

WITH FATHER DUMITRU STĂNILOAE ON FATHER DUMITRU STĂNILOAE

Florin Grigorescu

Rezumat: Studiul „Cu Părintele Dumitru Stăniloae despre Părintele Dumitru Stăniloae” reprezintă o incursiune sumară în biografia și opera celui care este considerat pe bună dreptate cel mai mare teolog al secolului al XX-lea. Titlul sus-menționat a fost dat de consistentele mărturii pe care Părintele Stăniloae le-a lăsat cu privire la traiul său personal și public, cu privire la spațiul familial propriu și cu privire la amănuntele alcătuirii operei sale – mărturii pe care le-am folosit cu predilecție pentru a-i contura în linii succinte personalitatea.

Ceea ce Părintele Stăniloae a creat și a lăsat posterității deschide o poartă pentru aproape toate ramurile cercetării: teologie, istorie, filozofie, sociologie, jurnalistică, artă, literatură și chiar economie. Istoricul ardelean Mircea Păcurariu a inițiat conceptul de „epocă Dumitru Stăniloae în teologia românească”, mărturisind în același timp că „o evaluare a muncii acestui titan al teologiei și gândirii românești contemporane e greu de făcut”, „o judecată obiectivă urmând a o face, în timp, istoria”.

Legăturile cu mii de fire pe care Părintele Stăniloae le-a avut cu națiunea română, cu dreapta credință a strămoșilor săi și cu tradițiile sfinte ale românilor sunt principalele coordonate prin care s-a dezvoltat personalitatea Părintelui Dumitru, coordonate pe baza cărora s-a mers și în alcătuirea studiului prezent.

„Epoca” Stăniloae continuă acum prin neconținută aprofundare a scrierilor și mărturiilor Sfinției Sale și înveșnicește istoric cei peste 65 de ani strădaniei cărturărești și duhovnicești și cei 90 de ani de exponențială mărturisire Ortodoxă la superlativ a „minunii Stăniloae”.

Studiul „Cu Părintele Dumitru Stăniloae despre Părintele Dumitru Stăniloae” se constituie ca o parte a lucrării de doctorat „Personalități ale Bisericii Ortodoxe Române contemporane. Dumitru Stăniloae” – începută la Universitatea „Ștefan cel Mare” din Suceava, secția Istorie, sub conducerea profesorului universitar doctor Mihai Iacobescu.

Talking about Father Stăniloae is like performing a religious ceremony of the kind of the Holy Liturgy because his Reverence’s life, words and work represent a never-ending overflow of the Holy Ghost. Part of the work¹ of his Reverence, again like in the case of the Holy Liturgy, does not allow it to be read without kneeling down first and this happens because the mind, voice, and life of Father Stăniloae quite often knelt down themselves under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, under the pressure of history and of his profound Christian love. One of his remarkable disciples, his Holiness the Metropolitan Bishop Daniel, rightly considers Father Stăniloae’s theology to be “a Liturgy of thought”² since what appears to be primordial in the Orthodox Liturgy - that is the sacrament of man’s redemption through God’s love for mankind as proven in and through Jesus Christ Himself – represents the key principle not only in his major works (*Jesus Christ or Man’s Deliverance*, *Jesus Christ, the Light of the World and Man’s Sacralization*, *The Evangelical Face of Jesus*), but also in his entire written testimony.

What Father Stăniloae has created and passed over onto posterity is designed to open new avenues of meaning for almost each and every field of knowledge: theology, history, sociology, journalism, literature, as well as economy. The Transylvanian historian Mircea Păcurariu has proposed the concept of “the Father Stăniloae’s epoch in the Romanian theology”, simultaneously admitting that “the work of this gigantic theologian and thinker is extremely difficult to evaluate”³ and that “an impartial assessment is to be made in time by posterity only”⁴.

In spite of the fact that he had the chance of becoming familiar with the culture of the European space and of other geographical areas – due to his position of a University professor, doubled by a gifted writer and speaker – Father Stăniloae remained fundamentally bound to his homeland. Each time he was asked about the place closest to his heart he answered invariably: “My native village, Vlădeni, influenced me decisively. Everything I know about mutual aid and understanding comes from what I saw there, in my native village. The same with nature that I still contemplate from the perspective of that blessed place”⁵. To which he added some other time: “It was in my native village of Vlădeni, in Transylvania, where I began loving God and the world and I still love them both to this very day”⁶. As for his parents and family, one has to remark the special solidarity and devotion that kept them together: “My parents were extremely faithful, and indeed it never happened to them to miss the Holy Service. When my father returned from church, after dinner, he would sit down at the table and read from the Holy Books. He always read from the Book of Hours”⁷.

