ABSTRACT

Dynamic Civil Religion and Religious Nationalism: The Roman Catholic Church in
Poland and the Orthodox Church in Romania, 1990-2010

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This dissertation addresses the association of national identity and religious

tradition of the Polish Roman Catholic Church (PRCC) in Poland and the Romanian

Orthodox Church (ROC) in Romania, and analyses the evolution and the contemporary

significance of sacralized politics. This study relies on a historical comparative study of

two most similar cases and it tracks the evolution and analyses the discourse of the PRCC

and ROC, the state's discourse, and the presence of religious symbols in state institutions.

Using an interdisciplinary comparative method, this study is about the civil religious

attitude of the two ecclesiastical institutions in relation to the nation-state and national

identity in the post-communist period (1990-2012). It looks specifically at the relevance

of religion in connection to nationalism, the official and unofficial discourse of the two

ecclesiastical institutions, at politician's discourse, and lay intellectuals' discourse. The

sacralization of politics concept best explains the gap between the high religiosity

professed by Poles and Romanians and the low participation in religious life and pertains

to the salience of civil religion in the detriment of "traditional" religion. Therefore, this

dissertation asks what is the relation between religion and politics concerning the fusion of sacred ecclesiastical identity and national identity in Poland and Romania. The molding of religion and politics in the sociopolitical and historical context of the nation-state describes a dynamic phenomenon where the nation becomes sacred and the sacred becomes nationalized. It demonstrates that the molding of nationalism and religion materialized in civil religion, political religion and religious nationalism and it indicates a historical debate regarding the proper place of religion in public. In both countries, there was competition and shifts between banal civil religion and more assertive forms like political religion and religious nationalism. Poland and Romania first expressed their national identity by using a civil religious discourse with religious nationalist accents, than this discourse partially shifted towards political religion under the authoritarian Communist regimes and it reemerged as a banal civil religion after 1989.

Dynamic Civil Religion and Religious Nationalism: The Roman Catholic Church in
Poland and The Orthodox Church In Romania, 1990-2010

by

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

This dissertation addresses the association of national identity and religious

tradition in two countries of Central and Eastern Europe (CEE), specifically the Polish

Roman Catholic Church (PRCC) in Poland and the Romanian Orthodox Church (ROC)

in Romania and analyses the rise and the contemporary significance of sacralized politics.

The identity quest might vary in form, substance and intensity[1] and scholars have

wondered if the richness of the category of religion and the protean shapes of nationalism

are enough to mold new hybrids of religious-national identities. The molding of religion

and politics in the sociopolitical and historical context of the nation-state describes a

dynamic phenomenon where the nation becomes sacred and the sacred becomes

nationalized. Therefore this dissertation asks what is the relation between religion and

politics concerning the fusion of sacred ecclesiastical identity and national identity in

Poland and Romania. It looks specifically at the relevance of religion in connection to

nationalism, it analyses the occurrence of those events where religious tradition and

national identity fuse, and finally looks at the attitude of the two ecclesiastical institutions

in relation to the nation-state in the post-communist period (1990-2012). The main

finding is that in the two ecclesiastical institutions religion matters more as carrier of

national goals and identities rather than carrier of piety. Therefore, national identity and

religious identity combine in various ways. This study attempts to demonstrate that this

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[1] Samuel P. Huntington, *Who Are We?: the Challenges to America's National Identity* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2004), 13.

molding of religious-national identity was achieved in two ways: one is through the creation and preservation of an omnipresent civil religion and the other way is the creation and maintenance of two versions of civil religion that are more assertive: political religion and religious nationalism. Nation-states' existence show the pervasiveness of nationalism, and in degrees, on an imaginary nationalistic scale, there is a difference in tension between civil and political religion, and in addition there is a quantitative difference between banal-inward civil religion and assertive-outward religious nationalism. Civil-religion seems to be employed in times of distress, or moments of high intensity of nationalism, and political religion seems employed as a totalizing dogma for an indefinite time horizon, or for as long as some interested actors uphold its power. Compared to religious nationalism, civil religion is a form of banal nationalism that contrasts with the explicit and potentially destructive religious nationalism. This study argues that Poland and Romania have come to express their national identity by using a civil religious discourse based on their religious traditions and majority religion, and it describes how this discourse was taken by the state and transformed into a political religion of religious nationalism and how it reemerged as a civil religion in post-communism. It also shows how nationalism is growing and diminishing in intensity according to external and internal secular factors that create three main variations of sacralized politics. One is the inward/ not imposed/grass root – civil religion or the simple overlapping of the political and the religious; the other is the outward/ imposed/ top down religion, imposed by interested actors through social institutions who seek the total identification of religion and politics equivalent to religious nationalism or political religion; and last, the rejection of any overlapping of the

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political and the religious, which can be again imposed by the state, as in the case of

France or can be an inward desire of the society. Considering the latter's reduced

dimension in the two cases, I will not put emphasis on it throughout the study.[2] For the

sake of brevity in the many possible mutations of the sacred and the political, this study is

limited to the arbitrary and totalizing nature of political religions and the limitations and

tolerance of civil religions.[3] However, it is worth mentioning that these instances are only

degrees in the intensity of the religio-political relation and they are never perfectly and

fully attainable in practice. In the words of Stanley Payne, the concept of civil or political

religion does not refer to an absolute empirical entity but is "simply an analytical concept

and heuristic device, whose validity and utility depends on the care and precision with

which it is employed."[4] Civil religion is the closest related concept to the idea of a hybrid

linking religion and nationalism and the American Civil Religion is the actual religious

belief in nation interpreted as a "common" law, and as a shared political system.[5]

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[2] The fanaticism of imposing secularism should belong to the irrational, if not outright religious cult of Reason.

[3] See Stanley G. Payne, "Conceptualizing Political Religion," in Robert Mallett, Roger Griffin, and John S. Tortorice, *The Sacred in Twentieth-century Politics* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 24; Annika Hvithamar, Margit Warburg, and Brian Arly Jacobsen, *Holy Nations and Global Identities: Civil Religion, Nationalism, and Globalisation* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 12-13; and Emilio Gentile, *Politics as Religion* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 2006).

[4] Ibid., 22. Stanley Payne thinks that the "most important form of political cult at first was nationalism," ibid., 25.

[5] Wojciech Roszkowski notes: "nationalism may be understood as a belief in the political system of a nation-state, as is especially the case in contemporary United States," in Wojciech Roszkowski, "Nationalism in East Central Europe: Old Wine is New Bottles?" in Paul C. Latawski, *Contemporary Nationalism in East Central Europe* (New York, NY: St. Martin's, 1995), 13; regarding the American Civil Relgion see Robert Bellah, "Civil Religion in America," *Daedalus,* Vol. 96, No. 1, (1967): 1-21.

Review of the Literature

The question about the origins of nations and nationalism, mainly the question of to what extent is nationalism a modern phenomenon, has created one of the deepest divides in the study of nationalism— that between the "primordialists/ perennialists" on one side and "modernists / instrumentalists / constructivists" on the other.[6] In short, primordialists argued that the nation is a perennial phenomenon while modernists believe in the modernity of nations. More recently, ethno-symbolism entered this classification as a hybrid theory that stresses the importance and durability of pre-modern ethnic ties and their influence in the modern attempts to forge the nation.[7] Finally, not satisfied by the idea that nationalism diminishes after the moment when nations and states become congruent, scholars like Michael Billig tackled the problem from a different standpoint. He was interested in the nationalist production and reproduction and he was convinced that:

> nationalism does not disappear when nations acquire political roof: instead, it becomes absorbed into the environment of the established homeland…the symbols of nationhood (coins, bank notes, stamps) become part of our daily lives. These small reminders turn the background space into 'national' space.[8]

Billig argues that national identity is not something attached to the people's lives to be used in case of need, but it is rather shut down and quiet most of the times and it is believed to be easily accessible. He expands the term nationalism to include the

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[6] Umut Özkırımlı, *Theories of Nationalism: A Critical Introduction* (New York: St. Martin's, 2000), 60.

[7] Ibid., 61.

[8] Michael Billig in Özkırımlı, ibid., 200; Latawski also wrote that "ethnic diversity, where it exists, has been suppressed by the strength of the unitary state structure so that 'from an ethnical point of view, the West can be compared to an extinct volcano'," the extinct volcano metaphor was used by Kolarz, see Walter Kolarz in Latawski, "What to Do About Nationalism," in ibid., 166.

"ideological means by which nation-states are reproduced" and introduces the term

"banal nationalism" to account for the "ideological habits through which enable the

established nations of the West to be reproduced."[9] Billig notes that identity is not an *a*

priori category, thus, in order for identity to be easily accessible, people need to know

what that identity is.[10] National histories tell people the story of a group with unique

characteristics, in which stereotypes develop to distinguish these unique characteristics

from others' oddness. Aside a national history, the standardization of language, which, in

most cases is the simple handpicking of a regional dialect and the transformation of a

certain vernacular into "high culture" language, is crucial for the formation of national

identity.[11] Therefore, in collective psychology, routinized familiar language is more

influential in nationality because it is the simplest method of reproducing and reminding

about the national identity.[12] In addition, the "national television" networks[13] best

express this phenomenon since they direct their "stories" to a captive audience, which is

the people comprised in the national territory in which their signal broadcasts.

Newspapers are another example of providing the national "story" which is the national

news, as opposed to the "other" news, the foreign news. Nationalism is thus generally

presented as belonging to the periphery, to the non-established nations, and as affecting

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[9] Banal nationalism is a daily process through which the nation is flagged or indicated "in the lives of citizenry," in Michael Billig, *Banal Nationalism* (London: Sage, 1995), 6.

[10] Billig in Özkırımlı, ibid., 200.

[11] Ibid., 201.

[12] Ibid.

[13] This situation best characterized the Communist period when both Poland and Romania had only two television channels, and in Romania, only one had a national audience. There was no competition and definitely, there was no private mass media, which made the task of standardization of not only language and regional differences but of entire world-views completely under the control of state's ideology.

"others," not "us,"[14] it is sometimes considered good/noble (if civic) or bad/ignoble (if ethnic),[15] and it has been seen as a psychological "natural" need, part of the human behavior,[16] at most as benign as national sports. Simply put, national histories and their continuous spread "on air," and since the space conquest, even into outer space, are a dormant form of nationalism, a banal, latent and blurred nationalism,[17] no less potent to do well or harm in moments of need.[18]

With respect to religious hybridization of nationalism, majority of theories point to the emergence of nationalism in the detriment of religion.[19] In an almost evolutionary vision of history it seemed that, modernity has replaced tradition and politics has replaced religion, a process that is today highly debated as to whether it is irreversible or not, whether modernity is the midwife of secularization or not, and whether this replacement

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[14] Michael Billig, *Banal Nationalism* (London: Sage, 1995), 5-6.

[15] Anthony Marx doubts the existence of inclusive nationalisms, and gives the example of American nationalism, long thought to be inclusive, but which excluded people mostly based on race, in Anthony W. Marx, Faith *in Nation: Exclusionary Origins of Nationalism*, (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2003), viii-x, Michael Hechter mentions that the division between the liberal culturally-inclusive and the illiberal culturally-exclusive versions of nationalism are normative differences between nationalist movements but that the study of nationalism cannot differentiate and explain nationalism dimensions on normative grounds, see Michael Hechter, *Containing Nationalism* (Oxford University Press, 2000), 6-7, 15, eBook Collection (EBSCOhost), EBSCOhost, last accessed April 2, 2012.

[16] Billig in Özkırımlı, ibid., 202.

[17] The hanging of the American flag on one's home, or on a public institution draws less attention but it is still part of the complex of "beliefs, assumptions, habits, representations and practices" that reproduce nationalism banally in the everyday life, in Billig, ibid., 6.

[18] "Banality is not synonymous with harmlessness," Hannah Arendt quoted in Billig, ibid., 7.

[19] Kedourie, Elie, *Nationalism* (Oxford, UK: Blackwell, 1960), Anderson, Benedict R. O'G, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism,* (London: Verso, 1991), Gellner, Ernest, *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1983), Hobsbawm, Eric J., *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality* (Cambridge : Cambridge UP, 2005). Dennis Dunn wrote that this view is drawn from the Enlightenment tradition of Rousseau, Voltaire, Diderot, and Robespierre, see Dennis J. Dunn, *Religion & Nationalism in Eastern Europe & the Soviet Union: Selected Papers from the Third World Congress for Soviet and East European Studies, Washington, D.C., 30 October-4 November 1985* (Boulder: L. Rienner, 1987), 1.

was truly possible in the first place. It was usually argued that after the Reformation the authority of the Church was diminished in worldly matters, a process that was deepened by the Enlightenment and the French Revolution.[20] According to Geneviève Zubrzycki's summary of this mainstream view, this meant that religion's influence was reduced in terms of standards of social organization, political legitimacy and sovereignty and as a base of knowledge.[21] While it is evident that these changes did influence religion, a drift that José Casanova aptly divided in three components of secularization,[22] it is more difficult to associate the trend of the rise of nationalism with religion's demise or to assume that the rise of nationalism caused secularization. Liah Greenfeld[23] mentioned that the simultaneity of secularization and nationalism does not necessarily mean that nationalism's success is due to religion's decline, and they should be disentangled, and she placed the beginning of nationalism in Henry VIII's nationalization of the Church. In fact some theorists, Greenfeld included, have seen the growing of nationalism as related to periods of religious mutations which did not exclude religious fervor. Spohn thinks that religion, despite various secularizations and multiple programs of moderniation, remains a highly important factor of national identity and nationalism.[24] Philip Gorski,

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[20] Philip Gorksi argued that on the contrary, the Reformation period was characterized by a high degree of Church discipline and confessionalization. See Philip S. Gorski, *The Disciplinary Revolution: Calvinism and the Rise of the State in Early Modern Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2003).

[21] Geneviève Zubrzycki, *The Crosses of Auschwitz: Nationalism and Religion in Post-communist Poland* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2006), 18.

[22] José Casanova, *Public Religions in the Modern World* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1994), 19-20.

[23] Liah Greenfeld, *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992), and Liah Greenfeld, "(Is Nationalism) The Modern Religion?," *Critical Review,* Vol. 10, No. 2, (1996): 169-191.

[24] Willfried Spohn, "Multiple Modernity, Nationalism and Religion: A Global Perspective," *Current Sociology*, Vol. 51, No. ¾, (May/July 2003), 268-269.

Graig Calhoun, and Anthony Marx point earlier in time to the Reformation as the start moment of national churches in Europe, which allowed for the formation of nation-states along confessional lines.[25]

Other scholars, regularly considered evolutionists, claimed that nationalism is a substitute, or a functional equivalent of religion in the modern world. Émile Durkheim wrote that religions consist of rites and rituals formed around a belief system whose purpose is the reinforcement of social cohesion and morality. In line with Durkheim, a group of theorists among which Hans Kohn, Carlton Hayes, Josep Llobera have portrayed nationalism as coming to fill the vacuum left by religion's retreating and disappearance, and Yael Tamir has called it the "most compelling identity myth in the modern world." [26] According to these theorists, nationalism did not simply replaced religion but it had become a religion in itself. Nationalism is the modern religion, the modern myth, with believers who replace their religious allegiance for national allegiance, and encompassing whole societies for which religion functions to consolidate the group identity.[27]

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[25] Philip Gorski, "The Mosaic Moment: An Early Modern Critique of Modernist Theories of Nationalism," *American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. 95, No. 5, (2000), 1428-1468; Philip Gorski, "Calvinism and State Reformation in Early Modern Europe" in George Steinmetz, *State-Culture: State Formation after the Cultural Turn* (Ithaca: Cornell Univ., 1999), 170; Graig Calhoun, "Nationalism and Ethnicity," *Annual Review of Sociology,* 19,1 (1993), 211-239; Anthony W. Marx, *Faith in Nation: Exclusionary Origins of Nationalism* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2003), 25, 28, 36.

[26] Émile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, (New York: Free, 1995); Carlton J. H. Hayes, *Nationalism: a Religion* (New York: Macmillan, 1960); Hans Kohn, *The Idea of Nationalism, a Study in Its Origins and Background* (New York: Macmillan, 1944); Josep R. Llobera, *The God of Modernity: The Development of Nationalism in Western Europe* (Oxford [England: Berg, 1994); Yael Tamir, "The enigma of nationalism," *World Politics* 47.3 (1995): 418+, Academic OneFile. Web. (1 Mar. 2012), last accessed March 1, 2012.

[27] Smith, Anthony D., *Chosen Peoples* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2003), 123.

Critics like Geneviève Zubrzycki argue that nationalism and religion are two distinct areas, each on its own. She also believes that nationalism as a functional equivalent, which fulfils the same human need as religion, reifies nationalism as an inevitable phenomenon rather than a contingent one. [28] I argue that even if nationalism is contingent to a particular place and time, nationalism being a functional equivalent does not preclude it being the partial equivalent of social cohesion. Nationalism and religion are not comparable in their entirety but in the indubitable aspect that identity and the sacred are both key to social cohesion. Nationalism should not be interpreted to be the inevitable miscegenation of modernity and secularization, it is simply one of the possible results. For example, Romance languages are the possible result of Latin being altered throughout history by German or Slavic influence. Nationalism seems itself the functional equivalent of social cohesion[29] in at least a certain level of the social structure, however false, "invented" or "imagined" that level might be.[30] In other words this interpretation coincides with Anthony Marx's definition of nationalism "as the political sentiment of popular solidarity intended to coincide with states, distinct from analysis of its emergent causes and effects."[31] For Marx the western civic-minded nationalism was

[28] Zubrzycki, ibid., 20-21.

[29] Dennis Dunn argued that some of the most influential thinkers, Moses, Plato, Cicero, Augustine, Aquinas, Pascal, or T.S. Eliot thought that religion and beliefs are the basis of all order. See Dunn, ibid.,5.

[30] Marx Anthony defined nationalism as the solution to the dilemma of achieving popular allegiance and solidarity…"for or against state power," and as "a collective sentiment or identity, bounding and binding together those individuals who are a large-scale political solidarity aimed at creating, legitimating, or challenging states. As such, nationalism is often perceived or justified by a sense of historical commonality which coheres a population within a territory and which demarcates those who belong and others who do not." Marx, ibid., 5-7.

[31] Marx, ibid., 8; Marx sees that "the emergence of nationalism can be explained by the logic of exclusionary cohesion," thus nationalism is exclusive along ethnicity, race, gender, class, religion; religion was according to Marx "the primary basis for mass belief and solidarity," and that religion was a "form of cohesion that states or opponents could attempt to mimic, deploy or harness." in ibid., 24-25. Marx argues

an illusion completed by amnesia, and what really characterizes the emergence of the

centralized state, two centuries before the French Revolution, is the accumulation of

power and homogeneity based on the exclusion of religious minorities.[32]

Raymond Aron and Eric Voegelin are the fathers of the idea of secular and

political religion as the next evolutionary step of religiosity after the abandonment of

traditional religion.[33] In practice, up to a point in time, political religions like Nazism and

Fascism have partially set out to be sacralized politics, and the *Juche* cult in North Korea,

and Bolshevism in Russia set out to be, at least in functional terms, a viable secular

religion which tried to purge religion, to deify its own leaders, to treat canonical

ideologies as Holy Scriptures and to see evil as omnipresent.[34] Historian Emilio Gentile

argues that:

> All the communist regimes established a compulsory system of beliefs, myths,
> rituals, and symbols that exalted the primacy of the party as the sole and
> unchallenged depository of power. They all dogmatized their ideology as an
> absolute and unquestionable truth. They all glorified the socialist homeland and
> imposed a code of commandments that affected every aspect of existence. They
> all safeguarded their monopoly of power and truth through a police state and

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that in the absence of violent religious conflict (Catholic monopoly), nationalist mass passion and political cohesion were relatively limited, as in the case of Spain, and thus popular cohesion is achieved as against heretics, in ibid., 26-27. This argument certainly seems to work for Romanians clearing the historical past of their dynasts' frequent switches between Catholicism and Orthodoxy, see Ovidiu Pecican, *Regionalism Românesc: Organizare Prestatală Şi Stat La Nordul Dunării În Perioada Medievală Şi Modernă* [*Romanian Regionalism: Pre-state Organization and the State in North of the Danube in the Medieval and Modern Period*] (București: Cartea Veche, 2009).

[32] Elites in Spain, England and France united the masses behind them by capitalizing on shared religious sentiments and on persecution of the religious minorities, and after being cleansed of religious dissenters, by the eighteenth century these elites could pursue civic and inclusive state-building policies, in Marx, ibid., 36-37.

[33] Daniel Gordon, "In Search of Limits: Raymond Aron on 'secular religion' and Communism," *Journal of Classical Sociology*, Vol. 11, No. 2, (May 2011), 139-154, and Eric Voegelin, *Political Religions* (Lewiston, N.Y. : E. Mellen Press, 1986). For a summary of the history of the concept, see Jean-Pierre Sironneau, *Sécularisation Et Religions Politiques*[*Secularization and Political Religions*] (La Haye: Mouton, 1982), 205.

[34] Griffin, ibid., 8.

hard-line ideological orthodoxy backed up by constant surveillance and persecution, which enormously increased the number of human lives sacrificed for the triumph of communism. Finally, they all used the sacralization of politics with the ultimate aim of carrying out an anthropological revolution that would transform the population and create a "new man."[35]

Stanley Payne mentions the difficulty of conceptualizing political religions in regards to Bolshevism, and cites Hans Buchheim's distinction between *religionersatz* (religion substitute) and the parasitic *ersatzreligion* (substitute [for] religion).[36] It is problematic to fully discard the evolutionists' theory without seeing that even if nationalism could hardly be interpreted as the next step after the disappearance of religion, some nationalist hybrids certainly wanted and imagined themselves to be the modern religion.[37]Partially, Robert Bellah's American civil religion would also fall under the functionalist-evolutionist understanding of religion, but he specifically noted that this is a religion on its own, a rather non-denominational Judeo-Christian belief[38] with God at its center.[39]

The ethno-symbolist school which is sometimes included in the perennialist school of nationalism mentioned above, emphasized the continuity between religion and nationalism and it does not see the religious age and the nationalist age as two different historical periods. Scholars such as Anthony Smith, Adrian Hastings or John Armstrong

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[35] Gentile, ibid., 114.

[36] Payne, Stanley G., ibid., 26.

[37] For a detailed discussion about political religions see Robert Mallett, Roger Griffin and John S., Tortorice,*The Sacred in Twentieth-century Politics*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), and for a plea for the substantive definitions of religion see Peter L. Berger, "Some Second Thoughts on Functional versus Substantive Definitions of Religion," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, Vol 13, No.2 (June 1974): 125-133.

[38] Recently it is more correct to use Abrahamic belief in order to include Islam.

[39] Bellah, ibid.

argue for the existence of nations, or at least communities that functioned as nations, before nationalism.[40] After Benedict Anderson's dismissal of religion's significance pertaining to nationalism,[41] Anthony Smith and Adrian Hastings were the ones who showed a renewed interest in religion and nationalism. Therefore, for Anthony Smith the idea of national uniqueness and mission comes from religion and religion is also the strongest provider of the cohesion that nations need in order to exist; for Hastings the Bible provided the innovative idea of nation itself.

Critics of this view argued that these historicist scholars have wrongly thought of a continuity between premodern communities (or "*ethnies*") and modern nations without taking into account the amount of modern interventions in the past and its *ad hoc* reconstruction. Even if ancient religious communities played a role and provide the fabric from which modern nations are constructed, religion was not always the hallmark of nations. It seems more cogent to think that ancient communities that did provide some mythical heroes and powerful symbols of national identity did so not at their own will but at the desire of those interested actors who tried to legitimize the modern nation's ancient roots. Even reckoning the ancient chosen people's imagination of something that resembles the nation should still preclude associating their representation with the shape of the modern nation-state. This idea that nations are constructed or "imagined" and

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[40] Adrian Hastings, *The Construction of Nationhood, Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), Smith, ibid., 9-18; John Armstrong, "Nations before Nationalism," in John Hutchinson, and Anthony D. Smith, *Nationalism* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1994).

[41] Benedict Anderson wrote that nationalism occurs with the spread of capitalism and with the printing technology which popularized the vernacular languages, and assumes that national cohesion requires no institutional action. Marx Anthony notes that the spread of communication and literacy did not always had the same unifying effect, but also resulted in conflicts and divisions; Anderson's definition does not account for the central role of state's in "demarcating which particular community emerged and coincided with political institutions" and that if the "imagined communities" explain cohesion they do not explain national cohesion, see Marx, ibid., 15-16, and Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991).

"invented," belongs to the modern school of nationalism which include Benedict Anderson, Ernst Gellner,[42] Eric Hobsbawm and Terrence Ranger, or, Eugene Weber.[43] Zubrzycki's recent study on Poland's religious nationalism, proposes that in order to understand the relation between religion and nationalism, one has to forget the modernization theory's secularization argument, to rethink the link between premodern and modern communal bonds, and last, to focus on "how religion can frame identities …and to show how nationalism impacts the definition of religious identities and religious movements."[44] This solution seems very appropriate to the purposes of this study and I will attempt to interpret my findings through this theoretical lens.

When sociologist of religion attempt to find if the contemporary industrialized society is secularizing or de-secularizing they might in fact be looking at traces of a political rebranding of the religious kind, a re-enchantment.[45] William Cavanaugh argued that among theories which claim that religion faded away and those that claim that religion is "resurging," there is a third option in seeing that religious devotion in the Western world did not go away but migrated to the realm of the nation-state.[46] Griffin wrote that if the states thought they appropriated the Church they might have done so in

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[42] Ernst Gellner posited that in the transition from agricultural to industrial societies (capitalism) requires cultural homogeneity represented by a High Culture, and that nationalism is driven by the demand for this homogeneity which is provided by the state through education, see Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1983), 13.

[43] Anderson B., ibid., Gellner, ibid., Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality* (Cambridge : Cambridge UP, 2005), E. J. Hobsbawm, and Terrence, O. Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition*, (Cambridge. Cambridgeshire: Cambridge UP, 1983), Eugene Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914* (Stanford, CA: Stanford UP, 1976).

[44] Zubrzycki, ibid., 21-22.

[45] Griffin, ibid., 1.

[46] William T. Cavanaugh, *Migrations of the Holy: God, State, and the Political Meaning of the Church* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Pub., 2011), 1.

terms of the institution, and if scholars who studied them followed the same understanding, they were taken by surprise at the return of religion into politics, since they failed to acquiesce the power of the irrational and mythic forces that came with industrialization and modernity.[47]Also Griffin points to the usefulness of a theoretical convergence in the study of "sacred in politics" instead of grouping into opposed ideological camps.[48]

The three groups, the perenialists, the modernists and the ethno-symbolists, argue mainly about when, who, how and where nationalism has occurred. Fred Halliday argues that from a moral point of view the three groups claim less; perenialists claim that the community and the traditions should be followed and obeyed and that the nation is "given" due to structural reasons inherent in the society, and modernists claim that nationalism as a modern invention is rather a delegitimizing factor in any nationalistic attempts.[49] Moreover, Halliday tries to argue against two major *Zeitgeist* assumptions about nationalism, one is that the perenialists think that inter-group and inter-identity conflicts are a natural phenomenon and second that that post-modern thinkers assume that the nation is constructed and that in the general relativity, "normative judgment has little place."[50] However, Gorksi showed that the three main forms of traditional religious interactions with politics, secularism, civil religion, and religious nationalism are actually

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[47] Griffin, ibid., 1.

[48] Ibid., 3.

[49] Fred Halliday, "The Perils of Community: Reason and Unreason in Nationalist Ideology," *Nations and Nationalism,* vol. 6, no. 2 (2000), 156.

[50] Ibid., 156-157.

normative assumptions about the place of religion in public.[51] Therefore, it seems that

normative thinking is essential in understanding civil religion. Among others, Halliday

mentions two ethical claims of nationalism, the principle of superiority of one's nation

towards other nations and a principle linked with the first one, "the dangers of contact

with an external inferior world" or cosmophobia, both closely linked with social-

Darwinism.[52] In addition to celebrating the nation for its superiority, history and

mythologizing are central to nationalism, and "the carnival of mendacity" that Halliday

refers to in regards to nationalism, is in no way innocent or reasonable but is the support

of the objective existence of cultural forms which he terms the "autogenetic culture

fallacy."[53] I take Halliday writing out of the context to express a general view on

nationalism:

> First of all, as the sociology of knowledge tells us, what is presented as given, or
> timeless, is itself a product of social practices, of definition, instruction, writing,
> enforcement. Rather than asking what it is that is in the tradition, we should first
> ask who enforces this account, and how they do it.[54]

Between the perenialists and modernists, the ethno-symbolists stay somehow in

between, the nation has a dose of tradition and a dose of imagination, which function best

when combined and further fused in symbols of common ancestry, present and future

illusions. Grounded on the biblical arguments about chosen people, the fall, revival and

salvation, the "irrational" of the nation needs protection from a higher authority, the state

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[51] Philip S. Gorski, "Civil Religion Today," 7, last accessed March 1, 2012, http://www.thearda. com/rrh/papers/guidingpapers/Gorski.pdf.

[52] Halliday, ibid., 164-165.

[53] Ibid., 167.

[54] Ibid.

or the Church, which are capable of giving a fair dose of unity and harmony through their symbolic monopoly.

The hereby enterprise is a historical one, inherently supple and incomplete regardless of the difficulties of working with a very recent time frame, the last two decades since the fall of communism, regardless of a *longue durée* approach in tackling the formation of the religious and national link. As a historical enterprise this study deals with the common myths that seem to support the identity of each of these nations with a major religious tradition but is not a work on religious imagology. Besides the constructing of negative images perpetrated by Poland and Romania against their neighbors and minorities,[55] Poland and Romania have been–much earlier, and usually by western travelers– themselves demonized , easternized, balkanized and orientalized,[56] often solely on religion, and have been treated grimly as one, as a gloomy European periphery, in-between opposite civilizations.

Historian Emilio Gentile suggests that the hybridization of religious tradition and politics does not have to follow the American model and that civil religion is both a set of common symbols and values and at the same time more than a simple conjugation of values, it is a sacred canopy:

> A civil or political religion may derive from a traditional religion and may make
> use of the latter either directly or indirectly in order to develop a system of beliefs,
> myths, values, symbols, and rituals that confer a sacred aura on political

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[55] Mach recounts how Muslims or Jews in Poland were demonized by "literature, painting and other cultural texts," in Mach Zdzisław "The Roman Catholic Church in Poland and the Dynamics of Social Identity in Polish Society" in Tom Inglis et al, *Religion and Politics: East-west Contrasts from Contemporary Europe* (Dublin, Ireland: University College Dublin, 2000), 117.

[56] For a detailed discussion see Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Book, 1978), Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans* (Oxford: Oxford University Press,1997), and Larry Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe*: *the map of civilization on the mind of the enlightenment* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994).

institutions without subordinating the state to the church, as occurred in the United States, and without establishing a polemical or antagonistic relationship with churches and traditional religions.[57]

Gentile writes that the sacralization of politics began with the democratic, republican and patriotic ideals of the American and French revolutions as a "set of beliefs, values, myths, symbols, and rituals that conferred a sacred quality and meaning on the new political institution of popular sovereignty."[58] Gentile posits an evolutionary view, and, writes that this trend used the impetus of romanticism, idealism, positivism, nationalism, socialism, communism and racism which adopted secular religious expressions that replaced traditional religion. Nationalism, through the principle of national sovereignty, became one of the most important and widespread manifestation of sacralization of politics.[59] In the same vein as Billig, Gentile adds that "various forms of nationalism continue to be the most universal manifestations of the sacralization of politics in the contemporary world":[60]

> Everywhere in the world, buildings, monuments, and statues are used for the symbolic are used for the symbolic representation of the nation, its history, its institutions, and its heroes. Everywhere in the world, the national flag is considered a sacred symbol, and every state has an anthem that exalts the nation's virtues, glories, and immortality in a tone that can only be described as religious. Everywhere in the world, public holidays and majestic ceremonies are on the state's liturgical calendar, renewing and perpetuating the unity and identity of the nation through a ritual commemoration of historical events and personalities.[61]

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[57] Gentile, ibid., xv-xvi.

[58] Ibid., xvi.

[59] Ibid., xvii.

[60] Ibid., xix.

[61] Ibid.

Much has been argued against the existence of secular religions, and if we were to restrict religion to the presence of a transcendental deity, then Taoism, Confucianism, or Buddhism would cease to be a religion and some political ideologies like the popular Nazism which did not deny God, but included the concept in its own ideology, would be seen as fitting Robert Bellah's description of civil religion.[62] Cavanaugh earlier argued that Bellah's god is not a Christian God, and that the separation of church and state does not mean the separation of religion and state since "traditional religion is privatized, while the religion of politics occupies the public realm," making "nationalism the most powerful religion in United States."[63]In addition, a narrow Christian understanding of what religion is, of what morality is, what faith is, ignoring the so-called pre-Christian, pre-scientific cosmologies and the human need they satisfy might impede the progress of understanding political religions.[64] Griffin's argument that religion's role in overthrowing political regimes, should not minimize the role they had in "underpinning their stability"[65] is relevant in both ROC's support of the regime and PRCC's collaboration with it. Gentile writes that secular religion is manifest in two circumstances, one is the civil religion and the other is political religion. One of the most famous examples of civil religions is the American civil religion, which according to Gentile is the only genuine civil religion:

> [American Civil Religion] constitutes a unique phenomenon in the history of sacralization of politics because of its particular historical characteristics and its

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[62] Ibid., 3; see also Bellah, ibid.

[63] William T. Cavanaugh, *The Myth of Religious Violence: Secular Ideology and the Roots of Modern Conflict* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2009), 116-118.

[64] Griffin, ibid., 14.

[65] Ibid.

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continuing presence over the last two centuries of American history, although it has gone through different stages. It could be argued that it is the only example of fully developed civil religion that provided a religious dimension to politics independent from traditional religions, while still appealing to a transcendent God.[66]

Griffin writes that in any study of political religions, it is essential to distinguish and clarify the notions of religion and sacred, as those of "established/ revealed/ scriptural/ institutionalized/ traditional religion, and religion in weaker sense that simply (and simplistically) equates it with any belief system that provided social cohesion and communal values."[67] In mentioning postcolonial new states, Gentile adds:

> The need to unify this heterogeneous mosaic was the principal reason for attempting to establish a civil religion, according to the democratic or authoritarian nature of the regime.[68]

It is helpful to bring Kjell Blückert's analysis of the connection between Church and nation in Sweden. [69] Blückert associated his findings with Konrad Baumgartner's six marks of the *Volkskirche* (people's church):[70]

(1)   The national church has a universal claim that everybody should belong to the established church…

(2)   Through birth (and infant baptism) there is an automatic reception into the national church, followed by an inculturation during upbringing. There is not really a choice whether to belong or not…

(3)   …the ritualistic religiosity of the folk church stresses order and unity more than diversity: one people, one nation, one church. The church as nation, as institution, claims…a monopoly of interpretation. And

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[66] Gentile, ibid., 20.

[67] Griffin, ibid., 13.

[68] Ibid., 125-126.

[69] Kjell Blückert, *The Church as Nation: A Study in Ecclesiology and Nationhood* (Frankfurt Am Main: P. Lang, 2000).

[70] Konrad Baumgartner in Blückert, ibid., 139.

<table>
<tr><td>(4)</td><td>All institutions in the society are under the influence of the church: schools, hospitals, calendar etc….The integration of religion tend accordingly to be superficial, and becomes 'civil religion' (bürgerliche Religion).</td></tr>
<tr><td>(5)</td><td>There may but need not be a close co-operation between state and church. The churches, giving stability to society, are often favorably looked upon by the state, therefore the state gratifies the church with privileges of various kinds.</td></tr>
<tr><td>(6)</td><td>The clergy is often seen as, or at least be compared with, public officials, e.g. the schoolteachers. The clergy is the subject of the church; the laity is the object of their pastoral care…In the more secularized folk churches the laity often demands 'religious service' with an attitude of consumerism. The parishes are strictly geographically bound.[71]</td></tr>
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this interpretation concerns, and also legitimizes, the foundational values of societies.

Blückert argues that the church is reconstructed as nation, as invisible local church in the national discourse of the Swedish church. This foucaultian discourse of "power and knowledge" reconstructs the nation, and "the *ethnie* is reconstructed as church: i.e. as a transmitter and carrier of the highest values in society."[72] Because making history is an important part of making a nation and making history is also an important part of making a confession, the makers of history, historians are the perpetrators of the discourse of "power and knowledge" that is further used by politicians.[73] Blückert argues that there is little invention of history but instead most of this history is distorted.[74]

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[71] Blückert, ibid., 139-140.

[72] Ibid., 141.

[73] Ibid., 142.

[74] Ibid., 143.

Blückert also discerns between an outspoken and a banal nationalism.[75] Given

that the concept of civil religion is supposed to be activated only at times of national

crisis of some sort, as most scholars seem to argue, Blückert sees an evolution from the

"outspoken integrative nationalism" to a "banal nationalism."[76] A cross hanging on the

school's wall in Poland or Romania, or the presence of Church hierarchs in the

Parliaments provides us with a clear message, in agreement with Marshall McLuhan's[77]

argument that the media is the message. Thus, civil religion is a dormant form of

nationalism while religious nationalism is an active form of nationalism. Considering the

thesis of Emilio Gentile and that of Blückert I start considering the monopoly of the

PRCC and ROC as the hotbed of a traditional religion functioning like a civil national

religion.[78]

If modernity did not bring about secularization, it certainly brought pluralism,[79]

and to be consistent with the idea of secular religions, it brought back a certain

polytheism and multiple allegiances. The idea of polytheism, where gods compete with

each other, is easy discernable even today if we think that even outside the Western

world, God, nation and state compete, and people are equally willing to die for either one

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[75] Blückert also used the term *banal religio-nationalism,* in ibid., 249; see also Billig, ibid.

[76] Blückert, ibid., 199.

[77] The idea was developed by Marshal McLuhan; see Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding Media; the Extensions of Man* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964).

[78] Mirel Bănică argued that this idea of political religion applied to the Romanian case is attractive but risky, and does not insist in developing it, see Mirel Bănică, *Biserca Ortodoxă Romaână: Stat Şi Societate În Anii '30* [The Romanian Orthodox Church: State and Society in the '30s"] (Iaşi: Polirom, 2007), 193-194.

[79]See Peter L. Berger, *The Desecularization of the World: Resurgent Religion and World Politics* (Washington, D.C.: Ethics and Public Policy Center, 1999).

of these authoritative figures.[80] When Max Weber explained the success of polytheism in

the world's religious systems and the impediments in developing monotheism, he argued

that polytheism was based on practical reasons. One of his arguments puts some light on

the easiness with which familiar objects, in this case, the nation, or one's national

Church, could become *ad hoc* sacred intermediaries and competitors in the "system of

gods." Max Weber concluded that there was:

> A…religious need of the laity for an accessible and tangible familiar religious
> object which could be brought into relationship with concrete life situations or
> with definite groups of people to the exclusion of outsiders, an object which
> would above all be accessible to magical influences.[81]

Being part of a nation and being part of a religious tradition indicates the possible

overlapping of one's allegiance and the fusion of the two identities for practical

reasons— especially in monopolistic religious traditions like in Poland and Romania. In

the polytheistic and plural situation of modernity, secularism, sometimes disguised as

secular religion,[82] competes with religious ideologies. As Christian Smith and Michael

Emerson argued, the previous "sacred canopy"[83] of meaning has been replaced by the

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[80] See Mark Juergensmeyer, *The New Cold War? Religious Nationalism Confronts the Secular State* (University of California Press, 1993), and Mark Juergensmeyer, *Global Rebellion: Religious challenges to the Secular State from Christian Militias to al Qaeda* (University of California Press, 2000).

[81] Max Weber, *The Sociology of Religion* (Boston, Beacon Press, 1963), 25; for Ann Swidler culture provides a common repertoire of habits, skils, and styles, a cultural toolkit, see Ann Swidler, "Culture in Action: Symbols and Strategies," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 51, No. 2. (Apr., 1986), 273-286.

[82] See Talal Asad, "Reflections on Laïcité and the Public Sphere," keynote address presented at the "Beirut Conference on Public Spheres," (October 22-24, 2004), last accessed March 26, 2009, http://www.islamamerica.org/ArticleLibrary/tabid/55/articleType/ArticleView/articleId/94/Default.aspx, and Payne, Stanley G., ibid., 33.

[83] Peter L. Berger, *The Sacred Canopy; Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1967), 55.

"sacred umbrellas," smaller places where religion can thrive in the modern situation.[84]

Nationalism, in the shape of the nation-state does offer a larger sacred canopy, while

competing smaller communities inside the nation-state, argue about the correct shape and

understanding of this sacred canopy. At this competitional level lies the key of

understanding civil religion, as the mid-way of seeing to what measure should politics

and religion coincide. The existence of civil religion is not an evolutionary step where

religion simply takes new clothes, it is rather one of the results of the fight between

competing versions of tradition. Philip Gorski, who coincidently considers secularity as

having a long tradition rooted in antiquity, expressed best the relation between civil

religion, religious nationalism and liberal-secularism as competing traditional ways of

associating politics with religion in the American context:

> Historically, I argue, the civil religion tradition has had two principal competitors:
> religious nationalism and liberal secularism. Building on Max Weber's (1964)
> well-known theory of "value-spheres," we can formally distinguish the three
> traditions as follows: religious nationalists wish the boundaries of the religious
> and political communities to be as coterminous as possible; liberal secularists
> seek to keep the religious and political communities as separate as possible; and
> civil religionists imagine the two spheres as independent but interconnected. In a
> word, religious nationalists advocate total fusion, liberal secularists advocate total
> separation and civil religionists imagine them as overlapping.[85]

> Griffin is also committed to distinguish along these lines between the:

> "[S]acralization of politics" by those committed to the secular transformation of
> society, and the 'politicization of religion' by those who derive a political agenda
> from their ultra-orthodox faith in a revealed or traditional faith. Such research
> may reveal that a complex process of hybridization sometimes takes place that
> makes the two processes different aspects of the 'same' phenomenon, and that

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[84] Christian Smith and Michael Emerson, *American Evangelicalism: Embattled and Thriving* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago, 1998), 106.

[85] Philip S. Gorski, "Civil Religion Today," last accessed March 1, 2012, http://www.thearda. com/rrh/papers/guidingpapers/Gorski.pdf, 7.

politicized and civic religion can also conjoin in ways that defy even complex pigeon-holing.[86]

In Griffin's words, such hybridization of politics and religion with the result of the creating and maintain a civil religion, could be interpreted as being "a canopy of total meaning to replace the one being gradually worn away by increasingly global processes of modernization."[87] I am rather inclined to think that the extent to which such previous "total meaning" formulas, as religion, are worn away or quite oppositely, they are taking more contour along different lines, still remains to be seen in the future.

When Rodney Stark and Laurence Iannaccone tackled the famous European secularization issue they created a model for the European religious markets and seven propositions about the religious economies of European states. Their study is echoing the idea of civil religion in proposition number five:

> *To the degree that a religious firm achieves a monopoly it will seek to exert its influence over other institutions and thus the society will be sacralized.* By *sacralized* we mean that the principal aspects of life, from family to politics will be suffused with religious symbols , rhetoric and ritual.[88]

When and where the state emerged to create and defend the nation,[89] or where the opposite was true, as for perennialist, it was done by establishing relations with previous institutions as the Church, in order to integrate and anchor the state's authority in other forms of authority. In return, sometimes the Church politicizes and becomes national and supports the establishment, sacralizing the society as in the above proposition, or

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[86] Griffin, ibid., 15.

[87] Ibid.

[88] Rodney Stark and Laurence R. Iannaccone, "A Supply-Side Reinterpretation of the "Secularization" of Europe," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion,* Vol. 33, No. 3, (1994), 234.

[89] Huntington, ibid., 16.

religionizing the state as the container of chosen people. The thesis of civil religion

challenges that this happens only sometimes, or at least challenges the idea of religious

plurality and religious monopoly as it is understood by rational choice theorists. If the

existence of religious plurality in America has not precluded but actually buttressed the

formation of an American Civil Religion, to which most Americans adhere, and which in

fact creates a monopoly, than we are facing the strange idea that a politicization of

religion and a sacralization of politics are capable of recreating plurality and monopoly.

Religious monopoly is not, or not always, the result of state intervention; monopoly as a

tendency towards homogenization is ingrained in a deeper understanding of societal need

for cohesion.

Previous research on the symbiosis of nationalism and religion[90]employed related

concepts resembling civil religion to explain the persistence of religion in the disguise of

nationalism, its functioning to morally legitimate the political order and the nation, or its

functioning as religious nationalism where the nation itself becomes sacralized above all

else.[91] In a recent article Peter Luchau[92] argues that civil religion is the closest concept

we have that pertains to the "interconnectedness of nation and religion." In his pursuit to

clarify and expand the concept, Luchau mentions several important distinctions, along the

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[90] Durkheim, ibid., Hayes, ibid., Bellah, ibid., and Marcela Cristi, *From Civil to Political Religion: The Intersection of Culture, Religion and Politics* (Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfrid Laurier UP, 2001).

[91] Jose Santiago, "From "Civil Religion" to Nationalism as the Religion of Modern Times: Rethinking a Complex Relationship," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, Volume 48, Issue 2, (June 2009), 397. There are a few attempts to analyze the concept of civil religion in the context of CEE states, see Ewa Morawska, "Civil Religion vs. State Power in Poland," *Society,* 21, No. 4 (May 1984): 29-34, Sergej Flere and Miran Lavrič, "Predicting civil religion at a cross-cultural level," *Psihologija*, Vol. 42 (2), (2009):159-171, Flere, ibid.; András Máté-Tóth & Gábor Attila Feleky, "Civil Religion in Central and Eastern Europe: An Application of an American Model," *Americana,* Nr. 5, Vol. 1, (Spring 2009), last accessed March 1, 2011, http://americanaejournal.hu/vol5no1/mate-toth-feleky.

[92] Peter Lüchau, "Toward a Contextualized Concept of Civil Religion," *Social Compass,* 56.3, (2009).

functions delineated by Bellah (integration, legitimization and prophecy): between public

and private, pluralistic versus monoculture, between integrative and divisive, deeper

functional and substantive definitions of religion, between civil religion as rhetoric

(representing a minority) and civil religion as phenomenon (majority representative), and

intentional and unintentional civil religion. I question Luchau's idea that civil religion of

nationalism is nothing but a functional equivalent of civil religion and that civil religion

has to include God as Bellah defined it. I find that even Bellah admits that in this case it

is problematic to define the meaning of God. In line with Gorski I argue that secularism,

religion nationalism and civil religion are all traditions developing in regards to the

intersection of religion and politics, and that civil religion and religion nationalism are

not just subsets of one another, but ways of interpreting a normative vision of the

relations between religion and politics, otherwise known as religion's place in public

sphere.

Methodology and Organization of the Dissertation

The unit of analysis on which I focus is the majority religion in the state,

represented by the Polish Roman Catholic Church (PRCC) and the Romanian Orthodox

Church (ROC). This is interesting for more than one reason; the most important one is the

similarity of their national identity strongly fused with their religious tradition. Historical

contingency, the total or the partial absence of a state that would contain the nation

determined a heavier role for the local church and later determined the artificial creation

of a "nationality" problem even in the quasi-absence of other ethnic or religious groups as

in modern day Poland. A certain connection between the national identity and religion

occurred as early as 1054 when the eastern and the western Christianity used the border

territories inhabited by Romanians as a political-religious playground and the same

border conditions and the ideal of political security persuaded Poland to become Catholic

under Mieszko I in 966.[93]

Because civil religion has been always associated with national cohesion, this

study focuses on the civil religion of Eastern Orthodoxy in Romania and the civil religion

of Catholicism in Poland. My case selection relies on the typology of most similar cases

in comparative studies, inspired by the existence of relatively similar monopolistic

religious traditions in Poland and Romania. Therefore, I bring into focus the role played

by the state, by the nation, and by the two ecclesiastical institutions in helping create and

maintain a civil religion. For clarity, I further dissociate civil religion from the two

religious traditions represented by the PRCC and the ROC, since civil religion mainly

serves the production and reproduction of political boundaries and sacred boundaries and

has less to do with faith and theology, even if they are important and mentioned

occasionally in this study.

Several recent surveys (Eurobarometer 2005-2006, World Value Survey 2005)

show that among the countries of continental Europe, Romania and Poland are more

conservative[94] and have the highest belief in God, with ninety and eighty percent

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[93] Makrides explained the persistence and the ideologization of the divide between Eastern and Western Christianity. See Vasilios Makrides,"Orthodox Anti-Westernism Today: A Hindrance to European Integration?" *International Journal for the Study of the Christian Church*, Vol. 9, No. 3, (August 2009): 209–224.

[94] European Commission, Eurobarometer, "Standard Eurobarometer 66: Public Opinion in the European Union, (December 2006), 40-44, last accessed March 2, 2012, http://ec.europa.eu/public_ opinion/archives/eb /eb66/ eb66_highlights_en.pdf.

respectively.[95] While the surveys measure important trends they are not capable of giving

a full account about the stereotypes and paradoxes such as between high levels of belief

in God and low levels of church attendance.[96] Civil religion type of discourse, as a banal

nationalism and the assertive religious nationalism as well the increased visibility of

Churches after the Communist period seems to conflict both with a pure type of

desecularization or with the type of modernization proposed by Europeanists, who claim

that modernity means religious demise.

This study looks at key symbolic events over the last two decades that helped

reproduce and maintain civil religion and relies on the analysis of discourse of the main

actors involved in the fusion of religion and politics. One of the major tipping points in

Romania's history of church-state relations is the 1996 decision of the Orthodox Church

to build the "National Redemption Cathedral," which will be a national heart symbol in

Bucharest's centre.[97] While most criticism came as an aesthetic reaction of intellectuals

who saw Romania's past in the image of the small village church, where the true heart of

the community laid, few jumped to defend the evident exclusion of minority religions and

the *de facto* separation of church and state. A national church of such proportions, which

is *in extenso* a ideographic sacred canopy, seems a good idea to many Romanians, and

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[95] European Commission, Eurobarometer, "Social Values, Science and Technology" (June 2005) 9, last accessed May 21, http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/ebs/ebs_225_report_en.pdf.

[96] Based on calculations from the combined interactive European Value Survey and World Value Survey 2005 some 57 percent of the Poles declared that they attend Church at least once a week, while only some 26 percent of Romanians declared that they attend Church at least once a week, in striking difference to the percent declaring belief in God. On the other hand it is also striking that religion in CEE states does not significantly influence the political process as Ina Merdjanova argued, see Ina Merdjanova, *Religion, Nationalism, and Civil Society in Eastern Europe-the Postcommunist Palimpsest* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen, 2002), 102.

[97] "We must build something here to serve as a symbol of Romania" said Patriarch Teoctist quoted in Lavinia Stan and Lucian Turcescu, "The Romanian Orthodox Church and Post-Communist Democratisation," *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 52, No. 8 (Dec., 2000), 1467-1488.

the major debate was the degree to which Romania should be a secular country or not.[98]

In 1998 Poland, the debates around the removal from the Auschwitz site of the "papal cross" prompted major debates about the whole Polish nation. A fourteenth-month-long war was marked by legal battles and disputes in the whole spectrum of Polish public life.[99] The cross, thus became the ideographic sacred canopy of the Polish nation. The major problems were the perceived foreign influence and secularization of Polish politics.[100]

Orthodoxy in Romania and Catholicism in Poland have not always been a major characteristic of their respective nations but the construction of national identity in adverse historical conditions involved the creation of collective memories, myths, values, symbols and rituals after the realization of national independence of 1918.[101] This panoply of myths sought the religionization of the national past impoverished by foreign domination. In such rich symbolic debates the notion of a civil religion as represented by the majority Church in Poland and Romania need to be brought to the centre of the discussion about nationalism.

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[98] Opponents to this project reminded that a mega-cathedral was similar to Ceausescu's megalomaniac buildings, if not similar with the un-Romanian Western cathedrals, see Stan and Turcescu ibid., 58; by the time Ceaușescu finished building a heavy industry sponsored through foreign loans, the start of the oil crisis in Middle East and the rapid technological advancement in the oil industry affected both the loan returning capacity of the country and the industry infrastructure which if not worn, became for sure obsolete, see Claude Karnoouh, *Inventarea Poporului Națiune* [*Inventing the People's Nation*] (Cluj: Idea Design & Print, 2011), 180.

[99] Zubrzycki, ibid., 8-14.

[100] With the Polish President plane crash in 2010, another cross, this time lifted in the front of the presidential institution caused the same unrest.

[101] Smith argued that these form the basic parts of the belief-system of "nationalism-in-general" or the *sacred foundations* of the nation, see Smith, ibid., 31.

This binary study of most similar cases also reexamines Central European and Balkan theories of nationalism and the major sociological theories of religion and secularization. Daniele Hervieux-Leger criticized the model of secularization for Europe and found several ways the religious life was present in new shapes, "the same old wine in new bottles." Grace Davie wrote about "believing without belonging" and Hervieu-Leger wrote about "belonging without believing" in the European case.[102] This vast territory of theories of modernization and secularization is in a continuous expansion and it would benefit of more research for particular geographical areas like CEE. The rise of Solidarity in Poland and of religious fervor in Latin America, the rise of an American religious fundamentalism, or of political Islam and last but not least of national Orthodoxy in post-communist states challenges the "European" version of secularization and imposes several nuances based on a cross-cultural comparative perspective.[103] Theoretical approaches developed around ideas of Europe as a special case of secularization as those of Grace Davie's and Peter Berger's, or those disputing the secularization theory under the premises of the existence of new expression of religious movements as Danièle Hervieu-Léger's study, or the religious economies theory of Rodney Stark and Laurence Iannaccone, have left analysis of CEE states mostly understudied. This work fills part of this gap existing in the study of religion and politics

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[102] See Daniéle Hervieu-Lèger, *Religion as a Chain of Memory* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000), and Grace Davie, *Religion in Britain Since 1945: Believing Without Belonging* (Cambridge, MA: 1994), and Grace Davie, *Religion in Modern Europe. The Memory Mutates* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

[103] Casanova, ibid., 92-114. For the violent aspect of religious nationalism see Juergensmeyer, (2000), ibid. Roger Friedland argued that contemporary nationalism is suffused with religion and posits that the world is confronted with the "apparently premodern specter of religious nationalism," see Roger Friedland, "Religious Nationalism and the Problem of Collective Representation" *Annual Review of Sociology,* Vol. 27 (2001).

in CEE states. While there are more and more studies already filling the above mentioned

gap, comparative studies like those of Miklos Tomka, Maria Crăciun and Ovidiu Ghitta,

or Radosław Zenderowski,[104] this study is novel in limiting the scope for two CEE states

with different religious traditions, and in tackling the problem of religion, national

identity and politics in forging religious national identities. This study also draws on a

novel combination of the sociological theory of civil religion, of secularization and of

theories of nationalism.

By approaching monoculture types of civil religion, i.e. countries with irrelevant

plurality of religions,[105] with adverse historical contexts, as well as scanty historical

resources,[106] significant studies that are not mainly theological or mainly political make

the present study possible and desirable. The church-state relations in Romania and

Poland have been subject to various approaches[107] but the researchers did not insist on the

relationship between national identity and religion, and rarely or never mention civil

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[104] Miklós Tomka, *Expanding Religion: Religious Revival in Post-communist Central and Eastern Europe* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011);. Maria Crăciun, Ovidiu Ghitta, and Graeme Murdock, *Confessional Identity in East-Central Europe* (Aldershot, Hants, England: Ashgate, 2002); Radosław Zenderowski, *Religia a Tożsamość Narodowa I Nacjonalizm W Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej: Między Etnicyzacją Religii a Sakralizacją Etnosu (narodu)* [*Religion, National Identity and Nationalism in Central and Eastern Europe: Between the Ethnicization of Religion and the Sacralization of the Ethnie(nation)*] (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2011). See also Merdjanova, ibid.

