Migration is the world on the move. It is a search for a new meaning; a hope for survival or for better life. With each generation claiming the tangible and the intangible, humanity carries on its own sense of immortality. The migrant leaves everything behind either motivated by domestic menace or seduced by the promises of the new world, in a subconscious search for immortality. Even if this experience might turn into a short-lived illusion, the migrant becomes nevertheless an exemplar of hope and courage, just like Gilgamesh did in his search for immortality. With the immersion into the unknown, the migrant can become anything but a static entity. This is because migration itself is an engine of civilization, claiming a piece of its self-expression and creativity. The perpetual state of creativity is motivated by a long tale of survival. Whether dictated by conflict, by scarcity, or by both, migration has become so unexceptional these days that it will soon claim its own rite of passage for the generations to come.

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The Phenomenon of Migration Proceedings of Harvard Square Symposium

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SCIENTIFIC EDITORS Ioan-Gheorghe Rotaru Denise E. Simion Viorica Burcea



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Foreword

Migration is the world on the move. It is a search for a new meaning; a hope for survival or for better life. With each generation claiming the tangible and the intangible, humanity carries on its own sense of immortality. The migrant leaves everything behind either motivated by domestic menace or seduced by the promises of the new world, in a subconscious search for immortality. Even if this experience might turn into a short-lived illusion, the migrant becomes nevertheless an exemplar of hope and courage, just like Gilgamesh did in his search for immortality.

With the immersion into the unknown, the migrant can become anything but a static entity. This is because migration itself is an engine of civilization, claiming a piece of its self-expression and creativity. The perpetual state of creativity is motivated by a long tale of survival. Whether dictated by conflict, by scarcity, or by both, migration has become so unexceptional these days that it will soon claim its own rite of passage for the generations to come.

Migration is as real as it is symbolic. It carries the stamp of ascribed or adopted identities. It is a new lifestyle anchored into shared meaning and repeated behavior. To the host community, the presence of the immigrant reinforces a community's self-assurance; often triggering an inoculated sense of prevalence.

Launching a painful guerrilla against the past, migration carries with it the fears from childhood and the desire to restore the paradise lost, even if this paradise never existed, except in one's hope.

This second volume of the Harvard Square Symposium presents papers in sciences and humanities, written by scholars from three continents, as they bear the impact of migration upon themselves; seeing themselves as builders of a new civilization.

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Balancing the Ideal with the Practical: Religious Freedom, National Security, and *The End of History*

Nicholas J. Greanias

ABSTRACT: This paper is a reflection on the general themes of freedom, national security and the return to conflicts which the religious world had experienced in the aftermath of the Cold War. While criticizing the self-assurances of the arrogant West, the author points out that the violent manifestation of religion had adverse effect on freedom and immigration. At the same time, the author criticizes the wildly evolved connotation of tolerance which undermines constructive conversation.

KEY WORDS: Cold War, religion, extremism, End of History, immigrants, Jews, Korematsu vs The United States, law, open immigration, Muslims, Ottomans, Sarajevo, Russians, tolerance.

The great American judge Learned Hand, in a speech during World War II in New York's Central Park, said to a large crowd of newly naturalized American citizens, "The spirit of liberty is the spirit which is not too sure that it is right."

The essence of religious faith is a person's belief that his or her views of God, of salvation and grace, of metaphysics, of an ethical life, are the right ones. Tolerance of other religious people and their views can certainly be—often is—a personal characteristic of a religious person, but the desire to bring others to that correct theology which is held so deeply can be a powerful force, and often overpowers tolerance in ways that can chill religious comity and even limit religious freedom. Religious freedom has been a growing force in much of the world for several centuries, but it is certainly not present everywhere. Moreover, religious extremism in the world today often carries with it violence and war, and reaction to it in Western democracies can inject a reluctance to apply long-held measures of freedom of religion. As a result, borders that had long been open to migration can close in the legitimate interest of security. This is a subject that needs better airing than it is presently being given. I used to say, and believe, that I preferred the company of and collaboration with people of strong faith, any faith. Recent history has caused me to be not so sure.

A generation ago—though it seems like yesterday to those of us who lived and labored in the Cold War—the East-West struggle abruptly ended, walls came down, the threat of nuclear annihilation subsided, and we, the supposed victors in the West, felt emboldened to declare or at least accept *The End of History*. The idea was that liberal democracy had triumphed, that liberty and pluralism and free markets had prevailed, and that the remaining task was to apply these victorious virtues to the people of the world who had not yet enjoyed them. No one wondered if there were places and people that didn't want all these things. Once the world was perfected, surely, we could turn our intentions to the stars, and inevitably transmit our manifest achievements to and through the Cosmos.

Would we now encounter God, face to face? Our hubris encompassed such notions, whether articulated or not. And scientific reality bolstered such human self-confidence, as physicians and research scientists now freely entered into what had hitherto been the province of God. The apocryphal statement—defining the strength of venerable liberal Western institutions—that the British Parliament could do everything but make a woman a man and a man a woman, was now a quaint anachronism, as the modern world had turned upside down the old order. The singular thing that the British Parliament could not do, could now be done by almost anyone, anywhere.

In these heady days, where virtually anything is possible, some of us feel the need for limits, rules, bright lines that are easy to see and difficult to cross. For these limits we turn to laws and governments, but this proves circular and difficult, for these limits that we seek *for* ourselves must come *from* ourselves. In the process, those who would block such limits often start with the entry-level argument that you cannot legislate morality, adding that a single code cannot hope to be a fair deal for the rainbow of views, ideologies, experiences, creeds, that arcs from horizon to horizon. Such a defense ignores the basic truth that almost all laws—and certainly all criminal laws—are by their very existence a legislation of morality, as articulated by the lawgiver of society, whether it be a democracy, a monarchy, a totalitarian dictatorship, or a religious or social community.

In the formation of such laws then, moral codes are the essential building blocks. Notions of rightness compete for influence. This can be uneventful in a homogenous society. It can be more difficult as disparate ideologies, confessions, ethnicities, and other interests compete for influence. Even within Christian Europe, whose guiding tenet had been Christ's departing instruction to his followers to be "...disciples to all nations...," cultural, political, ethnic, and only occasionally real theological difference, had countenanced centuries of conflict and bloodshed. The 20th Century was the culmination of this failure of the western, Christian, liberal world, to come anywhere close to creating a heaven on earth. The end of World War II, which exhibited technology that could obliterate humankind, brought the world seemingly-at least temporarily-to its senses. The victorious allies formed a United Nations, European states banded together in common interest, and trade was seen as a force that would keep countries from fighting hot wars.

But while world wars have been averted, peace has been fleeting, and religion has played a sadly recurring role in much of this. Our modern-day Hundred Years War started in Sarajevo, rested a bit between the two World Wars and the Cold War, but quickly grew hot again as it swallowed up the hoped-for *End of History* in favor of the more likely political theory of an inevitable *Clash of Civilizations*. Ironically, the focus again at the end of the century was on unhappy Sarajevo, and ages-old rivalries and hatred based largely on religion, as Catholic Croatians and Orthodox Serbs resumed killing each other where they had stopped in 1945, with Bosnian Muslims a target of both as well. This proceeded apace into hopelessly open-ended wars that are still haggling over Hapsburg and Ottoman and Russian borders which are the legacy of 1918 power politics. Today's conflicts in the Middle East revolve around artificial state borders that had been drawn by victorious allies as they bartered for their own self-interest. Spheres of influence and balance of power prevailed over coherent, prudent national boundaries. Today's fighting in the Middle East finds many of its roots in those decisions.

The European Union's genesis as a six-country coal-and-steel community did bring six western European states into an economic union that has forestalled any idea of armed conflict amongst age-old warring enemies. It has purposefully expanded to include virtually the whole willing continent, including quickly the old Warsaw pact, but it proved unable to put much brake on old enmities in former Yugoslavia. Apart from dealing with a resurgent Russian bear, British exit from the Union, and economic woes among its Mediterranean members and Ireland—all of which are significant problems, to be sure—the view here is that the existential question facing the EU and its member-states lies to the south and southeast, and within its own borders to the degree that people from those places reside there now. The same is true in destination countries such as the United States, Canada, and Australia, which are not as insulated by distance and ocean as they were throughout the perils of the past century, with transportation ever faster and communication instantaneous.

At the heart of this existential situation is the interplay between migration and national security, and the role that religion and freedom thereof will play in this tension in the days and years ahead.

As exploration, emigration, and enlightenment philosophy gave birth to more pluralistic societies than the European states that had first colonized these lands—in the Americas and South Pacific mostly—homogenous populations of emigrants from one part of Europe quickly had to react to the entrance of more disparate groups. With Eastern and Southern Europeans and Levantines— Eastern Christians and Jews—now joining Northern Europeans (and Western Christians), in teeming, violent, burgeoning societies, change was constant, threatening, and hard to keep up with. Toleration came hard, and was won only with much effort, blood, and bitter experience.

Where French, Spanish, and Portuguese colonies had been established, the Roman Catholic Church was too.

In British colonial history, the story is much different. Indeed, much colonial activity was for the very purpose of seeking religious freedom, especially in the founding of particular colonies in North America. Massachusetts was founded by and for the Puritans, a Protestant denomination seeking freedom of worship away from the Church of England. When Roger Williams found the need to hew his own theological path away from the Puritans, he founded the colony of Rhode Island next door. Pennsylvania was largely the home of the Quakers, and Maryland was founded to be a home for Catholic English colonists. The first American universities, Harvard and Yale, started as schools of divinity for clergy. There have been religious tensions and rivalries throughout American history-John Kennedy 1960 was the first non-Protestant to be elected President—but religious freedom was a deeply held and genuinely enforced staple of American life from the outset of U.S. history. The first amendment to the United States Constitution established that there would be neither a state religion, nor any limitation on the free exercise of any religion. It closely resembled the Virginia statute for Religious Freedom which Thomas Jefferson had drafted in 1777 and which he considered one of his three proudest achievements (the others being his drafting of the Declaration of Independence and his founding of the University of Virginia). The generation of statesmen who were the founders of the United States—Washington, Jefferson, Adams, Franklin, Madison, et al-were men of highly individualized notions of faith, and considered this freedom to be the very bedrock of American liberty.

It was also a bedrock part of the immigrant experience. So was a general policy of open immigration. In popular imagination, as well as the reality of the role of Ellis Island, the teeming metropolis of New York City is easy to visualize as the cauldron of the great melting pot that was identified with that open migration. This open period ended soon after World War I. To read news accounts and editorials from those years is eerily similar to the ongoing immigration debate today. Jobs, assimilation, crime, financial burden to society—these are common watchwords a century apart. Also present is a less-often articulated sense of "otherness" of the wouldbe immigrant. The Ottoman Greek and Russian Jew of 1912 is the Syrian Muslim and Egyptian Copt of today. And before them had been the Irish and Chinese of 1850. Then and now, there was a fear of too much difference; that prior immigrants (including us!) had been similar enough to Americans already here, but that this new set of newcomers was just too different, that they would not blend in. At a certain point, the fear boils down to that they won't become Americans, that they will have divided loyalties. Through much of the 20th century, this fear was addressed by a declaration of intention that went beyond the basic oath of allegiance that newly naturalized citizens took. A famous example of such a declaration of intention was signed by Albert Einstein in 1936: "I will, before being admitted to citizenship, renounce forever all allegiance and fidelity to any foreign prince, potentate, state, or sovereignty. I am not an anarchist; I am not a polygamist nor a believer in the practice of polygamy." This last provision is not so unusual. When Utah, the home of the Mormon Church, wanted to enter the Union, Congress required that the Church give up its policy of husbands having multiple wives, as this was inimical to the laws of the United States. Arguably, Sharia law is similarly inimical to the laws of the United States.

Perhaps the greatest danger in the effort to balance religious freedom against security concerns in western democracies is the wildly evolved connotation of tolerance. Rather than relying on the traditional definition of tolerance within a real panoply of different confessions and opinions, to be called intolerant today is about the worst insult that can be hurled at a citizen in the United States. Regular, everyday Muslim opinion and policy concerning women's rights or homosexuals would be condemned in the most unforgiving terms were they held by any non-Muslim, but criticizing Muslims for these beliefs often subjects the critic to charges of Islamophobia. The venting of such matters would seem to be a prerequisite for the sort of society that values freedom of conscience, but similarly, this is not always so. The fear of being deemed intolerant rather than exhibiting tolerance of competing ideas holds sway in most university campuses across the United States, where safe zones of protected accepted social and political pieties purposely exclude the free exchange of all ideas. Campuses have devolved from laboratories of democracy to safe zones of no offense. That the University of Chicago's recent declaration of commitment to free and open inquiry created such a sensation is indicative of the trend it has chosen to fight against. This trend is harmful to the very spirit of liberty that must exist in order for freedom of religion itself to be protected.

There will be dangers and missteps. During World War II, in the interest of national security and specifically against the fear of espionage, the U.S. Government rounded up tens of thousands of Japanese-Americans—some of them U.S. citizens—and moved them to internment camps away from the Pacific coast. A 1944 Supreme Court case, *Korematsu v. The United States*, ratified this action as valid within the national security function of the government. The United States has in intervening years invalidated some aspects of this action and decision, but it remains on the books as a valid use of government power.

But Americans are ashamed of it. They miss no opportunity to apologize to Japanese-American brethren. They are also ashamed when they remember that the United States had not opened its gates widely to Jewish refugees seeking to escape Hitler's Europe before the Holocaust. They see photos of Syrian children, dead on Aegean shores or covered in ash in Aleppo's rubble, and recall the little girl author Anne Frank, who died in the death camps because her family did not escape to the United States. Americans fear this guilt and seek to avoid it.

But the western democracies must do a qualitative analysis. First a healthy dose of study and humility is needed. Seeking moral equivalence is a fool's errand, so let the Christian Crusades and the 9/11 bombers find their own places in history. More to the point is the realization that religious liberty appeared at various times, in often surprising guises. We know that Ottoman Constantinople welcomed in the Sephardic Jews that Ferdinand's Spain had expelled. Are we also aware that Genghis Khan allowed people of his empire, including conquered populations, to practice the religion of their choice? His belief that the gift of religious freedom could strengthen his empire and extend its life and range more than forced conversion, likely laid the groundwork for similar Ottoman practice, and in other places as well.

The liberal West has long articulated its belief that the selfconfidence that comes from democratic practices of liberty and free and equal opportunity inherently fortifies the societies that practice them. Is this always true? Might there be instances where secure borders and a knowing limitation of the importation of religious fervor is a greater bulwark than the openness we have long extolled? Is it not at least worth examining the notion that divided loyalties weaken any society? Doesn't a nation that admits lots of migrants need something to bind it together, to reinforce the obligations of its residents and citizens, old and new, to each other? Especially if core precepts of the faith of the immigrants are in opposition to the core civic beliefs of the liberal democracies that welcomed the new people in? These are not casual questions, but they are often ignored because of the opinion that even to ask them is intolerant, ugly, and xenophobic. To wonder if the liberal democracies might be acting recklessly is the same. After all, a thoroughgoing regime of civil rights and liberties trumps everything else, and will be inevitably victorious, right? That's what the West fought for-mostly amongst itself, to be sure—throughout the whole 20th century. Ah yes, *the End* of History, just slightly delayed. Or might that term have a different meaning?

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Scientific Papers

The Effects of Migration on Romanian Employees: A Managerial Perspective

Cristian-Liviu Vele

ABSTRACT: It is a fact that the phenomenon of migration has generated major outcomes on the Romanian society, both from a social point of view, but also from an economic perspective. Following the country integration in the European Union a large number of Romanians have chosen to migrate, especially in countries in Western Europe, in search of a better life and higher incomes. This migration has led to a decrease in the workforce in Romania, but has also changed the manner in which Romanian employees are viewed by the companies in which they work and changed the manner in which they behave at their workplace. The present paper seeks to provide a better understanding of the particularities of Romanian employees at their workplace and of the effects that migration had on these particularities.

KEY WORDS: human resource management, migration, employee characteristics.

