handful of Romanian scholars educated abroad, who have published a number of detailed analyses on topics related to the political economy of Romanian capitalism (e.g., Cernat 2006; Gabor 2011; Pop 2006). Despite their significance, these works have enjoyed only a modest circulation on a local level and have yet to be translated into Romanian.

Cornel Ban’s new book *Dependență și dezvoltare: Economia politică a capitalismului românesc* (Dependency and development: The political economy of Romanian capitalism) constitutes a big step forward in filling this knowledge gap. Based on the translation of several chapters from Ban’s Ph.D. dissertation and other research projects of his, the book offers the Romanian public not only a privileged first insight into Ban’s work on Romanian economic history, but also a long-awaited attempt at making sense of the political economic transformations that have led us to where we are now. Since the book was written for a general audience, the author hopes for it to benefit from a wider circulation than previous works on related topics and thus contribute to public debates on the nature, origins, and development of Romanian capitalism. In this respect, Ban aims at offering sufficient evidence and interpretations solid enough to support “a social-democratic critique of the versions of capitalism that have been tried in Romania during the past one hundred and fifty years” (p. 9).

In setting up his critique, Ban draws on two interrelated bodies of literature. On the one hand, the phrase “Romanian capitalism” is conceptually legitimate only from the standpoint of the varieties of capitalism approach, upon which Ban explicitly relies and to which the book obviously contributes. According to Ban, in comparison with other CEE states, Romania stands out as “a form of dependent neoliberal capitalism, different from the dependent capitalism with social-democratic (Slovenia) or neo-corporatist (the Czech Republic, Hungary) characteristics” (p. 12). On the other hand, the book is inspired by Karl Polanyi’s *The Great Transformation* and the burgeoning body of literature that came in the aftermath of Polanyi’s reappraisal at the turn of the millennium. Ban relies much more heavily on Polanyi than those authors working strictly within the varieties of capitalism approach. Though he does not claim it to be so, at first sight Ban’s book can be said to be nothing less than a Romanian version of *The Great Transformation*. Even if it cannot claim to make such pioneering theoretical contributions as Polanyi’s work, Ban’s book is similarly ambitious when it comes to its historical reach. Or at least the author seems to want it to be.

There is a third body of literature on which the book relies less, but to which it nonetheless contributes. The local debate on dependency and backwardness dates back as far as the second half of the 19th century. The main contributors to this debate were the Marxist social-democrats, from Constantin Dobrogeanu-Gherea at the turn of the 19th century, to Șerban Voinean in the interwar period, and Henri H. Stahl during the second half of the 20th century (Chirot 1978;
Love 1996; Rizescu 2012). While it is true that the Romanian Marxists were much more in line with the classic dependency theory that Ban explicitly rejects, they were similarly concerned with the specific features of Romanian capitalism and the possibilities for setting the country on the path to economic and social development. Until recently, this line of critique had failed to yield any inheritors after 1989. Bogdan Murgescu’s (2010) recent book took it upon itself to rejuvenate this intellectual tradition, though without the theoretical and political ambitions of his Marxist predecessors. Ban credits Murgescu with putting the issue of Romania’s dependency back on the intellectual map and sets his efforts in direct continuation of Murgescu’s book. Fortunately, Dependență și dezvoltare puts forward a much more sophisticated and worthwhile interpretive effort than România și Europa.

The book is an economic history of Romanian capitalism from the mid–19th century to the present, including the state socialist hiatus. Ban argues that this history can be broken down into three “basic phases”: “the first Romanian capitalism (1829–1948), the national-Stalinist developmentalism (1948–1949), and the second Romanian capitalism (1989–2???)” (p. 17). Together, these three phases add up to a “history of attempts—mediocre in terms of results—to reduce the country’s development gaps” in relation to advanced capitalist countries (p. 251). During this time, Romania moved from a position of classic dependency before the 1930s to one of semiperipheral dependency during the second phase, with the latter being further consolidated once the second Romanian capitalism took the neoliberal path in the second half of the 1990s (p. 15). Though these categories are reminiscent of the standard tropes of dependency theory, Ban rejects explanations that primarily focus upon external constraints and argues that the responsibility for Romania’s trajectory lies “to a great extent . . . with local political and technocratic elites and the way in which they negotiated the country’s external constraints” (p. 16). Consequently, Ban’s analysis puts special emphasis on the role of political and economic ideas, intellectuals and the “capacity and autonomy of state bureaucracies” (p. 17) in understanding the country’s continued dependency and (under)development. Ban insists on an understanding of “development” in terms of both economic and social progress and claims that in each of the three phases local elites failed on both accounts.

The strongest parts of the book are by far those dealing with the period between 1965 and 2000. These are not only the most empirically detailed, but also the most consistent with Ban’s analytical framework. They deal with the demise of what Ban calls the national-Stalinist developmentalist project and of the post–89 neodevelopmentalist experiments, with the latter setting the country on the path to neoliberal dependency.

Developmentalism is another term Ban borrows from the vocabulary of dependency theory. The national-Stalinist developmentalism was radically differ-
ent from the classic and national liberal projects according to which capitalism was built in Romania before 1945. It achieved substantial economic and social advances but eventually succumbed, as Ban shows, due to a complex combination of factors including the intransigence of the country’s leaders, the mismatch between investment decisions and international events like the two oil shocks of the 1970s, or the country’s dependence on international financial institutions from the capitalist world. The austerity of the 1980s, which led to the downfall of the Ceaușescu regime, was neither automatic, nor an intrinsic feature of state socialism as such, but rather represented a contingent result of the local elites’ attempts at balancing out these internal and external constraints. Ban’s analysis of the demise of state socialism in Romania is undoubtedly the best work written so far on the subject.

