THE RUMANIANS AND ROMAN CATHOLICISM

BY

ZSOMBOR DE SZASZ¹

In 1790 the independent Transylvanian Principality came to an end, a fact which set a term also to the conversion of the Rumanians to the Protestant faith. The Hungarian Princes were replaced by the Austrian Habsburgs, the independent Principality gave place to a Großfürstentum, or Grand Duchy, and the efforts to spread the doctrines of Calvinism were superseded by Roman Catholic proselytism. The former represented a purely religious and cultural movement, while the Roman Catholic campaign had a strongly political flavour. The Orthodox Church and the Rumanians beyond the Transylvanian border fiercely opposed both the Protestant and the Catholic movements, and were so far successful as a very few years sufficed to obliterate every vestige of Protestantism from the life of the Transylvanian Rumanians; Greek Catholicism, on the other hand, survived in an altered and superficial form and has remained an important factor to this day.

The change of domination brought a great change in the political and religious life of Transylvania. The independent Principality had been Hungarian and Protestant; Habsburg rule was German and Roman Catholic. The entire political stratum of the country had to be altered to suit the new rule and to render it effective. A pro-Austrian bias had to be superimposed on the strongly independent spirit of the Magyars, while submission to the Pope had to replace Protestant radicalism.

It was by no means an easy matter to bring this about. The Roman Catholic Magyars could be gained by a Catholic and the Lutheran Saxons by a German Power; but the Calvinist Magyars were obdurate, and they were in a

¹ See previous article entitled: "The Rumanians and Protestantism" in ous September issue, Vol. IX, No. 4.

majority. Therefore the first endeavour of the new rulers had to be to reduce this hostile majority.

The ordinary methods of the counter-reformation did not promise an adequate result, for they could not be pursued with sufficient vigour. In the Diploma in which the Emperor had promised to uphold the Constitution he had pledged himself "to make no alteration in the matter of the accepted religions". But there was another means to raise the number of the pro-Habsburg and anti-Protestant inhabitants: the conversion of the Rumanians to Roman Catholicism. In the constitutional fabric of the country they represented the neutral element; they did not belong to the "union" of the three nations, and their Orthodox creed was not an accepted religion: the pledge of the Diploma did not refer to them, consequently they offered a fair field for proselytism.

The last Transylvanian Prince, Michael Apaty, was still alive when the infiltration of the Jesuits into the country began. One of them, P. L. Baranyi, arrived under a disguise, but revealed himself as a priest later on and became a friend of the Orthodox Bishop Theophilus in Gyulafehervar. It was he who, with the help of other Jesuits, undertook the conversion of the Transylvanian Rumanians to Roman Catholicism, as a parallel action to the re-Catholicization of the Magyars. The Jesuits even asked the Pope's permission to turn Orthodox themselves, in order to obtain more easily the confidence of the Rumanian people, but this the Pope refused.

In 1692 the Emperor Leopold issued, on the instigation of the Jesuits, a general ordinance promising substantial privileges to those Orthodox priests, Ruthenians and Rumanians alike, who consented to join the Roman Catholic Church. They were to be allowed to retain the Orthodox rites, they were to be liberated from servitude together with their families, and they were to have the same political and social position as the Roman Catholic priests.

Upon strong pressure on the part of the Jesuits, the Rumanian Bishop Theophilus convoked in 1697 a Synod to Gyulafehervar at which Baranyi was also present. At this Synod the Bishop made a powerful speech accusing the Protestants of meddling with the liturgy of the Rumanian

Church and extolling the union with Rome, which would make them equal with the Roman Catholics.

The Synod stipulated first of all that in case the union was accepted no change was to be made in the liturgy and in the administration of the Church, that the Julian calendar should be retained and that the Uniate creed should henceforth be counted not among the tolerated but among the accepted creeds. After which it subscribed to the following points of dogma:

- 1. The Pope is the head of the universal Church;
- 2. the Holy Eucharist is administered in the form of unleavened bread alone;
 - 3. Purgatory exists; and
- 4. the Holy Ghost emanates both from the Father and the Son (filioque).

A further stipulation was that Uniate ecclesiastics should enjoy the same rights and privileges as the Roman Catholics; and that it should be the Bishop who appointed the priests.

These stipulations being accepted, the union was decided, and the Act of Union signed by the Bishop and twelve deans.

The decision made a great stir both among the Magyars and Saxons of Transylvania and among the Rumanians of the Principalities, but by this time Transylvania was governed from Vienna and the Estates were helpless in the matter.

