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THE FIRST ARREST OF MONK AGATON (SANDU TUDOR). JILAVA, POARTA ALBĂ, CULMEA – HUMAN AVATARS IN THE PRISON

Review
Article

Keywords

Sandu Tudor;
Alexandru Teodorescu;
Monk Agaton;
Orthodoxy;
The Burning Bush

JEL Classification

I20, K49, Z12

Abstract

The present study aims to recover the first period of the detention of Sandu Tudor (who had become, meanwhile, the Monk Agaton), the research approach being centered on the analysis of the Archive documents. A simple reading of the file no. 013495, vol. 1 and 2, Criminal fund, located at the Archive of the National Council for the Study of Security Archives (A.C.N.S.A.S.), reveals a collection of disturbing, edifying data on this subject, as we consider. The first sheet of the aforementioned file, vol. 1, is the Cover of the File no. 1811/1950, drawn up by the Bucharest Court, the Third Criminal Section, „Posteucă Dumitru and Teodorescu Alexandru”, with the mention „War crime”. In order to offer the potential reader a more accurate image of the information obtained from the Security Archives and from the memorialistic literature regarding the concentrationary periplus of Father Daniil (Sandu Tudor), a genuine extermination regime at the penitentiaries in Jilava, Poartă Albă and Culmea, we have appealed to an evolutionary, chronological x-ray of the data, so that, subsequently, we could provide a critical, problematizing analysis of our subject from the perspective of the paradoxical ambivalence victim-executioner, representing an opportunity to demonstrate why we consider him a true paradigm of the resistance through hesychia..

INTRODUCTION

Apparently paradoxically, many of those thrown behind bars discovered the absolute freedom, even there, in the concentrationary space, which by definition implies depriving of freedom. We believe that it is sufficient to refer to Nicolae Steinhardt and his „Jurnal al fericității” („A Diary of Happiness”) to confirm this. Of course, not all detainees knew this route. The saving relationship with Christ is always a matter of personal choice. This paradigm is always a creation that begins within each of us. Studying the life of Father Daniil (Sandu Tudor) offers the opportunity to fully understand this model of faith, because during the entire period of detention (June 2, 1950 – February 9, 1952) (IICCMER, Library of Repression, Registration forms – political prisoners P1010176), the culprit without guilt – Sandu Tudor (Monk Agaton) – will prepare his spiritual flight to Golgotha. Although he was subjected to an abominable treatment, the testimony of Virgil Maxim, the author of the work „Imn pentru crucea purtată” („A hymn for the cross worn”), is eloquent in this sense, the author evoking the *happy* meeting with Father Agaton within this time and space of sacrifice: „In Spring, a training of the prisoners began at Jilava, in order to make them able to enter the work at the Canal without the adaptation period. Almost daily there was a walk of about two hours around the Reduit. But, what a ride?! Three thousand people were driven by blows and strokes with whips and weapons. Many were falling without the possibility of rising, especially the old ones. We, the young men, were making a defense circle around them and, holding them in our arms, we were carrying them between us, preventing them from being hit. Being embittered by this attitude, the militiamen were rushing at us hitting randomly (...) When some were collapsing, being knackered of running, the militiamen were rushing, kicking and crushing them with pitiless blows, breaking their limbs, their heads or their spines with the boots, as much as their heart desired” (Virgil Maxim, 2002).

JILAVA, POARTA ALBĂ, CULMEA – THE AVATARS OF HUMANS IN THE CONCENTRATION CAMPS

According to the *Penal Registration Form*, on May 30, 1951, Alexandru Teodorescu (Monk Agaton) was transferred *for labour* to Poarta Albă (IICCMER, Repression Library, Registration forms – political prisoners, P1010177). The map of the memory of the communist totalitarianism reveals the fact that Dobrogea – the apostolic, patristic, martyrial and neo-martyrial land was not inferior

to the surroundings, the horrors that took place in the Dobrogean camps being similar to those of Sighet, Aiud, Râmnicu Sărat or Pitești. The Canal was a real extermination factory, a fact which is recognized by both the researchers and those who had the bad luck to go through this hell, called the „Auschwitz” and the „Communist Gulag of Dobrogea”.

