

# A Fighter for the National Ideal – Archpriest Ioan Papiu of Deva

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## 1. Preliminaries

**T**HE EXTERNAL crisis caused by the military setbacks suffered during the Austro-Franco-Piedmont war, as well as the pro-union manifestations from 1859-1860, foreshadowing the creation of a Trans-Carpathian “Little Romania,” determined the Court in Vienna to abandon the absolutist policies in force till then. Inaugurated by the imperial diploma of 20 October 1860 (supplemented by the patent of 26 February 1861), the new “liberal regime” of 1860-1867 was characterized by policies of great openness towards the other nationalities living in the Empire. In addition, the autonomy of Transylvania was recognized, the old administrative-territorial structures were re-established, and the Romanian population enjoyed a certain degree of political and administrative freedom.<sup>1</sup>

The military defeats of 1859-1866, the political isolation of Austria at European level and its removal from the German Confederation, the acute financial crisis and the centrifugal tendencies of the subjugated nationalities pushed the Viennese Court to a compromise with the Hungarian ruling classes meant to maintain the unity of the Empire. The result of this was the creation of the Austro-Hungarian “national, unitary and indivisible” state (1867-1918)—although for every 5 Hungarians it had 11 other non-Hungarians—which had from the very beginning an open policy of total and effective integration of Transylvania into Hungary at the political, economic, administrative and cultural level. As a consequence, through a series of legislative measures of a discriminatory nature—the “Law of Union” passed in 1868 (the annulment of the autonomy of Transylvania), the “Law for the Equal Emancipation of Nationalities” of 1868 (the refusal to recognize ethnicity), the “Law of Education” of 1868 (it was compulsory to teach the Hungarian language as an object of study in the elementary, secondary and normal schools of the different nationalities, now under the strict control of the state), the “Law of the Press” of 1872 (the creation of Jurisdiction Courts in Târgu Mureș, Cluj and Sibiu press trials), “The Electoral Law” of 1874 (the arbitrary introduction of financial qualifications for the Romanians, in order to secure an indisputable Hungarian majority in the Parliament of Budapest), the “Trefort” laws of 1879 (the introduction of the Hungarian language into the Romanian pedagogical and secondary schools), of 1883 (introducing the mandatory study of the Hungarian language in Romanian gymnasiums

and banning the grants awarded by the Romanian state), and 1891 (the imposition of the Hungarian language in kindergartens), the “Bánffy Law” of 1896 (Magyarization of the names of settlements), the “Appony” laws of 1907 (the imposition of a “cultural tax”) and 1917 (the creation of the so-called “cultural area”) etc.—the Hungarian authorities denied to the Romanians all the political, social and cultural rights and freedoms they had obtained with great difficulty in previous decades.<sup>2</sup>

Under these conditions, the abolition of the Austro-Hungarian dualist regime became the main objective of the Romanian national struggle, generating an unprecedented solidarity movement in the entire Romanian society.<sup>3</sup> Among those who continued the struggle for freedom and unity of their forerunners were, once again, the spiritual shepherds: the Romanian hierarchs, archpriests and priests, Orthodox and Greek Catholic alike. The range of measures adopted was a diverse one, from concrete actions to support the Romanian culture, religious empowerment and socio-economic prosperity, to far-reaching political initiatives. Such a fighter for national unity, freedom and dignity was priest Ioan Papiu (1833-1907),<sup>4</sup> archpriest of Deva and future archdiocesan counsellor in Sibiu, a close collaborator of Orthodox Metropolitan Andrei Şaguna (1848/1864-1873) and of his successors: Metropolitans Procopie Ivaşcovici (1873-1874), Miron Romanul (1874-1898) and Ioan Meşianu (1898-1916).

## 2. Ioan Papiu—Priest and Archpriest of Deva

**I**OAN PAPIU was born in 1833 in Sâniacob (today’s township of Aţintiş in Mureş County). He attended the secondary school in Târgu Mureş and the gymnasium in Blaj, then enrolled in the Diocesan Theological and Pedagogical Institute in Sibiu, which he graduated in 1858. He was ordained as a priest the following year on behalf of the Deva Orthodox Parish; he also received from Andrei Şaguna, the future Metropolitan of Transylvania, at that time bishop of the Transylvanian “Non-united Greek-Eastern Diocese,” the high task of managing the parish communities in the Archpriesthood of Deva, a position he held for over three decades (1859-1890).<sup>5</sup> According to the comprehensive ecclesiastical census of 1858, entitled *Verzeichniss über die Zahl der Pfarrgeistlichen und der Christen aus den orthodoxen griechisch orient. Diocese in Siebenbürgen für das Jahr 1858* (List of parish priests and Christians from the Greek-Eastern Orthodox Diocese of Transylvania for 1858), initiated by Şaguna in view of further intercessions with the Viennese Court, in order to improve the material situation of the clergy, the Deva Archpriesthood included, at that time, parishes and affiliate churches in the northern half of “Ținutul Pădurenilor,” the middle sector of the Mureş Valley, on the upper course of the Cerna and Strei Rivers, as well as the neighboring hills, consisting of 55 settlements, with 17,012 believers, liturgically serviced by an equal number churches in which 27 priests served.<sup>6</sup> Also, for a long time, he managed—in parallel—the vacant archpriest seat of Dobra (1869-1884).<sup>7</sup>

A close collaborator of Andrei Şaguna, whom he met in Deva on several occasions (the visits of the metropolitan in 1860, 1865 are well known—only that year he made three trips to Vienna and then two to Karlowitz—1867 and 1868)<sup>8</sup> but also of his

successors in the archdiocesan see in Sibiu, in his double capacity, as priest and archpriest, he was involved in all fields of ecclesiastical activity, of which we will mention only a few. Thus, at the pastoral-missionary level, he supported the actions of the “Union of Romanian Women,” an Orthodox church association extended across Transylvania, which carried out a broad and fruitful missionary, philanthropic and even charitable activity in parishes and affiliate churches of Hunedoara County.<sup>9</sup> In 1884, in the village of Bârcea Mică, he took a stand against the reactivation of Protestant proselytism, since *notary Szanto, with false promises, wanted to destroy the parish and to persuade parishioners to leave the ancestral law and convert to the Reformed Calvinist religion*; and ten families, *weak and naive, converted*; in addition, the Hungarian local authorities were asking Orthodox priest Dionisie Popovici to “stand down.”<sup>10</sup>

