

ANDREI ŞAGUNA AND THE LEADERS OF THE EVANGELICAL-LUTHERAN CHURCH IN TRANSYLVANIA

MIRCEA-GHEORGHE ABRUDAN*

ABSTRACT. Born, educated and living in the multilinguistic and multiconfessional space of the Austrian Monarchy, Andrei Şaguna has been able to fructify both the cultural and the patristic heritage of Orthodoxy, and the modern and liberal spirit of the second half of the 19th century, cultivating good relationship with Bishop Georg Daniel Teutsch and friendships with Alois Sentz and Jakob Rannicher. His correspondence and the historiographic evidence reveal these contacts as having been marked by respect, due to the function his acquaintances had in the academic staff, the imperial and local administrative and educational mechanism, but especially by reverence and appreciation. The life, activity, and works of Metropolitan Andrei Şaguna, make him a European figure, because of his formation, his pastoral mission, his strong dedication to education and to bringing the culture closer to the Transylvanian Romanians, and his part in the inter-confessional dialogue before the initiation of the Ecumenical Movement and the official contacts between the Orthodox and the Lutheran churches.

Keywords: Orthodox Church, Transylvanian Saxons, XIXth century, inter-confessional dialogue and relationship, Georg Paul Binder, Georg Daniel Teutsch, Jakob Rannicher.

1. Preliminaries

Living in the same space but not having the same rights, the Romanians and the Saxon of Transylvania have frequently interacted throughout time; however, the intensity of those interactions has varied depending on the spirit of the century, and the relationships involving the Romanian and the Saxon churches, and lay elite had evolved into both good understanding and disapproval, and at times, even into conflicts¹. The Christian spirit and teachings shared by the two

* PhD, Babeş-Bolyai University, Faculty of History and Philosophy, Cluj-Napoca, Romania. Email: mircea.abrudan@ubbcluj.ro.

¹ Thomas Năgler, *Românii și sașii până la 1848: Relații economice, sociale și politice* (Sibiu: Editura Thausib, 1997); Adolf Armbruster, *Dacoromano-saxonica. Cronicari români despre sași. Români în cronică săsească* (București: Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1980); Mircea Păcurariu, „Legături cultural-bisericești între românii ortodocși și sașii luterani din Transilvania până în 1918”, în *Mitropolia Ardealului*, XXXI (2/1986): 136-151; Viorel Ioniță, „Relațiile româno-săsești de-a lungul timpului”, în *Revista Teologică*, X (1/2000): 17-29.

nations, but especially the fact that they belonged to two and respectively three different denominations, are factors that have played a decisive role in the history of the two distinctive linguistic entities. Reflecting upon the religious evolution of the two nations, we can easily observe the lack of aggressive proselytism or confessional disputes that existed throughout the 17th century among the Orthodox Romanians and the reformed Hungarians or between the latter and the Catholic Székely².

Nevertheless, we should not ignore the contacts which have been made by means of the Saxon educational system which functioned in the Lutheran parishes, and those of the Saxon Evangelical gymnasiums of the Saxon towns where Romanians often attended classes; this had created not only an exchange of ideas and strong personal connections between the Orthodox and the Lutherans, but also rich didactical and theological scientific collaboration³.

The modern period and especially the challenges and the new socio-political, cultural and religious realities brought by the 19th century have given a new impulse to the Romanian-Saxon relations, bringing the leaders of the two nations to closer positions than ever before. The arrival and the installation of Andrei Șaguna as the new Orthodox bishop in Sibiu in 1846 brought a revival of collaboration with the Saxon leaders, most of which also had certain responsibilities within the Saxon Evangelical community.

For the Saxon community, the intertwining between politics and church, especially in the absolutist decade – similarly to the Romanians for whom the Orthodox and the Greek-Catholic Churches were the fundamental institutions in their national movement –, had actually been legally sanctioned in 1807, when the office clerks took part in the decision making process of the Evangelical Church A.C., as it welcomed laypersons in its administration and leadership. Since belonging to the Saxon nation and being a member of the Lutheran Church was almost perfectly coextensive, and since the Saxon politicians and their church had common interests, it would not be exaggerated to say this has led to the fusion of the two leaderships: it became normal to discuss political news, cultural and educational problems in the church, the pastors, in their turn, shaped the community views⁴.

The collaboration between the Orthodox and the Evangelical Church has been made possible not only by the political context – namely the 1848-1849 Revolution and the loyalty to the Emperor, the neo-absolutist decade and the

² Ludwig Binder, *Grundlagen und Formen der Toleranz in Siebenbürgen bis zur Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Köln-Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 1976), 105-108.

³ Michael Kroner, "Der rumänische Sprachunterricht in den siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Schulen vor 1918," *Schriftenreihen für Auslandsbeziehungen in Stuttgart* 8 (1972): 3-24.

⁴ Loránd L. Mádly, *De la privilegiu la uniformizare: Sașii transilvăneni și autoritățile austriece în deceniul neoabsolutist (1849-1860)* (Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2008), 8-9.

Austro-Hungarian pact – which demanded their proximity and support of common interests, but also by the figure of Andrei Șaguna, who had been raised and educated in an ethnical and confessional pluralism deeply marked by ideas of western Europe’s liberalism – circulated in his family’s entourage and in the academic circles of Pesta⁵. While studying philosophy and law Șaguna had preserved in his life and activities a penchant for canonical and juridical studies, which has later drawn him to the “Law Academy of Sibiu, befriending some of the professors of this prestigious school”⁶.

Nevertheless, it should not be overlooked that Șaguna had been decorated and ennobled by Emperor Franz Joseph after the events of 1848-1849 – alongside other Romanian and Saxon leaders who had fought for the Imperial Court and suffered severe losses during the Hungarian revolution, thus proving their unwavering attachment to the Austrian monarchy – as *Freiherr von Șaguna* and secret advisor of the emperor, as well as a member of the State Senate, becoming even more famous both in the eyes of the Romanian, and Saxon public opinion.

Therefore, only when we know these facts can we understand and analyse Șaguna’s friendship with a number of intellectuals of the Evangelical community such as: professor Georg Müller, with whom he had travelled with in the winter of 1848-49 to Olmütz to see the emperor as representatives of the Saxon and the Romanian National Committees; professor Alois Sentz who had translated Șaguna’s *Compendium of Canon Law* to German⁷, Károly Kuzmány, professor of Theology at the Institute of Evangelic Theology in Vienna, with whom he had corresponded in matters of the canon law regarding the family, in the teachings of the Orthodox Church of Transylvania⁸; and Jakob Rannicher, his closest Saxon friend.

⁵ For Șaguna’s biography see: Keith Hitchins, *Orthodoxy and Nationality: Andreiu Șaguna and the Romanians of Transylvania, 1846-1873* (Cambridge-London: Harvard University Press, 1977); Johann Schneider, *Der Hermannstädter Metropolit Andrei von Șaguna: Reform und Erneuerung der orthodoxen Kirche in Siebenbürgen und Ungarn nach 1848* (Köln-Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 2006); Mircea Păcurariu, *O viață dăruită Bisericii și Neamului: Sfântul Ierarh Andrei Șaguna, Mitropolitul Transilvaniei* (Sibiu: Editura Andreiana, 2012).

⁶ Hermann Pitters, “Despre relațiile Mitropolitului Andrei Șaguna cu Biserica Evanghelică C.A. din Transilvania,” in *Slujitor al Bisericii și al Neamului. Părintele Mircea Păcurariu la împlinirea vârstei de 70 de ani*, ed. Calinic Argatu et al. (Cluj-Napoca: Renașterea, 2002), 572.

⁷ *Compendium des kanonischen Rechtes der einen, heiligen, allgemeinen und apostolischen Kirche, verfaßt von Andreas Freiherrn von Schaguna, von Gottes Gnaden Erzbischof in Siebenbürgen und Metropolit der Romanen der griechisch-orientalischen Religion in Ungarn und Siebenbürgen, Geheimen Rath Sr. kaiserl.-königl. Apostolischen Majestät, Großkreuz des kaiserl.-österr. Leopold Ordens und Ritter des kaiserl.-österr. Ordens der eisernen Krone I. Klasse. Aus dem Romanischen übersetzt von Dr. Alois Sentz, ordentlich-öffentlicher Professor an der königlich-ungarischen Rechtsakademie in Hermannstadt, Ehrenmitglied des siebenbürgischen Vereines für romanische Literatur und Kultur des romanischen Volkes* (Hermannstadt: Drotleff, 1868).

⁸ Mircea-Gheorghe Abrudan, *Ortodoxie și Luteranism în Transilvania între Revoluția pașoptistă și Marea Unire: Evoluție istorică și relații profesionale* (Sibiu/Cluj-Napoca: Editura Andreiana/Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2015), 442-453.

