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Ghenadie Bogoevici - a controversial Monk in the Horthyst Hungary

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 Hungary, Budapest, Orthodoxy, Ghenadie Bogoevici, Emanuil Gojdu



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1 Introduction

This study emerged from an intensive research of many bibliographic references with contradictorical information and, of course, several dozens of archive documents. It is worth mentioning that the research of the realities of the Romanian Orthodox Church in Hungary from the interwar period has been in our attention through the elaboration of several studies. Therefore, we assume that this issue is quite appropriated.

By analyzing hundreds of archival documents we could discovered some tensions. Of course, none of the protagonists have called things by their name, but they have left room for interpretation.

Without adherence to a negativist style, we painted Ghenadie Bogoevich' portrait in grim reality. However, we consider that the subject remains open to debate, in order to set up, apparently, a correct reality of the events that took place almost a century ago.

The well known events that took place after the Treaty of Trianon in localities with a significant number of ethnic Romanians in Hungary were the following: the remaining of the 18 Romanian Orthodox parishes in Hungary and the impossibility of the two episcopal centers (Arad and Oradea) to coordinate them; the impossibility of priestly ordination for those parishes (according to the law, the candidates had to be Hungarian citizens); the fight of the priests in order to establish a deanery and others. To sum up: a real disaster. Why? Because, as early as 1920, four priests were active in 18 parishes. At the same time, the Hungarian authorities were making clear efforts to dismantle these parishes. Therefore, it was extraordinary that the Romanian Orthodox Church did not disappear from the Hungarian territory.

The late father, Teodor Misaros, offered to the scientific discourse the information that "these church communities did not have any connection with their legitimate bishops, the Romanian Orthodox Consistory in Oradea - probably for preventive reasons - by address no. 1636/1920, entrusted the monk Ghenadie Bogoievici, the parson of Budapest, to be the spiritual leader of these parishes. This trust was later strengthened by the Episcopate of Arad"1. The information inserted here is short, precise, without any ambiguity or circumstance. Ghenadie Bogoevich was anointed chief of two bishops. Also, to this day, this information has been disseminated through the pioneering work of Father Teodor Misaros, Moreover, the information was taken over by other researchers and grounded in this profile's scientific research². However, this information gains, in our view, another connotation, through the archival discoveries that we will reveal below.

As "the highest official of our church in Hungary," as Father Ghenadie Bogoevich liked to introduce himself, he did not take actual steps to support the establishment of a deanery. Simion Cornea³, the priest of Batania, had assumed the work altogether. Moreover, not only he did not support the coagulation of an organization but on the contrary, he

T. Misaroş, Din istoria comunităților bisericeşti ortodoxe române din Ungaria, Ediția a II-a, revizuită, (Gyula, Ungaria: Editura Schneider Nyomda Kft., 2002), p. 236.

² C. Sigmirean, "Despre înființarea unei episcopii ortodoxe a românilor din Ungaria", Comunicările celui de al XXV-lea simpozion al cercetătorilor români din Ungaria, (Gyula, Ungaria: Editura Schneider Nyomda Kft., 2016), p. 57.

A. C. Scridon, "Memoriile unui protopop uitat: Simion Cornea şi realitățile ecleziale din anii 1924-1928" (Memoirs of a forgotten archpriest: Simion Cornea and the ecclesial realities from 1924-1928), *Altarul Banatului*, Anul XXVIII (LXVII) serie nouă, nr. 10-12/2017, octombrie-decembrie, Timisoara, pp. 116-125.

repeatedly thwarted the efforts of his colleagues to establish the ecclesial structure.

The first bibliographic reference, signed by an assiduous and internationally recognized researcher, Mrs. Maria Berényi, attests the fact that "Bogoevici focused on administering the houses of the Gojdu Foundation in the superior administration of the Romanian Orthodox Church communities in today's Hungary, in different steps to defend the interests of the Romanian Orthodox in Hungary"⁴. Therefore, an influential voice, an important researcher from the Hungarian area, considers that the monk Ghenadie Bogoevich has contributed to the consolidation of the Romanian Orthodox element in Hungary.

Also from the director of the "Romanian Research Institute of Hungary", Maria Berényi, we find out that Ghenadie Bogoevich was the first priest of the Romanian Orthodox chapel in Budapest (established in 1900)⁵.