(JEL Classification: M12, M51, M54)

Driving Employees Toward Ensuring the Organization's Success

It could be considered common sense to state that companies whose employees are involve in their work, in actively participating towards achieving the company's long term goals and, also, increasing their work productivity, manage to become more efficient and increase their performance. But it is also fair to say that the simple employment, preparation and reward of staff is no longer, in the context of the current economic context, sufficient to ensure the success of firms, thus it is necessary to design the strategic management of human resources according to the needs of employees, needs that are generated by their unique skills and expertise.¹ An organization's core competencies derive, first of all, from every employee's own competencies and abilities, for this reason it is imperative that managers focus their efforts onto integrating these competencies into the organization's strategy and long term objectives.² Also, it is extremely important for leaders to actively influence the behavior of employees, the main reasons behind this approach being the fact that people in the front line are more empowered and, also, because nowadays companies are no longer able to offer jobs for life and thus employees are more concerned with their individual goals that can be different from the organization's goals (Leadership and Management in Organizations, 2007). As a result a large number of companies are starting to perform attitude surveys on their employees with the set aim to identify the views of employees, to identify their competencies or to estimate their support for new ideas and projects.³

The extremely competitive business environment today forces companies to go to great lengths, not only to find valuable employees, but also to retain them. In order to achieve this, organizations need to implement a series of measures regarding working conditions, but also the benefits offered to employees, benefits such as flexible work hours or child day care. Also, appropriate reward systems need to be implemented in order to motivate personnel and encourage teamwork.⁴ Having valuable employees and constant investing in their training and development of key abilities and competencies generates a workforce capable of constant learning, which in terms allows the organization to expand its knowledge base and to increase its chances of gaining success. Thus, successful organizations will be those that are best prepared to attract, develop and retain individuals that possess the proper competencies and expertise to face the new challenges in the global business environment.⁵

The individual success of employees is significantly influenced by the manner in which the organizations are planning their own strategic goals, being considered that these strategic goals offer both guidance and support for individuals. Thus, it is imperative that organizational planning should be made as clearly as possible in order to support employees in their specific activities.⁶ Nonetheless, organizations need to consider the fact that supporting individuals in order to gain superior performance needs to be a continuous process with support at every level from managers and with focus on individual abilities and competencies.⁷

An Analysis of Romanian Employees From a Managerial Perspective

The findings and conclusions presented in this paper result from a study, which was conducted on Romanian companies with the intent of identifying the most effective ways of gaining sustainable competitive advantages. A major part of this study was an analysis of Romanian employees in terms of their determination and creativity.

The study used a Likert scale questionnaire with affirmations having the following answer possibilities: total disagreement, partial disagreement, indecisive, partial agreement and total agreement, the general aim of this questionnaire being the accurate identification of employee characteristics and behavior at their working place.

First of all it can be noticed that employees are constantly trying to improve themselves in order to become better that others. According to the responses gathered, we can notice that 67.7% of the employees that were questioned are in total agreement that their efforts should be aimed at increasing their work efficiency and thus gaining superior results. At the same time, 29.5% of respondents consider important to overcome others, but they feel that this is not the most crucial element of their carrier. Considering this, we can conclude that today's employees are highly concerned with overcoming themselves and other by becoming better at what they do and by obtaining better results. Following this, organizations need to take advantage with this and develop new ways in which employees can use their capabilities to generate the required benefits.

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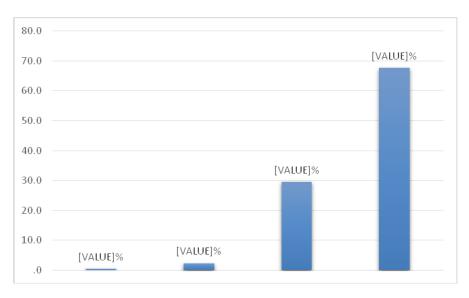


Figure 1 The determination of becoming better than others

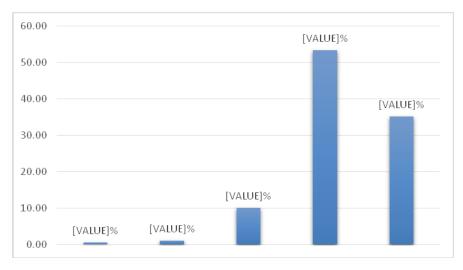
Another important aspect of the research was the employees' view of their working time in contrast to other colleagues. According to the responses that were gathered in the research the vast majority of the questioned employees (almost 90%) consider that they work longer that their colleagues, while over 10% consider that they work relatively the same or even less than their coworkers. This is especially important when it comes to the balance between the employees' personal and work time. If employees consider that their efforts are superior of those of their colleagues and the rewards they receive do not compensate for this, it is possible that they will lose their motivation and thus negatively influencing the organization.

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Source: self-representation

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Figure 2 How Romanian employees consider their work efforts to be in comparison to others



Source: self-representation

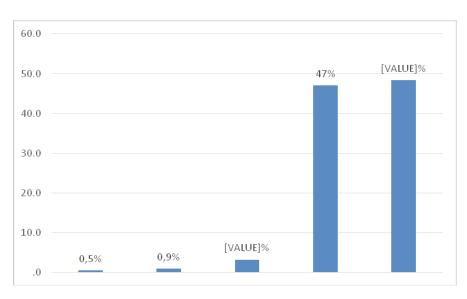
Figure 3 The willingness to start an activity, no matter its difficulty

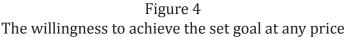


Source: self-representation

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When it comes to employee determination to start an activity, no matter its difficulty, the study revealed that, again, almost 90% of the respondents declared that they will perform their responsibilities no matter their difficulty. For organizations this is an important sign that their employees are motivated and will not let any impediments to stand in their way. But, at the same time, managers need to make significant efforts to encourage their personnel to maintain their motivation also into the future and to actively participate in meeting the organization's goals.





Source: self-representation

Continuing from the results above that have shown 90% of the respondents being willing to start and activity no matter its difficulty, it comes with no surprise that again a large percentage of the employees in this study have declared that they are focused on achieving the set goal no matter the price paid. While 47% of the participants have declared that they are partially in agreement with taking any action in achieving their goals with success, 48.4% declared that they are in total agreement with taking any action and paying any price in order to see their goals being met with outmost success. For organizations these results are mixed. On one hand it is very useful to have such determined and perseverant employees, but on the other hand the question of the prices paid is raised. It is possible that in their actions to achieve the goal that they desire, employees could negatively affect others and thus lead to an overall negative performance of the organization.

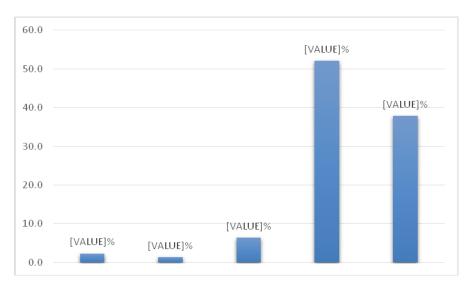


Figure 5 The attitude towards prolonged work

Source: self-representation

When it comes to their attitude towards prolonged working hours, the majority of the respondents (52,1%) declared that they are willing and, in fact, do spend long hours working, considering that by doing this they will gain superior results and their work productivity will increase. But, we must take into consideration that almost 38% of the respondents to this study declared that their working day is longer in comparison with their colleagues. In other words almost 38% of the questioned employees enjoy being occupied with work and consider it normal to spend long hours working. Although, for organizations this type of behavior presents obvious advantages, for employees it can lead to a decrease in motivation on long term and it can affect their personal life with negative implications in their professional one.

Finally, the study also set to find out if the employees' attitude toward work in terms of their determination, perseverance, ambition and working time does lead to the desired satisfaction and to the successes that the employees wanted from their professional activity. As it can be seen above, more that 90% of the respondents declared that the often get successes as a result of their hard work and ambition, with almost 50% stating that almost every time the outcome of their activity is the outcome they wanted to obtain at the beginning. These result prove that the efforts that are put into by the employees questioned in this study eventually pay off and that they register the desired results and success. This is also extremely important for the organizations in which they work; organizations that consequently gain superior results from the work put in by their employees.

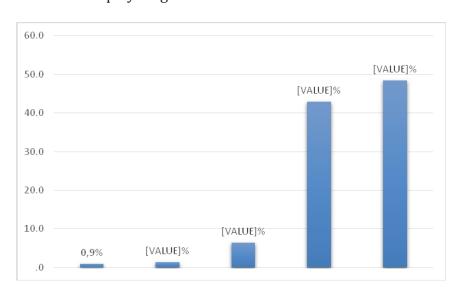


Figure 6 How often employees get successes as a direct result to their work

Source: *self-representation*

Migration and its Effects on Romanian Employees

Form the information published by the Romanian Statistics Institute, in its various reports, and by the European Unions' Eurostat, over 2,3 million Romanians have emigrated during the last 25 years, especially in countries like Spain, Italy, France or Germany. By making a simple calculation, in average almost 100.000 Romanian per year have chosen to leave their country in search of greater incomes and a better life.

According to the Romanian Statistics Institute Migration Reports, the Romanian migrant has an age between 15 and 24 years old and the number of women is 32% greater the that of men. As a result and direct consequence of the migration phenomenon the number of young individuals (age below 24 years) has constantly decreased in Romania leading to a shortage in the national working force and creating problems for the companies that activate in this country.

As we could see in the analysis performed above about the particularities of the Romanian employees, the latter are currently working long hours and go to great lengths to successfully meet their work responsibilities.

One of the main reasons behind this behavior is the shortage in working force and especially in highly educated working force in Romania. Good employees are becoming increasingly hard to find, as stated by the managers interviewed as part of the study presented in this paper, with valuable employees being more and more appreciated and their merits increasingly recognized by organizations and managers. But, at the same time, Romanian employees need to compensate the shortage in the working force in order to increase organizational effectiveness and to gain superior performance. This means that, as we could see above, the time allocated by employees to their work is becoming increasingly longer and their personal time increasingly shorter. On long term this can prove to be problematic for both employees and organizations, with the first losing their motivation and determination to work as they see their personal life being overcome by work and the later losing valuable employees and seeing their performance being negatively

influenced by this phenomenon. On the other hand, experienced employees are seen as being extremely valuable by organizations, due to their expertise and also to the difficulty in finding new employees that can generate the same result or better ones. A direct consequence of this fact is that these employees are earning more money from their work which, for now, positively motivates them to become even better and more efficient.

Another key aspect of migration is the so called *brain drain*, which represents the migration of well-trained individuals that are unable to find a job in their own country that can provide an income proportional to their training. Although some views consider positive the effects of brain drain for the country of origin, most of the consequences are negative. First of all this phenomenon creates a shortage of highly prepared individuals on the work market, which in terms leads to difficulties in finding highly productive employees. Secondly, on a macro economical level, the lack of efficient individuals has the possibility to lead to a decrease in government income, in economic growth, productivity and even a decrease in foreign investments. And last, a shortage on the national work market eventually leads to an increase in taxes for the remaining workers in order to maintain a certain balance of the national budget.

In conclusion, the phenomenon of migration during the last 25 years and especially in the time since the Romanian integration in the European Union that has allowed an easier mobility of the working force has generated major consequences on the Romanian work market. First of all, a large percentage of young Romanians have chosen to work outside the country generating a shortage of available working power back home, but on the other hand the remaining employees are forced to become increasingly efficient and more productive to compensate the lack of experienced personnel, but also gaining more result and successes from their work.

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NOTES

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Using Information Systems in Business Decisions

Emilia Vasile Ion Croitoru Dănuț-Octavian Simion

ABSTRACT: The paper presents the benefits of usage of information systems in decisions for businesses, which can reveale the optimal choice of the solution in order to increase competitivity in a strategic economy. Within a company's computer system, systems for decision support are classified as systems for the management / management decision. They take data from specific transaction processing systems and helps management process at the various levels of decision making. These systems help to implement the decisions, orders and the decisions decomposition that is occurring in the system of management of the company. Operational decisions are found in specialized compartments and are available in the directive needed to conduct operational departments that have the peculiarities of origin. For simulation models are created the required applications and helps decision-makers to make the choice based on the measures imposed by reality and the actual conditions in which the business operates in the specific part. Assisting decision means a permanent dialogue with the user, so that the interface has a much greater importance than other systems. The user, person or group of persons through the role they play in making the decision, is considered part of the system.

KEY WORDS: Assisted decisions, system support decisions, knowledge database, analytical tools and management decision.

Introduction

Systems of decision support have great applicability in the decision maker to take the best decision based on existing data in different types of databases and are based on selection, interpretation and processing (data) through specific mechanisms.

To achieve concrete results are not performed repetitive and complex calculations, but there are performed operations like sorting, selection, classification and evaluation, designed to organize information, reduce uncertainty, leading to propose options/ solutions and possible recommendations.Within a company's computer system, systems for decision support are classified as systems for the management/management decision. They take data from specific transaction processing systems and helps management process at the various levels of decision making. These systems help to implement the decisions, orders and the decisions decomposition that is occurring in the system of management of the company.

Decision Support Systems are used for decision making made by the management. These systems are implemented in various stages of decision making and tactical or strategic elements put emphasis on general applications easily predictable, and analytical applications. Decision Support Systems based on different models; provide decision-makers options for solving a fundamental decision or a set of interrelated decisions. Decision support systems differ from management information systems which provide management's periodic reports on demand or standard, depending on certain criteria or needs to cover the information needs of a department that has some functionality. On the other hand the information systems of management have different functions in tactical management and focus on current and with some accuracy, data on the elements necessary to manage the company's resources and support systems for driving into consideration elements necessary strategic direction of the company taking more information outside firm/business.

The transactional process management systems are designed to automatically process data, store and report data entered transactions. The recorded data from current transactions may maintain the database updated with the latest data entered. Even if the data volume and quality increased and their processing led to an increased number of information, however, has not increased the quality of decisions. At present there are numerous options for data processing and evaluation of the data obtained and these were adapted to changes. If trading systems have regard to data quality, integrity and their consistency (compliance with business rules) and are managed as a single unitary, systems for decisions take data from multiple disparate databases that are well defined and the manage data organized especially on topics of analysis according to the needs of business.

Operational decisions are found in specialized compartments and are available in the directive needed to conduct operational departments that have the peculiarities of origin. For simulation models are created the required applications and helps decisionmakers to make the choice based on the measures imposed by reality and the actual conditions in which the business operates in the specific part. Management systems are presented and used independently, so they make up a unitary system at the company they manage. Integrating their specific information and communication on different managerial levels, based on data recorded in the primary documents of the company, built around firm decisions taking account of business rules. To substantiate a decision, there are sets goals and are allocate resources that are needed to achieve them. This is achieved through analysis and simulation and is considered the participation of several elements, as follows:

The decision maker is the person or group of persons. An end user can adopt the right solution decisional process based on learning and experience from working effectively. The decision maker:

- Structure and standardize information needed for data analysis procedures
- Increment issues streamlines structure, operate individual alternative set of decision

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- Change informations depending on context data and sequence of operations that is not known in advance.
- Communicates results

The component that usually works with the user, the interface subsystem, must give to the decision maker the feeling of direct manipulation of information, facilitating creativity and associative thinking, stimulating the ability to formulate different alternatives under those that are poorly structured. The interactive API (interface) allows him to develop individual strategies with the flexibility afforded by set of intuitive tools available for modeling and analyzing the input in the decision represented by data, variable decisions, models, restrictions that limit possible solutions, situations similar decision that already exists.

In the process of making decisions, the input data are from internal and external sources, from several databases managed in different programming environments. Those data must be filtered, tested and strengthened to fulfill the generated objection of appropriate indicators and made on the spot reports for decision making according to the business rules.¹

The Main Features of Decision Support Systems

In order to build models, the decision is based on information provided far more comprehensive than reports and other economic indicators required or provided by the business itself. Quantitative mathematical models are embedded in base models, managed by subsystem a management model that requires separate users from the physical aspects of data processing and storage that extract, create, delete and modify models.

Decision making process, conducted with the help of tools, methods and techniques, conduct to the scenarios constructed according to a definite objective. Interaction replaces classical execution, procedural, with a performance conducted by decider according to the stages of solving a problem decisions that necessitate different inputs. The activity of the coordinations of inputs is done in most cases with specialized software systems that create analytical databases or modeling languages. In the first case, the user is provided customized views of data stored by performing a diverse set of operations on transactional data.

To build specifications the optimal approach is based on the analysis of data to extract information from data and obtaining knowledge for decision making. To be more precise, a specific problem highlighted in a model is called one of the most used tools in the decision making simulation. The next logical of optimization and forecasting, simulation assists with the running complex patterns, resulting variables whose analysis highlights the value adopated lead to a decision. The outputs from the process of decision making, represented by analytical indicators reflecting the performance of the system analyzed variables results the evaluation criteria or implementation plans of the decisions.

Evaluation of search results depends on the method of presenting results and depends on the facilities of component dialog with users that provide inputs. Besides maintaining traditional information representation formats like charts, maps and diagrams used currently to represent multidimensional data there are used new types of dynamic graphs. The decident system uses a dialog interface with the key users of the company, enabling connectivity and communication between networks with different topologies and areas.

After analyzing the results achieved and the objectives of their reporting, signaled differences and after identify problems it was reveal the need to take action. Trying to solve them in a particular category determined tackling by a standard method employment. The information is selected factors that have caused the deviation from the desired result and appreciate the importance they have in context. In complex cases, the problem breaks down into subproblems more manageable, easier structured. Solving the result of communication between all stakeholders, sharing the general manager responsibilities both at decision-making levels and the corresponding subproblems defined. The result of the information stage is a formal description of the problem identified the category to which it belongs and responsibilities involved. For example, after the first phase, the scope may relate to excessive spending decisions of a functional department, inventories too high or adoption of a draft research and evaluation on the introduction of computers.

In the model design phase defines a model for decision shall be tested and validated under real system. Modeling takes expression of reality by means of abstract entities possessing quantitative and qualitative attributes. Based on patterns defined by an efficient simulation can generate alternatives. Intuition, creativity and experience allow decision-makers compare alternatives; predict outcomes of each alternative separately.

