



Field: **Philosophy**

# **PhD THESIS**

## **- ABSTRACT -**

The foundation of the idea of national unity among Romanians  
from Transylvania from the perspective of the philosophy of  
history

**PhD Student:**  
**Monica Pop (Mare )**

**PhD Supervisor:**  
**Prof. Petru Dunca, PhD**

**Examination committee:**

Chair: Prof. **Daiana Felecan**, PhD – Technical University of Cluj-Napoca; North Baia Mare University Center

PhD Supervisor: Prof. **Petru Dunca**, PhD – Technical University of Cluj-Napoca; North Baia Mare University Center

**Members:**

- Prof. **Ion Dur**, PhD – *Lucian Blaga* University from Sibiu, Faculty of Social and Human Sciences

-Lect. **Gabriel Hasmațuchi**, PhD – *Lucian Blaga* University from Sibiu, Faculty of Social and Human Sciences

- Prof. **Petru Bejan**, PhD – “Al. I. Cuza” University from Iași, Faculty of Philosophy and Social -Political Sciences, Department of Philosophy

**- Cluj-Napoca -**  
**2024**

## Content

<u>LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS</u> .....	4
<u>Introduction</u> .....	5
<u>CHAPTER I</u> .....	13
<u>THE DIMENSIONS OF THE ANALYTICAL PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY</u> ...	13
<u>I.1. Analytical philosophy of history – method of historical investigation</u> .....	13
<u>I. 2. Consciousness and time among Romanians from Transylvania in the 18th century</u> .....	38
<u>I.3. Significance in History (1784-1792) - Historical Significance</u> .....	62
<u>I.3.1 The Transylvanian School (first generation) – historical and philosophical implications</u> .....	77
<u>CHAPTER II</u> .....	86
<u>THE DIACHRONIC CONSTANTS OF THE HISTORY OF TRANSYLVANIA. RECONSTITUTION OF THE PAST</u> .....	86
<u>II. 1. Affirming national consciousness by reconstructing the past</u> ...	86
<u>II.2 Diachrony and linguistic exegesis at the beginning of the 19th century – revaluating history in the context of recovering the past</u> ...	105
<u>II.2.1. Linguistic and philosophical elements regarding the unification process of the literary Romanian language from the mid-19th century – diachronic constants</u> .....	116
<u>II.3. The ideology of Romanianism until the Pashoptist Revolution. Historical and philosophical landmarks in the first half of the 19th century</u> .....	123
<u>CHAPTER III</u> .....	143
<u>CAUSATION AND HISTORICAL DETERMINISM</u> .....	143
<u>III. 1. Historical Causality and the Formation of Pashoptist Ideology</u> .....	143
<u>III. 2. The humanist and rationalist thinking of the 18th century – premise of the democratic-revolutionary Pashoptist conceptions</u> .....	161
<u>III.3. Post-Pashoptist philosophical trends and currents – historical determinism and identity formulas of Romanianism in Transylvania</u> .....	178
<u>CHAPTER IV</u> .....	195
<u>THE FOUNDATIONS OF LIBERTY AND NATIONAL PROGRESS</u> .....	195
<u>IV.1. The philosophy of freedom and conceptions of progress among Transylvanian Romanians in the second half of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th</u> .....	195
<u>IV.2 The foundations of freedom and ideological orientations in the Romanian space in the last quarter of the 19th century and the</u>	

<u>beginning of the 20th century. Mihai Eminescu in the schools of Blaj</u> .....	208
<u>IV.3. History and ideology, ethnicity and nationalism around the 1918 Great Union</u> .....	220
<u>CONCLUSIONS</u> .....	233
<u>SELECTIVE BIBLIOGRAPHY</u> .....	240
<u>ANNEXES</u> .....	271
.....	

