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Church, Power and Culture: Bishop Teofil's and Bishop Atanasie's Biographies

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Bishop Teofil's and Atanasie Anghel's curricular evolutions maintain their status of examples for the history of the Romanian Church in Transylvania between the 17th and 18th centuries, on the way of the dialogue between the Eastern church tradition and civilization on the one hand, and the experience of Western European Catholicism, on the other hand, if we ascribe the entire situation only to the religious Union of a part of the Transylvanian Romanians with the Church of Rome[1]. This kind of climate aimed at the preservation of the ancient tradition, the coming back to the Church of Rome, including the Transylvanian Romanian Church recognition as one of the received religions of the political system in the principality of Transylvania. This kind of elements represent a benefit with a view to supporting the judicious and rational ascertainment upon the major religious, cultural and political significances of the Union in the process of the Transylvanian Romanians national formation.

Keywords: Bishop Teofil, Bishop Atanasie Anghel, Romanian Church in Transylvania, the return to the church of Rome, Transylvanian Romanians national formation

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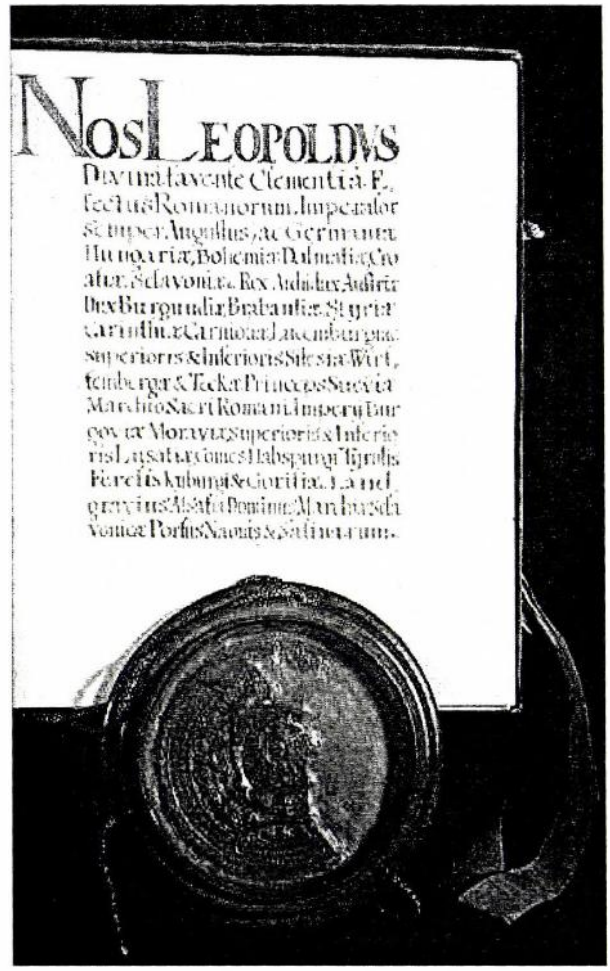
The life, public involvement, and especially religious activity carried out by the bishops of Bălgrad, Teofil and Atanasie Anghel, under different political, economical, social, religious and cultural circumstances, and in direct relation to certain realities of the Principality of Transylvania, remind us – to a certain extent of the approach and interpretation of the real history of the Transylvanian Romanians after the middle of the 17th century - of the particular situation of the *Church-State* relation to the peoples in the Eastern Europe (in the sense of the institutional evolution in the Modern Age)[2], illustrated by the comprehensive *power-culture* syntagm by dint of the three generous co-ordinates: *identity, ideology and representation*[3]. As a matter of fact, the two hierarchs' biographies demonstrate once more the biographer's quality and scientific value in approaching the realities existing in the end of the 17th century through their stages and essential moments (with direct and justificative references upon the role played by the Hapsburgs at the beginning of the formation process of the Romanian people. It is our due to ascribe Teofil's moment to the effective beginnings of the Union, if we agree with the historiographical formula[4], according to which the religious Union of a part of the Transylvanian Romanians with the Church of Rome conferred them on the quality of *instrumentum regni*. More than that, the completion of this difficult process may be attributed to broadly speaking Atanasie Anghel, as the Transylvanian Romanians' political and cultural claims were carried out during his time to

a certain extent of the fight[5]. In fact, the ideological and pragmatic foundations of the religious union of a part of the Transylvanian Romanians with the Church of Rome in the spirit of the Council of Florence, and on the basis of a congruency between the European Eastern and Western civilizations, were represented by two co-ordinates: the preservation of the ancient tradition, the coming back to the Church of Rome, including the Transylvanian Romanians' Church recognition together with the fact that their religion is one of the received religions of the political system in force in the Principality of Transylvania. We try to approach Bishop Teofil's and Bishop Atanasie Anghel's biographies precisely from this point of view.

