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Between empire and nation.
Romanian churches in Austria-Hungary
between dynastic patriotism and national identity
(1892-1918)

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SUMMARY

The study of identities and collective loyalties has also become a topic of interest for Romanian historiography in the last decades. The liberal climate that followed the collapse of communist totalitarianism encouraged and stimulated research in this direction, so that, on the subject of national, political, confessional identities, etc. made significant contributions in some fields of humanistic research such as history, sociology, ethnology, psychology, anthropology, etc. Consonant with this line of study, the Romanian scientific research wanted to synchronize with the international scientific debate, from which to take research methodologies and models, which would bring more knowledge by applying them to Romanian realities.

The present doctoral thesis approaches an issue situated somehow at the meeting between the political or national-political history and the church history of the Romanians from the Austro-Hungarian monarchy at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. The research concerns aspects of political power and loyalty, the way Romanians related to state power structures in this period of late modernity, time period investigated by the present research. The fundamental research question focuses on the exploration of the way in which the two Romanian Churches, Orthodox and Greek-Catholic, participated in the elaboration of the identity political culture and the identification of their contribution to the "construction"/ generation of loyalty to sovereigns (if we can assert this), respectively to the support of loyalty to the top landmarks of the state in which they lived, to the empire, emperor and dynasty, to the House of Austria.

The Romanians from Transylvania, Banat, Crișana, Sătmar and Maramureș were under Austrian rule since the end of the 17th century, when the Habsburg Empire conquered and integrated these territories, and the Romanians from Bucovina came under the Habsburgs after the annexation of this province by Vienna in 1775. Since then, the Romanian people in these regions have experienced major transformations, which in the end meant a process of modernization, stimulated by the reforms of Vienna in the 18th century and after that date. This period also meant for Romanians a continuous effort to maintain and affirm their own national identity, with its basic pillars: language, church, school and culture.

In the relationship with Vienna, the Romanians used the legalistic or petitioner tactic, by sending petitions, memos, or delegations of national leaders to the emperor, to the Court, to

various ministers. This tactic (as a way of thinking, operation/action) that started in the 18th century with the united bishop Innocentie Little Klein continued until the end of the 19th century, the Memorandum of 1892 being a last reference episode in this order of ideas.

In the decades that followed the revolution of 1848, new institutions appeared in the lives of Romanians and a secular intelligentsia was formed able to support and promote the national project. Thus, in 1853 the Romanian Greek-Catholic Church was removed from the jurisdiction of the Hungarian Roman-Catholic archbishopric of Esztergom, raised to the rank of Metropolis and placed under the direct obedience of the Holy See; at the same time, two new bishoprics are established, based in Gherla and Lugoj.

In the area of the Orthodox confession, we register similar developments, thus the bishop and then the metropolitan Andrei, Şaguna baron, succeeds, after long years of efforts supported with insistence and perseverance, to achieve the hierarchical separation of the Orthodox Romanians from the Serbian Church (in fact from the metropolitanate of Carloviţ, erected in 1855 to the rank of patriarch).

As a culmination of this process, in 1864 the Orthodox Church of the Romanians in Transylvania was raised to the rank of Metropolitan, with the Bishopric of Arad and the Bishopric of Caransebeş, then established, becoming part of its structure. Andrei Şaguna designed a single metropolitanate for all the Orthodox Romanians in the Austrian Empire, which included those from Bucovina, although Eugeniu Hacman did not want to join the Şagunian project, intending to obtain for himself the position of metropolitan (something he will succeed to achieve in 1873).