The object of this study is the history of Transylvania viewed through the spectrum of the philosophy of history. I chose this approach to emphasize, on the one hand, the matrix frameworks of Romanian thought in Transylvania, in the context of centuries of wild exploitation, and on the other hand, to elucidate the inner springs that pushed Romanian society towards perfection in a nation. The intellectuals succeeded in impressing the peasant masses with the conviction that what belongs to the past is a matter of quality, of value and does not refer only to quantity, we want to say, an amorphous population, incapable of reactions that would fundamentally change the scaffolding of a society. The explanation of the Romanian phenomenon from the point of view of philosophy, without a thorough knowledge of history, can give rise, in some situations, to a philosophy of speculative history, which can lead to scientific error, which is why we made a strict parallelism between historical events, discussed chronologically, and the elements of culture and civilization. More precisely, it was analyzed in depth and to the extent that the editorial space allowed us, the work of the Ardelene School, as an existential benchmark for understanding this phenomenon, but also the rural mode of community philosophy perceived as a way of life, by no means as a science. The parallelism addressed does not exhaust all the ways of knowledge, but it can help to a significant extent to understand a manifestation. What do we mean exactly? The representatives of the Ardelene School, exponents of Catholicism, Eastern it is true, but Catholics by definition, brought to light ideas and arguments that paradoxically would wake up Orthodoxy from its stupor, which, in its latent and mystical state, had managed to hold together the Romanian nation from Transylvania, practically not letting it fall into the abyss of loss of identity. The social upheavals led by Visarion Sarai and the monk Sofronie in the first half of the 18th century were likely to interrupt the increasing sinking into singularity of the Transylvanian Romanians and raise them on the path of discernment, identifying the cause of certain aspects of their lives. More precisely, the two Churches, united and orthodox, manage to create a rational concept of the idea of freedom. The philosophy of history becomes, in this case, a tool of historical investigation, because it notices the causes that produce social effects. Several such factors led to the tracing of historical stages that can reveal the elements that led to the crystallization of the Romanian revolutionary phenomenon in Transylvania. History viewed in the general way is a reflection, more or less faithful, of the events of facts and concepts that happened in a temporal and geographical space. The philosophy of history requires an explanation of these events, facts and concepts, namely an inclusion of them in the whole perspective of thought. The definition of the concept of freedom is made both on historical foundations, i.e. by tracing an illustrious past, historically argued, and on a philosophical one, in which the ideas and the struggle for national and social emancipation of the Romanians is seen as a rational unfolding of history. This very concept of freedom must be seen as a whole as a substance that permanently fuels the spiritual existence of the Romanian population. This is reason, that is, that which by itself and in itself gives being and persistence to all reality. Reason determined the Romanian intelligentsia from Transylvania to study at prestigious schools in the West, but not to stay there and return to their native lands, and it was also reason that made the serfs follow and listen to the monk Sofronie from The crow as a messenger of God. We approach notions such as freedom, nation, spiritual existence, etc., defining elements in the constitution of a nation, as philosophical elements capable of revealing the way in which the Romanian population, on different confessional levels, approached and understood them.

Nikolai Berdiaev states that the fundamental premise of the philosophy of history is the meaning of time and its nature, history itself being a process that requires time. The time, until the emergence of the United Church, had almost frozen on the scale of history for the Latin population of Transylvania, but it becomes, starting from the 18th century, a fundamental element of the philosophy of history. We refer to this Romanian thaw as the beginning of a road that would lead to an unprecedented historical process in recent centuries – the recognition of Romanians and implicitly their Romanianness by the privileged classes of the principality. *Supplex Libellus Valachorum* (1791) demanded at the end of the 18th century the recognition of Romanians from Transylvania as the fourth nation, and at the head of this action are both the Orthodox bishop Gherasim Adamovici (1789-1794), a Serbian by origin, and the Greek-Catholic, Ioan Bob.

The theme proposed for analysis in this doctoral thesis brings to the historical and philosophical space of the history of Transylvania new ideas and notions that reveal, in historical registers, the foundation of the idea of national unity. The emergence of the new Greek-Catholic intellectual class allowed the creation of the first literary, historical, philosophical works, etc. We can say that the really important aspect in this act of creation does not refer strictly *sensu* to the vast work that I have mentioned in the lines of this study, but to the creation itself. Creation cannot be separated from freedom. Only the free has the power and ability to create. The two notions - creation and freedom - work only on a logical plane and are incompatible with the idea of submission and even poverty. This act of creative freedom is what determines the spiritual transformation of Transylvanian Romanians, in the sense that they demonstrate both to the privileged nations and to them, that they are not just a conglomeration of physical beings, in the natural sense of the term, but are open, avid spirits of knowledge and animated by the desire for freedom. Christianity identified with Romanianism itself creates an indestructible bond in the peasantry. We cannot talk about Romanian social classes or elites in the 17th and 18th centuries, Romanians having the status of a tolerated nation, and for this reason we can understand how Romanianism spread forcefully only horizontally. Revolutionary ideas, Latin Romanianism, spread from the bottom up, from the level of the humble popular masses. The seeds of Romanian nationalism, as we noted above, spread from the bottom up, from the poor blanket, who will form great men of culture and who will oppose Hungarian nationalism, bent from the top down, from the nobility to the humble social classes and which will fuel the Hungarian idiosyncrasy imprinted in the collective mind of the population over the centuries. Article VII of the Diet of 1744, addressed to Maria Tereza (1740-1780), is more than suggestive regarding the position of the Hungarians towards the passage of the Romanians within the Catholic Church: "They, although they have lived in the principality for a long time, yet their nature and faculties their physical and mental disabilities, their low status and other circumstances render them utterly incapable of rights and privileges. They are wandering and fickle, who as soon as they enter Moldova and Muntenia renounce the union, to which they adhere only in name, but not in deed". The conclusion we draw is that the Romanian serfs, who formed the majority of the population, are viewed by the social and political elites of Transylvania as a backward population incapable of social evolution. We thus return to what was stated above: the Romanians prove to themselves and to the privileged nations that they are not just a conglomeration of physical beings. These historical aspects can be understood in their complexity only through an approach related to the philosophy of history. The struggle for social