As far as his mission as a benefactor is concerned, it is worth mentioning, first and foremost, his laudable initiative of building a new stone church (instead of the old one “on the valley” which had become overcrowded) for the growing Orthodox community of Deva, a church envisaged by the great hierarch Andrei Șaguna as the cathedral of a future Romanian Bishopric based in Deva.<sup>11</sup> Taking over the titular saint, “Holy Hierarch Nicholas,” from its predecessor, this place of worship built between 1861 and 1873 was completed in its present form by architect Constantin Purcariu from Lugoj only in the interwar period (1927-1930); it is a “Greek cross” edifice with a three-sided polygonal apse, elevated by an octagonal central tower, above the western entrance (with another one located on the southern side), with a quadrilateral bell tower with octagonal endings, remarkably tall (37 m), guarded by eight miniature turrets. The church was consecrated on 6 December 1874.<sup>12</sup>

Then, under his careful guidance, the congregations of some of the village communities in the parishes and affiliate churches of the Archpriesthood at whose head he had been ordained either built new places of worship or renovated those that already existed. The first category includes 12 ecclesiastical edifices built during his pastoral life: “The Assumption of the Virgin Mary” at Simeria - Biscaria (stone church, 1857-1860), “Archangels Michael and Gabriel” at Cozia (stone church, 1863), “Holy Archangels Michael and Gabriel” from Găunoasa/Dumbrava (stone church, 1864-1867), “Holy Apostle Thomas” at Poiana Răchițelii (stone church, 1868), “The Descent of the Holy Spirit” at Dăbâca (stone church, 1870), “The Assumption of the Virgin Mary” at Lelese (stone church, 1874), “St. Nicholas” in Archia (stone church, 1877), “The Assumption of the Virgin Mary” in Săulești (stone church, 1875-1877), “Saint Paraskevi” at Runcu Mare (wooden church, 1887), “The Descent of the Holy Spirit” at Peștișu Mic (church stone, 1888), “The Descent of the Holy Spirit” at Cerna (stone church, 1889, no longer existing today) and “The Assumption of the Virgin Mary” in Mânerău (stone church, 1889).<sup>13</sup> The writings from two of them bear his memory in time: the place of worship in the village of Cozia, a church “built to praise God in 1863, during the time of Emperor Joseph I, under the archpriesthood of his Grace Andrei, baron of Șaguna, bishop, Ioan Papiu being the archpriest in Deva and Aron Popovici being the parson,”<sup>14</sup> and the ecclesiastical edifice of Mânerău village, where, “to praise God, this holy church was built during the days of Emperor and King Franz Joseph I, Miron Romanul being the Archbishop and Metropolitan, and Ioan Papiu being the proto-

presbyter” by local priest Constantin Dăncilă, “through the faithful Greek-Orthodox people, in 1889.”<sup>15</sup>

During the same period several repair works of older places of worship were also carried out: “Saint Paraskevi” in Lăpușnic (full renovation, carried out during 1869-1879), “Holy Archangels Michael and Gabriel” in Cârjiți (capital repair, of a re-foundation manner, made in 1878), “Holy Martyr George” in Băcia (in 1873 the nave and altar of the original place of worship were demolished, the recovered material being ceded to the Greek Catholics from the settlement following an agreement; the missing parts were rebuilt between 1873 and 1876), etc.<sup>16</sup>

Given the great distances to the eparchial centers on which the parishes and affiliate churches of Hunedoara depended from the administrative-canonical point of view (to this was added the opposition of the secular authorities to canonical visits), the sanctification of the churches was entrusted by the hierarchs of Sibiu to the local archpriests. Therefore, at the level of the Deva Archpriesthood, this task was entrusted to Ioan Papiu, as happened *on 9 September 1863*, when *this church of the Orthodox community in Cozia was sanctified*,<sup>17</sup> respectively in October 1889 when the sanctification of another ecclesiastical edifice, that of Mănerău, was made *through protopresbyter Ioan Papiu, with the assistance of the local priests*.<sup>18</sup>

He pursued the same ample and rich activity in the cultural realm, being among the founders of “The ‘Romanian Casina’ Reading Society” in Deva (1868), “The Society for the Romanian Theatre Fund in Transylvania” (1870) and “The Romanian Teachers Association” in the Deva area (1879); in parallel, he was an ordinary member of the “History and Archaeology Society of Hunedoara County” (1880) and of “Hunedoara” Bank (1885, later renamed “Decebal”) of Deva.<sup>19</sup> Also, on 10 December 1861, he was among the ten “collectors” responsible for popularizing and increasing the number of members of the “Transylvanian Association for Romanian Literature and the Culture of the Romanian People” (abbreviated ASTRA); later, along with the priests under his coordination, he constantly appeared on the lists of Transylvanian “contributors” who financially supported. After the establishment of the “Deva Branch” in 1873, he was assigned the position of director for several terms (1873-1876; 1880-1890), thus taking part in the Central Committee of the “Association” from Sibiu. Moreover, it is worth mentioning here the organization of the General Assembly of “ASTRA” in Transylvania, in Deva, in August 1874.<sup>20</sup> In recognition of all his efforts he received a “cooperation diploma” from the jury in Sibiu, at the Romanian National Exhibition organized in the summer of 1882, on 9 July.<sup>21</sup>

In the first two decades of fruitful pastoral life in Deva, his wife, Elena (1840-1880), the daughter of another praiseworthy Hunedoara cleric, Ioan Piso, archpriest of Hondol during 1858-1896, was always by his side. God gave them 11 children, whom he raised with much toil, as he became a widower.<sup>22</sup>



### 3. On the Barricades of the Struggle to Obtain National Rights

**B**EYOND THE ecclesiastical activity demanded by his role as a protopresbyter, the special merit of priest and archpriest Ioan Papiu is to have entered his name in the gallery of the great Transylvanian fighters for national freedom, dignity and unity of the second half of the nineteenth century. In this field, he pursued two major directions of action: he militated for the introduction of the Romanian language in the administration, and he spared no effort in bringing culture to his countrymen through schooling.

