

Alin Cristian Scridon

A Researcher and Her Work. The Delimitation of the Spiritual Component in Maria Berényi's Work

Abstract

The History of the Romanian Orthodox Church must be built sequentially on different components. One of these components is the archive. A small piece of an enormous puzzle in the history of the Romanian Church can be found in the person of Ghenadie Bogoevich. The assiduous research of local history offers precious insights about the historc reality of the past, that enables us to get more wise and to avoid preconceptions or negative clichés.

Keywords

Maria Berényi, Hungary, History of the Orthodox and Greek-Catholic Church in Hungary



Rev. Assist Prof. Dr. Dr. Alin Cristian Scridon, Department of Romanian Studies, Faculty of Letters, History, and Theology, West University of Timisoara, Romania

1 Introduction

The delimitation of the spiritual component in the vast bibliographic group, either signed or coordinated by the Director of the Research Institute of the Romanians in Gyula, implies going through tens of volumes, hundreds of studies or as many interventions (forewords, introductions, and so on). First of all, we note that at the fore of the five assumed fields of research stands *ecclesial research* (History of the Orthodox and Greek-Catholic Church in Hungary, 18th-20th centuries)¹.

Maria Berényi has skilfully guided her historiographic discourse – ecclesial in nature – in the following thematic areas: ecclesial personalities²; church communes³; eparchies⁴; foundations⁵, education⁶; elite women in the Hungarian ROC⁷; the promotion of ROC artifacts in Hungary⁸.

http://mariaberenvi.hu/CVBerenvi.pdf.

M. Berényi, "Viaţa şi activitatea lui David Voniga (1867-1933)", Lumina. Revistă socială, culturală şi ştiinţifică a românilor din Ungaria. Fondată de David Voniga în 1894, (Békéscsaba, Ungaria: Tiparul Mozi Nyomda, 2003) pp. 7-23; Idem, "Gheorghe Ioanovici, secretar de stat şi colaborator a lui Andrei Şaguna", Lumina..., 2006, pp. 3-8; Idem, "Bicentenar. Andrei Şaguna (1808-1873)", Lumina..., 2008, pp. 3-17; Idem, "David Voniga (1867-1933) - 150 de ani de la naştere", Lumina..., 2017, pp. 3-20 s.a.m.d.

Idem, "Colonia macedoromână din Mişkolc şi familia Şaguna", Simpozion. Comunicările celui de al VII-lea simpozion al comunității cercetătorilor români din Ungaria, (Giula, Ungaria: Editura Noi, 1998) pp. 15-34

Idem, "Rolul Episcopiei din Hajdúdorog în istoria greco-catolicilor români din Ungaria", Simpozion. Comunicările celui de al XII-lea simpozion..., (Békéscsaba, Giula, Ungaria: Tiparul Mozi Nyomda, 2003) pp. 62-82; Idem, "140 de ani de la reînființarea Mitropoliei Ardealului", Simpozion. Comunicările celui de al XIV-lea simpozion..., (Békéscsaba, Giula, Ungaria: Tiparul Mozi Nyomda, 2005) pp. 27-45.

⁵ Idem, "Fundația Elena Ghiba Birta", *Lumina...*, 2000, pp. 14-18.

⁶ Idem, "Román népiskolák a két világháború közötti Magyarországon", Annales. Publicație a Institutului de Cercetări al Românilor din Ungaria,

By portraying the faces of the clergy in Hungary, Maria Berényi also addresses the issue of Church involvement in society. The *Confession* is as follows: "there are few European nations that owe so much to the church and the clergy as do the Romanians in Transylvania and Hungary". Developing this reality, the author adds that the Church is the one that has offered the ruling elite to the community "for centuries" 10.

2 The figures of the Church

From the select group of people in the Romanian Orthodox Church from the second half of the nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth century, Maria Berényi devotes her studies to Andrei Şaguna, Gheorghe Ioanovici and David Voniga.

According to the Mrs. Maria Berényi's research, the elites who endeavoured to establish the Metropolis of Transylvania could not be omitted. The studies *Bicentenar – Andrei Şaguna (1808-1873)*¹¹ and *Gheorghe Ioanovici, secretar de stat și colaborator a*

⁽Békéscsaba, Giula, Ungaria: Tiparul Mozi Nyomda, 2000) pp. 7-45; Idem, "Învățământul confesional românesc din Ungaria în secolele XIX-XX", *Simpozion. Comunicările celui de al XV-lea simpozion...*, (Békéscsaba, Giula, Ungaria: Tiparul Mozi Nyomda, 2006) pp. 63-88.

⁷ Idem, "Activitatea unor femei celebre pentru întărirea ortodoxiei românești din Transilvania și Ungaria secolului al XIX-lea", Simpozion. Comunicările celui de al XVII-lea simpozion..., (Békéscsaba, Giula, Ungaria: Tiparul Mozi Nyomda, 2008) pp. 32-64.

⁸ Idem, "Expoziția permanentă "Vestigii ortodoxe" din Colecția Episcopiei Ortodoxe Române din Ungaria", *Lumina...*, 2015, pp. 12-15.

⁹ Idem, "David Voniga (1867-1933) – 150 de ani de la naștere"..., p. 3.

¹⁰ Ibidem.

Idem, "Bicentenar – Andrei Şaguna (1808-1873)" în Lumina..., (Bé-késcsaba, Ungaria: Tiparul Mozi Nyomda, 2008) pp. 3-17.

lui Andrei Saguna¹² depict the efforts of the two Macedo-Romanians to restore the old metropolis, and this autonomy was nothing but "a step forward towards gaining national and cultural freedom" for the Romanians in the monarchy. With great writing ability and skill, the author presents events, actions, realities accomplished by providential people, diplomats and negotiators unmatched in the history of Transylvania. By evoking the political implications, the relations in the political realm (for example, the author evokes Şaguna's friendship with the Minister of Religion - Eötvös József¹³), the academic involvement (academic Ioanovici was the chair of the philological commission of the Academy in Budapest between 1882-1895), or the Freemason support (Ioanovici led the masonic workshops in Budapest between 1897-1909), and so on, snapshots of the contributions of the two leaders in supporting the Romanian Church, language and culture are presented.