emancipation that Romanians from Transylvania dreamed of was supported in its early phase by the creative force given to the first educated Romanians, by the freedom they enjoyed by virtue of their conversion to Catholicism. The foundation of the idea of national unity among Romanians from Transylvania from the perspective of the philosophy of history has two essential elements as its substrate. The first of these is the ethnic one, with all its suite of rural mentalities and experiences and which sediments a true dogma of Latinity, and the second, closely related to the first, is the desire for freedom as a necessity. Between 1699, with the issuance of the Leopoldine Diploma, and the first decade of the 20th century, Transylvania went through a premonition of social and political events that gradually changed the mentality of the entire Romanian population. Each generation gives birth to new seeds of hope for freedom, a generation that grows spiritually and culturally and that, most importantly, wants to make history. Not even a century after the document issued by Emperor Leopold, the peasant uprising led by Horea, Cloșca and Crișan already had the characteristics of a bourgeois revolution, even if in its essence it had initially started as a movement to restore orthodoxy, lost, they considered, by the conversion of part of the population to Catholicism.

The thing that distinguishes analytical philosophy from other philosophical currents is the conviction that a philosophical analysis of language can converge towards a philosophical explanation of thought. The second half of the 19th century in Transylvania, but also in the United Principalities, acquires a profound linguistic turn that turns into a true ideology. After the revolution of 1848, there were large actions for the emancipation of the Romanian people through culture and education. One of the pioneers of Romanian pedagogical thinking was Visarion Roman (1833-1885), who will appropriate the rationalist conception of time and will start cultural actions, materialized through specialized publications, with the aim of bringing knowledge to the masses. Around 1860, throughout the Romanian space, writing in the Romanian language left much to be desired, and establishing an orthography with Latin letters was a great challenge for linguists. The introduction of the Latin alphabet was not a novelty in the Romanian cultural spectrum, as early as 1835 Timotei Cipariu used it in the school in Blaj. The problem that arose was that of the reproduction of sounds from the Romanian language, an aspect debated until the end of the 19th century. We are witnessing an ambitious, bourgeois reverie on the part of the intellectuals, but one full of lucidity that tries to reconvert the political and social failure of the Romanian population into a successful cultural "story". A credible story that would come as a verdict in a court of history. Don't appear before a tribunal whose verdict you don't know, Kafka said, and linguistics becomes a symbolic good for Romanians, which would tip the balance of the Dacian restoration in the European chancelleries at the beginning of the 20th century. The intensification of national movements in the center and east of the continent turns the oppressed populations, in a romantic way, towards the idealization of the medieval period. For Romanians, especially for those from Transylvania, the recovery of the past is done right from antiquity.

The political consequences of the introduction of the Latin alphabet and the establishment of an orthography that would make reading accessible to the masses did not escape Austria's ruling circles. Access to culture would make the oppressed population of Transylvania a nation like any other in Europe, which would demand the right to self-determination. It was an additional problem, especially as modern national ideas were beginning to gain momentum in the center and east of the continent, where many peoples were under the rule of the Tsarist, Austrian or Ottoman Empires.

Under these conditions, the language, in this case Romanian, is the object of the philosophy of history. Romanians from Transylvania thus enter the world of science, through the hard work of a small segment of intellectuals, linguists and historians. The path of science cannot be entered only through the perception of internal and external meanings. As a rule, the rural population preserves its being and spirit through the external senses. Romanian popular culture is not only sensitive, but shows a great homogeneity in all Romanian countries. There are obvious distinctive elements depending on the ethnographic areas, but overall the customs and traditions show great similarity, which proves their common origin. What cannot be neglected in the perpetuation of traditions is Orthodoxy, which took over, over the centuries, pre-Christian customs and traditions.

The folk philosophy of the old rural settlements, although it is permanently connected to a transcendent reality and expresses its belief in a spiritual existence, parallel to the human one, approaches time and its passing as a necessary phenomenon, without which nothing would exist meaning. In conclusion, Romanian linguistics finds a solid foundation in the substrate of traditional culture. The Romanian nation has always existed, and linguists, by promoting the Latin script, bring the nationalist addition, that is, that extra which for an individual becomes an object of reflection. The stratification and unification of language, through the contribution of linguists, such as that of Visarion Roman in the middle of the 20th century, trains all cultural sectors. The strengthening of the idea of Latinity puts every Romanian back on the trajectory of historicity, as demonstrated by later revolutionary projects. In the context of these historical circumstances, we realize that the works of Transylvanian intellectuals seek to represent not only the entire Romanian population, but even each individual. Every Romanian begins to know his historical determinants, from which, moreover, he had never come out. For the first time, after centuries, there appears a horizon of order, of entropy, which begins to develop through cultural diversity. Romanian is removed from the chaos of singularity and is given to historicity. What was wanted by applying a writing with Latin characters - a rational and unitary orthography - was the placement of the population with Latin origins in the select club of European nations on the one hand, but also the creation at the individual level of an awareness of its illustrious past. The recognition of the Romanian language, at the beginning of the 19th century, by the Austrian authorities, even if not officially, marks a turning point in the recognition of the political rights of the majority population of Transylvania and Bucovina. The Romanian-Latin-Hungarian dictionary, created between 1802 and 1803 by Ștefan Criș-Körösi, completes the cultural endowment of Transylvania. It is precisely this aspect that we are trying to elucidate through the topic addressed: the way in which reason guides these popular movements springing from the deepest religious convictions. For example, attempts to switch from the Cyrillic to the Latin script met with strong opposition from Orthodox priests and were perceived as a flagrant violation of ethnic, national and confessional identity. In the work of Gheorghe Constantin Roja, published in 1806 in Pest, emphasis is placed on the use of the Latin alphabet for writings in Romanian as a natural and self-evident fact. The Latin letters and not the Slavic ones are the letters of the old Romanians, the author says here, despite the many existing dialects, and if in one dialect the word is corrupted, in the other we can find it clean. Moldavians in the 15th century used Latin letters, says Roja, which is natural for all peoples speaking Romance languages. And for this reason, is it not a shame for us, who speak the broken Latin language, to write our words but foreign letters?