2 Who was Ghenadie (Gheorghe) Bogoevici?

Ghenadie Bogoevici was born on January 18th 1862 in Caraş, Bania, in a priestly family. In the list of priests in Bănia we can find Dumitru Bogoevici (served between 1824-1850) and Ioan Bogoevici (served between 1847-1850)⁶ (assuming that Dumitru was the grandfather of Ghenadie, and John, probably his father). After attending primary and secondary classes at Oravi-

M. Berényi, Cultură românească la Budapesta în secolul al XIX-lea, (Gyula, Ungaria: Nyomadai munkálatok: Schneider Nyomda, 2000), p. 25.

⁵ Ibidem.

⁶ Lucian – episcopul Caransebeşului, Petru Bona, Parohiile Eparhiei Caransebeşului, (Caransebeş: Editura Episcopiei Caransebeşului, 2012), p. 289.

ta, the White Church and Kecskemét, he attends theology courses in Caransebeş and later the Kecskemét and Budapest Law School. In Budapest, he distinguishes himself by coordinating (as president) the "Petru Maior" Society. As a fresh graduate, he works as a lawyer, executor, and secretary of the Gojdu Foundation. In 1900, the Romanian Orthodox Parish was established in Budapest, where he is elected parish priest. He becomes a monk at Hodos-Bodrog Monastery, under the name of Ghenadie 7.

It is essentiall to note that in none of the addresses/letters we have analysed (about 500) between the priests in Hungary and various institutions, we have been provided with the information that Ghenadie Bogoevich would want to be a bishop or was proposed as a bishop, and so on. The entire archive we have researched brings to our attention the desire of the clergy in Hungary to organize themselves in a deanery/episcopate. That is what we found. Nothing more.

On the other hand, it was evident from the church's point of view that among the priests in Hungary (who at one point remained 4) only Ghenadie was eligible for the episcopal dignity because he was ... a monk.

First in 2016, Cornel Sigmirean, after consulting the Archive of the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, disseminated the information: "in the early 1920s, as evidenced by the documents in the Archive of the Romanian Foreign Ministry, appeared the idea of setting up a bishopric of Romanians in Hungary. The initiative belonged to the Hungarian government, and the bishop was proposed by Ghenadie Gh. Bogoevich (s.n.)"8.

M. Berényi, *Cultură românească la Budapesta în secolul al XIX-lea*, p. 25.

⁸ C. Sigmirean, "Despre înființarea unei episcopii ortodoxe a românilor din Ungaria", p. 57.

Therefore, based on this, Ghenadie Bogoevich was a person agreed by the Budapest authorities. It is an attitude that initially surprises us, and then, after scrutiny of the documents, can surprise us less. Instead, all documents attest to the fact that the Hungarian authorities sought the dissolution of the Romanian parishes in Hungary, the assimilation of the Romanian ethnics and so on.

An episode unknown so far is how Ghenadie Bogoevich succeeded in 1920 to pull the document from the bishoprics of Oradea and Arad in the 1920s, which anoints him the head of the Orthodox Romanians in Hungary.

In this regard, here is what the vicar of Batania, Simion Cornea tells us:

"No. 39 org / 1930. To the Bishop and the Venerable Romanian Orthodox Consulate in Arad, To complete the file on the organization of our church in Hungary, the priests in Hungary have made several attempts and only now received from the Hungarian government an act whose copy I attach. In this copy, it says that the bishop of Arad has invested with the rights of church affairs the monk Ghenadie Bogoevici in Budapest over the Romanian Orthodox Church remaining in Hungary'. I searched the archives of the Council of Arad from 1920 until today, but we did not find such a document. In order to clarify the business, I ask the Bishop and the Venerable Eparchial Council to be willing to give me an official document, that - when he named the named monk with ecclesiastical rights over the Orthodox Romanians in Hungary, or if he did not call it to be said that he did not call. I urgently need this document because I will attach it to an address that I have to forward in four days, please give it to me so I can use it within the period above. Batania at 30 Sept 1930, humble spiritual son, S. Cornea parish"9.

Following the request made by Father Simeon Cornea of Batania, the Aradian bishopric responds:

"The Romanian Orthodox Diocese Council Arad, Nr. 6659/1930, to Father Traian Veţian, archpriest, Arad, Father, priest Simeon Cornea from Batulia / Hungary / requests to be informed if monk Ghenadie Bogoievici in Budapest is invested with the rights of Archpriest on the parishes in Hungary. We invite you to tell him that this monk has no assignment from us. Arad from the meeting of the Eparchial Council on December 2 1930. Mihai Păcăţian, Eparchial Counselor "10.

