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ABSTRACT DOCTORAL THESIS

**THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RELIGION
AND CULTURE IN THE LIFE AND WORK OF
METROPOLITAN BARTOLOMEU VALERIU
ANANIA**

Conducător de doctorat:

Prof. univ. dr. Jan NICOLAE

Drd:

Cezar Vasilică ONESIM

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KEYWORDS

religion, catechesis, homily, genealogy, discourse, expressiveness, catechesis, pedagogy, preaching, culture, apostolic tradition

INTRODUCTION

Metropolitan Bartolomeu Valeriu Anania made an important contribution to Christian theology and culture, through his writing and missionary-pastoral activity. The subject addressed is complex and requires extensive research, both of his work and of his catechetical and homiletic activity.

Our research uses a critical study and a rich and diverse bibliographic index, having an interdisciplinary perspective by approaching theological, linguistic, sociological aspects. The role is to bring to light novel aspects, not addressed by researchers until now, about this personality of the Romanian Orthodox Church who influenced church life in general and homiletics in particular.

The present study capitalized on a rich bibliography. As a novelty, in this sense, numerous articles published in theological magazines (Orthodoxy, Studies and comments chapter) and which were signed in the period 1949-1958 with the names: Vartolomeu Diacul, V.A. The signature with the name Bartolomeu was used after 1965, when he went to the USA. For our study, only Valeriu Anania's name was used in the bibliographic notes, at the recommendation of the guidance committee, presenting his work in chronological order. So, for our research, the following were used: literary work, work from specialized magazines (theological, literary, local, international, culture and art, etc.); the CNSAS documents provided by the historian and theologian Dragoş Ursu; interviews; conferences and memos.

Thematic framing

The work of Metropolitan Bartolomeu Anania is vast, developed in the literary and theological field, and that is why the research topic comes from the desire to decipher the dialogical relationship between theology, literature and Christian culture. The Christian Church has managed a constant dialogue between divine Revelation and profane culture, managing to provide answers to contemporary questions about religious life. The theme falls within the field

of pastoral theology, but also in the side of cultural sciences through his homiletic work which has scientific art value.

From the way his liturgical speech was perceived, Metropolitan Bartolomeu Anania is considered to be the greatest preacher of the Romanian Orthodox Church since the end of the 19th century, having a charismatic personality in this sense. We believe that beneficial conclusions can be drawn from this study for the scientific community, which will motivate researchers to deepen this topic from the perspective of the dialogue between religion and culture.

The relationship between religion and culture is captured mainly in the subjective memoiristic literature, relying on religious culture in the moments of tension that unfolded during his life. If we take the x-ray of his cultural biography, we notice that his main theme was the preservation of the ontological spiritual creed of his being and the struggle through prayer, following the model of the Holy Apostle Paul. The knowledge of his life and work opens multiple research approaches for future researchers, but it is elementary to know this theme that was the basis of his ideal in favor of the synthesis between religion and culture.

The symbiosis between religion and culture is traced along the path of cultural and theological biography, but the theme will be focused on homiletic and catechetical discourse, which brings something innovative to our theology. Our work highlights the fact that Bartolomeu Valeriu Anania, although he knew the structure of patristic discourse, understood that contemporary times require a different type of discourse, applied to contemporary cultural needs. Having a great American cultural experience, where public discourse is fundamental for society, he will dynamize church oratory, surpassing in persuasion the speeches of other great preachers: Dosoftei, Varlaam, Teofil Pârâian, Antonie Plămădeala, Cleopa Ilie.

General purpose and objectives

The premises from which we start our research are the following: Bartolomeu Valeriu Anania only has a strictly literary work, or does he also have a theological-literary work? How much did culture and theology matter in the formation of religious-moral character? Does his work support Christian preaching? Did Bartolomeu Anania achieve his ideal regarding the symbiosis between religion and culture? That is why our work aims to find out the answers to these questions and to achieve these goals it is necessary to research both his biography and his work.

Regarding the relationship between religion and culture (literature, essays, politics), we note the fact that he made the junction between the secular and the profane, culminating in the

diorthosization and annotation of the Bible according to the Septuagint. Another aspect pursued by our research is the way in which the elements of mythology are clothed in theological substratum.

Based on these coordinates, we want to deepen his literary and theological work and discover if his cultural analyzes reflect the passion for Byzantine spirituality in general, and Romanian spirituality in particular. For the stage of our evaluation, we will take into account the fact that Bartolomeu Anania was a scholar-monk, spiritually trained by his priestly ancestors from his maternal family, to which were added the pedagogical contributions of lay theologians: Teodor M. Popescu, Ioan G. Coman , Gala Galaction, Nichifor Crainic, etc.

Another objective pursued is the presentation of the report with various Romanian religious writers. According to his training and the themes addressed, Bartolomeu Anania stood out for capitalizing on classicism, furrowed by romanticism. A telling example is both the way he made the analogy between the Prologue of the Gospel of John and Mihai Eminescu's *Luceafăr*, but also how he dramaturgically correlated historical myths against the background of Byzantine spirituality. So, our goal is to outline the complex personality of a literary and theological creator, and how he capitalized on culture for the preaching of the Gospel.