Bishop Teofil (? – 1697)

Metropolitan Teofil's name as layman was Toma Seremi, and he was born in Teiuş (Alba Inferior County)[6]. He unveiled a fundamental change in the existence of the Transylvanian Romanians' church through his brief, but prodigious activity: he took the initiative in becoming a Catholic man. The typical diplomatic formula applied to the policy promoted by *Societas Jesu*[7] was also used in the case of the Transylvanian Principality: the conversion action 'from top to bottom' had in view first the heads of the Church, then the most influential archpriests, and finally, the Christians, who had to be convinced by the advantages of the Union.

Teodosie ordained Teofil in Bucharest on the 18th of September 1692, where he was sworn to the Orthodox Church (archpriest Opre and priest Sicu of Braşov attended the ceremony). After he came back in Transylvania, Teofil accepted those 19 points of faith in front of the Calvinist superintendent, and was confirmed as bishop by Governor George Bánffy on the 18th of December 1692, under totally different circumstances than those imposed by Metropolitan Teodosie[8]. Diploma Leopoldinum (August 23, 1692) was theoretically and practically set up under Ladislau Baráyi's influence. He was a Jesuitical monk, artisan of the religious Union with the Church of Rome, and Teofil's counsellor (later „theologus et consiliarius Archiepiscopi Athanasii I") endowed with the remarkable political spirit of the time[9]. Leopold's Diploma stipulates the sum of the exemptions and privileges attributed to the ruthenian united priests and all those who will give



Diploma Leopoldinum

source: http://mek.oszk.hu/01800/01885/html/index258.html

their agreement to the Union with the Church of Rome, but it also underlined the essential difference between the Union with the Calvinists and the one with the Catholics (at the landmark between the specific character of faith and the opportunity for social integration). The last formula was respectful of the Romanian Church ritual, as *the Romanian* law[10] remained uncorrupted. The Diploma also stipulated the activity carried out by Jesu Company with reference to issues that had in view the case of the United Church in the area under the jurisdiction of the Hapsburg Empire in congruency with the instructions transmitted by *Congregation De Propaganda Fide.*

It is the reason why Teofil summons a synod in February 1697 at the Bishop's residence of Alba Iulia, with a view to publicly and peremptorily declaring the Union of the Orthodox Church of Transylvania with Rome. The main issue of the

debates in the synod was the following one: the Christians united with the Church of Rome were not obliged to dogmatically receive something else but the four known points of Florence. The reason of this practice was the fact that they were about to enjoy the same rights and liberties as those held by the people who belonged to the Catholic Church, as the Romanians were no longer considered to be tolerated according to the political system of the Principality. In fact, Teofil wrote the official and solemn declaration of the Union with the Church of Rome (its foundation was considered to be the binominal *adherence-assuming*) on the 21st of March 1697, and signed it, and than bore the Bishop's stamp and that of the synod on it[11].The power of the document will be enlarged by the signatures given by 12 archpriests on the 10th of June 1697. The document represents the clear evidence of a final decision about the process of the *Union,* if it is to take into account its form and content. *The Resolution* represents the indubitable sign of the fact that the maximal – but sufficient - principles of the reunion of the two Churches in the spirit of Florence had been already adopted. The experience of the Catholic Church with a view to accepting the validity of the points of Florence was acknowledged in plenum of the Synod in exchange for maintaining the tradition of the own church[12]. In fact, the *Union* Resolution has a remarkable historical significance, including in the virtue of the abovementioned concept, as it represented the first express and conscious manifestation of Transylvanian Romanians political claims[13] on their way to the national formation that is going to register a significant moment through the package of justificative claims set up and supported by the brave Bishop Inochentie Micu-Klein.

The decision taken by the Synod at Alba Iulia on the 21st of March 1697 had a double significance from the Church, political and cultural point of view both for the Transylvanian Romanians and the sovereign circles through the letter and spirit of a true „professio fidei" as it had already been established in historiography in the 5th decade of the previous century[14]. The sovereign circles were noticed – in due time! – by the Jesuitical monk Ladislau Barányi who had an epistolary exchange with Cardinal Leopold Kollonich. The Cardinal had to intercede to the Emperor in Vienna with a view to putting into practice the liberties and privileges that were promised to the Romanian priests united with the Church of Rome, including the laymen's admission to public functions and offices. The Jesuitical theologian's travel to Vienna was therefore hastened, especially because of the fact that Metropolitan Teodosie of Wallachia started to plan and send him away of the bishop see by all means as soon as he found out about Teofil's courageous act.

Nevertheless, Teofil suddenly died on the month of July 1697 – he had already been acknowledged as Bishop of the United Romanian Church of the Transylvanian Principality by Emperor Leopold I and Cardinal Leopold Kollonich (some contemporary sources dare say that he was poisoned!). The measures of precaution were useless. The serious problems of the religious Union continued to be obvious both for the partisans, and the opponents living in Principality and abroad as part of the Church, diplomatic and political relations that entailed not only the interests of the sovereign circles in Vienna or of the part of the Transylvanian Romanians, but also more or less explicit attitudes coming from neighbouring empires and determined by the *State-Church* binominal at the beginning of a new era[15].

