

## **Abstract (en.)**

### **Romanian Churches in Ciuc, Odorhei and Treiscaune (today Covasna and Harghita) counties during 1918-1945**

Father PhD. Panciu Laurențiu Gabriel

Key words: documentary archive, hierarchical territorial-administrative units, ecclesial community, interwar society, interculturalism, confessional problem, Church administration, multietnicity, pluriconfessionality, microregion.

The work *Romanian Churches in Ciuc, Odorhei and Treiscaune (today Covasna and Harghita) counties during 1918-1945*, represents a systematic study focused on the reconstruction of a period partially known concerning the reality of life in the Intra Carpathian Arch during the reference period. Even if over time, there were also other studies about this problematic, this present work reveals less known aspects, introducing in the public circuit, both for researchers and general public, new info necessary to know the complex evolutions inside the former counties Ciuc, Odorhei and Treiscaune, during their integration process in the politic, economic, social and cultural reality of Great Romania.

South-east of Transilvania is defined as a territory of specific ethnical and confessional structure of the inhabitants, mainly Hungarians who do not accept any otherness. In these conditions orthodox and Greek-catholic clergy adopted a specific ministry type, marked not a few times by the necessity of a diplomatic approach to problems of the Romanian community against the local administration and other confessions.

**1<sup>st</sup> chapter** of the work is in fact an introduction to argument the chosen theme and the necessity of this present study, underlined its specific character. For starters they have been delimited the geographic site of the 3 counties involved (with changes in time), plus their definitory characteristics: demografic, geographic, history regional history and their pottin into the national and international one.

The main working method was the identification of existing funds in the Ecclesiastic Research Center „Meitropolitan Nicolae Colan” of Sfantu Gheorghe , National archives and and other inedit docs found in parishes , an archive obtained during research, docs and new bibliographic docs from Covasna and Harghita Bishopric. These docs re.to researched period , have been archived processed: filed, quoted, inventory, preserved, partially photographed, which forms a new parish archive fund, offering the possibility to hrness them in this present work. Of course the bibliography has been studied, general and specific one, re.to the

Romanians living in the South East of Transylvania and their cohabitation with Hungarians/Szekelers and other ethnics.

**2<sup>nd</sup> chapter** presents the terminology definition of the definitory elements of the these : Deanery, Parish, Dean, Priest, with each Holy Altar ministry marcant personality. So, we can see that during the period 1918-1945 in Ciuc, Odorhei and Treiscaune counties, were run 7 Romanian deanery, of which 4 orthodox : Treiscaune, Sfantu Gheorghe, Oituz and Odorhei, and 3 Greek-catholic : Treiscaune, Giurgeu and Odorhei.

Local church life has known new valences once the Oituz, Sfantu Gheorghe and Odorhei Deaneries were established by decision 3934 PL/8-9 Aug 1921 of Metropolitan Nicolae Balan, validated by Metropolitan Assembly, in order to dynamize the communities of „, Szekelers County ”.

Treiscaune deanery was in function up to 1921 with 35 parishes when, in that year, there were established the new deaneries of Sfantu Gheorghe and Oituz. In the Sfantu Gheorghe one, from 21 parishes and 29 affiliates , in total 50 in the year of 1930, Romanian language is no more known and not used as day by day communication language in 11 parishes and 24 affiliates, a total of 35 denationalized church units. Oituz Deanery headquartered at Targu Secuiesc, was only 31<sup>st</sup> years old (1921-1952) less the Horthy's period, with a jurisdiction in 1931 over 19 parish units. After its abolition in 1952, the parishes have been arrondate to Sfantu Gheorghe deanery.

Odorhei deanery has been activated later on 1<sup>st</sup> July 1937, upon the decision of the 1<sup>st</sup> audience of Metropolitan assembly in 9 May 1937, running with 19 parishes.

Regarding Greek-catholicdeaneries, these ones had the major part of parish houses, churches and their respective communities, afct revealing an earlier cleargy organization. After 1<sup>st</sup> Dec 1918, the parishes belonging to Greek-catholic Treiscaune, headquartered at Poian, have been arrondated to Brasov Deanery. After 1948 an important part of their communities came back to the mother church – orthodox, and the deep Magyarized ones, opted to pass to the Hungarian confession.