The range of unimaginable abuses was very long. It started with waking up at 3 in the morning, aligning on the parade ground for counting and then going to the actual work place, a route that sometimes counted several kilometers, which, especially in winter, represented a cruel and gruesome anguish, beyond any limit of endurance. Being briefly dressed and hungry to starvation, with their bodies covered with open wounds and eczemas, the *class enemies* worked daily to fulfill the norm: for earth excavation: 3 cubic meters / prisoner / day and for loading-unloading wagons: 7 cubic meters / prisoner /day. The works were mostly executed manually. All of these - the fulfillment of the aberrant norm, regardless of their state of health, tortures, imprisonment in the punishment cells, lack of medicines, punishments, the cold, improper accommodation conditions, naturally led to an increased mortality rate. Unfortunately, it is very difficult to establish a number of deceased close to reality, since there were not death records and the deceased were buried in the piers (Andrei Muraru, 2008).

A *Report* of August 14, 1950, drawn up by the Inspections Service of the General Directorate of Penitentiaries, confirms the disturbances that the increase in the number of deaths in the Penitentiary Colonies at the Danube-Black Sea Canal aroused even among the heads of the Securitate (Security): „Regarding the medical treatment, the problem is particularly serious. The detainees come from penitentiaries where they have lived a static life, their limbs being almost ankylosed, besides the fact that most of them are completely devoid of vitamins, so very seriously anemic. As soon as they arrive at the Colony, they must fulfill the norm as well as the others, which results in a whole series of accidents and illnesses (thrombosis, polio, severe burns, tumors). Although there is a medical dispensary in each colony, because the consultations are provided only between 19 and 21 in the evening, compared to the large number of those who absolutely need a treatment, this time is insufficient” (A.C.N.S.A.S., Documentary fund, file no. 010316, vol. 46, ff. 351-352).

As demonstrated by the documentary evidence, torturers did not see in detainees a person, a human being, but considered them as mere tools, utilitarian elements. The depersonalization was even more radical if those who were here fitted into the pattern of the *class enemy*, the danger to the totalitarian project. Together with the increase of the social-

political importance of the detainee, the interest of the torturer in applying extremely varied methods also increased, the latter being eager to prove his power of disposing of his victims according to his will. Being aware of their immunity, they practiced terrible atrocities, utterly impossible to restore to a normal mind. The phenomenon was out of control, the dreadful duties of the torturers in these camps at the Danube - Black Sea Canal impressed even the official of the Inspections Service within the General Directorate of Penitentiaries: „Morally speaking, apart from the sporadic political processing, the prisoners have no other possibility of cultural manifestation. In contrast, however, both the officers, the guard and the brigadiers (chosen from among their ranks) practice beating on a large scale. In the Colony on kilometer 4, I saw a colonist which was disfigured due to returning late from a call. The beating practiced by the brigadiers gives rise to a new variety of crime, that of bribing and abusing of power, because detainees, in order not to be mistreated, resort to these solutions” (A.C.N.S.A.S., Documentary fund, file no. 010316, vol. 46, f. 352).

What were the solutions mentioned in the document presented above? It is simply about the solution of re-education, which, as in Pitești, was applied with the help of informants, but also of the bullies among prisoners. From the desire to look good in the eyes of the Securitate's organs, some of the prisoners joined in the effort to unmask the bandits, saboteurs, class enemies, to whom they applied exemplary corrections: „However, being greedy of work, air and movement, as well as caught by the substantial food that is served to them, from now on some cleavage groups have begun to form, groups that stand up and act against the saboteurs. Thus, in the last group of students arriving from Pitești Penitentiary, composed mostly of legionaries, here came a series of elements that tried to demobilize the mass of convicts, but which were decidedly unmasked and threatened with penalties, going up to the toughest ones, by their own colleagues” (A.C.N.S.A.S., Documentary Fund, file no. 010316, vol. 46, ff. 350 -351).

Moreover, this sinister picture of abuses, beatings, most of the times out of the ordinary bestiality, was supplemented even by the security troops who guarded the Penitentiary Colonies at the Danube-Black Sea Canal: „The colonies are guarded by security troops, which, although they have their informative organs, we are nevertheless informed that they often beat prisoners and abuse their women on the visiting days. We will report the concrete cases through informative notes” (A.C.N.S.A.S., Documentary fund, file no. 010316, vol. 46, f. 353).