Thus, with regard to the first of these directions, a first such action was represented by the participation in Deva, on 22 July 1860, together with other Romanian leaders, at a national conference in which *we were informed that from many parts of our country representatives were chosen and selected to travel to Vienna, where they were to ask the emperor to grant us the use of our language in administrative policies.*<sup>23</sup>

As the “liberal regime” of 1860-1867 did not bring the Romanians the fulfilment of their long-awaited desiderata, the priests, leaving aside their previous confessional tensions, became once again the bearers of the national battle flag. As such, on 29 May 1863, archpriest Ioan Papiu of Deva, *having a holy duty to inform*, communicated the list of “deputy candidates” in the upcoming elections to hierarch Andrei Şaguna, assessing the chances of their success in relation to their Hungarian opponents; he also informed him of the many irregularities committed by the authorities during the run-up to the poll.<sup>24</sup>

In the years 1877-1878, as a mobilizer of the clergy and Orthodox believers in Deva area in support of the war efforts of their brothers over the mountains, he actively participated in raising cash, food, medicines and clothing for the wounded, widows and orphans in Old Romania. The sums of money and gifts thus gathered, together with the relevant subscription lists (also mentioned in the pages of the archdiocesan publication “The Romanian Telegraph”), were sent to Iudita Măcelariu from Sibiu, the president of the Romanian Women’s Committee of Transylvania; after the dissolution of the local subscription committee in Deva by the Hungarian authorities, the money and gifts were dispatched to the “Red Cross Society of Romania.”<sup>25</sup>

In the spirit of the National Conference held in Sibiu on 12/24 May 1881, Romanian assemblies were organized everywhere in Transylvania for the electoral “education” of the voters; such a meeting was convened in Deva, on 16/28 May 1881, by the direct involvement of archpriest Ioan Papiu. Also, the worthy cleric mentioned above was among the signatories of the *Petition of the 33 leading Romanians* from 1881, in which they were protesting against the replacement of Romanian confessional schools with Hungarian state ones<sup>26</sup>; on 17 February 1883, along with other leading men from Hunedoara county, he took a stand against the new “Trefort” Law, which introduced a large number of compulsory Hungarian language classes in Romanian secondary schools.<sup>27</sup>

By far the most momentous event of the time was the organization of a large national conference in Deva, in the current episcopal cathedral of the “Holy Hierarch Nicholas,” on 10 March 1883, attended by more than 2,000 guests (lawyers, priests, teachers, peasants, etc. from all over Transylvania); its “convener,” signed “manu propria” by archpriest

Ioan Papiu and published on 12/24 February of the same year in the national-political gazette “The Observer,” stated that:

*in agreement with many friends from all parts of our county, Hunedoara, the undersigned have the honor to convene a conference of all the Romanians in this county for the day of 10 March 1883, new calendar, at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, in Deva, in the regular place. The main subject of the conference will be: consultation and decision on what to do about the new draft law on education in secondary schools submitted to the Diet in Budapest, which threatens with disaster and abandonment the education in our national confessional secondary schools. Deva, 4/16 February 1883.*<sup>28</sup>

In this great gathering, *before the country, before the homeland that we love very much and courteously, and against this violation of civilization by instruction*, they asked that the ruling bodies grant the following: the Romanian language to be used in administration and justice, Transylvania to regain its autonomy, and Romanian officials to be appointed in all areas of public life.

Thanks to the esteem he enjoyed even in the eyes of his opponents, in 1886 *King-Emperor Francis Joseph I was welcomed by archpriest Ioan Papiu, at the request of Metropolitan Miron Romanul*. The Emperor with his retinue, which included *Archduke Rudolf and Archduke Francis d'Este*, together with *the attachés of foreign states, visited our church, and the archpriest, together with other intellectuals, were invited to the royal dinner, at Magna Curia, the then prefecture*,<sup>29</sup> which gave him the opportunity to discuss the discontent of the Transylvanian Romanians.

#### 4. Archpriest Ioan Papiu—Founder of the Romanian Education System

THE SECOND major direction of his national-political activity was the effort to educate his fellow countrymen. In his double capacity as an archpriest school inspector and catechist of the Romanian Orthodox pupils in the secondary schools of Deva,<sup>30</sup> Ioan Papiu had direct contact with the school realities of the time, militating for raising the quality of teaching from all didactic points of view, at a difficult time when confessional education (in fact, the Romanian primary education in Transylvania) was subjected to great trials.<sup>31</sup> In other words, if we were to refer only to the period of the Austro-Hungarian dualism, it should be remembered that starting with 1868, the Hungarian government began to openly interfere with issues concerning the Romanian education. In other words, in addition to the denominational schools, the so-called “Eötvös” Law provided for the establishment of two new categories of educational institutions, namely, state schools and communal schools, where teaching was in Hungarian. If, within six years after promulgation of the law, the (otherwise extremely rigid) operating requirements were not met, the Government could order their closure; a formal notice of this kind, coming from the Minister of Denominations and Public Instruction, Agoston Trefort, on 22 February 1873, demanded the raising of “standards” also in the confessional schools, but without any financial support from the state. On 10 June