The establishment of canonically independent metropolises from other foreign jurisdictions meant an extraordinary acquisition, equivalent to the application of the national principle in the church life of the Romanians in the Habsburg Empire, which became a dualistic monarchy with the compromise of 1867. Based on the legal framework in the south-eastern part of the empire (Transleithania), and the law of nationalities from 1868 must be mentioned here, the two Churches were able to support a network of elementary schools in the villages, along with several gymnasiums and high schools, as well as seminaries for the training of priests, in Blaj and Sibiu, with an impact of major importance on maintaining the cultural-national identity of Romanians. Along the same line of maintaining and affirming the Romanian identity, a major role will be played by cultural associations, starting with ASTRA (Transylvanian Association for Romanian Literature and Culture of the Romanian People) from Sibiu, established in 1861, the collaboration between the two Romanian Churches being essential in its foundation and then in the activity carried out. The Arădean Association for Romanian Literature and the Culture of the Romanian People, established in Arad in 1863, and the Maramureşan Association, established in the Maramureş vicariate by Tit Bud, are also added.

Last but not least, the "professionalization" of the political life of the Romanians in the Empire must be mentioned, by organizing it in the form of a party structure - the Romanian National Party, first on regional criteria in 1869, with two distinct approaches regarding the tactics to be followed, "activism" and respectively "passivism", that were later unified in 1881. In this context, the year 1905 must be mentioned as a turning point for Romanians from the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, because now the generation of politicians named "those who belonged to the new activism", who decided to abandon passivism as a political tactic and enter the electoral battle in order to send deputies to the Budapest Diet. It is about an exceptional generation, which will later, a decade and a half later, have a decisive contribution to the achievement of the union of Transylvania with Romania, a generation that included Iuliu Maniu, Alexandru Vaida Voevod, Teodor Mihali, Ștefan Cicio Pop, George Pop de Bășesti and others.

Thus, in the so-called space of national manifestation of Romanians from the Dualist Empire, institutions of the greatest importance were established in the second half of the 19th century for the maintenance of national identity and for the affirmation of Romanians as a modern nation: two metropolitan provinces, schools, cultural associations, political parties, press. Their importance will be seen during the period of Austro-Hungarian dualism, 1867-1918, when Budapest's assimilationist pressures on non-Hungarian nationalities increased exponentially, the aforementioned institutions having the role of supporting and defending the Romanian cultural-national identity.

Throughout this period, a relationship between the Romanians and the Empire took shape, which at the level of the popular mentality manifested itself in the naive, simple, peasant form of the "good emperor" myth, a form of perception and representation of the power that we meet with Transylvanian Romanians at the time of Horea's uprising, as well as in other peasant social movements of the time. At the level of the Romanian elites, the imperial power with all its components: the Austrian state, the dynasty, the emperor, the Court of Vienna, is perceived in the form of clear ideas and in this case we are talking about a pragmatic loyalty. This type of loyalty was supported and promoted by the leaders of the Romanian nation in direct connection with the petitioner tactics of the national movement, which was based on a certain openness and availability of Vienna towards the nationalities, among which were the Romanians who lived in the Danube monarchy. We find this way of reporting the Romanian "intelligence" to the Empire, especially in the peak periods of the petition movement, as were the memoirs from the period called "Vörmarz", then those from the period immediately following the Pașoptist revolution (1849-1851), "The Blaj Pronunciation", The Memorandum, etc.

Among the institutions that managed the existence of the Romanians as a nation in the empire that became a dualist monarchy from 1867, with a fundamental role in maintaining the very Romanian identity within the motley Danube monarchy, the two Churches, Orthodox and Greek-Catholic, should be mentioned above all. Thus, in essence, the research approach of our work aims to investigate how the two Churches contributed to the "construction" of dynastic loyalty among Romanians and, in direct connection with this, to the elaboration and consolidation of the landmarks of the Romanian national identity. The period chosen for study is 1892-1918, from the Memorandum presented by the Romanians to Emperor Francis Joseph in Vienna, until the Great Union, a time interval of the greatest interest for historical research because now, after the failure of the Memorandum movement, we are talking about a crisis of Romanians' dynastic loyalty to the Empire, enhanced and accentuated during the First World War.

