

Gheorghe F. Anghelescu * Cristian Untea

Father Dumitru Stăniloae,
A Worthy Disciple of the Classical Patristics
(Bio-Bibliography)

Editura ENCICLOPEDICĂ

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(Bio-Bibliography)

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SUMMARY

INSTEAD OF FOREWORD	7
PATRISTIC THEOLOGY IN FATHER DUMITRU STĂNILOAE'S WORK ..	8
INTRODUCTION.....	8
OUR KNOWLEDGE OF GOD	9
THE DIVINE ATTRIBUTES.....	11
THE HOLY TRINITY	14
THE CREATION OF THE WORLD	16
ANTHROPOLOGY.....	18
CONCLUSION.....	23
GENERAL AND SELECTIVE BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	24
PART I: BIOGRAPHY	26
1. HIS CHILDHOOD AND FAMILY. THE MEMORY OF VLĂDENI FĂGĂRAȘ (1903-1917)	26
2. HIGH SCHOOL YEARS IN BRAȘOV (1917-1922)	29
3. THE YEARS OF HIS ACADEMIC STUDIES: BUCHAREST, CERNĂUȚI, ATHENS, MUNICH, BERLIN, PARIS, BELGRADE (1922 – 1929).....	30
4. THE UNIVERSITY CAREER IN SIBIU (1929 – 1947).....	32
5. THE UNIVERSITY CAREER IN BUCHAREST AND ROMANIA'S DARKEST YEARS	39
6. THE YEARS SPENT IN THE ROMANIAN "GULAG" (1958-1963)	42
7. IN LIBERTY. BACK TO THE THEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE FROM BUCHAREST (1963-1973)	45
8. HIS RETIREMENT AND THE MOST FRUITFUL YEARS IN THE GREAT THEOLOGIAN'S ACTIVITY FROM 1973 UNTIL THE END OF HIS EARTHLY LIFE	47
THE CHALLENGE OF AN EVALUATION	53
PART II: BIBLIOGRAPHY	54
INTRODUCTION.....	54
1. WORKS IN VOLUME	56
2. TRANSLATIONS (IN VOLUMES AND IN MAGAZINES)	60
3. BROCHURES	65
4. STUDIES.....	66
5. THEOLOGICAL ARTICLES	82
6. COMMEMORATIVE AND DEFERENTIAL ARTICLES	87
7. PREFACES	89
8. SERMONS	91
9. SPEECHES	92

10. POPULARIZATION ARTICLES	94
11. NOTES, WRITINGS, OPINIONS.....	120
12. REVIEWS	126
13. INTERVIEWS (RADIO, TELEVISION AND PRESS).....	128
14. ARTICLES, REVIEWS AND DIFFERENT APPRECIATIONS ABOUT REVEREND PROFESSOR DUMITRU STĂNILOAE.....	133
ABBREVIATIONS	209
ANNEX	210
ABOUT THE AUTHORS.....	214

INSTEAD OF FOREWORD

Mr. Gheorghe Anghelescu has taken charge of an extremely difficult work, willing to draw up a complete biographical list of the various types of writings, larger or more limited in size, written by me and about me, as well as a presentation of my life and work, as much as it was possible.

I appreciate this work not because it is a way to praise my efforts in the theological writing field, but for the gesture of love offered to me by the one who has taken charge of it.

The author has been near me, with a special warm-heartedness and with an uninterrupted consistency since the beginning of his studies that started with History and Philosophy and have ended with Theology.

I thank him for this love, to which he now gives a public form through the present work.

Fr. D. Stăniloae

Bucharest, May 25, 1992

N.B: this text exists in a holographic form, too.

PATRISTIC THEOLOGY IN FATHER DUMITRU STĂNILOAE'S WORK

Introduction

In the foreword of his *Dogmatic Theology*, Father Dumitru Stăniloae mentions two extremely important things needed in order to understand his theological work. Firstly, he underlines: "in this dogmatic synthesis, as well as in other studies, we have strived to reveal the spiritual significance of the dogmatic knowledge, to highlight its truth in connection with the deep needs of the soul who seeks his redemption, looking for it through a better communion with our fellows, which in turn entails a knowledge of God, as supreme communion and source of the communion power. So, we abandoned the scholastic method of treating dogmas as abstract sentences of a purely theoretical interest and largely out of use, without any connection with the souls' deep spiritual life. If an Orthodox Dogmatic Theology means an interpretation of the dogmas, of their extremely rich redeeming content, then we believe that a genuine Orthodox Dogmatic Theology is one that sets itself on this way".

Father Stăniloae continues with a confession, which is also very important: "We have been guided in our attempts by the way the former Holy Fathers understood the teachings of the Church, but in the present interpretations of the dogmas we also took into account the spiritual needs of the soul who seeks his redemption nowadays, who can benefit from so many new lifetime experiences belonging to the numerous centuries that separate us from the Holy Fathers. We did our best to understand the teachings of the Church in the spirit of the Fathers, but, at the same time, to understand these teachings the way we think they would have understood them today. Because they would not have ignored our time, just as they did not ignore theirs".

In these lines, Father Stăniloae draws our attention to the fact that he feels he owes a lot to Patristic theology, in two ways. On the one hand, he intended to surmount the artificial separation between theology and spirituality - which made a long career in Romanian theology, as well - and to invest our spiritual thinking with a spiritual content, in accordance with Patristic tradition. On the other hand, this teaching is interpreted taking into account the contemporary world's cultural realities, just like in the Fathers' commentaries in their time. Patristic literature cannot offer us the answer to the problems the Church is called to face today; but it offers us the Holy Fathers' approach, which allowed them to interpret what they knew about faith paying attention to the cultural background of their epoch.

We shall present certain aspects of Father Stăniloae's work that reflect the overwhelming role of Patristic theology in his thinking.

Our Knowledge of God

1. Referring to the cataphatic and the apophatic character of the knowledge of God, our remarkable teacher says, from the very beginning, that: "according to Patristic theology, there is a rational or cataphatic knowledge of God and an unspoken or apophatic one. The latter is superior to the first, completing it. But neither of them allows a meeting with God in His being. Through the first, we know God only as creative and sustaining cause, while, through the second, we directly experience His mysterious presence, which surpasses the mere knowledge of Him as cause invested with some attributes akin to those of the world. The second kind of knowledge is called apophatic, because the words do not have enough power to define the experience of the mysterious presence of God. Although this knowledge is more adequate than the cataphatic one, we cannot abandon our reasonable thinking either. Even if what it says about God is not entirely accurate, it does not say anything contrary to God. Its assertions must be deepened by means of the apophatic knowledge. In fact, even the apophatic knowledge, when it tries to define itself needs to have recourse to intellectual knowledge terms, giving them however a deeper meaning than the one rendered by intellectual notions".

The major importance of these considerations regarding the Christian theology and spirituality consists in the fact that at the basis of God's knowledge lie, first of all, the unspoken experience of the Christian, and then theological deduction. God can be spoken of totally consciously only if reasonable theology is based on lived experience. This is the main reason for which the Fathers say that we have to pray first and only afterwards we can speak about God. Prayer is part of the spiritual content of the knowledge of God, which so becomes knowledge based on the believer's personal experience of meeting God. We have a primary illustration of the fact that spirituality and theology are two realities indissolubly tied together.

2. The natural knowledge of God. In order to demonstrate the role of the natural knowledge of God in Patristic theology, Father Stăniloae quotes Saint Gregory of Nazianzus, who tells us the following: "God exists and He is the source of life and support for everything – this is what our sight and the natural law teach us: the former looking at the visible world, the well-ordered and wonderful things which are, so to say, moved and carried on in a motionless way; the latter, deducing the Leader from the visible well-ordered

things, because how could this Universe have been created without God, who gives life to everything and sustains everything? Because the one who looks at a wonderfully made guitar with its good harmony and order or the one who listens to the guitar's song could not help thinking of the creator or the guitar player, even if he does not know him. Similarly, the Creator of everything, who moves and preserves everything, is an obvious reality to us, too, even if we cannot seize Him with our power of understanding. And whoever does not follow this inference up to its conclusion, led by the natural evidence, is very ungrateful."

On the one hand, the text indicates that Saint Gregory of Nazianzus talks about the natural knowledge of God in terms that are similar to those used by Kant. But while our Holy Father makes use of the guitar in order to demonstrate this inference, Kant uses the example of a clock. Patristic theology is well ahead of Kant's thinking. On the other hand, this text highlights the difference between the secularized man's mentality and that of the Orthodox Christian. While the first one can no longer speak about a natural knowledge of God, because he has eliminated God from the act of creation and considers that the world works like a machine without God's help, the Christian Orthodox considers that the world is full of the Creator's presence and man can mentally rise up to Him. Without God's presence in the act of creation, the material world becomes opaque to man.

3. The apophatic knowledge of God. As Father Stăniloae remarks, Saint Gregory of Nazianzus does not refer only to the natural knowledge of God, but talks as well about His mysterious or apophatic knowledge: "Because 'it was' and 'it will be' are parts of our time and of the flowing nature. But He is eternal, as He called Himself so in front of Moses on the mountain. Because, holding everything within Himself, He holds the existence, which has no beginning and no end, as an endless ocean of the being surpassing any concept of time and being. The mind seizes a slight and obscure shadow of Him, gathering not from the things that are in Him, but from the things that are around Him, another image of each one of them, somehow deducing a kind of image of the truth. Because He gets away before being seized and escapes before being understood, enlightening us through our mind, if it is cleansed, at the speed of a lightening that does not wait".

Saint Gregory of Nazianzus highlights two extremely important things about Christian theology and life. On the one hand, he shows us that God cannot be known in His Being, which remains an impenetrable mystery for the human mind, but can only be known through His works or His uncreated energies. On the other hand, Saint Gregory of Nazianzus also shows that the process of the mysterious knowledge of God necessarily implies a cleansing from sinful passions, whose purpose is to contribute to the perfection of the

Christian in the spirit of God. At the basis of our knowledge of God there is the following golden law of Patristic thinking: "God made himself a man, for man's deification".

4. Our knowledge of God through life's circumstances. In order to highlight this aspect of our knowledge of God, Father Stăniloae quotes Saint John the Baptist, who shows us that life's hardships intensify the prayer of the faithful man to God: "when I refer to praying, I do not mean the simple and indifferent one, but the one that rises to Heaven and brings forth healing. Because the human thought, as long as it enjoys very much freedom, overflows and spreads out. But the moment when an earthly circumstance squeezes and oppresses it, the human thought starts sending pure and intense prayers towards Heaven. And in order to realize that the prayers said in times of need are listened to, behold the prophet's words: "In my distress I cried unto the Lord, and He heard me." (Psalms: 119, 1). Let us warm our conscience, sadden our soul with the memory of our sins, not in order to drive it to despair, but to prepare it for being listened to, to awaken it so that it may watch over itself to reach Heaven, for nothing else banishes indifference and dullness like pain and grief, which strengthen the spirit and guide it to God".

The value of our life experience in our relationship with God, by means of the prayer sprung from our multitude of troubles, highlights the emotional and personal character of God's relationship with us. The troubles that befall men are not a punishment, but an opportunity for prayer and ascension to God, an opportunity to obtain His support in front of these troubles. All these ways of knowing God mentioned so far point out God's personal interest in man, but also the mystery of His greatness, which is beyond our comprehension. We recognize God's love in everything only to the extent of our love for Him and for our fellows. Patristic theology emphasizes the dynamic relationship among God, creation and man.

The Divine Attributes

1. Person, being, attributes. Father Stăniloae shows, in accordance to the Eastern Patristic thinking, that the divine attributes could be considered as "expression of the self"; however they have a support that is above any attribute or feature, namely the Divine Persons. Dionysius the Areopagite seems to consider divine essence as being the support of these attributes, but since the essence is real only in the subject or hypostasis, one can say that the support of all God's attributes, even that of the divine existence, is the reality of the hypostasis, or of the triply divine hypostasis. "It is characteristic of Him to be, through existence itself, above life, wisdom and all the things to

which existences participate”, says Dionysius the Areopagite, also adding that: “the existence belongs to the One who is. And the existence belongs to Him, not Him to the existence” because “The One that is above being and existence is the cause-support of existence, of nature. And not only all that exists, but also the existence itself of all that exists, come from the One who pre-exists.” “Because God does not exist randomly, but in a simple and determined way: including in Himself the existence and preceding it”.

In other words we can say that the person is the basis and the means through which the divine energies irradiate from God and with them the attributes that thus become personal relationships between God and man. Without the hypostasis' existence, the divine being is confined to itself unable to irradiate through works or energies. In this way, the divine attributes no longer identify themselves with the uncreated energies but with God's Being Itself. Only the existence of the divine Hypostases makes the divine attributes turn into a personal and dynamic relationship between God and His creation.

2. One of the divine attributes eloquently illustrating His personal character is God's eternity. Firstly, because God's eternity assumes the possibility of time: “God is the true eternity or has the true eternity”, says Father Stăniloae, “as He is a perfect communion of Supreme Persons, above any limitation. So, only an eternity would make it possible to understand time and the relationship between eternity and Him. Thus, eternity can no longer be considered irreconcilable with time or identical with time. Time is not something contrary to eternity, a fall from eternity, nor is it an eternity in development. The divine eternity, as full life, as dialogue of eternal and perfect love among subjects internal to each other, carries in it the possibility of time, and time carries the possibility of communion with the eternity, a fact that can be made actual in the communion with God by means of grace. For God - being eternal inter-personal communion - can enter into love relationships with temporal beings as well. Saint Maximus the Confessor says that “time's reasons are in God”.

These comments show that the relationship between time and eternity is based on the love relationship among the persons of the Holy Trinity. Eternity characterizes the relations among the persons of the Holy Trinity, while the relations between the created beings manifest themselves in time. By reason of the divine love that characterizes the relationships within the Holy Trinity, God's eternity and temporal beings can interrelate. This explains why Saint Maximus the Confessor said that “time's reasons are in God”.

3. Creation gains eternity through its movement to God, in time. As Father Stăniloae shows, “created beings could not have had the eternity from the beginning, because they had to reach eternity through their

own effort, helped by the divine grace. This explains the positive necessity of movement and time. The movement in time is thus used by the divine eternity to draw the created beings to itself. The mother leaves the child at a certain distance from her and calls it to her, so that he may practice walking. "The creation of the things that are sensitive and intelligible must be thought of as previous to movement, because movement could not have existed before the creation". So, if all rational beings are created, they are of course also set into motion, moving towards the right existence, because of the will they were endowed with at the beginning of their existence. The end of this movement is the existence itself or God who is "the source of existence and the giver of good existence, the beginning and the end".

Through God's eternity, which descends in time, the believer is drawn in the sphere of communion of the Holy Trinity's life. On the one hand, the believer cannot rise to this communion unless the Holy Trinity comes down to him because the road to God is too long for man to manage alone without any help from above. On the other hand, the believer can gain God's eternity not only through divine grace but also through his own endeavors. This is the Orthodox teaching on the synergic character of the believers' redemption.

4. Time as interval between God's calling and our answer. God is patiently waiting for our coming back to Him, for our awakening to the love He is offering us. But at the same time He enjoys atemporality or the absence of interval in the mutual manifestation of love among the persons of the Holy Trinity. Or, which is even more paradoxical, the joy of the Trinitarian love co-exists with the waiting for the human being's answer and the sadness caused by its delay. "Here I am! I stand at the door and knock. If anyone hears My voice and opens the door, I will come in and eat with him and he with Me." (Revelation: 3, 20). For God, time means the waiting period between His knocking on the door and our opening it. He does not force his way into men's hearts. In this way, time implies both the freedom and the respect granted by God to the consistent creatures. The love union with Him cannot be fulfilled without men's free answer to His love offer. But God, while waiting, lives without disregarding His eternity, without leaving it, while we, the moment we hear His voice, are living a time of lack of awareness concerning the eternity".

The dynamic relationship between God's eternity and man's time is achieved through the uncreated energies, which lay at the basis of man's dynamic relationship with God. If God's eternity welcomes man, as a calling addressed to man by God, and if man's time is filled with eternity to the extent of our answer to God's calling, all these are possible only if the uncreated energies lay at the basis of our relationship with God. The divine attributes reveal their dynamic character only inasmuch as they are

interpreted in the personal perspective. Father Stăniloae's merit consists in rediscovering this dynamic aspect in the Patristic thinking and in highlighting the fact that time represents the interval between God's calling and our answer.

The Holy Trinity

Father Stăniloae's most important contribution to our religious education concerns the Holy Trinity's dogma. This dogma had been so distorted by various Christian theologies that it was stranded either in an individualist interpretation of the Holy Trinity, where the divine persons act independently of each other, or in a collectivist interpretation in which the Trinitarian persons dissolve in the homogenous mass of divine nature. Focusing on the impossibility of reducing the person to nature, in an authentic Patristic sense, and on the person's ability to remain open to communion, Father Stăniloae envisions the Holy Trinity as a structure of supreme love and universal communion. This Trinitarian view enables Father Stăniloae to underline three of the Holy Trinity's major aspects:

1. The Divine Intersubjectivity. "With God, a Self cannot assert Himself in front of the Other, as His substitute. Every Self sees Himself only in relation to the Other or looks at the Other, or mirrors Himself in the Other. The Father sees Himself only as a subject of the love for his Son. But the Father's Self is not lost in this way, because the Son asserts Him in His turn, seeing Himself as Someone fulfilling the Father's wish. So, the paternal feeling is reinforced into the Father just as the filial quality is enhanced in the Son. This is the movement of each Self around the Other as center. Each person reveals not His Self, but two Selves, One after the Other; they do not reveal their own Selves exclusively, but enhance the Other, making themselves transparent for the Other or hiding themselves - if we can say so - under the Other. That is why one can see the Other Selves in each hypostasis. Saint Basil the Great says: "You can see that at times the Father reveals the Son, at other times the Son reveals the Father. So the divinity is revealed at times in the Father and, at other times in the Son or in the Holy Spirit." The Spiritual character of the divine Persons' transparence and interpenetration is also a co-penetration of Their consciences and can be fully expressed by the notion of intersubjectivity".

Using the term intersubjectivity, Father Stăniloae highlights the Trinitarian Mystery, which was revealed by Jesus Christ during His prayer: "As You, Father, are in Me and I am in You, let them be in Us so that all may be one and people may believe You did send Me". (John: 17, 21).

Nowadays, the biblical expression “so that all may be one” is much debated upon, as if it were referring to a collectivist union in which the persons disappear in the anonymous mass of nature, when it actually refers to a unity in which the persons assert each other in the Holy Trinity’s spirit. That is why the Holy Trinity remains the fundament of the Christian unity, as the basic example of communion. Unity and communion are not two distinct notions; they are intermingled, a quality which is entailed by their Trinitarian origin. Christian unity can only be achieved in the image of the Holy Trinity as it happened in the first millennium of Christian history, because the Holy Trinity was and will always be the fundament of communion.

2. The Holy Spirit’s Descent. “The Orthodox teaching on the Holy Spirit’s descent from the Father upon the Son and on the Holy Spirit’s brightness coming from the Son towards the Father, keeping the Son emerged in light in front of the Father, implies the fact that the Son and the Father are neither merged, nor separated. This is because of the role played by the third Person in relation with the other two. Thanks to Him, the other two Persons neither merge into a pantheistic love nor separate in an individualistic sense, but remain in communion. Envisioned from the level of personal existence, the truly spiritual existence, both pantheism and individualism signify a falling into nature. One can pass easily from individualism to pantheism because individualism tends to melt the other within itself. But people cannot escape from falling into nature on their own: to do that, they need the help of the personal Trinitarian life model, namely that of God or of transcendental reality. Only the Holy Trinity assures its quality of person to our existence”.

