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THE „RUGUL APRINS” („THE BURNING BUSH”) ASSOCIATION BETWEEN LEGALITY AND LEGITIMACY

Case
Study

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Abstract

The personality of Sandu Tudor, the founder, organizer and catalyst of the spiritual group from Antim has already been the subject of many research approaches, which appeared after 1990 and, at first glance, it can be considered as no longer able to offer the substance of an original study. However, in the following, the author proposes to raise a problem that has not so far found its solution, namely: was the „Rugul Aprins” („The Burning Bush”) Association legally constituted or not? Regarding the restoration of the image of „Rugul Aprins” – the group that gave rise to a real symbiosis between cult and culture, it is no longer as easy as in the case of the Cernăuți moment, where, thanks to the memorialistic literature, the event can be faithfully reconstructed (from the names of the lecturers to the topics discussed). This time, the author will try to recover the route completed by the Rugul Aprins Association, from its establishment until it became outlawed, going on the wake of the new evidence located in the file no. 012956 from the Archive of CNSAS.

INTRODUCTION

Of course, the reception of the group from Antim will imply a polarization of the discourse, in the sense that the perspective of the protagonists or of the attendees of the spiritual movement will be competed by the atheistic view of the communist authorities. Thus, the evidence contained in the 11 volumes of the file 000202, Criminal fund, CNSAS, bring to light edifying aspects regarding what the phenomenon of „Rugul Aprins” („The Burning Bush”) meant for its members, but also for the party and state bodies. The author would like to remind the reader that reading the Archive documents involves a careful exercise of interpretation, so as not to fall into the trap of the wooden language, a treacherous instrument of mystifying the reality, on the basis of which counts of accusation with many years of conviction were formulated. In fact, just to remove these pitfalls, the author has combined the current reception – the considerations of the former leaders of the Rugul Aprins movement, brought to the public space after 1990, either in volumes, memorialistic forewords or within occasional interviews – with the image of the „Rugul Aprins” perceived through reading the documents from the archive of the former Securitate (Security), where, as it was mentioned, one could see the distorted reflection of the world in which they lived.

CULTURAL AND POLITICAL CONTEXT OF THE FOUNDATION OF THE „RUGUL APRINS” ASSOCIATION

It is simple to shrug and declare that any totalitarian regime, by definition, does not allow any form of confrontation or opposition, but this way of thinking is dangerous because, in some respects (certainly not in all), the confrontations of the world are the same. Today, the world needs to clarify similar assaults: some of a revolutionary nature, some of an ideological nature or other ones born of tensions between nations. If one would add to them the banality – how could it be otherwise?! – of the struggle between good and evil, which leads concretely to the core of personal existence, one would understand why he must avoid the dangers of generalization or simplification, as well as the importance of capturing the nuances. The author needs to think carefully about the contexts that favor the emergence of totalitarian regimes, about the system-specific manipulation techniques and, of course, the political practices.

People must not forget that after August 23, 1944, hindering the alliance between Romania and Germany by the King Mihai inaugurated a period of political liberalism, a period which,

unfortunately, proved to be short, because the increasingly aggressive proliferation of communism would no longer allow it. However, in the context of these intersections of roads and destiny, Sandu Tudor managed to coagulate a group of clerical and secular intellectuals, together with which he laid the foundations of the spiritual movement of Rugul Aprins, an effective way for many of Romanian intellectual elites to evade from the horror of loss, as spiritual entities: „The country was occupied by the Soviet troops, the non-values demanding their right in education and Romanian culture. (...) We suddenly woke up in the presence of communism, this Soviet animal with apocalyptic smell, with the smell of vodka and commissars’ sweat, which filled the country with posters, carnivals, gatherings, dirty press, political prostitution, values overturning. We were terrified that this roller would turn us all into an anonymous, formless mass, without own conscience and without responsibility. Where to run, if not in the depths of your being? Where to shut, if not in the chambers of the soul? And here the miracle happened: the man, looking for himself, met God, entered the order of the Spirit. But it was not easy” [1].