Research stage

The personality of Metropolitan Bartolomeu Anania has attracted the attention of many researchers in the debates of today's scientific and cultural society. Since one of his pastoral concerns was the realization of the symbiosis between religion and culture, he attracted the attention of many people of culture, not only from the literary world, but also from the world of science, approaching his personality as a theologian, a man of culture and a far-reaching scholar.

The literary work of Metropolitan Bartolomeu Anania raised a real interest for research in the Department of Philology and History of several universities: Lucian-Vasile Bâgiu, *Valeriu Anania. Scriitorul*, Cluj Napoca, Limes, 2006 – lucrare publicată; Nicoleta Pălimaru, *Valeriu Anania. Opera literară*, Editura Limes / Renașterea, Cluj Napoca, 2011; Doina Pologea – Berceanu, *O fereastră spre sacru. Introducere în opera lui Bartolomeu Valeriu Anania*, Universitatea din Târgu Mureș, 2017 – lucrare publicată; Adrian Bărbieru, *Valeriu Anania – studiu monografic*, Universitatea din București, 2018; Arhim. Dumitru Cobzaru, *Bartolomeu Valeriu Anania (1921-2011). Omul Destinul si Istoria*, în cadrul Școlii Doctorale a Institutului de Istorie „George Barițiu” al Academiei Române - Filiala Cluj-Napoca – lucrare publicată; Cristina Elena Safta, *Staging Divinity: Valeriu Anania (Miorița, Meșterul Manole)*, Lucian

Blaga (Meșterul Manole) și Marin Sorescu (Paraclisierul, Iona), Universitatea 1 Decembrie 1918 Alba Iulia, 2019; Constantin Petrea, *Valeriu (Bartolomeu) Anania – omul și scriitorul*, Universitatea din Brașov, 2019; Călin Popescu, *Traducerile Psaltirii în limba română. Istoric și problematică (Biblia Mitropolitului Bartolomeu Anania)*, Universitatea Pitești, 2016;

At the Department of Theology, the homiletic side was addressed in a doctoral thesis, dedicating a chapter to it: Ionuț Vișan, *Profilul intelectual și duhovnicesc al predicatorului ortodox (Modele reprezentative din istoria predicii la români: Mitropolitul Bartolomeu Anania)*, Universitatea Babeș-Bolyai Cluj Napoca, 2019; and Bogdan Lupăștean - Barfă: *Metropolitan Bartolomeu Anania of Cluj - Preacher, catechist and vocation pedagogue*, Babeș-Bolyai University Cluj Napoca, 2023. Both works have not yet been published.

We note the fact that, from the point of view of academic research, his work was more often subjected to scientific evaluation by the secular cultural segment, than by the theological one. Furthermore, the scholar Bartolomeu Anania had the privilege of participating in the public defenses of the doctorates of Lucian-Vasile Bâgiu, Nicoleta Pălimaru and Doina Pologea – Berceanu. So the theologian and scholar without a doctorate is academically evaluated by the aspirants for the title of doctor of literature. Thus, his work passed through an ample hermeneutic filter and his contribution to the refinement of the Romanian language was highlighted.

From a theological point of view, Metropolitan Bartolomeu Anania is evaluated, in our study, following the way in which he applied his native and acquired qualities in public church discourse, offering the auditor one of the most argumentative and persuasive oratorical manifestations in the Romanian Orthodox Church.

Research methodology

In the work we will frequently use specific terms of pastoral theology, such as: homiletics, sermon, religious conference, parenesis and panegyric.

Homiletics is an object of theological study, part of practical Theology, which deals with the action of the preacher to speak to the people, in general, and preach is a word derived from the Latin *praedicare*, which means: to recommend something insistently; to spread, propagate ideas, concepts. Religious lectures are religious speeches and discourses delivered before a cultured audience and under special circumstances. They have the form of religious dissertations and emerged through the development of secular culture. *Pareneza* is the title given to occasional or circumstantial sermons, delivered at various events in religious life. Although it is a short talk, Christian teachings are presented in it. The panegyric is the speech spoken at

a festive commemoration, gathering for a solemn celebration and is intended to create in the soul of the listeners emotional states of mind in the speech is a pathetic one.

From an academic perspective, some specific research methods were used. Through the historical-exegetical method, the cultural and religious path of Metropolitan Bartolomeu Anania was traced from different periods of activity: seminarian, student, detention, missionary, cultural retreat at the Văratec Monastery and the pastoral one as a bishop in Transylvania. As a result of the research, the elements that stood at the foundation of the symbiosis between theology and culture were identified. The analytical method was used to distinguish between the elements related to teaching and culture, and for their systematization we used the synthetic method. The philological method was used in the last part of the work due to the fact that an analysis was made of the homiletic text from a cultural and theological perspective, especially the syntactic and semantic structures of the speech of Metropolitan Bartolomeu Anania. Without understanding the figures of speech it is difficult to understand the subtleties of thought proposed by the author. To understand the themes of his sermons, the comparative method, specific to interdisciplinary research, was used. Since our work involves the dialogue between the preaching of the faith and culture, then it is necessary to use this method to identify the common points of interference, but also to highlight the elements specific to each side. Such a method is useful to understand the clear and profound discourse of thought used by Metropolitan Bartolomeu Anania. Even though no single method succeeds in being sufficient by itself, their use throughout this work helps us to develop a coherent and scientific content.