2. Andrei Şaguna and Georg Paul Binder & Georg Daniel Teutsch

During the events of 1848, Andrei Şaguna came to know the two foremost figures of the Evangelical community of Transylvania: Georg Paul Binder and Georg Daniel Teutsch, who were the leaders of their nation, just as he was of his. Their erudition and common ecclesial, political, and academic interests were similar. The Saxon historiography called both superintendents “a secular appearance in the history of our people”, because they had led the people and the church with peace and determination, having a clearly defined purpose. Whereas the first of them, Georg Paul Binder, was considered to be “one of the most fortunate figures of a leader, who could see a ray of light even in the deepest darkness, endowed with scientific seriousness, perfect wisdom, stern responsibility, noble humanity and honestly devoted to his calling”⁹, the second one, Georg Daniel Teutsch, is the one who brought to its completion a development process “that was necessary in order to achieve this *sächsische Volkskirchlichkeit*, the living unity between the people and their faith, the highest goal of our ecclesial and religious development”¹⁰.

Bishop Paul Binder travelled to the Imperial Court in Innsbruck – just like Andrei Şaguna – in order to hand to Emperor Franz Joseph a memoir presenting the standpoint of the Saxon nation with regard to the union of Transylvania with Hungary¹¹. At the same time, the young Saxon deputies led by Georg Daniel Teutsch, sharing the ideas of the Hungarian liberal revolution, voted for the unification of Transylvania and Hungary in the hope that the ideas and programme of the revolution would be implemented here as well¹². It is clear that the Saxons had different views as to the evolution of Transylvania after 1848. The reconciliation and everyone’s siding with Bishop Binder and *comes* Franz Salmen were finally brought by the sessions of the general convention of the Evangelical Churches of Hungary, held at Pesta in 1848. During this convention, it has been attempted to unify the Evangelical Churches into a single Hungarian Evangelical Church, with identical services, only performed in Hungarian. The Saxon deputies saw this as a violation of their rights of autonomy, and consequently, they strongly opposed this decision through the voice of Bishop Binder who took the stand and said: “under no circumstance will we change our German language, with the words of which we have even crossed the ocean, with a language spreading only as far as Leitha”¹³. From that moment on, all Saxons expressed their

⁹ Hermann Jekeli, *Die Bischöfe der Evangelischen Kirche A.B. in Siebenbürgen 1: Die Bischöfe der Jahre 1553-1867* (Köln-Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 1978), 273.

¹⁰ Jekeli, *Die Bischöfe 1*, VIII.

¹¹ Jekeli, *Die Bischöfe 1*, 287.

¹² Ludwig Binder, Josef Scheerer, *Die Bischöfe der Evangelischen Kirche A.B. in Siebenbürgen 2: Die Bischöfe der Jahre 1867-1969* (Köln-Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 1980), 10.

¹³ Jekeli, *Die Bischöfe 1*, 288.

unconditional loyalty to the Court from Vienna, just as the Romanians through the voice of Bishop Șaguna, which would bring upon them after the defeat of the Hungarian revolutionaries the gratitude and honor of the Court of Vienna.

Although we do not possess to this moment a clear proof of Șaguna and Binder actually meeting in Innsbruck or Pesta, a letter of Konrad Schmidt, lawyer and future *comes saxonum*, addressed to Georg D. Teutsch on May 23rd 1848, states that “a delegation of the Walachians led by bishop Șaguna, is also going to Wien with the purpose of obtaining a change in the imperial propositions.” Therefore, we can conclude the two nations were aware of each other’s movements and actions. Another very important aspect results from this letter, one helping us to identify the position and considerations of the Saxons regarding the Romanians, with whom they had a difficult juridical problem in the *Sachsenlands* that would no longer exist after the revolutionary reforms. Schmidt tells Teutsch his “hopes lay with the sympathy most of the Transylvanians had manifested that day towards the Austrian imperial house, which in turn will proceed in taking the measures that will protect the Diet from the tyranny of a fanatic group of the population”, gaining a free counsel, that would also ensure the Saxon circles taking a common stand at the Diet¹⁴. Therefore, despite the absence of evidences proving the existence of direct contacts between Șaguna and the Saxon leaders during the revolution of 1848, we can infer that the Saxons were directly interested and informed of Șaguna’s acts, measures and positions.

The national efforts of the Saxons and the Romanians have often intersected during the neo-absolutist period, and conflicts eventually burst between leaders of opinion, which were carried out especially in the press, not to mention the differences within each of the groups¹⁵. The main reasons were the existence of a Romanian majority within the Sachsenland – which obstructed the efforts of the Saxons to create an exclusively Saxon autonomous territory –, the almost complete absence of Romanian clerks and the disproportioned help that was being received for the reconstruction. All this time, the Viennese Court continued its policy of equally warranting all nations, consecutively limiting the pre-eminent role held by the Saxon University, which was dissolved in the end. Under the given circumstances, due to the lack of any other institutions to protect their identity and help to regain the lost rights, the Saxons, like the Romanians, have turned to the Church, which became their representative institution¹⁶.

¹⁴ Konrad Schmidt to G. D. Teutsch, Hermannstadt, 23. Mai 1848, in *Briefe an Georg Daniel Teutsch*, ed. Monica Vlaicu, (Köln-Weimar-Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 1994), 32-33.

¹⁵ Loránd Mádly, “Eforturile sașilor transilvăneni pentru afirmarea și păstrarea identității în perioada neoabsolutismului și rolul Bisericii Evanghelice”, in *Identitate și Alteritate 4: Studii de istorie politică și culturală*, ed. Constantin Bărbulescu et al. (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Argonaut, 2007), 120.

¹⁶ A brief history of the Lutheran Church in Transylvania and its confessional identity in the 19th century see: Mircea Gheorghe Abrudan, “The Confessional Identity of the Transylvanian Saxons (1848-1920)”, in *Entangled Identities: Regionalism, Ethnicity, Confession and Gender in Transylvania (18th-19th Century)*, ed. Sorin Mitu (Cluj-Napoca/Gatineau: Argonaut/Symphologic Publishing, 2014), 127-159.

Still, we do not have actual data confirming direct relations Şaguna has had with either Binder or Teutsch, even if they are sure to have met on official (political, cultural, ecclesial) occasions in Cluj or Sibiu. However, their correspondence, the press of the time and the historiography have not yet brought any significant discoveries on this matter¹⁷. There are different ways to explain this fact, but I believe two are the most plausible: the first is the dogmatic, canonical, liturgical, and ecclesiological distance separating the two churches, making any theological collaboration or closeness of the two, impossible; the second one is the censure the system imposed – the Saxon accounts referring to, or mentioning the Romanian Churches were very brief. In addition to this, there was also the Saxon Bishop Georg Binder's "auto-exile" in the fortress of Biertan, his exclusive concern for the issue of the National Dotation, the ecclesiastic tithe, the school reform, the strengthening of the connection between the *rostrum* and the *cathedra*, and the internal organizing of the Evangelical Church.

The next years would bring major changes not only to the socio-political life of the Empire, and implicitly of Transylvania, but it would also generate certain evolutions in the religious life of the Transylvanian churches. The political relaxation of the summer of 1860 was just the beginning of the liberal era to be officially instituted by the Liberal Diploma of October 20th 1860, that "divided the exertion of the legislative power between the Emperor, seconded by a sort of central Diet composed of 100 representatives of the various countries [...] and the provincial Diets the attributes of which regarded the administration, the churches, and the education"¹⁸.

A series of national and inter-ethnic conferences was organised under these new auspices in the next years, preparing the Diets' sessions of 1863 and 1864 – what started then was a period of constructive collaboration between the Romanians and the Saxons, that lasted until 1865. During this period Şaguna's relationship with the Saxon leaders intensified, as they were all both leaders of their nations and of their churches. A sign of this new collaboration, the declaration of the Orthodox Dean Ioan Hanea was published by Şaguna in the journal of his Eparchy, *Telegraful Român*, in 1861, stating that

in the name of the holy justice, of the Saxon and the Romanian peoples' friendship, we dare come before your grace, before the sister nation of the Saxons with whom we are called upon to share good and bad, we dare come before God and the whole world and ask that Sibiu's magistrate be composed of an equal number of deputies of the two ethnic groups, and that Romanian be used in the public affairs along with the German¹⁹.

¹⁷ Schneider, *Der Hermannstädter Metropolit*, 105.

¹⁸ Simion Retegan, *Reconstrucția politică a Transilvaniei în anii 1861-1863* (Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2004), 52.

¹⁹ *Telegraful român*, December 12, 1861.