For choosing the solution which takes the results of the previous stages, the action is chosen according to the criterion of selection and decision-making model. From model design and solution choice there is a strict demarcation, certain activities may be conducted during both phases, and return of election phase in phase. After the final resolution of the model, select the best alternative is chosen implementation plan. The choice of solution is closely linked to proper evaluation of the results of said solution. The assessment in turn depends on the search method.

Structural problems use mathematical formulas and analytical method to achieve an optimum solution. In order to improve efficiency the best solution search algorithms are used. When the number of alternatives is too large, then testing some or all of the possible solutions is possible by using an incremental search method. Time and memory space limit searches, in most situations the decision maker stopping at the best of the tested solution to a certain moment. For complex problems, solving is carried progressing from one situation to another, until a final statement, which is the solution. Methods called heuristics, based on a thorough analysis of the issue. Basically successive tests are performed, the search progressing from a solution to another.

Implementation is the phase that involves the integration model chosen solution in context and simulating the real system. Issues raised by the communication solution, accepting the decision or the additional costs of implementation are sluggish, and the decision-maker plays the important role of mediator. 20 HARVARD SQUARE SYMPOSIUM 2/2016 | THE PHENOMENON OF MIGRATION

Assisting decision states that the decision is the responsibility of the user. It receives relevant and substantiated elements on activity in the real system and builds models for solving future decision making on the basis of current assessments. Of the foregoing that a decision support system provides a filtering of information provided to decision makers and indicates certain restrictions. Basically, it helps the decision maker during operation and defining the problem, generating satisfactory solutions and retention strategy. The role of a decision support system is to automate the decision making process manager, but rather to assist and develop the capacity of its intuitive, helping him to react as quickly and with greater efficiency.

The architecture of a system aimed at its components and how they interact, types and operations allocated to each component.

For an interactive decision support system architecture includes the following subsystems:

- Data management subsystem
- Subsystem management models
- User subsystem dialog

Data management subsystem consists of the following elements: database management system oxidase data, data dictionary and declarative query language. The database is built to meet the information requirements of the system and is an interrelated database operated by one or more users, one or more applications. The database contains no internal data, external data and personal data. Internal data consist from the current activities of the organization and operations of various functional departments image. Data external economic information circulated nationally and internationally and usually come from the industrial sector of which the company, legal regulations. Personal data is data that relates to the behavioral aspects of decision-makers in making decisions. Whatever the nature of their data is stored in relational databases, transactional system data or data warehouse, built on subjects of interest. In current systems, the company's intranet, are increasingly present data accessible through web browsers and multimedia items such as maps, images, sounds.

The data source, internal or external, data is extracted and managed by a management database. The management of the database depends on the organization of data. In most cases there is SGBS transactional relational data system and a management database for multidimensional data warehouses created. The data dictionary is a catalog of all data from the database. It contains data definitions, data sources and their intrinsic significance. The data dictionaries are permitted operations to add new data, deletion or retrieval of existing information according to certain criteria. The most common data dictionary used in the first phase of decision making is data mining to identify their problems and opportunities. The SQL language is used, which accepts requests for data from other systems.

The subsystem management model consists of the following components: base models, the management models, dictionary and processor execution models and integration patterns

Base models contain the set of models that make it possible to analyze the facts and the choice of options in terms required by the user. It is the component that differentiates interactive decision support systems to other systems. The models are domain-specific and models can be classified into strategic, tactical and operational models models. Strategic models assist decision makers in developing the overall strategy of the company in matters concerning the development of corporate objectives, choice of location of equipment, environmental impact analysis on the work of the organization. Tactical models are applied to the organizational subsystems and assist the user in taking decisions for allocation and management subsystem resources available.

The models are used currently in operational and transactional system that aims of the organization. Database management system allows creating new models models using programming languages, update and modify existing models, establish interdependencies between models. Manage in a logical manner a variety of models to consistency of the data model and provides integration of application systems components maker.

The dictionary is a catalog of all models modelelelor containing the definitions used, the main functions of their scope. The processor

execution and integration patterns to be seen in the light of the functions performed by him as follows:

- Execution processor models interpret instructions received from the user and send management system models; check the conduct of the programs that are built models;
- Integration processor combines operations in several models depending on the requirements of decision making and decision support system integrates other applications.

The subsystem contains a dialog with the user management system user interface and a processor that takes inputs through outputs languages and provides control through language presentation. It is the only system component with which the user works directly.

Define an efficient interfaces should consider choosing devices input / output, design screens, the format of the data and information. Generators interactive decision support systems provide multiple interface styles: menu-based interaction design question-answer style, dialogue based on natural language processing, graphical user interface. Choice is an option and is dependent on decision-making team which ensures information management; the complexity of the real system will be implemented.

Assisting decision means a permanent dialogue with the user, so that the interface has a much greater importance than other systems. The user, person or group of persons through the role they play in making the decision, is considered part of the system. It is involved in all phases. Studying the specific context, correctly defines the problem and lead to choosing an alternative from a set of possible solutions. Quality and efficiency of the decision depends on how they react in the context of decision making on how the adopted solutions.

Managers or specialists in various professional fields, expects the system conclusions or details. It is working in teams constituted for a period of time, according to some temporary tasks. In complex situations there are analysts who arrange the connection managers with decision support systems, are people who have knowledge about management problems, and experience in decision support technologies. Harmonisation with the working environment, the transfer of responsibility to lower levels, seeks the participation of all the success of the business. Communication between managers and other employees, communicating with other sources of information is accomplished precisely through this component dialog. Thus, interactive decision support systems are no longer used just for the planning, organization and coordination but also for inter-personal communication, the establishment and execution of daily tasks.

Developing an Interactive Decision Support System

Design an interactive decision support system is a complex process that takes into account the main features of such a system, the specificities of its components, the specific links between decision makers and system. It must be considered the following aspects:

- Uncertainty decision does not allow anticipating future circumstances or the precise terms of the solution. They are therefore designed as a set of tools and not solutions to a predetermined set of problems;
- Emphasizing the partnership between man and computer is found in a blend of computing resources with human skills.
- Being a cooperative and distributed system components that comunicate using information resources dispersed, distributed, involving a distributed architecture;
- Exercising centralized control over decision-making environment, intervention is on several levels, with makers working concurrently on different aspects of the problem and communicates the information discovered;
- Decision maker is the one who identifies conflicts, which determines the type of conflict and the factors that favored the appearance of the focus is on identifying conflicts rather than solving them automatically;
- The existence of different types and categories of interactive decision support systems involving different approaches in building the system. The main strategies are permissible;

- Programming an interactive decision support system customized. In time, they used classical programming languages or fourth generation languages;
- Using a generator of interactive decision support systems. Even if he succeeds in writing the elimination of numerous instructions, this integrated development tool is limited in terms of flexibility and level of complexitate.Recent occurred generating interactive decision support systems for specific areas. Designed to build powerful systems for textual statistical applications, management and financial analysis.

Decision Support Systems based models have emerged and have been developed with the advent of graphical modeling languages. They are used to assist decision-making situations that require a certain degree of repeatability for which there are specific methods of solving. Their operation is based on building a quantitative model combined with a friendly interface and involves further analysis of "what-if".²

Total or partial automation of the process of decision-making depends on the context and limitations of the extent of the problem structurabilitate. For example, if structured decisions, receives computer model and he provides the optimal solution. The decision maker decides not only whether to apply the model. Among the components that make up the architecture of an interactive decision support system based on modeling the most important subsystem management models.Base models consists of theoretical models and practical models. Theoretical models are useful in the formulation of very general recommendations for economic policy because it merely describes the facts from a powerful schematic representation of reality. There are references to economic data or real developments. The equations are essential features of analysis and highlights links cauzalitateale studied phenomenon. Practical designs express the real system behavior restriction taking into account the work is done. Check adequacy of existing theoretical schemes to available statistics; identify conflict situations, possible actions to be taken. They practical finality of the decision-election by a set of precise measures imposed in the real system. Model as simplified representation of reality, has the following components:

- Decision variables, random elements that determine the evolution of a system state. Generate random variables occupies an important place, due to the correlation with the random element. The decision maker that determines their level at the choice of methods for generating random numbers, so that they respect the laws operating scheme has studied;
- Parameters that influence the outcome, but that can not be controlled by the governor. Take the form of restrictions limiting the possible solutions of the problem. Ex: infletion rate and the interest rate for financial, production capacity, price of raw materials for production;
- Varying results, depending on the parameters and decision variables. Ex profit expected profitability of to finance the total cost of data processing cost for the production.

Models can be built with certainty, I know exactly future economic events or conditions of uncertainty or risk in situations where every future event is associated with a probability. In the first case we rely on methods of optimization. Where decisions under uncertainty for choosing the forecasting and decision-making, we rely on historical knowledge of economic events. The decisions under risk, based on criteria mathematical expectancy choose the lowest standard deviation. For each type of problem constructing a model, it defines a procedure for obtaining the solution. The model must measure the expected effects of various alternatives for action. To achieve this, it starts to specify the objectives (maximizing turnover, profit, minimizing cost) and establish possible ways of action; different scenarios are built based on the events that could influence the results of the action.

The management model ensures the creation, maintenance and handling models. The full cycle of building and maintaining models requires specialized software or modeling language. Handling models include formulation and testing scenarios, selecting the best of several possible solutions. It performs the following functions:

- Integration function, which ensures the incorporation of a model in a model-based classification and allocation of parameters that allow the selection of pattern;
- Selection function that provides choice model based on userspecified selection criteria;
- Executive function, which provides assistance in running user patterns;
- Display and interpretation function, which provides display and interpretation of results.

The objectives of the decision-making process aimed at adopting the best solution from many possible alternatives. The optimal solution is obtained using either satisfactory or algorithms or formulas within optimization models, or by experiencing various possible alternatives in a process simulation. For each class there are methods to solve specific, which is selected based on the small number or large number of alternatives, the availability of statistical formulas or methods. Among the methods most commonly used are decisional analysis and mathematical programming.

Decision analysis applies to situations which have a relatively small number of alternative solutions. Each alternative are attached estimates and the probability of occurrence. Solving the problem is to build decision tables or decision trees, from which it selects the best alternative. Decision tables highlight possible alternative schematic characteristic information. Decision trees, in addition to decision tables, graphically highlight the problem of relationships between variables, making it possible representation of complex situations.

Apply mathematical programming problems which lead to the formalization of a mathematical relationship between decision variables and purpose. In addition to the measurable values are seeking optimum value, the model states and restrictions on them also. The optimal solution is obtained in a finite number of steps. If between variables include at least one non-linear relationship and are satisfied only under explicit finally obtain a feasible solution.

Simulation, directed experimentation process is carried out using computers on a defined model. It is used in complex systems,

where it is difficult or impossible to predict beforehand structural and functional changes, or various influences from the environment. It is the only method that can be applied to unstructured problems. Among the advantages are:

- Support the simulation model provides a functional form of expression of the links between the phenomena studied. Such testing may be actions that can be made explicit in the model framework;
- Enable better decision-making structure of the problem, allowing exploration of information flows and operating procedures without interfering with the functioning of the real;
- Using cybernetic control system that underlies decision making in practice;
- There are a large number of parcel simulation program;
- Simulation models have a procedural nature, their resolution experiments involving processing created in the system;
- Data used in model construction can be real observations (numerical values) or knowledge.

These are translated into algorithms that are executed by a computer system. This led to consideration of simulation as one of the most powerful tools in decision making. Simulation becomes a technical coordination of procedures using the computer. Simulation of the limits includes:

- Support the simulation model is a simplified built pursuing one goal, one key criterion. The solution offered is one spot that does not always corresponding real system;
- Taking into account the unique factors of a problem, specific results can not be transferred to other problems;
- Results are difficult to interpret, being dependent on random factors; no matter how powerful your computer is, the optimal solution is difficult to obtain a model that has many equations and a significant number of parameters.

These limitations have led to the use of simulation only when the interactions between the components are complex when factors random have a significant and requires a large number of observations on the behavior of the data, the problem can not be solved by an algorithm or experiments direct. If there are problems which can directly apply optimization methods, the optimum results from different experiments possible alternatives. They tested different values of decision variables and highlights the consequences of decisions on the result of values.

- The problem and research purposes;
- Model development and data collection system;
- Model verification and validation;
- Describing experiments on the computer;
- Simulation execution and achieving results;
- Analyze the simulation results.

A Prolog program is a database where data are facts and rules. Any change in the data requires updating software program itself. In traditional programming languages, software update, namely the addition or deletion of data and control flow change in the program are made by the programmer. Prolog database consists of facts and rules of the program is "static" in the sense that it can be modified only between two executions of the program, but there is possibility to define the bases of dynamic data that can be updated automatically during program execution.

A dynamic data base is a collection of facts. The programmer can define in the program more dynamic basis. Predicates associated dynamic database must be stated in the section corresponding database form:

database [-name]
attribute1(type_arg1, type_arg2,, type_argn)
attribute2(type_arg1, type_arg2,, type_argk)

A predicate in a dynamic database can be used anywhere in the program, but can not be defined in the program. Updating dynamic data is done using predefined predicates assert (deed) assertz (deed) and retract (the act). Asserta predicates and facts assertz allow adding a dynamic database. The difference between the two is that at the beginning of the base asserta added and assertz at the end of the base.

The contents of a dynamic database can save them for reuse. Saving is performed using predefined predicate save (Filename) where Filename is the name of the external file that contains the basic facts. The resulting file will be a collection of works, the only difference being that a program contains sections. Any other program will be able to use this base. This is achieved by using predefined predicate consult (name) where name is the file name that is stored in the base.

The following is a model support system for decision support, using a knowledge base. As an example consider the following program. The program defines a dynamic basic facts as:

Client_tst(Name, Surname, List_of_products)

With predicate acts such records are inserted

Client_tst("Name", "Surname", [])

based on dynamic (customer records) and using predicate update this basic facts updated when a customer purchases a product or return the product.

domains name,surname,product=string list_of_products=products* database client_tst(name,surname,list_of_products) predicates id_client(name,surname) register client_ach(name,surname,integer,product) add_product(product,list_of_products, list_of_products) remove_product(product, list_of_products, list_of_products) actual(name,surname,integer,product) update_act HARVARD SQUARE SYMPOSIUM 2/2016 | THE PHENOMENON OF MIGRATION

```
lst_products(list_of_products)
execution_line
start
base
menu
save
selection(char)
clauses
id_client(X,Y):-write("Name="),readln(X),write("Surname="),readln(Y).
inregistreaza:-id_client(X,Y), assertz(client(X,Y,[])),
write("Continuati ?[d|n] "),readchar(Z),nl,Z='d',inregistreaza.
register:-save.
client_ach(X,Y,I,P):-id_client(X,Y),write("Enter\n"),
write("1 if buy one product\n 0 if returns one product\n"),
write("Option="),readint(K),K>=0,K<=1,I=K,</pre>
write("Product= "),readln(P).
add_product(P,X,[P|X]).
remove_product (P,[P|X],X):-!.
remove_product (P,[H|X],[H|Y]):-remove_product (P,X,Y).
list_products ([]):-nl,!.
list_products ([P|X]):-write(P,", "),list_products (X).
actual(X,Y,I,P):-I=1,client(X,Y,L),add_ product (P,L,L1),
retract(client(X,Y,L)),asserta(client(X,Y,L1)),list_products (L1).
actual(X,Y,I,P):-I=0,client(X,Y,L),remove_product (P,L,L1),
retract(client(X,Y,L)),asserta(client(X,Y,L1)),list_products (L1).
update:-client_ach(X,Y,I,P), actual(X,Y,I,P),
write("Continue ?[d|n] "),readchar(Z),nl,Z='d',update.
update:-save.
base:-existfile("client1.dat"),consult("client1.dat"),!.
base.
save:-system("del client1.dat"),save("client1.dat").
execution_line:-makewindow(1,113,36,"Shop",0,0,24,79).
start:-base, execution_line, menu, remove window.
menu:-clearwindow, cursor(10,20), write("r -> for register client"),
cursor(11,20),write("u -> for updating the list of products"),
cursor(12,20),write("e -> for exit"),cursor(13,25),
readchar(X),X<>'e',selection(X),menu.
```

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menu. selection('r'):-clearwindow,register. selection('u'):-clearwindow,update. selection(X):-X<>'r',X<>'u',menu.

In the code above there are methods implemented in the logic of the application and those can make the process of decision making more easy and adaptive for the decision makers and other types of users.³

The advantage of using a custom commands is that the user can write own set of rules based ob a knowledge database. These types of instructions are more flexible to the requirements of getting the opportune solution by interrogating this database of facts and knowledge. The inputs in this types of databases includes rules and results from the processes specific to the domains they operate.