Limits of research

Through its structural form, the thesis is based on a systematic exposition of the arguments that support the researched issue. The personality of Metropolitan Bartolomeu Anania is outlined through the analyzes made regarding the cultural biography, then the catechetical and homiletic work. The work is divided into three sections: *Preaching and Culture. Biographical and axiological landmarks in the work of Metropolitan Bartolomeu Valeriu Anania; Catechesis and pedagogy. Catechetical landmarks in the work of Metropolitan Bartolomeu Valeriu Anania and Discourse and expressiveness. Homiletic milestones in the life and work of Metropolitan Bartolomeu Valeriu Anania.*

SYNTHETIC PRESENTATION OF THE CHAPTERS OF THE DOCTORAL THESIS

In the first chapter, entitled *Preaching and Culture. Biographical and axiological landmarks in the work of Metropolitan Bartolomeu Valeriu Anania*, it was followed how Bartolomeu Anania understood the relationship between religion and culture and the way in which he made certain decisions. The exegetical approach was based on the published memoirs but also on a genealogical research expedition in the villages of Alba and Vâlcea counties. Here the maternal and paternal origins of Metropolitan Bartolomeu Anania were discovered. A genealogical tree was drawn up, useful for our approach, identifying ancestors who stood out through religious and cultural life. Genealogical research is particularly important, because it helps us to understand the study of the birth and evolution of a family, but also the kinship between the people of an era, their evolution over time and the way in which these kinships contributed to historical and cultural events (the establishment of the cultural home from Heads, of the communal library, of theatrical performances, etc.). În urma acestor cercetări s-a punctat faptul că Bartolomeu Anania s-a înrudit pe linie maternă cu boierii olteni Mărgăritescu. În plus, se pare că între acești boieri și învățătorul aromân Apostol Mărgăritescu din Macedonia au existat relații familiale.

Next, it was highlighted that Bartolomeu Anania was an unusual child by the way he orientated himself towards literature and the Bible. In addition to the education he received from his grandfather priest Ion Mărgăritescu and his self-taught mother, he acquired a vast culture. This was argued by: the gratitude for the writer Selma Lagerlöf (laying a bouquet of flowers at her grave in Karlstad – Sweden, in 1968); the period of adolescence when he breaks away from the legionary ideology and comes into contact with the Christian Dostoevsky ideology promoted in Nichifor Crainic's mysticism courses; the secret connection with Nicolae Iorga, who was not mentioned in his memoirs, although this was a catalyst for his dramaturgy; the passion for Mihail Sadoveanu's literature, especially the introductory literature from *Creanga de Aur*; the editorial period at *Dacia Rediviva*, which cost him a lot in the 1958 conviction.

The youth period was agitated by a tumultuous studentship, due to the fight against the demon of unrest. In this part of the work, we sought to decipher a secret key regarding the tragedy in his life (detention, deprivation of freedom and social rights). The negative stages in life were due to the stubbornness of not staying under the blessing and spiritual assistance of the priest. When he applied his spiritual practice, his life was peaceful; when the demon of unrest intervened, suffering intervened.

That is why our paper emphasized the pedagogical value of the memorial work. Bartolomeu Anania is the writer who wants to say something, but the writing is composed in such a way that the reader is required to make an effort to discover the key of depth, mystery, depth. Initially, at first glance, it is believed that Bartolomeu Anania wrote his memoirs only to justify his decisions and not to be condemned by history or by those who were concerned with manufacturing fantastic prose literature. Our paper wants to point out the fact that Bartolomeu Anania approached the memorialistic literature also out of the desire to convey a key of spiritual depth: it is not good to remain without a clergyman, without a guide. Thus, the memoir has the features of a bildungsroman.

Also in this part of the work, in which the theme of the cultural and spiritual maturity of Bartolomeu Anania was addressed, it was shown that from a biographical point of view there was a cycle: after ten years of peace, ten years of suffering followed. From this emerges the consciousness of a plan from the divinity. This self-awareness helped him practice patience.

After a decade of American life, Bartolomeu Anania had the privilege of a vocational education at the Paisian hesychast school of father Ilie Cleopa. It was no accident that he came under such spiritual guidance. Our study argued, based on the daily diary entries, the appreciation for father Ilie Cleopa (correction of manuscripts for publication; discussions and spiritual advice; supporting father Cleopa for the position of patriarch; attracting young theologians to the Sihăstria Monastery). From the listed, it is clear that Bartolomeu Anania was an initiate of Paisian type hesychasm.

In our work, after the interpretation of the cultural biography, the route of his conferences and sermons (date, location and the topic supported) was drawn up. This chapter is unique because the chronological and thematic route was drawn up based on the entries in the daily diaries. Mentioning all sermons and conferences can be a start for a new research topic and also for their recovery in an editorial volume. But their evolution over the years is also important to be studied, because Metropolitan Bartolomeu Anania looked back on them, improving them over the years.