In the context of these intersections of roads and destiny, Sandu Tudor managed to coagulate a group of clerical and secular intellectuals, together with which he laid the foundations of the spiritual movement of Rugul Aprins. At the beginning, the participants gathered on every Sunday, after the liturgy, and later, in the evening, after the verpers, in order to listen to the conferences and to discuss different spirituality topics, being convinced that „as long as we are in the Church, that is, members of the „Sacred Body of the Lord”, we breathe in the Holy Spirit, which is the life of the Church” [2].

As it is shown in file no. 012956, Documentary fund, in the Archive of CNSAS, this prayer group tried to gain legal status and to register as a citizens’ association. According to the statute, the stated purpose of the association was to educate the theological students on the moral and spiritual requirements of the monastic life. In fact, the purpose of the spiritual group was proved to be the rediscovery, in a specific intellectual way, through the study and research based on patristic, philosophical and literary texts, of the meaning and the possibility of the prayer and of the hesychastic practice for the modern man, who was confused by the multiple metamorphoses of the ideologies of the time and alerted by the perspectives that were foreshadowing in the context of the increasingly aggressive Sovietization of society.

This is why the author believes that the group of Rugul Aprins was also a form of resistance of the Orthodox Christianity against a communist totalitarianism that spread its poisonous tentacles at all levels and layers of society. Religious activity

was viewed with suspicion by the Communist secret services from the beginning, because, by its very nature, it contravened the totalitarian ideology. „The love of the neighbour” was translated, through the security language, into the *anti-communist resistance*, manifested, most of the times, by the „support for the legionary elements”, and the ecclesiastical institutions would be interpreted as points of ideological resistance of the religion, where an anti-communist atmosphere was cultivated [3]. As the atheistic state propaganda failed to diminish the influence of the Church in the population, the obstruction and reprisals of the communist authorities will take on increasingly savage and treacherous forms.

Obviously, in these conditions, all the members of the Rugul Aprins association were positioned in the opposing camp, their spiritual concerns being re-emphasized by the wooden language as a subversive activity, hostile to the RPR’s democracy, an effect of the mystical-legionary disease.

„RUGUL APRINS” ASSOCIATION IN THE MEMORIALISTIC LITERATURE

The blessing of the Father Ioan Kulîghin offered a space of living spiritual tradition, in which the truth searches of lay intellectuals intersected with the thirst for truth of a group of Church members. This symbiosis between cult and culture gave to the Rugul Aprins group from Antim a specific, unmistakable configuration. The Antim group is very important because it represents „a mystical volcano in Romania, between 1945-1948, a reaction of the intellectual elite in a time of crisis” [4], meant to overcome the fracture between the side of lay intellectuals and the monastic side, in order to assume the contents of the Eastern spiritual tradition, in the context of a culture open to the universal. As Father Roman Braga stated, the phenomenon of Antim implies an interpretation from the perspective of the work of the Holy Spirit, because, despite the attempt of the atheist communist state to impose the prototype of the „new man”, without conscience, without personality and irresponsible (a deliberate attempt to cancel the traditional spiritual benchmarks), this combination of the forces of the secular and clerical elites that restored the coherence of the value system in the Romanian society took place [5].

In other words, there is a counterbalancing movement of forces because, although in the external environment the human being was daily subjected to humiliation and ostracization, the slip inside, into the mysteries of the heart, strengthened it and gave it the spiritual power to resist. Father André Scrima thus explained the particular need of the intellectuals to gather at Antim: „Here they

were preceded by their own desire, by a knowledge already awakened within them: an expectation promised „to all” – and so to them – was sensed. The obstacles, even the „tests” – inevitable concomitances of assuming a way of life of the being – acquired the meaning of a methodology of becoming, of a superior ascetic test” [6].