1989 did not bring about an immediate and absolute victory for neoliberalism. As Ban painstakingly shows, establishing a neoliberal orthodoxy in post-socialist Romania was in fact a relatively protracted and convoluted process in which alternative, neodevelopmentalist projects failed to negotiate between external dependency and internal development pressures. Ban spends a great deal of time showing that neoliberalism had strong opponents among both policy- and decision-makers. For the first six years after 1989, this opposition materialized into two neodevelopmentalist projects—one liberal, the other populist—comprising different combinations of neoliberal and developmentalist ideas. During this period, neodevelopmentalism was the running orthodoxy. Neoliberalism replaced it only as a result of two interrelated processes: on the one hand, similar to their state socialist predecessors, the local neodevelopmentalist elites failed to negotiate external and internal requirements satisfactorily enough to make their projects sustainable beyond the short term; on the other hand, neoliberalism became a viable contender and provided a credible alternative once the neodevelopmentalist project reached its limits.

Ban argues that, starting with the second half of the 1990s, neoliberalism could present itself as the only possible alternative to neodevelopmentalism due to the imbuing of key governmental institutions and nongovernmental actors with neoliberal ideas. This was accomplished through the socialization of the personnel of these institutions and organizations in supporting neoliberal policies on economic, political, social, and even cultural fronts. The merger of the neoliberal agenda with that of advancing democracy and political freedom gave this all-encompassing character of the Romanian neoliberal project. Ban offers a fascinating account of this process by showing how local administrative and intellectual elites became connected to transnational networks of educational and policy-making institutions. In obvious Polanyian fashion, he concludes that “the Great Transformation in Romania was an intensely political process, through which external agents granted authority to the [local] translators of neoliberal-
ism and marginalized and/or coopted its previous enemies, through a combination of mechanisms of coercion and socialization” (p. 193).

The maturing of this neoliberal project in the 2000s, says Ban, brought Romania closer to the Visegrád countries, in the sense that it became heavily dependent on foreign direct investment and vulnerable to external financial shocks. In the absence of an alternative political-economic project, the Great Recession of 2008–2009 only exacerbated the traits of the country’s neoliberal dependency as it “experimented with new forms of market fundamentalism, but also of wealth redistribution in favor of neofeudal networks and the shareholders of multinational and local corporations dominating the Romanian economy” (p. 212). This variant of dependent neoliberal capitalism has massively privileged capital and disfavored labor, while obtaining modest economic results at the cost of bringing the country on the brink of social disaster. The obviously pessimistic undertones of this analysis notwithstanding, Ban believes a change of policy toward a new form of developmentalism is the only way out of the trap of neoliberal dependency.

In spite of the level of detail, Ban’s treatment of the post–2000 period lacks the analytical complexity of the interpretation he gives for the last three and a half decades of the 20th century. After convincingly arguing against seeing the 1990s as a homogeneous period in which neoliberalism reigned triumphant from beginning to end, Ban fails to provide a similarly nuanced interpretation of the 2000s, which he portrays as uniformly and unambiguously hardcore neoliberal. In comparison to his treatment of the first postsocialist decade, Ban’s analysis of the 2000s is much more concerned with macroeconomic dynamics than with historical detail or intellectual and policy networks, even if the reader is provided with few reasons why this is legitimate or necessary for the book’s overall argument. Similar things can be said of the very brief inquiry into the pre–1945 “first Romanian capitalism,” which seems largely out of joint with the rest of the book. Though Ban’s portrayal of these two periods is definitely insightful, their analytical disconnection from the core chapters means that, despite its declared goal, the book falls short of putting forward a fully-fledged economic history of Romania from the mid–19th century to the present. It looks more like a history focused on the second half of the 20th century, to which the author has added separate analyses of the (neo)liberal regimes that came before and after the rise and fall of three consecutive (neo)developmentalist attempts.

Ban’s analysis of the 2000s also points toward a classic dilemma of dependency and development studies, to which he does not provide a definite answer, despite claiming to do so. In this section of the book, Ban stresses the importance of external dependency much more forcefully than that of local elites and state capacity. To be sure, local politicians and the Romanian branches of international banks and multinational corporations are depicted as carriers of eco-
nomic vulnerability, but the narrative no longer puts the emphasis on the agency of elites and emphasizes Romania’s geopolitical and geoeconomic location to a much greater extent than in the case of the 1990s. With little to no choice available but to deepen marketization and in the absence of a viable historical alternative to neoliberalism, we are led to believe the post-crisis outcomes would have been largely similar regardless of who populated the ranks of the country’s leading cadres. This hardly points to an inconsistency on Ban’s part, but rather to the difficulty of providing an analytical balance between external constraints and internal political developments. Indeed, the old cleavage between dependency and modernization theorists was mapped out along this difference in analytical emphasis: while dependency theorists stressed the role of external pressure in leading countries on the path to (under)development, modernization theorists emphasized the importance of local elites and politics. Just like the more sophisticated dependency theorists (e.g., Chirot 1976), Ban struggles to find an equilibrium between the two, but in the end seems to force himself to make an explicit choice for the latter. A direct consequence of this is Ban’s insistence that, with different outcomes for the internal political strife, present-day Romania might have resembled the more social-democratic dependent economies of Slovenia or the Czech Republic, or might even have escaped semiperipheral dependency and become an European version of South Korea or Brazil. If the former comparison seems somewhat legitimate, the latter claim is rather outlandish.

