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SUMMARY

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KEY WORDS:

Dualist Transylvania, Augustin Bunea, biography, historiography, the Metropolitan bishop Vancea, “The Romanian Encyclopaedia”, the Greek Catholic Church, the bishop Inochentie Micu Klein, reform, orthodoxy, argument, Roman origin, historic conception, structure, information, interpretation, literary expression, sources, positivism

Introduction

1. Biographical information

Augustin Bunea (1857-1909) was a native of Vad (Brasov County). He attended primary school in his native village and in Ohaba, and secondary school at Brasov and at Blaj for a short time. As a student of the Romanian Orthodox Gymnasium in Brasov, Augustin Bunea stood out through cultural concerns and multilingual skills, between 1870 and 1877. Remember, for instance, the initiation of a school magazine, manuscripts, entitled “Conversation. Literary Journal”, along with Andrei Bârseanu and the appearance of a collection of popular texts, collected by Augustin Bunea from his area of origin. In 1877, with the support of the Greek Catholic Bishop Ioan Vancea, Augustin Bunea was admitted as a scholar of the college “Saint Athanasius” in Rome, where he would graduate theology and philosophy and, in 1882, he would get his doctorate with a thesis about “the sacrament of the Eucharist”.

Called back in Blaj, Augustin Bunea was offered, by the end of his life, responsibilities and functions in the ecclesiastical, administrative and didactic departments of the Transylvanian Greek Catholic metropolitan church, by the bishops Ioan Vancea (1868-1892) and Victor Mihályi (1895-1918). Therefore, between the 28th of August 1883 and the 1st of December 1898, Augustin Bunea served as metropolitan secretary, protonotary of the Consistory and the Capitlu, as well as director of the metropolitan Chancellery. In time, the historian has climbed three canonical steps in the bobian Capitlu, becoming canon theologian (in 1895), scholastic canon (in 1898) and canon custodian (in 1901). Hence, during the period between the 1st of July 1903 and the 30th of June 1909, Augustin Bunea was forced to exert a function less suited to his scholarly pursuits, namely, wealth manager of the Capitlu from Blaj. The teaching responsibilities assumed by Augustin Bunea, compared to the ecclesiastical and administrative obligations mentioned above, were of a shorter duration. During the school years 1886-1888, Augustin Bunea taught the dogmatic theology in the Archdiocese Seminary and religion at the lower classes of the Catholic secondary school in Blaj. Besides, between the 29th of October 1900 and the 8th of July 1903, the historian was named by the metropolitan bishop and the Capitlu in the functions of Archdiocese school inspector and “commissar” for the examinations of some educational institutions under the patronage of the archiepiscopate, and during his last life year (1909), rector of the Theological Seminary in Blaj.

Politically, Augustin Bunea stood, since 1890, by the national movement of the Romanians from Transylvania, being distinguished by supporting the actions of the Memorandum, by the attitude of solidarity with the accused Memorandum people from Cluj (during 1892-1894), facts for which he was indirectly sanctioned by the dualist authorities and, around the year 1905, as a supporter of the political activist line of the Romanian National Party. He also developed strong reactions in favour of maintaining the autonomy of the Romanian Greek Catholic Church and the exclusive use of the Romanian language as the language of teaching in the confessional schools in the Archdiocese of Blaj.

Through his historiographical works, Augustin Bunea acquired the public appreciation of some academic institutions in Romania and the Empire, the scholar being elected corresponding member of the "Historical Section" of "Astra" (on the 24th of September 1900), corresponding member of the Romanian Academy (on the 24th of March 1901), member of the central committee of "Astra" (on the 22nd of September 1901), member of the Hungarian Historical Society (in 1903) and full member of the Romanian Academy (on the 23rd of May 1909).