The anachronistic reminiscences of early feudalism persisted in Transylvania in the middle of the 19th century, a time when Europe was dominated by capitalist ideas and when the bourgeoisie had thrown feudal structures and hierarchies into obsolescence. Around the Pashoptist Revolution, the lack of flexibility of the rulers had become all the more visible, as the European West showed economic vision, launching modern industrial development programs. The rigidity of the authorities in Transylvania, especially the Hungarian one, can be seen from the organization of the guilds and especially from the way they limit the freedoms of the majority Romanian population, which leads to a permanent and constant increase in social and national tensions. About the Romanian phenomenon around the revolution mentioned above, a series of foreign travelers leave notes of real documentary value. Transylvanian Romanianism, with its strong nationalist tendencies, is closely related to that of the Principality, where Transylvanian intellectuals often take refuge. These travelers paint a Romanian picture, in which we find historical and statistical data, more or less elaborate or objective analyses, about the economic and political situation. Culture, education and various information complete the daily image of the Romanian from the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th. Some of them, who helped us to decipher certain essential historical aspects, we mentioned in this study.

The doctoral thesis *The foundation of the idea of national unity among Romanians from Transylvania from the perspective of the philosophy of history* is structured, chronologically, in four chapters. The first chapter, titled Dimensions of the Analytical Philosophy of History has three sub-chapters and briefly analyzes the Analytical Philosophy of History as a method of historical investigation. In the first subchapter, the philosophical issue is addressed both from a logical and rational point of view, as an adequate epistemological solution in dealing with historical processes, and from a spiritual and intuitive perspective, specific to the oppressed population of Transylvania. It is analyzed how the representatives of the Transylvanian School from the first generations awakened the consciousness of Transylvanian Romanians due, first of all, to their training in the university centers of the West, such as the De propaganda Fide college in Rome, where rationalism came first. One of them was Gheorghe Șincai (1754-1816), who had access to the Vatican archives, through the facilitation of the Secretary of the Congregation, Ștefan Borgia, who was amazed by the good academic training of the Romanian. The other two sub-chapters - Consciousness and time among Romanians in Transylvania in the 18th century and Significance in history (1784-1792) - Historical significance - follow the historical evolution of the Transylvanian principality, in a chronological manner, in which rural philosophy and hermeneutics play a central role in the formation of the Romanian consciousness from that geographical space.

The second chapter, *Diachronic constants of the history of Transylvania. Reconstructing the past*, addresses the affirmation of national consciousness by reconstructing the past. We observe in the work of the Ardelene School a kind of historical and cultural reflection that reconfigures the entire Romanian history in Ardeal. We say reconfiguration, not because this Latin history and tradition, with all its subsequent elements, did not exist, but because it proposes a type of history-philosophy in which logical empiricism is applied. Each statement builds a whole scaffolding of ideas that give rise to historical and philosophical structures that are difficult to combat. Consisting of three sub-chapters, this part of the doctoral thesis also elaborates the first concrete study of linguistic exegesis that seeks to revalue history in the context of recovering the past.



Chapter III, *Causality and historical determinism*, traces the social mutations, without taking into account the political ones, which transformed Europe from at least two defining aspects: the French Revolution and Napoleon's wars. Folklore, with all its multitude of fairy tales, legends, tales, etc., represents a historical element not to be neglected in terms of building a certain field of thought of the rural philosophy of liberation from evil forces. Legends, as well as other folklore species, occupy a central position in promoting in the Romanian mentality the idea of a strong nation capable of raising from its ranks people who will cause a major change in the social scaffolding of Transylvania. The cause, as the French philosopher and sociologist Raymond Aron states, is the social force or element that produces the effect. By means of this philosophical concept, we bring to analysis the struggle for ethnic identity and the resistance to denationalization constantly promoted in the ranks of the Romanian communities as an act of pride. This aspect will lead to the shaping of an ideology, let's call it Pașoptist, of Romanianism. In the mirror of this ideology, the popular spirit already knows the principles of its future actions in the middle of the 19th century.