**3<sup>rd</sup> chapter** analyses punctual problems linked to church life, statistic data and inedit docs, presenting an assembly image of the subject, helping us to identify the relations between Romanian parishes and local administration, pastoral involvement and the preoccupation to icrease the number of belivers, complex tipology of the known and implied personalities in the comunitary life, as well as the perseverance of „, God's people ” in faith, regardless the difficulties encountered.

Concerning the parishes and affiliates situation in the Intra Carpathian Arch, mainly those belonging to former Oituz and Odorhei Deaneries, but not only, the situation being characteristic also for Sfantu Gheorghe Deanery, most of the info re.to church life from these lands means documentary research, because , besides the archivistic base obtained by the work of Ecclesiastic documentary center „Metropolitan Nicolae Colan” of Sfantu Gheorghe, the other parishes hardly still keep documente before 1945, the Horthy’s period, when a lot of papers have been destroyed.

During the archivistic research they have been identified new relevant info for this present work which have been processed and exploited, info - a treasure for the Orthodox Church history, respective Greek - catholic, imlicitely for Romanians history living in the intra Carpathian Arch. Simuntaneously, it was found that a lot of parishes and affiliates have no doc attesting a flourish of the churches life, being mostly so few. To these parishes, during the interbelic period, in virtue of the results after the actions of re-Romanianization of the Magyarized Romanians, it was awarded by the Metropolitan the title of Mother Parish, even these ones didn’t comply never the necessary conditions to run such function.

The researched counties we found th existence of places having a life favorable to orthodox worship developpement, but due to Horthy’s period, entire places of worship have been destroyed , even raced on the face of the earth, today nobody could say the site were they were, even for a short time. This fact motivates more or less, the extension of the micromonogrph material in this present work.

Attached to small or bigger parishes have been in function 4 monastic hearths: cea de at the foot of the Calimani, patriarchal stavropegic, Monastery Holy Prophet Ilie Tesviteanul – Toplita, near the old Monastery Doamnei – Moglanesti, hermitage Dumbravioara of Monastery Toplița and Monastery under the protection of Sfantul Ioan Botezatorul of Fagetel. All worked with a diminished number of monks or nuns, defying the heavy oppression of the Horthy’s period, but their existence up today denotes a fruitful spiritual work that echoes through the ages.

**4<sup>th</sup> chapter** presents the events in the area, after the Horthy’s regime has been installed, respectively non accepting it by the Romanian people, its elimination and discrimination through expulsion, individual and collective mockery, surnames & names and places Magyarization, denationalization of the people remained after 1940 in the ceded territory. This present work shows modalities & technics which led to the known result, respectively the Hungarian hisoriography perspective focused on these aspedcts, fact which led to the existence of 2 parallel histories and to a sole truth.

The most painful aspect of the Magyarization phenomenon was forcing to abandon the national faith, justified by churches demolition in some cases, wiping off the face of the earth of orthodox and Greek – orthodox churches in other cases even by the new “converts”, as a proof of their fidelity for the accepted cults converters. To refuse a church demolish means to suffer hard torture and at the end a too humiliating and unjust death.

The expulsions had 3 steps named „military” from the Hungarian troops installation in the north Ardeal (Transylvania) up to 25 Nov 1940, „civil government” from 25 Nov 1940 up to 19 March 1944, and the last one „German occupation” in fact the withdrawal of German and Hungarian troops from Ardeal.

Year 1940 is perhaps the most difficult year in Transylvanian history. The 4 years „seemed 4 centuries”, in the orthodox eparchy’s seat of Cluj was the bishop Nicolae Colan, born on 1893 in Araci, Treiscaune county. His pastoral visits in the region, bishop Nicolae represented a support point and a ray of hope pentru încercații for the Romanian faithful attempts in the counties of Ciuc, Odorhei & Treiscaune.

So we understand that unlike other country areas, after and before of the Great Union of 1<sup>st</sup> Dec 1918, the priestly ministry in the counties involved into this work could be split in missionary spheres as: pastoralism in the mono-ethnic Romanian communities of Buzaul Ardelean (today, county of Covasna) and Depresiunea Toplita (today county of Harghita) and, that of the ethnic –mixed community, a small number of Romanian believers in the territory of Ciuc, Odorhei and Treiscaune.