1876, another school law was promulgated, whereby the regal inspectors from the county capitals were given the task of controlling the curricula, textbooks and teaching material used in all types of schools; and their other task was to *confiscate the books and means of education forbidden by the regime*.<sup>32</sup>

As the idea of a Hungarian unitary state, enshrined by the dualist compromise, could not be enforced without the Magyarization of the nationalities, the decisions adopted in Draft Law XVIII of 1879 constituted the beginning of a long series of laws aimed at denationalizing the Romanians through education. The law in question introduced the teaching of Hungarian as a compulsory subject in all pedagogical and popular schools whose teaching language was not Hungarian; all primary school teachers who did not speak this language were forced to learn it within four years, at the end taking a qualification exam. Despite the protests, the draft bill was passed. In addition, in 1883, another denationalizing law was adopted, introducing the compulsory study of the Hungarian language in the Romanian schools run by the Church, with the necessity that all the teachers had to speak it; subsidies from Romania were stopped. From 1891 onwards, arbitrarily, the pre-school education introduced Hungarian as a language of conversation.<sup>33</sup> The abuses of the authorities, as expected, were numerous; conversely, the Romanian initiatives were also numerous and diversified.

Thus, starting with the first years of his archpriesthood, the great hierarch Andrei Şaguna advocated for the opening, everywhere in Transylvania, of new confessional schools (in fact, the primary or elementary schools supported by the Church),<sup>34</sup> along with evening courses for illiterate adults, organized in each parish beginning with 1870 (for these courses, held in the summer, on Sundays and during holidays, and daily in the winter, the teachers and the priests were asked to teach “writing and reading,” “counting” or arithmetic); we also mention the intention of the Transylvanian Metropolitan to establish in Deva a secondary school (high school) with six grades, which however did not happen because of the opposition of the authorities. He succeeded, with great difficulty, to open a “Lower Gymnasium” in Brad, the Zarand area, in 1869.<sup>35</sup> With regard to the confessional character of these educational units, the hierarch suggested that in the mixed villages, where the Orthodox would manage to raise their own premises, the Uniate pupils would also be accepted, provided that their parents covered their share of the running costs; only the religion classes were to be taught separately by the priests of each denomination; where the school was built by the Uniate, the opposite applied.<sup>36</sup> As such, the graduates of the Theological-Pedagogical Institute of Sibiu (or of the similar diocesan institutions in Arad and Caransebeş), priests and teachers alike, had a decisive role in the promotion of national culture in a predominantly rural Transylvania, familiarizing the believers with reading, disseminating the church press, and engaging in the “ASTRA” actions.

In order to help the teachers, Metropolitan Andrei Şaguna, through the circular called the *Normative of Educational Conferences* of 1863, ordered that each summer, under the leadership of special counsellors delegated by the Metropolitan See, the teachers should gather and debate, during conferences, all issues related to the good development of education. Between 1863 and 1874, the conferences were restricted, bringing together only the teachers of an archpriesthood; during 1875-1878, under the term of “complemen-

tary courses,” they met in the three major diocesan church centers: Sibiu, Arad and Caransebeș. After 1879, the teacher courses, together with the additional ones (elective courses of Hungarian), were organized within “circles,” the town of Deva hosting one of them through the sustained activity of archpriest Ioan Papiu. The topics of discussion, pre-arranged and thoroughly prepared, in conjunction with the reports of the school inspectors, presented a detailed picture of the situation of education in a certain “circle.”<sup>37</sup>

Linked to the purpose of these courses, but within a different form of organization, with a large number of participants and a wide range of activities, there were also the “Romanian Teachers’ Meetings,” whose purpose was to defend the general interests of the teachers and their professional development. Under the increasingly harsher Austro-Hungarian dualist regime, reticent towards all such Romanian manifestations, they “lasted” only two decades (1878-1898). Regarding Deva Archpriesthood, some of the sessions of these meetings (as well as the conferences and training courses of the Romanian teachers in the county) were hosted by the Orthodox Elementary School in the town, located next to the teacher’s home in a building (no longer existing today) situated in front of St. Nicholas Church. The “soul” of all these meetings was archpriest Ioan Papiu.<sup>38</sup>

In order to improve the quality of education, many schools were endowed with *public libraries* as well as with *appropriate places for school gardens*; in Deva, in the school garden, the practical work of tree pruning, gardening and viticulture was performed, under a teacher brought from Sibiu.<sup>39</sup> The teachers, lacking specialized knowledge, were encouraged to attend practical courses with qualified teachers, and regularly read the guidelines published in school “brochures.”<sup>40</sup> The hiking trips, cultural celebrations, theatrical performances and choral shows that had to be organized—many benefited from the support of the Local “Chant Meetings”—complemented the range of measures designed to enhance the attractiveness and quality of the teaching process of those years.<sup>41</sup>

For various reasons, in practice, things were moving rather slowly. To remedy any malfunctions, on 9 February 1856, Pavel Vasici was appointed as general inspector; his tasks included inspecting confessional schools of all grades, controlling the textbooks used, and supporting periodical teaching conferences.<sup>42</sup> In a detailed report on the “state of our schools” in Transylvania entitled *Pedagogical Communications*, he listed, from the outset, the causes he had identified:

*1. The lack of capacity of most teachers who can barely write and read, being poorly informed pedagogically. And because the townships have the right to choose their teachers, the party spirit and the archpriest’s preference are more decisive in this election than the quality of the candidate, so that it often happens that well-trained teachers cannot earn their everyday bread. 2. The poor payment of teachers, which varies between 40 and 300 florins. Some townships, though poor, do their utmost to increase the teacher’s salary, while others with high incomes pay their teachers, to their shame, worse than the humblest servant, and see this as something of lesser importance. 3. The lack of books is a shortcoming that cannot be forgiven. As the ploughman has a plough, the harvester a sickle, the craftsman the right tools, so the schoolboy or schoolgirl should have the right textbooks. Many believe that any book their father owns must be good to*



