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# FROM ALEXANDRU TEODORESCU TO SANDU TUDOR. BIOGRAPHICAL BENCHMARKS

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## Abstract

*Sandu Tudor's activity as a member of the Association of Romanian Christian Students, his involvement in the academic environment of the period, respectively in the various student movements, has been a less researched topic. Historiography so far has offered only few milestones which are rather empirical and factual; a circumstantial interpretation would configure a clear dimension of what was, from this perspective, Sandu Tudor: an influence factor that moved the Orthodox Christian message from the sphere of symbolic communication to the public space. The objective of the paper is to bring to the public space conclusive evidence of Sandu Tudor's involvement in the events and debates related to the Romanian Orthodox Church in the first interwar decade. A large part of the research lies in the discovery of evidence relevant to understanding the events of the above-mentioned period; documents from the secret police's archives were collected and selected and then, as their acuity cannot be taken for granted, corroborated with other types of sources - from specialized works on interwar Romania to confessional literature. The material was shaped and reshaped critically until the personality of Sandu Tudor emerged free from myths and prejudices. The present study aims to add another piece to the puzzle posed by the mystery of the personality of Sandu Tudor, and also to complete and colour the picture of Great Romania in the first decade of the interwar period.*

**JEL Classification:** I20; K49; Z12

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## INTRODUCTION

The unique character of Father Daniil Sandu Tudor, a large-scale personality, grew and developed intellectually in the fertile and diverse environment of interwar Romania whose key word was modernization. He was the source of many volumes, studies and research approaches, which appeared after 1990. Attempts to reconstruct his biography have generated various controversies and split his supporters over the years. Most of the people who have dedicated their work to this multifaceted personality (be they historians, theologians, or men of letters) used him as a model of resistance of the Romanian Orthodox Church under various political totalitarian regimes (Carol's, Antonescu's or communists') (Traian Basescu, 2006). However, honesty also obliges us to acknowledge the presence of those who have expressed a different point of view and are reticent to the sustainability of his future and possible sanctification.

The paper considers that, although Sandu Tudor has been the subject of lots of studies he still remains an impossible case to elucidate, an enigma, and his rough evaluation cannot generate positive effects, even in the short term. It is noted here that extreme views, exaggerations, which may take either the form of mythologization or minimization, remain outside effective and honest research.

The destiny of an unabashed fighter, of an intransigent man who was not afraid of differences – his acid, *biting* language from his journalism activity which sometimes bluntly touched the egos of many- seems likely to stir controversy even today. It is tempting to use the analogy between the names that recognized and valued his identity throughout its progression, and the steps of his ascent to his confession, as if those steps needed statutory recognition, delimitation or why not, a nominal stratification. **Alexandru Teodorescu** (his real name from civil registration) is recognized as a publicist and writer under the pseudonym of **Sandu Tudor**, but once he gave up worldly issues in order to follow the bright path of the monastic life, he received as in the secular life two other names, **The Monk Agaton** becoming upon receiving the great change the **Hieroschimonah Daniil**.

Coming back to his paradoxical reception of the general public, mentioned at the beginning of the paper without giving a detailed presentation of these antinomies, the majority of the refractory views bring up in the public space a series of inaccuracies related to his life as a common man before becoming Father Daniil Sandu Tudor. A few truths are worth mentioning, which unfortunately gave rise to controversies: Sandu Tudor had been a believer since his childhood, he had no children

and enjoyed a prosperous life only after 1933 (more precisely, the change in status is related to the position of the director of the newspaper "Capitala"). New evidence referring to the above-mentioned state has recently been published in "*The Face of the burning Pyre*" (Carmen Ciornea, 2015).

Therefore, the research area of this study, as the title reveals, is focused on the secular hypostasis of this polyvalent personality, his position as a monk being the subject of the following subchapters. What was at stake was bringing into the public space evidence of Sandu Tudor's involvement in the events and debates of the Romanian Orthodox Church during the first decade of the interwar period (Carmen, Ciornea, 2017).

In other words, as readers will be able to see below, the reconstruction of the ideas and images about the Church, Faith and nation of Sandu Tudor (*as an ASCR member*) will be achieved from the perspective of "*homo religious*", because from this stage before the monastic path, Sandu Tudor was seduced by the beauties of spiritual life and by the deep, hidden meanings of tradition, hence his openness to universality which, from his perspective, was in harmony with ethnocentrism.