2. Historiographical highlights about Augustin Bunea

The Romanian historiography up today explored, on one hand, in a small number of studies, different biographical, cultural, political, oratorical and historical aspects of Augustin Bunea and, on the other hand, it tried a framing of his work in specialized synthesis. In the first category we include articles and scientific studies published by Ioan Ratiu, Ioan Georgescu, Vasile Netea, Stefan Manciualea, Virgiliu Florea, Liviu Maior, Mircea Pacurariu, Meda Diana Hotea, Gabriel Stempel, Ioan Cârja, Corina Teodor, Ion Buzasi, Georgeta Luca, Iacob Mârza and Fanica Nita. In the Romanian historiographical synthesis there is no common point regarding the European historiographical trends in which Augustin Bunea's work fits, appreciating the influence of Romanticism (Corina Teodor), the positivist methodological exercise (Stefan Pascu - Eugen Ștănescu, Pompiliu Teodor, C. Teodor) and the "critical spirit" of the author, on the characterization line of Nicolae Iorga (P. Teodor and Lucian Boia).

I. The beginnings of the historiographical activity of Augustin Bunea: the biography of the metropolitan bishop Ioan Vancea

The research began by observing the way in which the clerk from Blaj draw up a biography to the united bishop Ioan Vancea, gradually establishing that the work was settled at the beginning of a career, somehow unwillingly chosen by Augustin Bunea, and namely that of a historian.

At first, the inquiry followed the relations between the political provincial context and the similar attitudes of the biographer, expressed by the comments from the text. It also tried to identify the personal and professional motivations of the elaboration of the work, assuming the hypothesis of some interests, both from the bishop, by publishing himself a positive image, and from the writer, by advancing on the ecclesiastic levels. Within the chapter an internal analysis of the text was also done, from the viewpoint of the structure, the informational content, the documentation, the interpretations, the criteria of judgment and the historical outlook. In the historical discourse of Augustin Bunea, typical of the 1890 reference point, we notice a clear and balanced structure, a concentration on the exemplary facts (ecclesiastic, didactic and charitable) of the metropolitan bishop Vancea, the preponderance and the diversity of the new sources, the praise dedicated to the bishop, traditionalism and modernism in the judgment criteria, the joining of the biographer to some fundamental historiographical principles (romantic and positivist).

The writing was fitted into the concise biography gender, multiple represented in the work of the historian from Blaj. In the end we observe both an accomplishment, by the biographer, of an active bishop portrait to the metropolitan bishop Vancea, a supporter of the institutional modernization of the school and the Romanian Greek-Catholic Church from Transylvania, and also the formative contribution of this writing for the future historiographical profile of Augustin Bunea.

II. The collaboration of the historian Augustin Bunea to the “Romanian Encyclopedia” in Sibiu

Although the three volumes of the “Romanian Encyclopedia” were published between the years 1898 and 1904, the contributory historiographical effort of the author lies, with few exceptions, between 1895, the year of the initiation of the project by “Astra” and 1900, the year of the publication of a synthesis attempt of the history of the United Church by Augustin Bunea.

Augustin Bunea’s contributions to the “Romanian Encyclopedia” were circumscribed to the project of accomplishment of a Romanian Greek Catholicism history, especially from Transylvania, expressed through its essential provincial elements: institutions and their chief representatives. First of all it’s about institutions such as “Church”, “Bishopric”, “vicarages”, “Capitlu”, “monasteries” and “autonomy”, by the Greek Catholic bishops from Transylvania and partially from Oradea, by the canonical people from Blaj and by the suffragan dioceses.

The subject was not new in the Romanian historiography, but, through its research and exposure methods, Augustin Bunea succeeded, in this issue, to broaden the boundaries of historical knowledge. In this sense, the historian valued critically and selective the former bibliographical contributions to the subject, coming from N. Nilles and the Greek Catholic historiographical tradition, represented here mainly by S. Micu, T. Cipariu and I. Ardelean, but also by P. Maior, Gh Sincai, Al. Grama, I. Micu Moldovan and G. Baritiu. He also studied, with preponderance to N. Nilles, T. Cipariu and E. Hurmuzaki, the edit documents concerning the theme, as well as the “sematism” of the Romanian Greek Catholic dioceses. He investigated numerous documents with official data, especially from the Metropolitan Archives from Blaj.

In the articles published in “the Romanian Encyclopaedia”, Augustin Bunea proceeded to a selection of concrete, positive, precisely chronological dating information, following a clear pre-established plan, rigorously to detail.