Father Stăniloae wrote these lines during a period when our country was governed by a regime with a collectivist mentality. Focusing on the person in the light of the Holy Trinity, our author fought against collectivism, which was sinking man in nature’s amorphous mass - from here the expression “the popular masses”. In his work dedicated to the Holy Trinity, Father Stăniloae underlined the quality of man as person created in the image of God, called to ascend to a communion with God and his fellows, in total freedom, not at all to be dominated and abased. The Orthodoxy strongly undermined the ideological fundaments of the communist collectivism.

3. Man’s ascension to the communion with the Holy Trinity. “A unipersonal God would not carry in himself the eternal love or communion to which he would like to introduce us. He would not descend to us, but would send us a teaching on how to live or, if He were to descend to us he would not live as a man experiencing a relationship with God - as with another person - but would offer his consciousness as a supreme reality; and he would either give his consciousness to all people or would present himself - even as

man - as lacking the humility of man in relation with God, as one that is not in his own hypostasis, but in a different one. But, in Jesus Christ we are saved because we find in Him the right and intimate relationship with God. In Jesus Christ we are saved because we find in Him all the glory and all the humility, all the warmth of communion and the eternal preservation of every person. At the same time, the Man who prays and sacrifices himself to God for His human fellows, teaches them to pray and sacrifice themselves as well”.

Father Stăniloae emphasizes the idea that man is not meant to be dominated or manipulated by earthly ideologies but to ascend to personal communion with the Holy Trinity through Jesus Christ. Ideologies are meant to dominate man and manipulate him according to purely earthly interests. Man uses them to reach his goals but these ideologies do not show understanding for his spiritual problems, as ideologies are purely rationalistic constructions that ignore love. Against these ideologies, it is shown that God, in the Holy Trinity, is the one who created man in His image out of love, and out of love He saved him by means of His Son's incarnation. Contrary to the ideologies that spread race or class hatred, Christ teaches men to love God and their fellows. In agreement with Patristic thinking, Father Stăniloae highlights the Holy Trinity's considerable value during our tormented epoch, an epoch full of violence and aggressiveness.

The Creation of the World

God created the world for a reason and with a goal. **Referring to the goal for which God created the world**, Father Stăniloae says: “The Fathers emphasized God's Kindness as the reason for which He created the world, in order to fight against the idea that God created the world for an internal necessity, an idea that leads to pantheism. St. Gregory of Nyssa says: “God the Word, the Wisdom, the Power was the Creator of human nature. He was not driven by necessity but by His love for this being whose existence He produced. It was necessary that the light should not remain unseen, the glory should not remain without witnesses, the goodness should not be unshared with another person who could enjoy it and the other gifts of God may not remain without any effect, which could have happened if there had been no one to share in them and enjoy them”.

1. But if God's reason for creating the world is love, the world's goal is man's communion with God. Or, as Father Stăniloae says: “If God created all things to partake in His love, their goal is to fully reach this love, namely a total communion with God. Thus Dionysius the Areopagite says: “Kindness makes everything come back to it. It is the major gatherer of the

scattered ones, as unifying divinity. And all things want it as their origin and as final aim embracing them all. And Good is the source of all things, through Him things have appeared and exist and have been produced as from a perfect cause, in Good all things persist together, gathered and preserved as within an all-including home; it is to Good that all things return as to their own end and it is Good that all things desire”.

These considerations have a special significance for our world's situation. Firstly, they are opposed to the deist conception that considers that God, after creating the world, closed Himself into an inaccessible transcendence, as if manifesting a deep indifference to the world he had created. God is not a “motionless Engine” that forgets about its creation, but a personal God, who created eternity along with Him. It is obvious here, that a personalistic view of God has a tremendous value for man and creation. Secondly, the Holy Fathers show that the world preserves its unity as long as it keeps God as its gravity center. The world we live in is a secularized one, which has moved its gravity center from God to man and overflowed into an exceeding plurality. Unity and plurality find their only true expression in God.

2. The world as a means of dialogue between man and God.

“The world is contingency, says Father Stăniloae, because it is created by an Almighty Spirit, for a free spirit in His image, as a meeting place of His freedom with the freedom of His image, of the Creator's free activity with the man in it. God created the world so that man may elevate it to supreme spirituality with the help of the Supreme Spirit, in order to meet God in a fully spiritualized world become so through man's union with God. The world is created for the meeting of man's free work with God's free work with a view to man and God's fulfilling final meeting, through the world. If man were the only one working freely in it, he would not be able to lead the world to a complete spiritualization, namely to his fulfilling meeting with God through it. God uses His free work in the world to help man ascend together with the world - through his free work - to Him; God wants to collaborate with man in turning the world into a perfectly transparent environment. Therefore, the work of God and that of man accomplish a dialogue in the world.”

The contemporary man lives with the illusion of his autonomy from God, thinking that he can dispense with his Creator. The bitter consequence of this autonomy is seen in the secularization process, which has sunk the contemporary man into an unprecedented spiritual crisis. Man can work for transfiguring the creation only inasmuch as his free work is supported by God's work through his divine grace. The creation was not meant to become the possession of man - who would therefore take God's place - but to be a means of dialogue between God and man, so that man could ascend with the creation to communion with God in eternal life.

3. Man and universe. Man's relationship with cosmic nature as environing nature is a major concern for Father Stăniloae. "God's plan concerning the world consists in the deification of the created world, which, in turn, because of sin, also implies redemption. The World's redemption and deification suppose its creation, as a first divine act. The World's redemption and deification directly refer to humanity, doubtlessly, but not to a humanity detached from nature, but to one ontologically linked to nature. Nature is related to man or completes him and man cannot perfect himself unless he ponders over or works on nature. That is why by nature one is to understand both nature and humanity; or, whenever the word "world" indicates one of them, the other is always implied. Man's dependence on nature, which does not mean his collaborating to nature, but vice versa, is so deep that nature can be considered part of man's nature, the source of a part of human nature, so, a condition for man's existence and full development on earth. Man cannot be conceived outside the frame of cosmic nature".

The contemporary ecological crisis has been caused by man's ontological separation from nature, a fact that allowed man to irresponsibly dominate and explore nature. The above text pleads for the ontological relation between man and nature, partly because man cannot exist without the environing nature, partly because Christ's quality of Savior is indissolubly related to His quality of Creator of the visible and invisible universe, together with the Father and the Holy Spirit. As the Holy Gospel says: "Through Him everything was created." This is the major reason why Christ's redemption has a cosmic dimension. These considerations represent the Christian doctrinal support for Christian ecological preoccupations.

Anthropology

1. God's image in man. Father Stăniloae brings into focus the patristic teaching that considers that the notion of "God's image" not only refers to soul but also to body. St. Gregory Palamas says that: "the notion of man does not refer to soul or body separately, but to both of them, because they were created together in God's image". "If we analyze the immense field of the rich and diverse Patristic thinking", says our theologian, "we notice that it avoids any systematization in order to save its entire amazing flexibility. However, it leads to some fundamental conclusions. First of all any substantial conception about image should be banished. The image is not in us as part of our being, but the entire human being is created, sculptured in God's image. The first expression of the image consists in man's hierarchical structure having spiritual life as its center. The image is this pre-eminence or centrality of

man's spiritual life, inspired by the fundamental aspiration towards absolute. It is the dynamic impetus of our entire being towards the divine archetype (Origen), our irresistible aspiration towards God as infinite being (St. Basil the Great), our human love turned to the divine love (St. Gregory Palamas) which welcomes it with His infinity, supporting man's aspiration for infinite. In short, this image is the everlasting thirst, the intimate longing for God, or as St. Gregory of Nazianzus wonderfully says: "It is for You that I live, speak and sing". Briefly, each faculty of the human spirit reflects the image; it is essentially our entire humanity centered on the spiritual, whose major feature is to exceed its limits in order to plunge itself in the infinite ocean of divinity and consequently find comfort for its nostalgia. This is the tension of the icon towards the original, of the image towards "its origin".

Patristic theology has never considered the body as a mere instrument of the soul for its redemption. The existence of an image which embraces the entire human being, soul and body, but also the spiritual orientation conferred to the human being proves that man's sanctification or transfiguration refers to both body and soul. Only from such an anthropological vision could the impressive philokalic work appear; it is a work showing man the means by which sinful passions can be converted into virtues, by the work of God's grace, through man's transfiguration in Christ. It is the same transfiguration process that occurred with Jesus Christ on Mount Tabor, when "His face shone like the sun and His clothes became as white as light". (Matthew: 17, 20).

2. The primordial state. Father Stăniloae says that, in the paradisiacal state, "man was free from bad impulses and had a tendency towards the good of the communion with God and his fellows, but he was not fortified in this good and purity. He was conscious and free and had a tendency towards good things. But, at that moment, he had neither a radical consciousness of truth and of good, nor an unbreakable freedom against the possibility of becoming addicted to certain sinful passions. He was not a sinner but, at the same time, he was not adorned with acquired virtues and consolidated good thoughts. His innocence was that of one who had not tasted sin, but not the one acquired by fighting off sins. Man was a being whose spirit had not been hurt or weakened by sinful passions; however he was not yet fortified by the exercise of submitting the body and the world, by the actualization of the contingent elasticity of the world. The autonomous laws of the sinful passions did not enslave his body, yet, at the same time, his force was not strengthened by habit into immunity against such a state. The world was not imposing its processes on his spirit and body like some inescapable chains; however, the world had not become subjected to the spirit either.

Saint John of Damascus says that God created man "sinless in his nature and free in his will, but sinless not as inaccessible to sin - for only God has this

quality - but as one who had no such bias in his soul; he was endowed with the freedom to choose. That is, he had the freedom to insist and persevere in good, helped by the divine grace, but similarly he was allowed to go astray from good and be in evil. God allowed this for freedom's sake, because whatever is done by force is not virtue".

The manner in which the primordial state is conceived by Patristic theology has a great importance for the contemporary Christian theology. Ignoring the treasure of Patristic thinking, a large part of the contemporary theology tends to see man, in his primordial state, as a perfect being; yet, it does not realize that, in this way, it cancels man's freedom and his personal contribution to his own perfectibility. Father Stăniloae shows that Eastern Patristic theology, far from such deviations, saw man's primordial state only as potential perfection, which man was supposed to develop into present perfection through his free cooperation with the divine grace. If one does not take into account this reality, then it is difficult to explain how man fell into sin.

3. Harmony with nature. Before sinning, as man was in natural harmony with God and with his fellow, says Father Stăniloae, "man was in harmony with nature, too, even if this harmony was not consolidated through virtuous actions. His kindness would not drive animals away. His greed did not defile or humble the nature around him. Seeing God as ever-present in nature, man was feeling in nature like in a cradle whose protective secret he was not willing to break with analysis and violations. He was seeing through it, beyond it, the force of his innocent spirit made nature's processes malleable. A great sense of solidarity made him be in peace with everything and everybody. Man was in a position allowing him to become *the ring* connecting the entire nature with God, as Saint Maximus the Confessor said. Contrary to the pantheist conception, man is not destined to lose his personality - or to *become cosmic* in an impersonal way – but, on the contrary, to personalize the world. Man is not saved through the universe, but the universe is saved through man, because man's role is to personalize the universe".

Here, we are again in front of a religious dogma of great significance for the contemporary man. Under the influence of oriental religions, nowadays there is a tendency to consider that man's role is to dissolve his person in the impersonal reality of the Great All. This pantheist conception does not respect man as a person created in the image of God. More than that, this depersonalization of man or his becoming cosmic mean nothing but a total dependence of man on the natural laws of the universe which prevent man from being a genuine creator of culture, from transforming nature and from working for the transfiguration of man and of the universe in his quality of *wreath* and *priest* of the creation. From the Christian viewpoint, man is not

destined to depersonalize himself, but to be *the ring* of connection between God and the world, in order to personalize the world and ascend with it in the Creator's glory. "Because the universe itself is to be freed from the shackles of mortality", as the Apostle Paul said, "and enter upon the liberty and splendor of the children of God." (Romans: 8, 20). Pantheism denies man the quality of person.

4. Man's autonomy. "Men's fall from God", says Father Stăniloae, "consisted formally in an act of disobedience. Because of this act, men disconnected their selves from God, from the positive dialogue with Him. They no longer answered God, considering that this is a way to affirm their freedom and autonomy. In fact, that was the beginning of man's selfish isolation within his self. Because of that, man became his own slave. Imagining that he had become his own master, he became his own slave. Man is free only inasmuch as he is free from himself for others, in love, if he is available for God, who is the source of freedom because He is the source of love. But disobedience used as an opportunity the commandment not to eat from the tree giving knowledge of good and evil."

Talking about the tree of knowledge of good and evil, Saint Maximus the Confessor says that: "this tree was called the creation of the visible things, because it has spiritual qualities that nourish the mind, and also a natural power that on the one hand delights man's perception and on the other hand corrupts his mind. Therefore, contemplated spiritually it offered the knowledge of good, but taken physically, it offered the knowledge of evil. Because if you take it in your body, it makes you learn sinful passions and forget God. Maybe this is why God forbade man the knowledge of good and evil, delaying it for a while: in order to allow man's communion with God to turn into something unchangeable and untarnishable, a thing that would have happened if man had become God through deification".

In the above texts, there are two important ideas about Christian life and spirituality. Firstly, we have to emphasize that contemporary thought and European culture come from the principle of man's autonomy in relation to God. This way of seeing things has a great importance for the relation between God and man, because when autonomy is considered as man's natural state, then any attempt to convince man to become dependent on God represents a violation of man's statute of autonomy and natural freedom. This is one of the reasons that determined Mircea Eliade to declare that the contemporary man will not feel free unless he exterminates the last Divinity.

In total opposition with this way of seeing things, patristic theology, far from considering man's autonomy as his natural state, saw in it man's condition as having sinned and having interrupted his communion with God, which was meant to give him eternal life. In their anthropological

considerations, the Holy Fathers did not start from the condition of the man who sinned, but from man's primordial condition. Thus the relationship between man and God no longer appears as a violation of man's liberty, but as a natural expression of his primordial condition, allowing man to aspire to his resemblance with God and to acquire his spiritual freedom, as freedom in God's likeness. Grace is part of human nature, although it belongs to God.

Moreover, the considerations of Saint Maximus the Confessor about the tree of knowledge of good and evil are very important, too, for those who want to know the strategy used by the forces of evil to drive man to lose his way and fall into sin. The sensitivity of the world is the elusive gilding that the Devil used to hide the disastrous consequences of sin from man's eyes. The evil offers sweetness or an initial good for man to accept it more easily and only after he has sinned can man discover its destructive effects. The sensitive people are not bad through themselves because they were created by God, but their sensitivity is used by the Devil to alienate man from God and to make him become the slave of his sinful passions and of the sensitive things; this can never quench man's thirst for eternity, to which man aspires as someone bearing God's image in his entire being.

5. God's image in man after sin. In concordance with Patristic theology, Father Stăniloae shows us that: "the weakening of man's capacity to know his personal God through a transparent world, to live in communion with Him and with his fellows meant not just a withdrawal of God's grace, but also a weakening of God's image in man. But this image was not completely destroyed in man. Man has the aspiration to an infinite knowledge - an aspiration that conceals the thirst for God; it is a knowledge that he sometimes perceives; the need for good was not entirely deleted in him, although man does not always conceive it as communion. The communion between God and men, although weakened, remained".

In this text, Father Stăniloae rejects both the theological opinion according to which God's image in man was radically deleted from the human being by man's sin, and the opinion of those who consider that sin has not touched God's image in man, so God's image must have remained almost intact. Both these opinions are extremist tendencies that have undermined the foundation of Christian spirituality. According to the Holy Fathers' teaching, God's image was only weakened or altered by sin, so man can still pursue what is good, after his sin. If man had remained a *tabula rasa*, from which God's image had disappeared, then one could no longer see the reason why God's Son had to be born for men's salvation.

Conclusion

We reviewed and commented some of the most important chapters of the *Orthodox Dogmatic Theology* to highlight Father Stăniloae's considerable work in the realm of Eastern Theology. As we know, for a long period of time our theology was influenced by Scholastic Theology, which broke through the boundaries of Orthodox Theology overshadowing some of its most important coordinates. We cannot deny the merits of Scholastic Theology, because it teaches us to think clearly and systematically. The weakness of this Theology is the fact that it puts aside its spiritual content and talks about God without knowing Him through a personal encounter. Having permanent recourse to Patristic Theology, Father Stăniloae succeeded in impressing on our Theology its spiritual dimension that transforms speculative theology into man's meeting with God and his fellows through the Church. Because only a theology based on the experience of the encounter with God can give an answer to the problems of the contemporary man.

In other words, we could say that Patristic Theology helped Father Stăniloae highlight the personal character of the Orthodox Theology starting with the Holy Trinity, passing through the Church and being manifest in the relationships between humans. Because the purpose of the Orthodox mission in the World is not to have recourse to ideologies in order to dominate the World but to develop the relationships between human beings in order to make them become human relationships, communion and collaboration towards common welfare. In a world dominated by technology and the coldness of metal, we need a theology that can bring God in men's souls so that any Christian may become according to the Savior's commandment *the light of the World and the salt of the Earth*. This is how Patristic Theology understood the Christian mission in the World, conceived as mission to transfigure the creation through the values brought by Christ.

It has often been said that the Orthodox Church is inclined more to contemplation than to mission. This is why we are offered as example different churches that are extremely active in the domain of mission. In reality, things appear different. First of all, the contemplative aspect of our Church is extremely important because it allows its believers to find in the Church the accomplishment of their most profound aspirations concerning the eternity of God. This is the reason why in a secularized world the Orthodox Church preserves its believers.

Secondly, the Orthodox Church cannot agree with organized missions that would use different means in order to achieve their proselytistic aims. The Orthodox Church considers that mission must be the result of a life in Christ that brings in the souls the uncreated light of the Holy Trinity, so that Christians may carry the light of Christ throughout the world, bringing love,

peace, joy, kindness in a world torn apart by so many social problems, in a world looking for its new economical, social or political identity. If there is something we could borrow from the other Christian churches this could be ethics. The Orthodox Church was capable of creating culture. But it needs ethics to create as well a new civilization. Patristic Theology teaches us to remain open to the cultural values that could contribute to our enrichment just as we contribute with our own values to the enrichment of others.

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PART I: BIOGRAPHY

1. His childhood and family.

The memory of Vlădeni Făgăraș (1903-1917)

Father Professor Dumitru Stăniloae* was born on November 16, 1903, in Vlădeni (Brașov district, formerly Făgăraș district), which is a *purely Romanian* village, situated between Bârsa Area and Olt Area, surrounded by forests and rivers springing from Mount Măgura Codlei, from where quicklime used to be brought to be processed and then used in the villagers' households. Professor Dumitru Stăniloae¹ was the son of Irimie and Reveca. His mother Reveca, granddaughter of a priest, was a woman with a kind and sensitive soul. Her father, the philosopher of the village, had traveled over the ocean, in America, before Father Stăniloae was born; he had been to school in that village and he could speak German. A diligent man, Professor Stăniloae's father was of great help to the needy families. He was a meditative man, quite silent; the villagers of Vlădeni always listened to him.