Conclusions

The Decision Support Systems based on different models and they provide decision-makers options for solving a fundamental decision or a set of interrelated decisions. Decision support systems differ from management information systems which provide management's periodic reports on demand or standard, depending on certain criteria or needs to cover the information needs of a department that has some functionality.⁴ The decisions may be made based on results given by systems that store data in knowledge database and are according to the rules and facts that implement the business logic. Prolog database consists of facts and rules of the program is "static" in the sense that it can be modified only between two executions of the program, but there is possibility to define the bases of dynamic data that can be updated automatically during program execution.⁵ The decisions are choosed from alternatives offered to the decident by systems that include logic and rules, so the best alternative is calculated in such manner that the risk is with the minimum probability.

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¹ Danny Weathers, Scott D. Swain, Varun Grover, "Can online product reviews be more helpful? Examining characteristics of information content by product type", Decision Support Systems and Electronic Commerce, ISSN: 0167-9236, 2015. See also Jun Chen, Xiao-Liang Shen, "Consumers' decisions in social commerce context: An empirical investigation", Decision Support Systems and Electronic Commerce (ISSN: 0167-9236): 2015.

² Wang Chengwei (2014) "Prolog to the special issue on DSS decision making support system (DSS) — A synthesized and integrated crystallization of systems engineering, artificial intelligence and electronic technologies. www. researchgate.net/publication/Prolog_to_the_special_issue_on_DSS_decision_making_support_system_(DSS) (Last Accessed: July 29, 2016.)

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³ Danny Weathers, Scott D. Swain, Varun Grover, "Can online product reviews be more helpful? Examining characteristics of information content by product type." in *Decision Support Systems and Electronic Commerce* (ISSN: 0167-9236): 2015. See also Nijas N, (2014) "Decision Support System." Available online at: www.slideshare.net/nijazn/decision-support-system-managementinformation-system (Last accessed July 29, 2016).

⁴ K. Coussement, D.F. Benoit, M. Antioco, "A Bayesian approach for incorporating expert opinions into decision support systems: A case study of online consumer-satisfaction detection." in *Decision Support Systems and Electronic Commerce* 2015. (ISSN: 0167-9236) See also Jun Chen, Xiao-Liang Shen, "Consumers' decisions in social commerce context: An empirical investigation." *Decision Support Systems and Electronic Commerce* 2015 (ISSN: 0167-9236).

⁵ Dan Power, "Types of Decision Support Systems (DSS)," 2014. Available online at: www.gdrc.org/decision/dss-types (Last accessed on July 29, 2016). See also Danny Weathers, Scott D. Swain, Varun Grover "Can online product reviews be more helpful? Examining characteristics of information content by product type," in *Decision Support Systems and Electronic Commerce*, 2015 (ISSN: 0167-9236).

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Global Migration: A Managerial "Cultural" Perspective

Nelu Burcea

ABSTRACT: This paper focuses on the reality of migration from the perspective of the United Nations. By surveying a UN report provided by the Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations, this paper attempts to offer a managerial perspective on the cultural aspects of migration, as effected by the involvement of the United Nations in handling this global crisis. Particularly, this study focuses on raising the cultural question about the managerial methods used by the UN in calibrating this reality within the framework of the historical and territorial perspective of the phenomenon itself. The findings of this study are relevant in the context of developing new tactics for managing migration, applicable to specific international institutions and geographic areas. KEY WORDS: migration, culture, management, statistics, international, United Nations DESA.

Introduction

A lthough the human beings have migrated for thousands of years, the last decades brought to the forefront an unprecedented upheaval of this phenomenon. Migration had proliferated as an effect of an increased awareness of more promising economic opportunities elsewhere, and as a result of communal violence and environmental threats and degradation. As a phenomenon, migration received an extreme attention not only from the established media but also from the social media. Faced with this reality, international organizations such as the United Nations are now charged with the legal and moral obligation to oversee and perhaps offer logistics in a way that human rights are safeguarded, and the dignity of the migrant is respected. By deciphering the media reports and by trying to understand the phenomenon itself one could easily conclude that migration cannot be simplified to the movement of population from one country to another, without a wide understanding of the economic and social particularities, as well as without considering the religious implications.

In general, migration has been considered a "major source of human survival, adaptation, and growth across the centuries and millennia."¹ By analyzing all its indicators the perspectives taken and along with the data chosen to be analyzed could yield different results to the study of the same subject. Regardless of how one may analyze the data, along with the analyst's agenda it is certain that the phenomenon of migration remained one of the top subjects on the agenda of prominent global institutions.

The Management of Migration and UN DESA

Viewing the management of migration trough the lenses of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations, one cannot but attempt to introduce and evaluate one of the main departments of this international institution; that is the Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations Secretariat (DESA). The mission of DESA consists in promoting development for all people. UN DESA is involved in global politics and economics, as well as in the social and environmental spheres. The Department of Economic and Social Affairs works in its main areas as described bellow:²

a) it compiles, generates and analyses a wide range of economic, social and environmental data and information on which States Members of the United Nations draw to review common problems and take stock of policy options; b) it facilitates the negotiations of Member States in many intergovernmental bodies on joint courses of action to address ongoing or emerging global challenges;

c) it advises interested Governments on the ways and means of translating policy frameworks developed in United Nations conferences and summits into programs at the country level and, through technical assistance, helps build national capacities.³

UN DESA has a number of divisions such as: Office for ECOSOC Support and Coordination, Division for Sustainable Development, Population Division, Division for Public Administration and Development Management, Financing for Development Office, Division for Social Policy and Development, Statistics Division, Development Policy and Analysis Division, United Nation Forum on Forests, and Capacity Development Office.⁴

The Population Division of UN DESA monitors and studies the dynamics of demographic trends of policy worldwide. And another very important work of DESA consists in studying population dynamics and monitors demographic trends and policies worldwide including the international migration studies.⁵

According to the 2015 revised version of a report titled, *World Population Prospects | Key Findings & Advance Table*, economic migration had been regarded in positive terms. As the report states,

"Internal and international migration can be positive forces for economic and social development as they offer a mechanism to rebalance labour markets in areas of origin and destination, and to accelerate the diffusion of new ideas and technologies. Migration can also result in significant flows of remittances to areas of origin."⁶

However, the report is more concerned with population increase, as it notes that the economic benefits do not resolve the dilemma of population increase. However, the report recognizes that the economic benefits affect particular areas which became destinations of various economic migrants and flow of refugees. Within this phenomenon, UN has been an institution with limited authority and interest in proposing international legislation. It rather reacted to various crises, as the natural flow had been monitored and regulated by the member states. More concerns with the flow of economic migration were expressed by West European states and by US and Canada, which had the advantage of being more developed compared with the rest of the world, had a lower population density, a lower demographic growth, more economic resources and opportunities, and were in need of migrant labor. According to this UN report,

"Overall, between 1950 and 2015, the major areas of Europe, Northern America and Oceania have been net receivers of international migrants, while Africa, Asia and Latin and the Caribbean have been net senders, with the volume of net migration generally increasing over time. From 2000 to 2015, average annual net migration to Europe, Northern America and Oceania averaged 2.8 million persons per year. When countries are grouped by income rather than geography, the attraction of high-income countries is even more evident: from 2000 to 2015, high-income countries received an average of 4.1 million net migrants annually from lower- and middleincome countries."⁷

This report states that projected migration for the next three decades will continue to be driven by demographic asymmetries, and economic opportunities.⁸

By simply surveying this report, UN appears to continue to remain a passive observer, with no realistic authority to manage the flow of migration. It does well gathering and analyzing data provided by the member states and by various entities involved in monitoring this process, but has no power to look beyond and interpret what these numbers mean, beyond the limits of income versus spending.

Furthermore, UN has no power to broker regulations apart from what is able to negotiate with particular states or groups of states when faced with humanitarian crises. In spite of its usefulness, this data is also limited, for it provides no information on aspects of migration triggered by identity. Nevertheless, what UN can do is to look deeper into these numbers and find new tools for negotiation with the nation states. Economic migration has its own political effects as it triggers clashes of worldviews and threats to cultural identity.

To stimulate managerial creativity, or perhaps to justify the name of the "Department of Economic and *Social* [my emphasis] Affairs," DESA ought to engage cultural or religious identity as a trigger for migration. This is because the cultural and the religious identity of the migrant is a social affair. Anthropologists have long demonstrated that humanity itself has an inherent nomadic culture which is genetically embedded by the struggle for survival and search for resources. In spite of the advances of civilization the nomadic culture of humanity remains visible today in particular cultures such as the Rroma, and the Bedouin—cultures that assign their own meaning to the relationship with land that they temporary enjoy. Because the meaning that a culture or subculture assigns to life and territory often represents a group's raison d'être, this it is often embedded into the group's cultural and religious narratives. If some cultures are detached from the land that they enjoy under the belief that their true *patria* is a metaphysical reality, others have developed a deeper connection with the sacred grounds. Such religious natives can be found for example in Judaism, which share a particular affection for Jerusalem:

"If I forget you, O Jerusalem, May my right hand forget her skill. May my tongue cling to the roof of my mouth, if I do not remember you, if I do not exalt Jerusalem Above my chief joy." (Psalm 137: 5-6)

In light of the protracted religious conflicts of the Middle East, one can clearly understand not only the complexity of the relationship between the identity of a group and a particular sacred land, but more so the opportunity to tackle the meaning of migration.

Therefore, beyond historical determinations and sacred mandates, cultural identity plays a very important role, and as such, it has to be engaged. Retreating into secularism, and refusing to become creative on handling issues of religion and cultural identity within the management of migration crises, is not the way forward. It limits one's ability to diagnose and provide the cure to what is generally considered a crisis of migration.

The United Nations and the Reality of Migration

On the positive side, however, there is a real interest for the UN to be involved in the study and the coordinating efforts of the phenomenon of the migration. According to the UN Statistics the number of international migrants worldwide has continued to grow rapidly over the past fifteen years reaching 244 million in 2015, up from 222 million in 2010 and 173 million in 2000.9 In 2015 about 67% of international migrants were living in 20 countries. In United States there are 47 millions,¹⁰ followed by Germany, Russian Federation,¹¹ and Saudi Arabia.¹² The number of refugees was estimated at 19.5 million in 2014, Turkey has become the largest recipient of refugee worldwide. About half of all refugees worldwide came from just three countries: Syrian Arab Republic, Afghanistan, and Somalia.¹³ Female migrants outnumber male migrants in Europe and North America, while in Africa and Asia migrants are predominantly men.¹⁴ Due to the transformation of social environment and improved conditions of migration, more women are joining the migrant labor force.¹⁵

In 2010 the median age of the migrants worldwide was 38 years in 2015 this increased to 39 years.¹⁶ Most migrants worldwide originate from middle-income countries. In the last 6 years, the number of migrants originating from middle-income countries increased more rapidly than those from countries in any other income group.¹⁷ In 2015, the largest number of global migrants came from India¹⁸ followed by Mexico,¹⁹ Russian Federation,²⁰ China,²¹ Bangladesh,²² Pakistan, and Ukraine.²³

In many ways, for the countries listed above, the migrations could be considered as a double-way profit; so that the gain of migrants by one country which receive migrants affects the demography and economy of the hosting country.²⁴ During the experience of migration, people are faced with various situations beyond their control as communities are uprooted, the expectations

are stretched, and some people either cannot, or simply refuse to meet their obligations and responsibilities.²⁵ In this situation, the process of migration takes longer and becomes harder for the local authority to monitor and process.

Conclusions

International migration can be considered a wide, very dynamic, and unpredictable, while in many situations this phenomenon could also be considered uncountable and so on. But the migration can not be ignored or denied. As the UN migration reports reveal, the trends of international migration are as clear as are the rationales for it. It is a considerable phenomenon which has affected hundreds of millions of people and it could move forward economies of many countries. The UN reports usually take a broad approach as they capture many details of the international migration such as nationality of migrants, age, gender, religion, financial income in different countries and so on.

The future of the migration could be seen as one which is more dynamic because of growing financial gap between nations, and because the desire of people for a better life. It is obvious that due to migrating talent, the migration itself could contribute in more areas, beyond the economy, demographic growth, religion, political orientations, and so on.

NOTES

¹ Leonore Loeb Adler (ed), Uwe P. Gielen (contrib.) *Migration: Immigration and Emigration in International Perspective* (Praeger: Westport, CT, 2003), 3.

² These definitions of the areas work of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs are described as the official declaration.

³ According with: www.un.org

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⁵ https://www.un.org/development/desa/en/about/desa-divisions/ population.html

⁶ United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division (2015). *World Population Prospects: The 2015 Revision, Key Findings and Advance Tables*. Working Paper No. ESA/P/WP.241. p.6.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid, 11.

⁹ www. un.org

¹⁰ It is considered that United States have the largest number of international migrants conform www.un.org.

¹¹ Conform ww.un.org there are 12 million in each country.

¹² The number of migrants in Saudi Arabia are about 10 million conform UN statistic.

¹³ Conform www.un.org there are about 3.9 million refugees form Syrian Arab Republic, 2.6 million Afghanistan, and 1.1 million from Somalia.

¹⁴ See, 2015 UN Report.

¹⁵ Nana Oishi – Associate Editor, Women in Motion: *Globalization, State Policies, and Labor Migration in Asia*. Publisher: Stanford University Press, Stanford, CA, 2005, pg. 177.

¹⁶ Conform www.un.org

¹⁷ In 2015 there were about 157 million from middle-income countries who were living in high-income countries: conform www.un.org.

¹⁸ The Indian's Diaspora had 16 million migrants in 2015 conform www. un.org.

 $^{\rm 19}$ The Mexico's Diaspora had 12 million migrants in 2015 conform www. un.org.

²⁰ The Russian Federation Diaspora had 11 million migrants in 2015, conform www.un.org.

²¹ The Chinese Diaspora had 10 million in 2015, conform www.un.org.

 $^{\rm 22}$ The Bangladesh Diaspora had 7 million people in 2015, conform www. un.org.

²³ Both Pakistan and Ukraine Diaspora had 6 million people each, conform www.un.org.

²⁴ Çağlar Özden and Maurice Schiff, *Editors International Migration, Economic Development & Policy*, The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development - The World Bank, Press, LLC and of Palgrave Macmillan Ltd, 2007, Washington DC, pag.161.

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The Spread of the Christian Life Through the Migration of Spiritual Ideas Among 'the Bravest of all Thracians'

Daniel Gligore

ABSTRACT: The Christian teaching was received quickly, peacefully and by scores by 'the bravest of all Thracians'. The Christianization of the Dacians, renowned by their steadfastness in faith, traditions, language and area in which they lived, seems surprising considering that all the influences which came from the migratory and oppressing nations haven't deterred them from their way of life. The documents of that era, the archeological discoveries and historic logic all lead towards the conclusion that the Savior's teachings was seen by the Dacians as a fulfillment of their own monotheistic religion. KEY WORDS: Christianity, Christianization, Dacians, Dacia, ethnogenesis and the Christianization of Romanians.

Folk Christianity

 \mathbf{E} ssential characteristics of the Dacian religion, such as monotheism and asceticism, contributed to the easy acceptance of the Lord's Gospel among the population. Christian teaching for our ancestors was of popular origin, preached since the 1st century A.D. by the Holy Apostles: Andrew, the first called into apostolate (Scythia Minor-today's Dobrogea)¹ and Philip (today's area of Dobrogea, Oltenia and Muntenia)², being received and adopted by open hearted inhabitants and lived fully. 42 HARVARD SQUARE SYMPOSIUM 2/2016 | THE PHENOMENON OF MIGRATION

The preaching of Saint Andrew the Apostle in today's Dobrogea is mentioned by several written sources. Saint Ipolit (c. 170–c. 236) mentions that Saint Andrew the Apostle '*preached (The Gospel) to the Scythians and the Thracians'*. Bishop Eusebiu of Palestine's Caesarea (265–339/340) wrote in his *Church History* that Saint Andrew the Apostle preached in Pontic Dacia, future Roman province Scythia Minor (today's Dobrogea): '*When the Holy Apostles and followers of our Lord spread across the inhabited earth, Thomas, according to tradition, got (to preach in) Parthia, Andrew got Scythia, Johm got Asia*. .'³. Scythia, where Saint Andrew the Apostle preached, is the area between the Danube and the Sea (Pontic Dacia), future Roman province Scythia Minor (during Diocletian). As proof stand the writings of poet Ovidiu (43 B.C.–17/18 A.D.) who complained in his Tristele and Ponticele that he was exiled in Tomis among 'the *Scythians'*.

Dobrogea is a Getic country and Tomis is more of a Getic city than it is Greek.⁴In the Constantinople Sinaxarian, The feast of St. Andrew from November 30th, is mentioned that after Christ's Ascension to heaven, the Holy Apostles drew lots for which country to go and preach the Gospel in. Saint Andrew the Apostle got 'to preach in the whole area of Bithynia and Pontus, in the Roman provinces Thrace and Scythia, in Pontux Euxinus regions."⁵ An old Christian tale says that at Cuzgun Saint Andrew the Apostle and his followers rested in a forrest at the end of the village where there were two caves. The caves served as a place of rest and worship, later being used as places of worship for the first Christians from Scythia Minor. As proof of Saint Andrew the Apostle's crossing are also the carols and folk creations kept until today in Dobrogea. 'Saint Andrew the Apostle's Cave'⁶ is a ballad spread in all of Dobrogea which tells about the connection between Saint Andrew and Decebal, King of Dacia.