At the same time, decoding the context in which Father Daniil Sandu Tudor formed his beliefs and attitudes, reconstructing his involvement and his connections with leading personalities of the Romanian and international theology or identifying his mentors and teachers proved to be an effective means to discover important ways of expression and understanding of the Orthodox Church at that time. In other words, the scanning of Sandu Tudor's life may provide a configuration of an enriched, and, at times, even a subversive picture of Great Romania, different from the one established by specialized literature.

The research underlying the paper revealed significant evidence relevant to understanding the events of the above-mentioned period. **Collecting, ordering and analysing documents from the archives** of the special services were essential for the shaping, reshaping, and clarifying **Sandu Tudor's personality on the basis of rational evidence, free from myths and prejudices**. Moreover, these readings help **set up a comprehensive view on student life between the two world wars, which involved a lot of actors and influential factors, where Sandu Tudor stands out** as a paradigm of strength through faith and culture, a link with the forms of resistance of the Orthodox Church in Romania of those times (Carmen Ciornea, 2017).

The acuity of archival documents should not be taken for granted and that is why corroboration with other types of sources was considered (specialized studies on interwar Romania and

confessional literature). In fact, the information collected through various sources allowed the verification and facilitated research through this intricate complex network of documents.

Balancing archival data with empirical research is essential both for understanding the phenomenon and for developing viable theoretical analyses. Why? Most of the time, the materials from the archives of special services and repression mix truth with lies given that their preparation served the secret police's own interests and obviously encapsulated a unique perspective. Therefore, the acuity of the data in the archives, the credibility of the information requires confrontation with oral history. As a result interviews were carried out with those who met Father of Daniil Sandu Tudor, or had any information or relevant documents related to the manner in which Sandu Toma adapted to the cultural, political, economic, social, cultural, and religious beliefs of the time (Carmen Ciornea, 2015).

Another source likely to offer a correct contextualization was the press of the time, especially since it favoured the meeting with the living presence of Sandu Tudor, who went through the multiple and disturbing metamorphoses of the Romanian interwar society. The efforts of the *forerunners*, historical researchers, theologians, philologists were not forgotten either; **books** illustrating his beliefs and opinions, fantasies and aspirations were of invaluable help: *The time of the Burning Pyre, The spiritual master in the tradition of the eastern orthodox* (Andrei Scrima, 2000), *The Hieroschemamonk Daniil Sandu Tudor, the man and his work* (Constantin Jinga, 2005), *The burning Pyre* (Antonie Plămădeală, 2002), and *The Real journey of Zahei* (Marius Oprea, 2008).

On the other hand, it should be underlined that Sandu Tudor's activity as a member of the Association of Romanian Christian Students, his involvement in the academic environment of the era, respectively in the various student movements was a less researched topic. Historiography so far has offered only a few milestones, which are rather empirical and factual; a complex interpretation is needed to configure a clear dimension of what was, from this perspective, Sandu Tudor, an influence factor that moved the Orthodox Christian's message from the sphere of symbolic communication into the public space.

In this context, the present study aims to add another piece to the puzzle posed by the mystery of this personality, Sandu Tudor, and thus complete the picture of Great Romania in the first decade of the interwar period.

## SANDU TUDOR- A CONTROVERSIAL INTERWAR CHARACTER

It is clear that Sandu Tudor's biography is not an easy goal to achieve for a number of reasons, which have been mentioned above. Then how is this chapter justified in the economics of the study? The paper did not mean to offer an exhaustive treatment of the subject or enter a polemic with those who wrote about this iconic personality. The handiest answer is that the effort to recover existential landmarks in the interwar period of our subject was based on bringing into the public space some documents, especially, from the archive C. N. S. A. S. which, until now were unknown. Moreover, as the title shows, the focus is on the activity carried out by Sandu Tudor in the first interwar decade, specifically as a member of the A. S. C. R. (the Association of Romanian Christian Students).

Another level, meant to complete the full presentation of an individual is his family; a family is like a microcosm. A family is able to encapsulate relevant aspects of the context in which one grows and develops and to generate a particular picture, perhaps even contrary to the current reception. How did we manage to discover certain enlightening aspects on this issue? It is appropriate here to give special thanks to our source, a relative of one of Sandu Tudor's wives, who, offered a number of unpublished documents and data but who, for personal reasons, wanted to remain anonymous.

Most of the aspects contained in these documents fall under the "*elitist fad*" category and were dealt with at the end of the previously published volume – "*Sandu Tudor and Christian student associations of interwar Romania*" (Carmen Ciornea, 2017). This has been considered a form of continuation and, implicitly, of deepening the research on this issue.

