



THE ROMANIAN INSTITUTE OF
ORTHODOX THEOLOGY AND SPIRITUALITY
The Chapel “St. Apostles Peter and Paul”
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CONTENTS

- 5 **Theodor Damian**
To be human – to live life fully
- 13 **Heinz-Uwe Haus**
From Text to Stage: Experiences Directing Ancient Greek
Drama – Notes On European Identity
- 25 **Lino Bianco**
Buddhist Syllogistic Theory
- 41 **Iuliu-Marius Morariu**
The interest of the Catholic missionaries for the Romanian
Lands reflected in the preoccupations of the Accademia di
Romania in Rome in the interwar period (1922-1944)
- 51 **Horia Ion Groza**
Saint Paisius Velichkovsky and Paisianism
- 77 **Stoica Lascu**
Contemporary Historiographical Landmarks of the
Romanian space between Prut and Dniestr – Bessarabia
(1812-1940)
- 139 **Paul Tseng**
Meditate on Psalms
- 147 **Vasile Mărculeț**
Întâistătători ai Bisericii Ortodoxe din Transilvania
de la sfârșitul secolului al XIV-lea și începutul secolului
al XV-lea
Bishops of the Orthodox Church from Transylvania at the
End of the 14th Century and the Beginning of the 15th
Century

BOOK REVIEWS

161 **Heinz-Uwe Haus**

Heinrich Mann: Ein politischer Träumer

Günther Rüther, *Heinrich Mann. Ein politischer Träumer. Biographie*

165 **Odile Popescu**

Heinz-Uwe Haus and Theatre Making in Cyprus and Greece

Heinz-Uwe Haus and Theatre Making in Cyprus and Greece, ed. by Heinz-Uwe Haus and Daniel Meyer-Dinkgräfe

To be human – to live life fully

Abstract: Theologically speaking, the dignity of the human being consists of the extraordinary, paradoxical and incomprehensible fact that man was created in the image of God. Here resides the ontological character of human dignity. And God's image in man is accompanied by the possibility of reaching the likeness of God, i.e., the possibility of attaining holiness and immortality.

While the image is a given, the likeness is a desideratum. The elements of the image need only be preserved in their originary integrity, whereas the aspects of the likeness require man's specific effort.

The greatest of all arts is the art of living, in particular because we live next to other people and we cannot avoid the ontological relational character of our existence. The Church specifically teaches that the vocation to relation and the courage to live it in most cases means the courage to understand and help others.

Keywords: human dignity, image of God, ontology, existence, eternity, Church

The crisis of human dignity

Man is a being who lives in two dimensions: in the immanent and in the transcendent, or, as St. John Chrysostom put it, he is a citizen of both time and eternity. This concept is in full consonance with the Christian teaching about man as being created in the image of God, which confers him the highest possible dignity.

This dignity, unfortunately is not adequately reflected in many philosophic systems that have developed definitions and theories about man. For example, the American philosopher and theologian Abraham Heschel

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deplores the zoological definitions in which the starting point for understanding man, the term of comparison, is the animal.

One includes here the famous definition of Aristotle who said that man is a social animal, *zoon politikon Anthropolos*.¹ It is important to specify here that his definition that became common knowledge is, in fact, a misinterpretation of the words. In ancient Greek the word *zoon*, before designating an animal, means living being, something that has life – *zoi*; and the word *politikon* comes from *polis*, meaning city. Thus, *zoon politikon* translates as living being in the city rather than social animal.

The concept of living being in the city must be contrasted here with that of living being in the wilderness or of the woods, hence, the above definition is a reference to a civilized being.

Heschel is right to criticize the zoological definitions given to man where the referral point is the animal, instead of a superior being, more precisely God. This lowering to the animal level seems to confirm the Latin proverb *homo homini lupus*, man is wolf to man, or the assertions according to which the world of man is a jungle where the rule of the strongest dominates and where animals chase and devour one other.

One could apply here very well Nicholas Berdyaev's conception about the bestialization of man and the deification of the bestial.²

One of the consequences of the diminution or loss of the sense of human dignity in a world where faith in God has become a mere option, where God Himself seems to have become optional, consists of the disintegration of communion through an exacerbated individualism. Robert Bellah and his colleagues demonstrated in 1985 in their book *Habits of the Heart: Individualism and Commitment in American Life*,³ how this characterizes American life to an ever greater degree.

One can consider this social investigation, even if it was published some time ago, as a case study that reflects the life of the Western society in general.

Here is, for another example, the way in which the French poet Charles Baudelaire described even in the 19th century the society of his time, in his famous book *Les fleurs du mal*, in the introductory poem: "Stupidity, error, and sin occupy our bodies and work our spirits", "every day we descend to hell by one step", "our brains give birth to a population of monsters", "we breathe death through our lungs."

He speaks about those who lend their love, about stubborn sins and coward repentance, gentle remorse and other similar vices.

In such a context it is no wonder that we hear absolutely surprising declarations such as the one from Jean Paul Sartre who said that hell consists of other people (*l'enfer c'est les autres*) and also, there is no wonder that seeing the state of the world and especially the moral decline, and foreseeing

its evolution, the theologian Pavel Florensky could say that finally there will be no other choice for the world but the Holy Trinity or madness.

The grounds of human dignity

Theologically speaking, the dignity of the human being consists of the extraordinary, paradoxical and incomprehensible fact that man was created in the image of God. Here resides the ontological character of human dignity, its maximum height. And God's image in man, that is to say reason, will, feeling, conscience, awareness, freedom, this essentially divine gift, is accompanied by the possibility of reaching the likeness of God, i.e., the possibility of attaining holiness and immortality or *posse non mori*, the possibility of not dying.

While the image is a given, the likeness is a desideratum. The elements of the image need only be preserved in their originary integrity, whereas the aspects of the likeness require man's specific effort.

This idea is very well reflected by Pico della Mirandola in his work *Oratio de hominis dignitate* where he explains:

"We have given you, Oh Adam, no visage proper to yourself, nor any endowment properly your own, in order that whatever place, whatever form, whatever gifts you may, with premeditation, select, the same you may have and possess through your own judgment and decision. The nature of all other creatures is defined and restricted within laws which We have laid down; you, by contrast, impeded by no such restrictions, may, by your own free will, to whose custody We have assigned you, trace for yourself the lineaments of your own nature. I have placed you at the very center of the world, so that from that vantage point you may with greater ease glance round about you on all that the world contains. We have made you a creature neither of heaven nor of earth, neither mortal nor immortal, in order that you may, as the free and proud shaper of your own being, fashion yourself in the form you may prefer. It will be in your power to descend to the lower, brutish forms of life; you will be able, through your own decision, to rise again to the superior orders whose life is divine."⁴

Man's responsibility towards his own person, his own future and state is also indicated by Swiss philosopher and theologian Maurice Zundel who wrote that "man does not yet fully exist. He must become. This is the object of our hope" (*L'homme n'est pas encore; il faut qu'il devienne. Tel est l'objet de notre espérance*).⁵

In other words, man is an ideal, a task to be accomplished, an idea in total consonance with Christian theology on this subject.

The divine ground of human dignity is expressed also by the Old Testament psalmist who, reflecting at the real state of the human condition, asks rightfully this question of God: "Why do You care about us humans?"

Why are You concerned for us weaklings? You made us a little lower than the angels and You have crowned us with glory and honor” (Ps. 8, 45).

Thus, if by being created man is endowed with the divine image, one can understand that, ontologically speaking, he is a doxological being, exactly the way we can see in the most beautiful definition given to man that is found in a text from the burial service in the Orthodox Christian ritual: “I am the image of Your ineffable glory even though I bear the wounds of sin.”

In order to conscientize the beauty, the dignity, the nobility, the height of his being, man must at least once in a while, if not constantly, ask himself the question so often formulated by St. Gregory of Nazianzus in his poetical works: “Who am I?”,⁶ a question anticipated by Socrates through his insistent reiteration of the Delphian aphorism: “Know Thyself” (*gnote seauton*).

Generally speaking, when we respond to the question about man, who or what is man, we consider that the interrogative pronoun *who* is the most adequate for a human being, as long as the word *what* is adequate for things. Yet it is good to note that, even if this assumption is correct, both interrogative pronouns can be used, in particular since the *who* consists of several *what*-s.

Keeping in mind that man is made in God’s image and that the image consists of a number of divine gifts according to the partial list mentioned above (reason, will, feeling, conscience, awareness, etc.) the question is to be put as follows: what gifts are there that make man be man? Or, the gifts respond to the question *what*, and they become constitutive parts of the *who*. Without *what*-s there is no *who*.

One can thus understand that concerning the human existence, “to be” is God’s contribution whereas “to become” is man’s contribution, evidently, helped by the divine grace.

Being endowed with the freedom to choose and to decide man can move in God’s direction or in the opposite one. The second choice will lead to death, as it happened in the primordial state, when man, by disobeying God’s order, fell out of the divine communion.

Death, which represents the transient condition of human existence can become a permanent *memento* meant to bring man back on the way towards God. The thought of the fragility, vulnerability and transiential character of the human existence in a certain way expresses man’s longing for the Absolute, for the primordial state. Decrying this kind of condition, the psalmist puts it pertinently: “Man, his days like the grass, his flourishing like a flower of the field; the wind passes over it and it is gone and its place knows it no more” (Ps. 103, 15-16).

This type of thinking has obviously taken different forms in the evolution of man’s understanding of himself. Here is an example taken from post-medieval philosophy: man is defined by his thinking; I think, therefore

I am (*cogito ergo sum*) as Descartes put it; a paraphrase of this assertion was I doubt, therefore I am (*dubito, ergo sum*); a higher level in this evolution of thought comes with the Christian conception of man expressed by Kierkegaard: I believe therefore I am (*credo, ergo sum*), yet it has found its highest expression in Dostoyevsky who said, I love, therefore I am (*amo, ergo sum*). This, in fact, is the most appropriate definition given to man, keeping in mind what it means to be created in the image of God who is love.

Speaking of the most adequate definitions given to man one can also think of the aphorism which says that man is what he eats. Just as in modern times there are sociologists who catalogue people based on what they throw into the garbage, so we can think of statistics that describe people in terms of what they eat. From a Christian theological point of view, the highest and most important type of food is the Holy Eucharist, the Lord's body and blood offered in the divine liturgy. The active participation – and taking the Holy Eucharist does imply active participation – of the believer in this Last Supper of Christ helps him become a liturgical being, a being of communion, doxological, deiform, because the human person is fundamentally oriented toward relation, and the supreme model for relation or communion is God praised in Trinity.

It is because man is a deiform being from the beginning, as man was created in God's image, that man has the vocation to holiness which was defined by the Holy Church Fathers as being the longing for God. This is where the authentic sense of life can be found.

Longing is a feeling and feelings are related to the heart. The Church Fathers place a major emphasis on the heart just as on reason, on discernment, the heart being the place where God addresses us, as we read in the message of the Lord God to Ezekiel: "Son of man, listen carefully and take to heart all the words I speak to you" (Ezekiel 3, 10).

A heart that is not petrified, that listens, which receives the word of God, makes man a *locus theologicus*, a theological place. Thus, himself transfigured by the way he is worked by the divine word, he becomes in turn creator of transfigured and transfiguring beauty, in particular in his relation with those around him. This is how he contributes to the great moral imperative, the need to be human, because, as an American philosopher and theologian put it, what gives value to our existence is not that man is a human being but about man's being human.⁷

Sub specie aeternitatis

In a conversation with a pagan who asked him to show him God, St. Theophilus, the bishop of Antioch (2nd century), replied: show me man and I will show you God. Surely the bishop was demonstrating to the pagan that man is not just the visible biological being but much more than that, the inner

being. Man is the image of God, the image of eternity and thus has the capacity of being an iconic presence in the world reflecting the prototype, God. This is not part of his biological condition, but of the inner dimension of his being; it is what makes man compatible with eternity, *homo capax infiniti*, and to live even in the physical life *sub specie aeternitatis*, under the sign of eternity. Contrary to Heidegger's assertion that we live in order to die (*Sein zum Tode*), Jesus teaches us that, in fact, we live facing the Resurrection (*Sein zur Auferstehung*).

This is why Christian morality insists on cultivating the inner being, that which does not die, the soul, an idea expressed by many of the learned people of the world through all generations. Horace wrote that one does not die completely (*non omnis moriar*) and Shakespeare put it beautifully and significantly in a sonnet: "You are too beautiful to die completely/ And to leave behind just the worms".

Yet even more than the capacity to enter eternity, according to St. Gregory of Nazianzus, man has the capacity to become light through God's grace.⁸

However, the most ennobling expression used by the Church Fathers regarding the supreme state of the human being in the kingdom of God is deification, *theosis*. For St. John Chrysostom this state shows that even in his earthly life one can become a heavenly man or an earthly angel; for Gregory of Nazianzus this state is related to man's conscience of his belonging to God in Jesus Christ and is both man's desire and God's desire,⁹ and St. Athanasius the Great considers that deification was the aim of the divine Logos' incarnation in history, for, at the question: why did God become man? his answer was: so that man may become god.

Thus, if man is called to deification, that implies, before anything else, to become human according to Christ's model, meaning to grow in God through the God-man Jesus Christ in His Church, through the Holy Sacraments, through the service of God and of fellow men.

The art of living

The greatest of all arts is the art of living, in particular because we live next to other people, we have to live for them. We cannot avoid the ontological relational character of our existence. Sartre wrote that we are condemned to relation. The Church more specifically teaches that the vocation to relation and the courage to live it in most cases means the courage to understand and help others.

When Socrates defined philosophy as the science that teaches us how to die, he in fact, was referring to the art of living because we die the way we lived, that is to say we go into eternity with the conscience we had while

living. It is not easy to live actively, involved, and at the same time in full harmony with yourself, with the others and with God. Martin Luther King jr. used to say beautifully in this sense that man cannot be a mirror where he sees himself constantly; he must become a window through which he can see the others and the sky.

As a liturgical being, liturgy meaning public service, man needs to become a liturgist, a servant, a public servant where the neighbor becomes his divine and saving sacrament. This is how he transforms the lay dimension of his existence into a sacramental one. That is the only way in which he can see the other in the sometimes painful reality of life and can intervene in order to make light out of a wound, as Van Gogh put it. And it is only in this way that he can leave behind a living and ineffaceable example for others, just as is implied in the Japanese proverb that says: "Before me there was no pathway; after me there will be one." This type of being has to be established in total modesty as stipulated by this aphorism: "Live in the world as if you are not there; yet your absence be felt." Or, as another well known proverb says: "To be great is no wonder; to be human is a great thing".

The active living in the present, *carpe diem*, living the instant that hides the eternity and through which we can win it, brings a higher understanding of the gift of life, called by the Holy Fathers illumination. Here is an example:

"The disciple asks the elder:

- Where should I look for illumination?

- Here, responds Avva.

- When will this happen?

- It happens right now.

- Why don't I feel anything?

- Because you are not looking.

- What should I see?

- Nothing. Just look.

-At what?

- At whatever comes your way.

- Should I look in a certain way?

- No, look normally.

- But don't I already look in a normal way?

- No.

- Why not?

- Because to look implies that you be here. Most of the times you are somewhere else."¹⁰

To be here and to be beyond at the same time, to live the instant and to follow eternity indicates the simultaneous living in the real and the ideal, that is the immanent realism and the metaphysical one of the Christian life.

The pilgrimage between real and ideal require courage and effort, that is why Jesus says that "The Kingdom of God suffers violence and the violent

take it by force” (Matthew 11, 12); this pilgrimage also requires perseverance, just like the Blessed Augustine writes when he refers to the doxological advance towards God:

“Sing to the Lord a new song. Sing as the traveler does. He walks and sings. He sings and advances. He sings in order to strengthen his powers. You, too, sing so you become stronger in the right faith and in the holiness of life.”

NOTES:

¹ Abraham Heschel, *Who Is Man*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, CA, 1965, pp. 20-21.

² Nicholas Berdiaev, *The Fate of Man in the Modern World*, Ann Arbor Paperbacks, The University of Michigan Press, 1963, p. 27.

³ Robert Bellah et al., *Habits of the Heart: Individualism and Commitment in American Life*, University of California Press, Los Angeles, CA, 1985.

⁴ Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, *Oration on the Dignity of Man*, Gateway, Chicago, 1956, p. 7.

⁵ Maurice Zundel, “L’homme tient Dieu dans sa main“, in *Dialogue des Amis de Maurice Zundel*, Nr. 25, Avril 1988, p. 3.

⁶ Theodor Damian, *Gregory of Nazianzus’ Poetry and His Human Face in It*, Theotokos Press, New York, pp. 118-119.

⁷ Abraham Heschel, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

⁸ Theodor Damian, *Gregory of Nazianzus’ Poetry*, ... p. 128.

⁹ *Ibidem*, pp. 122-123.

¹⁰ Anthony de Mello, *One Minute Wisdom*, Doubleday, New York, 1986, p. 12.

From Text to Stage: Experiences Directing Ancient Greek Drama – Notes On European Identity

Abstract: Based on experiences in theatre directing in Greece and Cyprus since 1975 addressing issues of European identity, this article describes how social and political developments have influenced how cultural identity has been defined and conceptualized in recent decades. It reviews theatre making as part of the on-going debates with respect to its role in intercultural communication within and across societies.

The analysis will also reveal a close correspondence of differing conceptions of cultural identity to the societal trend of ideological turn since the 1970s toward pluralism.

Keywords: ancient Greek theatre, Brecht, Koun, Theodorakis, European identity, intercultural communication

I.

When I met for the first time Karlos Koun we both tried to introduce each other by presenting our views on, for us both, common professional subjects. I remember, that Koun listened to my re-reading (I called it “decoding”) of Brecht, using the experiences I just had with the first Cypriot Brecht production ever, *The Caucasian Chalk Circle*, and that he described his experiments with popular roots in Ancient Greek theatre traditions. It was then, when I started to explain the functional, the “use value” of Brechtian theatre tools, to underline, that the aesthetic of the THOK production was not the result of a style, but the challenge of traditional local view habits. As Koun was not familiar with the term “use value” (*Gebrauchswert*), because very few non-dramatic texts of Brecht had been translated into Greek, and an ideological simplification of Brecht’s

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terminology (“epic theatre”, “alienation”) had a more confusing than theatricality enabling effect, he immediately looked for a connectability to Aristotle. He started to give me a lecture about Logos, Pathos, Ethos, which he called “Artistic Proofs”, a term I found very expressive and precise. Koun, the master of Ancient Greek comedy, laid bare a sociology of character, which was not only relatable to Brecht’s model, but covered basics of theatre making. We agreed that a speech act performed on stage is not predicated on the actor that performs it, but is attributed to a character in a (fictional) world. I could not more agree, that as the whole, this fictional world should be seen as a rhetoric attempt to shatter the rooted values of the contemporary audience. Our dialogue was part of the intercultural education of theatre making since Thespis went with his wagon to en-act the stories of his audience.

Especially after World War II theatre became an endeavour of international scope and a means of transcultural communication. It is understood as a laboratory, as a place for investigation, analysis, and construction of models. The lasting successes of Brecht, Grotowski, Strehler, Koun, Brook, La Mama and Suzuki come to mind out of many activities worldwide. It reflects the struggle of people from different cultural backgrounds to understand and accept each other. In intercultural exchange the own traditions are alienated and the unfamiliar expressions lay bare similarities: the wealth of human endeavor to solve problems and the ideals by which this endeavor is guided. The broad spectrum of motivations, views, ideas, achievements and errors creates contradictions through which historical processes go forward and go beyond the limits of one own’s traditional achievements.

Within this frame the need as well as the potential for any intercultural arts education is defined. It implies mutual learning and joint growth and a process of acquiring, not only a set of basic facts and concepts about ‘the other’, but particular skills and competences which will enable one to interact functionally with anyone different from oneself regardless of their origins. To make my point, let me quote from a radio dialogue between Lambros Mitropoulos and Mikis Theodorakis, which addresses such issues through the lens of thinking of the great Greek composer.

Theodorakis states clear and simple: “Only armed with culture and education one can seek happiness in the area of debt, spirit and art.” (...), and the dialogue continues as follows:

L.M.: “On which philosophical axis should education move in an ideally civilized country?”

MT: “Generally I would say, around the humanistic education axis. Especially for us, Greeks, I would add also the word ‘Greek’ with center the diachronic Greek element from Homer and Pythagoras to the contemporary

intellectuals and Greek mental authors. And, of course, every person and action that connects to the humane and Greek character.”¹

2.

When I had been invited in 1975 to direct Brecht's *Caucasian Chalk Circle* with the Cypriot State Theatre (THOC), the challenge was, how to make Brecht's concept, his way of viewing social reality, functioning under the Cypriot cultural and political conditions. In addition, the production was the first since the Turkish invasion. The wounds of the bloody events were still open. The functional value including the cultural-political impact of the work, was based, as Panayiotis Serghis once described the collaboration between me, the German director, and the Greek-Cypriot artists, “an openminded transcultural interaction.”² He referred not only to the directorial achievement in general, but to adaptations of parts of Brecht's work, which directly referred to the spectators' interests, such as Christakis Georghiou's re-writing of the prologue, putting it into the future of a reunified island, or George Kotsonis' new compositions, which followed Dessau's goals but epicised local musical hearing habits (like the Rembetika). Listening to each other was our essential experience and it became a guiding attitude for my international work since then.

Two years later THOC and I came for the first time to Athens presenting Brecht's *Mother Courage* - “a milestone for the Cypriot theatre and the Brecht reception outside the Berliner Ensemble”,³ as Jacobos Kambanellis, the playwright, called the event.

Again, it was not just the different aesthetic, which I had made available due to my expertise or focus, but the effect of (what Hegel or Brecht would call) *defamiliarizing* the known. The expression of the social behaviour of the characters towards each other engaged the audience in an unexpected way: their own observations in life, especially of contradictions, became the tool for re-reading the adventures of Courage, as a painful, well-known mother-merchant-contradiction

In its abundant imagery, the performance was crammed with allusions, gestic and visual quotes from contemporary context, a composite that challenged the spectator's own knowledge and imagination.

But transcultural relations are challenges which also provoke conflicts.

When I directed Ancient Greek drama in Greece, some of the same critiques who praised my co-operation with Greek theatre people in works of Brecht, Schiller or Shakespeare, rejected that a “barbarian” would work

on Epidavros with Greek actors! Ethnicity not storytelling was their obstacle. No matter, that Aspasia Papathanassiou, who had 25 years earlier made the Ancient Greek heritage popular to her people and the world in Rondiris' productions with the Piraikon Theatre, wished to be directed as Hecuba by a foreigner. Fear, ignorance and obviously rigid nationalist interests won. We had to present the performance on the modern Lycabettus open air theatre. The irony of the story is, that it was the year when Athens was officially the first cultural capital of Europe! (By the way: Melina Mercouri declared without further ado our performance as part of this celebration!)

It were artists like Karlos Koun, Despo Diamantidou, Elli Lambetti, Petros Markaris, Jannis Ritsos, Vasso Kathraki and many others, who raised their voice (in the daily *Ta Nea* for example) and asked, why they should have the right to work in Stratford, Paris or Berlin with the plays of other nation's dramatists, if others should not have the same opportunity with the Greek's heritage. That artists were all their life transculturalists. Some of them had gained their view through exile and fight for the democratization of their country. Politicians too, like Kannelopoulos, Constantin Tsatsos and Stelios Tsitsimilis, vehemently promoted my intercultural projects in Greece by public statements. A multi-lingual performance of *Antigone* (in Modern Greek, English, German and Japanese), which I co-directed with the Cypriot Nicos Shiafkalis, re-opened the Ancient stage of Oiniades in 1986 and won the hearts of the local villagers as well international recognition. The lead was played by an African-American actress from New York. What a change of attitude in the society within four years!

We know, it is only in the performance, that driving motions, relationships, and events enclosed in the text are released to stimulate the audience to re-examine their own contemporary events and relationships. By transforming the familiar into the unfamiliar, by making the habitual and customary seem strange and unexpected.

We discovered in Oiniades that Sophocles wanted to stimulate his audience to ask questions, to stand back from the stage actions and wonder what they saw there. Rather than accepting the actions as inevitable, the spectator in Sophocles' theater is stimulated to question: does it have to be this way? Has it always been so? Will it always remain so? What we understood in our transcultural environment was, that Sophocles' theater does not deliver answers ready-made, but ask questions, demanding that the audience enter into the stage events with its critical rather than apologetical faculties.

In other words, the subject of cultural practices as “polythetic” asks to re-enforce essential national as well as pan-European heritage education. It shapes our understanding and views no matter, if we are aware of them or not. One of such basics is, what we call European identity.

Let me give you an example: the first German language production of the Ancient Greek tragedy *The Suppliants* (*Iketites*) by Euripides, a co-production of the German-Sorbian People’s Theatre in Bautzen and the Institute of Theatre Directing Berlin in the autumn of 1980. The participation of Cypriot theatre artists – the composer George Kotsonis and the theatre researcher Panayiotis Chr. Serghis – was considered by the Cypriot news service P.I.O. as a “fruitful result of the cultural exchange between our two countries”. In an almost full page contribution in its German language bulletin it was emphasized that the production “cogently forces a radical theatricalization of all events” and that it is successful in “associating an exchange between the humanity of Peace seeking power of the people on the one hand, and imperialism that threatens War on the other hand.”

In the newspaper *Ta Nea* (Nicosia) it says “The Brecht-inspired way of working takes full effect. It builds on different aesthetic experiences and scientific research and knows how to make use of these for a convincing concept. The way of acting is fully aimed at social ways of behaviour, which engages performers and audiences alike. The first production in the German language made this play, which is rarely seen in our area, something of a revelation. The directorial team and cast set methodological and artistic yardsticks for a contemporary way of working with Euripides.!” The Athens *Messimvreni* writes: “This GDR first production of Iketides turned into a great success. (...) Direction and actors succeed in creating an inimitable evening of the theatre which allows antiquity to become a lively, tropical experience for the audience. The students involved in this practical training exercise receive, besides discovering the subject matter, an aesthetic enrichment which is likely to have a molding influence on them. For them it is a teaching example of the political use of theatrical means.”

Cyprus Mail emphasises the “mobilisation of imagination, clarity of interpretation and its proximity to contemporary social events, which is able to integrate the audience in a very surprising way in the scenic events”. *Rizospastis* (Athens) writes about a “benchmark-defining engagement of the Brecht director, well known to us, with our antique heritage”. *Haravghi* (Nicosia) describes in detail the director’s concept and emphasises that “the dialectic method of directing, which has proven itself with Brecht and Shakespeare, narrates the ancient story in such a way that it loses nothing of its validity for our current problems”.

Ideological concern over the norms of identity is understandably entangled in post-1989-Europe too with the interests and agendas of its various nations. The challenge for policy-makers in Brussels and Straßburg is to focus on these dialectics. European identity is too varied to be a unitary and homogenous thing; indeed, one of the battles within it is between advocates of a unitary identity and those who see the whole as a complex but not reductively unified one.

Many of the participants of the peaceful revolution in 1989 saw the weakening of civil responsibility and solidarity as one of the principal threats to the process of democratization and unification of Europe. The future of its societies had been described in the early 1990th with three known catchwords: civil society, community and Europe.⁴ I believe, it was my “Greek experience” – the re-establishing of democracy after 1974 and the experience theatre making could play in this process – which formed my position in politics and aesthetics immensely.

If the EU takes up the major issues of the future of its people's, “the nations will grow into the European mold”,⁵ as Martin Walser predicts it. Another description for this process is intercultural integration - arising from the constant interweaving and retranslation of cultural forms, socio-historical context and personal experience.

4.

What exactly is European identity? To me, all those nations are European which were exposed during the course of their history to the three-fold influence of Athens, Rome and Jerusalem. (In some parts of Europe - including in institutions of the EU - that truth seems to be forgotten and vanished from the curriculum, probably fearing, that it would hinder the extension of the Union.) I believe, that intercultural practice within the family of European nations offers best also opportunities for the integration of non-European immigrants into the European nations, if they join to share their basic cultural roots and learn to focus on them. Rational argument, freethought, human rights, need for equality and democracy are obvious values. There is no way to be or become European without Greek Philosophy, Roman Law and Christian Culture.

Inevitably the focus falls on the set of values loosely called individualism however vague and even pejorative the term may sound. Western democracy has been founded on a specific understanding of the individual as an autonomous being. This understanding means that the individual has a capacity for freedom, for realizing himself in the course of his actions, and that he has inherent rights over and against the demands of any community to which he may belong. Let me describe, how I observed

that in my collaboration with the Cypriot composer George Kotsonis. When I arrived end of August of 1975 on the airport in Larnaca already there and from then on everywhere – in barbershops, cafeterias, tavernas, offices, on weddings, in buses, on the beach, in short: from each radio – Giorgios was audibly present: the people were listening to his songs and the songs of only two other composers: Theodorakis and Hadzidakis from Greece. They seemed to share a poetry, sound and rhythm of resistance, rebellion, self-confidence needed by the nation to deal with and to overcome the misery of the post-occupation conditions. This music seemed to be a weapon in the fight for freedom and democracy. Soon I discovered that his oratory “Agia Tilleria” with lyrics by Spyros Papageorgiou, so often repeated in the radio, was set to music just one year before the invasion. It had been presented with concerts throughout Cyprus, one took place in August of 1993 in the ancient theatre of Salamis (Famagusta), and was the last event that took place there before its occupation during the Turkish invasion of 1974.

It is not very difficult to trace the source of these kind of notions in the convergence of two cultural streams: the first originating in biblical religion, with Protestantism playing a decisive role in its application to political democracy; the second rooted in the Hellenistic view of man, transmitted to modernity via the Renaissance and the Enlightenment, and applied to the invention of democratic institutions by the American and French revolutions and its successors.

But just as democracy is an idea that manifests itself in concrete institutions and social processes, so the autonomous individual is not only an idea but a lived experience. Actual human beings must feel themselves to be autonomous, to be free or aspiring to freedom to have inherent rights.

Necessary are experiences through which these ideas and values become plausible in actual life. The unusual assumptions of Western individualism become sharply evident as soon as one compares them with what is taken for granted in the great majority of non-Western cultures, in all parts of the world, and indeed in the traditional substrata of Western societies as well.

As Peter L. Berger states, “democracy is not a 'luxury of the rich', as has been argued; the rich, with or without democracy, usually manage to take care of themselves.”⁶ If democracy is indeed a political structure to safeguard the rights and liberties of the individual, it also happens to offer the most plausible structure for the protection of traditional values within a pan-European approach to heritage education too.

From the 6th century BC to the present day, music and politics have been inextricably linked in Greek culture. Indeed, the idea that music should not be linked to politics is foreign to any culture in which music plays a deep and significant role.

Theodorakis' symphonic music is such an example, to be exact his Symphonies that are in fact oratorios and principally his "Tetralogy" (*Medea, Elektra, Antigone* and *Lysistrata*) that constitutes the culmination of his musical creation. But from *Axion Esti* to *Canto General*, too, and in the fusion of poetry and folk song, it is the "use value" (Brecht), who determines their artistic value as well as their political impact. The cultural "otherness" is rooted in the peoples historical and social roots, and therefore to be able to speak for "others" too.

Only the democracy fosters pluralism and co-existence between modernized and more traditional sectors of society, practices the partnership building between old and new Europe.

Directing Ancient Greek drama taught me what is needed most today: not only to promote such education or experience, but to enable identification.

It is not so much the diversity of the sources of European cultural identity which is challenging, but rather the influence that such sources brought to bear on the principle of unity, that unity is subliminally linked with this identity. Jacob Burckhardt formulated this as follows:

"If, in largely intellectual matters, we do not feel we belong to this or that people, no longer to this or that country, but feel that our allegiance is to Western culture, then this is because the world was once Roman and all-embracing and the whole culture of antiquity has devolved upon us."⁷

A multifarious cultural identity has developed from this melting pot over the centuries and continues to flourish to the present day. And precisely here the great wealth of our continent is to be found. Far from preserving unchanged what has been attained, by fearfully retiring into a cultural shell, this multifarious cultural identity constitutes a factor of living and original synthesis that is constantly renewing itself. This kind of identity consequently emerges as the precondition for individual progress, group progress and the progress of nations. This identity stimulates and establishes a community of interest, mobilizes inner reserves for action and provides creative adjustment from necessary changes. That is, what transcultural education enables: the Westernization of all European societies.

It was Peter Brook, who reminded us a year before the wall came down about this irresistible direction: "The valid truth is the truth of the moment. When many influences interact, through their converging rays, through their friction, a new view can emerge, fresh, surprising (even within a single culture, each individual is conditioned by an ever-wider mixture of global influences. As cultures intermingle, the audience is brought together before precise, yet universal truths."⁸

We all agree, that theatre is a most sufficient playground for what Aristotle defined as *politicon zoon*, a political animal that is, a living human entity specifically characterized by his/her participation in the life of a polis.

As director I naturally trust, that all myths following the thread in the human soul end up in the archetypal myths of humanity.

That's why Ancient Greek text can conquer today's stage. The piccolo teatro Bremerhaven opened its season 2017/18 with Aeschylus' *The Persians*. The drama presents itself as a long scream, translated into words. The verse arises from what cannot be articulated, psychological chaos, it forms into primordial strophes, then entire blocks, which form a long sentence of lament, across all caesura and dialogue. "Never did so many people die in one single day in such a short space of time" is what it says at the climax of this score.

There we have got the great report of the Battle of Salamis. There we have the strange, lamenting, impressive song that conjures up dead Dareios from Hades. There we have got the dark, resigned prophecy of the Old King. And we have the old fashioned, simple, or most comfortable glorification of earlier times, and finally we have the orientally wild, naturalistic orgy of mourning at the end, this confused, whimpering, whining screaming, howling mourning, which goes along with throwing oneself to the ground, tearing one's chest, tearing one's hair, a bacchanal of exotically drunk mourning.

But all this in Aeschylus's language, in which everything becomes movement, image, representation, life and soul. In his thunderous senars (the Greek trimeter corresponding Latin verse with six uplifts), in the impressive alternation of his choric strophes, which missile to every mood no matter how strong the momentum, the boldness of his alliterations, of his sound paintings, must remain foreign to today's habits of listening.

How to stage this primordial tragedy although there was hardly any infrastructure available at this small theatre? Four actors, the voice of the Cypriot actor Neophytos Neophytou as Ghost (in Ancient Greek) and music, composed by Michalis Christodoulides, created the performance. I call it theatre making from the scratch. With the simplest of means, a white cloth, we integrate more than half of the auditorium, so that the audience is placed right in the middle of the events. The costumes and props carry social gestus and quote foreign "Persian" distance. Two sheets of white cloth, each 2.80 x 8 metres, are the main elements of the production, which very quickly allow the association of place, mood and events. Images and situations are created that are memorable: the sea battle and the sinking of the ships, the calm river of the Nile, the bridge covering the Hellespont, the murderous acts of the invaders, the happy games played in the sandbox during childhood. The

music stimulates the imagination, often with hypnotic rhythms. What we experience is an incredibly intense work. From it grows a level of energy in the actors' portraiture that is rarely achieved. It grabs the audience physically. "One has not seen such enthusiasm for choric work for a long time. Such a wonderful unison of the chorus! The unique confluence of language, scene, rhythm, sound and physical feeling is the result of the way this director works. It is based on collective imagination and unconditional collaboration. The virtuoso quintet of actors achieves, in the performance that lasts 65 minutes, a genuinely compelling consolidation of the events."⁹

As I mentioned earlier: I learned intercultural awareness and training by doing, starting in Cyprus and Greece years ago, and enjoying its synergies wherever I am confronted with cultures different from my own. (And Turkey, Finland, the US, Canada, Italy and South Korea presented a range of polythetic challenges.)

Historical factors such as the division of the continent after World War II, the Soviet occupation of East- and Middle Europe, the ideological confrontation during the Cold War, the fall of the Berlin Wall and the process of European unification, the ongoing immigration from Asia and Africa, and the indiscriminate absorption of non-Western culture are other challenges determining cultural identity. In fact, in the context of cultural policy, the issue of cultural identity is reinterpreted and mobilized differently in Europe's nations according to changes in the political, economic, and socio-cultural environments in which cultural policy has been formulated and implemented. Open-eyes and standpoint are needed to experience transcultural events and to "make use" (Brecht) of them for your needs. Theodorakis' genius is one of the most encouraging examples. In an radio interview with Lambros Mitropoulos he describes his attitude: "In my life, indeed, I have always been open to extrinsic influences, certainly these that born inside feelings of admiration. I never hesitated to use the verb "admire", even if it was to speak for a contemporary of mine. Moreover, I admit I envied and envy is still only something that can bring about my admiration from the classics to the contemporaries. So, I owe a part of my evolution to them that of course I studied deeply - as well as all the great people - trying to absorb and make mine every new element that I considered to be great. In this attempt it is natural to exist in my work many unassimilated elements, something that we shall find in all the authors, even the greatest ones."¹⁰

At that first meeting a few days before Christmas 1975 with Koun in his small office at his Art Theatre we contemplated about the ability of the director to look out for means of persuasion. We had a common goal: how best from text to stage to shatter the rooted values of the contemporary audience.