A very important aspect is the relationship between the religious and ethnic identity of the believers, So, also during 1918-1940, when we can speak about the Romanians in the 3 counties, we will understand the orthodox communities, but also the Greek – catholic ones. After 1940 and up to the end of 1944, the a/m religions are mainly non-existent in the statistics that time of, because a forced transferr of the believers in Aug 1940 to Hungarian accepted religions, as a result of the Dictate of Vienna and the actions in the north Ardeal, of the Hungarian regent, the admiral Miklós Horthy: Catholicism, mostly in the area of current Harghita county, and Protestantism, respectively Reformed religion, in the current Covasna county.

With all the malfunction of Romanian specific politicking with all the difficulties encountered by the public local administration against the population of the area, the support of Orthodox Church and Greek-catholic in the 3 counties, these ones being one of the priority of the Romanian society in the interbelic period.

The solidarity manifested over the Romanians in the former Sekler areas before the Great Union of 1<sup>st</sup> Dec 1918 have acquired new valences and pragmatic aspects after. Financial support focused on the establishment of new churches, parochial houses, cultural houses, libraries, associations for the Szeklered Romanians, but in fact it was desired to maintain and support the national identity elements characteristics.

It is pointed out schools patronization in Romanian language I the 3 counties by the Normal schools of the country and the poor parishes by the strong schools in the neighbourhood.counties.

Orthodox religion communities out of the Carpathian mountains area got a big support of due to the fraternity with the small parishes of the Intra Carpathian Arch. The embellishing of the new parishes, erection, maintenance and even the establishing of new local church units were the highest ideals of the Romanians living in the country.

The desire of re Romanization has been a real one in the regional, local planning, but unfortunately the effect was not reached, due mainly to administration problems, hesitations, sometimes due also to the small number of believers in a church unit new established and the high degree of Magyarization process.

The most practical accent re.to re Romanization, was developed through peaceful way being more powerful before and after 1937. This thing didn't like to Hungarian ethnics, who considered it an unjust and abusive process. In fact they, under the psycho factor of „ Trianon syndrome”, not from the leak of rights, but from the feeling they dropped down from their statute of landlord to the minoritar one they don't consider the Great Union of 1<sup>st</sup> Dec 1918 being a permanent one and immutable.

The failure of the program is due also to the re Romanization process has started from up to down, namely from the politic side, more less familiarized with the specific of the area and obtained no foreseen results, everywhere registered cases of priests political involvement.

The demographic registered increasing re.to increasing of Romanian orthodox number and Greek-catholics has been realized by: in the villages mainly by re comeback to the traditional Romanian faith, in time Magyarized, and by natural positive increasing, and in the towns mainly by the number of public clerks, teachers and professors, people working in public order, manufacturers and traders.

We realize this very increasing through demographic movement produced the new parished in all these years. A large part of them were the edifices took into consideration by the Horthy's army during Vienna dictate, in order to be destroyed. Some of them disappeared,

no trace behind, others remained in ruins up to establishment of Covasnei and Harghitei Bishopric, where there were some preserved in the limits of possibilities, others only profaned, broken windows, cross destroyed, scratching pictures or covering, changing the holiness destination into warehouses, or even more humiliation, but they resided as building, and after 1945 entered in an ample process of consolidation and restauration, given back to believers in site, or came back or to the new ones.

The new Romanian administration in the territories of the 3 counties, guaranteed the ethnic equality. This administration worked for 22 years, between the Great Union and the Dictate, and then a lot of Romanians have been forced to refugee, or being expelled from the territory ceded to Horthy's Hungary, and those who didn't leave the area have been forced to renege their faith and nation.

Between 1940-1944, after Vienna Dictate, the Romanians drastic decreasing in the 3 counties Ciuc, Odorhei and Treiscaune, was done again in different modes: in villages the Romanian priests and teachers expelled, the local Romanian people push by force to one of the Hungarian confession, in the towns, the Romanians had to refugee, or massively expelled.

The believers religion status in the 3 counties has been fast known and urgently administered by the memory eternal Mitropolitan Nicolae Balan of Ardeal, whom merit was to start the re organization the church life as we told before.