## SANDU TUDOR – "HOMO RELIGIOSUS" OR EXTRAVAGANT CHARACTER?

So, Alexandru Teodorescu (aka, Sandu Tudor), was born in Bucharest, on the 24th of December, 1896, (sources give two different birth dates: the 22nd and the 24th of December, 1896, the latter is always present, even in the edition cited of the *Memoirs*. Our option for December 24 has quantitative reasons, in the sense that its recurrence in archival documents is superior), as the son of Alexandru and Sofia Teodorescu. His closeness to God was instilled from the beginning of his life by his mother (A. C. N. S. A. S., criminal fund, file no. 013495, vol. 2, f. 11, f.149). Although coming from an educated family, his father was a magistrate, and, later, the president of the Court of Appeal in Ploiesti (to A. C. N. S. A. S., the substantive

Criminal law, case no. 013495, vol. 2, ff. 203-206) he went through hardships and trials since childhood (as stated in his *Memoirs*), his numerous family having no other source of life than the parents' wages. He attended primary school in Bucharest while he continued high school in Ploiesti, being among the leaders of his generation. His youth was marked by his happy meeting with Ion Niculescu Dacian, his history and philosophy teacher who, during his schooling, put the Gospel in his hand, opening a living and active path to primary truths. Even though he was not a faithful teenager he did not turn to lack of faith or atheism, he waited in his search for answers and then he became a fighter defending the values of the orthodox tradition. Probably at this early age, it was not possible, yet, to solve the mismatch between the mentality of his generation evolving into a magic-formal belief which got, at times, extreme, and the need to identify and understand the certainty of the Spirit and Truth, in the spirit instilled by his mother since his childhood.

And yet, even in this period of trials and profound changes, his mentor chosen by the Alexandru Teodorescu was a man whose life was governed by Christian values and the love of the nation: "Unlike the bourgeois skepticism and conformism which ruled everything in the first years of my childhood and schooling, my faith and its clarifications were revealed to me as an unshakable support and as true heroism by the old and famous, in those days, professor of history and philosophy, Ion Niculescu Dacian, my first guide. He put the Gospels in my hands and made me understand that piety, which many portray as weakness, is, on the contrary, courage and a test in life. His grip on me has been strong for the rest of his life. From his social Christianity, which shed light on the law of immanent justice in history, I learned to love deprived and ordinary people most and to understand the struggle of their cause" (A. C. N. S. A. S., criminal fund, file no. 013495, vol. 2, f. 203). The First World War took him away from school, so at just 18 years old, during his senior year of high school, he was drafted into the army. For five years he knew what dramas, sufferings, the fragility of the body and the eternity of the soul meant so that he subscribed to the spiritual values and meanings of earthly life. Having a strong personality, he coped with tough confrontations, which led to his advance to the rank of Second Lieutenant in 1916.

At the beginning of 1921, he was demobilized and settled in Bucharest, took up painting and, consequently, enrolled in the courses of the Academy of Fine Arts. More mature, he turned to philosophy and arts, perhaps, from the belief that through the harmony of painting and literature, God could reveal himself more clearly. The unbridled desire for study was also highlighted by his

participation in various courses of the Faculties of theology, philosophy, letters and law.

For financial reasons, he returned to Constanta, where his father was an adviser to the Court of Appeal. According to the data from the C. N. S. A. S. archive, in the period 1922-1923, he had a job at the City Hall in Constanta, working in the technical department (A. C. N. S. A. S., criminal fund, file no. 013495, vol. 2, f. 4). Later he joined the Romanian Maritime Service, as an assistant officer and successively worked on the ships "Emperor Traian", "The Carpathians" and "Turnu Severin" (A. C. N. S. A. S., criminal background, file no. 013495, vol. 2, ff. 5-6, f. 11, f.24). Forced to accept the post of a teacher in a secondary school in the village Fed, he worked there only three days a week, and he spent the rest of the time in the capital, "so as not to lose the connection with the environment, which is necessary for studying and emulation" (to A. C. N. S. A. S., the substantive Criminal law, case no. 013495, vol. 2, f. 204).

In the years 1924-1925, he joined the Contemporan literary group initiated by Ion Vinea, Marcel Iancu and Nicolae Cocea, and published in various publications as an avant-garde writer. The safety notes about Sandu Tudor's activity at the time include the following statement: "this group, in turn, received funds from left-wing organizations in France"[sic!] (A. C. N. S. A. S., criminal fund, file no. 013495, vol. 2, f. 12). His creative efforts will soon be channelled towards what best represented him—a defender of Christianity— as a journalist he noticed and wrote about the problems the Romanian Orthodox Church was facing at that time.