Therefore, the biography of Metropolitan Bartolomeu Ananias is dizzying from the perspective of the temptation of the demon of impatience, but the painful experience taught him that life must be built on canonical obedience. Our study contributes to the clarification of certain ambiguities in his biography by correlating the numerous sources used.

In the second chapter of the work, entitled *Christian love in the present. Catechetical milestones in the work of Metropolitan Bartolomeu Valeriu Anania*, we focused on what the dynamic of Christian catechesis means. In this sense, we used the works of great Christian lay

pedagogues, who were involved in the formation of his character as a charismatic didactic. This research is topical for the Church. Through the new technological challenges, a formula is sought for an effective mission on the part of all institutions. Because of this, several forms of discourse circulate in the social environment. The church is forced to adapt to the new challenges, but not to appropriate these types of discourses (advertising, administrative, political, etc.), but to remain in the womb of the church discourse that was able to transform the pagan culture into a Christian culture. The Christian pedagogue and catechist must use this way of understanding church discourse.

Metropolitan Bartolomeu Ananias used clear and argumentative religious discourse for the understanding of biblical religious meanings and their application in liturgical living. Thus, we need an education that trains specialists for oratorical speech, with persuasive qualities. In this chapter, the good practices in the religious education of Metropolitan Bartolomeu Anania are highlighted. The quality of Christian preacher was acquired following the transfer of fundamental information about the apostolic tradition under the influence of great theologians: Nichifor Crainic, Teodor M. Popescu, Gala Galaction, etc. Each of them contributed to the formation of his religious-moral character, following the model of the charismatic apostolic educator. Nichifor Crainic applied the theories regarding the influence of faith in social life through the theme of the apostolate of Christian culture. Teodor M. Popescu wrote the catechetical principles of Christian pedagogues and the relationship between the Church and Culture. Gala Galaction presented the cultural profile of some great Christian preachers.

Therefore, Metropolitan Bartolomeu Anania used the principle according to which biblical exegesis must take place in the liturgical framework. Just as in the Liturgy of the faithful there is a Eucharist of the Body and Blood of Christ, so in the Liturgy of the catechumens a Eucharist of the Logos is performed through the catechetical-homiletic word.

In this sense, the biblical places where Metropolitan Bartholomew Anania intervened in the commentary notes with quotes from Byzantine theologians in favor of Christian education were identified. He argued that the mission is liturgical, synergistic and original, being influenced by three personal criteria: prayer, meditation and personal sketch. The catechetical word must be the transmission of the vibration of the missionary. It essentially describes the spiritual and cultural state of a community. The idea of strength is the struggle through prayer according to the model of the Holy Apostle Paul. This singles out Metropolitan Bartholomew Ananias as a missionary in the spirit of the apostolic tradition and Niptic Byzantine theology.

Coming into contact with the hesychast Paisianism of Archbishop Victorin Ursache, then with that of fathers Paisie Olarul and Ilie Cleopa from Sihăstria - Neamț Monastery,

Metropolitan Bartolomeu Anania uses a catechesis of a hesychastic and not a scholastic nature. In this spiritual sense, he received the task of correcting Father Ilie Cleopa's Catechism, then intervened with relevant statements in favor of Hesychasm in the interview in the Spiritual Conversations of Father Ioanichie Bălan. We note that the use of the terminology of Hesychastic theology and Byzantine bibliography for the period of the end of the 19th century, denotes a heroic spirit on his part. The censorship applied by the political system of that period did not allow shades of mysticism to appear in the public environment.

Another aspect, discussed in this chapter, refers to the role played by Bartholomew Ananias regarding religious education. This path is followed throughout the didactic period: teacher at the Bistrita Monastery school in Vâlcea, university assistant at the Faculty of Theology in Bucharest, dean of the Clergy Training Center at Curtea de Argeș, inspector for religious education in the Romanian Patriarchate, initiator of educational projects for monastic schools, supporter of national catechesis projects after 1949 when the Religion subject was removed from the public school. All these stages were examined and it was concluded that Bartolomeu Anania carried out this mission with dedication and passion, although the State Security opposed by removing him from the head of these missions on the grounds that he has the ability to mobilize people through words.

Christian pedagogy implies the presence of a pedagogue with charic qualities. This was the reason why the entire Holy Scripture diortosite and commented by Metropolitan Bartolomeu Anania was researched in order to find the biblical places where the catechetical issue is treated. For us it was a priority to find out how the mission of preaching Christian teaching is perceived. Following this study, the following fundamental ideas were reached: the catechist is the person to whom our attention must be directed, as he is an important representative of the community; he who reaches the high peaks of the Christian mission acquires the allure of a hero of his generation; education depends on God's mode of pedagogical operation; pedagogical work in the Church is not exempt from the devil's temptations; in old age, when there are situations of loneliness, catechesis can be one of consolidating the missionary work in its organizational areas; catechesis must be dissociated from philanthropy, because the fundamental feature of catechesis is the orientation of education on man as a person capable of spiritual life. The structure of his catechetical method preserved the educational format of the apostolic tradition with the specifics of an inner vocation: monasticism.

