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THE SUMMARY OF THE DOCTOR'S DEGREE THESIS: "THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE ROMANIAN CHURCHES WITH THE STATE, IN TRANSYLVANIA AND BANAT 1848-1919"

We decided to study this subject which, although pretty old, is extremely present, and by the way things happened, these relationships influenced very much history's course. The decisions and even the events that took place in the 1<sup>st</sup> and also in the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium have consequences for the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium as well, especially on the European continent and not only there.

I started by defining what the church is and what the state is and what is the role of every one of them, in history. It must be stated that I used more sources to define church but I insisted on the biblical definition. I used the same source to see the relationship pattern of the church with the state that was demanded firstly by the founder of the church God's Son Jesus Christ. Also, I used the Canon Law of the Romanian Orthodox Church, which forbids the implication of the bishops and the high clergy in politics running the risk to be cateriți (excluded from the priesthood). Surly no one of the people who got involved in the political battle of the Romanians from Transylvania was caterit, although there were many. Some religious leaders were even appreciated and eulogized not for breaking the canon law but for the political achievements of the Romanians from Transylvania that were reflected upon everyone even to the day, like the organic status of Șaguna. To be able to see and understand the relationship of the church with the state we had to start with the emergence of this kind of relationships especially after 312 – 313 when Christianity becomes then known as the Roman Empire, a licit religion. Due to the fact that the church is developing mainly in two large religious centers, Rome and Constantinople, there are two types of religious doctrines that can be acknowledged and two types of relationships with the state, as follows:

For the Byzantine Church one type of relationship with the state becomes characteristic, which is called "The Byzantine Symphony" based on the writings of Eusebius and Justinian in the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> – 6<sup>th</sup> centuries, when the Emperor was considered God's substitute on earth and was treated as such. Inside the Roman-Catholic Church emerges a relationship of mutual subordination of the state and the church, according to time and the different moment when it takes place; sometimes depending also on a specific context. This theology is based on the Writings of Augustine dating from the period of the Pope, Ambrosius, the 4<sup>th</sup> century. After almost 300 years, during which the two institutions were capable of adversity, they seemed almost irreconcilable, in 312-313 they become more than collaborators, they help one another, especially at moments of interest whether is the interest of the state or the church's.

Due to the fact that in the territories and the historical time period that are being studied there were two important churches, the orthodox one and the Greek Catholic Church united with Rome, we considered that it is necessary to present one of the most important influences that helped forming the Greek Catholic Church which is “The Myth of the Good Emperor”, which was created and influenced by the Imperial Court to which the Rome papacy is added. The Imperial Court knew how to use a special characteristic of the people, the Romanian people, who have always respected their sovereigns. These together are using the Romanian Clergy and especially the high clergy to help form the new church. It develops shortly after Transylvania passes from being under the Ottoman Empire’s administration to the administration of the Habsburg Empire at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

For a better passing and for a better control under the Hapsburgs’ domination, as well as for a more efficient domination the Court from Vienna uses what is called “The Myth of the Good Emperor” in which the clergy, mainly the high clergy has a distinctively important role. It is used most commonly the praising of the emperor in any occasion, especially in public occasions, such as weddings, baptisms, funerals, etc. At the same time, a savior and benevolent image of the emperor is being portrayed, contrasting with the Hungarian diet and the Hungarian nobility in general. It was often said that the laws and good ideas started from the emperor, but the diet and the nobility did not want to apply them. Partly these things were true, but it was also true the fact that the people from the Court at Vienna were hypocrites, because it was one thing what the emperor was telling in his trips throughout Transylvania or at his many audiences which he offered to the Romanian delegates, and another what it was put to practice. An important motive why the Hungarian Empire was resorting to the founding of the Greek Catholic Church united with Rome was to divide the Romanians from Transylvania and to take them away from their orthodox Romanian brothers from the other two Romanian Countries, Moldavia and Muntenia.

In order to emphasize the concept of the relationship of the state with the church, we will watch the developing of Christianity especially in the areas where we are studying this topic.