[105] Lüchau proposes instead that we expand civil religion to include mono-culture types and non-pluralistic societies, in Lüchau, ibid., 378.

[106] Mach, in Inligs et al. ibid.; see also Jan Kubik, *The Power of Symbols against the Symbols of Power: The Rise of Solidarity and the Fall of State Socialism in Poland* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State UP, 1994); Alina Mungiu-Pippidi, "The Ruler and the Patriarch: State and Church in Post Communist Transition," *East European Constitutional Review,* 6/6 (Summer 1998), last accessed April 12, 2012, http://wWWI.law.nyu.edu/eecr/ vol7num2/feature/rulerpatriarch.html.

[107] Casanova, ibid.; Mach, ibid.; Merdjanova, ibid.; Morawska, ibid.; Kubik, ibid.; Zenderowski, ibid.; Zubrzycki, ibid. See also Cristian Romocea, *Church and State: Religious Nationalism and State Identification in Post-communist Romania* (London: Continuum, 2011), Lavina Stan and Lucian Turcescu, *Religion and Politics in Post-communist Romania* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2007); Lucian Leuştean, *Orthodoxy and the Cold War: Religion and Political Power in Romania, 1947-65* (Michigan: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).

religion as a relevant factor.[108] Especially in Poland and Romania the local "patterns of secularization" seem to be valid cases of the "cultural defense" thesis,[109] which states that secularization is less likely to occur in those countries where a monopoly religion has served as a carrier of national identity. In both countries we can distinguish clearly that adverse history did not diminished the role of religion but had a role in increasing the role of religion by a combination of religious and secular components.[110]

I choose a comparative perspective of civil religions in Poland and Romania because it is often assumed that *phyletism*[111] and *symphonic* relations with the state are characteristic of Eastern Orthodoxy,[112]while conflict with the state characterizes Catholicism. The use of the concept of civil religion can be legitimately studied cross culturally and it functions similarly disregarding cultural and religious differences.[113] I focus on the preeminence of religious nationalism in Poland and Romania because here nationalism started as a move against a previous state/empire, developed by religionizing a cultural movement with myths of ethnic origins, Slavic and Latin Messianism

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[108] Merdjanova uses the term political religion to refer to the discourse of nationalism as a secular religion that is competing with religion and civil society discourses in post-communist societies, see Merdjanova, ibid., 71.

[109] David Martin,*On Secularization: Towards a Revised General Theory* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2005), 61.

[110] Martin, ibid., 61; Casanova, ibid. 93.

[111] *Phyletism* is considered a sin (by the Orthodox Ecumenical Patriarchate) by bringing the nationality principle in the organization of the Orthodox Church.

[112] Samuel P. Huntington, "The clash of civilizations?," *Foreign Affairs*, 72, 3(Summer 1993); Leuştean, (2009), ibid., Tomka, ibid., Stan and Turcescu, (2007), ibid.

[113] Sergej Flere, "Questioning the Need for a Special Methodology for the Study of Eastern Orthodoxy," *Social Compass*, 55, (March, 2008): 84-100, and Sergej Flere and Lavric Miran, "Operationalizing the Civil Religion Concept at a Cross-Cultural Level," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*. Volume 46, Issue 4, (December 2007). See also Vasilios Makrides, "Ambiguous reception and troublesome relationship: the sociology of religion in eastern Orthodox Europe" in L. Voye and J. Billiet eds., *Sociology and Religions* (Leuven : Leuven University Press, 1999).

respectively, and persist today as a legitimizing integrating force, i.e. civil religion. The imposition of a totalitarian political religion[114] during the communist rule was replaced by a more consensual and democratic civil religion where the state uses religious tradition and symbols to continue to legitimate its power.

I give a personal interpretation to a series of events and studies about those events. I put several historical, social and area studies in a new coherent perspective. I used primary sources from the Keston Collection from Baylor University,[115] as well as a variety of secondary sources. I use original studies in doing a content analysis of the official government discourse and Church hierarchs' discourse as well as of politicians' and lay intellectuals' statements regarding nationality and religion. Specifically I look upon various elements of civil religion available in primary sources, mainly editorials, speeches, sermons that deal with the state and the nation, patriotism, national prestige, national symbols, God's "chosen nation," national superiority, traditionalism, etc. I also employ descriptive statistics to show the levels of religiosity, from the Eurobarometer 2005-2006 and the World Values Survey 2005-2008. For example, the 2006 Eurobarometer points to the fact that only 3 percent of the EU states consider religion a value representing the EU, while the highest esteemed value seems to be human rights, held by 38 percent of the respondents.[116] Apparently, Poland and Romania contrast with

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[114] Merdjanova saw all the Eastern European nationalisms as political religions that upheld the doctrine of national rights, see Ina Merdjanova, in Stan and Turcescu (2007), ibid., 42.

[115] The Keston Collection at Baylor has a unique archive and library on primary documentation on religion in Eastern Europe.

[116] European Commission, "Standard Eurobarometer 66: Public Opinion in the European Union" (December 2006), 34, last accessed March 2, 2012, http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/eb/eb66/eb66_highlights_en.pdf.

these results by their unusually high religiosity levels, which show that religious loyalty and national loyalty fuse in many ways.

This chapter is an outline of the theoretical background that supports this study and of the research methods employed throughout the study. The chapter offers a comparative overview of the literature of theories of nationalism and general theories of secularization. I also describe some of the main differences between civil religion and religious nationalism as two of the main manifestations of the relation between religion and politics. Here I also set the problem of nationalism as embedding and embedded in the religious tradition. The symbiosis between religion and politics is a local national hybrid grown from the cultural background of the region, and the irregular perception of religion. The connection between modernity, religious identity and national identity would be incomplete without analyzing the history behind the progressive mutations of religion in society.

Chapter two presents the genealogy of nationalism in Poland and Romania and shows the origin of the fusion between national identity and the religious tradition. At the beginning of nationalist movements, a concerted interest from all layers of society and a cohesive vision were still missing. Different ways of understanding the nation competed and developed in parallel up until recent times. This chapter is a summary of the historical, political and social conditions that shaped the way for the current prevalence of religion in understanding national identity. The relation between state, national identity and religion from the Romantic period of nationalism up until the fall of Communism in CEE states is the focal point of this chapter.

Chapter three presents the symbolic and mythical interpretation of history as a sequence of crucial national events and the personalization of history as a lineage of great heroes. What nations think about themselves, and what outsiders think, or otherwise called the emic and the ethic perception of one's nationality is fundamental in understanding why national history is the playground of nationalists. National myths and national heroes of both countries fulfill the role of nation's ancient representatives and protectors. The mythical, and in some cases biblical, interpretation of national life in terms of permanently situating the nation within a period of national fall, national survival or national rebirth and revival, is crucial to the understanding of the civil religious discourse. This chapter presents how some invented traditions as well as some imagined communities were contoured and how they became prevalent in the national discourse and in how one understands the national self.

Chapter four reveals that the PRCC and the ROC, which have recently escaped the totalitarian Communist rule, have been facing new challenges posed by the opening and democratization of the society. While immediately after the fall of Communism some segments of the PRCC and the ROC breathe new life by rebranding the ethno-religious view of national identity or by going back to past golden ages when the Churches enjoyed more authority, other factions have attempted the modernization of the PRCC and the "aggiornamento" of the ROC. This chapter outlines some of the main problems faced by the two Churches in the new public life.

Chapter five is more empirical and gives a couple of instances of how the religious tradition was used in the form of civil religion, how it was displayed in the past and how it functions today. In the beginning, I focused on national museums where the

great narratives of the nation are unfolded and later I focused on the public education and the presence of religious symbols in school. The last one is still the most potent medium of standardizing and diffusing national beliefs and myths as banal nationalism. A random traveler to Poland and Romania would be amazed as both countries try to break Guinness Book Records in displaying religious items pertaining mainly to the nation. A mega-Jesus statue in Poland, a mega-cathedral in Bucharest, and myriad of small crosses, cartridge candles and glass icons join the countries' monuments or statues dedicated to heroes and saints.

Chapter six is also empirical and focuses on the religious nationalist aspect of tradition, which like the civil religion has its moments of higher intensity, especially in connection with the economic downturns, which usually overlap with moments of intense questioning of one's identity and national survival. This chapter will analyze such moments of tensions in the early vacuum of power in the 1990s, and then in the period of democratic consolidation and integration into NATO and the EU. The quasi-global crisis, which began in 2008, underlies the overall rise of xenophobia and of the potency of religious nationalisms even amidst the established nations in the EU, and national identity seems to become the hallmark of doing politics in the last half of decade.

Unlike the Catholic Church in Ireland for example,[117] the PRCC was less preoccupied with the citizens' private lives or with everyday morality but was mostly preoccupied with state politics and national sovereignty,[118] very much like the Orthodox Churches in Greece and Romania. Even if the PRCC and the ROC undoubtedly had

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[117] See Daphne Halikiopoulou, *Patterns of Secularization: Church, State and Nation in Greece and the Republic of Ireland* (Farnham, Surrey, England: Ashgate, 2011).

[118] Mach in Inglis et al. ibid., 118.

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different perceptions of Communism,[119] they did not differ much in their policies of asserting nationalism against the foreign dominion of the Soviets. At times, the Polish or Romanian special paths to Communism were simple ways of rejecting altogether the foreign imposed Communist idea. The state and the Church in both countries were looking to monopolize the fate of the citizens under them and commonly they supported each other alternatively in their competition by using nationalistic poussées, which came very handy in the dire internal and international context. Both churches have adopted the goal of protecting the nation as their banner and the symbol of the cross became equal to the symbol of the nation. Nationalism is the key to interpret the popularity of the PRCC and the ROC, while the task of explaining some of the regions' paradoxes as low church attendance and contradictory signs of secularization and de-secularization is made easier by using the concept of civil religion.

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[119] The fact that foreign observers perceived the religious life in Romania as prosperous during Communism, only limited by the prohibition of any political activity and aspiration of the ROC goes against the typical interpretation that Communists tried to liquidate religion, and apparently the ROC realized this and did not opposed the regime, in Leuştean, (2009), ibid., 150, this was partially true also in Poland where the PRCC collaborated with the Communists, even against Vatican's policies as I will argue in the next chapters.

CHAPTER TWO

Historical Evolution of Nationalism in Poland and Romania

The Polish political state historically precedes the establishment of Romanian

states, Transylvania, Wallachia, and Moldova but at the time of nationalist fervor in the

mid-nineteenth century, both Poland and Romania were under foreign rule. In this

chapter, I describe Poland's road towards national identity and the geopolitical and social

transformations that shaped the country's close ties with Catholicism and the eventual

fusion between national identity and Catholicism. The second part of this chapter will

treat Romania's bond to the Orthodox identity. As opposed to the Poles or Hungarians,

the claims of Romanian, Slovak, Slovenian, Serb and Ukrainian nationals were

considered nationalisms of "peoples without history," a formula proposed by Engels, and

which set in motion the ethnicity argument of these people.[1] After World War I (WWI),

Poland and Romania were in the position of prewar Hungary, roughly more homogenous,

as "nationalizing," rather than national states.[2] The core nations of Poland and Romania,

represented by nationalizing elites, sought to level and to overcome the socioeconomic

disparities since they mostly coincided with ethno-national distinctions.[3] Therefore, "state

power promoted the language, culture, demographic preponderance, economic

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[1] Rogers Brubaker, *Nationalist Politics and Everyday Ethnicity in a Transylvanian Town*, (Princeton: Princeton UP, 2006), 40.

[2] Brubaker notes that Romanians and Poles were in a weak situation demographically, culturally and economically compared to the minorities of Jews, Germans, Hungarians and Ukrainians, especially the first three powerful minorities, ibid., 45.

[3] Ibid., 46

flourishing, or political hegemony of the core nation."[4] Religion as part of the cultural life seemed the most preeminent element cutting across separate territories that sought the attainment of a nation-state.

Meanwhile, religion competed and sometimes fused with other forces that influenced the epoch, as the incipient racial palingenetic ideals that separated nations based on their native ability to survive or decline, and which became ominous for the future of the European society. The western ideas of social Darwinism and racial theory professed by figures such as Herbert Spencer, who interpreted society in terms of its life span and racial character, or of Ludwig Gumplowicz and Houston Stewart Chamberlain were crucial in the development of nationalism in the CEE states.[5] Their ideology provided the Romanians, Serbs and Slovaks under the Hungarian side of the Dual Empire a frame on which they constructed their own theories of superior nation. Gumplowicz advocated the idea that it was natural that Poles, Czechs and Slovenes should accept the German national superiority and the Romanians, the Serbs and the Slovaks should accept the Hungarian one.[6] For example, a Transylvanian Romanian who studied in Vienna, Aurel Popovici, who incidentally was the proponent of a federal system called the United States of Greater Austria,[7] advocated the idea that national consciousness cannot be achieved without racial identity.

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[4] Ibid.

[5] Marius Turda, *The Idea of National Superiority in Central Europe. 1880-1918*, (Ceredigion:The Edwin Mellen Press, 2004).

[6]Ibid.

[7] Karnoouh, Claude, *Inventarea Poporului Naţiune* [*Inventing the People's Nation*], (Cluj: Idea Design & Print, 2011), 199.

Gillet thinks that while the founding of the Polish state coincided with its Christening, the contemporary Orthodox ecclesiology integrated nationalism as one of its main principles of ecclesiastical functioning and structure, in the special relation of the Church functioning with and within the nation and with and within the state as patriotism.[8]

The Evolution of Polish Nationalism

With the baptism of Mieszko 1st in 966 the population under his control was converted in mass to Catholicism even though the Latin rite, more prestigious basically in terms of its close connection to Catholic influence,[9] developed in parallel with Romano-Slav tradition of Cyril and Methodius and with non-Christian traditions until later in the twelfth century when they disappeared completely.[10] As early as eleventh century the Bishop of Krakow, Stanisław Szczepanowski was decapitated after he entered into a dispute with King Boleslaus about the way he treated his subjects. Less than two centuries later Stanisław was canonized and his martyrdom became the symbol of the limits of kingly power in Poland; Kings from then on had to swear an oath on his tomb. This highly symbolic event explains why St Stanisław became the one of the first patrons of Poland.[11] From this moment, Poland was engaged in a "croisade permanente,"[12] as

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[8] Olivier Gillet, *Religie Şi Naţionalism: Ideologia Bisericii Ortodoxe Române Sub Regimul Comunist* [Religion and Nationalism: The Ideology of The Romanian Orthodox Church Under the Communist Regime] (Bucureşti: Compania, 2001), 135.

[9] Philip Barker mentioned that Mieszko did not actually established a Polish state and that Catholicism was adopted as a way to counter the Germans' religious and territorial offensive, in Philip W. Barker, *Religious Nationalism in Modern Europe: If God Be for Us* (London: Routledge, 2009), 78.

[10] Maciej Pomian-Srzednicki, *Religious Change in Contemporary Poland: Secularization and Politics* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1982), 32.

[11] Ibid., 33.

historian Walerian Meysztowicz called it, and Pomian-Srzednicki adds that Poland's

foreign policy was dictated by moral and religious principles "rather than by material and

political ones alone."[13] The identification of national sentiments with religious ones

originating in the "croisade permanente," gave the Poles the reputation of basing their

patriotism on Catholicism and vice-versa.[14]

Every nation seems founded on a powerful myth and the most popular among the

Polish myths is the inextricable link between Polish nation and Catholicism. Geneviève

Zubrzycki warns us that by trying to find a permanent link between Polish nationalism

and religion one takes the risk of creating an *ad hoc* association of the two when in fact

the deconstruction of the association between the two is more desirable.[15] From the

fourteenth to the end of the eighteenth century the Polish-Lithuanian Republic resembled

a civic nation, seen as "a political relation between citizens-noblemen," the wide-ranging

szlachta, whose members were equals and not vassals and who submitted to the Polish

state.[16] This meant that "Polishness was in principle blind to ethnic or religious

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[12] The term was previously used in connection to southern European states which fought against the Turks and Arabs.

[13] Pomian-Srzednicki, ibid., 33.

[14] Ibid., 34.

[15] Geneviève Zubrzycki, *The Crosses of Auschwitz: Nationalism and Religion in Post-communist Poland* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2006), 36. Philip Barker proposed instead a more perennialist approach: "Catholicism has been solidified as a part of national consciousness hundreds of years before, and the presence of a religious frontier and a hostile other (specifically Orthodox and Communist Russia) meant that Catholicism would have been central to Polish resistance whether the Church wanted so or not," see Barker, ibid.,76.

[16] Zubrzycki, ibid., 37; the *szlachta* formed an extensive nobility which represented more than 10 percent of the total population; Claude Karnoouh mentions that the Romanian gentry, the small nobles in Transylvania called *nemeşi* were similar to *szlachta*, see Karnoouh, Claude, *Inventarea Poporului Naţiune* [*Inventing the People's Nation*], (Cluj: Idea Design & Print, 2011), 31-32.

background" as Zubrzycki mentioned.[17] This early form of democratic life that prevented

the accumulation of power contained both the seeds of Poland's tolerance towards

religion and of Poland's incoherence and disappearance as a state.[18] Zubrzycki mentions

that the social norms that upheld the stability of this proto-democracy deteriorated and

the excessive use of *liberum veto* further precluded the reform and development of the

country. [19] Whether by accident or not, this stagnant phase was crucial to maintaining a

fair ground that precluded the division of society, or at least of its relevant actors, on

religious or ethnic lines.[20] After the threat of the first partitions between Russia, Prussia

and Austria, the szlachta nation's civic definition altered and allowed all landowners to

become Polish and to exclude all others. Zubrzycki adds that ethnicity was thus

recognized but it was still not the center of Polish citizenship, as it would become later.

Norman Davies wrote that Poles were united by the myth of their Sarmatian origins:

> All nobles of the Polish-Lithuanian Republic were said to descend from the
> ancient Sarmatians, themsleves descendants of the Schytians, ultimately related to
> the biblical Adam. This mythic tribal identity superseded regional and ethnic
> differences, explained the association of ethnically diverse (noble) groups, and
> legitimized the noble nations's priviledges. Nevertheless, Polonization was often
> a requirement for ascension and integration into the *szlachta*. It frequently meant

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[17] Ibid.; Norman Davies mentioned that the Polish nobles considered themselves to be of Sarmatian origins, a nomadic Indo-Iranian tribe who settled in the plains in Eastern Europe before Christianity, and szlachta alone could claim the Sarmatian descent; see Norman Davies, "Polish National Mythologies," in Geoffrey A. Hosking, and George Schöpflin eds., *Myths and Nationhood* (New York: Routledge in Association with the School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University of London, 1997), 141-142.

[18] See J. L. Talmon, *The Myth of the Nation and the Vision of Revolution: The Origins of Ideological Polarisation in the Twentieth Century* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1981), 34.

[19] Jose Casanova argued that Poland was a peculiar case of religious tolerance. This was the result of the democracy of the republic of nobles, which precluded both the rise of a centralized absolutist state and the identification of church and state; the lack of absolutism precluded the fusion of absolutism with caesaropapism which strayed Poland from David Martin's model of the French-Latin pattern of secularization; in Casanova ibid., 92; see also David Martin, *A General Theory of Secularization* (New York: Harper & Row, 1978).

[20] Zubrzycki, ibid., 38.

adopting Polish as the common language in the public sphere and converting to Roman Catholicism.[21]

The occupied parts under Prussia and Russia underwent a serious persecution towards the Catholic Church, while in the south, under the domination of a Catholic Austria, a multi-national empire, the church has remained untouched as an institution and prospered in such university centers as Lviv (Lwów) and Kraków, as well as in Chernivtsi (Czernowitz).[22] Besides penetrating and subordinating the Polish Catholic Church, the relatively mild Austrian occupation fomented the ideas behind the centering of Polish revolutionary organizations in this area, which caused five uprisings between 1830 and 1905,[23] and where the Catholic Church had become a surrogate state.[24] The Church became more visible indeed but the lay segment of the Polish society was the base of the independence movement.[25] After the Reform movement, when the Polish *Sejm* knew a Protestant majority, Calvin could not further reform the Polish monarchy nor appeal the peasantry, which resulted in royal support for the Polish Counter-

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[21] Ibid., 40; but it was no less true that the myth of the Sarmatian origins of the szlachta had racist connotations. Norman Davies mentioned instead the racial purity principle that characterized the szlachta, as the fact that in the seventeenth century Walerian Nekanda Trepka wrote extensively about the dilution of the szlachta race by miscegenation with lower estates; see Davies in Hosking and Schöpflin, ibid., 143.

[22] See Irina Livezeanu, *Cultural Politics in Greater Romania: Regionalism, Nation Building & Ethnic Struggle, 1918-1930* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1995), 69-77.

[23] Piłsudski refused to side with the Russian revolutionaries, and insisted on national independence; see Talmon, ibid. (1981),126-128.

[24] Pomian-Srzednicki, Maciej, ibid., 35. Even the socialist internationalist legendary leader Roza Luxemburg complained that the Polish socialists in Austrian Galicia cannot let go of their Polish identity which was irrelevant in the class struggle; one such Polish Marxist, Ignacy Daszynski, the leader of the Polish Social Democratic party in Galicia "always identified himself as both a Pole and a socialist" which was inconceivable for Roza; see Talmon, ibid. (1981), 124; about the Polish socialist groups who rejected national independence; see Frances Millard, "Nationalism in Poland," in Paul C. Latawski, *Contemporary Nationalism in East Central Europe* (New York, NY: St. Martin's, 1995), 110.

[25] Neal Pease, *Rome's Most Faithful Daughter: The Catholic Church and Independent Poland, 1914-1939* (Athens: Ohio UP, 2009), 6.

Reformation, ended with the victory of the Catholic Church and with the Union of Brest, when the Ruthenian/Ukrainean Church returned to Catholicism.[26]

Poland was rather a religious mosaic, and to attest for this the "Sejm," the Polish Parliament, once had a Protestant majority. Casanova writes that due to its being the easternmost Catholic frontier, Polish Catholicism was particularly "militant" but that religious tolerance prevailed since the church did not identify with the state.[27] In the fifteenth century, Poland was the "*Antemurale Christianitas* –the bulwark of Christendom,"[28] reconfirmed as such by the victory of King Jan III Sobieski over the Turks in Vienna and by the resistance of Pauline monks against the Swedes. The status of territorial periphery translated in interpreting this particular point in history as the time of the *Deluge*, an era of historical adversity and repeated invasions. During this time, after that miraculous defense against the Swedes attributed to the shrine of Madonna at *Jasna Góra* (Bright Moutain) in Częstochowa, King Jan Kazimierz dedicated Poland to Virgin Mary, who became the "Queen of Poland."[29] The consecration of the Black Madonna icon at the *Jasna Góra* shrine was the birth moment of one of the greatest myths of modern and contemporary Polish nationalism.[30]

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[26] Not far away, in Transylvania, Romanians saw the same political opportunity by becoming Greek Catholics.

[27] Casanova, ibid., 92.

[28] Zubrzycki, ibid., 41.

[29] Norman Davies argues that the German Teutons and the Kingdom of France had adopted the patronage of Virgin Mary long before the Poles, see Davies in Hosking and Schöpflin, ibid., 145.

[30] Because of the many miracles which Poles experienced while praying through the intercession of Our Lady of Częstochowa at the Jasna Góra Shrine, it became the National Shrine of Poland which hosted hundreds of pilgrimages since 1944, in Bogdan Szajkowski, *Next to God–Poland: Politics and Religion in Contemporary Poland* (London: F. Pinter, 1983), 170.

From 1795 to 1918 when Poland disappeared from the map, swallowed by

Prussia, Russia, and Austria, the national identity movement shifted from a civic path to

an ethnic path. In the late nineteenth century, nationalism mutated and leaned on ethno-

linguistic arguments, whereas Catholicism steadily became a salient feature of

Polishness.[31] Catholicism strengthened by becoming the heart of resistance to a foreign

enemy and "church and state became identified at a time when the Catholic Church was

the only (national) institution capable of cutting across the partition[s]."[32] However,

James Bjork argued that Catholicism was as much divisive as it was unifying, because

religious practices varied significantly from one area to the other.[33] Sometimes, like in

the Silesia region, the Catholic faith was defined against, rather than similar with

Polishness.[34] The gentry and the intelligentsia adhered to a form of Catholicism fused

with romantic nationalism and Slavic messianism which formed a new Polish civil

religion.[35] The majority of Poles, the peasants, waited on the side until the repression

posed on their language and religion by the foreign occupiers became disturbing enough

to stir their attention and to accept the popularization of the national ideas coming from

the elites. [36] Jacob Leib Talmon wrote:

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[31] Ibid., 43-44, see also Mach, in Inglis et al, ibid., 117.

[32] Casanova, ibid., 92.

[33] There were many views on what constitutes true Catholicism, and the local parish clergy as well as the heads of the PRCC found hard to argue for one version, and various sub-national forms of Catholicism had to find ways of coexisting, see James Bjork, "Religious Exceptionalism and Regional Diversity in Postwar Poland," in Bruce R Berglund and Brian Porter-Szűcs, *Christianity and Modernity in Eastern Europe* (Budapest: Central European UP, 2010), 130.

[34] Ibid., 145.

[35] Casanova, ibid., 92.

[36] Talmon wrote that not only the peasants but also the Polish nobility did not participate in the national fight because they feared losing their estates and privileges, which were still granted to them after

So what were the social classes which were interested in an independent Poland? The dying petty bourgeoisie, with its narrow limited interests and horizons, the unemployed members of the intelligentsia and the remnants of the bankrupt gentry sunk into romantic regrets and mystical ideas about Poland's mission as savior of the nations–in brief, solely, the discontented groups about to be annihilated by the process of capitalist development.[37]

In the opening of his book, *Next to God, Poland, Politics and Religion in Contemporary Poland*, Bogdan Szajkowski says that it is remarkably easy for Poles to identify Roman Catholicism with Polish nationality since the religion of the two most aggressive partition powers, Prussia and Russia, were Protestantism and Orthodoxy.[38] The nationalization of masses was easier to do throughout these two partitions, since the attack on Polish language and religion had the opposite effect, it motivated the national consciousness and linked it to the religious confession.[39] This was the time when the doctrine of "*polak-katolik*" was first shaped, which simply meant that to be a Polish means to be Catholic and consequently not to be Catholic meant not to be Polish.[40] A "Polak-Katolik" newspaper was addressed to peasants and educated them in the national spirit, popularizing history and information about current events, a project that later materialized in the "Society for Popular Education."[41] By the end of the nineteenth century Polish national identity was seen more and more in opposition with the "others,"

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the partitions; again, the Polish middle class, burgeoning in the Russian partition saw its future as connected to Russia's economy and only paid lip service to the idea of an independent Poland, idea which was "relegated to doomsday," see Talmon, ibid. (1981), 36, 126; see also Millard, in Latawski, ibid., 107.

[37] Talmon, ibid. (1981), 126.

[38] Szajkowski, ibid., 1.

[39] Zubrzycki, ibid., 54.

[40] The importance of the Polish Catholic Church for the Catholic Church grew significantly from 1922; three of the four Popes from 1922 to 1978 resided and were involved with Warsaw life, see Pease, ibid., 7, 62-63.

[41] Zubrzycki, ibid.

Protestants and Orthodox, and foreign rule and religious repression strengthened the bond between national consciousness and religious identity as the one between civil society and Church.[42] The national struggle was no more an abstract fight, but one with real enemies, and the previous "civic" understanding of nation transformed into an ethnic understanding based on language, culture and faith.[43]

Vatican was hesitant to criticize the partition of Poland and did little to encourage the Polish nation, partially from fear of more persecutions from Germans and Russians and partially from relying on its doctrine of peace, which translated in suspicion of nationalism and dislike of political and social disorder. The high hierarchs were reluctant to support the national movement while the lower clergy,[44] as less visible and responsible, was far more implicated in the national struggle. If the Church contributed to the resistance of Polish identity under the foreign rule, it did so by being against its official teachings, and, more by accident than by will.[45]

By 1919, when Poland regained its independence it was clear for Polish people and foreigners as well that Poland is not only "Rome's most faithful daughter"[46] but also the avant-garde of western civilization in the East, a balancing state between the "revenge

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[42] Ibid., 55; see also Hobsbawm, 67-68, Casanova, ibid., 93, Ewa Morawska, "Civil Religion vs. State Power in Poland," *Society,* 21, No. 4 (May 1984): 29-34.

[43] Zubrzycki, ibid., 55.

[44] Casanova, ibid., 93.

[45] Pease, ibid., 9.

[46] An article appeared in New York Times in 1932 saying that the new republic "is Rome's most faithful daughter," in Pease, ibid., 3.

of Germany and the anarchy of Russia."[47] Even if such perceptions of the Polish state

dominated the time, in reality the Church was more embattled at home under the

government of former socialist Józef Piłsudski, than it was threatened from outside. The

Piłsudski administration was a source of atheism and Freemasonry than precluded the

PRCC's influence, and majority political parties of the time were anticlerical.[48] It was

true that the PRCC's success was due to its not having any major conflicts with patriotic

ideals, and the role of the Church in the struggle for independence was often exaggerated,

but, after the Polish independence in 1918, its political influence remained lower than

expected, and occasionally met with hostility.[49] The interwar period was characterized by

numerous conflicts between the state, lead with a few years interruption by Piłsudski, and

the PRCC. Even after his death, Piłsudski's fame produced one of the biggest scandals

between the state and the PRCC.[50]

Of the political spectrum, the Church was in conflict with socialists, which saw

Catholicism as a regressive force, reactionary, obscurantist and characterized by bigotry.

A part of PRCC, especially the lower clergy, had affinities with the National Democracy

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[47] The writer C. K. Chesterton, a British Catholic, called Poland the "Christian and chivalric shield" of the Occident, it was he who also said that United States is "a nation with the soul of a church," see ibid.

[48] In contrast with its "Catholic" image, by the time of the full settlement of the Polish borders, only three quarters of the population were Catholic and their absolute numbers were lower than in Germany; also only 91 percent of the Poles declared themselves to be Catholic, in ibid., 3-4. 21-23.

[49] Ibid., 5.

[50] Ibid., 174, 185, 188. Adam Sapieha Archbishop of Krakow removed Piłsudski's body from Wawel Cathedral, the traditional place of coronation ceremonies, the burial place of the Polish dynasts, national heroes and hosting the Archdiocese of Krakow. Sapieha's gesture was met with protests and violence, and the government did not cease to try the removal of Sapieha, until it received a pardon letter in which it was specified that Wawel was the "the common property of the State and the Church.

Party, or *Endecja*,[51] a right-wing nationalist party, with Roman Dmowski as its

spokesperson. Dmowski's views against foreigners and against peoples of other faiths

coincided with some of the Church's views, even though Dmowski was not always such

a good Catholic and previously held that national issues lie "outside of Christian

ethics."[52] Neither of the great leaders, Dmowski and Piłsudski, excelled in close ties with

the PRCC, nor was Piłsudski's rule known for consistency in relation with the Church. In

most regards, Piłsudski was the proponent of the old Polish Commonwealth,

Rzeczpospolita "civic" and multi-ethnic nationalism, while Dmowski was the promoter of

ethnic nationalism.[53] After the *coup d'état* of Piłsudski in May 1926, Dmowski profited

from this turn of events to coalesce his *Endecja* with the Church along the lines of *polak-

katolik* doctrine.[54] Dmowski, famous for his atheist attitude, started to identify himself as

a Catholic and called for the foundation of the Polish state on a Catholic basis.[55] In his

pamphlet *Kosciol, Narod, i Panstwo*, (Church, Nation, and State) he identified the

Catholic Church with the Polish nation.

> Catholicism is not only an appendage of Polishness, coloring it in some way, it is,
> rather, inherent to its being, in large measure it constitutes its very essence. To
> attempt to dissociate Catholicism from Polishness, and to separate the nation from
> its religion and the Church, is to destroy the very essence of the nation…

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[51] *Narodowa Demokracja*, known as "*Endecja*" from its abbreviation *ND*.

[52] Pease, ibid., 10.

[53] Ibid., 14, one can see here that the ethnic versus civic nationalism model does not appear amenable to the east-west division of Europe, but it is more visible along cultural political lines inside the same country; Paul Latawski distinguished between the civic nationalism in the West and the ethnic nationalism in the East, but one does not have to see the East as a monolithic reality, it is more likely in my opinion that ethnic national ideas were prevailing in those locations where they interfered the most with the civil rights, see Paul C. Latawski, *Contemporary Nationalism in East Central Europe* (New York, NY: St. Martin's, 1995), 1-11.

[54] Pease, ibid., 83-84.

[55] See also Millard in Latawski, ibid.,111.

The Polish state is a Catholic state. It is not Catholic only because the great majority of its population is Catholic, and it is not Catholic in some or other percentile. From our perspective, it is Catholic in the full sense of that term because our state is a national state, and our nation is a Catholic nation. [56]

After the communists took power more or less legitimately, and guided themselves by the doctrine of complete control of society, they had to have power over the only institution that was never under state control, the Catholic Church.[57] Sabrina Ramet identified four phases in the PRCC's experience with Communist rule. First, repression, 1945 -56, second, retrenchment, 1956-70, third, stabilization, 1970-80, and last, system decay, 1980-89.[58] The first period ended with Wyszyński's release from prison, and with the coming of Władysław Gomułka to power, the third phase corresponded to Edward Gierek's government, and last the period of martial law, when the Church took a less assertive position and instead reaffirmed its role in Poland's independence fight.[59] The political base of the Church has never been as broad as it was under the communist regime and this was due to the Church being the only institution that did not identify with an alien regime in the minds of Poles.[60] During Communism, even agnostics participated in public mass, which was a highly symbolic gesture, and the

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[56] The Vatican did not agree with this move of the Church and supported Piłsudski, Pease, ibid., 83-84, 86-87.

[57] Ibid., 48; the Communist ruling elite was not indifferent to national concerns and the fear of German expansionism was only solutioned by a strong alliance with the Soviets; on the other hand the Polish Communists rulers, starting with Bolesław Beirut asserted Polish sovereignty against Russia's meddling in its internal affairs, see Millard in Latawski, ibid., 114.

[58] Sabrina Ramet, "Thy Will Be Done: The Catholic Church and Politics in Poland since 1989," in Timothy A. Byrnes, and Peter J. Katzenstein, *Religion in an Expanding Europe* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge UP, 2006), 119.

[59] Ibid., 120-121.

[60] Michael Gamarnikow in Pease, ibid., 54.

only legal form of political insubordination.[61] Pomian-Srzednicki distinguished between two types of support for the Catholic Church, the first is the support of believers to their Church and the second is the support given by those, typically intellectuals, who perceived the Church as the carrier of a cultural tradition, without which the existence of the nation seemed impossible.[62] Pomian-Srzednicki associated the vigorous reaction of the Catholic Church, its defense and adaptation to a totalitarian system, as evidence of a rising desecularization trend.[63] Another development related to this was the strengthening of the Church's authority and prestige with every attack coming from the communists.[64] However, the communists were still able to make some supporters among a group of clergy called the "patriotic priests" which were tempted to disagree with the Church hierarchs.[65] The PRCC managed not only to defend the sacred but also the secular principles of truth, tradition, freedom and national unity against the state.[66]

Pomian-Srzednicki thought that the Communists' decision to separate the Church from the state with the purpose of weakening it, forcing it to be on its own without state support, actually strengthened the Church even more, by providing the means for more resistance in the Church's internal affairs.[67] All the above steps finally lead to the riots of

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[61] Pomian-Srzednicki, ibid., 55.

[62] Ibid.

[63] Ibid.

[64] During the 1940s the government repudiated the Concordat with Vatican, during the 1950s the state tried to destroy the Church, during the 1960s it tried to restrict its activities and during the 1970s it tried to prevent it from growing, ibid., 56.

[65] Pomian-Srzednicki discards these elements as being naïve "disgruntled and easily corruptible elements of the clergy as well as those game for a morsel of glory," ibid., 58.

[66] Ibid., 60.

[67] Ibid.

the 1970s and then to the new Party Secretary Edward Gierek's desire to renew the armistice with the PRCC.[68] However, this was the moment when the Church, now fully aware of its growing strengths, formulated its first political pronouncements and desires since 1946, by asking for national self-determination, freedom of conscience, justice, respect for the Polish Christian tradition and for a relaxation of censorship.[69]

Another interesting point is that at the communist government's proposals to create a national independent Catholic Church, the clergy faced the dilemma to continue to be part of the universal Catholic Church or to emphasize a local variant of Polish Catholicism. The principle of the separation of church and state did not truly work after the abrogation of the Concordat with Vatican. The Decree of February 9, 1953 stated that clerics who hold offices swear an oath to be faithful to the Polish People's Republic and to the nation, while all reference to God was omitted.[70] This dilemma further translated in many ecclesiastical offices remaining vacant due to the oaths' infringement on religious freedom; on the other side, some offices fell into the hands of collaborationists and pro-government clergy.[71]

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[68] Millard, in Latawski, ibid., 117.

[69] Pomian-Srzednicki argues that the Polish-Catholic identity had a powerful defense mechanism when confronted with secularist pressures and with Sovietization, and that religionists–Communist sociologists of the religious phenomena– such as Edward Ciupak did not understand the full implications of the Polish-Catholic identity. Since the Polish nation grew within the Church, the PRCC is both the creator and the protector of the Polish nationhood and cannot be understood as simple Catholic imperialism, see Pomian-Srzednicki, ibid., 62-63, 119.

[70] Marian S. Mazgaj, *Church and State in Communist Poland: A History, 1944-1989* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland &, 2010), 46-48.

[71] Ibid., 48.

Bogdan Szajkowski thinks that the ultimate aim of the Communist government was to create a schismatic national church, separated from Rome.[72] In 1945, Pope Pius XII invested the Primate of Poland, Cardinal August Hlond,[73] with special prerogatives which gave him extensive powers in case Poland would become isolated from Rome. In 1948, when Cardinal Hlond died, these prerogatives were passed to the new Primate, Stefan Wyszyński. Another contentious issue of church-state relations was the Church administration of the Recovered Territories in western Poland, taken from Germany after the Potsdam agreement in August 2, 1945.[74] Vatican failed to recognize the Polish hierarchy in these new territories, and did not want to appoint a regular diocesan bishop, even though Cardinal Hlond and Archbishop Wyszyński affirmed that these territories form an integral part of Poland.[75] When Vatican excommunicated those Polish Catholics who belonged to the Communist Party in 1949, the tensions between the Communists, the Catholic Church in Poland and Vatican reached the highest peak.[76] Until March of the following year, the state enforced censorship of Church publications, broke its youth associations, seized *Caritas*, its largest welfare institution, suspended radio broadcasts

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[72] Incidentally, this was similar with the proposal made by the Communist government to the leaders of the Greek-Catholic Church in Romania, namely to renounce allegiance to Rome.

[73] Hlond was nominated by Vatican to moderate the overheated relations between the Piłsudski regime and Polish cardinals, in Pease, ibid., 82-83.

[74] Brubaker mentions the drama of some twelve million Germans evacuated from mainly Poland and Czechoslovakia; see Brubaker, ibid., 52.

[75] Wyszyński also acted as if the PRCC and the Roman Catholic Church were not one, and there were a lot of debates about how to accommodate the traditions of the Germans from western Poland, see Bjork in Berglund and Porter-Szűcs, ibid., 140-141.

[76] Szajkowski, ibid., 13.

and nationalized the hospitals and a great part of Church estates, and this way some of the most important connections between Church and nation were destroyed.[77]

These tensioned finally ended a month later in 16 April 1950 when the government and the Catholic hierarchy signed an unprecedented agreement that dealt with the contentious issues, especially those regarding the Recovered Territories. Regarding these territories, the Church took the initiative to work for the Polish state[78] and to ask permission from the Vatican to constitute a permanent Episcopate to counteract activities hostile to Poland and to deal with German revisionism. Moreover, the hierarchy promised to combat the anti-government resistance groups and punish all clergy involved in such activities. In exchange for this the government acknowledged the Pope of Rome as the supreme authority of the Roman Catholic Church in Poland, in matters of faith and ecclesiastical jurisdiction; agreed with the continuation of the activities of the Catholic University in Lublin and resumed, mostly intact, all the lost privileges of the Catholic Church, including *Caritas*.

In 1951, the issue of the Recovered Territories[79] returned in full force with the recognition of the Oder-Neisse line by the German Democratic Republic. The Communist government elected its own administrators, called the Capitular Vicars, instead of the provisional ecclesiastical administration, and appointed parish priests as

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[77] Ibid.

[78] "The episcopate, the Accord stated, would be guided by the Polish *raison d'état*," in ibid., 14.

[79] This is very similar to the policy of church and state in the province of Transylvania, a highly controversial territory that shaped the relations between church, state and nation in Romania for the next decades; the Greek-Catholic Church in Transylvania suffered both because it was under Rome's authority and also because it was a local church, specific to Transylvania, prone to be more sensitive, in the eyes of authorities to Magyar irredentism and separatism; see Lucian Boia, *History and Myth in Romanian Consciousness* (Budapest: Central European UP, 2001), 237.

permanent managers in their parishes. In 1951, the Polish Catholic Church simply granted canonical jurisdiction to the elected Vicars. In 1953 a decree issued by the Council of State on the occupation of Church administrative offices limited the Pope's formal powers in matters of Church jurisdiction. This decree was a step forward to elect 'patriotic priests' with the purpose of creating a national church. The situation deteriorated even more 25 September 1953, when Cardinal Wyszyński was arrested based on the Accord of 1950 for having failed to respect it. In the following period, the Catholic instruction in schools was forbidden and Catholic faculties in Polish Universities were dissolved, and more and more pressure was put on the Catholic University in Lublin, all of these were paralleled by the placement of 'patriotic priests' belonging to *Pax* movement, in key positions.

However, two Catholic groups with different views on church-state relations have shaped the relation of the Polish Catholic Church before and after this period. One centered in Krakow around Adam Sapieha, and two publications, the weekly *Tygodnik Powszechny (Universal Weekly)*, and the monthly *Znak (The Sign)* reflected the semi-official social and political views of the Catholic Church. The other, centered in Warsaw and lead by Bolesław Piasecki and the weekly *Dzis i Jutro, (Today and Tomorrow)*, formed the *Pax* group and was more accommodating and sided with the regime.[80]

After the worker's revolt in Poznan in 1956, where the participants asked for "God and bread" the Communists brought back Władysław Gomułka as the leader of the Polish United Worker's Party, who very soon turned to the Church for help, since Soviet

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[80] Szajkowski, ibid., 11-12.

tanks have entered Poland and the situation was out of control.[81] Cardinal Wyszyński was

released from house arrest and another agreement between the government and the

Episcopate was signed in December 7, 1956. The church resumed its independence and

the two periodicals, *Znak* and *Tygodnik Powszechny* were restored. Moreover, five of the

editorial board members became official candidates in the forthcoming elections and the

Capitular Vicars – endorsed by Communists– in the Recovered Territories were removed,

all in exchange for the Church's support for the Polish United Worker's Party.[82]

Szajkowsky saw in the up and down between the state and the PRCC, especially after the

1956 crisis, a precedent that would gradually restore the pre-1939 political influence of

the Church.[83] Both sides, the Church and the Polish United Worker's Party fought to

undermine each other's position and in this fight, they both conceded their demands

while at the same time they explained the "gains" and "losses" of influence to their

"faithful," as having been made in the interest of Poland.[84]

The most important realization after the crisis was the coagulation of the *Znak*

group from the five elected lay Catholics and four other independent deputies in the

Parliament. However, in 1959, the government raided the site of Częstochowa, the shrine

of Polish Catholicism, in search of illegal publishing equipment, and the same year

eliminated religious instruction in schools again. The tensions between the PRCC and the

state grew in riots after the refusal to allow a church in Nowa Huta, the model socialist

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[81] Gomułka's leadership proved legitimate since he was perceived as a reformer, and he tried to nromalize relations with PRCC, and, did not intervene against decolectivization in agriculture, see Millard, in Latawski, ibid., 116.

[82] Szajkowski, ibid., 18.

[83] Ibid.

[84] Ibid., 19.

town built from the ground in the 1950s.[85] Contrary to expectations, after persecuting the PRCC, the state witnessed a raise in the level of catechism after the creation of private *catechetic points* constructed by the Church.[86]

By 1966, the bitterest confrontations occurred with the celebration of the Millennium of Polish Christianity and statehood. Miesko's Christian baptism coincided with the birth of the Polish state and the symbolism of this event raised the tensions between church and state one more time. As part of the religious festivities a copy of the icon of Black Madonna of Częstochowa was carried from place to place, which infuriated the party officials and which lead to confrontations between the clergy, the believers and the police and Communist officials on the other side. Zubrzycki argues that the processions continued even after the icon was confiscated by the police–the icon gained more potency in absence and its martyrization brought even more sympathy to the movement.[87] With the occasion of the Millennium, Cardinal Wyszyński's sermon stated:

> In the face of a totalitarian threat to the Nation…in the face of an atheistic program…in the face of biological destruction, a great supernatural current is indeed, so that the Nation can consciously draw from the Church the divine strength that will fortify its religious and national life. Nowhere else is the union of Church and nation as strong as in Poland, which is in absolute danger. Our "temporal ideology" demands that we dedicate ourselves, in the hands of the Holy Mother, so that we may live up to our task.[88]

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[85] The *Nowa Huta, (New Foundry)*, was built with the purpose to counter the influence of its neighbor Krakow, and was to symbolize the ideology of Communism. When the locals requested the building of a church and raised a 12 meter Cross on its future site, the local authorities delayed and eventually denied its construction. After violence and massive arrests a church was built in 1967, when the future Pope Karol Wojtyła laid the cornerstone, ibid., 26-27.

[86] Ibid., 20.

[87] Zubrzycki, ibid., 64-65.

[88] Stefan Wyszyński in Mazgaj, ibid., 117.

Further disagreements occurred when the Polish Episcopate sent a letter to the West German Bishops in which they suggested mutual forgiveness for the wrongs of war.[89] This letter put enormous pressure on the Episcopate since President Gomułka considered it to be unpatriotic given that the German Episcopate remained silent on this initiative.[90] The presence of over a million participants at the *Jasna Góra* celebrations in Częstochowa appeased the PRCC. Now Wyszyński was confident that he only had to fight with Vatican's new Ostpolitik, which, through emissary Archbishop Agostino Casaroli, tried to establish relations with the Communist regimes in the East over the head of the local Church. Wyszyński interpreted the gesture as a risky enterprise in the balance of the local church and feared he would become a simple observer. The Ostpolitik led to the recognition of the Western Polish border, the problematic Recovered Territories, which the Polish Primates have tried in vain to persuade the Popes to recognize.[91] A *de jure* and *de facto* recognition of these territories as part of Poland, and the appointment of resident bishops instead of apostolic administrators went over the head of Wyszyński. They were naturally accepted by the Polish government which saw another opportunity to weaken Wyszyński's office.[92] The Holy See also closed the

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[89] Bishop Kominek, a Silesian, became famous for writing this letter to invite the West German Episcopate to attend the Millennial commemorations; while for the inattentive observer, Kominek's appeal to mutual forgiveness seemed awkward, for the trained eye Kominek's letter reverberated the discussions about forgiveness, and treason in Poland, especially in Germanophile Silesia, see Bjork in Berglund and Porter-Szűcs, ibid., 150-151.

[90] Wyszyński intervened and defended Kominek who was also accused of adjusting his rhetoric according to the audience, a different one for Poles and for Germans, and recognized the importance of PRCC's "regional politics," see ibid., 151.

[91]Szajkowsky, ibid., 24.

[92] Ibid., 35.

Vatican Embassy of the Polish government in exile and the ambassador Kazimierz Papée lost his accreditation.

However, these pressures ended like the others, when in December 1970 the Lenin Shipyard in Gdańsk went on strike because of the increase in food and fuel prices by Gomułka. After the violence in the northern cities, Gomułka was replaced with Edward Gierek. Gierek continued with the reforms that sought to weaken the PRCC and Wyszyński continued to oppose. In 1973, Wyszyński preemptively spoke against a bill proposal about religious instruction:

> We know that this is not a Polish invention, that it does not originate in the spirit of our people. Importations of this type can only harm the nation, and must, therefore, be distrusted.[93]

Wyszyński was further isolated vis-a-vis the Vatican and the Polish government and Holly See tried to persuade him to agree with the normalization policy lead by Casaroli.[94] When the government planned to change the Constitution in 1975 and to amend citizen's rights by linking them with the "honest fulfillment of their duties,"[95] a new wave of protest arose from the Church. After many attempts in which the Church emphasized the respect for the civil rights, in 1976, another announcement of food price increase caused major strikes in the country, starting with the Ursus Tractor Plant workers near Warsaw. After the violent repression fourteen intellectuals of the KOR group (Committee for the Defense of Workers), and the PRCC argued for worker's rights. KOR was formed of left-wing intellectuals, Marxist and ex-communists and its

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[93] Ibid., 36.

[94] Evidence that the Holly See was persuasive was the removal into exile in Austria of the Hungarian Primate Mindszenty, ibid.,. 39.

[95] Ibid., 40.

program was much more political than the Church's.[96] Confronted with communism, the Church saw the principle of democracy as the lesser evil, and it initially supported political liberalization.[97]

Nobody foresaw the election of Karol Wojtyła[98] to the papal throne in October 1978. Adam Michnik one of the most preeminent KOR members named it a Miracle,[99] while the party officials could only interpret it optimistically in a nationalist sense. In the preparation for the papal visit in Poland to celebrate St. Stanislaus opposition to King Bolesław II the Bold's policies 900 years ago, the Communist government refused to set up a meeting date as it would mean support for anti-state actions. The election of a Polish pope was the beginning of a revival of Polish and Slavic messianism, one of the central factors of Polish civil religion. When he came to visit Krakow some three million people gathered at the papal Mass, a moment that was described by Zubrzycki as an authentic moment of "collective effervescence."[100] If before this moment religious symbols were not used in the workers' protests, from then on, they became omnipresent throughout the Solidarity period.[101]

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[96] Ibid., 45.

[97] John Anderson, *Catholicism and Democratic Consolidation in Spain and Poland* in John T.S. Madeley and Zsolt Enyedi, *Church and State in Contemporary Europe: The Chimera of Neutrality* (London: Frank Cass, 2003), 137, see also Mach, in Inglis et al, ibid., 119.

[98] About Polish and Slav messianism see Szajkowsky, ibid., 68, 72, 74.

[99] Ibid., 60.

[100] Zubrzycki, ibid., 66; Jan Kubik argues that this is the most important event that eventually lead to the fall of the official discourse, see Jan Kubik, *The Power of Symbols against the Symbols of Power: The Rise of Solidarity and the Fall of State Socialism in Poland* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State UP, 1994), 150.

[101] Zubrzycki, ibid., 67.

New increases in consumer prices lead to the mass strikes of 1980, which culminated in Lenin Shipyard in Gdańsk. In order to calm the protesters both the government and the Church agreed that the PRCC would hold masses for the workers inside the shipyard.[102] The Solidarity developed rapidly both as a trade union and as a mass social movement, to which one third of the Party members adhered, and which put nationalism and religious symbolism at its core.[103] The religious service on August 17, 1980 with 4000 strikers and 2000 people outside the gates, became a regular ceremony and Lech Wałęsa's priest, Father Henrych Jankowski blessed a big wooden cross, and planted it outside Gate No. 2 in remembrance of the victims killed in 1970.[104] Wyszyński saw the danger and his cautious sermon regarding the strikes antagonized the strikers and his image suffered since the protesters wanted no compromise. The Primate's image recovered later when he managed to be the architect of peace by sending sociologist, Dr. Romuald Kukołowicz, and sociologist of religion, Andrzej Święcicki to Gdańsk. Lech Wałęsa who symbolically wore a rosary around his neck and used an oversized pen with the Pope's image signed the end of mass strikes.[105] This was the beginning of a major change in the church state relations in Poland, because it was the first time that an organized group other than the Church, the workers, was asking for the Church's rights.

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[102] Even though Solidarity's strike was about bread and food prices, it was supposedly a fight for human justice, and Martin Bailey interpreted the workers' demands for bread in religious language and wrote that the call for bread was seen as a call for the recognition of human dignity; see Martin J. Bailey, *The Spring of Nations: Churches in the Rebirth of Central and Eastern Europe* (New York: Friendship, 1991), 63.

[103] Millard in Latawski, ibid., 118.

[104]Zubrzycki, ibid., 91.

[105]Szajkowski argued that the Church saw in this a diminution of its role and position in society and that Wyszyński became cautious of this reversal of popularity, and began talks with Lech Wałęsa which he expected to restore the PRCC's image and imbue it with legitimacy; see Szajkowski ibid., 98, 100-101.

Not long after these events Edward Gierek was thrown out from the party leadership and sacrificed so that the Communists could rework on their tarnished image. Stanisław Kania took his place and there followed another period of tensions culminating after the failed attempt to assassinate the Pope and after Wyszyński's death in 28 May, 1981.[106] The Pope named Józef Glemp as the Primate of Poland instead of Wyszyński, respecting the latter's will.[107] Wojciech Jaruzelski succeeded Kania in 1981, and as he faced external threat from the Soviets and internal calls for free elections, he proclaimed the Martial Law in 13 December 1981.[108] Initially the PRCC and Primate Glemp faced some legitimacy problems since the solution offered by the Church brought the public's scorn and disrespect.[109] Szajkowski thinks that Glemp's formal collaboration with the martial regime was just a continuation of Wyszyński's teaching, whose main concern was the sovereign existence of Poland, faced with invasion and with possible new partitions.[110] The fear of territorial partition haunted Poland for most of the post-war period, and the alliance with Soviet Union was seen as beneficial against German expansionism, but this did not mean that the alliance was total submission to the Soviets.[111]

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[106] Ibid., 127.

[107] Ibid., 130.

[108] Millard, in Latawski, ibid., 119.

[109] However, a survey made after the fall of Communism, credited Edward Gierek, the socialist leader, with much more accomplishments in politics when compared with the famous Solidarity leader, Lech Wałęsa; after 2001, when Gierek died, statues were erected and streets were named after him; at the commemoration of 25 years after the declaration of Martial Law in 2006, more than half of the Polish population regarded the decision to declare Maritial Law as correct. See Kacper Pobłocki, "The Economics of Nostalgia," in Oksana Sarkisova and Péter Apor. *Past for the Eyes: East European Representations of Communism in Cinema and Museums after 1989* (Budapest: Central European UP, 2008), 184-185.

[110] Szajkowski, ibid., 195.

[111] Millard in Latawski, ibid., 114.

The Evolution of Romanian Nationalism

When the Romanian provinces of Moldova and Wallachia united in 1859 without

the approval of Russian, Ottoman and Austrian empires, the Orthodox Church lost its

previous status and integrated in the state, after losing large amount of properties and

financial possessions.[112] Through the ingenious election of the same candidate,

Alexandru Ioan Cuza, for the throne of Moldova and for the throne of Wallachia, the

neighbor empires unexpectedly faced the political unity of the Romanian principalities as

a *fait accompli*. Besides confiscating church property,[113] after the French model,[114] and

after practically transforming the clergy into state functionaries, Cuza appointed his own

clerical hierarchy, and established a Holy Synod.[115] Despite this loss the ROC envisioned

itself as the hallmark of the Romanian nation across the regional divisions of the

Romanian provinces. After Cuza's replacement in 1866 by prince Karl of Hohenzollern-

Sigmaringen, who became Carol I , born Catholic German, the Romanian dynasty

adopted Orthodox faith, and all monarchs, Carol I, Ferdinand I, Carol II and Mihai I were

Orthodox.[116] In 1872, the Law of Clergy and Seminaries stated that members of the

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[112] Lucian Leuştean, "'For the Glory of Romanians': Orthodoxy and Nationalism in Greater Romania, 1918-1945," *Nationalities Papers,* Vol. 35, No. 4 (September 2007), 717.