Another aspect, confirmed by both the memorialistic literature and the Archive document, was the stratification of repressive measures, or

rather the application of a differentiated treatment depending on the classification of the prisoners. Thus, saboteurs, frontierists and common-law prisoners were clearly distinguished, from this point of view, from those classified as political prisoners, hence the expression circulating among the colonists at the Canal: „the camp in the camp”. Obviously, the vigilance of the Security organs was increased when it came to this category, therefore the increased amount of penalties: „The internees are recruited from all social backgrounds, from ministers and generals to poor peasants (...) In the category of generals, ministers and active politicians, we observe a firm decision not to work and even to sabotage, while in the category of internees from the countryside and of those from the underworld of the cities, a confusion is observed (...) Another cause that contributes to the demoralization of the internees is the food, which is both qualitatively and quantitatively insufficient and unsatisfactory, as well as the fact that the management and the brigadiers are beating with or without reason. Thus, the slogan launched among these internees is that they were brought to the „extermination camp” and this conviction has been strengthened lately, due to bringing in some internees aged 60-75 years, a one-handed man and other impotents like that” (A.C.N.S.A.S., Documentary fund, file No. 010316, vol. 46, f. 354).

The differentiated treatment also emerges from the reading of the aforementioned *Report*, which, as we have shown, involved an extremely complex, meticulous approach, regarding the study of the state of mind in the Penitentiary Colonies at the Danube - Black Sea Canal, of the proportions under the aspect of framing (A.C.N.S.A.S., Documentary fund, file no. 010316, vol. 46, f. 350), of the mentalities (A.C.N.S.A.S., Documentary fund, file no. 010316, vol. 46, f. 350), of the working aspects with their many tragic details and of the recording of some disturbances and imbalances at the *grassroots* (A.C.N.S.A.S., Documentary fund, file no. 010316, vol. 46, f. 351): „We will now deal with each category of detainees separately.

Legionaries

Although the order of DGSP clearly shows that legionaries will not be employed at work, yet a large number of legionnaires have become colonists. The reason is that the legal classification was made in texts that do not distinguish them from the other convicts, for example: legionary aid organizations were included in the text – non-denunciation or conspiracy –, and the sorting bodies could not discern between them.

Among this category of prisoners, the mood is influenced by the legionary ideological principles. The connections between them are difficult to decipher and only now, when the students have

come from Pitesti, we believe that we will be able to produce cracks in this whole category.

The PNT-ist elements and those belonging to various fascist organizations are also included in this category.

But if their state of mind is the one that we have shown above, we must mention that in terms of work and discipline, they are exemplary.

Saboteurs and frontierists

Among them, there is the category of saboteurs from cities, among which the most discussed issue is that of emigration to Palestine, most of them being Jews. It is now being discussed that there would be an amendment to the Convention between the State of RPR and the State of Israel, where those in their situation would also be included.

In general, they are weak workers, willing to corrupt and be corrupted at any time.

The category of rural saboteurs consists of people accustomed to work, they give the best yields and it should be noted that a whole series of poor peasants are convicted to sentences ranging from three to five years, for facts such as: (slaughtering a calf, not delivering the quota of cereals, the quota that he had not made on his land, etc).

Common law

From the ranks of common-law prisoners the norm breakers and brigadiers were generally recruited. Although their attitude towards work is very good, their morale remained that with which they came, being ready to steal, to bribe and especially to get bribed" (A.C.N.S.A.S., Documentary fund, file no. 010316, vol. 46, ff. 352-353).

Thus, there appears only one section (legionaries) in the category of political prisoners, lapidarily recalling also the „PNT-ist elements". Of course, it is a gross falsification of the actual state of affairs, since many heads of the historical parties were thrown into the working colonies of Dobrogea – Radu Câmpeanu (former president of the National Liberal Youth), Cornel Coposu (a politician of the Peasants' Party, former personal secretary and political secretary of Iuliu Maniu), Constantin-Ticu Dumitrescu (former member of the Peasants' Party Youth), Father Constantin Galeriu (because he was a member of the PNL), Mircea Ionescu-Quintus (PNL member), Lazar Ilie (a politician of the National Peasants' Party, one of the most active participants at the Great Union in Alba Iulia). The forced generalization of the scrupulous (in fact, the signatory of the report undermines the Securitate's obsession on this subject) that seemed to penetrate the intersections of the blood of communist ideologues, represents a proof of the fact that the sorting bodies were unable to discern between some and others, due to the abusive completion of the Penal Registration Forms. Being aware of the