In comparing Romania to its Western CEE neighbors, Ban ignores the literature on the longue durée accumulation of development differentials between these countries (e.g., Chirot 1991), as well as the importance close proximity to Western Europe had in determining post–1989 outcomes (Kalb 2002). While this comparison is still debatable, saying that Romania’s political elites failed to grab available historical opportunities of turning the country into a developmentalist state similar to those of East Asia gives up on all the lessons of dependency theory and fully harks back to the methodological nationalism of modernization theory. As some of the inheritors of dependency theory have shown (Arrighi, Hamashita, and Selden 2003), the rise of East Asia during the past decades has been part of a global geoeconomic and geopolitical realignment through which states like South Korea not only rose from the semiperiphery but also became part of an emerging core. This was the outcome of a highly complex and multipronged process, one in which local elites played only one part of many. Both before and after 1989, CEE—or, for that matter, Europe as a whole—has occupied an entirely different position in this changing global geography of uneven development, and this puts in doubt any claim that the Romanian state, or any of its neighboring states, has lost opportunities of turning itself into a developmentalist state similar to those of East Asia or other regions of the globe. After all, developmentalism in the semi-periphery might be nothing more than a pure
illusion—less of a real historical possibility, than a belief which, when substantiated in policy, merely transforms and strengthens mechanisms of dependency (see Arrighi 1990). What Ban’s book misses most is a global perspective on the historical trajectory of CEE, as well as a more thorough comparative analysis of Romania’s position as part of a regional periphery. These are up for grabs for future research projects. For now, Ban’s book does an excellent job at opening up the debate.

References


No one doubts today that the diversity of traditions and cultures has constituted, for centuries, one of the riches of Europe and that the principle of tolerance has represented, in the past few decades, the guarantee for maintaining an open society in Europe, with respect for cultural diversity. The Republic of Moldova is today a sovereign, independent state, but for many centuries it was part of an important province in present-day Romania, Moldova. From 1812 to 1918, it was part of the Russian Empire, just like from June 1940 to June 1941 and from the summer of 1944 to the summer of 1991 it was part of the Soviet Union, which had wrested this territory from Romania. In Moldova (known as Bessarabia), starting from the early Middle Ages, several peoples settled alongside the Romanians in durable, peaceful and organic manner, just like, during the timespans in which Bessarabia belonged to the Russian Empire and to the Soviet Union, there were systematically and intensively colonized several populations that have influenced the history of the autochthonous inhabitants with variable intensity over time. Among the ethnic groups that settled here spontaneously or were the subject of the colonization organized by the Russian authorities, there were Russians, Hungarians, Germans, Jews, Armenians, Bulgarians, Gagauz, Lippovans, etc. Naturally, their presence among the native Romanians, who always represented the majority despite the demographic policy of Russification waged in 1812–1918 and 1944–1991, was not unitary either in chronological (they had come here at different historical moments) or demographic terms, some settling in greater numbers, others in a smaller proportion. Ever since the Middle Ages, Bessarabia has had a population composed of Romanians and, then, in the modern and contemporary periods, of Russians, Germans, Gagauz people, etc., belonging to the Orthodox, Roman Catholic, Calvinist, Lutheran religions, besides which other ethnicities and denominations were also recorded: Mosaic, Muslim, etc.

The work written by the historian Ion Gumenăi comes to fill a gap in the historiography produced in the Republic of Moldova and elsewhere, addressing the history of ethnic and confessional communities that are extremely important for this space, which is multi-ethnic and multi-denominational by definition. Minorities have represented, ever since the interwar period, and all the more so today, a priority subject on the agenda of international relations. States, supranational political bodies, have been concerned, for many decades, to protect the national minorities within the states and to avoid, as much as possible, inter-ethnic and inter-

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confessional conflicts. At the end of World War I, the League of Nations championed a minority protection system that included the right to petition, cultural rights, the right to education, to one’s own language, etc. The Council of Europe’s Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, adopted in Strasbourg on 1 February 1995, promotes non-discrimination, the equality between national minorities and the majority, as well as individual freedoms: the right of assembly, association, expression, thought and conscience. Moreover, linguistic freedom, openness to the other and the preservation of cultural identity are issues that represent a constant concern of the European institutions. The European Convention requires the member states to promote conditions that will enable persons belonging to the national minorities to maintain and develop their culture, to preserve the essential elements of their identity, namely their religion, language, traditions and cultural heritage.