In the third chapter, called *Speech and expressiveness. Homiletic milestones in the life and work of Metropolitan Bartolomeu Anania*, is dedicated to an older concern of the scholarly hierarch regarding the work of the revealing and pronifying Logos in the homiletic discourse.

Acquiring the title of the best contemporary Christian orator was due to the fact that Metropolitan Bartolomeu Anania respected the scientific principles of rationality and argumentation, his sermon overcoming the immanent and sharing the transcendent.

Metropolitan Bartholomew Ananias positioned himself first of all on the connection between the apologetic theology of Saint Justin the Martyr and the Philosopher and the Byzantine philological theology, then on the personal academic progress regarding the theology of the Logos, which operates either by concealment or by revelation proportionate to the power of understanding of the orator. This chapter is about the arcane dynamism of the transfer of theological principles from one generation to another. The transmission of cultural and spiritual heritage is guided by the patristic model, and Metropolitan Bartolomeu Anania was the providential charismatic pedagogue for this transfer, in the form of an apostolic-patristic filiation. At the same time, the transmission of cultural and spiritual heritage is guided by the patristic model, which we have emphasized in the paper as being present from the tenderest periods of adolescence (the translation of the religious poems of St. Gregory of Nazianus).

In this part of the work, several types of oratory speeches were presented. Metropolitan Bartolomeu Anania used the church discourse, but with the specification that he did not use the language of systematic theology, due to the fact that the Bible is an utterance of the nuclei. Theology, according to patristic thinking, is a talk about God; whereas Holy Scripture is God's speech about Himself. Those who participate in the Holy Liturgy want to detach themselves from the usual language and want to taste the language of the Gospel. The departure from the church language, chiseled during so many centuries, attracts the lack of conviction and the loss of the convincing word, of persuasion. Starting from this principle of the homiletic discourse, that the homily or catechesis must not use the lexical construction of systematic theology, Metropolitan Bartolomeu Anania elaborates his sermon on the platform of two objectives: the consolidation of culture and the catechesis of the Christian. This is why, the preacher's reference to the theory of the divine revelatory and pronatory Logos, attracts the responsibility towards the Gospel and preaching. The language must not be a dominating one, especially since through church oratory there is collaboration with the grace of the Holy Spirit. This attracts humble humility at the time of interpreting the Gospel and permanent reference to church tradition.

Another idea, discussed in this chapter, refers to the fact that Metropolitan Bartolomeu Anania surprises us with his exegesis regarding the meaning of evangelization. This chapter is useful for research because it shows how the hierarchy understood the doctrine about the foundation of the Church. According to the definition in the textbooks, it defeats the idea that the Church was established by the Lord Jesus Christ on the Cross and on the foundation of the

apostolic preaching. Even if he remembers the apostolic sermon, Metropolitan Bartolomeu Anania realizes that the presence of a community is required for the existence of this sermon. This is why, the hierarch emphasizes the importance of the presence of the assembly of those who received the word and were baptized. The presence of listeners to the words of the Holy Apostle Peter was also a fundamental condition for the establishment of the Church at the Descent of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost. This horizon is found in the writings and sermons of Metropolitan Bartolomeu Anania, causing a spiritual awakening of the altar servers who, performing the Eucharistic miracle day by day, can lose the drive to preach.

Regarding the relationship between the theologian - intellectual and the missionary - preacher, he is shown to be in favor of the missionary, because it involves personal confession. Pastoral care can be separated from the shortcomings and lacks of contemporary times: the lack of courage to announce the word of God, the avoidance of speaking, the liturgy without a sermon. But being a missionary means being an apostle.

Regarding the relationship between speech and reasoning, the sermon must use logical arguments, because the argument is itself a reasoning, which has the role of helping to understand the truths of faith correctly. The more the preacher uses the norms of logical principles of thought in his sermon, the more the believers will trust that what is presented in the sermon are truths, and the speech will be successful. The application of a logical discourse attracts a better assimilation of the truths of faith. At the same time, it was shown in this study that the relationship between discourse and argumentation is essential. The intellectual level of the listeners is different from one generation to another, and that is why Metropolitan Bartolomeu Anania put in a sustained work to prepare for the sermon, broadening his horizon of knowledge of several sciences.

Metropolitan Bartolomeu Anania avoided communication pathology, being intellectually and morally able to transfer the teaching of the Church to the conscience of the auditor, through an intellectual conversion. He had the ability to tailor his speech to be as persuasive as possible. His persuasiveness was not languid, he obtained the affective reactions from his believers who appreciated his work done for the preaching of the Gospel.

In the art of speaking convincingly and beautifully in public, Metropolitan Bartolomeu Anania appealed to the expressive power of words. This part of our study looked at how he used an interesting measure of words, avoiding wooden language. This fact led to the establishment of the features of his homiletic speech: purity, precision, simplicity, elegance and harmony of style. To these are added the figures of speech: metaphor, description, comparison,

allusion, allegory, antithesis, reluctance, maxim, ironic interrogation, analogy, gradation, epithet, rhetorical questions, character.