The preaching of Saint Philip the Apostle in today's Dobrogea, Oltenia and Muntenia, is recorded in a Goth Sinaxar (calendar) from the 3rd century, and in two Martyrologies from the 9th century.⁷ The aforementioned documents do not provide many news.

The certainty of apostolic preaching among the Scythians and their Christening in the 1^{st} century A.D. comes from Saint Paul the Apostle who says in the letter to the Colossians: *…where there is no*

Greek and Jew, circumcision and no circumcision, Barbarian, Scythian, slave or free man, but all and in everyone Christ.'⁸

Georg Kraus, a Sas chronicler from Sibiu, provides some interesting news about some writings of Saint Paul the Apostle left in Arges, saying that he saw those writings: 'In January 1611, Bathory led a great army into Tara Barsei after leaving strong sentinels in Sibiu, and marched toward Brasov. Because he didn't dare attack the city openly he caused a great deal of damages in the surrounding areas. Then he left for The Romanian Country and attacked the brave hero, Voivode Radu Stefan by surprise, robbed churches and monasteries, burning everything to the ground. He caused great damages especially to the widely famous Monastery of Arges, which has no equal in the area. Because the Monastery was covered in led, Bathory ordered for the led to be removed and found, at the top of the church's bell tower (Copula undt Spitz dess Tempels), a great treasure which he stole. It must be said that according to rumor, Saint Paul the Apostle, during his travel to Nicopol, arrived at this monastery.... Seeing that here he found few people but great forests, harsh mountains and a foreign language, he left one of his writings in Greek at the monastery and then went back to Nicopol. Thus the famous saying: 'They were left like Saint Paul did with the Wallachian'was born. This church was rebuilt and covered in led again (by Matei Basarab n.a.) and the foreign travelers are shown even today the writing of Saint Paul, which even I, the author of these lines, saw often."9

There are other sure testimonies of the ancient writers regarding the Christening of the population from The Carpathians, the Danube and the Black Sea in the 1st century A.D. Tertulian of Carthage (c. 160–c. 240), towards the end of the 2nd century when he was Christened, wrote in his work *Against the Jews* (Liber adversus Judaeos): *For in who else did all the nations believe but Christ who came?...the different nations from the Gaul provinces and Bretagne regions, out of reach for the Romans, but subject to Christ; as well as the Sarmatians, the* Dacians, *the Germans and* the Scythians *and many other nations.*"¹⁰ Despite these testimonies one mustn't believe that the majority of the population was Christian. In the same period of time, Origen of Alexandria (c. 185–254) wrote: *'a lot* ¹¹ *of Britons, Germans,* Dacians, *Sarmatians and* Scythians *haven't heard the Gospel.*"¹² The number of Christians was small, hence the necessity of a continuous Gospel preaching. The testimonies are very important because they show that both the Dacians and the Scythians on both sides of the Danube were Christened.

The Christianization was made without the intervention of certain leaders or external political authority in this matter.¹³ Taking into consideration the major role the Dacian High Priest had, shown by the enforcement of Deceneu's decision,¹⁴ during the time of Burebista, to destroy the vineyards in order to eradicate the sin of inebriation; I consider that the Dacians were Christened with the accord of the Dacian High Priest or by following his example. I say this taking into account the existent similarities between the monotheistic Dacian religion and Christianity and considering that Jesus Christ came to 'restore' the world affected by sin, a world that still had the natural Divine revelation seeded deep into the human being at Creation, as Saint Paul the Apostle writes: "the pagans (non *Christians n.a.*)*who have no law, make law by nature, these, having* no law, are their own law, which shows the letter of the law written in their hearts, through the testimony of their conscience and through their judgments, which casts blame upon them or protects them."¹⁵

The will to live intense, with dignity and freedom¹⁶ are other similarities the Dacians found between their own life and Christian teaching. For the Dacians freedom was essential and maybe this contributed to Dacia being the first province freed from the Roman Empire. Furthermore the care and love for one's family and children, shown in the scenes with Dacians carved in Trajan's Column, are another dimension of Christian life in which Dacians found themselves as morality and faith: 'If however somebody doesn't taje care of his own, especially his household, he rejected the faith and he is worse than a non believer"¹⁷

'The Dacian Supreme God is without a name, without qualification",¹⁸ Zamolxis being only one of His representatives, the Geto–Dacian High Priest. Therefore what an inspired Saint John the Evangelist will say in the Apocalypse, about God: 'I am Alpha and Omega, says the Lord God, The One who is, The One who was and the One who comes, the Allmighty",¹⁹ repeated years later by Dionisie Areopagitul: 'He who is above any name and any reason

and knowledge",²⁰ was known by the Dacian priesthood before the Incarnation of the Logos. Some researchers believe that the Dacians had the faith of the Divine connection with the human race, even of the Man-God, from their ancestors, the Pelasgians, long before the birth of our Savior, worshiping the Supreme Deity, Saturn, which had the name of Father and Forefather, being honored in the archaic cult with the name of Man.²¹ Because of this many mountain peaks were consecrated to the 'divinity of Man."22 The Peak of Man, highest point in the Bucegi mountains, the Obârșiei Valley that leads to the Peak of Man, the Sphinx, which is around, the cave that crosses the Man mountain and the Sky Column, named by the people the Moon Axis and the Centre of the Earth, all these and other sacred places from the mountains, like *Babele*, could be parts of an open air altar where our ancestors prayed to the Heavenly Father, whose name of worship was one we all carry: Man.²³ Seeing these similarities it's possible that the Dacian High Priest from the time of Saint Andrew the Apostle, prepared the Dacians, who believed in the Man-God, to receive the Incarnated Son of God, our Lord Jesus Christ. Being part of the 'Father's' or 'Forefather's' household, as it was the archaic name of God, the High Priest knew from the primordial divine revelation brought forth by the descendants of Adam, or maybe he had the revelation about the coming of the Savior promised to the original parents Adam and Eve. It is even possible that Saint Andrew the Apostle, who founded the first church in the Cave that bears his name, and who, according to tradition, named the Dacian altar from Namaiesti, to have met the Dacian High Priest who also lived in a cave in the sacred mountain.²⁴ This assumption is based on the influence the High Priest had and on the fast and peaceful Christianization of the Dacians, renowned by the ancients for their steadfast and profound belief in the immortality of the soul and also for their bravery and thirst for freedom. The ancient Romanian tradition continued, God took human form and walked the earth with Saint Peter.

The Dacians received Christ slowly, harmoniously, in every city, every village and every hearth, from the hills to the valleys then back to the hills, to the ever secret places from the top of the mountains, the embrace of Christianity being made at the advice of the Dacian priesthood, as a fulfillment of their own religion.

Geto–Dacians worshiped one deity, called Gebeleizis, who had Zamolxis as High Priest, later deified.²⁵ The statement that Zamolxis was Pythagoras's apprentice is a naïve legend, repeated by Strabo (VII, 3, 5). Herodotus rejects it, being sure that *'this Zamolxis lived longe before Pythagoras'* (IV, 96). Herodotus insists on the Geto– Dacians belief in the immortality of the soul or its existence after death,²⁶ because the idea wasn't familiar to the Greeks in the 5th–4th centuries B.C. For this reason he mentions them as some unusual men *'those doctors of the Thracian King Zalmoxis, about whom it is said that they master the craft of making one immortal*".²⁷

The Dacians were able to he harmoniously Christianized because they were not migratory, despite their East, South-East and Central European great spreading and having a previous monotheistic religion which prepared them (praeparatio evanghelica) to fulfill their lives in Christ. Together with the religious similarities, the moral life preached by our Savior Jesus Christ was close to the Dacians morality. The fact that the new Christian religion offered the poor and oppressed population, forced to comply with the Roman polytheist cult, the perspective of a new happy life, without slavery, in which all people are born equal and are equal before God, contributes to the Christianization of the Dacians. Furthermore, in Christianity people found the strength to endure the hardships and oppression having the hope of obtaining freedom and eternal life. The Christian religion, precisely starting from the equality of men before God and from the fact that every man has his own guardian angel and is made in the image of God, legitimized marriage, regardless of the social statute. These were ways of life that appealed to the whole population.

Due to the peaceful Christianization, without the need to destroy the altars, the traditions and forcing the people to accept the Christian faith, many elements of the previous religion were kept as traditions in the new Christian cult. One example is the cutting of the white roosters given to priests at funerals in some parts of Romania. Before the Christianization these sacrifices were placed on the Dacian altar. Thus, according to the testimony of P.P. Panaitescu 'the village people, keeping its old habits, didn't see a contradiction between the old and the new religion; they bowed before the new mission that was brought to them and stepped into the church bringing along their prehistoric rites before the altars."²⁸

The fact that we were a stable, peaceful and faithful people was also seen from the fact that the founding of the Romanian Country was made later than other migratory populations, where them uniting around a leader was essential to be strong and to be able to conquer and pillage the people they invaded.

Due to the existing similarities between the Dacian religion and its fulfillment in Christianity, a lot of Dacian altars became Christian, also in a peaceful way. Before the Edict of Mediolanum (today's Milan) issued by the Hole Emperor Constantine the Great in the year 313^{29} , which assured ensured religious freedom for the Christians within the Roman Empire, the Christian faith was known and embraced by the people North of the Danube.

There are several archeological evidences regarding this matter in today's Dobrogea as well as in today's area of Oltenia and Muntenia. I mention only the three cave churches from Arges and Muscel: Corbii de Piatra, Namaiesti and Cetatuia Negru Voda, which according to the local traditions, were originally Dacian altars. The Namaiesti Monastery legend, passed by word of mouth from generation to generation since ancient times is indicative: Saint Andrew the Apostle, while preaching in the area, found the Dacian altar carved into stone. Asking if someone was there, he said to his followers: *Nemo est* (there is nobody).³⁰ As a sign of his crossing and preaching, he supposedly left here one of the oldest icons of Mother Mary with her Baby, painted by Saint Luke the Apostle and Evangelist. Thus the name of the place remained up until this day.³¹

The chrismation of the voivode and later the ruler was a normal manifestation of the people and its leaders profound Christian faith. From the true believers, from the bottom to the top, from the civilization of the depth to the peak, this act that accompanied the ascending to the throne was admitted, asked for and imposed.³² Our neighbors–the Bulgarians, the Hungarians, the Serbs, etc–were Christianized later and sometimes only *'from the bottom to the top'–*

'with the axe', by force, sometimes exercised by *a single* military ruler, such as Sviatislav from Kiev for the Russians, or King Saint Stephen for the Hungarians.³³

To this point of view, Radu Vulpe synthesizes: 'Our people was born Christian spntaneiously, naturally, along with the forming of its Romanization, to which the popular Christianity contribuited to its completion. We are Romanians because we are Christians and we are Christians because we are Romanians."³⁴

Linguistic and Archeological Evidence

Linguistic evidence and archeological discoveries attest apostolic Christianity and the continuity of the Christian communities in the region. The living continuity of the Romanized Geto–Dacian population in the Carpatho–Danubian–Pontic territories and the peaceful apostolic Christianization it enjoyed, as a furfilment of its own monotheistic religion, are essential elements in the Romanian people ethnogenesis. The idea about the origin, continuity and permanence of the loca population *'is not a Romanian national product of the colectiv enthusiasm, or of the Romanian and humanist chroniclers*"³⁵, because it was considered by Romanians as basic truth that doesn't have to be proved.

The Czech W. Tomaschek said that: 'The Daco-Romans are Romanized Dacians and Getae, which never left Dacia. During the nations migration the old countries were ruled by Sarmatians, Vandals, Goths, Gepidae, Slovenians, Bulgarians, Pecenegi and Cumans. When it happens for the historians to talk about these regions, it's normal that they mention only the ruling nations which actively manifested themselves and not the passive population, albeit greater in number, of sheppards and mountain men of Romanian origin, who continuously ruled the old territory and was only torn and overwhelmed by invaders'.³⁶

The essential arguments regarding the Romanians ethnogenesis are: language, historic and literary testimonials, archeological, epigraphic, numismatic and ethnological documents, etc. The limited documentary material regarding quality and quantity, gaping and sometimes incoherent regarding the demographic situations from the former Dacian territory, is supplanted by the language of the people which is the coronation of its soul and identity, as well as by the apostolic Christianity, popular and militant which assured our continuity in this land blessed by God.

Linguistic Evidence

Saint Andrew the Apostle surely ordained priests and deacons in the areas that he preached. In the beginning, as it happened in all the Christian world, the Christians private homes were the place where they met and performed 'the breaking of the bread'. As the Christians numbers grew, the first places of worship, called basilicas, started to appear, some of them being discovered in the cities from Scythia Minor.

The endurance of the apostolic Christianity in these areas is proof of the local Christian's population permanent continuity, even if there were many times when it was oppressed. Christianity's contribution to the Romanian people's ethnogenesis process certifies a historic reality specific to us: our Orthodox Latinity and our Latin Orthodoxy. This reality specific only to Romanians is peremptory proof to the Daco–Romanized population's continuity of life even if it had to cohabit with the migratory populations who passed through here. The ones who stayed were assimilated by the locals. For these reasons Vasile Parvan considered that 'Christianity' has a somewhat more complicated development in Trajan's Dacia"³⁷.

The Romanian people's ethnogenesis, started with the colonization of Dacia and with the Romanization of the local element, continued between the 3rd and 4th century; but the spreading of Christianity also continued among our ancestors. After Constantine the Great issued the Edict of Mediolan in 313, the Christian mission within the Empire and outside its borders received a strong momentum, the Emperor himself showing support for the Christian religion. At the beginning of the 4th century there was South of the Danube, so very close to the former Roman Dacia, a whole string of dioceses. Their number increased after the year 313, thus towards the end of the 4th century and the beginning of the next there were over 40 Danubian Episcopal Chairs. Some of them were seated on the right shore of the Danube: Singidunum, Viminacium, Aquae, Ratiaria,

Castra martis, Oescus, Novae, Sexanta Prista, Appiaria, Durostorum, Abrittus, Marcianopolis and the dioceses from Scythia Minor headed by Tomis. Considering the Christianity's strong missionary character from the first centuries and with the help from Emperor Constantine and his descendants, the aforementioned Episcopal Chairs helped intensify the preaching of the Gospel in the nearby areas as well given the fact that they spoke the same Latin language.

Because the Daco-Romans spoke latin, the Christian missionaries preached in Latin around these areas. There also was preaching in Greek because in today's Dobrogea there were Greek communities and in the migratory nations language. One such testimony about the languages Christian teaching was preached in among the people on the left of the Danube comes from Auxentius, Bishop of Durostor, former apprentice of Bishop Ulfila (Ulfilas). Auxentius, a native of the Daco-Romanized population from the Lower Danube, left a precious testimony before becoming Bishop of Durostor: 'And there was Ulfila a Bishop with a highly elevated life. . . and words, true believer of Christ,. . .. Accomplishing this and others alike and shinning with glory for 40 years in the episcopate, he preached though the apostolic gift, without pause, in Greek, Latin and Goth in the one and only church of Christ. . . He left behind, in these three languages, several treaties and a lot of comments, to be for those who would want to use them enlighten the soul..."³⁸ Ulfila preached the Gospel in latin because the area was inhabited by Romanics.³⁹

Another proof of the Daco–Roman population's Christianization, concurrent with the ethnogenesis process, is the fundamental terms of faith, which are of Latin origin. The Romanian language *'by origin, structure and vocabulary, is a Latin language, the only direct descendant of the Latin spoken continuously in the Danubian provinces of the Roman Empire'*.⁴⁰ It originated in the common Latin (spoken), to which elements kept from the Geto–Dacian idiom were added and lexical elements from the Slavonic language from the cohabitation with the Slavs. What the Slavs added and to a small extent other nations, didn't change the original, fundamental and Romanic nature of our language. The Romanic nature is given by morphology, syntax and fundamental elements of the lexicon, all from the Latin language.⁴¹

This is the birth certificate of Christian Daco–Romans and of their living continuity in the Carpatho–Danubian–Pontic areas.⁴² The ethno–cultural and linguistic researches proved that many Latin terms that name the basic notions of the faith and some basic forms of the cult were created before or during the 4th century, therefore they preceded the 4th–6th centuries namely the exact period in which the Romanian people was formed.

We have testimonies of our Christianity's evolution in time, from the Romanian language itself, through the Latinity of the words that express basic notions of the faith: cruce (crucem), a cumineca (communicare), a boteza (baptisare), crestin (christianus), rugaciune (rogationem), sărbătoare (dies servatoria), a ajuna (ajunare), păcat (peccatum), a răposa (repausare), mormânt (monumentum), închina (inclino, are) etc.⁴³

In the Lord's Prayer, *Our Father*, and in the *Symbol of Faith* or *Creed*, formulated at the first two Ecumenical Councils, from 325 and 381, so before the Slavs came, over 90% of the words are of Latin origin.⁴⁴

Some words belonged to the Dacian religion, others were taken from the pagan Roman world but received a new Christian meaning and others were made up on the spot especially to express the new notions of faith ⁴⁵.