After the annexation of Moldova’s territory between the Pruth and the Dniester in 1812 (which is called Bessarabia and today is large independent Republic of Moldova), Russia endeavored to provide the province with a new administrative structure, in an attempt to alter its Romanian specificity. Bessarabia witnessed a transition period in the first decades, with a view to its full integration in the Russian Empire. In 1818, Tsar Alexander established the capital of the province at Chişinău. It was also then that the warrant governing the territorial reorganization was issued, known as The Decree for Organizing the Province of Bessarabia. It stipulated the preservation of and respect for the ancient laws and customs of Moldova, as well as the unrestricted use of the Romanian language. The decree served as a provincial constitution, with a somewhat liberal character. Bessarabia was subjected to a military governor, but the other administrative and judicial bodies were civilian, elective. Apparently, favorable conditions had been created for the development of the province in the spirit of historical traditions, the majority Romanian population accepting, without much resistance, the new political regime. The policy targeted at centralization and the restriction of the privileged provinces’ rights waged by Tsar Nicholas I after 1825 shortly entailed the loss of Bessarabia’s autonomy. On 29 January 1829, the Tsar sanctioned the so-called Voronzov “Regulations,” which had awarded the governor general appointed by the tsar decision-making power in the entire province. Virtually all of Bessarabia’s autonomy was canceled. Russian officials were introduced in the administration and Russian became an official language. There began a long process of Russification in the province, which meant a period of ordeals for the Romanian elite: arrests, deportations, etc., along with an intense policy of colonization with foreign populations—German, Bulgarian, Gagauz, French, etc.—promoted by Russia. In this way, over the decades that followed, the massively Romanian ethnic structure of the province between the Pruth and the Dniester was adversely affected, decreasing the proportion of Romanian population, which nonetheless preserved its demographic majority. Thanks to responsible religious prelates, concerned about maintaining national identity—Metropolitans Gavriil Bânulescu-Bodoni and Dumitru Sulima—there were built over 200 Orthodox churches and Romanian was maintained as the language of worship. Moreover, the religious and school books that were printed circulated throughout
Bessarabia. In 1844, when a Russian metropolitan was appointed, there started the massive Russification of the Romanian church and school system.

The research conducted by Ion Gumenâi has not been in the least easy because it has required complex documentation and because its subject had not only to be projected against the local and provincial contextual background of Bessarabia, but also to be included in a broader perspective on demographic policy from around the time of the first Tsarist rule. Thus, the author uses mostly unpublished archival sources from the Republic of Moldova, but he also brings historical and statistical information from archives in Russia, Ukraine and Lithuania, along with published documentary sources and a rich specialist literature comprising several national historiographies.

The work is structured into four chapters, logically articulated and balanced in terms of their length, starting from the first chapter, which is dedicated to the problem of religious minorities in Bessarabia during the years 1812–1828 and examines the quantitative aspects and the organization of these communities. The following chapters focus on the demographic evolution of religious minorities in Bessarabia from 1828 until the late 19th century, insisting on the manner in which these Roman Catholic and Protestant communities were established and evolved naturally. The author also manages to restore, extremely coherently, the relations of these ethnic and religious minorities with the authorities of the central Russian power and with the Orthodox ecclesiastical authorities of the majority Romanian population. The numerous statistic information from the actual text and the tables at the end of the book convincingly demonstrate how rich, in ethnic and confessional terms, the Romanian province between the Pruth and the Dniester was in the modern era, this ethnic-demographic reality being visible even today, in the present-day state of Moldova.

Ioan Bolovan

Mircea Gheorghe Abrudan
Orthodoxie și luteranism în Transilvania între Revoluția pașoptistă și Marea Unire. Evoluție istorică și relații confesionale
(Orthodoxie et luthéranism en Transylvanie entre la Révolution quarante-huitarde et la Grande Union. Évolution historique et relations confessionnelles)

Faisant suite à d’autres livres parus le dernier temps sur le même thème, tels que ceux appartenant à l’académicien Mircea Păcurariu, à l’évêque Johann Schneider et au professeur Paul Brusanowski, cet ouvrage de Mircea Gheorghe Abrudan constitue l’une des contributions les plus importantes à l’étude de la vie et l’activité du hiérarque orthodoxe transylvain Andrei Șaguna. Il est d’abord important par le matériel documentaire inédit qu’il met en circulation : de nouvelles sources découvertes dans les archives et les bibliothèques d’Autriche, Roumanie, Allemagne. Ensuite, il est important par le sujet qu’il nous propose : les rapports de l’Église orthodoxe roumaine de Transylvanie avec l’Église évangélique, respectivement les relations d’Andrei Șaguna avec les leaders spirituels et politiques de la communauté saxonne de Transylvanie.
La biographie intellectuelle d’Andrei Şaguna (évêque à partir de 1848, métropolite à partir de 1864), témoigne d’un horizon culturel ouvert, représentatif d’un hiérarque et érudit d’Europe centrale. Les livres de sa bibliothèque, analysés pour la première fois dans l’historiographie roumaine, sur la base de l’inventaire rédigé par Ilarion Puşcariu, en sont la preuve. Le prestige dont il a joui auprès de ses contemporains, qu’ils fussent clercs ou laïcs, lui ont valu la reconnaissance de son activité et de son œuvre, fait illustré aussi bien par la traduction de ses ouvrages en plusieurs langues et les comptes-rendus appréciatifs que par sa nomination dans les sociétés scientifiques et culturelles hongroises, allemandes et roumaines de Transylvanie.

La Révolution de 1848-1849 en Transylvanie l’a imposé en tant que leader national, à l’instar d’autres métropolites ou évêques d’Europe centrale et orientale, où l’Église était identifiée à la nation. Şaguna a réussi, dès la révolution, à gagner le respect des élites saxonne et roumaine de Transylvanie. Le livre ci-présent dévoile les rapports d’Andrei Şaguna avec l’Église évangélique et la communauté des Saxons transylvains, sujet presque absent dans les recherches sur l’histoire ecclésiastique, à une époque où, grâce à deux personnalités emblématiques – Andrei Şaguna et Georg Daniel Teutsch –, l’Église orthodoxe roumaine et l’Église évangélique de Transylvanie ont subi des transformations radicales en ce qui concerne les institutions, l’organisation et, surtout, les rapports avec les fidèles.