After the First World War, the direct confrontation state-church was replaced by a project to reinvent the latter. Against the backdrop of the weakening of the Russian Church as a result of the Bolshevik Revolution, the Romanian Church, which, after the Union of Greater Romania gathered together various orthodox Churches, became a real pillar of the Orthodoxy. In this context, the government, aware of the capital of the Romanian Orthodox Church, which comprised an impressive number of believers, encouraged it to become a Patriarchate (Elie Miron Cristea, 1999).

However, *the Statute* voted upon did not include the term of autonomy in relation to the state. Was it a strategy? Most likely, yes! The decision was a fairly transparent form (a strategy for) of subordination of the Church, aimed at strengthening the prestige and promoting the goals of the power who was more interested in creating a *manipulated* structure (George Enache, 2007). The State had two ways to maintain the dependence (vulnerability) of the Church: the first was the right to interfere in the matters related to the management of financial funds; the second – the right to get involved in the election of hierarchs.

These dangerous relations also produced the first crises with a major social impact, which did not escape the watchful eye of the press of the time. One of these circumspect publicists was Alexandru Teodorescu who, starting with 1925, would dedicate his attention and creative energy to this subject. He had a multifaceted personality with a diverse activity as a journalist, a poet, a member of several associations (*A.S.C.R.*, *Criterion*), the director of *Floarea de Foc* magazine and later of *Credința newspaper*. He was a remarkable and feared defender of Christianity, known to the general public under the pseudonym of Sandu Tudor.

In 1928, thanks to the intercession of Bishop Tit Simedrea, he travelled to Mount Athos, a journey funded by the patriarchy. The archive of C. N. S. A. S., includes information about Sandu Tudor, who, upon returning to the country, was housed in a cell in a monastery in St. Antim street. According to the same source, he was employed as a 'diurnist' (day labourer) at the City Hall in Chisinau where he carried out a prodigious activity as a journalist, especially, at Nichifor's '*Gandirea*' magazine. In October 1931, the publicist became the managing editor of a newspaper- he invited a group of intellectuals to his cell in Antim street and asked for them to contribute to a magazine that he intended to issue. His project became reality in December 1931, with the first issue of his publication, *Floarea de Foc (The Fire Flower)* (A. C. N. S. A. S., criminal fund, file no. 013495, vol. 2, f. 204). The collaborators were prominent personalities of the interwar cultural world, who were of heterogeneous political visions and saved the director of the publication from the risk of assuming any exclusive ideology: Alexandru Sahia, Ion Friar, Eugen Ionescu etc were known to have sympathy for the Left movement while Mircea Vulcănescu, Constantin Noica and Emil Cioran had expressed themselves in favour of the right movement.

Moreover, his refusal to submit to the current trend at the expense of the principles and ideas in which he believed, was also certified by the fact that during this period of ascension of far-right parties, Sandu Tudor organized together with Petre Constantinescu-Iași and Alexandru Mihăilescu an antifascist group, editing the antifascist Bulletin whose content was almost entirely by him.

On December 2, 1933, Teodorescu Alexandru founded the *Faith* newspaper, an independent newspaper, *promoting political and spiritual ideas*, founded as an anonymous society. At the same time, Sandu Tudor changed his way of life. The position of a managing editor of the aforementioned daily newspaper, which enjoyed a wide popularity, enabled him, over time, to enjoy a *luxury lifestyle* – he rented luxury apartments in the centre of the Capital, owned luxury cars, an

airplane and so on (A. C. N. S. A. S., criminal fund, file no. 013495, vol. 2, ff. 12-13). Thus, many biographies, when referring to the interwar period, characterised him as an eccentric adventurer, a lover of luxury, a dandy who subsequently underwent a deep inner metamorphosis. The miraculous conversion had, according to their vision, sensational reasons. It is enough to recall here two of them to see how fragile the distinction between exaggerated and ridiculous aspects can be: the fall by plane and, respectively, the trip to Mount Athos. Both events were real. The inaccuracy lies in exaggerating their role because Sandu Tudor's Christian vocation had been recognized long before these facts.