NOTES:

- ¹ A dialogue with Mikis Theodorakis, Lambros Mitropoulos, Radio Art Founder, Athens, April 1, 2021.
- ² Panayiotis Serghis, CyBC-radio-interview, May 25, 1978.
- ³ Jacobos Kambanellis, *Theatro Nea*, vol. 23, Nr. 3, 1980, p. 8.
- ⁴ see Heinz-Uwe Haus, *Awakening '89*, Lulu, 2010, pp. 15, 30.
- ⁵ Martin Walser, *Über Deutschland reden*, Frankfurt/Main, 1989, p. 132.
- ⁶ Peter L. Berger, in: *Dialogue*, 2/1984, p. 8.
- ⁷ Jacob Burckhardt, *Europäisches Gut*, Wien, 1936, p. 12.
- ⁸ Peter Brook, *World Theatre Day Message March 27, 1988*, flyer, Us-Center of ITI.
- ⁹ Odile Popescu, "Absolutely fascinating: *The Persians* in Bremerhaven," in *Gracious Light*, Vol. XXV/Nr.1, New York, 2020, pp. 94-95.
- ¹⁰ A dialogue with Mikis Theodorakis..., *op. cit.*

Buddhist Syllogistic Theory

Abstract: The epitome of Asian philosophy, notably Indian, can be illustrated through Buddhist logic. In his seminal publication, bearing the very title *Buddhist Logic*, Fyodor Ippolitovich Stcherbatsky addresses such thought in its historical associations. Buddhist thinkers did not achieve a clear separation of logic from ontology and epistemology. Based on this scholar's work, this paper attempts to trace the notion of inference, inclusive of the nature of judgement, in Buddhist thought. It also addresses a fundamental fraction of Buddhist logic which in the West is referred to as 'syllogism' and attempts to demonstrate Aristotelian logical notions through Buddhist thought.

Keywords: Buddhist logic, Aristotle, syllogism, inference, Stcherbatsky

This paper aims at giving elements of an exposition, with critical observations, of an integral part of Buddhist logic – that which corresponds to what in Western philosophy is referred to as 'syllogism' – as presented by Fyodor Ippolitovich Stcherbatsky (referred to in the literature as F. Th. Stcherbatsky) in Part III of his publication *Buddhist Logic* which is entitled 'The Constructed World'.¹ In his book, Stcherbatsky deals with elements of Buddhist literature which show some sort of parallelism with the mainstream of European logic of his time. Such elements include "a doctrine of the forms of syllogism, ... a theory on the essence of judgement, on the import of names and on inference".² Also, he deals with other aspects which are included by the Buddhists in their system of 'logic' but are not included under logic in the West. These include "a theory on the part of pure sensation in the whole content of our knowledge, a theory on the reliability of our knowledge and on the reality of the external world as cognised by us in sensations and images".³ According to Stcherbatsky, Buddhists did not go down the path of seeking a clear separation of logic from ontology and epistemology. This is

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further emphasized by the ultimate aim of Buddhist logic, namely, explaining “the relation between a moving reality and the static constructions of thought”.⁴

Inference

1. The nature of judgement

Buddhist logicians define judgement as the interpretation of sensations into concepts, and distinguish between two types of judgement. These are direct, or perceptual judgement, and indirect, or inferential judgement. The former is a synthesis of a sensation and a concept, while the latter is a synthesis of a sensation and two concepts, that is, three terms in all. The following examples help illustrate the difference:

J1: This is smoke – *Direct judgement*

J2: This is smoke produced by fire – *Indirect judgement*

J1 and J2 are perceptual and inferential judgement respectively. The latter expresses the cognition of a non-perceived phenomenon (fire) through a perceived one (smoke) related as reason and consequence; either expressed or understood, the element ‘this’ or ‘here’ has to be present. In a perceptual judgement, the cognition of “the object X [is] through its symbol which is the conception A” while in an inferential judgement, the cognition of object X is present “through its double symbol A and B”.⁵

2. Parts of an inference

In Buddhist logic, each inference contains three terms: namely, the logical subject, the logical predicate and, finally, the reason (or mark) which unites them. In ‘Here there are trees because there are simsapas’, the logical subject is ‘here’ while the logical predicate and reason are ‘trees’ and ‘simsapas’ respectively.⁶

The logical subject may be either of two types – real or metaphorical. The former represents the point-instant of pure reality usually characterised by ‘thisness’ (for example: This [place] contains trees because it has simsapas). The latter, with respect to the ultimate real, is itself an inferred quality (for example: The mountain possesses fire because it possesses smoke; the former real subject, ‘This’, is here partly inferred). The quality of the logical subject cognised through the inference is represented by the logical predicate. Together with the subject, the predicate forms the ‘object’ cognised through the inference. No particular can ever make a logical predicate. The logical reason (or mark) is both “a Quality ... of the Subject and is itself marked off by the Predicate.”⁷ Its role is similar to that played

by the middle term in Aristotelian logic. This term is the distinguishing feature between perceptual (direct) and inferential (indirect) judgement. The logical reason has a threefold aspect:

- A1: its presence in the Subject's totality,
- A2: its presence only in cases which are Similar to the subject in so far as the predicate may be asserted of them, and
- A3: its absence from Dissimilar cases in their totality.

With respect to A1, the reference to the subject's totality is intended to cover cases where the subject is not an individual. Thus, in the sentence 'Greeks are mortal beings because they are men', the term 'men' refers to the totality of the Greeks. A2 and A3, referred to as the method of agreement and difference respectively, imply one another, that is, they are equivalent.

3. *Types of inference*

Inference moves from the particular to the particular. It brings in the general rule only on reaching a further step of cognition. Where necessary, the general rule is stated twice – in its positive and in its negative forms. Inference consists of the necessary interrelation between two concepts and in the necessary relation of these concepts to a point-instant of objective reality – the logical subject. A relation signifies the necessary presence of a dependant part and another part upon which it depends.

There are only two possible ways in which one part may be dependent upon another. It may either be a part of it or its effect. Hence there are two types of inference, each corresponding to the type of dependency, namely, that founded on Identity and that founded on Causation respectively. The classical examples given to illustrate these inferences are:⁸

C1: Inference founded on Identity:

This (S) is a tree (P),
Because it is a simsapa (R),
All simsapas are trees.

C2: Inference founded on Causality:

There is here some fire,
Because there is smoke.
There is no smoke without fire.

In C1, the related terms 'trees' and 'simsapas' both refer to the same real thing, that is, their objective reference (x) is identical. This is clearly seen if say 'All simsapas are trees' is read as 'If x is a simsapa then x is a tree'. The concepts to which 'trees' and 'simsapas' refer are not identical. In C2, 'fire' and 'smoke' are not related by identity since their objective

references (x and y) are different. In the phrase ‘There is no smoke without fire’, this is seen more clearly if read as ‘If x is smoke then it has been caused by fire y ’. These two terms, though necessarily interdependent, refer to two different points of objective reality. A dependent existence is present and hence the relation is one based on causation.

In ‘All simsapas are trees’, the predicate forms part of the subject and is obtained from it by analysis. “Identity is a reason for deducing a property when (the subject) alone is by itself sufficient for that deduction”.⁹ Therefore, an inferential judgement founded on identity is an analytical judgement. Correspondingly, in inferential judgements founded on causality, the predicate is not part of the subject. As shown in C2 above, the predicate must be added to it and only be found out in practice. Inferential judgements such as this, which are founded on experience or causality, are synthetic. Hence such judgements are empirical and consist of “establishing causal relations by observation and experiment”.¹⁰

4. Categories of relation

There are only three categories of relation between any two concepts: Identity and Causality – which belong to affirmations of necessary dependence – and Negation of an assumed presence of the predicate in the subject. All this is summed up in Dharmakirti’s words, thus “Inferential cognition is either Affirmation or Negation, and Affirmation is double, it either is founded on Identity or on Causality”.¹¹ The following examples illustrate these relations:¹²

G1: Inference founded on Identity:

The sounds of speech are impermanent entities.
Because they are produced at will just as jars etc.

G2: Inference founded on Causality:

There is fire on the hill.
Because there is smoke, just as in the kitchen etc.

G3: Inference founded on Negation:

There is no jar on this place.
What is not perceived is not present,
just as we perceive no flower growing in the sky.

Syllogism

1. Definition

The preoccupation of Buddhist logic is to explore the roots ('sources') of our knowledge in order to find out in the cognised world its elements of ultimate reality, hence separating them from those of imagination which were added to the former in the process of cognition. Inference is the natural run of our thought. It takes place in the head, hence it is an inference 'in oneself'. The communication of such an inference in such a way as to produce an inference in the head of the hearer is an inference 'for others'. Hence the former is a process of cognition while the latter is a process of communicating a ready cognition. Stcherbatsky uses the word syllogism for this kind of inference 'for others'.

Syllogism is not a source of knowledge. It "consists in communicating the three aspects of the logical mark".¹³ Its propositions are resorted to for communicating ready knowledge to others. The distinguishing feature between an inference ('in oneself') and a syllogism is a difference in their form. While an inference is basically a process where a particular case is inferred through its similarity with another particular case with a general rule intervening as a uniting member between the two particular cases, a syllogism starts off by proclaiming the universal case and then moves on to deduce the particular instances from such a case. Consequently, the order of the premises in communicating the three aspects of the logical mark is different from that present in an inference. The following illustration demonstrates how, in practice, the Buddhist logician distinguishes between the two inferences:¹⁴

Inference:

There is fire on the hill.

Because there is smoke, just as in the kitchen etc.

Syllogism:

Wheresoever there is smoke, there must be some fire,
as in the kitchen etc.

And there is such smoke on the hill.

2. Parts of a syllogism

The traditional Buddhist form of stating the syllogism contains three steps, the first being the proponent part while the last two are considered by the opponent. These are

Proponent:

Stating the three terms, the subject, the predicate and the reason, without caring to put them in the form of propositions.

Opponent:

See whether the reason is present in the subject in its totality, and

See whether the predicate is present in the reason in its totality.

It seems one is concerned at such a stage with the first figure of the Western syllogistic theory. Furthermore, the Buddhist syllogism deals only with universal propositions. Hence, from the four moods of the first figure – namely, Barbara, Celarent, Darii and Ferio – only the moods which contain universal propositions are considered, that is, Barbara and Celarent. Also, since, for the time being, negative universal propositions are put aside, Barbara remains the only mood of the first figure under consideration.

3. *Members of a syllogism*

The earliest known theory of the syllogism contained five members and belonged to the Naiyayiks.¹⁵ The members of such a syllogism are the thesis, the reason, the example, the application and the conclusion, in this order. A Naiyayiks syllogism would thus run as follows:¹⁶

Thesis: There is fire on the hill.

Reason: Because there is smoke.

Example: As in the kitchen etc., wherever smoke,
there is fire.

Application: And there is such smoke on the hill.

Conclusion: There is fire on the hill.

On reviewing this theory, Dignaga retained only two members.¹⁷ His new version consisted of the general rule and its application to a particular case. The general rule establishes the necessary interrelation between the two terms and is hence referred to as the ‘Inseparable Connection’, while its application to the particular case is known as the ‘Qualification of the Subject’. Since each syllogism consists of just these two members, it contains two propositions only. The first proposition corresponds in Western Aristotelian logic to the major premise, while the latter is made up of both the minor premise and the conclusion. These two real members “are the same as the Three Aspects of the Logical Reason which have been established in the inference ‘for oneself’, but their order in the inference ‘for others’ is changed”.¹⁸ The Inseparable Connection corresponds to the presence of the reason in similar instances only and its absence in non-similar ones (A2 and A3), while the Qualification of the Subject refers to the reason’s presence in the subject’s totality (A1).¹⁹ A2 and A3 represent only a difference in formulation, for the one necessarily implies the other.

In the syllogism, the example is not to be set apart from the major premise. It is inherent in the general rule and not a separate member. This shows that the Buddhist syllogism is more than just deduction. The general rule is established by generalising from the individual examples. The Buddhist logicians insisted on including in the syllogism the examples to support the general rule. The general rule is obtained by induction from the individual facts ('examples'). But the general rule is itself one of the propositions of the 'deductive' Buddhist syllogism. Hence preceding the deduction present in such a syllogism is an induction by which the general rule (the major premise) is obtained.

To ensure that complete induction is present, the Method of Agreement and Difference has to be employed and so examples have to be both positive and negative.²⁰ When either no positive or no negative examples are present, no conclusion can be drawn. Such is an illustration of the above:

Positive example: Wheresoever there is smoke there is fire, as in the kitchen.

Negative example: Wheresoever there is no fire there is no smoke, as in the pond.

4. *Kinds of syllogism*

Syllogism is the expression of an inference in propositions. Inference is the cognition of an object through its Three-Aspected Logical Reason, where reason is the term whose necessary presence interrelates the logical subject and predicate. There are only three possible ways in which the subject and predicate can be related in order to allow us to cognise one object through its necessary relation with the other. One can come to a knowledge of a thing either "through its Effect, or through its being an Inherent Property, or through its Negative Counterpart".²¹ Accordingly, three kinds of syllogism are possible: the Causal, the Analytic and the Negative. The differences between these three syllogisms stem from their content.

As in inference, the same cognition of an object may be expressed in two ways – by similarity with all like objects and dissimilarity with all unlike ones. This difference is referred to as a difference in figure. Hence, since every logical reason may be expressed in two ways, for every syllogism we have two figures:²²

"Figure ... does not mean a twisted, unnatural and perverse verbal arrangement of the terms of an inference, where the real core of every inference, the universal and necessary interdependence of two terms, becomes quite obliterated; but it means two universal and equipollent

methods of cognizing truth on the basis of a necessary interdependence between two terms.”

The patterns of these figures are as follows:

a) For a syllogism based on Agreement:

All R is P

This is R

Hence, This is P, where R: Reason and P: Predicate.

b) For a syllogism based on Difference:

All (not P) is not R

This is R

Hence, This is P

While (a) expresses that R is present in similars only, (b) expresses that it is never present in dissimilars. The syllogism based on Difference is simply the contraposition of the syllogism based on Agreement.²³

The following helps illustrate the various figures of the syllogism based on Causal and Analytic deduction and, finally, on Negation.

For Causal deduction:²⁴

based on the method of Agreement:

Wherever there is smoke, there is fire, as in the kitchen.

Here there is smoke,

There must be some fire.

based on the method of Difference:

Wherever there is no fire, there neither is smoke,
as in water.

But here there is smoke,

There must be fire.

For Analytic deduction: ²⁵

based on the method of Agreement:

Whatsoever is variable ... is non-eternal, like jars etc.

The sounds of speech are variable,

They are non-eternal.

based on the method of Difference;

Whatsoever is eternal is never variable ..., like, e.g., space.

But the sounds of speech are variable,

They are not eternal.

For Negation: ²⁶

based on the method of Agreement:

Whatsoever is not perceived ... , is absent.

On this place no jar is perceived.

It is absent.

based on the method of Difference:

Whatsoever is present ... is necessarily perceived.

But on this place no such jar is perceived.

It is absent.

Since the Buddhist syllogism is based on the necessary and universal relation between the two terms, particular judgements, and thus syllogisms containing such judgements, are excluded.

5. Formulation of a syllogism

Inference 'in oneself' is a process in the mind of the subject which brings 'new' knowledge. Such an inferential judgement is made by comparing the case in point with situations previously expressed. Thus, for example, the presence of smoke is associated with smoke produced, say, in the kitchen (by fire) and the absence of smoke, say, in the pond (where there is no fire). In inference there is no deduction from a general rule. Contrastingly, the purpose of the syllogism is to communicate 'knowledge' to others. Its formulation is necessarily such as to cause knowledge to be produced in the head of the hearer. From various positive or negative examples obtained from experience, the general rule, the major premise, is obtained by induction. One then states the minor premise and the conclusion which make up the second proposition of the syllogism. This further emphasizes that, as far as content is concerned, there is no large difference between syllogism and inference. A syllogism is a correct formulation of the content of an inference in two propositions in such a way as to produce an inference in the head of the hearer. It adds nothing to our cognition.

The necessary relations upon which all knowledge is based are Identity and Causality.²⁷ The value of the syllogism founded on Causality is self-evident. What is communicated by a syllogism is the fact of a necessary dependence of the effect upon its causes. "We can assert that an effect is the logical reason for deducing from it the cause," says Dharmakirti, "only when the fact of their causal relation is already known".²⁸ The syllogism of Identity is more subtle. As in inference, the logical reason, which is the part linking the logical subject to the logical predicate, "produces knowledge by logical necessity, as an ascertained case of invariable concomitance"; that is, it produces "a cognition of an unobserved fact".²⁹ By employing the law of contradiction, one makes certain that the reason is dependent on the

predicate. This is the first step before moving to formulate the syllogism. The next step holds for both analytically and causally founded syllogisms. It consists of connecting the general rule ('All simsapas are trees') with the particular case ('There is a simsapa in the garden').³⁰

The Western contrast

1. Stcherbatsky's position

Despite the various differences existing between the Buddhist and the Aristotelian inferential and syllogistic logic, a vague parallelism may be identified between these two schools of thought. Stcherbatsky tries to bring out an inherent distinction in European logic similar to the Buddhist distinction between inference 'for oneself' and inference 'for others'. The correspondence which he tries to draw between the Buddhist and European logic crops up, according to him, from the way of stating the contents of the Aristotelian syllogism. Stcherbatsky identifies two such ways. The first is marked by the principles *nota notae est nota rei ipsius* and its correlative *repugnas notae repugnat rei ipsi*.³¹ These also correspond to the principle of the Buddhist inference 'for oneself'. The contents of the syllogism were also stated in terms of the principle *dictum de omni et nullo*. According to this rule "Whatever can be asserted [or denied] of every member of a class can also be asserted [or denied] of every member of any class contained in the first class".³² When the syllogism is stated in terms of the *dictum*, it 'corresponds' to the Buddhist syllogism ('for others').

In addition to the various similarities between the two trends of thought, there are points of disagreement. The Aristotelian syllogism, both when stated in terms of *nota notae* and the *dictum*, is a speech.³³ It consists of at least three propositions where one of them, the conclusion, follows from the other propositions, the major and minor premises. Unlike the syllogism stated in terms of *nota notae*, the Buddhist inference 'for oneself' is not a speech. Instead of being made up of propositions, it consists of three terms – the subject, the predicate and the mark. Similar to its European counterpart, the Buddhist inference 'for others' is a speech. Yet, instead of three propositions, it consists of two – the general rule and the application. The former corresponds to the major premise while the latter contains together the minor premise and the conclusion.

2. Induction and deduction

Both Aristotle and the Buddhists maintained that the major premise must be established by induction from individual cases. The latter is discussed in section below entitled ‘Obversion, Conversion, and Contraposition’, while the former is characterized by Aristotle’s assertion that universal propositions can only result through induction. “The particular facts remembered and compared constitute Experience with its universal notions and conjunctions”.³⁴

In Buddhist logic, induction and deduction are complementary to one another. They cannot be separated from one another although the emphasis on each aspect can vary: in the inference for oneself the emphasis is on induction, while in the syllogism the emphasis is on deduction. In Aristotle, induction and deduction can be separated from one another. He distinguishes between two types of syllogism – The genuine (deductive) syllogism (*notius natura*) and the syllogism from induction (*pro nobis*). Both these syllogisms have independently maximum degrees of certainty and necessity.³⁵ The deductive syllogism presupposes and rests upon the process of induction because the major premise, the universal proposition (*notius natura*) is “generated in the mind by a process of Induction out of particulars which are *notiora nobis*”.³⁶

3. Obversion, conversion, and contraposition

By inferring from a given proposition new propositions having as terms the subject and predicate (and their contradictories) of the given proposition, Aristotle found out the various possibilities of obversion, conversion, and contraposition. He introduces these operations on propositions and then applies them to the propositions contained in syllogisms obtaining from valid syllogisms other valid ones. On the contrary, the Buddhists define conversion and contraposition exclusively in the context of syllogisms. They can only be carried out on the general propositions. The general rule expresses the fact that the mark is present in similar instances only (corresponding to the propositions ‘All *M* are *P*’) or, the equivalent form, in dissimilars never (‘No *non-P*’s are *M*’). The presence in similar instances is the Position while its absence in dissimilar instances is the Contraposition.³⁷ The contraposition of the *o*-type into the *i*-type proposition is excluded as it concerns particular propositions. Universal affirmative statements cannot be converted. If one were to convert such a proposition, the result will be a fallacy of Uncertain Reason. Only the universal negative can be converted. Finally, Stcherbatsky criticises Aristotle’s way of dealing with such transformations of propositions (and then syllogisms) as being formal and grammatical.³⁸ Elsewhere he cites in

his support Kant’s comparison of Aristotle’s work on the theory of the syllogism to a game of chess.³⁹ For the author, Aristotle’s study of the syllogism simply involves irrelevant playing about with the terms. Only the Buddhist syllogism contains “a good sense and a (logically) valuable sense”.⁴⁰

4. Figures of syllogism

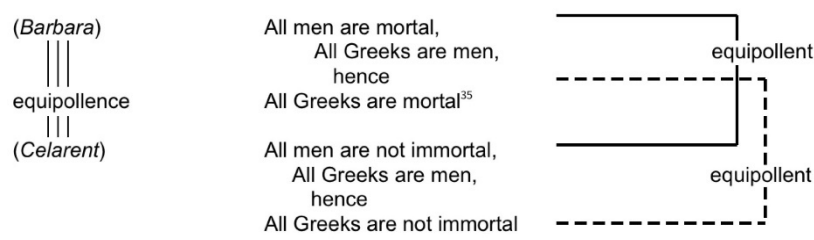
Aristotle divided the categorical syllogism into four figures and 19 moods. This division into figures is one based on the grammatical principle of the position of the middle term in both premises. The figures can be represented as follows, where *S* is the subject, *P* the predicate of the conclusion and *M* the middle term.

Figure 1	Figure 2	Figure 3	Figure 4
M P	P M	M P	P M
<u>S M</u>	<u>S M</u>	<u>M S</u>	<u>M S</u>
S P	S P	S P	S P

The 19 different moods are the valid possibilities from a total of 256 syllogisms since each figure consists of 64 arrangements. From these 19 moods only Barbara, the first mood of the first figure, was regarded by Aristotle as genuine. The rest may be obtained by reduction to it.

The Buddhist logicians admit only two figures. The correspondence between these two figures and the Aristotelian figures is obtained by taking into consideration some restrictions which the Buddhist syllogistic theory makes. In Buddhist logic, of the three terms only one is the real subject. Such a subject cannot be converted into a predicate; that is, the subject of the conclusion is to be the subject of the minor premise. This restriction excludes Aristotle’s third and fourth figures from the domain of the Buddhist syllogism. Also, the middle term is always the subject of the major premise. An exchange is admissible only in contraposition⁴¹ where an *e*-type proposition is obtained from an *a*-type one. Accordingly, the second figure is excluded except for the mood Cesare, the contraposition of Barbara. Furthermore, in Indian reasoning, particular conclusions are excluded. Such conclusions violate the first rule of the Three-Aspected Logical Mark, that is, that the reason should be present in the subject in its totality. This implies that only universal conclusions are allowed and therefore from the remaining first figure all moods except Barbara and Celarent are excluded. Furthermore, Celarent is considered redundant since the major premise and

the conclusions of Barbara and Celarent are equipollent⁴² (and the minor premises are the same). The following helps to illustrate equipollence.



Hence the only two moods of the Buddhist inference ‘for others’ are those corresponding to the first figure, Barbara, and the second figure, Cesare.

Stcherbatsky agrees with defenders of the ‘simple’ Buddhist syllogistic theory who criticise the ‘complicated’ Aristotelian theory as being merely false subtlety. The difference between the two theories – and the superiority of Aristotle’s theory – can however be explained by the difference between what the authors aimed to achieve. The Buddhists were concerned with reproducing the ‘natural run of our thinking’ and thus admitted only the forms of the valid syllogisms which are simple enough to be self-evident. Aristotle was interested in working out all the possible valid forms of syllogisms and these include those whose validity is not self-evident, but which are nonetheless useful in drawing conclusions out of available true premises.

5. The real and the ‘logical’

Stcherbatsky distinguishes between laws of reality and ‘logical’ laws. Laws of reality apply to real objects while ‘logical’ laws apply to concepts. The Buddhist law of Contradiction is both a law of reality and a ‘logical’ law between concepts. The laws of Identity and Causality are subaltern to it. Correspondingly, these have real and ‘logical’ aspects. The ‘logical’ law of Causality is usually referred to as “the law of the Effect”.⁴³

An example of the Buddhist judgement based on Identity is ‘A simsapa is a tree’ which can be rendered as ‘If x is a simsapa then x is a tree’.⁴⁴ The concepts ‘simsapa’ and ‘tree’ are said to be partially identical because the objective reference x is the same. Two concepts are partially identical “in so far they are not incompatible and belong to the same identical thing”.⁴⁵ The Buddhist law of Contradiction states that “if the qualities (or

concepts) are incompatible, the reality of which they are, the qualities cannot be identical".⁴⁶

Stcherbatsky distinguishes between real and 'logical' causality. For him, real causality is the "necessary dependence of every point-instant of reality upon its immediate antecedent point-instants".⁴⁷ It is taken for granted that the cause preceded the effect, as in fire which has produced smoke. On the other hand, the context where 'logical' causality occurs is when the reason is given for the assertion that a certain object is there though it is hidden from view. A case in point would be 'Since there is here smoke, there must be here some fire'. In developing one's knowledge one is proceeding from the perception of the effect to the inference of the cause. The 'logical' relation of the concepts, say 'smoke' and 'fire', is Effect-Cause. The 'logical' law of Causality is the law of the Effect.

Identity and Causality are used in analytical and synthetic 'inference for others' respectively. Both these principles are mere specifications of the universal law of all arguments, namely, the Buddhist law of Sufficient Reason.⁴⁸

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NOTES:

¹ Fyodor Ippolitovich Stcherbatsky, *Buddhist Logic*, Dover Publications, New York, vol. 1, 1962, pp. 204–362. This paper focuses on Chapter 2 and 3 of Part III (pp. 231–319). Stcherbatsky (1866–1942) was a Russian philologist and Indologist. His most influential work was on Buddhist philosophy.

² *Ibidem*, p. 1.

- ³ *Ibid.*
- ⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 2.
- ⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 231.
- ⁶ Simsapa is a tree mentioned in early Buddhist discourses.
- ⁷ F. I. Stcherbatsky, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 235.
- ⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 249.
- ⁹ F. I. Stcherbatsky, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 65.
- ¹⁰ F. I. Stcherbatsky, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 251.
- ¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 255. Identity, Causality and Negation are claimed to be mutually exclusive (pp. 254–256) and to exhaust all relations (pp. 256–259). Dharmakīrti was an influential Indian Buddhist philosopher and a key scholar of epistemology (*pramana*).
- ¹² *Ibid.*, p. 277.
- ¹³ *Idem*, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 109.
- ¹⁴ *Idem*, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 277.
- ¹⁵ Naiyayiks are followers of the non-Buddhist school of eternalism known as the Nyaya School, a school of logic which follows Brahmana Akshapada.
- ¹⁶ F. I. Stcherbatsky, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 279.
- ¹⁷ Dignaga was the first in developing the system of Buddhist logic and epistemology (*pramana*).
- ¹⁸ F. I. Stcherbatsky, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 281.
- ¹⁹ See section ‘Parts of a Syllogism’ above.
- ²⁰ In mediaeval philosophical terms, the method of Agreement corresponds to the logical principle *nota notae est nota rei ipsius* while the method of Difference corresponds to *repugnans notae repugnat rei ipsi*.
- ²¹ F. I. Stcherbatsky, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 283.
- ²² *Ibid.*, p. 284. This statement is directed to the Aristotelian syllogistic theory.
- ²³ One needs not express both figures for “from a formula of agreement the corresponding formula of difference follows by implication” (F. I. Stcherbatsky, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 142). Although for the Buddhist logician every syllogism may be expressed in either its positive or in its negative form since both forms are equipollent, for the realistic schools they are totally unrelated. For such schools one can have ‘purely positive’ and ‘purely negative’ syllogism.
- ²⁴ F. I. Stcherbatsky, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 285.
- ²⁵ *Ibidem*.
- ²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 284.
- ²⁷ The Buddhists treat negative relations separately. Thus, negative relations are not discussed here.
- ²⁸ Cited in F. I. Stcherbatsky, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 137.
- ²⁹ Dharmottara, cited by F. I. Stcherbatsky, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 288.
- ³⁰ For Dharmottara’s question “Why should we have recourse to logical reasoning for deducing from the reason what is already given in the reason?” (F. I. Stcherbatsky, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 133), Stcherbatsky replies that although the consequence is contained in reason, it is not really always present in the mind (F. I. Stcherbatsky, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 290).

- ³¹ The term is being considered from the point of view of its comprehension. See note 20.
- ³² Antony Flew, *A Dictionary of Philosophy*, Pan Books and The Macmillan Press, London, 1979, p. 95. The principle was first formulated by Aristotle thus: "For one thing to be in another as a whole is the same as for one thing to be predicated of every one of another" (Aristotle, *Prior Analytics*, Translated by Robin Smith, Hackett Publishing Company Inc, Indianapolis, 1989, 24b25–30). Here the term is being considered from the point of view of its extension.
- ³³ For Aristotle, a syllogism is "a speech in which, some positions having been laid down, something different from these positions follows as a necessary consequence from their being laid down" (George Grote, *Aristotle*, vol. 1, John Murray, London, 1872, p. 205).
- ³⁴ F. I. Stcherbatsky, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 299.
- ³⁵ G. Grote, *op. cit.*, pp. 282–285.
- ³⁶ F. I. Stcherbatsky, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 300. With respect to the Aristotelian syllogistic theory, the criticism that one should draw a sharper, clear-cut distinction between induction and deduction was put forward. Such critics argue that while induction is essentially a 'risky' step where one 'jumps' from the particular instances to the universal, in deduction there is strict necessity. The Buddhists deny that such a distinction can be made between induction and deduction. These two processes are one integral whole. They are absolutely inseparable. In the syllogism the induction is contained in the general rule and deduction in the application and therefore the syllogism suffers as a whole from any flaw in that part of it which is induction.
- ³⁷ Examples of the contraposition of Causal, Analytic and Negative general statements have been given in section above entitled 'Kinds of Syllogism'.
- ³⁸ F. I. Stcherbatsky, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 303.
- ³⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 308.
- ⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 303.
- ⁴¹ See section 'Obversion, Conversion, and Contraposition' above.
- ⁴² Equipollence exists between two different but logically equivalent propositions such that the S (respectively P) of one is the same as, or the negation of, the S (respectively P) of the other. Hence, 'All S are P' is equipollent to 'All S are not non-P'.
- ⁴³ F. I. Stcherbatsky, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 310.
- ⁴⁴ See section 'Types of Inference' above.
- ⁴⁵ F. I. Stcherbatsky, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 309.
- ⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 310. The Buddhist Law of Contradiction can be expressed thus:
 If N1 is *p* and N2 is *not-p*
 then N1 is not N2
- ⁴⁷ *Ibid.*
- ⁴⁸ Apparently, the law of Sufficient Reason is the same as the law of Contradiction or at least the logical aspect of it.

The interest of the Catholic missionaries for the Romanian Lands reflected in the preoccupations of the Accademia di Romania in Rome in the interwar period (1922-1944)¹

Abstract: In this research, the author presents the way how the interest of the Catholic Missionaries from the Middle Ages is reflected in the concerns and in the research of the Accademia di Romania in Roma (or the Romanian School in Rome), during the interwar period. The fact that the historians were oriented towards the Vatican Archives and to the documents kept there and because they were being stimulated to publish them in the journals of the institution (mostly in *Diplomatarium Italicum*), this fact determined them to deepen aspects like the history of the medieval Romanian lands and to bring into attention aspects that have not been presented before. Therefore, while the reputed Romanian philologist and literary criticist G. Călinescu speaks about different Catholic missions in Moldavia and Wallachia, Virginia Vasiliu offers documents with historical relevance, where the relationship between State and Church in a society that was not yet secularised, are clearly emphasized. At his turn, Francis Pall presents the debates that existed during the time between orders like the Conventual Minorites and the Jesuites, while historians like Gh. Vinulescu come to bring into attention notes of the travel of Pietro Diodato, one of the important missionaries from the medieval times. Based on the studies published in the aforementioned journal, we will therefore try to show how important were the lands of Moldavia and Wallachia for the Catholics during the Medieval times and how it is reflected their interest in the publications of the institution that we investigate.

Keywords: Vasile Pârvan, archaeology, philology, G. Călinescu, Romanian School in Rome, architecture

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The Accademia di Romania in Rome or the Romanian School in Rome, as it was called in the interwar period, was an important pillar in the formation of the Romanian intellectuals from the interwar period. Under the auspices of archaeologist Vasile Pârvan,² who was also its first director, the institution will become, as the monographs dedicated to it³ show, a place where research will be done at the level of international standards.

The 128 scholarship holders and the 10 guests (ospitanti) that it had in the period we are considering, will spend here internships between 1 and 8 years and will study aspects such as art history, ancient history, architecture, archeology, modern history, or others. There will be a total of 15 research areas in the period under consideration, and other several ones who will not have a defined field of investigation. The results of the most brilliant researches will be published mainly in the publications of the institution.

Thus, through the care of the director, in 1923, the magazine *Ephemeris Dacoromana* will be established, which will appear, despite the problems and all the financial difficulties, in ten issues, in a first series, until 1943. After 1989, the series of publications will be re-noted, so today, the twenty-first issue of the series was published.⁴ With the exception of the second issue, all will be opened by a preface in Italian, written by the director of the institution, entitled either "Proemio"⁵ or "Prefazione"⁶. In the pages of the periodical in question, out of the 66 studies, articles, obituaries, editorials or other texts of this kind, only seven will talk about Christianity and its relevance for the history and evolution of the world⁷. As the profile of the magazine will be rather oriented towards research on art history and archeology, they will not talk about the interest that Catholics will have for the Romanian Lands. However, valuable research will be hosted here, with resonance in the international space, dedicated to communities such as Amalfi⁸, which will be based on doctoral theses such as that of Professor Mihai Berza, coordinated by the renowned Gheorghe Brătianu, or that of George G. Mateescu⁹, the second director of the Institution.

The second publication, born from bibliographic, stylistic and content needs in 1925, which will have four issues until 1928, respectively *Diplomatarium Italicum*, will be the one that will bring to attention the subject we are considering. In the pages of the twenty studies, which will mainly capitalize on information from the Vatican Archives, one will find rich information on the way in which Catholicism was interested in the Romanian Lands. As defined by the first director of the institution in the opening of the first issue:

"*Diplomatarium* will be in fact the historical yearbook of the school, along with the first yearbook, archaeological, which will also continue its series, but specializing in the study of classical antiquity and the general history of the arts."¹⁰

Of course, the presence among authors of names such as the literary critic G. Călinescu (1899-1965), fellow of the institution between 1924 and 1926, when he studies philology, most probably at the recommendation of Professor Ramiro Ortiz,¹¹ comes to speak and about the openness to fields such as philology or philosophy of the publication. He will analyze, in the pages of several texts, the activity of Catholic missionaries in the Principates.¹² His extensive introductory study, spread over 92 pages, will be accompanied by a rich documentary appendix, where he comes to justify the work carried out by the researcher and to reveal the sources that formed the basis of his approach. As it is shown in the beginning, at the time he published that text, there was still no synthesis dedicated to the history of Catholicism in the Romanian space,¹³ and this is the reason why the author intended to extract, from the many existing sources, some texts that would draw the attention to this topic and help the reader to create an overview of this issue.¹⁴

Aspects such as the beginning of the Catholic interest in the Principates, opinions such as that there was a time of its withering on these lands,¹⁵ placed by the researcher at the end of the sixteenth century, the growth of these interests, but also diplomatic issues, are presented here. Călinescu would like to emphasize that:

“The interest of propaganda for the Principality has become growing in Moldova since the seventeenth century. The bishops of Bacău succeeded each other almost regularly, with the obligation, unfulfilled, however, to live in Moldova and to create a seminary and a social establishment. But if bishops usually do not stay and prefer to reside in Poland, this is due to the extreme poverty of the country, made so by the continuous raids of the troops, and even the missionaries try to escape as soon as possible, as soon as the three years end.”¹⁶

The way in which the internal conflicts of Moldova and Wallachia, or the tumultuous relationship with the Ottomans, always on guard against the two Principates¹⁷ and always eager for conflict, but also Russian interests in Moldova, will also be addressed by the renowned philologist in the pages of his extensive investigation, along with issues such as the Tartar invasions here. The way in which the representatives of Catholicism in these lands, saw the development of certain historical aspects, but also the issues regarding the changes of plan that the evolution of certain conflicts brings with them for Catholics, is also among its approaches. Călinescu would like to show that:

“The last war that affected Moldova during the period we are dealing with in this study was the one between the Turks and the Russians, helped by the Austrians. The Russians occupied the province, which they then had to leave at the conclusion of the Belgrade peace (1739). Missionary Manzi, the prefect of missions since 1746, gives us some information about the state

of the country in general and the missions in particular during the war. A battle between the Turks and the Austrians ended with the defeat of the latter after the death of Count Orsetti of Lucca, who was then buried with honor by our missionary. The fire caused by the janissaries from Galați also caused damage to the Catholic church in that city.”¹⁸

The chronicles of some travelers such as Emanuele Remondi¹⁹ and their findings are also the subject of the teacher's extensive investigation later. Interesting is the way in which the author manages to detach himself from certain orthodox sensibilities and sympathies and to present objectively the evolution of things and the way in which certain realities have developed.

His investigation is continued by that of Virginia Vasiliu,²⁰ who manages to extract from the Orsini family archive important documents regarding the Romanian Lands. The ecclesiastical affairs that concerned Pope Urban VIII and Cardinal Virginio Orsini around 1641 are thus brought to attention. The author shows how at the beginning of the seventeenth century, taking advantage of the existing favorable policies, the Polish king, approved by the pope in 1611, will claim the right to appoint the episcopate of Bacău.²¹ Then, she offers a rich documentary appendix on Mihai Viteazul and his times,²² but also about the beginning of the 1700s.