L’une des composantes essentielles de la réforme de l’orthodoxie roumaine entreprise par Andrei Şaguna en Transylvanie consiste dans la publication de livres de culte nécessaires au service religieux et à l’édification morale des fidèles. Un aspect moins connu jusqu’à présent, que l’auteur tient à souligner, est la diffusion de ces livres dans toutes les zones habitées par des Roumains orthodoxes. Les livres publiés par l’Imprimerie diocésaine de Sibiu sont, par exemple, arrivés en grand nombre dans les paroisses orthodoxes régies par la Métropole de Karlowitz (actuellement Sremci Karlovci).


Un thème majeur du livre est représenté par le rapport entre Église et nation chez les évangéliques et les orthodoxes, qui a eu un rôle essentiel dans la formation de l’identité des deux confessions. Şaguna a toujours souligné le lien entre orthodoxie et nationalité, alors que l’Église évangélique s’est complètement identifiée à la communauté saxonne.

Mircea Gheorghe Abrudan a repris dans son livre le dossier difficile du constitutionnalisme dans les deux Églises. La genèse et les sources du Statut organique de l’Église orthodoxe roumaine de Transylvanie et de Hongrie (adopté en 1868 par le Congrès ecclésiastique roumain national orthodoxe de Sibiu) a connu plusieurs interprétations au fil du temps, la plus sujette à des commentaires étant celle qui soutenait que le Statut de Şaguna avait été...
l’expression d’une influence protestante. Selon une autre idée véhiculée, la réformation des deux Églises – orthodoxe et évangélique – se serait faite avec la contribution du mouvement de réformation de l’Église romano-catholique d’Europe centrale, principalement de Johann Hirsch. Mircea Gheorghe Abrudan soutient et prouve par des arguments que pour forger sa pensée canonique sur la synodalité, le hiéragarque de Sibiu s’est servi du Nomocanon byzantin, de Konymhaya Kniga, du Pidalion, du Synagoge des Canons de Ralis, du Code de Govora et de la version roumaine du Pidalion traduite par le métropolite Veniamin Costachi, publiée au monastère de Neamț. Mircea Gheorghe Abrudan pense que Şaguna a organisé l’éparchie transylvaine sur le modèle de la Métropole de Karlowitz, identifiant le principe synodal à celui constitutionnel. La synodalité et le constitutionnalisme ont constitué les coordonnées fondamentales du Statut organique. Il a été fondé sur les principes de l’autonomie ecclésiastique, du constitutionnalisme et de la participation des laïcs à l’administration des affaires scolaires, économiques et des fondations. Mircea Gheorghe Abrudan souligne que, grâce à ces principes modernes, fondés sur la valorisation et la réinterprétation des canons et de l’Église primaire, le Statut a eu un caractère unique dans le monde orthodoxe de la seconde moitié du XIXe siècle. Cependant dès qu’il fut approuvé, nombre de voix n’ont tardé de le contester, sous prétexte d’avoir une origine protestante, d’être créé sur le modèle de la Constitution de l’Église évangélique. Rejetant cette idée, l’auteur soutient que Şaguna n’a fait que valoriser les principes d’organisation de la Métropole de Karlowitz, ainsi que les besoins de sa propre Église, à travers un processus de rénovation ecclésiastique, par la réinterprétation des canons, l’actualisa-

Un autre thème que Mircea Gheorghe Abrudan développe dans ce livre concerne l’autonomie de l’Église orthodoxe roumaine de Transylvanie par rapport à l’État et aux autres Églises orthodoxes, ainsi que les rapports entre les différents corps ecclésiastiques. L’Église orthodoxe roumaine a fait partie de l’Église orthodoxe occuménique, bénéficiant d’une totale autonomie et d’indépendance par rapport aux Églises de l’étranger. Même si Şaguna n’a pas nommé son Église autonome, la Métropole orthodoxe roumaine a été tout simplement coordonnée avec celle de Karlowitz pour des questions de dogme et spirituelles, ce qui équivalait finalement à une autonome.

Fruit du vaste programme de restitution de la vie et de l’œuvre d’Andrei Şaguna, initié par S.S. Laurențiu, le métropolite de Transylvanie, le livre de Mircea Gheorghe Abrudan constitue une contribution importante à la bibliographie de ce grand hiéragarque et de l’histoire de l’Église orthodoxe roumaine de Transylvanie et de Hongrie.

Nicolae Bocșan
Stefano Santoro
Dall’Impero asburgico alla Grande Romania. Il nazionalismo romeno di Transilvania fra Ottocento e Novecento
Milan, Franco Angeli, 2014


Une fois l'idéal national accompli, suite à l'union de 1918, le nationalisme des Roumains transylvains perd de sa dimension libérale et démocratique et connaît un processus de radicalisation, qui le rapproche du fascisme – thèse développée dans ces deux chapitres. Le parcours politique et idéologique de personnalités telles que Octavian Goga ou Alexandru Vaida-Voevod est significatif de la réorientation des options des leaders transylvains vers un nationalisme à caractère ethnique, radical et antisémite. Cette évolution du nationalisme des Transylvains après la Grande Union, notamment dans les années 1930, le conduira vers une relation de convergence avec l'extrême droite et vers la fusion avec le mouvement légionnaire. Pour mieux décrire cette dynamique, l'auteur se sert du concept de « nationalisme totalitaire », conçu comme une étape d'extrême radicalisation du nationalisme des Transylvains de la Grande Roumanie.