### DOCUMENTS IN DEFENCE OF STUDENT SANDU TUDOR

As noted, Sandu Tudor's tumultuous existence was put under a magnifying glass by many researchers, especially after 1990; there are few interwar Romanian personalities who can boast such a rich biography. Most of the authors of these studies knew him directly. Since Sandu Tudor's imposing and polyvalent personality sparked numerous controversies, when he was alive and after his death, it is no wonder that those who had the privilege to be his contemporaries and to be around him felt the need to elucidate certain aspects of his development. However, his life still keeps many things unclear which have, in some cases, generated erroneous assessments, especially related to the man who failed in his marriages three times. A relative of one of Alexandru Teodorescu's wives gave us a series of documents. Thus, the year 1925 marked the change of civil status of Alexandru Teodorescu, marrying Virginia Gheorghiu (Carmen Ciornea, 2015). Born in 1898 in Azuga, Virginia grew up in a large family (6 children: three girls and three boys); her father was a railwayman by profession. Virginia graduated from the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters in Bucharest in 1930. A closer look at this latest information is likely to generate important clues about the ambiguity of his state as a university graduate. According to documents from the Archives of the C. N. S. A. S. from June 2, 1950, Sandu Tudor, who, in the meantime, received the name of Monk Agathon, was arrested (R. N. C. S., A. A. S., Criminal background, file no. 013495, vol. 1, f. 241). A few weeks later, more precisely on 11 July 1950, he was sent to Jilava Penitentiary (A. C. N. S. A. S., criminal fund, file no. 013495, vol. 2, f. 160). The prosecutor's Office of the Bucharest Court had issued the arrest warrant in the name of Alexandru Teodorescu (Sandu Tudor) as early as 1948 (A. C. N. S. A. S., criminal fund, file no. 013495, vol. 1, f. 241). The minutes of Sandu Tudor's preliminary

interrogation which was completed on July 12, 1950, (A. C. N. S. A. S., criminal fund, file no. 013495, vol. 1, f. 14), included the standard question – *Do you have any studies?* – to which he replied: "*licensed in philosophy*" (A. C. N. S. A. S., criminal fund, file no. 013495, vol. 1, f. 14). However, the simple combination of this information with the fact that his wife, Virginia had a degree in Philosophy and Letters (also in his "*Face of the burning Pyre*" - Ciornea, 2015) and with the *notes* of the secret police, Securitate, which stated that "Alexandru has a degree in literature and Philosophy," ( with A. C. N. S. A. S., the substantive Criminal law, case no. 013495, vol. 2, f. 63, f. 65, f. 76, f. 90, f. 149, f. 170) can dispel any doubts related to his degree in Philosophy.

The analysis of the relationship between the spouses through the prism of common values, goals and cultural-social activities works bilaterally. In other words, this paper focused on Sandu Tudor's ASCR activity also proved Virginia's involvement in the student movement, archival documents revealing her image as a representative of the Girls' Christian Association (A. C. N. S. A. S., Documentary Fund, file no. 010769, vol. 1, ff. 30-38).

The marriage lasted 6 years, the parting letter signed by Sandu Tudor in the upper right corner of the page is dated 8.03.1931. However, according to the data provided by the family, the divorce was pronounced later, most likely in 1933.

Virginia' intellectual education is evident from the mere enumeration of her jobs: she was an employee of the National Institute of Exports (1930-1935), and worked at the Ministry of National Economy (1935-1938), the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1939-1942) and, finally, the Ministry of Industry, tourism and Commerce (1945-1946) (Carmen, Ciornea, 2015). In the midst of the war, in September 1943, Virginia Gheorghiu was sent to Madrid and then she worked in our embassy in Rome.

After the end of World War II, she made the decision not to return to Romania. Virginia was in touch with many Romanian intellectuals who had chosen exile (Theodor Cazaban, George Ciorănescu, Alexandru Ciorănescu, Iosif Constantin Drăgan). She held various jobs. According to the documents of the foundation, published by the historian Matei Cazacu (Matei Cazacu, 2007), Virginia became George Ciorănescu's secretary at the Royal Carol I University Foundation. In this way, her connection with the exiled Romanian intellectuals was validated by the rich correspondence published by Matei Cazacu. The mission they assumed was to save the Romanian literary values, infected by the ideological oppression of communism (Mihai Niculescu, 1955).

Even though she went into exile driven by a deep sense of duty in the service of liberty – as reflected in her work, she gradually realised that her efforts did not have any echo, not even the result that she had expected. The post-World War II exile did not have the moral-political support of the Great Powers. In these conditions, most of the Romanians in exile acutely felt lonely and isolated, as confirmed by their memoirs. However, according to the testimonials of our source, Virginia made the decision to return to Romania with great difficulty. Only after receiving all assurances that she would be given her property back and that she would not suffer any damage did she return to Romania in 1965.