Atanasie Anghel (? -1713)

He was a controversial and contested figure of the Transylvanian Romanians' history in the end of the 17th century. The completion of the religious Union and the setting out of the legal and favourable conditions for the Inochentie Micu Klein's political fight (the 3rd decade of the 18th century) are linked with his name and his religious, cultural and diplomatic endeavours. Atanasie Anghel came from priest Ioan's family from Hunedoara county (village: Bobâlna; area: Orăştie)[16]. He was ordained by Metropolitan Varlaam, and was appointed in the Synod at a young age instead of the deceased bishop, and his reverence was granted in Bucharest, as it happened in his predecessors' case, too[17]. Atanasie came back in Transylvania with a lot of gifts offered by the Lord of Walachia, Constantin Brâncoveanu, on the 22nd of January 1698 after the completion of the ceremony that did not lack certain diplomatic and political connotations that confirmed the already existent managerial and political abilities. He came back in a moment of tension that suggested the political character of the inter-Romanian events and relations, but he was also endowed with Instructions given by Dosoftei, Patriarch of Jerusalem, with a view to defending the Orthodox faith against the Calvinist propaganda.

Meanwhile, Ladislau Barányi continues the



salvation policy of the religious Union close to the archpriests and leaders of the Romanian priesthood through constant, practical and theoretical actions. Atanasie Anghel was about to confront *a trinomial of religious, social and political interests* confessed by some of the Calvinist and Catholic leaders, but also by some of the members of the Orthodox Church (from the Principality of Transylvania, and Vallachia especially). The decision of the sovereign court concerning the exemption of the united priests from certain taxes, including the equality with the priests of the received religions was issued on the 28th of May 1698. Ladislau Barányi comes back to Transylvania with a copy of the imperial Resolution (March 14, 1698) at a moment when bishop's situation was not comfortable at all, if it is to take into account the repeated reactions of the Calvinist leaders of the Principality, Governor Gheorghe Bánffy and Chancellor Nicolae Bethlen - Treasurer Ştefan Apor was the only Catholic there – and the fact that the fate of the religious Union stirred diverse interests and political passions through its immediate and distant consequences. Meanwhile, Atanasie convened the Synod made up of 2-3 representatives of each parish together with the members by rights (October 1698). Gheorghe of Daia, „notary of the clergy and synod" with important role played in the Union accepting, Jesuit Ladislau Barányi, Gabriel Henevesi, the chief of the Jesuitical House of Vienna a.s.o. distinguished themselves there. The impressive text of the *Declaration of Union* that was carried out on that particular religious and political moment (October 7, 1698) represented the explicit manifestation of the hopes and doubts expressed by all those who became united with the Church of Rome, of the care manifested by the synodal institution with a view to defending the priesthood liberties and privileges and maintaining the *Ancient Law*, including the right to elect the bishop[18]. Cardinal Ladislau Kollonich (November 16, 1698), the papal Nuncio from Vienna, and imperial Chancellor Francisc Udalrich Kinski, Earl of Wchnitz and Tettau (November 17,1698) received letters of notification, as direct consequence of everything that what was decided at the synod and of the indisputable Church hierarchy and political directions.

The Synod that took place on October 1698 was – as it was established in historiography[19] - a crucial moment of the difficult and long process meant to consolidate the religious Union under Bishop Atanasie Anghel's command through its immediate and remote consequences. The process began with Teodosie, in the spirit of the points of Florence, and determined – as it was expected – various religious and political reactions from various points of view, including the attitude rendered by the Diet of Transylvania towards the Union, respectively the Union approval given by Emperor Leopold I. The Diet called to Alba Iulia (the proceedings took place between October 20 – December 12 1698!) pronounced its opinion upon both the attitude that it was going to have regarding the case of the Romanians united with the Church of Rome, as well as the 'uncomfortable' imperial Resolution that granted with privileges the priests converted to the Union. It was Calvinist governor Gheorghe Bánffy's suggestion that the Diet should declare its verdict in this case. The Diet - as it was expected - manifested its discord in the name of the privileged nations and received religions upon the new opportunities that arose for the Romanians of the Transylvanian Principality.

Ladislau Barányi and Atanasie's prompt reactions were not waited in vain, and an imminent travel to Vienna was immediately foreshadowed. It had to be done by the bishop together with archpriests Gheorghe of Daia and Ion of Alba Iulia, and respectively Ştefan Raţiu, „mayor of Balgrad". The Emperor's and Cardinal Leopold Kollonich's answers to the Synodal statements and projected

travel to Vienna were expected, but did not come. The Diet called at Sighişoara on the 20th of January 1699 maintains its opinion in the spirit of what was decided at Alba Iulia up to the moment „Majestatis resolutio". It was on the 20th of January 1699 when Emperor Leopold signed a Diploma (similar to the one issued on the 23rd of August 1692) and received an official acknowledgement of the act of Romanians' attitude towards the Church of Rome. The Diploma was a political document with indisputable theoretical and practical significance that exonerated the united Romanian priests from work and other taxes, and made them equal in rights with the Catholic priests in the Principality. It was therefore a favourable political moment for the United Romanian Church when Bishop Atanasie summoned a special, general Synod in the capital of the Principality, where the Imperial Diploma was presented by Treasurer Ştefan Apor and the travel that the Bishop of Vienna has to make with a view to presenting himself in front of the Emperor and Chancellor is also established.