Then, even the appearance of the Antim Monastery, the Settlement of All Saints, does not match the common signs. As it is known, Metropolitan Antim made the decision to build this holy dwelling, on the place where there was an old wooden church dedicated to Saint Nicholas, on February 5, 1713 (the day of Saint Agatha’s celebration), as a result of a divine revelation. The construction of the Bucharest monastery with the dedication of „All Saints” lasted only two years, more precisely between the years 1713-1715, thus being placed at the end of the rule of Saint Constantin Brancoveanu and the beginning of the period of Phanariot rulers in Wallachia. Moreover, the effort of the Metropolitan Antim to endow this monastery is impressive. The list of debts of the metropolitan, the acts of donation and the lordly charters of the years 1713-1716, confirm that, at the death of the metropolitan Antim, his foundation was largely completed and it had the material and financial resources for the fulfillment of the benefaction arranged by the holy founder for his “Settlement...”. Saint Antim Ivireanul is the one who will personally take care, during the first three years (1713-1716), of these provisions to be strictly respected, endowing the monastery with both properties, but also with a library and two printing houses, as established since start of the construction.

And here, over the centuries, this significant space, founded by Saint Antim Ivireanul, was to host the spiritual movement of Rugul Aprins, which represented, in the terms of Andrei Pleşu (the signatory of the foreword of the reference volume *The Time of the Rugul Aprins*): „a unique meeting between the intellectuals and clergy, happening around the 50’s. The „Antim Group” was the last episode of real *togetherness* of our Church in the years of the communist dictatorship. Great intellectuals and great monks communicated and „communed” there, within an incredible internal freedom, until the authorities decided to define the spirit in terms of penalties” [7].

Of course, other questions and assumptions arise from this: „Did Father Daniil consider continuing the will of St. Antim Ivireanul?”; „Did the members of the Rugul Aprins feel the need to respect the will of the monastery founder in the letter of his conception?” Definitely, yes! The facts, as well as the writings of those who were part of this movement certify it. From this point of view, the testimony of Father André Scrima is eloquent: “Or, the Bucharest settlement, next to whose

tutelary presence the Antim Group would appear, far from bordering its role as „a building arranged at a monastery”, it was revealing the signs that had been entrusted to it by its enigmatic founder, between the hidden and the apparent” [8].

As it was mentioned, on June 25, 1947, the vicar bishop Veniamin Ploieștean informed the abbot Vasile Vasilache that the entry of Sandu Tudor within the Antim Monastery had been approved [9]. The first trace that justifies the analogy between the Holy Metropolitan and the future Father Daniil is the action of restoring the Monastery [10], severely damaged after the earthquake of 1940, which brother Alexandru (Sandu Tudor) intended to bear both at his own expense and through the support of some generals, from his circle of friends [11]. Therefore, one of the unseen threads embodies the sacrifice, the taking over (to the extreme) of the social-philanthropic mission.

By the chapter 18 of the Settlement of April 24, 1713, the Holy Metropolitan Antim laid the foundations of the first public lending library, establishing the main rules for its operation: „if someone would want to take a book, weather to read it, or to write it, or to look for something in it, do not give it without a signed letter from that person with the promise that he will send it back and in determined time, and take care to ask for it”. The only wealth that Sandu Tudor kept from his secular life was an impressive library: „[Sandu Tudor] comes and joins the Antim Monastery as a brother. He is given a cell in the bell tower. He lived there, under the bells, all the time, in a small cell and he cramped there, in several rows, the 8000 volumes he had and to which I also had access” [12].

The Holy Metropolitan Antim remained in the Romanian Orthodox Church as the exemplary preacher, who succeeded in transmitting the teachings of Christian faith in a unique style, combining the spiritual sensitivity and the experience of Christian truths with the erudition, with the skill of interpretation and the persuasion of the oratorical demonstration.

Therefore, the path of the intellectual integrated to the Antim, as conceived by the founder of the holy place, meant a crossing of the route of the values of true tradition, true way of preserving humanity, of finding the self. Moreover, in the configuration of the portrait of the intellectual from Antim, Father André Scrima considers to be edifying the interference between „a certain sense of tradition and an active nonconformism; existential categories that are not contradictory, but even twisted, beyond evidence, through an affinity that does not require justifying demonstrations”[13].