Through these writings it is clear, unambiguously, that in 1930 (!) no priest in Hungary was aware that they had a "boss" - in the person of the monk Bogoevich. Moreover, the Arad diocese denies the existence of such an act. Thus, Ghenadie Bogoevich lived for decades in anonymity. In 1920 the act of enforcing was issued, and no one knew of it.

Bizarre remains the confession of the Orthodox Bishop Roman Ciorogariu:

"Orthodox Bishopric of Oradea-Mare, No. 2606/1930, Oradea, October 2, 1930, Bishop Gregory, Bishop of Arad, Beloved brother in Christ, Sessed to clarify the mandate we would have given Father Ghenadie Bogoevici - parson of Budapest, in 1920 (...) I have the honor to give you the following clarification: After the evacuation of the Hungarian territory by the Romanian troops (...) worried about the fate of our former believers, in a friendly manner, I addressed the former Roman-Catholic Count Széchény Miklos, who was

The Archive of the Romanian Orthodox Bishopric in Ungaria (from here A.R.O.B.U.), Fond Gyula I, dossier 1930, nr. 39/30th september 1930.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, file nr. 6659/2nd december 1930.

preparing to go to Budapest, to intervene in the Hungarian government for the protection of the Romanian Orthodox faithful. As a result of this intervention, the Hungarian government entrusted the said monk Ghenadie to convince himself on the spot about the religious condition of our faithful in Hungary. Satisfying these guidelines, he asked in writing our subsequent approval of the visits made. Coming in person to Oradea with this request, on 5/18 December 1920 under No. 1635, it was released in my absence by the employee Dimitrie Horvat, dated 5/18 December 1920 (...) Bishop Roman Ciorogariu".¹¹

We would be tempted to accuse Bishop Ciorogariu of Oradia (elected on October 3, 1920) that he did not know what he was doing, and thus appeared the act of December 5/18, 1920, which mandates Bogoevich with the pastoral care of the Romanian Orthodox in Hungary.

What happened in those times? After the Great Union and with the arrival of the Romanian army led by General Traian Moşoiu in Oradea (April 20, 1920), the necessity of re-establishing the old bishopric became a palpable desideratum. Moreover, on the occasion of King Ferdinand's official visit to Oradea on May 23, 1919, the monarch publicly promises that "the Great Orthodox Episcopate will be established sooner than you think." Thus, the law of the re-establishment of the Episcopate was promulgated on 30 August 1920 by High Royal Decree. After a month (October 3rd) at the meeting held at the Church with Moon in Oradea, Roman Ciorogariu was elected in the dignity of Bishop with 54 out of 55 votes¹².

Apparently, the ordination and installation of the new bishop would have been quite rapid if there wasn't for an unfortunate

¹¹ Ibidem.

¹² Cf. M. Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii Ortodoxe Române*, (București: Editura Sofia, ⁵2000), p. 437.

event: on December 8, 1920, the bombing by Max Goldstein, Saul Osias and Leon Lichtblau took place. In this attack, Greek-Catholic Bishop of Oradea Demetriu Radu, Justice Minister Dimitrie Greceanu and Senator Spirea Gheorghiu died. Roman Ciorogariu escaped, but he lost his right hand.

Therefore, Ghenadie Gh. Bogoevici appears at the Oradea bishopric a few days after the attack. Roman Ciorogariu was in agony at Coltea Hospital in Bucharest, and the episcopal affairs were given to Dimitrie Horvat. We recall that Ciorogariu's ordination took place on March 26, 1921, in Bucharest and the installation on September 19, 1921.

In this turbulent context the act No. 1636/1920 is issued by the consortium in Oradea aimed at empowering Ghenadie Gh. Bogoevici.

Cornel Sigmirean continues, recalling that "the proposal of the Consistory of Oradea was accepted by the Episcopate of Arad" 13. This entitles us to believe that, as soon as he received the document from Oradea (in December 1920), Ghenadie Bogoevich immediately contacted the Episcopate of Arad, mentioning that he was empowered by the Consort of Oradea to defend the interests of the Orthodox Romanians in Hungary and therefore to request the same authority from the Aradian bishopric.

A puzzler emerges in the scientific circuit. Teodor Misaros, Cornel Sigmirean (quoting Misaros) and others attest to the existence of an act by the two bishops. In 1930 the Episcopate of Arad denied the existence of such a document, and the Oradea Bishop admits that the document was released without the consent of Bishop Roman Ciorogariu. What is the truth?