The last chapter, entitled the *Foundations of freedom and national progress*, first deals with the shaping of the Transylvanian Romanians' philosophy of freedom and their conceptions of progress in the second half of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th. The ideological orientations in the last quarter of the 19th century are analyzed. A significant part of the second subchapter is dedicated to the presence of Mihai Eminescu in the schools of Blaj and the way in which the young intelligentsia is concerned with his patriotism and literary genius. The philosophical romanticism of the great poet, which is identified with the very continuity of the Romanian nation, is contested in Blaj by the refined theologian Alexandru Grama. The last part of the study is dedicated to the notions of ideology, ethnicity and nationalism, around the Great Union of 1918 and the way in which the two great Romanian Christian denominations in Transylvania - united and orthodox - manage to be coagulating elements of the entire Romanian population. In this sense, we reproduce the following text about Metropolitan Andrei Șaguna.

"Șaguna was a true Messiah for the Orthodox Romanians from over the mountains; a true messenger of God in the service of the Romanians. Șaguna came when the Romanians were at the most dangerous turning point in their national life. That is why the name of Șaguna is great and will be written forever in the book of life of the Romanian nation; that's why the virtues of his life will serve as a beneficial example for the entire Romanian nation"<sup>1</sup>.

The study begins with the end of the 17th century, more precisely with the year 1691, when Emperor Leopold I issues the Diploma that bears his name, at which time Transylvania becomes a hereditary province of the House of Austria and thus comes out of the suzerain power of the Ottoman Empire. At the end of the 19th century, the construction of the complex ideological scaffolding of Transylvanian Romanianism experienced some polemics with the Megies from the Kingdom of Romania. The critical study of Alexandru Grama, refined theologian of the Blaj schools, on the work of Mihai Eminescu is well-known. It is not the critical study itself that is important, which has received positive but mostly negative reactions, but the way in which Romanian nationalism takes deep roots in Transylvania. Grama's anti-

---

<sup>1</sup> P. Gîrbovceanu, *Mitropolitul Andrei Șaguna*, în *Revista Enciclopedică Populară „Albina”*, anul XIII, no. 1, 4 octombrie, București, 1909, P. 18

Eminescianism had as its source the most lively and sincere nationalism, which is why the writer and theologian Septimiu Popa from Blaj tells us that we should not condemn him, but, on the contrary, admire him. Nicolae Iorga claimed that Eminescu was something else to the Romanian nation, not just a great poet. Blaj's youth, thirsty for the Romanian culture beyond the mountains, realizes that Eminescu's work has that awareness of the differences between poetry and philosophy, but above all the freedom of a poet who philosophizes in verse. The world view is not necessarily an original one, but it is the way it is presented that makes it truly valuable. His work awakens Romanian nationalism, in this case the love of the nation, the love of the homeland, the love of the ideal, the love of freedom, the love of the Romanian virtues, but also of the popular ones, in short the uplifting love of everything Romanian. All these ideas expressed by Eminescu, in his many poems, bring to the social reality of Transylvania, from the end of the 19th century, and thus influenced by the Ardelean School, the seeds of a new way of thinking, one connected both to ancient scholars such as Parmenides, Aristotle or Pythagoras, to metaphysical elements, through his cosmic vision or to classical German philosophy and all these passed through the general filter of popular creation.

The four chapters of the present study address new possibilities for investigating history through analytical philosophy, because history is known not only through historical facts, but also through knowing the elements of thought that led to them. We notice in Transylvania an implementation of the desire for freedom, after the feeling of Romanian unity awakens from a latent expectation of hundreds of years. The threat to the ancestral faith makes Romanians close ranks and "inaugurate" new changes in the perception of reality. Christianity identified with Romanianism itself creates an indestructible bond. What matters less in this study is the religious contradiction of the two Churches - United and Orthodox - which, in the end, are related to strict aspects of theology and church dogma, but the fact that there would have been the possibility that without the appearance of the Uniates (an assumption argued in this PhD thesis), the great mass of the schismatic population would not have risen to battle. In conclusion, if the Transylvanian Orthodox Church had not united with Rome, we can say that there would have been no peasant movement and, implicitly, no tendency to give the oppressed population the idea that they can do something daring, in virtue of his descent from Roman colonists. A bold, but scientifically grounded approach, which I dissected and analyzed in the first chapter of the thesis, more precisely in the subchapter entitled: Conscience and time among Romanians from Transylvania in the 18th century. All four chapters of the study are chronologically ordered and approach in an original manner elements of philosophy, history, folk and church traditions, linguistics, etc. with the sole purpose of understanding the Romanian society in Transylvania starting from the end of the 17th century and until the beginning of the 20th. Another dilemma that this thesis tries to elucidate are the principles formulated in the *Supplex Libellus Valachorum*, principles that produce historical and philosophical effects more than a century after their elaboration. In Blaj, in 1848, Simion Bărnutiu gave a masterful speech in which the memorandaist ideas can be found.

Our study stops at the beginning of the 20th century, because the great act of the Union will be the subject of a separate scientific study, focused on shaping the idea of freedom of Transylvanian Romanians. Today's Romania is a political and cultural entity closely linked to the Union of 1918. Expressing ourselves in an allegorical way, we compare Romania to a living organism, and the heart that pumps blood to all the

organs, to keep it alive, is the Union of 1918. And to conclude, we reproduce one of the Compressed Thoughts of Ion Miclea, Greek-Catholic priest and teacher, the most important neo-Thomist philosopher: "All philosophies have genuine error, just as all errors have a philosophy; philosophies of error are precisely the errors of philosophy. Leibniz said that philosophies are true in what they affirm and false in what they deny. The errors of philosophers consist in the fact that they universalize one of the particular aspects of reality, reducing everything to the particular, universalizing the particular or particularizing the universal"<sup>2</sup>.

