

„LUCIAN BLAGA” UNIVERSITY OF SIBIU
„ANDREI ŞAGUNA” FACULTY OF THEOLOGY

THE ROMANIAN ORTHODOXY – BRIDGE BETWEEN EAST AND WEST

(summary)

SCIENTIFIC COORDINATOR:

PhD. Rev. Prof. Aurel Pavel

PHD. CANDIDATE:

Rev. Marian Bădulescu

SIBIU

2017

Contents

Introduction.....	4
I . The specificity of the Romanian Orthodoxy - internal and external missionary aspects.....	10
II. The external and internal Mission of the Romanian Orthodox Church in the Middle Ages (15th and 18th centuries). Main events, princes and romanian hierarchs.....	32
1. The Mission of the Romanian Orthodoxy in the time of Stephan the Great (1453-1504)...	35
2. The Romanian Orthodoxy reflected in the diplomatic correspondence. The Clergy diplomats..	43
3. The Romanian Orthodoxy during the reign of Neagoe Basarab(1512-1521)...	48
4. The relationships with the West during the reign of Petru Cercel (1583-1585).....	57
5. The Romanian Orthodoxy reflected in the diplomatic correspondence of the princes Mihai Viteazul (1593-1601), Vasile Lupu (1634-1653) și Matei Basarab (1632-1654).....	59
6. Nicolae Milescu Spătaru – scholar and orthodox diplomat	64
7. Dimitrie și Antioh Cantemir: The contribution of a scholar and a diplomat to the mission of the Romanian Orthodoxy	66
8. The Saints of the Romaian Orthodoxy: the family of the prince Constantin Brâncoveanu	80
9. Romanian Orthodoxy in Transylvania	83
10.The missionary work of Metropolitan Varlaam of Moldavia	87
11.The inter church relations of the Romanian Orthodoxy.....	89
12. The contribution of the deacon Coresi to the mission of the Romanian Orthodoxy	92
13. Metropolitan Dosoftei al Moldovia and the „Psaltirea Șcheiană”	93
14. Mitropolitan Antim Ivireanul (1708-1716) and his missionary work	96
15. The hesychast influence on the Romanian missionary monachism	100

16. The mission of the Romanian Orthodoxy through the philanthropic activity and through gestures of piety (visits, pilgrimages, prayers and veneration of relics of saints)..... 104

17. Romanian Orthodoxy and its shadows when passing from the Middle Age to the Modern Age 107

III. The Mission of the Romanian Orthodoxy in the 19th and 20th century..... 109

1. The national conscience and the latinism of the Romanian Orthodoxy..... 110

2. The Romanian orthodoxy and the dialectics of the „forms without fund” 112

3. Metropolitan Andrei Saguna and the principales of administrative organisation of the Romanian Orthodoxy..... 115

4. Ortodoxia românească în diaspora Romanian Orthodoxy in diaspora..... 120

5. Inter War intellectuals in the job of the Romanian Orthodoxy 124

6. Nationalist mission of the Romanian Orthodoxy..... 130

7. Church and state: Romanian Orthodoxy in the sovietic communism and in the communist nationalism 133

8. „The Army of the Lord”, a secular missionary association in the Romanian Orthodoxy..... 137

9. Romanian Orthodoxy in communism witnesses and martyrs..... 141

10. The preparation of the missionary opening of the Romanian Orthodoxy towards West..... 147

11. Pilgrimages and canonization of saints factors of unity of Romanian Orthodoxy .. 148

12. Misionary monachism of the Romanian Orthodoxy..... 150

IV. The mission of the Romanian Orthodoxy after the 1989..... 152

1. Redefinition of the relation Church State..... 153

2. Missionary tendencies of the Romanian Orthodoxy after 1989..... 154

3. Contemporary Orthodox Romanian Diaspora..... 157

4. Romanian Orthodoxy in Europe.....	164
5. Nationalism of the actual Romanian Orthodoxy.....	168
6. Relations with other cults and the visit of Pope John Paul II in Romania (1999).....	171
7. Mission of the Romanian Orthodoxy in the context of secularization.....	175
Conclusions	177
General Bibliographys.....	207

Key words: internal mission, external mission, Middle Ages, Romanian Orthodox Church, diplomatic relations, religion - culture, diaspora, monasticism, religious associations, church -

The main thesis of our work is to highlight the historical and the cultural sources that are relevant to completing the theological missionary painting from a long historical period. For the academic theological research, the importance of the theme resides in the possibility of highlighting the historical, liturgical, dogmatic and missionary tradition of the Romanian Orthodoxy in its interdisciplinary connections. Obviously, the specialized theological language is different from the one in the missiology textbooks, but convergent in the selected contents. The difficulties of such a complex approach arise with regard to the fluent organization of the material, with the "translation" of the profane information into the theological language and the possibility of omitting relevant historical and cultural materials. The claim of an exhaustive research may be the sole assumption of the present work. The novelty of the paper is the proposed goal, which has a theoretical aspect (To what extent has the Romanian Orthodoxy established during the history cultural, political, diplomatic and social ties between East and West through its missionary activity, internal and external?) and a practical aspect (How can Romanian Orthodoxy constitute a repertoire of missionary solutions, applied to current soteriological problems?).

Referring to the specificity of the Romanian Orthodoxy (in its dimensions of institution, its own dogmatic approach, spirituality and ethos), the metaphor "bridge between the East and the West" appears in the volume of *Romanian Orthodoxy* (E.B.M.B.O.R., Bucharest, 1992). The etymology of the theme imposes a kaleidoscope of terms (eg symphony, cult, culture, nation, people, nationalism, community, universality, tolerance, ecumenism, synthesis, balance, etc.) that are dynamically related to each other.

Firstly, the common theological approaches can focus on the links between the dogmatic formulations of the first ecumenical Councils and their attachment to the cult of the Church, using the Romanian liturgical language. Secondly, the study of church history can enhance the value of the cultural (not only proselytist-polemical) interaction between Eastern and Western Christianity and how it crystallized in the Romanian way of ecclesial assimilation (Eastern theology of Latin expression with the administrative church organization of Slavonic influence and vocabulary, the synthesis of church architectural styles, reproduction of the Western academic life in the Romanian monasteries, and so on.). Also, the historical relations between the Romanian Orthodoxy and the other national Orthodoxies (Eastern, Balkan and Eastern European Patriarchates), from the Middle Ages to the present, contain an insufficiently explored diplomatic documentary thesaurus. We believe that scientific theological research will confirm and develop the understanding of the Romanian Orthodoxy as a "bridge" in the sense of "binder" (a factor of closeness, understanding and reconciliation between seemingly irreconcilable theologians, mentality and diplomatic positions). Third, the theological research has the task of drawing the lines of force of the Romanian Orthodox missiology. An important theme of the internal mission research is the assessment of the degree of inculturation at the Romanians. The historical tradition of the internal mission revealed positive and negative strategic issues, successes and pastoral failures.