¹³ C. Sigmirean, "Despre înființarea unei episcopii ortodoxe a românilor din Ungaria", p. 57.

The contribution of Ghenadie Gh. Bogoevich to the emergence of a church organization in Hungary is more than modest. The archives of the Romanian Orthodox Episcopate in Gyula attest to the efforts of the Romanian Orthodox priests in eastern Hungary to coagulate a deanery. The de facto leader - reflected by hundreds of archival documents - was Simeon Cornea.

However, the researchers acknowledge Bogoevich's closeness to the Hungarian circles: "as it appears from the documents in the Archive of the Romanian Foreign Ministry, the idea of establishing a bishopric of the Romanians in Hungary appeared. The initiative belonged to the Hungarian government, and the bishop was Ghenadie Gh. Bogoevich" ¹⁴.

The realities of the times have worried the church faces in western Romania over the fate of the Orthodox Romanians. Cornel Sigmirean quotes the Archive of the Foreign Ministry, Background *The matter of Romanian Orthodox churches from other countries*, file 36 where the address of November 16, 1920, no. 7968, issued by the Hungarian Foreign Office and destined to the Bishop of Oradea:

"Your Excellency has willingly communicated the presidential act of November 7, 1920, that the Romanian Orthodox Episcopal Vicar of Oradea would like to arrange the church affairs of the Romanian Oriental Communes under the rule of the Hungarian state, which belongs to his jurisdiction, and in this respect requests the support of the Hungarian state "(tab. 5)¹⁵.

The answer is also offered to us by the evoked researcher through this archival discovery: "As a result, the letter of reply states that" the Hungarian government is pleased to note this intention of the Episcopal Vicar "and it is communicated that monk Gh. Bogoevich in Budapest is entrusted to visit the

¹⁴ Ibidem.

¹⁵ Ihidem.

ecclesiastical communes in Hungary and by those seen to intervene at the church authorities" ¹⁶.

The presented documents show that the initiative belongs to the Hungarian authorities in the *Bogoevici issue*. The Hungarian authorities undoubtedly had their interests. The Romanians were faced with the accomplished fact: they had to accept the suggestion of the Hungarian side if they wanted oversight of the Orthodox Romanians in Hungary. For the image to be as appealing as possible, the Hungarian authorities are marching, unexpectedly for the Romanian ecclesial structures: "The Hungarian Royal Government considers that the peace treaty has brought no change in the jurisdiction of the church authorities. Going forward, the church communes will continue to belong to the same authority they were before the treaty." ¹⁷. Apparently it was a lie.

The poisoned apple was refused by the Romanian authorities:

"Since the Orthodox Church in its organization has always taken account of the sovereignty of the state and has not extended its jurisdiction beyond the homeland, we can not ingest the organization of the Romanian Orthodox believers in Hungary, which is an internal affair of Hungary. Each denomination will be organized within its homeland and can not be part of the church of another state" 18.

The Romanian authorities knew about the Hungarians' efforts to find a good solution to the Gojdu Foundation issue. That is why Ghenadie Gh. Bogoevich (as a tool) certainly was in the books of many Budapest leaders: In a report of the Romanian Legation in Budapest addressed to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, no. 17.886/1921, it was stated:

¹⁶ Ihidem.

¹⁷ Ibidem.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 58.

"I have the honor to tell you the following: in Budapest, there is monk Bogoievici Ghenadie, Romanian Orthodox priest who is serving at the Romanian chapel for about 30 years, which is installed in an apartment of one of the houses belonging to the Gojdu Foundation. This foundation has a considerable fortune (it is said almost half a billion crowns) and is administered by the Metropolitan Church of Sibiu. In Gojdu's will, it is stated that the income of this fortune will be used as the Greek-Oriental bishops of Transvl-vania, Banat and the Hungarian parts will decide. These parts being divided by the annexation of the majority to the kingdom of Romania and by remaining under the Hungarian domination of only a tiny Romanian-Orthodox population (maximum 40.000 souls), according to the will, results that only the bishops of the Kingdom can decide on the fate of this great income. Of course, this does not suit the Hungarians at all, and the Budapest Government has been working for several months with finding a favorable solution for them. Lately, it has been decided to create a Greek-Orthodox episcopate for the above population and proposals were made to Father Bogoevich to receive being appointed bishop, him being the only one in Hungary who can occupy this dignity. This way, Hungary will gain two advantages: 1. It has a bishop among the bishops who decide on the use of the Foundation's incomes and considering the liquidation operations between the two states: it will be able to raise the demand for some of the wealth to remain in Hungary, and, therefore under the direct influence of the government. 2. Testifies to the foreign public opinion that, having broad religious views, it has immediately set up an Orthodox episcopate for the Romanians. So it is preparing the ground to demand the maintenance of the four Hungarian bishoprics in Romania, two of which have been disbanded."