About 6 months after her repatriation, during which she was hosted by her sister's family in Bucharest, she recovered her property, a small studio apartment in the capital. Virginia Gheorghiu' beauty, refinement and distinction are also certified by photos. She kept some poems and the farewell letter from her ex-husband, Sandu Tudor, until she died. This section of the memoirs and the text of two poems (Carmen Ciornea, 2015), which were definitely written by her highlight her polyvalent personality, depth and spiritual intelligence. Living next to Sandu Tudor involved establishing multiple ties with numerous Romanian intellectuals of the interwar period, which also marked her life.

## CONCLUSIONS

Where do all these clues lead us? They confirm the profile of the authentic Christian Sandu Tudor; his profile is reinforced by the text of the letter in which its writer demonstrates the ability to look into his inner feelings from this perspective, even in those times of disorder when the separation from his wife had become an inevitable reality. The lines that compose this letter (Carmen Ciornea, 2015) reveal a sensitive complex man, but who, above all, subordinated his entire existence to the Orthodox Christian principles.

Regardless of the reasons that led to the separation of the two spouses the following facts remain: the ex-wife and her family kept a vivid memory of the thinker, the poet, the journalist and the mystic Sandu Tudor, quantified either in terms of the documents that we have today, or the image of the Athos mountain icon guarding their home (his gift), or through their efforts to save Father Daniil Sandu Tudor's poetical work (A.C.N.S.A.S., fond Penal, file no. 000202, vol. 6, ff. 430-431), considering, we believe, that it would be a great loss for Romanians if they did not pass them on to future generations.

## REFERENCES

- 1] Basescu, Traian (2006), "an illegitimate and criminal regime", in: *Revista 22*, no. 876, December 2006. President Traian Basescu, in his speech to Parliament condemning the communist regime, also refers to Sandu Tudor, whom he calls "a martyr of the Church".
- [2] Ciornea, Carmen (2015), *The Face Of The Burning Pyre*, Ed. Eikon, Bucharest, pp. 273-295. See the chapter "a new leaf in Sandu Tudor's biography" in which we published the farewell letter addressed to his wife, Virginia Teodorescu (née Gheorghiu), which we consider to be yet another proof of Sandu Tudor's authentic Christian profile, able to lucidly scrutinize his experiences from this perspective, even in those moments of disorder, when he separated from her. "I'm leaving to get reconciled with the Living Truth, with God. It's never too late. I will receive all humility as a sign of his love. Today I have a clean and clear sign that entitles me to believe that he has remembered me, for the little faith that I have always kept in my moments of wandering." The lines that compose this text reveal a sensitive complex man, but who, above all, subordinates his entire existence to the Orthodox Christian principles.
- [3] Ciornea, Carmen (2017), Sandu Tudor and Christian Student Associations in interwar Romania, Ed. Eikon, Bucharest [*Sandu Tudor and Christian Student Associations in interwar Romania*, Eikon Publishing House, Bucharest].
- [4] Ciornea, Carmen (2017), Sandu Tudor and Christian Student Associations in interwar Romania, Ed. Eikon, Bucharest, pp. 129-354 [*Sandu Tudor and Christian Student Associations in the interwar Romania*, Eikon Publishing House, Bucharest, pp. 129-354].
- [5] Ciornea, Carmen (2015), *Face Of The Burning Pyre*, Ed. Eikon, Bucharest.
- [6] Fencing, Pr. Andrei (2000), *The Time Of The Burning Pyre. Spiritual master in the Eastern tradition*, the second edition reviewed, (preface by Andrei Pleșu, volume edited by Anca Manolescu), Ed. Humanitas, Bucharest.
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- [9] Oprea, Marius (2008), *Zahei's true journey*, Ed. Humanitas, Bucharest.
- [10] Ciornea, Carmen (2017), Sandu Tudor and Christian Student Associations in interwar Romania, Ed. Eikon, Bucharest, pp. 129-354 [*Sandu Tudor, and Christian Student Associations in interwar Romania*, Eikon Publishing House, Bucharest, pp. 129-354].
- [11] The profile of the faithful practitioner of Alexandru Teodorescu's mother corroborated with the son's predilection for cultivating the prominent personalities of the Romanian Orthodox Church was a source of speculation, as certain informative notes show that Alexandru Teodorescu was the fruit of an illegitimate connection with Metropolitan Tit Simedrea: "Teodorescu Alexandru (Sandu Tudor), the director of the newspaper "Faith" is, currently an adviser to the High Court of Cassation in Bucharest. He is said to be the result of extramarital ties of Mrs. Teodorescu with the current Archimandrit Tit Simedrea [sic!] and this would be due to the special attention and support enjoyed by the Archimandrite" (A. C. N. S. A. S., criminal fund, file no. 013495, vol. 2, f. 11); "Teodorescu Alexandru, former journalist, known as SANDU TUDOR, former journalist at "Faith". He was born in Bucharest on 24 December 1896, the natural son of Archimandrite Tit Simedrea [sic!], the result of extramarital relations with Mrs. Teodorescu, as shown by the special attention and support enjoyed by Teodorescu Alexandru from the Archimandrite [sic!]" (A. C. N. S. A. S., criminal fund, file no. 013495, vol. 2, f. 149). Obviously, the regime of news and information provided by various security agents was shaped in such a way so as to provide spiritual and intellectual indignation. The above-cited fragments are an illustration of the disgusting way in which reality was twisted because the stakes were purely 'pugilistic': the disqualification of the subversive element.
- [12] See the *Autobiographical memoirs* signed by Monk Agaton Tudor at A. C. N. S. A. S., Criminal Background, file no. 013495, vol. 2, ff. 203-206.
- [13] See A. C. N. S. A. S., Criminal Background, file no. 013495, vol. 2, f. 203 or †Antonie Plamadeala, *The Burning Pyre*, Ed. Archdiocese of Sibiu, Sibiu, 2002, electronic edition, p. 7.
- [14] A. C. N. S. A. S., criminal fund, Case No. 013495, vol. 2, f. 4: "between 1922-1923 Sandu Tudor was in Constanța, where his father was a counsellor at the court. He had a job at the City Hall, in Constanta technical department. During this job, he had at one point an incident with the workers to whom he was paying their wages, who saw themselves frustrated in their rights "[sic!].
- [15] The informative notes at A. C. N. S. A. S., Criminal Background, file no. 013495, vol. 2, I reproduce this stage of young Alexander Teodorescu's growth in the following manner:"