Contributions to the research of the history of the Romanian Orthodox mission are indisputable, but the inter-Orthodox missionary experience of the Middle Ages (the Romanian presence in the Holy Land, Mount Athos, Ukraine and Russia, but also the activity of the representatives of other peoples in the Romanian Church) and the contributions of the Romanian Orthodoxy at the Ecumenical Movement requires a permanent adaptation to today's missionary needs and, moreover, their use in planning the lines of action of future missionary actions. From the perspective of theological research, the stage of historical and missionary argumentation about the capacity of the Romanian theology to establish links between the East and the West made important progress in the sec 20th century (The works of Nicolae Iorga,

Constantin Rădulescu-Motru, Dan Zamfirescu, Prof. Dumitru Staniloae, Nichifor Crainic, Metropolitan Nicolae Corneanu, Rev. prof. dr. Ion Bria, Dr. Nifon Mihăiță, Rev. prof. dr. Ilie Moldovan). In the case of theological disciplines, after 1989, studies, textbooks, and papers have been published, which cover aspects of the theme. The literature from the main theological attraction points (Russian and Greek) channeled both the knowledge of the respective "Orthodoxy" and its own image of the academic theology. Romanian Orthodoxy was defined by reference to the Greek and Russian visions of Orthodoxy. However, a group of outstanding Romanian theologians have contributed to the decantation and the definition of a specific Romanian theology. The issue of the relations of the Romanian culture with the West has been addressed in numerous papers, printed in volumes, magazines or leaflets, but there has not yet been made any comprehensive synthesis of the history of these relations. Until the printing of Academic Scores that research diachronically and typologically, the relations of the Romanian culture with the West, it is necessary to dissociate from the multitude of these relations the cultural-theological hypostasis pursued in our work.

The specialized theological language has a lower weight in the composition and the writing of our research, motivated, on one hand, by the need to quote the studied sources as faithful as possible, and on the other hand, by the obligation to extend the language of missiology in relevant areas of the study. Establishing the convergence between the selected contents has remained the main touchstone of the work. The difficulties of such a complex approach arise regarding the fluent organization of the material, the "translation" of the profane information into the theological language and the possibility of omitting relevant historical and cultural materials.

In the **first chapter** of our paper we tried to scientifically argue and document the idea of the Romanian Orthodox bridge between East and West and how the study of church history can enhance the value of the cultural (not only proselytist-polemic) interaction between Eastern and Western Christianity as it was synthesized and crystallized in the Romanian way of ecclesial assimilation. Theological research has the task of drawing the lines of force of the Romanian Orthodox missiology. Contributions to the research of the history of the Romanian Orthodox mission are indisputable, but the inter-Orthodox missionary experience of the Middle Ages and the contributions of the Romanian Orthodoxy within the Ecumenical Movement require a permanent adaptation to today's missionary needs.

The first aspect of our approach was the historical development that followed the Christianization of the Romanians, which unfolded as a unique process, the ethnogenesis and the ecclesiogenesis being the facets of the same phenomenon. Through its language, the Romanian people are related to the peoples of the West, and through the Orthodox faith it belongs to the East, and thus constitutes a permanent challenge for the union of the East with the West.

The two great theories of ethnogenesis (the first: about the Dacian-Roman origin and the Romanians' autochthony in the Carpatho-Danubian-Pontic geographic area and the second about the formation of the Romanian people at the south of the Danube, where they migrated north) they cannot deny the reality of the Romanian miracle: "the island of romance" surrounded by peoples of other origins. Also, the Byzantine element is part of the cultural, religious and political heritage of the Romanian people.

For the Romanian people, the West and the East are two inner, constitutive realities *ab initio*. "We do not go to Europe, we are Europe," synthesizes Dan Zamfirescu. The historical development of Christian life in Romania took place with the formation of the Romanian people, establishing in the church tradition the Romanian ethos, even from the fifteenth century. The Romanian Orthodox synthesis is the complex result of the inculturation of the three major Romanian provinces in which the values of universal Christianity are found: Wallachia (with Greek theological influences promoted in the theological schools in Bucharest), Moldavia (with the influence of Russian theology, philocalic spirituality, The monastic tradition and the capacity of dogmatic crystallizations in the Synod of Iași - 1642) and

Transylvania (with the anti-Catholic and anti-reformed apologetic literature, the promotion of the laity and the Romanian culture through the Church).

The Romanian people, through its geographic location and its Latin language, was and is an European people. The exegetes of the Romanian culture have noticed humanistic and renaissance interferences since the 15th and 16th centuries, even though the medieval conception of the world and life was dominant. If in these centuries, Western influences were sporadic and intermittent, of small magnitude, beginning with the Eighteenth century it is recorded a strong Enlightening influence in the Romanian culture on the Catholic branch in Transylvania and Greek in Moldova and Muntenia. In the nineteenth century in all the Romanian provinces, the Romantic influence, received from the Greek, French, Italian and German sources, was added to the Enlightenment cultural adstratum. In the 20th century, the original Romanian creations penetrate into the European cultural circle through elite representatives. Brâncuși, Eliade, Cioran, Enescu, Horia Vintilă and others enjoy a brilliant European and global appreciation. However, Romanian culture has remained far from being known and valued.

The second approach of our argumentation attempted to provide an overview of the theological and missionary perspectives of the metaphor „bridge between East and West”, attributed to the Romanian Orthodoxy. The salvation of a whole nation depends on understanding and maintaining a living, balanced and tolerant community spirit. The Romanian civilization is a "symphony between *Cultus and Culture*", in which three elements have been synthesized organically: the geography, the people and the Christian faith. Romanian Orthodoxy is an ecumenical spiritual space because it has declared its determination to remain in the Ecumenical Movement alongside with other historical Churches (Lutheran and Reformed) with which it has had missionary, cultural and social relations throughout history, though in the bosom of Romanian Orthodoxy, there are also critical voices.

The specificity of the Romanian Orthodoxy includes a synthesis report between local and universal, culture and faith, civil society and the mission of the Church. The Romanian Christian Axiology presupposes the appreciation of the equal paradigmatic value between the Romanian Orthodoxy and the other national Orthodox Churches. The universality of the Romanian Orthodoxy must be sought at its sources, at the level of folk spirituality. The familiarity with God, with whom the Romanian has a deeply personal love relationship, predisposes him to the maximum openness to the people and the world. Any local culture is paradigmatic, for (to) the inculturation of faith and of liturgy in a local culture and civilization means a creative processing of the Holy Tradition (Athens, 1936). Starting with the modern historical period, the Orthodox Church was forced to delimit from the political and the social, attributes that the state (of Western conception) constantly tried to capture. The answer formulated by Rev. Professor Ion Bria, the exclusivist tendencies of etatism are included in the phrase "liturgy after liturgy".