So, the **5<sup>th</sup> chapter** mentions also the support from the hierarchs in area: Patriarch Miron Cristea, Mitropolitul Alexandru Nicolescu (Greek - catholic), Bishops Justinian Teculescu, Veniamin Nistor, Emilian Antal, minister Octavian Codru Teslauanu, Bishop Nicolae Colan and Ghita Pop and other state officials, who guided by heavenly pronounce in other country areas, even they didn't shepherd directly in the territory jurisdiction of the 3 counties Ciuc, Odorhei and Treiscaune, because didn't exist a distinct diocese for the Romanians, in the Intracarpethian Arch, they never stopped to remember the motherland.

To note that some villages, especially in the area of Harghita county today, but but not only, in Covasna the same, run a double canonical jurisdiction, respectively orthodox parishes guarded by Mitropolitan of Ardeal and the Greek-catholic guarded by canonical care of Blaj.

The docs of that time show a good cooperation between Greek – catholic parishes and orthodox ones. Most often, the most important persons of a community were priests, then teachers, often identified each other, having a position of school master, teacher or catechist.

Pastoral activity in all its aspects, teaching, liturgical, cathetical, was the central o community life, fact demonstrated by numerous archive checked docs, which, mainly

Parochial Chronicals, reveals the fact that for some clergy ministry and sermons were daily sanctifying work, offered to believers, bilingual (only preaching and confession). Due to the above, during the researched period, the secular statistics, the handwritten parochial census, show the believers' number increased sometimes considerably – we remember Bixad, where, between the 1<sup>st</sup> canonic visit of Metropolitan Balan and of the moment of sanctification of believers, their number tripled, from 300 to over 1000, and this is not the sole case, due to the pastoral work fruitfulness, small communities grown, or, communities with no believers, came from motherhood of the neighboring communities, bigger or well matched, having a big number of Magyarized Romanians, pushed to Hungarian cults.

In this very moment of the history, the clergy coordinated by the Chiriarih representatives in territory, became the 1<sup>st</sup> symbol of the villages or towns entrusted. About this fruitfulness implication, over time they watched it the Deans, who remain ones of the most important leaders of Romanian communities, resolving operatively both pastoral care of the faithful problems and the relationships with the local public administration. An important event was the Orthodox and Greek-catholic churches appropriation with arable land, forests upon the decision of Agrarian Reform beginning on 1921.

During the reference period, we observe the existence of a priests big fluctuation, proving a lot of aspects of no integration of these ones in the parochial communities, leading to their weakening. Neither dictatorship years didn't make easy this mission, noticing the expulsion of parish priests, and under the supervision of Arch Bishop's Center, the only one hierarch in territory, Bishop Nicolae Colan, delegate new ones to spiritual administration of remained communities in the ceded territory, and the few orthodox church's sacred goods.

The most difficult problem to manage appeared in the clergy expelled in 1940 and returned in 1945, and who met in some communities the priest who pastored during Horthy's time. All situation signed by pacts have been managed smartly by the deacon in office, being supported by Archiepiscopate of Alba Iulia and Sibiu, who have replaced, coming back, the vacancy of some parishes remained without shepherd.

Therefore, the 5<sup>th</sup> chapter represents a real commemoration of the Romanian nation mirrored in its religious leaders, both of superior clergy, and the inferior one, exhausting preservers of the Romanian national-religious identity in „Szeklerized Land”.

**6<sup>th</sup> chapter** captures the outstanding personality of the spiritual and administrative genius, the Transylvanian Great Hierarch Nicolae Balan, in the light of the work done on the occasion of his canonical visits in „Szekler land”, of the ordination and clergy delegation, Romanian and Hungarian speakers, who can preach the Gospel's word, to built-up new

parish churches in the territory, to consolidate the historical ones, an ample correspondence with Protopopoi Offices, a financial support in order to terminate the works begun, a visionary thought of the division into smaller protopopobic units, to improve the clergy missionary activity a.s.o.

**The last chapter** of this study, is about scholar problematics. Regarding the cooperation Church - School and local administration locală, we noticed some malfunctions and difficulties in work, which led mainly, to more difficulties in the Romanian communities.

Most often the school masters were teachers with lack of funds for church needs, fact reflecting over the institutional part of education. Most encountered problem was to get firewood (e.g. Belin and Porumbeni Mari), the appropriate salary was not granted for lack of funds.

Identification of the salary scales of the clergy in Szekelyzed land, represents a good price, mainly due to the fact a large part of them worked in the lower limit of these scales because, during the reference period, the church life at the organization – administration level in the new established parishes, the priests were debutants. This situation had 2 constants accompanied it everywhere: a relative good situation in the Romanian areas Toplita and Buzau, and a precarious clergy situation in the territory of Baraolt, Ciuc, Giurgeu and Odorhei, where the small number of believers influenced both the life and priest mission including his family one.