Christianity is developing separately in the two centers, Rome and Constantinople, in parallel with the developing of the two distinct concepts which leads to a better portraying of a fight for supremacy that produced disagreements that would become more and more noticeable. After the 8<sup>th</sup> century a more and more profound separation is visible until the Great Schism in 1054 with enunciations of mutual anathemas from the representatives of the two churches. The anathemas which would be released only by the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

As far as Christianity in the north of the Danube is concerned, in the new Romanian territories there is a developing of a Christianity subordinated to Rome, having the language of the liturgy in Latin and after the year 800 by the growth of the Bulgarian-Romanian Empire it would be decided the introduction of Slavonic language in the liturgy and then in the offices of the countries in the north of the Danube having a baneful role upon the development of culture and Romanian nationalism, so it is said by historians such as N. Iorga or A.D. Xenopol, etc. and also it is decided the separation

from the Church of Rome and the annexation to Constantinople, bringing the Byzantine influence in the Romanian territories.

Unlike this Slavonic language, Hungarians are settling at about the same time in the Pannonian Basin, who came from the Steppes of Asia, which would annex after Christianization to the Church of Rome, having a great influence, especially in Transylvania and Banat, area that are direct neighbors with the first Hungarian territories.

The development of Christianity in the Romanian territories that are being studied is not very different from the Christianity from each one of the Romanian Countries in part. The leaders of the church respect the theologies of the church to which they belong and they are applied fairly enough, doctrinaire more that necessary. We will give an appropriate example.

In the 4<sup>th</sup> century a rebellion is started in the area of Bob because a bishop respects the “The Byzantine Symphony” theology and does not think of his people nor of the consequences that his actions might produce, being involved in the collection of the fees for the nobility at that time, by raising the fees up to even 10 time of those who did not pay their fees to the nobleman. This is how the rebellion in Bobâlna starts, in 1437, because of the bishop’s implication and a dangerous precedent is set, forming two months after the end of the rebellion, that “unio trium nationum”, through which the Romanian nation loses any political and social right. Romanians become serfs in their own country and payer of tribute, soldiers suppliers for the emperor’s army, and possibly grain growers and field workers, without political rights in their own country, becoming tolerated in their own country. The Three conquering and minority Nations (Hungarians, Saxons and Székely) become privileged, members of the diet, and later on their religions would be also privileged, while the religion of the majority of the Romanians only tolerated the same way the Romanians were as a nation, although they formed a majority.

Other important events of that period take place in other parts too, thus in 1453 the Turks conquer Constantinople and Moscow wins a deal of importance and becomes what it called “the third Rome”. Constantinople loses of its importance and the orthodox patriarch prefers to stay under Turk domination that to collaborate with the Catholics.

During the 14<sup>th</sup> century the first reforming ideas of Jan Wiclif appear, a professor at Oxford and then Jan Hus a professor in Prague whose influence reaches Transylvania where the first translations in the Romanian language are being made, of holy books especially from the Old Testament, and many books are being written also in the Romanian language. After the events mentioned earlier took place, in the 16<sup>th</sup> century by the religious reform in the West, Transylvania is one of the first countries where the religious reform is accepted. Thus one of the principles of the reform is to be able to preach in the maternal language of the nation and to be able to understand what it is being said. Therefore the Romanian people in Transylvania too had their first books in the maternal language, the Romanian language, through which its development is made possible, which helps forming and waking the national conscience.

Until the religious reform, an extremely important event in the history of the Romanian Countries is the achievement of the union, of the three Romanian countries, during the time of Mihai Viteazu, at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century when he achieves some important fulfillments for the Romanian people in Transylvania. He decides to release the Romanian priests from being serfs, tax

exemption, the Metropolitan Church in Alba-Iulia is founded and a metropolitan bishop is named, etc.