The report submitted to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs stated that Bogoevich intends to seek advice on his appointment as a bishop and that he "will be discouraged in order not to play the Hungarian diplomacy's game" 19.

High-level *power games* were unknown to the ordinary Orthodox clergy, the clergy who "agitated" itself to get organised. From the hundreds of letters, we extract the information provided by Gheorghe Alexici - the president of the parish committee in Budapest. Gheorghe Alexici is impressed by the labor of Simion Cornea, which is why he confesses:

"Budapest, 13 / I, 1930. Dear Father, I am very fond of you. And I would like to see you, for the sake of our believers, where you are worthy of being through the work and zeal proven. Let's hope that, what today does not bring, tomorrow will bring you. I have to keep silent since until now I have not seen things. Today, however, I understand the causes of the temporization. They are of such nature that I can not put them on paper; I will tell them, but only you. (s.n.) For now, I hope that today, in the current or the following month, we will be able to form. I will make an effort to have the assembly either in Ciaba or Bichiş. We've known to wait until now we'll wait another 1-2 months, we're accustomed to patience. Happy New Year! You are assured of my unaltered esteem and consideration. Gheroghe Alexici" 20.

Therefore, we assume that Gheorghe Alexici told Simion Cornea in 1930 (that is, 2 years before Cornea's death) that Bogoevici yearned for the episcopal step and for this reason he was willing to thwart the efforts of his colleagues in the East of Hungary. Besides, Ghenadie Bogoevici 's personal goal begins to be known by most Romanian priests, as we will highlight below.

The words written by Gheorghe Alexici are the answer to the letter sent by Simion Cornea, and we are playing it back: "42 org./1929, to Dr. Gh. Alexici, the president of the Romanian

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, pp. 58-59.

²⁰ A.R.O.B.U., Fond Gyula I, dossier 1930, from 13th January 1930.

Orthodox parochial committee in Budapest, When I was in Budapest, we agreed for Mr. Bogoevici to go to the ministry to communicate, for the order to stop the deanery synod to be revoked, and Father Ghenadie - in the name of the priestly college - to convene the deanery synod this autumn. About the obtained result to advise Father S. Cornea within eight days. We have not given much trust to these promises, but only after your promise - we left it that way. (...) Bogoevici on August 30, 1929 - sends to all the parochial offices here the attached letter, in which he urges the parish offices "not to send delegates to the conference convened on September 5 a. c. to Bciaba ". To this "prayer in the interest of our church" would not have been consulted. However, the insinuation made by Father Bogoevich to the Government, - as a result of which the Government gives harsh orders to the Greek Orthodox priests, not only to the Romanians but also to Serbian priests, lest they try to go to Bichisciaba on September 5 because it will be bad (...). This has scandalized and thwarted us in the organization of our church. The fact was not in the interest of the church, but at the expense and weakening of our tormented church. " (...). We hope that you, as chairman of the parochial committee in Budapest, through your superior culture, appreciate thoroughly the dangers that follow from the temporization of the organization of our church. We salute you with love and becoming respect: Bătania, nov. 1 1929. On behalf of the priestly college: Simeon Cornea Romanian Orthodox parishioner "21.

The delay in the realization of a church organization imposed by Ghenadie Bogoevici is noticeable. Ghenadie Bogoevich is lured by the Hungarians with *the episcopal dignity* - to the detriment of the Orthodox Romanians in Hungary. His subsequent actions reflect reticence, denial, lack of unity.

²¹ *Ibidem*, dossier 1929, file nr. 42/1st November 1929.

The importance of Ghenadie Bogoevici for the Hungarians is reflected in the many addresses, out of which we will note: "121/1926 to Mister Simeon Cornea in Battonya, Regarding a project of organizing the Romanian Orthodox Church in Hungary, I consulted the monk Ghenadie Bogoeviciu! (...) Budapest on May 8, 1926. Iosif Siegescu, Hungarian Regent Commissioner for Romanian Affairs"22. "To the Honored Greek Orthodox parish office in Bătania. In my letter of August 30, 1929. I have informed you that I, as the highest official of our church in Hungary, took steps alongside the competent officials for the systematic organization of our church according to the "Organic Statute". I am now informing you that on March 27 a.c. The undersigned, accompanied by Gheorghe Orz and Dr. Valeriu Damsa, presented ourselves to the ministry where we handed over a memorandum on the organization of our church. The memorandum has two cardinal points. First, we asked for permission to organize ourselves by the "Organic Statute" taking into account the circumstances of today - in the second point we emphasized that we want to continue as a Romanian autonomous church. (...) Again, please - in the interest of our church - that until the government has resolved our memorandum, not to take part in any partial organization or private action. With true love, Budapest on April 10, 1930, Bogoevich G. Ghenadie, Romanian Orthodox parishioner"23.