Another important text that talks about Catholic interests in the Principality is that of Nicolae Buta,²³ who introduces Claudio Rangoni and brings into attention his activity as a nuncio in Poland between 1599 and 1605. After showing how, based on his chosen customs and the policy pursued, became a real favorite of the king of this country, he offers some letters to Cardinal Cinzio Aldobrandini and Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini, the nephew of Pope Clement VIII. In addition to the political issues brought to attention, it should be noted that the author brings interesting information about Michael the Brave and how, at that time, politics and religion intertwined. His text is continued by that of Claudiu Isopescu,²⁴ who publishes 94 documents dating from 1595, in Latin and Italian. Extracted from the Borghese collection, they come to talk about the era of Michael the Brave and to bring into attention the dynamics of Catholicism's interest in Muntenia and Moldova, completing those previously published in the same issue of the magazine. At the same time, the author continues here a series of publications initiated in the pages of the journal *Efemeris Dacoromana*.²⁵

Virginia Vasiliu continues then the activity of documentary restitution in the second issue of the publication,²⁶ bringing to attention documents from the archive of Cardinal Scipio Borghese.²⁷ The activity of the Catholic missionaries, the openness offered to the Jesuit propaganda by Petru Șchiopul, the activity of Bartolomeo Brutti,²⁸ but also that of Bernardino Quirini²⁹ or Geronimo Arsengo,³⁰ are presented, and their biographies brought to attention. The way in which rulers such as Mihnea II receives them is also the subject of interesting extensive analysis.

Her article is later followed by the one of Nicolae Buta,³¹ also dedicated to the era of Mihai Viteazul (Michel the Brave), in which the subject we are interested in is approached only in passing, and by one by G. Călinescu, dedicated exclusively to the considered theme.³² The activity of Andrea Bogoslavich,³³ that of Carlo Maria Leonardi,³⁴ but also the detailed description of the Jesuit mission, is made by him on the basis of documents, which, in number of 182, later constitute the annex of the whole enterprise with philological and historiographical value.

The next issue of the publication begins with a study dedicated to Despot Vodă³⁵ and is continued by a text by Ioan Moga, dedicated to the dispute between Gabriel Bathori and Radu Șerban.³⁶ Here, too, the author manages to capitalize on aspects regarding the interest of Catholics for the Romanian Lands, as will Dimitrie Găzdaru, who will bring to attention the notes of a Catholic priest in connection with Tudor Vladimirescu's revolution.³⁷

The last issue of the series will be, as Emil Panaitescu remarks in its editorial, written unanimously by graduates of the University of Cluj.³⁸ Certainly, given that the director himself was the teacher of this institution, it was a joy for him as well. The texts will begin with a work by Aurel Decei, a man who will later know the difficulties of the communist prison.³⁹ From the Latin Urbinian Code number 6064, he extracted a series of documents regarding the Christian League and its activity within the Romanian Lands.⁴⁰ He will then be followed by Gh. Vinulescu,⁴¹ who will bring to attention the interesting travel notes of Petro Diodato, a Catholic missionary from the Moldovan lands,⁴² who will leave an interesting description of them. Following the thread of his notes, Vinulescu will show how he will become a bishop, how he will travel to Galați,⁴³ which will be the Catholic composition of cities such as Babadag or Bârlad,⁴⁴ but also how he interacts with the Orthodox, establishing relations of character with ecumenical value. Thus, for example, he wants to show that:

“On September 29, he was in Huși, the city of residence of an Orthodox bishop. On the surrounding hills were a large number of vineyards, including those of the prince. The region was also rich in fruits; there were apples, pears, peaches, nuts, etc. Only the fruits of Mediterranean culture were missing, such as oranges, lemons, etc. In the neighborhood there were also forests populated with beasts of all kinds. He finds 495 Hungarian-speaking Catholics with a wooden church, but without a priest.”⁴⁵

The administrative aspects are also interesting, as are the ethnographic ones or the censuses of the Catholic community, as well as the mistakes it makes (attributing, for example, the name of the city of Huși to the Hussite heresy).

In a similar note and with an equally interesting content, are the notes of Professor Francisc Pall.⁴⁶ Excerpts from the *Archivio della Sacra*

Congregazione di Propaganda Fide, Lettere di Constantinopoli, the 80 documents dating from 1643-1811⁴⁷ come to talk about the disputes between conventual minorities and Jesuits in the missionary activity carried out in Moldova. Even though other texts dedicated to the subject have appeared in the meantime,⁴⁸ his work has remained a reference, being used to this day in all major syntheses dedicated to the subject.

The activity of Catholic missionaries in the Romanian Lands was therefore, as we have tried to show here, a subject intensely investigated by the researchers of the Accademia di Romania in Rome in the interwar period. Oriented mainly towards documents kept in the Vatican Archives, they managed to bring into attention new aspects on this issue, to evaluate in an objective way what is written there and at the same time, to provide new and useful sources for future historiographical research.

NOTES:

- ¹ Work produced during the internship at the Accademia di Romania in Roma, obtained with the support of the Romanian state through the national scholarship program "Vasile Pârvan".
- ² For more information about his life and activity, see also: Alexandru Zub, "Vasile Pârvan", in Vasile Pârvan, *Correspondență și acte*, ed. Alexandru Zub, Editura Minerva, București, 1973, pp. V-XXIX-
- ³ Cf. Mihai Bărbulescu, Veronica Turcuș, Iulian M. Damian, *Accademia di Romania din Roma, 1922-2012*, Accademia di Romania, Roma, 2012; Alexandru Marcu, "Institutul Academic Român din Roma", in *Cele Trei Crișuri. Anale culturale*, XVI (1935), nr. 1-2, pp. 1-28; Asociația Academică "Vasile Pârvan" a foștilor membri ai Școlii Române din Roma, *Douăzeci de ani de activitate a Școlii Române din Roma. Cinci conferințe la radio de Alexandru Marcu, Radu Vulpe, D. M. Pippidi, Mihai Berza, Horia Teodoru*, fără editură, București, 1941; George Lăzărescu, *Școala Română din Roma*, Editura Enciclopedică, București, 1996; Veronica Turcuș, „Din istoricul fondării Școlii Române din Roma: tratativele pentru obținerea complexului abațial cistercian Santa Susanna (1920-1923),” in *Anuarul George Barițiu*, 48 (2009), p. 130-137; Veronica Turcuș, "Emil Panaitescu (1885-1958) și Școala Română din Roma", in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie „G. Barițiu” din Cluj-Napoca*, XLVI (2009), pp. 261–295; Veronica Turcuș, Șerban Turcuș, "România legionară și impactul asupra instituțiilor de cultură. Studiu de caz", in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie „G. Barițiu” din Cluj-Napoca*, LII (2013), pp. 261-284; Veronica Turcuș, "Din raporturile intelectualității universitare clujene interbelice cu elita academică italiană: Emil Panaitescu în corespondența cu Giuseppe Lugli", in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie „G. Barițiu” din Cluj-Napoca*, L (2011), pp. 173-225; Veronica Turcuș, *George G. Mateescu (1892-1929). Viața și opera*, Editura Academiei Române, București,

2008; Veronica Turcuș, *Școala Română din Roma (1922-1947)*, Editura Școala Ardeleană, Cluj-Napoca, 2016.

⁴ See: *Ephemeris Dacoromana*, Serie Nuova, XXI (2019).

⁵ See: Vasile Pârvan, "Proemio," in *Ephemeris Dacoromana*, I (1923), pp. V-IX.

⁶ See: *Idem* "Prefazione," in *Ephemeris Dacoromana*, III (1925), pp. V-VI; Em. Panaitescu, "Prefazione," in *Ephemeris Dacoromana*, IV (1930), pp. VI-IX; *Idem*, "Prefazione," in *Ephemeris Dacoromana*, V (1932), pp. VII-XI; *Idem*, "Prefazione," in *Ephemeris Dacoromana*, VI (1935), pp. IX-XII; *Idem*, "Prefazione," in *Ephemeris Dacoromana*, VII (1936), pp. IX-XI; *Idem*, "Prefazione," in *Ephemeris Dacoromana*, VIII (1938), p. IX; *Idem*, "Prefazione," in *Ephemeris Dacoromana*, IX (1940), pp. IX-XI; Scarlat Lambrino, "Prefazione," in *Ephemeris Dacoromana*, X (1943), pp. IX-XI.

⁷ Namely: Stephanus Bezdeki, "Ioannes Chrysostomus et Plato," in *Ephemeris Dacoromana*, I (1923), pp. 291-337; Alex. Busuiocanu, "Un ciclo di affreschi del secolo XV: S. Urbano alla Caffarella," in *Ephemeris Dacoromana*, II (1924), pp. 1-65; St. Bezdeki, "Nicephori Gregorae epistulae XV," in *Ephemeris Dacoromana*, II (1924), pp. 239-377; Horia Teodoru, "Eglises cruciformes dans l'Italie Meridionale (San Pietro D'Otrante)," in *Ephemeris Dacoromana*, V (1932), pp. 22-34; Ștefan M. Balș, "Sant' Angelo al Monte Raparo (Basilicata)," in *Ephemeris Dacoromana*, V (1932), pp. 35-56; Virgil Vătășianu, "La „Dormitio Virginis,” in *Ephemeris Dacoromana*, VI (1935), pp. 1-49; Grigore Ionescu, "Le chiese pugliesi a tre cupole," in *Ephemeris Dacoromana*, VI (1935), pp. 50-128; R. Bordenache, "La SS. Trinita di Venosa," in *Ephemeris Dacoromana*, VII (1933), pp. 1-76; E. Condurachi, "Monumenti cristiani nell'Ilirico," in *Ephemeris Dacoromana*, IX (1940), pp. 1-118.

⁸ M. Berza, "Amalfi preducale," in *Ephemeris Dacoromana*, VIII (1938), pp. 349-444; Mihai Berza, *De la Mediteranee a la Mer Noire*, ed. Andrei Pippidi, Editura Istros a Muzeului Brăilei „Carol I”, Brăila, 2020, pp. 31-148.

⁹ G. G. Mateescu, "I traci nelle epigrafi di Roma," in *Ephemeris Dacoromana*, I (1923), pp. 57-290.

¹⁰ Vasile Pârvan, "Proemio," in *Diplomatarium Italicum*, I (1925), p. V.

¹¹ Mihai Bărbulescu, Veronica Turcuș, Iulian M. Damian, *Accademia di Romania din Roma, 1922-2012*, p. 204.

Cf. <http://www.accadromania.it/bursieri%201922%20-%202012.pdf>, accessed 03/12/2021. For more information about his life and activity, see also: Viorel Alecu, *Opera literară a lui George Călinescu*, Editura Albatros, București, 1974; Ion Bălu, *G. Călinescu (1899-1965) – biobibliografie*, Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, București, 1975; *Idem*, *G. Călinescu – spectacolul personalității*, Editura Fundației Culturale Ideea Europeană, București, 2004.

¹² Gh. Călinescu, "Alcumi missionari cattolici italiani nella Moldavia nei seoli XVII e XVIII," in *Diplomatarium Italicum*, I (1925), pp. 1-223.

¹³ Nowadays, there exist more such synthesis. See, for example: Emil Dumea, *Il Cattolicesimo nella Moldavia – Romania Nell XVIIIo Secolo*, Pontificia Università Gregoriana, Roma, 1997; *Idem*, *Istoria Bisericii Catolice din Moldova*, Editura Sapienția, Iași, 2006.

- ¹⁴ "From a broader picture of Catholic propaganda in the Danube Principalities in recent centuries, based mainly on unpublished material, we detach for the time being these few pages, which specifically concern the contact of Romanian countries with Italy, through missionary Catholics." Gh. Călinescu, "Alcuni missionari cattolici italiani nella Moldavia nei secoli XVII e XVIII," p. 1.
- ¹⁵ "It is generally believed that, beginning in the 16th century, Catholicism in the Principality began to wither and disappear, leaving it without believers and without support." *Ibidem*, p. 3.
- ¹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 3.
- ¹⁷ Cf. Cf. Ivan Pärvev, *Habsburgs and Ottomans between Vienna and Belgrade*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1995, p. 34.
- ¹⁸ Gh. Călinescu, "Alcuni missionari cattolici italiani nella Moldavia nei secoli XVII e XVIII," p. 15.
- ¹⁹ "In 1636, Father Benedetto Emanuele Remondi from Milan, a missionary in Moldavia, found in Bacău, where the episcopal residence was located, two churches, one made of stone and the other 'made of wood' and of planks! In total, there were only 40 Hungarian Catholic families, a number that seems a little smaller than the reality." *Ibidem*, p. 16.
- ²⁰ Virginia Vasiliu, "Miscellanea di piccole notizie, riguardanti la storia romena dei secoli XVI e XVII," in *Diplomatarium Italicum*, I (1925), pp. 224-258.
- ²¹ *Ibidem*, p. 224.
- ²² *Ibid.*, pp. 231-241.
- ²³ Nicolae Buta, „I ragguagli di Claudio Rangoni, Vescovo di Reggio-Emilia e Nunzio in Polonia dal 1599-1605," in *Diplomatarium Italicum*, I (1925), pp. 259-377.
- ²⁴ Claudio Isopescu, "Alcuni documenti inediti della fine del cinquecento. Secondo iserie," in *Diplomatarium Italicum*, I (1925), pp. 378-505.
- ²⁵ *Idem*, "Alcuni documenti inediti della fine del cinquecento," in *Ephemeris Dacoromana*, II (1924), pp. 460-500.
- ²⁵ Virginia Vasiliu, "Il Principato moldavo e la Curia Papale fra il 1606-1620," in *Diplomatarium Italicum*, II (1926), pp. 1-71.
- ²⁶ Virginia Vasiliu, "Il Principato moldavo e la Curia Papale fra il 1606-1620," in *Diplomatarium Italicum*, II (1926), pp. 1-71.
- ²⁷ "Under this title I propose to examine the news about Moldova collected from the pages of the registers containing the correspondence of the Polish nunciature of those years. These registers have long remained outside the Vatican Archives, as they have been confused with the personal papers of Cardinal Secretary of State Scipione Borghese, the favorite nephew of Pope Paul V, who enriched the archives of the aristocratic family." *Ibidem*, p. 1.
- ²⁸ Cf. Sorin Ovidiu Bulboacă, *Bartolomeo Brutti în Moldova – politică, diplomație și religie*, "Vasile Goldiș" University Press, Arad, 2006.
- ²⁹ Chiril Karalevskij, "Bernardino Quirini episcop de Argeș," in *Revista Catolică*, 2 (1915), pp. 200-201.
- ³⁰ Nicolae Iorga, *Breve storia dei Rumeni con speciale considerazione delle relazioni coll'Italia*, "Lega di Cultura" Rumena, Bucharest, 1911, p. 99.

- ³¹ Nicolae Buta, "I Paesi Romeni in una serie di 'Avisi' della fine del Cinquecento," in *Diplomatarium Italicum*, II (1926), pp. 72-304.
- ³² Gh. Călinescu, "Altre notizie sui missionari cattolici nei Paesi romeni," in *Diplomatarium Italicum*, II (1926), pp. 305-514.
- ³³ For more information about his life and activity, see also: Daniela Hadîrca, "Misionarismul în serviciul diplomației. Misiunile Catolice în Țara Moldovei și Țara Românească în primele decenii ale secolului al XVII-lea," in *Akados*, 3 (2019), p. 81; Gheorghe Diaconu, "Contribuții la cunoașterea culturii medievale de la Suceava în veacurile XV-XVI," in *Materiale și Cercetări Arheologice*, 6 (1959), pp. 913-924; Emil Dumea, *Istoria Bisericii Catolice din Moldova*, Editura Săpînția, Iași, 2006, p. 59; Bonaventura Morariu, *La missione dei Frati minori conventuali in Moldavia e Valacchia nel suo primo periodo, 1623-50*, Miscellanea francescana, Roma, 1962.
- ³⁴ Gh. Călinescu, "Altre notizie sui missionari cattolici nei Paesi romeni," in *Diplomatarium Italicum*, II (1926), p. 317.
- ³⁵ Constantin Radu, "Vita Despoti Principis Moldaviae," in *Diplomatarium Italicum*, III (1927), pp. 1-41.
- ³⁶ Ioan Moga, "La contesa tra Gabriele Bathori e Radu Șerban vista dalla Corte di Vienna," in *Diplomatarium Italicum*, III (1927), pp. 42-125.
- ³⁷ D. Găzdaru, "Una relazione manoscritta italiana sulla rivoluzione di Tudor Vladimirescu," in *Diplomatarium Italicum*, III (1927), pp. 240-273.
- ³⁸ "The collaborators who bring their contributions to the publication of this volume, before joining the Academy from Valle Giulia and before starting the researches in the Roman archives, have completed their studies at the Dacia Superiore University of Cluj. All three are therefore disciples of a valuable historical school, led by eminent professors and organized in the form of special institutes at the University of Transylvania." Em. Panaitescu, "Prefazione," in *Diplomatarium Italicum*, IV (1928), p. IX.
- ³⁹ Cf. Ioan Opreș, *Aurel Decei sau destinul disperării*, Editura Enciclopedică, București, 2004.
- ⁴⁰ Aurel Decei, "Avisi riguardanti i Paesi Romeni negli anni 1596-1598," in *Diplomatarium Italicum*, IV (1928), pp. 1-74.
- ⁴¹ Gh. Vinulescu, "Pietro Diodato e la sua relazione sulla Moldavia," in *Diplomatarium Italicum*, IV (1928), pp. 75-135.
- ⁴² Emil Dumea, *Istoria Bisericii Catolice din Moldova*, p. 61.
- ⁴³ "The auxiliary bishop entered Moldova on September 22 in Galați, after a journey of more than one harvest in Bulgaria, from Ciprovec to Sofia and then from Sofia to Provadija and Dobogea, visiting in the latter province only the city of Babadag. It will then cross into Moldova, crossing the Danube to Galați. On September 22 he visits 'Galați Country' and then continues inside the village according to the following itinerary: on September 26 he was in 'Barlat tera,' on September 29 in Huși, where he met the Dominican Father Giacinto d'Osimo, Vicar General of the Bishop Zamoiski from Moldova, dismissed him, being ordained by the Congregation; on October 3 he arrived in Iasi, the capital of Moldova, where he

was well received by Prince Vasile Lupu; October 8 was in Cotnar, 12 in Suceava, 14 in Baia, 16 in Neamț, 19 in Săbăoani, 21 in Roman, 24 in Bacău and 27 in Trotuș, which was the last Moldovan city he visited.” Gh. Vinulescu, “Pietro Diodato e la sua relazione sulla Moldavia,” p. 86.

⁴⁴ “In this part (Bârlad) he found 160 Hungarian Catholics, but they, like those from Galați, had forgotten their language, due to the removal of the borders. There were 800 Romanian Orthodox, with 150 houses and 5 churches.” *Ibidem*, p. 92.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 92.

⁴⁶ For more information about his life and activity, see also: Ioan Ciarnău, *100 de ani de la nașterea marelui istoric român Francisc Pall (1911-1992) – reprezentant ilustru al istoriografiei românești și universale*, Editura Citadela, Satu Mare, 2011; Francisc Pall, “Cele dintâi acțiuni ale lui Inochentie Micu-Klein în exilul său din Roma, în 1745,” in *Acta Musei Apulensis*, XXI (1983), pp. 207-230; *Idem*, *Diplomatica latină din Transilvania medievală*, ed. Ionuț Costea, Argonaut, Cluj-Napoca, 2005; *Idem*, “Formația școlară a lui Inochentie Micu-Klein,” in *Acta Musei Apulensis*, XIX (1981), pp. 229-238; *Idem*, *Inochentie Micu-Klein – exilul la Roma*, vol. 2 – “Documente inedite”, Viața Creștină, Cluj-Napoca, 1997; *Idem*, “Inochentie Micu-Klein, deschizător al luptei de emancipare națională a românilor transilvăneni: câteva îndreptări și întregiri,” in *Acta Musei Apulensis*, XX (1982), pp. 193-205; *Idem*, “Noi acțiuni ale lui Inochentie Micu-Klein pentru revenirea în patrie din exil, în 1746,” in *Acta Musei Apulensis*, XXIII (1985), pp. 145-159; *Idem*, *Românii și Cruciada târzie*, ed. Ionuț Costea, Editura Argonaut, Cluj-Napoca, 2003; *Idem*, *Ein Siebenbürgischer Bischof im Römischen Exil: Inochentie Micu-Klein (1745-1768): Studien und unveröffentlichte Dokumente*, Böhlau Verlag, Köln, Weimar, Wien, 1991.

⁴⁷ Francisc Pall, “Le controversie tra i Minor conventuali e i Gesuiti nelle missioni di Moldavia (Romania),” in *Diplomatarium Italicum*, IV (1928), pp. 136-357.

⁴⁸ See: Alois Moraru, *Iezuiții în Moldova (1588-2010)*, Editura Presa Bună, Iași, 2011; Cristian Alexandru Damian, *Ordinul iezuit și artele figurative – cazul transilvan (sec. XVII-XVIII)*, mss. dactil., teză de doctorat, Cluj-Napoca, 2016; A. Lucian Periș, *Le missioni gesuite in Transilvania e Moldova nel Seicento*, Editura Fundației pentru Studii Europene, Cluj-Napoca, 1998; Adina Guțu, “Considerații privind influența iezuită în Transilvania și Moldova pe baza relatărilor călătorilor străini (secolele XVI-XVII),” in *Studium*, I (2014), Nr. 2, pp. 35-49.

Saint Paisius Velichkovsky and Paisianism

Abstract: With outstanding gifts from God, Saint Hieromonk Paisius Velichkovsky of Neamts (1722-1794), was a bearer and promoter of Jesus Prayer, a great reorganizer of large monastic communities, the author of the first translation of Greek Philokalia. By his work he ties the heritage of the Holy Fathers of fourth to fifteenth centuries to the three great hesychastic centers of the eighteen century (Mt. Athos, Moldo-Vlachia, and Russia) and to the origins of Orthodox Christianity in North America (St. Herman of Alaska). The great impact of the Paisian and Post-Paisian tradition on the Romanian, Russian and American Orthodox spirituality is discussed.

Keywords: Saint Paisius Velichkovsky, Neamts, paisianism, Philokalia, Burning Bush

Where science is helpless, religion can help; where reason hits a dead-end, faith can go further. “Of course, God is not an *object* on which one can do experiments – God inevitably transcends science,” says the English physicist, theologian, and priest John Polkinghorne. But do we have an *objective* proof about “what constitutes the dark matter and dark energy that seem to make up over 90% of the universe?”¹ Polkinghorne also wrote, “The atoms that make up our bodies are changing all the time, through wear and tear, eating and drinking. What gives continuity are not the atoms themselves but the almost infinitely complex information-bearing pattern in which they are organized.” He added, “The essence of this pattern is the soul.” God “will preserve it in the divine memory... Thus, the ultimate Christian hope is resurrection [which is] God’s great eschatological act of reïmbodiment of information-bearing pattern in the environment of the new creation.”² Yes, this is why Church supports the pro-life campaign; as soon as the newly formed zygote nests in the maternal uterus has a unique DNA, it has a soul.

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And yes, if Christ is not risen, our faith is futile; we are still in our sins! "Then also those who have fallen asleep in Christ have perished."³

We know that there is a Master of the Universe and we are in continuous interdependence on Him. We know that we have a soul, and this one has an eternal life which follows after our limited earthly life is over. We know that the soul's efficient growth and existence can be accomplished only in relation with the Master of the Universe who controls everything. Consequently, it becomes obvious that the only way for our soul to act is by being in a permanent dialogue with Him, the Master and the Creator. This dialogue, vital for us, has to be as simple and rich as possible. This is done by prayer.

The Malorussian monk, Saint Paisius Velichkovsky of Neamtz (1722-1794), who resided for a short while at Mount Athos and then for much longer time on the ancient Romanian territory, searched for the key of practicing it unceasingly. As St. Seraphim of Sarov, who might be considered a Paisian in spirit, reminded always Saint Isaac the Syrian's words, "Without uninterrupted prayer we cannot draw near to God."⁴

Learning from the Holy Fathers, Saint Paisius accomplished this important and highly demanding task formulated previously by St. Paul.⁵ He was a bearer of Jesus Prayer. This short prayer, which many named it "The heart of Orthodoxy", succeeds to gather in only twelve or seven words (1) the mysteries of incarnation, transfiguration and sacrifice, (2) the mysteries of the double nature of Christ and of the unity of the Holy Trinity, and (3) the elements of a Christian life including veneration and salvation.⁶ As Bishop Kallistos of Diokletia (Timothy Ware) emphasized, the great efficacy of Jesus Prayer resides mainly on two aspects: the power of the Name and the discipline of repetition incorporated in the body's rhythm of breathing.⁷ This overwhelming power was frequently emphasized by the Holy Scripture.⁸

Saint Paisius was not only a man of fervent prayer but also an ascetic monk, the author of the first translation of Greek *Philokalia*, a teacher of spiritual improvement, a great reorganizer of large monastic communities, a wise and loving abbot, and a Saint with many outstanding gifts from God. By his work and writings he ties in a marvelous manner the heritage of the Holy Fathers of fourth to fifteenth centuries to the three great hesychastic centers of the eighteenth century (Mt. Athos, Moldo-Vlachia, Russia) and to the origins of Orthodox Christianity in North America (St. Herman of Alaska).

Contemporary with the Era of Reason in Western Europe marked by Enlightenment (Voltaire, Diderot, Rousseau), Saint Paisius defended, in contrast to it, an Era of Faith in Eastern Europe. Through the tradition of Paisianism and Post-Paisianism, the strong influence of Saint Paisius Velichkovsky can be noticed further through the nineteenth and twentieth

centuries until today. His teachings continue to give a firm response against the Apostasy, especially today when the latter became very strong in West Europe and America.

By God's mysterious will, the commemoration day of Saint Paisius, known for his ascetic life and unextinguishable thirst for the Divine, coincides with the first day of the preparatory Lent for the Holy Nativity of the Lord. By his life, Saint Paisius ties the Orthodox places of deep faith where he has been: Ukraine, Moldavia, Walachia, Mount Athos. By his writings and disciples, he ties further the Orthodox Romania, Russia, Alaska and the rest of United States. "Rejoice, Blessed Paisius, sacred bridge to the Holy Fathers", says repeatedly the Akathist Hymn dedicated to him.⁹

Life of Saint Paisius

Saint Paisius Velichkovsky was born on December 21, 1722, in Poltava, in the part of Ukraine occupied by the Russian Empire. The name of the newborn, the eleventh of twelve children in their Malorussian family, was Pyotr. His father and his grandfather worshiped in the same sacred place – the Dormition of Theotokos' Cathedral on Poltava. Pyotr went to school early. In two years he learned to read. At 13 year-age Pyotr went to the high school of the Kyiv Theological Academy, founded in 1633 by the Metropolitan of Romanian origin Petru Movilă. After four years of studies he attended the Divine Liturgy at the Kyiv Metropolitan Palace Kudreavetz. The Liturgy was celebrated by the Metropolitan of Moldavia Anthony, in exile. Very delighted, Pyotr desired to become a monk in Moldo-Vlachia. He left home with another friend and entered the Liubetzky Monastery, located on the left bank of Dnieper River. From there he joined later three foreign monks traveling to Moldavia. In the Moshinsky Mountain he unsuccessfully desired to become the humble disciple of the old hermit Isichia, from whom he learned to love and copy manuscripts of Holy Fathers' teachings. Eventually, in 1741, on August 6, the Feast of the Transfiguration, he was tonsured to the rasa under the name Platon, at Medvedovsky Ostrov Monastery in the Polish-controlled Ukraine. He was 19 years old. Because, under the persecution from the Eastern Catholics, the monastery was closed, he returned for one year back to Lavra in Kyiv, before leaving in a long journey to Moldo-Vlachia where he arrived in 1745.

Saint Paisius wrote in his autobiography, "When we put our foot on Moldavian land we felt the great joy that by God's grace we managed to reach this Orthodox country, and freed of any fear we walked joyously praising the Lord."¹⁰ At that time the Romanian territory was full of sketes and monasteries, which as Saint Paisius' biographer Gregory the Reader wrote, "adorned the earth like stars in the sky."¹¹ Platon went first to the Dolgoutsky

(Dălgăuți) Skete and then to Treisteny (Trăisteni) Skete, both in the Buzău Mountains. These sketes were under the spiritual leadership of Saint Basil from Poiana Mărului, a highly respected Abbot, who lived a very advanced hesychastic life. The young Platon continued here his monastic obedience, accomplishing with much zeal hard jobs, despite his natural awkwardness. His inner spiritual labor yielded fruits and he acquired practical skills, finishing by being much loved by the others. Here, on the Romanian land, the rasophore Platon finished his long period of ardent spiritual apprenticeship which began at Kyiv Lavra and at hermit Isichia. He finally reached the stage of starting on his own the inner war - the podvig. With the blessing of St. Basil and the other elders, after three years spent in the Buzău Mountains, the young monk left for Mount Athos, at the age of 24 years.

During their long journey, Platon and his hieromonk companion had been struck by a terrible illness, and four days after their arrival at the Athonite Lavra, the hieromonk died. By God's wise will, the young Platon survived. Armed with Holy Fathers' writings he chose to live a hermit's life in solitude, near the Pantokrator Monastery. As Abba Saint Makarios of Egypt said, for a hermit the podvig succeeds in taking off the vices one by one like peeling off the skin of an onion. The last enemy, the serpent of self-love and self-pity can be controlled only through *ascesis*, watchfulness, prayer and the grace of the Holy Spirit.¹² Monk Platon was "making an ascent in his heart every day and, being kindled with Divine zeal for greater labors, at the same time sweetly experiencing the bedewing of fiery Divine fervency in most quiet, soul-saving and joy-creating silence."¹³ Saint Basil of Poiana Mărului came in 1750 to Mount Athos and tonsured him to the monastic mantle with the name of Paisius. Blessed Paisius, now thirty-six years old, had his first disciple – Father Bessarion, arrived at Mount Athos from Walachia. The Romanian Bishop Gregory Roșca tonsured Paisius as a priest in 1758.

Under the protection of the Pantokrator Monastery, with his disciples, many of them from Romanian land, Hieromonk Paisius founded in 1759 the Saint Elijah's Skete, where he was active until 1775 when he returned back to Moldo-Vlachia. The Skete remained a strong spiritual place, counted as "a haven for Russian seekers of sanctity."¹⁴ St. Paisius' inheritance on Mount Athos was also a school with copiers, collectors and translators - a very unusual thing among his contemporaries on the Holy Mountain, and the so-called Kollyvades, a strong hesychastic movement which became in time a major movement of spiritual regeneration.

St. Paisius was a hieromonk of high holiness, a bearer of Jesus Prayer, a respected teacher and beloved confessor, and an assiduous promoter of the Holy Fathers' writings, when he returned, with Father Bessarion and sixty-four monastic brethren, to the Romanian provinces, in 1763, after seventeen years of podvig on Mount Athos. Metropolitan Gabriel Calimakis in Jassy (Iași) welcomed them and offered them the Holy Spirit's Monastery at

Dragomirna of Bukovina. Abbot Paisius restored the church and the cell buildings and instituted the Athonite coenobitic rules. The monastic community grew to three hundred fifty members and sheltered many times the local refugees during the war between Russians and Turks. In 1775 St. Paisius and the monks ran away from the Austrian troops in the mountains at Secoul (Secu). Here the monastic body grew so much that they moved again on August 14, 1779, to the Neamts (Neamț) Monastery, which had acquired in four centuries the surname the Jerusalem of the Romanian Orthodoxy. Under St. Paisius' abbacy, this Monastery flourished to a number of one thousand brethren of 23 nationalities. Here after a remarkable spiritual activity he reposed on November 15, 1794, at an age of seventy-two, as he predicted by the Lord's inspiration.

Under St. Paisius "the lavra of Neamts became the center and torch of Orthodox monasticism, and the school of hesychastic life and spiritual culture for all the Orthodox East."¹⁵

Father Metrophanes depicted Saint Paisius in the following way: "His face was white and bright like that of an angel of God. His gaze was quiet, his word humble and a stranger to presumption. He attracted all to himself with love, as a magnet attracts iron"¹⁶ The biographer also wrote, that while his innocence and simplicity were childlike, his *nous* (mind in Greek) was divine and not childish. According to this biographer, the divine gifts of the Blessed Paisius, were: *a hypostatic wisdom* resulting from a profound comprehension of the mystery of the Holy Trinity; *a godly understanding of the Apostles' texts* which made him a rare spiritual teacher; *a source of important counsel* originating from a solid study of the Holy Fathers' writings; *an unshakable strength of faith and love* despite all frightening temptations proper to a harsh ascetic life; *an unceasing fear of God* leading to a tireless watch for keeping the Lord's commandments; *an unlimited love for Our Lord Jesus*, and *an imperturbable peace, simplicity and humility*. The Lord also conferred upon Saint Paisius the gift of *profound prayer*, which was accomplished with the soul in tears and flames. While deep in prayer, his face was shining with a divine light.¹⁷

Saint Paisius had also the *gift of foreseeing*. Despite the fact that the Blessed Paisius stayed secluded in his cell, except the time of Church attendance, he knew by God's grace the status of all the brethren, including those he never met, being always perfectly knowledgeable of their interior struggles.

During his miraculous life St. Paisius Velichkovsky from Neamts spent 20 years in Ukraine, 18 years at Athos, 34 years on Romanian land and not a single day in Russia. His tomb placed inside the Ascension of the Lord's and Saint George's Church of Neamts Monastery has been venerated without interruption, even during the atheistic communist decades when the monks were persecuted and many monasteries closed.

Monastic tradition in Moldo-Vlachia

It is not by chance that the young Platon, and later the Hieromonk Paisius, preferred to settle in Moldavia and Walachia, and to leave Ukraine and Mount Athos. Hesychasm was already introduced in the Romanian monastic life in the fourteenth century and it was practiced consistently in numerous sketes.¹⁸ The hesychastic movement grew so much in the next three centuries that, at the end of the eighteenth century, Neamts Monastery was considered a center of Orthodox spirituality equal in importance with Mount Sinai in the sixth century and Mount Athos in the eleventh through fourteenth centuries.¹⁹ At the time of Saint Paisius' activity, the theology in Moldo-Vlachia was stably and unshakably set on the old and authentic apostolic foundation, in contrast to the contemporary Greek and Russian theologies that suffered influences from Catholic and Protestant Churches.

In addition to that, in the Romanian monasteries the monks were copying frequently from the patristic writings. Saint Voivode Neagoe Basarab (1459-1521) knew very well several of them when he authored in 1521 a book of Christian instructions for his son, as a successor on the Walachian throne.²⁰ Translated in Greek and frequently copied, this writing became popular in Eastern Orthodox Europe.²¹ In contrast to the contemporary famous *Institutio Principis Christiani* by Erasmus of Rotterdam (1516) and *Il Principe* by Niccolo Machiavelli (1513), St. Neagoe's writing comes from a soul living in a hesichastic discipline. The Voivode was the spiritual disciple of the Athonite St. Niphon (later Patriarch of Constantinople and Metropolitan of Walachian Orthodox Church).

The writings of Gregory the Sinaite and Philoteus had been translated in Church's Slavonic language at Suceava during the voivodeship of Alexander the Good (1400-1432). The Moldavian monk Raphael gathered and copied in 1767 about 626 pages of the Holy Fathers' Greek texts. His work actually represents a Romanian edition of Greek *Philokalia*, issued even before the famous one made by Nicodemus and Macarios.²²

Three were the main characteristics of the spiritual school that St. Paisius initiated: the hesychastic life marked by the teaching and practicing the Jesus Prayer, the rules for the coenobitic life in large monasteries, and the promotion of *Philokalia* and other Holy Fathers' writings.

Saint Paisius' teachings about prayer and vigil

The theologian Dumitru Stăniloae correctly commented that the Abbot Paisius did not actually introduce the Jesus Prayer practice into Romanian monasticism because this was already a reality for the Romanian

hermits, but he incorporated it, with rigorous discipline, within the rules of the big monastic communities.²³

Saint Paisius wrote in the *Field Flowers*, “O man! Have you heard of torments? Why do you not tremble and become frightened?”²⁴ Moreover, in the *Scroll* he wrote, “You will fall, if you do not repent, into both temporal and eternal punishment.”²⁵ These words sound very close to those of the Bible: “The Lord will judge His people. It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God.”²⁶

St. Paisius wrote, “If we shall live in hope upon God, even if we live only for one day and thus we die, this is better than many years spent in doubleness of soul.”²⁷ He advised, “Live as if you were daily dying.”²⁸ In his book, *Field of Flowers*, Saint Paisius emphasized the importance of podvig, of penitence. “He who sighs for one hour over his soul is better than one who enjoys the whole world.”²⁹ Eight virtues are essential as weapons during the podvig: (1) faith, (2) non-hypocritical love, (3) fasting, continence, and vigil, (4) Prayer of Jesus, (5) humility of heart and wisdom, (6) silence, (7) non-acquisitiveness of things and extreme poverty, and (8) good discernment.³⁰ He considered discernment being the clearness of mind, while the mind turns its eyes to the soul.