Various reactions coming from the privileged nations and received religions of the Principality emerge as consequence of sending the Diploma to the sovereignty to make it familiar to the entire public. The Diet proceedings of Alba Iulia (September 8 – October 6 1699), but also the immediate reactions of those who wanted to put obstacles in the way of applying in practice the imperial decisions regarding the privileges of the united Romanian priests are eloquent in this respect. Let us not forget about the development of the inquiry ordered by the sovereignty – in spite of Atanasie's protest) to be made in order to find out if the Romanian inhabitants really want to preserve their ancient faith (according to their own personal statement) or want to unite with one of the received religions. The overwhelming answers of the inquiry led by four special agents (Ladislau Bethlen, Sigimund Balogh, Sigismund Kun and Daniel Ustgyárto) indicated the attachment - it is an explainable attachment from many points of view! – of the Romanian priests and Christians towards the *ancient law* and bishop of Bălgrad[20].

Atanasie and his collaborators organised a public manifestation for the Union and summoned a new Synod at Alba Iulia, on the 4th of September 1700. It was an agitated religious and political period of time (the inquiry works, the attitude of some Romanian communities from Haţeg Country, close to the Calvinism, the resistance against the Union in Braşov Country etc.). They set up a manifest that was signed by the Bishop and the archpriests who attended the Synod and represented the priesthood and the laymen from the whole Principality of Transylvania, and expressed their adherence to the Union The completed form of the synodal document is very significant from a religious and political point of view, and immediate and remote perspectives – as it was mentioned in historiography[21],- , taking into account the general internal context in which the process of the religious Union evolved. The drawing up and especially the religious and national connotations of the document explain the peculiarities of form and content of the religious agitation that marked the Transylvanian Romanians' history in the 18th century[22].

Another manifestation of managerial and political maturity (that does not lack the elements of an indisputable diplomatic ability), and especially attachment for the religious Union is represented by Atanasie Anghel's trip that was planned for Vienna during this complex and full of tensions period of time. Ladislau Barányi and Cardinal Leopold Kollonich consented to this trip in a context fully charged with cultural and political disponibility from the sovereign circles. Meanwhile, Atanasie was appointed Metropolitan of the Orthodox Church of Transylvania, and acknowledged as such by the sovereignty. As a matter of fact, the trip to Vienna had been anticipated by the small Synod summoned by the Bishop on the 6th of January 1701, and completed with a declaration of loyalty towards Atanasie (that was signed by 29 archpriests and 26 priests). It was a stage during which numerous information against the Bishop were sent to the Capital of the Empire (the items of information pointed to real, but also many imaginary mistakes, too) with a view to unstabilizing the Union. Atanasie arrived in Vienna on the 5th of February 1701, accompanied by locum tenens Melinte, Ştefan Raţiu, the Jesuitical monk Carol Neurauter and mysterious „homo quidam calvinus". Atanasie will be invited to a Conference also attended by Cardinal Leopold Kollonich, Earl Samuil Kálnoky, the chief of the Court Office of Transylvania, Ioan Fiath, office secretary, Jesuit Gabriel Hevenesi, the chief of the Jesuit House of Saint Ana of Vienna locum tenens Meletie and the abovementioned Carol Neurauter. Bishop Atanasie presented the 8 points given by the Synod, and asked to be appointed as church dignitary by Emperor's order. He also asked that the right, privileges and duties of the Romanian priesthood to be confirmed in the letter and spirit of the Diploma of the 16th of January 1699.

Atanasie's justified attitude suffered its consequences with Cardinal Leopold Kollonich's aid: the Bishop and his dignitary after-comers gained the title of Emperor's counsellors. The emperor also gave them 6000 florins to buy a domain on the behalf of the united church institution. At the same time, Atanasie is put to the test of canonical process purgatory according to the common practice of the Western church, having in view the denunciations that were brought from Transylvania to Vienna, his theological and managerial skills, and 'via jesuitica' character and culture. The same personalities as those quoted at the abovementioned conference attended the canonical process that adopted the resolution to maintain Atanasie on the bishop see and suggested an imperial confirmation of his dignity, though he was lacking in the theological training, culture and experience asked for such a dignity. Atanasie will be invested through imperial diploma with the titles of „episcopus nationis valachicae" and imperial counsellor in a short time, on the 19th of March 1701, provided he would submit to the Holy See of Rome and hierarchically subordinate to the Archiepiscopate of Strigoniu. Atanasie is assigned „sub conditione" in Vienna, at the St. Ana Chapel by Cardinal Leopold Kollonich at the request of Jesuitic monks(March 25, 1701). It is the solemn moment when the Emperor offered him a golden medallion, a cross with precious stones and the diploma that conferred him the title of imperial counsellor.