Colonia macedoromână din Miskolc și familia Șaguna¹⁴ and 140 de ani de la reînființarea Mitropoliei Ardealului¹⁵ are other studies that bring into the scientific circuit new information about the predecessor of the holy metropolitan, the affiliation of the

Idem, "Gheorghe Ioanovici, secretar de stat şi colaborator a lui Andrei Şaguna", *Lumina...*, (Békéscsaba, Ungaria: Tiparul Mozi Nyomda, 2006) pp. 3-8.

M. Berényi subliniază faptul că ministrul maghiar avea origini macedoromâne. Înaintaşii întrucât erau argintari au primit numele Eötvös atunci când au venit în spațiul maghiar. Vezi Maria Berényi, "Viața şi activitatea lui Emanuil Gojdu. 1802-1870", (Békéscsaba, Ungaria: Nyomtatás Mozi Nyomda Bt., 2002) pp. 10-11.

M. Berényi, "Colonia macedoromână din Miskolc şi familia Şaguna", Simpozion. Comunicările celui de al VII-lea simpozion..., (Békéscsaba, Giula, Ungaria: Tiparul Mozi Nyomda, 1998) pp. 15-34.

Idem, "140 de ani de la reînființarea Mitropoliei Ardealului", Simpozion. Comunicările celui de al XIV-lea simpozion..., (Békéscsaba, Giula, Ungaria: Tiparul Mozi Nyomda, 2005) pp. 27-45.

Macedo-Romanians to the Orthodox Church, the financial support of the Church by the Macedonian Wallachians, etc.

It is noteworthy that the studies undoubtedly complement the research undertaken by the authors on the Macedo-Romanians in Hungary. That is why, while reading the two studies (as well as the other works on the Macedo-Romanians in Hungary), the author invites us into a world, an influential social walk of the Hungarian society. Şaguna is presented as part of this select group dominated by the figures of the time. Anastasiu Grabovsky (the metropolitan's uncle), Emanuil Gojdu, Simeon Gheorghe Sina, Gheorghe Ioanovici, and so on, remain those elites who made history in Hungary. By omitting their activity, important chapters of the Modern History of Hungary would be erased.

Another elite, who came to the author's scientific attention, was David Voniga. The iconic figure of Father David Voniga is depicted in two well-crafted studies: *Viaţa şi activitatea lui David Voniga (1867-1933)* and *David Voniga (1867-1933)* – *150 de ani de la naștere*. The 17- and 18-page long studies were published on the 70th anniversary of his death, and 150th anniversary of his birth, respectively. The main five activities, conscientiously carried out, of Father Voniga are identified: "cultural promoter, poet, journalist, priest and church writer".

Maria Berényi admits that Father Voniga "devoted his entire activity and work capacity to the cultural and ecclesiastic promotion of Romanians in Banat and Crişana"¹⁶. That is why, at the anniversary of his birth/death, when the memory of some famous figures is celebrated, the author engages with the other researchers in Hungary in an effort to bring to the attention of communities the contributions of the priest from Giroc.

¹⁶ Idem, "Viața și activitatea lui David Voniga (1867-1933)"..., p. 7.

The establishment of reading circles in the Romanian communities in Hungary at the end of the nineteenth century was also promoted by the clergy (Ioan Bejan from Gyula – a large Romanian town). The author considers that Voniga's mandate as chair (1895-1899) in this cultural structure is auspicious, given that the curricula receive a more pronounced literary character¹⁷.

After completing the theological studies in Arad, he was involved for almost a decade in the Romanian cultural movement in Gyula. This is the period during which he composes hundreds of poems, some published in the book *Dor și jale*, prefaced by Ioan Russu Şireanu. In spite of the hopes confessed by Şireanu, Voniga failed to inscribe his name in the History of Romanian Literature. Therefore, Berényi identifies him rather as a provincial poet, who contributes through his writings to the preservation of the national being. However, the analysis of Voniga's poems is propitious. Mrs. Berényi's analysis is welcomed, as it offers the perspective of a professional philologist/historian, but also of a poet¹⁸.

Journalistically, however, Maria Berényi considers that Voniga "was one of the most distinguished and productive publicists of the time"¹⁹. In support of this reality, the author presents concrete information on numerous pages about the Voniga's involvement in the press of the time: *Gazeta Economului, Lumina, Dreptatea, Foaia de duminică, Tribuna Poporului* and *Revista Preotilor*²⁰.

In terms of his ecclesiastical activity, the theological works authored by Voniga, but especially the national-cultural actions

¹⁷ Ibidem.

¹⁸ Idem, "David Voniga (1867-1933) – 150 de ani de la naștere"..., p. 6.

¹⁹ Idem, "Viața și activitatea lui David Voniga (1867-1933)"..., p. 9.

²⁰ Ibidem, pp. 8-14.

initiated in Giroc are mentioned. The parish of Giroc was pastored by Voniga for 33 years, during which time he left deep marks in the Banat consciousness: "his activity has contributed to the cultural and spiritual development of the Romanians from these lands, it is worth to be known by the future generations"21.

Also interesting are the approaches of ecclesiastical history promoted in the monographs of Kétegyháza, Battonya and Méhkerék. The activity of the clergy in Hungary is related to the issue of denominational schools; by promoting philanthropy and evoking some poetic elites - whose activity was carried out in the *church narthex*.

An example of a secular approach to the philological concerns of the Romanian clergyman in Hungary is one of the studies prepared to evoke the centenary of the publication of the work "Monografia comunei Chitighaz" (1893), signed by the Romanian Orthodox priest of the community - Iosif Ioan Ardelean. In fact, in 1993, the volume "Chitighaz. Pagini istorico-culturale" is published in Budapest, dedicated to the late nineteenth century clergyman. In addition to coordinating the volume, Maria Berényi contributes with five of the twelve studies included.