[113] By nationalizing Church property Cuza ended the massive resource drain to Greek Mount Athos and to the Patriarchate of Constantinople and other foreign Patriarchates considering that a quarter of all agricultural land belonged to them; the national infrastructure, social, educational and cultural programs were seriously crippled by these resource drains, see Lavinia Stan and Lucian Turcescu, *Religion and Politics in Post-communist Romania* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2007), 19.

[114] Iuliana Conovici, *Ortodoxia În România Postcomunistă: Reconstrucţia Unei Identităţi Publice* [*Orthodoxy in Post-communist Romania: the Reconstruction of a Public Identity*] (Cluj-Napoca: Eikon, 2009), 305.

[115] Leuştean, (2007), ibid., 717, and Stan and Turcescu, ibid., 19.

[116] The church and the state coexisted and the byzantine tradition where the king was the protector of the Church meant that the state function solely for the Orthodox Christians; later on after the union with Transylvania the Greek-Catholic Church was also include to have precedence over the other Churches in Romania, see Stan and Turcescu, ibid., 20.

Church hierarchy was to be elected by an Electoral Collegium, composed mainly of Romanian Orthodox politicians members of the Parliament, and further regulated that the sermons would include national and religious elements.[117]

After the decay of the great empires neighboring Romania after WWI, the national dream to include all Romanians in a Greater Romania was finally achieved. After the declaration of the union of Romania with Banat, Bessarabia, Bukovina, and Transylvania in 1918, the Romanian Parliament ratified the union on December 29, 1919. The ROC joined the mainstream political interpretation that Orthodoxy represents the essence of Romanianism, which became an imagined shared identity superseding the above-mentioned regions' identities.[118] After the union, the population and the territory of Romania almost doubled, and the confessional situation of the new territory changed especially by adding Transylvania, where Romanians were split between Greek Catholic and Orthodox and where a large Hungarian minority lived divided between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism. The Orthodox Church of Transylvania joined the Holy Synod in Bucharest in May 28, 1919. From May to December 1919, the Romanian Primate Metropolitan Arămescu-Donici was deposed because he collaborated with the Germans during the war, and the Electoral Collegium elected Bishop Miron Cristea from Transylvania to be the next Metropolitan of Romania. The ROC reorganized during the patronage of Cristea who immediately claimed the status of "national Church" for the ROC, and started to remodel the Romanian metropolitanates according to symbolic

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[117] Leuştean, (2007), ibid. 718.

[118] Stan and Turcescu, ibid., 43.

elements from history. [119] The role of the ROC was further enhanced in the symbolic

union of Church and state during the Easter ceremony where the King blessed the masses

of peoples, and during religious festivals when students were forced to participate, of

which the most important one was the commemoration of war heroes. [120] The King

himself became a hero in Romania's national pantheon when he died in July 1927. The

ROC mourned his death and speculated on the fatidic month of July, when another

significant Romanian hero, Stephen the Great, died. However, the presence of the ROC

outside the discourse regarding national arena was minimal, and in 1940, church

attendance was reduced to only 10 percent of the Romanian population. [121]

The ROC faced not only secularization but also an identity crisis. The ROC,

which enjoyed 91.5 percent of all faithful before 1918, was diminished to 72.6 percent,

while the Greek Catholics enjoyed the second place with 7.9 percent, followed by the

Roman Catholics with 6.8 percent and the Jews with 4.2 percent, but also by the

Calvinists with 3.9 percent and Lutherans with 2.2 percent. [122] The tensions between these

churches but especially between the ROC and the Greek Catholic Church grew especially

after the signing of the Concordat between the Romanian state and Vatican in May 1927,

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[119] Cristea continued the tradition of supporting the political regime, and even suggested to the believers that they should buy government bonds to show their support; he renamed the Metropolitanate of Bukovina into the Metropolitanate of Suceava, and the Metropolitanate of Cluj into the Metropolitanate of Cluj, Feleac and Vad, just because this gesture restored Moldovan Prince Stephen the Great's (1457-1504) former capital in Suceava and his establishment of a bishopric in Transylvania called Vad bishopric, in Leuștean, (2007), ibid., 720-721.

[120] Ibid.

[121] Ibid., 728.

[122] Ibid.

and of a more relaxed law on religious confessions in the next year.[123] These developments lead to the Greek Catholics' and ROC's struggle of being recognized as the true keepers and protectors of the Romanian faith.

The notion that Orthodoxy was essential to Romanian national identity consolidated around this time, with the general controversy amongst scholars over the concept of Romanianness. Lavinia Stan and Lucian Turcescu argued that after the making of Greater Romania the ROC "borrowed, and eventually monopolized, the Transylvanian Greek Catholic's nationalist discourse centered on the Latin character of the Romanian language and descent."[124] After Dmowski in Poland, a preeminent Romanian philosopher, Nae Ionescu, went as far as to say that if one is not Orthodox it cannot be a true Romanian, and theologians Dumitru Stăniloae, Nichifor Crainic and Gheorghe Ispir concurred in offering a theological support for the ethno-religious vision of nationalism.

Clerical disputes between the main confessions, increased secularization and not least, the financial difficulties of country in general, and, of the clergy in particular, eased the way for ROC's lower clergy association with right-wing extremist groups. An unusual inflation of young theology graduates, which saw the Church as a mean to climb up the social ladder, and the crisis shadowing across Europe, led many of them to adhere to "Legiunea Arhanghelului Mihail" (Archangel Michael's Legion), later transformed

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[123] Ibid., 729; the Concordat stipulated that the Holy See need notify the Romanian government before making nominations for the bishopric sees, in Stan and Turcescu, ibid., 9.

[124] The attitude of the ROC was not credible because in Transylvania while Greek Catholics always claimed their rights based on the Latin roots, the ROC claimed the patronage and support of the Serbian Orthodox hierarchy, of the Russian Czar and of the Orthodox hierarchy in the Romanian principalities, see Stan and Turcescu, ibid., 43.

into the "Garda de Fier," (Iron Guard),[125] which combined Orthodoxist and nationalistic elements.[126] Especially the lower clergy, living in the poor rural areas was attracted to Zelea Codreanu's Iron Guard, and almost 2000 priests were members in it, while four of them were even elected senators in the Parliament in 1937.

The higher hierarchy and Patriarch Cristea did not agree with the political involvement of the Church and they maintained loyalty for King Carol 2nd.[127] Because of this, the low financial state of the clergy was seriously improved and the Octavian Goga government came to power in 1937 by using an attractive slogan: God, King and Nation.[128] In the next year, Carol 2nd established a royal dictatorship which included the ROC's hierarchy at its core, and Patriarch Cristea became head of the government. Iron Guard leaders were subsequently arrested, imprisoned and executed later that year.

The rise of mysticism and of the feeling that Romania is "Europe's frontier" was also favored by the stories from the eastern border, where Bolshevik Russia's anti-Church actions were perceived as the presence of the Anti-Christ. Meanwhile Romanian messianism and traditionalism started to fuse under the pressure of the international context, and, by this time, a Romanian shepherd, Petrache Lupu, had visions of Virgin

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[125] According to Britannica, the Iron Guard was a: "Romanian fascist organization that constituted a major social and political force between 1930 and 1941. In 1927 Corneliu Zelea Codreanu founded the Legion of the Archangel Michael, which later became known as the Legion or Legionary Movement; it was committed to the "Christian and racial" renovation of Romania and fed on anti-Semitism and mystical nationalism." see *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, s. v. "Iron Guard," last accessed May 11, 2012, http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/294454/Iron-Guard.

[126] Leuştean, (2007), ibid., 730; see also Mirel Bănică, *Biserca Ortodoxă Română: Stat Şi Societate În Anii '30,"* [The Romanian Orthodox Church: State and Society in the 1930s] (Iaşi: Polirom, 2007).

[127] Leuştean, (2007), ibid., 731

[128] Ibid.

Mary and called Romanians to repent unless they want punishment from East.[129] The

death of Cristea in 1939 contributed to these capricious events, and they were followed

by the election of Nicodim Munteanu as Patriarch by the Electoral Collegium, and by

more dramatic events.[130]

In June 1940, based on the German-Russian arbitration, Romania received an

ultimatum from Soviet Union to withdraw from Bessarabia, which became the Soviet

Socialist Republic of Moldova until the fall of Communism, and in August, the same

year, the German-Italian arbitration decided that northwest Transylvania would be part of

Hungary. After the territorial loss, Marshal Ion Antonescu took the power after Carol II

abdicated in favor of his son Michael I, whose role as a chief of state became mainly

decorative due to his young age. Antonescu immediately dissolved the National

Legionary State and arrested over 9000 members of the Iron Guard, of which 422 priests

and 19 cantors.[131]Under Antonescu's command the Romanian army advanced to the east

front, won back Bessarabia and went as far as Stalingrad in the hope of recovering

Transylvania.[132]

Leuştean argues that the ROC and the state were in a mutual competition for

political and ecclesiastical power,[133] as they both tried to ground their authority deeper in

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[129] Ibid., 732, and Bănică, *State and Society*, ibid., 114.

[130] Leuştean speculates that Munteanu was chosen because of his expertise in Russian orthodoxy, after having studied in Kiev and after he represented Romania at the Pan-Orthodox Synod in Moscow in 1917, Leuştean, (2007), ibid., 732-733.

[131] Ibid., 734.

[132] Holly Case, *Between States: The Transylvanian Question and the European Idea during World War II*, (Stanford, CA: Stanford UP, 2009).

[133] Leuştean, (2007), ibid., 735.

the Romanian society, they used tradition to relate to the nation. After the visible loss of the Axis powers, the democratic opposition in Romania together with King Michael deposed Antonescu on August 23, 1944. After Romania turned arms against Germany and helped advancing through Czechoslovakia and Hungary, and after the peace settlements, Romania recovered north-west Transylvania but not Bessarabia and northern Bukovina. By this time, the Soviets already revitalized the Russian Orthodox Church since Stalin found it useful in the last moment against the German troops marching in the Russian territory. The Soviets did not want to leave the territory of Romania and they claimed complete control of the country, even in ecclesiastical matters. They demanded first that all opposing clergy be removed and changed with Soviet sympathetic clergy. Leuştean points to the skyrocketing evolution of future Patriarch Justinian Marina who became almost overnight monk and Bishop of Moldova,[134] and of Father Constantin Burducea, a former Iron Guard member, who became Minister for Religious Confessions.[135]These two apparent unrelated events indicated the future of the ambiguous relation between the ROC and the Communists.

After many political pressures from the Soviets, the ROC's leadership refused collaboration with Vatican, more exactly Nicodim refused to reunite the Western and the Eastern Churches by refusing the title Cardinal of the East, which the Pope was willing to grant him in February 1946. [136] Meanwhile the Communist government of Groza falsified the elections in November and the leftist group of Communists won a majority of 84

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[134] Being monk was a condition of access for being a bishop, ibid.

[135] Lucian Leuştean, *Orthodoxy and the Cold War. Religion and Political Power in Romania, 1947-65*, (Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 61-62.

[136] Ibid., 63.

percent of the seats in Parliament.[137] In December 1947, Justinian Marina was elected

Metropolitan in Moldova and the communists have seized complete control of the

country when King Michael abdicated by force later that month and gave way to the

creation of Romanian People's Republic. Moreover, Patriarch Nicodim died suspiciously

in February next year.

Marina was elected and enthroned Patriarch on June 6, 1948 and received the

pastoral staff from Constantin I. Parhon,[138] president of the Grand National Assembly

(Marea Adunare Națională), just a month after publishing the first volume of the

collection of speeches on "Social Apostolate."[139] In August the same year, all foreign

schools were banned and all religious schools were closed, the Concordat with the

Vatican was abolished, and the government issued a law which regulated the principle of

religious freedom, if it was according to the Constitution, and stipulated the necessity for

confessions to be recognized by the Grand National Assembly. However, not all of the

ROC hierarchs accepted these changes, and some like Bishop of Oradea, Nicolae

Popovici was excluded from the hierarchy after he openly opposed the communist

takeover of the Church.[140]

In October 21, 1948, Patriarch Marina celebrated the "union" of the Greek

Catholic Church with the ROC in the Alba Iulia Cathedral in a symbolic gesture right on

the 250th anniversary of the establishment of the Uniate Church. All the opposition

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[137] Ibid., 66.

[138] He received it from Parhon not from Mihai I who was exiled and lost his citizenship in May. See ibid.

[139] Ibid., 74.

[140] Ibid., 79.

against the re-union was forcefully removed and a few Orthodox priests who opposed it and supported Uniate freedom were ignored.[141] The Greek Catholic Church was completely abolished and most of its leaders died in prison, while most of its properties were given to the ROC.[142] This contrasted with the fate of the Roman Catholic Church, which remained mostly untouched by the nationalist policies. Leuştean argues that many Romanians expected to be liberated by the British and Americans and did not see the irreversible side of the attack on Churches and their freedoms.[143] Patriarch Marina's decision to appoint people with past ties to the Antonescu regime, to the Iron Guard and even some Greek Catholics made the communists wonder if Cristea did not changed his mind.[144] One of these people, Archimandrite Teoctist Arăpaşu, suspect of having been a legionary of the Iron Guard, was enthroned in Iaşi, regional capital of Moldova and would later become Patriarch of the BOR. [145] Marina, Moisescu and Teoctist rarely had the courage to defend the Church and they mostly preferred to ignore the persecutions coming from the Communists in order to survive. Dissenters such as the famous Gheorghe Calciu-Dumitreasa, who openly opposed the human rights violation, the destruction of churches and religious freedom were defrocked by the ROC and the sent to prison, while others who were less famous abroad received even worse treatments.[146]

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[141] The Greek Catholics were perceived as a threat in all Eastern Europe and they were previously persecuted in Poland-Ukraine; see ibid., 79-80.

[142] Ibid., 81.

[143] Ibid., 79.

[144] Ibid., 82-83.

[145] Ibid., 83, Stan and Turcescu also remind about the ROC's susceptibility to blackmail since many hierarchs were involved with the Iron Guard, in Stan and Turcescu, ibid., 46.

[146] Stan and Turcescu, ibid., 24; on the other hand the destruction of churches in Bucharest was eased by the opening of some 250 construction sites by the ROC in the Alba Iulia Bishopric, see Şincan,

Olivier Gillet points to the fact that nationalism is indiscernible from Byzantinism in the Orthodox tradition especially since the 19th century and after 1848 when it was integrated in the concept of patriotism.[147] In the first years of the Communist regime, nationalism was rejected only to gradually make a comeback in the 1960's with the change in Ceausescu's orientation towards national-socialist ideology.[148] Just before the revolution in 1989, the Metropolitan of Transylvania, Antonie Plămădeală, offered his view about the relations between Church, state and nation in Romania:

> Regarding genesis and formation, they occurred at the same time, starting from the second half of the 1st century A.D. and the first decades of the 2nd century, on the territory that stretches from the Black Sea to the Danube and on the two edges of the Carpathian Mountains, evolving together along the history. This explains, on one side the specific character of the relation between the Romanian Orthodox Church and the Romanian people, and between the Romanian people and state, in the past and today, on the other side.[149]

The bond between the Romanian people and the Church is the basis of the reciprocal "durable connection" between Church and state.[150] The Byzantinist ideology eased the way for Marina to resolve the conflict between the Communists and the opposing voices in the Church, and to create the *Social Apostolate*, a collection of

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Anca, "From Bottom to the Top and Back," in Berglund and Porter-Szűcs, ibid., 192; Şincan reminds about the forming of the mainly evengelical ALRC group (The Romanian Christian Committee for Defending Religious Freedom and the Freedom of Conscience), whose members were contested by the leaders of their own Churches and who were accused of "political activity" and eventually killed, imprisoned or exiled at the end of the 1970s, see Şincan, Anca, "Disidența Religioasă," [Religious Dissidence], in Comisia Presidențială pentru Analiza Dictaturii Comuniste din România,[Presidential Committee for the Analysis of the Communist Dictatorship in Romania] *Raport Final*, [*Final Report*], (Bucharest, 2006), 380-382, last accessed March 1, 2012, http://www.presidency.ro/static/ordine/ RAPORT_FINAL_CPADCR.pdf.

[147] Olivier Gillet, *Religie Şi Naţionalism: Ideologia Bisericii Ortodoxe Române Sub Regimul Comunist* [*Religion and Nationalism: The Ideology of the Romanian Orthodox Church under the Communist Regime*] (Bucureşti: Compania, 2001), 34.

[148] Ibid.

[149] Antonie Plămădeală, quoted in Gillet, ibid., 35.

[150] Gillet, ibid., 36.

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principles for adapting the Church to the political reality.[151] Justinian confessed that:
"people could win everything through this sincere collaboration between Church and the
political leaders."[152] Gillet argued that the *social apostolate* signaled that the *sovietization*
of the Church, or in other words, the adapting of tradition to modernity refuted that
Orthodoxy is conservative, incapable to integrate in modernity.[153] This doctrine was a
guiding principle for the Church's hierarchs to follow the lines of building the Romanian
society in the spirit of socialism, in full accord with the principles of the *serving* mission
of the Church. The principle of *serving* became the justification for serving the state, the
basic principle of the *social apostolate* doctrine.[154] Subordination to state as an
ecclesiastical principle was the main feature separating the ROC from the other Churches
in Romania, in their obedience to the state. Gillet notes that the clerics wanted to include
the social apostolate in the Byzantine tradition, but he refuted that salaries to the clergy
and the didactic personnel constitute a sound reason to include such practice in Byzantine
tradition.[155] Gillet concluded that the Communists used the ROC's bond with the nation
in order to gain greater legitimacy.

In July 1943 the sects, meaning the neo-Protestant groups of Baptists,
Pentecostals, Adventists or Jehovah's Witnesses, were banned by Marshal Ion
Antonescu, and in 1950 the new Communist government ordered the Pentecostals, the

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[151] Ibid., 37-39.

[152] Ibid., 40.

[153] Ibid., 41.

[154] Ibid., 42.

[155] Ibid., 44.

Seventh Day Adventist and the Baptist to unite in the Federation of Protestant Cults.[156]

Their existence was interpreted a decade earlier by the ROC as an attack against the

Romanian nation.[157] In 1948, this vision destroyed the Romanian Greek Catholic Church

by labeling it an agent of the West.

One of the most frequent words used in the Social Apostolate writings of Marina

is the word *patria* (fatherland).[158] Especially after the nationalistic turn, patriotism meant

that the Church embraces national identity and opposes the hegemony and

cosmopolitanism of the Catholic Church, which is an instrument of colonialism.[159] The

ROC appropriated patriotism by including it in autocephaly, one of the three pillars of

Orthodox ecclesiology.[160] Gillet noted that "autocephaly lays at the basis of the

identification between Church and nation, therefore between Church and state,"[161] and,

autocephaly became the correspondent of anti-cosmopolitanism, associated with

supranational structures such as the Catholic Church. The "external danger" of the West

was brought back into light since it ignored the Christian equality, fraternity and social

justice principles that Communist ideology seemed to support.[162] Theologians tried to

argue that there is no separation between Church and state in the Bible, and that "the

Redeemer proclaimed the obligatory fulfillment of both citizen and religious duties" and

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[156] Stan and Turcescu, ibid., 23.

[157] Gillet, ibid., 48.

[158] Ibid., 86.

[159] Ibid., 89-92.

[160] The pillars of the Orthodox Church ecclesiology are autonomy, autocephaly, and sinodality, ibid., 62.

[161] Ibid., 93.

[162] Ibid., 94.

that the State is a God "desired" institution.[163] These theologians argued that *patria* was a

reality recognized even by the patristic writings of Saint Augustine, John Chrysostom,

Gregory of Nazianz, Origen and Tertulian, and the Fathers of the Church were not only

good Christians but also good patriots as when they acted so against the barbarians

coming at the gates of Rome.[164] Gillet argues that the Orthodox theology was used not

only as Communist propaganda, but tried to opposed the Western Catholic model.

Nationalism became the cure in countering the imperialism and cosmopolitanism of the

reactionary Catholic Church.[165] The universality of the Church manifested only in

Eastern sinodality, a principle that does not discriminate between the whole and the

particular, between national and international and does not confuse internationalism with

imperialism as the Catholic Church supposedly did.[166] The Church's doctrine was

naturally popular, with the people, and, therefore with the state, because the state is an

emanation of the people.[167]

This anti-Western rhetoric vanished almost completely before the last decade of

Communism, when ecumenical ideals permeated the ROC, and when the term people

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[163] We can see that if Byzantinism did not influence the early life of the Romanian Orthodox Church it did so much later, when the doctrine of social apostolate tried to anchor its guidelines in the Byzantine tradition, ibid., 99.

[164] Ibid., 102-103.

[165] In their identity quest, the Orthodox theologians interpreted caesaropapism to be a theocratic rule of the Church over the civil and political, while in fact they meant papocaesarism, see Gillet, ibid., 108-109; Leuștean, (2009), ibid., 67. About papocesarism see John S. Romannides, "The Orthodox Church on Church-State relations and Religious Liberty" in Wood, James Edward Jr., *Readings on Church and State*, (Waco, TX: J.M. Dawson Institute of Church-State Studies, Baylor University, 1989), 255-264.

[166] The word catholicity exists in Romanian language but due to its resonance with the Catholic tradition it was replaced by the ROC with the word "sinodalitate" (sinodality) or "sobornicitate" (same with sobornost) of Slavic origin, in Gillet, ibid., 117-119.

[167] Ibid., 124.

was replaced by the more narrow terms, *naţiune* (nation) and *neam* (kinfolk). With this occasion, the idea of the Romanian continuity as a "Latin island in a Slavic sea"[168] delimited Romania from the Eastern bloc even though the ROC paradoxically adopted the Latinity ideal after the Herderian model of linguistic nation,[169] without sacrificing the Orthodox ideal. The ROC uses a Latin vocabulary to prove its Latinity,[170] but also uses the Slavic "duh" (ghost) instead of spirit, or "sobornicitate" (sobornost) instead of catholicity to deny any affiliation with the Catholic Church.[171]

The main argument was that while the so-called Central European Protestant and Catholic Churches resisted the state's authority the South East European Orthodox Churches submitted to the state's authority in pure caesaropapism tradition. Gillet rightfully noted the danger of the simplifying thesis of the clash of civilizations theory,[172] and argued that "byzantine" behavior represents much more than the simple reciprocal support between church and state. A certain degree of reciprocal support is characteristic

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[168] Ibid., 139, 141, 156.

[169] Karnoouh mentions the importance of the Reformed churches and then of Counterreformation, in developing and spreading the vulgar languages, and in creating the impetus for the nascent nationalisms of Central and Eastern Europe, around the Czech, Hungarian and Romanian languages, whose performers associated language, religion and territory, in Karnoouh, ibid., 90.

[170] The main religious concepts like God (Dumnezeu - Latin: Dominus Deus), Church (biserică-Latin: basilica), Cemetery (cimitir - Latin: cometerium), Cross (Cruce - Latin: Crucium), Baptism (Botez-Latin: baptizo), Angel (înger - Latin: angelus), Christian (creştin - Latin: chrestianus) are of Latin origin, see Mircea Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii Ortodoxe Române* [*The History of the Romanian Orthodox Church*] (Sibiu: Andreiana, 2009), 24-30.

[171] Gillet, ibid., 159.

[172] Alina Mungiu-Pippidi argued that Huntington was right to point to the more advanced development of Transylvania but he was mistaken in terms of contemporary social realities, see Mungiu Pippidi, Alina, *Subjective Transylvania,* last accessed February 16, 2012, http://www.osi.hu/ipf/publications/AlinaPP-nation.pdf, 36-37; Sandu Frunză mentions the fact that Transylvania was also largely Orthodox, and does not fit into Huntington's construct, in Sandu Frunză, *Fundamentalismul Religios şi Noul Conflict al Ideologiilor* [*Religious Fundamentalism and the New Conflict of Ideologies*] (Cluj Napoca: Limes, 2007), 163-166.

even of countries that have no *byzantine* tradition,[173] like Poland's PAX group, or

Wyszyński's "peace agreements" with the government.[174] That this reciprocal support

was seen as best for the nation comes to counter the argument that Church support for the

state was unconditional, or "byzantine," and state support for the Church was benevolent.

The case neither of Poland nor of Romania shows that the Church and state relations

were univocal and unilateral. In private, fearing their life or freedom, some Romanian

high hierarchs around Patriarch Justinian Marina showed a total discontent about the

collaboration of the ROC with the regime.[175] Ordinary people were more affected by the

religious oppression.[176] What was visible in both Communist Romania and Poland was

that national survival and the nationality problem preceded the religious problem and

preceded the conflicting relations between the Church and state. Again, this fusion of the

political and religious domains into the supreme national sphere created less a political or

religious harmony but rather civil religious harmony based on myths and on their

systematic propagation throughout the society.[177] It is no wonder that what should be

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[173] Gillet argues that the Romanian Orthodox Church might have simply taken advantage itself of the traditionalist and conservatory tendencies of a regime that at its turn used the Church to better anchor its authority, Gillet, ibid., 17-18.

[174] All the Churches and Cults, the leaders of the Lutheran, Calvinist, Adventist, and Baptist Churches, including the Roman Catholic Church and the Mosaic cult in Romania officially supported the Communist regime, ibid., 28; see also Stan and Turcescu, ibid., 46-47.

[175] Leuştean, (2009), 126.

[176] Ibid., 130.

[177] Not even in Poland the church-state relations were the appendage of a single level of the Church hierarchy and Vatican used its *ostpolitik* approach towards the Polish state above the head of the Primate Wyszynski, which used his own power to negotiate with the government at a different level.

pure doctrinal and ecclesiological problems tend to refer to the survival of the state and preservation of identities.[178]

Through the voices of Stăniloae and other Romanian theologians[179] the ROC claimed that ethnicity is a principle based on the fourth century Apostolic Canon number 34, which relies on the New Testament (Mathew 28, 19) to maintain that apostles shall teach all "nations," even though there was no racial or ethnic connotation implied by the modern understanding of nation.[180] The ethnic principle of organizing the Church, or *phyletism*, was proclaimed a sin at the ecumenical patriarchate in 1872, not long after the Bulgarian Church declared its independence.[181] This interpretation was largely contested by all the Orthodox Churches except for the Church of Greece.[182]

The official doctrine that Ceaușescu adopted was called Dacianism,[183] and it was invoked to testify for the historical precedence of Romania over its neighbors, expressed in a slogan used by Ceaușescu which was to become famous: "Romania is a Latin island in a Slavic Sea"[184]. Gillet wrote that Romania's "isolationism" was on the same line with

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[178] Gillet, ibid., 26.

[179] Ibid., 134-178.

[180] Ibid., 162-163; Stan and Turcescu, ibid., 50; Cristian Romocea, *Church and State: Religious Nationalism and State Identification in Post-communist Romania*, (London: Continuum, 2011), 201; for more details on the sacred origins of nation and nationality see Anthony D. Smith, *Chosen Peoples*: *Sacred Sources of National Identity* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2003).

[181] Romocea, ibid. 201.

[182] For the theory of ethno-phyletism, see Gillet, ibid., 164, and Daniel P. Payne, "Nationalism and the Local Church: The Source of Ecclesiastical Conflict in the Orthodox Commonwealth," *Nationalities Papers*, Vol. 35, No. 5 (November, 2007).

[183] Dacia was the state that Romans conquered and transformed into a Roman province, which roughly coincided with the current territory of Romania.

[184] Romania is not the only country to invoke its ancient roots when it comes to show national superiority, Albania also emphasized its Thraco-Illyrian origin, Gillet, ibid., 139, 141; Stan, Lavinia, and Lucian Turcescu, ibid., 48; nowadays it is not surprising that a country like Slovenia uses the myth of pure

the "autocephaly" of the ROC following the Dacianist ideology.[185] Speculating on the

dual meaning of the word *law* (*lege* in Romanian), *lege* means law and one's religion, the

ROC interpreted this as an argument that Romanians need have a single law, the

Orthodox law, which is the Romanian law. This unwritten code of law, *legea*

strămoşească, or ancestors' law, was interpreted by the ROC as transgressing the border

between sacred and profane.[186] The scientific "doctrine" of Daco-Romanian continuity

was transmitted as an undeniable historical truth and the image of the ethno-genesis of

the Romanian people was Trajan's Column in Rome, which depicted the Roman

conquest of Dacia; therefore, the founding of Romania also coincides with its Christening

and Romanizing.[187]

Even though the Orthodox nationalism was dissociating from the Western-

Catholic chauvinist type, the ethnic principle adopted by the ROC excluded not only non-

Romanians but also Romanian Greek Catholics.[188] In order to be full Romanian one

needed to be an Orthodox and in order to be an Orthodox one needed to be a Romanian,

otherwise one can only be a second rank citizen belonging to the world of invaders and

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Etruscan origin of their nation as opposed to their Slavic origin, see Slavoj Žižek, "The Theft of
Enjoyment,"in *Tarrying with the Negative, Kant, Hegel, and the Critique of Ideology,* (Durham: Duke
University Press, 1993), last accessed, February 17, 2012, http://www.revalvaatio.org/wp-
content/uploads/%EF%BF%BDi%EF%BF%BDek-tarrying-with-the-negative.pdf.

[185] Gillet, ibid., 166.

[186] Ibid., 169.

[187] Gillet, ibid., 150; see also Păcurariu,ibid., 16-24.

[188] Gillet, ibid., 168-169. Nikolas Gvosdev argued that when the ROC sought to integrate the
Uniates into a single Romanian Church they were acting under the principles of symphonia, as a single
church coterminous with the nation and state, see Nikolas Gvosdev, *An Examination of Church-state
Relations in the Byzantine and Russian Empires with an Emphasis on Ideology and Models of Interaction*
(Lewiston, NY: E. Mellen, 2001), 226.

migrations.[189] The ROC's collaboration with the Communist rule endorsed the national-socialist ideology of Ceaușescu with a spiritual dimension, integrating it in the Orthodox tradition.[190]

In order to understand the connection between nationalism and the Church in Romania one must look at Transylvania. Gillet noted that the connection between Orthodoxy and nation was the milestone of Orthodoxist nationalism covering most of the last two centuries. He sees almost all aspects of the church-state relations as a *longue durée* development starting from the 19th century at the time when Andreiu Șaguna, the Orthodox Bishop of Transylvania from 1848, set the relations of the ROC in Transylvania under complete obedience to the Austrian authorities.[191] In *Orthodoxy and Nationality*, Keith Hitchins portrayed Andreiu Șaguna,[192] as a character that stood at the forefront of Romanians' emancipation within the Austrian Empire even though he did not

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[189] Gillet, ibid., 170. Nikolas Gvosdev argued that historically in the Orthodox space, the non-Orthodox were only considered "guests" or visitors, see Gvosdev, ibid., 56, 60. Daniel Payne argued that Orthodoxy's view on the human being is ecclesiastical rather than individualistic, therefore group rights prevail in the Orthodox tradition as opposite to the western liberal political tradition, therefore persons receive their identity from their social group, especially from the Church, see Daniel P. Payne, "The Clash of Civilisations: The Church of Greece, the European Union and the Question of Human Rights," *Religion, State & Society*, Vol. 31, Issue 3 (Sep. 2003), 263, 269.

[190] However this nationalism is not imperialistic even if it benefited from imperialism such as the adding of south Dobrudja to Romania, it is only excluding the other from participating and not aggressively trying to conquer or exclude. See Gillet, ibid., 173, 176, and Boia, ibid., 179-180.

[191] Cristian Romocea explains that Șaguna's obedience to the state did not rely on identifying the Austrian Empire with Orthodox Church according to Byzantine symphony; but Șaguna, a pragmatic personality could not have identify the Church with the state first of all because it would have conflicted the empire's religious diversity dominated by Catholicism, and only second because of differences between Romanian Orthodox spirituality and the Austrian Empire; see Romocea, ibid., 116-117.

[192] Andreiu Șaguna, called the *Moses of Transylvanians*, was recently canonized in October 2011, in Florian Bichir, "'Moise al ardelenilor' este canonizat la Sibiu,"[The "Moses of Transylvanians" is Canonized in Sibiu] *Evenimentul Zilei*, last modified February 9, 2012. http://www.evz.ro/detalii/stiri/moise-al-ardelenilor-este-canonizat-la-sibiu-951690.html.

fully submit to the new religion of nationalism,[193] but stayed faithful to the Church and to the Emperor. Hitchins notes that nationalism was lived as a virtual religion:

> [Nationalism] offered them [Romanians] an explanation of society and provided them with a purpose that justified their own existence. Many priests served it as eagerly as layman. It had become in the words of the inhabitants of a small village near Turda, a "sacred cult," whose principal dogma taught that every people possessed the right to develop as it wished free from all outside constrains.[194]

Hitchins wrote that one of the most important changes in the fight to achieve independence and recognition as a nation for the Romanians of Transylvania took place in the two decades following the 1948 Revolution. The Transylvanian School, in their great majority Uniates, as well as the newly appointed bishop for Orthodox Transylvanians, Andreiu Şaguna, agreed that the Church, both Uniate and Orthodox "had been the chief refuge of their nationality for seventeen centuries."[195] Soon after the nomination of Şaguna and his pledge to awaken the Romanians of Transylvania, the revolution of 1848 started and a great assembly of the Romanians was scheduled, which gave him the opportunity to take the lead of national movement of the Romanians in Transylvania.[196] Even though the role of the Church during the last seventeen centuries was greatly exaggerated, the idea behind it, the appearance of unity that the church provided, was enough to strengthen the ideal of national independence.

The Magyar revolution brought the idea of Hungarian independence in a national state, and as in principle the ideas of Hungarian and Romanian intellectuals coincided,

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[193] Keith Hitchins, *Orthodoxy and Nationality: Andreiu Şaguna and the Rumanians of Transylvania, 1846-1873* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1977), 219.

[194] Ibid.

[195] Ibid., 28.

[196] Ibid., 38.

they first sought collaboration and support among each other.[197] The 1848 generation of

Romanian intellectuals was the product of Enlightenment rationalism and idealistic

Romanticism, schooled in Vienna and Rome, with a newly found identity with origins in

Roman Latinity and ancient Dacia province. Samuil Micu Clain (Klein), Gheorghe

Șincai,[198] Petru Maior contributed immensely to the research of Romanian history and

language. The proclaimed rule of reason, civil and religious equality appealed the

Romanians to side with the Hungarian revolution. On the other side, as conscious of their

noble Latin origins Romanians could not accept the tolerated status to which they were

subject in Transylvania–be it Greek-Catholics or Orthodox they were considered second

class citizens.

Romanians waited for the liberties granted under the new Hungarian rule of the

united Transylvania and Hungary, and since nothing seem to indicate a return to the

situation before 1848, the intellectual and religious elites tried to calm the population and

to comfort it to the thought of future political rights. Meanwhile, in the Southern

Romanian province of Wallachia, the new leaders who were versed in relations with the

Transylvanian and Moldovan Romanians, were also very attracted to the idea of a greater

Romania.[199] The Romanians from Transylvania feared to share this ideal in public and

they were more concerned with assuring a place for the Transylvanian Romanians within

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[197] Ibid., 40.

[198] Șincai was the promoter of fighting the superstition, the empty traditions and popular beliefs of the Romanian Transylvanians for their social advancement in the ranks of civilized nations of Austria, and very much in trend with the times, other intellectuals set out to discipline, if not by pedagogy, than by force, the great masses of peasants to renounce their "obscurantist" and "obscene" lifestyles; see Karnoouh, ibid., 96-97, 246.

[199] Poet Alecu Russo, an exile from Moldova wrote about the rise of the Romanian nation: "one powerful nation, with the sea and the two rivers as barricades and with Roman blood in our veins, …no longer Moldavia, nor Transylvania, nor the Banat, but only Rumania, with its capital to be named Rome." Alecu Russo quoted in Hitchins, ibid., 59.

the Austrian crown since the revolutionaries in Moldova and Wallachia were even more fragile than their own.[200] Șaguna tried to encourage Romanians by expressing his beliefs in the near realization of the two major principles of the age, liberalism and nationalism, seen as political freedom and the feeling of bonding brought by speaking the same language and belonging to the same ethnic group.[201] Since none of the agreements pleased all the parties involved, and since liberalism was not put in practice, after bitter struggles between Austrians, Hungarians, Saxons and Romanians, the revolution ended with the victory of the Austrians, who installed an absolutist regime which lasted from 1849 to 1859. During this period, Romanian Orthodox and Uniate priests were held responsible for agitations and some of them were even imprisoned for years, the intellectuals were put under surveillance and in 1850, the Romanian magazine *Gazeta de Transilvania* [Transylvanian Gazette] ceased to publish.[202] At this point, many intellectuals returned to study in Vienna and Padua, and, as such, they were more interested in the social activities of the Church than in eternal life and purgatory. Because these two Churches were the only national institutions they had, they were eager to expand their role in the national movement against the fratricide quarrels between Orthodox and Uniates.[203] With a national consciousness already growing, Șaguna saw it opportune to raise money to build a monument for those 40 000 Romanians who died in

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[200] Ibid., 59.

[201] Ibid., 67.

[202] Ibid., 83-84.

[203] Ibid., 86.

the fights against the Hungarians and to construct a semblance of national unity around their leader, Avram Iancu,[204] thing that was not realized during his lifetime.

After the implementing of abolishment of serfdom in 1855, in 1860 the Austrians convoked a large body of representatives, *Verstärkter Reichsrat,* for consultations for the reorganization of imperial institutions. Șaguna was selected to represent the Romanians of Transylvania and Nicolae Petrino and Andrei Mocioni, those of Bukovina and Banat/Hungary. The final result of Reichsrat was the *February Patent,* a whole new constitution, which changed the rights of the privileged classes with more liberal rights of the middle class but which did not want to deal with the nationality problem in Transylvania. The Patent lasted until 1865, for almost half a decade in which Romanian national struggle intensified and in which time Șaguna resembled more a national leader, like George Barițiu, rather than a cleric– a role that the Greek Catholic Bishop Inochentie Micu Clain had almost one hundred years ago.[205]

In the 1863 elections, with all the gerrymandering in favor of Saxons and Magyars, and, even though the idea of universal suffrage was still foreign to them, the emperor opened the door for a more representative Transylvanian diet. Romanians managed to secure 48 deputies to represent almost a million and a half people. Hungarians secured 44 deputies with half-a-million population while the Saxons obtained 33 deputies for less than a quarter-million population.[206] After immediate reelections which had a similar result, the equality of their nation and of their churches with the other

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[204] Ibid., 92.

[205] Ibid., 115-116.

[206] Ibid., 138-139.

two nations and with Protestantism and Roman Catholicism churches was enacted into law.[207] However, in 1865, the same year that Romania's Orthodox Church declared its independence from Constantinople,[208] the Austrians decided to appease the Hungarians and they pushed for new elections where the old system was imposed and where Romanians gained only 48 deputies against 195 Magyars and Szeklers, which resulted in Transylvania being included in Hungary during the next year.[209] Next, Romanians boycotted the following elections, and by 1866 it was clear that the lay intellectuals want to take a more assertive path than obeying church leaders, of whom especially Șaguna did not see the future of Romanians in Transylvania outside an Austrian federation.[210] The frictions between lay intellectuals and clergy of both Greek Catholic and Orthodox Churches came as a result of Romanian nationalists seeing the Church as a retrograde institution, not well adapted to the "liberal and national spirit of the time."[211]

Șaguna was convinced that the national identity of Romanians in Transylvania was untouched because of their ancestral faith, since the tenth century when Magyars came to Transylvania, Orthodox faith saved Romanians from assimilation.[212] For Șaguna, the Latinity of Romanians and their origins in Trajan's Rome, did not contradict their being at odds with the ecclesiastical Rome, but moreover this gave Romanians a

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[207] Ibid., 141.

[208] The independence was recognized only in 1866, see Stan and Turcescu, ibid., 19.

[209] Hitchins, ibid., 154.

[210] Ibid., 172.

[211] Ibid., 173.

[212] Even though he rightfully reminds about such a path for the Romanian nobles who were Magyarized, he did not ponder the larger implications of his thesis. Apart from nobility, the majority Szeklers in East Transylvania remained Szeklers, the Slovaks remained Slovaks the Croats remained Croats despite them being Roman-Catholic as some half of the Hungarians themselves.

distinguished national character as a unique blend of two civilizations.[213] Șaguna was

content that while Orthodoxy saved Romanians from the Roman-Catholic and Protestant

Magyars and Saxons, Latinity saved them from the influential Serbian and Bulgarian

coreligionists, without further asking what separated Serbians from Bulgarians for

example if it were to follow such logic.[214]

Conclusions

National reconstruction of the past, however fictional it may be, shows that the

Greek Catholic Church and the Romanian Orthodox Church in Transylvania were

intimately connected with the Romanian nationalist movement. Romocea argues that the

struggle for the acknowledgment of these two churches as recognized churches in

Transylvania may have triggered the first signs of national conscience in the case of

Greek Catholics and might have inspired a more efficient approach in the case of

Orthodox Romanians.[215] Both the ROC and the PRCC entered the national debate of the

19th century under the auspices of foreign domination. This geopolitical situation and

their position as the majority Church, led them to become agents of nationalism which

altered their image and their theological approach to the nation. As agents of nationalism

the churches tried to have exclusive relations with the state and tried to marginalize the

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[213] Ibid., 248.

[214] Ibid., 249; for a further inquiry into the lengthy Latinist-Slavic debates in the Orthodox space and about Petru Movilă's (member of a Moldovan dynast family, educated in Poland and activating in Kiev) perceived attempts to Latinize the Orthodox Church of Ukraine-Russia see Dimitry Pospielovsky, *The Orthodox Church in the History of Russia* (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary, 1998).

[215] Romocea, ibid., 129.

other churches which were perceived as non-national.[216] It is obvious that theology

shaped the religious-nationalist alliance, but it is equally valid to claim that nationalism

influenced theology. This chapter narrated the complex identification of the PRCC and

ROC with the Polish and the Romanian nation prior to and in the Communist period.

Stephen Sharot suggests that one must be careful to distinguish between the attitudes of

theologians, high hierarchs, and other religious *virtuosi*, as to the popular level of

religion, in this case to the dissenting groups within the ROC, as for example the

charismatic Lord's Host group,[217] or to how religion functioned for individuals.[218] Since

personal morality in everyday life was not the main concern of the PRCC or the ROC,

which mostly focused on politics, it seems persuasive to think that both Poland and

Romania experienced a decline of personal religion while at the same time they increased

the importance of religious institutions by transforming them into national churches.[219]

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[216] It is interesting to point out to the fact that before the World War Two (WWII), the PRCC's lower clergy was almost entirely devoted to the right-wing nationalist parties, as Endecja, while in Romania, the almost overnight apparition of an entire class of lower clergy in the interwar period served the right-wing Iron Guard and Legionary party, see, Bănică, ibid.

[217] This group was a faction of the ROC that resembled the charismatic Protestant Christianity and was considered too liberal and for that reason, abolished in 1949, in Leuștean, (2009), ibid., 90.

[218] Stephen A. Sharot, *Comparative Sociology of World Religions: Virtuosos, Priests, and Popular Religion* (New York: New York UP, 2001), 10.

[219] See Zubrzycki, ibid.

CHAPTER THREE

National Survival, Saints and Christian Heroes

Peter Sugar affirmed that Eastern European nationalism differed from Western

European nationalism, even though it shared the same anticlericalism, constitutionalism,

and egalitarian orientation.[1] Sugar distinguishes four main groups of manifestations of

nationalism: bourgeois, aristocratic, popular and bureaucratic. The bourgeois type is

characteristic of the western countries and at some level of Czech and Slovenian

nationalisms, the aristocratic model is characteristic of Poland and Hungary, the popular

model is specific of Serbia and Bulgaria, while the bureaucratic model represents

Romania, Greece and Turkey.[2] Sugar pointed to religion only when he mentioned that

native lower clergy developed the popular nationalist model in Serbia and Bulgaria.[3] For

Sugar, Polish nationalism was aristocratic since Poland had a powerful and extensive

nobility which was not willing to give any of its birth rights. He also wrote that

Romanian nationalism, even though it also had a noble class, the *boyars,* was reactionary,

and due to the division in three territories, Transylvania, Moldova and Wallachia, found

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[1] Peter Sugar, "Nationalism in Eastern Europe," in John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith, *Nationalism* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1994), 171.

[2] Ibid., 172. Daniel Payne argued that the Greek nationalism oscilated and continues to oscilate today between a Roman or Romeic identity and a Hellenic identity, the latter was a restoration of the old pagan Greek identity and sought the creation of a Greek nation-state while the more universl Roman idea relied on republicanism, and constituted the imbold of the Greek revolution and the creation of the nation state in 1821. See Daniel P. Payne, *The Revival of Political Hesychasm in Contemporary Orthodox Thought: The Political Hesychasm of John S. Romanides and Christos Yannaras* (Lanham, MD: Lexington, 2011), 70.

[3] Sugar, ibid., 177.

irredentism as a common goal.[4] However, this classification is questionable since Polish

nationalism was irredentist and bureaucratic as well, by replacing the German and Jewish

bureaucracy in the "recovered territories" gained from Germany after 1918, it seems it

was not less efficient than the Romanian one.[5] Poles and Romanians tend to think that

unification, or re-unification, and not irredentism is the proper name for their own

nationalism, similar to the type of "unification nationalism" coined by Michael Hechter,

in which politically divided but culturally homogenous territories merge.[6] However, some

argued that Poland's homogeneity is a recent phenomenon supported by ideology and

demography, and that the same is valid for Romania, where the regional differences

between the provinces were quite significant.[7]

Mach argued that most CEE states developed their national identity outside the

frame of the nation state, and that nationalists of these states especially stressed the

shared culture, mythology, literature, arts and music.[8] Religion was also a significant part

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[4] Sugar adds that irredentism became prevalent after the formation of Romania in 1859, when Wallachia and Moldova united, see ibid., 175.

[5] See Geneviève Zubrzycki, *The Crosses of Auschwitz: Nationalism and Religion in Post-communist Poland* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2006), 56; Irina Livezeanu wrote extensively about the interwar Romania's cultural policy that targeted non-Romanians for exclusion from state bureaucracy, since it was the quickest way up on the social ladder; see also Irina Livezeanu, *Cultural Politics in Greater Romania: Regionalism, Nation Building & Ethnic Struggle, 1918-1930* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1995).

[6] Michael Hechter, *Containing Nationalism* (Oxford University Press, 2000), 15-17, eBook Collection (EBSCOhost), EBSCOhost, last accessed April 2, 2012.

[7] In the partitioned Poland, the Poles under the Russian partition felt they are dealing with Germans in western Poland and Poles under the German partition thought they are dealing with Russians not with fellow Poles, see James Bjork, "Religious Exceptionalism and Regional Diversity in Postwar Poland," in Bruce R. Berglund and Porter-Szűcs, Brian, *Christianity and Modernity in Eastern Europe,* (Budapest: Central European UP, 2010), 129; see Brian Porter-Szűcs, *Faith and Fatherland: Catholicism, Modernity, and Poland* (New York: Oxford UP, 2011); about regional differences in Romania see Livezeanu, ibid.

[8] Mach in Inglis et al. ibid., 114.

of this shared national culture and it helped in realizing the symbolic construction of the nation against the state.[9]

Religion, especially embodied in nationalist practices of the lower clergy, was possibly a more salient identity mark in a Poland surrounded by Protestants and Orthodox during the national struggle period at the mid nineteenth century, than it was in Romania surrounded mainly by Orthodox neighbors. In Romanian Wallachia and Moldova, the incipient national struggle against the Muslim Ottomans reluctantly followed the Protectorate of Orthodox Russia, whose imperialist goals made the Protectorate look more and more like an annexation. Having mainly Orthodox neighbors, even in Transylvania, after the Union with Rome, half of Romanians were Orthodox! Nothing in the religious tradition was creating a bond across provinces, except for language. While the PRCC's lower clergy supported the Polish national project even against its hierarchs, the more cosmopolite ROC was co-opted in the national project only after the creation of the Romanian state.[10]

Since the ethno-religious fusion was relatively new, the PRCC and the ROC started to rely on the mythical religious unity of the past provided by the politicians, and started to expect protection from the nation-state, which never materialized since the state

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[9] Mach recounts that one of the most powerful Polish national symbols, the cult of St Stanislaus, was in fact a mythical ascribing of guilt to the King for a presumed criticism coming from Stanislaus; this story consecrated patriotism as an act against evil– which was usually the state; and Bishop Stanislaus became the patron saint of all the Polish nation defined by anti-state opposition, ibid., 115.

[10] If nationalism means a rise in national consciousness and active work for creating a state than Romanian Churches in Transylvania, the Greek Catholic and the Orthodox hierarchs worked more actively to promote national ideals, than the Orthodox Churches in Moldova and Wallachia, which submitted to Greece and Serbia.

only paid lip service to the Church.[11] The nation-states relied in turn on the traditional

churches to enhance their legitimacy. In Poland and Romania, religion and language,

decipherable more and more in ethnicity, increasingly came to provide that harmony that

nationalists were looking for. [12] Gradually, nationalists intervened to reinterpret and

mystify history according to the geopolitical context. Their discourse mixed with the

religious discourse and completed the picture of the first civil religion, which relied on

the idea of exceptional, God-chosen peoples whose faith finally triumphed over adverse

history.[13]

National Myths and Polish Messianism

The Enlightenment in Poland brought the ideas of reform, education and deism,

and rested on the idea of modern man emancipated from religion. During the partition of

Poland, Romanticism followed, and poets like Adam Mickiewicz, Juliusz Słowacki and

Zygmunt Krasinski[14] set up national liberation and fierce patriotism as their ideal and

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[11] Eric Hobsbawm distinguished between invented traditions, customs, conventions and routines, the last three having no national coverage; invented traditions are a set of practices that "seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behavior by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past…in fact where possible they normally attempt to establish continuity with a suitable past," in E. J. Hobsbawm and T. O. Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge. Cambridgeshire: Cambridge UP, 1983),1.

[12] Benedict Anderson implied that large ethnic communities, like a nation for example, must be imagined since there is no chance that its members know each other, and that the actual national bond is constructed by the educational system, the standardization of written language and by social institutions and traditions, in Anderson B., ibid. 6.

[13] For example, even today the myth of Romania's "2000 year Christian history" glossed over the Greek Catholics of the Transylvanian School, the first architects of a Romanian ethno-national project; however, their initial national impulse was not yet cohesive and it did not rely solely on the creation of a fully independent Romanian state, since figures such as Aurel Popovici supported the creation of a Romanian state, Transylvania, inside the Austrian federation, with or without the rest of Romanians from Wallachia and Moldova.

[14] Frances Millard, "Nationalism in Poland," in Paul C. Latawski, *Contemporary Nationalism in East Central Europe* (New York, NY: St. Martin's, 1995), 108-109.

have identified it with Polish national philosophy (Polksa filozofia narodowa), also

known as Polish messianism. Pomian-Srzednicki wrote that Polish messianism was a

local variant of Catholicism. He noted that since the mid-sixteenth century Polish

messianism, despite local patriotism, was still within the boundaries of Catholicism

proper because of its Universalist ambitions of salvation for the humanity: [15]

> Polish messianism has never been a homogenous and well-ordered body of ideas, but more of a mythical vision. Briefly stated, the messianic view suggests that the Polish nation is the 'chosen people' of the New Covenant and is destined, through its suffering and constant martyrdom, to lead the nations of the world to salvation and to the Kingdom of God. [16]

These Romantic poets were proclaimed national "apostles" and "the missionaries

of the Polish soul," because of their role in prophesying the freeing of nations from

oppression. Mickiewicz and Kazimierz Brodziński,[17] depicted Poland as the "Christ of

the nations: crucified for the sins of the world, it would be brought back to life to save

humanity from dangerous political idols and satanic rulers." [18] Mickiewicz, using a quasi-

religious language, expressed the idea of Polish national resurrection in *The Books of the

Polish Nation and the Polish Pilgrim*.[19] The Polish partitions were the *via Dolorosa* and

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[15] There were always tensions between the official church teaching and national attitudes, and some discontent with the popes. However, messianism always thrived on being embattled, like during Communism, and its epitome was the election of a Slav Pope; according to Pomian-Srzednicki, Polish messianism also encouraged John Paul II to seek and bring the Polish Marianism to the foreground of Catholicism, Pomian-Srzednicki, ibid., 39-40.

[16] Ibid., 38-39.

[17] Norman Davies, "Polish National Mythologies," in Geoffrey A. Hosking and George Schöpflin, *Myths and Nationhood* (New York: Routledge in Association with the School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University of London, 1997), 150.

[18] Millard, Frances, "Nationalism in Poland," in Latawski, Paul C., *Contemporary Nationalism in East Central Europe*, (New York, NY: St. Martin's, 1995), 109; Zubrzycki, ibid., 44;

[19] Davies noted that the Poles tended to forget that Mickiewicz was not a true believer and that the opposition against Polish nationalism came from the Catholic Church; see Davies in Hosking and Schöpflin, ibid., 150; see also Zubrzycki, ibid., 45;

Poland was Christ walking on that path before resurrection, an in the day by day religious practice, every Sunday Mass in partitioned Poland ended with the hymn "Boże coś Polskę" (God who saved Poland). The growth of popular devotion for The Black Madonna of Częstochowa rested on seeing the Virgin as the mother and protector of the nation. As Zubrzycki and Davies note, these behaviors were not isolated events but were abundant in the partitioned territory.[20] Ewa Morawska argued that this generation of Poles "developed a powerful new national-religious ideology" and that this "Polish Romantic faith is a civil religion, constituted and reconstituted through sustained conflict between the obstinately civil society and imposed alien rule."[21]

At this point of national crisis, the Christian Cross became the symbol of enslaved Poland, and Christ's figure on the Cross symbolized the nation's plight, represented in a poster by joining the cross, the crown of thorns, and the laurel branch, one of the first ethnoreligious symbols of Poland.[22] Easter celebrations and the resurrection of Christ were moments of great national ferment and every church in the Polish territory had a sepulchral scene that depicted the resurrection tomb, the symbol of national renaissance.[23] Zubrzycki argued that messianism was a double-edged sword, in truth, such immanent vision of the earthly incarnation of the divine is a heresy, while the Holly

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[20] Norman Davies find that the poet Jan Lechoń wrote a poem which mentioned the strength of Black Madonna: "yet they believe in you even those who believe in nothing"; the myth of the Black Madonna, the strongest symbol of Polish Catholicism was able to give strength even to those who did not believe, to Christians and non-Christians alike; see Davies in Hosking and Schöpflin, ibid., 148; see also Zubrzycki, ibid., 45-46;

[21] Ewa Morawska, "Civil Religion and State Power in Poland," *Society*, Vol. 21 Issue 4, (May/June 1984), 29.

[22] Zubrzycki, ibid., 46.

[23] This tradition resurfaced during the Nazi occupation, which Poles interpreted as another partition. see ibid.