Father Dumitru was born to Ieremie and Raveica Stăniloae and was the last of their five children. His mother, Raveica (her maiden name was Arnăuțu, her family line being probably of Greek origin) had come from a family of priests and had had an unhappy childhood, having lost both parents when was extremely young. Raveica’s wish and determination, along with God’s will, contributed to the consolidation of Dumitru’s vocation of a priest. Ieremie was a dynamic honest man; kind-hearted, he used to give firewood to widows in need and each destitute man was taken care of in his household. He was a self-possessed quiet man who opened his mouth only to utter words of wisdom for which he was often praised by his neighbours⁸. Father Stăniloae wrote about his parents: “My mother was a priest’s granddaughter, a very kind and sensitive woman; she used to talk to us and advised us well. My father was much more thoughtful and less talkative. He however was able to gather people around him when necessary and speak to them wisely; he was a kind of a philosopher of the village. He never quarrelled with anyone in his entire life”⁹.

His singular thirst of knowledge made Father Stăniloae attend the courses of an Orthodox Confessional School, the “Andrei Șaguna Highschool” in Brașov, where he could also learn German and French. He later moved to Bukovina (after 1918) just to be able to attend the courses of the illustrious Faculty of Theology in Cernăuți (Chernivtsi) but only after one year of study at the Faculty of Letters in Bucharest. His first article was published in 1926 and it dealt with the topic of work and property in the New Testament¹⁰. His licentiate’s dissertation, “On Children’s Baptism”, was written under the supervision of Professor Vasile Loichiță, who had stimulated and supported him to improve his natural gift through hard work and study. Dean Loichiță became so close to

the Stăniloae family that he wedded the young theologian Dumitru Stăniloae and his bride Maria Miha and also baptised their first two children – the twins Dumitru and Mioara¹¹.

Father Stăniloae continued his studies as it follows: in Athens, where he learned Greek, both the classic and the spoken language, and where he worked at his PhD thesis (entitled “The Life and Work of Dosofteiu, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, and his Relationship with the Romanian Principalities”). He discovered in the National Library some old and long-ignored manuscripts, thus linking himself inalienably to the Blessed Fathers that had written them. He then went to Paris from where he returned a “rich man”: he managed to bring home with him the photocopied manuscripts of St. Gregory Palama. In Berlin and Munich he studied German and the philosophical works of Kierkegaard and Heidegger; he also attended the seminar of Professor Heisenberg, the father of the famous physicist, as well as varied courses on Byzantine history¹². He also travelled to Istanbul, where, in the summer of 1930, he took his first notes for his future monograph dedicated to St. Gregory Palama¹³. This whole period meant a lot to the ecclesiastic thinker who afterwards recalled the years of his spiritual formation repeatedly and nostalgically. During the 1930s Athens was an unpretentious shabby city, as Father Stăniloae describes it, a place with tiny bleak houses, which were rather chilly in winter (as there were no heating stoves) but the majestic Acropolis dominated the landscape and gave the city a magnificent appearance. Several decades later, when he returned to Athens and found instead a modern vast and industrialized metropolis, Father Stăniloae stated that “Bucharest was once an imposing capital city and Athens a shabby dusty and muddy town. Now, it’s the other way round”¹⁴.

However, the two main places where the Stăniloae family spent their lives were Sibiu (on the Mitropolie Street, in an apartment that was part of the Metropolitan inventory), and Bucharest (on the Cernica Street). “Sibiu still talks to me about the beginnings of my activity in the domain of a theology of love: the love of God, of Christ, and of the human race. It was there that I started studying the work of St. Gregory Palama, who professed God’s presence in the mystery of the non-created gift and also spoke of His immeasurable love of mankind. It was there, too, that I wrote my book, *Jesus Christ and Man’s Deliverance*, trying to demonstrate the high value allotted to man by God, as well as the fact that the Son Himself was given human frame in order to show people what they ought to be like and how they ought to behave. It was there, too, that I took my first enthusiastic steps on the road of knowledge...It was there that I started to write my book *Philocalia* – the first three volumes were written there and continued in Bucharest afterwards. I was thus able to later go on with my other works that I had begun there: a theology of love, a pastoral theology, one that does not lack the inspiration of the Holy Ghost because it is the Holy Ghost that brings God’s love to our hearts; a pastoral theology that is different from the rationalistic and scholastic theology, made up of unfeeling definitions. I believe that the town of Sibiu taught me an important lesson: I became there the disciple of the Metropolitan Bishop Bălan who told me that, as a young teacher, he had brought there the sermon with Christ and the priests’ life and I was inspired by this idea so I went deeper with my studies and dedicated my whole

theological work to Jesus Christ, the Comforter, the Light of mankind, and the Shepherd who gathers all of us around His love”¹⁵.