However, these reactions of the clergy, aimed at instilling in their faithful the impulses of a new future period of national fulfilment, have generated negative reactions from Franz Salmen, who asked Șaguna in a letter to take the necessary measures against his clergymen, accusing the Romanian priests of disobedience and stirring agitation in *Sachsenland*²⁰. Șaguna replied in a quite severe tone, accusing him of insubstantial calumnies directed against his nation and priests, who are fully entitled to participate in the public and social life of Transylvania, in the spirit of the new Diploma and Imperial Patents²¹. His uncompromising actions also contributed to Salmen being exchanged for Konrad Schmidt, Landeskirchenkurator of the Evangelical Church. Being at the height of his political influence, Șaguna conducted the directions of the Romanian politics until 1865. Despite the Hungarian boycott, he succeeded in getting the most important decisions taken and ratified during the sessions of the Diet in Sibiu of 1863-1864, decisions elevating the Romanian nation, language, and Churches to the same rank as those of the other nations, granting complete equality of rights with the rest of the inhabitants of Transylvania²².

However, the euphoria of the Romanians did not last long, as the Court of Vienna attempted to reconcile with the Hungarians, following its defeat in the conflict with Prussia in 1864-1865, inaugurating the dualism and the empire's division in two, with two respective governments in Vienna and Budapest. It seems the emperor had let Șaguna know as early as 1865 what his future political decisions would be. Daniel Teutsch was informed of this matter by Eugen Trauschenfels at the end of the same year, who shared with him what he had heard from „Gubernialrath Lázár, who said the Emperor had disclosed his thoughts to Schaguna, saying he wanted the Union realised and asking him to influence the children of his church to this end. There is no account of Schaguna's answer, but it should have reached completion”²³.

The same person wrote Teutsch asking what advice to give the Saxon deputies in Vienna regarding the above-mentioned issue, assuring him they will make their opposition manifest exclusively when voting, and ending his letter asking whether he knew by any chance “what part does Schaguna play?”²⁴ What all this points to is that the acts and the policy promoted by the Romanian Orthodox Metropolitan was of direct interest to the Saxon leaders, as Georg

²⁰ Retegan, *Reconstrucția politică a Transilvaniei*, 151.

²¹ *Telegraful român*, September 14, 1861.

²² Ioan Bolovan, “Românii în perioada reformelor și a revoluțiilor democratice (1820-1859)”, in *Istoria României: Compendium*, Ioan-Aurel Pop, Ioan Bolovan eds. (Cluj-Napoca: Institutul Cultural Român/Centrul de Studii Transilvane, 2004), 572.

²³ Eugen Trauschenfels to G.D.Teutsch, Kronstadt, 10. Oktober 1865, in *Briefe an Georg Daniel Teutsch*, 120.

²⁴ Eugen Trauschenfels to G.D.Teutsch, Kronstadt, 10. Oktober 1865, in *Briefe an Georg Daniel Teutsch*, 123.

Daniel Teutsch, who was constantly updated on the events taking place in the Empire by his friends and acquaintances who sent him reports and regarded him as a foremost leader of their nation, although he was not yet a bishop (he would become that only after the death of the venerable Georg Paul Binder, in September 1867).

The year he was elected bishop, Georg Daniel Teutsch became closer to Şaguna spatially, because he moved to Sibiu, as well as factually, as the collaboration between the two nations intensified, in their attempt to counter the Magyarisation policy in the ecclesiastic and the educational fields²⁵. Though he was not a remarkable theologian, Bishop Georg Daniel Teutsch was an exceptional organizer, and he excelled in historical research and in understanding the political-ecclesiastic activities, leaving a lasting mark of his spirit on the Lutheran Church. Even more so, his unique political capacities set him side by side with Samuel von Bruckenthal²⁶.

There is however, one extant letter addressed to Teutsch by Şaguna, written at the time when Teutsch was still the principal of the gymnasium of Sighişoara, a letter proving Şaguna had known him well²⁷. In this letter addressed "To the esteemed principal of the C.A. gymnasium of Sighişoara" Andrei Şaguna wrote

Determined by the highest regard I have for the extraordinary head of the same gymnasium of Sighişoara, I reverently address him and ask that he may receive from us a Romanian illustrated Bible, printed in the presses of our dioceses, for the library of your institution, as a sign of my highest respect for science and morality. At the same time, I am honoured to assure you of my everlasting admiration²⁸.

²⁵ About the Magyarisation policy in Austro-Hungary and in Transylvania see: Adam Markus, *Die Geschichte des ungarischen Nationalismus* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2013); Joachim Puttkamer, *Schulalltag und nationale Integration in Ungarn. Slowaken, Rumänen und Siebenbürger Sachsen in der Auseinandersetzung mit der ungarischen Staatsidee 1867-1914* (München: R. Oldenbourg, 2003); Mircea Păcurariu, *The policy of the Hungarian state concerning the Romanian Church in Transylvania under the Dual Monarchy (1867-1918)* (Bucharest: Bible and Mission Institute of the Romanian Orthodox Church, 1986); *De la Pronunţiament la Memorandum 1868-1892. Mişcarea memorandistă, expresie a luptei naţionale a românilor*, Corneliu Mihail Lungu ed. et al., (Bucureşti: Arhivele Statului din România, 1993); Friedrich Teutsch, *Geschichte der ev. Kirche in Siebenbürgen, Band II. 1700-1917* (Hermannstadt: W. Krafft Verlag, 1922), 363-586.

²⁶ Walter Muss, *Lexikon der Siebenbürger Sachsen* (Innsbruck: Wort und Welt Verlag, 1993), 520-521.

²⁷ Ioan Lupaş, "Episcopul Gheorghe Daniil Teutsch 1817-1893", *Revista Transilvania*, XL (1909): 24.

²⁸ Andrei Şaguna to G.D. Teutsch, Hermannstadt, 4. Mai 1859, in Abrudan, *Ortodoxie şi Luteranism în Transilvania*, 388.

Georg Daniel Teutsch had the same esteem, respect and admiration for Şaguna's entire activity, as they become apparent in the ample, admiring obituary he published in June 1873 in the Weekly German-Transylvanian Gazette²⁹, at the death of the Metropolitan. Despite the fact that some of the biographical data are wrong and that while mentioning and analysing the pro-memoirs Şaguna had sent the Emperor, Teutsch believes there are some historical inaccuracies – at the same time detecting a personal, melancholic tone used in order to move the Emperor and obtain the leave to re-establish the Metropolis – he eventually concludes in the name of the friends and of the enemies of this great man that “all will agree that Şaguna's name corresponds to a new age in the life of the Romanian people and of the Eastern Church”. Concurrently, Teutsch draws an image of Şaguna's accomplishments, affirming the following

Şaguna has been the sole intellectual leader of his people for almost a generation, and as such has been able to achieve political results only few mortals have been blessed to reach. It is true the radical changes of 1848 and the following years had been favourable for his cause, but it should be acknowledged as a personal merit, that with the aid of his vision and wise judgement he came to understand the significance of those events and use them to his advantage. He was neither a verbose politician, nor one of those idealists who by the power of their enthusiasm and of their charming words wish to change the course of rivers and displace mountains; he liked to remain firmly attached to the real facts and deal with them. When he quickly realised that nothing lasts in Austria, that everything there is submitted to never ceasing changes, he kept away from the madness of gripping on to a single political system, and always remembering at the right time the words of the Roman poet *impavidum ferient ruinae*, he was able to rejoice in his rewarding results, regardless of the changes of that time, something only a few mortals are allowed to experience. [...] Oh, how far they are from one another, the poor Walachian bishop of 1846, whose nation and church were merely tolerated in Transylvania, and the member of the house of the magnates, and in between these two extremities, the man of confidence of the enlarged Imperial Senate of Vienna, the deputy of Sălişte in the Diet of Sibiu, and the life member of the Austrian senate³⁰.

To conclude, we can say that despite the lack of hard evidence pointing to the existence of direct personal contacts between Şaguna and Teutsch, we can surely affirm together with Thomas Nägler that “having a similar constitution and being confronted with similar challenges, their knowledge and their caring for their people in those tormented times, bring them closer, regardless of the different premises they had started from”³¹.

²⁹ About the Transylvanian German press see: Nicolae Teşculă, *Presa social-politică săsească din Transilvania (1850-1876)* (Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2010).

³⁰ „Andreas Freiherr von Schaguna”, *Siebenbürgisch-deutsches Wochenblatt*, June 28, 1873, 419-420. For more details see Abrudan, *Ortodoxie și Luteranism în Transilvania*, 377-403.

³¹ Thomas Nägler, “Einleitung”, in *Briefe an Georg Daniel Teutsch*, 23.

3. Andrei Şaguna and Johannes Filtsch

Whereas there haven't been any strong direct theological contacts between the Saxon bishops and Şaguna, there is at least proof of cordial inter-confessional relationships based on mutual respect and that of the law, between the Orthodox and Lutherans, namely a short correspondence between Şaguna and a rural dean, Johannes Filtsch, pastor of Şelimbăr.