aberrant framing, the Commissioner of the Inspections Service, the General Directorate of Penitentiaries, will place in the first position of the section „proposals" the following: «Regulation of the categories of offenders and criminals that are to be sent to camps (clarifying the position of the legionaries). In order to perform this, the participation of a delegate from the DGSP in the sorting commissions is required".(A.C.N.S.A.S., Documentary fund, file no. 010316, vol. 46, f. 354).

On a closer look at the *Detention form* of Alexandru Teodorescu (Sandu Tudor) it can be observed that a rectification appeared next to the section „political affiliation of the prisoner / in the past": the initial text „did not have" was crossed out and instead „legionary" was written (IICCMER, Repression Library, Registration forms – political prisoners P1010176). What was this absurd framing based on? Another form of quantification of the way in which the organs of the Securitatea had drawn up the documents according to their will, considering them as useful tools for fulfilling the totalitarian purposes of the democratic regime of RPR.

Returning to the date of the release of Monk Agaton – February 9, 1952 (IICCMER, Repression Library, Registration forms – political prisoners P1010176) – the *Report* of August 14, 1950 is likely to clarify why did this not happen on June 2, 1952, as it emerges from the sentence of the Bucharest Court, War Crime Cabinet (A.C.N.S.A.S., Criminal fund, file no. 013495, vol. 1, f. 199). As we have shown, one of the reasons that created disorder among the prisoners was the issue of conditioned release: „Another problem is the issue of early release and the comments that are made regarding this problem are based on the fact that those who work at the Canal could not benefit from such disposition due to the lack of workforce. This state of mind is even more fueled by the fact that no commission of this kind was made" (A.C.N.S.A.S., Documentary fund, file no. 010316, vol. 46, f. 351).

Thus, the Archive document of August 14, 1950, contained as a second proposal „The constitution of the Commissions for allowing the early release" (A.C.N.S.A.S., Documentary fund, file no. 010316, vol. 46, f. 354), so that in relation to the days gained through work, good behavior etc., the detainees could benefit from the conditioned early release.

How did Monk Agaton behave during the assault of this extermination system? If we consider the security logic then we would classify his behavior as „very bad" (IICCMER, Repression Library, Registration forms – political prisoners P1010176). But if we respect the truth of Virgil Maxim's testimony, then we would understand that here, in the life of the future Hieroschemonk Daniil

Sandu Tudor there has been a shift towards an even deeper order of things. Here, the Monk Agaton used every opportunity to translate to those around him the joy of descending into yourself and of discovering your own identity in the ontological center of your spiritual being. In Jilava, in Poarta Albă, in Culmea, the Monk Agaton (Sandu Tudor) sought to make everyone around him understand the benefits of knowing the world through a distinct path – from the inside out: „During these runs on Golgotha, when he was feeling better, I was talking with Father Agaton, reinforcing our hope in God's care. On every occasion, His holiness was translating to me the holy meanings of the teachings of the Holy Fathers, of the martyrs and especially of the hesychastic prayer, of which I was very eager to find out as much as possible, the latter being as honey for my soul” (Virgil Maxim, 2002).

There is another paradox that is uncovered here, because the concentrationary space was not only the dramatic equivalent of the sacrifice of those selected by the top structures of the state and party bodies as negative examples, but also a way of rediscovering the benefits of prayer. In these conditions, the human being understands more than ever that the only way to preserve its humanity is by faith. Being an exemplary form of education, the prayer had become a permanence, a state of ecstasy, an efflux of inspiration and action that offered support, strengthened the spirits and preserved the soul's integrity even in a weakened and suffering body. According to the Savior's promise, no soul remained defenseless, because freedom was now of another, higher order.