The present work aimed to reflect on the relationship of the ecclesiastical factor with the issue of loyalty to Romanians in Austria-Hungary, in a period marked by two events of maximum relevance for the topic chosen for study: the Memorandum of 1892 and respectively, at the other end, the end of the First World War. Through a series of contributions of Romanian historiography after 1989, especially that of Transylvania, regarding the myth of the "good emperor" and the perception of the Viennese imperial power by the Romanians of the Austrian (later Austro-Hungarian) Empire, the theme of loyalty, perceptible at the political level, but also at the level of ideology and collective mentality, it has emerged as a genuine research issue. Through an analogy, we would offer the image of a research site, which has so far "delivered" studies, articles and books, but without the theme being exhausted. Considering the previously outlined elements, the research question that generated the entire construct of the thesis originates in historical reality and it is based on relevant data provided by the documents of the time. Thus, the way/modalities in which the Romanians related to the two fundamental references of loyalty, imposed by their condition as citizens of the dualist Monarchy, the empire and respectively their own nation constitute the research question. At the operational level our concern was to provide desirable/possible answers based on documentary support, logical-reflexive analysis and data interpretation.

The first chapter of the thesis, Church and nation among Transylvanian Romanians in the second half of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, presents the general framework of the topic addressed, with an as accurate as possible orientation of the thematic framework in which the present research is located. Thus, the main milestones of the church and political-national evolutions in the history of Transylvanian Romanians of the reference period (the second half of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century) are reviewed, without issuing claims of originality or personal contribution.

The original approach of the work is highlighted by chapters II, III and IV, where the presented content respects the historical vein regarding the account of how the two Churches of the Romanians in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy participated in the development, transmission and maintenance of loyalty to the empire and respectively, how the Orthodox Church and the Greek Catholic Church positioned themselves in the dynamics of the relationship between dynastic loyalty or patriotism and national identity. The approach of research, reconstruction, analysis and interpretation for both Churches was based on two categories of sources: the church circulars and the confessional press of the time. The second and third chapters address the two Churches (the Catholic Church and the Orthodox Church) in turn. The structure and the content organisation of Chapters II and III are similar. The research is carried out somewhat "in the mirror", because the role played by the two ecclesiastical structures in the relationship with Romanian national identity and respectively with dynastic patriotism was basically the same.

Thus, in the second chapter, the attention is focused on the Orthodox Church, mainly on following, in a first phase, the way in which the loyalist discourse was elaborated and transmitted through the circulars. Circulars carrying a loyalist message, given/issued by the church authority on different occasions, were identified. For example, we mention: circulars that marked/highlighted the anniversary of the emperor's birthday, the coronation of Francis Joseph in 1867 and respectively Charles IV in 1916 as apostolic kings of Hungary, circulars issued upon the death of Francis Joseph or other members of the imperial family, circulars issued at various times during and after the First World War, with reference to loyalty to the emperor or empire. As part of the research, a series of sources from the Orthodox confessional press were analyzed, namely the newspapers: "Telegraful Român" from Sibiu, "Biserica și Școala" from Arad, "Foaia Diocezană" from Caransebeș.

Thus, loyalist messages expressed on the occasion of the anniversary of the birthday of the Austro-Hungarian emperor-king and empress Elisabeta, as well as the king and queen of Romania, Carol and Elisabeta, were identified in these sources, on the occasion of the death of emperor Francis Joseph, of King Carol from Bucharest, some members of the ruling Habsburg family. Also, in the mentioned newspapers, loyalist messages published on the occasion of the officiating of some marriages within the reigning families of Vienna and Bucharest were identified. From the pages of the Orthodox confessional press, I also retained and analyzed relevant materials for the issue of Romanian national identity, such as the Memorandum movement, the Magyarization policy of the Budapest authorities, the national ideology and the political discourse. Although they were official press organs of some ecclesiastical dioceses, these publications elaborated and transmitted messages to the mass of parishioners with the aim of making them loyal both in relation to the empire and in relation to their own nation.