Duminică (Sunday), comes from dies dominica, 'Princely Day' or 'The Lord's Day', word that replaced the weekly pagan holiday, dies solis (sun day, *deus sol invictus* being the spiritual patron of some Roman Emperors).

Crăciun (Christmas), popular word, unknown in the religious books, for the Nativity celebration, can come from *creatio* (acuz. Creationem, in popular Latin creation creation), so the day of the 'creation' of the new world, through the embodiment of Jesus Christ.

Colindă (Carol), originated from the popular colendae (in Latin cult calendae), first day of the month for the Romans (from where the word calendar also comes). January's calendele from the beginning of the year, were celebrated with songs and cheers that Christianity adopted but imprinted them with the religious Christian character.

Floriile (Palm Sunday), (Flurii, in its archaic popular form) bears the name of a spring pagan holiday, Floralia (commonly known as

Florilia), dedicated to the Goddess Flora and close as celebration date with our Saviour's Entry into Jerusalem. The name of the pagan celebration was kept but the content of the celebration was modified which is part of the history of salvation.

Rusaliile (Whitsuntide), comes from the name of the Rosalia celebration, a day of remembering the dead, celebrated during Spring with the blooming of the roses (rosa), close as date from the feast of Pentecost. The name was kept but with a new Christian meaning.

Paşti (Easter), originally a Hebrew word, in Latin a dat dies pascharum, and in Romanian kept its plural form like in Latin.

The word $p \check{a} g \hat{a} n$ (pagan) comes from the Latin paganus, resident of the rural area (pagus = village). In the first thee centuries, Christianity developed more into the cities while in the countryside, the more conservatory population kept the pagan religion. Thus in the 4th century when Christianity becomes an allowed religion and then the official one, paganus designated a worshiper of a pagan religion.

Biserică (Church) comes from the Latin 'basilica', naming a public edifice in the Roman forums. It received a Christian religious meaning around the beginning of the 4th century and thus it circulated both in the oriental Latin as well as in the Western Latin. The word in unknown in the other neo–Latin languages, which starting with the 4th century adopted the derivations from 'ecclesia'. The word 'basilica', meaning place of worship and Christian community is prior to the world 'ecclesia'.⁴⁶ In the Oriental Romanity, isolated due to the Huns, Gepidae, Avars and Slavs, remained in use the word church, derived from basilica, like it remains nowadays. The preservation of this word proves that in the 4th century takes place a spreading of Christianity in our areas of massive proportions.

The word with exclusive Christian meaning are the verb *to baptize, to baptize,* the noun *baptism* (boteziune in old texts), from the Latin *baptisto,–are,* derived from the Greek $\beta \alpha \pi \tau i \zeta \omega$, plunging into the water.

Creștin (Christian) derives from the popular version of Latin *chrestianus,* which in turn derives from *Chrestus* or *Crests,* as our Saviour was called in vulgar Latin. The word *chrestianus* is certified

to the church writers Tertulian (c. 160–249) and Lactantiu (c. 240– after 317) so our ancestors used it at least till then.

Some words were created here, with the help of the people who spoke Latin in its Eastern dialect: inviere (resurrection) from the suffix in and the verb vivo, vivere, meaning revenire la viata (returning to life), fundamental theological truth, expressed by own means: credinta (faith), from the popular credentia; facatorul lumii (maker of *the world*), from *facio*,-*ere*, and *lumen*,-*inis* = *lumina* (*light*), with the meaning of universe; *imparatia lui Dumnezeu* (the Kingdom of God), from *imperium = imparatie* (kingdom); *Tata* (*Father*) for God, from the familiar Latin tata; Fecioara (Virgin), for the Mother of God, from the popular fetiola = fata (girl); fin (godson) from the popular filianus, spiritual son; paresimi, for Postul Mare (Lent), from quadragessima = patruzeci (forty); a impartasi (to share) and impartasanie (Eucharist), from the suffix in and partio,-ire; rascumparare (redemption), from the suffix ras and compare,-are. Same were created the words: altar (altar), from the accusative altarem; cer (sky), from caelum; a cumineca (to communicate) from communico,-are; cruce 9cross), from the accusative crucem; a ingenunchia (to kneel), from ingenunculare (from genunculum-genunchi (knee)); a cununa (to marry) from corono,-are; a (se) inchina (to worship) from incline,-are; minune (*miracle*), from the accusative *mirionem*; *pacat* (*sin*), from *peccatum*; *rugaciune (prayer)* from the accusative *rogationem*; *tampla (temple)* (for iconostasis or catapeteasma), from *templum* etc.⁴⁷

These words are different from the ones with similar meaning used by the Western Church, which proves the popular character of the Romanian Christianity, its particular develepoment and the fact that our ancestors were evangelized by Easterners. The Christian terminology of Latin origin is poorer in the notions regarding the Church's organization and cult, because for Romanians, with the spreading of the Slavo–Byzantine rite, terms of Slav origin were used or broke through the pathway of that language.

The Christian terminology of Latin origin, from the Romanian language is an essential argument that the beginnings of Christian life for us starts in the apostolic period and continued into the 2nd and 3rd centuries. A generalization of Christianity was made in the 4th century.

We were kneaded Christians and Romanians, being steadfast in these blessed lands, due to the attachment towards faith, traditions, language and land. We kept our faith and traditions despite all the influences from the oppressors and migratory nations.

Archeological Discoveries

The seniority of the terminology kept until nowadays is confirmed by the archeological diggings.⁴⁸ The archeological researches started in the last decades of the 19th century which continue today, led to the discovery of almost 35 historical and archaeological researched and determined basilicas.⁴⁹ Thus, at Dnogetia–Garvan (Jijila village, Tulcea county), the research done⁵⁰ brought to light the whole citadel, with many interior architectonic complexes. The citadel from Dobrogea's North-Western extremity had in the Souht-West corner a small basilica from the 4th-5th centuries A.D. measuring 16 meters in length and 9.70 meters in height. The place was a slight trapezoid due to the enclosure wall which it stcks to. The narthex is missing and the body is split in three naves. It was build between the second half of the 4th century and the beginning of the 5th and went through at least two distructions and rebuilds. The first rebuild dates from the time of Anastasius (491–518), the second from the time of Iustinian (527–565) when the apse is added, at the exterior, a pentagonal wall, from stone mixed with cley, slightly bigger than the basilica's width with the interior split in half.⁵¹ Here several Paleo-Christian objects were found: bronze pattern for simple little crosses, circa 50 small crosses from the 10th–12th centuries,⁵² a Byzantine led seal with the diameter of 25,5–27mm.⁵³ Another led seal, measuring 17mm in diameter, represents the face of the Mother of God, with Christ's icon in a medallion on the chest, praying. On the reverse there is an inscription: 'the seal of Mihai hierarch of Rosia".⁵⁴ The sigilograph Ion Barnea identified the owner as being Metropolitan Mihai of Kiev (1130–1145),⁵⁵ who was of Greek origin.⁵⁶ All these proof that in this area there was the residence of a Bishop who kept in touch whith other neighboring bishops.

In the $5^{th}-6^{th}$ centuries, 15 capital cities from the territories on the shores of the Danube and the Black Sea, out of the almost 40

fortified settlements, cities and towns, also became the headquarters of the dioceses from inside the late Roman province. The most important among them, by statute and rank, famous even nowadays, is the city of Tomis, capital city of Scythia Minor province.⁵⁷

In Tomis (today Constanta), the metropolis of the region, were discovered already 5 basilicas. The archeological diggings are very slow because the new city is on top of the old metropolis. The grand basilica, located under the C_2 block, in front of the Romanian Navy Museum, is the biggest basilica in Dobrogea. It was build from rocks and bricks held together by mortar in alternating layers. The measurements are impressive for that time period: 48,10 meters in length and 23,45 meters wide facing ESE–WNW. The shape is rectangular and is divided in three big naves by colonaments. The interior was paved with sesqui–pedalles⁵⁸ type bricks, geometrically ensconced. In the central nave, to the West, there was a crypt which had marble stairs. The stairs were taken from other older edifices. The walls had painted stucco. The crypt contained an ensemble of rooms for reliquaries, organized after a plan which was suitable to the Episcopal character and size of the basilica.⁵⁹

Bishop Paternus is the first known hierarch who shepherded dioceses from the entire province. The importance of the Tomis Episcopate, where was the headquarters of the 'Scythian Diocese' (namely of the local people) is shown by Emperor Zenon's decree60 regarding 'the situation of the most holy churches held under the administration of the city of Tomis' which would 'not be subject to its constraint (of the new decision) but to remain with own organization."⁶¹

When the church took, in the Empire, in every province, city and even village, more and more prerogatives of laic leadership, The Scythis Minor province continued to stay at a centralized system, with only one Bishop from the capital which shepherded the whole province. Around the beginning of the 6th century there already were about 15 dioceses in the countryside directly subordinated to the Bishop in the capital, according to the Empire's general rules.⁶²

Five basilics were discovered in Tropaeum Traiani (today's Adamclisi), where it lays the triumphal monument built on Emperor Trajan's orders between 106–109 to commemorate the victory

over the Dacians, and the city build by the Romans over the Getae settlement⁶³. One is of 'marble' Greek design, containing an atrium and a baptisterium. Another 'transept' church, or 'T' shaped, the only one of its kind in Dobrogea, is the largest (33,80 x 13,70m) and it contains narthex, nave, baptisterium, transept with a crypt and apsis.⁶⁴

In Histria were discovered the foundations of seven churches dating from the 5th-6th centuries.⁶⁵ Other basilics were discoveted in Argamum (Capul Dolojman), Axiopolis (Cernavodă), Callatis (Mangalia), Capidava, Ibida (Slava Rusă) etc.⁶⁶

Paleo-Christian Art

Pieces of the Paleo-Christian art are also arguments of the initial Christianism as well the inscriptions (about one hundred), especially from the funeral monuments fron the 4th–6th centuries. The great silver gilt disc (61 cm in diameter) belonging to Bishop Paternus of Tomis (beginning of the 6th century), has a large chrismon⁶⁷ in the center, flanked by the letters A and Ω^{68} , and around it, on a round frieze, a Latin inscription is engraved: *† Ex antiquis renovatum est* per Paternus, reverentiss(imum) episc(opum) nostrum, amen [= (This disc) was made again, from old (pieces), by care of Paternus, our venerable Bishop, amin]. So the disc was older and was rebuilt by Bishop Paternus, during the time of Emperor Anastasius I (491–518). The disc was discovered by chance in Malaia Perescepena, Ukraine, in the year 1912, together with a great treasure containing in over 400 gold and silver pieces, weighing about 500 kg. The disc and four other pieces belonged to the Tomis church. Currently it is on display in Ermitaj Museum in Sankt Petersburg.⁶⁹

The Biertan Donarium, Christian votic object, dating from the Constantinian era (4th century), was discovered near the town of Biertan from Sibiu. The inscription *EGO ZENOVIVS VOTVM POSVI* (*Ego Zenovius votum posui*–I, Zenovius submitted this gift), under which there is the monogram of Jesus Christ, is proof of the Latinity, the Christianity and the continuity of the local population from Transylvania in the first Christian centuries⁷⁰.

A golden pectoral, ornated with the sign of the Holy Cross and the monogram of our Savious was discovered at Someseni, in Cluj. Hone and marble patterns, for the making of small simple crosses were discovered in the Danube area, in Olteni, but also in the North of the country in Botosani. The ceramic art from the 5th-6th centuries proves not only the spreading and density of the pre–Romanian population, its continuity in the whole area of the country, but also the crystallized Christian faith. The pans, mugs, plates, bowls, rushlights and also the bronze lamps and adornment objects (earrings, rings, buckles) discovered in Alba Iulia, Oradea, Ulpia Traiana, Drobeta, Apulum, Histria, Tomis, Luciu–Ialomiţa etc, all have Christian marking decorations. All these archeological discoveries date before the Slavs started their migration attarcted by Byzantium's splendor and pomposity.⁷¹

These pieces of Paleo–Christian art, richly inwrought with Christian symbols, show the profound Chrisitian way of life in these areas. Furthermore the hierarchs, servants and true believers had a very good theological training and a distinguished way of life. One such proof is the participation of Bishop Paternus at the Constantiniple synod, from 520, and the signing of the synodal document with the title of *'Provinciae Scythiae Metropolitanus*".⁷²

Martyrs for Christ since the Second Century

The martyrs for Christ, who suffered in the Northerm Danube area since the 2nd century are proof of the apostolic, popular Christianity of the local people.

The four edicts⁷³ issued by Emperor Diocletian (284–305),⁷⁴ intended to destroy the places of worship and the Christian writings, ban the religious gatherings and kill the Christians that did not worship the gods. From the time of Diocletian, Galeriu and Liciniu's persecutions, the names of some martyrs are recorded in the citadels both on the Danube's right shore in the riverside provinces (Pannonia Inferior, Moesia Superior, Dacia Ripensis, Moesia Inferior și Scythia Minor), and in the southern provinces (Dacia Mediterranea, Dardania și Dalmatia).

In Sirmium⁷⁵suffered priest Montanus and his wife Maxima (natives of Singidunum) who were drowned in the river Sava on

March 26th 304. Montanus is the first Daco-Roman priest known by name until now.⁷⁶ Bishop Irineu also suffered there, he was beheaded on April 6th 304 and on April 9th his deacon Dinitried was killed by spear. Later, Prefect Leontiu of Illyric build a church in Tesalonic in honor of deacon Dimitrie, in which his miracle performin relics were layd to rest (October 26th 413) and one in Sirmium. The Slavs named Sirmium as Mitrovita or Dimitrie's City. Several young women suffered with Saint Dimitrie, in Sirmium. Other martyrs were: faithful Secundus in July 20th, maiden Basilla on August 29th, maiden Anastasia on December 25th, then gardener Sineros and five carvers from near Sirmium who were baptized by Bishop Chiril of Antioch exiled in that area at the time. In Cibalae⁷⁷ lecturer Pollion was martyred on April 28th 304 as wel as other clerics from the Sirmium area (lecturer Hermogen, priest Romulus, deacon Silvanus, deacon Donatus and his brother Venustus). In Singidunum⁷⁸ suffered deacon Ermil and jailer Stratonic, who were tortured amd thrown in the Danube on January 13th probably 307. In Dacia Ripensis suffered martyrs Agheu and Gaius and exorcist Hermes from Bononia.⁷⁹ In Mediterranean Dacia suffered martyrs from the town on Naisus (today the city of Nis). In dardania suffered the carver brothers Flor and Lavry, commemorated in August 18th.

In Moesia Inferior suffered Lupus, in Novae.⁸⁰ A lot also suffered in the city of Durostorum,⁸¹ probably in the year 298: brothers Pasicrat and Valentin, beheaded on April 24th, soldiers Marcian and Nicandru, together with 47 other soldiers, killed on June 8th, veteran Iuliu on May 27th, soldier Hesichius on June 15th. In the village of Ozovia, near Durostorum, three peasant believers were beheaded: Quintilian, Dadas and Maxim the Scholar (as it turns out the Christian teaching also reached the rural areas).⁸²

In Scythia Minor suffered several martyrs. In Tomis, on March 7th, around the year 300, suffered even Efrem the city's Bishop. Macrobiu and Gordian as well as several other people ⁸³ were burnt to the steak around the years 320–323.⁸⁴

Bishop Tit of Tomis suffered because he refused to enlisted around the year 323. In Axiopolis⁸⁵ Chiril, Chindeia and Tasius (Dasios) suffered around 303. In Halmyris⁸⁶ on Joly 8th, between the years 298–303 suffered priest Epictet and his young convert, Astion.

Their relics were discovered, after the archeological researches from the years 2000–2001, in the crypt of a basilica build in the 4^{th} century. Many other Christians suffered in Noviodunum⁸⁷ and Dinogeția.⁸⁸

In Niculitel (Tulcea county), in 1971, the relics of martyrs Zoticos, Attalos, Kamasis and Filippos were discovered under a church's altar. The relics of two other Christian martyrs were discovered under them, which seem to predate them but their names are not known.⁸⁹ If at first, based on some circumstantial analysis, it was believed that martyrs from Niculitel are from the 4th or 5th century, new elements prove that they are from the 2nd century. The Bishop of Thrace, Sotas of Anhial, a settlement from the Black Sea's Western coast, is mentioned in a letter of Aelius Publius Iulius, Bishop of Debeltum,⁹⁰ quoted by Eusebiu of Caesarea⁹¹. According to Lightfoot, he is the same person with Zotikos (replacing S with Z was a common occurance at the time) who banished the demon inside Priscila, Montanus's prophetess. He lived in the second half of the 2nd century and was mentioned in the antimontanist treaty, dedicated to Abercius (m. 200), Bishop of Hierapolis, by an unknown author. In this treaty Zotikos from Outros, a settlement near Hierapolis, is named 'contrate preot'. He was probably martyred buring Marcus Aurelius's persecution which was especially bloody. At the time the persecutions from the Empire's borders were very violent, no exception being made for the Thracian area on the Black Sea's West coast. In Lyon was then martyred the Bishop of Pothin together with many other Christians.92

The Syrian martyrology mentions that Filippos was martyred in Noviodunum (today's Isaccea, approximately 10–12 km away from Niculitel) on June 4th. The Hieronymian martyrology mentions the four martyrs *Zotikos, Attalos, Kamasys and Filippos* together with 25 other martyrs whose names are not given.⁹³

Other martyrs for Christ suffered in the ancient city of Noviodunum either during Dioclețian's persecutions (284–305), Galeriu's (292–311) from 304–305, or Liciniu's from 320–324⁹⁴. Most of the martyrs from Scythia Minor date from this period.