Mrs. Maria Berényi's paper to which we are referring is entitled Poeziile lui Iosif Ioan Ardelean²². Based on the studies completed, as well as the poetic inclinations, we are not surprised by the professional analysis by which the author places the fictional activity of Father Ardelean. The poems published by Father Ardelean in "Buchetul meu" (Arad, 1902) are carefully analysed and by this the author concludes for the scientific circuit: "the

²¹ Ibidem, p. 18.

²² Idem (M. Berényi Redactor și editor responsabil), "Poeziile lui Iosif Ioan Ardelean", Chitighaz. Pagini istorico-culturale, (Budapesta, Ungaria: Comp-Press, 1993) pp. 24-29

⁽http://romanintezet.hu/files/Egyeb/Chitighaz-Pagini.pdf).

poetic creation of Iosif Ioan Ardelean (...) represents for us a fragment of our cultural history"²³.

We will extract the idea, which is one of the fundamental components of this research, namely: the Romanian Orthodox clergy in Hungary also distinguished itself philologically. Even though Maria Berényi appreciates that (Father Ardelean's) poems do not have a special aesthetic and stylistic value, nevertheless the creations in question honour the Church. This is due to the simple fact that the fiction has to be situated among the academic challenges of the time: in 1900, in the important towns of the historical Banat, the percentage of the literate was between 50-75%, and in the province the percentage was only $50\%^{24}$. Finally, we will mention, for instance, the issue of the lack of school textbooks in the Theological Institutes of Caransebeş and Arad, or Iosif Iuliu Olariu's concerns to provide to the educational system a series of works-translations indispensable to theological education.

Another child of a priest with an inclination for writing was poet Lucian Magdu, the son of Protopope Ioan Magdu from Battonya. By going through the study Poetul Lucian Magdu²⁵, the author introduces the reader into the creative world of the young physician, director, but, above all, poet from Battonya. Moreover, this artistic *talent* is discovered and fostered within the priestly family. Therefore, the narrative refers on many occasions to the education and tradition in the family. The contribution is edifying: "(...) he has made a great contribution to

²³ Ibidem, p. 29.

I. Munteanu, "Reţeaua şcolară şi ştiinţa de carte în Banatul istoric la începutul secolului al XX-lea", *Studii Bănăţene*, (Timişoara, România: Editura Mirton, 2007) p. 433.

M. Berényi (M. Berényi Redactor şi editor responsabil), "Poetul Lucian Magdu", *Bătania. Pagini istorico-culturale*, (Budapesta, Ungaria: Comp-Press, 1995) pp. 166-176.

the development of Romanian literature in Hungary. He can be considered a mentor (or model) for generations of descendants"²⁶.

In addition to the mentioned clergymen, Gheorghe Alexici²⁷ also had substantial contributions in supporting the philological vein, as well as the Church (in Budapest). Popa Coresi, the pseudonym he used in his writings, was a figure of the time, as Maria Berényi shows. The translations, the folklore activity, the contributions to the press of the time, the teaching activity (both in pre-university and university education), the friendships with famous people (Jancsó Benedek, Octavian Goga, Octavian Tăslăuanu, etc.) portray a gifted person. He also used this *capa*bility to support the Church from within, through his role as chair of the Romanian Orthodox Parish Committee in Budapest. By involving the clergy of the three church communes (Kétegyháza. Battonya and Méhkerék) in culturalphilanthropic/socio-cultural actions, the author gives us a perspective on the values maintained by the Romanian priests in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

3 The Church in Mrs. Maria Berényi's volumes

On the other hand, the volumes published by Mrs. Maria Berényi, even though the titles refer to secular events, such as the Gojdu issue (Viaţa şi activitatea lui Emanuil Gojdu. 1802-1870; Moştenirea lui Gojdu în oglinda presei române şi maghiare. 1995-2005); Cultură românească la Budapesta în secolul al XIX-lea; Personalități marcante în istoria românilor din Ungaria

²⁶ Ibidem, p. 168.

Idem, "Personalități marcante în istoria și cultura românilor din Ungaria (secolul XIX)", (Gyula, Ungaria: Nyomás kötés Dürer Nyomda Kft., 2013) pp. 347-356.

(Secolul XIX); Românii din Ungaria de azi în presa română din Transilvania și Ungaria secolului al XIX-lea (1821-1918); Aspecte național-culturale din istoricul românilor din Ungaria (1785-1918), and so on, bestow a significant place on the spiritual component.

In the paper entitled *Cultură românească la Budapesta în secolul al XIX-lea*²⁸, the author insists on pointing out that the Macedo-Romanians did not limit themselves only to "merchant concerns, but also helped to maintain and strengthen the Orthodox Church"²⁹. In this regard, Maria Berényi identifies a number of 19 Orthodox places of worship built at the end of the eighteenth century at the initiative of the Macedo-Romanians³⁰.

An important sub-chapter of the paper mentioned is entitled *Biserica greco-valachică* (The Greek-Wallachian Church). Maria Berényi presents the development of the Orthodox community, especially after the liberation from the Turks³¹.

An important milestone in the evolution of Romanian spirituality – in the author's view – is the 18th century separation/emancipation movement. In the years 1788 and 1789, several hundred Romanian and Greek worshippers started to take steps to build a new church. Through his donation, Macedo-Romanian Dumitru Arghir deposited the first funds necessary to start the works³². In addition to money, Arghir also provided the land on which the church was to be built "on the Danube bank" (today Petőfi Square)"³³. The works for the erection

²⁸ Idem, "Cultură românească la Budapesta în secolul al XIX-lea", (Gyula, Ungaria: Nyomadai munkálatok Schneider Nyomda, 2000) 316 p.

²⁹ Ibidem, p. 6.

³⁰ Ibidem.

³¹ Ibidem, p. 12.

³² Idem, "Cultură românească la Budapesta în secolul al XIX-lea" ..., pp. 12-13.

³³ Ibidem, p. 18.

of the church lasted about 10 years (1791-1801), and the finishes (painting, iconostasis, etc.) were completed only in 1809. In August 1801, the church received the dedication "The Assumption of the Virgin Mary" from those who consecrated it: Bishop Dionisie Popovici and Bishop Ştefan Avacumovici from Timişoara.