Il convient de remarquer le professionnalisme de Stefano Santoro dans la recherche d’un sujet d’histoire contemporaine roumain complexe et compliqué, plein de pièges et susceptible d’exercer sur un historien moins avisé une séduction partisane ou polémique. Ce livre constitue une surprise agréable pour le lecteur roumain, qui admire à la fois la désinvolture avec laquelle l’auteur se meut dans des problématiques d’histoire transylvaine et roumaine du XIXe et du XXe siècle, que la familiarité avec laquelle il sait gérer et utiliser une vaste bibliographie de spécialité en roumain, des sourcesprimaires publiées ou inédites à côté d’une littérature secondaire riche et diversifiée. Il se situe ainsi dans la lignée Keith Hitchins ou Francesco Guida, pour ne mentionner que deux des « roumanistes » les plus illustres de l’historiographie internationale actuelle.

Ion Cărja
L’intérêt pour la restitution globale du passé récent d’une manière moins circonscrite au cadre événementiel, mais compatible avec les exigences de l’écrit historique, enregistre une contribution remarquable sur le plan éditorial par la publication de l’ouvrage du prêtre Alin Albu dédié à l’évolution du doyenné d’Alba Iulia dans une période historique extrêmement sensible, avec des développements générateurs d’effets sur le long terme au niveau de l’Église et de la société. Le lecteur a l’opportunité de prendre contact avec une réalité approché à travers la grille d’une insolite osmose entre l’histoire de l’Église et l’histoire locale. Cette dernière a pu devenir une discipline autonome dans le cadre de l’historiographie roumaine grâce à la préoccupation des spécialistes du domaine de valoriser les chances offertes par l’accès plus large aux sources d’archives et de poursuivre des directions thématiques similaires à celles de l’écrit historique européen. Quant à l’histoire de l’Église, elle a été intensément fréquentée par les historiens roumains à l’époque des Lumières et pendant le Romantisme, alors que le recours aux méthodes positivistes d’analyse des faits et des institutions du passé a favorisé dans l’entre-deux-guerres des disponibilités polémiques visant des aspects controversés du Moyen Âge et de l’époque pré-moderne, telles que l’appartenance confessionnelle des dynasties fondatrices des États roumains ou bien l’apparition de l’Église roumaine unie. Le pluralisme confessionnel, devenu une marque spécifique de la société roumaine de Transylvanie, a inspiré dans une première phase des approches polémiques issues de la compétition entre les deux Églises au sujet du mouvement d’affranchissement national, de la relation avec l’autorité séculière ou de la légitimité de certaines revendications patrimoniales. La disparition de contraintes idéologiques, qui rendaient ces sujets inabordables pour les historiens du domaine, de même que la prise de conscience de l’importance de l’Église en tant que facteur catalyseur des solidarités sociales et inspiratrice des normes communautaires de conduite, ont conduit à des visions unilatérales plus nuancées et à l’étude des aspects d’interférence, comme, par exemple, l’importance de l’enseignement confessionnel, le rôle du clergé dans la structuration d’une société civile chez les Roumains transylvains ou l’impact des appartenances juridictionnelles sur les comportements individuels et collectifs. Des facteurs objectifs ont fait que les sujets d’histoire de certaines structures ecclésiastiques ont été privilégiés dans l’espace culturel roumain, l’Église et les institutions locales constituant pendant plusieurs siècles les seules sources des documents écrits censés aider à la reconstruction d’une histoire du mental collectif, d’une manière rapprochée des paradigmes de l’écrit historique français du siècle passé.

L’auteur assume une double condition, d’homme de l’Église et d’historien familierisé avec les exigences de l’esprit critique nécessaire à toute recherche scientifique. Sa démarche devient ainsi un test de la capacité d’accorder des attitudes et des points de vue issus d’appartenances confessionnelles et de repères éthiques avec la manière positiviste d’écrit l’histoire et avec la préférence pour le document écrit.
L'intention de l'ouvrage est de réaliser une restitution totale de l'histoire de ce fragment de l'Église orthodoxe transylvaine, au cours de laquelle l'historien prend le dessus sur le théologien. Le section introductive sert aux mêmes desseins méthodologiques, visant à préciser les limites chronologiques et géographiques de la reconstitution historique et, surtout, à définir les différences spécifiques censées assurer au sujet un profil distinct dans le champ des recherches de spécialité. Ces dernières caractéristiques sont données aussi bien par l'espace temporel plus restreint par rapport aux précédentes tentatives monographiques que par les provocations imposées par l'utilisation des fonds non-inventorié des archives du Vicariat orthodoxe d’Alba Iulia. Le lecteur est familiarisé avec la méthode de travail que l'auteur a utilisée pour étudier les 40 000 documents et pour éviter les éventuelles erreurs terminologiques ou de transcription. Cet excursus dans l'atelier de l'historien s'achève par une esquisse du cadre géographique et historique du doyenné situé à l'interférence juridictionnelle des deux structures dominantes de l'orthodoxie transylvaine moderne et contemporaine, Cluj et Sibiu, suivie de quelques évocations succinctes des personnalités ecclésiastiques s'étant distinguées pendant les événements les plus importants dans l'histoire générale de la Transylvanie.