Chapter III, having an almost identical structure to the previous chapter, analyzed from the perspective of the loyalist discourse the church circulars from the Greek-Catholic environment and, likewise, the press from this Romanian confessional area (the "Unirea" newspaper, the official of the Blaj metropolitanate) . In addition to the reporting on the empire, other topics were also addressed selectively, from the press articles, appreciated as relevant from the perspective of the discourse that aimed at topical issues of the past era. One of the topics valued as having particular importance in the economics of our study issue concerned the Romanian national identity: the Romanian confessional school and the assimilationist policies of the Hungarian governments, the impact of government policies on the church life of Romanians from the Danube monarchy (the establishment of the bishopric of Hajdudorogh), the Memorandum . It was found, as a result of the analyzes undertaken, that the motivation, thematics and the ways of transmitting the loyalist discourse in the Greek-Catholic environment were identical to those generated and transmitted by the Romanian Orthodox confessional structures.

Reflecting on the content of these sources, what we can understand in a first phase was the complex role that the Orthodox Church and the Greek-Catholic Church of the Romanians in Austria-Hungary had to assume, from the perspective of loyalty. These were reference institutions for loyalty to empire and for national loyalty alike. The importance and weight of their strongly marked position in the specific socio-political and cultural-religious context, but also the difficulty of such a position derives from the two planes of loyalty, the empire and the nation, which frequently in that era risked coming into conflict. The episcopate had, in this sense, a difficult and thankless task, to manage the two plans of loyalty, in other words, to position itself in front of them in such a way as to respond to the demands coming from both directions. Romanian bishops have not always managed to maintain the balance between the two points of loyalty, often ending up in the situation of entering into conflict with the regime, or of discrediting themselves in front of their own nation, which naturally had expectations from them in their capacity as representatives leaders of the community.

In the IVth chapter, Identities and loyalties in times of war, the issue of Romanians' reporting to the empire, respectively the nation, in a period of unprecedented crisis of loyalties was addressed. We refer to that period of time in which the evolution of the war and its outcome led to what was called the "separation" of the nations from the empire, the abandonment of the loyalty of the peoples to the emperor and the dynasty, the renunciation of dynastic patriotism in favor of their own national programs and projects. "Finis Austriae", the end of the Austro-Hungarian Empire we appreciate that it highlighted a certain level of superficiality of loyalty towards the motley dualist monarchy. We have in mind the behavior developed even by elite peoples who held a dominant position, such as the Hungarians, who ended up disavowing Charles IV's repeated attempt to regain his throne as "king of Hungary", in 1920.

The content of chapter IV successively illustrates several aspects considered important and of interest for the theme of the thesis. Thus, the evolution of the overall relationship of the two Churches, Orthodox and Greek-Catholic, with the empire, in the second half of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century, is highlighted. Focusing attention especially on the attitude of the orthodox and united hierarchs, towards the state power, respectively towards their own nation, in particular speaking towards the national movement, was a natural part of the construct derived from our research problem. Subsequently, another subchapter focused on relevant aspects of the evolution of the attitude of the two Churches, of the higher clergy in particular, towards the empire during the exceptional period of the war. It should be mentioned, in this context, that the war period stood out as special from the perspective of identity, attachment and loyalty to the peoples of the empire. The concept of "official loyalty" was used for this period, in the idea of emphasizing a way of reporting, required and imposed by the state authority (by the Hungarian governments in particular) to the peoples of Transleithania and which is reflected in the official speech of the bishops, in the pages of confessional newspapers.