Saint Paisius pointed out three passions that precede every sin: dark forgetfulness, fierce anger, and ignorance [of the truth]. He thought the passions flow from one to another as follows: from insensitivity of soul to the weakness of faith, to the self-love, to the mercilessness and love of silver, to pride, to love of glory, to love of sensual pleasure, to anger, to blasphemy, to sorrow, and to all the other passions. Therefore, it is always good to take in account the advice found in the patristic writings. However, “if you cannot labor as the Holy Fathers did, begin at least according to your strength. Serve everyone with humility and simplicity of heart.”³¹

Prayer is the solution to all the problems that a person faces in his labor of soul, mind, heart, and body. Saint Paisius stressed in the *Field Flowers* that “Prayer is nothing else than a division between the visible and invisible worlds.”³² It is the bridge between the seen person of ours and the unseen Person of God. As the Abbot Paisius wrote in his book *The Scroll* dedicated to Jesus Prayer, one has to use the advice of the Holy Fathers, and “to perform not with actions of the body and not with the sound of the voice, but with the most fervent will, in all quietness, with contrition of thoughts and inward tears, with pain of soul and the closing of the doors of the mind.”³³ In the six chapters of *The Scroll*, Saint Paisius formulated a certain guide on mental prayer, calling to a stronger discipline in the practice of the Jesus Prayer and to a deeper understanding of its power. Prayer is a time spent with God, of unification with Him. It is the daughter of tears, the food for the bodiless powers, the source of good deeds, and the forgiveness of sins. It feeds the soul, illumines the mind, and warms the heart. It destroys damaging sorrow

and curbs anger. However, in his book, *The Scroll*, the Abbot Paisius differentiated the mental prayer for beginners, as “belonging to activity,” from that for advanced, as “belonging to vision.”³⁴ He added in *Field Flowers*, “The Prayer of the heart and mind is for the advanced ones; for the middle ones [the main care] it is singing, that is the usual church chanting; and for beginners, it is obedience and labor.”³⁵

Saint Paisius’ monastic contribution

The labor of Saint Paisius enriched much the sacred life in the Moldavian monasteries. He possessed the art of leading. Two powerful communities – those from Neamts (Neamț) and Sekoul (Secu), with a multitude of brethren of Romanian, Russian, Serbian, Bulgarian and Greek nationality, survived him. The Abbot Paisius reconciled two spiritualities: coenobitic and hesychastic.³⁶ He combined in a harmonious way specific elements of the Romanian hesychasm based on idiorhythmic hermitage (monks living alone, isolated and independent) with elements of Athonite hesychasm based on cenobitic monasticism (big communities living after rules established for all). He also added some elements that he learned in Ukraine at Petru Movilă’s Academy or heard from the Russian tradition established by Saint Nil Sorsky (Nilus of Sora).³⁷ However, he considered that, in principle, the idiorhythmic style of monastic life is for hypocrites and not for monks.³⁸

The Abbot Paisius of Neamts thought, like Saint Basil of Poiana Mărului, one of his first teachers, that the ascetic who lives a solitary life labors only for himself and, on contrary, the ascetic who lives in a monastic community works for the Lord and the neighbor, led by an unceasing love for God. The weak believer should keep the royal road of a monastery life, battling together with the other brethren the temptations and passions, among which the biggest enemy is the love of self, i.e., pride. The obedience in the community plays an important role in diminishing selfishness, self-opinion, delusion, and arrogance and increases humility. The prayer was combined with physical work. In their cells the monks were copying books, spinning flax, sewing monastic cowls, klobuks or kamilavkas, carving wooden spoons and crosses, making handicrafts.

Saint Paisius also organized at Neamts a school of polyphonic chant, being among the first to transcribe the psaltic neumes into the linear system and to build harmony on three and four voices. He promoted the Romanian language in the religious hymns, diminishing the Greek influence and combining the liturgical Slavonic chanting with the local Romanian music.³⁹

Saint Paisius' philokalic contribution

Perhaps the main accomplishment of the blessed Paisius consisted in the translation of the *Philokalia* which is a collection of Holy Fathers' writings about the efforts necessary for a man in order to purify, enlighten, and perfect himself with the Lord's help. The title word is composed of *philia* "love" and *kallos* "beauty", which means "love of the beautiful, the exalted, [and] the good." The Psalm 44, considered a prophetic description of the Word incarnated, says, about Christ, "You are more beautiful than the sons of men; Grace was poured out on Your lips; Therefore, God blessed You forever."⁴⁰ Saint Gregory of Nyssa wrote about Christ, "You alone are an icon of Eternal beauty,"⁴¹ The term *philokalia* was firstly used by Saints Basil and Gregory of Nazianz for their anthology made of Origene's texts.⁴²

The word *philokalia* refers also to the good preparation of the soul for receiving the Word of God (*philokalian* and *philokalesai*),⁴³ like making the good soil mentioned by Our Lord Jesus in the parable of the sower. The first version of the *Philokalia* was printed in 1782 in Greek as a result of the hard work remarkably done by Nicodemus the Hagiorite in cooperation with Macarios of Corinth. The book contains texts from over thirty Fathers.⁴⁴

Saint Nicodemus called the *Philokalia* "the bread of knowledge and wisdom," and also "the wine that spiritually delights the heart and dispels all the material and immaterial things because of deification."⁴⁵

The volume of work, at Dragomirna, Secoul, and Neamts Monasteries, of the monks under the leadership of the Abbot Paisius is very impressive.⁴⁶ They translated, edited, and sorted the texts of the Holy Fathers, and put them together in the so-called 1793 *Russian Philokalia* (*Dobrotolubje*), written in Slavonic language. It is the earliest translation ever, from Greek, of *The Philokalia* issued by Nicodemus and Macarios. Saint Paisius also translated into Romanian the Russian Saint Nil Sorsky's written work. A printshop started to function at Neamts adding more books to the library. Today, among thousands of manuscripts carefully maintained in the Neamts Monastery, dating from various periods and written in Romanian, in old languages as Greek, Latin, Hebrew, and Slavonic, in modern European languages such as Italian, German, French, Bulgarian, and Polish, and in Oriental languages such as Arabic, Turkish, and Syrian, the avid Christian reader can find two hundred seventy-six manuscripts created under Saint Paisius' leadership (he wrote forty manuscripts with his own hand in a very calligraphic style).⁴⁷

St. Paisius' work opened a spiritual movement and marked a school, a kind of monastic life and labor, and a profound wisdom and fervor of prayer.

Paisianism and Post-Paisianism in Romania

One can track four great Paisian moments on Romanian land along the centuries: (1) the Paisian period, represented by St. Paisius and the four generations who followed; (2) the Post-Paisian period starting with the fifth generation in which Saint Calinicus of Chernika (1787-1868) is included,⁴⁸ the *Burning Bush* period (1945-1958); and the period of the martyrs of the communist prisons, whose life and miracles were discovered after 1989.

Three monks at Saint Elijah's Skete, under Pantocrator Monastery at Mount Athos, started on the Romanian territory the important spiritual development called later Paisianism by historians: one monk was from Ukraine (Saint Paisius), one from Walachia (Macarius the Reader), and one from Transylvania (Saint George). Saint Paisius became the Abbot of Dragomirna, Secoul (Secu); and Neamts (Neamț) Monasteries in Moldavia. The hieromonk Macarius worked with the Metropolitan of Walachia, Gregory II "the Teacher". The latter and the Paisian Metropolitan of Moldavia, Benjanim Costachi, caused a significant coenobitic renewal and ecclesiastic literature flourishing in these two Romanian provinces.⁴⁹

As already mentioned there were several generations who continued the Paisian spirit. Among them were the blessed John the Fingerless (in the Voronets forest), Joseph the Ascetic, Irinarch Roseti, John of Moldavia (at Pokrov).⁵⁰ The Russian disciples spread the Paisian teachings in Ukraine and Russia. Here are some names: Theophanes of Solvki, Theodore (the future elder Leo of Optina), Cleopas of Valaam, Arsenius of White Banks, Ambrose of Gorokhov.⁵¹

Saint George labored first with Saint Paisius for 24 years at Mount Athos and in Moldavia. Then he left in 1775 for Walachia, where in 1781, at the request of the Metropolitan Gregory II, and with the blessing of the latter, founded a solid monastic community at Chernika, in the place of a deserted, ruined Skete which was built in 1608. He wrote down his teachings in a Testament (*Diata*) including a *Noetic and Spiritual Ladder*.⁵² During his remarkable abbacy (1781-1806), Saint George emphasized the practical aspects of Jesus Prayer and of coenobitic life more than St. Paisius.⁵³ Thus the spiritual ground for the work of St. Calinicus (1787-1868) was well prepared.

Father Stăniloae calls Saint Calinicus, the most precious flower of the Chernikan spirituality, who combined in an extraordinary harmony the prayer and the most severe asceticism, with total obedience and loving care for the poor, and with spiritual leadership, founding and building churches and monasteries.⁵⁴ Saint Callinicus continued in a magnificent way the three activity fields specific for the Paisian school: the Jesus Prayer, the monastic life and the philokalic labor. (1) He was "an embodied prayer" and he required from the monks whom he shepherded to unceasingly bear the Jesus

Prayer on their tongue, and in their mind and heart.⁵⁵ According to Father Stăniloae, Saint George kept the ascetic rules and spirituality from Mount Athos, while Saint Paisius was more inclined to the spirituality from Mount Sinai.⁵⁶ Saint Callinicus, the disciple of St. George, graciously combined the Athonite spirituality, experienced by himself while visiting his Elder, Pimen, at the Holy Mountain in 1817, with the Sinaite spirituality promoted in a philokalic manner. (2) Saint Callinicus strengthened the monastic discipline and administrative rules during his Abbacy at Chernika Monastery and, later, his Bishop of Vâlcea position. (3) A strong school of copying the writings of the Holy Fathers functioned in the Monastery. A large amount of the resulted manuscripts are now in the Archive of the Romanian Great Academy. While he was Bishop he installed a printing press in Craiova. The Chernika Monastery's library stores now 14 thousand volumes and five thousand treasured books and manuscripts.

St. Callinicus was wise, humble, and full of love for others. He sheltered refugees in war time. Numerous miracles happened during his life and after. Father Dumitru Stăniloae wrote at the canonization of St. Callinicus, "It is surprising to see the coexistence and harmony in him of contemplation of the divine light and attentive regard to the concrete details of life; of vigilance which scrutinized the most subtle thoughts of the mind and attention with contrived and brought into reality prudent plans for construction, organization, and administration."⁵⁷

St. Calinicus of Chernika is the only Romanian Saint that was canonized during the four decades of atheistic communist regime (October 23, 1955). This was an unbelievable event, a miracle, in a black decade of intense oppression, marked by the Danube-Black Sea Canal project used for exterminating thousands of people in labor camps, and by a giant wave of arrests with the goal of frightening and enslaving the population. Saint Calinicus was, and still is, one of the most beloved Saints of the Romanian people.

The Burning Bush Movement.

The year 1945 marked the beginning of the third great spiritual Paisian movement in Romania called *The Burning Bush*. Despite the fact that it grew within Antim's Monastery and it had large and profound spiritual consequences, this movement did not focus on the coenobitic aspect of Paisianism itself but on the other important aspects: the Jesus Prayer and the Holy Fathers' teachings. As Saint Paisius extended the Jesus Prayer from the isolated hesychastic hermits to the large monastic community, the Burning Bush movement reinvigorated the practice of this prayer and spread it outside, into the laypeople. The idea was that any person could be mystically

transfigured in Christ by understanding and living the hesychastic experience of the Holy Fathers, through the profound meanings of the Burning Bush on Mount Horeb, where the Divine Essence was intimately manifested in uncreated energies. The Burning but Unconsumed Bush is an epiphany, an expression of the *incarnation of the Word* (which creates the possibility of the reverse transformation – from flesh to the Word), and a call to hesychastic life, asceticism and ardent prayer.⁵⁸

The Burning Bush is the expression of the God's Acting Nature Itself. Christ said, "I came to send fire on the earth, and how I wish it were already kindled!"⁵⁹ And the Christians respond as in St. Simeon the New Theologian's prayer that they say before communion, "Although I am grass I share the fire. What a miracle! I totally cool down like the old Burning Bush that was never consumed."

The icon of Moses' experience on Mount Horeb changed in time and, around the thirteenth century, it started to include, in a central place, Theotokos with the Holy Infant, as an image of the Divine Incarnation. She is actually a burning bush because, in a similar mysterious manner as she was and remained Virgin despite giving birth to Jesus, she had carried in her womb, without being destroyed, the Son of Lord Who is unceasing Fire.⁶⁰ A second icon, the Icon of Prayer, also venerated by the spiritual movement at Antim's Monastery, depicts Theotokos with a red face, imagining the interior fire reflected outwards. Thus, the Mother of God at the Burning Bush became for this spiritual movement the type of perfect prayer, as the Akathist with the same name says, "in her for the first time the heart of God and the heart of man beat and remain together."⁶¹

For the regular world the Burning Bush Spiritual Movement's motivation was a moral resistance to the communist disaster and disintegration of humanity, and a profound spiritual attempt to counteract the aggressive, destructive atheist pressure of the government on the population. The Abbot of the Antim's Monastery, Hieromonk Basil Vasilachi (1909-2003, reposed on the Feast of Epiphany), gave the best definition to the first aspect of the motivation – the moral resistance. He said, "Bible shows us that God Himself talked to Moses from the Burning Bush Never Consumed in Horeb Desert and saved the biblical people, leading them out of captivity, 'with a strong hand and an upraised arm.' We, at the Antim Monastery, hoped also that we will be delivered from the Soviet slavery." The Hieromonk Sophian Boghiu (1912-2002, reposed on the Feast of Elevation of the Holy Cross), who followed Father Basil in the Abbot position, gave the best definition for the second aspect of the movement's motivation – the spiritual labor: "The core of our meetings was actually the deepening and the living of the Prayer of the Heart... The one who prays unceasingly looks like that bush that was burning without being consumed."⁶² Father Sophian refers here to Jesus Prayer which responds the best to the Pauline call. As

Theophane the Recluse warned his disciples, “Unceasing prayer is possible only in the heart.”⁶³

“We were overwhelmed with the fear that these waves of evil would transform us all into an anonymous mass without form, without conscience, without responsibility. Where could we flee if not into the depth of our being? Where could we hide if not in the chambers of our soul? And here the miracle happened – man searching for himself met God; he entered into the realm of the Holy Spirit... During prayer, man enters into a Divine rhythm, the rhythm of the Holy Spirit. The crisis of modern man is arrhythmia.”⁶⁴

This important movement was initiated at the St. Antim’s Monastery in 1945 by Hieromonk Daniel (at that time still a layman under the name of Alexandru Teodorescu, better known as Sandu Tudor which was his name of poet), who remained the catalyst of the group, and Hieromonk Benedict Ghiuș, who became the Father Confessor for all the others at the Monastery. Very soon the movement involved many remarkable Romanian intellectuals and monastic personalities. It functioned openly in the years 1945-1948, with the benediction of the Patriarch Nicodimus, until the atheistic communist government forbade it. However, it continued secretly until 1958, when sixteen leading members were arrested and convicted of up to 20 years of political prison, as “enemies of the communist state,” despite the fact that the movement was exclusively religious and did not proclaim any political ideas. Almost all the great Romanian elders, confessors and theologians of the twentieth century, some of them being recently depicted and venerated in icons, belonged to or had ties with this important philokalic movement: Fathers Cleopa Ilie, Sofian Boghiu, Benedict Ghiuș, Daniel Teodorescu (Sandu Tudor), Bartolomeu Anania, Antonie Plămădeală, Arsenie Papacioc, Dumitru Stăniloae, Andrei Scrima, Roman Braga, Nicolae Bordașiu, Felix Dubneac.

The old Metropolitan Nicholas of Rostov and his younger confessor Father Ivan Kuligin, who fled from a Soviet gulag, part of the Stalin’s terror system, have been sheltered by the Romanian Patriarch Nicodimus in 1943 at Chernika Monastery. The Russian Father Ivan Kuligin (1883-1948), lovingly called John the Stranger by the Romanian Christians, belonged to the spiritual tradition of Optina and Valaam Russian Monasteries. Sandu Tudor met him at Chernika and insistently invited him to Antim’s Monastery in Bucharest. Father John started to visit the Bucharest Monastery in 1945, and his philokalic knowledge and personal hesychastic experience helped the important spiritual movement of the Burning Bush to substantially flourish.

Father John was considered a Saint by the Antim’s Monastery’s monks. Besides the many things he knew about prayer, “he knew the psychology of sin and the technique of dispassion.”⁶⁵ He gave to the Burning

Bush Movement's monks the manuscript of *Sbornik*, a collection of texts about the Jesus Prayer from the writings of the Holy Fathers, including Saint Paisius of Neamts and Saint Basil of Poiana Mărului.⁶⁶ Father John saved this manuscript from the great library of Valaam Monastery when "the Red Army closed the monastery and killed the monks with axes", destroying everything.⁶⁷ This manuscript was immediately translated into Romanian and typed in many copies that spread secretly but quickly among monastics and lay people as a "samizdat" manuscript. Two decades later I personally received a fifth carbon copy, which was considered a great spiritual treasure, from Ștefan Todirașcu, one of the Burning Bush's lay members.

The Russian Father Ivan Kuligin from Optina Monastery descended from the spiritual line that started with Fathers Paisius of Neamts and Basil of Poiana Mărului, whom he himself mentioned daily in his prayers for the departed. Father Kuligin's "confession of faith" was done while striving "to speak in a prayer state." Father Sophian Boghiu said that the people at Antim were strongly encouraged by Father Kuligin's profound experience concerning the Prayer of Heart, because this powerful prayer, that he uttered without ceasing, was alive so intense that he actually was breathing it. He prayed even when he slept. Learning from him, Father André Scrima wrote in his commentary that one can also "read the Divine Scripture in a prayer state," and in this case, the confession of faith can be expressed in a true spiritual vigil state.⁶⁸

Theotokos personifies a perfect hesychastic existence. The Archimandrite Paisius of Neamts used to quote the words of Saint Gregory Palamas: "She lived in silence in supernatural manner from Her very childhood, and because of this, She alone among all women gave birth without a man to the God-man, the Word." In her deep and peaceful quietness of being, she was the only truly pure place where the Word could become Incarnated. Saint Paisius added, "The Most Holy Virgin Mother of God, remaining in the Holy of Holies, ascended to the very height of Divine vision by means of mental prayer and was enabled to be the spacious dwelling of God the Word, Whom the whole creation cannot contain."⁶⁹

This is why the Mother of God in the holy icon of the Burning Bush Never Consumed is the symbol of the Prayer of the Heart that all the spiritual hard laborers have established as their supreme goal. Reaching the high degree of soul purification proper to the very temple where, through the Holy Spirit, Jesus can become Incarnates, is the final step of the deification process each Christian is called to carry out. A Theotokion for the Resurrection sung at Vespers sounds as follows: "The shadow of the Law passed when grace came; as the Bush burned, yet was not consumed, so the Virgin gave birth, yet remained a Virgin. Instead of a pillar of flame, the Righteous Sun has risen; instead of Moses, Christ [came for] the Salvation of our souls."

Two icons were venerated the most by the members of the movement: the Icon of Theotokos at the Burning Bush and the Icon of the Prayer. The first one, which became the symbol of the movement and sits on a special table in a central place in the church of the Monastery, is an icon very rich in meanings. As partially mentioned above, it is the result of a long iconographic evolution, lasting six to eight centuries, from the initial icon of the twelfth to fourteenth centuries depicting the traditional image of Moses and the burning bush as he saw the Angel of God on Mount Horeb.⁷⁰ As the Angel of the Lord was in the burning bush of Mount Horeb, Christ the Lord is in Theotokos who is a fire of love never contained. The final variant, very different from the figurative Moses' icon, moves the image of the prophet in a corner, while in the other three corners one can see Jacob's Ladder, Jesse's Tree (the genealogic line of Christ and Theotokos) and Jerusalem's Gate. The Mother of God with the Holy Infant are in the very center of the icon, in the middle of two diamond shapes.— one red (suggesting the fire) and one green (suggesting the bush) or blue (suggesting the sky), which combined make an octogonal star. The star is surrounded by angels painted on heart-shaped medallions which together form a large eight-petal rose whose center is Theotokos. This Rose signifies "the universal Possibility of the multiple states of the Being" and the joy of "the multiple states of love."⁷¹ Evangelists are in four symmetrical corners of the star and missionary angels are in the other four.

The Ladder for the soul's ascent toward the Lord is drawn on the chest of Theotokos. One can see Immanuel waiting at the top of the ladder. Centrally placed on the Theotokos' chest, there is another image of Christ signifying the Angel of Great Silence, needed for the hesychastic state of prayer. "For us who chose the Burning Bush as our Sacred Patron, this is the symbol of the ceaseless prayer... We are united with God's fire, full of power and light, and the more we burn, the more luminous and closer to God we are," Father Sophian Boghiu said.⁷²

The second icon, less known, depicts the phases of the Jesus Prayer. The Prayer of the Mind, the first step, is represented by the Mother of God with the Infant on her right, forehead to forehead. The Prayer of the Heart, the last step, is represented by an image pretty similar to that in the center of the Icon of the Burning Bush: the Holy Infant is on the left of His Mother (her heart side). Both bear crowns and are protected by the wall of a fortress. The Prayer of Heart is the royal prayer, the supreme prayer. The fortress wall suggests the mystery of this very inner prayer, protected from any danger of distraction coming from the outside world, as the secluded room mentioned by Our Savior.⁷³ In the middle of the icon is the Angel of Great Silence which is Jesus Himself asking for the complete quietness proper to the hesychastic prayer. The result of such a prayer is the Taboric fire as one can see on all-

red face of Mother of God and on the Philokalic Fathers, bearer of Jesus Prayer in the terms of Philokalia.

The *Acathyst Hymn of Theotokos at the Burning Bush*, written by hieromonk Daniel (Sandu Tudor) in 1947, was part of the prayers and worship services done for Mother of God. It is a beautiful, inspiring text, rich in hesychastic meanings. "Who is this, pure and white as the dawn? / It is the Queen of prayer, and its incarnation, / Princess Porphyrogeneta and Lady of the Morning, / Betrothed of the Consoler who transfigures life! / We run to thee, burning and consumed with longing. / Grant us access to the Holy Mount of Tabor, / Become for us also a shadow and a dew, / Thou whom divine grace overshadows, / So that our human nature in its turn / May be renewed by a rebirth through grace, / That we, together with all creation, / May cry to thee, bowing low: / *Rejoice, O Bride, Mother of continual prayer!*"⁷⁴

The author of this beautiful Akathist, the poet Sandu Tudor (1896-1962) who renounced his wealth and entered poor and humble into the Antim Monastery in 1945, at 49 years of age, becoming the brother monk Agathon, wrote the first eight Ikoses and Kondakions of the *Akathist Hymn of Theotokos at the Burning Bush* in 1947 before being arrested and imprisoned for his faith in 1949-1952. Released in 1952, he became Hieromonk Daniel at the Rarău Skete from where he was again arrested by the communist authorities in 1958. All the time of imprisonment he was tied with chains and continuously tortured. The officers and guardians beat him ferociously. He finished and perfected the Akathist in prison, where the cellmates memorized it, avoiding the severe punishment for everything written and shared. It is in this prison, in Aiud, where the Hieromonk also finished "writing" the Akathists of Saint John the Evangelist and of Saint Callinicus of Chernika. All the verses of these two Akathists were also memorized by the cellmates and written on paper several years later after being freed from prison.

Father Hieromonk Daniel died of cerebral hemorrhage after being violently beaten on November 17, 1962, around one o'clock in the night, very close to the hour of the revelation he had in the Lord on Mount Athos in 1929 when he was only a poet and a journalist. This day is the Day of Saint Gregory Thaumaturgus, the Miracle-Worker, bishop of Neocaesarea (213-270), one day after the Day of Saint Apostle and Evangelist Matthew and two days after the Day of Saint Paisius Velichkovsky of Neamts.

The Burning Bush spiritual movement had deep echo in the intellectual environment and also in other laypeople. In the period 1945-1948 it attracted large audience at the conferences organized at the Monastery in the library hall. The talks were given by Christian writers, philosophers, scientists, artists, musicians. Iconography and religious music was encouraged and awarded. The atheistic communist government disliked

this and eventually put the whole movement under interdiction in 1948. Many monks were moved to other monasteries, the meetings were forbidden.

The main merits of this very important spiritual and cultural movement are: reviving the hesychastic principles, reemphasizing the *Philocalia*'s teachings (the first four volumes translated and edited by Father Stăniloae with the cooperation of Father Arseny Boca were issued at this time), and practicing the Jesus Prayers on a larger scale including the laity. Many church historians consider today that this spiritual movement and its effects in time were a mysterious strong support for the souls of the Romanian population during the four dark decades of atheist communism. Poems and plays like those of Ana Blandiana, Ioan Alexandru, and Marin Sorescu from the younger generation were a hidden spiritual product of this movement.⁷⁵

The terrible years of torture and extermination in the communist prisons and labor camps produced many saints, whose skulls and bones secrete myrrh of an extraordinary fragrance and work wonders. Over eight thousand monks and priests were arrested in the fifth and sixth decade of last century and, despite the barely imaginable regime of terror and affliction they were subjected to, quite a few of them survived at the general amnesty time in 1964. The spirit of the *Burning Bush* continued to enlighten the activities of the elders after 1964. Books, articles, and teachings about them or from them circulated typed in carbon copies, in samizdat. After 1989 a great spiritual revival took place and the monastic movement flourished with the enthusiastic participation of the faithful lay people.

Paisianism in Russia and Ukraine

The legacy of Saint Paisius is rich and long lasting. His Athonite period affected the spiritual formation of many important Russian elders. Among these one should mention Saints Ignatius Brianchaninov and Theophanes the Recluse, and Elder Theophanes, Archbishop of Poltava.⁷⁶ His direct disciples from Neamts like Theophanes of Solovki, Theodore of Svir, Theophanes of Kyiv caves and Dositheus became disseminators of the Paisian teaching and spirit in Russia and Ukraine.⁷⁷ According to Metropolitan Laurus, the Paisian influence spread in three main directions in Russia: to the Northern (Valaam, St. Alexander Nevsky Lavra, and Solovetsky Monasteries), Central (Optina Hermitage, and monasteries in Moscow and Vladimir gubernyas), and Southern regions (Glinsky Hermitage).⁷⁸

Besides the Paisian coenobitic teachings it was the philokalic impact. The Slavonic version of the *Philokalia* translated by St. Paisius Velichkovsky of Neamts under the name the manuscript *Drobotoliubje*, was

taken by his disciples in Ukraine and Russia, and it was printed at St. Petersburg in 1793. The book spread fast and it was reprinted eight times. It became the favored spiritual food of the Russian monastic world of the nineteenth century besides the Bible and the Great Monologue of Dmitry of Rostov. It was also the best companion of the great Saint Seraphim of Sarov (1759-1833), one of the most beloved saints of Russia, who is definitely a Paisian.⁷⁹

St. Paisius' *Drobotoliubje* increased very much the interest for the philokalic writings. Saint Ignatius Bryanchaninov, Bishop of the Caucasus and the Black Sea, and Saint Theophanes the Recluse made new Russian versions in 1857 and 1876-1890, respectively. Based on this, Optina Monastery issued the famous book *The Way of a Pilgrim* about the Jesus Prayer which is the only possible way to make accomplishable the goal of unceasing prayer Saint Paul urged his disciples to achieve. The Pilgrim's book acquired large popularity in the whole Orthodox world of Eastern Europe (the Romanian title was *Journey to Heaven*) but even in Western Europe (the French title was *Récits d'un Pèlerine Russe*).

Strengthened in the sixteenth century, the Russian monasteries deteriorated very much in the eighteenth century after the secularization reforms of Tzarina Catherine II the Great. The Paisian school, which organically combined the coenobitic spirituality with the hesychastic one, helped to bring the Russian and Ukrainian monastic life to a new and flourishing status. A rebirth of the "starchestvo" (eldership) took place in the nineteenth century.⁸⁰ In 1821 Bishop Philaret of Kaluga (future Metropolitan of Kyiv) added the small Skete of Saint John Baptist the Forerunner to the large Monastery of Optina. This served as a secluded center exclusively for the Russian Starets (Elders) who wanted to focus on the hesychastic life of prayer in the spiritual lineage of Saint Paisius.

As Hieromonk Macarios of Simonos Petra Monastery at Mount Athos wrote in his Synaxarion, the new staretsdom "was constituted as a real antechamber of Heaven where the strict observance, humility and simplicity of the monks were plainly evident." Today the Russian Orthodox Church venerates fourteen great Elders who strived for a holy life in this place in the period of 1821-1924: Moses Putilof, Anthony Putilof, Leonid Nagolkin, Macarius Ivanov, Ambrose Grenkov, Hilarion Ponamarov, Joseph Litovkin, Anatole Zertsalov, Isaac Antimonov, Barsanuphius Plekhanov, Nektarius Tikhonov, and Nikon Belaev. Their feast is the Synaxis of Optina Elders on October 11/24.⁸¹

In exchange for their recluse life in intense and continuous prayer, for their devoted worship, ardent podvig and harsh asceticism, the Lord enriched the Elders at the Skete of the Forerunner with tremendous power of spirit, deep knowledge of the human mind and heart, and miraculous gifts. In a similar way with Saint Seraphim of Sarov at the end of his life, the Elders of

Optina Skete opened up themselves to the people in need, helping them through the acting force of their prayers and wisdom. This small but great center of holiness did not develop much the coenobitic aspect of Paisianism, but it pushed very far for the aspect of the Jesus Prayer and phylocalic spirit. It also added the singularity of a wide contact with the needful souls of the outside laity. People of all social classes and occupations, wealthy or poor, village or town habitants, schooled or illiterate, peasants or writers and artists, crowded into the hermitage for receiving counsel, encouragement, advice, or a God-inspired simple word able to bring light and peace in their lives.

The intellectuals Vasily Zhukovsky, the brethren Ivan and Konstantin Aksakov, Pyotr Tchaikovsky, Nikolai Gogol, Ivan Turgenev, Vladimir Solovyov and Vasily Rozanov found in Elder Ambrose Grenkov an ideal interlocutor for their theoretical subjects. Deeply depressed after losing his son Alyosha, the great writer Fyodor Dostoyevsky found comfort in Father Ambrose's love whom he depicted, as Father Zosima, in his famous masterpiece *The Brothers Karamazov*. Leo Tolstoy, also found satisfaction from his visits to the Elder Ambrose. In the proximity of the latter Tolstoy felt "the nearness of God" and his "soul lost all heaviness."⁸²

Paisianism in America

Saint Herman of Alaska (1757-1837), the Enlightener and Patron Saint of Orthodox America, learned about Saint Paisius' work on the Philokalia when he was a young monk at Valaam. Saint Herman's "missionary zeal, love for the desert, practical application of patristic teachings, and his preoccupation with the *Philokalia* and the Jesus Prayer are all strikingly Paisian."⁸³ One of his spiritual teachers, Abbot Nazarius at Valaam, worked for a Russian adaptation of St. Paisius' Slavonic version.⁸⁴ This Paisian *Philocalia*, together with *The Ladder* of St. John Climacus would become his permanent companion for the rest of his life.⁸⁵

Sent by Metropolitan Gabriel in missionary work, Saint Herman left the Valaam Monastery together with nine other Russian monks. By an astonishing coincidence, the year of their departure was 1794, which was the year of the repose of Saint Paisius. The only survivor from the whole group was Saint Herman. He lived for a short while in the Kodiak Island and for the rest of his life close by - in the little Spruce Island.

With a life full of miracles and a heart full of love for the local Aleut people, Saint Herman was a bearer of the mental prayer, the Jesus Prayer. God enriched him with the gifts of clairvoyance, healing, and discernment. The Troparion of this Saint, with ardent hesychastic life, goes as follows: "O blessed Father Herman of Alaska, North Star of Christ's holy Church, the

light of your holy life and great deeds guides those who follow the Orthodox way. Together we lift high the Holy Cross you planted firmly in America.”⁸⁶ Again, by mysterious will of God, the day of Saint Herman’s repose, November 15, in 1836, coincided with Saint Paisius’ day of repose in 1794.

With the blessing of Saint Hierarch John Maximovitch, Archbishop of San Francisco, the monks Seraphim Rose (1934-1982) and Herman Podmoshenski (1934-2014) founded the Holy Monastery of Saint Herman of Alaska in 1970 in northern California, near Platina. They continued the Paisian lineage, brought from Russia on one side by Saint Herman of Alaska and on another side by their direct spiritual fathers Adrian Rymarenko (Archbishop Andrew) in New York State, Archimandrite Gerasim Schmaltz in Spruce Island, Archimandrite Mitrophan in San Francisco (Saint John Maximovitch’s friend), and Bishop Nektary Kontzevitch of Seattle (descendent of the Elders of Optina and successor of Archbishop John Maximovitch).⁸⁷

The two young monks walked “in the steps of Blessed Paisius.” They read his life and teachings with thirst for knowledge and with eagerness for a spiritual model. They started following the note of St. Paisius, from John Climacus, that “twosome or threesome monasticism, to be the best for novices.”⁸⁸ They thought of monks Paisius and Bessarion, in the absence of a spiritual father, during their hermit period at Mount Athos.⁸⁹ Later, under the Abbots Herman Podmoshensky (1969-2000), Gerasim Eliel (2000-2009), Hilarion Waas (2009-2013), and Damascene Christensen (2013-present), the monastic community prospered and attracted many pilgrims.

The practice of Jesus Prayer became for the Paisian-in-spirit monastic community members the daily support of their minds and hearts, fed their souls with the awareness of God’s presence and love, and helped them in their spiritual podvig. Fathers Seraphim and Herman followed the “Optina Five-hundred” rule of prayer.⁹⁰ The Fathers Seraphim and Herman put much emphasis on spreading the philocalic writings, as urged from the very beginning by St. John Maximovitch. They issued the publication *The Orthodox Word*, they translated and printed many books from and about the writings of the Holy Fathers. The first book written and published was *The Northern Thebaid* (the desert-dwellers of the Russian forests) in 1975. It was followed immediately, in 1976, by the biography of Saint Paisius, based on Metrophanes text with numerous additions and notes (the second edition enlarged was in 1994). They said, “The life of Blessed Paisius is of special value to us because it is the Life of a Holy Father of modern times, one who lived like the ancients almost in our own day.”⁹¹

Before his conversion to Orthodoxy, on his way of searching the real truth, the young Eugene Rose went through many philosophical, metaphysical and spiritual puzzling crossroads – from Presbyterian to Methodist, from Spinoza to Nietzsche, when he drowned to the deepest,

tragic and painful nihilism (“to be a philosopher, not a professional or academic philosopher but a man for who to live is to think, means to suffer greatly,” he said),⁹² from Antichrist to Zen, from Taoism to René Guénon, and from Schuon to Orthodoxy. Therefore, the hieromonk Seraphim Rose was able to answer numerous difficult questions of the modern world, becoming a very effective and penetrant messenger of the Orthodox belief. He wrote 17 books and 110 articles, he translated, compiled and presented 23 books.⁹³ The subject of his writings covered a large area from *Nihilism*, *The Root of the Revolution of the Modern Age and Orthodoxy and the Religion of Future to The Kingdom of Man and the Kingdom of God*, to *Genesis, Creation and Early Man*, and to *The Soul after Death*. He was not canonized but is already celebrated by many Orthodox Christians, including Russian and Romanian as a Saint in iconography, liturgy, and prayer, and his books are extremely popular everywhere.

The St. Herman Monastery from Platina founded two monasteries in Alaska (Spruce Island), and two Sketes of nuns in California (Platina and Forestville). The Saint Paisius Abbey in Forestville opened its gates to pilgrims in April 1991, on Bright Friday, the Feast Day of Theotokos’ Life-Giving Spring. It hosted the Saint Paisius Missionary School which held periodic conferences, courses, and commemorations for the very much-needed education of the young Orthodox generation. In 1993 the Abbey became a strong Monastery of nuns under the patronage of St. Paisius. In 2001 the Monastery moved from Forestville (California) to Safford (Arizona) secluded in high desert.

Conclusion

Saint Paisius Velichikovsky of Neamts was a remarkable Saint of Ukrainian origin who, besides his outstanding holiness achieved in a frail body, worn by asceticism but winged and transfigured by the fire of Jesus Prayer, developed a prodigious monastic activity which elevated the hesychasm to higher spiritual levels. The Paisian school stood out mainly in three directions: teaching and spreading the Jesus Prayer, accomplishing a better and more harmonious coenobitic structure suiting even very large monastery sizes, and working hard to make well known the Holy Fathers’ writings and especially the *Philokalia*. He covered with his life Ukraine, Walachia, Mount Athos, and Moldavia, and with his legacy Romania, Ukraine, Russia, Mount Athos and United States of America. Saint Paisius is indeed a “sacred bridge to the Holy Fathers,” as says the new Akathist, composed by two young monks from Monks’ Lagoon, in Saint Herman’s Spruce Island, in Alaska.

Since his repose in 1794 the monks of Neamts Monastery continued unceasingly the tradition of having a special service at Vespers, containing stichera, a canon, and prayers for their “blessed Father and Abbot, Schema-Hieromonk and Archimandrite Paisius.” The Troparion chanted at Neamts Monastery says, “O Paisius, the joy of Russia, the boast of Athos and the wonder of Moldavia, by thy Divinely-inspired teaching thou dost direct us to the fount of wisdom and salvation. And now, enjoying in heaven the vision of Christ God, entreat Him that He may grant His great mercy and save our souls.”⁹⁴

The Paisian spirit and the Paisianism continue to be alive and to stand as a shield for the Christian soul against the dark and destructive threat of the secular modern times.

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- ⁴ The Very Rev. Stephen Belonick, *A Journey through Great Lent*, Light and Life, Minneapolis, 1998, p. 61.
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²³ Stăniloae, *op. cit.*, p. 581.

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²⁶ *Orthodox Study Bible*, *op. cit.*, Hebrews 10:30-31.

²⁷ *Little Russian Philokalia*, *op. cit.*, vol. IV, p. 90.

²⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 64.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 106.

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³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 88.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

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³⁷ Zamfirescu, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

³⁸ *Little Russian Philokalia*, *op. cit.*, vol. IV, p. 141

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⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 171-176.

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- ⁵² Joantă, *op. cit.*, pp. 179-185.
- ⁵³ Stăniloae, *op. cit.*, pp. 582-583 and 585.
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- ⁶⁴ Braga, *op. cit.*, p. 115.
- ⁶⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 119.
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⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 130.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 1095-1101.

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Contemporary Historiographical Landmarks of the Romanian space between Prut and Dniestr – Bessarabia (1812-1940)

Abstract: The Romanian space between the Prut and the Dniestr has been given in the last three decades, especially, a growing attention by researchers from Romania and the Republic of Moldova. The historiographical rows in the present ranks highlight the contributions (materialized in volume) of the Moldavian scientists – numerous and of solid scientific quality. They cover a broad thematic palette: the national movement of the Bessarabian Romanians from the Tsarist Empire, the integration of Bessarabia within the Motherland, Romania, after the Union Act of 27 March 1918, the progress made in modernizing it, until the reannexation in June 1940.

Keywords: Bessarabia, Republic of Moldova, Historiography, Sfatul Țării, 27 March 1918.