Johannes Filtsch wrote a letter to the Orthodox Metropolitan in the winter of 1861, letting him know of the situation of a mixed family in his parish. The daughter of Andrea Zimmermann, a tavern keeper from Şeica, married to an Orthodox Romanian woman, had been raised and had attended the German Evangelical School, as well as the Evangelical religion classes and those required for confirmation. Aged 16 at that time, the parents and their daughter wished for her to officially belong to the Evangelical community, probably in view of a secretly planned marriage, before she reached *annus discretionis*. The last two phrases written by the pastor are of utmost importance in establishing the principles defining the relationship between the Evangelicals and the Orthodox during the time of Şaguna. Here is how he addresses Şaguna:

Being aware of the human and Christian sentiments of Your Excellency towards our Church, I have felt at my leisure in giving the father of the girl hope he will be granted permission to consider his daughter a legitimate member of her father's church", also stressing that "without any intent of proselytism, in this case I have felt compelled to bring in all faith my approval to Your Excellency, to whom I have the deepest regard and respect³².

Şaguna quickly answered and wrote to Filtsch that based on the principles his letter had stated, his request could not be denied, namely to "have the 16 year old girl Maria Zimmermann change her Greek-Oriental religion with the Evangelical one, as he has even fewer reasons to object, given that the age of 18 established by the political authority for giving permission the change one's religion does not originate in the Canon Law" on the one hand, and on the other hand, stating his conviction that "the present change is not the consequence of any form of proselytism". He did however ask the girl's mother to send a written approval supporting and legalizing her daughter's gesture, "to the deaconate of the second district under my supervision"³³, as a sign of obeying the law to the letter – one of his specific traits.

³² Johannes Filtsch to Andrei Şaguna, Schellenberg, 11. Dezember 1861, in *Andrei Şaguna: Corespondența I/1*, ed. Nicolae Bocşan et al. (Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2005), 554-557.

³³ Andrei Şaguna to Johannes Filtsch, 18/6 December 1861, in *Andrei Şaguna: Corespondența I/1*, 556-557.

4. Andrei Şaguna and Jakob Rannicher

Pursuing his interest in ecclesiastical and modern civil law Andrei Şaguna had a fine collaboration with the Law Academy in Sibiu and its professors³⁴; his closest friend had been Jakob Rannicher, an erudite jurist from Sibiu who held important offices in Transylvania at Cluj and Sibiu, as well as in Vienna and Budapest³⁵.

Jakob Rannicher was born November 7, 1823 in Sibiu, the son of Jakobus and his third wife Theresia Offemüller; he would attend the Saxon primary school and gymnasium, and from 1844, the courses of the Law Academy, an institution which formed many politicians, jurists, journalists and lawyers of Transylvania. During his studies, but especially after having finished them, his entire activity was focused on serving the purpose of the Academy that “in addition to the fundamental notions of general law, every Saxon student should learn and further promote the special rights of his people”³⁶, because the Saxon juridical law had always been centred on manifesting and preserving the old rights and privileges they had ever since the Middle Ages on the *Königsboden* (the imperial territory). He graduated from the Academy in 1846 and started to practice juridical research in Târgu-Mureş, while also becoming a correspondent for the *Transylvanian review* and the *Transylvanian gazette* from Sibiu, his main area of concern being the situation of the Church and the School.

The revolution of 1848 propelled him into the political life of Transylvania. He became an active member of the Saxon leaders of Sibiu and one of those opposing the unification of Transylvania with Hungary. Because he zealously militated against this unification, pleaded for maintaining the integrity of Grand Austria, and urged the Saxon youth to fight for Austria’s unity, for “we are Saxons above all, and as citizens of the free Saxon nation – we are the people most faithful to Austria”³⁷, he was forced to flee to Bucharest in exile, and later to Vienna in May 1848, where he would successively work for the ministries of Finance, Culture, and Education³⁸. From here he wrote to his colleagues in May 1850 – at the same time advising the young professor Daniel Teutsch to travel with bishop Paul Binder to Vienna, as the new Romanian bishop of Sibiu had previously done – urging them with the following words: “See how Şaguna acts. When he senses the danger, he is instantly in Vienna. There is no other imaginable way”³⁹.

³⁴ For details see Abrudan, *Ortodoxie și Luteranism în Transilvania*, 335-359.

³⁵ Pitters, *Despre relațiile Mitropolitului Andrei Şaguna*, 573.

³⁶ Thomas Năgler, “Jakob Rannicher und seine Zeit”, *Studia Universitatis Cibiniensis. Series Historica* 1 (2004): 230.

³⁷ Jakob Rannicher to Friedrich Gundhart, Wien, 19. Februar 1850, in *Jakob Rannicher im Zeichen seiner Zeit. Briefe und Reden (1846-1874) 1. Teil*, ed. Monica Vlaicu (Sibiu/Hermannstadt: Honterus Verlag, 2008), 175.

³⁸ Năgler, *Jakob Rannicher*, 232.

³⁹ Jakob Rannicher to Georg Daniel Teutsch, Wien, 16. Mai 1850, in *Jakob Rannicher im Zeichen seiner Zeit* 1, 203.

In the context of these events, he started engaging in his first serious contacts with the Romanian elites, led by Şaguna, and with the delegations of the Transylvanian Evangelical Church who were asking the Court to help and support the Saxon educational system, which was directly subordinated to it. After he had left Sibiu for Cluj, and then for Pesta and Vienna, he and Şaguna wrote each other letters. Their correspondence comprises 32 letters sent by Şaguna to Iakob Rannicher. Ilarion Puşcariu published 12 letters in 1909 as a tribute to the Metropolitan, which he considered his spiritual father⁴⁰. The Saxon bishop Friedrich Müller has also published four letters in 1956, trying to prove Şaguna and Rannicher had cooperated, and that the latter had helped the former in creating his new statute for ecclesiastic organisation⁴¹. A reinstatement of the personality of Jakob Rannicher in front of the attention of the historiography realized the historian Monica Vlaicu, who published in 2008 and 2010 two large volumes gathering a large part of the correspondence and speeches of Rannicher. In the second volume we find a number of 23 letters received by Rannicher from Şaguna⁴². Johann Schneider is the latest researcher who discussed the relationship between the two, writing a short chapter entitled “Andrei Şaguna and Jakob Rannicher”, in which he debates the influence of the German jurist upon the canonical organization of the metropolitan church of Transylvania⁴³.

Their correspondence, as well as other evidences show that there has been a close collaboration between Şaguna and Rannicher, both in the juridical-canonical field, as well as in the field of organizing confessional education and dealing with issues of ecclesiastic administration.

The first proofs confirming connections and contacts they had date back to the time of the 1848-49 Revolution. They met in Vienna in October 1849, where Şaguna urged him and the Transylvanian Saxons to maintain peace with the Rumanians⁴⁴. In a dissertation Rannicher had signed in 1855, when he was a secretary of the Transylvanian government, we find a gratifying description of Şaguna's cultural activities – he had founded the diocesan press of Sibiu – that reads

⁴⁰ Ilarion Puşcariu, “Câteva epistole dintre cele ce se păstrează de la arhiepiscopul-mitropolit Andreiu baron de Şaguna”, in *Mitropolitul Andreiu baron de Şaguna: Scriere comemorativă la serbarea centenară a naşterii lui*, (Sibiu: Editura Consistoriului Mitropolitan, 1909), 487-532.

⁴¹ Friedrich Müller, „Das Luthertum als Auslösungskern der volkskirchlichen Entwicklung und deren geschichtliche Auswirkung in Südosteuropa”, in *Geschichtswirksamkeit des Evangeliums in seinem lutherischen Verständnis*, (Stuttgart: Evangelisches Verlagswerk), 1956, 46-54.

⁴² *Jakob Rannicher im Zeichen seiner Zeit: Briefe und Reden (1846-1874) 2. Teil*, ed. Monica Vlaicu (Sibiu/Hermannstadt: Honterus Verlag, 2010), 374-375, 383-384, 386-391, 401-402, 404-407, 410-416, 419, 423-427, 430-431, 485-486, 516-518.

⁴³ Schneider, *Der Hermannstädter Metropolit*, 101-107.

⁴⁴ Jakob Rannicher to Friedrich von Sachsenheim, Wien, 31. Oktober 1849, in *Jakob Rannicher im Zeichen seiner Zeit 1*, 153-163.

He hit the rock and made the fountain of intellectual culture spring forth for his people. This is how we could depict Șaguna, he who in 1850 has done for the Romanians and for the faithful of the Greek-Eastern church of Transylvania, what Honterus had done for the Reformation and the Saxons 300 years ago⁴⁵.

Rannicher and other Saxon intellectuals had the same admiration for Șaguna's publishing activity, the most prestigious act being the issue of his *Compendium of Canon Law* (1868)⁴⁶ and of the *Holy Bible* (1856-1858)⁴⁷ where we can notice the two major areas of interference between the Evangelicals and the Orthodox: the juridical and the scriptural spheres, both of which played a key part in the activities of the Saxon intellectuals of this period.