*teach a child. 4. Non-examination of schools by parish priests and archpriests. The parish priests, with few exceptions, do not care for catechism, not to mention the school visits, and do not assess their condition, as ordered. Others are so "by the book" that they go to school pro forma, but unprepared and without any purpose. The archpriests do not visit schools either, because they are afraid of the expenditure, which is not reimbursed by anyone, and then, during the canonical visits to parishes they do not get to see the school because this is usually a side job, and the teacher and the priest have told him what is wrong. 5. The lack of attendance by the children who are age-appropriate for schooling. In winter, they cannot go to school for they have no clothes, they are barefoot and underdressed, and in the summer they take care of the cattle in the field; some parents care more about their cattle than about their children. 6. The lack of school funds to pay the teachers or to buy books for the poor children. 7. The irregular management of the church and communal goods. The wealth of the church must be managed in fear of God, as a holy thing.*<sup>43</sup>

To these were added the authorities' impediments. Thus, on 10 December 1860, archpriest Ioan Papiu informed the administration of Hunedoara County about the indifference of the dignitaries to school matters, showing that in *the whole archpriesthood, only the school in Măneștii is running*. In Deva, according to Ioanichie Olariu, the "chancellor," on 16 July 1861, *out of 80 students barely a third went to school, because we do not have a Romanian town councilor*. And in an issue of the pedagogical magazine "The School's Friend" from Sibiu, on 29 September 1862, it was reported that in the county of Hunedoara, *the state of the schools is deplorable. There are no school edifices, no teachers, no salaries, then, what's even sadder, for the most part, there is no will, no energy, no understanding*. And this worrying situation lasted a good deal of time, so that in a report submitted to the Archdiocesan Consistory on 5 July 1865 it was reported that *the school in Deva is built by the church without any help from the political authorities, but is too small to be used as a functional school*. Finally, in 1877, the same archpriest Ioan Papiu of Deva declared, dissatisfied with the attitude of the Royal Inspector Réthi Lajos, that he *did not see and does not see a darker point on the map of the schools of this county, Hunedoara, than the Gymnasium in Brad and the capital school in Dobra*.<sup>44</sup>

Nevertheless, the number of educational units was increasing steadily (although, considering the Romanian population as a whole, the schooling figure was much lower than in other parts of Transylvania).<sup>45</sup> The first systematized information comes from a general survey of 1858, drawn up at the request of the Government, entitled *Verzeichniss über den Anstellungs-Ort die Eigenschaften der Lehrer in Bereiche der gr. orientalischen Diözese in Siebenbürgen für das Schuljahr 1858 in Sinne der hohen Statthaltereiverordnung von 29-ten Jänner 1858, Zahl 28.151/4.101 1857* (List referring to the work and qualities of teachers from the Greek-Oriental Diocese of Transylvania for the school year 1858, within the meaning of the High Royal Decree of 29 January 1858, No. 28,151/4,101 of 1857); the document includes the names of the teachers and the settlements where they taught, as well as the number of pupils (boys and girls) in those schools. There were 19 schools with 19 teachers and 232 pupils (178 boys and 54 girls) in the 55 settlements of Deva Archpriesthood. The illiteracy rate was lower only in the villages on the Mureș

Valley and in the neighboring hilly areas; instead, worrying levels were reached in the settlements of “Ținutul Pădurenilor.”<sup>46</sup> Precious details are provided by the so-called *Conspectus on the names of teachers and townships of Deva Inspectorate*, drafted on 21 June 1861, at the request of archpriest Ioan Papiu, school inspector of Deva District.<sup>47</sup> During the same period, namely, on 18 October 1861, school inspector George Lorințiu considered that the schools *were nicely organized, centralizing 2-3 townships together*. In 1865, 19 schools with 19 teachers were registered in the Deva school district.<sup>48</sup> But despite all efforts, in the 1887/1888 school year at the level of this archpriesthood only 6% of the Romanians were literate.<sup>49</sup> The annual “calendars” edited by the Orthodox Archdiocese of Sibiu, including the names of the teachers and the settlements in which they were active, complete the picture of religious education during 1881-1918.<sup>50</sup>

## 5. The End of the Journey

**A**FTER NEARLY 32 years of fruitful pastorate, during which he was a member of all National Church Synods and Congresses of the Romanian Orthodox Metropolitan See of Transylvania in 1890, at the insistence of Metropolitan Miron Romanul (1874-1898), he accepted to be transferred to the old town of Sibiu, as archpriest (1891-1895); then, benefiting from the trust and appreciation of another Metropolitan, Ioan Meșianu (1898-1916), in parallel with the archpriest dignity, he received the “advisory” one, as an archdiocesan counsellor (1895-1907)<sup>51</sup>; due to this quality, he got involved, together with the other members of the Consistory, in the building of the imposing Metropolitan Orthodox Cathedral of the Holy Trinity of Sibiu (1902-1906).<sup>52</sup>

In the early autumn of 1907, on a short visit in Deva, being invited by his son-in-law, priest and archpriest George Romanul of Deva, to serve during the feast of the Ascension of the Holy Cross (14/27 September) in “Holy Hierarch Nicholas” Church, to whose construction he had contributed, he suddenly passed away, to the Kingdom of Heaven (17/30 September 1907), being buried, three days later, in the central cemetery of the town, in the shadow of the tower of the old Orthodox stone church of Deva; hundreds of people accompanied him on his last earthly journey, amid the prayers of a synod of 28 archdiocesan counsellors, archpriests, priests and deacons, headed by delegates from the Archdiocese of Sibiu, the clergymen Eusebiu Roșca, Matei Voileanu and Aurel Crăciunescu, and against the backdrop of the funeral songs interpreted by the student choir of the theological-pedagogical institute in Sibiu. We lost a great Romanian, a man endowed by God with infinite qualities and gifts, a spiritual pastor whom, decades later, the lawyer and historian Victor I. Șuiaga of Deva described as follows:

*An educated and civilized man, of great nobility of the soul, a model parish priest and archpriest, respected and highly appreciated by his believers, by the local authorities and by the population of the whole town and county.*<sup>53</sup>



## Notes

1. Dan Berindei (coord.), *Istoria românilor VII/1. Constituirea României moderne. 1821-1878*, Bucharest, Academia Română, 2003, pp. 723-741.
2. Mircea Păcurariu, *Politica statului ungar față de Biserica românească din Transilvania în perioada dualismului (1867-1918)*, Sibiu, Editura Mitropoliei Ardealului, 1986, pp. 31-44, 134-178; Anton Drăgoescu (coord.), *Istoria României. Transilvania II. 1867-1947*, Cluj-Napoca, Editura “George Barițiu,” 1999, pp. 67-86, 101-150; Viorel Lupu, *Școala hunedoreană și Marea Unire. Valențe educaționale în perioada 1860-1918 și contribuții ale slujitorilor școlii la realizarea Unirii Transilvaniei cu România*, Cluj-Napoca, 2008, pp. 48-117, 143-182.
3. In extenso: Ștefan Pascu (coord.), *Românii din Transilvania împotriva dualismului austro-ungar (1865-1900). Studii*, Cluj-Napoca, Editura Dacia, 1978; Liviu Maior, *Mișcarea națională românească din Transilvania. 1900-1914*, Cluj-Napoca, Editura Dacia, 1986; Keith Hitchins, *Conștiință națională și acțiune politică la românii din Transilvania II. 1868-1918*, Cluj-Napoca, Editura Dacia, 1992.
4. Not to be confused with another contemporary clergyman, Ioan Papiu (1836-1902), Greek Catholic, former archivist at the Uniate Bishopric of Gherla (1864-1865), teacher of Romanian, Latin and Greek at the Gymnasium of Năsăud (1865-1869), priest-confessor at the Penitentiary in Gherla (1869-1891), canon priest at the Bishopric of Gherla (1891-1902), diocese school inspector, director of the Diocesan Press and President of the “Romanian Teachers Association” of the Diocese of Gherla, author of prose and poetry, textbooks, as well as valuable theological works: *Viața după moarte sau nemurirea sufletului*, Cluj, 1870; *Cuvântări bisericești*, vol. I-IV, Gherla, 1872-1888; *Predici funebre*, vol. I-II, Gherla, 1875-1880; *Doctorul sufletesc și sfaturile lui*, Gherla, 1882, etc. Cf. Victor Bojor, *Canonicii Diecezei Gr.-Cat. de Gherla, acum Cluj-Gherla (1857-1937)*, Cluj, Imprimeria Fondul Cărților Funduare Cluj, 1937, pp. 165-180; Mircea Păcurariu, *Dicționarul teologilor români*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., Editura Andreiana, Sibiu, 2014, pp. 471-472.
5. Victor Șuiaga, Romulus Iacob, *Albumul protopopilor Devei, Hunedoarei, Dobrei și Iliei din secolele XVI-XX* (mss.), Deva, 1983, pp. 59-60; Maria Razba, *Personalități hunedorene. Oameni de cultură, artă, știință, tehnică și sport (sec. XV-XX). Dicționar*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Deva, Editura Emia, 2004, pp. 400.
6. Pavel Cherescu, *Biserica și Școala în Mitropolia Ardealului (sec. XIX). Studii de demografie istorică bisericească*, Oradea, Editura Universității din Oradea, 2008, pp. 83-86. The same composition—with the additional indication of the parishes and the dependent affiliate churches—can also be found, with small differences, in the pages of the *Archdiocese Calendars* in the years 1880-1901: Almașu Mic (with Archia affiliate church), Almașu Sec (with Cozia affiliate church), Batiz, Băcia, Bătrâna, Bârcea Mică, Bejan (with Mintia affiliate church), Simeria-Biscaria (with Șăulești affiliate church), Bretelin (with Cârjiți affiliate church), Cerbăl (with Arănieș and Ulm affiliate churches), Cerișor, Chergheș (with Popești affiliate church), Cristur, Deva, Dumbrava (with Ciulpăz and Cutin affiliate churches), Josani (with Peștișu Mic affiliate church), Lelese (with Sohodol affiliate church), Leșnic (with Dumbrăvița affiliate church), Mânerău (with Răcăștia affiliate church), Muncelu Mare (with Boia Bârzii and Muncelu Mic affiliate churches), Nandru (with Valea Nandrului affiliate church), Peștișu Mare (with Hunedoara-Buituri affiliate church), Poienița Tomii (with Feregi, Merișoru de Munte and Runcu Mic affiliate churches), Sâncrai (with Călanu Mic affiliate church), Sântandrei (with Sântuhalm affiliate church), Socet (with Poiana Răchițelii and Runcu Mare affiliate churches), Tâmpa and Vețel-Vulcez (with Herepeia affiliate church); therefore, 28 parishes with 26 affiliate churches. See, for example, *Calendarul bunului creștin pe anul comun de la Christos 1881*, Sibiu, 1880, pp. 45-46.