On the other hand, an aspect that should be introduced into the equation of the Romanian identity and the cause that produces the Pashoptist political movement and its ideology is also related to the positive image that some Romanian intellectuals, such as Petru Maior, do in a way somewhat exacerbated of the Romanian ethnicity, sending national militancy to the uncertain ground of credibility. If Romanians are the same as other nations, according to a self-presentation, and not an opinion from third parties, with an equal status to the nobles, with education and citizenship rights, then there is a risk that the arguments for political and national rights will remain without arguments. Papiu Ilarian will be among the opponents of these exaggerations of the positive image. What is considered an element of political maturity among Romanian intellectuals is the recognition of the historical dimension offered by the unrealistic positive self-image. Precisely the acceptance of the bad situation in which the Romanians found themselves, and the permanent reminder of this by the popular masses turns into a permanent accusation against the privileged nations, permanently maintaining among the serf Romanians a state of dissatisfaction which, as will be seen in 1848, will mobilize the masses in a collective national effort to resolve the crisis. If we do an exercise of imagination about such a speech, we realize that the association of a people with an illustrious lineage must be done in real terms and not bombast, with pertinent historical arguments, but without a presentation of a solution to get out of the crisis everything would have remained discursive level. Nobility once lost had to be presented as an inalienable right, and this had to be earned by deeds, and deeds alone counted.

There is thus a mythologising of the past in Transylvanian literature, because the present offered Romanians too little, a hard and humiliating life, and this mythologising (of the positive image) had to focus not only on the past, but also on the future, because pride towards a special past should not leave Romanians captive in a glorious history, of the Roman Empire, but should give them a collective feeling of hope and confidence.

In this context of the spread of the Pașoptist ideology and implicitly of the revolutionary movement, we note the social elements that we talked about in the previous chapters, which cause the Romanian population to rally around a unique idea - that of preserving its national corpus. The intention of the Romanians, through opinion-forming factors, is clear. Latin descent is a factor of national pride, but this alone would not have caused a major change for Romanians if social determinism had not been added to the intention of freedom, of natural biological determinism, for differentiation. To explain the problem, it must be emphasized that social laws are not confused with biological ones, because social evolution has nothing to do with and should not be confused with biological evolution. In the present study we will only capture the political, religious, but especially social mutations that mark the history

---

<sup>2</sup> Ion Miclea, *Abecedarul gândirii sau Gânduri comprimate*, colecția MICA ROMĂ XXI, Editura Vremea, București, 2023, p. 91.

and evolution of some ideas that produce transformations in the Romanian mentality anchored in ancient prejudices. Statements such as "ideas guide the world" or "relations of production are the determining factor in the evolution of history" are banal and without content.

The 1848 Moment is not a singular fact in the history of Transylvania, but is supported by a number of actions and events, but the ideology of the Moment, even with its implications in European currents, is particularly Romanian. The national foundation of the Pashoptist movement in Transylvania articulated on the Enlightenment ideology is different from the French one for easy to understand reasons, it is not a very radical one. The Romanian particularity is defined precisely on universalism, that is, the history of the other nations was not denied, but the tendencies of national autonomy were stimulated for them through a new resettlement of history. The ideas of the French Revolution overlap in Romanian Transylvania with an Enlightenment specific to the needs of the Latin-speaking inhabitants, a more moderate one, inclined towards culture and religious compromise. In 1848, the Romanians did not rise up against the state (Habsburg Empire), but against a possible loss of national identity by joining Hungary. The adoption of the law of 1842 in which the Diet of Transylvania sought the introduction of the Hungarian language in the Principality was considered by the Romanian population as an attack on national identity. The emperor's rejection of the draft law was not due exclusively to the Romanians who took a stand, as was the case with Simion Bărnutiu, but to the Saxons, who in turn felt threatened by the Hungarians in their national being. In this context, it is worth mentioning the work of the pastor Stephan Ludwig Roth, who declared in 1842 that the majority language of Transylvania is *wallchians*.

The conflict between the Hungarian nobility and the Court of Vienna was well-known, especially after the imperial decree dissolving the Diet in 1835 and the imposition of a military government led by Ferdinand d'Este in Transylvania. Even if Metternich's regime did not aim to improve the political-social condition of the serfs, it hit hard against the Hungarian denationalization tendencies of the other populations in Transylvania. Thus, the Romanian ethnic element acquires a toned optimism, grafted on the fact that Austria opposes the Hungarian element, which gives great confidence in the success of future actions, as mentioned by George Barițiu, who will remain in the mind and soul of everyone as a man who and -he worshiped the life of his people. The similarity between the German and Romanian Enlightenment can be found in the vision of Transylvanian Enlightenment intellectuals, whose goal of their struggle is to enlighten the Romanian population through Christian morality and culture. It is no coincidence that the petitions were sent to the Imperial Court in 1834, 1837, 1842 by the representatives of the two predominantly Romanian churches - Orthodox and Greek Catholic - through their representatives Bishop Vasile Moga and Bishop Ioan Lemeni, respectively, to suggest to the Austrian ruling factors that the Romanians are not inferior to other nations.