This didn't weakened at all the clergy level of implication in their believers life, smaller or bigger, because through and by the support of the new associations, or women's organization & meetings, there were cultural holidays, concerts, charitable events having an external purpose (e.g. Gheorgheni, raising funds for Basarabia), or internal purpose (parties with raising funds for the construction of new worship places ; e.g. Sanmartin, Gheorgheni, Baile Tuşnad, a.s.o.).

This evolution has been brutally interrupted after 1940, when the Vienna Dictate abolished all Romanian life, Romanian institutions, destroyed human destinies by murders, tortures, deportations, etc., and so, after March 1945, a significant part of the former believers of Romanian parishes in the mixed ethnicity places, especially the Greek-catholic ones, not to come back, losing their religion and language, too.

There were also believers who lost their language, but not their faith. For these ones, a considerable support for the linguistic identity, the costume, traditions, all defining elements of Romanian people, was represented by Astra, Fraternity Sfântu Gheorghe, branches of



Romanian orthodox meeting and also the small local associations, mainly led by parish priest. Existence of parochial libraries has facilitated on the other hand, language support.

Registration of itinerant fairs across Intracarpathian Arch has facilitated not only the goods trading but the ideas exchanging, the behavior and education in the trans-carpaths, in Moldova, or Old Kingdom, helping in maintaining language especially, and secondary and the tradition and customs. These premises strengthened by the existence of popular hymnography, songs about the day-by-day inhabitants' life, habits linked to great Feast of the Church, and of the Romanian national dances. We notice the common people transposes the idea of religion in his daily behavior, showing a big value ethnicity balance, fact surely helped him to maintain his, even during times of restraint, the nation defining personality.

The war time brought large imbalances not only inter-humans but also personal ones at the individual level on his moral side of his life. Church had a lot to do, to fight in order to destroy the aftermath of the interbelic society, regarding decadency of the institution of Marriage, Concubinage, mourning and divorce, which represented also during this period, a principal point of the missionary-pastoral list.

Romanians' profile in the countries of Ciuc, Odorhei and Treiscaune was marked by its ethnogenesis, region he coming from, observing sensible differences between the Romanian living in a monoethnic Romanian area (Araci, Valcele, Haghig, Zagon, Covasna, Zabala, Bretcu a.s.o., in the actual county of Covasna, but also Toplita, Voşlabeni, Sacel, Sarmas, Vidacut a.s.o., in the actual county of Harghita) and the Romanian living in the multi-ethnic area ( Baraolt, Baţani, Herculian, and other, in the actual county of Covasna, Odorheiu Secuiesc, Cristuru Secuiesc, Bodogaia, Vlahiţat a.s.o. in the actual county of Harghita).

The vast majority of population in these settlements was bilingual, living together in peace, showing constructive competitiveness, in social, cultural, religious plan: they participated at cultural holidays together, helping each other in agriculture, in churches construction, in fact showing a specificity characteristic of multi-ethnic communities as in any part of the world.

About all these were presented in press informations that time, both Hungarian and Romanian, which have become history of human solidarity in these regions, good cohabitation during 1918-1940 in the Intracarpathian Arch, but also about intolerance found in 1940-1944.

If the inter-war climate was an enlightening one of good cohabitation and mutual support, less the known exceptions, Horthy's policy after the Vienna dictate, has been one of tragism, already repeated in the history of these places. The archives' docs present also about

an exemplary solidarity of the Romanian over Carpathian mountains, with the expelled Romanians from north Transylvania (Ardeal).

Some docs speak about the end of the WWII when the Horthy's leaders quickly turn on communists, starting persecution against former leaders of Romanian nation, priests included.

Even the support of Alba Iulia and Sibiu Archiepiscopate, of Blaj, the Romanian parishes in the area, after 1945 they could not recover their confiscated goods by Horthysts and could not get back to church the believers forced to go to Hungarian church.

In these conditions, thanks God, the Romanian communities were able to survive. The Holy Ancestral Church was sole institution which Romanians trusted, steadfastness in faith, keeping his identity, heir of all generations.