See and the Polish bishops, acted against the national struggle.[24] Lower clergy's role was crucial in surpassing the official positions of the hierarchy:

> In this context, religious worship and practices –in Polish–provided a significant space for Poles to affirm their sense of community. Although it had neither created nor openly endorsed this fusion of religious symbols and practices with nationalism, the Roman Catholic Church therefore became the "carrier" of Romantic civil religion.[25]

Zubrzycki argues that during the nineteenth century a long process began in which Catholicism was nationalized and national identity was Catholicized, and in which messianism was not only a momentum in the national struggle but it provided a "framework for the entire Polsih history" affected by crisis after crisis.[26]

The myth of the "chosen nation" developed gradually, and it meant that Poles were the world's spiritual leaders and granters of universal salvation, and the strength of the civil religion of messianism coagulated religious and national symbols and framed "collective representations and action."[27] For example, nationalists popularized Romantic ideas by repeating a set of symbols in ritual fashion, which became more and more familiar as a "national romantic faith" as Ewa Morawska named it.[28] Historical legends, heroes and martyrs iterated in a version of "simplified Romanticism," which after

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[24] If one considers the narrative of retrospectively building the Polish identity in connection with Catholicism these paradoxes are all the more clear, see Davies, ibid., 150; see also Zubrzycki, ibid., 48-49.

[25] Ibid., 49; see also Morawska, ibid., 29-34.

[26] Zubrzycki, ibid., 49.

[27] Andrzej Walicki, in Zubrzycki, ibid., 49.

[28] Morawska, in Zubrzycki, ibid., 50.

independence became part of the state ritual and taught in the history textbooks.[29]

Romantics have used the figure of Cossack prophet Mojsej Wernyhora who spoke of the

"Golden Age" of the former Commonwealth (*Rzeczpospolita*), when Poles and

Ukrainians lived in peace, and who prophesized its rebirth.[30] Wernyhora's idea was later

associated with Piłsudski's Independence Movement, and the idea of "Jagiellonian

Concept" –the idea that Poland's past should inspire shared citizenship in a future

multinational Commonwealth.

The romantic phase of nationalism ended when the partitioning powers, Prussia

and Russia intensified their repression,[31] and the more practical ethnic nationalism

replaced the civic version, while the people became aware that the enemy is not some

abstract idea but it is visible and real. Endecja's main ideologue, Roman Dmowski was

the prophet of the idea that Polishness and Catholicism are one, by politicizing a myth to

which he attached a program. Nonetheless, this "Polak-Katolik" myth was one among

many in the interwar period, and it was challenged by the secular left, by the

intelligentsia or even by peasants' groups, yet the strong Polish ethnic component

prevailed overall. [32]

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[29] Among the figures of this simplified Romantism were Tadeusz Kościuszko's peasant insurrection of 1794, the Republic of Nobles, the May Third Constitution, songs and hymns and of course the Black Madonna as the ultimate symbol, in ibid.

[30] Davies in Hosking and Schöpflin, ibid., 148-149.

[31] Millard argues that Bismark's *Kulturkampf* stimulated Polish nationalism in Prussia and involuntary put it under the banner of Catholicism, and he also argues that without Bismark's intervention "there might have been no Polish movement in Prussia." See Millard in Latawski, ibid., 109.

[32] Zubrzycki also mentioned that it is difficult to measure the actual level of "belief" in the dominant Polak-Katolik attitude, since studies like that of Stefan Czarnowski mention the cultic focus of what he called "confessional nationalism," while other more recent studies of Joseph Obrebski and Antonina Kłoskowska, depict hybrid identities in which the religious national association is not as clear cut as in theory; see Zubrzycki, ibid., 59-60.

James Bjork argued that Poland was an example of a country that was presumably

uniform, without regional variations, and where Catholicism canceled any "culture wars"

and divisions. However, Bjork argued that the characterization of Catholicism as

unifying, consensual and fused with national identification rarely results from observing

religious practice. Sociological research from 1940 to 1960 proved instead that in Poland

there were great regional differences regarding the Sunday practice.[33] While these

differences could not be explained in the classical industrialization-driven secularization

pattern, it became more evident that church attendance followed the old boundaries of the

partition era.[34] Therefore, Catholicism was more a factor in regional ties than in national

ties, as argued by Stanisław Ossowski.[35] Moreover, even in the most pious regions, Poles

did not stand out too much when compared to Western Europe Catholics or with Central

European Catholics.[36] Researchers shared these numbers reluctantly pushed them in the

background, because they contradicted the vigorousness of the Polish faith. Some

observers like Jósef Majka reassured the Poles that religiosity scores in Poland are higher

than any other country and that regional differences are disappearing.[37] Religionists, like

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[33] While in Katowice, in Silesia region, church attendance was at 82 percent, in Lublin, east Poland, the rates were just over 35 percent; see Bjork, in Berglund and Porter-Szűcs, ibid., 132.

[34] Galicia, the previous Austrian partition was characterized by high church attendance but low frequency of communion, the former Prussian partitioned territory followed the same high church attendance with a particularly intensive piety translated in an unusually high frequency communions during the year, and finally the former Russian partition (previously, the Polish mainland) where the church attendance and communion rates were very low, ibid., 132-133.

[35] Stanisław Ossowski in Bjork, in Berglund and Porter-Szűcs, ibid., 134; Władysław Piwowarski a Catholic sociologist doing research in east-central Poland found that "Polish national Church" identification came only on the third place, after the local parish and the Universal Church, see ibid.

[36] During the 1960s church observance does not differ greatly, and strikingly, the Poles in Gniezno who confessed the most times during a year, 9 times on average, were lagging behind the Dutch who confessed between 30 to 69 times a year on average, ibid., 135.

[37] Ibid.

Edward Ciupak, wrongly argued that secularization is obvious along the industrialization and urbanization lines.[38] Only approximately two decades later in the 1980s, Polish religiosity was outstanding when compared to the West, but even so, the regional disparities persisted with some 40 percent difference in religious observance among the regions.[39] It seems that the theory of Polish post-war Catholicism as an ethno-religious monolith does not hold so strong at an attentive analysis of the regional discrepancies.[40] Jan Kubik's findings of the Great Novena, the ten-year preparation for the anniversary of the Polish Millennium, as being the engine of the enormous social capital of the PRCC, had to consider Piwowarski's findings, which showed that between a third and a fourth of the rural believers never heard of the Great Novena.[41] Bjork also argued that the mass peregrinations at the Częstochowa site were not a revival of a certain tradition but the actual attempt to create one.[42] Bjork points to the fissures in the Polish Catholic construct, noticeable at all the levels that seemingly united the Poles: the level of intensive religious observance, martyrdom under Nazi occupation, or adherence to the "Christian

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[38] Bjork argued that the religionists and the supporters of religion were both working within the same assumptions about the Catholicism's past and present, since even Ciupak never doubted the strength of Catholicism in the rural areas which was not the case, ibid., 136.

[39] The variations are striking in the Katowice dioceses, where the civil religion of Catholicism and Polishness often collided with the Silesian Catholicism, and with the Silesian identity, very pious and strongly pro-German. The Silesian particularism was not discouraged, but on the contrary, it was encouraged by high prelates such as Hlond, Teodor Kubina, Bishop of Częstochowa or Bolesław Kominek, Archbishop of Wrocław, who were all born in Silesia. Kominek noticed the regional differences between Catholics in Silesia and other parts in Poland and described Silesia as a melting pot, that is not anymore defined by past differences but by modern industry. Moreover, during the Millennial year, after visiting the country and after becoming more convinced of the regional differences, Kominek concluded that the Church unity cannot be artificial but must "be imagined as a network of distinct but interconnected churches, like those of St. Paul," ibid., 138, 145-146, 149.

[40] Ibid., 147.

[41] Ibid., 148.

[42] Ibid.

West."[43] The regional differences enticed the state and the Church to create a

homogenous Poland, against a diverse background and against contested nation-building

processes, and they did not simply used a previous sociological reality but attempted to

create one.[44]

Back in the nineteenth century, the Polish society was not only divided

geographically but was divided in two main classes, the educated town-dwellers and the

uneducated, illiterate and primitive peasants,[45] which were often regarded as a different

people, as "the other." The peasant was later gradually idealized as most representative

carrier of Polish national identity.[46] Stefan Czarnovski, a left-wing Durkheimian

sociologist, thought that the association of national identity and religion made

Catholicism indifferent to matters of faith and superficial.[47] Czarnovski posited that one

of the main characteristics of Polish peasant is his "confessional nationalism." This meant

that even social bonds, "from local to national level, are religious in their form and are

expressed and maintained by local practices and by national participation in the

pilgrimage of Częstochowa."[48] Czarnovski observes that Catholicism in Poland lacks the

doctrinal elements by which Roman Catholicism is commonly recognized and is in fact a

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[43] Ibid., 152-153.

[44] Ibid.

[45] Ludwig Krzywicki found that the manifestation of religion in peasants' life is extremely primitive and bound to disappear; see Maciej Pomian-Srzednicki, *Religious Change in Contemporary Poland: Secularization and Politics* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1982), 9-12.

[46] Ibid., 8.

[47] Ibid., 20-22.

[48] Ibid.

simple representation of the everyday existence of the peasant, a behavior that he calls "ritualistic." [49]

By the time Bolsheviks took power in the revolutionary fight in Russia, the Holy See saw opportune to redraw the map of Catholicism, by taking advantage of the emergence of the Polish republic in 1918 and of the Russian Orthodox Church's debacle. When confronted with the possible fulfillment of messianism, the Polish government failed to assume such glorious plans but this did not stop it to demolish the Russian Cathedral, one the last Imperial remains in Warsaw.[50] Statecraft reasons prohibited Poland in assuming a messianic role behind its eastern borders. Poland did not manage to deal with its own Orthodox population and reckoned that trying to convert them to Catholicism is an illusion, as their conversion to the Eastern rite Greek Catholicism:[51]

> Further, they (Holy See) understood that the Poles did not regard the Greek Catholics as genuine coreligionists: that "for a Pole, *latin* means Polish or Catholic, while *greek* means Russian and Orthodox…and a Uniate is not a fellow Catholic, but something in between a Catholic and a schismatic." Such was the view, by and large, of the Polish clergy as well, which looked down on the Eastern rite as a second-class category within the Church, perhaps useful as a temporary halfway house for conversion from Orthodoxy to "true," Roman, Catholicism, but not for any merit of its own.[52]

The reemergence of Poland on Europe's map in 1918, known as the Second Republic (1918-1939), meant that large parts from Ukraine and Lithuania and their people, were included in this new construct based on the narrow ethno-linguistic Polish nation. Polish represented around 64 percent of the population while Ukrainians

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[49] Ibid.

[50] Neal Pease, *Rome's Most Faithful Daughter: The Catholic Church and Independent Poland, 1914-1939* (Athens: Ohio UP, 2009), 149-150.

[51] Ibid., 153.

[52] Ibid., 135-136.

represented 16 percent and the Jews 10 percent, followed by Belarusians with 6 percent.[53]

This inherent diversity created the premises of homogenization policies and for

politicians like Dmowski, Catholicism seemed the shortest way of achieving this.

However, Catholicism, as a sacred canopy of the nation, did not activate fully until it was

again embattled with the disappearance of Poland and the arrival of Communism.

Soon after the Polish disaster in the beginning of World War II (WWII), Hilaire

Belloc wrote in the Catholic weekly *America* an article titled "Poland, the Bastion of our

Civilization," to decry the loss of this territory as an apocalyptic event: "We stand or fall

by Poland; and "we" means all our art, literature, philosophy, all the mighty heritage now

at stake."[54] Neal Pease wrote that any Church is criticized in times of harmony and loved

in times of distress, and that the Church became a true representative of the nation and

the nation's moral voice only by living the war defeat and the Communist experience.

The myth of "Rome's most faithful daughter" is certainly problematic considering the

anticlericalism of the interwar governments but it is not less true that it later reemerged as

civil religion pushed this myth to its limits in seeing itself an embattled martyr even in

times of peace.[55]

Maciej Pomian-Srzednicki begins the introduction to his 1982 book, *Religious*

Change in Contemporary Poland: Secularization and Politics, by saying that due to the

totalitarian system and to its atheist nature, we should interpret secularization as a

"political sociology of religion and secularization."[56] He added that totalitarianism in

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[53] Zubrzycki, ibid., 55.

[54] Hilaire Belloc, quoted in Pease, ibid., 213.

[55] Pease, ibid., 215-217.

[56] Pomian-Srzednicki, ibid., 1, 4.

Poland was one of the least successful in Eastern Europe, because it was foreign to the

Polish spirit. His book has the merit to both inform about the role of the PRCC in the

1980s and reflexively bring forwards the myths of Polish exceptionality and innocence.[57]

Around the same time, the contouring of the idea of Central Europe revived Polish

messianism by insisting on Polish innocence and exceptionalism.[58] The majority of

studies about Poland before 1989, at least those published in the West, are immersed in

the myth that Poland was a pure innocent nation that had only artificial ties with

Communism and that this ideology was a foreign coat, not fit for the Polish spirit. In their

opinion, Poland cannot resemble a post-Communist society like any other, and they

refuse any considerable degree of participation of the Polish "spirit" in the Soviet model.

Writing in the time of growing discontent around Communism, which reinforced the

myth of Polish innocence, Pomian-Srzednicki declared that very few of the people

believed either the truth or the value of Marxist ideology.[59] This conclusion seems now

rather distorting of the truth since the Poles have largely abandoned the polarized speech,

which pitted the Church and the nation against the state before 1989.

In the lack of power or legal means to change it, Polish Communist rule was

embedded in the familiar narrative of occupation, partition, and foreign domination, and

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[57] Similar to the Romanian case, the Communist Party in Poland was perceived as being formed of almost entirely foreign elements, the Jewish, Ukrainian and Belorussian members only reinforced this image. See Pease, ibid., 113; see also Livezeanu, ibid., Karnoouh, Claude, *Inventarea Poporului Naţiune* [*The Invention of People's Nation*], (Cluj, Idea Design & Print, 2011), 36, and Martyn Rady, "Nationalism and Nationality in Romania," in Paul C. Latawski, *Contemporary Nationalism in East Central Europe* (New York, NY: St. Martin's, 1995), 129.

[58] Around the same time as Pomian-Srzednicki wrote his book, the trio formed of the Polish Czeslaw Milosz, the Czech Milan Kundera and Hungarian Gyorgy Konrad developed their ideas about the exceptionality and the civic virtues of Central Europe showing their discontent with the Soviet Bloc's policy of regional and national identity, see Mariia Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans* (New York: Oxford UP, 1997).

[59] Pomian-Srzednicki, ibid., 4.

the PRCC took the role of nation's guardian against a foreign enemy one more time.[60]

The state lost its legitimacy in representing the Polish nation, and the Church hurried to

supply such need. The state, alias "the Party," came to power by fake elections and it did

not want to totally lose its legitimacy. Therefore, the state tried to clean its image by

claiming that it represents the same tradition that the Church represented, minus the

Catholic component, and thus transforming the civil religion into a secular political

religion. In this logic of things, the state reminded the Poles that the regime is a

continuation of the Polish statehood, an inheritor of the Piast dynasty, and the successful

integrator of the "Recovered Territories" in West.[61]

Communists used the "Piast concept"[62] when Poland's territory expanded into the

West removing the Germans, and when Poles were removed from East by the Soviets.[63]

The state, through its religionists opposed the Polish mythical views about the

identification of church and nation by attacking the kings, the nobles and the Church. The

religionists had no other choice but to resort to a symbiosis of class and ethnic

nationalism and describe these elements as non-Polish or as acting for foreign interests.

In their vision, kings, nobles and the Church have weakened the country and encouraged

its partition, while the lower classed were the real heroes, too weak to oppose the "alien"

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[60] Zubrzycki, ibid., 60.

[61] Ibid., 61.

[62] The Piast concept originally meant the Romantic vision of Poland's pagan past, while in the interwar period it was associated with the Polak-Katolik myth and with the slogan "Poland for the Poles." See Davies in Hosking and Schöpflin, ibid., 152.

[63] Davies argues that the frontier change after the WWII was the biggest population exchange in European history; the unity of nation and land gave birth to the myth of "maritime nuptials," which showed that Poles were previously a seafaring nation which justly retook the northern coastline from the Germans, in Davies in Hosking and Schöpflin, ibid., 153-155.

religious oppression supported by the exploiting classes.[64] The state used two versions of political religion, one was indebted to Marxist cosmopolitanism and irrelevance of nations, and the other was based on the symbiosis of class and ethnic nationalism, directed against the growth of Catholicism by associating it with foreign influences.

While the PRCC used traditional religious language as a true representative of the Polish tradition, the state tried to enhance citizenship by using a secularized discourse cleansed of religion. Following the extermination of Jews, the loss of eastern territory and the expulsion of Germans from the "Recovered Territories," the state's discourse overlapped occasionally with PRCC's discourse, but it was clear that the state could not use religious language to appeal to its citizens.[65] This gave way for one to use a political religion based on secular discourse, and for the other to resort more to traditional religion, which was essentially a civil religion.[66] The creation of ethnic Polish and confessional Catholic majority of more than 95 percent, connected with the inability of the Party to stimulate allegiance based on the political program, enlarged the path through which the PRCC, largely linked to and supported by the West, gained popularity and political salience.[67]

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[64] Pomian-Srzednicki, ibid., 84, 89.

[65] Ibid., 62.

[66] The Church's version of civil religion was itself split between a civic component, civil religion proper, which was inclusive and accepted non-traditional components, like atheist, and left-wing intellectuals, and one that was heavily burdened by ethnicity and xenophobia and therefore better categorized as religious nationalism. Messianism did not stop the Church to ally with the left-wing intellectuals towards the end of Communism and did not stop the new generation of KOR intellectuals like Adam Michnik to praise the Church as the originator of the ideas of civic virtues and human rights. Pease, ibid., 125-126.

[67] Communist leaders fulfilled by accident Dmowski's dream of an ethnically pure Poland, see Zubrzycki, ibid., 63, and Jan Kubik, *The Power of Symbols against the Symbols of Power: The Rise of Solidarity and the Fall of State Socialism in Poland* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State UP, 1994), 130-146.

In the competition, the PRCC proved more successful because it used both the traditional religious language and the ethnonational version of nationalism, while the state's ideology restricted any appeals to religion or to the sacredness of the ethnic nation. The head of the PRCC, Cardinal Wyszyński frequently used national history and combined it with tradition and messianism.[68] Moreover, Wyszyński was not going to leave the Party use the "Piast Concept," related to the "Polak-Katolik," doctrine which was another idea of Dmowski. The total emancipation of Poland and of Eastern Europe did not happen until fifty years have passed since 1939, much due to the activities of the PRCC and to the Polish Pope, John Paul II.[69] The Pope concluded his speech in Poland using all the mythology of Polish Catholicism: "Mother of Jasna Gora, you who have been given to us by Providence for the defense of the Polish nation, accept this call of Polish youth together with the Polish pope, and help us to persevere in hope."[70] The Piast concept confirmed the mystical union of the nation and national territory, previously used by the Germans in their slogan "Blood and Soil."[71]

The idea that Poland was for the Poles rested on a simplified myth of an ancestral unity and harmony when more than a thousand years ago the legendary peasant's son,

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[68] Wyszyński used a somewhat "perennialist" definition of the nation as an extension of the unit of family; in short, the Polish nation was interpreted as a living organism "constituted of families and common land, which a common fate and tradition, a common language, culture and spirit." See Zubrzycki, ibid.

[69] Dunn asked rhetorically: "is not the pope a Polish nationalist?" See Dennis J. Dunn, *Religion & Nationalism in Eastern Europe & the Soviet Union: Selected Papers from the Third World Congress for Soviet and East European Studies, Washington, D.C., 30 October-4 November 1985* (Boulder: L. Rienner, 1987), 3.

[70] Martin J. Bailey, *The Spring of Nations: Churches in the Rebirth of Central and Eastern Europe*, (New York: Friendship, 1991), 64-65.

[71] Davies in Hosking and Schöpflin, ibid., 151.

named Piast, became the first ruler or Poland.[72] The "others," Germans, Ukrainians, Russians and Jews disrupted the Piasts' bucolic unity and harmony and abused Poland's hospitality. Romantics previously used the Piast idea to refer to pre-Christian Poland, a land of mystery and simplicity,[73] but for nationalists the "Piast concept" simply implied that Poland's border should follow the times of the Piasts and that the "others" should move. The state rebranded the Piast concept and purged it of religion while the Church used the original version, which proved more successful in the end.

In 1980, Wyszyński, offered a sermon in which he used all the Church's legitimacy to calm the conflict that arose between the state and its citizens. He intelligently used the idea of Polish messianism,[74] presenting Poland as the tipping point of equilibrium in Europe:

> Scientists, who deal with issues of international rights, speak of the so-called equilibrium in Europe…this equilibrium … was disturbed two centuries ago, when Poland was partitioned. It was then that Europe's adversities, perpetual wars and unrest began. Restoration of Poland and a group of Slavic nations to this proper place, restoration of their freedom, became the beginning of a renewal and consolidation of political equilibrium. And this is a profound truth…[75]

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[72] Ibid., 152.

[73] Closely related to the Romantic idea of a bucolic age of innocence.

[74] The European vocation of Poland rested on the previous Romantic ideas that animated the young intelligentsia before 1918, among which the stories of Polish hero Tadeusz Kościuszko –incidentally he was baptized both in the Roman Catholic and in the Orthodox Church–who fought in the American Revolutionary War, and the myths surrounding Napoleon's Polish legions who fought in Haiti; see Millard, Frances, "Nationalism in Poland," in Paul C. Latawski, *Contemporary Nationalism in East Central Europe* (New York, NY: St. Martin's, 1995), 108-109. Colin Dayan speculated that the Haitians believe that the Virgin Mary is Black, possibly under the influence of the Polish troops, which carried the Black Madonna of Częstochowa; see Colin Dayan, *Haiti, History, and the Gods* (Berkeley: University of California, 1995). 295-296.

[75] Stefan Wyszyński quoted in Bogdan Szajkowski, *Next to God--Poland: Politics and Religion in Contemporary Poland* (London: F. Pinter, 1983), 96. Previously, during the Russian partition of north-east Poland there was a current which emphasized Slavophilism, understood as the united Salv effort, under Russian leadership, for resisting the influence of the West; see Millard in Latawski, ibid., 108.

The party-state, the Church and Solidarity formed a trio of power where the Church, which provided a totalizing worldview, supported the Solidarity opposition, which in its turn based its discourse in the moral authority of the Church.[76] In the portrait made by the opposition and the PRCC, the state was a foreign and overpowering entity, which contrasted with the glorious past of the Polish state. The Communist regime felt like a foreign occupation and reminded the Poles of the previous partitions of Poland, and the biblical language of "chosen nation," the "bulwark of Christianity,"[77] and the "miraculous survival" of the icon of Black Madonna,[78] were applied to the nation and formed the list of rebellion against the regime. The cross became the main signifier of this attitude and carrying crosses around in every political rally became the norm, while the erecting of three giant crosses next to Gdańsk's shipyard entrance to memorialize the victims of the 1970 strikes solidified this new fashion permanently.

The growing popularity of the PRCC deterred the party-state from taking any hard initiatives to impose its point of view, and, the party needed PRCC's support to gain legitimacy in the eyes of the Poles. Zubrzycki argued that the PRCC did not legitimized the regime "per se" as in other CEE countries, but it did provide support to the government's attempt to "stabilize" the society in exchange for some rights.[79] In this

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[76] This alliance was not perfect, and there were groups in the PRCC who hardly distinguished between the Solidarity and the Communists (as between pink and red), and there were dissidents who saw the PRCC as a bastion of right-wing politics; see Zubrzycki, ibid., 67.

[77] The recent study of Philip Barker relies on the study of Marian Dziewanowski who takes for granted the myth of *Antemurale Christianitas* or of the "seafaring Poland." See Philip W. Barker, *Religious Nationalism in Modern Europe: If God Be for Us* (London: Routledge, 2009), 81. Norman Davies instead dismantled these myths piece by piece; see Davies in Hosking and Schöpflin, ibid., 143-144, 153-155.

[78] Previous national symbols such as the crown and the cross were stripped from the Polish eagle on the Polish national flag right after the communist takeover; see Millard in Latawski ibid., 115.

[79] Zubrzycki, ibid., 71.

peace agreement, the Church did not cease to undermine the party-state, but it stopped

doing it openly, and, the election of a Polish pope,[80] helped the Church to become "the

central locus of authority in Polish society" and ultimately defeat the Communist

regime.[81] Paradoxically, the state's attempts to build the nation by fostering civic-secular

values helped instead an ethno-Catholic vision of nationhood." On the other hand, while

still in control of the school, military, media, and other means of popularizing the

"official" ideology, the state managed to gain support, and among others it gain

recognition for its merits and policy regarding the "Recovered Territories." [82]

Zubrzycki argued that the bond between Polish national identity and Roman

Catholicism is historically determined. Norman Davies argued that myths serve a purpose

and that when the purpose changes the myths change accordingly.[83] They are both right

and the permanence of myths in one form or another, was visible in Communism's

addiction to myths, fetishes, taboos and fictions of all sorts. This panoply was one of the

main components of governance which constituted a political religion or a "pseudo-

religion" as Davies called it.[84] In the post-Communist Poland, some myths definitely

perished but others may well return. Davies argued that the Sarmatian myths of origins

seem to have disappeared, and that the "Polak-Catholic" or the "Piast Poland" may seem

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[80] The election of a Polish pope meant first of all the recognition that Poland belonged to the Western world, see Mach in Inglis et al. ibid., 119.

[81] Zubrzycki, ibid., 72.

[82] Ibid., 73

[83] Davies in Hosking and Schöpflin, ibid., 156.

[84] Ibid.

irrelevant in more secure and homogenous post-communist Poland.[85] However, some old

divisions are still resurfacing, like the Silesian identity in south Poland.[86] Davies thinks

that the most potent myth of contemporary Poland seems to be the myth of "*Antemurale*

Christianitas."[87] The "Bulwark of Christianity" may rise once more if Germany or Russia

will try to become more influent in Europe and will try to interfere with the politics of the

current and former Polish lands. This is already visible in the political split of Ukraine

along the geographical west and east, and more so along the religious lines of

Catholicism (Greek Catholics in Ukraine) and Orthodoxy, or in the Polish support for

Belarusian opposition against Alexander Lukashenko's regime, considered the last

dictatorship in Europe.

Romanian Myths and National Heroes

Quoting the controversial book of historian Lucian Boia, *History and Myth in*

Romanian Consciousness, the president of the Romanian Academy, Eugen Simion wrote:

"the hunting down of myths…is a risky activity, because myths are part of the cultural

identity of a nation."[88] The historian replied by saying that history is not patriotism and

by dissuading his interlocutor about the misuse of history, distinguishing between myth

and mystification. While myth is a "belief that animates a people," specific to all nations

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[85] Ibid.

[86] In the 1950s pro-communists writers noticed a revival of the pro-German "Silesianness," based on the inherited belief that being in the western world is preferable to the Eastern Asiatic-Bolsheviks; as late as the 1960s, Silesian Catholic clergy still divided their parishioners into "autochthon" and "transplant," labels which described a diverse population that sometimes confronted and collided but which was mostly tempered by PRCC's interventions and regional politics, see Bjork in Berglund and Porter-Szűcs, ibid., 129-130, 142.

[87] Davies in Hosking and Schöpflin, ibid., 156-157.

[88] Eugen Simion, quoted in Lucian Boia, *History and Myth in Romanian Consciousness* (Budapest: Central European UP, 2001), 3.

and following a universal typology, mystification is "a crude process… a matter of lying, deception and deliberate misinformation."[89] In other words, the historian posed that people's beliefs should not become historical truth:

> No community can dispense with "heroes" and "saviors," either in contemporary life or in the commemoration of historical tradition. A presidential campaign, wheather American, French, or Romanian it matters little, offers a basic idea as to what this process of personalization means to anyone who cares to look…Regardless of the context the archetype functions. These people, "other than us" belong to the mystical zone of the imaginary; they are caught in the structures of the sacred. Even in the modern world's secularized version, their action retains something of its original transcendental sense.[90]

Myths present the Romanian space as a synthesis of Orient and Occident, Latinity and Orthodoxy, and Romanians as characterized by kindness, hospitability and belief in God.[91] Boia recalled some of the greatest myths valued by Romanians: 1. Eminescu, the national poet;[92] 2. the interwar period, as the Golden Age and the Communist period as the age of tribulation;[93] 3. the pan-Orthodox family; 4. the Orthodox nation; 5. the federalist threat; and 6. the continuity between Geto-Dacians, the "medieval Romanian

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[89] The process of demythologizing the history is universally valid and not peculiar to Romania, therefore demythologizing the past should be regarded as a legitimate historical enterprise while demystifying the history is a matter of seeking mystifications based on myths, see Boia, ibid.

[90] Boia, Lucian, *History and Myth in Romanian Consciousness*, (Budapest: Central European UP, 2001), 189.

[91] Iuliana Conovici, *Ortodoxia in România Postcomunistă* [*Orthodoxy in Post Communist Romania*]. Vol. 1 (Cluj-Napoca: Eikon, 2009), 309.

[92] Karnoouh, ibid., 88, 194.

[93] Romania's stampede towards modernity in the early twenty century was still characterized by a very restrictive poll-tax electoral system, by extreme inequalities and underdevelopment, see Karnoouh, ibid., 192, and Bogdan Murgescu, *România şi Europa: Acumularea Decalajelor Economice : 1500—2010* [*Romania and Europe: the Accumulation of Economic Gaps : 1500—2010*] (Iaşi: Polirom, 2010).

nation" and modern Romanians –Dacianism.[94] It is not by chance that Orthodoxy is related to many of the above, and sometimes equally blamed and praised for Romania's past, present and future. Since the Church itself participated more or less by will in the national myths of Romanians, it followed naturally that history and religious tradition are not separate but are part of the same reality.

The tendency of Romanian history textbooks, especially during Communism, was to focus on heroes' sacrifice. Considering the scarcity of resources, nationalists transformed random historical events and characters into a narrative that retroactively provided arguments for national unity. [95] Karnoouh mentions that Romanian elites did not think of their people to be any better than barbarians, same as the westerners thought, and looked into past to find those links which put their rightful undertaking in connection with the civilized west.[96]

Boia explains that myths are of utmost importance in the reading of history, because they entail the shaping of "imagined communities" which tend to become performative:

> And what people believe is, in a sense, more important, even for history, than anything else. It is here that myths and symbols are born, which in their turn create history. Michael the Brave[97] did indeed unite the Romanians, not in 1600, but posthumously in 1918. [98]

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[94] In here Boia thinks that ethnicity cannot be confused with nation as Ioan Aurel-Pop –Cluj historian and current Rector of Babeş-Bolyai University did when he spoke of a medieval Romanian nation, since a nation is active, unitary and conscious of its role and mission, Boia, ibid., 15.

[95] Boia rightfully posed that history is not made of personalities, but people believe it is made by personalities, and what people believe is certainly a thing to be reckoned with, in ibid., 20.

[96] Karnoouh, ibid., 95.

[97] Wallachia's Principe who first united all Romanian provinces in 1600 for a short time under his rule.

[98] Ibid.

Boia noted that the national ideal of unity behind Michael the Brave's first "Union" and the ideal of a belonging to the Western culture were the most compelling arguments for Romanians' unity, independence and westward orientation in cultural and political life. France became the cultural model and Belgium became the political model for Romania's national aspirations, Bucharest became the "Little Paris," and the country became the "Belgium of the East."[99] The power of Western symbols have shifted Romania towards the Western cultural model against its Orthodox tradition, just as the idea of Dacia, Rome and Michael the Brave contributed to the success of national unity.[100]

The myths of national union and continuity brought tradition, best represented by the ROC at the heart of the national struggle. When the national ideal was achieved, the ROC was co-opted by the state and its inclusion meant the beginning of the first civil religious discourse under the banner of the nation-state. As soon as Greater Romania was born by including Transylvania in 1918, the ROC in Transylvania united with the Holy Synod in Bucharest. Orthodox Bishop Miron Cristea of Transylvania met with King Ferdinand I at Câmpia Turzii near Cluj in Transylvania,[101] and celebrated a symbolic

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[99] Mainly due to its Constitution drafted after the Belgian Constitution and praised by some as the most liberal of its age, in ibid., 162.

[100] Ibid. Neagu Djuvara, a Romanian historian, was very clear in saying that Orthodoxy kept Romanians outside of the Western cultural model, but adds that Orthodoxy partially adapted to the West and is today less anti-western compared with the Russian and Greek Orthodoxy, see Neagu Djuvara, "Sunt foarte Îngrijorat de Viitorul Europei Unite,"[I am Very Worried about United Europe's Future], interview by Şimonca, Radu, *Liternet*, (November 17, 2006) last accessed March 2, 2012, http://atelier.liternet.ro/articol/3993/Ovidiu-Simonca-Neagu-Djuvara/Neagu-Djuvara-Sint-foarte-ingrijorat-de-viitorul-Europei-unite.html.

[101] The first Romanian foreign monarch, Carol I became an Orthodox and the leader of the ROC, and his successor Ferdinand I, born Catholic like his uncle, Carol I who did not have children for succession, put considerable efforts to appease the ROC when he signed the Concordat with Rome in 1927,

Union near the grave of Michael the Brave. Bishop Cristea led the religious service and

his speech drew a parallel between Ferdinand I and Michael the Brave:

> The earth of this body[Michael the Brave] is moving today, feeling how Your
> Majesty, as a good Romanian and Christian, came with your adored Queen and
> the enthusiasm of all Romanians [...]and the soul of the Great Voivode is happy
> there in the sky seeing that Your Majesty as a second Michael, did not stop your
> army at Turda [...] but continued victoriously until [the river] Tisa, achieving his
> and our boldest dreams [...][102]

Bishop Cristea was aware of the direct link between the glorious past of

Romanians and the newly achieved political and national unity. In reply, Ferdinand stated

that: "today more than ever, the sacred unity of all Romanians who love their country is

necessary for the solution of internal and external problems."[103]The unity of all

Romanians was interpreted as a sacred mission, propagating the myth of continuity,

supposedly being carried by all the dynasts of the Romanian provinces since

unmemorable times. When Cristea became Metropolitan, King Ferdinand also told him

that he has the opportunity to "realize the religious politics of Michael the Brave."[104]

When the union was festively celebrated in 1922 in Alba Iulia in Transylvania, it

reiterated Michael the Brave's gesture some 300 years earlier and claimed God's grace in

the realization of national unity and territorial enlargement.[105]

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just two weeks before his death, in Lavinia Stan and Lucian Turcescu, *Religion and Politics in Post-communist Romania* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2007), 6-8.

[102] Miron Cristea quoted in Lucian Leuştean, "'For the Glory of Romanians': Orthodoxy and Nationalism in Greater Romania, 1918-1945," *Nationalities Papers,* Vol. 35, No. 4, (September 2007), 720.

[103] Ibid.

[104] Ibid.

[105] Ibid., 722.

Before the union, from 1830 to 1860 Romanian historians invested Michael the Brave (Mihai Viteazul) with nationalist ideas for his deeds of unifying the three provinces of Wallachia, Transylvania and Moldova for a short period between 1599 and 1600.[106] The idea of a "unifier" was strange even to the Transylvanian School at the beginning of the nineteenth century since they saw Michael as a hero of Christianity and as a good friend of Emperor Rudolf. Moreover, among Moldovans and even Wallachian chroniclers, Michael was not especially esteemed.[107] It was only in 1837 when Aaron Florian, a Transylvanian teaching in Wallachia developed the idea that Michael established the foundation of Romanian unity, idea that was later fully developed by Nicolae Balcescu.[108] Boia finds that in 1848, the myth of Michael's Union influenced the Wallachian prince Gheorghe Bibescu, who tried to present himself as a worthy successor of Michael.[109] Later on, Mircea the Elder (Mircea cel Bătrân) and especially Stephen the Great (Ștefan cel Mare) the ruler of Moldova who was sanctified by ROC, became absorbed in this myth as symbols of unity of the two sister lands.[110]

Meanwhile the plight of the Russian Orthodox Church under Communists was not left unexploited by the ROC, who beginning with 1923 started to assert what it believed to be its rightful place, the inheritor of Byzantium, the new Rome.[111] Under the

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[106] Olivier Gillet, *Religie Şi Naţionalism: Ideologia Bisericii Ortodoxe Române Sub Regimul Comunist* [*Religion and Nationalism: The Ideology of the Romanian Orthodox Church under the Communist Regime*] (Bucureşti: Compania, 2001), 154.

[107] Boia, ibid., 39.

[108] Nicolae Bălcescu, in Boia, ibid., 40-41.

[109] Boia, ibid., 41.

[110] Stan and Turcescu, ibid., 46.

[111] The imperialistic side of Romanian nationalism was also visible in the Second Balkan War, when Romanians, fearing their dominant position in the Balkans, invaded Bulgaria, (1912-1913) and

weakening of the neighbor Churches, at the peace negotiations between Greece and Turkey, the Romanian government played on the card of its connections with the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Constantinople and asked for its preservation after the transfer of population between the two countries.[112] The Romanian state and the ROC's position on this matter attracted the attention of smaller Orthodox states and confirmed the increasing Romanian influence in the Orthodox space. By 1925, the ROC planed to assert its influence officially occasioned by the Patriarchate of Jerusalem 1600th anniversary of the First Ecumenical Council in Nicaea. The proposal to make the Romanian Metropolitan See a Patriarchal See of February 4, 1925 was readily accepted by the Ecumenical Patriarch Basil in July the same year. With the occasion of the ceremony of enthronement of Miron Cristea to the newly established Patriarchal See, King Ferdinand stated:

> From the time of Basarabs and Musats, founders of the country, who established the everlasting Metropolitanates of Wallachia and Moldavia, there was no such glorious page in the history of the Romanian Orthodox Church as that of this year by raising the Primate Metropolitan of Romania to Patriarch. National history proved that for us, Romanians, the nation and religion were always connected. The Church was founded slowly in the shadow of the forests, with the formation of language, of nationality and of the State. The State grew together with the Church.[113]

The name Romania is relatively young and was first formulated by Transylvanian Saxon historian Martin Felmer in the eighteenth century and used again in 1816 by a

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stopped the creation of a Greater Bulgaria with territories acquired from Greece, Turkey and Serbia; the imperialistic tendencies were not a dominant but the Orthodox Church profited from the almost extinction of the Orthodox Churches of Soviet Union and Bulgaria to claim the role of the third Rome for Romania. See Mirel Bănică, *Biserca Ortodoxă Română: Stat Și Societate În Anii '30,*[The Romanian Orthodox Church: State and Society in the '30s," (Iași: Polirom, 2007), 106-123; Boia, ibid., 179-180; Gillet, ibid.

[112] Leuştean, (2007), ibid., 723.

[113] King Ferdinand I, quoted in Leuştean, (2007), ibid., 724.

Greek historian from Wallachia, Dimitrie Philippide.[114] The term Dacia, the name of the

former Roman province roughly coinciding with present day Romania, was used even

after the Union of the Romanian principalities, Moldova and Wallachia in 1859. Mircea

Eliade also felt sympathy for the localism and originary value of the Dacian idea and

supported the thesis according to which Romanians had a special path of being

Romanized.[115] Around 1940, the Dacian god Zalmoxes became an influential deity which

proclaimed the Latin and Dacian purity of origins in parallel with Germany's ascendency

and the apparition of the Teutonic myth. Boia noted that Romanian nationalism

oscillated between Latinism and Dacianism,[116] and Nicolae Densuşianu wrote *Prehistoric*

Dacia (1913), a phantasmagoric version of Dacianism combined with Latinism, saying

that Romanian is not a neo-Latin language but a proto-Latin language and consequently

people:

> The Latin idea remained very present in Romanian society. If "pan-Latinism"
> (regarded coldly by France) was never affirmed to anything like the extent of pan-
> Germanism or pan-Slavism, this was not the fault of Romanians. The "Dacianist"
> Hasdeu called imperiously for a "pan-Latin congress in Paris," and in 1978 Vasile
> Alecsandri was awarded a prize in Montpelier for his *Song of the Latin Race*.
> "The Latin race is queen/ Among the great races of the world […]."

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[114] Boia, ibid., 180.

[115] Ibid., 100.

[116] The Slavic element was even more politicized since it worked against the Latinity of
Romanians and partially against Dacianism. The Bulgarian political domination over large parts of today's
Romania in the early Middle Ages, and the use of Slavonic in church or state affairs until the 17th century is
still approached in contradictory terms today. For example, the Second Bulgarian Tsardom is called The
Second Bulgarian Empire, yet in Romanian historiography it is called the Wallachian-Bulgarian Empire
based on the papal description of King Ioniţă Caloian (Tsar Kaloyan in Bulgarian) as *Rex Bulgarorum et*
Vallachorum (King of Bulgarians and Wallachians) This dispute also started the idea that the Romanian
boyars were of Slavic origin, followed by the idea that these boyars married Byzantine princesses to show
the continuity of civilization in the Romanian lands. See also Boia, ibid., 106-110, 114-115; for the
Byzantine influence see also Victor Roudometof, *Nationalism, Globalization, and Orthodoxy: the Social*
Origins of Ethnic Conflict in the Balkans (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 2001), and Victor Roudometof,
Alexander Agadjanian, and Jerry G. Pankhurst, *Eastern Orthodoxy in a Global Age: Tradition Faces the*
Twenty-first Century (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira, 2005).

Dacia…this prehistoric equivalent of Romania had united around itself a universal empire, certainly the greatest that ever existed. It was from here, between the Danube and the Carpathians, that civilization poured forth through the other parts of the world. It was from here that the ancestors of the Romans set out for Italy. Dacian and Latin are only dialects of the same language, which indeed explains the lack of "Dacian" inscriptions in Roman Dacia: the two peoples were of the same speech. [117]

The Latinist Dacianist debate was structured on the Romanian elite's variable preference for more universal western values or for a more autochtonist local values in asserting national identity. Boia argues that the Western models for Romanians in the area dominated by the Orthodoxy were very much exaggerated, but not less effective because of this. The few "historical" exceptions, like the High Steward Cantacuzino educated in Padua, and Moldovan chroniclers educated in Poland were insignificant examples up until the group of Uniates who studies in Rome and Vienna and who formed the Transylvanian School took the idea of their Latin origins to the forefront and reoriented the Romanian space towards the West.[118] Boia thinks that the Latinist ideal gained terrain in Transylvania, once the united principalities of Moldova and Wallachia decided to adopt the Western model in the process of modernization. Now the modernization and the process of building the nation were set on the same path towards the West, and, Romanians realized that they are "an island of Latinity in a Slav sea." [119] The pan-Slavic ideals of Russia as well as the Hungarians in the west put Romania on a collision course with its neighbors and on an imaginary course towards the West, especially towards France as a model.

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[117]Boia, ibid., 92-93.

[118] Martyn Rady appreciated that the essential feature of Romanian nationalism is language which distinguished Romanians from all their neighbors, see Rady in Latawski, ibid., 132.

[119] Boia, ibid., 37.

The myth of national unity was completed by the myth of Roman continuity that animated the early Romanian politicians. Barbu Catargiu, a conservative prime minister of Romania in 1860, defended the rights of the nobles (*boyars*) as having rightfully inherited the land from their ancestors, the Roman colonists. Ion C. Brătianu, a liberal politician found useful to say that Romanians are the inheritors of Roman colonists and of their republican democratic ideals, as they settled in the area of Romania to run away from the corruption troubling the Roman Empire. Brătianu suggestively declared:

> Just as the Puritans of England did, as we know, in 1660, by their emigration to America after the fall of the English Republic, so all the evidence allows us to say that the democratic and free population of Italy, in order to escape from the fiscal yoke, from the insolence of favorites and the threat of being disinherited, took the ploughshare in one hand and the sword in the other and came to plant the iron of liberty in a new land, a young and powerful land, far from the infected atmosphere of decaying despotism. [120]

Brătianu emphasized on the continuity saying that "the Romanian nation…not only has a mind and soul prepared for democracy, but has preserved it unceasingly in its heart and in its customs," and, went on saying that Romanians like the Romans are builders of infrastructures, and that "the Romanians borrowed the idea of individual property from the Greeks and Romans" while the Slavs only knew about joined ownership.[121]

The pinnacle of Transylvanian School's Latinism was the idea developed by August Treboniu Laurian published in his *History of the Romanians* in 1853, which posited the total identification between Romans and Romanians.[122] This myth was supplanted with Constantin Sion's forgeries about the *Chronicle of Huru,* that show an

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[120] One must admit the massive influence of the American myths in Europe as early as the nineteenth century, see Ion, C Brătianu, in Boia, ibid., 45.

[121] Boia, ibid.

[122] Ibid., 46.

uninterrupted Roman presence in the Dark Ages and the perfect continuity of Romanians

from Romans in Moldova. Ion Heliade Radulescu's fantasies about a millennial Christian

state in Wallachia are another example in the line of invented history.[123] Heliade

Rădulescu, a Romanian Encyclopedist, wrote that after the Roman withdrawal from

Dacia, this territory remained "autonomous and Christian…organized according to the

institutions of the primitive ecclesiae, or Christian democracies, autonomous and

confederate…their civil code was the Pentateuch."[124] Boia adds that Heliade Rădulescu

managed to set the Romanian culture both in the Judeo-Christian and in the Roman

tradition by simply inserting the Wallachian prince Radu Negru (1247) in a fictional

setting. Boia ironically summarized his idea:

> (Radu Negru)…organized Wallachia according to biblical Palestine, in twelve
> Christian democracies or autonomous counties. In any case, the Romanian
> political tradition was republican, with rulers being elected and originally holding
> power for only five years (a "historical precedent" made up-to-date in the
> revolutionary program of 1848). All this was proof of the fact that "Europe, in its
> institutions concerned with liberty, equality, and fraternity, and in those
> concerned with the brotherhood and solidarity of peoples, has not yet caught up
> with the first Romanians." [125]

Therefore, Romania was ahead of not only other nations, but also the single main

obstacle in front of Islam and Asian barbarism.[126] For Boia, the amplification of history

was in the spirit of Romantic historiography dominating Europe at the time:

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[123] However by the end of the nineteenth century these ideas were tempered by Titu Maiorescu's
Junimea school, and they become less and less convincing and treated as syndromes of the scarcity of
Romanian history in the Middle Eve.

[124] Ion Heliade Rădulescu, in Boia, ibid., 49.

[125] Ibid.

[126] Serbia, Bulgaria, Croatia or Slovenia also saw themselves as the saviors of Christianity and
European civilization. Historian Holly Case writes that in CEE the idea of "buffer state" or "last frontier" is
omnipresent from Estonia to Bosnia and is associated with the backwardness and the "oriental" (used in a
deprecatory way) character of the easternmost and southernmost neighbor. See Holly Case, *Between States:
The Transylvanian Question and the European Idea during World War II*, (Stanford, CA: Stanford UP,

[Romania's] highlighting and amplification of specific national values, the valorization of origins, a pronounced taste for an idealized and "heroicized" Middle Ages, a historical discourse suffused with patriotism, and even inclination to patriotic falsification, are all characteristics of the romantic and nationalist tendency of the times.[127]

However, Romantic nationalism did not become an "autochthonist" project but was meant to put Romania on the "right" track of European civilization.[128] This Romantic nationalistic current was predominant until 1868, when Titu Maiorescu, a member of *Junimea* (The Youth) group, benefiting from German style education with emphasis on history, wrote *Against Today's Direction in the Romanian Culture.*[129] However, the work of *Junimea* did not set an independent "direction" in the Romanian culture but only managed to create counter-myths. Maiorescu named the Romanian medieval culture "barbaric orientalism" opposing romantic nationalism, and Alexandru Cihac said that Romanian language is predominantly Slavic opposing the whole ideology of the Latinist school.[130]

At the beginning of the 20th century, a new approach to the distinct destiny of Romanians came to the fore in the "autochthonist" nationalist movement. One of the most preeminent representatives among Simion Bărnuțiu, and Bogdan Petriceicu Hașdeu was Mihai Eminescu, the "national poet," a fierce nationalist who dreamt of an ethnically pure Romania. Maiorescu, to whom rural Romania and the peasant was the only real

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2009) 7, 57, 112-115; Poland has considered itself the bulwark of Christianity at least in its Roman Catholic version, but so did Hungary and Croatia; see Davies in Hosking and Schöpflin, ibid., 143-144.

[127] Boia, ibid., 50.

[128] Ibid., 50-51.

[129] Boia, ibid., 54-55.

[130] Ibid., 58.

class of people in Romania preceded hard-core autochthonists like Eminescu.[131] The

autochthonists thought that Romanians are a peculiar people whose specificity should be

respected, preserved and integrated into the European model. Nicolae Iorga,[132] a

historian, was a the first who thought that Romanians are the inheritors of the "Eastern

Romanity" and of its historical and political tradition, a tradition he thought entitles

Romanians for a European mission.[133]

In the interwar period, drawing from the autochthonist ideology and from the

Union with Transylvania, Bukovina and Bessarabia in 1918, nationalism became more

ethnic and sought to homogenize the nation in terms of ethnicity, culture and religion.

Orthodoxy was the most conspicuous element separating Romanians from Hungarians,

Jews, and Germans, and, by fusing Orthodoxy with ethnicity, any Russians, Ukrainians

or other Orthodox minorities became irrelevant because they were not Romanian. Nae

Ionescu[134] and Nichifor Crainic theorized this vision of the fusion of Orthodoxy with the

Romanian ethnicity, known as Orthodoxism.[135] This ideology marginalized the Greek

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[131] Boia, ibid., 60.

[132] Even Constantin C. Giurăscu and Petru. P. Panaitescu who were part of the new wave of historians who criticized myths were themselves influenced by the idea of Dacian and Getic purity and primacy in the area, see ibid., 68-70.

[133] Ibid., 65.

[134] Nae Ionescu, a philosophy professor in Bucharest University was the mentor of Mircea Eliade, Emil Cioran and Eugene Ionescu, three of the most famous Romanian intellectuals in the post WWII period. Nae Ionescu, Lucian Blaga, Nichifor Crainic and Mircea Vulcănescu thought of the national spirit as substantially identified with Orthodoxy, separated from Western models, a Catholic can be a "good Romanian" according to Nae Ionescu but not a "Romanian." See Nae Ionescu quoted in Boia, ibid., 146-147.

[135]Boia mentions in the introduction of his book that Orthodoxism is just an ideology, while Orthodoxy is the transnational religion characteristic of East Europe from Greece to Russia. Considering that Bulgarian, Greek and Serbian religious influence dominated the Romanian principalities for centuries, the Orthodoxist ideology created large debates on the *nefarious* influence of Slavonic culture in the development of Romanian national life; it is interesting to read for example the work of Greek Catholic

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Catholics, to which some half of the Transylvanian Romanians belonged. It was indeed a bizarre idea since Romanian nationalism originated in the Transylvanian School whose members were almost exclusively Greek Catholic. In addition, Orthodoxy as specific to Russia, Bulgaria or Greece was earlier the main pretext for Russian Protectionism,[136] translated in interventionism and annexations in Eastern Europe.[137] However, even the unpopular closeness to Russia has not deterred Orthodoxist myths from gaining ground especially after the dismantling of the Greek Catholic Church. The Orthodoxist appealed to the young Bartolomeu Anania, future Metropolitan of Cluj, and Dumitru Stăniloae, who supported and endorsed Marshall Antonescu's "holy war"[138] against atheist Soviet Union to recover Bessarabia, and pointed to the way Mussolini used the Catholic Church to build an ethnocratic regime in Italy.[139]

When the Soviets arrived in Romania at the end of the WWII, Patriarch Nicodim Munteanu wrote a Pastoral Letter to please Russians, showing that the ROC always opposed to Antonescu's dictatorship.[140] The communist period debuted with Soviet style

prelate Pâclişanu; see Zenovie Pâclişanu, *Biserica şi Românismul* [*The Church and Romanianism*], (Târgu Lăpuş: Galaxia Gutenberg, 2005), 33-37.

[136] Protectionism embodied in the Russian Protectorate was Russia's foreign policy towards the Romanian principalities in the Ottoman Empire, when Russia claimed the role of "protecting" the Orthodox subjects in Moldova and Wallachia, Boia, ibid., 62.

[137]This Orthodoxism was also based on peasantist symbolism which designated the small rural life and economy as something genuinely Romanian and who inspired works in rural sociology of Dimitrie Gusti's team of sociologists; see Boia, ibid.

[138] Gillet, ibid., 160-161.

[139] Throughout her book, *Between States,* Holy Case argues that paradoxically Antonescu fought on the eastern front in Bessarabia and beyond, to please the Axis powers in order to gain back the north-western part of Transylvania; see Case, ibid.

[140] Lucian Leuştean, *Orthodoxy and the Cold War Religion and Political Power in Romania, 1947-65* (Basingstoke, England: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 59-60; it is true that Munteanu was the only ROC representative to oppose Antonescu's anti-Semite excesses, see Bogdan Alexandru Duca,

deconstruction of national myths and the construction of international myths. The

unification of Romania with Bessarabia (Republic of Moldova) was seen as an

imperialistic intervention in the Soviet revolution. The unification with Transylvania was

also seen as meddling with the Hungarian communist revolution of Bela Kun.[141]

Gheorgiu-Dej tried to purge excessive Latin words and Latin appearance in the Romanian

language, and he modified the alphabet, transforming the letter "â" into "î." These

changes which did not affect the pronunciation made the language look more Slavic, and

România became Romînia.[142] This meant that Romania had fewer "connections" with the

Western world. National struggle and relations with the West were suppressed by class

struggle, and the Slavic component of Romanianness was exacerbated in exchange.

Atheism replaced the ROC in national history and the Uniate cult became illegal but the

ROC took most of the Uniate's churches and properties.

After 1950s, noticing the first signs of insubordination against the Soviets, the

ROC reasserted its role in keeping the traditions, and decided to nominate Romanian

saints from Church history, a decision that symbolized the originality of Romania in the

Eastern Bloc.[143] While a Romanian saint was celebrated in Greece (St. John the

Vallachian) and several others had their relics in Romania, Romania was the only

Orthodox state without saints of Romanian origins. Communist leader Gheorghe

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"Neolegionarismul. O încercare de teologie politică ortodoxă?," [Neo-legionarism, An attempt of an Orthodox Political Theology?] *Romanian Political Science Review*, vol. VII, no. 3 (2007), 742.

[141] Leuştean, (2009), ibid., 72.

[142] It was later restored to the Latin version "România" by Ceauşescu, ibid., 126-127.

[143] Ibid., 73, 92-96, 127, 132.

Gheorghiu-Dej approved the canonizations only in 1955 as an important step forward for the Romanian path to communism.[144]

After 1955, the ROC's discourse moved away from defending world's peace towards references to the national past. In practice, the ROC helped by state funds constructed several new buildings in monasteries, the most notable one at the Dealu Monastery, where Michael the Brave's head was buried.[145] Later, church construction approval became a way of manipulating areas with problems, especially concerning nationalism in areas dominated by Hungarians.[146] Anca Şincan mentioned that in 1970s and 1980s, the ROC used the policy of "completing the union" to erase the still prevailing differences between the Orthodox and the Greek-Catholics in Transylvania.[147] When the ROC realized that the former Greek-Catholics are not easily turned into Orthodox it took some concrete measures to try to discourage any Greek-Catholic symbols and rites in Church life, in paintings, in book, clothing and ritual objects.[148]

The state and the ROC, through its "social apostolate" acted in parallel to sustain a "Romanian road" to Communism. The opening of the ROC to foreign visits, its collaboration with other Orthodox Churches and with western churches, especially the

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[144] Leuştean, (2009), ibid., 95. In 1953, the Communist leader Gheorgiu-Dej declared that Romania needed a new course in politics to become more independent in the Eastern bloc; Gheorgiu-Dej encouraged the ROC to assert its independence from Moscow by participating in the ecumenical dialogue as mediator between the Western Churches and the "intransigent" Russian Orthodox Church and its vassal Churches, in Stan and Turcescu, ibid., 46.

[145] Leuştean, (2009), ibid., 132.

[146] Anca Şincan, "From Bottom to the Top and Back," in Bruce R. Berglund and Brian Porter-Szűcs, *Christianity and Modernity in Eastern Europe* (Budapest: Central European UP, 2010), 200.