A biographic moment with significant political and cultural connotations, and in direct connection with Atanasie's active and necessary presence in Vienna was represented by the diploma issued in March 19, 1701 by Leopold I. this is also known as the second leopoldine Diploma, the Oath, or Reversal signed by Atanasie on the 7th of April 1701, under the concrete circumstances of the coming back home and solemn installation. The basic problems of the Diploma included the rights, privileges, and also the duties of the United Romanian Church, bishops, clergy and Catholic believers. It is known owing to the numerous historiographical debates. It is a document of constitutional significance for the Transylvanian Romanians united with the Church of Rome in the 18th century[23], that was followed – at Cardinal Leoplod Kollonich's strong and insistent suggestion - by Atanasie's Oath and Reversal, that clearly and plainly underlines the relations of subordination (some of them were humiliating) between the Romanian Transylvanian institution and the Catholic church (starting with the Archiepiscopate of Strigoniu and up to the Holy See), including the *Jesuitic theologian's institution*[24], that practically and effectively ruled the destiny of the Romanian Church united with Rome (there were 14 points; duties= orders). Atanasie's official installation took place with the entire ceremony at bishop's residence, in Transylvania, on the 25th of June 1701, after he had come to Transylvania, on the 15th of May 1701. The archpriests, priests, laymen, Principality Treasurer, Ştefan Apor, and Jesuitical theologian, Carol Neurauter, attended the ceremony.

Various attitudes against the religious Union manifested themselves, if it is to take into account the immediate and remote consequences of the eventual application of the rights and privileges that were granted to the united Romanians in the Principality of Transylvania through imperial documents. The political and material interests of the privileged nations and some received religions that were afraid of the eventual application of Romanians' rights and privileges (that would have utterly shocked the constitutional system of Principality were conjugated with the direct and indirect reactions sent by the sovereign, and, particularly, religious circles of the two principalities (especially from Walachia). This situation under pressure was put in a concrete form by the rebellion led by priest Ion Ţirca of Gâmbuţ and Roman noble Gavril Nagyszegi. If we know that Ion Ţirca was Atanasie Anghel's contestant for the bishop (1697), Gavril Nagyszegi was one of Bishop's servants for some years. Let us not forget about Pater Ianoş (originating from Muntenia), Constantin Brâncoveanu's representative in Transylvania, who was entrusted by Atanasie Anghel to administer his fortune (during his travel to Vienna, in 1701), Andrei Ban, who was relative to agent Dindar (whose father-in-law was Pater Ianoş himself) or archipriest Ioan Saroşi[25], too.

As a matter of fact, Bishop Atanasie Anghel's biography will be affected by those years of institutional stability, as it was expected, and the consequences of the Church attitude in Muntenia during Constantin Brâncoveanu's rule, and that of the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Dosoftei. Both of them manifested direct and pragmatic interests in the enormous transformations that change the Tyransylvanian Romanians religious life. The Wallachian ruler was especially interested in the Metropolitan church of Balgrad (founded by Michael the Brave) from a religious, cultural and political point of view – we think about the annual rent of 6000 pennies (established in 1698) in the

account of the Metropolitan church, but also the donation of Merişani estate (from the parts of Argeş) from 1700. The Patriarch of Jerusalem expressed his opinion many times, as he was aware of the Transylvanian Romanians religious situation, and sent a lot of letters manifesting his explicit disapproval of the Atanasie Anghel's and other collaborators' attitude, as they adopted the Catholic religion (the viusit paid to the parts of Braşov and Fagaraş, the series of letters sent to Atanasie Anghel, Ştefan Raţiu etc.). We talk about complex diplomatic and political inter-Romanian relations determined by everlasting religious and pragmatic interests that had not been investigated enough in historiography. David Corbea, Andriaş Banoli and the others are mentioned not only once in historiography in this respect. We cannot forget about the seriousness of the canonical act expressed by Patriarch Calinic of Constantinople, who excommunicated Atanasie Anghel on the 5th of August, 1701[26].

An exciting problem for the context under study – bishop Atanasie Anghel's biography, the biography of the one who was confirmed by Emperor Leopold I and Cardinal Leopold Kollonich - that may be emphasized starting from a certain historical discourse[27], may be represented by some of the organisational issues of the United Romanian Church, if it is to agree with the opinion according to which it was during Atanasie's time when the completion of the religious Union was definitely carried out in a complex internal and external environment affected by various and sometimes tensioned political, economic, religious, social and cultural interests from a diplomatic perspective. Some of the problems that may be considered part of Bishop's biography: the territory under Bishop's jurisdiction was entire Transylvania (including the annexes), according to the imperial appointment Diploma; the uncertain number of districts of Archpriests belonging to the vast territory (explicit documentary sources are missing in this respect) was 52 (as Samuil Micu and Gheorghe Şincai mentioned); Bishop's activity, the rights and privileges that belonged to him on the strength of leading the Diocese were marked „de jure et de facto" by the stipulations of the Reversal signed in Vienna, those of the second Leopoldine Diploma (March 19, 1701) and the Jesuitic theologian's real presence (Carolus Neurauter, Ladislau Barányi, Ioan Prenthaller, Francisc Szunyogh activated during his episcopacy), as nothing could have been done without his consent from a theological or managerial perspective as far as the United Romanian Church is concerned; the Church fortune administration was founders' responsibility („episcoporum bonorum ac proventum oeconomi"), chosen by The General Synod, in accordance with the archpriests' approval and Prince's confirmation (Ţtefan Raţiu, Nicolae Puiu etc.); assessors and jurymen responsibility, who were counselling the Bishop in administrative and religious matters; the religious and jurisdictional significance of the General Synod („Synodus generalis") summoned by the Bishop, and assisted by the Jesuitical Theologian; the network, material and organisational estate, religious and cultural significance of the monasteries and hermitages all over the diocese; norms of canonical and administrative significance with a view to promoting new religious institutions united with the Church of Rome, including behaviour and educational norms for priests, and the setting up of new schools assumed by the Romanian believers[28] etc. The completion of the religious Union was made during his time, according to some opinions[29].