The next event in the history of Ardeal is its passing from being under the Ottoman domination to being under Habsburg domination, at the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The Habsburg Empire wishes to do some positive things for the empire. Immediately after this, starts the process of enlightening the Romanians to pass to the Catholicism, having the advantage that the Romanians were tolerated and subjugated and the empire offers different promises to free the Romanians from the state that they were into, making the proposal of the Imperial House in Vienna sound appealing. The religious reform once entered in Transylvania makes the orthodoxies have a superintendent through which is achieved at first the well-known “calvinisation” of orthodoxy, the Romanian language is introduced in the church and more literature is printed in the Romanian language, also the orthodox priests are asked to give up the many superstitions that were practiced and learnt then.

Simultaneously, the Court in Vienna starts a process by which they wanted to create an image of the emperor as a universal savior, by cultivating what it is called “The Myth of the Good Emperor”, through which, the Romanian clergy, especially the high clergy, had to fulfill a very important role, by calling to the conscience of the Romanian people, on every opportunities in which they could praise the emperor, wanting to raise the emperor’s image to the highest rank and thus, to consider that the emperor is the savior of all the nations of the empire.

Due to the Greek-Catholic Church that was formed this way, the doors are opening for the young Romanian people in order to study at the universities in the West. The graduates of these universities come back to Transylvania and form the School of Ardeal through which they contribute a lot to the development of the national conscience of the Romanians in Transylvania.

The religious leaders, especially of the Greek-Catholic Church, stand out as political leaders, especially the bishop Ioan Micu Klein goes very often to Vienna to give to the emperor the petitions of the Romanians. The sad part is that these entire goings were left without a result, because the emperor was very clever in making promises and not doing a thing about it. By cultivating the Myth of the Good Emperor, the Court in Vienna proceeds in such a manner that the guilt fall upon the noblemen and the Transylvanian Diet, who are being accused they do not want to apply the decrees of Vienna, favorable to the Romanians. This way, an interesting situation is created through which the Romanian people stand between the emperor and the nobility and the diet in Transylvania.

Meanwhile the orthodoxy goes under the jurisdiction of Karlowitz. This way the Romanians from Transylvania are socially and politically oppressed on one hand by the Habsburgs and on the other hand religiously by the Serbs. At the episcopates from Transylvania and Banat Serbian bishops are named until the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century when a Romanian bishop is named but who is being asked for certain things (19 points that he must obey). The main requirement was not to stop anyone to embrace the Uniate, which meant no to go from the Greek-Orthodox Church to the Greek-Catholic Church united with Rome.

At the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century after the death of the Romanian bishop, in 1845 Andrei Saguna is sent to Sibiu as general vicar. At the Romanian Greek-Catholic Church united with Rome, Ioan Lemeni was the bishop. In 1845 Saguna was sent in Transylvania

and in 1848 he was elected bishop by the Court in Vienna and then ordained, as a bishop, in 1848 little before the 1848 Revolution. From this point on the political and religious history of Transylvania is mainly related to Andrei Saguna's activity. In 1848, after the decisions made at Blaj, two delegations are sent, one to Cluj at the Diet and one to Vienna at the emperor. These delegations are led by the two bishops in Cluj, Ion Lemeni was the leader of the delegation for over 130 people, and in Vienna the leader of the delegation was Bishop Andrei Saguna. Both Lemeni and Saguna do not fulfill the mission that was given to them in Blaj, they also break the oath taken at Blaj. Thus Lemeni being sent in front of 130 people delegation, votes for the union of Transylvania with Hungary instead of fighting against it like he was sent to do, and A. Saguna joins the privileged commission which will apply the union of Transylvania with Hungary, instead of fighting for the accomplishment of the union of Transylvania with Hungary. Both bishops put into practice the theology taken from "The Byzantine Symphony", at the expenses of the Romanians from Transylvania. Both bishops break the oath, taken at Blaj.