That same year Bishop Theophilus died, if rumour spoke truth, of poison; and the appointment of a successor proved no easy matter. Eventually one of two candidates, both of whom had received a Protestant education, was elected in the person of Anghel Popa, son of the Rumanian village priest of Babolna. He took the name of Athanasius, and after spending two months in a monastery in Bucharest and undergoing a searching examination in regard to his Orthodox beliefs by the Patriarch of Jerusalem, was consecrated as Orthodox Bishop of Transylvania.

The suspicious *Patriarch* was not satisfied by *Athanasius*' episcopal oath; he forced upon him a long list of instructions designed to regulate his future conduct, in which he was ordered, among other things, to employ either *Slovene* or *Greek* as the language of the liturgy, using *Rumanian* only for Sunday and holyday sermons.

When Athanasius returned to Transylvania he found there a royal Diploma addressed to the Gubernium, — the governing body of the country, — in which it was decreed that Orthodox priests who joined the Roman Catholic Church and recognised the Pope as Christ's Vicar should enjoy the same privileges as the Roman Catholic priests, and those who united with any of the other accepted Churches should partake of the liberties of those Churches, while those who clung to the Orthodox creed should continue to bear the burdens and disabilities hitherto imposed upon their Church.

But it was only on paper that the choice was thus left open. Cardinal Kollonits, *Primate* of *Hungary*, in a secret missive to General Rabutin, military commander of Transylvania, declared that the Orthodox priests must be made to join the *Roman Catholic Church* on pain of punishment. And *Kollonits*'s order prevailed.

Athanasius had been consecrated in Bucharest, but he could not officiate in *Transylvania* until his election had been confirmed by the King, which in this case meant that he must identify himself with the unionist movement. This, accordingly, he did.

He summoned a Synod which met on October 7, 1698 and after a prolonged debate lasting eighteen days issued a declaration signed by the bishop and thirty-eight of his deans.

"We the undersigned", this declaration ran, "of our own iree will and inspired by the Holy Ghost alone, join the Roman Catholic Church and declare ourselves members of said Church, accepting, believing and confessing all the tenets which that Church accepts, believes and confesses... Consequently we demand that we be granted the possession and use of all the rights and privileges which appertain to the priests of that Church in accordance with the Holy Canons and the injunctions of the ancient Kings of Hungary."

A few months later, in February 1699, the king issued a Diploma confirming the union of the Orthodox Rumanians with the Roman Catholic Church and threatening with condign punishment all who dared openly or secretly to work against the new Church and her members.

This Royal Decree was made public at the General

DANUBIAN REVIEW

Synod of May 24, 1699, when humble thanks were returned for the royal favour.

The Magyar and Saxon Estates were staggered.

The Protestant Magyars saw their efforts to gain the Orthodox Rumanians for their Church brought to nought; but the Roman Catholics also began to realise that the union was aimed, not only against the Protestants, but also against the Magyars in general and against the constitutional structure of the country.

The Gubernium protested in a remarkable rescript addressed to the Viennese Government.

"The union", it ran "signifies no benefit whether to the Rumanians who have been forced into or to the Roman Catholic Church, seeing that these people have no religion at all but are barbarians full of superstitions and disposed to every sort of malice. Its only result will be to destroy the Transylvanian Laws and to throw the burdens of the liberated priests on to the shoulders of the other tax-payers, at the same time provoking the resentment of the neighbouring hospodars, who are Orthodox. The Rumanians have not become genuine Catholics through the union, they have not really joined the Catholic Church; they are neither friends of, nor believers in, Catholicism, they only wish to be freed from the obligations of the peasants and are now ready to fight their landlords. Such innovations and experiments can be useful neither to the Throne nor to be country at large, where religious fervour has always been tempered and conditioned by the higher interests of the State and by the mutual understanding of the various nations and denominations. It is only thanks to this moderation that this country, surrounded as it is by so many enemies and holding so many religions, languages and races, has been able to preserve its existence and independence in the stormy times through which it has passed."

The Viennese Government refused to be moved by the arguments of the Gubernium. In August 1699 it once more confirmed the union and the privileges granted in the February Diploma, ordering their publication and execution.

A Diet was convened for the 8th of September. The Estates could not evade the publication of the Diploma, but

they embodied their objections to the union under seven points and ordered an investigation of the whole matter, which however led nowhere.