In each encyclopaedic article, the historian opted for a thematic-chronological presentation. The informational component part of the encyclopaedic texts is prevailing, the author’s interpretations being numerically limited, the both discursive elements fulfilling, however, first of all, through information and explanation, scientific functions. Augustin Bunea sifted especially facts and historical events through three Greek Catholic sieves: ecclesiastical, didactic and political, later taken in the text after the entering through the national filter. Both the informational component, and, most obviously, the interpretative component of the encyclopaedic texts fulfil spreading functions, promote the national institutions of the Romanian Greek Catholic Church. Historian of building but also of delicacy, Augustin Bunea knew to print attitudes to readers, by directing the informative selection or by the textual insertion of some words with an appreciative or, rarely, depreciatory character. The historian used a summary, precise and consistent language, but able to lead to the understanding of the historical facts and events presented. In terms of magnitude, structure, historical objectivity and linguistic expression, Augustin Bunea managed to present in the pages of “The Romanian Encyclopaedia” a series of carefully balanced articles.

Many of his personal contributions, printed in “The Romanian Encyclopaedia”, especially the biographies of the Greek Catholic bishops, will be used by Augustin Bunea in the content of some future works, of which, we can distinguish an attempt of a synthesis of the history of the United Romanian Church, published by the historian in “Sematismul” from the Metropolitan Seat in Blaj in 1900. A comparative analysis between the similar contributions of the historian, from the pages of the two mentioned works, made us observe the changes made by the author at the level of the structure, information, interpretation and

expression of the historical discourse and find Augustin Bunea's perfectionist way of working on all the research sections indicated.

For the author, the contributions mentioned in "The Romanian Encyclopaedia" had a formative significance, continuously challenging him to a clarification of the personal methodology of research, construction and exposure, approaching him to the past issues of the United Romanian Church, helping him with a value orientation in the history of the leaders of a central institution of the Romanians from Transylvania in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, giving them new ways of knowledge of the historical reality

The collaboration to the encyclopaedic work opened to Augustin Bunea the interest for the works of the representatives of the historical research in Romania, fact later proved by the enjoyment of some works belonging to the historical positivist and critical direction, illustrated by A. D. Xenopol, namely D. Onciul and N. Iorga, in papers published by the canonical man from Blaj, in the first years after 1900.

For the Romanian historiography, the encyclopaedic texts of Augustin Bunea had a contributory value, since they introduced in the public circuit new information and interpretations about the past, institutional and human, of the leadership of the Romanian Greek Catholic Church. Moreover, Augustin Bunea, through numerous encyclopaedic texts, having a biographical or institutional nature, proved to be a pioneer in research, to the knowledge of the ecclesiastical past of the Romanians in Transylvania.

III. Augustin Bunea, "the bishop Inochentie Micu Klein": historical method and source

The historian managed, through this work, to repay to the culture of the Romanian nation the image of Inochentie Micu Klein, in his twofold aspect, bishop of the Romanian Church and political leader of the Romanians in Transylvania, during his episcopate. Together with the work on the episcopate of Petru Pavel Aron, Augustin Bunea analysed, in fact, without theorizing, important stages in the history of the "Enlightenment" of Romanians in Transylvania, integrated steps in a recent interpretation of the "political, spiritual and cultural" phenomenon, belonging to "The Centro-Eastern Europe", known as the Transylvanian School. His research is placed, from a thematic point of view, further on the previous historiographical, Enlightenment and romantic precedents, especially Greek Catholic, which investigated the issues of the eighteenth-century Transylvania.

Augustin Bunea began his writing with the time of death of the bishop Ioan Giurgiu Pataki and ended it with the death of the bishop Inochentie Micu Klein, thus wanting to mark, on the basis of the history of the "reigns", a distinct period in the history of the Romanians in Transylvania and, secondary, of the Transylvanian Greek Catholic Church. The historian divided the material into eighteen chapters. Augustin Bunea chose the predominant issues in the life and activity of the bishop Klein, of the institutional and religious church life, namely the political and national events of the Romanians in Transylvania (represented also by the bishop) as criteria for the denomination of these chapters. The presentation of the problems is conducted systematically, having as reference point the chronological thematic criterion.

The reconstructive components, backed up by interpretative components, make up the substance of each chapter.