It is true that in Sibiu Father Stăniloae also experienced devastating disappointment and grief. He proposed his colleague-teachers to cooperate in the translation of *Philocalia* but was subtly refused. He witnessed in Sibiu the instauration and consolidation of the communist regime in his country. “Some of my colleagues, who had been first members of some extremist movements of the right, changed their affiliation and became communists thus making me leave both the Rectorate office and the editorship of the *Romanian Telegraph* in 1947. The Metropolitan Bishop Nicolae Bălan, who was very upset because of all these, went to Bucharest and insisted on having me back, but couldn’t do anything about it. He came back to Sibiu crying bitterly”¹⁶.

Father Stăniloae’s family life was of utmost importance to him. He got married to Maria Miha on October 4, 1930 and their connubial life represented a model of loving concord, of perpetual sacrifice on the altar of family unity, and it lasted as such for 63 years. Father Stăniloae repeatedly affirmed that he could not have created his work without the support of his caring and devoted wife. He used to say: “My wife prays more than I do,” to which his kind wife would reply: “Oh, he just says so, but he is praying even while he is writing”¹⁷. One of Father Stăniloae’s granddaughters mentions an answer that he gave once when he was asked whether he had ever met a saint. “Yes, I have met one: my wife”¹⁸. Their marital life was not uneventful and serene as their twins (given birth on the 10th of May, 1931) soon died: the boy, Dumitru, died in September, the same year, and the daughter, Mioara, in 1945. One year after their wedding, on the 16th of October 1931, Father Stăniloae was ordained deacon and, after another year, he was appointed as a priest through God’s will and the Metropolitan Bishop’s benevolence. As for his role of a husband and a father, Father Stăniloae acknowledged towards the end of his life: “The status of husband and father connected me to the life of the believers. As a consequence, I could feel more truthfully their need to find a way of living in accordance with their faith”¹⁹.

What is most impressing in Father Stăniloae’s work is the extraordinary power to focus on themes in a tangible, critical, and useful manner, without metaphorical digressions, without any mercantile impetus or spurious idealism, but with an astonishing sense of pastoral duty and academic devotion, with unmatched passion and love for God and the Holy Fathers. At the same time, he does not simply spread somebody else’s ideas. Despite his discrete nature, Father Stăniloae was a source of novel ideas that he brought to light through study and the torment of his soul. As one of his disciples wrote:

“He pushes meditation to the extreme limit where knowledge diminishes and the spirit, on the acme of its progress, is able to pass the endeavour over to the Holy Ghost in order to have the human thought turned into divine ecstasy. At one point, he exclaims: «That is all that has been revealed to me!»”²⁰

Even though he had to suffer enormously because of his frankness – both in writing and in daily conversation - Father Stăniloae did not abandon truth, being a real servant of the supreme Truth, of Jesus Christ who decreed Himself to be the Way, the Truth, and the Life. That is why Father Stăniloae was visibly disturbed by the communist ideology. He constantly urged people: “Live your life in an unfaltering manner, without

compromise and confusion, live it in a crystal-clear manner”²¹. Even before the Civil War broke out in Spain, Father Stăniloae had published several disapproving articles on communism, namely in two temporal sequences: 1936²² and 1941²³. These articles, as well as his remarkable spirituality, his untainted morality and thirst of truth, which were easily targeted in a time of atheism, eventually led to his being arrested and convicted to ten years in prison, of which he spent five in the communist penitentiary system (from 1958 to 1963). Father Stăniloae, comparable to many magnanimous victims of the communist system, refused to talk about that period, avoiding to address reproaches and, on the contrary, trying to remember the bright moments of his detention (for he was able to discover such moments even while incarcerated). At an international meeting, where he was speaking about the significance of the Romanian people’s Orthodox faith, he was asked by someone in the audience: “Which was the most important thing that happened to you in your years of imprisonment?” To which Father Stăniloae answered: “The fact that I learned how to pray.” “What do you mean by that? You had prayed before, hadn’t you?” “Yes, I had, but as one does according to tradition and personal habits, whereas in prison, when one does not know whether he is going to survive or not, this bond with God becomes the only chance one gets to keep both one’s hope and identity. In such circumstances a prayer turns into the vital breathing of the soul, and I am not speaking metaphorically here, but existentially”²⁴.