SANDU TUDOR AND THE TRUTH CONCEALED IN THE REFUSAL TO BE WEAK

Sandu Tudor remains in the Romanian historiography as the founder of „Rugul Aprins” („The Burning Bush”), the man who managed to reunite the ecclesiastical and secular elites. What was the purpose of these events, meetings, which the Securitatea framed as a subversive hostile activity? The author believes that they mainly set up a way to help human survival on the „bad days” by assimilating the contents of the orthodox mystical tradition. In those dark years (of the World War and then of the increasingly aggressive Sovietization of the country) the human being was feeling an acute need to preserve its humanity, and the way of finding the sources of the spiritual tradition was such as to bring closer the secular intellectuals and the Church servants. Through the Rugul Aprins at the Antim Monastery, the participants discovered the path through which they could penetrate the *meaning* of a free existence

(†Antonie Plămădeală, 2002). The participation in the Second World War was interpreted in a distorted key, the political censorship operating a rewriting of this historical fact, but not in the light of a historiographical revision (a legitimate and necessary act in the work of historians), but by a constant and monstrous minimization and denial. In fact, the spectrum of culpability configured at least two categories, delimited by an integral scale, as well as by an individual one.

The first category led to the complete culpability, the characteristic of which is the negative reception of Romania by the USSR, which, ignoring the act of August 23, 1944, transforms it into a prize of war, as well as by the Western allies, which place it in the position of a defeated enemy state. Indeed, the effects of this integral culpability, as it is known, were materialized in the way the Paris Peace Treaty (February 10, 1947) was drafted, for our part.

The second category concerned the citizen, and the effect was that at the end of World War II all Romanians who were on the front line were automatically placed in the position of opponents, of fascist exponents. Unfortunately, this route also involved Sandu Tudor: „During the war against the USSR, Teodorescu Alexandru not only carried out propaganda against the USSR, but in 1942-43-44 fought on the Eastern Front as a volunteer” (A.C.N.S.A.S., Criminal fund, file No. 013495, vol. 2, f. 78).

Being released from the Culmea Penitentiary, on February 9, 1952 (IICCMER, Repression Library, Registration forms – political prisoners P1010176), Father Daniil continued his spiritual work. He enrolled at the Sihăstria Neamțului Monastery, where he became a Hieroschemamonk by the name of Daniil, and on September 10, 1952, he asked the Metropolitan Firmilian for the canonical exit from the Diocese of Oltenia, given his move to the Metropolitanate of Moldova. Here is how the source „Florica” restored this period: „Agaton Tudor started to hold a series of sermons at the Sihăstria Monastery, through which the mysticism is propagated among the most advanced monks. He wants to introduce the method of Jesus prayer in the monastery of Sihăstria. This method consists of the following principles: each monk must keep in mind the name of Jesus, continually saying the following prayer: „Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy on me, a sinner” (A.C.N.S.A.S., Informative fund, file no. 002214, vol. 1, f. 444).

The extremely difficult conditions – he lived completely isolated, having only two rooms, almost unheated because the stove was not working and he had no one to take care of the food, etc. – determined Father Ilie Cleopa and his disciple, Antonie Plămădeală (who often attended him at these places, especially because Father Daniil had not abandoned his impressive library) († Antonie

Plămădeală, 2002) to mediate his move, an action which, as it is well known, was successful.

The course of the earthly life of Sandu Tudor, the Orthodox Christian confessor who was built alive in the communist prison of Aiud, sacrificing himself to blood, to death, is a clear proof that the one who asked the others not to be „lukewarm”, did not accept, in turn, the half-measures, deciphering the alphabet of suffering to the last letter. After the fall of communism, the former disciples considered that it was their duty to lift the arrest that was on the memory in order to restore Father Daniil Sandu Tudor’s profile in the adequate light of the founder of a spiritual movement that marked the spirituality and culture of the anti-Christian combatant mid-twentieth century (Sofian Boghiu, 2007).