The reconstructive component is based on documentary and bibliographic research. The author proceeded to the accomplishment and presentation of syntheses and informational selections, rarely of quotations, to the publishing of some fragments and full documentation, with an illustrative, augmentative and contributory role. Among the eighteen chapters of the book, six are composed by Augustin Bunea only on documentary basis, of which half exclusively on original documents. In other eleven chapters, the information of documentary origin prevails and only the last chapter, limited in extent and importance (in the overall

work), has a bibliographical basis. This fact indicates the predominance given to the direct, documentary information, in the reconstructive historical act, by Augustin Bunea. The original documentary sources used by the author were found mainly in Transylvania, in the library Bruckenthal (from Sibiu) and in ecclesiastical archives (from Blaj, Oradea and less Alba-Iulia), and secondary, in the Empire, in the state archive (in Vienna and Budapest). In this regard, a position of primacy is occupied by the collection of documents and excerpts from Ludovic de Rosenfeld. Augustin Bunea also identified for the analysed problems the edited sources, in the works of historians: N. Nilles, I. Micu Moldovan, G. Bogdan Duica, E. Hurmuzaki, and seldom, N. Togan, T. Cipariu, I. Ardelean, Gh Sincai, G. Baritiu, P. Maior, H. Hintz, Jancso Benedek. The historian selected and used only official, reliable documents, issued by state and ecclesiastical authorities, especially by the Hapsburg imperial chancellor, namely by the bishop Klein, for example correspondence, decrees, decisions, rescripts, proclamations, reports, statements, tax assessments, circulars and other types of official documents. Moreover, Augustin Bunea published during the monograph and in the annex of the book, thirty documents, totalling over one hundred thirty seven pages, all stored in the archives mentioned.

Inserted during the speech and auxiliary to the reconstructive effort, the author's own considerations are generally restricted in this volume. The predominance of the introductory, observant, deductive, explanatory and conclusive considerations, whose scientific functions are the comprehension and the explanation of the historical relations, of their causal sequence, determines us to find an orderly and inquisitive thinking of rational gender. Of course, the historian has not kept secret, but has sent some of his own sensibility, which looms especially in the tumultuous chapters, favourable to the protagonist, the nation, the denomination, the House leaders and hostile to the representatives of the privileged nations and orthodoxy.

Historic building, interested in the strength of his materials, Augustin Bunea was found in an active dialogue with the documented works of Samuil Micu and George Duica, comprehensive of the problem Klein, namely with Eudoxiu Hurmuzaki, even if, sometimes out of a confessionalizing attitude, has voted in opposition to the discourse of the historian from Bucovina. But, as we mentioned, the bibliography occupies a marginal place in the work (19.18%), composed overwhelmingly documented (80.82%).

In conclusion, in this paper the historian Augustin Bunea expresses predominantly with four main features: organized, principled, sharp and emotional:

- Organized through the cut up of the theme, its thematic chronological structure, to the level of subtopics, speech and notes;
- Principled in the choice of the subject, in the option and informational selectivity, in the publishing of documents, in the presentation of the events in their causal determination, in the targeting of historical objectivity, in the joints works of the historian;
- Sharp in most considerations, particularly in explanations and conclusions;
- Affective in the minority of interpretations, in the relationship developed with his own and others.

Perhaps it is not surprising that this thorough work of construction, design, thought and soul had a successful career in the Romanian historiography after 1900.

Finally, Augustin Bunea's volume is a testament of the connection of the Romanian historian to the conceptual and methodological instruments of the historical positivist and critical school, located at the same time, in assertion, in the European West.

The book published by the historian from Blaj about the bishop Inochentie Micu Klein, whose rational, visionary, bold profile appears distinctively, incorporates a vast amount of methodical work and a militant manifesto. Its appearance came to reinforce the idea of the national autonomy of the Romanians in the Empire, expressed by the Memorandum movement, whose counsel was the author too, to affirm a Romanian activism in a political

atmosphere marked by the increasing legislative control of the Hungarian state over the institutions and the Romanian society in Transylvania.