After the misunderstandings that arose between the Romanians and the Greeks in 1812, 1820, the Budapest court issued decision no. 20,562/28 May 1888, by which the Romanians were evicted from the church³⁴.

Against this background, on 11 September 1900, the Romanians from Budapest decided to establish an exclusively Romanian parish. The chapel on 8 Holló Street was consecrated by Bishop Iosif Goldiş from Arad. Priests Vasile Mangra (future metropolitan), Ignatie Pap (future bishop), Ghenadie Bogoevici (future vicar) and Iustin Suciu (future professor at the Theological Institute of Arad) served³⁵.

Since the establishment of the Greek-Romanian parish at the beginning of the nineteenth century and until 1933, six priests have served: Ioan Teodorovici (1809-1845); Ioan Roşu (since 1845); Ghenadie Popescu (since 1848); Blaşiu (mid-nineteenth century); Ioanichie Miculescu (1859-1887), and Ghenadie Bogoevici (1900-1933)³⁶.

From the rich information inserted in the subchapter *Şcoala normală din Pesta* (The Normal School in Pest), we note the insistence of the Macedo-Romanians for lessons to be taught in Romanian at the Greek-Romanian school in Pest at the beginning of the nineteenth century or the role of the first teacher – Constantin Diaconovici Loga – in enriching the students with

³⁴ Ibidem, pp. 19-23.

³⁵ Ibidem, pp. 23-24.

³⁶ Ibidem, pp. 24-25.

enough religious elements. This, because as a teacher, he was at the same time the *head* of the church choir, and the students had to know both *The Church Ritual* and *Church Music* directly from their teacher³⁷.

The collaboration between C. D. Loga and the vicar in Pest in assimilating the practice mentioned above was carried out based on a manifestly religious analytical platform/curricula. Students had to take courses of "Christian Education", "Bible History" and so on, and the teacher knew them very well.

If today in the preschool/primary education we are used to designations such as "the bee class"; "the star class"; "the frog class", Maria Berényi presents us with an educational world indissolubly linked to the religious aspect. C. D. Loga teaches to the "Horologion", "Psalter" classes, and so on³⁸. Obviously, this was a denominational school also supported by the alms (2 and 3) collected in church.³⁹

Renașterea națională a macedoromânilor din Pesta (The National Revival of the Macedo-Romanians in Pest) is another subchapter in which the author attributes this *ethnic vibration* of the revival to the coryphaei of the Transylvanian School. Petru Maior, Gheorghe Şincai, Samuil Micu Clain become – for the Macedo-Romanian community in Pest – stimuli "for the discovery of the ethnic and linguistic identity"⁴⁰.

The chapter *Carte și cultură românească la Tipografia Universității din Buda* (Romanian Books and Culture at the Publishing House of the University of Buda) is an example of the involvement of the Church (Greek-Catholic and Orthodox) in promoting culture throughout the Romanian space. Since its estab-

³⁷ Ibidem, p. 26.

³⁸ Ibidem.

³⁹ Ibidem, p. 29.

⁴⁰ Ibidem, p. 32.

lishment in Trnava in 1577, and relocation to Buda in 1777, we will note some interesting details promoted by the Publishing House in Buda: the censor supervised that no work be printed in which the emperor, the Catholics, the Orthodox and the mores of the Romanian people were harmed⁴¹; the Publishing House also printed works for both Greek-Catholics and Orthodox, Maria Berényi recalling the 12 Menaia printed between 1804-1807 and which arrived in the pews in Wallachia and Moldova⁴²; from the many censors of the Publishing House (most Greek-Catholic clergymen), the author also evokes the personality of the Orthodox vicar Ioan Teodorovici, his efforts to finalise the explanatory and etymological dictionary of the Romanian language (1825) and his role in spreading national ideas through the Calendars from Buda (1824-1830)⁴³. Last but not least, he translated and published several historical or moralising papers that remain true symbols of the Romanian cultural heritage in Budapest. Without a doubt, from our orthodox perspective, Ioan Teodorovici represented the spearhead of the involvement of the Romanian Orthodox clergy in society, and remains recorded in historiography.

Maria Berényi also shows us the *connection* of the Romanian Orthodox clergy from the principalities to the printings in Buda. *The Calendars from Buda*, the *Romanian Library*, and so on, all printed in the nineteenth century could also be found on the desks of the hierarchs Veniamin Costachi, Dionisie Lupu, Vasile Moga, Grigorie Râmniceanul or the priests Ioan Tomici, Mihai Kogălniceanu, etc. By subscribing to the Orthodox clergy, but also the Romanian elites of Wallachia and Moldova, the author presents a world in which *the cultural communion* between the

⁴¹ Ibidem, p. 48.

⁴² Ibidem, p. 49.

⁴³ Ibidem, pp. 49-50; 55-57; 67.

two Churches (Orthodox and Greek-Catholic) was the basis for dialogue and the binder for ethnicity⁴⁴.

Even the victory of 27 April 1863, by the favourable opinion for the establishment of the Department of Romanian language at the University of Pest, is ascribed to the Church. Among those who fought for the creation of this Department was the influential metropolitan Andrei Şaguna. The educational program has proven its effectiveness over time, by educating young people who would become (clergy and laic) elites in the Romanian Orthodox Church (Miron Cristea, Vasile Goldiş, Enea Hodoş, etc.)⁴⁵.

Another *cultural structure* that the Orthodox Church supported – according to Mrs. Maria Berényi – was the *Romanian National Society* and the "*Petru Maior*" *Society*. Initially, the *secret* cultural-spiritual meetings were held in the house of Vicar Ioan Teodorovici from Buda. The literary circle in the vicarage was animated by the personalities of the time: Damaschin Bojincă, Pavel Vasici, Eftimie Murgu, Emanuil Gojdu, Atanasie Grabovsky, etc⁴⁶.