after that he entered the Merchant Navy, where from a disciplinary point of view he had a detestable attitude; in this respect he was moved from several ships, Emperor Traian, Carpathians, Severin. He was an assistant board officer. According to his commander, Captain Elijah Drocan, today on the ship Princess Maria, he clearly showed the attitude of an unbalanced, unscrupulous, high-conflict, disobedient person. Captain Elijah Drocan beat him once. During a trip to the Levant he tried to kill himself. Dirty, unwashed on the ship for months, he had always been scolded over this negligence.”(FF. 5-6); " in July 1923, through the protection of his father, he entered as an assistant board officer at the S. M. R., without prior training. At the end of March 1924, he left the service by resigning after successively working on the ships: Emperor Traian, Tr. Severin and King Charles" (f.11): "during his time here, he was described as a mediocre, conflict, disobedient and careless person" (A. C. N. S. A. S., criminal fund, file no. 013495, vol. 2, f. 24). The content of these archival documents is, we believe, eloquent proof of how, under the incontrovertible wand of the secret police, any subject can be compromised. It is worth noting the clichés, the language without ideological content – blatant signs of “the wooden language”- that have become an art of ridicule. Predictably, the portrait of the victim was painted in a rudimentary, trivial manner designed to serve certain objectives.

- [16] A. C. N. S. A. S., Criminal Background, file no. 013495, vol. 2, f. 204.
- [17] A. C. N. S. A. S., criminal fund, Case No. 013495, vol. 2, f. 12.
- [18] Cristea, ElieMiron (1999), *Hidden notes: personal notes*, Ed. Dacia, Cluj-Napoca, 1999, passim
- [19] Enache, George (2007), "the issue of autonomy in the parliamentary debates of 1925, concerning the law on the organization of the Romanian Orthodox Church", in: INTER. *Romanian Journal of theological and Religious Studies*, year I, no. 1-2, Cluj-Napoca, 2007, pp. 302-313.
- [20] A. C. N. S. A. S., criminal fund, Case No. 013495, vol. 2, f. 204.
- [21] In the notes of 27 august 1937 the agent specified: "... Sandu Tudor ( ... ) renting a luxury apartment in No.9 Bolinteanu Street and now behind 44 C. A. Rosetti Street”(A. C. N. S. A. S., criminal fund, file no. 013495, vol. 2, f. 12), concluding his document in the same nuance: "currently having important funds at his disposal makes exaggerated expenses and seeks to procure money in any way [sic!]"(A. C. N. S. A. S., criminal fund, file no ” 013495, vol. 2, f. 13).
- [22] Ciornea, Carmen (2015), *The Face Of The Burning Pyre*, Ed. Eikon, Bucharest, pp. 273-295: new book of the biography of Alexandru Teodorescu, completed by the contribution of a relative of Virginia Gheorghiu.
- [23] See The *Arrest Warrant* No. 2961/948 issued by the prosecutor's Office of the Bucharest Court, cabinet I, War Criminals training. The motivation of the prosecution, which we can find in the above-quoted document, was formulated in the following terms: "( ... ) Teodorescu Alexandru, aka Sandu Tudor, a publicist, residing in Bucharest, 11 Cernica Street, accused of committing crimes against humanity, as by the announcement he made and by his acts he caused the application of cruel treatments to persons under investigation and searched for communist activity”(A. C. N. S. A. S., criminal fund, File No.11). 013495, vol. 1, f. 241).