It goes without saying that a clear demarcation must be made between Tradition and traditionalism, a distinction that was as clear as

possible in the vision of the members of Rugul Aprins. Thus, while the first one transgresses the spatial-temporal boundaries and encrypts a transcendent sense that escapes the ideologies of the time and imposes a living „in faith and concomitantly open to the universality of culture” [14], traditionalism is associated with a conservatism isolated in a perishable ideological form (religious, political etc.), a repetitive and, most of the times, blocking (see „stumbling block”) and non-fertile one. In front of the devastating flood of a time of rapid change, the man of modern times, being thrown into the context of a society subjected to an intense process of Sovietization, sought for his landmarks, points of support and stability. The answer was, therefore, a personal choice, an inner need to regain self-awareness, the force of discernment in a world in which the ladder of values was subjected to a chaotic, aberrant reconsideration. This is why the intellectuals, laymen and clergymen, grouped within the protective walls of the Monastery of Antim, committed themselves to the fight of the unveiling of the *vicious circle of blindness* through the Holy Mysteries: „Once fixed (...) in his new enclosure of life, Sandu Tudor (...) continued to exercise his „poetic” passion, we would say, of searching for – and over – the evidence, for what is waiting, being hidden, to come to light. Thus, together with Father Benedict and all the others, he resumed, scrutinizing, the reading of the Testament of Antim Ivireanul. In fact, the founder revealed, in a few last lines, the „instaurative” places we talked about above, the crossroads of his destiny, and entrusted them to those who, after him, would understand. (...) The „opening”, at that time, of the Testament of Antim immediately led to the decision to transpose the four figures invoked by him in the mosaic, in order to be placed on both sides of the entrance to the sanctuary (...)” [15].

Regarding the official recognition, through the Court, of the Rugul Aprins Association, the memorialistic literature offers distinct points of view. The Metropolitan Antonie Plămădeală, Father André Scrima and Mihai Rădulescu argue that the Association was not legally recognized. Thus, Mihai Rădulescu stated that the idea of an Association with legal status arose during a spiritual retreat, in Govora, in the summer of 1946, but the authorities did not approve its establishment [16]. Along the same line, Father André Scrima noted that, following the reading of the Security Archive, he discovered Sandu Tudor’s intentions to register the Association legally, which, in his opinion, constituted an unsuccessful step [17]. Metropolitan Antonie Plămădeală stated, in turn, that he did not know if the Rugul Aprins „had an Association character, with an official status and recognition through the Court. I think that rather not” [18].

A diametrically opposed position was adopted by Gheorghe Vasilescu, who stated the following: „In 1946, he [Sandu Tudor] registered this movement at the Court, as a spiritual association under the name of „Rugul Aprins”. Being recognized as a legal entity, it has acquired legal status and the right to hold public conferences in an authorized setting, that is, within a church [19]. Unpublished documents, discovered in the Archive of the Monastery of Antim and of the Archdiocese of Bucharest, gathered in *The mystery of the Rugul Aprins. Unpublished writings and documents*, a volume which was edited by Professor Gheorghe Vasilescu, contain information that motivates the above-mentioned appreciation. For example, in the letter addressed to Patriarch Nicodim, of February 12, 1946, bearing the signature of the journalist and writer Sandu Tudor, of the university professors Alexandru Mironescu and Anton Dumitriu, of the doctors Vasile Voiculescu and Gheorghe Dabija, as well as of the publicist and writer Paul Sterian, the following information is mentioned: „Today we are taking a step further, establishing ourselves in an association, recognized as a legal entity, under the name of „Rugul Aprins al Maicii Domnului” („The Burning Bush of the Virgin Mary” [20].