The King sent an angry mesage to the Estates, in which he reiterated his pseudo-liberal allegations. "Only those who wish to disturb the public peace", said the message, "dare to affirm that the purpose of the Diploma was to force the Rumanians into the Roman Catholic Church, for our intention was to grant them full freedom to join any of the accepted religions or to remain Orthodox." On pain of his anger he ordained that no one should dare to tamper with the liberty of the Rumanian people.

In March 1701 Leopold issued a second "Diploma Leopoldianum" which regulated the administration of the new Church.

In 1717 an independent bishopric was founded in Fogaras, which in 1738 was transferred to Balazsfalva and elevated to an archbishopric. 1748 saw the founding of the bishopric of Nagyvarad, and 1750 that of the bishoprics of Lugos and Szamosujvar. After the political re-union of Transylvania with Hungary proper, the Hungarian legislation recognised and incorporated the above organisation of the Uniate Church in Act XXXIX. 1868.

Since that time the *Uniate Church* has flourished unimpeded.

The Rumanians regard the union and its significance in a different light.

The Orthodox maintain that Roman Catholic dogma has had no influence on their kind. They look on Greek Catholicism as a temporary result of Habsburg policy, bound to vanish as time goes on. There is much truth in the argument that there is no trace of Catholic feeling among the great masses, who know nothing of dogmas and have remained Oriental and Orthodox throughout. "No truthful person can deny", wrote Professor Lupaş in 1921, "that there is only one Church among the Transylvanian Rumanians, for they all believe and profess the same creed. Not one of the famous four points of 1700 has penetrated into the Rumanian soul: neither filioque, nor the Host, nor Purgatory,

nor the Holy See. At most, we may concede a difference in the constitution and administration of the Church."

Another reproach levelled against the union from Orthodox quarters is that it has broken up the unity of the Rumanian people. Formerly the Rumanians were indissolubly united in Orthodoxy, which embraced not only the Rumanians of Transylvania but also those of the two Principalities. This unity was destroyed by the Catholic conversion, for while the Orthodox Church remained attached to the Orient and the spirit of Byzantium, the Greek Catholic or Uniate Church passed under the influence of western thought and western civilisation. This is what the Orthodox resent.

The Uniates, on the other hand, regard the fact that Catholicism has brought the Rumanian people under western influences as the greatest and most valuable achievement of the union.

A modern Rumanian author, the Uniate Canon Augustine Bunea, has made this clear.

Never, — he writes — have the Rumanian people been in such danger as at the end of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth. In the Danubian Principalities the Greek Phanariot Princes dominated: the Rumanians of the Banat were oppressed by the Serb, those of Marmaros by the Ruthenian hierarchy. The Rumanians of Transylvania were beginning to feel the yoke of the Protestant Magyars. At that moment Rome stretched out her protecting hand and rescued them through the medium of the Habsburgs. The Habsburgs could place no reliance on the Protestant Magyars as they could on the Catholic Rumanians. To make of them a strong bastion for Habsburg rule there was only one course open to them: to free them from the Protestant Hungarian domination and bring them into the Roman Catholic fold. The Viennese Court realised that by raising the Rumanians out of their miserable situation it would fortify its rule in the country; while the Rumanians perceived that by placing themselves under the laws which secured the existence of the Catholics they would be under the protecting wings of the Habsburgs and thus would escape destruction.

So far Augustine Bunea.

More important than these political and social results

of the union were its cultural consequences; in this respect it conferred immense benefits on the Rumanian people.

"The Uniate Rumanians", wrote the Orthodox Father Ghibanescu, "studied in Rome and became the apostles of Latinity. From Rome they received a mighty incentive to break the chains of the past. Having gained enlightenment in Rome and Vienna, they brought back with them a new spirit of cultural life to Rumania." The resemblance of the Rumanian and Latin languages was detected, which led to the invention concerning the Roman origin of the Rumanian people. G. Sinkai and P. Maior, the founders of the theory of the so-called Daco-Roman continuity, were both of them students at the Uniate schools of Balazsfalva and of the propaganda fidei in Rome. Gradually the Rumanian language was introduced in place of the Slavonic tongue in the Uniate church service: and with the advance of the nineteenth century the political consciousness of the Rumanian people took an immense stride forward. As King Carol, the exiled ruler of Rumania, once said: "Neither our friends nor our foes foresaw the valuable services which the founders of the Uniate Church were to render to the cause of Rumanism."

This is the historic significance of Catholicism in the history of the Rumanian people.