Among the five children of the family, Reveca and Ieremia's sons, Dimitrie was the youngest. Here are the family's members: Maria, sister (born in 1889, died in 1910, after a year of marriage); Ilie, brother (born in 1891, at 18 he left for America, and he never came back); Gheorghe, brother (born in 1893, died in 1974 in Bucharest); Reveca, sister (born 1896, died in 1977; she had four children: Irimie, Elena, Reveca and Filoteia, and after that she became a nun in 1957; today, the last two daughters are nuns at Țigănești Monastery (Ilfov district)).

His maternal grandfather chose Father Professor's name. He had to choose between Atanasie and Dumitru, and it seems that the latter of these names - Dumitru - had more resonance in the old man's heart.

As a child, Father Stăniloae would go to church with his mother. Two priests had served that church, but when he was a child just one priest was serving it, Iacov Zorea, who was parish priest, a correct and distant man. The people from Vlădeni had not made compromises with the Greek Catholics: they had always been Orthodox. The pious spirit was obvious in the child's family; Dumitru's education in this direction had a positive influence on him.

* In order for the (ethical and legal) copyright to be respected, I mention the fact that the first "Bio-bibliography of Father Dumitru Stăniloae", published in the country and abroad in June 1992, was written by the undersigned with the approval and written consent of the illustrious theologian since the moment of its publication. All the bio-bibliographical materials related to Father Dumitru Stăniloae that were published in Romania and then abroad had as starting point the above-mentioned book.

¹ In official acts, he appears (correctly) as Dumitru Stăniloae.

His maternal grandmother was a priest's daughter, too, and this is another argument supporting what we have pointed out so far.

Since his childhood he wandered with his father by wagon through the villages from the foot of Făgăraș Mountains, transporting quicklime, wheat etc., which allowed him to see the marvels of our country and to meet the men of this people.²

² C.P.D.S., 1903-1909. The correspondence of Father Dumitru Stăniloae, gathered by Professor Gheorghe F. Anghelescu (abbreviated from now on C.P.D.S.), 1917-1922. After 1990, Gheorghe F. Anghelescu published works about the life and work of Father Dumitru Stăniloae, of which we can enumerate the following: *Anthropological Issues in Father Dumitru Stăniloae's Work* (Problematica antropologică în opera Părintelui Profesor Dumitru Stăniloae), in "MO", new series, 43 (1991), no. 4-6, p. 148-156; *Fr.Acad.Prof. Dumitru Stăniloae, Th.D., Doctor Honoris Causa of the University from Bucharest. Presentation and Complete Bibliography* (Părintele Acad. Prof. Dr. Dumitru Stăniloae, Doctor Honoris Causa al Universității din București. 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Anghelescu (together with Cristian Untea) was co-organizer and participant with the work: *The Bio-bibliography of Father Dumitru Stăniloae. Significant Landmarks in the Romanian Spirituality of the 20th Century* (Bio-bibliografia Părintelui Dumitru Stăniloae. Repere semnificative în spiritualitatea românească a secolului XX) at the International Symposium "Viața și opera Părintelui Dumitru Stăniloae (1903-1993). Teologia românească de dimensiune europeană" (Life and work of Father Dumitru Stăniloae (1903-1993). The Romanian Theology of European Size), spiritual-cultural action made with the immediate support of the Transylvanian Evangelical Academy (AET), Metropolitan Church of Transylvania, The Orthodox Academy from Sâmbăta de Sus and the Ecumenical Foundation PRO AXE MUNDI, Sibiu-Sâmbăta, 20-23 July 2006 (the tome with the works of the participants at the symposium will be published soon at Sibiu). There can also be consulted, among other works related to Father Dumitru Stăniloae, the bio-bibliographical and theological works: Mircea Păcurariu, *200 Years of Theological Education in Sibiu 1786-1986* (Două sute de ani de învățământ teologic la Sibiu 1786-1986), Sibiu, 1986; Mircea Păcurariu, *Romanian Theologians' Dictionary* (Dicționarul teologilor români), Univers Enciclopedic Publishing House, Bucharest, 1996, p. 418-423; 2nd edition, Enciclopedica Publishing House, Bucharest, 2002, p. 455-460; Virginia Popa, *Dumitru Stăniloae. Bio-bibliography* (Părintele Dumitru Stăniloae. Bio-bibliografie), Trinitas Publishing House, Iași, 2004; Lidia Ionescu Stăniloae, *The Light of Deeds from the Light of the Word. Together with My Father, Dumitru Stăniloae* (Lumina faptei din lumina cuvântului. Împreună cu tatăl meu, Dumitru

In 1910, he began primary school. From the very first day his teacher and mates remarked him. His teacher, Lucreția Roșu, the first of his teachers, let him sit down in the fifth desk; those who stayed in the first desks were usually the best. He learned easily to read and calculate so that soon he became one of the best children of his primary school generation in his village. When he was in the second grade (1911-1912), he liked to read from a wonderful book with biblical stories that awakened his interest and love to endlessly look for God. His brother, Gheorghe, who lived in Bucharest, gave him an interesting and fascinating book: *Vămile văzduhului* (Heaven's Custom Houses). But, most importantly, when he was in primary school, he had the possibility to read the books from the library of Iordan Curcubătă, his mother's brother. The stories that he read from Ion Creangă, Ioan Slavici etc. were published by A.S.T.R.A. During primary school, he also had Mr. Balcăș and Mr. Gavrilescu as teachers, the last of them being a theologian, who later became a priest. Mr. Gavrilescu, who was very close to children, opened his way to study, to the world of books, to life, the very way that allowed him to continue his studies in higher schools in town. When he was in the third grade he went to Brașov for the first time and was impressed by this town's civilization. In the autumn of 1913 he started the last primary grade and he graduated it when the First World War started ("a painful war for the Romanians" as Father Teacher Dumitru Stăniloae appreciated). A lot of the villagers were mobilized, went to the front and never came back to Vlădeni. In the autumn of the first year of war he began the fifth class, which he graduated in 1915. The same year, when he started the sixth class, he remained with very few mates. In June 1916, on the graduation of the sixth class, he had just one classmate left. The child Dumitru Stăniloae was pronounced the leader of his generation. During that summer, Romania joined in the war, too; while grazing the cattle on the pastures of Vlădeni, the child Dumitru was amazed to find out this piece of news from his sister, Reveca. That summer, his teacher asked his parents to send him to school in Brașov. His mother, his uncle Iordan Curcubătă and his teacher wanted Dumitru to become a priest, so he

Stăniloae), Humanitas Publishing House, Bucharest, 2000; Teodor Baconsky, editor, *Father Stăniloae or the Paradox of theology* (Dumitru Stăniloae sau paradoxul teologiei), Anastasia Publishing House, Bucharest, 2003; Lidia Stăniloae, *The Meeting with God. Poems* (Întâlnire cu Dumnezeu. Poezii), Trinitas Publishing House, Iași, 2003; Emil Bartoș, *The Concept of Deification in the Theology of Dumitru Stăniloae* (Conceptul de îndumnezeire în teologia lui Dumitru Stăniloae), Cartea Creștină Publishing House, Oradea, 1999, 509 p.; 2nd edition, 2002; Jürgen Henkel, *Deification and Ethics of Love in the Work of Father Dumitru Stăniloae* (Îndumnezeire și etică a iubirii în opera părintelui Dumitru Stăniloae), 2nd edition, Deisis Publishing House, Sibiu, 2006; Nicolae Moșoiu, *The Mystery of the Presence of God in the Human Life. The Creative Vision of Father Professor Dumitru Stăniloae* (Taina prezenței lui Dumnezeu în viața umană. Viziunea creatoare a Părintelui Profesor Dumitru Stăniloae), Paralela 45 Publishing House, Pitești, Bucharest, Brașov, Cluj-Napoca, Constanța, 2002; Maciej Bielawski, *Father Dumitru Stăniloae – A Philokalic Vision of the World* (Părintele Dumitru Stăniloae – O viziune filocalică despre lume), Deisis Publishing House, Sibiu, 1998; Joachim, Giosanu, *La deification de l'homme d'après la pensée du père Dumitru Stăniloae*, Trinitas Publishing House, Iassy, 2003.

was to pursue theological studies. In the autumn of 1916, his parents kept him at home in Vlădeni because the First World War was in full development.³

2. High school years in Braşov (1917-1922)

On February 10, 1917, he went to Braşov to attend high school; in June 1917, he successfully finished the first grade of high school, during the summer he easily attended the second grade, and in autumn, in September 1917 he began the third grade. The Metropolitan Church of Transylvania was supporting the Confessional Humanist High School "Andrei Şaguna" where he was studying then. At the time, few students attended this high school; the subjects were taught in Romanian and Hungarian. Dumitru was living at a Saxon landlady in Braşov. His uncle, Iordan Curcubătă, his mother's brother, was devotedly taking care of the young student in order that he may attend high school in a completely appropriate environment. Dumitru would spend the summer holidays with his uncle at Budila (Săcele). He spent his teens reading intensively and many books of his generation impressed themselves on his memory, out of which the stories of *One thousand and one nights*.

Dumitru begins the fourth grade of high school in the autumn of 1918, when Germany had been defeated and the war had come to an end. Braşov was celebrating Romania's wonderful historical chance to become *Great Romania*, united as Mihai Viteazu had wanted it three centuries before. The high school student Dumitru was very interested in the magazines edited in Sibiu, which were presenting aspects concerning the independence of Transylvania. By the end of the autumn of 1918, the Romanian army gloriously entered Braşov and, implicitly, Transylvania. "Andrei Şaguna" High School hosted an important meeting in favor of the union of Transylvania with the Kingdom of Romania, a moment which Dumitru profoundly experienced with his entire mind and soul. Gojdu Foundation⁴ offered him a scholarship for the fourth grade (1918-1919), which allowed him to eat and get accommodation at the school's boarding house, simplifying his financial situation. From the autumn of 1919 until the Christmas of the same year he attended the fifth grade, his leadership offering him the chance of keeping his full scholarship during the next year, the sixth grade, which he begins after January 1, 1920, graduating during the same year. In the spring of 1921, while reading a novel out in the open on Vlădeni Hills, he catches a cold that turns into pneumonia. He is taken home to Vlădeni, by his uncle's wagon. He

³ *Ibidem*, 1910-1917.

⁴ Emanoil Gojdu (1802-1870), born in Oradea, Romanian lawyer and politician. He fought for the national and Orthodox religious rights of the Romanians from Transylvania. His fortune constituted a scholarship fund for the students from Romania and Hungary. Dumitru Stăniloae dedicated several commemorative articles to him.

recovers, and in the summer of the same year he finishes the seventh grade, in just two weeks. He then finished his last high school year, 1921-1922, the eighth grade, at 18, with remarkable results.⁵

3. The years of his academic studies: Bucharest, Cernăuți, Athens, Munich, Berlin, Paris, Belgrade (1922 – 1929)

Just after finishing high school, together with his uncle Iordan Curcubătă, Dumitru goes to Sibiu, where he is recommended to the Bishop of Transylvania, Nicolae Bălan, in order to obtain a scholarship that would help him study theology at the University from Cernăuți. His application is accepted, but his contact with the theological environment from the University of Cernăuți will not satisfy him. The textbooks and teaching methods were old, scholastic.

This disappointment will determine him to leave the university after a year of study and to attend the Romanian Literature Faculty in Bucharest, where teachers like Dragomirescu, Caracostea and others fascinated and captivated him with their presentation of the world of literature. In the spring of 1924, during Lent, he meets Bishop Nicolae Bălan in Bucharest, on Academiei Street; in great surprise, the bishop asked him why he was not studying theology in Cernăuți anymore, why he had left the Theological University from that town of Bukovina so easily. Before Christ's Resurrection (1924), he applies at Sibiu Metropolitan center for another scholarship to continue his studies in theology. The bishop of Transylvania accepts his application again. In the autumn of 1924, he finishes his first year of theology, and continues his intense work, finishing the second year of theological studies with exceptional results.

As a student, by means of classical languages, he enters the world of Patristic literature with great satisfaction. He has pleasant memories about his teachers Vasile Loichiță from Banat, professor of Dogmatics, who was on good terms with his students, and Nicolae Cotos from Bukovina, who taught him *Apologetics*; they introduced him extremely well in the profound study of theology. One of his classmates, the future Theology teacher in Sibiu, Nicolae Neaga, finished his studies an year earlier in 1926 and obtained a scholarship for specialization in Athens from Bishop Nicolae Bălan.⁶

Dumitru Stăniloae brilliantly finishes his fourth year of theology and takes his degree in theology with the thesis *Botezul copiilor* (Children's Baptism), coordinated by his teacher Vasile Loichiță. His paper was trying to

⁵ C.P.D.S., 1917-1922.

⁶ C.P.D.S., 1922 – 1927.

explain *the possibility, the necessity and the reality of children's baptism*, bringing considerable new testamentary, patristic and dogmatic evidence in support of this thesis.⁷

Having obtained his four-year degree in theology from the University of Cernăuți, he requests a scholarship in Athens from Bishop Nicolae Bălan. His application is first filed in Bucharest, then in Sibiu, but he does not receive an immediate answer. However, Bishop Nicolae Balan appoints him in the position of theology teacher in Brașov, although, under these circumstances, the recent graduate would have preferred to teach in Caransebeș.

However, in August 1927 he receives the bishop's approval to go to Athens for specialization.⁸

He went to Athens with Nicolae Popovici, the future bishop of Oradea. In this metropolis of Greece, he put together the documentation for the thesis that allowed him to obtain the title of Doctor of Theology.

His health is being challenged again. In January 1928, a new pneumonia keeps him in bed for two weeks. In May, he returns to Romania and in Cernăuți he passes two examinations (with great skills, competence and professionalism) and is nominated Doctor of Theology with the thesis: *Viața și opera Patriarhului Dosoftei al Ierusalimului și legăturile lui cu Țările Românești* (Life and Work of Patriarch Dositheos of Jerusalem and His Connections with the Romanian Countries).⁹

His new position of Doctor of Theology, confirmed by the Romanian University Center, determined the bishop Nicolae Bălan to give him a different welcome in the Eparchial Center of Sibiu and made him try to win Dumitru Stăniloae for the "Andrei Saguna" Theological Academy.¹⁰

In November 1928, he gets a new and necessary scholarship for a specialization in Byzantology and Dogmatics from the Metropolitan Center in Sibiu. He leaves for Munich, where he goes for specialized studies in this area of universal history, at the Byzantology department of professor August Heisenberg.¹¹

During this specialization in universal history, he meets Nicolae Popovici, the future dissident ecclesiastical personality who will remain there for a period of 4 years.

⁷ Unpublished material that was, at that time, at the archive of the University of Cernăuți; it seems that a good part of it has been destroyed. Father Teacher Dumitru Stăniloae expressed his wish that the degree paper should be published in case of ever finding it. Some sources say that a great part of the archive from Cernăuți has been taken to Râmnicu Vâlcea and Suceava.

⁸ C.P.D.S., 1927.

⁹ His master degree thesis was published a year later, in March 1927, in Cernăuți, with a preface by his scientific coordinator, professor Vasile Lochiță.

¹⁰ C.P.D.S., 1927 – 1928.

¹¹ August Heisenberg - the father of the German physicist Werner Heisenberg, one of the founders of quantum mechanics, honorary member of the Romanian Academy (1938) and winner of the Nobel Prize.

From the beginning of his career the young doctor in ecclesiastical history concentrated his attention on the teachings of the Holy Fathers of Greek expression, who through their life and work substantiated the Orthodox Dogmatics.

He attentively studies the theological work of Gregory Palamas and, during the spring of 1929, he goes to Paris and Berlin for study, documentation and to make photocopies of Palamas' original work. On his way to Romania, he stops in Belgrade for two months to improve his documentation on patristic and ecclesiastical history and implicitly on Orthodox Dogmatics. He returns very well documented to Sibiu in the summer of 1929.¹²

4. The university career in Sibiu (1929 – 1947)

In 1929, he starts teaching at the Dogmatics Department of the “Andrei Șaguna” Theological Academy from Sibiu. He remains a temporary teacher until 1935, when he becomes a permanent teacher. He remains a Dogmatics teacher until 1946, teaching as well Apologetics between 1929-1932, 1936-1937, Pastoral Education (1932-1936) and Greek between 1929-1934.¹³

In 1929, the metropolitan bishop Nicolae Bălan asked teacher Stăniloae to translate and analyze the dogmatic work of Hristu Andrușos, and, in the summer of 1930, he goes to Constantinople to find, examine and copy the theological work of Saint Gregory Palamas; Dumitru Stăniloae manages to bring this work to Romania, where he meticulously analyses and translates it in Sibiu in the '30s.¹⁴

On October 4, 1930 he marries Maria (born Mihu), a fact that was not welcomed by the Eparchial Center in the beginning, but which was eventually accepted by everybody.¹⁵

In Sibiu, between 1931-1936, he lived in an apartment on No. 1, Carmen Sylva Street, close to “Bulevard” Hotel and then, between 1936-1937, in the Theological Academy's rector's house in Sibiu.¹⁶

In January 1931, the metropolitan bishop Nicolae Bălan asks him to write as many materials as possible for “Telegraful Român”. The leader of the Archbishopric of Sibiu was a constant admirer of his articles. Moreover, the relation between these two people grew stronger in the years to come, until

¹² C.P.D.S., 1928 – 1929.

¹³ Mircea Păcurariu, *Two Hundred Years of Theological Education in Sibiu* (Două sute de ani de învățământ teologic la Sibiu, 1786-1986), Sibiu, 1987, p. 320. Idem, *The Monograph of the Theological Institute of Sibiu, 1911-1955* (Monografia Institutului teologic universitar Sibiu, 1911-1955), degree thesis, presented at Professor Sofron Vlad's department of Ecclesiastical Romanian History, Sibiu, 1956, p. 241.

¹⁴ C.P.D.S., 1929-1930.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, 1930.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, 1931 and on.

the installation of the communist regime in Romania. In many of his writings Dumitru Stăniloae had words of praise for this metropolitan bishop from Sibiu.¹⁷

The professor Vasile Lochiță suggests him to become a university teacher at Cernăuți, at the department of Universal Ecclesiastical history, but he does not accept the offer.¹⁸

On May 10, 1931 his first two children, twins, are born: Dumitru (who dies in September 1931) and Maria.¹⁹

His relations with the bishop Bălan were excellent during these years of his university career in Sibiu. He was invited to all the festivities and the bishop was always asking him for advice in the different problems of the archbishopric.

At the Theological Academy department in the '30s he was on good terms with Ive Bernute, a teacher of Universal Ecclesiastical history, and Nicolae Colan, the rector, a close friend of Bishop Bălan's.²⁰

On October 8, 1933 his third child, Lidia is born. Happily, the godfather who baptized her was the eminent doctor in history Ion Lupaș from Transylvania.²¹

On January 1, 1934 he is nominated manager of "Telegraful român" ("The Romanian Telegraph"), a job that brings him great accomplishments in the journalistic area until May 1945. In "Telegraful român", a cultural and religious journal, to which he grows attached with all his soul, he will present, in almost every issue, ideas supporting the Orthodox Church and Romanian patriotism.²²

In April 1934, he gets pneumonia again.²³

In 1934, he meets Nichifor Crainic at bishop Nicolae Bălan's house and they become good friends. Dumitru Stăniloae will have a great consideration for this cultivated man and great speaker who sustained through his speeches the Orthodoxy and Romanian patriotism.²⁴

¹⁷ See also *Homage to the Metropolitan Bishop of Transylvania, Nicolae Bălan, on 20 Years of Ministry* (Omagiul I. P. S. Dr. Nicolae Bălan, Mitropolitul Ardealului. La 20 de ani de arhipastorie), Sibiu, 1940, in the chapter *The Metropolitan Bishop Nicolae as Theologian* (Mitropolitul Nicolae ca teolog), p. 242-262.