IV. Augustin Bunea – mediaevalist

Augustin Bunea's considerations of Reformation and the Romanians Church from Transylvania in the sixteenth century

The historical discourse, in which Augustin Bunea referred to the history of the relations between the religious reform and the Romanians in Transylvania in the second half of the sixteenth century, consisted of several distinct phases, extending over the period between 1893 and 1909.

During the first period, called the period of reactivation (1893-1900), in which we can frame three of his historiographical contributions („Cestiuni [...]”, „the Greek Catholic. The Romanian Church" and "Short History [...]”), Augustin Bunea took interpretations and conclusions promoted by the Romanian Greek-Catholic historical writing, the Enlightenment and romantic inspiration, calling, specifically, the texts signed by Gh Sincai, S. Micu, P. Maior, T. Cipariu, G. Baritiu, I. Micu Moldovan and Al. Grama.

The second phase (1902) is a phase of actual recovery, being represented by the pages reserved to this phenomenon in “The old bishops [...]”. This reconstruction, which targeted two times referring to the attempts of conversion to Protestantism of the Transylvanian Romanians, first through the printed books in Romanian, and then by means of a hierarchy Romanian-Calvinist, was based on several papers published by the Romanian, Saxon and Hungarian historiography in the last half of the nineteenth century, as well as on documents, published mainly by Eudoxiu Hurmuzaki and Nicolae Iorga.

The third stage (1903-1906) is auxiliary to the previous one. It also totalizes three major historiographical interventions (“The History of the church autonomy”, “the Romanians hierarchy[...]” and “The Metropolitan Bishop Sava Brancovici”) in which the author, on the one hand, he resumed a series of information and interpretations expressed in the basic stage, and on the other hand, has added news about the Romanians and the current reform in the current Romanian historiography (Iorga, Hodos, Bianu) or in the Saxon times slightly earlier (Baumann, Hintz), but unexplored by the Romanian historical science in this direction.

Finally, in a one last step, most likely located around the year 1909, but which includes posthumously published works (“The Masters of the Country of Ol” and “The History of the border guard regiments”), Augustine brought Bunea incidental contributions to the topic extracted from the Hungarian works no longer used in this reconstructive segment.

From this active dialogue with the traditional historiography from Blaj, with Romanian contemporary writings, with edit, Transylvanian documentation, but also with Hungarian historiography, we notice at the author both a bibliographical and a conceptual evolution in the analysis of the subject.

Of course, through the controversy he had, directly or indirectly, with works by Nicolae Densusianu, Teodor V. Pacatian, Ilarion Puscariu, Nicolae Popea, Vasile Mangra, Augustin Bunea sought to defend, in essence, the existence of the institution which he served, of the United Romanian Church, using various formulas in the historical argument.

In this context, however, his contributions (documented, strict, objective) will enhance the development of the historiographical research, which is observable in the positive influence further exercised on some accepted specialists of the Romanian ecclesiastical history. For example, the occurrence texture proposed in 1902 by Augustin Bunea in the chapter on “the attempt of the Saxons to make the Romanians Lutherans” was the unconfessed string of resistance rings of a similar speech, signed in 1911 by Zenovie Pâclisanu.

Moreover, some similarities in structure, content, research methods and language make us appreciate that Zenovie Pâclisanu also had in mind this contributory section on the occasion of the elaboration, after the Second World War, of the history of the Romanian United Church. At a distance of nine decades, the priest professor Mircea Pacurariu included, in his turn, more contributions of the historian from Blaj in the comprehensive book on the history of the Romanian Orthodox Church. In the section entitled “Calvinism and the Orthodox Romanians in Transylvania”, the author had closely followed the sequence proposed by Augustin Bunea, the information published by him and even some historical interpretations, promoted by the researcher from Blaj in an own chapter.

Attitude and critical spirit to the historian Augustin Bunea: relations between the Orthodoxy and Protestantism in the seventeenth century Transylvania

The first compositions assigned to this matter were outlined by Augustin Bunea in the context of developing a comprehensive retort to the historian Nicolae Densusianu. Augustin Bunea included in “Cestiuni [...]”, the second volume, different views about the impact of the Calvin Reform on the ritual, the faith, the government of the Transylvanian Orthodox Church, on the existence of the Metropolitan seat in Balgrad and the status of its leaders in the seventeenth century, until the religious union. These are opinions of general predominant character, quasi-negative towards the actions of the Calvin reform in relation to the Eastern Transylvanian Church, taken, to a great extent, from the Romanian Greek Catholic historiography (S. Micu, Gheorghe Sincai, P. Maior, T. Cipariu, I. M. Moldovan), but also from the documentation of the Jesuit historian N. Nilles.