The *Romanian National Society* from 1848 period was chaired by hierarch Andrei Şaguna from Sibiu⁴⁷. Two decades later, the faces of the Holy Orthodox Synod are distinguished within the "Petru Maior" Society (it obtained an approval from the Ministry of Interior on 29 January 1873): Ion Meţianu (founding member); Nicolae Popea (honorary member); Elie Miron Cristea (secretary; member). Priest Ioan Meţianu (future bishop of Arad, from 1875; future metropolitan in Sibiu, from 1899) is

⁴⁴ Ibidem, pp. 66-74.

⁴⁵ Ibidem, pp. 84-86.

⁴⁶ Ibidem, pp. 93-98.

⁴⁷ Ibidem, p. 94.

presented by Mrs. Maria Berényi among the important donors of the society⁴⁸.

The "Petru Maior" Society enjoyed great popularity at the end of the nineteenth century. The cultural-scientific events, the evenings, the balls or the twinning evenings organised by the Society often commemorated predecessors that *illuminated* the Romanian nation. The author recalls the evenings organised in memory of Metropolitan Andrei Şaguna – a hierarch who hoped that the Society would be created (the approval was given 5 months before the death of the Metropolitan)⁴⁹.

The Theatre Fund Society had among founding or ordinary members – as shown by Maria Berényi – prominent representative figures of the Orthodox Church, members of the clergy or laity, among them: Vasile Mangra (Arad), Ignatie Pap (Arad), Teodor Papp (Lugoj), Miron Cristea (Sibiu), Ghenadie Bogoevici (Budapest), David Voniga (Giroc) etc⁵⁰.

From Mrs. Berényi's notes on the Romanian press in Budapest, we will note the idea that "the leaders of the Romanian spirituality were at the head of the gazettes (...)"⁵¹. From the ones mentioned, we briefly note *Viitorul* (1883-1885) – the official newspaper of the *Moderate Romanian National Party* (chaired by Metropolitan Miron Romanul) and *Poporul* (1893-1894), having Gheorghe Alexici as editor-in-chief (university professor; chair of the parish committee in Budapest)⁵².

Personalități marcante în istoria românilor din Ungaria (Secolul XIX)⁵³ is another paper that abounds in ecclesial information.

⁴⁸ Ibidem, p. 97.

⁴⁹ Ibidem, pp. 100; 233.

⁵⁰ Ibidem, pp. 122-123; 258-261.

⁵¹ Ibidem, p. 157.

⁵² Ibidem, pp. 141; 156.

⁵³ Idem, "Personalități marcante în istoria și cultura românilor din Ungaria (secolul XIX"..., 415 p.

Dozens of elites depicted by Mrs. Maria Berényi enrich the research in the field. Starting with Petru Maior's work, we distinguish many topics that are the subject of our concerns: the influence of Macedo-Romanians on the Orthodox Church; elites from the Hungarian space who fought for church emancipation; physicians who fought for the Orthodox Church; the contributions of Hungarian philologists and bibliophiles to the strengthening of Orthodox spirituality, etc.

Therefore, the denominational affiliation to the Romanian Orthodox Church of the Wallachian elites in the eighteenth-nineteenth century Hungary was a path well-established by Mrs. Maria Berényi. In the preamble to their evocation, the ethnic landscape is depicted ever since the end of the seventeenth century. The first records are disseminated before the emergence of Transylvanian Greek-Catholicism from the end of the seventeenth century. The "schismatic Wallachians" were at the time a component of the spiritual/cultural/economic landscape of the two riverside towns on the Danube: Buda and Pest (united in 1873).

Within the spiritual life of the Orthodox Romanians in Budapest from the 17th to the 20th centuries, both Orthodox and Greek-Catholic figures were depicted. Among those evoked we find numerous Greek-Catholic elites, who in fact represented the *cultural soul* of the Romanians from the Hungarian capital. However, the Orthodox Romanians also had their contributions in coagulating the Romanian culture in nineteenth-century Hungary.

The Macedo-Romanian colonists in Budapest represented the Romanian Orthodox elite in the Hungarian capital. Through them the orthodox spirituality and the Romanian culture were better disseminated.

The Buda-Pest of the nineteenth century was like a *magnet* for the different central and east-European ethnic groups, as it was

an important economic centre⁵⁴. Besides this favourable financial pulse, higher education institutions were established in Buda (1777) and then in Pest (1784). Famous publishing houses and libraries gravitated around these universities. All these elements provide us with a landscape of a city where we find a well-defined intellectual life. The financial, cultural, etc., dimension has been coveted by many young Romanians who managed to graduate from the University of Budapest⁵⁵.

During the dualist period in the current territory of Hungary, 3,064 Romanian students attended universities. Of these, 2,847 students attended the universities of Budapest, and the remaining 217 were students of the Academies/Universities in Debrecen, Kecskemét, Pécs, Sárospatak, Keszthely and Magyar-Ovár⁵⁶. Their number is actually higher. Researchers who dealt with this scientific corridor did not touch on the students from: Physical Education, Arts, the Ludovica Academy, and so on⁵⁷. They (part of them being Orthodox) founded the "Society of Romanian Students from the Pest University"⁵⁸.

Idem, "Aspecte istorico-culturale din viaţa coloniei macedoromâne din Buda şi Pesta (secolele XVIII-XIX)", Cultura şi istoria românilor din Ungaria, coord. Gabriel Moisă, Elena Csobai, Maria Berényi, Academia Română, Centrul de Studii Transilvane, Cluj-Napoca (Oradea, România: Editura Metropolis, 2013) p. 133.

C. Sigmirean, "Universitatea din Budapesta și formarea intelectualității românești transilvănene (1867-1918)", Studii istorice româno-ungare, (Iași, România: Editura Fundației Academice "A. D. Xenopol", 1999) pp. 165-186.

Idem, "Formarea intelectualității românești din Banat și Transilvania. Studenți români la universitățile din Ungaria între anii 1867-1918", Simpozion. Comunicările celui de al XI-lea simpozion..., (Békéscsaba, Ungaria: Tiparul Mozi Nyomda Bt., 2002).p. 59-60.