The lack of unity - strewn in the hundreds of addresses - is evident in the small selection of documents presented: "No. 12 org/ 930. (...) The memorandum was given to the Government by Gh. Bogoevici, Gh. Orz and Dr. Valeriu Damsa is a request for "partial organization" and "private action" of these individuals without the knowledge and authorization of the priests here,

²² *Ibidem*, dossier 1926, file nr. 121/8th Mai 1926.

²³ *Ibidem*, dossier 1930, letter from 10th april 1930.

nor of the Orthodox Romanians in Budapest"²⁴; "No. 16 org / 1930. Mr. Bishop, Arad, (...) On September 5. I summoned the deanery synod for the introduction and founding of the deanery organizations. On August 20, 1929, we received, at all parishes, an address from Ghenadie Bogoevici, a Romanian Orthodox parson in Budapest, who advises us not to hold that council. (...) On September 5, 1929, the Mayor of Bichisciaba came to the deanery synod and said: "At the intervention of Mr. Gh. Bogoevici, the government, stops the holding of today's council (...) In the name of the priestly college, please Mr. Bishop, kindly give your blessing at the beginning of the reorganization of our Romanian Orthodox Church in Hungary (...) Bătania on May 30. 1930. On behalf of the priestly college, Your submissive son, Simeon Cornea Romanian Orthodox parson"25. "To the honorable Greek-Orthodox parish office in Battonya, taking into account the circumstances on the basis of which, according to the law of the cults in Romania, the jurisdiction of the religious authorities of the cults in the country cannot extend beyond the territory of the Romanian State'- hence neither in our country -I bring to your attention that I, as the highest official of our church in Hungary - have begun again, with the competent factors, the steps to systematically organize our church according to the 'Organic Statute'. In my opinion holding partial synods can easily affect our systematic organization - please, in the interest of our church, until further notice, for now, do not send delegates at the conference convened on September 5, Budapest on August 30, 1929, Ghenadie G. Bogoevich, Romanian Orthodox Parson"26. "Father, the evidence of the falsity of the dignitary monk Ghenadie Bogoevici gave us a new

²⁴ *Ibidem*, file nr. 12/1930.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, file nr. 16 from 30th Mai 1930.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, dossier 1929, file from 30th August 1929.

battlefield for discovering the truth and finally documenting to the Ministry that Bogoevici's deeds are not ,vox dei' (...) Giula on December 27 1930, with brotherly love Dimitrie Sabau - Romanian Orthodox priest"²⁷.

A real analysis of the text would raise many questions. For example, we are surprised by the penultimate address of August 30, 1929, written by Ghenadie Bogoevici and addressed to Father Simeon Cornea (see annexes). We will clearly distinguish that the text - written on a typewriter - is underlined in three colors: blue, red, black. Suppose the colors want to indicate the severity of the facts. In addition to highlighting some of the words in the text, a grammatical correction and an addition at the end of the first paragraph are made: "we again took steps with competent factors for the systematic organization of our church according to the 'Organic Statute' and your wishes"28. A possible name is covered in the lower left, which would suggest that it should not be known. Of course, a series of questions arise: who, when and where intervened on the address of August 30, 1929? We could suspect - by our efforts that Simeon Cornea, who was dissatisfied with his colleague in Budapest, made a few notations.

From the perspective of the theologian, I conclude with the last paragraph of the historian Cornel Sigmirean, but with a small addition: "the Romanians in Hungary have, so far, had a tumultuous history, in which decisions were often made without their consultation, them remaining in the condition of victims (...)"²⁹ sometimes due to the unfavorable interference of

²⁷ *Ibidem*, dossier 1930, letter from 27th December 1930.

²⁸ Ihidem.

²⁹ C. Sigmirean, "Despre înființarea unei episcopii ortodoxe a românilor din Ungaria", p. 60.

the Romanian church with the secular authorities and due to their petty interests.

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