The mission of the Church is important not only for personal salvation but for a whole nation. Ever since creation, human groups have been organized by God "every one after his tongue, after their families and in their nations" (Gen.10, 5). The presence of people in the Kingdom of Heaven will be distinct, personal and community. The Church's preaching (mission) also involves its inner healing, just as there is a relationship between the path of personal faith and the sacramental community of the Church. The concept developed by rev. Prof. Ilie Moldovan on ethnicity becomes important for our research because he tries to capture those "divine nodes, ontological links". Identifying the specificity of the Romanian Orthodoxy as a "bridge" between the East and the West means the discovery of that reason and unique "form" that defines the ethnic group and within which it is saved. The salvation of the Romanian people depends directly on the assumption and the fulfillment of his Christian mission in history.

In the **second chapter**, which represents the most extensive part of the work, I followed the historical evolution of the mission (internal and external) of the Romanian Orthodoxy between the 15th and 18th century, to prove (scientifically argued) that there is a bridge between the Eastern and Western spirituality of our continent.

In the first part of the 14th century the process of state crystallization took place in Wallachia and Moldavia. The existing princes and voivodes have been unified under one ruler. In parallel, the process of church centralization occurred, so that among several hierarchs, one was elected Metropolitan, as a representative to the ruler. The principle followed was that "the church organization should adapt to the political one." The political stability of the Romanian States favored the emergence and the development of a cultural Renaissance, animated by a secular and a Christian humanism, with its sources both in the values of Greek and Latin civilization, as well as in the biblical and Christian values. At present there is a tendency for sacred and profane values to merge into a synthesis culture, to which the Romanian culture offers the Christian belief of a European note, existential complex, synthetic and encyclopedic. Neagoe Basarab, Nicolae Milescu, Petru Movilă and Dimitrie Cantemir are secular models of the Romanian Orthodoxy, who have spiritually solved the political and the military problems of their time. The solutions offered by them during the complex crises between the East and the West bear the seal of a responsible dialogue, of Christian solidarity and of the sacrifice against violent Islam. Through our research we have tried to contribute to the increasing of knowledge, spreading the values of Orthodoxy in the European secular space and reaffirming the theological-missionary contribution of the Romanian Christianity.

The Romanians formed as a people and a distinct civilization under the cultural and religious influence of Byzantium. The Byzantine politics was one of cultural, linguistic, ethnic, racial tolerance under the umbrella of the Orthodox faith. The period of the 15th-18th centuries, when the Byzantine civilization was marked by the Turkish and Latin threats, a new nucleus creates, formed around the synthesis and the irradiation force that Wallachia constituted. They retain a wide autonomy that allows them to have uninterrupted state and church life so that "a new Orthodox order will be structured in the South East" (Dan Zamfirescu).

An important part of the internal mission of Romanian Orthodoxy was the material and the spiritual aid to other Orthodox people, contributing to the survival of the Orthodoxy under the Ottoman domination. The inter-Orthodox mission initiated and sustained by the Romanian Orthodoxy in the Middle Ages had a positive role in history.

The scholars and the Greek teachers opened Greek Academies in Iasi and Bucharest, and then dozens of schools in Greece (Constantinople, Trebizond, Athos, Smyrna, and so on) were subsidized by the Romanian rulers. Starting with the 14th century the contribution of the Romanian Orthodoxy in Wallachia and Moldavia in support of the twenty monasteries of Mount Athos has constantly increased (donations in money, property, foundations, books, worship objects and „worship” of Romanian monasteries). The material support granted to Athos was also the confirmation of the spiritual connection with the Byzantine Orthodoxy, whose heir was the entire political genealogy of the rulers from Wallachia and Moldavia. The Romanian aid also went to the church settlements in Serbia, Bulgaria and Ukraine.

The historical research of the epoch of Prince Stefan cel Mare confirms the existence of a fragment of "heroic history". The external mission of the Moldavian Orthodox Church in the 15th century consisted in the creation of diplomatic relationships with the Western countries, capable of helping the anti-Ottoman crusade of the Romanian ruler and from the call to common theological themes (the universality of the Christian faith, divine providence, eschatology). Stefan cel Mare was "a daring and fearless defender of all Eastern Orthodoxy" (Rev. Prof. Liviu Stan). Through the donations made by the family alliances, through the intense diplomatic activity (reflected in the official correspondence) and through the political ambition he carried out an intense missionary activity on behalf of the Romanian Orthodoxy against the two major threats of the time: the Ottoman offensive with the danger the victory of

the High Bridge (1475), Stefan was aware of his orthodox missionary role, writing to the Western principles: "Our country ... is the gate of Christendom."

Internally, Stefan cel Mare, was the main supporter of Orthodoxy, identifying his mission as ruler, with his Christian destiny. Stefan cel Mare "understood to make the Church a lever for the strengthening of his country and the most powerful help" (Rev. Prof. Liviu Stan). The ruler has endowed the Moldovan Church with new settlements, restoring the old ones and granting it economic rights and facilities. The same care was given to the Churches of Transylvania and Wallachia on his possessions, but also on the Athonite monasteries. The material endowment of the Church influenced its internal mission, in all respects, believers being educated and guided in monastic centers of cultural irradiation.

The Romanian rulers of the Middle Ages naturally inclined towards a "hearty diplomacy", a specific concept of Romanian Orthodoxy, which includes paradoxically human tolerance and intransigence in matters of faith. The diplomatic missions of the Romanian clergy took place on the basis of the existing church relations, based on common Orthodox faith, and they always involved internal missionary elements (exchanges of books, church objects, relics of saints, refreshing the relationships with Romanian monks in Slavic space and vice versa).

The Romanian Orthodoxy had in the person and in the work of the voivode Neagoe Basarab the main missionary exponent outside and inside the country, with influence among the nobility. The cultural and religious personality of the Romanian ruler is no less than his counterparts in the West and East, proving to be their value equal by the affirmation of his Orthodox identity. From the 16th century, Wallachia remains the only military and spiritual bastion in the path of the Muslim invasion, learning to adapt to the new Ottoman Empire policy, developing a new strategy of survival by faith, diplomacy and culture. Historians remember him as a builder in the service of the Church and a protector of the places of worship in the Romanian and Oriental Orthodoxy. The voivode traveled to Constantinople and Transylvania, having Catholic sympathies, which is why he sent a message to Pope Leon X. Two foreigners were part of Neagoe Basarab's diplomatic staff.

From the pages of the main work of the Romanian ruler, *The teachings of Neagoe Basarab to his son Theodosius*, there is heard a layman, not a hesychast monk. The ruler proves to be an informed Christian, not a practitioner of "the prayer of the heart". Among the Fathers of the Church preferred and studied by Neagoe Basarab we can include: Saints John Chrysostom, Saint Ephrem and John Climacus. The struggle of ideas was just on the secondary plan of the armed struggle. The two extremes between which the entire life of the medieval world places, are "the hieratism and the dynamism", that is, between the ascetic ideal and the chivalric ideal.