The religious Union policy promoted by the Court of Vienna upon a certain part of the Transylvanian Romanians registered a significant stage during Atanasie Anghel's Episcopacy (who will eventually die, on the 19th of August 1713[30]) in spite of all internal disorder in the Principality of Transylvania that affected the Union (in the first two decades of the 18th century), and were determined by Ion Ţirca's coming back to the political stage, and the rebellion led by Francisc Rákoczy al II-lea (ended by the Peace of Satu Mare, in 1711). We would also want to mention the fact that there were several pacifying military interventions led by General Jean Louis Rabutin in this respect. Atanasie Anghel therefore died with a remarkable personality.

We therefore subscribe to an expert's appreciations as far as the religious Union is concerned from this point of view of our research: „The talent of this man - who was full of life and force, courageous, joyful, and morally ambiguous – who kept his balance among so various directions (Calvinism, Orthodoxy, Union), starting with the first year of his Episcopacy, was not of small account.[...] He skilfully released himself from all the accusations. When he could finally make his requests, he was so skilful and pertinent about it that he astonished the Archbishop himself. This state of spirit helped him to obtain concessions that definitely succeeded all his anticipations"[31].

The Transylvanian example is as much as convincing as possible in a time full of tensions

from a diplomatic and political perspective, when we could spot an interesting evolution of the state – church binomial (after the moment when the Turks were rejected by Christian forces at the gates of Vienna, in 1683[32]). Bishop Teofil's and Atanasie Anghel's curricular evolutions maintain their status of examples for the history of the Romanian Church in Transylvania between the 17th and 18th centuries, on the way of the dialogue between the Eastern church tradition and civilization on the one hand, and the experience of Western European Catholicism, on the other hand, if we ascribe the entire situation only to the religious Union of a part of the Transylvanian Romanians with the Church of Rome[33]. This kind of climate aimed at the preservation of the ancient tradition, the coming back to the Church of Rome, including the Transylvanian Romanian Church recognition as one of the received religions of the political system in the principality of Transylvania. This kind of elements represent a benefit with a view to supporting the judicious and rational ascertainment upon the major religious, cultural and political significances of the Union in the process of the Transylvanian Romanians national formation from the perspective of Inochentie Micu Klein's moment that it made ready: „The Union of the Romanians with the Church of Rome was therefore completed for political reasons; the new, Austrian regime was in need of such an instrument with a view to ruling over Transylvania".

Note:

1. See Laura Stanciu, *op. cit.*, passim. Octavian Bârlea, *Ostkirchliche Tradition und westlicher Katholizismus. Die rumänische unierte Kirche zwischen 1713-1727*, Monachium, 1966

2. They were intelligently debated by Ernst Chr. Suttner, *Staaten und* Kirchen *in der Völkerwelt des östlichen Europa. Entwicklungen der Neuzeit*, Fribourg: Academic Press, 2007, passim. As far as the 'dialogue' between the two European civilizations regarding the religious Union is concerned, see Laura Stanciu's recent work, *Între Răsărit şi Apus. Secvenţe din istoria Bisericii românilor ardeleni (prima jumătate a sec. al 18-lea)*, Cluj Napoca: Argonaut, 2008, passim.

3. Suggestions for a modern approach in *Power and Culture. Identity, Ideology, Representation.* Edited by Jonathan Osmond and Ausma Cimdina, Pisa: Plus, 2007.

4. Mathias Bernath, *Habsburgii şi începuturile formării naţiunii române.* Translated by Marionela Wolf. Foreword by Pompiliu Teodor, Cluj: Dacia, 1994, pp. 73-86. See an interpretation of the phenomenon in Pompiliu Teodor, *Reforma catolica şi Aufklärung în epoca Luminilor la românii din Transilvania – Liniile generale ale problemei* - in *Spiritualitate transilvana şi istorie europeana.* Editors Iacob Mârza & Ana Dumitran, Alba Iulia, 1999, pp. 167-175.