As member of the Lutheran ecclesiastical consistory of Sibiu, Rannicher brought his substantial contribution to the reorganization of the Evangelical Church C.A. of Transylvania: he wanted it restructured from its base to the top, on the principles of the modern law and of the liberal ideas in order to obtain once again, the Saxon Church's ecclesial autonomy with regard to the state, it had lost in 1807. With the beginning of the liberal period in the 1860s, his purpose will gradually become a reality. Thus on April 12th 1861, the first *Landeskirchenversammlung* took place, voting on the new constitution of the Evangelical Church which stipulated its autonomy from the state and establishing the new chief duties of the Saxon communities "the culture and education, the faith and fear of God are the never drying springs the people have as comfort and blessing for vigorous actions"⁴⁸.

The fruitful collaboration between the Romanians and the Saxons began in this favourable context, and it was made manifest during the assemblies of the Diet in 1863 and 1865 when the autonomy of Transylvania and its development within Austria had been sanctioned⁴⁹. During these sessions the friendship

⁴⁵ Jacob Rannicher, "Die Thätigkeit der Diöcesan-Druckerei in Hermannstadt", *Transsilvania*, July 2, 1855, 1-3; and July 9, 1855, 7. The Romanian translation of this article was published in the Romanian newspaper *Telegraful Român* in the same year: Jakob Rannicher, "Activitatea tipografiei diecezane în Sibiu", *Telegraful Român*, February 26, 1855, 65; and March 2, 1855, 69-70.

⁴⁶ Andrei Baron de Șaguna, *Compendiu de dreptul canonic al unei sântei sobornicesci și apostolesci Biserici* (Sibiu: Tipografia archidieceșana, 1868).

⁴⁷ *Biblia, adecă Dumnezeiasca Scriptură a Legii celei vechi și a cei noao, după originalul celor șeptezeci și doi tâlcuitori din Alecsandria. Tipărită în zilele Prea Înălțatului nostru împărat al Austriei Francisc Iosif I, supt priveghiiarea și cu binecuvântarea Ecselenției Sale, Prea Sfințitului Domn Andreiu Baron de Șaguna, Dreptcredinciosul Episcop al Bisericei greco-resăritene Ortodocse în Marele Principat al Ardealului, Comander al Ordinului Leopoldin cesaro-regescu austriacu, și Sfetnic din lăuntru de Stat al Maiestaței Sale Cesaro-Regești Apostolice* (Sibiu: Tipografia Episcopiei, 1856-1858).

⁴⁸ Năgler, *Jakob Rannicher*, 232-233.

⁴⁹ About the debates and the legislation issued by this Transylvanian parliament see: Valeriu Moldovan, *Dieta Ardealului din 1863-1864. Studiu istoric-juridic* (Cluj: Tipografia Națională, 1932); Simion Retegan, *Dieta Românească a Transilvaniei (1863-1864)* (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Dacia, 1979).

connecting Şaguna and Rannicher became obvious, as well as the respect and admiration of the Metropolitan for the Saxon jurist, as the tone of his letters makes it clear. What had drawn them near and had enabled this friendship were the coordinates of their lives, because they were, like Schneider underlines,

both Austrians loyal to the Emperor, both were passionate canon law experts and were seeking a way to put a hold on the state's influence in the Orthodox and the Evangelical church, respectively, and in their confessional schools, at the same time trying to obtain as substantial endowments as possible from the state, for the priests and the schools⁵⁰.

Beside his juridical and political actions in Sibiu, Budapest and Vienna, Rannicher has been the actual theologian of the Transylvanian Protestant Saxons during the second half of the 19th century, through his work on ecclesiastic law⁵¹, at the centre of which was his manual of ecclesiastic law, a Christological ecclesiology based on the Holy Scriptures and on the Lutheran professions of faith, bearing the mark of Schleiermacher's theology. This work radically opposes Rannicher to the rationalistic bishop Georg Paul Binder, for whom "Jesus Christ had been 'an emissary of God' he had been just a 'superior gifted man, full of grace' who guided humans towards goals and heights they have to climb with their own powers in the end"⁵².

Hence, the Lutheran theologian Johann Schneider concluded that we should not be surprised that there is no documented meeting of the two bishops, namely Andrei Şaguna of Sibiu and Georg Paul Binder of Biertan (Birthälm), since "although they have certainly met often in Sibiu or in Cluj, on official business, they had nothing to say to each other as Christian bishops"⁵³.

Furthermore, it is surprising how Rannicher did not try to hide his disapproval vis-à-vis the Saxon leaders, but he marked his disdain of the frail theological substance of his church's clerics. For instance, in a letter he wrote to the Saxon *comes* Konrad Schmidt – who had warned him his *Manual* was not "popular" enough, because not even the clergymen would be able to understand it – Rannicher indirectly calls Bishop Paul Binder and other clerics "mediocre theologians". He wrote

I would not be surprised if they did not understand; I do not write for those who think theology is a cow providing us with milk and butter; I find it impossible to ignore the point of view of the German scholarly research in the field of ecclesiastic law; I do not intend to write a mere compilation of

⁵⁰ Schneider, *Der Hermannstädter Metropolit*, 104.

⁵¹ Jakob Rannicher, *Handbuch des evangelischen Kirchenrechtes mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die evangelische Landeskirche Augsburgischer Bekenntnisses in Siebenbürgen, Erstes Heft, die Einleitung enthaltend* (Hermannstadt: Theodor Steinhausen, 1859).

⁵² Jekeli, *Die Bischöfe* 1, 279-280.

⁵³ Schneider, *Der Hermannstädter Metropolit*, 105.

dry laws and names, one which could be easily consulted without soliciting the cognitive capacities at all. I actually want to stimulate the thinking of those readers for whom, in my opinion, self-examination can announce and generate a contradiction⁵⁴.

Naturally, all these facts were well known to Șaguna, because among the 3000 books that used to belong to him (which are currently preserved in the archives of the Orthodox Metropolis of Sibiu) there were all of Rannicher's works, the church constitutions of the Evangelical Churches A.C. and H.C. of Austria, as well as numerous German Evangelical and Catholic opera of canon law⁵⁵. This would explain Șaguna's interest in maintaining a good collaboration and friendship with Rannicher, and his confidence in him.

This confidence is revealed by the contents of an undated letter – published by Friedrich Müller – in which Șaguna sends Rannicher his project on “the organization of our church, in the view of its contents’ and German translation’s understanding and examination”, and asks him to “outline your valuable opinion on this”⁵⁶.

Müller's attempt to date the letter prior to or after December 25th 1863 is based on a reasoning according to which the most plausible date should be a previous one, due to the fact that Șaguna still signs *Freiher von Șaguna, Bischof*, (Baron of Șaguna, Bishop) and not with his new ecclesiastic title, *Erzbischof* (Archbishop), appearing in all the official documents and letters sent after this date⁵⁷. Andrei Șaguna himself underlined its confidence in Jakob Rannicher's opinions and expert authority, when he urged Dimitrie Moldovan, a Romanian imperial adviser, in May 31, 1861 to consult with Rannicher “in all ecclesiastical and school things” because he had helped him “for years” and he is “a cultivated and talented man”⁵⁸.

To get a better image of their relationship, I considered it necessary to offer a general view of the most important letters Șaguna has sent Rannicher, between 1863 and 1872. The first characteristic of the letters is the friendly, warm tone in which they are written, on the one hand – he alternatively employs expressions such as “dear friend”, “beloved friend”, “most honoured friend”, “dear companion”, “most honoured companion”, “my precious friend”, “most esteemed friend”, “beloved companion” – and, on the other hand, the profusion of biblical and literary quotations and references, from the famous works of that time, demonstrating once more the profound theological spirit of the two Transylvanian leaders, anchored in Scripture and the culture of the world.

⁵⁴ Friedrich Teutsch, *Jakob Rannicher. Ein Lebens- und Zeitbild aus dem Kampf der Sachsen um ihr Recht* (Hermannstadt: Ostdeutschen Druckerei und Verlag, 1922), 17–18.

⁵⁵ Schneider, *Der Hermannstädter Metropolit*, 106; Abrudan, *Ortodoxie și Luteranism în Transilvania*, 412-414.

⁵⁶ Schneider, *Der Hermannstädter Metropolit*, 106.

⁵⁷ Schneider, *Der Hermannstädter Metropolit*, 102-106.

⁵⁸ Abrudan, *Ortodoxie și Luteranism în Transilvania*, 416.

In his letter of March 14, 1863, Şaguna imparts to his dear friend the sadness he feels because the gubernatorial counsellor Pavel Vasici was trying to take the gymnasium of Braşov away from the ecclesial jurisdiction and to place it under the authority of the government⁵⁹. The same topic reappears in the letter of January 21, 1866, in which the Metropolitan informs Rannicher on his petition not being resolved, a petition “forwarded to the government for the granting of the publicity right to our grand gymnasium of Braşov”⁶⁰.