7. Razba, *Personalități hunedorene*, pp. 400.
8. Nicolae Popea, *Archiepiscopul și metropolitul Andreiu, baron de Șaguna*, Sibiu, Tipografia Archidieceșană, 1879, pp. 47-55.
9. Mircea Schramel, *Istoria vieții bisericești a satelor dintre Valea Cernei și Valea Runcului, jud. Hunedoara* (mss.), Sibiu, 1979, pp. 32.
10. Ștefan L. Czeteni, *O tentativă de deznaționalizare încercată pe valea Cernei (Hunedoara) la sfârșitul secolului al XIX-lea*, in "Mitropolia Banatului," 37, 1987, no. 3, pp. 78-80.
11. Nicolae Iorga, *Neamul românesc în Ardeal și Țara Ungurească la 1906*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Bucharest, Fundația pentru Literatură și Artă "Regele Carol II," 1939, pp. 187.
12. Victor Șuiaga, *Istoria Bisericii Ortodoxe Române din Deva. Contribuții monografice*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Deva, 1972, pp. 35, 63-80.
13. Florin Dobrei, *Bisericile ortodoxe hunedorene*, Reșița, Editura Eftimie Murgu, 2011, passim.
14. The writing of the church is located on the outer wall of the altar.
15. Constantin Dăncilă, *Monografia comunei Mănierău. Scurtă descriere despre starea ei în an 1922* (mss.), Mănerău, 1922, f. 8-9.
16. Dobrei, *Bisericile*, pp. 111, 194, 223.
17. Note on a page of an *Apostle* (Blaj, 1814) belonging to the church of Cozia. Cf. Maria Basarab, *Cuvinte mărturisitoare. Însemnări de pe cărți românești vechi din județul Hunedoara*, Deva, Editura Acta Musei Devensis, 2001, pp. 188.
18. Dăncilă, *Monografia comunei Mănierău*, pp. 8.
19. *Anuarul Societății pentru Fond de Teatru Român din Transilvania*, vol. I, Tipografia Ciurcu, Brașov, 1901, passim; Șuiaga, Iacob, *Albumul protopopilor*, p. 60; Razba, *Personalități hunedorene*, pp. 400.
20. Victor Șuiaga, *Albumul Despărțământului ASTRA din Deva (1873-1948)* (mss.), Deva, 1980, pp. 10-11; Ion Frățilă, Mihai Cerghedean, Vasile Ionaș, Dumitru Barna, Viorel Vînătoru (ed.), *Pentru libertate și unitate națională. Documente hunedorene. 1848-1920*, Bucharest, General Directorate of the Romanian State Archives, 1990, p. 150, no. 81; Roxana Gabriela Nicola, *Despărțământele Astrei în comitatele Hunedoara și Zarand (1873-1918)*, Sibiu, Editura Techno Media, 2009, pp. 16-25.
21. Gelu Neamțu, *Momente zbuciumate din lupta românilor pentru realizarea Dacoromâniei (1848-1918)*, Cluj-Napoca, Editura Argonaut, 2005, pp. 292-293.
22. Șuiaga, Iacob, *Albumul protopopilor*, pp. 59.
23. Frățilă, Cerghedean, Ionaș, Barna, Vînătoru (ed.), *Pentru libertate și unitate*, pp. 138, no. 71.
24. *Ibidem*, pp. 161-162, no. 87.
25. Mircea Păcurariu, *Războiul de Independență și românii transilvăneni*, in "Biserica Ortodoxă Română," 95, 1977, no. 5-6, pp. 471-490; Liviu Maior, *Transilvania și Războiul pentru Independență (1877-1878)*, Cluj-Napoca, Editura Dacia, 1977, pp. 48, 175; Paul Abrudan, *Solidaritatea hunedorenilor cu România în războiul pentru cucerirea independenței*, in "Sargetia. Acta Musei Devensis," 13, 1977, pp. 108-118, etc.
26. Neamțu, *Momente zbuciumate*, pp. 292-296.
27. Frățilă, Cerghedean, Ionaș, Barna, Vînătoru (ed.), *Pentru libertate și unitate*, p. 249, no. 128; Gelu Neamțu, *Din lupta intelectualității hunedorene împotriva dualismului austro-ungar (1881-1883)*, in "Sargetia. Acta Musei Devensis," 5, 1968, pp. 266-267.
28. Frățilă, Cerghedean, Ionaș, Barna, Vînătoru (ed.), *Pentru libertate și unitate*, p. 249-251, no. 129; Neamțu, *Din lupta intelectualității*, pp. 267-274.
29. Victor Șuiaga, *Contribuții de istorie bisericească hunedoreană. Studii, articole, scrisori și acte* (mss.), Deva, 1984, s.f.
30. Șuiaga, Iacob, *Albumul protopopilor*, p. 59.