¹⁸ Although he started to become known in the domain of universal ecclesiastical history with the important work *Catholicism after the War* (Catolicismul după război).

¹⁹ *C.P.D.S.*, 1931.

²⁰ *Ibidem*.

²¹ *Ibidem*, 1933.

²² See also the article *The Romanian Telegraph's Editors* (Redactorii "Telegrafului Român"), in "Telegraful Român", year 126, no. 1-4, Sibiu, 1-15 Jan. 1978, p. 11-12. Dumitru Stăniloae worked as editor-in-chief at "Telegraful Român" between Jan. 1, 1934 and May 13, 1945, apud Mircea Păcurariu, *The Monograph...* (Monografia...), p. 245.

²³ *C.P.D.S.*, 1934.

²⁴ See also Father Stăniloae's article: Memories about Nichifor Crainic, the director of "Gândirea" (Amintiri despre Nichifor Crainic, directorul "Gândirii"), in "Gândirea", new series, *Easter Issue* (Numărul învierii), Sibiu, 1992, p. 9. Father Stăniloae talked to me about three people who marked his life: the metropolitan

He meets Arsenie Boca, the well-known priest and monk from Sâmbăta Monastery and the future confessor from Prislop, who joins him in the translation of several texts from Berdiaev. After finishing the Faculty of Theology in Sibiu, Arsenie Boca will study painting in Bucharest for almost three years, his landlord being Gheorghe Stăniloae, namely Dumitru Stăniloae's brother. Arsenie Boca will conceive the graphics of the covers for the first four philokalic volumes edited between 1946-1948, an illustration that was preserved for the next volumes published later, after decennia (the volumes V to XII).²⁵

In April 1935, he gets sick again, this time suffering from terrible migraines, a situation that affects him for almost 2 years, until 1937. During these years, especially during the holidays, he would go to Bucharest, and sometimes to Vlădeni or Budila.²⁶

Immediately after the nomination of the rector Nicolae Colan as bishop of Cluj, Father Dumitru Stăniloae was nominated rector of the Theological Academy of Sibiu in June 1936, a position that he held until 1946.²⁷

During these years, the Theological Academy of Sibiu became an important Romanian theological school recognized by the entire Romanian society due to the value of its leader.²⁸

Beginning with 1936, one of Dumitru Stăniloae's colleagues is the famous New Testament Studies professor, Grigorie Marcu. He will also successfully collaborate with Dumitru Popescu, the secretary of the Theological Academy, led with great competence and professionalism by the new rector Dumitru Stăniloae.²⁹

Dumitru Stăniloae went through all the ecclesiastical steps, from deacon (October 16, 1931), priest (September 25, 1932), priest assistant, to bishop (1940), bishop adviser and member of the Eparchial Assembly from Ardeal.³⁰

Since 1937, Liviu Stan and Nicolae Neaga were his colleagues at the Theological Academy.

In 1938, Dumitru Stăniloae catches a new and serious infectious disease: scarlet fever. During his illness, he conceives and writes his monumental work on Saint Gregory Palamas, which was edited during the

bishop Nicolae Bălan, Nichifor Crainic and Gheorghe Nenciu from the Department of Religions (they supported him in his activity throughout time).

²⁵ *C.P.D.S.*, 1933 and on.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, 1935 and on.

²⁷ Mircea Păcurariu, *The Monograph...* (Monografia...), p. 241.

²⁸ Idem, *Two Hundred Years of theological Education in Sibiu* (Două sute de ani de învățământ teologic la Sibiu...), p. 320. It is shown that the Theological Academy "Andrei Șaguna" was "*the best theological school for higher education in our country, founded in 1911, ... it grew and developed into a strong tree, out of a unique seed. From its fruits benefited firstly the Bishopric of Sibiu...*". In the work *The Archiepiscopacy of Sibiu – History Pages* (Arhiepiscopia Sibiului – pagini de istorie), Sibiu, 1981, p. 95.

²⁹ *C.P.D.S.*, 1936 and on.

³⁰ Mircea Păcurariu, *Two Hundred Years...* (Două sute de ani...), p. 320. Idem, *The Monograph...* (Monografia...), p. 242.

same year, 1938. Worse for his family was the terrible heart disease of his daughter Maria (Mioara) caused by the cold in the school where she was studying.

During those years, his famous disciple Boca confirms his calling through his trip to Mount Athos, after which he joined "Sâmbăta de Sus" Monastery and started his multiple activity of restoration of this holy monastery with the help of Brother Serafim Popescu.³¹

In 1939, Father Stăniloae publishes a new book, *Românism și ortodoxie* (Romanian Spirit and Orthodoxy)³², a work made up partly from his articles published in "Telegraful român" and "Gândirea".³³

In the same year, his wife, Maria, finds out she has a serious condition called pleurisy, for which she has to undergo a difficult medical operation. The pain caused by this illness in Father Stăniloae's family continued, as it is followed by an extremely annoying tuberculosis which lasted for two years. But things did not end there: in 1953-1954 his wife suffered another painful chest operation.³⁴

In 1939, after Miron Cristea's death, Father Dumitru Stăniloae finds out from bishop Nicolae Bălan himself that the latter refuses to become Romania's patriarch.³⁵

The Romanian people from Transylvania did not approve of the beginning of the Second World War, at a moment when Romania was becoming closer to the German culture and civilization. The idea of geo-political revisionism and of a politics of revenge launched out in Europe was worrying for Romania, especially for the academic world. Romania had two options: Hitlerist Germany or Stalinist Russia and, of course, she finally accepted the first variant.³⁶

In 1940, Father Stăniloae is physically affected by pulmonary congestion.³⁷ In autumn, after the painful political decision made in Vienna at the end of August, the University of Cluj had to move to Sibiu with its famous teachers Victor Papilian, Grigore Popa, Mihai Beniuc; they become his fellow contributors at the new magazine "Luceafărul", printed in Sibiu, which was edited joining the newspaper "Țara" and led with great professionalism by the

³¹ C.P.D.S., 1937 and on.

³² See also Traian Vedinăș's article *Orthodoxy and Romanian Spirit* (Ortodoxie și românism), in "Telegraful Român", 1939, no. 13-14, 1 April 1922, Sibiu, p. 1 and 3; Father Dumitru Stăniloae, *Orthodoxy and Romanian Spirit* (Românism și Ortodoxie), in "Gândirea", new series, *Easter Issue* (Numărul învierii), Sibiu, 1992, p. 30-32 (the article was reedited); Dan Zamfirescu, *Orthodoxy and Roman Catholicism and the Specific Features of their Historical Existence* (Ortodoxie și Romano-Catolicism în specificul existenței lor istorice), Bucharest, 1992.

³³ A work that caught the attention of Mr. Dan Zamfirescu, to be reedited at his private Publishing House – "Roza Vânturilor".

³⁴ C.P.D.S., 1939 and on.

³⁵ *Ibidem*.

³⁶ *Ibidem*.

³⁷ *Ibidem*, 1940.

philosopher Grigore Popa. At the beginning of Antonescu's government, professor Liviu Stan from the Theological Academy will be a member of the Ministry of Religious Affairs.³⁸

During the years when Father Dumitru Stăniloae led the "Andrei Șaguna" Theological Academy, especially Romanian students from Transylvania, Banat and Crișana (Sibiu, Cluj, Arad, Oradea, Timișoara, Caransebeș) and a lesser amount of young students from over the mountains, from East and South Romania attended it. Each university class was made up of 20 to 30 students. Many generations of students, during almost two decennia, were well advised and prepared by Father Dumitru Stăniloae.³⁹ His connections, as rector, to the Minister of Public Education, the great personality of the metropolitan bishop Nicolae Bălan and the prestige of the Theological Academy helped this institution become a university (1943) with the right to give university degrees and be a part of the University of Sibiu that already had a great prestige, earned by its renown professors: Emil Hațeganu, its rector, Dr. Roșca, professor of philosophy, and so on.⁴⁰

According to the data and the information published by the Archbishopric of Sibiu during those years, Father Dimitrie Stăniloae was a good leader, organizer and manager of the Theological Academy of Sibiu.⁴¹

In 1942, he published the work called *The Position of Mr. Lucian Blaga concerning Christianity and Orthodoxy* (Poziția domnului Lucian Blaga față de creștinism și Ortodoxie), made up of articles from "Telegraful Român" published between 1940-1942.

It was the first time when a famous Romanian theologian had taken a firm position against the philosophy, ideas and mentality of an appreciated writer of that period. The arguments brought by Dumitru Stăniloae in support of his thesis were rigorous, daring and Orthodox, proving that such philosophical ideas cannot be Christian and can have a negative influence on

³⁸ *Ibidem*, 1940 and on.

³⁹ *Ibidem*, 1941 and on.

⁴⁰ See also the interview (not signed) *The Ecclesiastical Politics of Marshal Antonescu* (Politica bisericească a Mareșalului Antonescu). An interview with Mr. Prof. Aurel Popa, the Secretary General of the Cults (continued) in "Telegraful Român", anul XCI, Sibiu, March 14, 1943, no. 11, p. 2, in which it is shown: "We are glad to remark that Sibiu has not denied its fame of center of the Transylvanian Orthodoxy. Its spiritual activity is inspired from Andrei Șaguna's tradition: this is also true of the beautiful activity of rector Stăniloae, visible not only in his extremely sensible literary works, but also in the exemplary organization of the boarding school, where the priests of tomorrow do their apprenticeship in the guiding of souls."; and Dumitru Stăniloae, *Mr. Minister Ion Petrovici's Discourse at the Festivity of the Theological Academy "Andrei Șaguna"* (Discursul D-lui ministru Ion Petrovici la festivitatea Academiei Teologice Andreiene), in "Telegraful Român", year XCI, Sibiu, May 30, 1943, no. 22, p. 1-2, showing that: "Father Stăniloae, with his fine power of analysis that I know from his writings, which allow me to consider him a philosopher, just as he wanted in his turn to enumerate me among the representatives of Christian philosophy, has pointed out the reasons that made me promote this old institution to the rank of university." (p. 1).

⁴¹ See *The Archiepiscopacy of Sibiu – Pages of History* (Arhiepiscopia Sibiului – pagini de istorie), Sibiu, 1981, p. 97.

Romania's intellectuality and culture.⁴² After a few months, in 1943, he publishes a new book in order to further support the previous one. This work, called *Iisus Hristos sau restaurarea omului* (Jesus Christ or Man's Restoration), launches a new vision in the theological thinking of those years.

During these years of multilateral theological activity in Transylvania, Dumitru Stăniloae also held a great number of press conferences in Sibiu, Odorhei, Mediaș, Sebeș, and Oradea in a lot of villages. These actions took place under the aegis of A.S.T.R.A. His famous university speeches, as well as the sermons he gave in church have left an exceptional imprint on the ideas and the intellectual world of the Romanian society.⁴³

The events that befell Romania on August 23, 1944 and after this date were apprehended with great sorrow at the Academy "Andrei Șaguna" and were considered to be a misfortune for the entire country; the Russians "*represented a great calamity for the Romanian society*".⁴⁴ During those moments Father Professor Dumitru Stăniloae's family was in great pain because of the death of their daughter Maria, who died in May 1945.⁴⁵

During the period when Father Dumitru Stăniloae was a teacher at the Theological Academy "Andrei Șaguna", some important events marked the Romanian theological education: the attempts of reorganization of the theological education after 1936; the Rationalization Law in 1938; the University degree awarded to the Theological Academy "Andrei Șaguna"; various proposal and projects for developing this area of the Romanian education.⁴⁶

Under Father Professor and rector Stăniloae's coordination, the Theological Academy "Andrei Șaguna" had a lot of important visitors: Gibraltar's bishop Harold Buxton (27-29 October 1937), the auxiliary bishop of Paris, Roger Blaussart (3 April 1939), professor doctor Ștefan Zankow from the Faculty of Theology from Sofia (10 April 1940) and many others.⁴⁷

Although Dumitru Stăniloae's beliefs were aimed firmly towards truth and freedom, sustaining that a Christian society could not develop without these two characteristics, the new governors managed to remove him from the position of rector of the "Andrei Șaguna" Academy. In 1945, the University of Cluj returns to its normal location. The political position of Petru Groza

⁴² The famous philosopher and intellectual Gheorghe Vlăduțescu will republish this work at "Paideia" Publishing House from Bucharest. See also Emilian Vasilescu, *Christian Apologists* (Apologeti creștini), Bucharest, 1940, p. 76-90, stating that Father Professor Stăniloae's plea for the truth of the Orthodoxy and of the Romanian identity can place him among the renown Romanian Christian philosophers: Nae Ionescu, Mircea Vulcănescu, Nichifor Crainic, Petre Țuțea and others, completing and sometimes surpassing the value of their works by means of his arguments.

⁴³ Mircea Păcurariu, *The Monograph...* (Monografia...), p. 245.

⁴⁴ C. P. D. S., 1944.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, 1945.

⁴⁶ Mircea Păcurariu, *The Monograph...* (Monografia...), p. 63-123.

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 226.

facilitated his entrance into the Eparchial Assembly from Sibiu, which had a negative influence on the Theological University of Sibiu.⁴⁸

One morning, while going from Bucharest to Sibiu by car with Bishop Nicolae Bălan, Father Professor Dumitru Stăniloae receives the saddening news and request to resign from the position of rector at the Academy. He was replaced during the following days by professor Nicolae Neaga; his departure left a terrible gap in the heart of this institution that had won for over a decennium a laudable prestige.⁴⁹ He continued to teach in Sibiu until 1947, when, after 17 years and a half, he leaves the “Andrei Șaguna” Academy and goes to Bucharest⁵⁰ to deliver a series of lectures on Asceticism and Mysticism, written in November-December 1946⁵¹. Many students attend these lectures held at the department of Asceticism and Mysticism, once remarkably led by Nichifor Crainic. More precisely, this course was delivered from January 1947 until the middle of the university year 1948-1949⁵².

⁴⁸ *C.P.D.S.*, 1945 and on.

⁴⁹ See the annexes from bishop Bălan's Archives (which can be found at the Bishopric of Transylvania). These annexes show Bishop Nicolae Bălan's regret concerning the imposed departure of Father Dumitru Stăniloae from the position of rector of the Theological Academy “Andrei Șaguna” and implicitly from Sibiu.

⁵⁰ In the material published in the Yearbook of the Romanian Orthodox Theological Academy of Sibiu (year XXIII <V>, 1946-1947, p. 88), Father Professor Dumitru Stăniloae's activity is appreciated as follows: “Called to be a professor of Asceticism and Mysticism at the University from Bucharest, Father Dr. Stăniloae, is now leaving his Department of Dogmatic Theology from the “Andrei Șaguna” Academy. A well documented intellectual, strong in brilliant conceptions, he has left a deep imprint on the life of the church, not only through the 18 generations of priests whom he has educated, but especially through his numerous profoundly thought and wonderfully formulated works. Father Professor Dumitru Stăniloae, Th.D., is one of the most prominent figures of the Romanian Theology. The Theological Academy has been and will be proud of him. It is here that he started his career as theologian and professor; it is here that he crystallized his huge personality irradiating so powerfully in the Romanian thinking. The town of Sibiu has offered him a favorable environment to manifest himself, while he in turn contributed to raising Sibiu's prestige to an unprecedented height, serving with all his strenght the Academy whose professor (18 years) and rector (10 years) he has been. His transfer to Bucharest is an acknowledgement of his prominent theological personality. The Academy that protected him until he reached maturity in his creation and which he served, expresses, through this homage, its feeling that Father Stăniloae will continue to stand by its professors and students spiritually.” See also Mircea Păcurariu, *The Monograph...* (Monografia...), p. 242.

⁵¹ A course published much later with many improvements as *Moral Orthodox Theology* (Teologia morală ortodoxă), volume III: *Orthodox Spirituality* (Spiritualitatea ortodoxă), Bucharest, 1946-1948.

⁵² *C.P.D.S.*, 1946-1948.

5. The university career in Bucharest and Romania's darkest years

Father Professor Dumitru Stăniloae was transferred by "invitation" to the Faculty of Theology of the University of Bucharest, at the Department of Asceticism and Mysticism, beginning with 1947; in 1948, at this faculty that had turned into a Theological Institute of university level ("*over night*"), he is hired as professor of Dogmatic and Symbolic Theology, and he teaches especially doctoral students until his retirement in 1973⁵³.

Between 1946 and 1948, he edits the first four volumes of *The Philokalia* (Filocalia), which become landmarks for the Romanian theological culture.⁵⁴

In the Bucharest of those years, among Father Stăniloae's colleagues there were Petre Vintilescu (dean and liturgy professor, removed beginning with 1947 by the leadership of the Romanian Orthodox Church), the famous professor Theodor M. Popescu (from the Universal Ecclesiastical History Department), the scholar Ioan Coman (from the Department of Patrology and Classical Languages), Iustin Moisescu (a Gospel professor), Nicolae Chițescu, at the Department of Dogmatics, Grigore Cristescu, professor at the Church Rethoric Department (he was also removed in 1948), Mihai Bulacu (from the Catechism Department, also removed in 1948). In 1948, a new lot of professors from the Theological High School from Caransebeș and from the Faculty of Theology from Cernăuți came to join the community of university professors from this theological institution in Bucharest (the professors Rezuș, Bucevschi, Prelipceanu, Chialda). The professor Nicolae Nicolescu was appointed as rector and Emilian Vasilescu as pro-rector.⁵⁵

As far as the activity of "The Burning Stake" ("Rugul aprins") is concerned, it was initiated in 1945 and had fervent supporters like Benedict Ghiuș (assistant professor at the Department of Mysticism), Sofian Boghiu (abbot at Plumbuita and then at Antim Monastery), Alexandru Mironescu (professor of Physics), Vasile Voiculescu (poet), Constantin Loja (logician), Andrei Scrima (assistant professor at Anton Dumitriu's Department of Logics, then librarian at the Library of the Saint Synod of the Romanian Orthodox Church and then a refugee in the West).⁵⁶ From his arrival in Bucharest, Father Dumitru Stăniloae supported the "Burning Stake" through an intense activity; it became a spiritual stronghold of the best intellectuals from

⁵³ Mircea Păcurariu, *Two hundred years... (Două sute de ani...)*, p. 320-321. See D. Radu's article *Father Professor Dumitru Stăniloae, Born in 1903* (Părintele Profesor Dumitru Stăniloae, născut în 1903), in "ST", no. 1-2, 1982, p. 63.

⁵⁴ *C.P.D.S.*, 1946-1948. It is worth mentioning that, in 1948, the Romanian Patriarchy prevented the editing of the *Philokalia* (Filocalia). Nowadays these first four philokalic volumes have been reedited through the effort of "Harisma" Publishing House from Bucharest.

⁵⁵ *C.P.D.S.*, 1947-1948.

⁵⁶ *C.P.D.S.*, 1945 and on.