All this time, another leader of the 1848 Revolution, Avram Iancu is waging a pretty serious civil war against the Hungarian troops that wanted no matter what the union of Transylvania with Hungary, like they voted in the diet at Bratislava in 1842. During this war the Hungarians kill many Romanians in the Transylvanian villages, and bring terror to many Romanian villages not only to the area of the dead but to the entire Transylvania. The courage of Iancu's dead is obvious and his armies, where there were many commanders who had been priests which make the Hungarians fall back. When the Austrian emperor brings the Russian to defeat the 1848 Revolution, the Hungarians surrender in Siria and so the Hungarian revolution from 1848 in Hungary, ends.

The two Romanian confessions and their leaders use at its best the relationship with the state firstly to change the social and political status of the Romanians and fight for reestablish the Greek-Catholic Metropolitan Church, based in Blaj, In 1864 the Orthodoxy in Transylvania receives the right to reestablish the Orthodox Metropolitan Church based in Sibiu and as a Metropolitan Church Bishop is named Andrei Saguna, and after almost 10 years the new organizational and functional status of Orthodoxy is formed, which would be the greatest accomplishment of the Romanian Orthodox Church in Transylvania. It is the most modern status of all the orthodox churches from that time. The Saguna status is used even today in the Romanian Orthodox Church, with small modifications.

Saguna's remaining as a leader of the Romanian orthodoxy in Transylvania, is beneficial for the Romanians by opening over 800 Romanian confessional schools, a secondary school in Brasov and in Brad, the Theological-Pedagogical institute in Sibiu. There are many books, theological manuals and other specialty ones to be translated and written. The Transylvanian Association for the literature and culture of the Romanian people (ASTRA). Saguna fights for the coming out of the paper The Romanian Telegraph in 1853. Saguna goes a lot at Vienna to see the emperor where he was received in a special way, giving different protest memoirs and the petition to returning and emancipation of the Romanians in order to go back to having the normal rights of the Romanian people in Transylvania, to be considered the forth nation to receive in Transylvania. In almost every situation the solicitations were not entirely satisfied and accomplished.



During this period of time the Greek-Catholic Church deals with different issues due to Rome's desire, supported by the Imperial house in Vienna, to pass to a complete catholicization of the Romanian Church, especially after the council in 1870-1871 when the infallibility of the Pope is adopted, in the field of conduct and moral. It is decided that the Jesuits take action in the fight for Catholicization of the territories that went under the reformed religions. This was one of the means of trying to retrieve the territories conquered by the religious reform of the orthodox, the orthodox prelates strictly respected the rule of "The Byzantine Symphony", the Relationship with Vienna and Pest during this century has different aspects because the relationship with the Hungarian government and Vienna was very important for the emancipation of the Romanian people.

After the formation of Austro-Hungarian dualism in Hungary and Transylvania, a new religious confession from the group of the Protestants, that is the Baptist confession which goes back to the church's principles from the first century, and also to the concepts of a more radical confession of the reformers, also known as Anabaptists, focusing on baptism at maturity, also known as The Baptism of Faith. In the relationship with the state they have a doctrine through which they support the fully separation of the church from the state except meeting the biblical requirements that mean asking the believers to pray for the authorities. The believers must pay their taxes, and obey the state, making a radical difference between the confessions' doctrines traditional majority, the orthodoxy and the Greek-Catholic united with Rome. The Baptist confession receives its official acknowledgement by the law XLIII from 1895 and then its fully recognition as a legal cult in 1905 by the circular 77 092, a situation that is still going on when uniting with the Romanian Kingdom at 1<sup>st</sup> of December 1918.

After the Austro-Hungarian dualism in 1866-1867, a process of Magyarization of all the non Hungarian people from the Austro-Hungarian confederation, although since the beginning of the Hungarian domination in Transylvania, Romanians were the majority as population, approximately 60% from the population of Hungary. The Hungarians were a minority in their own country. However they were the ones who ruled and decided in every internal problem and influenced the external decisions of the Austro-Hungarian federation. The fight of the Romanian people for the sustaining and development of the Romanian language and the formation and development of the national conscience deepens over time. Gradually the leadership of Transylvania is taken over by political people from the clerics, and at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, especially by the Romanian National Party. RNP writes in 1892 a memorandum signed by more political leaders of R.N.P., where the politics of the Hungarian government towards the Romanian people is criticized and shows the state in which the Romanian nation in Transylvania was brought through the Hungarian politics after 1865-1866, since the formation of the Austro-Hungarian Federation. All these irritate the government in Budapest that decides to open a trial against the memorandum sustainers who they arrest, after an unfair trial. This situation starts the protests of the Romanian in Bucharest and of the Romanian students originating in Transylvania who went to the foreign universities in West Europe. This is how the persecutions of the Hungarians against the non Hungarian nations, especially against Romanians, become known. This unfair trial is known and judged by every democrat countries, which interfere to release the arrested people. King Charles of Romania especially interferes which brings after almost two years of detention the