⁵⁷ Ibidem, p. 60.

⁵⁸ Ibidem, p. 57.

One of the figures presented by Maria Berényi was a relative of Metropolitan Şaguna – Atanasiu Grabovsky. The Macedo-Romanian tycoon loved Orthodox and Greek Catholics alike.

Many of the Romanian students attending classes in Budapest held lectures in the literary halls of the Grabovsky family. Obviously, some of the expositions addressed ecclesiastical matters. For this reason, priests Ioan Teodorovici (Orthodox) and Theodor Aaron (Greek-Catholic) thank Mr. Grabovsky for supporting Romanian spirituality⁵⁹.

The house of Macedo-Romanian Atanasiu Grabovsky was the favourite meeting place for the Romanian intellectuals and students in Pest. Different cultural, but also spiritual, topics were addressed during these meetings. From a cultural point of view, we consider that the role of Mrs. Grabovsky as chair of the Macedo-Romanian Women's Society in Budapest must be emphasised. Among the clergy intellectuals, close to the Grabovsky family, the following are mentioned: Petru Maior, Samuil Micu Clain, Teodor Aron, and others⁶⁰.

In the nineteenth century, the Atanasiu Grabovsky family supported the Orthodox Church tremendously. For example, among the donations are mentioned the amounts offered in 1813 in order to build the Sibiu episcopal residence. Only in the second half of the nineteenth century would Atanasiu Grabovsky's grandson become bishop, and then metropolitan. This was Andrei Şaguna, who lived in Grabovsky houses in Budapest between 1823-1829⁶¹.

In order to better shape the economic realities of the late nineteenth century, we will mention that the Grabovsky family was

⁵⁹ M. Berényi, "Personalități marcante în istoria și cultura românilor din Ungaria (secolul XIX)"..., p. 27; 31.

⁶⁰ Ibidem, pp. 26-27.

⁶¹ Ibidem, pp. 32-33.

considered in 1873 (the year when Metropolitan Şaguna died) to be the largest taxpayer in Pest. The documents do not show whether this reputed family was the richest, but it is certain that it paid the most taxes⁶².

Together with the contributions of the Grabovsky family, Maria Berényi publishes, in her signed works, unique information about the Mocioni family – one of the richest families in Moscopole. The family residence was completed by the existence of a church of its own that had spectacular church objects of gold and silver. Maria Berényi goes on to state that the service "in this church was performed permanently only by priests who were members of the family"⁶³.

Orthodox priest Constantin Mocioni moved in the mideighteenth century from Macedonia to Hungary. He died in Pest at the age of 110. "The sons of priest Constantin Mocioni found in the capital of Hungary a favourable ground for their profession of traders"⁶⁴.

From father Constantin Mocioni's sons, Mihai and Andrei are presented exhaustively, "the forefathers of the two lines, separately ennobled, in which the Mocioni family branches". A third, unmarried son left his entire wealth mostly to the Church (in Pest, Jerusalem, Holy Mountain, Moscopole). The author's presentation of the donations highlights the philanthropic education/formation of Priest Constantin's children in relation to the Church and society. In this sense, Berényi shows that Mocioni family members offered hundreds of scholarships to Romanian students studying in the West. "In the school year 1865/1866 alone, the Mocioni family maintained 36 Romanian scholars at the universities of Vienna and Budapest, among

⁶² Ibidem, p. 33.

⁶³ Ibidem, p. 213.

⁶⁴ Ibidem, p. 214.

whom Victor Babeş and Coriolan Brediceanu reaching the level of excellence"⁶⁵.

Of the 48 members of the Mocioni family, Alexandru Mocioni is another personality that has come to Berényi's attention.

To the presentation of the political, philanthropic, cultural activity, and so on, the sub-chapter Susţinător al Bisericii Ortodoxe Române (Supporter of the Romanian Orthodox Church) is added, in which Maria Berényi presents the *moral and social concepts* in the vision of the great patron. Berényi identifies in the actions undertaken by Alexandru Mocioni that the Church "has a historical calling and a responsibility to history"66. This conclusion provided by the author is based on the support of the Orthodox Church as an institution, and especially of the parish in Pest.

As for the support of the Romanian Orthodox Church in Budapest, Alexandru Mocioni led a delegation composed of Gheorghe Şerb, Atanasie Marienescu and N. Musto. The delegation requested an audience with Emperor Franz Joseph, asking the monarch to intervene after the exclusion of Romanian believers from the Greek-Romanian church (the events of 1888)⁶⁷.

Alexandru Mocioni and his descendants' affiliation to the Orthodox Church is reinforced by a *covenant* "My wish is for you to fight to support and help flourish the family, and to preserve in all circumstances its traditional, national and confessional character. Those members of the family who would not observe these obligations should be excluded from it as deadwood. Male descendants will observe the unconditional duty to have all their children, regardless of sex, baptised and raised in the Or-

M. Berényi, "Personalități marcante în istoria și cultura românilor din Ungaria (secolul XIX)"..., p. 220.

⁶⁶ Ibidem, p. 222.

⁶⁷ Ibidem, p. 223.

thodox church (emphasis mine). In the case of marriages with persons of another Christian denomination, they shall require «sine qua non» for them to be converted to our faith. If among male descendants there would be one who would forget about his duties so much that he would, for whatever reason, reject his church, or would not insist that the Greek-Eastern denomination to be the religion of his children, such an apostate should be regarded as such by the other members of the family, and, as an outcast, he should lose the benefit of favoured inheritance, reserved for male descendants"⁶⁸.

These holy values inherited from the forefather Constantin were promoted with assiduity in the high circles in which Alexandru was active. It is recalled that between "1860-1880, the best musical evenings in the Hungarian capital were held at the Budapest residence of Alexandru Mocioni"⁶⁹. Among Mocioni's guests we mention the famous pianist Franz Liszt (1811-1886)⁷⁰.