Le premier chapitre est dédié à l'activité ecclésiastique et administrative et établit les circonstances de l'apparition du doyen, par la résolution de l'Assemblée archidiocésaine du 6 septembre 1940, dans les conditions des réalités politiques issues de l'Arbitrage de Vienne et des difficultés apparues dans la gestion des activités missionnaires. Puisant largement dans les sources d'archives, l'auteur offre quelques esquisses de l'évolution de 25 paroisses et du monastère St. Jean-Baptiste. Grâce à sa formation théologique, il réussit à réaliser une véritable anatomie de la vie ecclésiastique dans ses détails presque quotidiens, depuis la structure et les assemblées convoquées tous les ans aux travaux de construction des églises, à l'implication des structures associationnistes des laïcs et aux mécanismes de collecte de fonds. La même préoccupation pour les significations des sources écrites se fait remarquer dans le chapitre suivant, centré sur l'activité missionnaire-pastorale. L'analyse est précédée de quelques séquences biographiques des clercs et des chantres d'églises en fonction dans les 25 paroisses, ce qui humanise les données historiques et offre les prémisses d'une éventuelle analyse sociale ultérieure. Les activités et la conduite de ces hommes d'église font l'objet des visites canoniques effectuées par l'évêque Nicolae Colan et des documents rédigés par le doyen Alexandru Baba, destinés à réglementer les pratiques liturgiques, éliminer les dérapages de comportement du clergé et l'impliquer dans la diffusion des normes d'hygiène.

Le chapitre le plus consistant sous l'aspect de l'analyse historiographique est consacré à l'activité culturelle et éducative et réunit une vaste problématique, depuis l'évolution des écoles aux interférences avec l'État et les communautés de laïcs. La reconstitution est précédée d'une esquisse historique de l'évolution de l'enseignement confessionnel orthodoxe de Transylvanie et de sa continuité après 1918. L'auteur assume explicitement la position de l'Église orthodoxe dans les controverses qui l'opposent au Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale au sujet de la propriété des sièges scolaires et l'administration de l'enseignement confessionnel, controverses qui se sont matérialisées dans des mémoires adressés aux autorités et des appels à la solidarité lancés aux fidèles et
qui se sont provisoirement achevées par la solution du partenariat entre l’Église et l’État. L’intérêt pour la reconstitution en détail des faits se voit une fois de plus dans l’attention prêtée à l’évolution des écoles paroissiales, des écoles secondaires et des formes d’instruction moins institutionnalisées, telles que les écoles paysannes ou l’instruction extrascolaire. Une question où la formation de l’auteur entre en concurrence avec sa propension à l’objectivité concerne les élèves sectateurs, que les réglementations légales en vigueur obligeaient à suivre une éducation religieuse sous la direction de clercs appartenant aux cultes historiques. La tentative de conditionner la classification des élèves de leur conversion par le baptême est considérée comme l’expression des normes imposées par la catéchèse, génératrice de paradigmes comportementaux et moraux, alors que la position des autorités laïques à ce sujet a imposé en dernière instance des solutions modérées. La reconstitution s’achève par des considérations concernant la relation des forums ecclésiastiques avec les associations culturelles laïques et les préoccupations liées à la publication de périodiques et la conservation de bibliothèques et de fonds de livres religieux anciens.

Les trois derniers chapitres, moins amples et centrés sur des problématiques envisagées par les recherches classiques d’histoire de l’Église, s’arrêtent à quelques aspects visant l’interaction de l’institution ecclésiastique en général avec les facteurs de premier ordre de l’agenda contemporain et avec l’altérité confessionnelle. La section consacrée à des aspects nationaux et politique permet à l’auteur d’exprimer son point de vue sur le partenariat conclu entre l’Église et le régime politique, placé sous les auspices du besoin général de stabilité et de préservation de l’identité nationale. La collaboration avec le pouvoir a connu une dynamique spécifique, influencée par des événements tels que la rébellion légionnaire de 1941, les enquêtes qui s’ensuivirent et l’activité des commissions d’épuration apparues après la chute du régime Antonescu. La relation avec l’État a supposé aussi l’implication dans l’effort de reprise de l’instruction primaire et dans la recherche d’une position légitime par rapport à la guerre. Les notations liées à des aspects social-philanthropiques concernent l’implication du clergé paroissial et de la direction du doyenné dans l’organisation des campagnes de bienfaisance au bénéfice des soldats, des réfugiés et des familles pauvres, ainsi que l’étude de la réalité sociale des prêtres en fonction dans les Monts Apuseni. L’accent est mis sur la contribution du clergé aux campagnes initiées par le Conseil de Patronage des Œuvres Sociales, telles que celles contre l’alcoolisme ou d’aide aux réfugiés. La recherche s’achève par des réflexions sur la problématique confessionnelle, centrées sur trois sujets : l’effort de combattre la croissance de l’influence des confessions néo-protestantes à l’aide de l’État, les relations de compétition avec le clergé gréco-catholique et la position de l’Église face à la conversion de plusieurs Juifs à l’orthodoxie.