A special space was dedicated to the presentation, in a distinct subchapter, of a special case. We refer to the case of the scholar, politician and archbishop Vasile Mangra, Orthodox Metropolitan of Transylvania in the period 1916-1918. The argumentation of the selection of the case and the option to be included in the whole work is based on the fact that his church work and career have been studied so far, as well as his political activity. Instead, this character was less valued and valued from the perspective of loyalty, of his reporting to the regime and, respectively, to the Romanian nation, more precisely to the militant line of the Romanian national movement in the first two decades of the 20th century. The Mangra "case" produced debates and controversies in the era, after 1910, the year of the radical reorientation of his political attitude, both among Romanians in the empire and among those in the Old Kingdom. The same state of affairs is also found in the perception of posterity, remaining a controversial character for a long time. We appreciate that the reception of posterity was to a good extent superficial, limited, reduced to a few symbolic gestures, of great impact in their time, as was the circular given by the metropolitan in September 1916, condemning Romania's entry into the war against Austria-Hungary and respectively of the Romanian army in Transylvania after August 27, 1916. However, this does not exhaust his entire political conduct in the context of the war, nor before it. We advocate / plead for a more nuanced approach and a closer analysis of his gestures and decisions. We must admit that the position of the Romanian elites towards the two terms of reference in terms of loyalty, the empire and the nation respectively, was not a unitary and univocal one. Mangra was neither the first nor the only Romanian deputy, in the Hungarian Diet, with a "government program", characters of this kind appearing even before his entry into political life and until the end of the Dual Monarchy. On the other hand, his behavior in political terms, including from the position of bishop, sheds light on the fragility and pronounced difficulty in

which the Romanian bishops found themselves. We are referring to the fact that the higher clergy of the two Churches, in the relationship with the Hungarian dualist regime, which progressively gave up its liberal approach towards nationalities in favor of unequivocal assimilationist pressures and an attitude that during the war years was of an increasingly pronounced harshness towards the non-Hungarian peoples of Transleithania, often had an ungrateful situation.

A last subchapter of Chapter IV draws the behavioral line on the dimension of the two Romanian Churches' renunciation of dynastic patriotism in the fall of 1918, respectively, highlighting the way in which their "separation" from the empire took place. In order to underline/mark the transition from "official loyalty" for the dualist state to the complete and definitive withdrawal on the part of the Romanian national program at the end of the war and to the movement for union, a return to church newspapers was resorted to, thus highlighting, selectively, the content of some materials published in the Romanian confessional press from October-November-beginning of December 1918. The newspapers of the two churches are, thus, a good case study for what was ultimately a transfer of loyalty from the empire to the nation, the abandonment by the Romanians of dynastic patriotism in favor of the attachment for the national identity and for the political project that expressed it, namely the leaving of Austria-Hungary and the union with Romania.

In the elaborated work, the element that gives it particularity is defined by the analytical-interpretive contribution to the study of the modern history of the Romanians from the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, an analysis on a topic about which less has been written in Romanian historiography so far.

Following the research approach presented/illustrated in the paper, we draw the conclusion according to which it is obvious that the two Romanian Churches had a major role in the issue of loyalty, of their attitude towards the Empire. Churches have traditionally played the role of intermediary between communities and the state, between their own parishioners and the imperial structures, so they took over the loyalist discourse from power and disseminated it through specific channels (religious services, church circulars, religious press) to the communities of believers. Simultaneously with this intermediary role, the Orthodox Church and the Greek-Catholic Church of the Romanians from the dualist Empire participated in the "construction" of the loyalist discourse by elaborating specific contents in this sense. This is how both Churches have adapted the loyalist messages from the "higher fora".

The two Churches were at the same time fundamental references for the national identity of their own believers, massively participating in the elaboration and dissemination of the identity discourse

towards them. This role of identity reference stood out more prominently in more difficult, more tense periods, when the policy of Hungarian governments towards nationalities became more oppressive. As an example, we can recall the situation of confessional schools, which represented one of the areas most targeted by the assimilationist policies of the Budapest governments in the last decades of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. The quality of fundamental identity reference for shepherding communities was publicly assumed in the most obvious way through the religious press, which systematically published materials with explicit or implicit identity significance, as we tried to show in chapters II and III of the work.