„RUGUL APRINS” ASSOCIATION IN THE FILES OF THE SECURITY

The consultation of the Archives of CNSAS brings forth new evidence that is able to elucidate this problem, which, as it appears from the previous rows, has generated multiple and variable solutions. Thus, the sheets of file no. 012956, Documentary fund, contain edifying data on this subject. In this way, from the sheet 2 of the above-mentioned file the author finds that on February 9, 1946, the President of the Ilfov Court, Civil Section I, submitted the application registered under number 9423 to the Minister of Internal Affairs, in which the following was specified: „We have the honor to submit you the constitutive document and the statute of the Association „RUGUL APRINS”, with headquarters in Bucharest, Antim Monastery, on Antim street, asking you to give your opinion on granting the legal personality for the term of February 27, 1946 (File no. 580/946)” [21]. From the document no. 803, of May 5, 1947, at f. 1, Documentary fund, file no. 012956, the author finds out that through the Cabinet of the Minister of Internal Affairs, PPC requested from the General Directorate of Police the information regarding the members of the association’s establishment committee, with the mention: „that Mr. Minister Undersecretary of State Marin Florescu recommends this association for you to give your approval [22]”.

On May 12, 1947, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Directorate of the Security Police, the Secretariat Service, Office 1, requests from the Prefecture of the Capital Police for relations regarding the association and, of course, the persons who belong to it: „We have the honor to send you, the constitutive document and the statute of the Association „RUGUL APRINS”, with the request to report relations on the association, of those who signed the constitutive act as well as your opinion on granting legal personality” [23]. After a few weeks – on May 28, 1947 – they resend it, this time also setting a deadline: „We have the honor to ask you to report within 48 hours the result of our order no. 5189 S of May 12, 1947, regarding the association „RUGUL APRINS”” [24].

The opinion will be a negative one, the vigilance of the communist authorities not being *fooled* by the unusual of this organization, whose functioning reasons did not fit the totalitarian ideology. The motivation of this negative resolution referred to the provisions of art. 10, art. 32, art. 34 of the law of legal persons. Thus, related to the art. 32, the following inconsistencies were stipulated: „a. It is not composed of a minimum of 20 persons (it is composed only of 12 persons); b. An organizational spirit and a corporate will for achieving a well-defined purpose does not result from the statute with clarity; c. The association does not possess any initial assets, which would create the possibility of a concrete action or the dissemination of the proposed aim; d. By art. 2 point c. of the statute, the association foresees the increase of the assets through donations, subsidies and other similar incomes” [25].

The violation of the art. 10 was registered on the same line of the failure to constitute the guarantee [26]. It is appropriate to add the following mentions: The association’s committee had only 6 persons, respectively: „1.-VASILE VASILACHE, the Abbot of the Antim Monastery; 2.-GHIUȘ BENEDICT, born in 1904, in the commune of Domnești-Putna, priest, domiciled on the Antim street, no. 29; 3.-BUJOR NICOLAE, born in 1915 in Piatra Neamț, student, domiciled on Doinei str., no. 7; 4.-General TETRAT TRAIAN, born in 1893 in Ploiești, pensioner, domiciled on the Antim street, no. 23; 5.-STERIAN PAUL, born in Bucharest in 1904, former secretary general at the Ministry of National Economy during the legionary regime, domiciled on G.-ral Cristian Tell street, no. 31; 6.-SANDU TUDOR, journalist, reported after 23 August for reactionary propaganda” [27].

Another six were added to these, as the members of the initiative committee: Sofian Boghiu, Gherasim Cristea, Teodor Bragalia, Alexandru Mironescu, T. Rădulescu and Dumitru-Mircea Ionescu [28]. The abbot of the Antim Monastery at that time – Father

Vasile Vasilache was appointed as the president of the Association [29].

At the same time, the purpose of such an organization was interpreted as unclear and certainly inadequate to a cultural and socio-political context dominated by censorship and conferences on the obsessive theme of the *benefits* of communism and of the *friendship* from the East: „2.-Also, does not comply with the provisions of art. 34, in the sense that the object and the purpose of the association are not clearly stated in the statute, and the amount of contributions is not fixed. Regarding the usefulness of the association, no element of support can be established by the statute due to the confusion of the terms of rendering the proposed aim of the association” [30].

The conclusion was clear: The Association did not meet the legal criteria for setting up, especially since two of the people who signed for the constitution committee „had an undemocratic political conduct” [31] (an aspect that, the author believes, played a decisive role in establishing the resolution). The two persons were Sandu Tudor, next to whose name was mentioned that after August 23 he was detained for „reactionary propaganda”, and Paul Sterian, who was mentioned as „secretary general at the Ministry of National Economy, during the legionary regime” [32].