In addition to the Mocioni family, wealthy Macedo-Romanians who were not often mentioned in the group of those who made significant contributions in building the Orthodox Church in Hungary had a path that in one way or another was tied to the ecclesiastical institution. For instance, Simeon Sina arrived in the Habsburg Empire thanks to priest Papa-Iani (Capmare), and once arrived in Vienna he set up a financial and banking institution known throughout Europe (the second in Austria).)⁷¹.

Maria Berényi shows us the importance of Papa-Iani in the consciousness of the Sina family and the affiliation/closeness to the family of the clergyman. The initial help provided by Father

⁶⁸ Ibidem.

⁶⁹ Ibidem, p. 224.

⁷⁰ Ibidem.

⁷¹ Ibidem, p. 37.

Pope-Iani did not go unrewarded. Gheorghe Sina (Simeon's son), "as the main shareholder of the company *Chain Bridge* in Budapest, approached A. Popovici from Slovenski-Brod (Slavonia), none other than Papa-Iani's descendant, to make the wooden supplies for the construction, writing to him that this new concession would be very good earnings for him, too"⁷².

In terms of our subject, we will retain some snapshots from the Sina family's relations with the Greek-Catholic priests Samuil Micu Clain, Petru Maior, Gheorghe Şincai – censors of the Buda Publishing House. We note that their dialogue was not limited to the issues of the times, and that Sina was a financier of the printings of the coryphaei of the School of Transylvania.

By sketching the life and activity of the Naco family, Maria Berényi presents a family that has supported the Christian Church. Donations were given to the Roman-Catholic Church, through Mileva, the last descendant of Ciril Naco, but also to the Orthodox Church. We mention the golden silver cup given to the church in Comloşul Mare in 1834 by Ioan Naco⁷³.

The author makes true iconography when presenting those who have advocated for religious emancipation and the appointment of a Romanian bishop in Arad. "The first Romanian Orthodox in the monarchy to graduate his academic studies" – Moise Nicoară, is part of this ecclesiastical historical picture intensely advertised by researcher Maria Berényi⁷⁴. Alongside the work of Moise Nicoară, in this struggle for ecclesial and national emancipation, the author *depicts* Moise Bota⁷⁵, Eftimie Murgu⁷⁶, Iosif Gall⁷⁷, Vicentiu Babes⁷⁸, Aurel Suciu⁷⁹ and others.

⁷² Ibidem, p. 38.

⁷³ Ibidem, pp. 57-59.

⁷⁴ Ibidem, pp. 65-80.

⁷⁵ Ibidem, pp. 81-86.

⁷⁶ Ibidem, pp. 87-108.

In the conscience of the predecessors, this ecclesial struggle had national connotations, "because at that time this church hierarch was the only authority recognised by the officials of the Habsburg state. Only he, in those times, could have applied for and obtained some national rights" 80. This is the primary message that comes from reading hundreds of pages which the author published with scientific accuracy.

Among the nineteenth-century personalities from medical world in Budapest, from the perspective of the *History of the Romanian Orthodox Church*, we will note physician Dimitrie Nedelcu⁸¹ - who took from his father, Damaschin, the essential ideas of the Romanians' struggle for national and church emancipation⁸². Later, Maria Berényi presents him as part of the leadership of the Greek-Macedo-Romanian community responsible for coordinating the church and the school⁸³. In addition to his remarkable activity in the medical field in the Viennese hospitals, physician Constantin Pomuţ⁸⁴ (General Gheorghe Pomuţ's brother) advocated for the hierarchical separation of the Romanians from the Serbs⁸⁵. Last but not least, we mention dentist George Bilaşcu⁸⁶, who left posterity the image of an exemplary Christian involved in church life in the second half of the nineteenth century⁸⁷.

⁷⁷ Ibidem, pp. 167-170.

⁷⁸ Ibidem, pp. 200-211.

⁷⁹ Ibidem, pp. 309-321.

⁸⁰ Ibidem, p. 65.

⁸¹ Ibidem, pp. 264-268.

⁸² Ibidem, p. 265.

⁸³ Ibidem, p. 268.

⁸⁴ Ibidem, pp. 268-270.

⁸⁵ Ibidem, p. 270.

⁸⁶ Ibidem, pp. 274-276.

⁸⁷ Ibidem, p. 275.

Much of the intellectual biography of bibliophile Iuliu Todorescu has ecclesial connotations⁸⁸. Maria Berényi calls him the *Teodorescu phenomenon*, because he used his significant pecuniary capabilities for cultural purposes. Laboriously, Iuliu Todorescu managed to collect an impressive collection of *church books*. From the *Liturghierul slavo-român* (printed by Macarie at Târgoviște in 1508) to the *Catavasier* printed in 1778 (by Aron Pumnul). The approximately 10,000 titles, many rare, expensive, reflect Todorescu's love for both books and the Church.

We will conclude the synthesis above with a spectacular image: the spiritual component of Emanuil Gojdu's work in the writings of researcher Maria Berényi. In this sense, the three published works⁸⁹ total 851 pages, to which are added the studies published in different journals. In a word, a massive topic.

From the start, we capture details related to the Macedo-Romanian patron's affiliation to Orthodox spirituality. From the first line of Viaţa şi activitatea lui Emanuil Gojdu. 1802-1870, Maria Berényi mentions remembers Emanuil's friendship with Metropolitan Andrei Şaguna⁹⁰. She enriches the information at the beginning of the work Moştenirea lui Gojdu în oglinda presei române şi maghiare (1995-2005), showing that "Gojdu helped him with advice and deeds in his struggles to regain the autonomy of the Romanian Orthodox Church in Hungary and Transylvania"⁹¹.

⁸⁸ Ibidem, pp. 290-293.

⁸⁹ Istoria Fundației Gojdu (1870-1952) / A Gozsdu Alapítvány története (1870-1952); Viața și activitatea lui Emanuil Gojdu (1802-1870); Moștenirea lui Gojdu în oglinda presei române și maghiare (1995-2005) / Gozsdu öröksége a român és a magyar sajtó tükrében. (1995-2005)

⁹⁰ M. Berényi, "Viaţa şi activitatea lui Emanuil Gojdu. 1802-1870", (Bé-késcsaba, Ungaria: Nyomtatás Mozi Nyomda Bt., 2002) p. 6.