From the *Teachings* comes the sympathy of the ruler for the Roman Catholic Church. There is no wrath of confessional polemics in the text. Neagoe calls for the opinion of a dogmatic authority, the Greek cleric Manuil of Corinth, to clarify the differences between the Orthodox and the Catholics "when he was preparing to propose to Pope Leon X the union of churches" (Dan Zamfirescu).

The Ruler of Wallachia, Petru Cercel (1583-1585), was a promoter of the Renaissance in the Romanian Byzantine environment, with pronounced poetic-religious and scientific-encyclopedic character. His short reign ended like the one of Despot Voda and announced, in time, the tragic fate of Constantin Brâncoveanu. Peter Cercel allowed the Jesuit monk Antonio Posevinus to evaluate the possibility of a Catholic mission in Wallachia.

The external correspondence of Prince Mihai Viteazul (1593-1601) is an important documentary source for the argumentation of the role of the Romanian Orthodoxy as a link between Western and Eastern Christendom in the 17th century. The struggles for the unification of the Romanian lands or anti-Ottomans were the visible part of the spiritual struggle for defending the faith.

From the seventeenth century, the "era of the warrior voievodes will end" and it will debut the diplomatic period, of political negotiations, matrimonial and personal with the political leaders of the time.

The content of four letters sent by Pope Innocent X to the rulers Vasile Lupu of Moldavia and Matei Basarab of Wallachia testifies, besides the foreign political cooperation between the two Romanian States and the Papal State, the positive internal religious relations. The External Mission of Romanian Orthodoxy in the 17th century has seen a progress through the two rulers, the "heralds of ecumenism" that anticipate "our European integration" (Traian Diaconescu). From the pope's correspondence with Prince Vasile Lupu we conclude that the relations between the political leadership and the church community (Orthodox or of other tradition) were unfolding in a context of religious tolerance. The ruler protected and supported a Roman Catholic community in his country. In Wallachia, the improvement and the intensification of the relations with the Romano-Catholics are the results of the cultivation of an intense foreign church mission.

Matei Basarab has created a true diplomatic staff made up of trained people (the majority of the clergy), whose external political mission overlaps with the missionary objectives of Romanian Orthodoxy. As part of the struggle for the liberation of the Orthodox peoples of the Balkans, Matei Basarab will take advantage of the weakening of the Ottoman Empire, involved in the war with Persia, to negotiate with the Christian powers: the German Empire, the Polish Kingdom, the Republic of Venice and the Russian Empire, hoping to form alliances to support him. The Orthodox Church in Wallachia will actively participate in the diplomatic approaches of the ruler, by correspondence, clerical translators, symbolic donations of the relics of saints and efforts of researching the Orthodox theological sources. The zeal of the ruler for Orthodoxy is also reflected in the efforts to rediscover the written sources of the Orthodox faith. At the instigation and under the direction of Metropolitan Stephen, a mission will be organized to search and copy old patristic, liturgical and dogmatic manuscripts to the Holy Land. The Orthodox Church in Wallachia will actively participate in the diplomatic approaches of the ruler, by correspondence, clerical translators, symbolic donations of relics of saints and livestock efforts, research of the Orthodox theological sources. The zeal of the ruler of Orthodoxy is also reflected in the efforts to rediscover the written sources of the Orthodox faith. At the instigation and under the direction of Metropolitan Stephen, a mission will be organized to search for and copy old patristic, liturgical and dogmatic manuscripts up to the Holy Land.

A secular exponent of the Romanian Orthodoxy of the 17th century was Nicolae Milescu Spataru, a Romanian scholar and diplomat in Europe and Asia. In *The travel journal in China*, besides the geographical and ethnological observations recorded by Milescu Spataru, there is also information about the beliefs and the religious manifestations of the Asian populations encountered, with whom the Romanian traveler came into contact and undoubtedly changed religious ideas. On his return, he retreated to Moscow, where he will be on the same side of the barricade with Dimitrie Cantemir, who three decades later will support the traditional, authentic Orthodoxy of the Holy Fathers in the conflict for the rehabilitation of the Tsar Aleksey Mikhailovich, the opponent of the reforming movement of the Russian Church. Another point shared with the scholar prince Dimitrie Cantemir was the attendance of the same Orthodox theology courses of the Patriarchal Academy in Istanbul. These pioneers of the Orthodox mission activity shared the issues and common dilemmas of the East European space by positioning themselves at the crossroads of the Muslim and Christian worlds. Such a situation, at the intersection of cultures, it does not only produce tension but it generates a synthetic opening to the world. Milescu is also the author of the "*Writings on the Faith of the Greeks*", included in the year 1669 in the compilation of dogmatic theology of the French professors at Port-Royal, entitled *La Perpétuité de la foi*.

During the 18th century, Dimitrie Cantemir made the Orthodoxy known in Western religious and cultural space and he remains in the Romanian history as a model of emancipation through education and critical spirit. Dimitrie Cantemir and his son Antioh excelled in building links between the East and the West through an intellectual approach of mutual knowledge of the societies, of the cultures and of the religions. Their destiny is a family, geographical and cultural route that will include the whole of Europe.

The works of the Romanian scholar ruler will remain the most important means of making Romanian Orthodoxy known in Europe. In 1714, Dimitrie Cantemir was admitted as a member of the Berlin Academy, whose president was the philosopher Gottfried Wilhelm von Leibniz. He was perceived as an orientalist both by Berlin - for which he will write *The System or the Making of the Muhammadan Religion, the History of the Growth and of the Decline of the Ottoman Empire, the Description of Moldavia*, and so on - as well as by Tsar Peter the Great, at whose court he will take refuge after 1711 and whose counselor on Oriental matters will become. Dimitrie Cantemir received an eminently orthodox education in a critical spirit. It is known that throughout his life he has preserved and studied a copy of the complete Bible, of 1688, inherited from his father, Constantin Cantemir. His teacher, Jeremiah Cacavela, is the author of some dogmatic writings on the differences between the Roman Catholic Church and the Orthodox Church (1667) and a participant in polemic debates

In the *Description of Moldavia* (1717), Cantemir manages to make a physical and spiritual portrait of the country and of its inhabitants with the thought of emancipation, with the desire to enlighten through culture and to straighten its subjects through education. In the *Description of Moldavia* are formulated the objectives of the external and internal mission of the Romanian Orthodoxy in Moldavia. The main direction of the internal Orthodox mission remained the fight against superstitions and popular beliefs fueled by the pagan, Dacian background. The author believed that not only the pre-Christian magic belief constituted a retrograde factor, but also the belonging to the Eastern Christianity. The external mission of the Romanian Orthodoxy was directed to the restoration of the unity of the Church of the first millennium, by the return of the Catholics to the Orthodox Church. The efforts of the Romanian Orthodoxy towards the restoration of the unity would consist in an active expectation of the return home of the Roman Catholic Church, the "lost brother" (Lk. 15, 11-35).