Moreover, within the trial of group „Teodorescu Alex. and others”, Father Daniil Sandu Tudor declared in front of the investigator that the Association was legally established. Thus, at the interrogation of August 12, 1958, starting at 8.00 and ending at 13.30, to the question „Declare, what hostile activity did you carry out against the democratic-popular state system of the RPR?” he answered: „Since 1945, when I was a monk within the Antim monastery in Bucharest, I founded an association under the name of „Rugul Aprins” [33]. It is interesting that in the *Interrogation minutes* of September 1, 1958, Father Daniil stated that: „In 1946, I founded the association „Rugul Aprins” at the Antim monastery in Bucharest” [34]. Thus, the mere analogy between the aforementioned documents proves the inconsistency of the year of establishment: 1945/1946. The author would like to remind the reader that the intellectual training of the officials of the repressive apparatus, as a rule, was a precarious one, so that the error, in the author’s opinion, belongs to the investigator. One could not ignore the possibility that the error appeared also from an excess of zeal, characteristic of the Communist Securitate’s organs, the one year advance of the fact that, in the terminology of the wooden language, is part of the hostile activity directed against the democratic-popular state system of the RPR, attracting correspondent consequences.

In the *written Notes* addressed to the President of the Court, in order the appeal to be approved, Father Dumitru Stăniloae referred to the statements of the founding members of the Association, who had stated, during the investigation, the legal personality of the organization: „On sheet 31 of vol. I, the declaration is made by the co-defendant Teodorescu Alexandru, who states that in 1945 he is the one who (as – then the abbot of the Antim Monastery in Bucharest [35]), along with the priest Ghiuș Vasile Benedict, with Boghiu Serghie Sofian (the abbot of the Plumbuita Monastery) and with professor Alexandru Mironescu, founded in Bucharest the religious association „Rugul Aprins”, by a constitutive act, authenticated by the Ilfov Court, the Notarial Section, the association being registered in the register of moral and legal persons of the Court. I never knew about this association, because at that time (1945), I was in Sibiu, moving to Bucharest only in the autumn of 1947, when, shortly afterwards (at the beginning in 1948, following the statements of the same Teodorescu Alexandru) the association was dissolved” [36].

INSTEAD OF CONCLUSIONS

Therefore, even if Sandu Tudor and his friends did not get discouraged by the unfriendly socio-political context and insisted on giving the Association a legal personality, as most of the memorialists appreciated, this could not be accomplished. However, the legal non-recognition did not undermine the legitimacy of the Rugul Aprins, a spiritual group whose vital coordinates had reasons completely different from those of legal, social or political proximity. The testimonies of the leaders of Rugul Aprins confirm the inclusion of the group in a particular trajectory, capable to offer benchmarks and stability to the man, even in that context in which the values were translated through a communist, totalitarian and anti-Christian magnifying glass.

Ultimately, the accurate researches of the recent past have revealed that despite the low, ignoble stakes of the communist regime – specific, after all, to any other dictatorship – the Romanian people had an impressive number (perhaps, surprising for some) of people who had resisted. Obviously, not all biographies belong to the moral, spiritual framework. Sure, it is important to have a water breakdown, but, in the author’s opinion, the effort of clarification should not be directed towards guilt, stigmatization, the discovery of other confirmations of the fallen nature of the human, but precisely to bring to the light the mechanisms, the ingredients of resistance. In fact, all totalitarian regimes rely on human misery precisely to keep themselves in power through fear, terror and mutual dislike. Therefore, the great lesson that these martyrs from

the communist prisons had left is that of resisting to any kind of incarnation of evil. Researching recent history offers the opportunity to recognize these exceptional people who were not afraid to stand up against a formidable force, even if this „pride” cost their lives. As only this model legitimizes people today and always. People are acquiring another posture when they know that before them there were people like Father Daniil Sandu Tudor, models who show them that, by faith, they can remain untouched, regardless of the dramatically major historical context. People increase their self-esteem, increase their awareness of belonging to those before them and suddenly acquire a vertebra, they begin to possess an inner substance that they