5. Mathias Bernath, *op. cit.*, pp. 87-158.See also: David Prodan, *Supplex Libellus Valachorum. Din istoria formării naţiunii române.* New enlarged edition with notes, Bucharest: The Scientific and Encyclopedical Publishing House, 1984, pp. 134-150; I. Tóth Zoltán, *Primul secol al naţionalismului românesc ardelan 1697-1792.* Translation from teh Hungarian language by Maria Someşan, Bucharest: Pythagora, 2001, pp. 13-45; Ladislau Gyémánt, *Mişcarea naţională a românilor din Transilvania între 1790-1848*, Bucharest: The Scientific and Encyclopedical Publishing House, 1986, pp. 42-44.

6. For biographical data, see C. Diaconovich, *Enciclopedia română*, III, Sibiu: W. Kraft, 1898, p. 1078. See useful curricular guide marks in N. Dănilă, *Mitropolitul Teofil (1692-1697) – Apostol al Unirii Românilor transilvăneni cu Biserica Romei*, I-II, in *Viaţa creştină*, Cluj-Napoca, VI, 6-7 (124-125), March – April, 1995, p. 2.

7. See recently: Marionela Wolf, *Ordinul iezuit şi Unirea bisericească a românilor din Transilvania*, in *Annales Universitatis Apulensis Series Historica*, 6/II, 2002, pp. 47-54; Paul Brusanowski, *Motivaţiile politice ale interesului cardinalului Leopold Kollonich faţă de români*, in *ibidem*, 6/II, 2002, pp. 55-66.

8. See *Diploma confirmationis Theophili metropolitae* in Nicolaus Nilles, *Symbolae ad illustrandum historiam Ecclesiae Orientalis in terris coronae S. Stephani*, I, Oenipons, Felicianus Rauch, 1885, pp. 153-160. See judicious commentaries in Octavian Bârlea, *Unirea Românilor (1697-1701) – Die Union der Rumänen (1697-1701)*, in *Îndreptar*, XIII, 49-50, July-December, 1990, pp. 7-15; Zenovie Pâclişanu, *Istoria Bisericii Române Unite.* Edition elaborated by Pr. Ioan Tîmbuş, Târgu Lapuş: Galaxia Gutenberg, 2006, pp. 93-97.

9. Maron József, *Instituţii care au contribuit la realizarea Unirii. Contribuţia vistiernicului Ştefan Apor şi a iezuitului Ladislau Paul Baranyi la realizarea Unirii religioase (1697-1701)*, in *Annales Universitatis Apulensis Series Historica*, 9/II, pp. 31-38.

10. See the debate upon syntagm in Ernst Chr. Suttner's *Legea stramoşeasca: Glaubensordnung und Garantie des sozialen Zusammenhalts*, in *Ostkirliche Studien*, Würburg, 56, 2007, pp. 138-154; *idem*, *Legea stramoşeasca: identitate a credinţei şi garanţie a coeziunii sociale*, and in Corneliu Padurean&Mihai Sasaujan's (coord.), *Biserica şi societate Studii istorice.* Volume dedicated to the anniversary of 300 years from the setting up of the Bishopric Diocese of Arad, Arad: Gutenberg Univers, 2005, pp. 21-39. See also Dorin Oancea, *Legea unică – sursă a unei duble identităţi confesionale?*, in *Annales Universitatis Apulensis Series Historica*, 6/II, 2002, pp. 111-125; *idem*, *Legea strămoşească în context istoric transilvănean*, in *Annales Universitatis Apulensis Series Historica* , 9/II, 2005, pp. 21-26.

11. Consult *Res in Synodo agitandae, Acta et Decreta Synodi* in N. Nilles, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 164-170. According to Pompiliu Teodor's opinion, *În jurul sinodului mitropolitului Teofil din 1697*, in *300 de ani de la Unirea Bisericii românești din Transilvania cu Biserica Romei.* The documents of the International Meeting, November 23-25, 2000, Cluj-Napoca, „PUC", 2000, pp. 43-50. See also Silviu Dragomir, *Românii din Transilvania și Unirea cu Biserica Romei. Documente apocrife privitoare la începuturile Unirii cu catolicismul roman (1697-1701)*, Cluj, 1990, p. 6-24. Abridgeded from now on: *Românii din Transilvania și Unirea cu Biserica Romei.* Laura Stanciu, *op. cit.*, pp. 68-85.

12. Laura Stanciu, *op. cit.*, p. 158. See *Iterata confirmatio et ratihabitio Decreti Unionis* in N. Nilles, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 171-176. Pompiliu Teodor, *The Romanians from Transylvania between the Tradition of the Eastern Church, the Counter Reformation and the Catholic Reformation*, în *Ethnicity and Religion in Central and Eastern Europe.* Edited by Maria Craciun, Ovidiu Ghita, Cluj-Napoca, PUC, 1995, pp. 175-186. Ernst Chr. Suttner, *Legea strămoșească": identitate a credinței și garanție a coeziunii sociale*, pp. 23-27.

13. See among the others: I. Tóth Zoltán, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-34; Maria Someșan, *Începuturile Bisericii Române Unite cu Roma*, București, „All", 1999, p. 37.