In March 1865, Şaguna wrote Rannicher two extensive letters, explaining his actions in Karlowitz with regard to the separation of the Romanian eparchies from the Serbian ones, focusing on the issue of the goods, which had so far been administered jointly by monasteries, parishes and schools, and on the new Caransebeş bishopric⁶¹. Whereas in the first letter, written in Karlowitz on March 2, 1865, he spoke of the Serbian congress he had attended, where the Serbs refused to grant him ecclesiastic autonomy and implicitly the Romanians the respective share of the church goods⁶², in the second one, sent on March 5, 1865, Şaguna requested from Rannicher that he would compose in complete confidence three appendices. One would be a letter later appended to the report on the election of a new Romanian Orthodox bishop residing in Caransebeş; the second, a petition concerning his installation as archbishop and metropolitan, to be solemnly read in the church; the third would be two imperial diplomas to be issued concerning the re-establishing of the Orthodox Metropolis of Transylvania, on the one hand, and his acknowledgement as archbishop and metropolitan. Furthermore, he asked Rannicher to write a request in his name to the same presidium of the state ministry, allowing the preparation of the general congress of the Metropolis in Răşinari, in which 30 priests and 60 laymen would take part as deputies⁶³. At the end of March, Şaguna informed his friend of his short visit to Vienna and of the demarche he had addressed to the ministries, as well as of his Court audiences⁶⁴.

At the beginning of the next year, on January 21, Şaguna sent his dear friend his gratitude for the advice he had given him, and especially for the petition he was going to personally hand to the emperor. He asked Rannicher to be very strict when correcting the document, emphasising the idea that all the denominations are equally legitimate, just as it is stated in the rescript the Emperor had recently sent to the Diet of Transylvania. He then returned to the issue of the gymnasium

⁵⁹ Şaguna to Rannicher, Hermannstadt, 14. März 1863, in Puşcariu, “Câteva epistole”, 487–488.

⁶⁰ Şaguna to Rannicher, Hermannstadt, 21. Januar 1866, in Puşcariu, “Câteva epistole”, 498–499.

⁶¹ Details about this see: Nicolae Bocşan, „The Hierarchical Separation between the Romanian and the Serbian Orthodox Churches 1864–1871”, in *Church and Society in Central and Eastern Europe*, ed. Maria Crăciun and Ovidiu Ghitta (Cluj-Napoca: European Studies Foundation Publishing House, 1998) 207–218.

⁶² Şaguna to Rannicher, Carlowitz, 2. März 1865, in Puşcariu, “Câteva epistole”, 488–490.

⁶³ Şaguna to Rannicher, Carlowitz, 5. März 1865, in Puşcariu, “Câteva epistole”, 492–494.

⁶⁴ Şaguna to Rannicher, Wien, 30. März 1865, in Puşcariu, “Câteva epistole”, 496–497.

in Braşov and concluded by informing Rannicher of the ratification “of the two diplomas concerning the creation of the Metropolis and my being named Archbishop and Metropolitan, by his Majesty”⁶⁵.

In September 1866, Şaguna wrote to Rannicher that he was asked to declare himself in favour of the “creation of the mixed schools”; he underlined the fact that he had been opposed to this idea since 1862 manifesting his disapproval on many occasions, of such schools already functioning in the Dobra County⁶⁶. Once again, he made it clear he did not approve the creation of lay schools that would absorb the confessional ones, because the former bore the elements of the de-nationalization and would dilute the national-confessional identity that the schools under the patronage of the church preserved. On ending his letter, he gave an account of the problems the church had in Braşov, namely the dissensions between Romanians and Greeks, who together formed the Orthodox community of the city.

In a letter of December 1866, Şaguna conveyed to his friend the bitterness he experiences due to the events that had taken place lately in the Transylvanian society: he had been accused by “members of the Greek-Catholic intelligentsia in the Transylvania Gazette” that he had been bribed by the Hungarian ministry in 1848, thus generating a strong dispute between the *Telegraful Român* and other Romanian newspapers. The blame for these problems was with the superficial culture of the people, contrasting them with the foremost figure of the solid culture in Pesta, “my school friend, the Baron Eötvös”. Furthermore, he told him of the intransigent position he had taken with regard to the affairs of the church, writing the government he “will not take any kind of orders”⁶⁷.

In the following letters of March, September and November 1867, Şaguna gave an account of some of the aspects of his day-to-day life⁶⁸, insisting on the topic of “the situation of the consistorial exactor’s salary”⁶⁹ and hoping this problem would be solved soon; moreover, he mentioned that the ministry had “approved a law project concerning our church”, even though his propositions had not yet been considered⁷⁰.

Two ample letters from February and July 1868 concern matters of canon law: Şaguna told Rannicher of his immediate canonical matters of concern, namely publishing his manuscript on Canon Law, due to appear the same year in Romanian and German, as well as of the controversy between “my Greek and Romanian Christian faithful in Braşov”⁷¹.

⁶⁵ Şaguna to Rannicher, Hermannstadt, 21. Januar 1866, in Puşcariu, “Câteva epistole”, 498-499

⁶⁶ Şaguna to Rannicher, Hermannstadt, 26. September 1866, in Puşcariu, “Câteva epistole”, 502.

⁶⁷ Şaguna to Rannicher, 22. Dezember 1866, in Puşcariu, “Câteva epistole”, 506-508.

⁶⁸ Şaguna to Rannicher, Hermannstadt, 13. März 1867, in Puşcariu, “Câteva epistole”, 510-511.

⁶⁹ Şaguna to Rannicher, 26. September 1867, in Puşcariu, “Câteva epistole”, 513-514.

⁷⁰ Şaguna to Rannicher, Hermannstadt, 11. Nov. 1867, in Puşcariu, “Câteva epistole”, 515-517.

⁷¹ Şaguna to Rannicher, 20. Februar 1868, in Puşcariu, “Câteva epistole”, 519-521.

This exchange of opinions was meant to solve the litigation in Braşov. In a long letter from July 1868 Şaguna explained to Rannicher why he had punished the Greeks with interdiction: his action was justified by the fact that Rannicher had represented the Greeks as ministry councillor before minister József Eötvös⁷², supporting their opinion that their parish would not be subordinated to the local bishop, because it was a patriarchal stauropigy, depending directly to the Ecumenical Patriarchy and therefore being able to choose priests only from among the monks of the Holy Mount Athos⁷³. Şaguna tried to demonstrate to Rannicher that canonically, the position of the Greek community could be sustained and that his punishment was correct, abiding by the canonical norms⁷⁴. What can be observed in this correspondence on a juridical-canonical dispute is probably surprising: the tone is friendly and respectful, and Şaguna no longer addresses Rannicher with “Sir”, or “ministerial councillor”, but using another more personal formula, such as “my dearest friend”, answering, in return, “as a friend replies to his friend”.

Şaguna’s final letter to Rannicher – July 1872 – has the melancholic tone specific to his last year of life; he thanks him once again for the joy of having received his last letter on June 25 and of having been re-elected to the Diet, remembering the words of “psalm 89:10: the time of my years is seventy” although “I am 64”, words which sound very familiar; he is at peace with the thought of death⁷⁵.

It is very hard – if not impossible – to reconstruct and properly evaluate the contacts these two friends have had, because it should not be ignored that they not only communicated through letters, but they have also met regularly especially during the sessions of the Transylvanian Diet in Sibiu between 1863 and 1864, discussing topics that required confidence and maximum discretion. A proof of such a meeting is a message Şaguna sent Rannicher on the August 9, 1863, reading, “My dearest friend, I wish to discuss something very important with you in private, and I would like to do so before today’s conference at the Diet’s commissary. Therefore, I ask you to come to me for breakfast. I will wait until half past 8”⁷⁶.

We saw that after 1849, Metropolitan Andrei Şaguna and the jurist Jakob Rannicher, collaborated in the matters of canon and secular law, ecclesiastic organization, education, politics, culture, Şaguna completely trusting his Lutheran friend, ensuring him of his friendship and even of his blessing, in the final salutation of some of the letters⁷⁷.

⁷² About him and his relationship with Şaguna see: Ioan Lupaş, *Şaguna și Eötvös, conferința ținută în sala festivă a gimnaziului din Braşov la 6 decembrie și la Asociațiunea din Sibiu la 8 decembrie 1913* (Arad: Concordia, 1913); Vardy Steven Bela, *Baron Joseph Eötvös (1813-1871): A Literary Biography* (Colorado: Columbia University Press, 1987).

⁷³ More about this dispute see: *Ein juridisch-politisches Charakterbild, getreu nach dem siebenbürgischen Leben gezeichnet von einem Unbefangenen* (Hermannstadt: Theodor Steinhäusen, 1868).

⁷⁴ Şaguna to Rannicher, 20. Iulie 1868, in Puşcariu, “Câteva epistole”, 525–529.

⁷⁵ Şaguna to Rannicher, Hermannstadt, 7. Iulie 1867, in Puşcariu, “Câteva epistole”, 523.

⁷⁶ Schneider, *Der Hermannstädter Metropolit*, 103.

⁷⁷ Extensively about their contacts see: Abrudan, *Ortodoxie și Luteranism în Transilvania*, 403-435.