For this reason we find similarities between German and Romanian luminism. The German Aufklärung, already shaped by Leibnitz or Wolf, is not radically influenced by the French, but is directed less towards social and political aspects and more towards culture.

The four chapters of the present study address new possibilities for investigating history through analytical philosophy, because history is known not only through historical facts, but also through knowing the elements of thought that led to them. We notice in Transylvania an implementation of the desire for freedom, after the

feeling of Romanian unity awakens from a latent expectation of hundreds of years. The threat to the ancestral faith makes Romanians close ranks and "inaugurate" new changes in the perception of reality. Christianity identified with Romanianism itself creates an indestructible bond. What matters less in this study is the religious contradiction of the two Churches - United and Orthodox - which, in the end, are related to strict aspects of theology and church dogma, but the fact that there would have been the possibility that without the appearance of the Uniates (an assumption argued in this PhD thesis), the great mass of the schismatic population would not have risen to battle. In conclusion, if the Transylvanian Orthodox Church had not united with Rome, we can say that there would have been no peasant movement and, implicitly, no tendency to give the oppressed population the idea that they can do something daring, in virtue of his descent from Roman colonists. A daring, but scientifically grounded approach, which I dissected and analyzed in the first chapter of the thesis, more precisely in the subchapter entitled: Conscience and time among Romanians from Transylvania in the 18th century. All four chapters of the study are chronologically ordered and approach in an original manner elements of philosophy, history, folk and church traditions, linguistics, etc. with the sole purpose of understanding Romanian society in Transylvania starting from the end of the 17th century and up to the beginning of the 20th. Another dilemma that this thesis tries to elucidate are the principles formulated in the *Supplex Libellus Valachorum*, principles that produce historical and philosophical effects more than a century after their elaboration. In Blaj, in 1848, Simion Bărnutiu gave a masterful speech in which the memorandaist ideas can be found.

Our study stops at the beginning of the 20th century, because the great act of the Union will be the subject of a separate scientific study, focused on shaping the idea of freedom of Transylvanian Romanians. Today's Romania is a political and cultural entity closely linked to the Union of 1918. Expressing ourselves in an allegorical way, we compare Romania to a living organism, and the heart that pumps blood to all the organs, to keep it alive, is the Union of 1918. And to conclude, we reproduce one of the *Compressed Thoughts* of Ion Miclea, Greek-Catholic priest and teacher, the most important neo-Thomist philosopher: "All philosophies have genuine error, just as all errors have a philosophy; philosophies of error are precisely the errors of philosophy. Leibniz said that philosophies are true in what they affirm and false in what they deny. The errors of philosophers consist in the fact that they universalize one of the particular aspects of reality, reducing everything to the particular, universalizing the particular or particularizing the universal".

This is not a singular action of the Romanians, but all the cohabiting nations aimed at establishing their own states, which would be reborn on the ruins of the empire. The Romanian elite, political and intellectual, adapts skillfully to the course of history, and the discourse that targeted the Romanian nation in Transylvania is replaced by the one about the Romanian nation in general. The personalities of those who identified with Romanianism are constantly commemorated, such as that of Metropolitan Andrei Şaguna. We reproduce a short text about it, published in the newspaper "Albina" and about how the past is perceived by Transylvanian Romanians in the first decade of the year of the Union.

"Şaguna was a true Messiah for the Orthodox Romanians from over the mountains; a true messenger of God in the service of the Romanians. Şaguna came, when the Romanians were at the most dangerous turning point of their national life. That is why the name of Şaguna is great and will be written forever in the book of life of

the Romanian nation; that's why the virtues of his life will serve as a beneficial example for the entire Romanian nation". It is certain that this kind of heroes are perceived both in Bucharest and in Transylvania as great fighters for the unity of the nation. Through Andrei Şaguna, for example, the role of the Romanian Orthodox Church in the creation of the great Union should be noted. In the fall of 1918, when the end of the war was announced, some of the political members of the Executive Committee of the Romanian National Party, such as Alexandru Vaida-Voevod, Vasile Goldiș, Ştefan Cicio Pop, Aurel Lazăr and others, meet in Oradea, where they decide that the Romanian nation in Hungary and Transylvania should be free to decide its destiny. The attachment of Romanians to traditional values emerges from the description that Ioan Rusu-Şirianu made in 1904, an aspect that suggests the psychological profile of Romanians at the beginning of the 20th century:

"The foundation of the Romanian nation is the love for the ancestral hearth. In the entire monarchy, there is not a second people who care about their family and village like the Romanian does. Where and among whom he was born, he likes to live there, and there is no more consuming thought for a Romanian than that he will have to be estranged from his village, brothers and parents, no greater grief than to die among strangers. That's why, while the Hungarians from the rich Alfold emigrate by the hundreds of thousands, the Romanians continue to live the untroubled life in their poor villages, where often even the valley at the edge of the village is the domain; but they do not leave their land".