The Monograph on the Muslim Religion, *The System or the Formation of Muhammadan Religion*, was written between 1718-1721. From the perspective of the external mission of Romanian Orthodoxy, there is a gnoseological regression, through the tendentious presentation of the Muslim religion and a failure in the interreligious relations, dominated by the war.

The personality of the young Dimitrie will discover in Orthodoxy the source of authentic faith, "in the Protestant erudition an ally against Islam, but also against all-powerful Catholic propaganda" (Stefan Lemny). His work in the service of the Romanian Orthodoxy was implicit, in the political or the scientific debts also explicit, through works or meetings, continuing until the last moments of his life. In 1693, he received three Orthodox Patriarchs at the Court, an event that "has never happened in Moldavia. Respecting the principles of faith, Dimitrie Cantemir will defend the Orthodox Tradition in the conflict between the Russian Church reformers and the conservative stream. His opinions adapted to the modernity of the 18th century, constitutes an important theoretical contribution of the Romanian Orthodoxy to the renewal of the Russian Church. The missionary, theological, moral, pedagogical ideas and proposed by the Romanian ruler are evolved for that time, but anchored in the spirit of an authentic Orthodox Tradition.

Antioch Cantemir, the son of the ruler Dimitrie Cantemir, will have a complex religious education, being initially educated in the family by Orthodox teachers and by a Protestant professor. Through his brilliant diplomatic career, Antioch Cantemir represents, from the perspective of the Romanian Orthodoxy, a landmark of faith with European openness, an Orthodox in a cultural, religious and heterogeneous international political periplus. As ambassador to London and Paris, Antioch Cantemir will not hesitate to defend the Orthodoxy, accused by the Western intellectuals of being an obstacle to modernization. After 1739, in the communication between the Papal Chair ("the First Rome") and the Orthodox world (to which Moscow, "the Third Rome" claimed to be representative), Antioch Cantemir was considered the natural diplomatic choice.

In the development of the Romanian medieval state, the bicephal leadership (ruler and metropolitan) is a weaving of the profane with the sacred, a blessed symbiosis with God. Holiness was demanded both in the Church and in politics. The distinction between the two spiritualities, the Western and the Eastern, will be illustrated in the episode of the martyrdom of the Romanian ruler Constantin Brâncoveanu, documented in the Latin writings of the time (Nicolae Iorga). The 18th century will have in the person of the prince Constantin Brâncoveanu a capable leader, able of maintaining a climate of tranquility and prosperity through diplomacy, by cultivating cultural, religious and economic relations with both the eastern and the western powers. The uniqueness of his case lies in the priority of the eternal religious values, of the Orthodox faith confessed by martyrdom.

The Brâncoveni family will be executed under the eyes of the Christian ambassadors of the great powers of the West. Instead, the Romanian ruler always considered himself a defender of the Orthodox faith and ally of any Christian prince in the anti-Ottoman crusade. The historian notes that the Orthodoxy of the voivode is a landmark and a criterion. On one hand, he is the "delegate of God among the Romanians" and, on the other hand, he "has the duty to protect his ecclesiastical decisions with his secular authority," appointing the leaders of the Church. He sent donations and material aids to the Christians outside the borders of Wallachia: the Holy Places, Mount Athos, Moldavia and Transylvania. Through his martyrdom, Constantin Brâncoveanu made his own person a model and a "bridge" between Eastern and Western Christianity. A red thread of the mission of the Romanian Orthodoxy remains the succession of its martyrs.

In Transylvania, the Romanian Orthodoxy developed in a politically distinct context in comparison with Wallachia and Moldavia. The Church organization has influenced the internal mission of the Church, as the metropolitan's seat or that of the Archbishop of Transylvania was not a stable one, the monasteries were less numerous and modestly endowed, and the cultural activity was conditioned by the inferior status of the Romanian nation. The Romanian Orthodox Church in Transylvania was not a state religion, official, but on the contrary, a "tolerated" religion, unlike other denominations that had the status of "being well known".

The missionary activity of the Romanian Orthodoxy in Transylvania in the 15th-18th centuries could be characterized as *counter-mission*. The attempts to attract to the Roman Catholicism or Calvinism monopolized the internal missionary activity of the Orthodox Church toward the preservation of religious and national identity, confession and Anti proselytism. The efforts of the Transylvanian Romanians were sustained by the Orthodox brothers in the extra-Carpathian space. The ties between them and the Orthodox Churches in Moldavia and Wallachia never ceased.

Missionary cultural activities did not lack from Transylvania, although their development did not take place organized and uninterrupted as in Moldavia and Wallachia. From the 15th to 16th century the first Psalter in the manuscript were preserved, known in Romanian (The Psalter from Voronet, the Psalter from Schei and the Hurmuzaki Psalter), proof that the internal missionary activity had a history before these manuscripts. The elaboration of church texts necessary for the cult and for the theology in Romanian was not due to foreign confessional influences, but to a necessity within the Church and within the medieval Romanian society.

The conscience of a community founded on Orthodoxy and manifested in the 18th century by defending the civilization created by it had its center, the foundation and the point of irradiation in the Romanian States. They will play the role of preservers of the Christian unity in the world politically exposed to Islam. Behind the "ethnarch" of all the Eastern Orthodox peoples occupied by the Turks, the ecumenical patriarch carried, sometimes using constraint, on the sultan's behalf, the religious and the political power in the Balkans. Centralization also included the imposition of the Greek language as the only liturgical language. The Romanians, on the other hand, used their native fund, which they expressed

in Byzantine forms, creating their own, synthetic and non-Byzantine civilization. The Romanian Orthodoxy therefore has its own content, original, cast in the Byzantine form.

The mission of Romanian Orthodoxy was influenced by the discovery of the printing (Johannes Gutenberg, 1450), bringing good things on the activity of multiplication of the church books from us. The first prints will be in the Slavonic language (hieromonk Macarie, 1508-1512: "Hieratikon", "Octoechos" and "Tetraevangelia"), but shortly later in the Romanian language: Filip Moldovean's "Catechism" (Sibiu, 1544), in the Cyrillic Romanian, then the Slavic-Romanian Gospel (Sibiu, 1551-1553). To this it is added the typographical activity of the Deacon Coresi (starting with 1559 in Brasov).

The internal missionary activity of the Romanian Orthodoxy in the second half of the 17th century is linked to the pastoral service of the Metropolitan Dosoftei (1671-1674 and 1675-1686), the first great Romanian poet (The Psalter in verses, Uniev, 1673). He has the merit of establishing the Romanian cult poetry on the basis of the folk Romanian language, and he has brought to light the literary means of his time, using them in his activity as a pastor of the Church of Moldavia.