give to them. The model of these very strong beings, whose existence inspires, demands, raises, must reach the children, the young people, because they can be a source of authentic civility. In life, the most important persons that people meet are those who lift them above the ordinary model, who pull them out of their comfort zone, tearing them from superficiality, from ignorance. The examples left by these people, who died as martyrs in the communist prisons, saved Romanians in history from the mediocrity that was imputed to them. This is why the author thinks that they deserve all the gratitude and respect.

NOTES

- [1] Braga, Arhim. Roman (1995). Rugul Aprins [The Burning Bush]. In *Pe drumul credinței [On the path of faith]*. Mănăstirea Adormirea Maicii Domnului, Rives Junction, MI, SUA: HDM Press, p. 176.
- [2] Braga, Arhim. Roman (1995). Rugul Aprins [The Burning Bush]. In *Pe drumul credinței [On the path of faith]*. Mănăstirea Adormirea Maicii Domnului, Rives Junction, MI, SUA: HDM Press, p. 176.
- [3] See Oprea, Marius (2008). *Adevărata călătorie a lui Zahei. V. Voiculescu și Taina Rugului Aprins [Zahei's True Journey. V. Voiculescu and the Mystery of Rugul Aprins (The Burning Bush)]*. Bucharest: Humanitas, pp. 47-48.
- [4] Braga, Arhim. Roman (1995). Rugul Aprins [The Burning Bush]. In *Pe drumul credinței [On the path of faith]*. Mănăstirea Adormirea Maicii Domnului, Rives Junction, MI, SUA: HDM Press, p. 176.
- [5] Braga, Arhim. Roman (1995). Rugul Aprins [The Burning Bush]. In *Pe drumul credinței [On the path of faith]*. Mănăstirea Adormirea Maicii Domnului, Rives Junction, MI, SUA: HDM Press, p. 176.
- [6] Scrima, Pr. André (2012). *Timpul Rugului Aprins [The Time of the Rugul Aprins]*. Bucharest: Ed. Humanitas, p. 149.
- [7] Pleșu, Andrei (2012). Prefață [Foreword]. In Scrima, Pr. André, *Timpul Rugului Aprins [The Time of the Rugul Aprins]*. Bucharest: Ed. Humanitas, p. 16.
- [8] Scrima, Pr. André (2012). *Timpul Rugului Aprins [The Time of the Rugul Aprins]*. Bucharest: Ed. Humanitas, p. 132.
- [9] Tudor, Ieroschimonahul Daniil Sandu (1999). *Taina Rugului Aprins. Scrieri și documente inedite [The mystery of the Rugul Aprins. Unpublished writings and documents]*. Bucharest: Ed. Anastasia, p. 96: "At Your Very Reverence Report, we inform you that His Beatitude The Patriarch deigned to approve the reception within the inhabitants of that holy monastery, as a brother, of Mr. Sandu Tudor, who wishes to devote himself to the monastic life".
- [10] Ciornea, Carmen (2015). Interviu cu Părintele Nicolae Bordașiu [Interview with Father Nicolae Bordașiu]. In Ciornea, Carmen, *Chipul Rugului Aprins [The Image of the Rugul Aprins]*. Bucharest: Ed. Eikon, p. 250: „Probably he was richer, I do not know elements of his life, but I know that with his own money and with what he gathered from the acquaintances and the friends from back then, from the communist time, he repaired the church of Antim and gave it a beautiful appearance”.
- [11] Tudor, Ieroschimonahul Daniil Sandu (1999). *Taina Rugului Aprins. Scrieri și documente inedite [The mystery of the Rugul Aprins. Unpublished writings and documents]*. Bucharest: Ed. Anastasia, pp. 89-90: „...committee consisting of: Mr. General Gh. Iorgulescu, Mr. General Gh. Stratilescu, Mr. General Traian Tetrat, Mr. Professor Al. Mironescu, Mr. Professor Anton Dumitriu and Mr. Sandu Tudor, publicist and writer”.
- [12] Plămădeală, Antonie (2002). *Rugul Aprins [The Burning Bush]*. Sibiu: Ed. Archiepiscopiei Sibiului, electronic edition, p. 28.
- [13] Scrima, Pr. André (2012). *Timpul Rugului Aprins [The Time of the Rugul Aprins]*. Bucharest: Ed. Humanitas, p. 150.
- [14] Scrima, Pr. André (2012). *Timpul Rugului Aprins [The Time of the Rugul Aprins]*. Bucharest: Ed. Humanitas, p. 150.
- [15] Scrima, Pr. André (2012). *Timpul Rugului Aprins [The Time of the Rugul Aprins]*. Bucharest: Ed. Humanitas, pp. 133-134.
- [16] Rădulescu, Mihai (2008) *Rugul Aprins de la mănăstirea Antim la Aiud [Rugul Aprins from Antim Monastery to Aiud]*, II ed. Bucharest: Sfânta Mănăstire Antim, p. 139.
- [17] Scrima, Pr. André (2012). *Timpul Rugului Aprins [The Time of the Rugul Aprins]*. Bucharest: Ed. Humanitas, p. 192.
- [18] Plămădeală, Antonie (2002). *Rugul Aprins [The Burning Bush]*. Sibiu: Ed. Archiepiscopiei Sibiului, electronic edition, p. 14.
- [19] See Vasilescu, Gheorghe (1999). Cuvânt înainte [Foreword]. In Tudor, Ieroschimonahul Daniil Sandu, *Taina Rugului Aprins. Scrieri și documente inedite [The mystery of the Rugul Aprins. Unpublished writings and documents]*. Bucharest: Ed. Anastasia, p. 12.
- [20] Tudor, Ieroschimonahul Daniil Sandu (1999). *Taina Rugului Aprins. Scrieri și documente inedite [The mystery of the Rugul Aprins. Unpublished writings and documents]*. Bucharest: Ed. Anastasia, p. 92.
- [21] A.C.N.S.A.S., Documentary fund, file no. 012956, f. 2.
- [22] A.C.N.S.A.S., Documentary fund, file no. 012956, f. 1.
- [23] A.C.N.S.A.S., Documentary fund, file no. 012956, f. 3.
- [24] A.C.N.S.A.S., Documentary fund, file no. 012956, f. 4.
- [25] A.C.N.S.A.S., Documentary fund, file no. 012956, f. 5, f. 7.