Introduction

This summer, on August 27, 2021, it was 30 years since the proclamation of the Independence of the Republic of Moldova,¹ an opportunity to examine, in various ways, the situation of this second Romanian state – molded and raised, in known historical contexts, under the sign of evolutions of the interests in area of the Great Powers –, respectively of Historiography.²

From the beginning, for someone familiar with the evolution, thematic content and characters / personalities of the Romanian National Historiography after 1990,³ but also with, in a smaller informative register, the Moldavian one, the multiple approaches between the historiographies of the two states appear with evidence – resulting from a common history, the

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application of a common scientific methodology, the research of hidden or distorted themes interpreted in the socialist period, the emergence, legally, of new generations of researchers.

I pointed out a year ago⁴ that, in terms of Moldovan historiography,

It is a historiographical perspective that can put us in touch with the current state of historical writing in the Republic of Moldova. It involves, however, a broader discussion, on a space as such – however, it is worth noting the remarkable scientific quality, in my opinion, of most products of Trans-Prut Historiography; are specialized works (monographs, collections of documents, case studies, collections of articles and studies) that bear the imprint, from the point of view of the architecture of the research stages, of the analysis of the document in the given historical context and of the formulation of conclusions, the rigor of the school. Moldovan scientists; it is enough to show that most of the works (of specialists as such, I do not mean sailors and amateurs), which appear under the aegis of specialized institutes or profile faculties, have the inscription stating that the work was analyzed / approved at this time, by the respective scientific team (rigor that in Romania “Motherland” is no longer usual for several decades, confusing, here, the terms and frameworks of expression of democracy with those of scientific research, especially institutionalized, and Western publishing practice).

And on the same occasion we note:

It should be noted that there are remarkable research institutes in Chisinau – such as the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of Moldova, led by Professor Gheorghe E. Cojocaru, or the Institute of Social History “ProMemoria” of the Faculty of History and Philosophy of the State University of Moldova, led by Professor Anatol Petrencu, or the National Museum of History of Moldova, led by Dr. Eugen Sava; or specialized journals that may stand, from the point of view of scientific substance or the seriousness of the observance of periodicity, including on the Internet (which does not happen, however, with all their smiles, similar, on the right bank of the Prut), such as *Revista de istorie a Moldovei*, *Destin românesc*, *ProMemoria*, *Tyragetia*, *Limba română*, *Akados* etc. As for the servants of historical writing, they are, as I said, most of them, of very good scientific workmanship, and it is difficult for me to make an enumeration; however, names cannot be eluded (with some I had the honor to intersect at various scientific conclaves, in Chisinau and Cahul, in Constanta, Cluj-Napoca or Iasi) among the most

representative and respectable of their confreres – starting with one of the deans of age, Professor Demir Dragnev (Corresponding Member of the Academy of Sciences of Moldova), continuing with fully established personalities, such as Ion Buga, Ion Chirtoaga, Vitalie Ciobanu, Gheorghe E. Cojocaru, Iurie Colesnic, Valentin Constantinov, Silvia Corlăteanu-Granciuc, the late Maria Danilov, Nicolae Enciu, Andrei Eșanu (Member of the Academy of Sciences of Moldova, Honorary Member of the Romanian Academy), Silvia Grossu, Ion Gumenâi, Vlad Mischevca, Anton Moraru, the late Alexandru Moșanu (Honorary Member of the Romanian Academy), Sergiu Musteață, Ion Negrei, Elena Negru, Gheorghe Negru, the late Gheorghe Palade, Valeriu Pasat (Corresponding Member of the Academy of Sciences of Moldova), Anatol Petrencu, the late Valeriu Popovschi, Gheorghe Postică, Dinu Poștarencu, Ion Șicanu, Valentin Tomuleț, Ion Țurcanu, Ion Varta, Vitalie Văratec and others, and even those from the young generation, such as Sergiu Bacalov, Valentin Burlacu, Igor Cașu, Ivan Duminiță, Andrei Emilciuc, Cristina Gherasim, Tudor Sclifos, Octavian Țăcu, and others.

By applying a common scientific methodology, researching hidden or distorted themes interpreted during the socialist period (the evolution of Bessarabia within the Russian Empire, the Russification policy, the dimensions and stages of the national movement of Bessarabian Romanians and its representatives, the internal and international context of the Union with the Motherland, the process of integration and modernization – economic and cultural – within the Integrated/Greater Romania, Bessarabian issues in international relations, etc.), the emergence of new generations of researchers – gives the historiography of the Republic of Moldova a solid pillar in its existence.

Bessarabia – Sacrificed in the interests game of the great powers

An integral part of the Romanian statehood, the medieval State of Moldavia⁵ has known, over the centuries, a tragic history. “The name of Bessarabia evokes a whole history. The history of Bessarabia means, in the narrow sense of the word, the history of the transformations and troubles that this part of the country has experienced over the centuries, for historical / geographical reasons. All the unrests, as in a symbol, there are in the very name of the province, of the purest Romanian origin, name that covered this region as a black wave of death, more than a century, under the foreign invader. The word Bessarabia reminds us of a long period of Russian domination in the most unsubstantiated conditions of the Romanian clean

province, from which it escaped by a miracle”⁶ – it appeared in a doctoral thesis in Law sustained in February 1944 (but not introduced in the circuit more than a few years ago).⁷

The history of the Romanian territory between Prut and Dniestr (Bessarabia),⁸ richly researched by Clio’s servants,⁹ especially during the last two centuries¹⁰ – including the organization of international conferences, materialized in published volumes¹¹ – is tragically marked by Russian raids¹² in Moldavia. The “Question of Bessarabia”¹³ was integrated into so-called “Oriental Issues,” namely the Great Powers dispute – mainly the Habsburg Empire and the Russian Empire – to seize as many territories of the Ottoman Empire, which, after the failure of the siege of Vienna (1683), was in full crisis of authority.¹⁴

At the end of the eighteenth century, the Russian-Ottoman wars – in which some of the Habsburg Empires participated –, are marked by successive withdrawals of the Ottomans, leaving rapidly occupied territories of the Tsarist Russia. Although Peter the Great recognized the borders of Moldova to Dimitrie Cantemir,¹⁵ in 1711 (“between the Dniester River, Camenița, Bender, with all the land of Bugeac, the Danube, the borders of the country of Wallachia and Transylvania and the edges of Poland”),¹⁶ in 1792-1793 the Russian Empire reaching the Dniestr,¹⁷ the target of St. Petersburg was South-Eastern Europe, and the Black Sea straits.¹⁸ Or, in the Balkan Peninsula – still dominated by the Ottomans¹⁹ – at the beginning of the nineteenth century Russia’s interests will collide with those of other powers, primarily France. The French-Russian rivalry in the area will ultimately juggle the fate of the eastern part of Moldova; Emperor Napoleon, having all the interest to isolate England and neutralize the Habsburg Empire, realized that he could not achieve these goals without considering Russia. That is why he sought to attract Alexander I, consented to the Danube’s access to the Tsarist Empire, including by occupying and the incorporation of the Romanian Principalities in the Russian State.

Thus, in the autumn of 1808, at the meeting in Erfurt, Napoleon consented to the penetration of Russia into the Balkans – but also to the North of the continent, here to ensure the security of the new city of St. Petersburg –, recognizing the recognition of its border on the Danube. In other words, the Romanian Principalities were “ceded” by the magnificent French to Tsar, the interests of France prevailing over the autonomous existence of the two Romanian Principalities – Moldavia and Wallachia.²⁰

In the next years, however, the rivalry between Russia and France will be beneficial to the two Romanian states,²¹ and eventually, in the face of the threat of the French invasion, in 1812 Russia will rush to end the peace with Turkey, with which it was in conflict 1806, occupying a part of Moldavia, up to the Prut.²² “One hundred years ago, on May 16, 1812, through the Treaty of Bucharest,²³ between Russia and Turkey, we have lost

the land that I can hardly call it, against historical truth: Bessarabia, because Bessarabia²⁴ was only the part of the Mouths Danube. Is there a humiliation in it?," asked Nicolae Iorga in a speech delivered in Bucharest on May 16, 1912. "Did we stand in the battle, have we overcome, stripped us part of the country through a treaty that we have concluded, scribbled and sworn?" In fulfilling the obvious – consented by the Great Powers of the time, from its own geopolitical interests, despite the interests of the Romanians native/autochthonous²⁵ –, Russia added another province, the Moldavian side between the Prut and the Dniester, being the first "liberated" Christian land under Ottomans by the Pravoslavnic Tsar in the fulfillment of the Southeast European / Balkan policy of Peter the Great, the year 1812 being considered a baneful date in the history of the Romanians, a true *Annus Horribilis*.²⁶

In fact, the Russian historians will recognize Russia's expansionist substratum,²⁷ one of them writing in 1913 that

our original plans were much larger. In 1806, we thought we would conquer the two Principalities without struggles, and that we would organize four Russian governments. The circumstances forced us, in the end, to thank with a much modest gain. From what we have gained, we have made the Bessarabia province.²⁸ How much did this cost us? According to the accounts of the contemporaries, nearly 230 million rubles and 150,000 people (in the Russian-Turkish war, from 1806-1812²⁹ – our note), of which less than 1/3 died in battles. The others have fallen for the epidemics and climate in Wallachia and Bulgaria, with which the Russian soldier is not used. But this addition – *recognizes and reveals Russian historian and political man Leon Casso* – was useful for the following reasons:

1. He approached us on the Balkan Peninsula;
2. It gives us the opportunity to stand with a solid foot on the Danube, in order to be able to extend further in the loss of the Turkish Empire, according to Ecaterina II's policy.

But, in addition, the most crucial moment in this gain was the fact that for the first time Russia annexed Christian subjects of the Porte in Europe.³⁰

These "Christian subjects" will still be sacrificed on the altar of the Great Powers' geopolitical interests – to the advantage of the Russian Empire – "the Issue of Bessarabia" becoming the subject of their dispute and historiography:

The historiography of the problem distinguishes between a Romanian paradigm and a narrow Moldavianist paradigm, over time in a peak voltage ratio. If the former naturally integrates Moldovans from the

East of Prut and Dniestr with a common trunk of all Romanians, the latter tends to give a distorted expression to their ethnolinguistic origin and profile, cut them out and singularize them from the Romanian general landscape.³¹

In 1856, the “Eastern Question”³² was cut, again, at the Paris Peace Congress in the wake of the Crimean War,³³ lost by a feudal-autocratic Russian, backward economic and military. On this occasion, Southern Bessarabia is returned to the Moldavian Principality³⁴ – of course, not for the sake of reparation of an injustice, but to remove Russia from the possession of the Danube Mouths (also, an outlet through which the Romanian cereals transited to England).

Two decades later, the “Eastern Question” is reopened, as we are now dealing with a stronger Russia, seeking the recovery of Southern Bessarabia, or the dominion of the Danube Mouths. Now, they were no longer of such great interest to the European Powers (among other things, the North American cereals appeared on the European market, the European Commission of the Danube was working in 1856, and on the other hand their interest was focused on the center of the Balkan Peninsula). As a result, we are witnessing a genuine tug between the Great Powers, at the expense of other peoples’ territories; so, in 1875, the Chancellor Bismarck, the man of power in Europe, agrees that Russia would reoccupy the three Southern Bessarabian counties – which are the subject of interest and of other Great Powers³⁵ – in return for the country’s acceptance that Austria-Hungary would occupy Bosnia, a trade fair that will materialize in the Treaty of Peace of Berlin, 1878!³⁶

The aspirations of the Romanians between the Prut and the Nistru – From the assertion of the identity of the people and the language, to the will to unite with the Mother-Country

After 1812, the social and economic life³⁷ of the new imperial “acquisition” of St. Petersburg will develop in the Russian Empire.³⁸

The annexation of the territory between the Prut and the Dniester occurred at the time when a rapid, though difficult, modernization and Europeanization process³⁹ took place in the Russian Empire. At the beginning of 19th century in the political life of the Russian Empire matures two basic tendencies that have their roots in the 18th century. The reforms made during the reign of Peter I, Ecaterina II’s, “the Enlightened Absolutism,” demonstrated that autocracy acted as an active follower of Russia’s emancipation process. Objective processes in economic life, linked to the genesis and evolution of new

capitalist relations, have raised the political arena at the beginning of the century with broad social forces interested in modernizing the country.⁴⁰ As a result, the processes that took place in Russian domestic governments were reflected with certain intensity, objectively, also at the national periphery, including Bessarabia. But these processes of modernization and Europeanization took in Bessarabia colonial forms, which directly influenced the specificity of the province's development in the 19th century. So, of course, it is our interest to study the changes that have taken place in the economic, social,⁴¹ political, and spiritual life of Bessarabia during the 19th century-early the 20th century, which will allow us to elucidate, in detail, these colonial forms of modernization.

An eloquent example of such colonial forms of modernization serves the obviously discriminatory attitude of Tsarism towards the development of various economic branches in Bessarabia. Promoting a protectionist policy and fearing any competition that could come from Bessarabia (probably more than lack of information about the economic situation in the province, about which E.F. Kankrin, the Russian Finance Minister, has written not only once), but the Tsarism does not initially support those few industrial branches that already existed or were in the process of being constituted in Bessarabia. As a result, Bessarabia turns into a colony: a safe market for the sale of Russian industrial and manufactures and a base of raw materials for the young Russian industry.⁴² This, in turn, has directly influenced the process of forming the national bourgeoisie."⁴³

The same author points out on another occasion: "The Tsarism has begun to translate in its province its colonial policy (...), to strengthen through existing administrative apparatus the existing settlement, to strengthen its social support based on boyars and colonists in the region,"⁴⁴ from among the natives and newcomers, forming the socio-political and economic "elites"⁴⁵ of the Bessarabian administration; indeed, he will encourage, among other things (such as the allocation of large areas of land to Russian officers and officers, but also to local/natives boyars⁴⁶) the establishment of colonists⁴⁷ – of various confessions⁴⁸ –, especially Bulgarians⁴⁹ and Germans⁵⁰, – together with the Jews⁵¹, Armenians,⁵² Lipovans,⁵³ and Greeks (under this ethnonymous, were "hiding," in fact, also families of Vlachs / Aromanians coming from the Balkans) – who had real lucrative skills, also contributing to the modernization of the region on various planes;⁵⁴ that included in the urban plane⁵⁵ with the activity of famous architects of the epoch, such as Giorgio Toricelli (1796-1843), Mihail Ozmidov (1782-1826), Bogdan Eitner (1798-1872), Alexandru Bernardazzi (1831-1907), and many others, especially by building

Chisinau⁵⁶ at the time of Carol Schmidt (1846-1928, mayor during 1877-1903 - considered to be one of “the most illustrious mayors of the city”⁵⁷).

Despite the practice of a Russification policies⁵⁸ (including by encouraging of the ethnic and confessional minorities⁵⁹) and denationalization – attenuated in the first decades of the nineteenth century, accentuated in the second half of the century⁶⁰ – by the lack of freedom of expression,⁶¹ the Bessarabian Romanians⁶² will retain with holiness and secular customs,⁶³ consciousness of nation⁶⁴ and language⁶⁵ – although it was taught in secular education (not in all schools) only as a subject of study, not as a language of instruction:

In the years 1812-1918 the Romanian language was not taught in all secular schools in Bessarabia, but only: in the Chisinau Regional Highschool (September 1835 to February 1866); in the tuition school no. 1 in Chisinau (January 1830 to April 1869); in the tuition school no. 2 from Chisinau (from January 1863 to January 1867); in the county school in Bălți (from August 1828 to January 1830, then from October 1843 to February 1871); in the Hotin school in Hotin (from September 1843 to 1860); in Soroca County School (April 1851 to February 1871). In elementary (Lancasterian) town schools Romanian language taught from 1824 to 1834, and in elementary schools – some until 1858 (when they were subordinated to the Ministry of Public Instruction); in the elementary schools for the people, the Romanian has not taught at all; and only in a few parochial village schools (where priests and deacons did not know Russian) and in some schools of private teachers the Romanian language was used in teaching throughout the years 1812-1918. In the Regional High School in Chisinau and in the taught schools in Bessarabia *the Romanian language taught in Russian*. In elementary school the use of the Romanian language was allowed *only as an in-depth study tool for Russian*.⁶⁶

From the numerical point of view, the Bessarabian Romanians will permanently constitute the absolute majority of the population – almost half at the end of the 19th century. (In the autumn of 1940, the scientist of Iași Petru Caraman readily stated that “Demonstrating that Bessarabia is inhabited by Romanians and that they form the vast majority of the population is undoubtedly something superfluous, because it would mean wasting time demonstrating evidence Not only on the basis of any ethnographic law, but also on the basis of historical law, because the injustice of 1812 could not become in 1940 a right which could be invoked by the rulers of the present Russia, as it happened... We know – and with us all who keep the objectivity of good faith – that what the Romanian people had suffered in recent times has happened in the total and cynical contempt of

any principle of law”⁶⁷). Although a part the boyars benefited from material and social advantages on the part of the Tsarist authorities,⁶⁸ thus attenuating the spirit but as the democratic ideas cracked the Russian oppressive system, and in Bessarabia⁶⁹ the actions that will shape the national movement will be manifested more and more.⁷⁰ We cannot, however, talk about an evolution towards modern national visions in the Basarabian rural population. Illiteracy dominated this environment throughout the Tsarist rule. Alexandru Boldur described the Romanian traditionalism of the Bessarabian peasantry, which “although adapted to the Russian administrative system, could not adapt to Russian culture.”

The Bessarabian peasantry remained until the 20th century at the level of the ethnocultural mentality that existed here until 1812, preserving in its environment the customs and secular customs, the folk creations, and the Christian-Orthodox spirituality, common to the entire space inhabited by the Romanians. During Tsarist domination, the Church and its institutions⁷¹ remained the main center of spiritual,⁷² national culture. Especially in the monastery libraries there is a special attitude towards the Romanian printed book.⁷³ Recently, historian Igor Cereteu identified 655 Romanian religious books printed in 1697-1917 in various Romanian cultural centers, including Bessarabia,⁷⁴ in 28 Bessarabian monasteries and hermitages.

During the Tsarist rule, the Bessarabian peasantry retained its ethnic identity according to the European medieval tradition of identifying the country of origin. They were still conceiving the Prut-Dniestrian space as part of the country of Moldovian Land / Country (Țara Moldovei). Concurrently, according to the secular tradition, they addressed their countrymen with the appellation “Romanian one!” (“măi, române”).⁷⁵

Personalities⁷⁶ such as Vasile Stroescu (1845-1926)⁷⁷ will work for the development of Romanianism in other Romanian provinces, and others such as Paul/Pavel Gore (1875-1927),⁷⁸ Ioan Pelivan (1876-1954),⁷⁹ Petre Cazacu (1873-1956),⁸⁰ Pantelimon Halippa (1883-1979),⁸¹ Emanoil Gavrilă (1847-1910),⁸² Dumitru C. Moruzi (1850-1914),⁸³ Simeon G. Murafa (1887-1917), Constantin Stere (1865-1936),⁸⁴ Zamfir Arbore (1843-1933),⁸⁵ Alexis Nour (1877-1940)⁸⁶ (the last three – established in the Old Kingdom - Romania until 1918) and so on, will be among those Bessarabian intellectuals⁸⁷ who will instill the national sense through press, associations,⁸⁸ public actions. Starting in 1905-1906, in Romanian⁸⁹ – *Basarabia*,⁹⁰ *Moldoveanul*, *Viața Basarabiei* [*Life of Bessarabia*], *Cuvânt moldovenesc* [*Moldovan Word*],⁹¹ *Luminătorul* [*The Sky*]⁹² etc. appeared in Chisinau.

In the context of the Russian movements for the democratization of society, in 1906, the restoration of the autonomy of Bessarabia (a mere government), a national language education, was required.

At the end of the 19th-the beginning of the 20th centuries, the Boyar intellectual elite in Bessarabia was complemented by a new group of intellectuals from families of clergy,⁹³ teachers, village officials, clergymen and other categories of free peasants who have proliferated a nationalism called themselves “revolutionary” or “national-democrat.” The most prominent representatives of this type of nationalism proved to be the former students of Bessarabian “earthquake” (*pământeniei*) at the University of Dorpat who, on February 5, 1900, at a general assembly, constituted the first illegal national organization in Bessarabia.⁹⁴ They have established ties with Romanians from Bessarabia in Romania, with other personalities from Bucharest, have organized national cultural events,⁹⁵ and have been involved in illegal political activity. Its irrefutable leader, Ioan Pelivan, along with other intellectuals from Chisinau and Bucharest, contributed decisively in 1905⁹⁶ to the launch of the national movement in Bessarabia, laid the foundations of the Romanian press, carried out extensive activity of dismantling Russian imperial myths and cultivation of the modern Romanian identity, based on the idea of the linguistic, cultural, and ethnic unity of all the Romanians under foreign domination and those of free Romania. The 1905 movement went beyond the framework of the nationalism of the boyars, formulating the demand for the autonomy of Bessarabia within the Russian Empire and trying to build and consolidate the first political structures in Bessarabia.⁹⁷

The marking of the Centenary of the annexation of Moldavia in 1912 was the occasion of expressing an impressive solidarity of the Romanians from the Old Kingdom with the Bessarabian brothers, editing books – as the great historian Nicolae Iorga (1871-1940) did⁹⁸ – about the history of Bessarabia, publishing dozens of articles, organizing public events.⁹⁹

The outbreak of the First World War,¹⁰⁰ due to the rivalries of the Great Powers, triggered the public interest in the country, the political people towards the fate of the Bessarabians brothers,¹⁰¹ tens of thousands being enrolled in the Tsarist army¹⁰². In a speech in Parliament, the Bessarabian settled in Iași Constantin Stere¹⁰³ showed, pathetically, that no one “has the right to dispose of Romanian souls, he is not allowed to give up the graves of the ancestors who dwell on the Prut.”¹⁰⁴

Unfortunately, even now the geopolitical context imposed on Romania¹⁰⁵ – what was in the state of neutrality between 1914-1916¹⁰⁶ – the necessity of staging the ideal of national unity; the realities and the relations of forces demanded an alliance with the Entente, who had promised aid, in the sense that the Romanian provinces of the Austro-Hungarian Empire – Transylvania, Bukovina, and Banat – would return to the Romanian State; Russia was a basic component of the Entente, so Bessarabia could not speak

in the same terms. That is why, in the souls of the Romanian political people, of the public opinion, as well as of the Bessarabian Romanians,¹⁰⁷ the sense of confidence that Bessarabia will come, however, the clock of national justice was present as such.¹⁰⁸ The politician (future Prime-Minister: November-December 1933) Ion G. Duca (1879-1933) makes suggestive in his memoirs the atmosphere of the summer of 1916 and the state of mind of Prime-Minister (1909-1911, 1914-1919, 1922-1926, 1927) Ion I.C. Brătianu (1864-1927) when he signed the Entente Convention, namely entering the war with France, England and, *nota bene*, Russia:

Of course, in his soul, as in all of us, it was the pain that from this recognition of rights Romanians lacked Bessarabia. As he once said, plotting the treaty with the Allies “We gave up Bessarabia, we committed a real crime”. For a moment it was not the mind of any of us that, from now on, we left the Romanian element over Prut to the Russians. Our only blame, if it can be, was that we did not dare to hope that the world war will also be the liquidation of the Tsarist Russia, just as I was sure of the liquidation of Austro-Hungary.

We did not doubt that the clock of Bessarabia would sound like the clock of Transylvania, Banat, and Bukovina.

1918 – The return to “His Mother, Romania”

The fall of Tsarism in February 1917, the deepening of the process of democratization of Russia in the following months will also dynamize the Romanian national movement in Bessarabia.¹⁰⁹ In April 1917, a motion was adopted to demand administrative, economic, religious, and cultural autonomy within Russia;¹¹⁰ the National Moldavian Party, led by Vasile Stroescu, Pantelimon Halippa, Paul/Pavel Gore, is organized – to which the refugees (from Old Kingdom, Bukovina, and Transylvania),¹¹¹ such as Onisifor Ghibu (1883-1972)¹¹² and Romulus Cioflec (1882-1955)¹¹³ contributed through an activity that will prove remarkable –: “The Moldavian National Party did not appear on the initiative of a small group of fighters but was the product the general predisposition of Bessarabian society to radical upheavals following the fall of Tsarism.”¹¹⁴

On May 25, 1917, the Teachers’ Congress opens, when Paul Gore addresses for the first time to a meeting of the Bessarabian intellectuals with the words of *the Romanian brothers (frați români)*. Here is what Onisifor Ghibu writes in his notes:

Mr. Gore opens the congress hurrying those present with the words: *Romanian brothers*, who were interrupted by many of the audience who shouted: “We are not Romanians, but Moldovans”. Mr. Gore

was astonished at these words and said, "I am very sorry, gentlemen, but I know the history of our nation and know that it is called the Romanian nation." Again interruptions: "We are Moldavian, not Romanians." The Romanian people live in many countries, so we have Transylvanian Romanians, Romanians from Bucovina, Wallachians, Oltenians, Moldavians, and Macedonian (Romanians / Aromanians), but in a word we are all Romanians. Moldavian people are not. But if you are more pleased to say to you Moldovan brothers, here you are saying: "Moldavian brothers" (*frați moldoveni*).¹¹⁵

In the context of the revolutionary events in Russia in the summer and autumn of 1917, the Moldovan Congress of soldiers, sailors, and officers from all over Russia (October 20-27)¹¹⁶ was convened in Chisinau with the participation of over 800 delegates representing almost 250,000 of soldiers.

The Congress declared the territorial and political autonomy of Bessarabia in a hypothetical Russia, a democratic federal republic. It is decided to establish the Moldovan military units, the passage of monastic estates,¹¹⁷ the state, and individuals in the hands of those who work (in a way that will be decided by the future Constituent), the nationalization of education, maintaining links with organizations over the Dniester (10 places in the Country Council – *Sfatul Țării*), rigorous respect for minority rights, etc. The Congress decided to immediately establish the *Sfatul Țării* (the idea being older) for the administration of all the affairs of the Autonomous Basarab, until the Constitution was elected by universal, equal, direct, and secret vote.¹¹⁸

Overcoming, therefore, the prejudices, which, historically, explain in the months to come – given that Ukraine (proclaiming its independence on January 22, 1918) was aiming at the incorporation of Bessarabia – the process of national consciousness will deepen;¹¹⁹ in autumn the Bessarabian political and territorial autonomy is proclaimed, and on November 21st / December 4th the *Sfatul Țării* works (it consisted of 150 members: 105 Romanians,¹²⁰ 15 Ukrainians, 14 Jews, 7 Russians, 2 Germans, 2 Bulgarians, 2 Gagauzians, 1 Polish, 1 Armenian, and 1 Greek)¹²¹ – the occasion with which the first national flag is sanctified, under whose flips the first Romanian regiment defiles.

Sfatul Țării was the corner stone on which the order and peace of the province would be based. He had to quench anarchy, gather Moldovans in various organizations, laying the foundations of a local dominion, to be permeated by the needs and pains of the country, and to enjoy the trust of all. Political circumstances have also speeded up the implementation of the *Sfatul Țării*. The Provisional Government

of Petrograd, after enrolling in the Revolutionary Program of the People's Autonomy, tried all the means to frustrate this right. The Bolsheviks, as they come to power, give a proclamation declaring that they recognize the same rights as the Russians in all the nations of the former empire. The crowds can decide their fate, splitting themselves entirely from Russia in stand-alone states. On the other hand, the Ukrainian Central Council (*Rada*) publishes a *Universal*, which informs the people that "Petrograd plays a crazy dance" and Russia is lost. He proclaimed the autonomous republic country with the duty to enter the future Federative Russia, but as part of itself.¹²² The laws will be drafted by the Ukrainian Constitution, to be convened at the end of 1917. Ukraine separating itself from the central government of Petrograd, Bessarabia remains totally isolated and forced to determine its own life. It hastened the founding of the supreme organ – *Sfatul Țării* (...). The elections in *Sfatul Țării*, in order to have a truly democratic spirit, had to be made by public, direct and equal vote, but that was impossible in that state.¹²³

Referring to this fundamental institution, a well-known scientist from the Republic of Moldova mentions that

the Romanian historians have seen in the *Sfatul Țării* a supreme institution of state power, elected in consensus with the democratic norms of time, invested with legislative, democratic prerogatives, which faithfully reflects the social, political and national structure of the Bessarabian society. It is noteworthy that in the studies published in the post-Communist period most Romanian historians have characterized *Sfatul Țării* as a representative "organ" of Bessarabia, while most Moldavian researchers tend to treat *Sfatul Țării* as "parliament" of Bessarabia. As a matter of fact, some and others have argued with great clarity that from the moment of its constitution, *Sfatul Țării* has become the sole legitimate exponent of the sovereignty of the Moldavian Republic (Bessarabia).¹²⁴

Considering the contemporary zonal and international context, it is clear today – with the legitimacy¹²⁵ of this representative assembly of Bessarabians – that

those who do not agree with the decisions and the very existence of *Sfatul Țării* should present the more legitimate alternatives and more representatives at that time. However, the first Parliament of Bessarabia was constituted by the will of the local population, freely expressed in congresses of the military, pedagogues, peasants, and priests,¹²⁶ unlike the soviets or other reactionary organizations. To accuse the members of *Sfatul Țării*¹²⁷ of not having acted

democratically, in the present sense of the notion, namely to impute to them that they have not organized a plebiscite on union, is both anachronistic and aberrant. However, the Tsarist Empire did not ask the Moldavians in 1812, nor did the Soviet Union organize a referendum when re-asserting Bessarabia in 1940 and 1944.¹²⁸

Among the members of *Sfatul Țării* were Nicolae Alexandri (1859-1931), Elena Alistar (1873-1955),¹²⁹ Alexandru Baltagă (1861-1941), Vasile Bărcă (1884-1949),¹³⁰ Nicolae Bivol (1882-1940), Vladimir Bodescu (1868-1941), Dimitrie Bogos (1889-1946),¹³¹ Ștefan Bulat (1892-1963), Ion Buzdugan (secretary, 1887-1967),¹³² Petru Cazacu, Dumitru Cărauș (1892-?1940), Vasile Cijevschi (1881-1931), Vlad Chiorescu (1887-?), Ion T. Costin (1887-1940),¹³³ Pavel Cocârlă (1893-?), Anton Crihan (1893-1993),¹³⁴ Gheorghe Druță (1881-?1941-1944), Pantelimon Erhan (1884-1971), Pantelimon Halippa, Vasile Harea (1895-1987),¹³⁵ Ștefan Holban (1886-1961), Ion Inculeț (1884-1940), Theofil Ioncu (1885-1954), Vasile Lașcu (1857-?), Mihail Minciună (1884-1935), Nicolae Moghileanschi (1877-1966), Gheorghe Năstase (1896-1985),¹³⁶ Gherman Pântea (1894-1968),¹³⁷ Ion Pelivan, Elefterie Sinicliu (1895-?), Constantin Stere, Iorgu Tudor (1885-1974), Vladimir V. Țiganko (1887-1934)¹³⁸, and others.¹³⁹

On December 2/15, 1917, *Sfatul Țării* will proclaim the Moldavian Democratic Republic,¹⁴⁰ Ion Inculeț¹⁴¹ being elected president.

At the beginning of 1918, as the anarchy threatened to destabilize the Republic, the Romanian authorities¹⁴² would strengthen the process of reintegration of Bessarabia into Mother-Country, sending two divisions¹⁴³ over the Prut to save the province from the imminence of the civil war due to the destabilizing and anarchic actions in the area,¹⁴⁴ units that enter Chisinau on 13/27 January 1918: “for us, the Moldavians – *will declare later Ion Inculeț* –, for our national movement, the entry of the Romanian Army into Chisinau was an element of decisive importance. The Romanian elements have gained more courage and more hopes for the future.”¹⁴⁵ The Cultural Society of the Romanians in Bessarabia, led by Paul Gore, will send an “emotional” message to General Ernest Broșteanu, Commander of the 11th Infantry Division on March 28th / April 10th, 1918: “On January 13, 1918, at the forefront of your valuable division, you entered the capital of Bessarabia, which was then the worst anarchy. The lack of the most primitive guarantees of social life paralyzes any manifestation of spirit and culture. We were asphyxiated in that dreadful atmosphere. The arrival of your reign has saved the remnants of our culture and even our lives.”¹⁴⁶

On January 24, 1918,¹⁴⁷ *Sfatul Țării* unanimously voted for independence, “in virtue of the situation that was created and in accordance with the will of the people.” Ion Inculeț was elected President of the Republic, and as Chief of the Government – Dr. Daniel Ciugureanu (1885-1950)¹⁴⁸: “Read first in the Moldavian patois by Pan Halippa, then also in

Russian by Pantelimon Erhan, the Declaration proclaims *Sfatul Țării* as the Supreme Body of the Republic, and the former Council of Directors-General, the Council of Ministers, which was meant to highlight the new status of the RDM.”¹⁴⁹

At the same time, the idea of union is radicalized within the population, the councils demanding publicly the consecration of this act of justice and national reparation. Having the consent of the representatives of the Entente, the Romanian Government encourages the demands of the Bessarabian brothers, helped in their approach and by Constantin Stere (coopted in *Sfatul Țării*).¹⁵⁰ This is how the historic Declaration of 27 March / April 9, 1918¹⁵¹ (“It is not a Romanian from Bessarabia that did not feel in his soul that this day must live, and it is here, I am happy to have grabbed it”¹⁵² – said Dr. Daniel Ciugureanu on the banquet offered by the Prime-Minister (March-October 1918) Alexandru Marghiloman (1854-1925)¹⁵³ to *Sfatul Țării* and to the Bessarabian officials) by the members of the council of the country – on behalf of the people of Bessarabia, this representative and legitimate body of the Bessarabian population proclaims

The Democratic Moldavian Republic (Bessarabia), within its borders between the Prut, the Dniester, the Danube, the Black Sea and its former borders with Austria, having torn part by Russia from the body ancient Moldavia than hundred years and more ago; by virtue of its historical right and its national right; based on the principle that nations should determine their own faith – it shall, as of today and forever, became united with *his mother* (our emphasis), Romania.¹⁵⁴

On March 30, the official reception of *Sfatul Țării* delegation takes place in Iași – the entire historical process of the Union is largely reflected in the Romanian press of the time¹⁵⁵ –, and at the royal residence there will be an official breakfast, to which King Ferdinand will address “the brethren from across the Prut”:

I greet you, brothers from across the Prut.

You are the ones who have understood that the feeling that long ago reigned in the hearts of our Moldavian brothers of Bessarabia, you understood it so well that today we can talk to each other and as brothers and friends.

Today we celebrate the realization of a dream that long ago laid in the hearts of all Romanians from beyond and here the Prut’s waters.

You made a bridge from the border, joining Mother-Country, and that’s why we welcome you.

You have joined in tough times for Mother-Country as a young child, but with a truly Romanian heart.

We welcome at yours a beautiful part of a dream that will never be erased.

That is why I raise my glass to the health of our brethren, embraced by Me with the same warmth of the parental love.

Long live the smallest child, but maybe the vigorous of Romania-Mother!¹⁵⁶

Modernization in Greater Romania

One hundred and three years have passed there, since this historic decision of the brethren across the Prut, from the post of 1918 – the “astral hour of the Romanian people”,¹⁵⁷ in a historical context favorable to the affirmation of the principle of nationalities:

With reference to the space the principle of nationalities, as a fundamental element in the establishment of a new political order, superior to that existing in the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the next century, with its corollary – the constitution of unitary, national and independent states, the formation of the New Romania, appeared in 1918 on the political map of the post-war world through plebiscite acts of self-determination until the separation from the old state formations, expressing its ethnic boundaries;¹⁵⁸

a ruling validated after 1919 by international treaties,¹⁵⁹ – and international conferences, the most important being the one in Paris (1919-1920)¹⁶⁰ –, and, in the 1920s and 1940s, in a continuous and difficult, for Romania,¹⁶¹ “the battle for Bessarabia”¹⁶² – as, lately, Moldovan historians reveal in solid research papers.¹⁶³

In the interwar period¹⁶⁴ the Romanian counties between Prut and Dniestr experienced an accentuated process of modernization¹⁶⁵ and integration¹⁶⁶ at all levels – it is true, not without inherent difficulties and “difficulties”¹⁶⁷:

For Bessarabia, in particular, the union of 1918 was the precondition of the effort of political, economic, social, and cultural modernization efforts made in the process of disseminating values and forms of institutional and economic organization from the West through Romania’s decision makers.¹⁶⁸

In his *Protest* at the session of the committees of Foreign Policy of the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate of July 2, 1940, the professor and national militant Ștefan Ciobanu (1883-1950), showed among others:

Those 22 years of national life in the Romanian state have led to enormous progress on the cultural, social, and economic land. Illiteracy, this shame of Tsarist rule, almost disappears. Agrarian reform made equally for all nationalities leads to a blossoming rural economy,¹⁶⁹ and the minorities¹⁷⁰ (those mentioned above, but also others, such as Gagauz,¹⁷¹ Jews,¹⁷² Germans,¹⁷³ Poles,¹⁷⁴ or Roma / Gypsies¹⁷⁵ – our note) in Bessarabia enjoy rights that they have never enjoyed under Russians. Evidence is that, with all the communist propaganda through numerous agents, by the creation of the Moldavian Republic,¹⁷⁶ which is an indication that the Romanian element is predominant even between the Dniester and the Bug,¹⁷⁷ by setting up the radio station for the same purposes in Tiraspol, has not produced any results; in Bessarabia reigned perfect peace. And the many free elections in Bessarabia that had a truly plebiscitary character for this province, with many minority deputies, were a brilliant confirmation of the good feelings for Romania of the whole population of Bessarabia.¹⁷⁸

And the results of scientific research today confirm the appreciation of Professor Ștefan Ciobanu:

A balanced look over the period 1918-1940, with its undeniable achievements in relation to the previous situation, with the inherent difficulties after a long war and with the deficiencies, excesses and, abuses that accompanied it, allowed us to better understand Romania's entry into a state, a new stage of his history, which lasted only 22 years, under the sign of the Great Union. Not all the problems have been resolved, or solved, by certain social categories and political circles¹⁷⁹ there have been no abuses, demagoguery, restrictive measures. Nevertheless, unquestionably, the whole of Romania has gone up an upward road, Romania was not only a greater Romanian but also a more democratic one than the old Romania; at the same time, Romania enrolled among the democratic states of the time, refusing – at least until 1938 – an authoritarian or dictatorial regime.¹⁸⁰

Progress is all the more notable given the specificity of historical evolution of the old Romanian territory within the Tsarist Empire:

Unlike Transylvania and Bucovina, where there was a large Romanian intelligence that could take over all administrative functions in Bessarabia, because Romanian language had been banned and relations with Romania obstructed by the Tsarist regime, there was no such possibility. As a result, it was necessary that posts that could not be covered by locals be assigned to officials brought

from the Old Kingdom.¹⁸¹ The reference to Bessarabia – the most backward Romanian province – was regarded by some as a punishment, working here indiscriminately and even committing abuses. Of this category were especially gendarmes who often showed negligent or exaggerated behavior towards the local population. However, many teachers, professors, and priests settled in Bessarabia considered their presence in the towns and villages to be a true apostle, working diligently and devotedly to raise the level of culture of their peers, especially children and the elders (through the adults' schools).¹⁸²

In the cultural sphere¹⁸³ – in coexistence with the perpetuation of folk customs and traditions¹⁸⁴ – as well as in education,¹⁸⁵ the results are remarkable, a real “spiritual rebirth” took place,¹⁸⁶ compared to the situation up to 1918, especially by increasing the number of literate persons:

A true “cultural revolution” (according to the Bessarabian historian Alexandru Boldur, 1886-1982, – our note) has occurred in the field of education, especially in the primary and secondary schools. In education, the Tsarist heritage was lamentable: according to the census of 1897 in Bessarabia, the book scholars made up 15.6%, and among the native population (the Romanians) the situation of affairs was even more deplorable – among men they knew only 10 books, 5%, and only 1.7% among women.