The Romanian Orthodoxy will enter into the Romania's intellectual, literary and artistic pantheon through Metropolitan Dosoftei, who remains the "father of Romanian poetry" (George Călinescu). Echoes of the Psalms, as a profane literary genre, will be found at Mihai Eminescu and Tudor Arghezi. The "Psalter from Schei" was used in the verse made by the Metropolitan Dosoftei, but the theological and linguistic relations between the Psalter in verses and the Psalter from Schei prove the fact that the Western interferences in the Oriental Christianity were superficial and circumstantial in the case of the Romanian Orthodoxy. The common point of the two translations is the internal missionary necessity of acceding to the word of the Holy Scripture in the language understood by all the Romanians, but poetically redeemed.

Metropolitan Antim Ivirean (1708-1716) conducted a prodigious missionary, cultural-church activity. Missionary Spirit, by excellence, the Metropolitan Antim defended the flock that was entrusted to him, concentrating his efforts on strengthening the authority of the Orthodox Church. A complex personality, Antim has dedicated his multitude of talents to spreading the word of the Gospel and the values of Orthodoxy through the printing. Antim coordinated the printing of more than 60 books (in Romanian, Greek, Slavic, Arabic and Georgian) in the printing houses from Bucharest, Snagov, Râmnic and Targoviste, some of his prints were the first editorials for other Orthodox Churches: Bulgarian, Georgian and Arabic.

Metropolitan Antim's official church relations with the Oriental Christian centers in Jerusalem and Mount Athos and with the Orthodox Russia were marked by dramatic moments. The bridge between the East and the West has also seen a missionary flow towards the Romanian States. Here found escapes, from dangerous historical situations, personalities such as Dositei of Jerusalem, Hrisant Nottara, Gherasim Palada, the Patriarch of Alexandria, Athanasius IV, Dabbas of Antioch, Ioan Cariofil, Ioan Comnen and so on. In 1711, Metropolitan Antim will make a difficult political choice, urging voivode Constantin Brâncoveanu to ally with the Tsar Peter the Great against the Turks. Between the Ottoman Orient and the West dominated by the Austrians, he believed that the Russians would have been the best compromise of forming an alliance. The common Orthodox Faith was the main argument for the formation of the national feeling. The daring of the Metropolitan Antim, supported by Prince Constantine Brâncoveanu, cancels the Calvinistic missionary attempts and the Catholic propaganda against the Romanian Orthodoxy, and the Patriarchate of Jerusalem reaches a positive change in its attitude regarding the subordination ("worship") relations to the Romanian monasteries.

Starting with the founding of the Romanian feudal states we can speak of the hesychastic influence on the Romanian missionary monasticism. Throughout the history of the Orthodox spirituality in Romanian, the presence of the Hesychastic practice is constantly found. In the 14th century, around Gregory of Sinai were also Romanian disciples, which shows that the hesychasm came to us through the Holy Mount Athos, especially from the Cutlumuş Monastery. From a missionary point of view, the

hesychasm, this "school of perfection", was a factor for the strengthening of the faith of the Orthodox Christians, an element of progress in thought and writing in Romanian, as well as a link with the Western Christian spirituality, especially in the 20th century. Beginning with the fifteenth century it began to circulate in all the Romanian provinces church books about the life and the teaching of the saints, which included massive extracts from the works of some prominent representatives of the hesychasm. In the 18th century Romanian monasticism was enriched with the experience of the Athonite tradition brought to the Romanian States by Paisie Velicicovski and Calinic of Cernica, the current that was preserved even after their death.

From the perspective of the internal mission, monasticism proposes a model, without imposing a rule. A note of originality, a specific dimension of the hesychasm of the Romanian Orthodoxy, is a "clear human mark", with emphasis on temperance and measure. The Romanian hesychasts "retained the practice of everyday life following the laws of common sense and human powers" (Metropolitan Antonie Plămădeală), meaning the practical aspects. The specific Romanian monastic spirituality does not exclude the hesychastic accents but does not depart from the local, balanced and practical spirit of the Orthodox faith. The monastic tradition of Romanian Orthodoxy has developed over time with the contribution of great spiritualists who have educated and guided the people through Confession and Communion. The continuation of the Paisian moment was later realized by two Transylvanians: the abbot Gheorghe of Cernica (18th century) and the abbot Ioanichie of Sihastria (20th century).

The mission of the Romanian Orthodoxy was also carried out through the philanthropic activity or gestures of piety (visits, pilgrimages, prayers and veneration of the relics of the saints). Pilgrimages to the Holy Places (Jerusalem) and Mount Athos were held throughout the Middle Ages, privately organized and rarely recorded in the documents of the time (the journey diary of the chancellor Stoica Ludescu). The Romanian Orthodoxy saw itself involved, at this point of convergence, in the transmission of the Romanian way of piety in the East, as well as in the spiritual and the architectural reception of the Palestinian and Egyptian Orthodoxy.

In **the third chapter** we attempted to synthesize the process by which (in the 19th and 20th centuries) the crystallization of the conscience of nation and language was based on the conscience of the unity of faith, the role played by the interwar intellectuality in strengthening the external mission of the Church and the dramatic history of the Church during the communist regime. The process can be traced step by step in the revolutionary movements of 1784, 1789, 1821, 1848, 1859, 1877-1878 during the Royal period, the World War II, which will lead to the Communist period (1948-1989), characterized by the stagnation of the external mission and the reduction to the survival of the internal mission of the Romanian Orthodoxy. In the nineteenth century the priesthood supported the struggle of the Romanian people for independence and state unity in all its stages. In the 20th century, the Romanian Orthodoxy will shine through the Communist martyrs, through the intellectuals of Orthodox inspiration from the interwar period, through monasticism and through the missionary enthusiasm of the post-1989 period.

In the 20th century, great themes related to the historical truths (The Latin origin of the Romanian people, its continuity in the Carpatho-Danubian-Pontic space), the linguistic (Latin language) and the religious (the simultaneity of the ethnogenesis with the ecclesio-genesis) are taken from the preoccupations of the coryphaeus of the Romanian Orthodoxy. The work of the representatives of the Transylvanian School does not belong to the Romanian Orthodox mission, internal or external, but has its roots in it.

At the border between the 18th and 19th centuries, the Romanian culture entered a rapid process of synchronization with the West, giving rise to ambiguities and conflicts between "forms" (Western) and "fund" (autochthon and oriental - Titu Maiorescu). The antagonism between form and fund seems to be a constant of the Romanian history, although, from the perspective of the Romanian Orthodoxy, the church administrative forms came in the 14th and 15th centuries over a fund of authentic Christian life: the

orthodox baptized population, the autonomous monastic hermits, the hierarchs responsible for the parishes of the principality and voivodship, a decentralized church hierarchy

Metropolitan Andrei Saguna's contribution to the organization of the Transylvanian Orthodox Church (through the Organic Statute of 1864), of the Romanian Orthodox Church after the Great Union (1918) and of other national and autocephalous Orthodox Churches, by taking over the principles and methods of the Organic Regulation, is one of the most important dimensions of the internal and external mission of Romanian Orthodoxy in the 19th century. The cultural and the religious atmosphere of the Romanians in Transylvania was largely influenced by the clergy of the Orthodox Church who, after 1848, succeeded in re-establishing their own hierarchy.