The stature of Father Stăniloae’s worth may be better evaluated if one takes into account his singular capacity to identify himself with his own heroes – such is the case of St. Gregory Palama’s polemics with the rationalist and scholastic Varlaam – the representative of modernist humanism in theology and philosophy – a polemical debate that could be carried on through the person of Father Stăniloae. In this sense, Father Stăniloae wrote: “Both the dialectical theology and the theology of St Gregory Palama made me see a living God, a personal God; yet, while in the dialectical theology God was separated from man because of the latter’s incapacity to discard his sins, in the Palamite theology God is moving towards man when He is invoked through praying. In the dialectical theology I have found the image of a detached unemotional God, whereas in the Palamite theology I have encountered a God that is close to man, that opens to man, enlightening him whenever he is praying. He fills man with His energies, simultaneously remaining incommensurable, incomprehensible, and apophatic”²⁵.

Most of Father Stăniloae’s thought was dedicated to the Romanian nation – an undoubtedly orthodox nation. Father Stăniloae equated “Romanian” with “faithful” because “Orthodoxy is part of the very heart of the Romanian culture. Without it, we, the Romanians, might lose our identity as a distinct nation. Orthodoxy was the source of nourishment and growth for our nation, and this source has not been exhausted. The Romanian people is bound to Orthodoxy as Orthodoxy is, in turn, intertwined with our identity and our past”²⁶.

Father Stăniloae considers History to be essentially “God’s word made flesh through human lives”. Moreover, as a historian himself, Father Stăniloae considered that nobody can escape the historical determinism in order to experience God’s word as such, that is a historically; on the contrary, each individual is impregnated with his nation’s

general characteristics. Consequently, “the Church and the people are overlapping”, as the Church is made up of “all the individuals of a people and stretches as far as this people does. That is why the Church’s community of love is structurally and spatially enclosed within the national community”²⁷. His attachment to history soothed to a certain extent the embitterment he had got out of the early years of studying the Christian dogma²⁸. In spite of the fact that he was a scholar, Father Stăniloae had a remarkable pragmatism, which helped him along his life and which was itself due to the study of history. As a matter of fact, the first didactic position that he held was that of a history teacher at the University College of Theology in Sibiu.

The distinctive spirituality of the Romanian people – considered to be of a gracious kind by Father Stăniloae – is given by the open-mindedness, friendliness, and eagerness to communicate of this people, by the capacity to figure out each other’s inner nature – a sort of “mutual appraisal”. If truth be told, Father Stăniloae used to say that “the Romanians brought something new in humanity’s way of thinking, something extremely elevated when compared to the philosophy that preceded Jesus, and which was a philosophy centred on the individual, on the essence of the being, as philosophers wanted to reduce the essence of life to several laws that could be easily managed. The Romanians proposed the mystery of the individual and the mystery of people’s communion instead, and that is exactly what the Holy Scripture brought, too. What are we supposed to do in order to develop a relationship of love, respect, and harmony among people? Our people knew what to do and led a wonderful life in the past and we should go back to that way of life; this could be our chance of uniqueness in the future, too”²⁹.

Father Stăniloae was justly perceived himself as a conciliating person, who expressed his love unequivocally; yet, he was also an ecumenist in the positive sense of the word, asserting that “Ecumenism is not understood properly. One should notice instantly what lacks in a teaching, where the heresy is in a teaching about Christ, and to criticize it. One ought to tell both what is true about one’s teaching and what is wrong in someone else’s teaching”³⁰. In spite of his forthrightness, Father Stăniloae was frequently invited either in Protestant or Catholic milieux where he was highly esteemed and loved. “I like the way you are laying the stress upon Jesus Christ. With us, everything is just twaddle. I have perceived in your words the substance of the thought of our Holy Fathers; you have meditated upon Jesus and endeavoured to stroke every chord of our souls,” said once a Western Baptist priest to Father Stăniloae³¹.