Bucharest against the lie and unbelief triggered by the atheistic communist ideology and politics. Immediately after 1949, the activity of this Christian and Orthodox association starts to be seen as an “*impediment*” to the new communist society. Between 1949 and 1956, Father Dumitru Stăniloae held many conferences at Antim Monastery on the religious man’s behavior, about Mysticism and Asceticism, about Romanian spirituality and Orthodoxy, all these being unfavorably received by the new governors of Romania.⁵⁷

In 1949, Father Dumitru Stăniloae had a new colleague in Bucharest, namely professor Liviu Stan. On the contrary, I.G. Savin (from the Department of Apologetics) is considered a “*public menace*” by the authorities and is banned from theological education. The theological university staff were more consistent than in Sibiu, but the atmosphere was tenser, and the Romanian political police - the Security - closely supervised the professors’ activity. Father Professor Dumitru Stăniloae was forced to get more and more isolated, in order not to influence in any way the spiritual life of the young generation of students in Bucharest. Therefore he could no longer publish dogmatic theology papers and articles except on few occasions, whereas before 1948 he would do that fervently and successfully. The Mysticism Department was done away with in 1949; starting with this year, he becomes professor of Dogmatics for the doctoral students until his retirement.⁵⁸

Coming to Bucharest, in 1947, Father Professor Dumitru Stăniloae, together with his wife and his daughter Lidia, will live in an apartment of the Parish’s House from “Sfântul Gheorghe cel vechi” Church. The former patriarch Nicodim Munteanu gave him this apartment personally.⁵⁹

In the ‘50s, at the beginning of this decennium, the foremost representatives of the religious association “Burning Stake” – Vasile Voiculescu, Alexandru Mironescu, Andrei Scrima, Benedict Ghiuș, Sandu Tudor, Sofian Boghiu, Ion Marin Sadoveanu – would regularly meet either at Father Professor’s house or at Antim Monastery or at the home of one of those mentioned above. For these years of sad Stalinist dictatorship, this religious association’s activities were like an “oasis of light and peace” for the people of Bucharest. The focus of these activities was the spiritual conversation on patristic and philokalic ideas, to which these truly religious and pious people participated.⁶⁰

During these difficult years, when the official political ideology was openly against the faith in God and was propagating atheism, Father Professor Dumitru Stăniloae managed to have several theological articles and studies published at the central magazines of the Romanian Patriarchy – “Biserica

⁵⁷ *Ibidem*.

⁵⁸ *Ibidem*, 1949.

⁵⁹ *Ibidem*, 1947 and on.

⁶⁰ *Ibidem*, 1950 and on.

Ortodoxă Română”, “Ortodoxia” and “Studii teologice”. In 1952, on the patriarch Iustinian Marina’s direct demand, he publishes, together with the professors N. Chițescu, Isidor Todoran and Ioan Petreuță, the paper *Contribuții la însemnătatea credinței ortodoxe* (Contributions to the Significance of the Orthodox Faith). Six years later, collaborating with the same authors, he edits *Teologia dogmatică și simbolică pentru institutetele teologice* (Dogmatic and Symbolic Theology for Theological Institutes). In this university textbook, the professor’s name was not written down among the other authors’ names because meanwhile the professor had been arrested. In this work, he is the one who elaborated the chapters *Dumnezeu Fiul* (God the Son) (p. 68-116), *Dumnezeu Sfântul Duh* (God the Holy Spirit) (p. 116-132) and *Viața veșnică* (Eternal Life) (p. 163-169). The treatise under consideration, *Dogmatica universitară* (Dogmatics for University Education) (3 volumes, 1008 pages) was the first to appear in the Orthodox East European countries under communism.⁶¹ The cultural and religious atmosphere in the country was depressing for the Romanian society; however, the university theological life continued satisfactorily in Bucharest. Beginning with 1952, the rector of the Theological Institute from Bucharest, Ioan Coman, doctor in Theology and Classical Languages, becomes an internationally respected and famous patrologist. While Ioan Coman was rector, during almost the same period, Nicolae Nicolescu worked as pro-rector.

All the generations of future Doctors of Theology listened attentively to Father Stăniloae’s exceptionally profound and impeccably presented lectures. We could also mention some graduates and doctoral students of those years who later became an honor to the religious and cultural Romanian life, for instance: Vergil Căndea, Alexandru Duțu, Dan Zamfirescu, Ion Bria, Dumitru Radu and many others.⁶²

In the autumn of 1995, an important congress of the Orthodox priests, to which Father Stăniloae participated as well, took place in Sibiu. Petru Groza, the president of MAN (the Great National Assembly) and a member of the religious assembly organizing the congress, greeted all the participants to this conference - priests, councilors, and famous professors – but refused to discuss with Father Dumitru Stăniloae. This gesture was an evident sign that the political leadership of that time was not approving of Father Stăniloae’s activity and personality, a fact that led to negative consequences for the Dogmatics professor in a few years. During the year of 1955, the religious conversations of the “Burning Stake” took place mostly at the home of Atanasie Joja; they continued during the years to follow, although in a different, much tenser atmosphere.⁶³

⁶¹ *Ibidem*.

⁶² *Ibidem*.

⁶³ *Ibidem*, 1955.

In 1955, Father Professor Dumitru Stăniloae participated at the canonization of Saint Callinic from Cernica. It is interesting to notice that, although Romania was going through a very difficult epoch, political, religious and other types of persecutions being obvious, during these years many canonizations of saints occurred. Concerning the religious activities in general and especially for Saint Callinic's canonization, the Saint Synod of the Romanian Orthodox Church consulted Father Stăniloae and took into account his appreciations.⁶⁴

6. The years spent in the Romanian “Gulag” (1958-1963)

Beginning with 1956, Father Professor Dumitru Stăniloae felt that he was being followed by the Security, especially when he was attending the meetings of the “Burning Stake” at home at Atanasie Joja. In the autumn of the same year, there started rumors saying that Father Stăniloae would like to extend the revolution from Hungary into Romania; two years later these rumors became one of the main charges of the Communist Party against him.⁶⁵

Beginning with 1957, the censorship on Father Stăniloae's articles and studies becomes more and more aggressive. Starting with the following year, when he is arrested, his writings are no longer published for five years. An interview with Andrei Scrima published in the West will cause the Professor a lot of troubles, marking the moment when his liberty begins to be obviously threatened.⁶⁶

After Petru Groza's death, in January 1958, and after the Soviet Forces' withdrawal the same year, a new and final wave of arrests occurred in Romania. At this point many important representatives of the religious life and of the Romanian clergy are imprisoned in the post-Stalinist Romanian dungeons. A very important blow was also aimed at the Romanian monasticism - the most authentic Romanian spirituality. In the summer of 1958, his colleagues from the “Burning Stake”: Sofian Boghiu, Benedict Ghiuș, Vasile Voiculescu, Alexandru Mironescu were arrested by the communist authorities. The sentence, which was ‘in fashion’, and which was applied to Priest Stăniloae as well, being pronounced in the trial, was: ‘plot against the Romanian democracy’. The Occidental world, including the political one, was helplessly watching the most obvious and brutal violations of the civil and the human rights in Romania.⁶⁷ (Recently, the religious supplement of “Telegraful

⁶⁴ *Ibidem*.

⁶⁵ *C.P.D.S.*, 1956.

⁶⁶ *Ibidem*, 1957.

⁶⁷ *Ibidem*, 1958.

Român” edited in Sibiu published a list of representatives of the Romanian Orthodox Church who were detained in the communist prisons⁶⁸).

In the summer of 1958, Father Stăniloae is closely watched by the Security. They inquire the Romanian Patriarchy and the Theological Institute of Bucharest about all the activities of Father Professor Dumitru Stăniloae. His parental house from Vlădeni is searched. On September 4, 1958, a fatidic day for him, a man called Solomon phones him to ask some very strange questions. The same night, at about 1 a.m., the Justice, Security and Police officers search his house in Bucharest. Now many valuable manuscripts are confiscated from his place.⁶⁹ At 4 a.m., on September 5, 1958, he is arrested at his home and transported by car to the prison in Uranus Street, where he spends a month. Meanwhile, officers from the Police and Security investigate him. He is menaced, without any evidence. They ask him for a written confession every day or even many times a day. Hour after hour, night after night, he was kept standing and was not allowed to sleep. Many times, the investigation officers tried to threaten him with death if he refused to confess the ‘truth’ of his ‘retrograde’ policy, but he did not admit in any way to having criticized the communist system of his country. He was taken to Plevnei Street, where he spent another month in jail, being treated almost the same way as in Uranus Street. After 2 months, on November 4, 1958, his hearing starts: it is a trial similar to all the others that have been taking place for the last decennium. Father professor Dumitru Stăniloae remembers how they were sitting in the benches from the trial room (one can see here the power of his visual memory): “in the first bench: Adrian Făgețeanu, Benedict Ghiuș, Daniel Tudor, Roman Braga (he is today an American citizen, confessor of the Orthodox Monastery in Jackson, Michigan); in the second bench: Sofian Boghiu, Felix Dubneac, Arsenie Papacioc, Alexandru Mironescu; in the third bench: Mironescu junior, Father Stan’s son, two students from other faculties; in the fourth bench: Dr. Dabija, Vasile Voiculescu⁷⁰, Dumitru Stăniloae and a student”.

In all, sixteen people were investigated. None of them wished to defend themselves. Priest Dumitru Stăniloae took the floor and tried to explain to the panel of judges that he was not against the people, but on the contrary, he

⁶⁸ Ilie I. Țintă, *Orthodox Theologians and Priests in the Communist Prisons* (Teologi și preoți ortodocși în temnițele comuniste), in “Telegraful Român”, year 199, no. 15-16, 15 April, 1991, Sibiu, p. 1-3; See also Gheorghe Popescu Vâlcea, *Words from Prison* (Cuvinte din temniță), Bucuresti, 1981, with a preview by Priest Dumitru Stăniloae, *A Poetry of the Romanian Identity* (O poezie a specificului românesc), p. 3-5.

⁶⁹ C.P.D.S., 1958.

⁷⁰ Convicted to 4 years of detention, August 1958 - May 1962; in fact, 4 years of unfair isolation. After several years, the judicial error was repaired, the General Public Prosecutor’s Department of the Socialist Republic of Romania canceling the sentence through the note 4444/1968, reporting to the family the following: “The Supreme Court of Justice has canceled the sentence... so all the consequences of this sentence shall stop”. The juridic error was completely removed, but Vasile Voiculescu could not benefit from it that year. See Vasile Voiculescu, *White Thoughts* (Gânduri Albe), Bucharest, 1986, p. 72-73.

loved the people he was born of; but defense was useless. The sentence was almost the same for all of them: "plot against the state and against the working people of Romania". The verdict had already been decided. It cost every one of them many years of prison. Priest Dumitru Stăniloae was sentenced to 5 years in prison. The others were convicted for up to 10 years in jail.⁷¹

After the trial, he was taken to Jilava, where he stayed until March 1959. He was not allowed to rest. Here, the person in charge of the cell was a Gipsy. Priest Stăniloae was a cellmate of Father Alexandru Munteanu of Cingud, Ardeal, who had been a theologian for a year before his arrest.

In April 1959, he was taken to Aiud, where he stayed until the end of his arrest and until his amnesty, almost all of his detention period. Here, he stayed in the same cell with Father Lazarov from Russia, who had been in charge of a bishopric in Dobrogea and who died during his detention. In the extremely severe prison of Aiud, Liviu Munteanu, another cellmate of Father Stăniloae's, became paralyzed and died (the isolation was almost complete). Here, in Aiud, Father Stăniloae also meets Ilarion Felea, who gets sick of an incurable disease and dies in this prison. Father Professor Dumitru Stăniloae stayed for some months in complete isolation, situation that had no justification and that he could never understand.⁷²

In the fall of 1961, he is brought again in Bucharest for new criminal investigations. He is taken to the Trial Court and is forced to be witness in a trial against the writer Stelian. He was questioned by Police officers about the connection between this man and the cousins Virgil Căndea and Alexandru Duțu. He had been investigated about this as well before having left Aiud. He was kept in Jilava for almost 6 months, from September 1961 to March 1962, and then he was sent back to Aiud prison. Meantime, he was a cellmate of Grigore Popa, from September 1962 to January 1963.⁷³ In 1962, he witnessed the ill-treatment applied to Mister Tudoran from Bukovina who suffered from epilepsy and was in terrible pain. Meanwhile, here he had also met Petre Pandrea. The food was extremely bad, poor, without calories. He was always watched and the wardens censored his discussions. He was not allowed to pray in public. And yet, many times he had the opportunity and the possibility of preaching to the other prisoners and of lovingly giving them notions of Orthodox Dogmatics and also of Christian Mysticism and Asceticism. On these subjects, he had beautiful and pleasant conversations with Grigore Popa.

⁷¹ C.P.D.S., 1958; see also the discussion between Dumitru Stăniloae and Mihai Rădulescu, *Many Times I Wonder What a Diabolic Cruelty...* (Adeseori mă întreb ce cruzime diabolică...).

⁷² C.P.D.S., 1958.

⁷³ Grigore Popa was a well known Christian Philosopher between 1930-1945, and an authentic Christian poet, and he led the national newspaper "Țara", edited in Sibiu, between 1941-1944, a paper to which Dumitru Stăniloae contributed periodically as well. He was arrested for a long time - 19 years - from March 1945 to April 1964.

Father Professor Dumitru Stăniloae was released from prison in January 1963. For 5 years he had been isolated from society, from teaching at the University, from his writings, which were already famous.⁷⁴

In 1959, Lidia Stăniloae, his daughter, gives birth (after a short and sad marriage) to the only direct nephew of the family, the well-known theology professor, Horia Dumitraș Ionescu. After graduating from the Faculty of Physics of the University in Bucharest (1951-1955), Lidia Stăniloae worked as an assistant professor of the professors Agârbiceanu and Hulubei. Later on, she became teacher at an industrial high school, a 'downgrading' caused by her father's 'politics' and years of prison.⁷⁵

7. In liberty. Back to the Theological Institute from Bucharest (1963-1973)

Very weak and poorly dressed, he arrives home to find out that he no longer has a job in the department of Dogmatic of the Theological Institute of Bucharest. He appealed to the Patriarch Justinian Marina to restore him to his rights from 1958. He is proposed to secure a position of priest in 'Sfânta Vineri' Church (an ecclesiastical monument destroyed in 1987), but he does not accept it. After a short while, he agrees to work as a clerk at the Archbishopric of Bucharest in 1963, 1964 and 1965. He enjoyed a special respect from the ex-vicar of the Archbishopric of Bucharest, Father Alexandru Ionescu, who was then his superior in that department of the eparchial administration, and he also benefited from the moral support of Father Counselor Ilie Georgescu.⁷⁶

Although he is accepted again in the educational activity, the professor N. Chițescu did not want Father Dumitru Stăniloae to be professor of Dogmatics for all the students, so he only gave lectures to the students pursuing their doctoral studies. Actually, his return in the educational activity was possible after the intervention of Father Bască who asked Emil Bodnăraș to support the cause of Father Professor Dumitru Stăniloae. Shortly after his intervention, the Department of Religions agreed that the eminent professor of Dogmatics may come back to the Theological Institute of Bucharest. As early as these years, he recommended Father Constantin Galeriu, one of his ex-students for master degree, as a professor for the Theological Institute of Bucharest.⁷⁷ Also during these years are noticed some other students learning

⁷⁴ *C.P.D.S.*, 1958-1963.

⁷⁵ *Ibidem*, 1954-1964.

⁷⁶ *C.P.D.S.*, 1963-1965.

⁷⁷ *Ibidem*, 1965.

for their doctoral degree, like Ioan Ică and Ilie Moldovan, future professors at Sibiu.⁷⁸

He started writing again, intensely, being a contributor to all the theological papers from Bucharest and all the metropolitan centers in the country. Beginning with 1965, he is asked to write articles and studies even by Misses Medeianu - the same person who had drastically censored him before -, by Mr. Reinher Gross and by Mr. Gheorghe Nenciu from the Department of Religions. The Occident needed to be shown that there was religious freedom in Romania.⁷⁹

The relations with the ex-patriarch Justinian Marina were not very good. In the Patriarchal Palace from Bucharest there was a certain '*fear*' of talking about Priest Professor Dumitru Stăniloae, of appreciating him for his true value; they were actually playing the game of the communist system.⁸⁰

In 1968, he is invited to Freiburg by the professor and philologist Paul Miron to hold a conference; he is invited in Heidelberg and he accepts this invitation as well. The Department of Religions agreed to that situation of social and cultural *liberalization*, even encouraging this kind of actions outside the country for the Occident to change their impression about Romania. This was Professor Stăniloae's first trip outside Romania in almost 40 years!⁸¹

In 1969 he goes together with Father Ene Braniște to Oxford for another conference. Here, he becomes good friends with the English theologian Donald Allchin, who will publish his articles in the English paper "Sorbonost" in London. The University lectures of Priest Professor Dumitru Stăniloae were given a special attention in the Occident; the media gave him a lot of attention and one of the best presentations of a theologian from a communist *concentration camp*, author of a work equal to or better than that created by others in a true religious and cultural freedom.⁸²

After 1970, he addresses the leadership of the Department of Religions, respectively Mr. Gh. Nenciu, trying to demonstrate the necessity to continue the publishing of the Romanian *Philokalia*. He takes the example of Lossky: the Russians had applied to receive the approval of the Romanian authorities to publish these famous Orthodox writings, the basis of our people's Christian education.⁸³ He succeeded thanks to his arguments. After a little while, during 10 years, the volumes from 5 to 10 of *Philokalia* were published; this happened until 1981, when the former Patriarch Iustin Moisescu stopped the

⁷⁸ *Ibidem*, 1965-1973.

⁷⁹ *Ibidem*, 1964-1965.

⁸⁰ *Ibidem*, 1965-1967.

⁸¹ *Ibidem*, 1968.

⁸² *Ibidem*, 1969.

⁸³ *Ibidem*, 1970. See also Elena Solunca *The Self and the Need of the Other* (Eul și nevoia de celalalt), in „Academica”, year 2, no. 5 (7), March, 1992, p. 23.

continuation of these writings (it was possible to publish them only in *P.S.B.* form, a collection that the Patriarch was coordinating himself⁸⁴).

Between 1970 and 1980, he is invited to hold many conferences outside Romania, at famous Universities, a fact that enlarged and consolidated the fame of Father Professor Dumitru Stăniloae all over the world. We can mention here the Universities of Koln⁸⁵, Tübingen, Bonn, Freiburg, Heidelberg⁸⁶, Paris⁸⁷, Berne, Strasbourg, Geneva, Oxford⁸⁸, Belgrade, Athens⁸⁹, Thessaloniki, Bossey, and Jerusalem.⁹⁰

In 1971, together with bishop vicar Antonie Plămădeală - future Bishop of Ardeal - and Father Professor Dumitru Popescu, he goes to Vatican trying to open a way to get the two Churches closer to each other: the Orthodox and the Catholic. They talked to His Sanctity Paul VI. The same year he was the guest of the famous Catholic Monastery of Chevetogne, Belgium, and here he also received an invitation to the famous University of Uppsala, Sweden, where his hosts welcomed him exceptionally.⁹¹

Father Professor Dumitru Stăniloae took part in the official missions of the Romanian Orthodox Church who visited other Churches: the Federal German Republic - 1970, Greece - 1971, Egypt - 1971, Vatican - 1971; he was a delegate of Romania for the Second Congress of the Orthodox Theology Professors in Athens in 1976.⁹²

8. His retirement and the most fruitful years in the great theologian's activity from 1973 until the end of his earthly life

He retires in 1973, but continues to work as a consultant professor for the doctoral students from the Theological Institute in Bucharest. After 1973,

⁸⁴ *C.P.D.S.*, 1970-1981.