The investigated period for this present study, is constituted as a history sheet of the nation church, including the two distinct stages: recovering the wounds of the past and making some natural achievements (1919 -1940), and, the „black” period when all these achievements have been destroyed with unfavorable consequences on Romanian identity in these areas (1940 -1945).

Besides atrocities, humiliations, deportations and all other trials attempted by the Romanians in the territories ceded to Horthy's Hungary, one of the most serious consequence was the idea induced in the community mentality, that the Union on 1<sup>st</sup> Dec 1918 is not a definitive paper. This state of mind is still visible in the separatist and autonomist projects promoted in the post-December period.

We consider, the presented info accomplished the purpose of this present work, respectively to identify and to present the Romanian communities life and their main identity institutions during 1918-1945, to bring to light a less known history, too, regarding the Romanian people that has lived in the reference period, in the Intracarpatic Arch area, desiring to be just a historic excursion, objective, based on archival secular and church documents, and on several works and studies, specialized articles.

Only the standing faith in God has made it possible for the inhabitants of region to overcome all these large difficulties, hoping to continue the sacrifice of forefathers that the Romanians existence remains in their native lands, along with those with whom God with his caregiving power, has ordained to live.

Traducere de Adrian Fiat, Traducător autorizat

Key – word:

documentary archive, hierarhical territorial-administrative units, ecclesial community, interwar society, interculturalism, confessional problem, church administration, multiethnicity, pluriconfessionality, microregion

## **Contents**

### **Introduction**

Argument. Historiography of the subject, motivation of the choice and methods of research

Argument. Historiography of the subject

Motivation of the choice of subject

Methods of research

### **Chapter I. Geography and historical context. Demography of the region**

I.1. Geography

I.2. Historical general context

I.2.1. Historical context characteristic to the intra-Carpathian area

I.3. Demography of the region

### **Chapter II. Romanian archpriestships and parishes in Ciuc, Odorhei and Treiscaune counties (1918-1945)**

II.1. Definition of the term. The role of the archpriestship as an administrative-territorial unit.

Orthodox archpriestships

II.2. The Romanian Orthodox Archpriestship Treiscaune

II.3. The Romanian Orthodox Archpriestship Sfantu Gheorghe

II.4. The Romanian Orthodox Archpriestship Oituz

II.5. The Romanian Orthodox Archpriestship Odorhei

II.6. Greek-Catholic Archpriestships

II.6.1. The Greek-Catholic Archpriestship Treiscaune

II.6.2. The Greek-Catholic Archpriestship Giurgeu

II.6.3. The Greek-Catholic Archpriestship Odorhei

II.7. Achievements of the Orthodox Church life

### **III. Parishes and Monasteries. Micro-monographies....**

III.1. Parishes and Monasteries. General data.

III.2. Orthodox and Greek-Catholic parishes in the inter-Carpathian region. Important data.

A. Romanian Churches from the Archpriestships of Treiscaune, Sfântu Gheorghe and Oituz (Covasna county today)

III.2.1. “St. George” Church, *Băţanii Mari*

III.2.2. “St. George” Church, *Aita Medie*

III.2.3. Church of “The Dormition of the Theotokos” and the Church of “Saint Apostles Peter and Paul”, *Lisnău*

III. 2.4. Church of “The Dormition of the Theotokos”, *Sita Buzăului*

III.2.4.1. “St. Martyr George” Church, *Întorsura Buzăului*

III. 2.5. “Symeon the Stylite” Church, *Aita Seacă*

III.2.6. “Saint Nicholas of Myra” Church, *Sânionlunca*

III.2.7. “Saint Archangels Michael and Gabriel” Church and “Holy Three Hierarchs” Church, *Baraolt*

III.2.8. “Saint Archangels Michael and Gabriel” Church, *Iarăş*

III.2.9. “Saint Apostles Peter and Paul” Church, *Bicfalău*

III.2.10. “Saint Parascheva” Church, *Păpăuţi*

III.2.11. “Saint Martyr George” Church, *Aita Mare*

III.2.12. “Saint Demetrius” Church, *Bixad*

III.2.13. “Holy Trinity” Church, *Chichiş*

III.2.14. “Saint Elijah” Church, *Zăbala*

III.2.15. Church of the “Nativity of the Theotokos”, *Brădet*

III.2.16. Church of the “Exaltation of the Cross”, *Belin*

III.2.17. Church of “Saint Martyr George and Saint Hierarch Nicholas of Myra”, *Sfântu Gheorghe*