At the level of representation, involvement and execution, both Romanian Churches had a role of major importance in the relationship with the Empire and equally, in relation to their own nation. The two Churches always had to maintain a balance between the two references of loyalty, the empire and the nation, a situation not infrequently difficult, complicated and difficult to manage, especially at the level of the episcopate's attitude and positions. During the World War, the position in which the two Churches found themselves ended up being a downright ungrateful one, so the dualist state exerted increasing pressure on them to make their parishioners loyal in order to keep them within the perimeter of "official" loyalty of patriotism for the "common throne and fatherland". This pressure from the Hungarian authorities became more and more pressing as the crisis of Romanians' loyalty to the dualist empire intensified. This fact was recorded especially in the second part of the war, after the entry of the Romanian extra-Carpathian kingdom into the conflict. Realizing in the new context the deterioration of feelings of loyalty for the dualistic monarchy among Romanians, the Hungarian authorities outbid, asking the Church and lay elites alike for public declarations of loyalty, in the hope that these will serve as benchmarks and will be followed by the rest of the Romanians, by the Romanian public opinion. Such an example is represented by the Circular of the Orthodox Episcopate from September 1916 or the Declaration of Allegiance from February 1917.

The ungrateful and at the same time paradoxical position of the Romanian Churches during the war resided in the fact that, on the one hand, they had to satisfy the regime's desire to spread "official loyalty" at the community level and, at the same time, endure the rigors of a state that apply some of the harshest and most repressive policies to the Romanian ecclesiastical and cultural space. Suffice it to mention here the arrest and deportation of numerous priests in the western counties of Hungary (in the Sopron region, especially), as well as the "cultural zone" project, whereby hundreds of confessional elementary schools near the border with the Old Kingdom were expected to be transformed into state schools. In other words, the dualist regime

"exploited" the two Churches of the Romanians, Orthodox and Greek Catholic, as intermediaries and "providers" of loyalty for the Romanians. At the same time, through the treatment applied, it demonstrated to them that, fundamentally, the same regime did not trust the Romanians and their Churches and that it was aware of the devastating effects of the loyalty crisis among non-Hungarian nationalities.

In this equation of the double loyalty that had to be taken into account by the Churches, the Empire and respectively the Nation, the episcopate, the high Romanian prelates from the two confessions, deserve an additional reflection. In relation to the regime, the bishops traditionally ensured the function of representation, not only in a symbolic way, but also in the representative political bodies, as it was, in the dualist period, the House of Magnates, where the leaders of the religious cults had the right to be senators. They were also the most exposed, so to speak, as a result of their proximity to the Hungarian political class. They were the first "link" that took over, during the war years, the official loyalist discourse desired by the power and passed it on, through specific channels, to the communities. The difficulty and particularly delicate character of their position was given by the fact that they had to refer permanently to the two points of loyalty: the Empire (the dualist state, after 1867) and the Romanian Nation respectively. A too strong attachment to one of the two levels of loyalty jeopardizes their image and credibility with the other. We emphasize the difficulty and particularly ungrateful nature of the Romanian bishops, from this perspective. As an example, we bring up the reception of the Greek-Catholic bishop of Gherla, Ioan Szabo, from the militant line of the Romanian political-national movement in Austria-Hungary, who considered him a "Magyar", a loyalist of the dualist regime until total enfeoffment. In this regard, we recall the comments of canon Ioan Boroş regarding the positioning of his diocesan bishop from Lugoj, Vasile Hossu, whom he considered, in a particularly critical key, a man of the regime, not to mention the attitude and the behavior of Vasile Mangra from the period 1910-1916 and successively, between the years 1916-1918, when he held the position of Orthodox Metropolitan of Transylvania.

In this difficult and complicated "balancing" that the bishops of the two Romanian confessions had to practice in the relationship of loyalty with the Empire and respectively with their own Nation, the question that remains is related to the nature and degree of sincerity of their feelings in relation to the dualist state. We understand that their loyalty was more of a kind of mandatory "uniform" that they had to wear as public figures and representatives of their nation to the authorities. Certainly in their manifestation of "adherence" to the emperor, the dynasty, the "high throne" and to the government there was also a certain dissimulation, but we believe that at

the same time there was a certain commitment and a certain seriousness... at least until the possibility of the collapse of the dualist monarchy became a plausible one, which happened very late, only in the last month of the war (October 1918).