⁹¹ Idem, "Moştenirea lui Gojdu în oglinda presei române şi maghiare (1995-2005) / Gozsdu öröksége a román és a magyar sajtó tükrében.

Reporting to spirituality becomes for Emanuil Gojdu a true *holy vein* inherited from his forefathers. Naum Gojdu contributes substantially to the building of the church in Miskolc⁹². The life of Emanuil's ancestors was inextricably linked to their affiliation to the Orthodox Church. The donations matched the financial power of the Gojdu family⁹³. This is the essential message that we can easily extract from hundreds of pages.

True pages of *History of the Orthodox Church in the Habsburg Empire in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries* are presented accurately by the researcher to familiarise the reader with the Illyrian privileges; the attitude of the Serbian hierarchy towards the other Orthodox nations in the monarchy; the actions of ecclesiastical emancipation of the Romanians. Against this background, of the events of 1848, Maria Berényi shows that "in Pest, the action to clarify the Romanian-Serbian church relations is started by Emanuil Gojdu"⁹⁴.

In this context, Maria Berényi shows that "for the Romanians in Hungary, Emanuil Gojdu represents a reference point of their identity"⁹⁵. Obviously, the essential component was the affiliation to the Orthodox Church and the Romanian nation. In this context, Gojdu confessed: "As a faithful son of my church I praise God, because He created me a Romanian; the love that I have for my nation ceaselessly encourages me to persevere, so that even after my death I may emerge from beneath the earth covering my tomb so that I can be forever amidst my nation"⁹⁶;

^{(1995-2005)&}quot;, (Békéscsaba, Budapesta, Ungaria: Nyomtatás Mozi Nyomda Bt., 2005) p. 11.

⁹² M. Berényi, "Viața și activitatea lui Emanuil Gojdu. 1802-1870"..., p. 10.

⁹³ Ibidem, pp. 8-16.

⁹⁴ Ibidem, p. 45.

⁹⁵ Ibidem, p. 5. M. Berényi, "Moștenirea lui Gojdu în oglinda presei"..., p. 425.

⁹⁶ Ibidem, pp. 123-124.

"Emanuil Gojdu was a great Orthodox, and as a member of the Greek-Romanian church in Pest he defended the rights of Romanians stout-heartedly. At his initiative in 1840, houses were built around the church, and the income derive was used to pay Greek and Romanian priests, teachers and cantors" ⁹⁷.

Emanuil Gojdu left his entire fortune to "that part of the Romanian nation in Hungary and Transylvania that observes the Eastern Orthodox law (emphasis mine)"98. Specifically, the amount of scholarships offered was huge. They could benefit from elementary school students to doctoral students. Students in elementary school and high school received 100 fl. per year; students in the country - 300 fl. annually, and students in Vienna, Pest or any western university received 400-500 fl.99.

In order to understand, these amounts must be seen in relation to the income of that time. For example, a denominational teacher had a salary of 150-500 fl. per year¹⁰⁰. A priest earned around 400 fl. per year. Some mountain parishes offered less than 200 fl. per year¹⁰¹.

Therefore, more often than not, a Gojdu scholar had a scholarship higher than the salary of a priest or teacher (from the Austro-Hungarian Empire).

From the relevant analyses made by Mrs. Maria Berényi, we will note an important aspect for us: the substantial scholarships – mentioned above – would be lost if the student failed to meet

⁹⁷ Ibidem, p. 36.

⁹⁸ Ibidem, p. 135.

⁹⁹ Ibidem, p. 145.

¹⁰⁰ See P. Jumanca, "Amintiri. Anii tinereţii. Învăţător de şcoală românească în vremea stăpânirii ungureşti", Cuvânt înainte de Nicolae Bocşan, Studiu introductiv, transcriere, note şi îngrijire de Laurenţiu Ovidiu Roşu, (Timişoara, România: Editura DAVID PRESS PRINT, 2011) pp. 270, 428-443.

M. Berényi, "Viaţa şi activitatea lui Emanuil Gojdu. 1802-1870"..., p. 145.

certain conditions. The primary condition that had to be fulfilled and that was introduced in the *Statute* was that the student would lose the scholarship "if he relinquished the national and ecclesiastical character (emphasis mine)"¹⁰².

Emanuil Gojdu is portrayed as a practicing Orthodox Christian: "Gozsdu lived simply and hygienically. (...) He was proud of his origin as an Orthodox Romanian. (...) When dining, with foreigners, he would ostentatiously make the sign of the cross before and after eating. At Easter feasts, he would always sing «Christ is risen» before sitting at a table (...)"103.

His Orthodoxy was not an impediment to having close relationships with prelates from outside the Orthodox Church. For example, on 2 April 1861, the supreme head of Caraş County, Emanuil Gojdu, admonish the Greek-Catholic bishop of Oradea, Vasile Erdeli, for refusing to participate in the work of the Hungarian diet and thus to support the Romanian cause¹⁰⁴. Or the correspondence that Gojdu carried with the united metropolitan from Blaj, Alexandru Şterca Şuluţiu, in the same matter of supporting the Romanian causes in the monarchy, and so on.

4 Conclusion

The vastness of the subject (and not just the Gojdu topic) could take another approach/division and obviously a detailing on dozens of pages. Our concern was not to repeat information, which the reader can gather from the bibliography, but to offer the vision of a secular historian, philologist and undoubtedly a

¹⁰² Ibidem.

¹⁰³ Ibidem, p. 32; Idem, "Moştenirea lui Gojdu în oglinda presei române şi maghiare (1995-2005)"..., p. 9.

¹⁰⁴ Ibidem, pp. 74-77.

good theologian, as we discover Maria Berényi in her own creations and research.

The information above expresses as clearly as possible the pragmatic concepts of Mrs. Maria Berényi on the role and place of the (Romanian Orthodox) Church in the modern Romanian society in Hungary.

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