[147] Ibid., 204.

[148] Şincan argues that the "completion of the union" was also encouraged by well educated clergy replacing the Greek-Catholic clergy, and not the least by appeasing the former Greek-Catholics with granting them new church buildings, ibid., 205-208.

Church of England, and the canonization of saints were the first steps on this new road

and new alliance.[149] The canonizations were celebrated at the same time with the

commemoration of 70 years of autocephaly of the ROC, 30 years after the proclamation

of the Patriarchate and 7 years after the "union" with the Romanian Greek Catholic

Church.[150] The election of saints was symptomatic for the ROC's interpretation of

national history and national identity. Joseph the New of Partoş, Metropolitan of

Timişoara (died 1656), Calinic from Cernica, Bishop of Râmnic (died 1868), were

considered saints in the tradition of the ROC. Ilie Iorest and Sava Brancovici were

perceived as Transylvanians who fought against the Catholic Church in the sixteenth

century, while Monk Visarion Sarai, Monk Sofronie of Cioară and Oprea Miclăuş, an

ordinary peasant, were considered martyrs of the Orthodox faith against the Catholics in

the eighteenth century.[151] In the presence of foreign guests gathered for the canonization

ceremony, Patriarch Marina declared: [152]

> The Orthodox faith of our people was defended by blood and sacrifices against all
> enemies. The nation and the Romanian Orthodox Church formed the barrier
> against the invasion of Turks toward the West and of Catholics toward the East.

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[149] Leuştean, (2009), ibid. 132.

[150] Ibid., 132-133.

[151] Ibid.

[152] Foreigners visiting ROC mentioned the richness and privileges of the higher clergy as compared to the lower clergy, the religious fervor in Romania as well as the attraction to monastic life of numerous people who found economic stability inside the Church; the ROC built 30 new churches with important state subsidies and compared to the Russian Orthodox Church who did not had state salaries paid to its priests, and with the Bulgarian Church who only had subsistence salaries, the priests in Romania were in the best situation; moreover foreign observers noticed that theological education, monasteries, and the construction of churches was at a very high level when compared to the other Orthodox Communist countries; Canon John Satterthwaite of the Church of England noted the high church attendance in Romania and was surprised that priests were frequently invited to baptism and funerals of the Communist officials, see ibid., 134-137, 163, 169, 178.

The Orthodox faith survived battles and sacrifices. Thus, our Romanian nation added its heroes, martyrs and confessors to those of Orthodoxy from all times.[153]

In 1958 at Petru Groza's funeral, Justinian held a full religious service witnessed not only by the deceased's family but also by the whole Communist leadership, and was later spread in detail in the press.[154]When the Russian troops retreated from Romania in 1958 the Communist leaders have placed more pressure on the ROC because of fears that their authority was undermined. The government arrested the intellectuals and theologians that formed the group *Rugul Aprins* (the Burning Pyre) and accused them for holding mystical conspirators' meetings at the Antim monastery.[155]Son in law of Justinian was also arrested only to be released later at Justinian's intervention. A special report wrote by Reverend Francis House of the World Council of Churches (WCC), mentioned that the ROC and other Orthodox Churches fulfilled three major political purposes: the diminishing or elimination of any opposition, the preservation of "religious sentiments" among the faithful, and last, they supported the governmental "peace" propaganda.[156]

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[153] Justinian Marina quoted in ibid., 134; the discourse of the PRCC as a "chivalric shield" of civilization between Germans and Russians, or between Protestants and Orthodox, fits the same pattern of seeing one's nation as a martyr-nation which sacrificed its own wellbeing for the sake of "others"; the pervasiveness and transmission of these ideas over the territories of most CEE countries would necessitate a whole new study.

[154] Ibid., 147-148.

[155] Ibid., 153-154.

[156] Francis House, in Leuștean, (2009), ibid., 163. About the ROC's peace propaganda see Alexander F.C. Webster, "The Romanian Religio-Political Symbiosys, " in Alexander F. C. Webster, *The Price of Prophecy: Orthodox Churches on Peace, Freedom, and Security* (Washington, D.C.: Ethics and Public Policy Center, 1993), 105.

By the beginning of 1960s, all communists states experienced a nationalistic turn, which was especially strong in Soviet Russia.[157] Justinian changed his sermons and Pastoral Letters and used less political content and more theology combined with nationalist issues, and paradoxically with less hostility against the West and Catholics.[158] The ROC attempted to enter the WCC in 1961 and after its admission, the WCC abstained from criticizing the Churches that collaborated with the Communist regimes.[159] In their common fight for more independence and for the revival of the ethnonationalist principle,[160] Communists ceased to attack the ROC, even after Gheorgiu-Dej, died in 1965 and Justinian acted as a political mediator in one of his meetings with the leader of the Russian Orthodox Church.[161]

In 1964, the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Romanian Worker's Party proclaimed not to follow Soviet Union unconditionally and put national communism as state politics.[162] Doreen Berry a BBC journalist witnessed the presence of old Prince

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[157] After 1962, Romanian leaders sought even more independence from the Soviet Union and closed many institutions that contributed to Sovietization, The Maxim Gorki Institute, The Romanian-Russian Museum and the Romanian-Russian Institute, while numerous public spaces and streets, which bore Russian names, were replaced; see Boia, ibid., 73, and Leuştean, (2009), ibid., 175.

[158] Leuştean, (2009), ibid., 164.

[159] Ibid., 168-169.

[160] In Romania, Boia noticed that even in 1964, four out of nine members of the Political Bureau were of non-Romanian origin while they did not count for more than 10 % out of the Romanian population. As a consequence of the nationalist revival important personalities from the pre-communist period were revived as well, Eugene Lovinescu and Nicolae Iorga, among intellectuals and even authoritarian King Carol II (authoritarian was not equal to a dictator and Carol II contrasted with the rest of Eastern European rulers who were dictators) and Dictator Marshal Antonescu (mainly for his anti-Russian stance) among politicians; see Boia, ibid., 74-78. Karnoouh mentions that the regime started to replace those party members who were still devoted to the internationalist ideal, see Karnoouh, ibid., 184.

[161] Justinian criticized Soviet nationality politics of Russification in Bessarabia, the lost province, in one of the meetings he had with the Russian Patriarch Alexius, ibid., 171, 173.

[162] Leuştean, (2009), ibid., 180.

Constantin Brâncoveanu near Patriarch Justinian during a liturgy for the Ascension Day. Justinian's mentioning of many Romanian princes, and the presence of a member from the old "landlord-bourgeois system," Brâncoveanu, bewildered the journalist which did not expect that noble princes were of topicality in a Communist country.[163] Leuştean mentions that the nationalist discourse helped the Church's image, preempted persecutions from inside as well as contributed to its positive image abroad.[164]

When Ceauşescu[165] came to power in 1965 he tried to consolidate his power and continued relations with the ROC by visiting churches and monasteries and signing their golden books.[166] The mainstream interpretations of ROC's collaboration with the regime either tend to downplay the collaboration with the regime by seeing it as a form of resistance, exonerating the clergy, either to see an ideological pact with the regime, a Romanian Sergianism.[167] These theories rarely account for the dynamic relations between the state leaders and the church leaders, who in practice were more malleable than in theory:

> While some actions of the patriarch and other church hierarchs could be interpreted as resistance towards communism, analysis of the church should be related to the wider use of religion in the communist block as a form of ideological propaganda. This book has shown that nationalism was at the core of the church's actions since the establishment of the Romanian state. The use of the

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[163] Ibid., 181-182.

[164] Ibid.

[165] One of Ceauşescu's first moves was to restore the Latin name of the country from Romînia back to România, see Rady in Latawski, ibid., 127.

[166] Leuştean, (2009), ibid., 187. Stan and Turcescu argued that Ceauşescu's maverick tactics and his non-interventionist stance towards the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 even changed the minds of Romania's intellectuals that so far have avoided or opposed the regime and which started their membership in the Party after this event, one such preeminent example is Andrei Pleşu, see Stan and Turcescu, ibid., 47.

[167] Sergianism was a pact between the Russian Patriarchate and the Soviet Comintern, Leuştean, (2009), ibid., 190. See also Gvosdev, ibid., 216-218.

national past and the nationalist discourse of the hierarchy helped the church to survive and adapt to the atheist regime. The doctrine of social apostolate promoted by the church hierarchy represented the application of communism to the particularities of Romanian Orthodoxy combining nationalism with the concept of *symphonia.*

By 1971 nationalism reached its peak in the Romanian *"cultural revolution."*[168]

Universities and para-educational institutions develop the study, the creation and

animation of popular culture and folklore, which from that moment fomented the youth's

mobilization towards the cult of an exclusively and unique national culture.[169] Karnoouh

mentions that former anti-communists participated in the nationalistic revival under the

veil of a fashionable revived autochthonism.[170] After Marina died in 1977, Bishop Justin

Moisescu[171] was enthroned in his place voted by the majority of the Electoral

Collegium.[172]One party official that attended this ceremony referred to major historical

figures from Middle Eve, such as monk Teoctist, advisor of Stephen the Great, and a

litany of names ending with Patriarchs Nicodim Munteanu and Justinian Marina.[173]

If good relations with the ROC were preserved and new ways of collaboration developed,

the Party did not fall short in continuing the policy of atheism. Karnoouh mentions that

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[168] Karnoouh mentions that this moment is in fact the communist takeover of the former elites' nationalism, see Karnoouh, ibid., 183.

[169] Ibid., 184.

[170] Ibid. Martyn Rady noted that the nation replaced class as the main force in the development of socialism in Romania and the gradually the history of the nation became one with the history of the Communist Party, see Rady in Latawski, ibid., 128.

[171] Moisescu inspired his theology from Stalin, Lenin, Andrey Vyshinsky –a Soviet prosecutor–, and Gheorgiu-Dej, and stated that the nation was comprised of all the nationalities living in a state, an attitude which excluded the West, especially the Vatican, which were seen as agents of imperialism and capitalism, in Stan and Turcescu, ibid., 47.

[172] Leuştean, (2009), ibid., 145.

[173] Ibid., 144-145.

by 1978 the Christmas and New Year celebrations and carnivals transform into the "Laic winter traditions," purged in great part of their Christian significance, as it was the case of the *Viflaim* (Bethlehem) celebrations, by eliminating angles but keeping such figures as Herod, his court members, as well as devils, "as if devils did not ultimately relate to the same divine transcendent."[174] Another example is the 1948 revolutions in the Romanian territories, which were treated in the history textbooks flagrantly against historical evidence of the different aims and different complexity of the respective movements.[175] In addition, textbooks tended to become more influential and have a larger audience than well-written history books.[176]

After Ceauşescu returned from North Korea and China, he built a true political religion based on his personality cult as the fulfillment of Romanian national heritage.[177] Ceauşescu rediscovered the foundation of the Dacian state under Burebista, and used it to legitimize his rule. In 1980 he celebrated the 2050th anniversary of the founding of the *unitary* and *centralized* Dacian state. The personality of Ceauşescu inserted unsurprisingly in the equation of socialism, party and nation by his habit to be photographed near Romanian national heroes as to show that he is the last embodiment of

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[174] Karnoouh, ibid., 244.

[175] Boia, ibid., 141.

[176] Boia, ibid., 28, and Karnoouh, ibid., 184.

[177] Stan and Turcescu argue that his personality cult, known as Ceausescuism, was a "phenonmenon informing all aspects of life" but they do not use the term political religion to characterize Ceausescu's second half of rule when it actually resembled to the Juche cult in North Korea; see Stan and Turcescu, ibid., 47. The pervasiveness of Ceauşescu's personality in national politics created a quasi-religious Ceauşescu cult, see Rady in Latawski, ibid. 128. Ceauşescu apparently convinced Patriarch Teoctist to include the birthdays of his family members in the Orthodox calendar; see also Bailey, ibid., 104. See also Webster, ibid., 84.

this epic lineage.[178] Another important feature of Ceauşescu's nationalism was

protochronism, largely documented by Katherine Verdery,[179] which meant that

Romanians were entitled to their own country because they were the first to occupy the

territory.[180] Fred Halliday pointed out to the fact that nationalism claims precedence over

a territory, or "priority of occupation" and invented a "vocabulary of anthropomorphic

denomination" with geomorphologic units as rivers, hills, etc., interpreted as national

characteristics.[181] Martyn Rady added the dimension of "mythological

overcompensation" to *protochronism*, as a measure to redirect the people's attention from

the economic failures.[182]

The ROC played its own part in this game as a malleable partner, and Church

historian Mircea Păcurariu argued that the Daco-Romans were Christianized by the

Apostle St. Andrew and learned the "Christian message from Roman soldiers."[183]

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[178] A whole floor of the National Museum in Bucharest was dedicated to his achievements and displayed him and his family which had became a symbol of national prestige; moreover Romanian scientist presumably discovered the oldest remains of *Homo Sapiens* right next to the village where Ceauşescu was born, see Rady in Latawski, ibid., 128.

[179]See Katherine Verdery, *National Ideology under Socialism: Identity and Cultural Politics in Ceauşescu's Romania* (Berkeley: University of California, 1991).

[180] Stan and Turcescu, ibid., 48.

[181] This could be better written for example as a "vocabulary of natio-morphic denomination"; for example both Hungarian and Romanian historiography consider the arch of Carpathians as their national cradle, see Romocea, Cristian, *Church and State: Religious Nationalism and State Identification in Post-communist Romania*, (London: Continuum, 2011), 110-112. Constantin Noica, a preeminent Romanian philosopher also thought of the essence of Romanianness as formed "întru spatiul din jurul Carpaților...la fel ca intr-un spațiu, civilizatția noastră a fost întru o limbă, cea Latină," [inside and towards the space surrounding the Carpathians,...the same like in a space, our civilization was inside and towards a language, the Latin] while he discarded all the non-Romanian elements to be insignificant, see Karnoouh, ibid., 233-236.

[182] Rady, in Latawski, ibid., 128-129.

[183] Stan and Turcescu, ibid.; this also meant that almost every important innovation in history had a Romanian precursor, the French Revolution was modeled after Bobîlna uprising, the Transylvanian peasants revolution in 1437, three and a half centuries before the French, and the *Teachings* of Neagoe Basarab preceded Machiavelli's *Prince,* see Boia, ibid., 80.

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Ceauşescu's religiosity was ambiguous,[184] but Andrei Ujică's 2010 documentary, *The Autobiography of Nicolae Ceauşescu*, showed him burying his father in a rather strict traditional Orthodox ceremony in1968.[185] Most evidence points to the fact that Ceauşescu only paid lip service to both atheism and traditional religion and used the national discourse based on mythical "mental constellations" to preserve his power.[186]

Ceauşescu did not outdo what the former Romanian elites already done, they all tended to escape and modify history, because history was denying Romanians of their ancestral rights, and thus they endorsed those versions of it that pointed to Romanians in the past as victims of the "terror of history:"[187]

> The Romanian…could not have been the subject of history, but always a toy in the hands of the Evil, [Evil] embodied in polymorphism: once, in 1917, it was Russia's betrayal, other time, in 1944, it was Occident's betrayal; the poor [Romania], has never betrayed anybody… .[188]

The embattled nation is also immersed in the myth of innocence. When the nation finally triumphed over history and gained independency, nationalists argued that this was possible due to the ROC's "two millennia" Christian tradition. When Communists came to power nationalists argued that historical personalities from Burebista, the old Dacian king, to Ceauşescu were essential in preserving the national identity and in building Romania. Consequently, when Communism disappeared in 1989, nationalist politicians

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[184] See Stan and Turcescu, ibid., 49.

[185] Ceauşescu's gesture recognized the role of the ROC, and moreover he allowed the Orthodox funeral ceremony to be transmitted live on the national radio broadcast, ibid., 24.

[186] Boia, ibid., 82.

[187] Mircea Eliade in Boia, ibid., 164, 208.

[188] Karnoouh, ibid., 187.

and the Church reheated and modified all national myths, beginning with the myth of Romanians' anti-Communism.

Conclusions

The idea of nation-state forms one of the most powerful ideas of the last two centuries and one of the great secular religions of this age, which began to be seen as "the very key and the end of the whole historical process."[189] Nationalism worked its way back into history and school textbooks became the immediate means of transmitting nationalistic ideas that had no previous existence.[190] The absence of a Polish state in the nineteenth century was crucial in constructing the Polish national identity on ethnic basis, on language, religion, mythologized history, and memories of past victories and sovereignty.[191] Therefore, people of other religions were "naturally" suspected of not identifying with the Polish national ideals and struggle.[192] The same was true of Romanians. Nationalism became a matter of national survival. The creation of the Polak-Katolic and Orthodoxist doctrines were the outcome of the milder versions of civil religion which became more assertive in the context of geopolitical insecurity and fashionable ethnicist and racial ideologies that prevailed during that time. When Communist atheist ideology confronted the Churches, and the tradition the previous

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[189] Boia thinks that not only nationalist fever was a religion, but also the frenzy with which Romanians adopted the French model and later the Soviet model besides the autochthonous model, represented "veritable religions," see Boia, ibid., 129, 166.

[190] Karnoouh mentions that ethnology and the preoccupation for folklore, which has two centuries of tradition, reflected in hundred articles and works, represented, aside history, one of the pillars of legitimating the nation-state in its Romanian-ethnic understanding, see Karnoouh, ibid.,266.

[191] Mach, in Inglis et al. ibid., 117.

[192] Ibid.

myths were reshaped under the state's influence, and the state and the Church used

different hybrids of civil religion, which alternate between secularism and religious

nationalism. These myths have resurfaced and have been again reinterpreted in

contemporary Poland and Romania which entered the early 1990s with national Churches

who tried to restore their influence over the state. Even though Lucian Leuştean argues

that political leaders use the Church to support national cohesion only in the Orthodox

space, as opposed to the Catholic or Protestant space where Churches are supranational or

sub-national institutions,[193] the PRCC's complex relations with the Polish state seem to

disproof this thesis. Previous interpretations of civil religion argued that civil religion is

separated from both the Church and the state, but in light of Gentile's theory, I argue that

civil religion may function exactly on the skeleton of traditional religion and that more

than that, in the two cases, religious tradition tended to lose sight of its mission and to

enter the logic of civil religion.

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[193] Leuştean, (2007), ibid., 717.

CHAPTER FOUR

Public Life and the National Churches after 1989

Once the way for democracy was achieved in 1989, the Churches in CEE faced

new problems as they attempted to redefine their role in the vacuum of authority and

power and in the ostensibly radical political and social transformations.[1] John Anderson

claimed that especially national Churches, like the one in Poland, might have a lot to say

on the new political developments under the democratic flag, which depending on the

position of the church can either weaken or consolidate liberal democracy.[2] If the Church

refuses to play by the democratic rules and if for example offers an exclusive model

regarding minorities or individual rights than this may affect the new system's

legitimacy. This may be true especially where the forces of modernization driven

secularization seemed to have been inhibited by the association of the Church with the

nation and with national resistance, which under the new democratic liberties could

decrease the role of the Church. Thus, the new forces of globalization and

Europeanization seem to threaten the Church's importance, which leads to the Church's

perception of this phenomenon as an attack towards traditionalism and towards the

nation.[3] Especially the new charisma of Europe threatens the old charisma of the Church,

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[1] John Anderson, *Catholicism and Democratic Consolidation in Spain and Poland,* in John T.S. Madeley and Zsolt Enyedi, *Church and State in Contemporary Europe: The Chimera of Neutrality* (London: Frank Cass, 2003), 137.

[2] Ibid., 138.

[3] See Daniel P. Payne, "The Challenge of Western Globalization," in Jonathan Sutton eds., *Orthodox Christianity and Contemporary Europe: Selected Papers of the International Conference Held at the University of Leeds, England, in June 2001* (Leuven, Belgium: Peeters, 2003), 134.

which, at least in the first phase of post-communism appeared as an obsolete institution when compared to the dreams about European Union (EU).

Based on their previous role of national defense, the national churches claim a special treatment from the state and both the Orthodox Church in Romania and the Roman-Catholic Church in Poland have requested the recognition of their status as no less than bearing the title of "National Church." This title was supposed to secure its meddling into political decision without the regular bargaining and negotiation that characterizes democratic life. The Church saw itself entitled to the national label based on the traditional, in fact almost entirely mythical, image of the Church as the bearer of national life throughout centuries.

After the fall of Communism, the CEE countries also experienced a transition from the collectivistic and totalitarian model of life to the individualistic model and to a new anthropological and economic image of man. The national Churches were ingrained in the older model and used to bear the nation that after the emergence of a liberal democratic model of politics in 1989, they once again saw themselves as defenders of their nation with any price, even if it meant fighting against the state, which followed the UN's Human Rights, NATO's and EU's agendas. The state once again resembled an enemy while the nation resembled a friend. It is easy to understand the plight of the national Churches as following the pattern of the myths of nations. Every national myth has a foundation, a golden age, a period of decay and a regeneration period. After 1989, the period of decay is simply relegated to the communist past while the golden age is everything that happened in the period after the realization of a national state and the one before Communism.

The Polish Catholic Church and Democracy

As noted in the previous chapters, any new Concordat of Poland with Vatican has attracted an equal amount of praise and criticism.[4] Before the Concordat, even if the Church was at the forefront of the movement against the totalitarian regime and its symbols were largely used by the protesters, the causes of the social unrest that removed it were mainly economic.[5] The Church was the background of Solidarity but Solidarity did not act for the instauration of a Catholic state. In the discussions over a new Constitution the Church tried to support Solidarity's formula which emphasized the one thousand year link between the Church and the nation, the elimination of the word "separation" in church and state relations, and antiabortion, as the principle to protect unborn human life.[6]

From 1989 to 1997 there were numerous debates among politicians about the proper role of the Church in the new political establishment but all decisions were delegated to the future Concordat with Rome.[7] Cardinal Glemp did not agree with this delay and asked for a referendum to which only 40 percent of the population participated and only a slight majority voted for the Church's propositions.[8] Seeing the results

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[4] Marian S. Mazgaj, *Church and State in Communist Poland: A History, 1944-1989* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland &, 2010), 145.

[5] Anderson J., in Madeley and Enyedi., 144.

[6] Ibid., 145, 149.

[7] Ibid., 146.

[8] Especially Cardinal Jósef Glemp, Bishop Tadeusz Pieronek and Pope John Paul II fought intensively for making the political system conform to the Church's teachings, see Sabrina Ramet, "Thy Will Be Done: The Catholic Church and Politics in Poland since 1989," in Timothy A. Byrnes and Peter J. Katzenstein, *Religion in an Expanding Europe* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge UP, 2006), 118.

convinced the Church that asking for a speeding of the Concordat was the best solution.[9]

Worries about Catholic privileges and interference in state affairs, plus a very limited

dialogue with other religions set the Polish Concordat back to the times of Edict of

Nantes when the Catholic Church "tolerated" the Reformates. In 1998, the Sejm finally

adopted the Concordat and majority problems were solved both by the Holy See's

commitment to human rights and by the Constitution Article 53, defending religious

rights and of a 1989 Statute protecting freedom of Conscience.[10] However, there were

still problems, not so much from bishops committed to a Catholic state but from the

lower clergy in rural areas. It was reported that in rural areas the local church authorities

acted against minority groups of Orthodox and towards the end of the 1990s some groups

within the Church asked for tighter control of the "sects."[11]

The role of religion in social and cultural changes of CEE was especially strong in

Poland, where the PRCC was one of the main political forces, and has played a major

role in the transformation and reconstruction of identity. Zdzisław Mach wrote that

religious organization such as the PRCC participate in the process of symbolic

construction, where they compete with other institutions, and with social groups in order

to "negotiate the division of power in society through symbolic dialogue and conflict" by

building symbolic worldviews.[12] Besides the social, political, economical, ideological

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[9] Anderson J., in Madeley and Enyedi, ibid., 144.

[10] Ibid., 147. Previously, the Holy See rejected a first draft of the Concordat and produced a new one which was in conflict with 16 existing laws, two codices, and several decrees regarding freedom of conscience, church-state relations, and law of marriage, see Ramet in Byrnes and Katzenstein, ibid., 123.

[11] Anderson J., in Madeley and Enyedi, ibid., 147.

[12] Mach, in Inglis et al, ibid., 113.

and cultural problems, Mach argued that the identity problem is one of the strongest.[13]

Even though the Communist approach to society was the development of a classless

society, in practice all the Communist regimes emphasized nationalism, and ethnic

groups competed to secure their future and to establish nation states. Before the WWI,

majority nations in CEE did not had states and their nationalism developed against the

structures of the empire-states which incorporated them.[14] Mach argued that opposition to

the state used symbolic meanings and patriotic myths, imbued with religious, sacred

images. Religious organizations construct totalizing world-views, through discourses,

embedded in larger narratives. In the pluralist modern world, the totalizing views of

religious organization lose their strength and society questions their symbolic

monopoly.[15] If during Communism the PRCC, like other Churches, competed with the

totalizing view of the state, the only other symbolical monopoly available, it was less

prepared to deal with the free market of ideas brought by the new democratic life. Even

before Communism, the PRCC "created a coherent symbolic model which linked

Catholicism with Polishness," while at the same time it integrated only the Polish ethnics

in its ranks, polarizing the Polish society and antagonizing the minorities.

The PRCC opposed the regime on all fronts: its atheism, secularization of education, the

elimination of religious references in national tradition, the changes in legal system, the

nationalization in economy, the single party system, the liberalization on abortion and

divorce laws. However, in the everyday discourse the PRCC was not so concerned with

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[13] Ibid., 114.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Ibid., 116.

the citizen's private life or with family morality.[16] The Polish clerics paid more attention to the ideological discourse, focused on state politics, national sovereignty, and the construction of national identity around religion. Both the state and the Church competed to offer the image of a unified nation, the state thought of the nation as united in building socialism and the Church imagined that nation as united against the state, as it has done previously, only this time the Communists were seen as foreigners.[17] These versions of national unity polarized the society in two opposite sides, the Communists with their atheistic ideology and the state on one side, and the PRCC, and the Catholic nation on the other. The Communist version of unity also propagated the idea of cultural homogeneity and cohesion around constructing socialism, and excluded the Church and religion as incompatible with progress and secularization. Mach argues that this polarization erased the differences and the diversity among anti-Communist Poles, since any difference of opinions would have been interpreted as weaknesses.[18] The PRCC possessed a moral monopoly that was less a purposeful attempt to reduce diversity as it was a simple *status quo* resulted from the historical development of the fusion between faith and nation.[19]

If the main narrative during the Communist rule formed along the opposition of nation and state, or Church and state, the post-Communist narrative ceased to be polarized. The success of the PRCC in toppling the Communists put the Church in the situation of having no more immediate enemy and made its nationalist discourse obsolete

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[16] Ibid., 117.

[17] Ibid., 118.

[18] Ibid.

[19] Ibid., 119.

and concepts like freedom, openness and Europe became suddenly popular.[20] The first post-Communist Prime Minister, Tadeusz Mazowiecki was a member of the Catholic intelligentsia, and apparently, the PRCC had finally hoped to complete its mission of saving Poland. In practice, the ideas of pluralism, openness and tolerance, taken for granted in democracies, seemed opposite to what the Church was desiring. The PRCC, especially the lower clergy, interpreted democracy like an attack on Catholicism and their actions interfered numerous times with Catholic teachings. One counterpart to these tendencies was the Pope's commitment to individual rights and to pluralist values.[21] If other Churches in the Western world, Catholic or not, were historically involved in the legal system, in education and in mass media, at multiple levels and with a considerable human effort, the PRCC seemed busy to mobilize societies against Communism. Its increased political role was also magnified by the prohibition to act in any of these areas mentioned above, but it was foremost reinforced by the PRCC's position of not influencing the state, since it did not even recognize it. That is why in 1989, the PRCC's dream to become a moral monopoly after being the midwife of the new political architecture came to a stop, since it realized that not Catholic ideals but pluralism and tolerance already resonated more with the Polish society.[22]

Faced with the ruin of its dreams the PRCC initially thought that it could still try to influence politics, despite the growing discontent with the Church's involvement in politics. Ramet argued that since 1988-89 the PRCC started to negotiate with sympathetic

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[20] Ibid., 120

[21] Anderson J., in Madeley and Enyedi, ibid., 152.

[22] Mach in Inglis et al, ibid., 121.

members of the Sejm regarding abortion.[23] In September 1990, the law prohibiting

abortion passed in the Senate and was sent to the Sejm.[24] Ramet argued that if

contraception, artificial insemination, and sex education was still debated inside the

Church itself, there were absolutely no doubts in the plea against abortion.[25] While the

abortion ban is valid for all Poles, Catholic or not, some 60 percent of Poles think that the

law is too strict and needs liberalization, and a minority of 20 percent want to make the

law even more restrictive.[26] In practice even the few exceptions where women could

perform abortions were sometimes denied because of the increased public visibility and

interferences from the Church surrounding any abortion.[27] While some well-to-do women

seek abortions abroad, some 80,000 to 200,000 seek more risky illegal abortions done in

Poland since the 1993 law.[28]

One of the first goals of the Church was to regain its influence over the education

system, and to introduce religion in the schools' curricula.[29] Acting according to the

polarized worldview from before the fall of Communism, the PRCC tried to impose

religion classes even if there was a lot of opposition from minority religions and from

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[23] Ramet, in Byrnes and. Katzenstein, ibid., 122.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Ibid., 130.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Ibid., 132.

[28] 783 mothers died in 1995, and others have left their children on the Church's doorsteps, others sold their kids to foreigners, and even dumped them in trash while comparably only some 159 legal abortions were done in 2002; moreover the state reported an average of 50 infanticides a year from 1990 to 2003 and 61 child abandonments during the same years, see ibid., 132-133.

[29] Anderson J., in Madeley and Enyedi, ibid., 149.

atheists, and proposed Catholicism as the state religion in Poland.[30] The Church

perceived the desire to teach religion as a natural step in following tradition, and

perceived the opponents of religious classes in schools as ideological enemies, and

described them as outright non-Polish and Communists.[31] Moreover, the decision to teach

religion classes was not enough transparent about the finance resources, nomination and

responsibility of teachers of religion.[32]

Those groups of left-wing, atheist or liberal politicians which sided with the

Church during the Communist oppression and which were too readily included in the

Manichean "good side" along PRCC, soon found that they only nominally belonged to

Catholicism. Since the Church loathed their voice in particular, and since the playfield

was not the exclusive appanage of either state or nation, these groups that allied with the

Church in the past started to look for new ways of expressing their desires in society.[33]

These groups were specifically prone to ideas coming from the Western world, and since

the main channel of transporting new ideas was the mass media, the PRCC transformed

these former allies into enemies, and mass media into another battlefield.[34] The PRCC

started campaigns against pornography, and against the diffusion of sexually offensive

material, and asked for the prohibition of materials connecting religion to sex. The

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[30] Apparently the Pope intervened and the last proposal was dropped, see Ramet, in Byrnes and Katzenstein, ibid., 122-123.

[31] Mach, in Inglis et al., ibid., 121.

[32] Ibid.; see also Anderson J., in Madeley and Enyedi, ibid., 149, and Ramet, in Byrnes and Katzenstein, ibid., 123.

[33] Mach, in Inglis et al, ibid., 122.

[34] Ibid.; see also Anderson in Madeley and Enyedi, ibid., 149.

Church was especially opposed to sex education in schools.[35] The Church interpreted

liberalism, and liberal western culture as endangering the Polish spirituality and culture

and acting within the logic of polarized views used during Communist rule, it put an

equality sign between the enemies of liberalism, atheism and communism.[36] In this way

if somebody did not show unconditional support for the Church it automatically became

anti-religious.

When the Church saw the limits of its societal reach, it turned its attention from

politics to morality and family life. Since it ignored these areas for such a long time the

PRCC was really surprised that its teachings were very unpopular with the Polish society.

The sexual mores of Poles were very far from the Catholic ideal, abortion and

extramarital sex were largely accepted and popular, and they become even more relaxed

after the fall of Communism.[37] Not only that the Church's ways were not followed but

their enforcing seemed to antagonize the Poles.[38] The ban on abortion became a litmus

test of political orientation, and the conflict over the abortion law re-polarized the Polish

society.[39] Even after the social democrats came to power and changed the very restrictive

abortion law, the PRCC insisted that abortion equals killing, and even more than that it

equals Communism.[40] When instead of abortion, the pro-choice groups, and liberal

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[35] Ramet mentioned that especially Pope John Paul II and Cardinal Gelmp fought against contraception, prenatal medical testing, artificial insemination, divorce, homosexuality, pornography and opposed all those reformist who tried to modify the view on the ordination of women and priestly celibacy, see Ramet in Byrnes and Katzenstein, ibid., 123, 126.

[36] Mach, in Inglis et al, ibid.

[37] Ibid.

[38] Ibid., 122-123.

[39] Ibid., 123.

[40] Ibid.

politicians asked for the promotion of sex education and contraception,[41] the PRCC

interpreted this gesture to the extreme, sex education and contraception equaled

promotion of sex and promiscuity.[42] Mach argued that the internal structure of the

PRCC, largely hierarchical and undemocratic was successful in the Manichean political

situation where opponents were simply portrayed as enemies but this structure proved

very difficult to adapt to democracy.[43] Therefore, the Church found the ready available

polarizing speech easier to access, and did not insist on developing a new discourse, more

suited for the new context.

One of the most famous agents of the Church's views was Radio Marya, initially

based in Torun, but later reaching national audience, which was lead by Father Rydzyk.

He became popular by reusing the tenets of a pure Polish nation closely on the same lines

as the Polak-Katolik doctrine.[44] Father Rydzyk station, which reached a 10 percent

audience in 2002, was too conservative even for the PRCC hierarchy, and its simplistic

approach to everyday life seemed to have appealed to the disenfranchised of the market

economy reform.[45] The radio station managed to coalesce with the League of Polish

Families Party, which had 36 seats in parliament in the 2001 elections and secured the

status of tax-exempt "social broadcaster."[46] The influence of this radio station became

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[41] In may 1990 contraceptives were taken out from the list of medicines included in the national health insurance, see Ramet, in Byrnes and Katzenstein, ibid., 131.

[42] Mach in Inglis et al, ibid.

[43] Ibid., 124.

[44] Ibid., 125; see also Ramet, in Byrnes and Katzenstein, ibid., 133-135.

[45] Many high hierarchs compared him with French extremist Le Pen and with Austrian racist Heider, and accused him of spreading false rumors about an alleged attack on Catholicism in Poland, see Mach in Inglis et al, ibid., 125; see also Ramet, in Byrnes and Katzenstein, ibid., 133-134.

[46] Ramet, in Byrnes and Katzenstein, ibid., 134.

more and more troublesome for the PRCC. It soon started to compete with the Church

official teaching, not only with the Episcopate's own Radio Jósef, to the point of

becoming almost a schismatic movement, with its own agenda and even involved in para-

educational activities.[47] This determined the Church to unify all diocesan radio stations to

compete with Marya, and only a few stations remained active at the diocesan level out of

the previous 30 stations, after the official Catholic Radio Plus started to broadcast.[48]

The PRCC turned almost exclusively on issues of abortion, divorce and protection

of Christian values, but these issues were more troublesome as soon as they were

endorsed by the Holy See. John Paul II realized that such issues interfered with national

legislation and he resumed commenting on the consumerism and morality of the

Capitalist system as well as the excesses of Communism, and continued to support social

justice.[49] On the other side, the Church entered the logic of market economy and

Capitalism, used its properties to charge high rents, and started to build and to renovate

churches.[50] The Polish public who witness the sudden prosperity of the Church disagreed

with it, and thought that the Church needs to deal more with charity and needs to stay

poor.[51]

The Church's attitude antagonized the Polish society, which even thought it did

not reject the moral teachings of the Church, it did not want them enacted into state law.

This attitude translated into disillusion with the PRCC and in a drop in Church

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[47] Ibid.

[48] Ibid., 135.

[49] Ibid., 124.

[50] Mach in Inglis et al, ibid. 126.

[51] Ibid.

attendance.[52] The young Poles especially feel more attracted to exotic religious forms, like individual religion, such as Buddhism, Yoga, and this trend runs counter to the old Solidarity and the old interpretation of being Polish, represented best by Wałęsa's wearing a jacket with the image of Black Madonna.[53]

When the PRCC supported the Western model it had little knowledge of the free market of ideas that this model entailed. After supporting this model and after it situated it at its core and praised it as a supreme model, the PRCC was unwilling to accept the majority principle. After it profited from the democratic model by the election of a Polish Pope, in the early years of the new republic the PRCC realized that the democratic dream almost turned into a nightmare. The Western model no longer signified superiority, but it meant support for an unfair economic system, the destruction of traditional values and mostly signified "the culture of death," a name given to the liberal policy on abortion.[54] Abortion was enthusiastically declared evil, and equated with the ills that plagued the Polish society in the past, atheism and Communism.

The Church's support of nationalism also consisted in support of the national army, which remained highly popular among the Poles, before and after Communism.[55] Through Bishop Sławoj Leszek Głódź, the Army Chaplain, the PRCC managed to secure an important symbolic presence near the military. Bishop Głódź was present in almost all

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[52] Ibid.

[53] Ibid., 127.

[54] Ibid., 127.

[55] Ibid.

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the military ceremonies, and it reminded the Poles about the role of the Church in supporting and defending the nation.[56]

The PRCC tried not only to assert its important role in the Polish public square but insisted on transforming its religious principles on state law based on the principle of majority and on the principle of recognizing its traditional role. By insisting on the Manichean polarized worldview, the Church is likely to antagonize the Polish society even more even thought the tie between Catholicism and nationality is less likely to disappear so easily.

The Polish society, the Solidarity, and Polish nationalism fostered new strikes that finally triumphed in 1989. In 1989 the Soviet Brezhnevist doctrine of military intervention was replaced with the Sinatra doctrine, which saw cooperation as a better solution of setting the relations between neighbors.[57] In 1991 when the Soviet state collapsed, the Polish state could finally feel truly sovereign.[58] While the enemy from exterior disappeared, the Poles focused on the interior enemy, which was those Poles who worked as agents of a foreign power. Therefore, there emerged a large demand for cleansing the remains of the Communist cadres and for lustration. Since the 1990 new political parties in Poland did not have clear-cut ideologies nor they reflected any clear differences between them, the nationalist component was yet very visible.[59] Observers of Polish politics could see two trends, one trend emphasized the ethnic organic unity of the

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[56] Ibid., 127-128.

[57] Millard, in Latawski, ibid., 120.

[58] Ramet mentioned that the Catholics perceive the state as a secular institution and the Catholic Church is usually wary of state sovereignty, therefore the Church fears both the Polish state as a secular institution and the EU, which is a secular union, see Ramet, in Byrnes and Katzenstein, ibid., 117.

[59] Millard in Latawski, ibid., 120.

nation, which had xenophobic tendencies, and the other was a pragmatic, and civic-rational approach, which stressed the importance of common laws, shared history and culture, which was less exclusive.[60] Both currents agreed on naming the country the Polish Republic and agreed on the reintroduction of the Polish Crowned Eagle as a national emblem on the flag.[61]

At the 1991 elections the right wing parties associated with the former Endecja did not enter Parliament. However, the Polish National Party-Polish National Commonwealth (Polskie Stronnictwo Narodowe-Polski Związek Wspólnoty Narodowej) of Bolesław Tejkowski managed to draw attention outside the parliament in organizing its youth fascistoid skinheads in street activities. The skinheads opposed practically everything and everybody, from communists to capitalists, from Catholics to Jews.[62] Inside the parliament, the Christian National Union and the Confederation for Independent Poland used nationalism in close relation with Catholicism in the first case, and based on anticommunist in the second. The Christian National Union, openly clerical and antidemocratic even joined the coalition government of Hanna Suchocka in 1992.[63] Tadeusz Mazowiecki's Democratic Union and Jan Bielecki's Liberal Democratic Congress, were in contrast classical liberal parties, oriented towards Europe, which unlike

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[60] Ibid.

[61] Ibid., 121.

[62] Ibid.

[63] Suchocka signed the Concordat agreement just two months before the end of her office, in 1993 without changing anything in the text even thought it was incompatible with many laws, but the text was not approved until 1997 when Poles had a new Constitution, see Ramet, in Byrnes and Katzenstein, ibid., 123-124.

the Christian Union, saw the compatibility between the Polish and the European identity.[64]

Nationalism reoccurred on the internal political agenda with the topic of lustration, or purification of the political life, which posited that former Communist agents, possibly Soviet agents, could not occupy key positions in the state apparatus, or the military.[65] This policy was harshly defended by the Confederation for Independent Poland Party, who was so opposed to Comunists that it did not even recognized the election of the Social Democratic Party members as members of the Parliament. President Lech Wałęsa conciliatory intervened and said that it would be an even greater mistake to let the former secret police members give verdicts on past collaboration, thus making them moral agents of the new society.[66]

Besides lustration, the proper role of Catholicism was also harshly debated up until the second round of free elections in 1993. The Polak-Katolik doctrine was revived but it only managed to influence the mainstream parliamentary parties like the Christian Union into a milder form, without the anti-Semitic component.[67] One leader of this party, Stefan Niesiołowski argued that the Polish majority is endangered by the lack of a law that stated explicitly that Catholicism is part of the Polish state. Solidarity and peasant parties sustained this point of view even though in a more tolerant manner. However, the implications of proclaiming Catholicism as central to the state's policy were very powerful. Regulation of abortion, of divorce, and censorship (mainly against

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[64] Millard in Latawski, ibid., 122.

[65] Ibid.

[66] Ibid., 123.

[67] Ibid.

pornography), but also of favoritism in displaying Christian religious symbols in state

institutions, or of supporting Catholic education in schools were part of this policy.

Liberals opposed this interpretation which situated language and religion at the heart of

citizenship and national identity and supported a liberal democratic view, which included

the rights of minorities.[68] However, in practice, the Poles were less and less interested in

these debates and trust in all institutions as in the PRCC began to drop significantly. In

1993 the nationalist parties lost and neither of them managed to enter the Parliament.

Frances Millard was confident that it was the merit of Communism to have contributed to

the extinction of extreme nationalism, and to the creation of homogeneity based on

tolerance.[69]

The PRCC was successful in influencing the post-Communist governments to ban

the abortion in almost all circumstances and allowed just a few exceptions in which

abortion was possible. Grzegorz Węcławowicz wrote that if in the beginning of the

1980s, the popularity of the PRCC reached 87 percent, in November 1992 it dropped to

46 percent, while later it stabilized at around 54 percent.[70] Steve Bruce also noted that in

the absence of Soviet Union, and given the success of Solidarity and of the newly gained

political autonomy and independence, the PRCC is in a crisis of popularity.[71]

Węcławowicz noted that this is a normal phase, and it represents the second wave of

secularization, that occurs after the first wave, the one encouraged by Communists

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[68] Ibid., 124.

[69] Ibid., 125.

[70] Grzegorz Węcławowicz, in Philip W. Barker, *Religious Nationalism in Modern Europe: If God Be for Us* (London: Routledge, 2009), 107.

[71] Steve Bruce, in Barker, ibid.

through industrialization and urbanization.[72] William Safran also argued that Poland is committed to both pluralism and to democracy, and that the PRCC's attempts to impose its values by any price seem to be totally opposed to the desires of the Polish society.[73] In 1992, 82 percent of the Poles opposed the Church's involvement in political life and 68 percent opposed the display of religiosity by state employees.[74]

In the 1995 presidential elections, the Church called the voters and instructed them not to vote for the former Communists, an opened attack on the favorite candidate, the socialist Aleksander Kwaśniewski. Gdańsk Archbishop Tadeusz Gocłowski, and Archbishop of Lublin, insisted that voters go vote in the second round in order to preserve Christian values and freedom as opposed pagan values.[75] However, the Church's influence was limited and even rejected by the voters, but still significant in determining a voter's behavior. Concerning the previously mentioned regional differences based on different culture along the former partitions, it seems that the polarizing effect was mostly visible in these 1995 elections, in the fight between former Communists of Kwaśniewski and former Solidarity of Lech Wałęsa.[76] The particularity of the local community and of the local parish seems to have been previously encouraged by the PRCC to serve as a model for the National Church. By encouraging local practices rather than national practices, the PRCC managed to secure the loyalty of a mosaic of Catholic traditions, which by themselves questioned, and even conflicted with the larger category of

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[72] Węcławowicz, in Barker, ibid.

[73] Safran, William, in Barker, ibid.

[74] Węcławowicz, in Barker, ibid., 111.

[75] Anderson J., in. Madeley and Enyedi, ibid., 148.

[76] Bjork, in Berglund and Porter-Szűcs, ibid., 138.

Polishness.[77] Even if almost all Poles are Catholic not all of them practice religion in the same way, and probably never did. There were at least two types of Catholics, as there were "two Polands." One could notice a "culture wars"[78] pattern emerging and could observe the existence of the "two Polands" in the elections, one based in central Poland and the western territories, Kwaśniewski's Poland, and one located in Galicia, Silesia, and Pomerania/West-Prussia, Wałęsa's Poland.[79] Kwaśniewski won the second round of elections and became president, but he did not want to alter the state's relations with the PRCC so he pushed the Concordat for approval in the legislature in 1997.[80] After many years of negotiation the new Constitution included some wording that appeased the PRCC. The document started the preamble with the formula "in the name of God" and recognized the PRCC's role in Poland's history and culture.[81] The Constitution mentioned that the Polish state is neutral in matters of religion while it also referred to Church-state relations and mentioned that the two institutions may cooperate for the common good.[82] Kwaśniewski never acted as a true left-wing politician, and he actually did not change anything regarding the guidelines of protecting "Christian values," he did not re-secularize the schools, and did nothing against the prohibition on abortion. After numerous debates around projects on a new abortion law, finally the Sejm approved

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[77] Ibid., 140.

[78] For a detailed discussion on culture wars see James Davison Hunter, *Culture Wars: The Struggle to Define America*, (New York: Basic, 1991).

[79] Bjork, in Berglund and Porter-Szűcs, ibid.

[80] Ramet, in Byrnes and Katzenstein, ibid., 124.

[81] Ibid.

[82] Ibid.

changes on the abortion ban, if in the first twelve weeks of pregnancy,only if the woman was under financial stress. The proposed law also partially restored the subsidizing of contraceptives, but the Constitutional Tribunal later rejected these in 1999.[83] The abortion law was changed and amended several times with little changes and even the president changed his mind several times regarding the law.[84]

Poland's desire to join the EU proved problematic for the PRCC, and, the imposition on members and on future members states to legalize abortions and same-sex marriages was challenging the core tenets of Catholicism.[85] Despite earlier concerns about EU fostering secularism, homosexuality and pornography, the PRCC, through the voices of John Paul II, Cardinal Glemp, Bishop Pieronek, Archbishops Muszyński and Tadeusz Gocłowski became outspoken supporters of EU integration, and in 2002, the Church issued an official document regarding the EU.[86] Together with Cardinal Glemp, President Kwaśniewski reinsured the Poles that he will demand the EU for an official recognition of the Christian heritage of the EU.[87] Even though this demand was largely ignored, and the EU Constitutions hardly mentioned the role of Christiniaty, Cardinal Glemp mentioned that he is an Euro-fatalist, meaning he believes that Poland's future is Europe. [88]At the referendum for the EU accession 78 percent of Poles voted in favor and the following year, in 2004, Poland entered the EU.

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[83] Ibid., 135.

[84] Ibid.

[85] Ibid., 137.

[86] Ibid., 138.

[87] Ibid., 139.

[88] Ibid., 141.

A survey from 2001 found that only 38 percent of Poles considered God was "very important in their lives," while 45.2 percent of Poles attended Church regularly and 17.3 percent confessed regularly.[89] The same survey found that 61 percent of the Poles are pro-choice, 83 percent of the Poles consider religious belief an important element of their identity, and on top of these contradictory results a large majority, 95 percent of Poles declare themselves Catholic. Ramet explains that these numbers show the growing influence of the PRCC in the educational system and in the charitable work.[90] The Catholic Church operates higher education in the Catholic University in Lublin and the Wyszyński University in Warsaw, and almost doubled the numbers of its schools from 1997, reaching 277 in 2002. Regarding charitable work, the Caritas charity and the Polish branch of the Catholic Youth Organization revived after 1989, and the latter has an impressive membership of 20,000 people. Numerous other associations like the Christian Volunteer Center, specialized in working with hospitals, Novo Millennio, and simply the assistance offered to families, to women affected by trafficking and prostitution, and therapy for homosexuals married with heterosexuals have kept the Church dear to majority of Poles.[91] In addition, the number of priest, which dropped in the 1980s reached a fifty-year high point in 2003.

The PRCC interpretation of sexuality was strongly against homosexuals, and by 2003, a change in marriage law came from the civil society members who noticed the impediments homosexuals couples had to face in various life situations.[92] However, the

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[89] Koseła, Krzysztof in Ramet, in Byrnes and Katzenstein, ibid., 125.

[90] Ramet, in Byrnes and Katzenstein, ibid.

[91] Ibid., 125-126.

[92] Ibid., 127.

Church opposed this initiative and the Polish society also opposed it, while only one in five Poles found that religion has no place in morality, a third of Poles thought that religion could serve as the basis for moral dictates.[93] Homosexuality was largely politicized and the League's youth organization used violence against the marchers for gay rights and tolerance, repeatedly calling to attention that they are unnatural and sinful.[94] There are signs of change at some levels in the Catholic life, and Rev. Florian Lempa, a Catholic professor of Canon Law at University of Białystok, and Rev. Ernest Ivanovs, pastor at Warsaw's Reformed Free Church are some of the more visible supporters of the bill for gay partnership.[95] Homosexulaity became a theme in the 2000 elections, and Wałęsa's campaign was based on anti-homosexuality. Even though an opinion poll showed that over 55 percent of Poles had a negative view on homosexuality, and 62 percent opposed same-sex marriages, Kwaśniewski, who was not hostile to homosexuality, was again elected president and his party later won the 2001 elections.[96]

Because Poland is not threatened by its neighbors, and not threatened by assimilation, or at least this was the large perception immediately after the end of Communism, they are confident to keep Catholicism at distance from nationalism. The economic growth is steady and the prospects for growth are good, which will make the Poles even more confident in their strength and the stability of their country. Since 85 percent of the Poles declare they are religious Peter Stachura argued that even if the

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[93] Ibid.

[94] Ibid.

[95] Ibid., 128.

[96] As before, the social democrats won the elections even if the PRCC campaigned against them, Ibid., 129

Polish society moves away from the Catholic version of nationalism, it is likely that the "Catholic-Nationalist symbiosis" will remain the most appreciated and potent manifestation of Polish' national pride and identity.[97] Philip Barker thinks that economic development leads to secularization because it "increases national security and decreases assimilation threats" and conditions the existence of religious nationalism to economic development and national security. Barker also admits that religious nationalism is still possible since threats to the nation come in many forms.[98]

Overall while the largest part of the Polish society is active in the Catholic Church, the PRCC is more central to Polish identity than it is to morality and religious practice. The Catholic identity which was encouraged as a symbol of resistance to foreigners and oppressors, managed to stay intact even after the threats disappeared. This is one of the reasons why Poles ignore the PRCC's teaching on abortion, contraception, and sexual mores. Barker noted that "the Church is central to Polish identity, although it may not be central to Polish personal life. Theology is less important than identity."[99] In spite of the disputes regarding the public influence of the PRCC, Catholicism and the Church remain very popular, and remain easy accessible as a form of banal nationalism, and as a form of hegemony.[100] According to Mirella Eberts, the majority PRCC clerics and hierarch anchor their views in the rhetoric of the Polak-Katolik doctrine, and seem

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[97] Peter Stachura in Barker, ibid., 108.

[98] Barker, ibid., 109.

[99] Barker, ibid., 111.

[100] Kubik used Antonio Gramsci's concept of hegemony, as an aspect of power relationships which is not produced or guaranteed by coercion but by the acceptance (even if fragmentary and not fully conscious) of the ruler's definition of the reality to be ruled, see Kubik, Jan, *The Power of Symbols against the Symbols of Power: the Rise of Solidarity and the Fall of State Socialism in Poland*, (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State UP, 1994), 11.

inspired by the nationalist and intolerant Catholicism.[101] The main fight of the PRCC is

visible today mostly in the promotion of a true "culture war" against abortion.[102] The

messianic character of the PRCC seemed to have finally fulfilled, at least in part, with the

fall of Communist, and this is spite of the interwar Church acting against civic virtues and

democracy, and in spite of the polarization of the society during Communist rule, and its

revival during democratic rule.

The Romanian Orthodox Church and Democracy

Ioan Mihai Pacepa,[103] a secret service officer who received asylum in United

States described the Church as "The Fifth Pillar" of the Communist regime, and called

the ROC's leaders "Red Patriarchs." Contrasting with ROC's official support of the

regime, soon after 1989, it rapidly claimed that it always fought against Communism and

became very assertive in using nationalistic, especially anti-Uniate propaganda.[104] The

Church was not telling lies but was not telling the whole truth.[105] The political instability

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[101] Mirella W. Eberts, "The Roman Catholic Church and democracy in Poland," *Europe-Asia Studies 50*, no. 5: 817, (1998), Academic Search Complete, EBSCOhost, last accessed May 1, 2012.

[102] Ramet reminds that the Euro-skeptic Archbishop Michalik, who also favors some views of Radio Marya, took the duties of retired Cardinal Glemp, and mentions the persistence in the Polish mass media of several political orientations, which are largely polarized between left and right, as if they follow a "culture war" rhetoric, see Ramet, "Thy Will Be Done: The Catholic Church and Politics in Poland since 1989," in Byrnes and Katzenstein, ibid., 143-144.

[103] See Ion Mihai Pacepa, *Red Horizons*, (London: Heinemann, 1988).

[104] Olivier Gillet, *Religie Şi Naţionalism: Ideologia Bisericii Ortodoxe Române Sub Regimul Comunist* [Religion and Nationalism: The Ideology of The Romanian Orthodox Church Under the Communist Regime] (Bucureşti: Compania, 2001), 13-15.

[105] An exchange student from Beirut studying theology in Bucharest, who observed the ROC's hierarchs in their medium, witnessed the clergy listening to "foreign" radio, and believed that "90 percent of the clergy is anticommunist, five percent were communists while the other five percent pretended to be communist only to foster their personal careers." In addition the "Red Patriarch" nickname of Patriarch Justinian Marina seemed undeserved since this student's report specified that he was the only hierarch who was truly interested in keeping the ROC out of Communists' control, see Lucian Leuştean, *Orthodoxy and*

of Romania in the first 2 years after 1989, only added to the general confusion and

mystification of the meaning of the 1989 revolution, and on the meaning of democracy.

The image of the Orthodox Churches in CEE was primarily associated with the

persistence of the "symphonic" Byzantine model of obedience to the state, which often

disregarded the sociopolitical evolutions of their respective societies.[106] This theory was

sometimes used to explain why the transition to democracy had winners such as Poland,

Czech Republic, Hungary, or Slovenia, and losers, such as Bulgaria, Romania and

Russia, based solely on their belonging to the Latin or the Byzantine culture.[107]

Olivier Gillet argued that after the disappearance of the totalitarian regimes, CEE

states experienced a reevaluation of their identity, be it cultural, ethnic or religious as the

only values that seemed to be left untouched by the ideology of Communism.[108]

However, the ROC was challenged earlier, like the PRCC, by the Western Reformation

and the Enlightenment which brought the splinter Greek Catholics to the fore of the

national liberation movement which later challenged their right of being "national

church."[109] National Churches play an important role, since their status and the status of

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the Cold War: Religion and Political Power in Romania, 1947-65 (Basingstoke [England: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 116-117.