releasing of the memorandum people. By all these actions the Transylvanian Romanians prove a maturity and an awakening of the national conscience worth a nation with a millenary history, although it was filled with sufferance and great oppressions from the various dominant empires.

During all these fights the Greek-Orthodox church, is subject to hard blows: the separation from 1700 was not enough, with the formation of the Greek-Catholic church, united with Rome, but another separation is attempted coming from the wish to annex to the Hungarian Catholic Church. The founding of a new Hungarian united Metropolitan Church is attempted but with Romanian churches, because Greek-Catholic were only few Hungarian churches, at Haidudorog, having the same goal, that is the partition of the Romanian people in Transylvania and a better control of the Romanians in church, but also a deeper magyarization, hoping for small victories in favor of the Romanians when fighting against magyarization.

At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century at the library of the University in Budapest, the historian N. Densușianu finds the original document of the union, through the documents of Jesuit Heveneși from the union with Rome in 1700. It was different in the Romanian language compared with the Latin version and the conditions of the union were different in the Romanian language than in Latin. Densușianu proves the perfidy of the Jesuit monks and he declares that there was no union but an annexation to the Church of Rome. The Greek-Catholic church will go through some difficult moments due to the fight of the Church of Rome in order to impose a more advanced catholicization, a situation that is accepted by the high Romanian clergy, of the Romanian Greek-Catholic church united with Rome, but unsupported the intellectuals of Ardeal both orthodox and especially Greek-Catholics, and later on it was not accepted not even by a part of the bishops.

The anachronism of the Austro-Hungarian dualism proves its uselessness. When after the adhering of Romania to the Triple Alliance, a settlement is wished for of the relationship between the Hungarian government and the leaders of the Romanian people in Transylvania hoping that Romania would not enter war against the Austro-Hungary, it all proves to be inefficient because of the arrogance of the government in Budapest, which won't make any concession to the requirements of the Romanian people represented by the R.N.P. leaders.

The Romanian orthodoxy in Transylvania, as well as the leaders of the Greek-Catholic church, prove to be special fulfillers of the Theology of the Byzantine Symphony. The state and its representatives matter for the clergy of these churches, sometimes more than the Romanian people and its requirements. Thus, some bishops support more the government in Budapest than the people they preach. For instance Bishop Mangra and Bishop Papp from Arad and Miron Cristea from Caransebeș sign a letter of protest against the entrance of the Romanian troops in Transylvania in 1916, through which they state that their land (Austro-Hungary) to them is more important than their Romanian brothers from the KINGDOM of Romania. So, they call the Romanian people in Transylvania to fight against the army of the kingdom of Romania, that is against their brothers. They publish their protest and telegram in the Romanian Telegraph in august 1916. Due to the respect for the theology of "Byzantine symphony" for metropolitan and bishop Mangra takes place a funny change of attitude, from leader of the Romanian National Party after the arrest of the memorandum people, to being a fervent supporter of the government in Budapest. In 1918 when the Romanian troops set free Budapest from

the German armies and chase away the Bolshevik government settled there, Mangra was in Budapest.