14. Zenovie Pâclișanu, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

15. According to *De confirmatione Synodi.* N. Nilles, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 177-181. Commentaries in Ernst Chr. Suttner's *Staaten und Kirchen in der Völkerwelt des östlichen Europa,* passim. See also Mathias Bernath, *op. cit.*, pp.108-158; I. Tóth Zoltán, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-34. See also Silviu Dragomir's opinion in*Românii din Transilvania și Unirea cu Biserica Romei,* pp. 20-24.

16. See a selection from biographer's point of view: [Aug. Bunea], *Atanasiu I. Anghel*, in C. Diaconovich, *op. cit.*, I, p. 302; *Șematismul Veneratului Cler al Arhidiecezei Metropolitane Greco-Catolice Române de Alba Iulia și Făgăraș pre Anul Domnului 1900 de la Sfânta Unire 200*, Blaj, Seminary's Tipography, pp. 15-19; N. Dănilă, *O însemnare din 13 mai 1700 despre Unirea românilor sub Mitropolitul Atanasie Anghel*, in *Viața creștină*, V, 20 (114), October, 1994, p. 2.

17. Zenovie Pâclișanu, *op. cit.*, p. 99 sqv. See an interesting point of view: Remus Câmpeanu, *Reactualizarea unei controverse istoriografice. Mitropolitul Atanasie și Unirea religioasa*, in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Cluj*, XXX, 1992, pp. 45-58.

18. *Synodus [...] anni 1698. A. Historia synodi ex literis synodicis ad Caesarem datis. B. Res in Synodo agitandae* etc. In Nicolaus Nilles, *op. cit.*, pp. 200-217; Zenovie Pâclișanu, *op. cit.*, pp. 105-107.

19. According to Octavian Bârlea's opinion, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-54: a judicious research offers us eine gekurzte Geschichte" of the religious Union from the perspective of Atanasie Anghel's religious and political fluctuation (he understood the Union from synodal perspective, in the spirit of Florence) from religious, managerial and political abilities up to the expectations of the imperial Court upon the Union at this specific moment (perceived – at sovereign level - as an individual inclusion in the letter of the Tridentine Council).

20. Final remarks: Remus Câmpeanu, *Unire religioasa și mental public la începuturile catolicismului românesc din Transilvania*, in *Annales Universitatis Apulensis Series Historica*, 10/II, 2006, pp. 93-102. Echoes of the Union detected by N. Dănilă, starting from the diffusion of the Romanian manuscript *Minei prescurtat* (Annotation: Priest Ivan of Țelna, Alba County), in *Viața creștină*, V, 20 (114), October 1994, p. 2.

21. According to Silviu Dragomir in *Istoria desrobirei religioase a Românilor din Ardeal în secolul XVIII.* Vol. I. Introductory remarks by Ioan-Aurel Pop. Ediție, and introductory study by Sorin Șipoș, Oradea, Univ. Publishing House, 2007, p. 124 sqv.; *idem, Românii din Transilvania și Unirea cu Biserica Romei*, p. 54-58.

22. Zenovie Pâclișanu, *op. cit.*, p. 117. According to the justified opinions belonging to Ernst Chr. Suttner, *„Legea strămoșească": identitate a credinței și garanție a coeziunii sociale*, pp. 27-30.

23. Kurt Wessely, *A doua Diplomă leopoldină*, București, 1938.

24. For details, see Zenovie Pâclișanu, *Din istoria bisericească a românilor ardeleni. „Teologul" vlădicilor uniți*, Bucharest, „Cultura creștină", 1923; Bas. Bărbat S. J., *L'institution de l'office du « théologien » dans l'Eglise Roumaine Unie*, in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, Roma, XXIX, 1963, p. 155-200.

25. Zenovie Pâclișanu, *Istoria Bisericii Române Unite*, pp. 128-135. Octavian Bârlea, in *Îndreptar*, XIII, 49-50, July-December,1990, pp.50-53. Silviu Dragomir, *Istoria desrobirii religioase a românilor din Ardeal în secolul XVIII*, pp. 131-155.

26. Zenovie Pâclișanu, *Istoria Bisericii Române Unite*, pp. 135-143. Silviu Dragomir, *Istoria desrobirii religioase a românilor din Ardeal în secolul XVIII*, pp. 155-162.

27. Zenovie Pâclișanu, *Istoria Bisericii Române Unite*, pp. 143-154. Silviu Dragomir, *Istoria desrobirii religioase a românilor din Ardeal în secolul XVIII*, pp. 162-167.

28. Zenovie Pâclișanu, *Istoria Bisericii Române Unite*, pp. 143-154.

29. Mathias Bernath, *op. cit.*, pp. 108-158.

30. Zenovie Pâclișanu, *Istoria Bisericii Române Unite*, pp. 155-160.

31. I. Tóth Zoltán, *op. cit.*, p. 39-40.

32. According to Ernst Chr. Suttner, *Staaten und Kirchen in der Völkerwelt des östlichen Europa,* p. 372 sqv.

33. See Laura Stanciu, *op. cit.*, passim. Octavian Bârlea, *Ostkirchliche Tradition und westlicher Katholizismus. Die rumänische unierte Kirche zwischen 1713-1727.*