[106] The symphonic model also interpreted as Caesaropapism, implies the existence of an emperor on top of the Christian empire, as God's representative on earth, or regarded as the "pontifex maximus," the high-priest in the state-cult; in theory the Emperor was the protector of the Church, the preserver of unity and faith, also subject to the spiritual leadership of the Church, and the Church limited to the spiritual domain, but in practice the emperors tried to also appropriate the spiritual domain, see Lavinia Stan and Lucian Turcescu, *Religion and Politics in Post-communist Romania* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2007), 5-7.

[107] Gillet, ibid., 16.

[108] Ibid., 10.

[109] Stan and Turcescu claim that the ROC was untouched by the Refomation, but the birth of the Romanian Greek-Catholic Church stays behind the auspices of Reformation and Counterreformation, see Stan and Turcescu, ibid., 17.

religion in a country are important indicators of nationalism and ethnic problems.[110] Both

ideological blocks, the communist and the western propaganda presented the situation in

black and white terms; the communist regimes emphasized the complete freedom

enjoyed by religion while occidental "confessional" literature emphasized the total

imprisonment of religion.[111] Gillet sees the much-acclaimed resurgence of religion after

1989 in CEE states as coinciding with the rise of religious neo-fundamentalism, extreme

nationalism and even the emergence hybrids of religious neo-fascist groups, which led to

Church's support for extreme right-wing political parties,[112]and in some cases influenced

the appearance of conflicts as in Yugoslavia and Russia.[113]

Stăniloae's numerous writings dealing with the bond between Church and nation

written before and after 1989 should not make the nowadays resurgence of sympathy

towards the neo-legionnaire movement such as the "New Right" a surprise.[114] Stăniloae

is part of the myth of the Romanian spirituality, and his nationalism, as well as his

dependence on and collaboration with the Communist government pass unnoticed.[115]

Stăniloae tried to incorporate nationalism in Orthodox theology and developed the theory

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[110] Ibid.

[111] Ibid., 11.

[112] Karnoouh notes that after the American crisis in the 1930s, the dependency of CEE states on the economic power of the western states proved fatal for the incipient democracies who succumbed to dictators, see Claude Karnoouh, *Inventarea Poporului Naţiune* [*Inventing the People's Nation*] (Cluj: Idea Design & Print, 2011), 200.

[113] Christopher Marsh argued that reasons that were at the root cause of starting an internecine and inter-communal conflict might later evolve or be replaced with other factors and religious identity is often at hand; see Christopher Marsh, "The Religious Dimension of Post-Communist "Ethnic" Conflict," *Nationalities Papers,* Vol. 35, no. 5 (November 2007), 811.

[114] Gillet, ibid., 161.

[115] Cristian Romocea, *Church and State: Religious Nationalism and State Identification in Post-communist Romania* (London: Continuum, 2011),192.

of "Orthodox Romanianness," which could be summarized as the intrinsic unity between the Romanian ethnicity and the Orthodox Church.[116] The puzzle of the Romanian word for law (lege), which may be also interpreted as religious tradition, convinced theologian Stăniloae to write that the nation is good and God given:[117]

> The Romanian nation [neam] is a biological-spiritual synthesis which combines a number of elements. They are: the Dacian element, the Latin element and the Orthhodox Christianity. It's a new synthesis, a unique individuality with a uniting principle that differs from each one component. The highest Law of our nation is a Law which describes the nation in the best way…All components are stamped with a new, unifying and individualizing mark, which is Romanianness. Therefore, we can say that the highest Law of our nation is the Romanianness….The permanent national ideal of our nation can only be perceived in relation to Orthodoxy.[118]

Martyn Rady was right when he wrote that the nationalism espoused by Ceauşescu was not invented by him but was a historic nationalism which was used by the communist leader and which will likely "continue to beset the post-revolutionary Romanian politics."[119] The revival of Romanian messianism, in the form of Latinist Orthodox exceptionality and civilizing mission was closely related to the Orthodoxist vision and with the right-wing political parties' expressed preferences for the Golden Age of the interwar period. Overall, the political parties of the early 1990s, even the liberals, understood nationalism in its ethnic version and left aside any civic versions of national

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[116] Stăniloae was a friend of Nichifor Crainic the father of Romanian *Gândirism* ideology *Gândirism* (from Romanian *gând* – thought) is a ideology developed by Crainic in the *Gândirea* magazine, which endorsed a close identification of Orthodoxy and Romanian soul, Romocea, ibid., 201.

[117] Stan and Turcescu argued that Stăniloae grounded his ethnic nationalism in Augustinian theory of *rationes aeternae*, where such eternal reasons are divine archetypes of all created species and individuals, who are placed in the mind of God, and nation-states belong to this realm, therefore God desired and planed the nation-states, Stan and Turcescu, ibid., 45.

[118] Dumitru Stăniloae quoted in Romocea, ibid., 202.

[119] Rady, in Latawski, ibid., 129.

identity until the 1996 elections when Hungarians entered into the governing coalition.[120]
The Democratic Magyar Union of Romania Party entered all the governmental coalitions from 1996 until present and this practice instituted a consociational model of cohabitation between Magyars and Romanian ethnics until present.

The strong Hungarian minority in central Romania, and the collapsing Soviet Union as eastern neighbor set nationalism and fears of territorial disintegration in the center of 1990 elections in Romania.[121] The former communists, lead by Ion Iliescu of the National Salvation Front Party, accused the so-called historical parties, the National Liberal Party and the Peasant Christian Democratic Party, of being influenced by foreigners who wanted to buy the country and accused their leaders of fleeing the country during the Communist period. In practice, after the Front won the elections it became less anti-western when it needed western aid and investment. In the early 1990s two political parties were overtly nationalistic, one of them was România Mare (The Greater Romania) Party, more visible in the Old Kingdom,[122] and the other was Vatra Românească (the Romanian Fireside) of Transylvania. Both of them targeted the minorities of Hungarians, Gypsies, Jews, and also intellectuals, or the market economy reformists, by arguing that the last group represents the International Masonry and Jewry.[123] These parties also openly supported the reunification with Bessarabia, and the Romanian communities in

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[120] However, Hungarians espoused the same ethnic views about the nation, and accepted Romanian citizenship without accepting more civic versions of nationalism.

[121] These fears were essential in Romania's careful approach towards the Moldovan Soviet Republic (Bessarabia), and the initial unionist enthusiasm remained at the level of discussions and never materialized.

[122] Old Kingdom is the name for the United Principalities of Walachia and Moldova.

[123] Rady, in Latawski, ibid., 137.

Hungary, and their newspaper, România Mare had a circulation of half a million.[124] The Movement for Romania of Marian Munteanu, the student leader who became famous for opposing Iliescu and the miners' intervention in the early 1990s, was ideologically close to the interwar legionary movement. The Movement developed a discourse which repudiated democracy and liberalism as contrary to the spiritual and cultural nature of Romanians, and argued that Romania's traditions empower it to assert its "historical destiny" and a "civilizing mission" in Europe.[125]

The party with the closest ties to the Christian values was the Christian Democrat National Peasant Party, which was a traditional party of Transylvanians before the union and which also had a strong Greek Catholic identity. The party's leader, Corneliu Coposu was a Greek Catholic who saw Romania's destiny in Europe. The Christian Democrat Peasants National Party, strongly anti-Communist and strongly related to the Greek-Catholics has increased its visibility due to its leader. Coposu, a well-known royalist, and former political prisoner, and his party, initiated numerous law project about property rights, property restitution and lustration. All these laws, regarding property and lustration were directed against former Communists but also against the ROC and against Orthodox priests which collaborated with the regime. [126] He became very popular and

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[124] If these numbers seem significant today it is because of the greater numbers of the print media immediately after communism, although the printing of extremist media is small compared to the mainstream newspapers like "Adevărul" (The Truth) or "România Liberă"(Free Romania), center-left and center-right respectively, which had more than a million and a half copies each.

[125] Rady, in Latawski, ibid., 137-138.

[126] Radu Preda mentions that the much desired reconciliation and lustration is in practice "at the limit between transparency and occult interests, between blackmail and a piecemeal of truth,"; he argued that the activity of the ad hoc National Council for Study of the Security Archives (CNSAS) is severely restricted mainly due to the subjective and fragmentary character of the information received from the secret services, and thinks that guilt cannot be assigned and only rests at the level of one's conscience. See Radu Preda, "Securitatea și insecuritățile deconspirării ei, Comunismul în memoria clasei politice, a societății civile și a Bisericii,"[Security and the Insecurity of its Uncovering, Communism in the Memory

shortly after his death he was perceived to be an anti-Communist saint, and it is probably

his death that moved the balance in favor of the Democratic Convention coalition to win

the 1996 elections. [127] The Greek Catholics were the fiercest opponents of the Communist

regime in Romania, and Coposu's funeral was even attended by the left-wing governing

coalition of former Communists lead by Ion Iliescu. The ceremony was televised

nationally and Coposu was recognized as a national martyr, and was called the "President

of the anti-Communist opposition in Romania."[128] Greek Catholic and Orthodox high

prelates stood near each other at the funeral and one could notice that both Churches

seemed willing for opening dialogue after a long time.

Due to its heavy Transylvanian component and due to the myth of Romanians

unity, Orthodox scholars like Alexandru Bogdan Duca, wrote that Greek Catholics have

remained prone to nationalism and provincialism.[129] In another article, Duca also

mentioned the Orthodoxist version of nationalism and some of its neo-legionary aspects

that resurfaced after Communism. However, he found that the neo-legionary movement

in Romania is a marginal political phenomenon, looking for a Captain to replace the

interwar leader, Zelea Codreanu. [130] Neo-legionaries are endlessly looking for suitable

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of the Political Class, Civil Society and Church] *Romanian Political Science Review*, vol. VII, no. 3 (2007), 773-774, 776.

[127] Cristian Barta, "Coordonatele actuale ale raporturilor dintre Biserica Română Unitã cu Roma şi politicã," [The Current Coordinates of The Greek Catholic Church's Relations with Politics] *Romanian Political Science Review*, vol. VII, no. 3 (2007), 714.

[128] Ibid., 716.

[129] However, his article does not mention a single word about the Orthodoxist doctrine, see Alexandru Bogdan Duca, " În faţa Postmodernităţii...," [Facing Post-modernity…] *Studia Theologica,* VI, no. 1 (2008), 36, last accessed March 1, 2012, http://www.studiatheologica.cnet.ro/pdf/200801art2.pdf.

[130] Alexandru Bogdan Duca, "Neolegionarismul. O încercare de teologie politicã ortodoxã?," [Neo-legionarism, An attempt of an Orthodox Political Theology?] *Romanian Political Science Review*, vol. VII, no. 3 (2007), 740.

candidates, among which Ioan Coja, famous for denying the Holocaust in Romania,

Şerban Suru, the current Legion's leader, Tudor Ionescu, the president of the New Right

Movement, or Gigi Becali,[131] the neo-legionaries have utterly failed to summon enough

sympathizers in their ranks. The ROC, due to its nebulous relations with the state, has

continued to oscillate between support for the nationalist discourse, and the unwillingness

to take for granted and to promote a reheated Orthodoxist discourse.[132] Duca argues that

neo-legionaries have found support in the increasingly popular "duhovnic" fathers

(confessor-fathers) of the ROC, formed by the older generation, Arsenie Papacioc,

Adrian Făgeţeanu and Iustin Pârvu, but also by younger fathers formed in Mount Athos'

ultraconservative school.[133] One of these fathers, Ioanichie Bălan, claimed that he prays

against Romania's European integration, and Duca argues that their popularity and their

refusal of any *aggiornamento* for the ROC are similar to the status and the attitude of

Persian ayatollahs.[134]

In numerous other instances, especially in republishing religious texts it is clear

that the ROC does not only perpetuate "politically incorrect" language but has not

intervened to remove even the most obvious racist and anti-Semite remarks.[135] The

influence of these texts is very strong especially on the simple Orthodox believer who

reads them, and shows that the ROC continues to ignore the promotion of anti-Semite

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[131] Becali is famous for his numerous political blunders, and for constantly giving alms to the ROC as well as to Mount Athos in Greece.

[132] Duca, (2007), ibid., 740.

[133] Ibid., 741.

[134] Ibid.

[135] Ibid.

messages in its midst.[136] ROC does not have any position relating to these texts and has

nothing against the spread of propagandistic material from Mount Athos which is

popularized inside the ROC's monasteries and Churches.[137]

The efforts of some ROC members to canonize figures such as Corneliu Zelea

Codreanu of the Iron Guard, or Marshal Ion Antonescu, responsible for a large Jewish

pogrom, were backed by the extreme right parties like The Greater Romania Party. Even

though these propositions never materialized, some small gestures still showed that the

ROC is anchored in the idyllic past. For example such gestures include the unveiling of

Marshall Antonescu's statue inside the yard of a ROC Church in Bucharest.[138] Sabrina

Ramet argued that the decentralized structure of Orthodox Churches makes them less

susceptible of reforms, and that an Orthodox aggiornamento is not likely to happen, or at

least not likely to happen by a top-down approach.[139] The ROC officially endorses

neither the European integration nor the anti-European discourse, and both aspirations

seemed to be promoted in the Church.[140]

After 1989, the ROC resumed its presence in all the public spheres from where it

was previously excluded: in school, in military, in the penitentiary system, in the sanitary

system and the social work, but also in the mass media, and in tangible new church

buildings, monasteries, roadside crosses, and religious monuments. Perhaps most

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[136] Ibid., 743-744.

[137] Ibid., 745.

[138] Ramet, "Orthodox Churches and the 'idyllic past,'" in Byrnes and Katzenstein, ibid., 172-173.

[139] Ibid.

[140] Papkova and Gorenburg argued that ambivalence also characterizes the Russian Orthodox Church, see Irina Papkova and Dmitry P.Gorenburg, "The Russian Orthodox Church and Russian Politics," *Russian Politics and Law*, vol. 49, no. 1 (January–February 2011), 5.

importantly it resumed its influence in political life, by circumscribing the political space with religious symbols, with traditional Orthodox service and ceremonies, and even with the mere presence of ROC's hierarchs.[141]

The 1991 Constitution supported the right to religious instruction in schools and the right of setting up confessional schools, and in 1996 the priests and theology graduates were exempt from the military service and Easter and Christmas became national holydays, with the possibility to take days off for the calendar differences with Catholics or Old style Orthodox believers.[142] Freedom of religion was however still restricted by the State Secretariat,[143] whose mission of granting recognition and whose methods in granting recognition to new Churches remained very vague and subjective.[144] Only 18 groups are recognized as religious denominations and some 385 faiths, organizations and foundations are registered without benefiting of financial support. Moreover, not all non-recognized groups can worship freely and in 2004 the government banned the Movement for Spiritual Integration in the Absolute of Gregorian Bivolaru, who later found asylum on religious grounds in Sweden.[145] Meanwhile, the ROC

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[141] Iuliana Conovici, "Aspecte ale discursului public al Bisericii Ortodoxe Române după 1989:(auto)secularizarea," [Aspects of the Romanian Orthodox Church's Public Discourse after 1989: (self)secularization] *Romanian Political Science Review*, vol. VII, no. 3 (2007), 786.

[142] Stan and Turcescu, ibid., 27.

[143] When Cuza created the Ministry of Religious Denominations, which granted official recognition to religious groups, he did not know that this institution would remain under various names, in all the governments of Romania until present day; even Communists maintained the Ministry of Religious affairs, and once the presumed withering away of religion never materialized, Communists approached religion for practical reasons and abandoned ideological reasons; Communists continued to subsidize the salaries of the priests and ministers representing the officially recognized denomination, and recognition came if Churches agreed to practice religion without interfering with the Constitution, public order, national security and accepted morality, see Stan and Turcescu, ibid., 21-22, 25.

[144] Ibid., 28.

[145] The Movement was banned on charges of human-trafficking, sexual exploitation of minors and tax evasion, see ibid.

received a preferential treatment, and the question of the Greek Catholic property given

to the Orthodox closed before it started since the government did not recognized the

problem to be legalistic but confessional, which was in fact recognizing the status quo.[146]

The State Secretariat itself was composed of graduates of the Faculty of Orthodox

Theology and the distribution of salaries and funding always advantaged the ROC, which

on top of all benefits received extra help from special government funds.[147] On the other

hand, state representatives continued to confirm nominations in the ROC's higher

hierarchy and attended ROC's synods and National Church Congress gatherings.

The ROC wanted recognition of its position as a dominant "national Church" by

law.[148] Patriarch Teoctist was very clear about this reinstatement of the Church to its

proper place, at the center of Romanian national identity:

> The history of the Romanian people is interwined with the history of the
> Orthodox Church, the only institution which has lasted since the birth of the
> [Romanian] people. Whoever denied that the church is the national church should
> deny the unitary character of the Romanian state.[149]

Seeing that this status cannot be achieved, in 1994, the ROC appointed itself in the

National Orthodox Church Council to be a "national" church, and, in 1999 prime minister

Radu Vasile, of the Christian Democrat National Peasant Party, proposed a law to make

the ROC a national church which was never accepted by his cabinet.[150] The other

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[146] The ROC and the Greek Catholic Church were to settle the matters on their own, and the state simply accepted the point of view of the ROC, since it was totally up to the will of the ROC to give or not to give back property; some Orthodox even claimed that the Greek Catholics should give back those Churches which were taken from the Orthodox in the 17th century, see ibid.

[147] Ibid., 28-29.

[148] Ibid., 29.

[149] Teoctist Arpăcașu quoted in Stan and Turcescu, ibid., 29-30.

[150] Since the fall of Communism the ROC tried numerous times to have hierarchs take senatorial seats in the Romanian parliament; even the usually mindful Metropolitan Nicolae Corneanu who

denominations, especially the Baptists lead by Vasile Taloş, expressed their preference

for a plural society while at the same time rejected pluralist relativistic ideology.[151]

Minorities in the Parliament, as the Christian Democrat deputy Petru Dugulescu, a

Baptist, or the leader of the Hungarians, Béla Markó, declared that the word "national"

would estrange the non-Orthodox and would be a backward act.[152]

The symbiotic connection between the ROC, as a majority Church and the

dominant ethnic group, qualified Romania, as the case of Greece, for explaining high

religiosity levels in connection with this symbiosis.[153] Conovici argued that besides the

re-conquest of the public space there are numerous signs showing that the ROC has

deepened the secularization process on many levels, including in its public discourse, and

argues that the deprivatization component is not enough to hold the idea of

desecularization.[154] Conovici argued that the re-legitimization strategies of the ROC are

essentially constructed and adapted to an a priori admittance of the inherent laicization of

the state.[155] She cites Olivier Clément for bringing forward the thesis that nationalism is

the specific form of secularization in the Orthodox space, but remains suspect of the full

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recognized his cooperation with the Secret Police and was largely conciliatory towards the Greek Catholics noted that the ROC cannot be fully apolitical, in ibid., 30-32.

[151] Stan and Turcescu, ibid., 32-33.

[152] Ibid., 33.

[153] Conovici argued that the high religiosity levels made some ROC hierarchs as Anania the Metropolitan of Cluj to optimistically conclude that the problem of secularization does not even exist in Romania, see Conovici, (2007), ibid., 786.

[154] Ibid.

[155] Ibid.

implications of this thesis and circumspect around its minimal character, since Clément never gave a full account on how this functioned in practice.[156]

Hierarchs have instrumentally used the argument of the symbiosis of the Church with the ethnic nation and the majority-Church argument which also entitled the ROC to represent the entire nation. However, they made less use of the "direct Christian testimony, which is to undertake Christian values as ultimate values" as Conovici argued. On short, the ROC used the postmodern relativistic discourse to convince its flock of the rightfulness of its position instead of appealing to the greater truth of God, which is its main attribute.[157] When confronted with real situations of being embattled, the ROC resorted to tradition and only second to Orthodox teaching. In addition, scholars as Conovici believed that the expansion of the Church's domain to the sphere of civil society is another dimension of secularization since the two are fundamentally different, and by mixing the spheres is the result is altering their essences.[158]

The law which criminalized unregistered religious activity in Romania stipulated a fine of approximately nine thousand US dollars.[159] It was more and more obvious that the "law of cults" needs to be changed. A few intellectuals of the anti-Communist Group for Social Dialogue, promoted the total separation of Church and state relations but this

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[156] Ibid.

[157] Conovici gives the example of the Romanian patriarchy who emitted a press release about the homosexual march in Romania, the historical tradition was claimed first and the Church's teaching came only second, see ibid., 788.

[158] Ibid., 790.

[159] Such a restrictive legislation was unseen in Europe, see Stan and Turcescu, ibid., 34.

group remained marginal.[160] The minority Churches supported a more relaxed pluralist view, more compatible with democracy, and suited to Alfred Stepan's idea of "twin tolerations," [161] while the ROC sought the establishment of its tradition as the state's "national religion." The establishment model proves to be less conducive to democracy since it excludes various groups from free worship and even criminalizes them. Romania was last of the CEE states to modify its old law on religion which dated from 1948. In 1996, the Christian Democrat winning coalition could not manage to change it to favor the ROC's establishment because of the general societal opposition. Romanians were reluctant to religion's increased role in politics. In 2006, the law of cults finally came to the fore and the new coalition of liberals and democrats, National Liberal Party and National Democratic Party, changed it without much opposition and without debating it which triggered harsh criticism from NGOs, atheists and secularist. The main issue they had was the criminalization of any offense against religion or religious symbols.

These were not the only controversies resulted in the equation of the society, the state and the Church within the context of the growing influence of European supranational structures in Romania. In 1993 Romania was admitted to the Council of Europe with the condition that it will modify eleven of its laws to conform to the European standards, but only the law decriminalizing homosexuality provoked controversy. The ROC stood at the front position in protecting the law which

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[160] Gabriel Andreescu, the leader of this group and others such as journalist Mihai Chiper wanted to promote a secular modern state, but only Gabriel and Liviu Andreescu, his son, took some steps to draft and to promote such a proposal in the public sphere; see Stan and Turcescu, ibid., 35-36. More recently, a left-wing internet media group called "Criticatac" self defined as a "social, intellectual and political critique group" and some journalists of the group "Voxpublica" have espoused the same views but so far their opinions are restricted to the internet media, see www.criticatac.ro/despre-noi/, and voxpublica. realitatea.net.

[161] Stan and Turcescu, ibid., 13.

criminalized homosexuals and this debate theme remained at the center of ROC's

political engagement in the first ten years after communism.[162] Later, right before

accession, the Church was very explicit and clearly stated its opposition to homosexuality

in the midst of government's negotiations for European integration.[163] The opposition to

homosexuals was popular among Romanians, and a 1995 opinion poll showed that some

53 percent of Romanians favored the rejection of gays and lesbians, and another poll

from 2000 showed that 86 percent of Romanians do not want homosexuals as

neighbors.[164] The government tried to please both the ROC and the Council and

decriminalized homosexuality in private but maintained the ban on public display on

homosexuality.[165] Because the Council was not satisfied, the ban was reconsidered by

President Constantinescu and in 1999 it passed through the Chamber of Deputies and was

forwarded to the Senate. The ROC established an emergency meeting and sent letters to

senators that they should not pass laws contradicting Christian morals, natural law, and

with the dignity of the family life.[166] Nevertheless, the controversial article 200 was

repealed and the ROC lost the fight over homosexuality.[167]

    Among the countries of CEE Romania shows the highest religiosity levels, and

the 2002 National Census in Romania showed that 99.96 percent of the population claim

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[162] Ramet, "Orthodox Churches and the 'idyllic past,'" in Byrnes and Katzenstein, ibid., 167-168.

[163] Ibid., 172-173.

[164] Ibid., 168.

[165] Ibid.

[166] Ibid., 169.

[167] Ramet argues that homosexuality in Romania is less associated with nationalism, as for example in Serbia where it is associated with a betrayal of the Serbian nation, but Stan and Turcescu admit that the ROC did use nationalistic arguments to maintain the ban on homosexuals, see Ramet, "Orthodox Churches and the 'idyllic past,'" in Byrnes and Katzenstein; see also Stan and Turcescu, ibid., 51-52.

they belong to an officially recognized religious organization, while only 0.03 percent declare themselves atheist, and even less, 0.01 percent, as having no religious affiliation.[168] Also among national institutions, the ROC, to which 86.8 percent of Romanians belong, benefits from 86 percent trust among Romanians, which shows that Romanians have full trust in the Church. The Army follows shortly with 69 percent trust, while the political parties, the judiciary and the parliament are at the bottom of the list.[169] Also some 44 percent of Romanians declare they go to Church at least once a week or more.[170] Compared to the favoring of religion, Romanians were also the most favorable nation towards the EU. A 2006 opinion poll showed that Romania was the most pro-European country with 64 percent of the population in favor of membership, this is both because of a lack of proper information regarding the EU, and because EU, like the ROC and the Army were seen as having a salvific character and as identity markers.[171]

National identity expressed by the high religiosity levels but less religious practice, and the fervor with which Romanians accepted Europenization seemed to colide. Silviu Rogobete saw the Church's nationalist discourse as precluding both the Church's mission and tolerance for the others who are not Orthodox and ethnic Romanians. The ROC's "Holy Tradition" appears today as reified, as some sort of substance that forms the main ingredient for being Romanian. This reified "tradition"

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[168] Silviu Rogobete, "Some Reflections on Religion and Multiculturalism in Romania: Towards a Reappraisal of the Grammar of Traditions," in Silviu Rogobete and Andrew Otchie, *Ethnic and Religious Diversity in Europe*, (30 November – 2 December 2005, Leuven), 18, last accessed March 1, 2012, http://www.ecpm.info/en/congress2005.

[169] Rogobete notes that in Romania premodern institutions are more valued than the modern institutions, in ibid.

[170] Ibid., 19.

[171] Ibid.

precludes manifestations of multiculturalism and opposes any idea of multinational or federal state, both within Romania and especially in the EU context.[172] The "Holy Tradition" supposedly rests on the Romanian Law, "Legea Românească," the unwritten law which is similar to one's language, folk customs, and religious faith as mentioned in the previous chapters.[173] Even if some Orthodox theologians, like Fr. Ion Bria have recognized the nationalist excesses brought forward by this view, there was no official ROC statement or policy to curb the obvious disrespect for pluralism and for otherness.[174] Rogobete argued that if Bria represented the old ROC' ecumenist position, Daniel Ciobotea, the present Patriarch, has not changed much from the older official discourse. When he was not yet a Patriarch, in 1994, Ciobotea has strongly objected the Romanian Baptist Church Union's opposition to calling the ROC "national Church" and he used the nationalistic tropes of the ROC to criticize them, notwithstanding the Baptists' 150 years of history in Romania. He specifically said that sects which are "recently coming in our country" want to evangelize a country that has been Christian for 2000 years and concluded:" the only right way to the truth of God is Orthodoxy and all the other ways chosen by one or another are wrong."[175] ROC's insistence on tradition and assertion of its dominant position is less in the spirit of Christianity and ignores such Biblical teaching as the Good Samaritan story, which shows that the foundations of collaboration are not co-nationality and co-religiosity but love and self-sacrifice.[176] In addition, the

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[172] Ibid., 25.

[173] Ibid.

[174] Ibid., 26.

[175] Daniel Ciobotea quoted in ibid., 27.

[176] Rogobete, ibid., 31.

misunderstanding of a "Holy Tradition" as a monolithic entity valid only by the virtue of its own existence is a very narrow understanding of what tradition is and should be, and is outside the spirit of Christianity.[177]

Rogobete found that traditionalism understood as nationalism is holding the Church and its subject from assuming democratic pluralism. However, Rogobete is hopeful that a new generation of post-communist lay intellectuals like Horia R. Patapievici, Andrei Pleşu and Theodor Baconski challenge ROC's nationalism. Rogobete argued that even members of the ROC displayed a new attitude of cooperation with other religious groups, notably Metropolitan Corneanu of Banat, in south-west Romania.[178] Rogobete might have been mistaken giving full credit to the younger generation. One of the famous young Orthodox theologians, Mihail Neamţu criticized Corneanu not only for his past, reminding of Corneanu's defrocking of Fr. Calciu Dumitreasa, but also for his present. Neamţu scolded Corneanu for his sharing communion with the Greek-Catholics, and called him a Marxist, and an opportunistic and contemptible character for exactly showing openness and for betraying the Orthodox tradition.[179]

Neamţu, reminds that Romania has the most graduates in theology per capita of all European countries but that they lack substance, and that instead of promoting

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[177] Ibid., 27.

[178] Silviu Rogobete, "Morality and Tradition in Post-communist Orthodox Lands: On the Universality of Human Rights. With Special Reference to Romania," paper presented at Annual Meeting of American Political Science Association, (August 28-August 31, 2003), 25.

[179] Mihail Neamţu, "Ortodoxia Românească: Deficitul Comunicării şi Inflaţia Retorică," [The Romanian Orthodoxy: The Communication Deficiency and the Rhetoric Inflation] *Idei in Dialog*, (August 2008), last accessed March 2, 2012, http://grupareaaproape.wordpress.com/2008/07/17/ortodoxia-romaneasca-deficitul-comunicarii-si-inflatia-retorica.

scholarly work to catch up with the Western world theology, the Episcopates prefer to sit in their vacation homes.[180] Neamțu called the NGOs and secularist intellectuals that opposed the new Law of Cults from 2006, "a small but loud bunch." The secularists' opposition to religious symbols in schools, and to criminalizing all public offense against religion and religious symbols seemed abnormal to the young theologian.[181] Neamțu argued that secularists in Romania are far from being discriminated and that they simply exaggerate, and instead described religious life as embattled.[182] Neamțu did not fall short in also criticizing the public apparition of marginal categories and minorities of all kinds that try to reconfigure the center, and complained about the creation the National Council for Combating Discrimination, as being part of the "neo-Marxian illusion of reconciliation."[183] His highly moralizing article offers the solution to all of these problems by ending the state's monopoly on cultural and religious issues. However, oddly enough, according to him, the end of state monopoly does not mean that new sects like the Scientologist Church ought to have the same equal place as the traditional Churches, such as the Romanian Greek Catholic Church (RGCC).[184] The New Religious Movements, he adds, need to pass a fidelity test, and need to prove themselves:

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[180] Neamțu gives the example of the Orthodox Church in United States, which is one of the most vibrant Orthodox Churches, by virtue of its separation from the state, see Mihail Neamțu, "România 2007: război cultural,criză politică și armistițiu religios," [Romania 2007: Culture War, Political Crisis and Religious Armistice] *Romanian Political Science Review*, vol. VII, no. 3 (2007), 748, 751.

[181] Ibid., 753.

[182] Ibid.

[183] Neamțu occasionally uses euphemisms to characterize gypsies as "rude specimens, covered in gold, being loud and angry," and implies that the "authentic" culture suffers from "gypsization," see ibid., 754, 765.

[184] Ibid., 755. Pat Ashworth commented on the Romanian law of religion characterizing it as the most burdensome legislation on religion in the OSCE area, (The Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe), where a quarter of religious associations do not qualify as denominations, and those

The suggestion that Romania promotes active discrimination on religious basis just because it asks for a de facto existence of 300 persons for subscribing a religious Association as a legal person, and, 0.1 % of the population to validate a cult seems to me naïve in the best case, if not tendentious. It will be aberrant to believe that Germany or Italy offer today fiscal or logistic facilities to the autocephalous Orthodox Churches as enjoyed by the Roman Catholic Church. The prudence principle with which any mature society, from a historical point of view, treats the apparition of new religious movements it seems to me like a normality sign. Obtaining recognition, in a Hegelian sense, presupposes a historical dialectics of continuity and the test of fidelity, with all the transparent mechanisms of legitimization and public representation.[185]

Further, in a language that resembles nationalistic speech, but which was used for its rhetorical effect, he argues that traditional Churches are entitles to state funding, while the state needs to dissociate between the religious associations, which only receive a "residence permit," and cults, which receive "citizenship."[186]

It is not very clear what the ROC's approach to modernity and plurality is since there is a plurality of opinions among the church leaders themselves. Besides the revitalization of the nationalist discourse, and the activation of the civil religious speech, some hierarchs expressed their worries about the nationalist excesses and have expressed the need to free the Church from the state and from the nation and to return it to its proper sphere, which is personal and not national salvation.

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groups with fewer than 300 members would not have the right to build churches and to have staff and paid clergy;, Pat Ashworth, "Romania's Tough Law on Religion," *Church times*, issue 7504 (London, January, 2007), 5. This document was found in the Romanian files of Keston Collection at Baylor University.

[185] Neamțu, (2007), ibid., 756.

[186] Ibid.

Conclusion

Daniel Payne argued that religious leaders globally have reacted to secularization either by resorting to religious fundamentalism or to nationalism.[187] Both choices, which seem to be looking for an establishment of their traditions, seem to have adverse effects, and Peter Berger proposed instead that Churches could better approach secularization by accepting it, and by "becoming ecclesial subcultures in a pluralistic society."[188] Daniel Payne also argued that those Churches which resist privatization, and which will not enter the logic of the secular state, will prevail in the modern world.[189] Payne argues that the Orthodox Church needs to follow this advice and accept that the Church and the society and the state are different spheres, and that the Churches need to operate in their own sphere.[190] In other words if Churches will simply follow their own way as alternatives to the world political structures they will survive. The Churches' hold on some "moral monopoly," or "nation's morals"[191] and their imposition over growing diverse societies under the protection of the state, or tradition or simple myths are likely to ease secularization instead of fighting it.

In the light of recent events, not only the Orthodox space deals with issues of pluralism and multiculturalism, and more recently the most influential member of the EU, Germany, through the voice of Chancellor Angela Merkel, proclaimed that

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[187] Payne D., in Sutton eds.,ibid.,135.

[188] Peter Berger quoted in Payne D., ibid.

[189] Payne D., ibid., 139.

[190] Ibid., 144.

[191] See Daniel Barbu, *Republica Absent. Politică și Societate în România Postcomunistă,* [*The Absent Republic. Politics and Society in Post-Communist Romania*] (Bucharest: Nemira, 2004), 277.

multiculturalism is dead.[192] Here, the thesis of Michael Billig that nationalism is not dead, but deactivated and living as banal nationalism seems more pertinent. Also Anthony Marx's argument that Western type of nationalism is like a dead volcano, only because ethnic differences were leveled much earlier than in Eastern Europe, seems to leave room to conclude that if differences grow, so will nationalistic tendencies. As soon as the "established nations" of the Western world confront with more diversity, they also exhibit a growth of anti-immigration feelings, and politicians of the 2000—2010 decade, like Germany's Angela Merkel and France's President Nicolas Sarkozy gave in to nationalist rhetoric, notwithstanding the tolerance principle on which the EU sits. However, one has to interpret the growth of some racial and extreme right rhetoric as part of the European culture war and not as the main outlook of European politics.[193]

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[192] However, it is worth nothing that even some members of Merkel's party have disagreed with her; see Matthew Weaver, "Angela Merkel: German multiculturalism has 'utterly failed,'" *The Guardian,* online edition, (October 20, 2010), last accessed March 2, 2012, http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2010/oct/17/angela-merkel-german-multiculturalism-failed.

[193] Thilo Sarrazin, a German banker who confirmed Merkel's pessimistic views on multiculturalism, produced a huge scandal by writing a book showing that immigrants of Muslim origins are lowering the intelligence of German society, see ibid.

CHAPTER FIVE

Civil religion and Religious Nationalism 1990-2011

The previous chapter demonstrated that national Churches which escaped

Communist persecution were not ready to adapt to democracy and pluralism. Churches

claimed the label "national Church" by resorting to the majority argument, to the

traditions and to the myths that formed civil religions, the unity between Church and

nation. The PRCC tried to impose its "moral monopoly" while the ROC tried to keep its

"morals of the nation" by asking for favoritism from the state and by excluding

minorities. Both Churches tried to occupy the public square even if they had little

experience to deal with everyday religion other than state politics and national

sovereignty. This chapter will present instances where the religious tradition fused with

nationalistic discourse and was promoted as a homogenizing policy by the state. i.e. by

creating national museums, and diffusing religious symbols and religious education in

public schools.

Now I turn to how the state used banal nationalism and civil religion to perpetuate

a nationalist discourse in some state institutions like national museums and monuments

and in public education. These state institutions fulfilled a pedagogical role to diffuse the

cult of the nation-state. National museums preserved the national memory and public

education was used to standardize the regional cultures under a common culture and

language. The presence of religious symbols in state institution transmitted the message

of identification and fusion between the state and the Church, between nation and faith.

The emergence of democracy in CEE countries was the start-point of a plural approach to issues regarding the best way to represent the nation. The nation's representation simply fell from the state's hands and was freed from the state's excessive regulations with the immediate effect of releasing the previously contained ethnic intolerance. This meant that the national Churches had to learn new patterns of behavior in relation to the state and to readjust their claims of representing the nation since pluralism brought competing versions of national representation.[1] With the fall of the communist regimes in CEE states, civil religion, or the various religious nationalisms or cults of the nation that were celebrated before, needed what Karnoouh called the *aggiornamento* of the nation's cult.[2] This *aggiornamento* was needed to face the new challenges posed by the new cosmopolitanism of Anglo-Saxon cultural products that threatened the national cultures.[3]

Folklorism, an ideology defined as an aesthetic manifestation of a political will, or as a laicization of rites in the cult of the nation-state is thus one of the most important media of civil religion, alongside ideology.[4] National ideology relies on its ideographic embodiment in national monuments, school instruction, military instruction, or territorial

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[1] See Sabrina Ramet, "Foreword" in Lavinia Stan and Lucian Turcescu, *Religion and Politics in Post-communist Romania*, (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2007), xiv-xv.

[2] Claude Karnoouh, *Inventarea Poporului Națiune* [*Inventing the People's Nation*] (Cluj: Idea Design & Print, 2011), 166.

[3] Ibid., 164, 166, Kacper Pobłocki noted that after an initial phase when Polish commodities were devalued due to a type of socialist "cargo cult" (a commodity fetishism that occurred since the production and the consumption of–Western– goods was separated geographically), a renewed interest for Polish goods over imported ones coincided with a revival of interest for socialist commodities, for the socialist items of banal nationalism and socialist pop-culture, such as movie comedies; see Kacper Pobłocki, "The Economics of Nostalgia," in Oksana Sarkisova and Péter Apor, *Past for the Eyes: East European Representations of Communism in Cinema and Museums after 1989* (Budapest: Central European UP, 2008), 190.

[4] Karnoouh, ibid., 168-169.

administration into provinces. Furthermore, the establishment of national museums

serves to popularize many different pieces of the national puzzle in one place.[5] Karnoouh

suggests that since spectacular folklore represents a mass national culture, it induces

pedagogy and collective emotions that recreate and endorse political relationships.[6] After

the internationalist communist decade of 1948-1958, the Communists knew how to use

the science of folklore and to enable its functioning as to define the ethnic-nation

principle of the nineteenth century.[7] Karnoouh writes that the science of folklore is

addressed to a special category of citizens, the deracinate peasants living in the cities for

whom a single neo-tradition was replacing the myriad regional, social, political and

religious differences.[8]The ethnographic museums become the modern representations of

the village matrix, the place of a new laic cult of the ethnic-nation.[9] In the museum, there

is a process of reification and laicization of peasants' objects and daily rites for the new

cult of ethnic-nation.[10] In the name of the nation-state the art museum or the ethnographic

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[5] Kazimierz Mazan, *National Museums in Poland*, in Peter Aronsson and Gabriella Elgenius eds., *Building National Museums in Europe 1750–2010, Conference proceedings from EuNaMus, European National Museums: Identity Politics, the Uses of the Past and the European Citizen,* EuNaMus, Report No. 1 (Bologna 28-30 April 2011), last accessed February 11, 2012, http://www.ep.liu.se/ecp_home/index.en. aspx?issue=064. , 667.

[6] Karnoouh, ibid., 125.

[7] Ibid., 128.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Ibid., 150.

[10] For example, the purging of grotesque and sexual scenes from peasants' rituals by the ethnographers is a representation of folklore that has lost the archaic essence of the ritual-representation, ibid. 150, 154.

museum contain objects that remind about the presence of an imaginary peasant society which is "sterilized, cleaned, good, authentic."[11]

Entire narratives are constructed around the contrast between capitalist and socialist fetishes, "furniture, interior decoration, clothes, the staple food of the shortage economy" contrast to the abundance of capitalist products.[12] Moreover, in both Poland and Romania, this contrast rests on the dichotomy between "normality" and "abnormality," on a polarized discourse in which contrary opinions are immediately delegated to the pathological.[13] The politicians' preference for dichotomy around the idea of "normality" joined with the Churches' preference for Manichean discourse. Even though evidence suggests that society becomes more pluralistic, the state and the Church persist in exclusionary practices in their attempt to homogenize all those elements that are incompatible with the exceptional image of the fusion of Church and nation.

Civil Religion in Museums and Schools in Poland

Kazimierz Mazan distinguished four stages in the evolution of national museums in Poland correlating with the geopolitical situation in Eastern Europe. Most of the

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[11] Ibid., 163-164

[12] Pobłocki, in Sarkisova and Apor, ibid., 192.

[13] The concept of "normality" appeared in Poland in 1980 to serve as "a template for the envisioned post-socialist order," see Pobłocki, in Sarkisova and Apor, ibid., 193. In Romania this concept gained more terrain after 2004, when President Băsescu came to power, and introduced a previous idea that preoccupied only tiny intellectual circles, which under its many formulas it announced the need for "return to normality," "appeal to normality," "the rights to normality," "the reestablishment of normality," and even "normality measures," as synonym to the austerity measures of 2010. All these formulations deeply connected to the idea of socialism as a plague that lurches in the post-socialist Romanian society, a society that can be redeemed only by lustration, or by the "minimal state" as the opposite of the collectivistic state,. See *Realitatea.net*, "Măsurile anunțate de Traian Băsescu sunt de normalitate, nu de sacrificiu, spune Valeriu Stoica" [The measures announced by Traian Băsescu are measures of normality, not of sacrifice, tells Valeriu Stoica] (May7, 2010), last accessed March 1, 2012, http://www.realitatea.net/masurile-anuntate-de-traian-basescu-sunt-de-normalitate-nu-de-sacrificiu-spune-valeriu-stoica_712566.html.

museums in Poland started from private initiative, as the National Museum of Krakow

during the first "stage of partition" of Poland from 1795 to 1918, but during the second

stage, the interwar period, the state wanted to impose a "Polish spirit" over the territories

that were not entirely homogenous in terms of ethnicity. The new acquired independence

from 1918 to 1939, facilitated the creation of large centralized state agencies which

influenced museums to adopt a more nationalistic path.[14] The third stage, called

realsocializmus, from 1945 to 1989 was characterized by the nearly complete

nationalization and mythologization of history, and even though rejected by Karl Marx,

nationalism was a means to complete the Polonization of the former German lands

(Recovered Territories), in western Poland. The permanent presence of Poles in these

territories needed to be told and retold, even if it often went against reality. Mazan argued

that former German museums became Polish national museums by simply being

relabeled, and their collections were obviously irrelevant to the idea that these territories

always belonged to Poland.[15]

This situation changed in the new democratic stage after 1989, when the state

gradually relieved the museums from ideological control but the state nonetheless

maintained national dogmatism and central policies at its core.[16] Mazan described the

national saga unfolding in national museums:

> In fact, from the ideological beginnings of museums, their main function in Polish
> territory was to demonstrate the national identity of the community that called
> them to existence. Through a synthetic narrative, woven of a series of art and craft
> objects, historical memorabilia, as well as collections of archaeological and

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[14] Mazan, in Aronsson and Elgenius eds., ibid.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Ibid., 668.

ethnographic finds, museums have always mirrored the origin and identity of the collective, exhibited selected traits which, in the collectivity's members' opinion, make them stand out from among neighboring groups. [17]

There were nine national museums in Poland, three of them were in major sites in Krakow, Warsaw and Poznań. [18] These museums could not be properly called national museums but rather galleries since they narrate about and mostly host collections of art. [19] After 1998, only three major museums remained in the care and supervision of the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage. [20] In 1879, in the relatively liberal Austrian partition of Poland, the National Museum of Krakow was inaugurated, even though the exact meaning of national was vague in the epoch. It could have meant simply "wide accessible" or "public." [21] The National Museum in Warsaw, was the former Museum of Fine Arts, and did not carry the same national tone, if anything, it only reminded about the obstacles that a cultural institution has to overcome against the Russians in order to reach its potential to influence the society. [22] With all the state's efforts to demonstrate the true national role fulfilled by such institutions after the 1918 moment, in Krakow's Museum for example, there is no evidence of a policy to make acquisitions from the

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[17] Ibid.

[18] The city of Poznań is host to the "Proletaryat Café," a place mythologizing the socialist Poland republic, see Izabella Main, "How is Communism Displayed? Exhibitions and Museums of Communism in Poland," in Oksana Sarkisova and Péter Apor. *Past for the Eyes: East European Representations of Communism in Cinema and Museums after 1989,* (Budapest: Central European UP, 2008), 371.

[19] Ibid., this was also my impression after visiting The National Museum in Warsaw in 2011, when instead of the expected display of the Polish national saga I found strange to see so many art collections of German origin and several temporary art exhibitions from abroad, including ancient Egypt, Greece and Rome.

[20] Mazan, in Aronsson and Elgenius eds., ibid., 670.

[21] Ibid., 672.

[22] Ibid., 673.

whole territory of Poland or any other proof of contributions from people other than those in the Austrian partition.[23]

The purpose of such museification[24] after the independence was simply to reintegrate the three separated provinces after 123 years of being partitioned, and make them appear unified despite their differences. The "nationalization" of museums actually started more violently after the WWII, and the lead role attributed to the former Museum of Fine Arts in Warsaw was the expression of the idea of nation and nation-state that is in charge of the country and its ethnics.[25] The Warsaw museum was even less qualified than the Krakow museum to represent a true national museum, but politicians believed that it is proper to declare it as representing the entire Polish nation. Mazan argues that after the westward relocation of Poland after WWII, the museification of the Recovered Territories was competing and probably winning with the general Polonization of the region. The fate of former Polish museums in the east that were now lost to USSR, as those in Vilnius (Wilno) and Lvov (Lwów), became entangled with their new hosts country, but some collections were sent into the Polish new museums of Wroclaw (Breslau), Gdansk (Danzig) and Szczecin (Stettin) into the Recovered Territories.[26]

This enterprise to symbolically appropriate the western territory was one of the most important and one of the most brutal intrusions in the life of both the native

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[23] Ibid.

[24] For the museification of the world, and the idea of museum, that includes UNESCO World Heritage sites, protected ethnic groups, etc., as post-modern capitalist temples and pilgrimage sites see Giorgio Agamben, *Profanations* (New York: Zone, 2007), 83-85.

[25] Mazan, in Aronsson and Elgenius eds., ibid., 674.

[26] Ibid., 675.

Germans and the relocated Polish.[27] Mazan recounts a report from the Ministry of Culture

and Art from 1953 which clearly showed the extent to which politicians attempted to

plant national ideas in the "Recovered Territories:"

> […] the task of emphasizing and conserving in the public consciousness of the
> Polish character of the Recovered Territories, found its best expression in actions
> carried out by museums in nearly all centers of regions, where an autochthonic
> problem remains. These tactical instructions were verbal in the form for the first
> half year, and were given to museums alongside close scrutiny of their local
> activities. [28]

The Polish Piast dynasty of Middle Ages and historical relics of this time were used in

museums to amplify the feeling of Polishness and to contrast it with the Germans'

presence, which was usually associated one-sided with the Nazis. Thus, history was

reinterpreted according to the present in black and white, old versus modern and bad

versus good, and everything that could have upset the Soviets was erased from the

memory of these museums, including the figure of Pilsudski.[29]

Since 1989, nineteen museums have been closed or had their named changed due

to ideological reasons and the new policy of de-Communization, which was the exposure

of communist ideology.[30] Museums of Lenin, of Revolutionary Movement History, and

some museums affiliated with industrial centers were among them, and others, as the

propagandistic museums in Warsaw were included into the Museum of Independence.

What struck Mazan and I when visiting Polish museums was the loose connection

between the museums' collections and the name and profile of such museums. In

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[27] Ibid.

[28] Ibid., 676.

[29] Ibid., 678.

[30] Ibid.

addition, the former national museums of Recovered Territories were simply downgraded to regional museums and even tough temporary exhibitions replaced the old ideologically-heavy exhibitions, the enthusiasm of bringing new collections from home and abroad, and receiving donations for the purpose of demystifying history was unmatched since the interwar period.[31] Since 1991, when the *Act on the Organizing and Conducting of Cultural Activities* passed through parliament, museums gained more freedom in designing their role and activities while at the same time they were opened to the free market competition, and bound to the rules of efficiency.[32]

Even though there were fears that former national museums would tend to lose the national aspect and become fragmentary, not even the three museums that retained the name "national" had been on the politicians' agenda in the past twenty years since the fall of Communism.[33] Mazan identified two main reasons for the lack of a new national agenda, first, the state's cultural policy is too much in line with the former ethnic nationalism to change anything;[34] and second, there is still confusion over the new course to be taken.[35] Especially since 2004, when Poland joined the EU, there is a new political will to connect the history of Poland to a national museum, as expressed by the right-wing Law and Justice Party (PiS). Therefore, the Polish History Museum, which is to be erected in the city center of Warsaw, is paradoxically operating without objects and

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[31] Ibid., 679.

[32] Ibid.

[33] Ibid.

[34] The director of the National Museum in Warsaw (2010-2011), Piotr Piotrowski, has argued about the need to reconfigure the museum, to set it back to its "European roots" but he also acknowledged these roots to be more cosmopolitan and more minorities oriented. Ibid., 683.

[35] Ibid., 680.

without a building.[36] Polish national museums are only nominally national. Their initial roles, their present collections and their continual name changes seem to be rather under the auspices of transitory political intervention.

The Internet Museum of People's Poland started in 1999 is an open museum where everybody can send their own items and place them on the website. The exhibition is divided into five parts in which "the Collection" contains thousand of scanned photos of objects, including piggy banks, paper bags with May Day slogans and other Communist gadgets.[37] Perhaps one of the main qualities is that the items lack a narrative that would eventually reify the socialist past, as is the lack of access to subsequent brochures, souvenirs, and organized discussions.[38] While the "Proletaryat Café" and the Internet Museum are private non-historical enterprises, other proposals such as the Socland Museum of Communism in Poland are more or less politicized proposals. The Socland, standing for Socialist Land, is projected to be located in the Palace of Culture and Science in Warsaw, and is the best known museum of Communism in Poland. The website's first introductory words are impregnated with nationalism, claiming both the Poland was the first to dispose of Communism and presenting it as imposed by foreigners over the Poles, who had nothing to do with it.[39]Moreover, there is no mention of other people but Poles living in Poland.

The leaders of the Law and Justice Party, (PiS), a political party which took power in 2005 with support from Radio Marya, sustained the creation of a Museum of

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[36] Ibid.

[37] Main, in Sarkisova and Apor, ibid., 378-379.

[38] Ibid., 379.

[39] Ibid., 383.

Freedom, that will showcase Poland's long road towards freedom from the unique

freedoms of the First Polish Republic in the sixteenth century to the Polish victory over

Communism.[40] Izabella Main consideres this project to have no real chances of being

constructed and describes the project as "nationalistic thinking about history and recalls

the messianic vision of the Polish nation in history."[41]Not only was this project

nationalistically oriented but it also carried the agenda called "politics of history," an

interpretation of history according to national principles. Politicians belonging to PiS,

Tomasz Merta and Robert Kostro, which have authored history and civil education

textbooks. and others such as Dariusz Gawin, claimed that patriotism needs to be

reevaluated, and that the pessimism and self-accusatory attitudes of the Poles need to be

counterbalanced by more positive attitudes about their history and their past. They

claimed that the deficiencies of awareness of one's identity harm not only the national but

also the international community, as in international agreements.[42] Apparently they

criticized the lack of cohesion displayed by their nationals and showed that by opening

museums similar to the House of Terror in Budapest, national history would be

popularized more easily.[43] The "politics of history" program triggered harsh criticism for

being a PiS political proposal from historians and journalists Robert Traba and Paweł

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[40] Ibid., 391.

[41] Ibid.

[42] This idea is not far from how the religion and politics in the USA have shaped its foreign policy, as for example when this policy, borrowing heavily from the crusades, materialized in President's William McKinley decision to Christianize the Philippines. See Dennis J. Dunn, *Religion & Nationalism in Eastern Europe & the Soviet Union: Selected Papers from the Third World Congress for Soviet and East European Studies, Washington, D.C., 30 October-4 November 1985* (Boulder: L. Rienner, 1987), 8.

[43] Main, in Sarkisova and Apor, ibid., 392.

Wroński, but also attracted some historians like Andrzej Nowak who claimed that the project would only be a rightful counter-propaganda to the Communist cant.[44]

In 2006, the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage announced the opening of a Museum of Polish History with the specific task to "undertake civil and patriotic education…emphasizing exceptional, specific and fascinating elements of Polish history."[45] Traba noticed that even before the PiS won the elections there was a great deal of politicizing over history, specifically visible in the activities and the establishment of the Institute of National Remembrance (IPN).[46] The IPN was ad hoc established to popularize recent history and to lustrate mainly public office holders who were previous collaborators of the security services. It has also held numerous exhibitions among which "The State against the Church," and it is a well-funded organization that helps producing and reproducing a particular vision of Poland's history and of the national past.[47] After 2005, the PiS party collaborated with the IPN to cleanse the last remaining communist names of streets and squares and to replace them.[48]

Next to the national museum, where the most unitary image of the nation is deployed for the public, the closest and probably the most influential means of transmitting this unitary image is the school. The school has a tremendous influence on the young minds and especially the elementary school and the gymnasium seem the

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[44] Ibid., 393.

[45] Poland has an extensive scout association called the Polish Scouting and Guiding Association (Związek Harcerstwa Polskiego) which to a foreign eye resembles a typical crusaders' paramilitary religious organization, last accessed, March 1, 2012, http://www.zhp.pl/.

[46] Main, in Sarkisova and Apor, ibid., 394-395.

[47] Ibid., 396.

[48] Ibid., 397.

perfect media to popularize visions and myths about the nation and Church's role as a redoubt of faith and nation. Elżbieta and Zdzislaw Mach argued that where religious minorities are strong the education system has to accommodate to them but where minorities are weak they are most likely ignored by the dominant group.[49] For the homogenous present-day Polish society, the presence of any minority, religious or ethnic, in a class of students in school might benefit the rest of the student's view on tolerance and pluralism, and if the teacher is willing to help it is all the better.[50] "Little tolerance and widespread ignorance" described the Poles' opinions on religious minorities.[51] This was especially the case of those Poles who did not live in large cities like Warsaw and Krakow. After 1989 larger cities became more heterogeneous through migration and also through a discovering of forgotten identities among Poles. Many people in Krakow rediscovered ancient roots erased by the uniformity politics of the Communist regime. Jews, Protestants and Orthodox but also non-traditional new religions are more and more present. Poles tend to reject this diversity by labeling it sectarianism, and argue that it corrupts the young people. [52] While Poles accept foreigners as non-Catholics they have real troubles understanding those Poles who are not Catholics, which immediately become foreigners, atheists or Communists.[53] The PRCC who hoped to see the Polish nation return to Catholicsm was not foreign of the intolerance towards the non-Catholics.

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[49] Elżbieta Mach and Zdzislaw Mach, "Religious Minorities and Exclusion in Education in Present-Day Poland," in *Church-state Relations in Central and Eastern Europe* (Krakow: Zakład Wydawniczy "NOMOS," 1999), 403.

[50] Ibid., 404.

[51] Ibid., 406.

[52] Ibid., 407.

[53] Ibid.

Some Church officials resorting to the polar speech used under the old regime, expressed anti-Semitic attitudes and identified non-Catholics to Jewish conspiracy.