Conclusions

The young Anastasiu Șaguna had been educated in the Romanian political, social and cultural circles of Pesta, he had graduated a Roman-Catholic gymnasium, the University of Pesta, had served in the Metropolis of Karlowitz, being constantly informed on the illuminist ideas circulating the Empire and thus coming in contact with Christians belonging to various denominations and with citizens of various nationalities. He later became hieromonk Andrei Șaguna, archimandrite and finally bishop of the Orthodox Bishopric of Transylvania for 25 years, and as such, he was the actual leader of Transylvanian Romanians. An eminent diplomat, secret advisor of the Emperor Franz Joseph, Andrei Baron of Șaguna succeeded in crossing the confessional and dogmatic barriers separating the Lutherans and the Orthodox, half a century before the actual modern ecumenical dialog would be initiated at the beginning of the 20th century⁷⁸.

His personal contribution to the Orthodox-Lutheran dialog – officially opened between the Orthodox Church and the Lutheran World Federation only 100 years after his death, in 1981⁷⁹ – resides in the fact that he knew how to fulfil the Saviour's commandment in John 13: 35: "Your love for one another will prove to the world that you are my disciples", by coming in close contact with the faithful and the leaders of the Transylvanian Lutheran hierarchy. Bishop Șaguna proves to us just how important personal relationships and the experience gained from face to face interactions are.

We should note that Andrei Șaguna did not act according to a pre-determined plan or agenda the imperial chancellery had outlined, but according to a natural need for knowledge and mutual help, within a space of confessional and ethnical interference where the people shared a centuries-old experience of "tolerance" and cohabitation.

Naturally, we could not assert his pivotal thought had been the idea of re-establishing the Christian unity, the ecclesial unity between the East and the West, but we can state that what had held his call for dialogue together was his necessity to discover the valuable things his Lutheran friends possessed. Jakob

⁷⁸ For details on the initiation and the development of the Ecumenism and of the ecumenical dialogue between various Christian churches, see: Alexandru Moraru, *Biserica Ortodoxă Română între anii 1885-2000: Dialog teologic și ecumenic, volume III, tom II* (București: Editura Institutului Biblic și de Misiune al Bisericii Ortodoxe Române, 2006), 113-354; Ioan-Vasile Leb, *Teologie și Istorie: Studii de Patristică și Istorie Bisericească* (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Arhiepiscopiei, 1999), 264–270.

⁷⁹ For a more detailed presentation of the theological dialogue between the Orthodox and the Evangelical Churches, see: Constantin Pătuleanu, *Die Begegnung der rumänischen Orthodoxie mit dem Protestantismus (16. Bis 20. Jahrhundert), unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des bilateralen theologischen Dialog zwischen der Evangelischen Kirche in Deutschland und der Rumänischen Orthodoxen Kirche (1979-1998)* (Hamburg: Kovac, 2000); Cosmin Daniel Pricop, *From Espoo to Paphos: the dialogue of the Orthodox Churches with the Lutheran World Federation: 1981-2008* (Bucharest: Basilica, 2013).

Rannicher for instance, from and through whom he had (re)discovered teachings of the primary Church and of the German humanist culture, the exponents of which were the Lutheran Saxons in Transylvania.

Although the contacts were personal and not official, I believe it could be asserted that in this case we are dealing with an example of “local ecumenism” initiated and promoted not only at the top, but generated at the base of the Transylvanian multi-confessional and multi-ethnic society; this dialogue overcame the fear, the hatred and the resentment felt for others, thus overcoming any isolation or marginalization.

Nevertheless, the first biographer of Metropolitan Andrei Şaguna, archimandrite Nicolae Popea is probably the one leaving us the most vivid testimony of Şaguna’s ecumenical legacy and irenical spirit when writing

our Metropolitan was esteemed and honoured even by the foreigners, regardless of their nationality or confession [because] he regained the autonomy and the freedom of our national church, he restored our old Metropolis and organized it on liberal bases in the spirit of the canons and of the primitive church, so well, that in our days you rarely find a church as well organized as ours⁸⁰.

Furthermore, the words describing Şaguna’s “ecumenical” spirit, written by the same author and close collaborator, are especially relevant, supporting the historical truth – since they come from a direct witness – and unveiling the true character of the Metropolitan

there will be those who still say the Metropolitan Şaguna hates other denominations, and especially Greek-Catholics, there is nothing more unjust than this accusation [because he attacked] no one when he was provoked, but many times he remained passive, asking for the common good. To the contrary, one may say that no one respected other denominations more than Metropolitan Şaguna. His Romanian noble heart regarded with utmost consideration men belonging to Greek-Catholic and other religions⁸¹.

The relationships between Andrei Şaguna and the leaders of the Lutheran Church in Transylvania have been marked by the admiration, appreciation and respect the Lutherans had for him, his actions in their turn, bearing the mark of his loyalty to the imperial Court from Vienna, his respect for the laws and his constant wish to stand within the framework of the authority and constitutionality of the state, as well as that of the respect and love for the word of Holy Scripture and of the Holy Tradition.

⁸⁰ Nicolae Popea, *EsceleŃi`a Sea Archiepiscopulu şî Metropolitulu Andreiu Baronu de Şiaguna* (Sibiu: Editura Archidieceşană, 1873), 28.

⁸¹ Popea, *EsceleŃi`a Sea*, 14.

REFERENCES

- Abrudan, Mircea-Gheorghe. *Ortodoxie și Luteranism în Transilvania între Revoluția pașoptistă și Marea Unire: Evoluție istorică și relații confesionale*. Sibiu/Cluj-Napoca: Editura Andreiană/Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2015.
- Abrudan, Mircea Gheorghe. "The Confessional Identity of Transylvanian Saxons (1848-1920)". In *Entangled Identities: Regionalism, Ethnicity, Confession and Gender in Transylvania (18th-19th Century)*, edited by Sorin Mitu, 127-159. Cluj-Napoca/Gatineau: Argonaut/Symphologic Publishing, 2014.
- Armbruster, Adolf. *Dacoromano-saxonica. Cronicari români despre sași. Români în cronică săsească*. București: Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1980.
- Bela, Vardy Steven. *Baron Joseph Eötvös (1813-1871): A Literary Biography*. Colorado: Columbia University Press, 1987.
- Biblia, adecă Dumnezeiasca Scriptură a Legii celei vechi și a cei noao, după originalul celor șeptezeci și doi tâlcuitori din Alecsandria. Tipărită în zilele Prea Înălțatului nostru împărat al Austriei Francisc Iosif I, supt priveghiiarea și cu binecuvântarea Ecselenței Sale, Prea Sfințitului Domn Andreiu Baron de Șaguna, Dreptcredinciosul Episcop al Bisericei greco-resăritene Ortodocse în Marele Principat al Ardealului, Comander al Ordinului Leopoldin cesaro-regescu austriacu, și Sfetic din lăuntru de Stat al Maiestaței Sale Cesaro-Regești Apostolice*. Sibiu: Tipografia Episcopiei Drept-credincioase din Ardeal, 1856-1858.
- Binder, Ludwig. *Grundlagen und Formen der Toleranz in Siebenbürgen bis zur Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts*. Köln-Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 1976.
- Binder, Ludwig, and Scheerer, Josef. *Die Bischöfe der Evangelischen Kirche A.B. in Siebenbürgen 2: Die Bischöfe der Jahre 1867-1969*. Köln-Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 1980.
- Bocșan, Nicolae, "The Hierarchical Separation between the Romanian and the Serbian Orthodox Churches 1864-1871". In *Church and Society in Central and Eastern Europe*, edited by Maria Crăciun and Ovidiu Ghitta, 207-218. Cluj-Napoca: European Studies Foundation Publishing House, 1998.
- Bolovan, Ioan. "Români în perioada reformelor și a revoluțiilor democratice (1820-1859)". In *Istoria României: Compendium*, edited by Ioan-Aurel Pop and Ioan Bolovan, 457-570. Cluj-Napoca: Institutul Cultural Român/Centrul de Studii Transilvane, 2004.
- Ein juridisch-politisches Charakterbild, getreu nach dem siebenbürgischen Leben gezeichnet von einem Unbefangenen*. Hermannstadt: Theodor Steinhausen, 1868.
- Hitchins, Keith. *Orthodoxy and Nationality: Andreiu Șaguna and the Romanians of Transylvania, 1846-1873*. Cambridge-London: Harvard University Press, 1977.
- Ioniță, Viorel. "Relațiile româno-săsești de-a lungul timpului." *Revista Teologică*, X (1/2000): 17-29.
- Jekeli, Hermann. *Die Bischöfe der Evangelischen Kirche A.B. in Siebenbürgen 1: Die Bischöfe der Jahre 1553-1867*. Köln-Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 1978.