Father Stăniloae lived absolutely the faith that he was born in and which became the vital breathing of his spiritual existence. Each circumstance of life represents an encounter with God, a challenge through which our Heavenly Father wants us to stand for our principles. “Every man that we meet”, Father Stăniloae confesses in a dialogue, “is a word uttered by God. Everybody talks to us: they are icons of God’s words, in accordance with the appearance of the hypostatic Word of God. They are talking icons, speaking to us as God Himself does, as Jesus Himself does. Jesus gave them to us and they are calling us and we have to answer. We are human beings that shall answer God through other people. We are in a permanent dialogue with God. God is talking to us, to nature, through other people. He is talking to us through Jesus Christ and through

ourselves. And we must respond to him through others and this fact connects us all: I cannot live without answering the other, without calling the other; he, too, cannot live without calling me back, without answering to me. We are united through words and words are not only ideas going from me to somebody else. There is a mysterious connection here, a profound link established through words”³². Man represents the diadem of the communication between the Holy Maker and His creation as well as the determining factor in a potential ascension towards the all-powerful Absolute.

Father Stăniloae’s old-age sayings are remarkable because at that time he could analyse his own sentiments serenely, demonstrating a lucidity of the spirit, which was put entirely in the service of God. This is what His Reverence stated: “The physical suffering is extremely poignant because of old age, because our body is conceived to reach first a certain degree of power and then to fall into powerlessness, or decrepitude as they say. It is nature’s way, the course of every form in the cosmic world. It is also the evolution of the human body and, once you come to old age this process of decomposition is extremely alert. In my soul however, I am still trying hard to believe that if I endure this bodily suffering, I shall come nearer Jesus and my death will not mean a loss to my soul, it won’t mean death or a minus existence, but will mean my proximity to Jesus Christ, where I am to wait for the universal resurrection, and for my own, too”³³.

A noticeable proof of his gracious nature was Father Stăniloae’s modesty which grew more visible in the last years of his life. For instance, when the city of Sibiu was preparing his 90th anniversary he declared that he considered himself unworthy of such an event and announced everybody that he would be at the great celebration only with his soul as he already knew, favoured by God as he was, that he was to soon leave his corporal frame. This is what he confessed: “I would like the celebration in Sibiu to be for me something else than a reason to encourage my fruitless vanity, I would like it not to tempt me outside my humbleness as I know so well that what I have done is less than I should have done; I would like it not to lure me outside my conviction that I am an unworthy sinner. As for the celebration proper, I am not sure whether I should be able to participate...I wouldn’t like the organizers and the participants to be offended if I am not able to get there. I am not going to miss it because I do not appreciate the honour they are making me, though I fear the vanity it might bring to my soul, while appreciating the love this ceremony shows. That was my own mission: to nourish people’s love, the love among the Christians...Let us all meet in the love for Jesus Christ, in this communion, even though I will not be able to be present there myself. Let everybody know that I love them all and I am glad that they all love me, and let them know that I am still aware of my humble and sinful nature”³⁴.

The “Dumitru Stăniloae” *Festschrift* 90 in 1993 at Sibiu changed into a *Gedenkschrift* as Father Dumitru closed his eyes for ever during the night of the 4th to the 5th of October. The “Stăniloae Era” has not reached an end as his writings and confessions are permanently studied; his name is thus engraved in the book of history under the entry “the Stăniloae miracle” for more than 65 years of brilliant scholarly activity and Orthodox wisdom.

NOTE:

¹ The last chapter of his book, *The Holy Trinity or In the Beginning There Was Love*, entitled *The Holy Ghost – the Worldly Limit of God, the Great Labourer and Leader of Mankind through Purification and sacralization*, analyses theologically and mystically seven prayers to the Holy Ghost – from a book that was printed in Greece in 1799 at Constantinopol and translated into Romanian in 1827 at the Neamț monastery – prayers that can not be read without any initiation because of their spiritual contents.

² His Reverence Dr. Daniel Ciobotea, *The Theology of Thought*, in Gheorghe F. Anghelescu, *Father Dumitru Stăniloae – the Promoter and Exegete of Patristic Thinking*, An Introduction to the Bibliography, Iași, Editura Trinitas, 1998, pp. 5- 6.

³ Author's note.