All public schools in Poland, primary and secondary, have the obligation to offer religious education in their curriculum. While attendance is not compulsory an application is needed to request exemption from these classes and it seems only natural for students to take religious education. Those who refuse are under severe hardship especially if they are a very small minority, and seen as "morally and politically suspicious."[54]Moreover, when school sometimes require an application not to participate in classes it is a "flagrant case of breaking the Constitution which guarantees the right to remain silent in matters of religion."[55] In addition the law requires that there need to be at least seven pupils for the school to be able to accommodate separate religious instruction for them, fact which in practice is rarely or never attainable as Elżbieta and Zdzislaw Mach noticed.[56]

While people in Poland know about other religions they do not know that pluralism may be present in Poland and considering the dominance of Catholics, it is hard to imagine that there are such people in Poland and they usually imagine them as living in another world.[57] Elżbieta and Zdzislaw Mach argues that it is not the statistical number that matters, which is very low, but the sociological importance of any minority, for the development of pluralist ideas in Poland. The low number of religious minorities in Poland translates in tangible cases of religious discrimination in school. Directors tend to

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[54] Ibid., 408.

[55] Ibid., 409

[56] Ibid., 410.

[57] Ibid., 414.

hide that there is religious discrimination ad professors tend to pretend that religious differences exist.[58] Moreover, the whole school curricula is "Polocentric" and nationalistic. Lessons about other countries, other cultures and especially of other religions is severely limited. Only the religious curriculum considers other religions but it is clearly in favor of Catholicism. Even if a more comparative approach is desirable, Elżbieta and Zdzislaw Mach found that no school teachers taught a more comprehensive view on religion, instead:

> The curriculum does not distinguish between information about the religion (identification of principal figures and symbols, presentation of dogmas and history) and the participating believers' approach combined with moral aspects. Children are asked not only to recognize religious figures, prophets and saints but also say why they love them.[59]

Unlike the countries of Western Europe, most private schools in Poland are not confessional and they do not display religious signs such as crosses. These schools mostly teach a secular humanistic approach to religion and teach tolerance of diversity and many foreigners and minorities decide to send their children to these schools instead of public schools. Nevertheless, religious minorities simply send their children to state schools and keep them in religion classes, because they have little options and because they do not want to enter in conflict.[60] Discrimination based on religion in Polish schools is not a significant problem, but the lack of any "sensitivity" towards "others" certainly is a problem. Polish parents might ask other children than their own, why or when have they attended the Catholic Communion, and at the end, they may be surprised by a

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[58] Ibid., 414-415.

[59] Ibid., 416.

[60] Ibid., 417.

negative answer and say "why not?" School organization around Catholicism leaves less room for religious diversity and minorities are considered "marginal or conflict-generating."[61] Even if the Church's promotion of religious classes does not actively pursue discrimination, the aim of teachers in school is not to teach about differences but to maintain homogeneity in society, which in the light of more diversity it seems more and more illusionary.

The banal nationalism of this nostalgic mode of representing the nation's past and present in museums, or reproducing it in schools through education or rather lack of proper education, and through the presence of icons in classrooms, may switch for a more assertive nationalism. The Church and conservative politicians always report the need of the Polish society to return to morals. So was the need for a providential person to clean the streets of Warsaw,[62] a "Polish Giuliani," impersonated by Lech Kaczyński, the "sheriff of Warsaw."[63] In the 1990s decade, Polish society seemed culturally divided between the symbolic narratives that contrasted reified Socialism with reified Capitalism.[64] The 2000s decade was marked by the election of Lech Kaczyński, of the PiS Party, who became president with the help of religious extremist Radio Marya in 2005. In 2010, Kaczyński died in an air crash in Smolensk, with numerous others

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[61] Ibid., 418.

[62] Polish film, starting even from 1980, was trying to interpret the post-socialist crime by ascribing criminality to the socialist past, in Pobłocki, in Sarkisova and Apor, ibid., 212.

[63] Pobłocki, in Sarkisova and Apor, ibid., 207, Kaczyński became minister of justice and then Poland's president in 2005 and it is now part of the Polish pantheon of civil religion, since his death is interpreted as a murder, same as the killing of the *Solidarity* chaplain, Father Jerzy Popiełuszko, the *Solidarity* martyr, both victims of foreigners, Communists and Russians. Subsequently, he is said to have died as a martyr in the enemy territory, in Russia, by trying to defend Poland, and he was buried, not without controversies, in the Wawel cathedral next to Piłsudski.

[64] Pobłocki, in Sarkisova and Apor, ibid., 212.

government members when he was visiting Russia for commemorating the Polish victims in the Katyn masacre. If the first decade of post-communism was characterized by the "war of crosses"[65] which pitted the Catholics against the Jewish symbolic presence at Auschwitz, the next decade was characterized by the ascension to power of conservatives of the PiS Party and a revival of religious nationalism occasioned by the mysterious death of Kaczyński.

Civil Religion in Museums and Schools in Romania

The logic of dichotomies between the communists and non-communist, between genuine Romanians and foreigners, invaders and autochthones loomed largely over the post-Communist Romanian cultural politics. The Communist past[66] interpreted as "communist tragedy,"[67] is disproportionately present in memorials, monuments and memorial–museums in Romania.[68] The Peasant Museum in Bucharest or the Sighet Memorial, which is "the most elaborate visual discourse on Romanian Communism," may strike their visitors with the "abundance of crosses and other religious symbols and

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[65] The construction of hundreds of crosses near the site of Holocaust, see Geneviève Zubrzycki, *The Crosses of Auschwitz: Nationalism and Religion in Post-communist Poland* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2006), 199.

[66] Cristea and Radu-Bucurenci note that Romanians preffer the term Communism instead of Socialism, see Gabriela Cristea and Simina Radu-Bucurenci, "Raising the Cross. Exorcizing Romania's Communist Past in Museums, Memorials and Monuments," in Oksana Sarkisova and Péter Apor, *Past for the Eyes: East European Representations of Communism in Cinema and Museums after 1989* (Budapest: Central European UP, 2008), 275.

[67] The opposite interpretation, or Communist nostalgia is also present even though less visible than anti-Communism, for example there is a hotel in Craiova , an important city in south Romania, called the RSR (Romanian Socialist Republic) which neighbors a church and a memorial dedicated to the tragic death of Ceaușescu, see ibid.

[68] Ibid.

metaphors embedded in or framing the visual discourse on Communism."[69]Romania's

recent past that covers almost half a century of Communist rule seems not to be a relevant

topic of the national history and is mostly regarded as something foreign and

unrepresentative for Romania.[70] If anti-Communist discourse was at best negligible

during the half century of Communist rule, it paradoxically became, at least at the elite's

level, the emblematic discourse of post-Communist Romania.[71] Gabriela Cristea and

Simina Radu-Bucurenci explained that such approach to Communism sees an unfortunate

segment of history as a:

> Devilish undertaking to be finally defeated by a proper exorcism. Thus, the anti-communist discourse and the public discourse of the Romanian Orthodox Church became strongly allied since both appeal to national feelings and frustrations.[72]

In CEE societies, the powerful role played by museums in constructing

consciousness, and especially in constructing a new type of "collective self-

consciousness" was essential in the debates over the recent past. The museum worker and

the visitors are "the priest" and "the believers" respectively. The believers' reverential

attitudes while stepping carefully in the museum precincts are very close to attitudes of

the church believers, especially when the museum is not set as an "agora" for debate

about the truth but is a temple where one can receive a unique Truth.[73] Cristea and Radu-

Bucurenci argue that the museums in Romania function more like temples of Truth rather

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[69] Ibid.

[70] Ibid., 276.

[71] Ibid.

[72] Ibid.

[73] Ibid., 277.

than spaces for debate, meeting or discussion about what the truth possibly is.[74] The

recent presidential discourse delivered in the Romanian Parliament and condemning the

Communism was regarded by many as a sacred event, and the attempts to disrupt the

solemnity of the moment were interpreted as desecrating it. The president clearly stated

that the system to which he personally belonged was criminal and expressed the need for

Romanians to rebuild their identity on a clean field:

> As head of the Romanian state, I condemn explicitly and categorically the
> communist system in Romania, from its establishment, on dictatorial basis in
> 1944-1947 to its collapse in December 1989. Taking into account the realities
> presented in the Report, I state with full responsibility: the communist regime in
> Romania was illegitimate and criminal.[75]

The speech relied on the report made by the Presidential Commission for the

Analysis of Communist Dictatorship in Romania, which was ad-hoc established to

deliver such report.[76] The president took the anti-communist speech, which initially did

not break out of some intellectual circles like the Group for Social Dialogue, and brought

it to the center of Romanian politics, a tactic that infused new life in the radical

Manichean[77] approach that characterizes a good part of Romanian politics. Therefore, the

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[74] The two authors claim that in Romania, the presidential anti-communist victimization discourse is making the opening of an "agora museum" about communism even less likely than before, in ibid. 277-278.

[75] Speech by Romania's President, Traian Băsescu, quoted in Cristea and Radu-Bucurenci, in Sarkisova and Apor, ibid.

[76] Ibid., 279.

[77] Ibid., about the perpetual representation of Romanian politics as a fight between Good and Evil; see Adrian-Paul Iliescu, "Maniheism Politic si Eșec Instituțional," [Political Manichaeism and Institutional Failure] in Adrian-Paul Iliescu eds., *Mentalități și Instituții: Carențe De Mentalitate și înapoiere Instituțională în România Modernă*, [*Mentalities and Institutions: Deficiencies of Mentality and Institutional Backwardness in Modern Romania*] (București: Ars Docendi, 2002).

mainstream interpretation of the politicians[78] in Băsescu's mandate tended to read the Communist period as something imported, belonging to "them," the Soviets, not to "us," and used the same nationalistic language to assert that Communism had nothing to do with "normal people" who as a result are not responsible for the harms of Communism.[79] The president further characterized this period as an "opened wound whose time has come to be closed forever," and the process was compared to a healing process after a long sickness.[80]

The symbol of the cross became the tool for exorcizing this Communist past.[81] Between 1991 and 2004, some eighty-two monuments were built to commemorate the struggle against communism, and the forty-five years of Communism were depicted in bleak images as a period when "Romania became a country of organized crime, of torture chambers, of detention and extermination camps."[82] The majority of these monuments are either in the shape of the cross, or adorned with the sign of the cross, or the map of "Greater Romania."[83]These maps of Romania frequently display crosses sprinkled across the country which symbolically rebury the bodies of the victims of Communism, which

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[78] Aside from a few intellectuals and politicians a majority of Romanians consider Communism as good, a recent survey shows that some 60 percent of Romanians consider Communism as something good but bad in practice, or rather something good and also good in practice, see CSOP (Center for Probing of the Public Opinion), "Atitudini şi opinii despre regimul comunist din România. Sondaj de opinie publică," [Attitudes and opinions about the communist regime in Romania. Public survey], (November 15, 2010), last accessed March 1, 2012, http://media.hotnews.ro/media_server1/document-2010-12-9-8113616-0-perceptiile-actuale-ale-romanilor-asupra-regimului-comunist.pdf.

[79] Cristea and Radu-Bucurenci, in Sarkisova and Apor, 280.

[80] Traian Băsescu quoted in ibid., 281.

[81] Cristea and Radu-Bucurenci, in Sarkisova and Apor, ibid.

[82] Moskow was responsible for this situation since it sustained the Romanian Communist Party, see ibid., 281-282.

[83] Ibid., 282.

had no Christian burial, and the victims of Communist are rightfully placed along those of the victims of the two world wars.[84] The anti-communist discourse adopted by the current President and by the ROC was previously only characteristic to a small minority of people who were ardent anti-Communists, the Greek-Catholics and the Hungarians, but it became a mainstream of the Romanian politics only from 2004 when Băsescu gradually became anti-Communist. [85] Many criticized Băsescu's short memory regarding lustration and the condemnation of Communism which he previously opposed.

In April 2004 the authorities decided to dismantle the Communist Heroes monument in Carol Park in Bucharest and to get rid of the remains of former Communist leaders held inside the monument, of which a few were heads of state, as Gheorgiu-Dej and Petru Groza. Behind the decision there was no civic initiative and no state or government initiative, but it was coincidentally a decision of the ROC, quickly and generously accepted by the state's representatives, to build the giant Cathedral of National Redemption in lieu of the monument in the park.[86] The reaction from civil society was prompt, many people gathered in the park as they wanted to preserve one of the few Bucharest's green oasis.[87] By 2007, the architect Augustin Ioan mentioned that the "religious symbolism suffocates the memory discourse of the monuments and memorials of Communism."[88] Since only Christian symbols seemed fit to oppose the Red Devil of Communism, the "nationalist and victimizing" discourse shaped accordingly

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[84] Ibid.

[85] Ibid., 284.

[86] Ibid.

[87] Ibid. 285.

[88] Augustin Ioan, in ibid., 286.

along the lines of religious language, as a battle between the forces of "evil" and the forces of "good."[89]

In the case of Romania, Simina Bădică follows the road of national museums in from the centralization moment in the Communist regime to their intense *nationalization* towards the last two decades before the 1989 revolution[90]. Bădică[91] writes that there are currently 25 national museums in Romania, ranging from history to geology, art, petroleum industry, fire-fighters, natural history, and others, mostly called national after the 1990, when they saw a financial opportunity in their name being upgraded to national[92]. In 1864, after the replacement of the native Prince Alexandru Ioan-Cuza with the German Prince Carol I, Carol took the initiative to create central institutions after the western model of nation-state, and one of these was the Romanian National Museum.

In 1918, Romania gained new territories and included some 25 percent non-Romanians in Greater Romania, and consequently the state started to aggressively promote nation-building institutions like a unified school system, universities, and not last museums. After 1944, when Soviets entered Romania and especially after 1947 when monarch Mihai I was forced to resign his throne, the word "national" was compromised and it seemed to have lost its vigor until the last two decades of the Ceausescu's regime,

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[89] Ibid.

[90] Simina Bădică, *National Museums in Romania*, in Peter Aronsson and Gabriella Elgenius eds., *Building National Museums in Europe 1750–2010.Conference proceedings from EuNaMus, European National Museums: Identity Politics, the Uses of the Past and the European Citizen,* EuNaMus Report No. 1 (Bologna 28-30 April 2011), last modified February 11, 2012, http://www.ep.liu.se/ecp_home/index.en.aspx?issue=064, 713.

[91] Bădică seems to persist in working with some streotypes, as her formula describing Ceausescu's use o nationalism : "kitsch but succesful nationalism," when in my opinion Polish nationalism or other Eastern European nationalisms were no less kitsch nor less successful.

[92] Bădică, in Aronsson and Elgenius eds., ibid., 715.

1970- 1989. Bădică finds five significant steps in the evolution of national museums in Romania, first is the 1834 to 1900 period, called the "cabinet of curiosities"; from 1900 to 1945 the historical-ethnographical period; from 1945 to a968 the republican international period; the 1968 to 1989 nationalistic period; and finally the post-1989, democratic period.[93]

The first national museum was arguably the collection of Mihalache Ghica, brother of Wallachian prince Alexandru Ghica, who made his personal collection available for the public after Saint Sava College in Bucharest managed to host it inside its walls. Even if it was named the National History and Antiquities Museum, it became famous as the National Museum[94]. Backed by his brother, the ruler of Wallachia, Mihalache urged the gathering of all antiquities from the Romanian territory into the national museum, which after many donations of various origins split its collection in 1864 into the Antiquities Museum, and the National History Museum. The Antiquities Museum slowly became a history museum but the Romanian section history was just a part among various curiosities and it still lacked a proper building.

The National Museum was created in 1906 by Alexandru Tzigara-Samurcas, which emphasized a national Romanian historical-ethnographical character focused on peasant art. After 1950, in the third period the national component is obscured and words such as *republican* and *central* replace the old paradigm[95]. The Museum of the Workers' Party was set as a model for all the other museums in the country and was to remind of

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[93] Ibid., 716-717.

[94] Ibid., 717.

[95] Ibid., 718.

the national history from the oldest times to the present without ignoring the neighboring

countries' contributions to Romania's history. In the fourth period of nationalism, the

catch phrase seemed to be, *the complete circuit*, a formula behind which stayed the

holistic ideology according to which every museum should abandon its local or narrow

interests and should promote Romanian national history in its entirety. In 1973, some 11

million visitors were guests of the 331 museums found in Romania, meaning that over a

half of the total population was more or less convinced or enforced to visit them[96]. The

National History Museum was launched in 1972 by Nicolae Ceausescu under the name of

History Museum of the Romanian Socialist Republic, but it was Ceausescu that set the

profile of the museum as a place showing the saga of the Romanian nation[97]. After 1998,

with the opening of democratic debates around national history and national identity,

there was confusion on which way forward should Romanian history take? Eventually,

representations of Romania and the disputes around it ended up in glossing over the 50

years of Communism as if they never existed, and in treating this period as a plague in a

form of "organized amnesia" as Bădică tells us.[98] The contemporary history collections

were simply locked away and by 2010, there was no permanent exhibition in the National

History Museum. However, one museum that opened in 1990, The Romanian Peasant

Museum, and the Sighet Museum opened in 1993 in the former prison with the same

name, have broken out in the massive silence that arose after 1990. Bădică writes that

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[96] Ibid., 719.

[97] Ibid.

[98] Ibid., 720.

after 1989, the ghost of Communism was purged but the specter of nationalism remained, as Romanians did not admit national guilt:

> The dilemma concerning the Communist past was not the only heavy silence in post-1989 Romanian museums. Although Communist ideology was rejected after 1989, the nationalism that characterized its last decades was somehow preserved. The proud narrative of heroic deeds of the Romanian people over the centuries, a narrative strongly supported and propagated by Ceausescu's national Communism, continued to be the master narrative in Romanian museums. Subjects such as the Romanian Holocaust, the disappearance of Romanian Jewry, the atrocities perpetrated by the Romanian army on the Eastern front during World War Two, the discrimination and slavery of Roma people, the Romanisation policies suffered by Hungarian ethnics are among the issues that no museum attempts to exhibit. For a trained ear, the silences in Romanian museums are sometimes louder than the stories that are voiced. [99]

The Romanian Peasant Museum was used in the post-communist narrative, and in 1991, Horia Bernea[100] called ROC clergy to literary exorcise the bad spirits, and as one eyewitness recounts, "they flooded everything in holy water."[101] In 1996, the Romanian Peasant Museum received the European Museum of the Year award due to some innovations as numerous expositions on the streets accompanied by street musicians.[102] The first exhibition of this museum in 1993 titled *The Cross*, signaled the total obnubilation of the Communist period and the return to the interwar period "where 'real' Romanian history and identity was supposed to be found."[103] Horia Bernea[104] said that

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[99] Ibid.

[100] Bernea was the museum's director from 1990 to 2000.

[101] Cristea and Radu-Bucurenci, in Sarkisova and Apor, ibid., 299-289.

[102] Bădică, in Aronsson and Elgenius, ibid., 724; see also Cristea and Radu-Bucurenci, in Sarkisova and Apor, ibid., 290.

[103] Bădică, in Aronsson and Elgenius, ibid., 724.

[104] Horia Bernea remembered that the sign of the cross has always followed him; Horia Bernea's father was coincidentally a member of the Iron Guard, the interwar extreme right-wing political movement, see Cristea and Radu-Bucurenci, in Sarkisova and Apor, ibid., 292.

the Cross was not intended to symbolize the victory over the communism but it was a sign of peace.[105] The Cross as a sign of peace or normality was also related to the Christian dimension of the Romanian peasant, traceable in the interwar period.[106] The myth of the pristine interwar period, when Romania equaled if not surpassed Greece's economy, when it was the world's number one petroleum producer, and called "the breadbasket of Europe," contrasts with the reality of Romania's backwardness, accumulation of gaps with the rest of Europe, or unusually high infant mortality rates.[107] Communism only drew back for forty-five years the "profoundly European," Christian Romanian peasant.[108] The pristine image of Romania lays especially in the figure of the peasant, and the scourge of peasants' forced collectivization was displayed in a room in the Romanian Peasant Museum[109] called "The Plague." This "plague" shows and concomitantly hides important aspects of recent history, for example, it failed to recognize that approximately eighty percent of Romania's intellectuality of the post-1989 age were sons of peasants schooled free by the Communist regime.[110]

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[105] Ibid., 290-291.

[106] Ibid., 292.

[107] See Lucian Boia, *History and Myth in Romanian Consciousness* (Budapest: Central European UP, 2001); Bogdan Murgescu, *România şi Europa. Acumularea decalajelor economice (1500-2010)* [*Romania and Europe. The Accumulation of Economic Gaps (1500-2010)*] (Iaşi: Polirom, 2010) and Luminiţa Iacob, *Modernizare-europenism:România de la Cuza Vodă la Carol al II-lea. Ritmul şi Strategia Modernizării* [*Modernism-Europeanism: (Romania from Cuza Voda to Carol II. The Rhythm and Strategy of Modernization*] vol. 1(Iaşi: Editura Universităţii Al. Ioan Cuza, 1995).

[108] Radu-Bucurenci, in Sarkisova and Apor, ibid., 292-293.

[109] The museum offers a virtual tour in Romanian and English, http://tour.muzeultaranuluiroman. ro/index_en.html.

[110] Boia, ibid.

The fate of the History Museum of the Romanian Communist Party offers the best example of the evolution of Romanian politics in the last decades. This museum moved from the internationalist tone and expositions before the 1966 nationalist approach to the emphasizing of national history as a teleological narrative that necessarily leads to the formation of Socialist Romania.[111] As a result of this move, in 1972 Ceausescu opened the National History Museum, which was three times larger than History Museum of the Communist Party and which tried to bind the history of the Romanian Communist Party with national history from its very beginnings tens of thousands of years ago in full accord with the protochronist theory. After 1989, this museum closed its gates in the 2002 for restorations and only left the "Thesaurus" section opened for public.

The Sighet Memorial-Museum to the Victims of Communism and to the Resistance was established by the civil society instead of the state, and its location at the northwestern periphery of Romania contrast with all the other national museums located in Bucharest. This museum testifies for the sacrifice and resistance of Romanians during the Communist period and through this makes a strong claim on national identity.[112] The importance of this museum only grew with the official condemnation of Communism in 2006, and its narrative seems to have imposed itself on the political speech, not apropos morality, but regarding gaining in political capital. Its location in a prison, with cells exhibiting the plight of peasants, priests, intellectuals and major political figures that died in that prison was a straightforward attempt to deal with the recent past. One of the first exhibition rooms was called "Repression against the Church" and shows the repression

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[111] Bădică, in Aronsson and Elgenius, ibid., 726.

[112] Ibid., 728.

against the Orthodox, Greek and Roman-Catholic Churches. Ana Blandiana, one of the founders, mentioned that this museum is supposed to refresh the memory and to set up "a minimal point from which to begin a normal life." The motif of "normality" is here again used discretionarily. Sighet was a town with a rich Jewry, as many other northern towns in Romania, notably it was the home of Elie Wiesel, but nonetheless the communist theme seems dominant against the deportation of some 12,000 Jews when northwest Romania was ceded to Hungary during the WW2. This museum became one of the main components in the pantheon of the Romanian nation, it has become a sacred place.[113] However it has also taken the task to represent the entire saga of Communist in Europe by displaying the activities of Polish *Solidarność* and the Hungarian Revolution of 1956, the Charta 77 and the Prague Spring.[114] Nothing seems to remind Romanians about the Jewish sufferance and the Romanians' sufferance only seems to be naturally growing. Just two kilometers away from the museum, lays a landscape memorial composed of a huge tree line in the shape of Romania that is theoretically holding the remains of Communism's victims.[115] Again this museum's purpose is to appeal to the nationalistic and religious feelings of the majority Romanian ethnics, and does not offer a space for debating the truth but a space for certainty.[116]

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[113] Cristea and Radu-Bucurenci, in Sarkisova and Apor, ibid., 303.

[114] Ibid., 301-302.

[115] Bădică, in Aronsson and Elgenius, ibid., 729-730.

[116] Cristea and Radu-Bucurenci, in Sarkisova and Apor, ibid., 305.

The idea of a National Redemption Cathedral[117]was shaped after the Romanian

Kingdom gained its independence from the Ottoman Empire. King Carol I wanted a

Cathedral to symbolize the victory of Orthodoxy over the Muslims and to host "national

festivities" and "religious celebrations."[118] Even if there was large agreement on the

project, the disputes about the size, the place and the financing of the project precluded

its development for a very long time. Ferdinand, the next monarch unsuccessfully tried to

push forward the project just a few years before his death in 1920. In 1925 the ROC

became an independent Patriarchate and wanted to affirm its position. Different locations

were tried and in 1929, a roadside cross (troiță) was erected to mark the future place of

the Cathedral in Bucharest.[119] The project was interrupted by the break of war and the

change of government and was not resumed until 1995. Patriarch Teoctist appointed a

committee to select the design and the details for a national worship place, able to host

some 10000 people.[120] Numerous numbers about the dimensions of the Cathedral and

about the costs were presented in the mass media and the main building was to be at least

seventy-two meters long, forty-four wide, and fifty high, roughly 236 by 144 by 164

feet, and was supposed to compete with the new cathedral in Moscow.[121] The ROC

invoked the existence of Saint Sofia Cathedral in Bulgaria, or Saint Sava in Belgrade.[122]

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[117] Stan and Turcescu translate the Romanian words "catedrala mântuiri neamului" as "national salvation cathedral" in Stan and Turcescu, ibid., 56.

[118] Ibid. See also Iuliana Conovici, Ortodoxia in Romania Postcomunista [Orthodoxy in Post Communist Romania]. Vol. 2 (Cluj-Napoca: Eikon, 2009), 329.

[119] Stan and Turcescu, ibid., 57.

[120] Ibid.

[121] Ibid.

[122] Conovici, (2009), ibid., 334-335.

The size of the Cathedral started numerous debates but there were a few who commented

that the particle "national" would imply that salvation is national and that the

construction was dedicated to the Heroes' Day.[123] Archbishop Anania responded to the

last critique by saying that salvation cannot be achieved individually but only

collectively, in other words nationally, because he thought of the nation as a socio-

historical, as well as a metaphysical and theological reality.[124]

The plans to construct were delayed even more by the terrain, which did not

support heavy constructions and the site was switched to Park Carol, which became the

contention bone of the ROC and of the intellectuals in the Group of Social Dialogue

(GDS), who opposed the project. Alexandru Paleologu, a member, mentioned that

nations and nationalism are not eternal but that Churches are, and called the project to be

a "catastrophic, fatal kitsch" and "an ecclesiastical Ceauşescuism."[125] In 1998 the project

meant to restore the nation's "normality" after Communism and to symbolize the nation's

and the ROC's victory over it and since the arguments against it grew in time, the ROC

permanently reconstructed and reinvented the reasons for constructing it.[126] In May 2004,

when the construction of the park was approved, the communist heroes' memorial was

itself in the play between the left wing social democrats and the civil society. Previously

in 2003, Răzvan Theodorescu, the minister of Culture and Religious affairs, tried to

preserve it as a historical place, and in 2004, the civil society asked for its transformation

into a monument for the victims of Communism. Both proposals were against the

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[123] Stan and Turcescu, ibid., 58.

[124] Bartolomeu Anania, in Stan and Turcescu, ibid.

[125] Paleologu in ibid., 59-60.

[126] Conovici, (2009), ibid., 330.

construction of the Cathedral on the site. The association "Solidarity for the Freedom of Conscience" whose objective was to fight the ROC's interventions in the public space, as well as the association "Save Park Carol" opposed both the infringement on the freedom of consciousness and the use of public funding for churches.[127] Civil society's manifestations supporting the preservation of the Carol Park met with the quick response of the ROC. The ROC represented by the Romanian Orthodox Foundation, The Society for Romanian Orthodox Women, the Bucharest Theology Students' Foundation, and ASCOR (The Association of Romanian Christian Orthodox Students) declared that the park's mausoleum is obsolete and it no longer signifies the aspirations of the Romanian society, which are "Christian, democratic and European."[128] By constructing the Cathedral on the place of the Communist Heroes' Monument, the ROC hoped to celebrate the symbolic victory over Communism, but both intentions were highly controversial since the destruction of the park was unpopular and the former ties between the ROC and Communism were not yet clear.

All politicians in Parliament adopted the Cathedral's construction even if they were more vocal before the vote. In 2004, Traian Băsescu, the mayor who opposed the construction in the park was elected as the state's President, and the construction was again transferred to another site, this time on Arsenal Hill. Arsenal Hill meets the Orthodox requirements of being situated on a high surface, it is visible from all the corners of Bucharest and without knowing it, Ceaușescu cleaned an entire residential area and five churches in the perfect spot. Ceaușescu's destruction encouraged the ROC, who

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[127] Ibid., 331.

[128] Stan and Turcescu, ibid., 61.

claimed that the Cathedral would rise on the relics of the demolished churches.[129]

Regarding the name of the Cathedral the Holy Synod declared that it would have two

patrons, the Ascension Day and Saint Apostle Andrew, both highly related to the concept

of nation, since the first one coincides with the Heroes' Day and Apostle Andrew is the

protector of Romania.[130]

The construction works began in 2010 and the Cathedral is built right behind

Ceaușescu's House of Peoples and close to the Ministry of defense headquarters. One of

the architects involved, Adrian Bold, found proper to say that the Cathedral is adequately

close to the House–which now hosts the Romanian Parliament– and to the Army.[131] To

the accusations that the Cathedral's new location near the Parliament building is

controversial, the ROC defended itself by bringing the victory over communism

argument, and by saying that the Cathedral was replacing the demolished churches and

was continuing their mission.[132] Far from diminishing in importance, the synthesis of

religion and national acquired more territory and new expressions after the fall of

Communism.[133]

Regarding colossal ethnoreligious architectural projects, it is important to mention

Iosif Constantin Drăgan, a former Legionary member, and later a successful business

person in Italy. He wrote *We the Thracians* and edited the periodical with the same name,

additionally, together with archeologist Dumitru Berciu and Ion Horațiu Crișan, tried to

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[129] Conovici, (2009), ibid., 334, 337.

[130] Ibid., 335.

[131] Stan and Turcescu, ibid., 63.

[132] Conovici, (2009), ibid., 337.

[133] Ibid.

prove that the Romanian nation is more than 100,000 years old. In 2004, Drăgan finished his gigantic project of building a 40 meters high statue of Decebalus (believed by many to be the highest in Europe), the famous Dacian king, on the rocky bank of Danube, near the city of Orşova, Romania. The model is obviously inspired after the Mt. Rushmore American monument and below the effigy of Decebalus lies an inscription in Latin[134] to attest both King Decebalus' foundational myth and his worthy adorer's contribution: *Decebalus Rex Dragan Fecit*.[135]

The religious education in Romania was indebted to the proposals of the ROC. There was much confusion over the terms, obligatory, optional and facultative, and over where to impose the obligatory of religious education, to stop at the elementary school or all the way into high school.[136] Moreover, some of the formulations in the text of the law on religious instruction suggested by the ROC expressed that one cannot be legally exempted from taking religious classes, as if one could be forced by law to attend religious service.[137] Beside the confusion of terms, probably made to confuse students,[138] Emil Moise argues that the ROC has exerted influence over the public education with the support of public institutions. For example, the teaching positions for religious education are offered each year to ensure the teaching of religion while legally a school discipline

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[134] Boia, ibid., 105; see also *Capul lui Decebal [Decebalus' Head]*, last modified January 30, 2012, http://www.zamolxis.ro/modules.php?name=News&file=article&sid=51.

[135] The Latin script means: "Decebalus King, Dragan sculptured it."

[136] Emil Moise, "Relaţia Stat-Biserică în privinţa educaţiei religioase în şcolile publice din România," [The Church-State relation regarding religious instruction in public schools in Romania], *Journal for the Study of Religions and Ideologies*, no. 7 (Spring 2004), 80-81.

[137] Ibid., 80.

[138] Moise found that 90 percent of the students did not know that religious education is not compulsory and the same thing was valid of the teachers, ibid., 89.

needs to be guaranteed as valid for at least four years before a teaching position will open.[139] The superior theological education for minority religions is also set according to the proportions of the minority cults in the country's religious landscape even though there is no official numbers since the Romanian Census of the population does not have a compulsory question regarding religion.[140] The "moral-religious" education was regulated by article number 3 of the Protocol between the Education Department and the famous Secretariat for Cults in 1990, which stipulated that religious education needs to focus on elements of ethics and cultural history. In fact the first lesson of all textbooks of religious education is always "the cross." Textbooks look like an Orthodox catechism and in the opinion of the ROC the only moral valid for the children and for the future of Romania is the Orthodox religious moral.[141] Moise found numerous cases in which religious education in Romania promotes intolerance and an alliance between the state and the Church. Religious education usually passes unquestioned and students are not aware that it is not a compulsory discipline. In addition even the professors, which are mostly priests, do not know the legislation and assert some very intolerant point of views, while sometimes they force and threaten their students, more or less aware that they are breaking the law. In those situations where school principals have intervened against or have not actively promoted religious education there emerged public scandals and those who opposed were called Communists.[142] This culture war around the icons in public schools was very emotional on both sides and it seems Romania is only passing through a

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[139] Ibid., 81.

[140] Ibid., 82.

[141] Ibid., 91.

[142] Ibid., 91-92.

time of truce.[143] Mihail Neamțu decried the inability of all institutions, agencies and most individuals involved in the church and state relationship in Romania, and mentions the high secularization potential, which he called the "risk of desecration," found in the inflation of religious gadgets like little icons, cartridge candles and rosaries, which impoverish and deflate the spiritual space with kitsch.[144]

Conclusion

The national museum is a space destined for reverence and profound respect for heroes, saviors, and national symbols such as the national anthem or national flag, sacred homeland and sacred history. Sacred history is a sequence of sacred events that include familiar religious leitmotivs as the fall and the deluge, the persecution and the rebirth of the nation. Poland and Romania do not have many museums, nor do they have a museum of Catholicism or Orthodoxy after the model of the International Reform Museum from Geneva.[145] The national museums celebrate the cult of the nation-state and function to homogenize a diverse territory that threatens national cultures. Folklorism, and the attention to a glorious pristine history, originated in the Romantic nationalism of the nineteenth century, is thus one of the key media of civil religion. National folklore and national ideology which are deeply connected to religious tradition are ideographically deployed in national monuments and in the school instruction. Furthermore, the purpose of the national museums is to bring together all the fragmentary pieces of the national

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[143] Mihail Neamțu, "România 2007: război cultural, criză politică şi armistiţiu religios," [Romania 2007: Culture War, Political Crisis and Religious Armistice], *Romanian Political Science Review*, vol. VII, no. 3 (2007), 757; Mirel Bănică, *Locul Celuilalt* [The Place of the Other] (Bucharest: Paideea, 2007)*,* 90.

[144] Neamțu, (2007) ibid., 752. Bănică, *The place of the other,* ibid., 40-48.

[145] About this museum see Bănică, ibid., 137-144.

puzzle in one place and to give the impression of the same destiny. Spectacular folklore which represents a mass national culture, and the overall collections hosted in national museums also fulfill a pedagogical role of fostering collective emotions that recreate and endorse political relationships. The state is the main operator of national museums and education in most CEE states is public, offered free by the state. The state perpetuates the myths of the nation mainly through these two media.

CHAPTER SIX

Religious Nationalism, Xenophobia and the Mission of Chosen Nations

The previous chapter demonstrated how the state used civil religion and how it propagated the nationalist discourse through very specific policies of establishing national museums and school curriculums. These state institutions were suffused with civil religious ideology, which fulfilled a pedagogical role of diffusing the cult of the nation-state. The national museum preserves the national memory in a homogenous shape, and public education has the role of standardizing different cultures and erase not only the regional differences but especially the minority culture which pose the most threat to the nation-state. The standardization did not only unify large traditional models of ethnic or religious kind, but by having religious paraphernalia displayed in public schools it transmitted a very powerful message of the cooperation and identification of the Church with the nation.

This chapter presents some of the main instances of religious nationalism, which is based on the complete identification of the Catholic and Orthodox faiths, with the nation and with the state. Compared to the banal nationalism of civil religion, religious nationalism is the active search to maintain, modify, produce and reproduce the fusion or the symbiosis of Church and nation.[1] In the two cases under my review, religious nationalism comes to surface when some previously uncontested public presence, which

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[1] In his book about fundamentalism, Martin Riesebrodt associated the rise of fundamentalism in Iran and USA with a decrease of the ability to produce and reproduce traditional/religious discourse, see Martin Riesebrodt, *Pious Passion: The Emergence of Modern Fundamentalism in the United States and Iran* (Berkeley: University of California, 1993).

points to the bond of Church with the nation is challenged by a contesting group. This is

done by intervening in the relations between individuals and society or between different

groups within the society based on a nationalist discourse with xenophobic and violent

accents. In almost all the instances presented religious nationalism is both a prophylactic

action and a retaliation. This short dialogue between two characters of James Joyce's

Ulysses is relevant for the type of ethnic exclusion promoted by Churches:

> Mr Deasy halted, breathing hard and swallowing his breath.
> -- I just wanted to say, he said. Ireland, they say, has the honour of being the only
> country which never persecuted the jews. Do you know that? No. And do you
> know why?
> He frowned sternly on the bright air.
> -- Why, sir? Stephen asked, beginning to smile.
> -- Because she never let them in, Mr Deasy said solemnly.[2]

Religious nationalism is essentially the assertive position against others' religion,

occasionally taking violent turns. To prevent a "problem" from happening it is wise to

prevent it from taking roots, as James Joyce's hero Mr. Deasy is edifying us. This seems

to be the approach to pluralism professed by both national Churches in dealing with

religious and ethnic minorities in the present. Poland and Romania are the largest

countries that survived the post-communist period untouched by secessionism even tough

not entirely free of secessionist tendencies, like Silesians in Poland and Szeklers in

Romania. When the international context is a sensitive issue as it was when both Poland

and Romania were Soviet satellites, the dimension of internal and external politics take

mythological dimensions to compensate for the loss of sovereignty. However, one should

be cautious about Lucian Boia's thesis of seeing every political move as part of a

mythology. Myths are only partially false and the apprehension of danger of a new

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[2] James Joyce, *Ulysses*, last accessed, February 15, 2012, http://www.online-literature.com/james_joyce/ulysses/2/.

partition of Poland or of carving out Transylvania were not entirely without cause.[3] The

existence of a large Hungarian minority in Romania as the existence of another

"Romanian state" in the former Soviet republic of Moldova have revived nationalists'

fears. The nationalist danger was the most known external perception of Romania in the

period before the accession of Romania to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization

(NATO) in 2004 and EU in 2007

Religious Nationalism in Poland

There were a number of instances when the assertive religious nationalism was

brought back to life. In 1999 the doctrine of "Polak-Katolik" was resurrected occasioned

by the sixtieth anniversary of Dmowski's death, and the Polish Parliament expressed its

tribute to "this outstanding Pole" mentioning all his merits for the rebirth of the Polish

state, and emphasized his greatest contribution, that of strengthening the association

between Polishness and Roman Catholicism which was key in the nation's survival under

the Communists and to the national rebirth after 1989.[4] Zubrzycki argued that starting

from the interwar period the fusion between Roman Catholicism and national identity

lead to a hierarchization of national groups, where Poles were the superior group in the

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[3] Transylvania's belonging to the non-Byzantine world seems a legitimate reason to debate its inclusion in Romania, as is the lack of history due to a dual disinterest of both Oriental and Western studies; the historiography of the Latin world perceived Romania as Slavic, Orthodox and oriental while Byzantine historiography perceived Romania as peripheral to its development; see Olivier Gillet, *Religie Şi Naţionalism: Ideologia Bisericii Ortodoxe Române Sub Regimul Comunist* [*Religion and Nationalism: The Ideology of the Romanian Orthodox Church under the Communist Regime*] (Bucureşti: Compania, 2001), 21-22.

[4] Geneviève Zubrzycki, *The Crosses of Auschwitz: Nationalism and Religion in Post-communist Poland* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2006), 56.

ethnically, racially and culturally different people of Poland, especially in contrast with the Jews who were at the bottom.[5]

The Polak-Katolik doctrine's persistence was visible in the Auschwitz controversy over the display of crosses, known as the "war of crosses."[6] In 1984, the Carmelite nuns took possession over a building near the site and transformed it into a covenant. After Jewish organizations expressed their opposition to this act, the nuns were forced to vacate the site in 1987 but in fact, they did not leave until 1993.[7] However, in 1988, a large 8 meters (26 foot) cross was erected near the same site, encouraged by a Papal commemoration speech held nearby in 1979, which reminded about the 152 Poles killed by the Nazis on that spot.[8] This action was an obvious attempt to minimize the importance of one of the most important Holocaust symbols. The installation of crosses did not deny the Holocaust but it denied that the Jewish victims were the main focus of the Nazis and claimed that the site was Polish for Polish victims.

After many debates and out of respect for the Jewish communities who intervened against the planting of crosses, in 1998 the site was proclaimed free of political and religious symbols and the authorities decided that the cross should be removed.[9] An ad hoc Catholic group called the Cross Defense Committee began planting smaller crosses,

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[5] Ibid., 57.

[6] Ibid.,

[7] Ramet, "Thy Will Be Done," in Byrnes and Katzenstein, ibid., 129.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Ibid. 130. This events triggered one of the longest and most interesting debates over the Polish national identity and over the fusion between nationalism and religion, see Zubrzycki, ibid.

between 1 and 4 meters, (3 to 13 feet), and reached over 90 crosses by August 1998.[10]

Eventually the Committee and other sympathizers planted over 300 crosses at Auschwitz

and symbolically appropriated the significance of the site, since several millions Jews

who died there were suddenly diminished in importance.[11] After many debated in June

1999, all the bigger crosses were removed and only the smaller crosses remained, and

coincidently the Poles were rewarded by the European Parliament which reported that

Poles were the least xenophobic country in CEE.[12]

The "war of crosses" showed the cleavages of the Polish society which one more

times has polarized between those true Poles which defend the crosses and those who

wanted the removal of the crosses. The unitary image of the Poles contrasted with the

multiple opinions on the "war of crosses," and it seemed that the old divisions between

the lower clergy, supportive of the action to plant crosses, and the hierarch who wanted

the removal of the crosses, resurfaced. A single event like this was again a Litmus test of

political and social allegiances, as the previous scandals regarding homosexuality and

abortion. Zubrzycki wrote that the same symbol of the cross created totally opposite

feelings regarding patriotism.[13] For the supporters of the cross the event evoked national

pride while for the other side the event was similar to a disaster in terms of Poland's

image abroad. These feelings represented the divisions between those who still believed

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[10] Ramet, "Thy Will Be Done," in Byrnes and Katzenstein, ibid.,130.

[11] Ibid.

[12] This result contradicted other data from early 1990s when Poland stood out as the most anti-Semite country among the CEE states, ibid.

[13] Zubrzycki, ibid., 172.

in Poland's messianism and those more cosmopolitan compatriots who felt ashamed by the resurfacing of old myths.

The numerous opinions about the Auschwitz site and its symbolic value as the foremost Holocaust memorial-museum had to consider many perspectives coming from theologians, jurists and politicians and the population itself. Therefore the best solution was the removal of any religious symbol so that the site will remain a place of national unity and not a place of national discord. For those Jews that thought of Auschwitz as the most sacred place in the world,[14] the presence of any single cross was a sacrilege. Catholics on the other hand are traditionally obliged to place crosses that remind about the eternal life of their coreligionists and the removal of crosses from the site was itself a sacrilege against Catholicism.

The war continued with clear-cut arguments on both sides. The Jews felt that the ashes of their coreligionists have spread over the entire place which bestowed it with sacredness while the Poles argued that the crosses are planted just outside the camp site and they are in no way interfering with the presumed Jewish space.[15] These debates were quite serious and at one point the parts almost agreed to build a glass wall that will secure less visibility for the crosses from inside the site camp and will also ensure their visibility from anywhere else. Therefore global religious nationalism between Jewish and Catholics, based on purely ethnic understandings of nationalism, were played locally, over a relatively small site. The Poles were aware that this has became a national and an international issue, and its main problem was where the Auschwitz begins and where

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[14] Ibid., 173.

[15] Ibid.

does it end, and who does it belong to.[16] The problem of planting crosses on the site elevated from a local one, to a national one, and unlike the attempts to homogenize and Polonize the Polish territory through national museums, meddling with the more visible museum at Auschwitz was immediately contested and criticized by the local and the international Jewish communities.

Another thing that caused the emotional and violent manifestations near an apparent insignificant thing was that Poles still associated the Jewish presence with Communism or with "international conspiracy." If the doctrine of Polak-Katolik was only characteristic of some minority groups of Poles, when the Auschwitz "war of crosses" gained a national audience, the doctrine was reactivated and it expanded quickly since it was presented as a national menace, driven by foreigners. The PRCC, or least some of the clergy was again the savior of the nation and the nation which symbolically carried the Poles back into to the redoubt mentality. Therefore the presence of more crosses against the foreigners, against Jews and their supporters resembled the Solidarity's demonstration with crosses, crucifixes, Black Madonna and other religious symbols. For the cross defenders:

> Signs and symbols are the testimony of [the living's] faith and national identity, their dignity and freedom, their endurance and hope. For Christians, for the majority of Poles, the cross is such a sign. In our forefathers' history, the partitioning powers or the occupants more than once have fought against the presence of the sign of the holy corss on Polish land. Today, in a free European country, in a state based on the rule of democracy, the battle with the symbols of religious faith is contrary to the spirit of Europe and the expression of lack of respect for people of other faith or nationality.[17]

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[16] The site was included in the UNESCO world heritage in 1979, and there were numerous discussions over its limits in the surrounding space, ibid., 177.

[17] Civitas Christiana Declaration, (March 24, 1998), in Zubrzycki, ibid., 180.

The left-wing secularist as well as the liberals in the PRCC structures have

criticized and mocked the ethnoreligious nationalism which excludes not only the

foreigners and the Jews from Poland's past and present but also all of those who oppose

the totalizing view of what Polish truly means. The symbol of the Cross represented

exactly this reactivation of the Polak-Katolik doctrine and less the symbol of brotherly

love between people as in the Christian tradition. Cardinal Glemp was like the majority

hierarchs not entirely coherent on this issue, and he changed his opinions a couple of

times. Once he said that the planting of crosses is an act made by "irresponsible groups"[18]

and other time has showed agreement with the supporters of the cross when he said that:

> The Polish people…have been put up on the cross. That is why they love this cross, a sign of live in suffering wherever it is: in the shipyards, in Waraw, or in Auschwitz. In Auschwitz the cross has been standing and will stand… .The Eiffel Tower did not and does not please everyone, but it is not a reason to remove it and take it down. [19]

For the supporters of the cross, the presence of it in the Auschwitz site representes

the whole Polish history, the palingenetic rebirth and revival of the Polish state, and the

present and future messianic role that Poland needs to undertake in the EU. The symbols

of the cross is the symbol of national resistance in front of foreign invasions and

occupations and a sign of victory over them. Politicians were also seduced by the

reactivation of this rhetoric and an important number of Parliamentarians claimed that

there is only one solution to the attack on Poland, either victory by maintaining the

crosses, or defeat by submission to the "Fifth Partition of Poland."[20] The cross is the

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[18] Zubrzycki, ibid., 186.

[19] Glemp quoted in Zubrzycki, ibid., 181.

[20] Zubrzycki, ibid., 182.

symbol of the fusion of Polishness with Catholicism and the national symbol of Poland, and interfering with national symbols is certainly a sacrilege, an important infringement on ones identity.

The PRCC itself only became gradually aware that the cross affair is escaping its reach when more crosses were erected against its official decision to remove all the crosses except for the initial Papal cross.[21] Initially the hierarchy of the PRCC was concerned with the popularity of the crosses and the lack of authority inside the Church, and only later they become aware of the existence of a Jewish issue, which they did not even considered to be relevant.[22] This concerns grew when the Defense Committee of the Crosses lead by Kazimierz Swinton, argued that the Church had no authority over the crosses.[23] The Defense Committee took a more offensive position saying that it represents the true Polish Church, and the true defender of the nation. This was a sign that the Church has lost its charisma from Communist times and was for the first time challenged by a charismatic group which opposed the institutional routinized Church. This fringe movement has also attracted international attention and the Society of Saint Pius X, who refused to submit to the Council of Vatican II, and was excommunicated by John Paul II in 1988, came to Auschwitz and held Tridentine masses and erected the second tallest cross after the Papal cross.[24] Their actions reinforced the idea that the cross war is a true internal conflict with possible international consequences. The war divided the Poles over what Poland is and what Poland should be and discussed the monopoly of

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[21] Ibid., 189.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Ibid., 190.

[24] Ibid., 193.

patriotism. Defense Committee was interfering with the Church and speculated on the internal divisions inside the Church.

Radio Marya was another challenge to the PRCC hierarchy and internal order and it became the focus of attention in 2010 with the death of the president. The revival of the Polak-Katolik doctrine resurfaced once more after the tragic plane crash incident in which Poland's president Lech Kaczyński died. Formerly named "the Polish Giuliani," Kaczyński came to power in 2005 with the clear support of the Radio Maryia and Father Rydzyk. The plane, which was carrying members of the government, members of the Polish military, press delegations and the presidential couple, crushed close to Smolensk in Russia, near the site of another Polish memorial, Katyn. The visit was meant to be a symbol of the historical reconciliation of Poland and Russia under new governments and a new future, and it was meant to commemorate the Polish officers who were killed in the forests of Katyn by the Stalinist troops.

The tragedy was interpreted in Poland as a political act of assassination and Kaczyński was immediately transformed into a victim of Russian imperialism, which wanted to see the whole government of Poland beheaded. The Polish redoubt mentality was reactivated and this has triggered another "war of crosses." This mentality of being embattled was reinforced by the burial of Kaczyński in Wawel Cathedral, the Krakow Cathedral which is considered the Pantheon of the Polish nation, hosting kings, and leaders like Pilsudski which fought for the nation. The supporters of Kaczyński elevated a cross in front of the Presidential Palace in Warsaw soon after the incident. This cross became a shrine for those who valued the president and his pro-Catholic stance during his presidency and it became a pilgrimage site for Poles coming from all the territory of

Poland.[25] When the newly elected president Bronislaw Komorowski, decided to remove

the cross and to transfer it to a church in Warsaw and then to a shrine in southern Poland

it instigate a the new war of crosses. Kaczyński's twin brother Jaroslaw has earlier lost

the elections for presidency in Poland in favor of Komorowski, even if Jaroslaw has

played on the reactivation of the nationalist and of the Polak-Katolik rhetoric that

surrounded his brother's death. In this context, Kaczyński supporters occupied the site in

front of the presidential palace to prevent the removal of the presidential cross. The delay

from the Russian authorities to explain the plane crush also convinced the protesters that

their action is legitimate.[26] Tear gas was used against the 500 protesters who tried to

break the police barriers after previously tens of thousands of Poles have left flowers and

lit candles while praying at the cross site. The cross was so important to the protesters

that some have maintained round-the-clock vigils to prevent its removal by the

authorities.[27]

The cross was removed later in 2010 but to this day in front of the presidential

palace there is a booth tent displaying photos from the plane crash site and posters

showing that the truth is hidden by the politicians and that the new government is also

responsible for the national tragedy. The few people occupying the place occasionally

accuse the government for treason by using loudspeakers. During my staying in Warsaw

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[25] Rafal Kiepuszewski, "Poland divided over plan to move Kaczynski cross," *Deutsche Welle online* (July 31, 2010), last accessed March 2, 2012, http://www.dw.de/dw/article/0,,5853513,00.html.

[26] BBC, "Poland clash over memorial cross for Lech Kaczynski," (August 3, 2010), last accessed March 2 , 2012, http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-10853307.

[27] Mail Foreign Service, Supporters of late Poland President Lech Kaczynski in scuffles with police as they try to remove shrine in his memory," (August 3, 2010), last accessed March 2, 2012, http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1300012/Supporters-late-Poland-President-Lech-Kaczynski-involved-scuffles-police-try-remove-shrine-memory.html#ixzz1uV7sxDj9.

in 2010 and 2011 I noticed that the number of candles and flowers near the cross site and in front of the nearby churches gradually decreased and the tent and the number of people gathered on the opposite side of the street from the presidential palace also got smaller. For a while, the absence of the cross was more telling of the revival of the Polak-Katolic doctrine than its presence since numerous people continued to bring flags, crucifixes and lit candles and hold religious masses or discourses against the presumed secularist and traitors in the government.

The PRCC itself did not fall short in influencing the government to adopt intolerant and xenophobic attitudes. In 2000, Vatican issued a controversial document, which restated the Protestant organizations' status not as Churches, but only as "ecclesiastical communities." The PRCC showed the strongest support for the initiative, while Archibishop Jeremiasz, head of Poland's Orthodox Church, and the Lutheran Church Episcopal conference expressed their concern for the severe limitation of their activities and for an illegal establishment in favor of the PRCC. The minority Churches leaders argued that people have to learn to live in a Christian way without doing injustices to each other.[28]

In 1997, Prime Minister Cimoszewicz initiated a ministerial team which expressed the intentions to train personnel which knows how to deal with "religious sects."[29] Later, after complaints of discrimination done by state officials in favor of the dominant PRCC, the "Inter-Ministerial Team for New Religious Movements"

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[28] Their statements triggered the reaction of Catholic Archbishop Życiński who supported only the exclusive point of view of the Catholic Church, see Ramet, "Thy Will Be Done," in Byrnes and Katzenstein, ibid., 145.

[29] Ibid.

transformed into the "Inter-Ministerial Team for Psycho-Manipulative Groups," which

supposedly dealt with fringe groups that were not religious.[30] The PRCC itself

established a network of anti-cult centers, operated by the Dominican Order.[31] Ramet

argued that the very existence of these terms shows the extent to which the PRCC has

extended its influence in political life. Ramet concluded that the PRCC remains a bastion

of conservatism, especially in the sex life. The PRCC 's Fr. Adam Boniecki, editor of

Tygodnik Powsechny, Stefan Wilkanowicz, and other from *Znak*, or the late Fr. Josef

Tischner who said that the crosses represent the ghost of the past within the Poles,

"growing from pain, loss and fear"[32] represent the liberal side of the PRCC and they

expressed numerous times their concerns about the shameful expressions of Polish

nationalism.[33]

Religious Nationalism in Romania

Gabriel Andreescu wrote that the ROC based its nationalistic discourse on the

"majority" principle and on the "essentialist" ethnic principle that non-Orthodox are not

Romanians.[34] Stan and Turcescu noted that the ROC illustrated nationalism "through

pastoral messages, public declarations by the clergy, theological publications, and

statements released by organizations set up by the aegis."[35] One such important

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[30] Ibid.

[31] Ibid., 146.

[32] Tichner, quoted in Zubrzycki, 196.

[33] Zubrzycki., ibid., 180

[34] Andreescu, Gabriel, in Stan and Turcescu, ibid., 50.

[35] Stan and Turcescu, ibid., 50.

Orthodoxist agency was the "Association of Christian Orthodox Student in Romania,"

known as ASCOR in Romanian, which militated against foreigners who wanted to buy

lands, and which protested and occasionally intervened in force, against the Greek

Catholics who were trying to have religious ceremonies in some churches returned to

them.[36] Stan and Turcescu affirm that such actions, especially in the 1990s stayed at the

forefront of ROC's public life.[37] A partial openness of the Romanian Orthodox towards

Greek Catholics still causes debates,[38] Orlich points to these unfortunate attitudes:

> Archbishop Nicolae Corneanu always represented a model of interdenominational
> dialogue, especially with the Greek Catholics. He recently [May 2008]
> participated at a Greek Catholic service where he took communion. The gesture
> was condemned by the Orthodox Holy Council which met to decide whether any
> sanctions should be applied. Another Orthodox priest, Sofronie, was accused for
> holding a common service with the Greek Catholics. Although the Holy Council
> decided to forgive them, the attitude of the Orthodox side is unfortunate.[39]

If the problems with Greek Catholics were specific of Transylvania, in Moldova

the ROC proceeded to canonize Stephen the Great.[40] In June 22, 1992, in the presence of

5000 people, the ROC's Patriarch Teoctist joined by the prime minister Theodor

Stolojan, canonized Stephen the Great (1457-1504), known as a depraved prince, and

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[36] The students were mainly opposing the foreign sponsored Protestant cults from buying land and strengthening their position in Romania, see Andreescu in Stan and Turcescu, ibid., 50-51.