This part does not lack considerations regarding the plea for the orality of sermons. Metropolitan Bartolomeu Anania was gifted with this talent of orality, due to the quality of a very good narrator. Not only did he dominate the listener, but he also managed to dominate himself. Through the plea, the auditor's intellect was probed so that, in addition to the pre-prepared sermon plan, he managed to artistically create a harmonious and organic content. Through sermons, Metropolitan Bartolomeu Anania established an interpersonal relationship with the listeners. This was achieved primarily by starting from the premise that whatever message you are trying to convey must contain something of you. You cannot simply transmit words. You can't just transmit information. You have to be more than just a transmitter. Otherwise, the preacher has no credibility and will not connect with the listeners. Metropolitan Bartolomeu Anania's persuasion was also due to the American experience, where public discourse is very important.

The success of Bartolomeu Anania's speeches was based on intellectual qualities, but also on physical aspects: voice, attire and gestural mimicry. Endowed with a voice that conveyed clear messages, he delighted the auditor and was not obtrusive. The intensity, timbre, intonation and rhythm of the voice kept it from being languid, unpleasant and boring. From the clothing point of view, of the garments used in the divine service, Metropolitan Bartolomeu Anania applied the note of common sense. We do not notice in his clothing proportions with sinister accents, but enough to betray the symbolism of power. The clothing was tasteful and clean, showing that he was a neat and tidy person. He also understood the fact that he was always under the spotlight. We emphasize the gestural mimicry and the fact that all his physiological features brought out the feature of masculinity in the foreground. His sermons exuded a spirit of wholesome manhood. The ratio of spoken words to body language was in favor of the non-verbal. It is difficult to achieve persuasion according to the model of Metropolitan Bartolomeu Anania, because his method of communication, in addition to these physical features, included interesting figures of speech and oratorical themes.

At the end of the third part, the oratorical themes used were presented: loneliness, isolation, alienation and sadness; Mother of God; Sermon – hiking; The light; Cascade; Dignity; The sacred sign; Waiting – order; The fountain of living waters – the deep; Suffering; Hesychasm; Culture – faith; 17.13. The Roundabout of Beautiful Creation. Pankalia.

The literary quality of Metropolitan Bartolomeu Anania spoke for itself in the expressiveness of the oratorical speech. His art as a great preacher took into account these

specific themes, which were honed over time. At the same time, he was an innovative preacher in terms of homily plans, masterfully using narrative. His specific style has become the subject of academic research, because future preachers want to understand how Metropolitan Bartolomeu Anania succeeded in this preaching project, that of helping people to better understand the meanings of Scripture and the Liturgy. He was the charismatic missionary who discourages people from reading the Bible and attending the Holy Liturgy without understanding the deep spiritual meanings. So Bartholomew Ananias is loved because he was the scholarly hierarch who took seriously the mode of transmission of the biblical message and created a homiletic discourse as a work of Christian art with scientific valence.

CONCLUSIONS AND FINAL RECOMMENDATIONS

The research of the literary and theological works of Metropolitan Bartolomeu Anania, lead to the conclusion that he was endowed with a vast theological and secular culture, on which the missionary activity was supported. Chiseled in the schools of Romanian culture and theology, Bartolomeu Anania is a master in the art of mediation, through the way in which he transmits the evangelical message, in a language that has been subjected to a permanent process of semantic modification of words. At the national level, there was a need for *"someone familiar with the ages of the language and the liturgical eternity to put them back into dialogue"*¹ and who has *"a remarkable sense of nuance and the property of words, a true polyglot of Romanian dialects"*².

Metropolitan Bartholomew masterfully mastered the art of stylization, and through our study we confirm his status as a servant of the evangelical word, of the artistic and convincing word. To support our thesis, it was necessary to use numerous illustrative means (explanations, stories, definitions, arguments), because he excelled in stylistic and persuasive strategies. He mastered stylistic figures exemplary, but not through imitation of a particular style, but through originality.

With a life spent through dizzying whirlwinds, with sufferings, Metropolitan Bartholomew managed to endure these vicissitudes and ennoble his career through canonical obedience and sacrificial preaching. The themes addressed in his works were of religious origin, and we can say that through his work he belongs among religious writers.

¹ Jan NICOLAE, *Celebrarea credinței...*, p.24.

² *Ibidem*, p.24

The bishop's ministry had as its objective the continuation of the church administrative policy according to the model of the patriarch Justinian Marina, with the attention focused on the person of the liturgical priest, whom he sought to protect through canonical measures. The care for the divine Logos was highlighted by the diortosing of the Holy Scriptures. As a theologian and a man with wide cultural openness, he applied balanced solutions, proposing them with discernment.³

The knowledge of his cultural biography is of particular importance for the Church's memorials, because from its knowledge we identify: problems of a pastoral nature; calendrical homiletic themes, specific to each time period; and it is necessary in the future to continue the research in the parish archives from the villages of origin of his parents, from Booz, Reciu, Drăgășani, Amarăști, Glăvile, completing the genealogical tree.