- [24] See *The note* of the capital's Security Directorate no. 43/21494 of the 11th of July, 1950, the Prison of Jilava: "I move along with Alexandru said, Sandu Tudor, a monk, a former journalist, with a last known address in the village of Crasna, Gorj county, that has been condemned to hard labour for life, by the Prosecutor's office of the Court of Bucharest, Nr. 2961 of 1948, for war crimes”(A. C. N. S. A. S., criminal fund, file no. 013495, vol. 2, f. 160).
- [25] A. C. N. S. A. S., criminal fund, Case No. 013495, vol. 1, f. 241.
- [26] A. C. N. S. A. S., criminal fund, Case No. 013495, vol. 1, f. 14.
- [27] A. C. N. S. A. S., Criminal Background, file no. 013495, vol. 1, f. 14.
- [28] Ciornea, Carmen (2015), *The Face Of The Burning Bush*, Ed. Eikon, Bucharest, p. 280.
- [29] A. C. N. S. A. S., criminal fund, Case No. 013495, vol. 2, f. 63, f. 65, f. 76, f. 90, f. 149 and F. 170 (we mention that this last page is from the 1958 detention file, which, under the heading studies, only specifies: "*Faculty of letters*").
- [30] A. C. N. S. A. S., Documentary Fund, file no. 010769, vol. 1, ff. 30-38.
- [31] Ciornea, Carmen (2015), *The Face Of The Burning Pyre*, Ed. Eikon, Bucharest, p. 275 and P. 290.
- [32] Cazacu, Matei (2007), *George Ciorănescu and Romanian exile: documents from the archive of the Royal University Foundation Carol I*, Ed. Romanian Cultural Institute, Bucharest.
- [33] Niculescu, Mihai (1955), *Man and Earth in the light of our literature*, Ed. The Royal University Foundation Carol I, Paris, (with a preface by Basil Munteanu) – one of the most valuable Romanian literary anthologies edited in exile.



- [34] Ciornea, Carmen (2015), *The Face Of The Burning Pyre*, Ed. Eikon, Bucharest, pp. 294-295.
- [35] Ciornea, Carmen (2015), *The Face Of The Burning Pyre*, Ed. Eikon, Bucharest, pp. 281-283, 285-287.
- [36] The explanatory Notes drawn up by the confidential informant introduced into the cell of Father Daniil Sandu Tudor, in 1958: "I think that the reasons for his detention might be due to the following facts: He has an apprentice (as he called him, without telling me his name)[it's Pr. Andrei Scrima] who is in Paris. He began to publish in the French press some articles in which he also talks about him. The way he presents him would pose some risk to him at this time. His ex-wife is also in Paris, with a teacher, Ciorănescu from the Sorbonne (I don't know if there is anything to do with Emil Cioran, because he was called Ciorănescu); they decided to make an anthology of Romanian literature. There are also some of his books among the works they need for this purpose; as they do not have them at hand, his ex-wife wrote to her sister in Bucharest to procure them from him and send them in Paris. It was unclear whether he knew this from his ex-sister-in-law whom he may have met, or someone else told him so. It may happen – he says – that these facts have reached your ears, and you may even possess those articles." (A. C. N. S. A. S., criminal fund, file no. 000202, vol. 6, ff. 430-431).