The text above (slightly modernized) shows conclusively how Romanians perceived their life in Transylvania. This kind of thinking is grafted onto a rural philosophy of isolation from all that is foreign, from all that does not "calibrate" to the complex scaffolding of popular thought. The element of ethnic self-protection was so strong that it was considered foreign not only by those who spoke a different language or had a different confession than the Orthodox or Greek Catholic, but by anyone who was not from the same village, and this was the defining element that made it made not to lose their faith, manners and customs.

The Romanian village is the depository of nationalist-type Romanianism and should not be viewed in a disapproving or pejorative sense, because precisely this intolerance made them win the battle of national survival. The villages have remained untouched by the vices of the so-called modernity and the emigrations specific to industrialization, in the sense that the villagers remain soulfully linked to the villages, anchored in an ancestral lifestyle dedicated to agriculture and shepherding. The ideology of Romanianism, promoted more and more stringently in the last years of the 19th century, by Transylvanian politicians, draws its juice from the rural way of thinking to preserve the national being. Wearing "German" clothes in the village was such a shame that no family could afford to let their children dress like that because "the world laughs at us". This was the spirit that defined the entire Romanian nation around the Great Union.

Obviously, we do not exclude the historical conjuncture favorable to the Romanians after the end of the First World War. Also, we do not discuss the financial interests of the great colonial powers, such as Great Britain, which after the war saw themselves in the situation of losing certain economic privileges and reorienting themselves to other markets, such as the Romanian one. It is certain that their interests were skillfully used in Romania's interest by the politicians dedicated to their cause for whom the idea of Romanianness and independence was a way of life and not just snoring statements. The union of 1918 finds the entire Romanian spectrum perhaps in

the strongest moment of its existence. The death of thousands of young people in the great war, the struggle of the Bukovinians and Moldavians against Russian expansion, and that of the Transylvanians against assimilation, had not only created a desire for everyone to live freely, but had outlined a monolithic mentality, of belonging to a nation, a European one, able to lead her life as she saw fit. In this study I approached the moment of the Union from 1918 only passing, because the analysis of this great act of national will must be seen through the prism of the philosophy of history, as a separate event. The Great Union will be the subject of a separate study, one in which the Romanian nation, after centuries of persecution, opens a new chapter in history.

The works analyzed in this study were not necessarily addressed to a Romanian people, mostly ignorant of books in the 17th, 18th, 19th and even 20th centuries, but were symbols of knowledge. Through the linguistic approach, a standardization of the language was not achieved, people spoke as they thought anyway, but the powerful symbol of belonging appears, and individuals in any society are always attached to symbols. When these symbols have truth value, then they roll through society like an unstoppable roller coaster.

The simple Romanian and the intellectual from Transylvania saw and believed. The symbols of the Roman world, otherwise present in the popular consciousness, now acquire unprecedented historical and intellectual valences. When they also have a cosmic, religious valence, easy to understand and digest dogmatically, then a symbol turns into pure truth. Let's take, for example, the Apostles of the Savior during His crucifixion.

On Golgotha, at the time of the torture, only the Myrrh-bearing women and the Apostle John were present, the others had fled for fear of death. Then what drives them to preach Christianity with such vigor, with the specter of torture and horrible death upon them? This happened because they saw and believed. They saw the living Jesus coming to them through the wall, and Thomas, the unbelieving disciple, asks to touch and see the wounds in order to believe. In conclusion and to summarize the connection between this example and the Romanians of Transylvania, man is always willing to die for an obvious truth, but never for a lie. In many cases, Romanian culture has as its source of inspiration religion or popular creation, because these represented the most credible symbols of truth. Vasile Aaron's megacolind sums up just that – religion and popular creation. By promoting this kind of works, one moves from a sphere, let's call it conventional and symbolic, to a real and absolute one.

Romanian Christianity, Catholic or Orthodox, is so much linked to the issue of nationality, compared to the Roman-Catholic one that considered it necessary to abolish the nations and establish a single Christian nation, that it is assimilated with Romanianism itself. The attachment of the united church to promoting the idea of Romanianness through culture makes it a church with a national character, like Orthodoxy, and distances it from Western Roman Catholicism.

Starting with the 19th century, the common desires of the two Christian confessions began to take on the concrete forms of nationalism. For the population of Transylvania, the culture and the mother tongue represent an increasingly visible spiritual development, and the affirmation of the Latin spirit begins to animate the population to the most intimate corners of the soul. In this context, we reproduce the poetry of the revolutionary Ioan Bran de Lemeny (1811-1899?), prefect of the legions in Șara Bârșa and Făgăraș during the Pașoptist Revolution. He was appointed commander of Făgăraș, where he had a decisive role in the introduction of the Romanian language as an official language.

We hope, thus, that our scientific approach is a positive one and we also want this research, which represented an unprecedented, in-depth and detailed challenge, to become a source of reference, both for specialists and for those concerned with the subject approached.