⁸⁵ Dumitru Stăniloae, *The Conferences Held by Father Professor Dumitru Stăniloae in Educational Institutions and Church Meetings in the Federal German Republic* (Conferințele ținute de Părintele Profesor Dumitru Stăniloae la instituții de învățământ și întruniri bisericești din R.F.G.), in "B.O.R.", anul LXXXIX, no. 7-8, August-September 1971, p. 780-781.

⁸⁶ *The Conferences of Father Professor Dumitru Stăniloae in the Federal German Republic* (Conferințe de P.C. Pr. Prof. D. Stăniloae în R.F.G.), in "ST", year XXVI, no. 9-10, November-December, 1974, Bucharest, p. 775.

⁸⁷ *Theological Conferences Held by Fr.Prof. D. Stăniloae in France* (Conferințele teologice ținute de Pr. Prof. D. Stăniloae în Franța), in "B.O.R.", year XCI, no. 9-10, September-October, 1973, p. 986-987.

⁸⁸ *The Theological Conferences Held by Fr.Prof. D.Stăniloae at Oxford University* (Conferințele teologice ținute de Pr. Prof. D. Stăniloae la Universitatea din Oxford), in "B.O.R.", year XC, no. 5-6, May-June, 1972, p. 514-515.

⁸⁹ *The Theological Symposium from Thessalonica and the Theological Conferences Held By Father Prof. D. Stăniloae* (Simpozionul teologic de la Salonic și conferințele ținute de Pr.Prof. D. Stăniloae), in "B.O.R.", year XC, no. 9-10, September-October, 1972, p. 982-983.

⁹⁰ *C.P.D.S.*, 1970-1985.

⁹¹ *Ibidem*, 1972.

⁹² *C.P.D.S.*, 1970-1976. See also Mircea Păcurariu, *Two Hundred Years... (Două sute de ani...)*, p. 321.

the richest and most glamorous period of theological and dogmatic writings and translations of Father Professor Dumitru Stăniloae follows.⁹³ In 1973, he focuses again on his ever-present preoccupation for the Uniatism in Transylvania, publishing a new work on it, well-documented historically and theologically.⁹⁴

Beginning with 1974, Father Stăniloae coordinates Dan-Ilie Ciobotea's activity as a future doctor of theology; presenting his doctoral thesis in Strasburg, the latter is honored with the title "*Magna cum laude*" (1979), and obtains the same result at the presentation from Bucharest (1980). Later on, Dan-Ilie Ciobotea became the Metropolitan bishop Daniel of Moldavia and Bukovina.⁹⁵

In the '70s, the books that he submitted for publication were edited relatively fast, the previous difficulties being no longer present. In 1978 his monumental tractate of *Teologie Dogmatică* (Dogmatic Theology) (3 volumes) is published, a quintessence of Father Stăniloae's theological genius.⁹⁶

Also during these years, with extreme endeavor, he published several papers in Greek, pointing to his studies about the spiritual force of the Orthodox Liturgy; they were included in a work in French.⁹⁷ Between 1976 and 1981, the volumes 5 to 10 on the famous philokalic writings of the Holy Fathers were published at the Publishing House of the Bible and Mission Institute of Romanian Orthodox Church (Editura Institutului Biblic și de misiune al Bisericii Ortodoxe Române).⁹⁸

During this period, Lidia Stăniloae, a genuine talent as a writer, especially in poetry, writes several books: *Versuri* (Verses), *Munții* (The Mountains), *Unde aștepți* (Where Are You Waiting), *Raiul inocenților* (The Innocents' Paradise); another one describing Freiburg is to appear soon. In

⁹³ C.P.D.S., 1973.

⁹⁴ *The Uniatism in Transylvania, an Attempt to Divide the Romanian Nation* (Uniatismul din Transilvania, încercare de dezmembrare a poporului român), Bucharest, 1973, 208 p.

⁹⁵ C.P.D.S., 1974-1980. After 1980 he coordinates many doctoral students who become exceptional in theology, either in Romania or abroad, presented in this paper's annex, apud the Archives of the Theological Institute from Bucharest.

⁹⁶ *Dogmatic Orthodox Theology, for theological Institutes* (Teologia dogmatică ortodoxă pentru Institutetele teologice), 3 volumes, 1978, Bucharest, vol. 1, 504 p.; vol. 2, 360 p.; vol. 3, 466 p.; this work was printed unfortunately in only 3000 copies. Monica Lovinescu spoke highly of this paper in her broadcasts from *Free Europe* (Europa liberă). Virgil Ierunca makes a nice presentation of this monumental theological work in the article *The Dogmatic Orthodox Theology by Dumitru Stăniloae* (Teologia dogmatică ortodoxă de Dumitru Stăniloae), republished in "Apostrof", a newspaper from Cluj. See also Ion Bria *The Balance of Romanian Theology* (Cumpăna teologiei românești), a manuscript article given for publication to the "Orthodox Communion", Detroit, U.S.A. Ion Bria, *Homage To Reverend Prof. Dumitru Stăniloae on His 75th Anniversary* (Omăgiu Părintelui Profesor Dumitru Stăniloae la aniversarea a 75 de ani de viață), in "Ortodoxia", year XXX, no. 4, Oct-Dec. 1978, p. 638-647; in the Romanian Orthodox theology, this monumental creation is comparable in greatness to Mihai Eminescu's *Luceafarul* (The Morning Star) in the Romanian Culture.

⁹⁷ *La Liturgie de la communauté et la Liturgie intérieure dans la vision philocalique*, Rome, 1978, 273 p.

⁹⁸ These philokalic and patristic writings are amply presented in this paper's bibliography.

1984, Lidia Stăniloae and her son, Horia Dumitraș Ionescu, moved for good in Freiburg (Germany).⁹⁹

During the years of his academic career in Bucharest, Father Professor Dumitru Stăniloae preached at many churches in Bucharest, as guest of honor of parishes or monasteries: (especially) Sfântul Gheorghe cel Nou, Patriarchal Cathedral, Sfânta Ecaterina, Antim, at the parishes situated on Anton Pann and Negustori Street. The rigor of the man from the teacher's desk merged harmoniously with the humility, wisdom and love of the confessor. Through his speeches he comforted the believers' souls, leaving in their mind a living and overwhelming memory of Jesus Christ and of the Romanian ancient convictions, consolidating their faith with his affectionate and touching advice.¹⁰⁰

For his special merits concerning the development of the Orthodox theology he was declared *Doctor Honoris Causa* of the University of Thessaloniki in 1976. A characterization at length of the event was given in the official *Year Book* of the Greek Orthodox Church, with appreciations describing a great schoolmaster and an excellent scientist of universal Christian theology.¹⁰¹ Later, in 1981, Dumitru Stăniloae was declared *Doctor Honoris Causa* of Saint Serge Institute in Paris, a gesture meaning the complete recognition of his merits in the domain of Dogmatic Theology¹⁰² by the great Orthodox Eastern theologians exiled in the West and by the Occidental Theologians as well. After the age of 75, he successfully participated in international ecumenical Conferences either in Romania in Sibiu or abroad in Greece, especially in Athens.¹⁰³ In 1982 he is awarded again the title of *Doctor Honoris Causa*, this time by the Faculty of Theology in Belgrade.¹⁰⁴

⁹⁹ *C.P.D.S.*, 1974 - 1984.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibidem*, since 1947 until now.

¹⁰¹ *Ibidem*, 1976. See also Dan Mihu's interview *The Light of Faith* (Lumina credinței), in "Student", no. 10, on 22 April 1992, Bucharest, p. 5; the article *Fr.Prof. Dumitru Stăniloae, Doctor Honoris Causa of the Faculty in Thessaloniki (Greece)* (Pr. Prof. Dumitru Stăniloae, Doctor Honoris Causa al Facultății din Tesalonic – Grecia), in "MA", year XXI, no. 4-6, April-June 1976, p. 376-377 and the editorial *Father Professor Dumitru Stăniloae Is Awarded the Doctor Honoris Causa Title by the Faculty of theology in Thessaloniki* (Decernarea titlului de "Doctor Honoris Causa" al Facultății de Teologie din Salonic P.C. Pr. Prof. Dumitru Stăniloae), in "ST", second series, year XXVIII September – December 1976, Bucharest, p. 733-734.

¹⁰² *C.P.D.S.*, 1977. See *Fr.Prof. Dumitru Stăniloae, Doctor Honoris Causa of St. Serge Orthodox Theological Institute in Paris*, in "R.O.C.", year XI, 1981, no. 2, p. 18 and *Fr.Prof. Dumitru Stăniloae, Doctor Honoris Causa of St. Serge Orthodox Theological Institute in Paris* (Pr. Prof. Dumitru Stăniloae, doctor Honoris Causa al Institutului Saint Serge din Paris) in "O", year XXXIII, no. 3, July-Sept. 1981, p. 486-488.

¹⁰³ *C.P.D.S.*, 1977 and the next years.

¹⁰⁴ Doctor Dimitrie Dimitrevici, Dr. Amfilofie Radovici, *Fr.Prof. Dr. Dumitru Stăniloae, Doctor Honoris Causa" of Faculty of theology in Belgrade* (Pr. Prof. Dumitru Stăniloae, "Doctor Honoris Causa" al Facultății de Teologie din Belgrad), in "ST", second series, year XXXIV, no. 7-8, July-Oct. 1982, p. 602-604. A valuable honorary title was offered him in Tübingen, Germany in 1980; in this respect see *Dumitru Stăniloae, A Romanian Theologian Honored by the Evangelic Faculty in Tübingen* (Dumitru Stăniloae, Teolog român

In 1981, the former Patriarch Iustin Moisesescu advised Father Dumitru Stăniloae to publish his translations of different patristic literary works in the Collection P.S.B., which he inaugurated, reasoning that the philokalic writings translated and commented by Father Professor Dumitru Stăniloae belong to the centuries previous to the 14th century and their place is in a new collection, having another justification for publication.¹⁰⁵ Thus, during the eighth decennium, he impeccably translated and completed with extremely pertinent notes and introductory studies: St. Gregory of Nyssa¹⁰⁶, St. Maximus the Confessor, St. Athanasius the Great, St. Cyril of Alexandria.¹⁰⁷ Otherwise, his relations with Patriarch Iustin Moisesescu were not the best possible; Father Dumitru Stăniloae kept the nostalgia of his relations with the great and famous Metropolitan Bishop Nicolae Bălan of Transylvania.¹⁰⁸

In November - December 1982, answering the invitation he received from the Romanian Community of U.S.A. and Canada and from other international religious institutions, he lectured in New York, Boston, Detroit, Washington, Chicago; a highly loaded itinerary but with excellent results.¹⁰⁹

In 1981, he is invited in London, Great Britain, by the leadership of the Anglican Church, where he is awarded a high honorary distinction, *Saint Augustine of Canterbury's Cross*, for his theological and Christian merits.¹¹⁰

Three years later, he takes his last but one official trip abroad, to Athens. This time as well, Father Stăniloae's conferences were received with enormous interest and appreciated as exceptional, leaving remarkable impressions; later on, the Faculty of Theology of Athens awarded him the title of *Doctor Honoris Causa*.¹¹¹

Since 1975, he lived with his wife Maria, in an apartment on 6, Cernica Street, the first floor, apt. 6, sector 2. This apartment was bought through sustained financial efforts, taking into consideration that his wife was a housewife and did not have any pension. She was always devoted to Father Professor, to his highly laborious and complex activity and she was always modest concerning material life. They lived together a humble, lonely, extremely serious life, without material and financial pretensions, truly

premiat de Facultatea Evanghelică din Tübingen), in "B.O.R.", year XCVIII, no. 11-12, Nov. - Dec. 1980, p. 1100-1107; we actually refer to the prize *Doctor Leopold Lucas*.

¹⁰⁵ C.P.D.S., 1981.

¹⁰⁶ See the article of Sandu Frunză, *For a Christian Ontology. The Signification of the Fall and of the Tree From The Middle of the Garden* (Pentru o ontologie creștină. Semnificația căderii și a pomului din mijlocul grădinii), in "Renașterea", year 2, new series, no. 11-12, Nov - Dec. 1991, Cluj, p. 6.

¹⁰⁷ C.P.D.S., 1981 and the following years.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibidem*.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibidem*, 1982.

¹¹⁰ *Decoration granted to Prof. D. Stăniloae by the Anglican Church*, in "R.O.C.", year XI, 1981, no. 4, p. 81.

¹¹¹ C.P.D.S., 1984-1991. See also the article *Fr.Prof. Dr. Dumitru Stăniloae, Doctor Honoris Causa of the Faculty of theology In Athens* (Pr. Prof. Dumitru Stăniloae, "Doctor Honoris Causa" al Facultății de Teologie din Atena), in "Vestitorul Ortodoxiei", year IV, no. 71, 1-15 May 1992, p. 7.

self-effacing and Christian, according to the new testamentary teachings and to the Holy Fathers' ideas.¹¹²

He kept good relations with the present Patriarch Teoctist of the Romanian Orthodox Church. Also, he had good relations with young church people, especially with hundreds of priests, teachers, monks, lay people (for example, Ioan Alexandru - to whom he christened three children), with foreign personalities: J. Meyendorff, A. Ritter, Chr. Fehry, Fr. Heye, F. von Lilienfeld, Oliver Clément, Marc Antoine Costa de Beauregard¹¹³, G. Galitis, Donald Allchin, Jürgen Moltmann, Robert Baringer, Neeser, Atanasie Ieftici, Kalistos Ware and many others.¹¹⁴

Although he represents the peak of the Romanian Orthodox theology, although Father Professor's papers and activities became works of reference for the theology and church life in our country, he was not appreciated for his true value until 1989. Other foreign countries, however, dared to offer him all due respect and honors. He was neither elected in the Bishopric Assembly in Bucharest or in the Ecclesiastical National Assembly, nor was he an active advisor of the Holy Synod of the Romanian Orthodox Church.¹¹⁵

In December 1989, he received warmly, with joy and with tears, the news of the start of the revolution events, which caused a definitive break up with *the pseudo-new man's world*, with the atheist Communist society, through the sacred sacrifice of thousands of Romanian young people.¹¹⁶

The years 1990 and 1991 situate Father Dumitru Stăniloae among the most remarkable people of the Romanian Culture, as he becomes a member of the Romanian Academy, the highest cultural forum of our country.¹¹⁷

In July 1990, he travels to Germany, invited by several university centers; he pays a special visit to his daughter and grandson in Freiburg.¹¹⁸

In January 1992, at Antim Monastery, he participates along with remarkable members of the Romanian Orthodox Church, as guest of honor at the works concerning the canonization of new Romanian Saints (Stephen the Great, Constantin Brâncoveanu and his sons, Daniil the Hermit, Ioan Iacob from Jordan, Ghelasie from Râmeț and others).¹¹⁹

¹¹² C.P.D.S., 1975 until now.

¹¹³ M. A. Costa de Beauregard, *Aspects de l'Ascétisme dans l'orthodoxie contemporaine. Le cas de la Roumanie*, in "Archives des Sciences sociales et des religions", no. 75 (Juillet -Septembre), 1991, p. 49.

¹¹⁴ C.P.D.S., 1963 until now.

¹¹⁵ *Ibidem*.

¹¹⁶ *Ibidem*, 1989 and on.

¹¹⁷ *Ibidem*, 1990-1991. We point out the excellent portrait achieved by Gabriel Liiceanu: "*Father Stăniloae can secure an honorable position in any Academy in the world...*" in "22", year 21, no. 8 (109), 28.02 - 5.03.1992, Bucharest, p. 15; Gh. I. Drăgulin, *The Supreme Recognition in Romania of a Christian Theologian and Philosopher's Value* (Recunoașterea supremă în țară a valorii unui filosof și teolog creștin), in "B.O.R.", year XCVIII, no. 5-6, May-June 1990, p. 28-30.

¹¹⁸ C.P.D.S., 1990.

¹¹⁹ *Ibidem*, 1992.

During the days of June 1992, the leadership of the University of Bucharest prepares to award Father Professor the title of *Doctor Honoris Causa*.¹²⁰

In the 1980s and especially after 1989, he published in Romania and abroad valuable books of theology, remarkably original, providing new contributions to the development of the Romanian and foreign dogmatic theology.¹²¹ We can mention: *Moral Orthodox Theology* (Teologia Morală Ortodoxă), third volume; *Orthodox Spirituality* (Spiritualitatea ortodoxă), Bucharest, 1981; *Orthodoxe Dogmatic* (vol. 1, 2), Benziger Verlag, 1985-1990; *Spirituality and Communion in the Orthodox Liturgy* (Spiritualitate și comuniune în liturgia ortodoxă), Craiova, 1991; *God's Immortal Face* (Chipul nemuritor al lui Dumnezeu), Craiova, 1987; *Dogmatic Theology Studies* (Studii de teologie dogmatică), Craiova, 1991.¹²²

During his last years of life, 1989-1992, he wrote many articles, sometimes answered certain retorts¹²³, he gave numberless interviews in the media, answering the needs of nowadays society with an incredible vitality¹²⁴. Such was the case of an initiative group for the revitalization of the Romanian Orthodox Church, "*Grupul de reflexie*" (The Meditative Group).¹²⁵

In March 1993, Maria (Mary), the Father Dumitru Stăniloae's wife, passed away into eternity, after having spent sixty years of life together. Father Stăniloae followed her a few months later, on October 5, 1993. His funeral service was performed by the members of the Holy Synod of the Romanian Orthodox Church in the Cathedral of the Romanian Patriarchate and he was buried at Cernica Monastery with a unique and exceptional ceremony, honoring the greatest Romanian theologian and a highly distinguished member of our ancestors' Church.

¹²⁰ *Ibidem*.

¹²¹ See Gh. Drăgulin, *Famous Romanian Theologians during the First Half of the 20th Century* (Teologi români de seamă din prima jumătate a veacului al XX-lea), in "ST", year XLIII, second series, no. 4, July - August 1991, Bucharest, p. 80-83.

¹²² See the more complete bibliographical list of Fr.Prof. Dumitru Stăniloae, in this paper. Monica Lovinescu excellently appreciated the work *Orthodox Moral Theology* (Teologia morală ortodoxă) (volume 3), in her broadcast *Theses and antitheses in Paris* (Teze și antiteze la Paris), on Free Europe Radio (Radio Europa Liberă), on the first day of Easter, in 1982, considering it a masterpiece of the Romanian and universal theology, along with the *Dogmatic Orthodox Theology* (Teologie dogmatică ortodoxă).

¹²³ Î.P.S. Antonie Plămădeală makes a remark in the rubric "*We point out ... we point out*", in "Telegraful român", year CXL, no. 5-6, 1 February 1992, Sibiu, p. 4.

¹²⁴ Pascal Ilie Virgil, *Photo information* (Fotoinformație), about *The Way of the Cross* (Drumul crucii), in "România liberă", year L, no. 14654, new series, no. 624, Tuesday, 21 March 1992, p. 3; Dumitru Stăniloae, *Transcendent Mystery in Painting* (Misterul transcendent în pictură), in "România liberă", year L, no. 14658, new series, no. 624, Saturday-Sunday, 4-5 April 1992, p. 5; Ion Bria, *The World's Experience in Nowadays' Theology. Fr. Prof. Dumitru Stăniloae's Contribution* (Experiența lumii în teologia actuală. Contribuția Părintelui Prof. Dumitru Stăniloae), in "R.O.C.", year XCVIII, no. 9-10, Sept-Oct., 1980, p. 107-110.