We propose for future research, regarding his cultural biography: the survey of the informative follow-up archives from CNSAS, both before 1976 and after his return to the country, at the suggestion of the writer Aurel Sasu; researching the archive of the Institute for Combating Totalitarianism, which originated in the Reflection Group and of which he was a founding member; discovery of correspondence archive in the Archdiocese of Detroit archives; the discovery of diaries with daily notes, considered by Aurel Sasu to have disappeared by theft:

"I also have to think about the management of the earthly end. Usually (unfortunately), immediately after the death of a bishop (but not only!), his possessions disappear as if by magic, melting away (I have not found anything that belonged to Theophilus, not even a walking stick). But the same thing does not happen in a monastery. So, these days I moved to Nicula all the books of my personal library (including those used in the Bible workshop), as well as other goods that had died in the meantime (icons, paintings, porcelain, engravings, decorative objects, etc.)."⁴

These directions of missionary activity certify him for obtaining the title of the most important Christian missionary of the last century. As a man in the service of the Logos and of Romanian literature, Metropolitan Bartolomeu Anania "pleaded all his life for finding an

³ Ștefan ILOAIE, „Regenerarea morală a persoanei și a neamului în concepția mitropolitului Bartolomeu Valeriu Anania”, în Maria TEODOREANU / Cezar ONESIM, *op.cit.*, p.145.

⁴ Bartolomeu Valeriu ANANIA / George ALEXE, *O luptă neterminată*, Editura Eikon, 2015, p.67.

organic and perihoretic relationship between worship and culture. His cultural work bears the fragrance of worship in spirit and truth, and his theological work the cultural refinement of the intelligence of faith.”⁵

The catechesis of Metropolitan Bartolomeu Anania was a synergistic and original liturgical act, imprinted in its being by observing the three criteria: prayer, meditation and personal sketch. Through his word, the personal vibration of the missionary is transmitted and the elements that describe the spiritual and cultural state of a community can be identified. Through our study, we aimed to promote the way of life and mission of Metropolitan Bartolomeu Anania, who, in addition to the three catechetical criteria, announced above, dedicated himself sacrificially to the promotion of apostolic, philological nyptic theology, which has as its foundation the struggle (apologia) through prayer, according to the model of Saint Paul the Apostle.

In order to confirm this desire, with regard to belonging to the apostolic tradition, research was done and Christian pedagogues, trainers of Metropolitan Bartolomeu Anania, were highlighted. We are entrusted with the fact that the way in which Christian culture was transmitted over the centuries has been brought to light, considering itself to be the product of a long line of teachings, which were in favor of the pedagogy of Christian initiation of an arcane type. In this sense, the commentaries of the Diorthosite Bible after the Septuagint were researched, the places where express mentions were made regarding this mission were identified, and our conclusion is that Metropolitan Bartholomew Ananias was faithful to the Byzantine patristic spirit. The knowledge of these comments was important, because the hermeneutic experience below, proposed by Bartolomeu Anania, was acquired, by which the Christian missionary must be guided.

The presence of the Religion object in Romanian society contributes to the formation of the religious-moral character of Christians. This topic is topical these days, especially since there are government proposals to remove the Religion subject from the common educational curriculum at high school. His personal contributions regarding the national catechetical mission were identified, both in 1949, when the proletcultist culture was publicly inoculated, and after 1989, when, at the insistence of the Reflection Group, the reintroduction of religious education in public schools was achieved.

⁵ Jan NICOLAE, *Terra eucharistica între arborele lui Iesei și vitis mytica: elemente de iconografie și cateheză euharistică în opera lui Bartolomeu Valeriu Anania*, în Cezar ONESIM et illi, *Simpozionul național „Valori naționale în creația Mitropolitului Bartolomeu Anania”*, ediția I, 24-25 ianuarie 2015, Suceava, Editura Arhiepiscopiei Sucevei și Rădăuților, 2015, p.17.

Interesting was his involvement as a founding member of the Reflection Group for the Renewal of the Church, which took place thanks to a discussion with Patriarch Teoctist about the new situation in the Church regarding the participation of priests in political life, emanating from the Patriarch's Pastoral Letter on the Feast of the Nativity. At Andrei Pleșu's house, on January 9, 1990, together with Teodor Baconschi, Daniel Ciobotea, Iustin Marchiș and priest Crâșmaru, this group was formed as a result of the situation the Romanian Orthodox Church was going through: the panic of the hierarchs, the uncertain state of the clergy, the demoralization of the Church leader and the natural expectations of the faithful. The solutions of this non-statutory and legal group concerned the spiritual revival of the believers within the Church, by restoring the symbiosis between tradition - cult - culture and normalizing the situation in the church hierarchy.

If the wise Solomon affirmed that *"by the blessing of righteous men the city prospers, but by the mouth of the wicked it comes to ruin"*⁶, we can conclude that the Romanian Orthodoxy knew, in the person of Metropolitan Bartolomeu Anania, the servant from the fortress who felt *"in the presence of God"*⁷. Sacrificial dedication, like a journeyman, in the contentious matter of secular and religious education, with the hope of realizing a more spiritual world was the result of superior cultural alchemy. Faith disappearing, credulity spreads, servility and coarse courage increase. In this sense, he established himself as a "sanctified" man, with the mission of restoring the spiritual and moral order.