Due to the devastating effects of World War I, the whole territory populated with Romanians is set free. The end of the war necessarily brings the union of all the territories populated by Romanians into one sovereign state The Kingdom of Romania. The Romanian leadership Committee of Transylvania decides to gather at 1<sup>st</sup> of December all the Romanians of Ardeal where the union would be decided for always cu the Motherland. The paradox of duplicity of the high orthodox clergy proves to be through two of the bishops who signed the letter of protest against the entering of the Romanian troops in Transylvania, I. Papp from Arad and Miron Cristea from Caransebeş. These go and hold lectures at the meeting in Alba-Iulia and talk about the grand day of the union. In this important day of the Romanians, hold speeches bishop Miron Cristea and the Greek-Catholic bishop I. Hosu will read the union proclamation of Transylvania with the kingdom of Romania. We believe we must learn important things about the relationship of the church with the state which are available also today:- the main document for all aspects of the church is the Holy Bible, and any other theories are not beneficial to the relationship of the church with the state, actually they are not beneficial to anything related with church.

- Things that today are small can develop in time and can have devastating effects over the years, that is why one shouldn't open the door to anything that is not right, in order to avoid dealing with the consequences for many years (like we saw with bishop Gh. Lepeş in Bobâlna in 1437),

The duplicity of these people, whoever they are, should be avoided as much as possible.

- the union of the Romanian people into one nation was done by a lot of sacrifice even if it was not supported like it was supposed to by some representatives of the church,

- there is a Master of history who set some minimally principles in the relationship between nations, principles that churches especially should state, sustain, defend, put into practice in the life of people and especially of those who believe, principles that we find just in the holy writings of primary church.

- an important contribution to the development of the mind and religious freedoms, of the returning to the primary biblical doctrinal teachings were brought by those who adopted as a fundament of their teaching only the Holy Bible.

We can find that the relationships of the church with the state are happening based on a theology established during the first years after 312-313 when the Christian church becomes licit (legal) religion, until the late 5<sup>th</sup> century. This relationship of the churches will deviate from what it was known since the 1<sup>st</sup> century of the church, by the founders of Christianity and id dependent on the empire to which it can relate ever since those times. It can be found that over the years these relationships have brought advantages or disadvantages both for the church as for the state, or the forming nation whether was the state's or the church's, dependent on the course of the events of that time. After 1848, in the studied areas we have shown how the "Byzantine Symphony" is applied especially by the high clergy of the two Romanian churches in Transylvania and Banat, with beneficial effects more for this clergy, less for the forming groups of people of the state and the Romanian churches.

At the same time we will observe an almost constant component at the representatives of the Imperial house in Vienna, and that is the fact that they can very well promise a lot

of things and fulfill a lot less than they have promised, in the relationships with those churches.

Still, we can show also moments of success in these relationships during the bishop's and the patriot Ioan Micu Klein period, or later on during the time of Andrei Şaguna.

We have to say that unfortunately there was that duplicity of the clergy of the two churches that brought disadvantages over the churches and to the Romanian people in Transylvania and in all Ardeal. We can mention here bishops, Ioan Bob, Ioan Lemeni, archbishop Şaguna Vancea, Mangra, I. Papp, M. Cristea, the last three are against the entering of the Romanian troops in Ardeal in 1916 and support the state situation of then Austro-Hungary, but afterwards I. Papp and Miron Cristea, participate at Alba-Iulia with great piety to the union of Transylvania with Romania, at 1<sup>st</sup> of December 1918, and hold speeches, this time favorable both to the union of the two Romanian provinces and also praise the Romanian army that participated to war.

We also emphasized the fact that during this period new confessions appear in the studied territories, which return to the scriptural teachings and principles from the 1<sup>st</sup> century, both in the faith principles and also in the relationship with the state, and that is the Baptist confession which supports the literacy of every citizen and the possibility to study alone the Holy writings (the Bible). It supports a relation with the state similar to the one in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, immediately after the formation of the Christian church. Also, Baptists were those who, through their leaders, ever since the start of their existence in 1620, have suggested and have fought for the freedom of conscience and for equality of all people before the law and also before one another. These principles have remained to the day and they are supported in the international treaties and in the conventions regarding the rights and the freedoms of man religiously, in terms of civil, politically, etc.

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