The same negativist conclusions on the implications of the Calvin reform on the religious situation of the Romanians in Transylvania in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, are presented by the author in two popularizing texts published in Transylvania around 1900 (“The Greek Catholic, the Romanian Church” and “Short History [...]). Augustin Bunea resumed the old accusations about the “altering” of the Orthodox faith during the Calvinist princes of Transylvania, about the suppression of the Romanian monastic life, the abolition of the suffragan bishops and the submission of the Transylvanian Metropolitan bishop in relation to the Calvin superintendent, about the expansion of Calvinism among the Transylvanian Romanians. He showed once again that the Transylvanian Romanians were “rescued” from Calvinism, respectively Magyarization through the adoption of the religious union suggested by the Roman Church.

In “The old bishoprics [...]” Augustin Bunea finalized an own reconstruction of the impact of the Transylvanian Reform on the Romanians and the Orthodox Church from the Principality. For the seventeenth century, the issue is woven into the chapter on the history of the Metropolitan Balgrad. The chapter itself reconstitutes fundamentally the historical stages of the Transylvanian Metropolitan church, in a perspective that followed the foundation, the evolution and the end of the religious institution from Balgrad. In this historical evolution, the author illustrated many aspects regarding the Transylvanian Calvino-Romanian relations, during the seventeenth century. Given that Augustin Bunea has rearranged the series of the bishops from Balgrad, their years of episcopate, the circumstances under which they were appointed or have ruled, the title and the territorial jurisdiction they held, fragments from their internal and external work, the historian broadly referred to the conditions that the Calvin authorities have imposed to these bishops, to the manifestations of the bishops and Transylvanian Romanians in the spirit of the Calvinist Reformation, to the social and especially economic advantages enacted successively by the Calvin principles, in favour of the Romanian clergy of the Transylvanian Principality.

Augustin Bunea grounded the history of the “Balgrad bishopric” and its relations with the Transylvanian Calvinism in the seventeenth century on the results published by the Romanian and Hungarian historiography in the second half of the nineteenth century. A research is observed, first of all, of the documentary heritage of the issues proposed, guided simultaneously on representative bibliographic information, today part of their investigations. The documentary sources used prevail, compared to the bibliographical ones, in a report of over two thirds. Augustin Bunea capitalized, with preponderance, published documents. At first, from the Romanian historiography from Transylvania (Greek Catholic: T. Cipariu, Gh. Sincai, P. Maior) and from the Kingdom of Romania (I. Bianu - N. Hodos, N. Iorga, the “Hurmuzaki” collection), and in a limited extent, from the Hungarian historiography (“*Monumenta Comititalia Regni Transsylvaniae*”), the Saxon (H. Hintz) and Roman Catholic (N. Nilles). The researcher has also published a few new royal diplomas. The documents, copied at the urge of Bunea, from the State Archives in Budapest, comprised, for the author, important information about some bishops in the seventeenth century Transylvania. Augustin Bunea made a selection, having in regard to scientific criteria (representativeness, reliability, validity) and, perhaps, in the background, confessional or subjective marks, which he has used critically. On that documentary basis, Bunea leded the historic Transylvanian church research. Augustin Bunea appreciated the historical research published in Romania, showing an approach to the historical synthesis of A. D. Xenopol and the texts of the representatives of the Romanian critics’ school, especially the works of Nicolae Iorga. Attentive to colors, an historian with power of discernment and interpretation, expert of the topics researched, Augustin Bunea turned or made, not once, claims of some historians (dead or contemporary), Romanians and Hungarians from the Empire, such as Samuil Micu, Petru Maior, Timoteu Cipariu, Eudoxiu Hurmuzaki, Nicolae Popea, Ilarion Puscariu, Tit Bud, Ioan Boros, Cserei Mihály or Márk Sándor, thing which again illustrates the gradual approximation of the author to some historical mechanisms of investigation promoted by the Romanian critical school in the Old Kingdom.