The crypt from Niculitel is storeyed, as reaserches which continued in 1975, showed. Two offering vessels, one from the $4^{\text{th}}-5^{\text{th}}$ centuries and the other from the $5^{\text{th}}-6^{\text{th}}$ centuries,⁹⁵ were

found at the lower level, benieth the four martyrs. The entrance was sealed by two chalk slabs, one having a text engraved in stone and painted in red, on three lines in Greek: *Here and there (lavs) the blood of the martyrs.*⁹⁶ 110 burnt bone fragments were layed in the crypt belonging to martyrs whose names are not known to us. The anthropological analysys established that it's abut two martyrs aged between 45–55 years who suffered the martyrdom probably during the time of Decius (294–251) or even earlier. The discovery in the two different rooms of two bone fragments from two phalanges of the same toe and the fact that the fragments were mixed with soil of two different colors, made V.H.Baumann to say that they were brought from somewhere else and buried here. The reaserches from then also revealed the ruins of a structure with stone walls held together by clay, which was demolished up until the brick pavement. This structure, which probably was a small basilica, covered the first crypt of the tow martyrs.⁹⁷

Theodosius II's coin of *Gloria Romanorum* (408–423) type proves that this crypt was opened. Probably it was then when the basilica was ravaged by the Huns. It was also disturbed around the mid 5th century. A red globular vessel discovered there, dates since then. The crypt was probably sealed after the death of the last heir of the Constantinian dynasty in order to protect the holy relics.⁹⁸

On the plaster from the wall right of the entrance it is written in red-brown ink: μ artipec martires / Z ω tikoc Zoticos / Atta λ oc Attalos / Ka μ acic Kamasis / Φ i λ i π π oc Filippos.

On the front wall it was written in same ink the words: Mlphartureç Xristou0000 (martyrs in Christ). The lower room had an entrance sealed by a stone tile on which this text was written in Greek: *'here and there (lays) the blood of martyrs*'.⁹⁹

Known martyrs were also in Buzau. Even the Christened Goths, headed by their Bishop, Ulfila, were persecuted by Athanaric, in 372, and had to seek refuge south of the Danube, Ulfila being made Bishop in Nicopole ad Istrum¹⁰⁰ or Durostorum. According to some historians Ulfila was at first an Orthodox, in the Nicean way, and then he converted to Arianism wishing to get in touch with the Eastern Empire which Emperor and Bishop were then Arians.¹⁰¹Impostant is the fact that north of the Danube, according to some in Buzau areas, he created his own alphabet and started translating the Blible in the Gothic language¹⁰² used for a long time by the Germanic nations.¹⁰³

The manuscris *Sabas Gotus translatus in Capadociam* (The Church of Gothia's Letter to the Church of Capadocia) was displayed in the "Monumenta Romaniae Vaticana" exposition–documents about Romanians from the Vatican's secret archive, opened in 1996 in the Sistine Salon from Vatican. The scroll accompanied the moving of Saint Sava's relics from Southern Carpathians, area under the control of Athanaric's Goths, through Tomis. The document describes the martyrdom, its circumstances and development, showing the strength of faith of the whole Christian community from the current area of Buzau. This is another proof of the ties between the Proto–Romanians from the north of the Danube with the ones across the Danube from 'Romania', namely one of the Eastern Roman provinces, either Moesia or Scythia Minor.¹⁰⁴

Moreover the ties between Saint Vasile the Great, notable representative of the Cappadocian monachism, with the Tomis Archbishop of the time, Bretanion, another great personality of the Christian world, are proof of the existence from the first Christian centuries of enlightened monks in the current Roamanian territory. The followers of Archbishop Bretanion, Gherontie or Terentius, Teotim I, Timotei, Ioan, Alexandru, Teotim II, Paternus, Valentinian, etc, were also great hierarchs of the world, personally attending the Ecumenical Councils and indirectly to the dogmatic disputes of the time.¹⁰⁵

Saint Sava the Martyr is proof that, in eastern Muntenia areas, so outside Scythia Minor, there were Christian communities in the second half of the 4th century, which had churches (probably made out of wood) and priests. This assumes the presence of hierarchs to ordain the priests, to sanctify the churches, to oversee the Christian brotherhoods and to continue the threefold hierarchal mission given by the Lord: sanctifying, teaching and leading.

Even though we do not know the hierarchs names due to the persecutions and the large distances between the hierarchal residences known in today's Dobrogea and south of the Danube, there were for sure hierarchs, horbishops¹⁰⁶ or visiting bishops (periodeut)¹⁰⁷ who supported the Christian communities North of the Danube.

The names of other martyrs persecuted by the Goth King Athanaric, from 373, were mentioned in a fragment of a Goth calendar and some martyr documents. There are mentioned the names of priests Verca and Batwin (Bathusios) with two sons and two daughters, monk Arpila and 18 other martyrs. These were burned alive in a church located near the Arges's flow into the Danube. Their relics were gathered by Gaatha, a Christian woman and wife to a Goth leader, together with her daughter, Dulcilla and were transported to Cizic, on the shores of the Sea of Marmara, in a colony of Christian Goths. On their return, Gaatha and Vellas were stoned to death.

Saint Nichita also suffered during Athanaric's persecution; he was burned alive on September 15th. By name and by the fact that his relics were placed in a church from the twon of Mopsuestia, from Cilicia province, we believe that he probably was the descendant of a family of Greek captives.¹⁰⁸

Thus, in the year 372, despite the Roman rule and later the barbarian persecutions, before the Slav and Hun invasions, and the splendor of Byzantium lights, the Christian faith was lived and kept holy by the Proto–Romanians in these areas.

Surely there were many Christian martyrs in all Christian centers. As proof to that are the inscriptions of martyric character from Axiopolis, Niculitel, Tomis, etc, from the 3rd-4th centuries.¹⁰⁹

The high numbers of known martyrs, to which the unknown ones are added, prove that the inhabitabts of the Danubian provinces had the certainty of the Christian faith in which service they gave their lives for. The generalization of the Christian faith happened on the left of the Danube after the Aurelian retreat and with even greater intensity after Constantine the Great became the leader of the Roman Empire. As proof are the Scythian monks who had an important role in the whole Christian world at the time, but also objects and inscriptions of Christian character as well as the places of worship dating from that period of time.

Notable Monks in the Christian World

The name, work and writings of the Scythian monks from the first centuries are other testimonies of the flourishing Christian life in these lands.

Saint John Cassian (360–435), Scythia Minor native¹¹⁰, was a very learned monk and respected writer in latin. In his writings¹¹¹ we find testimonies about the existence of the flourishing monachal communities in the area: *'ever since childhood I found myself among monks...'* In another excerpt from *Clerical conversations* XXIV,¹¹² he describes the nostalgia of the time spend in his childhood among this enlightened Christian monks, from whom he grew a lot in faith and theological knowledge.

The Greek language was known there, which proves the existence of a Eastern Christian environment in Dobrogea where Greek was spoken alongside Latin, at least in the religious cult. The fact that both Greek and Latin were used is proven by the marble block with a bilingual Christian inscription (Greek and Latin) discovered in Tomis, dating from the 5th-6th centuries.¹¹³ In the year 404/5 he traveled to Rome where he met Leon, the future Bishop of Rome. Around the year 410/1 he left Rome and in 415/6 he founded a monastery for monks and one for nuns in Massilia (today's Marseille), for which he *'conceived the first Western monachal rules, after the Eastern example, with some necessary adjustements according to the land'.* Therefore John Cassian brought the Eastern monachal ways into the West. His work has a more ascetic character. Around the year 435 he passed away and was celebrated as saint almost immediately both in the East and the West.¹¹⁴

Dionysius the Small or *Exiguus* is a personality of the Christian world from the end of the 4th century and the middle of the 5th century, who placed the chronology in connection to the Birth of Christ. He self titled himself 'the Small' or 'Exiguus' as a token of modesty and humility. According to his own statements, recorded by Cassiodor, he was born in Scythia Minor around the year 470. He received his education in one of Dobrogea's monasteries. Good connoisseur of Greek and Latin, he was invited by Pope Ghelasie

to Rome where he traveled to at the end of the 4th century and settled at the Saint Anastasia Monastery. He had an extremely rich activity in Rome during the episcopate of ten Popes.¹¹⁵ Dionysius Exiguus left an invaluable work to the Christian Church. Through the translations made by writers and fathers of the Eastern Christian Church, like Chiril of Alexandria, Grigorie of Nysa, Proclus, etc, he made the Eastern theology known in the Latin environment, making the crystallized Christian teaching available from a dogmatic point of view, as it was thought, lived and preached by the Eastern theologians, connoisseurs of the philosophical argumentation less familiar to Rome at the time. Thus he was a promoter of the Eastern Christian theology, redacted in Greek, in the Easter Church, the Eastern and Western Church sharing the same apostolic faith. The Bishops of Rome requested the Scythian monk to translate in Latin the collection of church canons, issued by different synods or councils. He put together three distinct legal collections, ranging from apostolic canons to contemporary Papal letters. Thus Dionysius was 'the founder of the Western canonic law'. Dionysius the Small was the first church historian who had a new Christian vision upon chronology reforming the Christian calendar by fixing the Birth of Jesus as starting point of the Christian era. Thus he abandoned Diocletian's era and accepted the year 753 a.u.c. as the year of the Birth of Jesus and the starting point for the Christian era. His calendar, with a certain margin of error, was adopted by Italy (527), France and England (the Council of Whitby 664), slowly expanding all throughout the whole Christian and non Christian world.¹¹⁶

The Scythian hierarchs and monks mentioned were protectors and preachers of Christ's Gospel and also founders of the European medieval culture not only in the Carpatho–Danubiano–Pontic area but also in Western Europe. One example being Saint Dionysius Exiguus who, in the ecumenical Christian conscience, is considered by the canonists as the founding father of the Western canonic law.¹¹⁷

All these aspects and many others not mentioned in this material, attest to the fulfillment of the Dacian religion in Christianity, the steadfastness and dignity of the Romanian people. As Father Dumitru Staniloae said: *'The Romanian spirituality adopted these defining traits of its ego, appropriated from the Byzantine culture, in its*

own way, according to its vital necessities and its particular position it helb between the Catholic West and Orthodox East. Our nation's spirit of synthesis is not only explained by its persistence from ancient times in the middle space between East and West, but also by mixing in it of the Latin character and Orthodox Christianity....Our Latin character is no stranger of our being's Thracian seniority, who never moved from this middle ground between East and West'.¹¹⁸

NOTES

¹ Eusebius Caesarensis, "Historia ecclesiastica", in J.P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus. Patres graeci*, t.XX, lib. III, cap. I, Paris, 1857; Eusebiu de Cezareea, *Scrieri. Partea I*, Colecția Părinți și Scriitori Bisericești (P.S.B.), nr. 13, (București: Editura I.B.M.B.O.R., 1987), 99; *Fontes Historiae Dacoromanae / Izvoarele istoriei României*, vol. II, *De la anul 300 până la anul 1000*, (se va cita *Fontes*, II), editat de Haralambie Mihăescu, Gheorghe Ștefan, Radu Hîncu, Vladimir Iliescu, Virgil C. Popescu, (București: Editura Academiei, 1970), 14–15; C. Daicoviciu, "În jurul creștinismului în Dacia", in *Studii. Revistă de istorie*, an. I, nr. 1/1948, 122–127; Mircea Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii Ortodoxe Române*, vol. I, ed. I, București, 1980, 55–61; Alexandru Suceveanu, "Timpul istoriei", I, in *Memorie și patrimoniu în honorem emeritae Ligiae Bârzu*, București, 1998, 172–174; Casian, Arhiepiscopul Dunării de Jos, "Mărturii ale sfințeniei în istoria creștinismului românesc la *începuturi până în secolul al XIX–lea*, vol. I, Galați, Editura Arhiepiscopiei Dunării de Jos, 2009, 227.

² Cf. Emilian Popescu, "Sfîntul Apostol Filip, misionar pe pământul românesc", in vol. *Logos. Înalt Prea Sfințitului Arhiepiscop Bartolomeu al Clujului la împlinirea vârstei de 80 de ani*, (Cluj–Napoca: Editura Renașterea, 2001), 386– 398; *Idem*, "Apostolicitatea creștinismului românesc: Sfinții Apostoli Andrei și Filip în Dobrogea", in vol. *Creștinismul–sufletul neamului românesc*, (Făgăraș: Editura Agaton, 2002), 19.

³ Mircea Păcurariu, *op. cit.*, 63.

⁴ Vasile Pârvan, *Getica. O protoistorie a Daciei*, (București: Cultura Națională, 1926), 211.

⁵ Delehaye Hippolyte, "Sinaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae e Codice Sirmodiano", in *Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum novembris*, Bruxelles, 1902, col. 265–266.

⁶ Dumitru Manolache, *Andrei, Apostolul lupilor*, (București: Editura Dacica, 2008), 495.

⁷ Its about the documents of Adon și Usuard. Nicolae Dănilă, "Apostolul Filip și Scythia Minor", in *Cultura creștină*, Blaj, serie nouă, an III, 1997, 33–49;

Emilian Popescu, "Creștinismul timpuriu pe teritoriul României", in *Priveghind și lucrând pentru mântuire*, (Iași: Editura Trinitas, 2000), 194–214.

⁸ Col 3:11.

⁹ Georg Kraus, *Cronica Transilvaniei 1608–1665*, (București: Editura Academiei, 1965), 11–12. *The Chronic*, having *Codex Kraussio–Kelpianus* as a temporary original title, was redacted by the author starting with 1650, taking amny information from the registries of the city of Sibiu's Town Hall and from the Sass in Transylvania, the author worked as a notary for a while (1646–1649), in Sighișoara. Born on September 17th 1607, Georg Kraus studied in Sibiu, Cluj, Vienna, Venice and Padova, returning home to Sibiu, in 1631 (see the introduction to *The Chronic*).

¹⁰ Q. Septimius Tertulian, "Împotriva iudeilor", cap. 7, in *Fontes ad Historiam Dacoromaniae pertinentes / Izvoare privind istoria României*", vol. I (to quote *Fontes*, I), editat de Vladimir Iliescu, Virgil C. Popescu, Gheorghe Ștefan, (București: Editura Academiei, 1964), 640–641.

¹¹ Uses the term *plurimi*, which means *very many*.

¹² Origen, *Comentariul 39 la Evanghelia de la Matei, XXIV, 14* apud Mircea Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii Ortodoxe Române,* vol. I, ed. I, *ed. cit.,* 67.

¹³ Dinu C. Giurescu, *Țara Românească în secolele XIV–XV*, (București: Editura Științifică, 1973), 351.

¹⁴ Iordanes, *De origine Getarum sive Gothorum origine et rebus gestis,* (Stutgart: Ediția Carol Aug. Closs, 1861), 50–51.

¹⁵ Rom 2:14.

¹⁶ Freedom is an essential dimension of the face of God within man.

¹⁷ 1 Tm 5:8.

¹⁸ Cf. Strabon, *Geografia*, VII, 3, 4.

¹⁹ Rv 1:8.

²⁰ Dionisie Areopagitul, *Despre numele divine*, XIII, 3.

²¹ Nicolae Densuşianu, *Dacia preistorică*, Bucureşti, 1913, XI, 6., 1152 p.
 ²² *Ibid.*, 6.

²³ Vasile Lovinescu, *Dacia hiperboreană*, Ediția a II–a, (București: Editura Rosmarin, 1996), 33–34.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 35.

²⁵ Cf. Ioan Glodariu, "Civilizația geto–dacă în a doua jumătate a secolului al II–lea a. Hr. până la începutul secolului al II–lea d. Hr. Viața spirituală", in *Istoria Românilor*, vol. I, București, 2000, 785.

²⁶ Around the belief in the imortality of the soul gravitaed all other religious concepts and moral life of the Getae. A. D. Xenopol, *Istoria Românilor din Dacia Traiană*, vol. I, *Dacia ante-romană și Dacia romană*, ediția a III-a, (București: Editura Cartea Românească, 1925), 68.

²⁷ Ovidiu Drimba, *Istoria culturii și civilizației*, III, (București: Editura Saeculum I.O., Editura Vestala, 1998), 371.