¹²⁵ *C.P.D.S.*, 1989-1992.

THE CHALLENGE OF AN EVALUATION

During more than six decennia, Father Prof. Dumitru Stăniloae carried out an impressive scientific and didactic activity, especially in the field of dogmatic theology, at present *“being considered one of the greatest theologians and thinkers in the world”*.¹²⁶

There is no theological theme that Fr. Prof. Stăniloae did not treat with profoundness, sharpness and brilliant originality: from uncreated energy to the genesis of the world and of man, from Revelation to the mystery of knowledge and communication among men and between God and man, from man's fall to man's restoration, from the sacraments established by Jesus Christ to our communion by means of the Saint Eucharist, from Jesus' sacrifice to the perspective of our salvation, from asceticism and mysticism to man's deification, from Orthodoxy to ecumenism - themes outlining a work that can help the Romanian people understand itself and which can be considered among the fundamental spiritual achievements of mankind.

University Professor Gh. Vlăduțescu, an esteemed philosopher of Bucharest University, rightly stated that: *“Reading Stăniloae, maybe one of the greatest Orthodox theologians of this century, we are reading ourselves...”*: *“seemingly definitive in demonstrations, he is inquisitive and raises questions in the reader's mind, he dares the person who reads, always revealing to us who we are not, for us to become who we need to be”*.¹²⁷

¹²⁶ Mircea Păcurariu, *Two hundred years...* (Două sute de ani...), p. 321. See also Gh. Drăgulin's article *One of the Greatest Christian Theologians* (Unul din cei mai mari teologi creștini), in “Albina”, year XCIII, no. 7, 1990, p. 11. Symposium “Dumitru Stăniloae” at the Theological High School in Buzău (Simpozion “Dumitru Stăniloae” la Seminarul Teologic din Buzău), in the periodical “Muguri”, new series, year II, no. 5, Theological High School Buzău, 1991-1992, p. 3-7 (especially the discourses of poet Ioan Alexandru and of Fr. Prof. Constantin Galeriu); Camil Marius Dădârlat's interview *At Dumitru Stăniloae's Home* (Acasă la Dumitru Stăniloae), in “Universul cărții”, year 2, no. 4(16), April 1992, p. 16; Petru Horhoianu, *Dumitru Stăniloae's Theological Thinking* (Cugetarea teologică a Profesorului Dumitru Stăniloae), in “MB”, no. 3-4, March-April 1985, p. 155-165; Ion Bria, *The Creative Vision of D. Stăniloae. An Introduction to His Theological Thought*, in “The Ecumenical Review”, 1980, p. 53-59; Idem, *Pour situer la théologie de Père Stăniloae* in “Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie”, no. 112 (1980), p. 133-137; M Păcurariu, *The History of the Romanian Orthodox Church* (Istoria Bisericii Ortodoxe Române), volume III, Bucharest, 1981, p. 482 and others.

¹²⁷ Gh. Vlăduțescu, *A Philosopher's Profile* (Profil de filosof), in “Academica”, year II, no. 5 (17), 1992, p. 20.

PART II: BIBLIOGRAPHY

Introduction

In order to achieve the “inventory” of this comprehensive bibliography, I have consulted Father Dumitru Stăniloae many times, trying to find out the sources where the works or their titles can be encountered. Moreover, together with Father Stăniloae, I wrote to several theologians and professors abroad to update and, implicitly, to complete the bibliographical list of works published in various languages outside Romania: Ion Bria (Switzerland), Ioan Ioniță (U.S.A.), Ilie Frăcea (Greece), Olivier Clément, Marc Antoine Costa de Beauregard (France), A. M. Allchin (Great Britain), Lidia Stăniloae (Germany), Traian Valdman (Italy).

I have checked and analyzed very carefully the materials published by Father Dumitru Stăniloae in newspapers, magazines and books at several libraries: The Library of the Theological Institute in Bucharest, The Library of the Theological Institute in Sibiu, The Holy Synod's Library of the Romanian Orthodox Church, The National Library (formerly B.C.S.), the personal library of Father Professor Dumitru Stăniloae and, last but not least, the Library of the Romanian Academy. At the same time I have carefully analyzed the archives of the Metropolitan Church of Transylvania, the Theological Institute in Bucharest, the Theological Institute in Sibiu and Father Dumitru Stăniloae's archives.

In order to find out certain data about the interviews given by Father Professor Dumitru Stăniloae on many radio and television channels, I have personally contacted the journalists or editors who recorded him on audio or videotape.

For an exhaustive view on his unpublished works, Father Dumitru Stăniloae offered me the most exact and direct information concerning his present and future publishers.

To draw up this bibliographical list I have used the information published by:

- a) Ronald G. Roberson, C.S.P., in the work *Contemporary Romanian Orthodox Ecclesiology. The Contribution of Dumitru Stăniloae and Younger Colleagues*, Rome, 1998, p. 338-358.
- b) Cezar Vasiliu, in the bibliographical study on Father Dumitru Stăniloae's commemoration, *Theological Education Anniversaries. The Seventieth Birthday of Prof. Dumitru Stăniloae*, in “R.O.C.”, year III, no. 4, December 1973, Bucharest, p. 81-87.

Taking into consideration that it is rather difficult to cope with all the works that are being published about Father Dumitru Stăniloae or reprinted in

Romanian or in other languages, especially after 1989, I have asked, with Father Dumitru Stăniloae's agreement, to be informed about the presence of such works through an article in the column "Epistolar", in "România Liberă", year L, no. 14653, new series, no. 619, 28-29 March 1992, p. 5.

The present bibliographical list of Father Prof. Dumitru Stăniloae's work is only a start; in time I will continue to complete it with the new data and suggestions for information that keep on accumulating.

In order to decide on a pattern of structure and of chronological presentation, I have used the model designed by Barbu Theodorescu for the huge work of Nicolae Iorga in:

- a) *Nicolae Iorga's Literary and Historical Bibliography, 1890-1934* (Bibliografia istorică și literară a lui Nicolae Iorga, 1890-1934), Bucharest, 1935, p. 382;
- b) *Nicolae Iorga's Economic, Social and Political Bibliography, 1890-1934* (Bibliografia politică, socială și economică a lui Nicolae Iorga, 1890-1934), Bucharest, 1937, p. 370;
- c) *Nicolae Iorga, 1890-1940*, Bucharest, 1976, p. 576.

The bibliographical list we present below is structured on the following types of works, published or unpublished:

- 1. Papers in volume
- 2. Translations: a) in volume and b) in magazines
- 3. Booklets
- 4. Studies (in magazines and volumes)
- 5. Articles (of theology)
- 6. Homage and memorial articles
- 7. Prefaces
- 8. Lectures
- 9. Speeches
- 10. Popularization articles
- 11. Notes, opinions
- 12. Reviews
- 13. Radio, television and press interviews
- 14. Correspondence and different papers with private or public* character
- 15. Articles, reviews and different appreciations about Fr.Prof. D. Stăniloae.

* At the moment, a complete inventory of Father Professor Dumitru Stăniloae's correspondence, in Romania and abroad is not available. His letters can be found in the archives of Bucharest or Sibiu Diocese, of the Romanian Patriarchy, of the Theological Institutes from Bucharest and Sibiu, in the Professor's personal archives or in the archives of other persons or institutions, identified or not so far.

1. Works in volume

1. *The Life and the Activity of the Patriarch Dositheos of Jerusalem and His Connections with the Romanian Countries* (Viața și activitatea Patriarhului Dosofteiu al Ierusalimului și legăturile lui cu Țările Românești), *D.D* thesis, with a preface by V. Loichiță, Institutul de Arte Grafice and "Glasul Bucovinei" Publishing House, Cernăuți, 1929, VII + 69 p.; in "Candela", no. 40, 1929, p. 208-276.
2. *Catholicism after the War* (Catolicismul de după război), Arhidiecezană Publishing House, Sibiu, 1933, 202 p. (This paper was partially published in "AATA", 1930-1931, 1931-1932 and in "RT", 1931-1932).
3. *Life and Teaching of Saint Gregory Palamas* (Viața și învățătura Sfântului Grigorie Palama), Sibiu, 1938, 402 p. (with three translated treaties).; 2nd edition (with a new Introduction of the author), Scripta Publishing House, Bucharest, 1993, 304 p.; 3rd edition, IBMBOR Publishing House, Bucharest, 2006, 454 p.
4. *Orthodoxy and Romanian Spirit* (Ortodoxie și Româanism), Arhidiecezană Publishing House, Sibiu, 1939, 395 p.; 2nd edition, achieved by the Romanian Association from Northern Bukovina, without publishing house or locality, 1992, 280 p.; 3rd edition Albatros Publishing House, Bucharest, 1999, 244 p.
5. *Mr. Lucian Blaga's Position concerning Christianity and Orthodoxy* (Poziția Domnului Lucian Blaga față de Creștinism și Ortodoxie), Arhidiecezană Publishing House, Sibiu, 1942, 152 p. (excerpts from "TR", 1940-1942); 2nd edition, Paideia Publishing House, Bucharest, 1993, 128 p; 3rd edition, 1997, 190 p.
6. *Jesus Christ or Man's Restoration* (Iisus Hristos sau Restaurarea omului), Arhidiecezană Publishing House, Sibiu, 1942, 405 p., 2nd edition, "Omniscop" Publishing House, Craiova, 1993, 432 p.; in "AATA", XIX (1942-1943), p. 5-406.
7. *Dogmatic and Symbolic Theology. Textbook for Theological Institutes* (Teologia dogmatică și simbolică. Manual pentru Institutele Teologice), 2 volumes, Bucharest, 1958, vol. I 560 p, vol. II p. 561-1008 (in collaboration with N. Chițescu, Isidor Todoran, Ioan Petreuță; Priest Professor Dumitru Stăniloae was not mentioned as co-author, because, in the meantime, before this paper appeared, he had been arrested); 2nd edition, vol. I, II, Renașterea Publishing House, Cluj-Napoca, 2004, 426 p.
8. *Uniatism in Transylvania, an Attempt to Split Up the Romanian People* (Uniatismul în Transilvania, încercarea de dezmembrare a poporului român), IBMBOR Publishing House, Bucharest, 1973, 208 p.

9. *Mystagoghia tou haghioi Maximou tou Homologetou, eisagoge scholia Protopresbyteros Dimitrios Stăniloae*, metaphrase Ignatios Sakales, Apostolike Diakonia, Athens, 1973, page 184.
10. *Gia hena orthodoxo oikoumenismo, Eucharistia, piste, Ekklesia (ta problema tes Intercommunion)*, eisagoge Panagiotes Nellas, metaphrase Eleutherios Mainas, Athos, Piraeus, 1976, 118 p.
11. *Philosophika kai Theologika Erotemata ("Peri diaphoron aporion ton agion Dyonision kai Gregoriu")*, tou haghioi Maximou tou Homologetou, eisagoge scholia Prot. D. Stăniloae, Metaphrase Ignatios Sakales, Tome I, Athens, 1978, 316 p.
12. *The Orthodox Dogmatic Theology for Theological Institutes* (Teologia dogmatică ortodoxă pentru Institutele Teologice), 3 volumes, IBMBOR Publishing House Bucharest, 1978 (vol. I 504 p., vol. II 380 p., vol. III 466 p.); 2nd edition, 1996 (vol. I), 1997 (vol. II-III), vol. I 344 p., vol. II 252 p., vol. III 308 p.; 3rd edition, 2003, vol. I 528 p., vol. II 392 p., vol. III 486 p.
13. *Theology and the Church*, translated by Robert Barringer, Foreword by John Meyendorff, New York, St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1980, 240 p.
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5. *A Funeral Speech near Prof. Petru Gherman's Coffin* (Cuvânt funebru lângă sicriul Profesorului Petru Gherman), in "TR", LXXXIX (1941), no. 28, p. 1-2.
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10. Popularization Articles

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2. *Attention to the Suburbs* (Atenție la periferiile orașelor), in “TR”, LXXIX (1931), no. 13, p. 1-2 (signed Diorates)
3. *Let's Be More Categorical!* (Să fim mai categorici!), in “TR”, LXXIX (1931), no. 28, p. 1-2 (signed Diorates).
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74. *Another Monitor of Old Calumnies* (Un alt monitor al calomniilor răsuflăte), in "TR", LXXXIII (1935), no. 15, p. 2-3 (not signed).
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128. *Another representative of the Pope in Romania* (Alt comisar al papei în România), "TR", LXXXV (1937), no. 39, p. 1 (not signed).
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130. *Uniatist Mobilization for Fight* (Mobilizarea uniației la luptă), in "TR", LXXXV (1937), no. 41, p. 2.
131. *A Praise-Worthy Feat* (O faptă vrednică de toată lauda), in "TR", LXXXV (1937), no. 43, p. 1.
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134. *Nationalism, from a Moral Point of View* (Naționalismul sub aspect moral) (a continuation to no. 44, *Wrong Opinions...*), in "TR", LXXXV (1937), no. 47, p. 1-2; the second part in no. 48, p. 2, and the third in no. 49, p. 2.
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137. *Gospel and Life* (Evanghelie și viață), in "TR", LXXXV (1937), no. 36, p. 1-2.

138. *Jesus Christ, Our Best Brother* (Iisus Hristos, cel mai bun frate al nostru), in "TR", LXXXV (1937), no. 36, p. 1-2.
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140. *Elements of Christian Morality* (Elemente de morală creștină), in "TR", LXXXVI (1938), no. 4, p. 1-3 and the second part in no. 51, p. 1-2.
141. *Religious Countryside School* (Școala țărănească religioasă), in "TR", LXXXVI (1938), no. 7, p. 1.
142. *The Triumph of the Serbian Church* (Triumful Bisericii sârbești), in "TR", LXXXVI (1938), no. 7, p. 1-2 (not signed).
143. *The Priests in the New Circumstances* (Preoțimea în noile împrejurări), in "TR", LXXXVI (1938), no. 9, p. 1.
144. *The Danger of the Sects* (Pericolul sectelor), in "TR", LXXXVI (1938), no. 10, p. 1.
145. *Why Should the Church Be Autonomous?* (De ce trebuie să fie Biserica autonomă?), in "TR", LXXXVI (1938), no. 12, p. 1.
146. *The Need of Religion in Education* (Încreștinarea învățământului), in "TR", LXXXVI (1938), no. 21, p. 1.
147. *The Reorganization of the Theological Education* (Reorganizarea învățământului teologic), in "TR", LXXXVI (1938).
148. *Orthodoxy and Ethnocracy* (Ortodoxie și Etnocrație), in "TR", LXXXVI (1938), no. 24, p. 1.
149. *The Priests' Cultural Function Today* (Funcția culturală a preoțimii, astăzi), in "TR", LXXXVI (1938), no. 25, p. 1.
150. *Priests' Duties during Summer* (Pastorația în timpul verii), in "TR", LXXXVI (1938), no. 31, p. 1-2.
151. *The Problem of Evil in Saint Augustine's Works* (Problema răului la Fericitul Augustin), in "TR", LXXXVI (1938), no. 34, p. 1.
152. *Thoughts on the Issue of Evil* (Gânduri despre problema răului), in "TR", LXXXVI (1938), no. 35, p. 1.
153. *Lost Souls* (Suflete rătăcite), in "TR", LXXXVI (1938), no. 36, p. 1-2.
154. *The Bible and the Romanian Soul* (Biblia și sufletul românesc), in "TR", LXXXVI (1938), no. 37, p. 1-2.
155. *Medicine and Faith* (Medicina și credința), in "TR", LXXXVI (1938), no. 41, p. 1-2.
156. *The New Organization of Trades* (Noua organizare a breslelor), in "TR", LXXXVI (1938), no. 42, p. 1.
157. *For Romania's Protection* (Pentru apărarea țării), in "TR", LXXXVI (1938), no. 43, p. 1 (not signed).
158. *Put an End to Pessimism!* (Să înceteze pesimismul!), in "TR", LXXXVI (1938), no. 51, p. 1.

159. *The Incarnation of God's Love* (Întruparea iubirii dumnezeiești), in "TR", LXXXVI (1938), no. 52, p. 2-3.
160. *National Revival Principles* (Principii de Renaștere Națională), in "TR", LXXXVII (1939), no. 3.
161. *Latinity and Orthodoxy* (Latinitate și ortodoxie), in "TR", LXXXVII (1939), no. 4, p. 1 and the second part, in no. 5, p. 1.
162. *Social Personality* (Personalitate socială), in "TR", LXXXVII (1939), no. 6, p. 1.
163. *Faith and Work* (Credința și munca), in "TR", LXXXVII (1939), no. 8, p. 1.
164. *We Desire A Church* (Dorim o Biserică), in "TR", LXXXVII (1939), no. 12, p. 2 (not signed).
165. *United in Mind and Feelings* (Un cuget și o simțire), in "TR", LXXXVII (1939), no. 13, p. 1 (not signed).
166. *Out of the Grave Comes Life* (Din mormânt viață), in "TR", LXXXVII (1939), no. 15, p. 2.
167. *Is There Any Connection between Durkheim's Sociology and Social Service?* (Există vreo legatură între Sociologia lui Durkheim și serviciul social?), in "TR", LXXXVII (1939), no. 18, p. 1-2 (also part II, in no. 19, p. 1-2).
168. *On the Holy Spirit's Descent* (La coborârea Duhului Sfânt), in "TR", LXXXVII (1939), no. 22, p. 1.
169. *Pilgrimage from Sibiu* (Pelerinaj de la Sibiu), in "TR", LXXXVII (1939), no. 22, p. 1.
170. *Moral and Religious Education First* (Educația religioasă și morală în primul rând), in "TR", LXXXVII (1939), no. 29, p. 1.
171. *Spiritual Preparation* (Pregătire sufletească), in "TR", LXXXVII (1939), no. 35, p. 1.
172. *Manace of War* (Amenințarea războiului), in "TR", LXXXVII (1939), no. 36, p. 1.
173. *War Has Started* (Războiul a început), in "TR", LXXXVII (1939), no. 37, p. 1.
174. *Other Priest's Duties Imposed by the Recent Events* (Alte îndatoriri pastorale impuse de împrejurările actuale), in "TR", LXXXVII (1939), no. 38, p. 1.
175. *National Solidarity* (Solidaritate națională), in "TR", LXXXVII (1939), no. 40, p. 1.
176. *Politics and Religion* (Politică și religie), in "TR", LXXXVII (1939), no. 42, p. 1.
177. *Hard Times* (Timpuri de încercare), in "TR", LXXXVII (1939), no. 42, p. 1.