31. The situation of the Orthodox confessional education in Transylvania during the Austro-Hungarian dualism has been the subject of several researches. See: Traian Valentin Poncea, *Lupta românilor din Transilvania împotriva legislației învățământului în timpul dualismului austro-ungar*, in “Marisia,” 11-12, 1981-1982, pp. 279-287; Vasile Pop, *Contribuție documentară privind istoria școlilor românești din Transilvania*, in “Marisia,” 13-14, 1984, pp. 185-205; Stelian Mândruț, *Învățământul comunal elementar din Transilvania între anii 1867-1918*, in “Crisia,” 19, 1989, pp. 265-287; Liviu Maior, *Politica școlară a guvernelor maghiare față de români (1900-1914)*, in “Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie,” 30, 1990-1991, pp. 123-138, etc.
32. Ioachim Lazăr, *Învățământul românesc din sud-vestul Transilvaniei (1848-1883)*, Cluj-Napoca, Editura Argonaut, 2002, pp. 41-47.
33. Mândruț, *Învățământul comunal*, pp. 272-273.
34. Among the education laws drafted by Șaguna, we mention: *Instrucțiune pentru învățători despre didactica generală și specială la predarea cu școlarii a singuraticelor studii* / Instruction for teachers about general and special didactics in teaching schoolchildren solitary studies (1862), *Instrucțiune pentru directorii școalelor populare și pentru directorii și inspectorii școalelor capitale, precum și pentru inspectorii districtuali de școală din Arhidieceza greco-năsariteană din Ardeal* / Instruction for the headmasters of the public schools and for the headmasters and inspectors of the capital schools, as well as for the district school inspectors from the Eastern Greek Archdiocese of Transylvania (1865), *Instrucțiune pentru învățătorii din școalele normale și capitale de religie ortodoxă năsariteană sub inspecția supremă școlară a Bisericii Ortodoxe din Marele Principat al Ardealului* / Instruction for the teachers from the normal and capital schools of the Eastern Orthodox Religion under the Supreme School Inspectorate of the Orthodox Church in the Great Principality of Transylvania (1865), *Drepturile și datorințele civile pentru învățăceii școalelor populare confesionale* / Civil rights and duties for the learners of the confessional people's schools (1870), etc. Cf. Gheorghe Tîlbure, *Mitropolitul Șaguna. Opera literară. Scrisori pastorale. Circulări școlare. Diverse*, Sibiu, Tipografia Arhidiecezană, 1938, pp. 111-118.
35. Păcurariu, *Politica statului ungar*, pp. 84-86, 242-247.
36. Keith Hitchins, *Ortodoxie și naționalitate. Andrei Șaguna și românii din Transilvania (1846-1873)*, Bucharest, Editura Univers Enciclopedic, 1995, pp. 226-228, 299.
37. Tîlbure, *Mitropolitul Șaguna*, pp. 113-114; Cornel Stoica, Ion Frățilă, Ovidiu Vlad, Nicolae Wardegger, *Din istoria învățământului hunedorean*, Deva, 1973, pp. 73-83.
38. Enea Hodoș, *Cercetări cu privire la trecutul școalelor confesionale ortodoxe românești din Ardeal*, Sibiu, Tiparul Arhidiecezan, 1944, pp. 132, 158-159, 177; Stoica, Frățilă, Vlad, Wardegger, *Din istoria învățământului*, pp. 178-180.
39. Șuiaga, *Istoria Bisericii*, pp. 36.
40. Among the pedagogical “publications” of the time we mention: “Amicul Școalei” (Sibiu, 1860), “Organul pedagogic pentru educație și instrucție” (Sibiu, 1863); “Lumina” (Arad, 1872); “Foaia școlastică” (Blaj, 1873); “Școala românească, foaie pedagogică și didactică pentru interesul institutelor de cultură și ale organelor acestora” (Sibiu, 1875); “Biserica și Școala” (Arad, 1877); “Minte și inimă” (Arad, 1877); “Foaia școlastică” (Blaj, 1883); “Foaia bisericească și școlastică” (Blaj, 1887); “Foaia pedagogică” (Sibiu, 1897), etc. In extenso: Vasile Popeangă, *Presa pedagogică din Transilvania. 1860-1918*, Bucharest, Editura Didactică și Pedagogică, 1966, pp. 74-251.
41. Viorel Lupu, *Școala hunedoreană și Marea Unire. Valențe educaționale în perioada 1860-1918 și contribuții ale slujitorilor școlii la realizarea Unirii Transilvaniei cu România*, Cluj-Napoca, Editura Napoca Star, 2008, pp. 124-131.
42. Tîlbure, *Mitropolitul Șaguna*, pp. 31-33.

43. Tîlbure, *Mitropolitul Şaguna*, pp. 99-100; Lazăr, *Învăţământul românesc*, pp. 75-78.
44. Hodoş, *Cercetări*, pp. 53-54; Lazăr, *Învăţământul românesc*, pp. 116-122, 129.
45. Ioan Lupaş, *Mitropolitul Andrei Şaguna. Monografie istorică*, Sibiu, Tipariul Tipografiei Arhidiececane, 1911, pp. 306.
46. Cherescu, *Biserica și Școala*, pp. 6-7, 14-18.
47. Şuiaga, *Istoria Bisericii*, p. 34.
48. Stoica, Frăţilă, Vlad, Wardegger, *Din istoria învăţământului*, p. 57; Lazăr, *Învăţământul românesc*, pp. 72-74, 81, 114.
49. Paul Bruslanowski, *Învăţământul confesional ortodox din Transilvania între anii 1848-1918. Între exigenţele statului centralizat și principiile autonomiei bisericești*, Cluj-Napoca, Editura Presa Centrală Universitară, 2005, pp. 572-578.
50. *Calendarul bunului creștin* for years 1881-1919, Sibiu, 1880-1918, passim.
51. Şuiaga, Iacob, *Albumul protopopilor*, p. 60; Razba, *Personalități hunedorene*, pp. 400.
52. Ilarion Pușcariu, Elie Miron Cristea, Matei Voileanu, *Biserica catedrală de la Mitropolia Ortodoxă Română din Sibiu. Istoricul zidirii (1857-1903)*, Tipariul Tipografiei Arhidiececane, Sibiu, 1908, passim; Mircea Păcurariu, *Catedrala mitropolitană din Sibiu. 1906-2006*, Editura Andreiana, Sibiu, 2006, passim.
53. Şuiaga, Iacob, *Albumul protopopilor*, pp. 59-61.

### Abstract

#### A Fighter for the National Ideal—Archpriest Ioan Papiu of Deva

For decades, in a Transylvania integrated, in the second half of the nineteenth century, first in the Habsburg Empire, then in the Austro-Hungarian dualist state, the struggle for national reunification constituted the goal of a whole generation of brave Romanian patriots. Among those who sought to continue the struggle of the forerunners were also the spiritual shepherds of the Transylvanian communities. Such a fighter for national unity, freedom and dignity—we only mention the significant involvement in organizing a large Romanian conference in Deva, in Holy Hierarch Nicholas' Church, on 10 March 1883, where it was requested that the Romanian language be used in administration and in justice, the autonomy of Transylvania be regained and Romanian officials be appointed in all spheres of public life—was priest Ioan Papiu (1833-1907), archpriest of Deva and the future archdiocesan counsellor of Sibiu, close collaborator of Metropolitan Andrei Şaguna and his successors, a cleric deeply involved in the process of emancipation through culture and education of his fellow countrymen, as well as in the pastoral-missionary and administrative-ecclesiastical realms.

### Keywords

Priest Ioan Papiu, Deva, Orthodox Metropolitan See of Transylvania, confessional education, national rights.