III.2.18. “Saint Nicholas of Myra” Church, *Ormeniş*

III.2.19. Church of “The Dormition of the Theotokos”, *Lunca Călnicului*

III.2.20. “Saint Hierarch Nicholas of Myra” Church, *Căpeni*

III.2.21. “Saint Apostles Peter and Paul” Church, *Comolău*

III.2.22. Church of “The Dormition of the Theotokos”, *Târgu Secuiesc* and “Saint Martyr George” Church, *Cernatu De Jos*

III.2.23. “Saint Elijah” Church, *Ojdula*

III.2.24. “Saint Demetrius” Church, *Boroşenu Mare*

III.2.25. Church of Băţanii Mici, *Băţanii Mici*

III.2.26. Church of “The Dormition of the Theotokos”, *Biborţeni* and “Saint Demetrius” Church, *Herculian*

III.2.27. “Saint Nicholas of Myra” Church, *Breţcu*

III.2.28. “Saint Martyr George” Church, *Lemnia*

III.2.29. “Saint Archangels Michael and Gabriel” Church, *Poiana Sărată*

III.2.30. “Saint Hierarch Nicholas of Myra” Church, *Micfalău*

- III.2.31. “Saint Theodore Stratelates” Church, *Vâlcele*
- III.2.32. “Saint Archangels Michael and Gabriel” Church, *Vârghiș*
- B. Romanian churches from the Archpriestships of Ciuc, Oituz, Odorhei and Giurgeu (Harghita county today)
- III.2.1. Church of the Annunciation, *Feleag*
- III.2.2. “Saint Demetrius” Church, *Subcetate*
- III.2.3. Church of the “Nativity of the Theotokos”, *Sărmaș*
- III.2.4. Church of the “Nativity of the Theotokos”, *Livezi*
- III.2.5. Church of the “Nativity of the Theotokos”, *Barasău*
- III.2.6. “Saint Archangels Michael and Gabriel” Church and “Saint Hierarch Nicholas of Myra” Church, *Toplița*
- III.2.7. Church of the Pentecost, *Corbu*
- III.2.8. “Saint Apostles Peter and Paul” Church, *Miercurea-Ciuc*
- III.2.9. “Saint Elijah” Church, *Pintec*
- III.2.10. “Saint Elijah” Church, *Făgețel*
- III.2.11. The Cathedral “Saint Hierarch Nicholas of Myra”, *Miercurea-Ciuc*
- III.2.12. “Holy Trinity” Church, *Praid*
- III.2.13. Church of the Annunciation, *Izvorul Mureșului*
- III.2.14. “Holy Emperors Constantine and Helena” Church, *Sâncrăieni*, “Saint Martyr George” Church, *Ciucsângeorgiu* and the parish “Saint Hierarch Nicholas of Myra”, *Lăzărești*
- III.2.15. Church of “Saint Apostles Peter and Paul” and “Saint Hierarch Hicholas of Myra”, *Bilbor*
- III.2.16. “Saint Archangels Michael and Gabriel” Church, *Hodoșa*
- III.2.17. “Holy Emperors Constantine and Helena” Church, *Odorheiu-Secuiesc*
- III.2.18. Church of the Transfiguration, *Odorheiu-Secuiesc*
- III.2.19. “Saint Martyr George” Church, *Cristuru-Secuiesc*
- III. 2.20. Church of “Saint Martyr George” and “Nativity of the Theotokos”, *Gheorgheni*
- III.2.21. “Saint Archangels” Church, *Petecu*
- III.2.22. Church of the “Dormition of the Theotokos”, *Băile Tușnad*
- III.2.23. “Saint Martyr Demetrius” Church, *Siculeni (Ciceu)*
- III.2.24. “Saint Archangels” Church, *Ghimeș-Făget*
- III.2.25. “Saint Martyr Demetrius” Church, *Bicazul Ardelean*
- III.2.26. Ditrău Church, *Ditrău*
- III.2.27. Church of the “Dormition of the Theotokos”, *Frumoasa*
- III.2.28. Mărtineni Curch, *Mărtineni*
- III.2.29. Church of the “Dormition of the Theotokos”, *Tulgheș* and “Saint Archangels Michael and Gabriel” and “The Beheading of the Glorious Prophet Forerunner and Baptist John”, *Tulgheș – Gura Pârâului Mare*