The conclusions suggested by the interpretations of Augustin Bunea, developed during the research of “The Diocese of Balgrad”, follow four points, namely:

- the condition of the church institution in the eighteenth century;
- the means employed by the Calvinist principles through the representatives of the institution, for the spread of Calvinism among the Romanians in Transylvania;
- the site of several bishops from Alba Iulia (praised by the orthodox church) in the history of the Romanians in Transylvania;
- the consequences manifested on the Romanian population and the Transylvanian Orthodox Church in prolonging the Calvin actions, the Protestant authorities in Transylvania.

In the following year, 1903, Augustin Bunea resumed his speech on the history of the Church of the Romanians in Transylvania and Hungary (in “The history of the church autonomy”), now in terms of illustration of the autonomy of this institution for a period between the end of the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth century, including in a separate chapter, the time marked on the entry, the manifestation of the Protestant rule in Transylvania. In drafting the mentioned chapter, Augustin Bunea used the results printed in “The old bishoprics [...]”, adding new information, from bibliography and the documents published, but which did not change its mean of interpretation since 1902.

The controversy with Teodor Pacatian on the age of the metropolitan institution of Romanians in Transylvania (held in “The Romanians’ hierarchy [...]”), occasioned to Augustin Bunea, both some retouches and additions to the subject, and especially the reasoning of some conclusions, already settled in “The Old Bishoprics”. Augustin Bunea found that between 1574 and 1628, in Transylvania worked simultaneously two bishoprics, at Vad, respectively at Silvas (later Balgrad) subjected by 1595 to the Serbian Metropolitan

Church from Ipeç, and from this year, to the Metropolitan seat of Targoviste . Independent of each other, these dioceses disputed the religious control over the Romanians in Transylvania and Hungary until the bishop from Balgrad managed to “destroy” and include the bishopric of Vad.

The analysis of the personality of the Metropolitan Sava Brancovici (in 1906) was reissued, from the same angle, negativist, and in the context of polemics with the archimandrite Vasile Mangra. In essence, the issues covered remain the same, the author resuming, with great critical spirit, the questioning on the beginnings of the Episcopal hierarchy of Romanians in Transylvania, but mostly on the genealogy and pastoral dominants – unfavourable interpreted to the Transylvanian Orthodoxy – of the bishop Sava Brancovici, respectively the circumstances of the submission of the bishop from the diocese.

In conclusion, it could be argued that Augustin Bunea advanced from the defence of the identity of the Romanian United Church in the work from 1893, to the counter-attack on the identity of the Romanian Orthodox Church in Transylvania, in the writings printed between the years 1902 and 1906.

However, the historian has brought significant scientific contributions on the institutional organization of the Romanian Church in Transylvania between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries, and on the relations between the Romanian Orthodoxy in Transylvanian and the manifestations of Protestantism within the boundaries in the former Transylvanian Principality. There are contributions, which delimit a historic speech, whose continuous progress, at the levels of information, methodology, design and even historical interpretation are noticeable from one work to another, although sometimes conditioned by a nationalist vision. Augustin Bunea evolved, in fact, from a research of romantic inspiration to the historical investigation within the critical spirit, in full manifestation in the Romanian historiography of the Old Kingdom.

V. Historical criticism, positivism and argument in Augustin Bunea’s discourse

Reading once again the chapters that make up the first part of the synthesis on “The History of Romanians until 1382”, the only one completed by Augustin Bunea we notice the formula developed by the historian at the very end of his research, and namely, “the origin of the people”, “the Christianization”, “the hierarchy of the church”, “the language of liturgy and the rite” of the Romanians are, in this age, bounded by the Latin half of the eighth century.

For Augustin Bunea, the sun of Romanism and Christianity raised from Rome to the Romanian Black Sea shore and the Carpathian peaks. As a result, the historian has sought systematically from west to east, geographically and chronologically, province with province, in an area claimed for the origin of the Romanian people, the historical processes of Romanization and Christianization of local populations.