For the cultural biography, an important point of the research consisted in recreating the cultural route, regarding the mission in the country and abroad, the places and the subject of the conferences and sermons. On this occasion, connections were made between the themes addressed before the episcopate, and the way in which they were resumed during the episcopate period in Cluj.

Metropolitan Bartolomeu Anania left a cultural and religious legacy from the desire to help people better understand the meanings of Scripture and the Liturgy. Even though some say they love Scripture, many of them do not read it or even study it; and others read it as if it were a treasure fallen from the sky, interpreting it according to the specifics of the respective day, without understanding the context and situations of the authors inspired by the Holy Spirit.

Through the church oratory, he ranks among the charismatic missionaries, who discourage people from reading the Bible and attending the Holy Liturgy without understanding

⁶ Bartolomeu Valeriu ANANIA, *Biblia sau Sfânta Scriptură*, București, Editura Institutului Biblic și de Misiune Ortodoxă, 2018, Cf. Pildele lui Solomon 11, 11.

⁷ Valeriu ANANIA, *Cerurile Oltului...*, p.352.

what the deep, deep meanings are. Through the orality of his speeches, he conveys to us the spirit of taking the biblical message seriously and offers us a helping hand. He entrusts us with the fact that the Holy Spirit is the one who assists us to understand the divine message and the fact that personality is not annihilated, but on the contrary supports it, as a form of expression of faith, through our words. In this sense, his sermon is a product of Christian art with scientific potential and represents the way in which the tense and energetic state between the preacher and the Holy Spirit is transferred to the community.

Following our study, we point out the following:

1. Metropolitan Bartolomeu Ananias was passionate about the way in which the word of Scripture should be presented in order to touch the hearts of the listeners.
2. His speech was persuasive because, from the way it was delivered, it was understood that it was not only necessary to read the Bible, but also that we should do God's will. That is why his message touched hearts.
3. His sermon was not an academic exercise in biblical research. He was among the orators who delivered a clear message that gives meaning to the biblical text. He demonstrated that theology did not become self-sufficient by taking into account current cultural issues, supporting the dialogue between religion and culture. Engaging in this dialogue, he did not use a wooden language, using quotations from the patristic period, but approached a rationality of the discourse so as to provide answers to contemporary concerns, for example human rights.
4. His speech was an effort to update theological meanings and a theological interpretation of culture. Culture should not be demonized. The preacher must be a good connoisseur of patristic theology, because during that period the Christian conception of the relationship between spirit and matter was elaborated, developing the perspective of the incarnate Logos. In this sense, the training of future preachers is postulated on a good foundation of theological education, which will have the role of purifying the culture. We emphasize the fact that Metropolitan Bartholomew Ananias did not use culture to explain Revelation, because the mystery cannot be circumscribed to human reason, but he used it to prepare and adapt human reason to the divine mystery.
5. His sermon was not a neutral one. He was one for hire. He preferred the dialogue between culture and religion. He loved his Orthodoxy with a holy passion and highlighted the vitality of the Orthodox Church. The power of faith comes from the foundations and sources of the apostolic tradition. We are proposed to listen to the words of the Holy Fathers and our ancestors. He was a herald of the Holy Tradition, of the Holy Fathers, of a valuable

treasure. The theology preached by Bartolomeu Anania is not individual, but collective, full of harmony and consensus. He demonstrated how Orthodoxy had the wisdom and practical sense to form a Christian culture by assimilating Mediterranean culture. Orthodoxy spiritualizes and internalizes; love the idea, the symbol, the tender and humble prayer; and it is inward and deep.

6. Bartolomeu Anania's memorials (Memoirs, Minutes of interrogations, Daily journals) shed light on the concern for Christian preaching through the symbiosis between worship and culture. Greater attention should be paid to the CNSAS archive, because, due to the lack of transcripts of conferences and sermons, it must be considered incomplete. Balancing the numerous testimonies from the Christian cultural trail and the documents in the file, leads us to postulate only the passion of the Security for fantastic prose literature. Through our research, we discover a Bartolomeu Anania, with the allure of a charismatic preacher, who, by publishing the Daily Journals, premeditated his posthumous strike against the system that tormented him all his life.

The existence of a vast literary and theological work determined treatment limitations and insufficient approaches. This is the reason why research must be continued in the following directions:

1. Completing the cultural biography through auxiliary history studies, in order to interpret the family relationships with Patriarch Justinian Marina, Olga and Teodosia Gologan. In this sense, a search will be needed in the civil status registers at the State Archives. The interpretations made on the side of the new discoveries will highlight the course of Church history through the influence of family relationships.
2. Capitalizing on catechetical and oratorical themes from unpublished audio recordings, but also from archive research from the Romanian Archdiocese of America based in Detroit. It would be interesting what details can be discovered in this archive to complete the profile traits.
3. Our study needs to be completed with critical analyzes from the witnesses who attended the sermons of Metropolitan Bartolomeu Anania.
4. A scientific approach to the relationship between the work of Metropolitan Bartolomeu Anania and the Byzantine philological tradition, can open new lines of academic research.
5. Researching the works of the Holy Synod to identify catechesis and pastoral mission projects, as president of the commission for education and culture.

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