- [26] „Art. 10 of the law of the legal persons, however, conditions this possibility of the associations by the authorization by Royal Decree, given on the basis of a Journal of the Council of Ministers, an authorization that the association must possess in advance” (A.C.N.S.A.S., Documentary fund, file no. 012956, f. 5, f. 7).
- [27] A.C.N.S.A.S., Documentary fund, file no. 012956, f. 7.
- [28] A.C.N.S.A.S., Documentary fund, file no. 012956, f. 5.
- [29] A.C.N.S.A.S., Documentary fund, file no. 012956, f. 5.
- [30] A.C.N.S.A.S., Documentary fund, file no. 012956, f. 5, f. 7.
- [31] A.C.N.S.A.S., Documentary fund, file no. 012956, f. 5, f. 7.
- [32] «Consequently, from the above-mentioned it appears that the association does not fulfill the legal conditions of establishment in terms of the number of members, and art. 32 and 34 entirety, and regarding the initiative committee, it does not fully present the guarantees required by the law” (A.C.N.S.A.S., Documentary fund, file no. 012956, f. 6, f. 7).
- [33] A.C.N.S.A.S., Criminal fund, file no. 000202, vol.1, f. 29.
- [34] A.C.N.S.A.S., Criminal fund, file no. 000202, vol.1, f. 37.
- [35] The author points out the inaccuracy of the information: Father Daniil Sandu Tudor never had the status of abbot of the Antim Monastery.
- [36] A.C.N.S.A.S., Criminal fund, file no. 000202, vol. 4, ff. 153-154.