The Romanian State has made special efforts to literate children and adults. The Bessarabian intellectuals demanded the nationalization of the school in 1917. After the Union, this process has become more dynamic. The authorities organized lectures for teachers. A great role was played by teachers, and culture people from the rest of the country. These were true “apostles”, who made acts of heroism. If before 1918 there was no Romanian school, after 1918 their number increased sensitively, so that in January 1939 there was 2,718 schools, with 7,581 teachers and 346,747 children. There were state and private schools: out of the 97 private schools (1938), 75 were Jewish, 5 German, 4 Polish, 1 Ukrainian, 2 Russian, and 10 Romanian. In 1940 in Bessarabia there were 26 high schools (17 boys and 9 girls), 24 gymnasiums and other general culture schools attended by 17,350 pupils. The graduates of Bessarabia high schools had the opportunity to continue their studies at the universities in Iași, Bucharest, and Cluj or in Western European university centers.

In November 1926, the Faculty of Orthodox Theology started working in Chisinau,¹⁸⁷ and in April 1933 the Faculty of Agricultural Sciences opened its doors – both of which were extension of the University of Iași. Thus, the bases of Bessarabia's higher education

were laid in Chişinău. In 1919 the Conservatory “Unirea” was opened, in 1925 – the National Conservatory, in 1936 – the Municipal Conservatory. Bessarabia offered to world culture unbeatable artists: Eugeniu Coca (1893-1954), Ştefan Neaga (1900-1951), Maria Cebotari (1910-1949), and others.

In the inter-war Bessarabia functioned the National Theater in Chişinău, the Central University Library, and the National Museum of History. Here books and magazines were printed (*Viaţa Basarabiei* remains a source of documentation for historians), newspapers,¹⁸⁸ both in Romanian and in other languages of the inhabiting ethnicities.”¹⁸⁹

Chisinau, with a rich medieval and modern history,¹⁹⁰ will become the second city of Romania (after Bucharest).

After more than a century of foreign domination, Bessarabia and Chisinau in particular returns to the natural bed of history. The difficult years of war, chaos and ruin have lagged behind. Gradually peace and order are restored. Chisinau, as well as the entire historical province, of which it was part, starts on the path of some great transformation, to revitalize the spirit Romanian national.¹⁹¹ Under the royal scepter,¹⁹² the foundations of some institutions are laid democratic, which were almost completely absent. Integration starts Bessarabia in the Romanian political-economic and cultural life. Chisinau becomes one of the great urban centers of Romania. The city gradually regains its Romanian appearance. Here a string is opened state institutions, cultural institutions, schools, lyceums, printing houses, libraries, kindergartens of children, theaters.¹⁹³

Of course, as we have recalled, the difficulties of integrating the population as a whole have not been few, as evidenced by the researchers today, which also reveals the motivations of a historical nature:

In the interwar period, the population of Bessarabia remained unreceptive to the “culturalization” activity of the Romanian state. The process of raising awareness of the ethnic identity of the native population was tedious because “the Bessarabians understood differently how to affirm their belonging to the Romanian nation, and the vicissitudes of the period determined even more the preservation of regional identity to the detriment of the pan-Romanian one.”¹⁹⁴ Two decades after the Great Union, they could not fundamentally change the direction of awareness of Romanian identity, because the policy of colonization of the Tsarist population with heterogeneous elements altered the composition of the urban population, with only 31% of Moldavians, the rest of the population encompassing a

genuine “Macedonian population.”¹⁹⁵ Although to a lesser extent, important changes also occurred in the ethnic aspect of the Moldavian villages in Bessarabia. Thus, the general census of 29 December 1930 certified, apart from the majority Romanian population, 71.9% of the total, a population of minority origin with a weight of 28.1%, out of which the Russian population was 352 thousand people – 12.3%, the Russians being the second ethnic group after Moldavians. It is worth mentioning that in the urban environment the Bessarabian Romanians were minority, they constituted only 31.0% and the rest of the population was allogeneic.¹⁹⁶

Also, the Bessarabian church life,¹⁹⁷ with a rich tradition,¹⁹⁸ met under the leadership of Metropolitan Gurie (1887-1943),¹⁹⁹ a beautiful development – there were raised dozens of places of Orthodox cult (but also to other cults), and many priests ranged figures with great moral and cultural authority²⁰⁰:

In the interwar period in Bessarabia were built over 100 new churches, especially in the Bessarabian villages, but also in some of the most imposing cities, by architectural dimension and style, being the cathedrals in Bălți and Tighina. The Archdiocese and then the Metropolitan Church of Bessarabia²⁰¹ published an impressive number of church books and newspapers that were spread throughout the province, being circulated by priests carrying out a work of parish culture.

An important role was played by Gurie Grosu,²⁰² a graduate of the Spiritual Academy (*Academia Duhovnicească*) in Kiev, an active militant for the preservation and affirmation of the national conscience of the Romanians in Bessarabia, editor of the *Luminătorul* magazine (published in 1908 in Chișinău), author of a Romanian-language alphabet (1917), and militant for the union of Bessarabia with Romania. Gurie Grosu was elected in July 1918 by the Holy Synod of Bucharest the vicar of the Moldavian Metropolitan Church (under the title “Botoșăneanu”), in 1919 – Archbishop of the Archdiocese of Chișinău (with the title “of Bălți”), in 1920 – archbishop of Chișinău and Hotin, in 1928 – Metropolitan of Bessarabia (until 1936).²⁰³

The geopolitical position of the Romanian territory between the Prut and Nistru would, however, be permanently “attacked” by the great and powerful Eastern neighbor, the Romanian Kingdom being forced to take specific measures to defend its space:

Interwar Romania was always harassed by the USSR.²⁰⁴ In 1924 a Soviet commando crossed the Dniester and attempted to raise an

insurrection to Tatar-Bunar.²⁰⁵ In October 1924, the USSR created a bridgehead to conquer Bessarabia, Sovietizing the rest of Romania and the Balkans.²⁰⁶ This bridgehead was called RASSM,²⁰⁷ like Belarus to Poland or Karelia to Finland. The Government of Bucharest took the necessary measures to ensure state security,²⁰⁸ all the more so as Soviet agents systematically crossed the Dniestr with the task of destabilizing the internal situation. Under such conditions, Bucharest was forced (forced by circumstances) to introduce forces of the Gendarmerie, so blasted by the Bolshevik press. The government also modernized the police, where 20 per cent were officers and troops from the rest of Romania, and 80 per cent were Bessarabians.

Much has been written about the inefficiency of the Bessarabian administration. This was largely the case: many times, in Bessarabia, corrupt administrators, arguing with law or common sense, were punished. It would not be an excuse, but even in other regions of Romania the administration was not better. The criticisms were not regional but national.²⁰⁹

In Greater Romania, Bessarabia naturally held a special place, thanks to Soviet Russia's refusal to recognize the new situation of affairs and an international context as confusing as aporetically. The Romanian-Russian negotiations did not lead to the desired outcome. On the contrary, the Soviet Union has maintained a state of unease,²¹⁰ creating even a small Moldavian republic in Transnistria as an avant-garde of the old expansionary policy. Only in the Briand-Kellog Pact (1929) there was a certain pacifist relaxation, which Romania (represented at the Foreign Affairs by N. Titulescu²¹¹) would seek to take advantage, but never reached a real state of peace.

On the contrary, the Russo-German Pact in Moscow on 23 August 1939 increased the anxiety and finally led to the annexation of Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina by the Soviets (June 28, 1940), under conditions of unspeakable dramatism for the Romanians in the area and for country as a whole.²¹²

Interwar period is no doubt, therefore, a long period in the history of the Romanian territory between the Prut and the Dniester, which, however, will not last much longer: by the will of Great Powers²¹³ – the unfortunate Pact Ribbentrop-Molotov²¹⁴ has consequences until today – decades later, the injustice and stigma of History will turn away again, the former territory of Moldova being once again writhing – part of the ancestral national body that is suppressing today.

Romania's territory between Prut and Dniestr was re-annexed by the USSR in June 1940.

In this tragic year²¹⁵ in Bessarabia the policy of forced resettlement of the population was applied.²¹⁶ Instead of the German colonists picked up and sent to the Third Reich, the Soviets brought Ukrainians and Poles from the Eastern regions of Poland, which no longer existed as a state on the political map of Europe since then. Taking advantage of the departure of Germans, along with them ran many Bessarabian Romanians, as well as people of other ethnicities, citizens of Romania.

The Soviet repressive organs soon made triage of the population according to “class” criteria: all “elements” considered hostile to the proletariat (read to the Soviet regime) were prepared for deportation in the North and Eastern regions of the USSR. The deportation operation began on the night of June 12 to June 13, 1941. According to the existing data, the Bolsheviks managed to send 22,000 Bessarabians to Siberia (the plan meant sending 85,000 innocent people). Although the raptor of Bessarabia, Northern Bukovina, and Herța region worried population of these territories, though part of the ethnic cohabiting welcomed the arrival of Soviet military forces, joining this aggressive act of the Bolsheviks.²¹⁷ The philoSoviet agency in Bessarabia and Bukovina partially smoothed the invader’s path, the latter using it in inferior functions as a tool for exercising its authority.²¹⁸

The following year, this space of the Romanian State was released, in the context of the Second World War, and re-incorporated into the borders of the Mother-Land in June-July 1941²¹⁹:

Was it possible under these circumstances – *rightly the historian and the political man Gheorghe I. Brătianu* (1898-1953) *in a synthesis from 1943* – that Romania would remain impassable when offered the opportunity on June 22, 1941, and refuse to take part in the war waged by Germany against the Soviets, that to resume the provinces that have been forcibly torn apart despite all the commitments and promises? Could it be possible to retain the army’s impetus that was fully aware that he had lost on the Dniester, not just Bessarabia, but all the Romanian frontiers of 1919? The military action that Romania took part in does not need any further justification.²²⁰

Conclusion

We, those in Romania, *the Motherland*, hope that the new annexation – a dagger thrown into the unitary body of the Country – will eventually be invalidated by History, the Bessarabian Romanians regaining the spiritual

resources²²¹ which were animated the leaders of the Great Union's generation²²² – in spite of the “identity dilemmas”,²²³ actions of “Moldovanization”²²⁴ and “statehood”,²²⁵ older or today, including by conceiving history works (or teaching History in the discipline²²⁶) of greater or lesser extent;²²⁷ as the Romanian society beyond Prut will be constituted by the economic, democratic, moral, and spiritual components as recipients as a stimulus and model of civilization of the Romanians gathered,²²⁸ again, in a single national state (whose Sovereignty²²⁹ was proclaimed on June 23, 1990, and Independence on August 27, 1991) – within the European Union²³⁰ –, the dream of the generations of patriots fighters for the accomplishment of Greater Romania – ideally materialized in the “astral” year 1918.

I will not reveal, here, other thematic concerns of the Historiography of the Republic of Moldova, being undeniable that this so important component of scientific research – with a national-educational role of the first order – is constituted, and should be, in one of the most solid pillars of the state; and the place and appreciation enjoyed by Clio's servants are, I think, in agreement that this position of historiography and appreciation from Moldovan officials – testimony is the establishment (in 2011) of the Day of the Historian of the Republic of Moldova – June 18 (as in Romania it does not exist).²³¹

As an appreciation for many Moldovan historians, other colleagues have dedicated in their honor a number of volumes:

Studia in Honorem Pavel Cocârlă (b. 1946), *Studii de istorie medie și modernă*, Volum îngrijit de Igor Ojog, Cartdidact, *Studium*, Chișinău, 2006, 278 pp.

Civilizația medievală și modernă în Moldova. Studii. In honorem Demir Dragnev (b. 1936), Academia de Științe a Moldovei, Institutul de Istorie, Stat și Drept, Civitas, Chișinău, 2006, 464 pp.²³²

Historia est Magistra Vitae. Civilizație, valori, paradigme, personalități. In honorem profesor Ion Eremia (b. 1954), Facultatea de Istorie și Filozofie a Universității de Stat din Moldova, Biblioteca Științifică (Institut) “Andrei Lupan”, Editor Constantin Manolache, Biblioteca Științifică Centrală “Andrei Lupan” (Institut), Chișinău, 2019, 648 pp.

Istorie și cultură. In honorem academician Andrei Eșanu (b. 1948), Ministerul Educației, Culturii și Cercetării al Republicii Moldova, Institutul de Istorie, Biblioteca Științifică (Institut) “Andrei Lupan”, Editor Constantin Manolache, dr. hab. în științe politice, Coordonatori dr. hab. în istorie Gheorghe Cojocaru, dr. hab. în istorie Igor Cereteu, Responsabili de ediție Ion Valer Xenofontov, dr. în istorie, Silvia Corlăteanu-Granciuc, dr. în

istorie, Biblioteca Științifică, Secția editorial-poligrafică, Chișinău, 2018, 780 pp.²³³

Țara Moldovei în contextul civilizației europene, Materialele Simpozionului Internațional, Noiembrie, 2008, Chișinău, *In honorem Gheorghe Gontă* (1948-2015), Cartdidact, Chișinău, 2008, 768 pp.

Politica marilor puteri în Balcani și Europa Centrală. In honorem Gheorghe Gontă, Materialele Simpozionului Internațional, Chișinău, 10-13 octombrie, 2013, Garamont-Studio, Chișinău, 2013, 564 pp.

In honorem Alexandru Moșanu (1932-2017). *Studii de istorie medievală, modernă și contemporană a românilor*, Coordonator Nicolae Enciu, Presa Universitară Clujeană, Cluj-Napoca, 2012, 726 pp.

In memoriam professoris Mihail Muntean (1922-1983). *Studii de istorie modernă*, Volum editat de Valentin Tomuleț, Igor Șarov, Igor Ojog, Aurel Zanoci, Cartdidact, Chișinău, 2003, 284 pp.

Studia in Honorem Ion Niculiță (b. 1939). *Omagiu cu prilejul împlinirii a 60 de ani*, Editori Tudor Arnăuț, Aurel Zanoci, Sergiu Matveev, Cartdidact, Chișinău, 1999, 322 pp.

Contribuții la preistoria și istoria antică a spațiului Carpato-Danubiano-Pontic. In honorem professoris Ion Niculiță natalia sua octogesima celebrantis, Editori Aurel Zanoci, Mihail Băț, Cartdidact, Chișinău, 2019, 444 pp.

In Memoriam Gheorghe Palade 1950-2016. Editori Valentin Arapu, Anatol Petrencu, Corneliu Ciucanu, Cuvânt înainte de Ion Agrigoroaiei, Prefață de Anatol Petrencu, Bons Offices, Chișinău, 2016, 616 pp.

Probleme actuale ale istoriei naționale. Studii în onoarea profesorului Pavel Parasca (b. 1939), Universitatea Liberă Internațională din Moldova, Editori Ludmila Coadă, conf. univ., dr., Pavel Parasca, conf. univ., dr. hab., ULIM, Chișinău, 2009, 356 pp.

Reconstituiri istorice. Civilizație, valori, paradigme, personalități. In honorem academician Valeriu Pasat (b. 1958), Ministerul Educației, Culturii și Cercetării al Republicii Moldova, Institutul de Istorie, Biblioteca Științifică (Institut) "Andrei Lupan", Editor dr. hab. în științe politice Constantin Manolache, Coordonatori dr. hab. în istorie Gheorghe Cojocaru, dr. hab. în istorie Nicolae Enciu, Responsabili de ediție dr. în istorie Ion Valer Xenofontov, dr. în istorie Silvia Corlăteanu-Granciuc, Biblioteca Științifică, Secția editorial-poligrafică, Chișinău, 2018, 628 pp.²³⁴

Anatol Petrencu (b. 1954). *Un sfert de secol în slujba adevărului*, Asociația Istoricilor din Republica Moldova, Biblioteca Națională a Republicii Moldova, Alcătuitori Ion Negrei Maria Sargun, Cartdidact, Chișinău, 2005, 124 pp.

Studii de istorie veche și medievală. Omagiu profesorului Gheorghe Postică (b. 1954), Volum îngrijit de Tudor Arnăuț, Octavian Munteanu, Sergiu Musteață, Pontos, Chișinău, 2004, 284 pp.²³⁵

In honorem Ion Țișcanu (b. 1951). *Studii de istorie a românilor*, Academia de Științe a Moldovei, Institutul de Istorie, Stat și Drept, Universitatea de Stat “Bogdan Petriceicu Hasdeu” din Cahul, Coordonator Nicolae Enciu, f. e., Cahul, 2011, 540 pp.

In honorem Anatol Țăranu (b. 1951). *Studii de istorie contemporană a românilor*, Academia de Științe a Moldovei, Institutul de Istorie, Stat și Drept, Coordonator Nicolae Enciu, CEP USM, Chișinău, 2011, 294 pp.

Ad Honorem Victor Țivircun (b. 1955). *Dialogul civilizațiilor. Interferențe istorice și culturale*, Culegere de articole, Academia de Științe a Moldovei, *Dialogue of Civilizations. Historical and Cultural Interferences*, Collection of Articles, Academy of Sciences of Moldova, Cartdidact, Chișinău, 2015, 308 pp.

NOTES:

¹ On August 23-24, 2021, the Center of Excellence Institute of Social History “ProMemoria” (led by Professor Anatol Petrencu), from the State University of Moldova, organized the *International Scientific Conference “30 years since the proclamation of Independence of the Republic of Moldova”* (the papers presented are being prepared for the Conference volume).

² Under the title “La ceas aniversar. 30 de ani de la proclamarea Independenței Republicii Moldova. Interviu,” *Revista de istorie a Moldovei* (edited by the Institute of History, led by the historian Gheorghe Cojocaru), requested (questions recorded by Dr. Hab. Nicolae Enciu, deputy editor-in-chief of the magazine) “the opinion of elite intellectuals from the Republic of Moldova and Romania, with the status not only of careful and deep observers of the historical process, but also of active participants in current events and processes, who were asked to answer questions from the generic survey 30 years since the proclamation Independence of the Republic of Moldova.” One of the questions was about are, in their view, “the major changes in science and, in particular, in historical research and the teaching of history in all these years?”

Professor Victor Spinei (born in Bessarabia), vice-president of the Romanian Academy: “I am particularly pleased to note that historical research has made great progress, with elaborate scholarly works for all historical periods, from the Paleolithic to the present. Many Bessarabian archaeologists and historians had the chance of documentary internships in Romania and in Western countries, quickly getting rid of Marxist-Leninist doctrinal dogmas some. In order to establish themselves in the international scientific world, it would be necessary for their presence at scientific events and in publications abroad to be more coherent.”

But, the Bessarabian interviewees are much more critical.

Moldavian Historian, Assoc. Prof., Dr. Anatol Țăranu (Institute of History): “With reference to historical science, the situation has evolved from the rebirth of national historiography, in the early 90s, to the danger of its shameful degradation, caused by the lack of funding from the state, produced recently. The only systemic

research institution of national history – the former Institute of History of the ASM, was deprived of institutional funding from the state, thus fatally damaging the process of assertion and development of national historiography. A people who gives up their own concept of national history will live and educate their children in accordance with the values of history formulated by foreigners. This is the price of political imposture in relation to national historiography. The ignorance of the achievements of the national historiography by the Moldovan politician in all 30 years of existence of the state of the Republic of Moldova, led to the ambiguity of the state policy in the issue of education and affirmation of national identity.

Prof. Univ., Dr. Hab. Anatol Petrencu (State University of Moldova, Faculty of History and Philosophy): “In the field of science, in the Republic of Moldova there was an obvious decline. The communist regime took care of science, of course, in its own interest, both ideologically and materially. The Academy of Sciences of Moldova had to be reformed, but not as it is today.

Historical science is Cinderella in the Republic of Moldova. The authorities do not forbid us to research the past, but they do nothing to help the institutions of studying history as little as possible. In the USSR the textbooks of contemporary history were published every year, the textbooks at other times – once every four years. It was the law that was obeyed. What is the situation with the history textbooks in the Republic of Moldova? Why, after the fall of V. Voronin’s communist dictatorship, the new democracies did not return to the situation they were until the introduction of ‘integrated’ history textbooks, i.e. Romanian History (special course with exams at the end) and Universal History (special course with exam or colloquium at the end of the school year)? And the questions are not over.” “Unanswered questions”, in *Revista de istorie a Moldovei*, Nr. 3-4 (127-128), Iul.-Dec. 2021, pp. 9, 12, 15.

³ As for me, I have drawn, in larger or smaller spaces, a series of profiles of some Seniors of Clio, published in Romanian periodicals and collective volumes (Ion Bitoleanu, Ion Bulei, Constantin Bușe, Gheorghe Buzatu, Ionel Căndea, Ioan Chiper, Nicolae Ciachir, Valentin Ciorbea, Gheorghe Dumitrașcu, Tasin Gemil, Ion Giurcă, Dinu C. Giurescu, Gheorghe I. Ioniță, Șerban Papacostea, Radu Păiușan, Ioan-Aurel Pop, Dumitru Preda, Ioan Scurtu, Victor Spinei, Nicolae-Șerban Tanașoca, Petre Țurlea, Gheorghe Zbucnea, Alexandru Zub, and others) (but also from abroad – Stephen Fischer-Galați, René Girault, Halil İnalçık, Kemal Karpat, Jacob M. Landau, Max Demeter Peyfuss); respectively, an attempt at synthesis – Stoica Lascu, “The Paradigmatic Polyvalence of Romanian Historiography. Past and Present – Themes, Authors, Orientations,” in *Transylvanian Review*, Cluj-Napoca, Vol. XXI, Supplement Nr. 4, 2012, pp. 357-390.

⁴ Stoica Lascu, “Cum să nu fie de actualitate în a releva generațiilor de astăzi lucrările și spusele – puțin ori deloc știute – ale unor oameni de știință care s-au ridicat în apărarea pământului românesc al Basarabiei ori a Istoriografiei fraților noștri din spațiul pruto-nistrean?” Interviu realizat de Mariana Terra, in *Romanian Journal*, New York (since 1989), Nr. 849, 12 August, 2020, pp. 18-19; Nr. 850, 16 Septembrie, 2020, pp. 18-19.

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- ⁶ Dumitru Th. Părvu, *Problema Basarabiei în lumina principiilor actelor juridice internaționale (Contribuții la cunoașterea raporturilor diplomatice româno-ruse)*, Studiu introductiv, note și indice de nume de Ion Constantin, Editura Bibliotecii Metropolitane București, București, 2013, p. 35.
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Basarabia în cadrul României întregite (1918-1940), pp. 429-442; also – Vol. 6: *Din secolul al XX-lea până în prezent*: chap. “Basarabia în cadrul Uniunii Sovietice,” pp. 482-490; more recently, a new edition, in a single volume – Ioan-Aurel Pop, Ioan Bolovan (ed.), *Marea istorie ilustrată a României și Republicii Moldova*, Ediție revizuită și actualizată, Litera, București–Chișinău–Cluj-Napoca–Iași, 2018, 816 pp.; the chapters dedicated to the Romanian space between Prut and Dniester, elaborated by Octavian Țăcu, are: “Basarabia de la dominația țaristă la Unirea cu România”, pp. 525-547; “Basarabia în cadrul României întregite (1918-1940),” pp. 587-605; “Basarabia în cadrul Uniunii Sovietice,” pp. 175-191; “Republica Moldova de la comunism la integrarea europeană (1991-2017),” pp. 692-711.

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⁷⁰ Ioan Aurelian Rus, “The Roots and Early Development of ‘Moldovan’ Romanian nationalism in Bessarabia (1900-1917),” in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie «A.D. Xenopol» Iași*, XXXIII, 1996, pp. 287-301; Ion Varta, “Câteva tentative de construire în Basarabia ale unor partide politice de orientare națională (1905-1912),” in *Tyrageția*, Revista Muzeului Național de Istorie a Moldovei, VI-VII, 1998, pp. 263-267; Gheorghe Negru, *Țarismul și mișcarea națională a românilor din Basarabia*, Prut Internațional, Clio, Chișinău, 2000, 200 pp.; see for the early 80s of the nineteenth century – Basarab, *Scrisori din Basarabia, 1880-1890*, vol. I: 1880-1883, Ediție de Tiberiu Avramescu, Întreprinderea Editorial-Poligrafică Știința, *Pagini despre Basarabia*, Editura Institutului Cultural Român, Chișinău – București, 1996, 316 pp.

⁷¹ Dinu Poștarencu, “Mănăstirile basarabene în vizorul politicii Imperiului Rus [Bessarabian Monasteries Under the Gaze of the Russian Empores’s Policy],” in *Revista de istorie a Moldovei*, Nr. 3-4, Iul.-Dec. 2020, pp. 140-157.

⁷² See, in context – Nicolae Popovschi, *Istoria Bisericii din Basarabia în veacul al XIX-lea sub ruși*, Din negura trecutului: crâmpoie de amintiri, Editura Museum, Chișinău, 2000, 504 pp., ediția princeps, 1931; Gheorghe Badea, “Învățămintul teologic și lupta Bisericii pentru limba națională în Basarabia din 1812 până la Unire,” in Mircea-Cristian Ghenghea, Bogdan Atanasiu (coord.), *Pro Basarabia – repere istorice și naționale*, Demiurg, Iași, 2007, pp. 87-115; Veaceslav Ciorbă, “Biserica Ortodoxă din Basarabia sub stăpânirea rusească (1812-1918),” in Sergiu Musteață (ed.), *Tratatul de Pace de la București din 1812...*, pp. 217-230; Tatiana Varta, “Consecințele raptului teritorial de la 1812 asupra Bisericii ortodoxe române din Basarabia,” in *Ibidem*, pp. 231-236; Silvia Scutaru, “Biserica ortodoxă – instrument de rusificare a Basarabiei sub regimul țarist,” in *Ibidem*, pp. 237-244; Gheorghe Negru, Dinu Poștarencu, *op. cit.*; Silvia Scutaru, “Tezele istoriografice

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⁷³ xxx *Cartea Moldovei. Sec. XVII – încep.sec. XX*, Vol. 3: *Cartea modernă, sec. XIX – înc.sec. XX. Catalog general*, Biblioteca Națională a Republicii Moldova, Redactor științific și autor al studiului introductiv acad. Andrei Eșanu, f. e., Chișinău, 2012, 632 pp.

⁷⁴ See – Igor Cereteu, *Cartea bisericească în mănăstirile din Republica Moldova*. Catalog, Academia de Științe a Moldovei, Biblioteca Științifică Centrală “Andrei Lupan” (Institut), Institutul de Istorie, f. e., Chișinău, 2016, 472 pp.

⁷⁵ Demir Dragnev, “Constatări cu privire la rolul statului românesc în mișcarea națională din Basarabia sub stăpânirea Imperiului Rus (1812-1917),” in Gheorghe Cliveti, Ioan Bolovan, Gheorghe Cojocaru (coord.), *Centenar Sfatul Țări...*, p. 331; in context – Vladislav Grosul, “Conștiința națională a moldovenilor din Rusia și a principatului Moldav din sec. al XIX-lea,” in xxx *Statalitatea Moldovei...*, pp. 61-87.

⁷⁶ See broadly – Iurie Colesnic, *Basarabia necunoscută: personalități basarabene*, Vols. I-X, Editurile Universitat, 1993; Museum, 1997, 2000, 2002, 2004, 2005, 2007; Ulysse, 2010, 2012; Epigraf, 2015, Chișinău, 315 + 286 + 300 + 302 + 347 + 364 + 360 + 312 + 322 + 344 pp.

⁷⁷ Mihai Iacobescu, “Oameni de seamă dintre Prut și Nistru: Vasile Stroescu (1845-1926),” in *Destin românesc*, V, Nr. 3-4, 1998, pp. 27-33; *Vasile Stroescu – un sol al altei lumi, un om din alte timpuri*. Materiale ale Universității Populare de Vară “Vasile Stroescu”, Ediția I, Edineț, 20-21 august 2016, Lucrare îngrijită și coordonată de Ion Negrei, Ion Bălbă, Constantin Cojocaru, f. e., Chișinău, 2016, 224 pp.

⁷⁸ Sever Zotta considers Paul Gore (1875-1927), in an obituary, a “no-brave nobleman, a proud but fair boyar, wise and modest scholar, good and gracious man, sincere and faithful friend, godly Christian and mystical monarchist, a rare manifestation of the genius of our race and the last Knight of Bessarabia;” xxx *Paul Gore. Omul și opera*, Muzeul Național de Istorie a Moldovei, Biblioteca “Tyragetia” VIII, *Personalități eminente*, f. e., Chișinău, 2003, 248 pp.

⁷⁹ Ion Constantin, Ion Negrei, Gheorghe Negru, *Ioan Pelivan părinte al mișcării naționale din Basarabia*, Cuvânt-înainte de Corneliu-Mihail Lungu, Postfață de Eugenia Danu, Notograf Prim, Chișinău, 2012, 416 pp. The authors dedicate the monograph of one “the most brilliant Romanian figures in the province between the Prut and Dniestru – Ioan Pelivan (1876-1954), which I did not call the father of the national movement in Bessarabia. This is what prominent personalities of national history and culture have been saying. The great historian Nicolae Iorga appreciated that «for us the Romanians, Pelivan was all Bessarabia». In his turn, the historian and Professor Ion Nistor considered that «Ioan Pelivan was the father of the Romanian national idea in Bessarabia», and the Professor and journalist

Petre V. Haneș did not hesitate to conclude that «the generation of Ioan Pelivan is due to Romania's reunification to the East»” (p. 15).

More recently – Ioan Pelivan, *Correspondență. Memorii*, Ediție îngrijită, prefață și notă asupra ediției de Ion Constantin, Ion Negrei, Gheorghe Negru, Știința, *Pagini despre Basarabia*, Chișinău, 2019, 436 pp.

- ⁸⁰ Petre Cazacu, *Moldova dintre Prut și Nistru 1812-1918*, Studiu introductiv și bibliografie de Anatol Petrencu, Știința, *Pagini despre Basarabia*, Chișinău, 1992, 444 pp.

- ⁸¹ Iurie Colesnic, *Pantelimon Halippa. Apostolul Unirii*, Ulysse, Chișinău, 2006, 140 pp.; Ion Constantin, *Pantelimon Halippa, neînfriecat pentru Basarabia*, Cuvânt înainte de Dr. Florin Rotaru, Editura Biblioteca Bucureștilor, București, 2009, 328 pp.; Ion Constantin, Ion Negrei, *Pantelimon Halippa – tribun al Basarabiei*, Biblioteca Bucureștilor, București, 2009, 494 pp., and – *Pantelimon Halippa. Apostol al Basarabiei. Studii. Documente. Materiale*, Notograf Prim, Chișinău, 2013, 736 pp.; *Pan Halippa – cavalier al Adevărului*. Studiu introductiv, îngrijirea textului și bibliografie selective de Ion Negrei, f. e., Chișinău, 2014, 152 pp. Recently – Pan Halippa, *Scrieri*, Selecția și îngrijirea textului, tabel cronologic, note și comentarii, iconografie de Ion Negrei și Mihai Papuc, Studiu introductiv de Alexandru Burlacu, Știința, *Moștenire*, Chișinău, 2021, 552 pp.

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- ⁹⁷ *Idem*, “Mișcarea națională a românilor din Basarabia (1812-1918),” in *Limba română*, Revistă de știință și cultură, XXVII, Nr. 1, 2017, pp. 39-40; also – *Idem*, “Constituirea statului român modern și schimbarea paradigmei politicii naționale a Imperiului Rus în Basarabia. De la politica ‘cedărilor tactice’ la politica națională exclusiv restrictivă (anii 1860),” in Gheorghe Cliveti, Ioan Bolovan, Gheorghe Cojocaru (coord.), *Centenar Sfatul Țării...*, pp. 219-232.
- ⁹⁸ This year marks the 150th anniversary of the birth (June 5/17, 1871) of the most important Romanian historian. The Institute of History in Chisinau organized, on

May 13, *Conferința Științifică Internațională "Istoricul Nicolae Iorga. 150 de ani de la naștere"*; also, the valuable "journal of science and culture" *Limba română* (which "appears under the auspices of the Romanian Academy," in Chisinau) dedicated to this Jubilee of Romanian Historiography and Culture a whole *Special Edition Nicolae Iorga 150* (270 pp.); signs 23 authors from Romania and the Republic of Moldova – Andrei Pippidi, Ioan-Aurel Pop, Victor Spinei, Ioan Scurtu, Ioan Opriș, Ioan C. Popa, Ion Țurcanu, Adrian Dinu Rachieru, Iulian Boldea, Dorin Cimpoeșu, Petre Țurlea, Eugen-Tudor Scîlîș, Ion Constantin, Stoica Lascu, Vlad Mischevca, Ion I. Ionescu, Nicolae Enciu, Elena Luiza Popa, Iurie Colesnic, Ion Haineș, Mircea Coloșenco, Sanda-Maria Ardeleanu, Alexandrina Ioniță.

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¹⁶⁰ Last year, on the 100th anniversary of the signing in Paris of the Treaty of Bessarabia (October 20, 1920) on the recognition of the Union with Romania, by representatives of France, Great Britain, Italy and Japan, the Institute of History in Chisinau organized an important scientific meeting.

Some of the papers presented (10) were included in *Revista de istorie a Moldovei*, Nr. 3-4 (123-124), Julie-Decembrie 1920; among them, those expressly related to the international recognition of the Union of Bessarabia – Gheorghe Cojocaru, “La Centenarul Tratatului Basarabiei [At the Centenary of the Treaty of Bessarabia],” pp. 25-31; Lucian Leuștean, “Marea Britanie și chestiunea unirii Basarabiei cu România la Conferința de Pace de la Paris în 1919 [Great Britain and the Question of the Union of Bessarabia with Romania at the Peace Conference in Paris in 1919],” pp. 32-40; Eugen-Tudor Scîlîf, “Franța și chestiunea Basarabiei la Conferința de Pace de la Paris (1919-1920),” pp. 41-52; Anatol Petrencu, “Nicolae Titulescu despre importanța tratatului privind recunoașterea suveranității României asupra Basarabiei [Nicolae Titulescu on the Importance of the Treaty on the Recognition of Romania’s Sovereignty Over Bessarabia],” pp. 53-58; Silvia Corlăteanu-Granciuc, “Dezbaterile italo-româno-ruse în jurul ratificării de către Italia a Tratatului din 28 octombrie 1920 de recunoaștere a suveranității României asupra Basarabiei [The Italian-Romanian-Russian Debates Around the Ratification by Italy of the Treaty of October 28, 1920 on the Recognition of Romania’s Sovereignty Over Bessarabia],” pp. 70-81; Stoica Lascu, “Recunoașterea internațională a Unirii Basarabiei – în recente lucrări ale istoricilor chișinăueni [International Recongniton of the Union of Bessarabia – In Recent Works of Chisinau Historians],” pp. 93-103.

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- ¹⁷⁹ Known members of *Sfatul Țării* and senior dignitaries of the former Moldavian Democratic Republic (Autonomous) have warned the central authorities of the difficulties that Basarabians underwent, such as the initiatives of Pantelimon Erhan and Daniel Ciugureanu: "These (among others – our note) between the end of the twenties and early thirties tried to improve the situation of the peasants crushed by debt and loathing, but their charity activities were interpreted by the authorities as a mere means of regaining visibility in politics. However, Ciugureanu, at the beginning of 1932, has definitively left his region" – Alberto Basciani, *Difficila unire...*, p. 293 (subchap. 8. *Dosarul Ciugureanu*, pp. 292-296) (he subsequently sent a memorandum of 28 pp. to King Carol II); see also – Alexandru Moraru, Benedict Ciobanu, *Garda de Fier în Basarabia. Documente*, Vol I: 1920-1936, Editura Iulian, Chișinău, 2014, 400 pp.
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(27 March – 27 November 1918)],” in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie “A.D. Xenopol,”* Lv, 2018, pp. 267-286.

¹⁸² Ioan Scurtu, “Învățămantul, știința și cultura Basarabiei integrate în statul național unitar român,” in *Limba română*. Revistă de știință și cultură, XXII, Nr. 5-6, 2012, p. 98.