⁴ Păcurariu, Mircea & Ioan I. Ică Jr. (Eds.), *The Individual and the Communion, in the Honour of Professor Dumitru Stăniloae, Member of the Romanian Academy, on His 90th Anniversary*, Edited with the blessing of His Holiness Dr. Antonie Plămădeală, the Metropolitan Bishop of Transylvania, Publishing House of the Orthodox Archbishopric of Sibiu, 1993, p.13.

⁵ Bălan, Ioanichie, Archimandrite, *A Homage to the Memory of Father Dumitru Stăniloae*, with the blessing of His Holiness Daniel, the Metropolitan Bishop of Moldova and Bucovina, Iași, Editura Mitropoliei Moldovei și Bucovinei, 1994, p. 41.

⁶ Strazzari, F. & I. Prezzi, *Una teologia filocalica. Intervista a padre Dumitru Stăniloae, Il Regno-attaulita*, 34 (1989), p. 107.

⁷ *Ibidem* p. 87.

⁸ Stăniloae Ionescu, Lidia, *The Light of Deed from the Light of Word – Together with My Father, Dumitru Stăniloae*, București, Editura Humanitas, 2000, p. 27.

⁹ Bălan, Ioanichie, Archimandrite, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

¹⁰ Cf. D. Stăniloae, *Work and Property in the “New Testament”*, in “Revista Teologică”, 16 (1926), pp. 230- 240.

¹¹ Stăniloae Ionescu, Lidia, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

¹² *Ibidem*, p. 40-42.

¹³ Păcurariu, Mircea & Ioan I. Ică Jr. (Eds.), *op. cit.*, p.5.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 41.

¹⁵ Bălan, Ioanichie, Archimandrite, *op. cit.*, p. 32-3.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 35.

¹⁷ Daniel, the Metropolitan Bishop of Moldova and Bukovina, *Father Stăniloae, the Man and the Theologian of Praying – the testimony of a disciple*, in *Father Stăniloae in the Conscience of His Contemporaries*, Iași, Editura Trinitas, 2003, p. 28.

¹⁸ Bălan, Ioanichie, Archimandrite, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

¹⁹ Strazzari, F. & I. Prezzi, *op. cit.*, p. 110; Apud Bielawski, P. Maciej, *Father Dumitru Stăniloae – A Philocalic Vision of the World*, Translated into Romanian and with an intro. by Prof. Ică Jr., Sibiu, Editura Deisis, 1998.

²⁰ Bria, Ion, *The Space of Immortality or the Human Made Eternal through God in the Theological and Spiritual Vision of Father Stăniloae*, Edited with the blessing of His Holiness Daniel, the Metropolitan Bishop of Moldova and Bucovina, Iași, Editura Trinitas, 1994, p. 37.

²¹ Tănase, Petroniu, Hieromonk, *Unassuming Icons of the Consecrated Romanian Orthodoxy*, Prodromu Hermitage, Mount Athos, București, Editura Bizantină, 2002, p. 58.

²² *Attention: Communism*, in “The Romanian Telegraph 84” (1936), Issue 38, pp. 2- 3; *The Church versus Communism*, in “The Romanian Telegraph 84” (1936), Issue 42, acc. to Bielawski, P. Maciej, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

²³ *Christianity and Communism*, in “The Romanian Telegraph 84” (1936), Issue 42, p.1, acc. to Bielawski, P. Maciej, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

²⁴ Daniel, the Metropolitan Bishop of Moldova and Bucovina, *op. cit.*, 2003, p. 32

²⁵ Strazzari, F. & I. Prezzi, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

²⁶ Stăniloae, Dumitru, *Orthodoxy and Ethnocracy*, in *Nation and Christianity*, Bucharest, Elion, 2004, p. 62.

²⁷ *Predania*, Issue 8-9, 1937, acc. to Prof. Priest Dumitru, *Orthodoxy and Romanian Identity*, p. 104.

²⁸ Costa de Beauregard, *A Spoken Dogmatics*, in *Dialogues at Cernica*, Second Revised Edition, Translated into Romanian by Maria-Cornelia Ică Jr., Sibiu, Editura Deisis, 2000, p. 34.

²⁹ *Romanian Clerics talking to Young People*, 2nd Edition, Bizantină, pp. 23-41.

³⁰ Bălan, Ioanichie, Archimandrite, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

³¹ *Ibidem*, p. 39.

³² Costa de Beauregard, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

³³ Bălan, Ioanichie, Archimandrite, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

³⁴ *Ibidem*, pp. 33-34.