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181. *Armistice of All Sinful Passions* (Armistițiul tuturor patimilor), in "TR", LXXXVII (1939), no. 49, p. 1.
182. *Redemption* (Mântuire), in "TR", LXXXVII (1939), no. 59, p. 2-3.
183. *At the Beginning of 1940* (În pragul anului 1940), in "TR", LXXXVIII (1940), no. 1, p. 1.
184. *His Highness the King's Wish Adressed to the Country on the Radio, on the New Year's Night* (Urarea M.S. Regelui adresată țării prin radio, în noaptea anului nou), in "TR", LXXXVIII (1940), no. 2, p. 1.
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186. *A Permanent National Ideal* (Idealul național permanent), in "TR", LXXXVIII (1940), no. 4, p. 1-2 (also part II in no. 5, p. 1).
187. *How Can National Conscience Be Promoted?* (Prin ce se promovează conștiința națională?), in "TR", LXXXVIII (1940), p. 1.
188. *Holy Trinity and Social Life* (Sfânta Treime și viață socială), in "TR", LXXXVIII (1940), no. 8, p. 2 (also part II in no. 9, p. 1).
189. *Orthodoxy and Social Life* (Ortodoxia și viața socială), in "TR", LXXXVIII (1940), no. 10, p. 1.
190. *The Orthodoxy, Light of the World and Our Nation's Heart* (Ortodoxia, lumina lumii și inima neamului nostru), in "TR", LXXXVIII (1940), no. 11, p. 1.
191. *During Lent* (În Postul Mare), in "TR", LXXXVIII (1940), no. 12, p. 1.
192. *The Nostalgia of Paradise* (Nostalgia Paradisului), in "TR", LXXXVIII (1940), no. 13, p. 1.
193. *Cristian Repentance* (Căința creștină), in "TR", LXXXVIII (1940), no. 14, p. 1.
194. *On the Harmonization of Salaries* (În legătură cu armonizarea salariilor), in "TR", LXXXVIII (1940), no. 15, p. 1.
195. *The Confession of Sins* (Mărturisirea păcatelor), in "TR", LXXXVIII (1940), no. 16, p. 1.
196. *Raised Christ and Our Earthly Life* (Hristos cel înviat și viața noastră pământească), in "TR", LXXXVIII (1940), no. 18, p. 2.
197. *Transylvania Broken In Two!* (Ardealul frânt în două!), in "TR", LXXXVIII (1940), no. 37-38, p. 3.
198. *Romania Reenters Its Stoical Destiny* (Restaurarea românismului în destinul stoic), in "TR", LXXXVIII (1940), no. 39, p. 1.

199. *Christianism and Nationalism* (Creștinism și naționalism), in "TR", LXXXVIII (1940), no. 40, p. 1-2.
200. *The Orthodox Church under the New Regime* (Biserica ortodoxă în noul regim), in "TR", LXXXVIII (1940), no. 41, p. 1-2 (not signed).
201. *Christian Manhood* (Barbăție creștină), in "TR", LXXXVIII (1940), no. 42, p. 1-2 (not signed).
202. *The Ideal Priest* (Chipul ideal de preot), in "TR", LXXXVIII (1940), no. 42, p. 1 (not signed).
203. *National Revolution* (Revoluție națională), in "TR", LXXXVIII (1940), no. 43, p. 1.
204. *The Worker* (Muncitorul), in "TR", LXXXVIII (1940), no. 44, p. 1.
205. *Work and Prayer* (Muncă și rugăciune), in "TR", LXXXVIII, no. 45, p. 1.
206. *Work and Divine Service* (Munca și cultul divin), in "TR", LXXXVIII (1940), no. 46, p. 1-2.
207. *Signs of the Times* (Semnele vremii), in "TR", LXXXVIII (1940), no. 47, p. 1-2.
208. *Pastor of Souls* (Păstor de suflete), in "TR", LXXXVIII (1940), no. 48, p. 1.
209. *Servant of the Holy Gospel* (Păzitor al Evangheliei), in "TR", LXXXVIII (1940), no. 51, p. 1.
210. *The Ladder of Responsibilities* (Scara răspunderilor), in "TR", LXXXIX (1941), no. 7, p. 1 (not signed).
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212. *Excessive Anger* (Supărare excesivă), in TR, LXXXIX (1941), no. 2, p. 3.
213. *The Church and the People's Unity* (Biserica și unitatea poporului), in "TR", LXXXIX (1941), no. 10, p. 1 (not signed).
214. *Presidents' Offices* (Prezidări), in "TR", LXXXIX (1941), no. 11, p. 1.
215. *Grace and Magic* (Har și vraje), in "TR", LXXXIX (1941), no. 13, p. 1 (si II, no. 14, p. 1).
216. *Mere Illusions. the Truth About Vatican's Intervention to Stop Hungarian Missionarism in Transylvania* (Biete iluzii. Adevărul în chestiunea opririi de către Vatican a prozelitismului maghiar printre românii din Ardealul răpit), in "TR", LXXXIX (1941), no. 15, p. 3 (not signed).
217. *Love Defeats Death* (Iubirea învinge moartea), in "TR", LXXXIX (1941), no. 17, p. 2.
218. *On the Holy Days of the Lord's Resurrection* (În zilele sfinte ale Învierii Domnului), in "TR", LXXXIX (1941), no. 18, p. 1 (not signed).
219. *The Importance of the People's Religious Customs* (Însemnatarea obiceiurilor religioase ale poporului), in "TR", LXXXIX (1941), no. 22, p. 1.

220. *Christianism and Tradition in National Vocation* (Creștinism și tradiție în vocația națională), in "Luceafărul", I, no. 2, p. 42-48.
221. *Religion, a Matter of Feeling?* (Religia, chestie de sentiment?), in "TR", LXXXIX (1941), no. 23, p. 1.
222. *The Holy Spirit's Celebration* (Sărbătoarea Duhului Sfânt), in "TR", LXXXIX (1941), no. 24, p. 1.
223. *The Fight against Bolchevism Started* (A început lupta împotriva bolșevismului), in "TR", LXXXIX (1941), no. 27, p. 2 (not signed).
224. *Bukovina's Liberation and the Deliverance of the World* (Eliberarea Bucovinei și scăparea lumii), in "TR", LXXXIX (1941), no. 29, p. 2.
225. *Bukovina and Bessarabia's Liberation* (Eliberarea Bucovinei și Basarabiei), in "Țara", no. 86, 1941, p. 3.
226. *Between Orient and Occident* (Între Orient și Occident), in "TR", LXXXIX (1941), no. 30, p. 1-2.
227. *The Country* (Țara), in "L" (1941), no. 4-5, p. 122-127.
228. *Those Who Sacrificed Their Lives* (Cei ce s-au jertfit), in "TR", LXXXIX (1941), no. 33, p. 1.
229. *Christianism and Communism* (Creștinism și comunism), in "TR", LXXXIX (1941), no. 34, p. 1.
230. *Vital and Spiritual Romanian Space* (Spațiul vital și spiritual românesc), in "TR", LXXXIX (1941), no. 35, p. 1.
231. *The Nation's Spirit of Sacrifice* (Duhul de jertfă al neamului), in "TR", LXXXIX (1941), no. 38, p. 1.
232. *Tomorrow's Humankind* (Omenirea de mâine), in "TR", LXXXIX (1941), no. 39, p. 1.
233. *The Persecution of Religious Literature* (Ostracizarea literaturii religioase), in "TR", LXXXIX (1941), no. 43, p. 1.
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235. *The Orthodoxy, Our Nation's Shield* (Ortodoxia, pavăza naționalității noastre), in "TR", LXXXIX (1941), no. 45, p. 1.
236. *Fasting and Charity* (Post și milostenie), in "TR", LXXXIX (1941), no. 49, p. 1.
237. *Jesus Christ and the Social Problem* (Iisus Hristos și problema socială), in "TR", LXXXIX (1941), no. 52, p. 2-3.
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247. *Jesus the Invincible* (Iisus cel nebiruit), in "TR", XC (1942), no. 16, p. 2.
248. *The Supreme Valorisation of Our Fellow* (Suprema valorificare a semenului), in "TR", XC (1942), no. 20, p. 1.
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250. *The Orthodox Transylvanian Church* (Biserica ortodoxă a Transilvaniei), in "TR", XC (1942), no. 37, p. 1-2.
251. *Culture and Spirituality* (Cultură și duhovnicie), in "TR", XC (1942), no. 39, p. 1.
252. *Orthodoxy and Protestantism* (Ortodoxie și Protestantism), in "TR", XC (1942), no. 40, p. 1.
253. *Tenders of Souls* (Păstorii de suflete), in "TR", XC (1942), no. 48, p. 1.
254. *"What a Wonderful News!"* ("O ce veste minunată!"), in "TR", XC (1942), no. 51-52, p. 2.
255. *The Permanent Duty of Proclaiming the Word* (Datoria permanentă de a propovădui), in "TR", XCI (1943), no. 2, p. 1.
256. *The Abolition of Sects* (Desființarea sectelor), in "TR", XCI (1943), no. 2, p. 1-2.
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258. *Bibliography* (Bibliografie), in "TR", XCI (1943), no. 3, p. 3.
259. *About Future Times Again* (Tot despre timpurile viitoare), in "TR", XCI (1943), no. 4, p. 1.
260. *The Church and Children's Protection* (Biserica și protecția copilului), in "TR", XCI (1943), no. 9, p. 1.
261. *Work's Sense* (Sensul muncii), in "TR", XCI (1943), no. 13, p. 1-2.
262. *Stepping on Death by Means of Death* (Cu moartea pe moarte călcând...), in "TR", XCI (1943), no. 16-17, p. 2-3.
263. *Our Sur-History* (Supraistoria noastră), in "TR", XCI (1943), no. 18, p. 1.
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267. *The Holy Spirit's Descent* (Pogorârea Duhului Sfânt), in "TR", XCI (1943), no. 24, p. 1.
268. *A Victim of Self Overestimation* (O victimă a grandomaniei), in "TR", XCI (1943), no. 24, p. 2-3.
269. *Bibliography* (Bibliografie), in "TR", XCI (1943), no. 24, p. 4.
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272. *Fighter Church* (Biserica luptătoare), in "TR", XCI (1943), no. 34-35, p. 1.
273. *Between Hate and Love* (Între iubire și ură), in "TR", XCI (1943), no. 36, p. 1.
274. *The Priest and the Doctor* (Preotul și medicul), in "TR", XCI (1943), no. 37, p. 1.
275. *The Instinct of Property* (Instinctul proprietății), in "TR", XCI (1943), no. 38, p. 1.
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ABBREVIATIONS

AATA	Anuarul Academiei Teologice “Andreiană” (The Year Book of “Andrei Şaguna” Theological Academy)
AB	Altarul Banatului (The Altar of Banat)
BOR	Biserica Ortodoxă Română (Romanian Orthodox Church)
CC	Chemarea Credinţei (The Call of the Faith)
CPDS	Corespondenţă Părintele Dumitru Stăniloae (Correspondence Father Dumitru Stăniloae)
G	Gândirea (The Thinking)
GB	Glasul Bisericii (The Voice of the Church)
IBMBOR	Institutul Biblic şi de Misiune al Bisericii Ortodoxe Române (Bible and Mission Institute of the Romanian Orthodox Church)
MA	Mitropolia Ardealului (Ardeal Metropolitan Bishopric)
MB	Mitropolia Banatului (Banat Metropolitan Bishopric)
MMS	Mitropolia Moldovei şi a Sucevei (Moldavia and Suceava Metropolitan Bishopric)
MO	Mitropolia Olteniei (Oltenia Metropolitan Bishopric)
O	Ortodoxia (Orthodoxy)
RL	România liberă (Free Romania)
ROC	Romanian Orthodox Church (French version: EOR)
RT	Revista Teologică (Theological Review)
ST	Studii Teologice (Theological Studies)
TR	Telegraful Român (Romanian Telegraph)
VOR	Vestitorul Ortodoxiei Române (Romanian Orthodox Herald)

ANNEX

A. Doctor's degree theses about Father Dumitru Stăniloae's theology

1. Dr. Roland G. ROBERTSON, *Contemporary Romanian Orthodox Ecclesiology. The Contributions of Dumitru Stăniloae and Younger Colleagues*, Excerpta ex disertatione ad Doctoratum, Rome, 1998, 358 p.
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3. Dr. Maciej BIELAWSKI, *The Philokalic Vision of the World in the Theology of Dumitru Stăniloae*, Bydgoszcz, Wydawnictwo, 1997, 230 p. / *Părintele Dumitru Stăniloae – O viziune filocalică despre lume*, translated by Ioan Ică jr., Deisis Publishing House, Sibiu, 1998, 348 p.
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5. Conf. Univ. Dr. Silviu Eugen ROGOBETE, *Subject and Supreme Personal Reality in the Theological Thought of Fr. Dumitru Stăniloae. An Ontology of Love*, London Bible College, Associated Institution of Brunel University, Uxbridge, 1998, 328 p. / *O ontologie a iubirii. Subiect și Realitate Personală supremă în gândirea Părintelui Dumitru Stăniloae*, translated by Anca Dumitrașcu and Adrian Guiu, Polirom Publishing House, Iași, 2001, 288 p.
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8. Fr. Lect. Univ. Dr. Nicolae MOȘOIU, *The Mystery of the Presence of God in the Human Life. The Creative Vision of Father Professor Dumitru Stăniloae* (Taina prezenței lui Dumnezeu în viața umană. Viziunea creatoare a Părintelui Profesor Dumitru Stăniloae), Paralela 45 Publishing House, Brașov, 2000, 328 p.

9. Dr. Daniel MUNTEANU, *Die Pneumatologien Jürgen Moltmann und Dumitru Stăniloae*, D. Th., Heidelberg, 2002.
10. Fr. Conf. Univ. Dr. Vasile CRISTESCU, *Die Anthropologie und ihre christologische Begundung bei Wolfhart Pannenberg und Dumitru Stăniloae* (Inauguraldissertation zur Erlangung des Doktorgrades des Theologischen Facultät der Ruprecht Karls – Universität Heidelberg), Heidelberg, 2003, 352 p. / *Antropologia și fundamentarea ei hristologică la Wolfhart Pannenberg și Dumitru Stăniloae*, Tehnopres Publishing House, Iași, 2004, 442 p.
11. Fr. Dr. Jürgen HENKEL, *Eros und Ethos. Mensch, gottesdienstliche Gemeinschaft und Nation als Adressaten theologischer Ethik, bei Dumitru Stăniloae*, Lit Verlag, Münster – Hamburg – London, 2003, 440 p.
12. Bishop Dr. Ioachim GIOSANU, *La déification de l'homme d'après la pensée du père Dumitru Stăniloae*, Trinitas Publishing House, Iași, 2003, 272 p.
13. Dr. Kevin M. BERGER, *Towards A Theological Gnoseology. The Synthesis of Fr. Dumitru Stăniloae* (A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Department of Theology School of Religious Studies of the Catholic University of America in partial Fulfillment of the Requirements of America, Degree of Doctor of Philosophy), The Catholic University of America, Washington D.C., 2003.
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15. Lect. Univ. Dr. Dănuț MĂNĂSTIREANU, *A Perichoretical Example of the Church. The Trinitarian Ecclesiology of Dumitru Stăniloae* (Un model perihoretic al Bisericii. Ecclesiologia trinitară a lui Dumitru Stăniloae), Brunel University, London, 2004.
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17. Dr. Nicolae LEASEVICI, *The Anthropological Outlook in the Work of Fr. Prof. Dr. Acad. Dumitru Stăniloae* (Conceptia antropologică în opera Pr. Prof. Dr. Acad. Dumitru Stăniloae), D.D. Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Orthodox Theology of the University from Bucharest, 2004, 347 p.
18. Fr. Lect. Univ. Dr. Gheorghe V. HOLBEA, *He theologia tou P. Demetriou Stăniloae kai he schese tes me te synchronē anatolike hai dytike theologia* (D.D. Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Theology of the "Aristoteles" University, Thessaloniki, 2000), Ekdotikos Oikos Adelphon Kyriakide, Thessaloniki, 2006, 480 p.

B. List with the doctors in theology that had Professor Doctor Reverend Dumitru Stăniloae as scientific coordinator of their doctor degree thesis

1. IPS Mitropolit Antonie PLĂMĂDEALĂ, *The Ministering Church in the Holy Bible, the Saint Tradition and in Contemporary Theology* (Biserica slujitoare în Sfânta Scriptură, Sfânta Tradiție și în teologie contemporană), 16 December 1972.
2. Pr. Prof. Dr. Dumitru RADU, *The Ecclesiological Character of the Holy Sacraments and the Problems of Intercommunion* (Caracterul eclesiologic al Sfințelor Taine și problemele intercomuniunii), 5 September 1977.
3. Priest Aurel GRIGORAȘ, *Dogma and Ritual Seen Interconfessionally and the Problem of Intercommunion* (Dogmă și cult privite interconfesional și problema intercomuniunii), 24 January 1978.
4. Pr. Gheorghe DRĂGULIN, *The Ecclesiology of the Areopagitic Treaties and Its Importance in the Contemporary Ecumenism* (Eclesiologia tratatelor areopagitice și importanța ei pentru ecumenismul contemporan), 23 June 1979.
5. Pr. Arhim. Chesarie GHEORGHESCU, *The Orthodox Teaching about the Plan of God and the Design of the Church* (Învățătura ortodoxă despre iconomia Dumnezeiască și iconomia Bisericească), 30 June 1980.
6. IPS Mitropolit Daniel CIOBOTEA (Dan Ilie), *Theology and Christian Spirituality* (Teologie și spiritualitate creștină), 31 October 1980.
7. Mezey LORAND, Reformat Priest, Hungary, *Dogmatic Bases of the Christian's Responsibilities* (Temeiuri dogmatice ale responsabilității creștine), 7 November 1971.
8. Priest Ioan MIHĂLȚAN, *Jesus the Redeemer's Priesthood and Ecclesiastical Priesthood* (Preoția Mântuitorului Hristos și Preoția Bisericească), 8 June 1985.

C. List with the doctors in theology that had Professor Doctor Reverend Dumitru Stăniloae as referent and their doctor degree thesis

1. Alexandru Augustin BIDIAN, *The Divine Revelation in the Contemporary Protestant Vision* (Revelația divină după concepția protestantă contemporană), 14 January 1971.
2. Pr. Prof. Ioan BRIA, *Dogmatic Aspects of the Unification of Christian Churches* (Aspecte dogmatice ale unirii bisericilor creștine), 18 June 1968.
3. Pr. Prof. Constantin GALERIU, *Sacrifice and Ransom* (Jertfă și răscumpărare), 13 December 1973.
4. Pr. Prof. Dumitru POPESCU, *The Roman-Catholic Ecclesiology according to the Documents of the Second Council of Vatican and Its Echoes in Contemporary Theology* (Eclesiologia romano-catolică după documentele

celui de-al doilea Conciliu Vatican și ecourile în Teologia contemporană), 5 February 1973.

5. Pr. Prof. Ioan ICĂ, *The Declaration of Faith of Mitrofan Kritopoulos. Its Historical, Dogmatic and Ecumenist Importance* (Mărturisirea de credință a lui Mitrofan Kritopoulos. Însemnatatea ei istorică, dogmatică și ecumenistă), 3 April 1974.
6. Pr. Prof. Ilie MOLDOVAN, *The Doctrine about the Holy Spirit in Orthodoxy and Contemporary Ecumenist Preoccupations* (Învățătura despre Sfântul Duh în Ortodoxie și preocupările ecumeniste contemporane), 17 October 1974.
7. Pr. Nicolae MACSIM, *Newer Protestant Conceptions about the Holy Bible* (Concepții protestante mai noi despre Sfânta Scriptură), 12 May 1977.
8. Prof. Remus RUS, *The Conception about Man in the Great Religions* (Concepția despre om în marile religii), 20 June 1978.

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Cristian UNTEA

Doctoral student since 2006, at the Faculty of Orthodox Theology of the University from Bucharest, graduated courses of Theology and Classical Philology at the same University, his thesis for licence and master's degree focused on the theology of Father Dumitru Stăniloae. Between the university year 2009-2010, he continues his scientific research at the University from Durham (Great Britain).

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