- Kroner, Michael. "Der rumänische Sprachunterricht in den siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Schulen vor 1918." *Schriftenreihen für Auslandsbeziehungen in Stuttgart* 8 (1972): 3-24.
- Leb, Ioan-Vasile. *Teologie și Istorie: Studii de Patristică și Istorie Bisericească*. Cluj-Napoca: Editura Arhidiecezana, 1999.
- Lungu, Corneliu Mihail, ed. *De la Pronunțament la Memorandum 1868-1892. Mișcarea memorandistă, expresie a luptei naționale a românilor*. București: Arhivele Statului din România, 1993.
- Lupaș, Ioan. *Șaguna și Eötvös, conferință ținută în sala festivă a gimnaziului din Brașov la 6 decembrie și la Asociațiunea din Sibiu la 8 decembrie 1913*. Arad: Concordia, 1913.
- Lupaș, Ioan. "Episcopul Gheorghe Daniil Teutsch 1817-1893". *Revista Transilvania* XL (1909): 19-25.
- Markus, Adam. *Die Geschichte des ungarischen Nationalismus*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2013.
- Mádly, Loránd. "Eforturile sașilor transilvăneni pentru afirmarea și păstrarea identității în perioada neoabsolutismului și rolul Bisericii Evanghelice". In *Identitate și Alteritate 4: Studii de istorie politică și culturală*, edited by Constantin Bărbulescu, Luminița Dumănescu, Sorin Mitu, and Vlad Popovici, 119-124. Cluj-Napoca: Editura Argonaut, 2007.
- Mádly, L. Loránd. *De la privilegiu la uniformizare: Sașii transilvăneni și autoritățile austriece în deceniul neoabsolutist (1849-1860)*. Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2008.
- Moldovan, Valeriu. *Dieta Ardealului din 1863-1864. Studiu istoric-juridic*. Cluj: Tipografia Națională, 1932.
- Moraru, Alexandru. *Biserica Ortodoxă Română între anii 1885-2000: Dialog teologic și ecumenic, volume III, tom II*. București: Editura Institutului Biblic și de Misiune al Bisericii Ortodoxe Române, 2006.
- Muss, Walter. *Lexikon der Siebenbürger Sachsen*. Innsbruck: Wort und Welt Verlag, 1993.
- Müller, Friedrich. *Geschichtswirksamkeit des Evangeliums in seinem lutherischen Verständnis*. Stuttgart: Evangelisches Verlagswerk, 1956.
- Nägler, Thomas. *Românii și sașii până la 1848: Relații economice, sociale și politice*. Sibiu: Editura Thausib, 1997.
- Nägler, Thomas. "Jakob Rannicher und seine Zeit". *Studia Universitatis Cibiniensis. Series Historica* 1 (2004): 229-237.
- Păcurariu, Mircea. *O viață dăruită Bisericii și Neamului: Sfântul Ierarh Andrei Șaguna, Mitropolitul Transilvaniei*. Sibiu: Editura Andreiana, 2012.
- Păcurariu, Mircea. *The policy of the Hungarian state concerning the Romanian Church in Transylvania under the Dual Monarchy (1867-1918)*. Bucharest: Bible and Mission Institute of the Romanian Orthodox Church, 1986.
- Pătuleanu, Constantin. *Die Begegnung der rumänischen Orthodoxie mit dem Protestantismus (16. Bis 20. Jahrhundert), unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des bilateralen theologischen Dialog zwischen der Evangelischen Kirche in Deutschland und der Rumänischen Orthodoxen Kirche (1979-1998)*. Hamburg: Kovac, 2000.

- Pitters, Hermann. "Despre relațiile Mitropolitului Andrei Șaguna cu Biserica Evanghelică C.A. din Transilvania". In *Slujitor al Bisericii și al Neamului. Părintele Prof. univ. dr. Mircea Păcurariu, membru corespondent al Academiei Române, la împlinirea vârstei de 70 ani*, edited by Calinic Argatu, Alexandru Moraru, Vasile Raus, and Vasile Coția, 572-575. Cluj-Napoca: Renașterea, 2002.
- Popea, Nicolae. *Escelența Sea Archiepiscopulu și Metropolitulu Andreiu Baronu de Șaguna*. Sibiu: Editura Archidieceșană, 1873.
- Pricop, Cosmin Daniel. *From Espoo to Paphos: the Dialogue of the Orthodox Churches with the Lutheran World Federation: 1981-2008*. Bucharest: Basilica, 2013.
- Puttkamer, Joachim. *Schulalltag und nationale Integration in Ungarn. Slowaken, Rumänen und Siebenbürger Sachsen in der Auseinandersetzung mit der ungarischen Staatsidee 1867-1914*. München: R. Oldenbourg, 2003.
- Pușcariu, Ilarion. "Câteva epistole dintre cele ce se păstrează de la arhiepiscopul-mitropolit Andreiu baron de Șaguna". In *Mitropolitul Andreiu baron de Șaguna: Scriere comemorativă la serbarea centenară a nașterii lui*, 467-539. Sibiu: Editura Consistoriului mitropolitan, 1909.
- Rannicher, Jakob. *Handbuch des evangelischen Kirchenrechtes mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die evangelische Landeskirche Augsburger Bekenntnisses in Siebenbürgen, Erstes Heft, die Einleitung enthaltend*. Hermannstadt: Theodor Steinhausen, 1859.
- Rannicher, Jacob. "Die Thätigkeit der Diöcesan-Druckerei in Hermannstadt". *Transsilvania*, July 2, 1855.
- Rannicher, Jacob. "Die Thätigkeit der Diöcesan-Druckerei in Hermannstadt". *Transsilvania*, July 9, 1855.
- Rannicher, Jakob. "Activitatea tipografiei diecezane în Sibiu". *Telegraful Român*, February 26, 1855.
- Rannicher, Jakob. "Activitatea tipografiei diecezane în Sibiu". *Telegraful Român*, March 2, 1855.
- Retegan, Simion. *Reconstrucția politică a Transilvaniei în anii 1861-1863*. Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2004.
- Retegan, Simion. *Dieta Românească a Transilvaniei (1863-1864)*. Cluj-Napoca: Editura Dacia, 1979.
- Schaguna, Andreas. *Compendium des kanonischen Rechtes der einen, heiligen, allgemeinen und apostolischen Kirche, verfaßt von Andreas Freiherrn von Schaguna, von Gottes Gnaden Erzbischof in Siebenbürgen und Metropolit der Romanen der griechisch-orientalischen Religion in Ungarn und Siebenbürgen, Geheimen Rath Sr. kaiserl.-königl. Apostolischen Majestät, Großkreuz des kaiserl.-österr. Leopold Ordens und Ritter des kaiserl.-österr. Ordens der eisernen Krone I. Klasse. Aus dem Romanischen übersetzt von Dr. Alois Sentz, ordentlich-öffentlicher Professor an der königlich-ungarischen Rechtsakademie in Hermannstadt, Ehrenmitglied des siebenbürgischen Vereines für romanische Literatur und Cultur des romanischen Volkes*. Hermannstadt: Drotleff, 1868.
- Schneider, Johann. *Der Hermannstädter Metropolit Andrei von Șaguna: Reform und Erneuerung der orthodoxen Kirche in Siebenbürgen und Ungarn nach 1848*. Köln-Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 2006.

- Șaguna, Andrei. *Compendiu de dreptul canonic al unei sântei sobornicesci si apostolesci Biserici*. Sibiu: Tipografia archidieceșana, 1868.
- Șaguna, Andrei. *Corespondența I/1*, edited by Nicolae Bocșan, Ioan-Vasile Leb, Gabriel-Viorel Gârdan, Pavel Vesa, and Bogdan Ivanov. Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2005.
- Telegraful român*, December 12, 1861.
- Telegraful român*, September 14, 1861.
- Teșculă, Nicolae. *Presa social-politică sășească din Transilvania (1850-1876)*. Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2010.
- Teutsch, Friedrich. *Jakob Rannicher. Ein Lebens- und Zeitbild aus dem Kampf der Sachsen um ihr Recht*. Hermannstadt: Ostdeutschen Druckerei und Verlag, 1922.
- Teutsch, Friedrich. *Geschichte der ev. Kirche in Siebenbürgen, Band II. 1700-1917*. Hermannstadt: W. Krafft Verlag, 1922.
- Teutsch, Georg Daniel. "Andreas Freiherr von Schaguna". *Siebenbürgisch-deutsches Wochenblatt*, June 28, 1873.
- Vlaicu, Monica, ed. *Jakob Rannicher im Zeichen seiner Zeit. Briefe und Reden (1846-1874) 1. Teil*. Sibiu/Hermannstadt: Honterus Verlag, 2008.
- Vlaicu, Monica, ed. *Jakob Rannicher im Zeichen seiner Zeit: Briefe und Reden (1846-1874) 2. Teil*. Sibiu/Hermannstadt: Honterus Verlag, 2010.
- Vlaicu, Monica, ed. *Briefe an Georg Daniel Teutsch*. Köln-Weimar-Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 1994.