[37] Stan and Turcescu, ibid., 51.

[38] Lucian Leuștean mentioned that during communism Patriarch Justinian was protecting controversial figures from the previous regime, among which there were numerous Uniates and Iron Guard members by offering them positions in the Orthodox Church, in Lucian Leuștean, *Orthodoxy and the Cold War. Religion and Political Power in Romania, 1047-65* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 62, 82-83.

[39] Ileana Alexandra Orlich, "Understanding Latent Religious Conflict: The Case of Frictions Between the Greek Catholic and Orthodox Churches in Romania," *East European Quarterly,* XLII, Vol. 4, (January 2009), 413.

[40] At the same time the ROC did not stop at canonizing saints and argued that homosexuality, seconded by abortion, is damaging the national pride and threatens national life, which amount to genocide, Stan and Turcescu, ibid., 52.

declared the second Sunday after Pentecost the "Sunday of Romanian Saints," after

earlier it decided to canonize a dozen more Romanian saints.[41] In July the same year a

special ceremony at Putna, Stephen's burial place, brought socialist President Ion Iliescu

and some ministers in front of Teoctist who declared that:"God has brought us together

under the same sky today, just as Stephen rallied us under the same flag in the past."[42]

Connected with the canonization of Stephan, the ROC reopened the

Metropolitanate of Bessarabia in the neighboring Moldovan republic. The reopening of

the Metropolitanate in Bessarabia caused a ten year conflict between the new Church and

the governments of Moldovan Republic, between the ROC and the Russian Orthodox

Church and between Bucharest and Chișinău.[43] Moldova has a majority Romanian

speaking population[44] and important Ukrainian and Russian minorities, and such move

could not escape being interpreted as irredentist.[45] On the other hand the ROC reacted to

the explicit nationalist voice of the Russian Church which in 2010 asserted through the

voice of Patriarch Kirill that "we pray for the Republic of Moldova, for the prosperity of

the Moldovan people, so that the political orientation of the republic helps to maintain the

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[41] Stan and Turcescu, ibid., 51.

[42] Ibid.

[43] Ibid.

[44] The Romanian language in Moldova is called Moldovan language in the Constitution but the Moldovan Academy of Science recognizes it as Romanian and sees "Moldovan" as a political term, see Institutul de Filologie, [Philology Institute], "Scurt Istoric," [Short History], last accessed March 12, 2012, http://www.if.asm.md/scurt-istoric.html.

[45] On the other hand Moldovan politics is since 1990 in constant reappraisal of its external politics, with a powerful Russophone minority, and more recently adopting "Moldovenism" as its national ideology separate of both Romanian and Russian identity, see Iulian Chifu, "Identități postcomuniste in Republica Moldova," [Post-Communist identities in the Moldovan Republic] *Sfera Politicii*, Vol. 20, nr. 11 (165) (November 2011).

unity of Holly Russia."[46] Dan Dungaciu aptly describes that every visit to Moldova of the Russian Patriarch is a power gesture in a geopolitical game, and mentions that ecclesiology is shadowed by the power gesture.[47] The Russians previously downgraded the Bessarabian Metropolitanate to e bishopric and imposed Russian speakers to lead it, fact which antagonized the flock of believers.[48] Due to internal problems of both Romania and Moldova, the desired re-union after the German model never took place and the Moldovan Church remain the contention bone of ethnic perception between the ROC and the Russian Church. In 1990, the Russian Patriarch named two Romanians as bishops in Bălți and Cetatea Albă to please the Romanian speakers, and further asserted its dominance claiming control of Russians, Romanians and of the Gagauz minority in south.[49] However, the Bishop of Bălți, Petru Păduraru, a declared pro-Romanian, was removed by the Russophones and asked for help from the ROC, which Patriarch Teoctist granted by reopening the interwar Metropolitanate.[50] Păduraru became Metropolitan in 1995 after a period of vicariate, and was recognized in the position in December, the month of the unification of Bessarabia with Romania, and of the 1989 Revolution.[51] In

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[46] Dan Dungaciu, "'Sfînta Rusie' și 'naționalismul moldovenesc,'" ['Holly Russia' and 'Moldovan nationalism'] *Lumea credinței*, 94 (5) (May 2011), last accessed, March 1, 2012, http://www. timpul.md/articol/apropo-de-vizita-patriarhului-rus-la-chisinau-sfanta-rusie-si-nationalismul-moldovenesc-23279.html.

[47] Ibid.

[48] Stan and Turcescu, ibid., 53.

[49] Ibid., 54.

[50] Ibid.

[51] Teoctist also renamed the Metropolitanate of Moldova and Suceava into the Metropolitanate of Moldova and Bukovina, the latter splits nowadays between Ukraine and Romania, in ibid.; the Moldovan Metropolitanate belonging to Russia is called the Metropolitanate of Chișinău and of the whole Moldova, thus including west-Moldova and supporting the idea that the former Soviet, formerly east-Moldova, is the

2001 the Bessarabian Metropolitanate had 117 communities in Moldova, three in

Ukraine, one in every Baltic state, and two in Russia but since it began its activity it was

not recognized by the presidents of Moldova from 1992 to 2002, either for fear of ethnic

tensions or of jeopardizing the energy imports from Russia.[52] In 2002 it gained

recognition but not without the fierce opposition from the Chișinău Metropolitanate and

the Russian Church.[53] Dungaciu mentions that in the Orthodox area the "interference of

religion and geopolitics functions in a particular manner…the specificity of Orthodoxy

being the state of symbiotic fusion between the national and the religious element."[54] In

this landscape the Russian Orthodox Church displays a more specific relation with the

state, which Dungaciu called "imperial phyletism," and which is summarized by some

slogans like "Holy Russia," the "inalienable Russian canonical space," and the "Russian

world."[55]

ROC's representatives consider that they are not only Christ's representatives but

also in the service of the nation. In 2001, Daniel Ciobotea, when he was not yet Patriarch,

declared in an international conference:

> The Orthodox consider that, in Christ, God has a special relationship not only
> with one nation, Israel, but with every nation; just as God has a unique special
> relationship, with every human person. The diversity of nations is not just an
> accident, but it is to praise God. ..

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only rightful heir of the medieval Moldovan principality, a theory called "aggressive Moldovenism," in
Dungaciu, (2011), ibid.

[52] In 1998 the case got to the European Court of Human Rights which in 2001 ruled in favor of the
Bessarabian Metropolitanate, and later opposed the government's appeal, which was forced to change the
law, Stan and Turcescu, ibid., 54-55.

[53] Ibid., 56.

[54] Dungaciu, (2011), ibid.

[55] Ibid.

[T]he profound identification of Orthodox Churches, in the past, with the life and fight for justice and for national and political independence of the nations they evangelized has a very important missionary significance. Many examples from the history of Orthodoxy show that keeping the Christian faith meant at the same time preserving national identity. In this interpretation, the state, the society, the political fight, all become missionary objects.[56]

Orthodoxy is presented as "Romanian law" a mixing of local patriotism and religion, presented as two beings that cannot be parted nor disunited, as Bartolomeu Anania, the Metropolitan of Cluj, declared.[57] Conovici mentioned that there are more and more voices inside and outside the ROC which propose the reappraisal of the monopolistic nationalist discourse as the central element of Orthodox' social and historical task.[58] Olivier Clément declared that religious nationalism is the shape of secularization specific to the Orthodox Churches.[59] Two popular Romanian young ghostly fathers like Arsenie Muscalu and Savatie Baștovoi, are influenced by the tradition of Sophrony Sakharov and instead of the usual nationalist speech they speak about the supranational character of Orthodoxy. Arsenie Muscalu declared that love of Christ is bigger than the love for nation and Savatie Baștovoi argued that the presence of "national

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[56] Ciobotea, Daniel in Iuliana Conovici, *Ortodoxia În România Postcomunistă: Reconstrucția Unei Identități Publice* [*Orthodoxy in Post-communist Romania: the Reconstruction of a Public Identity*] (Cluj-Napoca: Eikon, 2009), 310-311.

[57] Anania, Bartolomeu in ibid., 311.

[58] Metropolitan Corneanu of Banat, reflected on the paradoxes of association religion with the nation in an interview with Adriana Zeck in 1993 and declared that the local versions of Orthodoxy should not become exclusivist or preclude the universality of "redemption inside and through the Church and the universality of the Church itself," see Corneanu, Nicolae, in Conovici, ibid., 312-313. One of these voices is that of Olivier Clément which posited that the Orthodox religious nationalism is the form of Orthodox secularization, ibid., 313. About the increased complexity of the Orthodox Churches'reapraisal of their origins and development see Kristina Stoeckl, *Community after Totalitarianism: The Russian Orthodox Intellectual Tradition and the Philosophical Discourse of Political Modernity* (Frankfurt Am Main: Peter Lang, 2008), 33.

[59] Alexandru Duțu, a former member of the "Burning Pyre" (Rugul Aprins) group, and a renowned Orthodox historian, also agreed with the idea of Orthodox secularization, which he described as a process of "nationalizing the tradition" following the "politicization of founding myths," see Duțu, Alexandru, in ibid., 314.

conscience" is not necessary for salvation.[60] This has been a conseidrable move away

from nationalism typical of the early 1990s and of the Stăniloae period. Dumitru

Stăniloae tended to represent the West in negative terms, as having brought too many of

its perils and ills to the pristine East, and expressed the natural unity between Orthodoxy

and Romanianism and defined this unity in opposition with the West. [61] Beside the groups

which wants to preserve the nationalist discrouse, and the one trying to contest it entirely,

there is a third group, formed of Nicolae Corneanu and the current Patriarch Ciobotea

which thinks that the national discourse of the Church is still relevant. This group only

forms a minority opinion inside the ROC and presumes that specific local traits and

traditions need to be preserved but they also need to stay within the universal dimension

of the Christian religion.[62] Corneanu argues against this principle since it seems to burden

Orthodoxy:

> Unfortunately, what matters in the life of a Church, as a human community, is not
> any longer the transcendent, but exactly this very earthly element which is the
> national element. Of course, it cannot be eliminated, despised but we should not
> make it essential. We alter this way the Godly and transcended character of the
> Church. Then we become one with the state and we begin to confuse what is the
> state and what is the Church.[63]

The ethnic diversity of most Orthodox states, the openness of Western Orthodox

Churches, especially in the USA, the disintegration of Yugoslavia and the accession to

the EU should at least deter the Orthodox of becoming more nationalistic. In the context

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[60] See Conovici, ibid.

[61]See Stan and Turcescu, ibid., 45, Romocea, ibid., 202-203, and Dumitru Stăniloae, "De ce suntem Ortodocşi?" [Why are we Orthodox?], *Teologie și Viață* [Theology and Life], No. 4-8, (1991), last accessed March 1, 2012. http://hristosesteortodox.wordpress.com/2009/01/08/parintele-dumitru-staniloae-de-ce-suntem-ortodocsi/.

[62] Conovici, ibid., 316.

[63] Corneanu quoted in Conovici, ibid., 316.

of the Yugoslavian conflict the majority of Romanians sympathized with the Serb side,

an attitude part of the anti-Western, Orthodoxist inclinations of the Romanian society.[64]

Conovici argued that the ROC's nationalist discourse became more diverse beginning

with the twenty-first century.[65] In the final years of Teoctist and the beginning of the new

Patriarch Ciobotea, the ROC revived its nationalistic speech in a more coherent form to

affirm both its more vigorous presence in the public space and to consolidate its authority

abroad, especially in Moldova, Ukraine and Serbia. According to the myth of continuity

Orthodoxy is consequently named "mother of the Romanian nation," which has a

bimillennial Christian tradition.[66]

     The ROC completed the Communists' theory of historical continuity through

historical research which was the only important study area that was available to the

Church.[67] Communists permitted the production of myriad historical studies and

monographs which all testified for long history of the ROC and for its contribution to the

developing of national culture and education.[68] The official ROC discourse claims that

the Apostle Andrew Christianized Romania as he was proselytizing in Scythia Minor,

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[64] Boia, ibid., 174. The Orthodox Church in Greece were also pro-Serbian and were so for two reasons, first, Muslim Albania's proximity to Greece, and second, the Orthodoxist ideology; see also Halikiopoulou, Daphne,*Patterns of Secularization: Church, State and Nation in Greece and the Republic of Ireland* (Farnham, Surrey, England: Ashgate, 2011) and Michas Takis, *Unholy Alliance: Greece and Milosevic's Serbia* (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 2002). Karnoouh mentions that the Austrian Crown was so influential that when the WW2 started, Sextil Puşcariu, a nationalist Romanian Transylvanian who was in vacation at the Black Sea returned to enroll in the war due to his allegiance to the Crown, see Karnoouh, ibid. 158-159.

[65] Conovici, ibid., 317.

[66] Ibid.

[67] Ibid.

[68] Ibid., 319.

current Dobrogea province of Romania.[69] The Apostolic claim entitled the ROC's right

of self-government, and of using the title of Apostolic Church.[70] When Pope John Paul II

arrived in Romania in 1999, his visit was interpreted as a granting of the status of

Apostolic Church to the ROC, and the relations between the two Churches became

brotherly, based on the blood relation between Andrew and Peter.[71]

The ROC continues as in the Communist period to insist on the tradition of

publishing historical material, in Church's magazines and journals as in individual

volumes, written by non-specialists, such as Church historian Mircea Păcurariu. Elements

from the doctrine of protochronism and Dacianism are published in the official journal of

the Romanian Patriarchy.[72] The ROC popularized this nationalistic discourse by resorting

to the cult of hero saints. In a first step Saint Andrew's Day became a holyday marked

with red in the ROC calendar, than in 1998, Andrew became the "protector of Romania"

and in 2001, Saint Andrew became the "National Church Holyday."[73]After the death of

Teoctist, in 2007, the new Patriarch Ciobotea extended Andrew's protection to all

Romanians, including those living abroad.[74] In October 1996 Andrew's relics was carried

from town to town, and the new Cathedral of Galați got a piece of the Saint's relic and

took him as its patron, while many other Churches took the Apostle as their patron saint.

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[69] While this is itself part of the mythical history it is also true that in Dobrogea researchers found the oldest Christian settlements in Romania's territory, but it is still insufficient for claiming Andrew's baptism, in ibid., 320.

[70] Ibid., 321.

[71] Ibid., 321.

[72] Ibid., 323.

[73] Ibid.

[74] Conovici mentioned that Saint Andrew is celebrated on November 30, just one day before the celebration of Romania's National Day on December 1, ibid.

In 1992 the ROC proposed to canonize 19 saints and in 1995 it proposed to popularize the cult of the new saints on the whole territory of Romania.[75] In 1992, the Holy Synod also decided to have a Sunday of Romanian Saints following the Sunday of all Saints which was popularized and became very famous.[76] The canonizations also proclaimed the identity between saints and heroes, mention the heroism of saints and the holy character of national heroes' actions. In this logic, the victims of the 1989 Revolution are martyr-heroes and the churches and monasteries dedicated to heroes are not few, as is for example the "Nation's Heroes" monastery in Bukovina.[77] The cult of heroes is particularly celebrated by the ROC as National Heroes' Day in the same day as the Lord's Ascension.[78]

ROC's position was challenged when the educational system based on teaching an exclusive version of history changed by introducing alternative history textbooks.[79] Additionally, the Romanian Greek Catholic Church (RGCC) claimed to be "national church," the first martyr saint of Communists. Some authors have debated whether a Catholicization of Romania would bring the country quicker in the sphere of the Western civilization, which ran contrary to the mythical Romania at the crossroad of West and

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[75] Ibid., 324.

[76] The inclusion of Stephan the Great, and of two more princes, Constantin Brâncovenu and in 2008 of Neagoe Basarab, followed the Christian tradition of canonizing emperors, St. Constantin the Great, St. Louis of France, Stephan of Hungary and Stephan Dušan of Serbiaș however the inclusion of Oprea Miclăuș and Moise Măcinic, who were openly anti-Uniate did not pass unnoticed, see ibid., 325-327.

[77] Ibid., 327.

[78] Ibid., 328.

[79] Because the ROC relied its national discourse on the official state version of history which emphasized "continuity," (suitable for ROC's theory of symbiosis between church and nation) the introduction of history textbooks such as the one coordinated by Sorin Mitu's at Sigma Publishing House was interpreted as an attack on the Church and on the nation, ibid., 338-339.

East, as a unique synthesis of Latinity and Orthodoxy.[80] The ROC started a campaign

which incriminated the Greek Catholics for representing foreign interests and for

betraying the Romanian nation.[81] In Cluj Transylvania, Metropolitan Anania, and even

Teoctist from Bucharest, participated in the anti-Greek Catholic discourse, but violence

reoccurs almost every time there is a dispute between the two Churches.[82] The ROC was

very sensitive about the proselytism of the Protestant Churches and especially wary of the

RGCC since the "national" status is a very influential form of proselytism. Earl Pope

argued that Orthodox proselytism is manifest in the claim to possess the ultimate truth

and in demeaning other denominations that takes affirmative steps either by discouraging

them or by outright violence.[83]Mertus and Frost wrote that the intolerant nationalism does

not try to accommodate the beliefs and practices of nonreligious populations and of less

dominant religious prototypes, but tends to support a single set of values and symbols, a

single civil religion I may add.[84] In 1990, the new regime led by Ion Iliescu allowed the

association of Greek Catholic faith with evil, exploiting society's prejudices. Greek

Catholics were considered traitors, worse than Roman-Catholics Hungarians, whose

church has been ignored to a certain degree by the politic of repression during

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[80] Ibid., 341.

[81] Ibid., 343.

[82] The ROC always reminds about the destruction of churches in Transyylvania done by General Bucow; it should be noted that the ROC is not entirely anti-Greek Catholic, and that some hierarchs consider it the "sister Church," and Corneanu's gesture to restitute some 50 churches to the Greek Catholics, ibid., 344, 349.

[83] Earl A. Pope, "Ecumenism, Religious Freedom, and the "National Church" Controversy in Romania*," Journal of Ecumenical Studies,* 36, No.1-2, (Winter-Spring 1999): 201; on violence see Gabriel Andreescu, *Right Wing Extremism in Romania*, (Ethnocultural Diversity Centre, CLuj Napoca, 2003): 17.

[84] Julie Mertus and Kathryn Minyard Frost, "Faith and (In)Tolerance of Minority Religions: A Comparative Analysis of Romania, Ukraine and Poland*," Journal of Ecumenical Studies,* 36:1-2, (Winter-Spring 1999): 66-67.

Communism. Mass media supported this trend and ROC hierarchs unleashed a campaign to demolish the Greek Catholic Churches.[85]

Conovici argued that the ROC obtained a symbolic ascendency compared to the RGCC after two key events. First, was the signing in 1993 of a declaration of the representatives of Orthodox and Catholics, in the Committee for Orthodox-Catholic Dialogue which recognized that Uniatism was a solution of the past, practically supporting the ROC's non-recognition of the ecclesiastical status of the RGCC.[86] If this declaration was not even signed by all the participants in the Committee, the second event was more powerful. While visiting Romania, John Paul II credited the ROC's discourse, and reminded and thus recognized Apostle Andrew's Christening, the bimillennial Christian tradition, and finally he mentioned the synthesis of Latinity and Orthodoxy.[87] The 2002 population census showed that proselytism has tempered and the ROC treated the Protestant sects as marginal phenomena.[88] The specter of the Greek-Catholics, the refusal of "national church" status, and the diversification of its own discourse regarding the nation may force the ROC to review the use of religious nationalism.[89] Behind it laid other stakes, such as the role of the Church in public life, the questions of property and taxation, the question of Romanian communities abroad, as

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[85] Orlich, ibid., 412.

[86] The meeting was held in Lebanon in Balamand, Conovici, ibid., 349.

[87] Ibid., 348.

[88] Ibid., 353. See also the 2002 Romanian census results, "Structura Populației după Principalele Etnii, pe Religii -2002,"[Population structure after main ethnic group, by religion-2002,] *Census 2002,* last accessed March 2, 2012, http://www.insse.ro/cms/files/RPL2002INS/vol4/grafice/g9.htm. See also "Populația pe Etnie si Religie" [Population by Ethnic Group and Religion], *Census 2002,* last accessed March 2, 2012, http://www.insse.ro/cms/files/RPL2002INS/vol4/tabele/t5.pdf.

[89] Conovici, ibid., 354.

well as questions regarding ecclesiology and theology which are diversifying more and more.[90]

The ROC's lower clergy is more prone to use religious nationalism, but even such cases are isolated. In 2001 the media and the intelligence service reported that approximately fifteen Orthodox priests from Oradea Bishopric held secret meetings at the Piatra Craiului Monastery of Fr. Gregorie and tried to revive the Legionary movement of Zelea Codreanu.[91] The group was disbanded and it appeared that Fr. Gregorie has spent some time at Mount Athos in Greece where he was influenced by fundamentalist monks.[92] The lower clergy and fringe groups of monks are also responsible for such unfortunate events like the one at the Tanacu monastery,[93] or the promotion of the nationalist and religious philanthropist Gigi Becali.[94] Gigi Becali, who called himself Războinicul Luminii (Warrior of the Light), not only brought a more or less legitimate religious speech in the run for presidency in 2009, but he assumed a messianic role for the nation. He revived the princely visits to Mount Athos, and when in a visit to

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[90] Ibid., 355.

[91] Ramet, "Orthodox Churches and the 'idyllic past,'" in Byrnes and Katzenstein, ibid., 152.

[92] Ibid., see also Miruna Ionescu, "Preoții legionari forțează Biserica Ortodoxă,"[The Legionaries Priests Force the Orthodox Church], (March 15, 2005), last accessed March 1, 2012, http://ortodox.net/article.php?story=PreotiLegionari.

[93] In 2005, because of alleged signs of demonic possession, four nuns and a monk sequestered Irina Cornici –who brought some 4000 Euros to the monastery– in a chapel, tied her with ropes and put a towel in her mouth, only to later put her in chains on a cross for three days, which shortly proved fatal, see Mediafax, "Procesul în cazul Tanacu, de la instanța supremă, s-a încheiat," [The Process in Tanacu Case, from the Supreme Instance, is Over] (January 15, 2008), last accessed March 1, 2012, http://www.mediafax.ro/justitie/procesul-in-cazul-tanacu-de-la-instanta-suprema-s-a-incheiat-2335848.

[94] Neamțu claims that this media character has mysteriously been able to use all the available symbolic capital of the Church for his own purposes, see Mihail Neamțu, "România 2007: război cultural, criză politică și armistițiu religios," [Romania 2007: Culture War, Political Crisis and Religious Armistice] *Romanian Political Science Review*, vol. VII, no. 3 (2007), 759.

Maglavit[95] he compared himself to Moses in the Sinai desert,[96] but Becali also takes pride in his Aromanian origins,[97] and claims ascendency in Imperial Byzantine family. Moreover, he uses the cult of Saint Apostle Andrew to reinforce the Protochronist discourse of the bimillennial Christian tradition on Romanian lands.[98] The support of some ROC clergy for his New Generation Party, and his popularity with the mass media secured him a place in the European Parliament as of 2009. Only Metropolitan Anania of Cluj has officially opposed Becali's campaign to provide money for Churches and for church construction.[99] Mihail Neamțu thinks that Becali's popularity is not likely to fade away in case he loses ROC's support, and, argues that he is a charismatic character that speculates the Romanian "unprecedented synthesis of religious syncretism and Levantine cultural ethos."[100] Politicians like Becali are some of the best examples of Orthodoxist messianism today.[101] The most recent case of opening an Orthodox chapel inside the President's Cotroceni Palace point to the continuing interdependence of the majority church and state.

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[95] Earlier, in the dusty sands of Danube in Maglavit village, the previously mentioned shepherd Petrache Lupu had visions of the future and about the danger from East.

[96] Neamțu, (2007), ibid., 760.

[97] Aromanians or Vlachs are a group of the Romanian ethnic family residing south of Danube, present in Serbia, Bulgaria, and especially in the Former Yugoslavian Republic of Macedonia and Greece, see "Vlach," *Encyclopædia Britannica. Encyclopædia Britannica Online Academic Edition*, Encyclopædia Britannica Inc., 2012, web, last accessed March 4, 2012, http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/631511/Vlach.

[98] Neamțu, (2007), ibid., 760.

[99] Ibid., 761.

[100] Ibid., however, the presence of such fusion is far from unprecedented, it is enough to remind Emilio Gentile's cases of sacralization of politics presented in the first chapter.

[101] Neamțu. (2007), ibid., 758, 763.

The Byzantine Orthodoxist version of messianism, which envisions Romanian as the inheritor of the Byzantine Empire, competes with the Latinity messianism which posits that Romanians are the "chosen nation" and as "an island of Latinity in a sea of Slavs" who have a duty to bring the light of Western civilization amidst Slavic or other "invaders" or "barbarians."[102] Becali's popularity and pilgrimage to Mount Athos seems to point to a division in the Romanian society between the elite driven westward cultural orientation, which translated in the promotion of Latinity, and a more popular reliance on Byzantinism. On the elite level, Latinity and the Orthodox faith form the "sacred foundations" of the nation amidst invaders who managed to impose their language on all neighboring regions.[103] However, Latinity as an elite concept, displayed in most major cities in Romania in the shape of the Roman shewolf feeding the legendary founders of the Roman Empire, Romulus and Remus, does not always appeal to the masses that are mostly educated in the spirit of Protochronism history, which posits that Romanians were never actually conquered.

The popularity of Protochronism and Byzantinism may be explained by the lack of Latinity heroes except for those in the Greek Catholic Church. The ROC included secular popular figures in the national pantheon substituting faith in God with faith in nation, but they never promoted any figure that was related to the Western world even if

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[102] Smith argued that historical facts, which constitute the basic level of nationalism, have ushered different mythical interpretations of "chosen peoples," peoples of exceptionality. In Romania Bellah's and Smith's concept of "chosen nation," translated as "national aggrandizement," was the Byzantinism of Romanians and the Latinity of Romanians, both working as compensator factors for Romania's isolation and scarcity of history, see Anthony D. Smith, *Chosen People: The Sacred Sources of National Identity,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2003), 31, and Robert Bellah, *The Broken Covenant*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), 62-63.

[103] On the importance of sacred geographical national space see Smith, ibid., 145, 153; in the Romanian imagination, as reflected in the Romanian national anthem, the term "barbarians" describes those oppressors who acted against Romania's independence.

it accepted the Latinist label coming from those elites looking for prestige in history. The ROC only promoted its own saints and heroes. The idyllic image of Ceausescu's parents dressed in traditional clothing on the mural of the church in Scornicesti, Ceausescu's birthplace, was painted right next to Church hierarchs and next to Romanian national hero Tudor Vladimirescu.[104] These images merged the Romantic view of the peasant family, similar to the Polish Piast myth, with nationalist leaders and with Church leaders. The original point of departure in the formation of ROC's civil religion was the dream of ROC's hierarchy for recreating a Byzantine Christian state.[105] Myths offer meaning, while placing the accuracy of historical facts on a second plan,[106] and the Orthodox tradition has consolidated its image and position by creating a strong "infrastructure" in its relations with the state, and was thus able to popularize its own version of nationalism.

The elite's vision of Latinism coincided more with the Greek Catholic version of civil religion, which imagined Romanians having a "special place in this part of Europe."[107] Ioan Aurel Pop argued that the reason why Romanians did not accept full Catholicism earlier was obvious in a letter of Pope Gregory XI to King Luis of Hungary which shows that "they [Romanians] were not satisfied with the service of the Hungarian priests."[108]

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[104] Leuştean, (2009), ibid., 134.

[105] Ibid., 13.

[106] Cosmina Tănăsoiu, "Post-communist Political Symbolism:New Myths–Same Old Stories? An Analysis of Romanian Political Mythology," *Romanian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 6 No. 2 (Winter, 2006), 114.

[107] Ioan Aurel Pop, "Church and State in Eastern Europe During the Fourteenth Century: Why the Romanians Remained in the Orthodox Area*," East European Quarterly*, XXIX, No.3 (September 1995), 271, 276-281.

[108] Ibid.

The attempts to restore the truth beyond myth are interpreted as personal attacks towards the ROC. Ion Bria,[109] wrote that Romanians need to find their specific historical roots in the Orthodox tradition. [110] Bria's article summarized the creed of the ROC's civil religion in Romania, starting with the "persecuted nation" or the "Conspiracy Theory" myth,[111]which posits that Romania became insulated and lost international attention "because of its Orthodox ethos." [112] Bria thought that the Western-style ideas of religious freedom and privatization were appealing to the Catholic Hungarians, the Protestant minorities and the secularized city dwellers who were ready to end their association with Orthodoxy and were preparing to be wealthy Europeans. Since only few in Europe associated Orthodoxy with being European, and since it was placed at the borders of Huntington's "clash of civilizations" [113] as Bria wrote, it was no surprise that those

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[109] Bria was an Orthodox scholar that benefited from Patriarch Justinian's opening to the World Council of Churches in the 1960s, see Leuştean, (2009), ibid., 168.

[110] Ion Bria, "Evangelism, Proselytism, and Religious Freedom in Romania: An Orthodox Point of View*," Journal of Ecumenical Studies*, 36:1-2, (Winter-Spring, 1999), 165.

[111] Tănăsoiu, ibid*., 115.

[112] In the early 1990s, Romanians felt that they were the only ones not having a bigger brother in Europe. The Poles had a connection with the Pope, East Germany with West Germany, Hungarians with their former ally Austria, which helped introduce them in Europe but impeded Romania's entry. For Bria the other nations apparently hated Romanians and wanted to keep it outside; for similar considerations on the marginalization of the Eastern Orthodox Church in Greece in Europe; see Effie Fokas. "Greek Orthodoxy and European Identity," 2, last accessed 20 January 2010, http://www.hks.harvard.edu/kokkalis/ GSW2/Fokas.PDF.

[113] Moreover, considering the case of the Eastern Orthodox Church in Greece Daniel Payne argued about the existence of a "clash of civilization" paradigm that shaped the ethos of Eastern Christianity: "Because Orthodoxy does not have the understanding of the human person as an autonomous individual, the concept of individual human rights is lacking in the ethos of Orthodox political culture. Instead, if there is any concept of rights in Orthodox political culture, it is with regard to group rights (…). For example, the right of religious freedom as interpreted in Greece is not the right of the individual to believe as he or she desires, but rather it is the freedom of the church to exist. This understanding is reflected in the Greek law forbidding proselytism. For a Jehovah's Witness to proselytize an Orthodox believer is seen as an infringement of the rights of the church to exist in Greek society. Proselytism is seen as challenging the existence of the church and, as we shall see, of Greek society itself," see Daniel P. Payne, "The Clash of Civilizations: The Church of Greece, the European Union and the Question of Human Rights*," Religion, State & Society*, 31, No. 3 (2003), 263.

groups who saw salvation in Europe would be wary of the Orthodox identity. [114]Bria also

argued that the pressure to convert the Easterners to Catholicism was part of propaganda

of the alleged superiority of Western civilization, the economic poverty of the East, the

ignorance of the Orthodox clergy, the servility of the Orthodox and their Oriental

mentalities. Because of Western imperialism Bria considered Uniatism a western

invention:

> The result of Uniatism in Romania was the split of a local church. It is the church of the nations that is at the heart of the whole history of the Orthodox mission. The local church, with its particular canonical boundaries, local synod, indigenous culture, and language is the tangible expression of the church in a given place and time. It is essential for the local church –which is not a parcel of the universal church- to protect its jurisdiction, for it is there that the Catholic Church is manifested historically and sociologically. Although the idea of a local church refers to a canonical territory, which may or may well correspond to the frontiers of a nation or state, Uniatism created a painful split inside the Romanian Church. In 1925 when the Romanian Patriarchate was established as a consequence of the Costitution of Romania of 1918, its main project was to bring into its jurisdiction the Greek Catholic Church. The motivation was firm in substance; the origin of Christianity in Romania is not to be found in the West.[115]

According to Earl Pope, arguments like Bria's about a unitary "indigenous

culture" and about "intruders" in Romania are misleading if not completely false."[116] Bria

expressed the official position of the ROC that "Uniatism" is a colonial Catholic

project.[117] Bria is worried about the weakening of producing and reproducing ROC's

identity, and about its growing fundamentalist and intolerance,[118] but does not see it as a

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[114] Bria, ibid., 169.

[115] Ibid., 170-171.

[116] Earl A. Pope, ibid., 186.

[117] Bria, ibid., 171. Daniel Payne, a specialist in the Orthodox space, informed me that this idea is found in many Orthodox history books and historiography.

[118] Bria, ibid., 177, for more discussions about Orthodox fundamentalism see also Daniel Payne, "Orthodoxy, Islam and the 'Problem' of the West: a Comparison of the Liberation Theologies of Christos

consequence of the essentialization of tradition. Bria wrote that Orthodox believers

cannot declare the end of an "illusion" about their traditional Christianity on the basis of

historical research and sociological conclusions and finds the solution through a long

process of collective "metanoia."[119] In essence, Bria thinks the ROC should avoid being a

civil religion, which is a particular cultural model and is not universal but the background

of his arguments still resonate with civil religion. Bria thinks that the "image of a mighty,

wise and powerful 'national church' is a false icon of the Eastern Orthodox people in

Romania but maintains that the Orthodoxy is natural for Romanians.[120] In a comparative

study of Romania, Ukraine and Poland, Julie Mertus and Kathryn Minyard Frost show

the paradox of religious nationalism:

> "Only national identity counts, an identity based on a "nature" that cannot be approached rationally." A person's religion is a matter of "natural identity." That is Romanians are said to be "naturally" Orthodox; Ukrainians also "naturally" Orthodox but of a Ukrainian Orthodox variety; and Poles, "naturally" Roman Catholic. In other words authentic Romanians and Ukrainians are Orthodox and an authentic Pole is Catholic. Those who step outside their national designations, - for example those who choose a new religion or a minority religion- are deemed traitors to the group.[121]

The corollary of a civil religion of Orthodoxy meant that minority religions and

especially the Greek Catholic Church need to be removed from the national pantheon,

and that the Latinist rethoric needs to be tamed according to the desires of the ROC.

Yannaras and Sayyid Qutb," *Religion, State and Society*, 36,No. 4 (December 2008): 435- 450; for Romanian fundamentalism see Andreescu, (2003), ibid.,17.

[119] From the Greek *metanoiein* to change one's mind, repent, from *meta- + noein* to think, from *nous* mind, Date: 1577 **:** a transformative change of heart ; *especially* **:** a spiritual conversion; definition available online at: http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/metanoia , accessed 23 March 2009.

[120] Bria., ibid., 183.

[121] Mertus and Frost, ibid., 65.

Conclusion

Sabrina Ramet identified six liberal principles that are seriously opposed by all

Orthodox Churches and by the Roman Catholic Church in Poland: the rule of law,

individual rights, tolerance, the harm principle, equality, and neutrality of the state in

matters of religion.[122] The reaffirmation of the national status of the two Churches is

deeply connected to all the above since the high frequency of nationalistic references and

their linking with traditionalism antagonize mostly the religious and ethnic minorities.

More than simple internal affairs, the small religious wars in Poland and Romania,

backed by church leaders and by fringe groups, tell about the cleavages in their respective

societies. These cultural cleavages tell about the competing versions of civil religions

which battle over the proper place of Poles and Romanians in the world. These wars tell

about the close linkage between religion, civilization and European identity,[123] where

Orthodoxy and Catholicism, representing Eastern and Western Christianity as one of the

oldest fault lines in the European identity. The belonging to either one of these two

traditions combined with the historical lack of a state, has marked the Churches'

discourses and has influenced their faithful to focus almost exclusively on ethnicity. [124]

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[122] The harm principle holds that there is no right to harm other person except in defense or life, limb or property and that it should be restricted to a minimum; this principle is mostly contested by Serbian and Georgian Orthodox, see Ramet, "Orthodox Churches and the 'idyllic past,'" in Byrnes and Katzenstein, ibid., 152.

[123] See Effie Fokas. "Greek Orthodoxy and European Identity," 2, last accessed 20 January 2010, http://www.hks.harvard.edu/kokkalis/GSW2/Fokas.PDF.

[124] See Kitromilides, Paschalis in Daniel P. Payne, "Nationalism and the Local Church: The Source of Ecclesiastical Conflict in the Orthodox Commonwealth," *Nationalities Papers*, Vol. 35, No. 5, (November 2007): 834.

Poland and Romania are emblematic cases of the debate over "Eurocentric, modernist and nationalist discourses on religion" in CEE as Sabina Mihelj argued.[125]

This chapter presented some of the main instances of religious nationalism as an active search to promote the symbiosis of Church and nation for enhanced legitimacy and for defending the nation in case of threats. Religious nationalism which is usually inactive, resurfaces when the authority of civil religious discourse is challenged. The manifestation of religious nationalism is usually xenophobic, directed against the "others," and has violent accents. Even if it is only representative of fringe groups, within the Churches or outside them, it is a powerful force once the geopolitical context becomes more fragile and the country's sovereignty is under dispute. So far the NATO and EU present and future of Poland and Romania have precluded any large scale violent manifestations of religious nationalism.

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[125] Sabina Mihelj, Ibid., 275.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Conclusion

Summary of Findings

This dissertation clarifies some ideas about the association of the dominant

religious tradition with the nation in two cases, the Polish Roman Catholic Church in

Poland and the Romanian Orthodox Church in Romania. These two Christian Universal

Churches that lie at the border of Western and Eastern Christianity have experienced a

troubled history of invasions, resistance and fight for autonomy that was later attributed

to their flock, a flock that for nationalists meant the nation. The rise of racial science, of

social Darwinism, of linguistics, folklore, and preoccupation for folk culture have

transformed the understanding of the nation which relied on the social status, into more

specific racial or ethnic understandings. The nation started to be defined in a narrow

ethnic sense with the advent of the revolutionary ideas of 1948 and of Romantic

nationalism. The apparition of nationalism meant that a new discourse had to be adapted

and translated to appeal to the masses and the only available separateness of the people

was class, language,[1] geography and religion. Hobsbawm pointed that the cultural revival

belonged to the phase A of nationalism,[2] where you could find Swedes interested in Fins,

and Hungarians interested in Romanian language, firsts who put forward the theory of

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[1] Under growing German cultural influence, Europe was thriving with passion for "the people,"
and the vernacular languages they spoke, see Eric Hobsbawm, "The Rise of Ethno-Linguistic
Nationalisms," in Hutchinson, John, and Anthony D. Smith, *Nationalism*, (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1994), 179.

[2] See Hroch, Miroslav, in Hobsbawm, ibid..

Roman-Latin continuity in Transylvania.[3] Thus, religious tradition and language became the natural allies of nationalists because they were the only common characteristics cutting across different administrations in which Poland and Romania were under.

After achieving independence and full territorial expansion in 1918, both Poland and Romania, which had little religious diversity, have gradually put national and cultural politics of assimilation and homogenization into the center of their politics. The lack of religious pluralism promoted an ethnic vision of nationalism, which rejects pluralism by nationalizing all of the state's subjects by promoting the culture and the political hegemony of the core nations.[4] National identification gradually became coterminous with religious tradition, with Catholicism in Poland and Orthodoxy in Romania, which created a hegemonic monopoly that forced all the other traditions under a single "sacred canopy," or a monoculture type of civil religion.[5] This first full-fledged version of civil religion insisted on sharing a religious tradition, which relied on the idea of "chosen people" that have triumphed over history only due to their faith. In Romania and Poland, sociopolitical longings invested a highly idealized and imaginary past with nationalist purposes. Nationalists did more than recognizing the historical role of the Churches in defending national identity, and intervened in history to modify any mismatch between their vision and reality. For nationalists history became the most important battlefield, and they have intervened and popularized versions of it that coincided with their

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[3] Hobwbawn, ibid., for the use of the Roman continuity theory by Hungarian scholars; see also Schifirneț, Constantin, in Cristian Romocea, *Church and State: Religious Nationalism and State Identification in Post-communist Romania* (London: Continuum, 2011), 112.

[4] Rogers Brubaker et al., *Nationalist Politics and Everyday Ethnicity in a Transylvanian Town* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 2006), 45-46.

[5] See Bellah, "Civil Religion in America," *Daedalus,* Vol. 96, No. 1, (1967): 1-21, and Peter Lüchau, "Toward a Contextualized Concept of Civil Religion," *Social Compass,* 56.3, (2009): 371-386.

exclusive visions, but which scarcely existed previously. Churches profited of their new nationalizing mission, started to seek exclusive relations with the state, and tried to marginalize the minority religions, perceived as non-national if not anti-national. By becoming involved with state politics the Churches have abandoned personal morality and salvation and focused mostly on legitimizing the nation-state and gradually transforming the tradition into civil religion. Nationalism was perceived as a matter of national survival.

Before the beginning of WWII both countries have succumbed to dictatorships in the midst of the international crisis. During this time Roman Dmowski raised the doctrine of "Polak-Katolik," the total identification between religion and nation, in the center of Polish nationalism while in Romania, the "Gândirism" school of Nae Ionescu perfected an "Orthodoxist" vision which considers that Romanians as naturally Orthodox. The initial civil religions have transformed due to the fragile international context in powerful religious nationalisms, which targeted minorities, especially Jews, and those who defended them.

In Poland civil religion developed during the nineteenth century when Catholicism, romantic nationalism and Slavic messianism fused into a Polish civil religion. In Poland religious nationalist tendencies were curtailed by Pilsuski who far from being a democratic leader has still not succumbed to ethno-religious nationalism, and later by the beginning of the WWII. Nevertheless, civil religion built around the myth of Polak-Katolik has always worked outside the official discourse of the Church, mostly as fringe groups who disagreed with the hierarchs, as the lower clergy fighting for Polish independence against hierarch, and as Radio Marya or the Defense Committee of the

Cross in recent times. Polish civil religion was uncontested only during the Communism when even atheist subscribed to it. Kubik argued that having been unable to practice politics, Polish opposition chose to express themselves through the "cultural" medium of symbolic public actions.[6]

In Romania the "Orthdoxist" myth became the ideology of the extremist group Iron Guard, responsible for many assassinations and pogroms. In Romania since the nineteenth century but especially since 1918 when anti-pluralist ideology supported the homogenization of a diverse population the idea of nation blended with Orthodoxy to form a civil religion. The fragility of the Greater Romania project was visible in an ethnic struggle where large Slavic and Hungarian speaking minorities were threatening the newly achieved national unity.[7] This fragility later meant an increased role for the Eastern Orthodox Church in the nation building process. The leading role of Bucharest, and of the Old Kingdom region,[8] meant that the cultural policy also equated with a religious policy of assimilation and homogenization in the first place. Terms like "national Church" and "Romanian law," added to the discourse and the practices between the ROC and the state, which saw Orthodoxy as a "morals of the nation"[9] and less as a transcendental religion.[10]

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[6] Jan Kubik, *The Power of Symbols against the Symbols of Power: The Rise of Solidarity and the Fall of State Socialism in Poland* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State UP, 1994), 6.

[7] Irina Livezeanu, *Cultural Politics in Greater Romania, Regionalism, Nation Building and Ethnic Struggle 1918-1930* (Cornel University Press, Ithaca, 1993), 49-189.

[8] In Irina Livezeanu's opinion played the same leading role as Belgrade and Serbia in the formation of Yugoslavia, see Liveazeanu, ibid.

[9] The terms was introduced by Daniel Barbu, as a chapter title in his book, see Daniel Barbu, *Republica Absent. Politică și Societate în România Postcomunistă,* [*The Absent Republic. Politics and Society in Post-Communist Romania*] (Bucharest: Nemira, 2004), 277.

[10] Conovici, Iuliana. Ortodoxia în România Postcomunistă [Orthodoxy in Post Communist Romania]. Vol. 2 (Cluj-Napoca: Eikon, 2009), 304.

After the 1990s decade when civil religion rhetoric was prevalent, in the twenty-first century the "morals of the nation" rhetoric, remained defended by the Church as part of the tradition, even though it is less forceful as before.[11]

Directions for future research

My study has identified patterns where national identity and national myths combine with the local religious tradition and fuse to create civil religions, which are the identification of the nation with the religious tradition embodied in the Church. The American model of civil religion, as the most pregnant form of nationalism seems to have been very influential in the world. As Michael Billig mentions, "the global culture itself has a national dimension, as the symbols of the United States appear as universal symbols."[12] First, there is a clear tendency of Americanization, which in the light of the idea of banal nationalism means the ever-present dollar bill, Coca-Cola, pop-rock music and Hollywood productions are taking over the world. Second, it is hoped that Americanization does not bring about homogenization.[13] A possible new research is to assess the influence of the American myths and their powerful broadcast in the world. There is a surprising amount of American influence in world and an unimaginable degree of awareness about the American culture. Some of my findings point to the tendency to perceive events in the history of Poland and Romania not just as local but as reiterating events from the history of America, a history that is perceived to have universal value due

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[11] Conovici mentioned that there are more and more voices that denounce the secularizing effect of this rhetoric and that religion is irreducible to national ambitions, see Conovici, (2009), ibid.

[12] Michael Billig, *Banal Nationalism* (London: Sage, 1995), 11.

[13] Richard F. Kuisel, *Seducing the French: The Dilemma of Americanization,* (Berkeley: University of California, 1993), last accessed March 1, 2012, http://publishing.cdlib.org/ucpressebooks/view?docId=ft4w10060w&chunk.id=d0e2274&toc.id=&brand=eschol, 114.

to its cosmopolitanism. The tendency to Americanize is mostly present in film, for example the Polish movie *Czesć Tereska*, "Hi, Tereska," tries to speculate that the Warsaw urban ghettoes are the "Polish Bronx."[14] Kaczynski was similar to a Polish Giuliani, Romanian liberals like Bratianu thought that Romanians are the inheritors of those Romans who fled the Empire to look for freedom in the Romanian territory, exactly like the pilgrims arriving in America, while Iosif Constantin Dragan inspired his Decebalus head from the Mount Rushmore. The Americanization of culture also means the Americanization of local civil religions. American Evangelicals abroad have transfused the ideas of culture wars.It seems that the American culture war is inspiring international havoc as well, as the anti-abortion law proposed by the Romanian Baptist Deputy, Marius Dugulescu, of the Democrat Liberal Party, son of a Baptist minister. [15] The expansion of evangelicals around the globe, or otherwise the recent "churching" of Europe, mentioned by rational choice theorists,[16] can certainly testify for Americanization also, rather than solely for evangelization. Americanism, as one of the central features of priestly civil religion, a celebratory and self-congratulary form of civil religion, seems to have already entered the mental imaginary of CEE citizens who have their own flag, their own "National" Day, their own currency and their own culture.

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[14] Kacper Pobłocki, "The Economics of Nostalgia," in Oksana Sarkisova and Péter Apor. *Past for the Eyes: East European Representations of Communism in Cinema and Museums after 1989* (Budapest: Central European UP, 2008), 211.

[15] Oana Dan, "Neo-Decreţeii–Cum vrea PDL să inverseze trendul demografic: înainte de avort, femeia să vadă un film cu procedura medicală [The Neo-Decree-creatures–untranslatable, referring to Ceauşescu's Decree of 1967 prohibiting abortion– How the DLP wants to reverse the demographic trend: before abortion, the women have to watch a movie about the abortion procedure], last accessed, March28, 2012, http://www.criticatac.ro/15465/neo-decreteii-cum-vrea-pdl-sa-inverseze-trendul-demografic-inainte-de-avort-femeia-sa-vada-video-cu-procedura-medicala/.

[16] Rodney Stark and Laurence, R Iannaccone, "A Supply-Side Reinterpretation of the "Secularization" of Europe," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion,* Vol. 33, No. 3, (1994),230-252.

It seems that Americanization is also visible in the Polish and Romanian culture wars, which reveal deeper historical and societal cleavages, and where Poles and Romanians seem constantly aware of the international context, and especially of what is happening in America. This influence seems a promising research where the values espoused by the American civil religion have become a universal alphabet of the possible hybrids between religion and politics. This preliminary work allows drawing some conclusion on the importance of American civil relgion on civil religions and helping understand the situation better. Whenever the use of banal nationalist symbols is more cosmopolitan and has an international outlook, civil religion and religious nationalism, become trans-national phenomena.

Reflections on Civil Religion and Religious Nationalism

I interpreted civil religion as a form of banal nationalism, measured in the presence of religious symbols in the predominant political and religious discourse in the mass media, in state run public institutions like national museums and the public educational system. Civil religion is also sustained by the presence of religious symbols in public schools or other state institutions, in the presence of Church hierarchs at public ceremonies. The fusion of religion, state and nation, which is practice was the mixing of religious and national symbols, had the role of building up a sense of meaning and belongingness to a greater order. However, such unity cannot be achieved natively but only through "acquired habits, infused through cultural context, through schooling, through the action of dominant ideologies, through the modeling power of public opinion,

and so on." [17] When this unity and order is threatened civil religion is activated and transformed into religious nationalism. Religious nationalism which desires the total identification of nation and state with religious tradition is in the present a rather marginal phenomenon. This is due to both the diversification of the Churches nationalist discourse and to the increased security that Poland and Romania benefited in the NATO and EU.

In the light of the European integration these two countries have initially delegated their religious traditions in the background fascinated by the charisma of Europenization. The response of the Churches was a growth of fundamentalism and nationalism, as reactions caused by the decrease of their ability to produce and reproduce their traditional discourse. [18] In post-communism this was true especially because a reframed national identity and state interest toward European integration did not always coincided with the interest of the Church. However, the cleavage in the Polish and Romanian society over what Europe means, and over what is the role of Poland and Romania have brought attention to tradition and inevitably to civil religion. The new political parties were not yet very consistent ideologically but one could notice a trend of polarization between progressivists and conservatives. Progressivist, who try to introduce a secularization agenda try to remove support for the Churches. Nevertheless, in practice, even progressivists were wary to remove the Church from the public square and to cease good relations with it. In the eyes of the state, the Church was useful as a depositary of

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[17] Lucian Boia, *History and Myth in Romanian Consciousness* (Budapest: Central European UP, 2001), 150.

[18] Martin Riesebrodt, *Pious Passion: The Emergence of Modern Fundamentalism in the United States and Iran* (Berkeley: University of California, 1993). In line with Benjamin Barber, Daniel Payne wrote that the spread of popular Western culture, or McWorld, triggers a local reaction, or a Jihad, see Daniel P Payne, *The Revival of Political Hesychasm in Contemporary Orthodox Thought: The Political Hesychasm of John S. Romanides and Christos Yannaras* (Lanham, MD: Lexington, 2011), 19-21, 260.

tradition and continuity. By using the symbolic power of the Church, the power of the state found it easier to resort to familiar images and to nationalistic speech in times of political difficulties. The state used civil religious symbols during communism to propagate a nationalist discourse which was growing fashionable in Eastern Europe. State institutions promoted a civil religious ideology in state institutions like national museums and public schools, which had a pedagogical role to standardize different culture and homogenize the territory and to unify it symbolically. This policy was perpetuated after Communism even thought specific Communist symbols disappeared and have largely become gadgets for nostalgic groups.

It should not come as a surprise that Romanian or Polish politics focus so much on identity after half of century of being thrown together with their neighbors in the grey conceptual mixture that is Eastern Europe. In addition, it should not be a surprise that years of economic backwardness are internalized and perceived by many as simple national genetic dysfunctions. Besides the myths of extraordinary "chosen people" it is very common that Poles and Romanians point to their nations as being characterized by laziness, lack of a "work ethic," and general disorder. This inferiority complex has created a need to reshape the image of Poland and Romania in the world and especially in Europe. There is an immense need to reform, reorganize, and put things in order. These rearranging tendencies are the main engine of secularization in Poland and Romania and the promotion of national interest coincided today with the promotion of modernization. The admiration towards the West and the inferiority complex of "Eastern" Europeans,

and especially of Orthodox Europeans goes back as far as 1054 and shows the

unavoidable ideologization of the east-west division.[19]

The inclusion of Poland and Romania in NATO and EU diminished some

geopolitical concerns and has discouraged religious nationalism. Their recognition as

somehow "Western" has also blocked major political goals for the future which resulted

in a new identity crisis.[20] However, today the national problem seems difficult in the light

of the prolonged economic recession and revival of nationalism in a West confronted

with divisions along ethnic, ideological and religious lines.[21] Poland and Romania

indicate that an updated civil religion that could hybridize the traditional one, since the

population is largely committed to European values. This dissertation finally argues that

religion is important as a national identifying factor, where people place themselves in

identity contexts and where they need to have familiar object in order to further build

their national and religious identity. The role of the tradition and of theology has been

sometimes exaggerated and has created the impression of a monolithic Catholicism and

Orthodoxy. The traditionalist conservatory attitude of these Churches needs to be revised

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[19] Vasilios Makrides, "Orthodox Anti-Westernism Today: A Hindrance to European Integration?" *International Journal for the Study of the Christian Church*, Vol. 9, No. 3, (August 2009), 209–224.

[20] Barbu mentioned that in Romania the idea of a "return to Europe" has replaced any positive political projects, see Barbu, ibid., 222.

[21] Tolerance seem to be fractured by a pattern of European culture wars between Europeanism, conservatism and Christian neo-fundamentalism on one side, between Islamism on the other and finally both of these sides against the left-wing progressivists and atheism; the prohibition of minarets in Swiss or the more recent killings in Norway in 2011 are perfect examples; see James Davison Hunter, *Culture Wars: The Struggle to Define America*, (New York: Basic, 1991), Paul Belien, "Europe's Culture War: Secularism on the March," *The Brussels Journal,* May 23, 2007, last accessed February 15, 2012, http://www.brusselsjournal.com/node/2144, and Michael Kimmelman, "When Fear Turns Graphic," *The New York Times,* January 14, 2010, last accessed February 15, 2012, http://www.nytimes.com/2010/01/17/arts/design/17abroad.html?pagewanted=all. Relevant to this study is that both the Orthodox Church and the Catholic Church are cooperating to fight secularism in Europe, see Daniel P. Payne and Jennifer M. Kent, "An Alliance of the Sacred: Prospects for a Catholic-Orthodox Partnership Against Secularism in Europe,"*Journal Of Ecumenical Studies,* 46, no. 1 (2011) : 41-66, *Academic Search Complete*, EBSCO*host* (accessed May 1, 2012).

and to consider that they are multiple-core institutions, highly adapted to modernity and displaying a more and more profound affinity with the West, [22] even in Romania's Orthodox culture, where the Latinity myths partially underlie the inner desire of the society as part of the process of politicization of religion, still functioning today. Traditionalism as expressed by the Church, is in continuous redefinition or reconstruction bound not only to its own institutional reality but to the state, and the nation. The PRCC and the ROC are typical cases representing Catholic or Orthodox tradition that transformed into civil religion, and the role of theology and morality diminished when the Churches became geopolitically involved in saving and defending the nation. In conclusion, this study argues that the sacred matters, even if more as civil religion than as religious tradition. In order to understand the relationship between religion and politics in Poland and Romania one must also rethink the term Catholic and Orthodox and their meaning in the Polish and Romanian society.

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[22] Kristina Stoeckl argued that attempts to copy the Western model had ambiguous results in Russia and possibly Russia who has less connection to the Western world is less attracted to the Western model; see Kristina Stoeckl, *Community after Totalitarianism: The Russian Orthodox Intellectual Tradition and the Philosophical Discourse of Political Modernity* (Frankfurt Am Main: Peter Lang, 2008), 26, 33.

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