The communist offensive required the creation of the „new man”, of the man with the brain washed, who no longer had to know where he came from and what he left behind. To this disfigured human typology, at least by amputating memory and by inoculating an ideology that demonized many people, Father Daniil Sandu Tudor responded by returning to the Patristic Tradition, by meeting with the theological thinking specific to the spiritual man, by reopening to the transcendence, by the restoration of the eucharistic anamnesis and of the eschatological meaning of time, affirmed by the Biblical Tradition, a fact confirmed even by the informative notes signed by the serious sources of the Securitate: „Saying this prayer all the time, the rationality / the mind being always ruled by the name of Jesus, as the mystics say, the soul of the man [becomes] enlightened, transfigured by a heavenly – gracious light, making it possible for the one who prays to see the glory of God, the same glory, full of light, that Moses saw on the Mount Sinai, when he received the Tablets of the Law or the glory that the Apostles saw when Jesus was transfigured on the Mount [Tabor]. This teaching was propagated by Gregory Palamas in the fourteenth century. Under the name of Agaton Teodorescu, he propagates this current and mystical life” (A.C.N.S.A.S., Informative fund, file no. 002214, vol. 1, f. 444).

EPILOGUE

Even though after 1948 the „Rugul Aprins” Association became clandestine and, in this context, the members of this spiritual movement realized that the spiritual life could no longer be practiced in sight, on a large scale, Father Daniil Sandu Tudor continued his spiritual work. Moreover, the tireless persecution triggered on the members of the Rugul Aprins demonstrates that the people of the Securitate were aware of the size of the threat that solidarity and identity coagulated

with the hesychastic values represented to the materialist ideology and the atheist state.

Perhaps the trajectory of the founder of this spiritual movement, which generated a moment of real symbiosis between cult and culture, was an asymptotic one, but his spiritual testament, confirmed by the testimonies of so many disciples, and also by the information from the archive documents, consecrated his martyr status.

NOTES

- [1] See, IICCMER, Repression Library, Registration forms – political prisoners P1010176, the Detention form of Alexandru Teodorescu (Sandu Tudor) - front.
- [2] Maxim, Virgil (2002). *Imn pentru crucea purtată* [A hymn for the cross worn]. Bucharest: Ed. Antim, p. 257.
- [3] See, IICCMER, Repression Library, Registration forms – political prisoners P1010177, the Detention form of Alexandru Teodorescu (Sandu Tudor) - back.
- [4] For a broad treatment of the subject see: Andrei MURARU (coordinator), Clara MAREȘ, Dumitru LĂCĂTUȘU, Cristina ROMAN, Marius STAN, Constantin PETRE, Sorin CUCERAI (2008). *Dicționarul Penitenciarelor din România Comunistă (1945-1967)* [The Dictionary of Penitentiaries of the Communist Romania (1945-1967)]. Institutul de Investigare a Crimelor Comunismului în România, Bucharest: Ed. Polirom.
- [5] A.C.N.S.A.S., Documentary fund, file no. 010316, vol. 46, ff. 351-352.
- [6] A.C.N.S.A.S., Documentary fund, file no. 010316, vol. 46, f. 352.
- [7] A.C.N.S.A.S., Documentary fund, file no. 010316, vol. 46, ff. 350 -351.
- [8] A.C.N.S.A.S., Documentary fund, file no. 010316, vol. 46, f. 353.
- [9] A.C.N.S.A.S., Documentary fund, file no. 010316, vol. 46, f. 354.
- [10] A.C.N.S.A.S., Documentary fund, file no. 010316, vol. 46, f. 350: «The proportions in terms of crimes are as follows: Political (legionaries, PNT, different organizations) 60%; Saboteurs 20%; Common law 20% ».
- [11] A.C.N.S.A.S., Documentary fund, file no. 010316, vol. 46, f. 350: „There are two categories of detainees in the colonies: the older detainees were accommodated and give the yield required by the Canal Directorate. Among them we can see the firm determination to work, given that, compared to the detention in the prisons where they were, their new situation presents a whole series of advantages that they are not willing to give up at all. The other category consists of newly arrived detainees. The influence of rumors released in prison about the uselessness and incompatibility between conviction and work is still observed for this category. Also among them there were observed phenomena of organization in the spirit of the line drawn by the legionary commanders, that of sabotaging the work”.
- [12] A.C.N.S.A.S., Documentary fund, file no. 010316, vol. 46, f. 351: „However, there are general disorders which can be characterized by the following points: 1. Handling of packages and correspondence/ 2. The problem of conditioned release/ 3. The nonpayment of wages on time/ 4. Treatment (sanitary and moral).
- [13] A.C.N.S.A.S., Documentary fund, file no. 010316, vol. 46, ff. 352-353.
- [14] A.C.N.S.A.S., Documentary fund, file no. 010316, vol. 46, f. 354.
- [15] See, IICCMER, Repression Library, Registration forms – political prisoners P1010176, the Detention form of Alexandru Teodorescu (Sandu Tudor) - front.
- [16] See IICCMER, Repression Library, Registration forms – political prisoners P1010176, the Detention form of Alexandru Teodorescu (Sandu Tudor) - front.
- [17] A.C.N.S.A.S., Criminal fund, file no. 013495, vol. 1, f. 199: „Sentences the said defendant [Alexandru Teodorescu (Sandu Tudor)] for the crime of instigating to abusive investigations provided and punished by art. 120 combined with art. 289 of the Penal code, to two years of correctional prison. According to the art. 64 of the Penal Code, the time spent in prevention is deducted from the punishment, starting on June 2, 1950”.
- [18] A.C.N.S.A.S., Documentary fund, file no. 010316, vol. 46, f. 351.
- [19] A.C.N.S.A.S., Documentary fund, file no. 010316, vol. 46, f. 354.
- [20] See, IICCMER, Repression Library, Registration forms – political prisoners P1010176, the Detention form of Alexandru Teodorescu (Sandu Tudor) - front.
- [21] Maxim, Virgil (2002). *Imn pentru crucea purtată* [A hymn for the cross worn]. Bucharest: Ed. Antim, pp. 257-258.
- [22] Plămădeală, †Antonie (2002). *Rugul Aprins* [The Burning Bush]. Sibiu: Ed. Archiepiscopiei Sibiului, electronic edition, p. 13.
- [23] A.C.N.S.A.S., Criminal fund, file no. 013495, vol. 2, f. 78.
- [24] See, IICCMER, Repression Library, Registration forms – political prisoners P1010176, the Detention form of Alexandru Teodorescu (Sandu Tudor) - front.
- [25] A.C.N.S.A.S., Informative fund, file no. 002214, vol. 1, f. 444.
- [26] Plămădeală, †Antonie (2002). *Rugul Aprins* [The Burning Bush]. Sibiu: Ed. Archiepiscopiei Sibiului, electronic edition, p. 43: „He came to the Sihăstria Monastery. He was initially established at the Sihla Hermitage, up there, where he only brought some of his books, because there were only two cells there. I went to see him a few times because I was at Slatina. I stayed with him for a few days, sleeping simply on the books in a cell. And I stayed with him, having spiritual conversations. I had access to all his books. I was staying there mostly to read from his books, after which I returned to the Slatina Monastery, where my track had been almost lost”.