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- ¹⁸⁶ Nicolae Enciu, “Renașterea spirituală a Basarabiei interbelice,” in *Analele Științifice ale “Alexandru Ioan Cuza din Iași”, Seria Nouă. Istorie*. LXIV, 2018, Număr special/Special Issue....., pp. 437-469.
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- Alexandru Plămădeală (1888-1940), is the most famous Bessarabian sculptor from the first half of the 20th century; he created the Stephen the Great Monument of the Public Garden (1927) and the funeral bust of poet Alexei Mateevici from the Central Orthodox Cemetery (1934); about him, recently – Iurie Colesnic, *Alexandru Plămădeală și lecția de veșnicie*, Cartier, Chișinău, 2021, 380 pp.
- ¹⁹² Aurelia Felea, “Monarhia în Basarabia interbelică: percepții, atitudini, restituiri,” in Mihai-Ștefan Ceașu, Liviu Brătescu, Simion-Alexandru Gavriș (coord.), *Regalitatea română. Perspective istoriografice*, Editura Universității “Alexandru Ioan Cuza”, *Historica*, Iași, 2017, pp. 293-308.
- ¹⁹³ Andrei Eșanu, *Chișinău. File de istorie*, Cercetări, documente, materiale, Casa Cărții “Mitropolit Petru Movilă,” *Scrieri despre Chișinău*, Academia de Științe a Republicii Moldova, Institutul de Istorie, Museum, Chișinău, 2009, p. 56, Retipărit 2015.
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- ²⁰³ Ioan Scurtu, "Învățămintul, știința și cultura Basarabiei" p. 101.
- ²⁰⁴ About the Romanian-Soviet relations, in the interwar period, encumbered by the "Bessarabian Issue," see – Lidia Pădureac, *Relațiile româno-sovietice (1917-1934)*, Editura Prut Internațional, Chișinău, 2003, 2016 pp.; Octavian Țăcu, *Problema Basarabiei și relațiile sovieto-române în perioada interbelică 1919-1939*, Prut Internațional, *Clio*, Chișinău, 2004, 272 pp.; Ion Șîșcanu, *Basarabia în contextul relațiilor sovieto-române. 1940*, Editura Civitas, Chișinău, 2007, 336 pp.; Alexandru-Murad Mironov, *Vremea încercărilor. Relațiile româno-sovietice, 1930-1940*, Cuvânt înainte de Constantin Bușe, Academia Română, Institutul Național pentru Studii Totalitarismului, Editura Institutului Național pentru Studiul Totalitarismului, *Studii*, București, 2013, 448 pp.; Viorica Moisuc, *Românii și politica externă rusească. Un secol din istoria Tezaurului românesc "păstrat" la Moscova*, Studiu și documente, Casa Editorială "Demiurg," Iași, 2013, 392 pp.
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More recently – Nicolae Rauș, Gheorghe Neacșu, Dinu Moraru, *O agresiune sovietică împotriva României. Tatar Bunar în documente și în presa românească a vremii*, Cuvânt înainte de prof. univ. dr. Ioan Scurtu, Editura Cetatea de Scaun, Târgoviște, 2017, 336 pp.; Alberto Basciani, *Dificila unire...*, pp. 220-234: "Tentativele de organizare a insurecției comuniste din Basarabia. Nicolaevca și Tatarbunar [The Attempts to Organize Communist Insurrection in Bessarabia. Nicolaevca and Tatarbunar]:" "Although the Tatarbunar terrorist-insurrectional action had been planned and supported by the Comintern and the Balkan Communist Federation, it ended in a resounding failure, but taking into account the way it was designed and implemented, nor could it have happened otherwise. This was a good opportunity for the Romanian police and investigative apparatus to eliminate the subversive elements that had long been active in the region (those who escaped from custody had fled to Ukraine) and thus reconstituted the subversive network and the organization hierarchy Bolsheviks who had acted in Bessarabia either by analyzing documents held by revolutionaries or by interrogations made at the time of the arrest. The investigations that followed the insurrection attempt allowed to deepen and complement the continuous research and supervision activities of the Romanian authorities in all the counties of Bessarabia and, between 1918 and 1924, allowed the arrest of a total number of 4,767 persons and the final conviction for various punishments imprisonment or fines, of 1,554 of them" (pp. 233-234).

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²⁰⁷ Elena Negru, *Politica etnoculturală în R.A.S.S. Moldovenească*, Prut Internațional, Clio, Chișinău 2003, 204 pp.; Gheorghe E. Cojocaru, *Cominternul și originile "moldovenismului": studiu și documente*, Academia de Științe a Moldovei, Institutul de Istorie, Stat și Drept, Civitas, Chișinău, 2009, 500 pp.; Elena Negru, "Formarea Republicii Autonome Sovietice Socialiste Moldovenești și evoluția ei social-economică," în *Revista de istorie a Moldovei*, Nr. 1 (81), 2010, pp. 161-169; Ion Varta, Tatiana Varta, Igor Șarov, *Asasinările în masă din RASSM în perioada Marii Terori, 1937-1938. Documente desecretizate din arhivele MAI și SIS ale Republicii Moldova*, Prefață de Stéphane Courtois, Arc, Cartdidact, Chișinău, 2010, Vol. 1, CXIII + 712 pp.; Octavian Țicu, " 'Moldovenismul' sovietic și politicile identitare în RASSM și RSSM (1924-1991)," în Sergiu Musteață, Igor Cașu (coord.), *Fără termen de prescripție. Analiza crimelor*

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²⁰⁸ See, in context, the volumes signed by Pavel Moraru – *Basarabia, basarabienii și serviciile secrete (1918-2005)*. *Dicționar alfabetic*, f. e., Chișinău, 2005, 194 pp.; *La hotarul românesc al Europei. Din istoria Siguranței Generale în Basarabia 1918-1940*, Academia Română, Institutul Național pentru Studiul Totalitarismului, Institutul Național pentru Studiul Totalitarismului, *Studii*, București, 2008, 534 pp.; *Serviciile secrete și Basarabia (1918-1991)*. *Dicționar*, Editura Militară, București, 2008, 320 pp.

²⁰⁹ Anatol Petrencu, "Basarabienii în cadrul României întregite," în *Limba română*, Revistă de știință și cultură, XXVIII, Nr. 1-2 (243-244), *Ediție special*, în MEMORIAM Deputaților Sfatului Țării și tuturor celor care au contribuit la înfăptuirea Unirii Basarabiei cu Patria-Mamă, la Reîntregirea Neamului Românesc, 2018, p. 247.

²¹⁰ See – Ion Șișcanu, "Basarabia în proiectele sovietice din 1918-1924," în Gheorghe Vartic (ed.), *100 de ani de la deschiderea frontului românesc în primul război mondial (1916-2016)*, Culegere de studii, Editura Militară, București, 2017, pp. 201-220.

²¹¹ Recently – Anatol Petrencu, "Nicolae Titulescu despre importanța tratatului privind recunoașterea suveranității României asupra Basarabiei [Nicolae Titulescu on the Importance of the Treaty on the Recognition of Romania's Sovereignty Over Bessarabia], în *Revista de istorie a Moldovei*, No. 3-4 (123-124), Jul.-Dec. 1920, pp. 53-58.

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²²¹ See, in context – Ion Buga, *Basarabia română la cumpăna de milenii*, Antologie (1988-2010), Prefață de prof. univ. dr. Ioan Scurtu, Litera, Chișinău, 2011, 656 pp.; Ion Țurcanu, *Republica Moldova: a fi sau a nu fi. Mărturii și impresii despre Moldova de Răsărit în lumina celor douăzeci de ani de independență*, Labirint, Chișinău, 2012, 280 pp.; Dan Dungaciu, “Cine face Reunirea? Sau câte feluri de unionisme sunt în Republica Moldova?,” in *Historia Special*, VII, Nr. 22, Martie 2018, pp. 62-66; Ion Valer Xenofontov, “Istoria recentă a Republicii Moldova,” in xxx *Istoria adevărată a Moldovei (pentru elevi)*, Sub redacția prof. dr. Mugur Andronic, f. e., Suceava, 2019, pp. 236-270.

²²² Iurie Colesnic, *Generația Unirii* [In Bessarabia and Bukovina, 1918], Museum, Fundația Culturală Română, Chișinău, București, 2004, 544 pp.

²²³ Dan Dungaciu, “*Basarabia e România?*” – dileme identitare și (geo)politice în Republica Moldova [“*Baessarabia is Romania?*” – Identity and (Geo) Political Dilemmas in the Republic of Moldavia], Cartier, *Cartier istoric*, Chișinău, 2011, 464 pp.

²²⁴ Charles King, *Moldovenii. România, Rusia și politica culturală*, Traducere Diana Stanciu, Cuvânt înainte Wayne S. Vucinich, Prefața Alexandru Zub, Editura ARC, Chișinău, 2002, 304 pp., Princeps edition: *The Moldovans, Romania, Russia, and the Politics of Culture*, Hoover Institution Press, *Studies of Nationalities*, Stanford University, 1999, 304 pp.; Stefan Ihrig, “Discursul (ne)civic și nemulțumirile exprimate în el. Conceptul ‘moldovenist’ și cel ‘românist’ de națiune și cetățean oglindit în manualele actuale de istorie și în istoriografia Republicii Moldova (1991-2005),” in Monica Heintz (ed.), *Stat slab – cetățenie incertă. Studii despre Republica Moldova*, Curtea Veche, București, 2007, pp. 191-213; Adrian Dinu Rachieru, “Există o ‘literatură moldovenească’?,” in *Limba română*, Revistă de știință și cultură, XXII, Nr. 5-6, 2012, pp. 190-196; Octavian Țicu, “‘Românizare,’ ‘moldovenizare,’ ‘transnistrizare:’ modele de construcție național-statală în Republica Moldova după 1991,” in *Destin românesc*, Romanian Destiny, Revistă de istorie și cultură, Serie nouă, VII (XVIII), Nr. 2 (78), 2012, pp. 15-32; see, in context, also – xxx *Conferința științifică „Minorități naționale inventate. Moldovenismul: politici, cauze, efecte”*. Cernăuți, 23 noiembrie 2019, Radovid, Cernăuți, 2019, 304 pp.

²²⁵ See, for example – xxx *Statalitatea Moldovei*

²²⁶ See – Ion Varta, *Istoria integrată în versiune comunistă. Radiografia unui război identitar [The Radiography of an Identity War]*, Articole, recenzii, declarații, Ediția a II-a, f. e., Chișinău, 2007, 384 pp.: “During the 15 years of independence of the young state – the Republic of Moldova – the confrontation between the adepts of the authentic history of the space between Dniester and Prut, which they consider an inseparable part of the history of the Romanian people, and the opponents of such a concept who, in order to combat it, had the whole arsenal of «arguments» invented by the politruks of the Comintern in the interwar period as the representatives of the Soviet historiography, did not practically cease for a moment” (p. 5).

²²⁷ See – Vasile Stati, *Istoria Moldovei în date*, Biblioteca Pro Moldova, Tipografia Academiei de Științe, Chișinău, 1998, 488 pp.; *Idem*, *Istoria Moldovei*, Seria Biblioteca Pro Moldova, Cu concursul Societății istoricilor din Republica Moldova, Vivar-Editor, Chișinău, 2002, 464 pp.; V.I. Țaranov (coord.), *Istoria Republicii Moldova. Din cele mai vechi timpuri pînă în zilele noastre*, Ediția a III-a, revăzută și completată, Asociația oamenilor de știință din Moldova “N. Milescu Spătarul”, f. e., Chișinău, 2015, 464 pp.; xxx *Istoria Moldovei*, Vol. I: *Țara Moldovei în Evul Mediu (sec. XI-XVII)*; Vol. II: *Moldova în epoca modernă (sec. XVIII-1917)*, 478 pp.; Vol. III: *Moldova în epoca contemporană (1917-începutul sec. XXI)*, 694 pp., Asociația Istoricilor și Politologilor “Pro-Moldova”, Cu suportul financiar al Campaniei Naționale “Iubesc Moldova”, Chișinău, 2016, Also – Edition in Russian.

²²⁸ Dan Dungaci, Petrișor Peiu, *Reunirea. Realități, costuri, beneficii [The Reuniting. Realities, Costs, Benefits]*, Litera, București, 2017, 264 pp.

²²⁹ xxx *Suveranitatea Republicii Moldova: concept și realitate*, Materialele Conferinței științifice interuniversitare on-line „30 de ani de la proclamarea Suveranității RSS Moldova [xxx Sovereignty of the Republic of Moldova: Concept

and Reality, Materials of the online Interuniversity Scientific Conference “30 years since the proclamation of the Sovereignty of RSS Moldova], 23 iunie 2020, Universitatea de Stat din Moldova, Centrul de Excelență Institutul de Istorie Socială “ProMemoria”, Concepție și coordonare Anatol Petrencu, Ion Negrei, f. e., Chișinău, 2020, 352 pp.

²³⁰ See, in context – Sorin Bocancea, Radu Carp (coord.), *Calea europeană a Republicii Moldova [The European Way of the Republic of Moldavia]*, Editura Adenium, Iași, 2016, 384 pp.; recently, in context – Josette Durrieu, Florent Parmentier, *Republica Moldova la răscruce de lumi*, Prefață de Jean-Pierre Raffarin, Postfețe de Jean-Pierre Chevènement și Catheterine Lalumière, Traducere din franceză de Florin Milian, Cartier, *Cartier istoric*, Chișinău, 2021, 155 pp.

²³¹ Mirela Sîngă, “ ‘Parlamentul să adopte data de 5 iunie drept Ziua Istoriografiei Române.’ Propunere inedita,” Interviu cu conf. univ. dr. Stoica Lascu [“The Parliament to Adopt June 5 as the Day of Romanian Historiography”. An Inedite Proposal. Interview with Assoc. Prof. Dr. Stoica Lascu], in *Telegraf*, Constanța, No. 5.330, June 22, 2011, p. 13 (the proposal, made at a conclave of Clio’s servants, at the Vrancea Museum in Focșani, did not resonate even among those directly interested, not to mention the authorities...).

²³² As well as – *Membriu corespondent Demir Dragnev. Biobibliografie*, Academia de științe a Moldovei, Institutul de Istorie. Biblioteca Științifică “Andrei Lupan” (Institut), Editor și redactor științific dr. hab., conf. univ. Constantin Manolache. Coordonatorii dr. Ion Valer Xenofontov, dr. Sergiu Bacalov, Bibliografie de Silvia Golban, Biblioteca Științifică Centrală, Secția editorial-poligrafică, Chișinău, 2017, 327 pp. (CV, articles about the author, pp. 5-128; Bibliography, pp. 129-281; Illustrations, pp. 283-327).

See, recently – an extensive interview (first part, recorded by Silvia Corlăteanu-Granciuc, PhD, Scientific Secretary of the Institute of History): “In Honorem, Interviu cu prof. univ. dr. hab. Demir Dragnev, membru corespondent AȘM. Omagiu la 85 de ani,” in *Revista de istorie a Moldovei*, No. 3-4 (127-128), Julie-Dec. 2021, pp. 16-39.

²³³ As well as – xxx *Academicianul Andrei Eșanu. Biobibliografie*, Institutul de Studii Enciclopedice, Chișinău 2013, 168 pp.; also – Valentina Eșanu, *Bibliografie. Andrei Eșanu la 50 de ani*, Civitas, Chișinău, 1998, 32 pp.; Octavian Moșin, *Istorie și credință în preocupările academicianului Andrei Eșanu. Popas aniversar – 65 de ani de viață*, Editura “Cu Drag,” Chișinău, 2013, 24 pp.

²³⁴ As well as – xxx *Academicianul Valeriu Pasat: Biobibliografie*, Bibliografie de Maria Poștarencu, Biblioteca Științifică Centrală “Andrei Lupan” (Institut) a Academiei de Științe a Moldovei, Chișinău, 2015, 176 pp. (CV, articles about the author, interviews, and opinions, pp. 10-154; scientific works, pp. 156-175).

²³⁵ As a sign of homage and historical reparation, he is the curator of a volume dedicated to the first archaeologist doctor in History (1960) from the Moldavian SSR, Ion Hîncu (1931-2003) – Ion Hîncu, *Scara vieții*, Ediție îngrijită de Gheorghe Postică, Cartdidact, Chișinău, 2016, 300 pp.; about the Bessarabian historian, patriotic fighter, more recently, at – Iurie Stamati, *The Slavic Dossier. Medieval Archaeology in the Soviet Republic of Moldova: Between State Propaganda and Scholarly Endeavor*, Translated by Iuliana Petrinca, Brill, *East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 450-1450*, 53, Leiden, Boston, 2019, XV+310 pp., *passim*, and especially: *The “Ion Hîncu” Dossier*, pp. 206-237.

PAUL TSENG

Meditate on Psalms

Abstract: Meditation on Psalms is my daily practice during the period of three years when I accompanied several close friends to pray reading all of the poems. The axis of the Psalms is on our daily practice and brotherhood. The meditation accesses the source of heavenly wisdom, transforming a believer's mindset, and even leading to the building of the churches and thus reflecting the glory of the Triune God.

Keywords: daily practice, the Word, brotherhood, eternal life, unity, Psalms

Psalm 1

Blessed is the man that walketh not
In the counsel of the ungodly,
Nor standeth in the way of sinners,
Nor sitteth in the seat of the scornful.
But his delight
Is in the law of the Lord;
And in his law doth he meditate day and
Night.
And he shall be like a tree planted by the
Rivers of water,
That bringeth forth his fruit in his season;
His leaf also shall not wither;
And whatsoever he doeth shall prosper.

The ungodly are not so:
But are like the chaff which the wind driveth
Away.

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Therefore the ungodly shall not stand in the
Judgment,
Nor sinners in the congregation of the
Righteous.
For the Lord knoweth the way of the
Righteous:
But the way of the ungodly shall perish.

This psalm is supposed to be our daily practice and the principle of dealing with all circumstances. I make it a practice to first read the Scripture when I wake up in the morning. The Scripture helps me to be re-regulated in my mind, keeping me alert and somber-minded. And the Scripture delights my heart and teaches my mind how to act in whatever situation I am put in. All things work together to do good to those who love God. Furthermore, reflection on the words of God can help me to keep myself in love and wisdom. For example, be clean in everything to women, and seek others' benefits. I like to reflect on these two principles in dealing with affairs of acquaintances, friends, and neighbors.

Psalms 23

The Lord is my shepherd;
I shall not want.
He maketh me to lie down in green pastures:
He leadeth me beside the still waters.
He restoreth my soul:
He leadeth me in the paths of righteousness
For his name's sake.

Yea, though I walk through the valley of the
Shadow of death,
I will fear no evil:
For thou art with me;
Thy rod and thy staff they comfort me.

Thou preparest a table before me in the
Presence of mine enemies:
Thou anointest my head with oil; my cup
Runneth over.
Surely goodness and mercy shall follow me
All the days of my life:
And I will dwell in the house of the Lord
For ever.

The Lord is our shepherd, who led, leads, and will lead us in the course of life. Constant prayers and unceasing petitions can help us to know the will of God, Who is willing to arrange everything for the good for those who love and seek Him. Don't lose heart in seeking the will of God.

He will lead His people to green pastures where we can get spiritual and monetary supplies. And whenever we meet challenges or crises in life, He is willing to cure us and help us out. Although we walk through the valley of life, we won't be hurt. Whenever we turn to the salvation of Israel, the King will help us and lead us out of any temptation and crisis.

And a normal Christian life is deeply and closely associated with a normal church life. A church based on the Bible and brotherhood can be called a normal church. Fortunately enough, my family can go to a Baptist church, which is based on the Bible on a weekly basis. And the fellowship has a taste of brotherhood and spiritual love. So dwelling in the house of the Lord can be translated into a normal and proper church life.

Psalm 133

Behold, how and how
Pleasant it is for brethren to dwell
Together in unity!
It is like the precious ointment upon the
Head,
That ran down upon the beard, even Aaron's
Beard: that went down to the skirts of
His garments;
As the dew of Hermon, and as the dew that
Descended upon the mountains of Zion:
For there the Lord commanded the blessing,
Even life for evermore.

A family, a church, a society, and even, a race, and nation which lives in unity will be blessed. The heavenly blessing is like the divine ointment descends upon the people. We have to pray for the public relations, which are destined to be blessed via our constant prayers.

Love and brotherhood can serve as the foundation of building and cementing a good relation between individuals and groups. And giving is more blessed than receiving.

And it is hoped that the division caused by ideologies, and nationalism existing between the blue camp and green camp in Taiwan, and even between the two sides of the Taiwan Strait can be healed by love and brotherhood.

And I also have a small dream that the divisions and conflicts existing in my family tree can be cured and fixed. May the heavenly blessings descend upon a family living in unity due to the love of God and Jesus Christ.

Psalm 134

Behold, bless ye the Lord, all ye
Servants of the Lord, which by
Night stand in the house of the Lord.
Lift up your hands in the sanctuary,
And bless the Lord.

The Lord that made heaven and earth
Bless thee out of Zion.

We are servants of the Lord, and we stand in the house of the Lord by night. And when our praises ascend to the throne of the Lord, blessings will descend upon us. Every night when I sleep, I meditate on God's words, hoping that God's peace will be in my sleep and dream. As soon as I wake up, I earnestly hope to have a morning watch in which I read the Bible and pray to the Lord. Actually, I am His servant who stands in the house of the Lord by night. Ceaseless petitions and constant prayers will wave His hands to work for the good of those who love Him and seek Him.

Psalm 131

Lord, my heart is not haughty,
Nor mine eyes lofty:
Neither do I exercise myself in great matters,
Or in things too high for me.
Surely I have behaved and quieted myself,
As a child that is weaned of his mother:
My soul is even as a weaned child.
Let Israel hope in the Lord from
Henceforth and for ever.

When I was young, I had a haughty heart and lofty eyes. It is God's mercy which changed my life. I experienced sickness and poverty and difficulties, which made me to learn to be humble and down-to-the-earth. And I also learn to put my trust in God to keep joyful and peaceful in mind.

God is all-mighty and compassionate and merciful. I learn to turn to Him for everything. How excellent His name is on all the earth. I fear,

respect, and love His name. I desire to be humble and practical and mindful in everything. He will lead me and everything will do good for those who love God and fear God.

Psalm 121

I will lift up mine eyes unto the
Hills, from whence cometh my help.
My help cometh from the Lord,
Which made heaven and earth.
He will not suffer thy foot to be moved:
He that keepeth thee will not slumber.
Behold, he that keepeth Israel
Shall neither slumber nor sleep.

The Lord is thy keeper:
The Lord is thy shade upon thy right hand.
The sun shall not smite thee by day,
Nor the moon by night.
The Lord shall preserve thee from all evil:
He shall preserve thy soul.
The Lord shall preserve thy going out and
Thy coming in from this time forth,
And even for evermore.

Looking back the past, I am thankful for the Lord always gives me timely help when I am in trouble or in difficult times. Be firm in our faith, and turn to the Lord whenever we need help. The Lord has power and sovereignty to turn the situations for the good of those who seek Him.

Furthermore, the Lord is really our sole protector. He protects us day in and day out. His eyes are always on us. His logos (the Word in the Scripture) and Rema (the instant words in Holy Spirit) show the way we should choose and protect us from all evil. Thank God for His help and protection.

Psalm 122

I was glad when they said unto me,
Let us go into the house of the
Lord.
Our feet shall stand within thy gates,
O Jerusalem.

Jerusalem is builded
As a city that is compact together:
Whither the tribes go up, the tribes of the
Lord,
Unto the testimony of Israel, to give thanks
Unto the name of the Lord.
For there are set thrones of judgment,
The thrones of the house of David.

Pray for the peace of Jerusalem:
They shall prosper that love thee.
Peace be within thy walls,
And prosperity within thy palaces.
For my brethren and companions' sake, I
Will now say,
Peace be within thee.
Because of the house of the Lord our God
I will seek thy good.

I pray for Israel for the peace in the Middle East. As God's chosen people, Israelites still play a crucial role on the global stage. In recent two decades, terrorism has emerged as a global threat and crisis. In the Cold War era, the world was divided by communism and capitalism. However, for the time being, the world has been divided by Christianity and Muslims. Terrorism has posed a threat of the peace and stability of the whole world. Thus, let's pray for the peace of Jerusalem, the Middle East, and the whole world.

In old ages, Jerusalem was the holy place for pilgrims. However, in today's world, churches or cathedrals have become a place for Sunday worshippers. I make it a practice to go to church on Sundays for three decades. We need a normal and proper church life to sustain and empower our family and ourselves. The assembly serves a testimony for God's presence and truths. I love my church, hoping that peace and prosperity will be there just as a tree flourishes by the river.

Psalm 126

When the Lord turned again the
Captivity of Zion, we were like
Them that dream.
Then was our mouth filled with laughter,

And our tongue with singing:
Then said they among the heathen,
The Lord hath done great things for them.
The Lord hath done great things for us;
Whereof we are glad.

Turn again our captivity, O Lord,
As the streams in the south.
They that sow in tears
Shall reap in joy.
He that goeth forth and weepeth, bearing
Precious seed,
Shall doubtless come again with rejoicing,
Bringing his sheaves with him.

Israel is a chosen race according to the covenant of forefathers—Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Although Israel was cursed and punished for their rebellion and sins, God never forgot His chosen people. He still had mercy on this race, and led them out of captivity. Nazi's oppression and holocaust of Jews in the WWII was extremely traumatic all right, but God of the permanent covenant never forgot His words of a promised land to Israel. So Israelites could be called out from all nations to rebuild their nation in the 1950s. The sign of a rainbow was high in the sky of Israel. The prince of peace blessed them and kept them.

They that sow in tears shall reap in joy. We should be encouraged to sow seeds of love to the world, and then we can definitely reap the harvest of love and brotherhood in joy.

Psalm 127

Except the Lord build the house,
They labour in vain that build it:
Except the Lord keep the city,
The watchman waketh but in vain.
It is vain for you to rise up early, to sit up
Late,
To eat the bread of sorrows:
For so he giveth his beloved sleep.

Lo, children are heritage of the Lord:
And the fruit of the womb is his reward.
As arrows are in the hand of a mighty man;

So are children of the youth.
Happy is the man that hath his quiver full of
Them:
They shall not be ashamed,
But they shall speak with enemies in the
Gate.

History repeats itself. Our labor under the sun is like vapor without the blessings of Heaven. Vanity in vanity; all is vanity.

God's grace is a spring shower, which helps all plants grow naturally. Without God's grace, man's labor more often than not turns out to be nothing. Without the love of Christ, nothing done under the sun can benefit others.

In addition, we have to acknowledge that children are a heritage of the Lord. It is God's blessings and grace that help me to have two kids. And I treasure them, expecting them to grow up and to be well built in order to serve and glorify God. Thank God for His abundant grace and blessings.

Psalms 73: 25-26.

Whom I have in heaven but thee?
And there is none upon earth that I desire
Beside thee.
My flesh and my heart faileth:
But God is the strength of my heart,
And my portion for ever.

I love my wife, my family, my students, my neighbors, my friends, and my society and country. And the love which makes my love sustainable and fresh is the love of God. God is love. Whenever I turn to Him, contact me, and communicate with Him, His love becomes the strength of my heart, which will be enlarged and made bigger to accept, care, and love others. God is the fountain of love, the sole and precious source of love.

God is my portion, and my heritage. I hope to spread the seeds of God's love to everyone around me. Winter nearly ends, and spring is coming. May God bless Taiwan, and God's love can be shared and enjoyed by my countrymen.

Întâistătători ai Bisericii Ortodoxe din Transilvania de la sfârșitul secolului al XIV-lea și începutul secolului al XV-lea

Bishops of the Orthodox Church from Transylvania at the End of the 14th Century and the Beginning of the 15th Century

Abstract: The lack of information makes the bishops of the Orthodox Church of Transylvania at the end of the 14th century and the beginning of the 15th century less known. In the 14th century an inscription from the old church of Râmeț Monastery mentions the Archbishop Ghelasie on the 2nd of July 1377.

From few Byzantine sources we acknowledge that at a date preceding the 1st of September 1386 to a one exceeding May 1404, the administration of the Orthodox Church from Transylvania was entrusted to the Metropolitan Anthimos of Ungrovlahia. All this while he was also *an exarch of all the Hungarian parts and Territories*.

An inscription in the Church from Ribița mentions in 1404 or 1407 a certain Anastasius. At that date he was most probably the Archbishop or Metropolitan of The Orthodox Church from Transylvania.

Keywords: Ghelasie, Anthimos, Anastasius, Athanasius, Orthodox Church of Transylvania, Râmeț, Ribița.

Absența informațiilor, pentru lungi perioade de timp, sau inconsistența lor, atunci când dispunem de ele, face ca situația Bisericii Ortodoxe din Transilvania, precum și numele arhierieilor săi ne rămână necunoscute până în deceniile opt și nouă ale secolului al XIV-lea. Aceeași situație se regăsește și la începutul secolului al XV-lea. Succintele știri pe care le avem la dispoziție, permit, totuși, identificarea unor posibil întâistătători ai Bisericii Ortodoxe din Transilvania.

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Ghelasie de la Râmpeț

La sfârșitul deceniului al optulea succintele informații de care dispunem îl menționează pe arhiepiscopul Ghelasie de la Râmpeț. Singura știre despre păstoriarea lui o reprezintă o inscripție, în limba slavonă, de pe cel de-al doilea strat de pictură din vechea biserică a Mănăstirii Râmpeț. Inscripția, descoperită în timpul campaniei de cercetare din anii 1977-1978, are următorul conținut: “Am scris eu preapăcătosul rob al lui Dumnezeu, Mihul, adică zugravul de la Crișul Alb, cu încuviințarea arhiepiscopului Ghelasie, în zilele regelui Ludovic în anul 6885, luna iulie 2”, respectiv în 2 iulie 1377¹.

În absența altor informații, cele cuprinse în inscripția din Biserica Mănăstirii Râmpeț, permit concluzia că arhiepiscopul Ghelasie a fost unul din întâistătătorii Bisericii Ortodoxe din Transilvania. Durata păstoririi sale nu se cunoaște. Putem doar conchide că ea a debutat la o dată anterioară celei de 2 iulie 1377. Considerăm deci, că data de 2 iulie 1377 poate fi admisă drept un *terminus ante quem* al începutului păstoririi lui.

În ceea ce privește datarea sfârșitului păstoririi arhiepiscopului Ghelasie, considerăm că, informațiile pe care le deținem ne permit stabilirea cu mai multă exactitate a intervalului de timp în care acesta a avut loc. Care sunt exact cele două date, de început și, respectiv, de sfârșit a păstoririi arhiepiscopului Ghelasie, este însă imposibil de precizat².

Cu certitudine, păstoriarea lui Ghelasie era încheiată un deceniu mai târziu. Cel mai probabil, acest lucru s-a produs anterior datei de 1 septembrie 1386, când unele surse patriarhale confirmă faptul că Biserica Ortodoxă din Transilvania nu își mai avea un arhiereu propriu. În baza jurisdicției sale ecleziastice, Patriarhia Ecumenică o extindea pe cea a mitropolitului Ungrovlahiei, respectiv a arhiereului cu reședința la Argeș, asupra Bisericii Ortodoxe din Transilvania, căruia îi încredința administrarea acesteia, în calitate de exarh patriarhal³.

Titlul arhiepiscopului Ghelasie, relevă și rangul scaunului arhieresc ocupat de el. Putem, deci, afirma, fără riscul de a greși, că în timpul păstoririi lui, Biserica Ortodoxă din Transilvania avea rangul de arhiepiscopie. Reședința întâistătătorului ei nu o cunoaștem. Ea a putut fi chiar la Râmpeț sau în altă parte.

Anthimos, mitropolit al Ungrovlahiei și exarh a toată partea ungurească și al Plaiurilor

Prima menționare certă a exercitării jurisdicției mitropolitului muntean de la Argeș asupra Bisericii Ortodoxe din Transilvania apare consemnată în manualul de diplomatică bizantin, *Ekthesis Néa*, realizat în

timpul păstoririi patriarhului ecumenic de la Constantinopol, Nilos Kerameos (1379-1388), unde se precizează că “mai pe urmă au fost creați în Ungrovlahia doi mitropoliți, dintre care, unul are locul celui de Nicomedia și se cheamă exarh a toată partea ungurească și al Plaiurilor”⁴. O însemnare de la începutul textului lucrării, înregistrează data de “1 septembrie 6895 *indictionul X*”, corespunzătoare celei de 1 septembrie 1386, care a fost acceptată de cei mai mulți specialiști drept momentul de debut al redactării manualului de diplomatică bizantină⁵.

Pentru demersul nostru, alături de știrea din *Ekthesis Nêa*, o importanță covârșitoare revine unei informații consemnate într-o *Notitia Episcopatum*, care înregistrează eparhiile aflate sub jurisdicția ecleziastică a Patriarhiei Ecumenice de la Constantinopol în a doua jumătate a secolului al XIV-lea. Consemnarea din *Notitia Episcopatum*, identică cu cea din manualul bizantin, reprezintă o confirmare certă a acesteia⁶.

Penuria de informații face ca identificarea factorilor care au determinat decizia patriarhală de a-i trece pe credincioșii ortodocși (sau o mare parte a lor), aflați sub jurisdicția politică a regelui Ungariei, în administrarea și sub jurisdicția ecleziastică a arhierului de la Argeș, să fie o operație extrem de dificilă.

În opinia noastră, o posibilă explicație ar fi aceea că decizia patriarhală a fost o ripostă a Patriarhiei Ecumenice de la Constantinopol la puternica ofensivă a catolicismului, susținut de Ungaria. Dreptul acordat de papa Urbanus VI călugărilor din Ordinul Fraților Mioriți din Vicariatul Bosniei, în iunie 1379 de a înființa mănăstiri “*în părțile Rasciei* (Serbiei, n.n.) *și ale Țării lui Basarab (in partibus Rassiae et Basarat)*”⁷, constituirea Episcopiei catolice a Argeșului, la 9 mai 1381⁸, din inițiativa regelui Ludovic I și în dependență de ierarhia ecleziastică a Regatului Ungariei, sunt rezultatele concrete ale prozelitismului catolic în spațiul românesc sud-carpatic. Cu titlu de ipoteză, considerăm că nu este exclusă nici posibilitatea ca tocmai în această perioadă să fi survenit dispariția arhiepiscopului Ghelasie⁹. Lipsiți de conducătorul lor spiritual, credincioșii ortodocși din Transilvania deveneau mult mai vulnerabili în fața ofensivei catolice. În consecință, este cât se poate de posibil ca, pentru a preveni o asemenea evoluție nefavorabilă, Patriarhia Ecumenică să fi procedat la trecerea lor sub jurisdicția ecleziastică a mitropolitului Ungrovlahiei, unul din colaboratorii apropiați și de încredere ai patriarhului ecumenic.

O altă ipoteză își are temei în raporturile munteano-maghiare, reglementate tocmai în această perioadă. Nu este exclus faptul ca răspunzând, în același fel, bunăvoinței arătate de domnul Țării Românești, Radu I, care a facilitat acțiunile călugărilor mioriți și constituirea Episcopiei catolice de la Arges, regele Ludovic I să fi acceptat trecerea sub jurisdicția ecleziastică a mitropolitului de la Arges, a credincioșilor ortodocși din

Transilvania, act consacrat de Patriarhia Ecumenică prin învestirea acestuia ca “exarh a toată partea ungurească și al Plaiurilor”¹⁰.

Actele patriarhale de care dispunem permit identificarea, fără dubii, a arhierelui Ungrovlahiei, care a fost învestit și ca “exarh a toată partea ungurească și al Plaiurilor”. Acesta a fost mitropolitul Anthimos, de la Argeș. Fost întâistătător al scaunului mitropolitan al Severinului din 1370, Anthimos a fost transferat în scaunul arhieresc de la Argeș în urma morții titularului acestuia, mitropolitul Chariton, survenită prin 1380-1381. Aproape sigur, cu prilejul numirii în noul scaun mitropolitan, Anthimos a fost învestit și ca *locum tenens* al arhierelui Nicomediei, calitate în care este menționat pentru prima oară într-un act sinodal din 23 noiembrie 1381, prin care sinodul patriarhal pronunța excomunicarea mitropolitului de Peritheorion, în care noul mitropolit de la Argeș este înregistrat cu titlul de “cel al Ungrovlahiei, care ocupă și locul celui al Nicomediei”¹¹.

O serie de infirmații indirecte, transmise de actele patriarhale, conduc la concluzia că mitropolitul Anthimos al Ungrovlahiei fusese învestit *locum tenens* al celui de Nicomedia anterior datei de 23 noiembrie 1381. Încă din iulie 1381, el semnează actul sinodal de învestire a ieromonahului Kassianos ca de mitropolit al Vidinului, al doilea între participanții la sinod, după mitropolitul de Kyzikos, loc care revenea arhierelui Nicomediei, și înaintea omologilor săi de la Niceea, Amaseia, Adrianopolis, Mesembria, Herakleea Pontica, Anchialos, Varna și Lemnos¹². Pe baza acestor informații, suntem în măsură să conchidem că, în iulie 1381, Anthimos fusese deja învestit, atât în scaunul mitropolitan al Ungrovlahiei, cel de la Argeș, cât și locțiitor al celui al Nicomediei, ceea ce înseamnă că numirea lui în cele două funcții este anterioară lunii iulie 1381.