Being far ahead of his time, Metropolitan Andrei Saguna has outgrown the active and passive political orientations. The Romanian Orthodoxy in Transylvania transmitted the message of the Gospel in a civilized form, becoming a model for the future organization of the entire Romanian Autocephalous Church. We can speak of a direct form of church mission by promoting the cultural, social, economic and national values created in time by the Orthodoxy in Transylvania, which the Romanians lost in the tumult of the medieval history and which the Church regained with the its specific missionary means.

In the nineteenth century, in all the Romanian provinces, there was an ideological trend that aspired to the national emancipation by educating the masses, a movement supported by the noble families and the Church. The new features of a national community should be the faith in its existence, the historical identity, common projects, geographical location and belief in the distinctive character of what we call the "Romanian." According to the French social model, the religious identity no longer defined a people, but became a secondary element of its existence, manifested in the private life.

Historians are still fascinated by the ethno-national vision of the Romanian state identity, created by the arrangement of the term "nation" next to the concept of "state", so that the expression "national state" became a general rule in the 19th and 20th centuries. In this exclusive way of interpretation, language and religious confession are essential hermeneutic factors.

In the interwar period, a missionary association of the intellectuals functioned, *the Romanian Orthodox Fraternity*, around the dictum "We, without Orthodoxy, would represent the most empty of soul Latinity" (Father Dumitru Stăniloae). At the same time, the idea of Orthodoxy was emphasized as a binder and ethnic identity. An example of a historical moment of confusion between mysticism and politics was the Romanian Legionary Movement (Legion of Michael the Archangel, 1927-1941), who tried to establish a national religious ideal: "the salvation of the nation."

The beginnings of the Romanian Orthodoxy in the Diaspora, especially in the Central and Western Europe, are due to a secular popular missionary. Ever since the 18th century intellectuals, students and Romanian orthodox merchants from the Germanic and French-speaking countries have endeavored to found Orthodox religious communities with the support of the Church in the country. In the post-war period (1950-1960), the spiritual life of the Orthodox Romanians in the Central and the Western Europe began to be organized in the church by the efforts of Romanian priests in exile or who left Romania during communism. In many European capitals and cities there will be Romanian Orthodox parishes. On the other hand, the Romanian Orthodoxy in America has its origins in the first emigration of the Romanians in the second half of the 19th century.

We have tried to capture the general lines of the Mission of the interwar intellectuals within the Romanian Orthodoxy by defining the relations of some outstanding personalities with the Orthodox Christianity. The historian Nicolae Iorga remarked through the synthesis works in the national, church, literature, army and trade historiography. Mircea Eliade will define the religious phenomenology (sacred-profane dialectics). Together with Eugen Ionescu and Emil Cioran will represent the Romanian culture and spirituality in Europe and in the world. On the other hand, together with Petre Țuțea and Constantin

Noica, Nae Ionescu embodied the "anti-European theory" of the right, manifested in the interwar period (1932-1945), with echoes during the Communist-Ceausescu period, of nationalist inspiration (1970-1989).

Nichifor Crainic was the most prominent representative of the Orthodox inspiration thinking. Other personalities of Romanian philosophy have also been asserted in his "Thinking" magazine: Lucian Blaga, Tudor Vianu, Mircea Eliade, Dan Botta and Vasile Voiculescu. The theologian and poet Nichifor Crainic bet on interwar youth for a living and efficient Christian mission. He also emphasized that the institution of the Romanian Orthodox Church has the duty to missionary channel the energy of youth and to discern its positive and negative trends. Nichifor Crainic wanted the missionary responsibility of the Romanian Orthodox Church. The Church's contra mission should be directed against the "daily drugs of a young soul": moral uncensored printing, radio and cinema. His theological work is a synthesis between the Tradition of the Orthodox Faith and the Romanian Psychology, and the poetic work is of sOrthodox Romanian mystical and mythological inspiration.

An active secular missionary association in the 20th century in the Romanian Orthodoxy is "The Army of Lord". We have tried in our work to outline how the "Army" is reflected within Romanian Orthodoxy. The Romanian Orthodoxy has benefited, by a secular religious phenomenon, by a revival of popular moral life.

The Romanian Orthodoxy in the Soviet Communism and Communist nationalism had an ambiguous and paradoxical status. The Romanian socialist state did not publish a special decree to radically separate the state from church, but in 1948 it promulgated a law regulating the "general regime of religion". Without clearly proclaiming the separation of the state from the Church, the Romanian People's Republic promoted a duplicate attitude, mentioning in the Constitution of 1948 that the Orthodox Church is a "unified one, having its own leader" but at the same time subsidizing the clergy and the institutions of religious education.

Through the new Statute of Organization of the Romanian Orthodox Church (1949), the separation of state did not in reality excluded the possibility of collaboration and support of the Church by the Communist state. The Romanian Christian nationalism infiltrated in the interwar theological thinking through the fusion of Romanism, perpetuating itself during the communist regime. In the interwar period, Nichifor Crainic regarded the state as a laic, neutral and inefficient factor, capable in fact to eliminate by the force of laws any kind of Orthodox missionary activity. The state was closer to Bolshevism than fascism. Several decades later, Nicolae Ceausescu took over the themes of interwar nationalism, using them for the propaganda of the Communist state.

Unlike the Russian Orthodoxy, the Romanian one benefited from an atypical relationship with the Communist state. Eastern European communist regimes have proposed to liquidate the institution and the factor that contributed most to the creation of modern civilization and national states: the Church and the Christianity. The political compromise made by the leaders of the Romanian Orthodoxy after 1948 allowed the continuation of the internal missionary activity, benefiting, besides the immovable goods kept in property, by higher education institutions and ten theological publications.

The main mission of the Romanian Orthodoxy in Communism was not the material survival of the institution and the statistical preservation of the number of believers, but "the confession of the Truth. Orthodoxy is truth "(Metropolitan Nicolae Mladin). Perhaps the most important contribution to clarify the mission of Romanian Orthodoxy during the communist regime were the witnesses and the martyrs in the forced labor camps and prisons (the mines from Jiu Valley, Danube-Black Sea Canal, Aiud, Jilava, Pitesti, and so on). The confession of truth is fully realized in the saints. They are "the witnesses of the work of God in history", the supreme missionary attitude, which underpins the faith of the Church.