- [27] Boghiu, Sofian (2007). *Duhovnici români contemporani [Contemporary Romanian Confessors]*. Edited by Ioana Iancovescu and Constanța Costea. Bucharest: Ed. Bizantină; Braga, Roman (1991). *Rugul Aprins [The Burning Bush]*. *Lumină lină*, The Theological Journal of the Romanian Orthodox Episcopate of America and Canada, 2 (1-2); Nicolau, Nicolae (1996). *Rugul Aprins [The Burning Bush]*. *România liberă*, Saturday, January 27, 1996; Rădulescu, Mihai (1993). *Rugul aprins. Duhovnicii Ortodoxiei în ghearele comuniste [Rugul Aprins. The Confessors of the Orthodoxy in the Communist Claws]*. Bucharest: Ramida; Rădulescu, Mihai (1994). *Martiriul Bisericii Ortodoxe Române [The martyrdom of the Romanian Orthodox Church]*. Bucharest: Ramida; Rădulescu, Mihai (1993). *Cuvântul lui Dumnezeu în pușcărie. IV. Preludiu la Rugul Aprins [The Word of God in Prison. IV. Prelude to the Rugul Aprins]*. *Vestitorul Ortodoxiei*, july, 1993; Scrima, Pr. André (2012). *Timpul Rugului Aprins. Maestrul spiritual în tradiția răsăriteană [The Time of the Rugul Aprins. The spiritual master in the Eastern tradition]*. The 2nd revised edition, foreword by Andrei Pleșu, volume curated by Anca Manolescu. Bucharest: Humanitas.
- [28] A.C.N.S.A.S., Informative fund.