In order to reconcile the two demands of loyalty, the Romanian bishops practiced a discourse that simultaneously promoted both references, the empire and the nation, in other words to the extent that they affirmed their loyalty to the emperor, empire, dynasty, they said that they were serving their own nation, that national identity is closely linked to loyalty to the 'high throne'.

In connection with the attachment to their own nation, Transylvanian Romanians practiced, not always explicitly, but obviously, another dynastic loyalty, that for the kings and the ruling House of Bucharest. Since 1883, this fact was simplified as a result of the alliance treaty between Romania and Austria-Hungary, so officially the Romanian kingdom and "our monarchy" were considered to be friends, an aspect that can be found in the pages of Romanian, confessional or opinion newspapers from the Austro-Hungarian Empire. This inclusion of the Romanian kingdom in the international system of alliances facilitated a certain reporting of the Romanian public opinion from Austria-Hungary to the Romanian nation as a whole, it favored the expression of national solidarity. In this context, the pages of Romanian newspapers from the Dualist Empire, including church ones, constantly published more specific or more extensive information about the exponents of the monarchy from Bucharest, King Carol I and Queen Elizabeth, about the royal family, about the king's relationship with the political class, about the celebration of May 10, etc. This was the indirect method available to the Romanians of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy to consider themselves sentimentally, symbolically, "subjects" of the Romanian monarchy as well, and to consider Carol I and then Ferdinand as the king of all Romanians. In this sense, the transfer of loyalty from the empire to the nation, which the Romanians from the Austro-Hungarian Empire achieve with the collapse of the dualist monarchy at the end of the First World War, can be understood as a transfer of loyalty from the House of Habsburg to the king to all Romanians, the kings of Great Romania, Ferdinand and Maria.

This positive attitude of Romanians towards the Empire, called in the era and later in historiography as loyalty, dynasticism, dynastic patriotism, took shape with the beginnings of legalist petitionism, as a tactic of the Romanian political-national emancipation movement, in the 18th century and it was consolidated in the two centuries in which the Romanians from Transylvania, Banat, Crisana, Maramureş and Bucovina were subjects of the Habsburgs, within

the Austrian Empire and the Austro-Hungarian Dual Monarchy after 1867. Although it remains as an attitude and as a mentality specific to the Romanian elites (including the church ones), until the end of the Empire, being defined as "pragmatic loyalty", this attitude knows several episodes of more significant deterioration in the second half of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century (at the end of the Pasoptist revolution, with the inauguration of Austro-Hungarian dualism, in the context of the Memorandum movement). The period of the World War was known as a crisis of great proportions of loyalty at the level of all the peoples of the empire, which had as a consequence, in the context in which Austria-Hungary came out of the war as a defeated country, the categorical option of these peoples to be separated from the "common homeland" and follow the path of their own national projects. Thus, the Romanians' loyalty to the Empire and then renouncing this attitude was not a singular fact, given that all the peoples who lived under the Habsburgs publicly expressed feelings of loyalty towards the "high throne" and the "common homeland", and at end of the first world conflagration opted for the transfer of allegiance from empire to nation.

Seen in retrospect, from the perspective of Romanian values and mentality after the Great Union, this positive reporting of Romanians from the former Danube monarchy to the Empire seems, at first glance, more difficult to understand. On the other hand, we believe that it is fundamentally wrong to criticize this loyalty of the Romanians to the Habsburgs and their empire from the perspective of a later value system, that of our times. At the same time, it seems obvious to us that loyalty to an Empire in which the Romanians ended up living, against their will, was a form of realism and adaptation to a situation they had to live with for a long time.

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CUVINTE-CHEIE

- Biserica Ortodoxă,
- Biserica Greco-Catolică,
- loialism,
- patriotism dinastic,
- identitate națională,
- dinastia de Habsburg,
- criza loialităților,
- circulare bisericesti,
- presa confesională