- III.2.30. Jimbor Church, *Jimbor*
- III.2.31. “Saint Hierarch Nicholas of Myra” Church, *Corund*
- III.2.32. “Saint Martyr George” Church, *Uilac* and Church of the “Dormition of the Theotokos”, *Vidacut*
- III.2.33. Lupeni Church, *Lupeni*
- III.2.34. Mugeni Church, *Mugeni*
- III.2.35. “Saint Hierarch Nicholas of Myra” Church, *Racoșu de Sus*
- III.2.36. “Saint Apostles Peter and Paul” Church, *Vlăhița*
- III.2.37. “Saint Hierarch Nicholas of Myra” Church, *Porumbenii Mari*
- III.2.38. Borsec Church, *Borsec*
- III.2.39. Sânmartin Church, *Sânmartin*
- III.2.40. Church of “Saint Hierarch Nicholas” and “Saint Archangels Michael and Gabriel”, *Bodogaia*
- III.2.41. “Saint Archangels Michael and Gabriel” Church, *Săcel*
- III.2.42. “Saint Apostles Peter and Paul” Church, *Crăciunel*
- III.3. Monasteries. General perspective.
- III.3.1. Monastery “Doamnei-Moglănești”
- III.3.2. “Făgețel” Monastery
- III.3.3. Monastery of “Prophet Elijah”, *Toplița*
- III.3.4. “Dumbrăvioara” Skete

#### **Chapter IV. Persecutions against Romanians within the inter-Carpathian region between 1940 and 1945.**

- IV.1. Magyarization as a consequence of the process of denationalization. General data.
- IV.1.1. dimensions of the process of denationalization of the Romanian population according to the censuses from 1910, 1930 and 1941.
- IV.2. Demolition and defilement of churches
- IV.3. Atrocities, humiliations and insults
- IV.4. Expulsions and deportations
- IV.5. The Romanian Orthodox Church in Cuc, Odorhei and Treiscaune counties during the Second Vienna Award and after the 23<sup>rd</sup> of August 1944

#### **Chapter V. Church representatives within the inter-Carpathian region. Archpriests. Priests. Hieromonks in the period between 1918 and 1945. General aspects.**

- V.1. Hierarchs
- V.1.1. Miron Cristea
- V.1.2. Justinian Teculescu
- V.1.3. Veniamin Nistor
- V.1.4. Nicolae Colan
- V.1.5. Emilian Antal

V.1.6. Alexandru Nicolescu

V.2. Archpriests

V.3. Priests and Hieromonks

V.3.1. Priests

V.3.2. Hieromonks

**Chapter VI. Metropolitan Nicolae Bălan and the Romanian Orthodox faithful within Ciuc, Odorhei and Treiscaune counties. Generalities.**

VI.1. Pastoral visits, assistance of the Archbishopric of Alba Iulia and Sibiu and characteristic problems regarding the region dominated by Szeklers

Chapter VII. Church. Culture. Society in the inter-Carpathian region

VII.1. School

VII.1.1. Remuneration of the priests and teachers

VII.2. Romanian Associations, Organizations, Church and cultural reunions

VII.3. Laic and religious publications

VII.3.1. Aspects of the religious life in the inter-Carpathian region in the national and regional press between 1938 and 1940.

VII.4. Preservation of the traditions and customs of the region

VII.4.1. Projects for national solidarization with the Romanians from the former regions dominated by the Szeklers. Aspects of the phenomenon of re-Romanianizing the County of the Szeklers

VII.4.2. Social actions and Social Assistance in the documents of the time

VII.4.3. Moral state of the faithful. Marriages. Divorces. Concubinage

VII.4.4. Some aspects regarding the identity of the Romanians in the former counties Ciuc, Odorhei, Treiscaune during the inter-war period.

VIII. Conclusions

Appendices

Appendix 1. Religious history and culture. Archives of the Orthodox Churches in the former counties Ciuc, Odorhei and Treiscaune between 1918-1945

Appendix 2. Images. Photographies

Hierarchs. Representatives

Facsimile. Documents

Stamps of the time

Protocols. Edited

Press of the time

Map of Counties Ciuc, Odorhei and Treiscaune

Bibliography

I. Unedited sources

II. Edited sources