Știrile cuprinse în *Ekthesis Néa* și *Notitia Episcopatum* permit constatarea, potrivit căreia la 1 septembrie 1386, mitropolitul Ungrovlahiei fusese deja învestit și în calitate de “exarh a toată partea ungurească și al Plaiurilor”. Când anume s-a produs această numire nu putem preciza cu exactitate, pe baza știrilor pe care le deținem. Asocierea informațiilor transmise de actele patriarhale cu cele din *Ekthesis Néa* și *Notitia Episcopatum* permite inclusiv interpretarea potrivit căreia respectiva învestire a putut avea loc încă din momentul transferului lui Anthimos, din scaunul arhieresc al Severinului, în cel de la Argeș și a numirii lui ca *locum tenens* al celui de Nicomedia, adică anterior lunii iulie 1381. Credem însă că, dată fiind absența informațiilor certe, referitoare la acest aspect, nu greșim considerând că cea mai obiectivă opțiune este datarea momentului numirii lui Anthimos ca “exarh a toată partea ungurească și al Plaiurilor”, la o dată cuprinsă între iulie 1381 și 1 septembrie 1386.

Nu insistăm asupra contextului politic și religios în care s-a produs această trecere a Bisericii Ortodoxe din Transilvania în administrarea arhierelui Ungrovlahiei, de la Argeș, deoarece am făcut acest lucru cu alte

prilejuri¹³. Precizăm însă faptul că timp de circa două decenii, Biserica Ortodoxă din Transilvania a rămas, cu certitudine, sub jurisdicția și în administrarea mitropolitului Ungrovlahiei, în calitatea lui de exarh patriarhal. În mai 1401, formula “exarh al întregii părți ungurești și al plaiurilor” se regăsește încă în titlul său¹⁴. Acest lucru este dovada certă a faptului că el administra încă Biserica Ortodoxă din Transilvania din însărcinarea Patriarhiei Ecumenice de la Constantinopol. În tot acest timp ea a fost lipsită de un arhiereu propriu.

Anastasius de la Ribița, un arhiereu al Bisericii ortodoxe din Transilvania?

Pentru perioada de debut a secolului al XV-lea, informațiile cu privire la înțâistătătorii Bisericii Ortodoxe din Transilvania sunt la fel de sumare, ca și cele din secolul anterior. Câteva succinte informații permit, însă, identificarea unui posibil arhiereu ardelean care a funcționat la începutul secolului al XV-lea.

În anul 1868, istoricul maghiar Nemes Ödön a publicat o inscripție, aflată în biserica din Ribița (județul Hunedoara). În limba maghiară, inscripția era următoarea: “Építetett Gergely pápa és Anastazius lelkészége alatt, 1404”¹⁵, Potrivit lui Adrian Andrei Rusu, aceasta se traduce: “S-a construit sub păstorirea papei Grigore și a lui Anastasie, 1404”¹⁶.

Procedând la identificarea arhierilor menționați în inscripție, Adrian Andrei Rusu conchidea că “cel mai facil lucru de verificat a fost numele papei. Am constatat de îndată că trebuie să fie vorba despre papa Grigore al-XII-lea, care a păstorit la Roma între 30 noiembrie 1406 și 4 iulie 1415, dar a fost depus de către Conciliul din Pisa la 5 iunie 1409. Al doilea personaj, Anastasie, prin locul în care a fost scris, imediat după papă, pare să fi fost un alt ierarh al Bisericii. Concluzia în acest sens este sprijinită de menționarea, în pisană peretelui opus, a preotului de la Ribița, în persoana popii Dragosin. Numele specific trimite imediat către lumea Bisericii Ortodoxe. Căutându-l pe Anastasie între slujbașii de frunte ai Bisericii Ortodoxe din spațiul românesc, ne-am întâlnit repede cu un personaj omonim, care pare să-i asigure identitatea. La începutul secolului al XV-lea scaunul Mitropoliei de Severin era ocupat de un vlădică grec, pe nume Anastasie”¹⁷.

Identificarea arhierului de Severin propusă de Adrian Andrei Rusu este absolut eronată. Arhiereul Severinului de la începutul secolului al XV-lea, grec de origine, nu s-a numit *Anastasios* / *Anastasie*, ci *Athanasios* / *Athanasius* / *Atanasie*. Din neștiință sau pentru a-și susține demonstrația, Andrei Adrian Rusu a procedat doar la o “minoră” modificare a numelui arhierului Severinului, pentru ca acesta să fie identic cu cel al personajului menționat în inscripția din Biserica de la Ribița.

Într-o lucrare realizată la mijlocul anilor '90 ai secolului al XX-lea, istoricii Ioan-Aurel Pop, Alexandru Simon și Dana Marcu-Istrate îl identifică și ei pe arhiereul din inscripția din Biserica de la Ribîța cu Athanasios al Severinului.. Aceștia conchid că "Mitropolia Ardealului se ridicase – canonic – prin Mitropolia Severinului, al cărui mitropolit Atanasie, era pomenit în 1407 – alături de papa Gregorie al XII-lea de Roma – la Ribîța"¹⁸.

Și în acest caz asistăm la o modificare a numelui unuia dintre arhierei. Numai că, în cazul de față, autorii studiului amintit procedează la modificarea numelui arhiereului menționat în inscripția de la Ribîța din *Anastasius* / *Anastasie* în cel de *Athanasius* / *Atanasie*, pentru a fi identic cu cel al mitropolitului Severinului de la sfârșitul secolului al XIV-lea și începutul secolului al XV-lea.

În pofida asemănării lor, diferența dintre cele două vechi nume grecești este dincolo de orice discuție. Totodată, facem precizarea că niciunul dintre mitropoliții celor două diocenze ale Ungrovlahiei, din momentul consacrării (1359, cea de la Argeș; 1370, cea de la Severin) și pe toată durata funcționării lor în Evul Mediu, nu a purtat numele de Anastasios / Anastasius / Anastasie. Ca urmare, considerăm că acest prezumtiv arhiereu ortodox, *Anastasius*, din inscripția de la Ribîța, din 1404 sau 1407, nu poate fi căutat în rândul mitropoliților Ungrovlahiei.

Prin identificările propuse autorii studiilor menționate, au încercat acreditarea teoriei potrivit căreia Mitropolia Ortodoxă a Transilvaniei ar fi primit consacrarea canonică prin Mitropolia Severinului. Aceasta nu reprezintă, însă, o teorie nouă în istoriografia românească. Ea a fost susținută încă de la începutul secolului al XIX-lea de doi reprezentanți de frunte ai Școlii Ardelene, Samuil Micu, în *Istoria românilor* (1801) și Petru Maior, în *Istoria Bisericii Românilor* (1813)¹⁹.

Potrivit lui Samuil Micu, după păstorirea episcopului Hyerotheus, din secolul al X-lea,

episcopia aceasta a Belgradului s-au rânduit în arhiepiscopie și episcopii ei au fost mitropoliți și la scriitorii grecești s-au zis „mitropoliții părții Ungrovlahiei”²⁰.

În scopul susținerii concluziei sale, el citează conținutul unei *Notitia Episcopatum*, preluată și de autorul bizantin Georgios Codinos, anume că

„sunt in Ungro Vlahia duo mitropolitae, quorum alter tenet locum Nicomediensis, et dicitur exarcha totius Hungariae, et Plagenarum (acesta iaste cel de la București din Țara Românească) alter dicitur metropolita Ungro Vlachiae Partis, geritque vices Amasseni (Acesta iaste mitropolitul Belgradului Ardeal) et alius in Moldavia seu Nigra Vlachia (acesta iaste cel de la Iași din Moldova)”. Adecă: „Sunt în Ungrovlahia doi mitropoliți, dintre cari unul ține locul

Nicomedeianului, și să zice exarhul a toată Țara Ungurească și a Plaiurilor (acesta iaste cel din București), celălalt să zice mitropolitul părții Ungrovlahiei și țină locul Amaseanului (acesta iaste mitropolitul Belgradului din Ardeal) și altul în Moldova sau Vlachia Neagră (acesta iaste cel de la Iași din Moldova)”²¹.

La rândul lui, Petru Maior conchide că

notițiile episcopilor celor grecești, la fața 391 așa au: „În vremile de pre urmă s-au făcut în Ungrovlahia doi mitropoliți, dintre cari unul țină locul Nicomedianului și se zice exarh a toată Ungaria și a Plaiurilor. Altul se zice mitropolit a părții Ungrovlahiei și iaste în locul Amaseanului”. Oare prin numele Ungrovlahia singură Țeara Muntenească se înțelege aici, nu fără cădintă se poate întreba. [...]. Mai încolo, cum prin numele Ungrovlahiei nu singură Țeara Muntenească, ci și Ardealul se înțelege și așa cum că unul dintră cei doi în Ungrovlahia făcuți mitropoliți au fost mitropolitul cel din Ardeal”²².

În continuarea demersului său, spre a întări și mai mult cele afirmate, autorul face recurs la același Georgios Codinos susținând că

cetirăm în Codin Curopalata că în Ungrovlahia doi mitropoliți s-au făcut, unul carele și cu titlul de Exarh s-au cinstit, altul a părții Ungrovlahiei. Iară fiindcă în Țeara Muntenească nicăiri nu se află urmă a arhiepiscopiei și a mitropoliei Ungrovlahiei, nicedecum nu ne putem îndoi cum că pre mitropolitul părții Ungrovlahiei nu aiurea se cade să-l cercăm, fără în Ardeal”²³.

Parcursul textelor celor doi reprezentanți ai Școlii Ardelene ne conduce la câteva constatări. Prima dintre ele constă în faptul că niciunul nu face referire la o consacrare canonică a Mitropoliei Ortodoxe din Transilvania prin intermediul celei a Severinului. O altă constatare este aceea că, în timp ce Samuil Micu pe mitropolitul Severinului, care era într-adevăr *locum tenens* al Amasei, cu “mitropolitul Belgradului din Ardeal”, Petru Maior, susține doar că “unul dintră cei doi în Ungrovlahia făcuți mitropoliți au fost mitropolitul cel din Ardeal”, fără a preciza care dintre ei. Argumentul invocat de Samuil Micu în susținerea tezei sale este acela că “Ardealul se socotea ca o parte a Dachiei sau a Țerii Românești”²⁴. La rândul lui, Petru Maior își argumenta teoria susținând că “numele de Ungrovlahia mai vârtos Ardealului au fost mai demult dat”²⁵.

Informațiile provenite din diverse izvoare, îndeosebi din actele patriarhale, puse în circulație, au demonstrat că identificarea mitropolitului Severinului cu întâistătătorul Bisericii Ortodoxe din Transilvania, este absolut eronată. Mai mult decât atât, în toată perioada de funcționare a

Mitropoliei Severinului, între august-octombrie 1370 și ante mai 1412, el nu a exercitat niciun moment jurisdicția ecleziastică asupra Bisericii Ortodoxe din Transilvania. Cunoaștem, de asemenea, că, încă anterior datei de 1 septembrie 1386, probabil chiar din 1381, și până la o dată necunoscută, situată după mai 1401, jurisdicția asupra Bisericii Ortodoxe din Transilvania fost exercitată de mitropolitul Ungrovlahiei, cu reședința la Argeș, Anthimos, în calitatea lui de “exarh al întregii părți ungurești și al Plaiurilor”, cu care fusese investit de Patriarhia Ecumenică de la Constantinopol, precum și faptul că în toată această perioadă, Biserica Ortodoxă din Transilvania a fost lipsită de un arhiepiscop propriu.

În altă ordine de idei, o consacrare canonică a Mitropoliei Ortodoxe a Transilvaniei, realizată la începutul secolului al XV-lea de Patriarhia Ecumenică de la Constantinopol, prin Mitropolia Severinului, devine un non sens, în condițiile în care această consacrare canonică exista deja, cel puțin, din secolul anterior. În cazul unei funcționări necanonice a Mitropoliei Ortodoxe a Transilvaniei, situație echivalentă cu nerecunoașterea ei de către Patriarhia Ecumenică, numirea unui exarh patriarhal pentru ea, ar fi fost el însuși un act necanonic, la care autoritățile patriarhale, recunoscute prin rigoarea apărării canoanelor, nu ar fi recurs. Însăși numirea unui exarh patriarhal pentru dioceza ortodoxă a Transilvaniei, în cazul în speță în persoana mitropolitului Anthimos al Ungrovlahiei de la Argeș, reprezintă o confirmare certă a funcționării canonice a Mitropoliei Ortodoxe a Transilvaniei la momentul investirii lui.

Un element care poate contribui la o mai bună clarificare a problemei, reprezintă o succintă analiză a disputelor interne din cadrul Patriarhiei Ecumenice de la Constantinopol de la începutul secolului al XV-lea. Cu atât mai important devine acest aspect în cadrul demersului nostru cu cât, în cadrul lor, mitropolitul Athanasios al Severinului a jucat un rol activ.

Între 1403 și 1409, un grup de arhiepiscopii orientali, grupați în jurul mitropolitului Makarios al Ancyrei, i-a intentat patriarhului ecumenic Mattheos I (1307-1410) așa-numitul *proces de trisepiscopat*²⁶. Între cei mai virulenți contestatari ai patriarhului ecumenic s-a numărat și mitropolitul Athanasios al Severinului²⁷. De altfel, ultima informație despre mitropolitul Athanasios al Severinului, care datează din septembrie 1405, și se regăsește în actele sinodale ale procesului de trisepiscopat, îl arată pe arhiepiscopul Severinului ca numărându-se încă între adversarii patriarhului²⁸. În asemenea situație, considerăm că este absolut imposibil de admis că, în perioada desfășurării procesului de trisepiscopat, patriarhul ecumenic Mattheos I i-ar fi sporit autoritatea mitropolitului Severinului, încredințându-i și administrarea Bisericii Ortodoxe din Transilvania.

În temeiul constatărilor făcute pe baza informațiilor cuprinse în izvoarele analizate, conchidem că personajul Anastasius de la Ribița, menționat alături de papa Grigore al XII-lea, și mitropolitul Athanasios al

Severinului sunt două persoane diferite. În consecință, considerăm că Anastasius, menționat în inscripția de la Ribița, nu poate fi decât un arhiereu al Bisericii Ortodoxe din Transilvania.

Dacă opinia noastră cu privire la calitatea de arhiereu al Bisericii Ortodoxe din Transilvania a lui Anastasius de la Ribița, se confirmă, atunci el devine al doilea arhiepiscop sau mitropolit cunoscut al acesteia, după Ghelasie, de la Râmeț. Perioada păstoririi lui nu o putem însă preciza. Fără îndoială ea a debutat în primii ani ai secolului al XV-lea, la o dată necunoscută după mai 1401 și anterioară anului 1404, probabil imediat după încetarea administrării Bisericii Ortodoxe din Transilvania de către mitropolitul Ungrovlahiei de la Argeș. Conchidem, deci, că luna mai a anului 1401 poate fi admisă ca o dată *post quem*, iar anul 1404 sau 1407 una *ante quem* al debutului păstoririi lui Anastasius / Anastasie în fruntea Bisericii Ortodoxe din Transilvania. În ceea ce privește momentul încheierii păstoririi sale, acesta ne rămâne necunoscut. Putem doar aprecia că el s-a produs la o dată posterioară anului 1404 sau 1407.

Considerații finale. Absența informațiilor face ca arhieriei Bisericii Ortodoxe din Transilvania din secolului al XIV-lea și de la începutul secolului al XV-lea să fie puțin cunoscuți. În secolul al XIV-lea, o inscripție din vechea biserică a Mănăstirii Râmeț îl menționează pe arhiepiscopul Ghelasie, la 2 iulie 1377. Din câteva izvoare bizantine cunoaștem că de la o dată anterioară celei de 1 septembrie 1386 și până la o dată posterioară lunii mai 1401, administrarea Bisericii Ortodoxe din Transilvania a fost încredințată mitropolitului Anthimos al Ungrovlahiei. În această perioadă el a deținut și calitatea de *exarh a toată partea ungurească și al Plaiurilor*. O inscripție din Biserica din Ribița îl menționează în 1404 sau 1407 pe un anume Anastasius. Foarte probabil, la data menționării, Anastasius era arhiepiscop sau mitropolit al Bisericii Ortodoxe din Transilvania.

NOTES:

- ¹ Lucian Ionescu, „Descifrarea inscripțiilor murale medievale. Contribuții criminalistice”, în *Revista de Criminologie, Criminalistică și Penologie*, 2, 2008, p. 259.
- ² Vasile Mărculeț, *Organizare ecleziastică și implicații bizantine în spațiul românesc (secolele X-XV)*, Brăila, 2014, p. 149.
- ³ *Hieroclis Synecdemus et Notitiae Graecae Episcopatum accedunt Nili Doxapatrii Notitia Patriarchatum et Locorum Nomina Immutata*, ex recognitione, G. Parthey, Berolini, 1866, p. 137, not. 4; Heinrich Gelzer, „Ungedruckte und ungenügend veröffentlichte Texte der Notitiae episcopatum, ein Beitrag zur

- byzantinischen Kirchen- und Verwaltungsgeschichte", în *Abhandlungen der Philosophisch-philologischen Classe der königlich bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, XXI, 1901, III, p. 611; Jean Darrouzès, „Ekthésis Néa. Manuël des pitakkia du XIVe siècle", în *Revue des Études Byzantines*, XXVII, 1969, pp. 46-47 (în continuare: „Ekthésis Néa"); Idem, *Notitiae episcopatum Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, Paris, 1981, p. 418, not. 20 (în continuare: *Notitiae episcopatum*); *Fontes Histoariae Daco-Romanae*, vol. IV, edit. H. Mihăescu et alii, București, 1982, pp. 312-313, nr. XLIX, 1 (în continuare: *Fontes*, IV).
- ⁴ Jean Darrouzès, „Ekthésis Néa", p. 38.
- ⁵ Heinrich Gelzer, *op. cit.*, p. 611; Michel Lascaris, „Le patriarcat de Peć a-t-il été reconnu par l'Église de Constantinople en 1375?", *Mélanges Charles Diehl. Études sur histoire et sur l'art de Byzance*, vol. I, Paris, 1930, pp. 171-175; Vitalien Laurent, „L'archevêque de Peć et le titre de patriarche après l'union de 1375", *Balkanica*, VII, 1944, p. 306-307; Idem, „A origines de l'Église moldave: Le métropolitte Jérémie et l'évêque Joseph", *Revue des Études Byzantines*, V, 1947, p. 163; Jean Darrouzès, „Ekthésis Néa", p. 38.
- ⁶ Hieroclis *Synecdemus*, p. 137, not. 4; Heinrich Gelzer, *op. cit.*, p. 611; Jean Darrouzès, „Ekthésis Néa", p. 46-47; Idem, *Notitiae episcopatum*, p. 418, not. 20; *Fontes*, IV, pp. 312-313, nr. XLIX, 1.
- ⁷ *Documente privitoare la istoria românilor culese de Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki*, vol. I, partea 2. 1345-1450, culese, adnotate și publicate de Nic. Densușianu, București, 1890, pp. 268-269, nr. CCVI.
- ⁸ Șerban Papacostea, *Triumful luptei pentru neatârnaire: întemeierea Moldovei și consolidarea statelor feudale românești*, în vol. „Constituirea statelor feudale românești", București, 1980, pp. 190-192.
- ⁹ Lucian Ionescu, *op. cit.*, pp. 252-260; Mircea Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii Ortodoxe Române*, vol. I, București, 1991, p. 291.
- ¹⁰ Hieroclis *Synecdemus*, p. 137, not. 4; Heinrich Gelzer, *op. cit.*, p. 611; Jean Darrouzès, „Ekthésis Néa", p. 46-47; Idem, *Notitiae episcopatum*, p. 418, not. 20; *Fontes*, IV, pp. 312-313, nr. XLIX, 1.
- ¹¹ Franz Miklosich, Ios. Müller, *Acta Patriarchatus Constantinopolitani, MCCCXV-MCCCCII*, vol. II, Vindobonae, 1862, pp. 37-38, nr. CCCLIII; *Fontes*, IV, pp. 218-219, nr. XLV, 22.
- ¹² *Ibidem*, p. 28, nr. CCCXLV; *Ibid.*, pp. 218-219, nr. XLV, 21.
- ¹³ Vasile Mărculeț, „Considerații privind situația și statutul Bisericii Ortodoxe din Transilvania între ultimul sfert al secolului al XIV-lea și începutul secolului al XVI-lea", în *Lumină Lină / Gracious Light*, XXV, 2020, 1, pp. 22-23.
- ¹⁴ *Acta Patriarchatus Constantinopolitani*, II, p. 494, nr. DCXLVII; *Fontes*, IV, pp. 266-267, nr. XLV, 63.
- ¹⁵ Nemes Ödön, „A ribicei templom 1404-ből", *Hazánk sa Külföld*, 4 (4) 1968, p. 64.
- ¹⁶ Adrian Andrei Rusu, „Biserica românească de la Ribița (județul Hunedoara)", *Revista Monumentelor Istorice*, LX (1), 1991, p. 7.
- ¹⁷ *Ibidem*.

- ¹⁸ Ioan-Aurel Pop, Daniela Marcu Istrate, Alexandru Simon, „Mitropolia Severinului și Ardealului din Dealul Feleacului”, cap. B: „Lăcașurile: mitropolia din Feleac”, în Ioan-Aurel Pop, Daniela Marcu Istrate, Tudor Sălăgean, Alexandru Simon, *De vertice montis. Feleacul, Clujul și Transilvania în Evul Mediu*, Cluj-Napoca, 2017, p. 118.
- ¹⁹ Samuil Micu, *Istoria românilor*, Editie princeps după manuscris de I. Chindriș, vol. II, București, 1995, p. 202; Petru Maior, *Istoria Bisericii românilor*, vol. I. Ediție îngrijită și studiu introductiv de I. Chindriș, București, 1995, p. 138-139.
- ²⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 201.
- ²¹ Samuil Micu, *op. cit.*, p. 201-202; Cf. Georgius Codinus Curopalata, *De officiis Magnae Ecclesiae et Aulae Constantinopolitanae*, Ex versione P. Jacobi Gretseri. Cura et opera P. Jacobi Goar, Venetiis, MDCCXXIX, p. 351.
- ²² Petru Maior, *op. cit.*, p. 138.
- ²³ *Ibidem*, p. 139.
- ²⁴ *Ibid.*.
- ²⁵ *Ibid.*.
- ²⁶ Vitalien Laurent, „Le trisépiscopat du patriarche Matthieu I^{er} (1997-1410). Un grand procès canonique à Byzance au début du XV^e siècle”, în *Revue des Études Byzantines*, XXX, 1972, pp. 6-166.
- ²⁷ *Ibidem*, pp. 123, 155-156; *Fontes*, IV, pp. 328/329, 332/333.
- ²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 123; *Ibid.*, pp. 332/333.

BOOK REVIEWS

Heinrich Mann: Ein politischer Träumer

Günther Rüther, *Heinrich Mann. Ein politischer Träumer. Biographie*, Marixverlag, Wiesbaden, 2020, 350 pp. (German)

Heinrich Mann is one of the outstanding German writers of the 20th century. His novel *Der Untertan* (*The Underling*, first published 1905) earned him much respect during the Weimar Republic, since it satirized Imperial German society. Later, in 1930, his book *Professor Unrat* was freely adapted into the movie *Der Blaue Engel* (*The Blue Angel*), a worldwide success, with Marlene Dietrich in the lead. Together with Albert Einstein and other celebrities during 1932, Mann was a signatory to the "Urgent Call for Unity", asking the voters to reject the Nazis. He became *persona non grata* in Nazi Germany and left even before the Reichstag fire of 1933. He went to France where he lived in Paris and Nice. During the German occupation, he made in 1940 his way to Spain and Portugal to leave for New York City. In American exile he wrote *Die Jugend des Königs Henri Quatre* and *Die Vollendung des Königs Henri Quatre*. The two novels described the life and importance of Henry IV of France and were acclaimed by his brother Thomas Mann, who spoke of the "great splendour and dynamic art" of the work. The plot, based on Europe's early modern history from a French perspective, anticipated the end of French-German enmity.

During his last years, Heinrich Mann worked on his autobiography, *Ein Zeitalter wird besichtigt* (1945). He was awarded with East Germany's first National Prize and invited to become the president of its new Academy of the Arts. Mann died in California in Santa Monica on March 12, 1950, before he was able to assume his post. His ashes were later taken to East Berlin and were interred at the Dorotheenstadt cemetery in a grave of honor.

But, as the biographer rightly says, a double shadow weighs on his work: the shadow of his famous brother Thomas and the lasting shadow of the division of Germany.

While Thomas Mann was celebrated in both parts of the nation, this was not the same for Heinrich Mann. In the totalitarian East Germany, honored and widely read, but also politically instrumentalized, he was denied recognition in the democratic Federal Republic for a long time.

A competitive relationship developed between the brothers early on; they looked at the world with different eyes. Whereas Thomas Mann was influenced by the Russian novelists of the 19th century, especially Leo Tolstoy, and drew international attention to German prose with his works, the francophile Heinrich never gained the fame of his brother and was considered more of a Leftist social critic. Thomas about Heinrich: "My brother-problem is the real, in any case the most difficult, problem of my life... At every step kinship and affront.... his books are bad in such an extraordinary way as to provoke passionate antagonism." In 1916, Thomas Mann wrote to his friend Ernst Bertram that he believed the tragedy of Germany was "symbolized and personified by my brother and myself". He may have been correct. The story of the strained relationship between Thomas and Heinrich Mann - characterized by a lifelong hate-envy - is a familiar part of German literary history.

Heinrich's activist mindset wanted to improve society not only with the help of literature, but with left-wing ideology. As an essayist he moved from conservative middle-class opinions to a strong commitment to democracy and various forms of socialism. During the First World War he was one of the few writers, who was in opposition to the German "ideas of 1914". In his famous essay *Zola* (1915), which celebrated the French author's political commitment, Heinrich Mann formulated the role of the writer in society and indirectly attacked the exploitative attitudes of capitalists and industrialists which had led to conflict. With its reference to Thomas Mann, the work caused a temporary rupture between the brothers. Thomas, who was more conservative, had defended the war, and was offended. His reply, *Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen* (1918, *Reflections of an Unpolitical Man*), was a direct attack on Heinrich. Thomas, who had at first asserted the artist's need for independence from political concerns, eventually came to support many of Heinrich's views. In *Der Hass* (*The Hate*, 1933) Mann showed how the cultivation of hatred as perpetrated by the Nazis, must inevitably lead to the demise of civilization. His attacks on militarism, nationalism, and the authoritarian social structure of German society, led to his exile in 1933.

According to the author of this new excellent biography, Heinrich Mann was "a political dreamer, not a calculating esthete like Thomas, who preferred to take refuge in the role of the apolitical observer". These opposing positions determine the different evaluation and impact of both brothers after the Second World War in the divided Germany. For me, who had to live in the part of the country that was under communist dictatorship until the Peaceful Revolution in 1989, it is only now 30 years after the fall of the Wall – and thanks to Rüther's analysis - that I am encouraged to historicize Heinrich Mann's work and actions. In my youth and especially during my German studies at the University, I rejected this author as an

ideological helper of the regime. For me, he was since the 1930th ideologically on the wrong side of history. All I had known about him – from his “people’s front” policy to his admiration for Stalin – seemed to confirm Lenin’s typical “useful idiot,” susceptible to communist propaganda and manipulation. As such he failed to be an ally of the oppressed, that was his “apolitical” brother. It is Rütger’s merit to show, decades later, how, not in spite of all this, but also because of it, Heinrich Mann’s work is still up-to-date today and has actual “use value” (“Gebrauchswert”, as Brecht would say). Rütger thinks in dialectical terms. Today I can agree with his conclusion about Heinrich Mann: “His linguistic beauty, his dreamy elegance, his radical idealism and his desperate struggle for a better world have never lost importance.” Today, after the collapse of the bloody Soviet utopia, it is time to come to terms with its shadows. Glyn Hughes reminded me once, how to “unbound Brecht”: “We have to be able to value aesthetic achievements within their problematic contexts.” Rütger guides the reader to the liberal and pluralistic roots of Heinrich Mann’s mindset. In view of the cancel culture that is growing around us, it seems to be necessary to ascertain contradicting heritage like this.

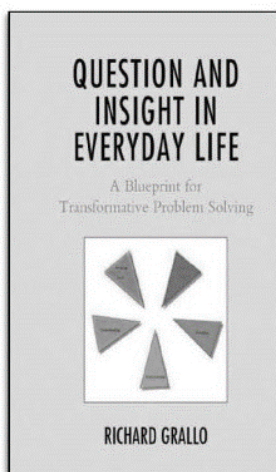
Rütger succeeds convincingly in correcting the existing Heinrich Mann image of the Cold War time and wresting his work from oblivion. Against the background of the 20th century challenges, Rütger rediscovers Mann’s work and life. The result is the complex picture of a European-minded writer. Above all, Mann’s journalistic and essayistic work refers to the emergence of a European concept of peace and freedom after the devastation of the First World War. All his life Heinrich Mann appears as a “man of the republic” and advocates a social democracy and a united Europe in which he assigns France and Germany a key role. But like so many other artists and intellectuals, he relies on communism in the fight against National Socialism and ignores the inhuman character of Soviet rule. Rütger tells of Heinrich Mann’s hopes, dreams and bitter disappointments. And he succeeds in both conveying a picture of Heinrich Mann’s creative power and in transferring it to the philosophical and political discussions of the first half of the 20th century. He contextualizes the writer’s assessments and brings them closer to today’s reader. In the case of historical events such as the Moscow Trials, the Hitler-Stalin Pact or the conditions in the Soviet occupation zone, he adds what Mann demonstrably knew with what he could have known, thus creating space for in-depth reflection. Brecht calls this “fabulating” (“Fabulieren”). In my opinion it’s not only appropriate, but also an enlightening path to accept the complexity of Heinrich Mann’s creativity. The fact that the reader experiences Heinrich Mann’s thinking and writing in such a dialectical way allows closeness and understanding for the work and the personality. Rütger lays bare how the dreams are but shadows.

NEW FROM
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QUESTION AND INSIGHT IN EVERYDAY LIFE
A BLUEPRINT FOR TRANSFORMATIVE PROBLEM SOLVING

By Richard Grallo



CONTENTS

Chapter 1: Problem Solving in Overview
Chapter 2: Pattern 1: Seeking Understanding by
Considering Possibilities
Chapter 3: Three Patterns of Critical Thinking; Filtering
Possibilities for Something More
Chapter 4: Experiencing and Its Functions in Learning
and Problem Solving
Chapter 5: Problem Solving in Larger Contexts
Chapter 6: Examples of Facts of Consciousness in Other
Perspectives
Epilogue: Problem Solving as Mindful Practice

ABOUT THIS BOOK

In *Question and Insight in Everyday Life: A Blueprint for Transformative Problem Solving*, Richard Grallo examines the nature and patterns of human problem solving. Grallo identifies four patterns of problem solving that together result in complex human learning and growth. The four patterns constitute a cycle that is transformative not only of problematic situations but of the problem solvers themselves. This book also explores the roles of questions, insights, the desire to know, and social trust in problem solving. Its conclusions apply equally to the problems of everyday life as well as to challenges that arise in educational, counseling, political, engineering, and science fields.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

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Heinz-Uwe Haus and Theatre Making in Cyprus and Greece

Heinz-Uwe Haus and Theatre Making in Cyprus and Greece, ed. by Heinz-Uwe Haus and Daniel Meyer-Dinkgräfe, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Newcastle upon Tyne, UK; 2021, 405 pp. ISBN: 1-5275-7274-9; ISBN13: 978-1-5275-7274-4.

This book presents to the reader a selection of documents and analyses of the activities of more than 40 years by former Berlin stage director Heinz-Uwe Haus in Greek-language theatre. For the first time, all of Haus's productions and their reception are presented in their aesthetic context—from the legendary *Caucasian Chalk Circle* by Brecht (1975) all the way to Ibsen's *The Lady from the Sea* (2017), both performances of the Cypriot National Theatre (THOK). Approximately 20 productions on the stages of Nicosia, Athens, Thessaloniki, Agrinion, Kalamata, Patras, Oiniades and Paphos, as well as visiting productions and co-productions in Greece and Germany are being brought back to our memory. All record how they are seeking to redefine theatrical truth, aiming for a form of story-telling that transcends national heritage to tap into the socially universal. Thus, in eight chapters a unique stocktaking in contexts of theatre history and cultural politics takes place, which is of interest not only for theatre makers and audiences in Cyprus and Greece.

Together with co-editor Daniel Meyer-Dinkgräfe and supported by Costas Hadjigeorgiou, Haus succeeds, particularly through the retrospection at the ground-breaking Brecht-reception through his work from the mid-seventies to the end of the eighties, in providing an exciting launch of the current discussion of future developments of the theatre in the Western world. This relates to questions both of dramaturgical practice and societal action. Due to the political situation in the region – Cyprus had to deal with the results of the Turkish invasion of 1974 and in Greece the military junta had just been overthrown – the democratic forces in both countries recognized the “Use Value” (Gebrauchswert) of the theatre. For a few years the theatre became the cultural centre of the nation and a force for identity building. The actress Despina Bebedeli states: “Theatre making encouraged the dialogue between the social strata, it had an impact on mobilizing the people for the democratization of the society” (p. 351).

The book includes material written by Haus at the time for his cast, announcements of the productions in the media, newspaper reviews and academic articles about the productions, conference contributions, and reflections by cast members (both professional actors and university faculty) and designers (set, costume, light, music). A wide range of topics is then discussed in the context of approaches to directing, actor training, the intellectual debate of Brecht in Cyprus and Greece, and historical and biographical dimensions.

Among the contributors are many prominent voices of Greek, Cypriot and international criticism and culture, such as Petros Markaris, Despina Bebedeli, Neophytos Neophytou, Stelios Kafkarides, Aspasia Papathanassiou, Panayiotis Serghis, George Kotsonis, Glyn Hughes, Afir Stojanowa, Klaus M. Schmidt, Klitos Ioannides, Daniel Meyer-Dinkgräfe, Gregor Karydas, Nona Moleski, Theodore Grammatas, Andri Constantinou, Claudine Elnecave, William Browning, Christakis Georgiou, Günther Rüther, Andy Bargilly, and Guy Stern.

Contemporary references in Haus's texts clearly document the important role of the support the director received under the conditions of the Cold War from personalities such as the Cypriot Presidents Archbishop Makarios and Spiros Kyprianou, Greek Prime Minister Panayiotis Kanellopoulos, Greek Cultural Minister Melina Mercouri, Greek Ambassador Dimitris Rallis. Karlos Koun, Jacovos Kambanellis, Elli Lambetti, Panayiotis Skoufis, and August Everding.

The essays of Daniel Meyer-Dinkgräfe und Klaus M. Schmidt give hints at the harsh political realities of Haus' life under communist rule, where he was a target of harassment by the state. The intercession of such leading political and public figures was often successful, because the regime needed for its strategic interests in both states an image of civility. But still the permanent struggle for Haus to get the permission to accept the invitations for working in Cyprus and Greece was an endless and dangerous saga. The Stasi, the East German secret police, tracked his every move. Yet, the artist felt, as he told the reviewer, protected through his international recognition and his continuous engagement with Western media. Since the end of the 70th he was lecturing and directing in the US and Canada too, which brought additional attention and connections.

The book, which is illustrated with images of posters and drawings for the productions (by Costas Kafkarides, Glyn Hughes, Jean Bodin) radiates the spirit of empathy, optimism, courage and energy, as taught by Haus's paragons, Brecht, Peter Brook, Manfred Wekwerth, and Wolfgang Heinz.

The value of this publication is its wealth of knowledge of theatre making. Though directing may be Haus' most austere style of presenting his views, it is the concept that epitomizes his career. Haus did away with

conventional methods of acting, staging, and performance. He replaced “realistic settings” with “imagined space” that often revealed the mechanics of the stage and created startling visual effects. He would often use highly physical elements in his performances, shifting emphasis from oratory to action. “It was a matter of letting actions speak louder than words, what was unusual for many actors. Looking back, I can say, the much beloved rhetoric would no longer serve as the main device for communication” (Haus in a telephone interview, 8/3/21.) “Storytelling”, “contradictions”, “gestus”, “de-familiarizing/alienation” are Haus’ tools of Brechtian origin – self-trained in his youth and later developed in his collaboration with Manfred Wekwerth at the Deutsches Theater Berlin and the Institute for Theatre Directing of the GDR. But under the Greek theatre conditions he moved the goal-posts for Brechtian productions (including the so-called ‘models’), in the process redefining himself as a director, and to some extent the theatre itself. Haus’ focus became the actor’s ability to create through his imagination of social attitudes any situation to which the “emotional memory” of the audience will respond.

The notes on Brecht’s *The Caucasian Chalk Circle*, *The Good Person of Szechwan*, *Mother Courage and her Children*, *The Rifles of Senora Carrar*, *The Resistible Rise of Arturo Ui*, on Schiller’s *The Robbers*, Carvajal’s *Lautaro*, Borchert’s *Outside the Door*, Ibsen’s *Lady from the Sea*, Euripides’ *The Suppliant Women* and *Antigone*, or Shakespeare’s *Measure for Measure* illuminate working processes under different social and artistic challenges. Over the years such influences as the early writing of Peter Brook, the cooperation with Charly Weber, the collaboration with the choreographers Patricio Bunster, Eva Winkler and Andrew Tsubaki and the painters Guillermo Deisler and Glyn Hughes as well as visits of performances by Peter Stein and LaMama enrich Haus’ ability to include the “sister arts” (Brecht) in his vision of theatricality.

The documents and the descriptions of all of Haus’ Cypriot and Greek productions demonstrate how his goal was to reinvigorate the theatre through a theatrical vocabulary not tied to language, but in context to the social conditions. Haus used all aspects of theatre to stage this: lighting, set, props, costumes, and most importantly: action. “All served to present the audience with a real, raw, and emotional experience”, remembers the actor Neophytos Neophytou (p. 97). The reader discovers, that Brecht’s “thinking capable of intervention” is the base for the director. From there he goes beyond anything audiences had already experienced.

The book traces the trajectory of Haus’ crucial contribution to the discussion, both in his writings and in his productions. It succeeds brilliantly, and I defy anyone to read the book and not come away thinking better of the theatre, its scope, its passion, its contribution.

Symposium

Topics of the Symposia held every year in the first weekend in December, between 1993-2017. Starting with the 2019 issue the journal *Symposium* is no longer a thematic publication

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