The pilgrimages and the canonization of the saints have been effective missionary means and unity factors of the Romanian Orthodoxy. Beginning with the 20th century, with the gradual industrialization of the Romanian urban society, the extension of the road networks and railways

throughout the country and the increase of the labor mobility of the peasants and of the townspeople (especially from the 1950s), the frequency of the pilgrimages in the monasteries in the country and to the religious objectives abroad have steadily increased, motivated by the presence of the great confessors from the monasteries and the existence of the relics of saints. Whole families, from the farthest corners of the country, found themselves in prayer, in worship, in religious processions.

The 20th century meant, in the context of the ecumenical relations, a revival of the Orthodox spirituality of monastic tradition within the mission of the Romanian Orthodoxy. In the West, Romanian Orthodoxy was made known, especially in the Protestant theological environments, by the liturgical and the spiritual dimensions.

In the **fourth chapter** we dealt with the recent period after the Revolution of 1989, when the typology of state-church relations is overcome by the dramatic of the historical relations between the State forms and the Romanian Orthodoxy. Now is the moment when our own Romanian way of living the Orthodox faith goes beyond the limits of the Church's institution. After 1989, the missionary activity of the Romanian Orthodoxy was marked by the negative attraction of an oppressive past and a future promising the seemingly unlimited development of the missionary activities expected and desired by the overwhelming majority of its faithful ones. The debate is more complex than it seems, because there is the danger of reducing the steps in three directions of opinion already made templates: 1) The Romanian Orthodox Church was "completely obedient, even collaborative with the communist regime"; 2) The Orthodox Church was "a total martyr of the communism" and 3) The Orthodox Church was indifferent to what happened in the communism, being an archaic institution, obsolete. The Romanian Constitution, in force since 1991 and amended in 2003, provides a model of collaboration "based on the principle of the separation / collaboration of the State-Church, that is to say, the autonomy of the Church," which thereby wants to delimit itself from the sphere of politics. Instead, the State is generally based on religious norms and values, but displays equidistance and confessional neutrality. "

In the relationship between the genuine Orthodox communities of the Western European Orthodoxy and the East European Orthodoxy, the Romanian Orthodox Church has the most dynamic, numerous, well-represented territorial and open ecumenical presence. The mission of the Romanian Orthodoxy in Europe, in predominantly Roman Catholic or Protestant countries, is achieved with increased efficiency due to the communities of intellectuals (students, scholars, researchers, professors, and so on.), whose number grew vertiginously after 1989, in a demographic movement known as "the brain migration".

The missionary tendencies of the Romanian Orthodoxy after 1989 are more complex and more dynamic than in the past (the recovery of youth, the need for evolution in the state-church relationship, the specialization of urban and rural missions, the need for meaning in the Romanian society, the highlighting of the missionary contribution of the laity, the re-evaluation of the use of the modern media, of the public religious education, the liturgical and canonical solution of mixed marriages, and so on.). Recent Romanian Orthodoxy has evolved in the direction of recovering and rebuilding the stages lost in the years of communism (educational, cultural and philanthropic activity), but it has stagnated by the tendency to justify its duplicitous attitude from the past, the feeding of nationalism and the inevitable historical errors.

The Romanian Patriarchate developed an unprecedented missionary administrative structure after 1989 (establishing seven autonomous diocese in the diaspora), showing that it is interested in the pastoral and the salvation of Orthodox believers who, due to material difficulties, for professional affirmation or for family reunification, chose to settle in other countries in Europe and around the world. In the last decade, the Romanian Orthodox Diaspora has developed modern missionary methods and means (many adapted from the profane world or from the missionary experience of other cultures) specific to the ecclesial needs.

The main feature of the external mission of Romanian Orthodoxy seems to be the preservation of the

national and spiritual identity of the Romanians emigrated after 1989. The Romanian Church has become the most full of content and institutional stable over the past two decades, superior to the forms of state representation (embassies, consulates, Romanian ethnic associations). The sociologists find out the advantages of the Romanian Orthodoxy compared to other Orthodoxies from diaspora.

The spiritual destiny of the Orthodox Romanians in the diaspora has been a constant concern of the Romanian Orthodoxy since 1989, when their number has risen sharply, and ties with the country could be kept easier due to the freedom of movement and communication. The salvation of a people is not limited to its geographical boundaries but it includes the rise of all its members no matter where they live their lives. The spiritual ties, by cultivating the knowledge of the Romanian language, of the Romanian cultural, scientific and religious values, were maintained and amplified primarily by the Orthodox Church.

The Romanian cultural model cannot be dissociated from the model of the Romanian Orthodoxy. The debate on the "European integration" brings the cultural and religious aspects back to face. Ever since the nineteenth century the Romanian culture inherited the double complex: western and eastern. The Romanian Orthodoxy has taken important steps to adapt to the western culture of the 20th century, thanks to the high-level academic theology, professed by the theologians from the theology faculties in Bucharest and Sibiu and reflected in the theological journals. The model of historical synthesis and adaptation proposed by Adrian Marino (also found in the theological thinking of Prof. Ion Bria) teaches "to be Romanian and European at the same time".

The long debate about the regaining of the status of "National Church" or "State Church" oscillated between the pros and the cons of modern European or medieval historical contextualization, but the red thread constituted the tendency to report to external models, ignoring its own historical model. The phrase "National Church" is a resumption of a century-old theme.

The Romanian Orthodox Church is undoubtedly the oldest complex institution (with liturgical, cultural, philanthropic and missionary attributions) in the entire Romanian geographic space. We have noticed in the preceding chapters the evolution and some significant moments of ecclesiastical historical development, missionary contributions and failures with the goal of their objective assessment in a present that our generation is responsible for. After 1989, the Church is subjected to "the assault of secularization and of laity" after for four decades (1948-1989) it faced a secular and lay ideology of the opposite direction. Romanian Orthodoxy is institutionally represented in the country and in the diaspora through a number of religious units (parishes and monasteries), the number of which has steadily increased since 1989. The editorial and the publishing activity recorded the largest quantitative increase in the history of Romanian Orthodoxy, being exceeded in qualitative terms by the theological magazines from 1948-1989, when their content, number and circulation were controlled by the Communist state authorities.

The current image of the Romanian Orthodox Church (institutional and charismatic) is mirrored in the forming history, from the beginnings of the apostolic Christianity in Dobrogea, through the episodes of institutional ecclesiastical foundation in the Middle Ages (in the Romanian states: Wallachia, Moldavia and Transylvania) and up to the recent institutional crystallisation of the 19th -20th centuries. At present, the essential elements of the Romanian theological synthesis are: the structural combination of the Orthodox cult and the Latin culture, the Eucharistic civilization of a community practicing "the liturgy after the Liturgy", the exceptional theological school, which formulated the "creative and inventive reception of the diachronic tradition", the consistency of the role played in the Ecumenical Movement.