In this research, the author used documentary and bibliographic information published. The typology of the used works includes narrative sources, epigraphic documents, patristic works, hagiographies, synodical acts, Roman-Byzantine legislation, published in Latin and German collections, as well as works of ancient, ecclesiastical history, of linguistics and history of the Romanians, written also in Latin and German, but also in Romanian, Hungarian and French. Augustin Bunea resorted to important Catholic documentary collections from the eighteenth and nineteenth century. He has shown interest in the German historiography from the second half of the nineteenth century and came closer to positivist and methodical spirits such as the historians Theodor Mommsen and Nicolae Iorga. In this context, he corrected interpretative errors at Petru Maior, Constantin Erbiceanu and Ioan Ardeleanu, continuing, indirectly, the old controversy with Nicolae Popea on the first Romanian bishoprics on the north of Danube.

The systematization of the speech, the synthesizing and the persuasion of the historical phrases, the erudition and the prompt method of signaling the sources, as well as the national vision of the author have been appreciated by a leading contemporary historian and we refer to priest Professor Mircea Pacurariu.

This historical text is a further proof that Augustin Bunea continued to argue the conception developed by the Transylvanian School concerning the Romanians' Roman origin.

VI. Final thoughts

Augustin Bunea's historiographical activity took place over two decades, bordered, approximately by the years 1889-1909.

His researches began as a sign of professional obligations, with the limited illustration of some local contemporary biographies and ended with an attempt of synthesis of the Romanians' history. In essence, Augustin Bunea included in his works an ecclesiastical concern, concentric to the idea of asserting the national identity of the Greek Catholic Church in Transylvania.

The historian's works are classified into three reconstructive types: biographical, thematic-institutional and synthesizing. The first two types are expressed in different historiographical formula, the author developing the sketch (biographical and thematic), the monograph (biographical and thematic) and the broad review, the argument (biographical and thematic). He also developed synthetic thematic reconstructions, of an indirect contentious character.

At this stage of research, we say that Augustin Bunea used in the composition of his works, three source levels investigating Romanian and foreign historical writings, on the subject, documents published isolated, in books or collections of sources, in the Romanian and European space and unpublished documents, found in the archive, having an official character. Among the historians that Augustin Bunea often investigated in the organization of his writings, Samuil Micu, Timotei Cipariu, Nicolae Nilles and Nicolae Iorga distinguish by their own works, and documentary volumes. Most of the documents used were capitalized from the Transylvanian ecclesiastical and secular archives Transylvania. The historian published in the foot note and annexes of some of his writings, as well as in periodicals, many unpublished documents, of great importance for the knowledge of the history of Romanians in Transylvania. In fact, throughout the reconstructive effort, Augustin Bunea favoured the documentary piece.

In the exposition of the historical material, Augustin Bunea used the thematic-chronological criterion, developing clear and ordered structures, to the level of subtopics. From a structural point of view, the historian has managed a balance between the issues presented.

The quantitative report between information and interpretation changes between works and themes, but always in favour of the informational component. The development trend of the interpretative component is more pronounced, gradually, from the first to the last paper written by Bunea. The historian selected particular facts, dating, as opposed to the vague statements of general character. The interpretations prove the cognitive mobility of the author and fulfil, in the foreground, scientific functions, but also of promotion of the image of the Romanian Greek Catholic Church.

Conceptual and methodological, Augustin Bunea evolved gradually from the formula of the romantic historical writing to stated principles of positivism, namely the European methodical historiography. His historical writings aims are, in essence, religious and national.

The historical language cultivated by Augustin Bunea in his writings, show some stylistic permanencies observable at the level of clarity, precision and the concentration of

expression, of the terminological and phraseological improvement, of the author's connection to the literary development of the Romanian contemporary language.

Through writings and public attitudes, Augustin Bunea took a place on the line of the national struggle of the Romanians of Transylvania, opened, in the eighteenth century, by the bishop Inochentie Micu Klein.

Continuer of the historiographical tradition from Blaj and initiator of new issues in the Romanian historical research, Augustin Bunea tested a historic contribution, which will evolve under the guidance of some representatives of the Romanian historiography, especially in Transylvania during the twentieth century and in the current decade of the twenty first century.

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