Loin d’aborder les questions privilégiées par les grandes synthèses d’histoire et sans payer tribut à l’originalité facile, la démarche du prêtre Alin Albu fait défiler sous les yeux du lecteur les réalités quotidiennes d’une institution que l’autorité de la tradition et la communauté des fidèles avaient investie de grandes responsabilités sociales et morales. Elle tient à une spécificité identitaire dont la recherche scientifique n’a pas encore épuisé le potentiel.

**Florian Dumitru Soporan**
Ce volume, coordonné par deux historiens réputés, réunit les contributions présentées au colloque « 70 ans depuis le Pogrom de Iaşi (28-30 juin 1941) », qui a eu lieu à Iaşi du 26 au 27 juin 2011. Y ont participé des professeurs et des chercheurs de Roumanie, Israël, France, Suisse et de la République de Moldavie, dans la tentative de préserver sous un nouveau jour le Pogrom de Iaşi, de même que la Shoah, en général, en Roumanie. Les communications présentées à ce prestigieux colloque sont accompagnées dans ce volume de poignants témoignages inédits.


La dernière section du volume porte le titre « Le Pogrom de Iaşi » et réunit des études et des textes qui font appel à la mémoire. Leon Eşanu décrit les événements tragiques de la capitale de la Moldavie ; Silviu Sanie analyse trois livres sur
le pogrom ; Cătălin Botoșineanu discute des documents des archives, remarquant l’absence de fonds censés mettre clairement en évidence l’histoire du pogrom ; Țicu Goldstein essaie de trouver la spécificité du Pogrom de Iași et de la Shoah en Roumanie ; Lucian Zeev Herscovici se réfère aux rabbins de Iași de l’entre-deux-guerres, insistant sur le rôle de Joseph Safran, grand rabbin de la ville, qui est évoqué dans l’étude suivante par son fils, le rabbin Eliyahu M. Safran ; Gheorghe Samoïlă parle de trois citoyens roumains, orthodoxes, qui se sont opposés aux atrocités perpétrées contre les Juifs ; Carol Iancu rappelle d’autres Roumains qui ont participé aux actions de sauvetage des Juifs, présentant cinq témoignages inédits ; Eliza Cocea s’intéresse au sort des Juifs qui avaient échappé au pogrom. Cette dernière section finit par le témoignage de Baruch Tercatin, survivant du pogrom.

Comme les coordinateurs le soulignent, ce volume dense, de même que le colloque auquel il fait suite, « rend hommage aux victimes du pogrom, aux rescapés et à leur parents, ainsi qu’aux Roumains qui, en des “temps inhumains”, en sauvant des Juifs, ont eu la force de rester humains ». C’est, à notre avis, un livre nécessaire, d’une haute tenue scientifique, qui représente un avertissement sur les possibles dérapages de l’histoire.

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### Atlas electoral al României (1990-2009)

(Atlas électoral de la Roumanie, 1990-2009)

**Coordinateur et auteur** Corneliu Iațu;

**auteurs** : Ionel Boamfă, Ciprian Alupului, Sebastian Năstuță, Silviu Petru Grecu, Romeo Asiminei, Raluca Ioana Horca-Șerban, Voicu Bodocan, Aurelian Giugal, Cătălin Timofciuc, préface par prof. univ. Alexandru Ungureanu

Iași, Ed. Universității Alexandru Ioan Cuza, collection « Studii de geografie politică » (Études de géographie politique), 2013

Cet ample volume qui compte 754 pages et des centaines de représentations cartographiques est le fruit d’un travail en équipe coordonné par le professeur Corneliu Iațu de l’Université de Iași. Il présente le phénomène électoral roumain à travers les élections locales, parlementaires, présidentielles, europarlamentaires, ainsi que les référendums déroulés entre 1990 et 2009, qui sont analysés et comparés suivant un schéma unitaire, en évoquant le contexte socioéconomique et politique, la campagne électorale, les résultats des élections et la sociologie du vote.

Le coordinateur de l’ouvrage tient à souligner dès l’« Avant-propos » que « la Roumanie électorale est une construction qui reflète une histoire, des mentalités, des héritages, des influences, des frustrations, des désirs et des rêves » (p. 9), soulignant qu’un demi siècle de communisme a altéré l’être national, influençant la manière de penser des gens et même leur culture démocratique acquise au cours de la brève période de progrès national de 1859 à 1947. Il n’hésite pas à affirmer que « la beauté de la démocratie n’a que des facettes.

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Letiția Ilea
en Roumanie après 1989. La démocratie sonne bien, elle est revendiquée par tout le monde. Mais combien la mérite, combien la pratique ? » (p. 9).


En guise de conclusions, le caractère transdisciplinaire, l’analyse détaillée des items électoraux et leur mise en graphique font de cet atlas un ouvrage unique en son genre. Il s'impose en tant que modèle d'analyse et base de données, devenant un instrument de travail indispensable à toute analyse future. Traduit en deux langues de circulation internationale, l'ouvrage permet au public étranger de pénetrer dans les coulisses du milieu électoral roumain. Présence singulière dans le paysage roumain du domaine, il s'avère utile à la fois aux géographes, aux sociologues, aux historiens, au milieu politique, aux chercheurs passionnés du milieu culturel roumain dans son ensemble et dans ses composantes essentielles, telle que la culture électorale, qui commence à se cristalliser sous nos yeux.

**Alexandru Păcurar**
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