²⁸ P. P. Panaitescu, *Introducere la istoria culturii românești*, (București: Editura Științifică, 1969), 103.

²⁹ Ioan Rămureanu, *Istoria bisericească universală*, (București: E.I.B.M.B.O.R., 1992), 101.

³⁰ C. D. Aricescu, *Istoria Câmpulungului, prima rezidență a României,* vol. I, (București: Imprimeria lui Ferdinand Om, 1855), 217. Of course the author repeats a teaching legend that circulated among the vilagers in the 19th century Al. Odobescu, *Basme mitologice*, (București: Cartea Românească, 1925), passim.

³¹ Daniel Gligore și Radu Tascovici, "Mănăstirea Nămăiești", in *Domnitorii și ierarhii Țării Românești, Ctitoriile și mormintele lor,* (București: Editura Cuvântul Vieții a Mitropoliei Munteniei și Dobrogei, 2009), 792.

³² Radu Ștefan Vergatti, "Mitropolia Țării Românești sau a Ungrovlahiei", in *Domnitorii și ierarhii Țării Românești, Ctitoriile și mormintele lor, ed. cit.*,475.

³³ Andrei Nikolaevich Mouravieff, *A History of the Church of Russia*, trad. în lb. engl. de R. W. Blackmore, New York, 1971, 7–27; James Craig Robertson, *History of the Christian Church. From the Election of the Pope Gregory the Great*, vol. II (A.D. 590–1122), part II, new ed., revised and enlarged, London, 1862, 365–378, 473–476 apud Radu Ștefan Vergatti, "Mitropolia Țării Românești sau a Ungrovlahiei", *ed. cit.*, 475.

³⁴ Mircea Păcurariu, Istoria Bisericii Ortodoxe Române, vol. I, ed. I, ed. cit., 69.

³⁵ I. I. Russu, *Etnogeneza românilor*, (București: Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1981), 27, 158–159.

³⁶ Apud Alexandru Philippide, *Originea românilor*, vol. I, *Ce ne spun izvoarele istorice*, Iași, 1923, 689.

³⁷ Vasile Pârvan, *Contribuții epigrafice la istoria creștinismului dacoroman*, (reeditare după ediția din 1911) (București: Editura Libra, 2000), 197.

³⁸ Auxentius din Durostor, *Scrisoare despre credința, viața și moartea lui Ulfila,* in *Fontes,* II, 110–111.

³⁹ Nicolae Stoicescu, *Continuitatea românilor*, (București: Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1980), 148–150.

⁴⁰ Alexandru Rosetti, *Istoria limbii române, I: Limba latină*, (București: Editura Științifică, 1964), 20.

⁴¹ Mircea Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii Ortodoxe Române*, vol. I, ed. a III-a, (Iași: Editura Trinitas, 2004), 66.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 20.

⁴³ Dinu C. Giurescu, *Țara Românească în secolele XIV–XV, ed. cit.*,351.

⁴⁴ Exception being: mistake, tempation and saves

⁴⁵ Mircea Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii Ortodoxe Române*, vol. I, ed. a III-a, *ed. cit.*,67.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Lazăr Șăineanu, "Terminologia creștină la români", in vol. *Încercare asupra semaseologiei române*, București, 1887,28–64; Vasile Pârvan, *Contribuții epigrafice la istoria creștinismului daco-roman, ed. cit.*, 85–144; Niculae M. Popescu, "De la priveghere la privighetoare", in *B.O.R.*, an LXI, 1943, nr. 4–6,207– 224; Haralambie Mihăescu, *Limba latină în provinciile dunărene ale Imperiului Roman*, (București: Editura Academiei, 1960); Dumitru Stăniloae, "Vechimea și spiritualitatea termenilor creștini români în solidaritate cu ale limbii române, în general", in *B.O.R.*, an XCVII, 1974, nr. 3–4,563–590 Mircea Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii Ortodoxe Române*, vol. I, ed. a III–a, *ed. cit.*, 67–72.

⁴⁸ C. Daicoviciu, "Există monumente creștine în Dacia traiană în sec. II–III?", in *Dacica*, Cluj, 1970, 505–516; *idem*, "O senzațională descoperire arheologică în Transilvania", in *Dacica*, *ed. cit.*, 522–523; I. Barnea, "Cultura Sciției Minore în secolele IV–VII", in Radu Vulpe, Ion Barnea, *Din istoria Dobrogei*, vol. II, (București: Editura Academiei, 1968), 456–464.

⁴⁹ Adrian Rădulescu, "Bazilici și monumente creștine în contextul etnogenezei românești din secolele III–VII în Dobrogea", in *Monumente istorice și izvoare creștine. Mărturii de străveche existență și de continuitate a românilor pe teritoriul Dunării de Jos și al Dobrogei*, (Galați: Editura Arhiepiscopiei Tomisului și Dunării de Jos, 1987), 10.

⁵⁰ The synthesis of researches done up until 1967 is made by Prof. Gh. Ștefan și I. Barnea, Maria Comșa, Eugen Comșa. Alexandru Barnea, "Descoperiri arheologice noi în preajma cetății Dinogetia", in *S.C.I.V.A.*, tom. 25, nr. 1/1974, 1, 103–114.

⁵¹ I. Barnea, *Les monuments paléochrétienes de Roumanie,* Città del Vatican, 1977, 154–156.

⁵² Radu Ștefan Vergatti, "Începuturile creștinismului în Dobrogea de Nord și Mitropolia din Vicina", in *Istorie bisericească, misiune creștină și viață culturală de la începuturi până în secolul al XIX–lea,* vol. I, *ed. cit.*, 227.

⁵³ The seal had on the head a saint that blesses with his right hand and in the left he is holding the Holy Gospel. The word Saint is written in Greek on the right side. The word from the lesft side cannot be read anymore. It's probably Saint Nicholas, often present on Byzantine seals. On the seals tails the following it's imprinted on six lines in Greek: 'Lord help Simeon, famed and katepan of Paradounavon in the last years of Vasile II the Macedonian's reign (976–1025). For the evelotion of Dobrogea's name see Nicolae Banescu Les duchés byzantins de Paristrion (Paradunavon) et de Bulgarie, bucharest, 1946, 193 David Areianites, the first Byzantine ruler of Bulgaria also had the title of 'katepan', named after the distruction of the Bulgarian czar (1018). V. Zlatarski, Eugen Stănescu, P. Diaconu, Ivan Jordanov and other historians, analizind the political situation of Byzantium in the Lower Danube area, believe that Simeon was 'katepan' between the years 1050–1070. Eugen Stänescu, "Denumirile bizantine ale regiunii de la Dunărea de Jos (sec. X-XIII) și sensul lor istoric", in S.C.I.V., 19, 1968, 3, 473; P. Diaconu, "Istoria Dobrogei în unele lucrări străine recente" (III), in *Revista de istorie*, 30, 1977, 10, 1896.

⁵⁴ I. Barnea, "Relațiile dintre așezarea de la Bisericuța Garvăn și Bizanț în secolele X–XII", in *S.C.I.V.*, an. IV, nr. 3–4, 1953, 641–671.

⁵⁵ I. Barnea, "Sigiliul unui ierarh al Rosiei în așezarea de la Garvăn", in *S.C.I.V.*, 7, 1956, 189–195.

⁵⁶ Preot Ion Bica, "Sigilografia bizantină în România", in *Argessis. Studii și comunicări*, Seria Istorie, Tom XII, Pitești, 2003, 135.

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⁵⁷ Alexandru Barnea, "Dobrogea în secolele IV–VI, Organizarea administrativă. Orașe și târguri", in *Istoria românilor*, vol. II, *ed. cit.*, 488.

⁵⁸ Measuring unit for about 60 cm bricks.

⁵⁹ A. Rădulescu, *Monumente romano–bizantine în sectorul de vest al cetății Tomis,* (Constanța: Muzeul Regional de Arheologie Dobrogea, 1965), 80.

⁶⁰ *Cod. lust.* I, 3, 35–36.

⁶¹ *Ibid..*

⁶² Alexandru Barnea, "Dobrogea în secolele IV–VI, Organizarea administrativă. Orașe și târguri", in *Istoria românilor*, vol. II, *ed. cit.*,491.

⁶³ I. Barnea, *Tropaeum Traiani. I. Cetatea*, (București: Editura Academiei, 1979), 260.

⁶⁴ Adrian Rădulescu, *op cit.*,25.

⁶⁵ Ibid.,14–16.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*,10–17.

 67 The monogram of our Saviour Jesus Christ, consists of the letter X vertically crossed by the letter P.

 68 The letters A and $\Omega,$ first and last of the Greek alphabet, symbolize 'the beginning and the end'.

⁶⁹ Adrian Rădulescu, *op. cit*, 59.

⁷⁰ Constantin C. Giurescu, Dinu C. Giurescu, *Istoria românilor din cele mai vechi timpuri și până azi*, (București: Editura Albatros, 1971), 155.

⁷¹ Dionisie Șincan, *Noi, latinii Bizanțului*, Colecția Repere XXI, (București: Editura Casa Radio, 2003), 94.

⁷² Remus Rus, *Dicționar enciclopedic de literatură creștină din primul mileniu*, (București: Editura Lidia, 2003), 415.

⁷³ Three edicts were issues in the year 303 and the fourth is spring of 304.

 74 Dioclețian is the one who initiated the sistematic persecution of Christians.

⁷⁵ Sirmium is today's Mitrovița, in Serbia. Back then it was the Pannonia Inferior province.

⁷⁶ Niculae M. Popescu, "Viața Sfântului Montanus presviterul din Singidunum", in *B.O.R.*, an LII, București, 1934, nr. 3–4, 145–148.

⁷⁷ Today's Vinkovci from Serbia.

⁷⁸ Today's Belgrade. Back then it was part of Moesia Superior.

⁷⁹ Today's Vidin from Bulgaria.

⁸⁰ Today's Svistov from Bulgaria.

⁸¹ Today's Silistra from Bulgaria.

⁸² Ioan Pulpea (Rămureanu), "Sfântul mucenic Emilian din Durostor– Studiu critic și traducerea actului său martiric", in *B.O.R.*, an LXII, 1944, nr. 4–6, 125–140.

⁸³ We know the names of Heli, Lucian and Zotic, Valerian, brothers Argeu, Narcis and Marcelin.

⁸⁴ Ene Braniște, "Martiri și sfinți pe pământul Dobrogei de azi", in vol. *De la Dunăre la Mare. Monumente istorice de artă creștină*, (Galați: Editura Arhiepiscopiei Tomisului și a Dunării de Jos, 1977), 34–62.

⁸⁵ Today's town of Hinog, near Cernavodă.

⁸⁶ Today's town of Murighiol, from Tulcea county.

⁸⁷ Today's Isaceea.

⁸⁸ Todays town of Garvan from Tulcea county. Ioan Pulpea (Rămureanu), "Sfinți și martiri la Tomis–Constanța", in *B.O.R.*, an XCII, 1974, nr. 7–8, 975–1011.

⁸⁹ Victor H. Bauman, "Basilica cu "martyrion" din epoca romanității târzii, descoperită la Niculițel (jud. Tulcea)", in *Buletinul monumentelor istorice*, an XLI, 1972, nr. 2, 17–26.

⁹⁰ Debeltum is a Thracian colony. See Eusebiu de Cezareea, *Scrieri. Partea I*, Colecția Părinți și Scriitori Bisericești (P.S.B.), nr. 13, *ed. cit.*, 211.

⁹¹ Ibid., 211.

⁹² cf. *Sfinți români și apărători ai legii strămoșești,* is issued with the blessing of the Most Holy Father Teoctist, Patriarhul B.O.R., (București: Editura I.B.M.B.O.R., 1987), 173–177.

⁹³ I. Barnea, "Martirionul de la Niculițel", in *B.O.R.*, anul XCI, nr. 1–2, 1973, 218.

⁹⁴ Ioan I. Rămureanu, "Martiri creștini de la Niculițel, descoperiți in anul 1971", in *B.O.R.*, anul XCI, nr. 3–5, 1973, 465–466.

⁹⁵ Ibid., 221.

⁹⁶ V. Baumann, "Noi dovezi arheologice referitoare la vechimea martirilor de la Niculițel", in *B.O.R.*, an XCIV, nr. 5–6, 1976, 581–582.

⁹⁷ Episcop Gherasim Cristea, "Martirii de la Niculițel și cum au ajuns sfintele lor moaște la Mănăstirea Cocoș", in *Istorie bisericească, misiune creștină și viață culturală de la începuturi până în secolul al XIX–lea,* vol. I, *ed. cit.*, 47.

⁹⁸ V. Baumann, *op. cit.*, 586.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 586.

¹⁰⁰ Dionisie Şincan, *op. cit.*, 91–92.

¹⁰¹ Mircea Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii Ortodoxe Române,* vol. I, ed. a II–a, (București: Editura I.B.M.B.O.R., 1991), 108.

¹⁰² Ibid..

¹⁰³ Several copied manuscripts were in circulation, the most famous being *Codex Argenteus Upsaliensis*, from the 5th–6th centuries.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid..*

¹⁰⁵ Atlas istoric al mănăstirilor și schiturilor ortodoxe din România: sec. XI-XXI, Issued with the belssing of Î.P.S. Pimen, Arhiepiscop al Sucevei și Rădăuților, (București: Editura Bibliotecii Naționale a României, 2010), 7.

¹⁰⁶ Country bishops who resided in the rural area.

¹⁰⁷ Between the 4th and 8th–9th centuries in the church there were the so called "periodeuți" bishops or "periodevți" (περιοδευτής = caretaker of the souls, also called exarchs, in Greek, or visitatores, in Latin). They lived in the eparchial bishop's Citadel of the Throne and had the mission to vist the eparchy, according to the provisions given by the city hierach. These clerics, ordained bishops, could

do missionary work between the Danube and the Carpathians, as delegates of the bishops from the right shore of the Danube, sanctifying churches, ordaining, preaching, strenghtening the catechesis and performing the holy religious services. The mission was held in Latin, language used by both the episcopal chairs South of the Danube and the Daco–Romans believers in the North.

¹⁰⁸ Mircea Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii Ortodoxe Române*, vol. I, ed. a III-a, *ed. cit.*, 121–124, 155–161.

¹⁰⁹ Atlas istoric al mănăstirilor și schiturilor ortodoxe din România: sec. XI– XXI, ed. cit., 7.

¹¹⁰ The archeological diggings made by Vasile Parvan, in 1912, revealed the place called *Vicus Cassiaci*, considered by Tillemont, E. Schwartz and H. I. Marrou as the birthplace of Saint Casian. By Scythians is ment the inhabitants of the Roman province Scythia Minor, namely the Getae.

¹¹¹ Sfântul Ioan Cassian, *Aşezăminte mănăstirești* și *Convorbiri duhovnicești*, au fost tipărite în cadrul Colecției Părinți și Scriitori Bisericești (P.S.B.) nr. 57, Sfântul Ioan Cassian, *Scrieri alese. Așezăminte mănăstirești și convorbiri duhovnicești*, Traducere de prof. Vasile Cojocaru și prof. David Popescu, (București: E.I.B.M.B.O.R., 1990).

¹¹² Sfântul Ioan Cassian, *Scrieri alese. Așezăminte mănăstirești și convorbiri duhovnicești, ed. cit.,* 608

¹¹³ Adrian Rădulescu, *op. cit*, 37.

¹¹⁴ Remus Rus, *op. cit.*, 127.

¹¹⁵ Served the Church of Christ in Rome during the popes: Atanasie II, Simachus, Laurentius (antipapă), Hormisdas, Ioan I, Felix IV (who claimed the throne for the third time), Bonfaciu II, Dioscur (antipope), Ioan II; Agapet I, Silveriu and Virgiliu. (Cf. Remus Rus, *op. cit.*, 187).

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 187–189.

¹¹⁷ cf. Nicolae V. Dură, "Străromânul Dionisie Exiguul și opera sa canonică. O evaluare canonică a contribuției sale la dezvoltarea Dreptului Bisericesc", in *Ortodoxia*, XLI (1989), nr. 4, 37–61; *idem*, "Un daco–roman, Dionisie Exiguul, părintele dreptului bisericesc apusean", in *S. T.*, XLIII (1991), nr. 5–6, 84–90.

¹¹⁸ Preot prof. Dumitru Stăniloae, *Reflecții despre spiritualitatea poporului român,* (București: Editura Elion, 2001), 14–16.

The Migration Phenomenon and the Neo-Protestant Denominations in Romania

Lucian Ionel Mercea

ABSTRACT: In the emergence and spread of the Neo-protestant denominations in Romania the migration was an essential element. This phenomenon is related to the emergence and spread of the first Baptist, Pentecostal in Romania. Alongside the Seventh Day Adventist denomination and Evangelical Christians, which will come in through foreign missionaries, the Neo-protestant denominations will hardly make room for themselves among the historical denominations from Romania, most of the time with the price of martyrdom. The migration brings, besides the economic and social changes, other changes concerning the already existing balance of the ancient beliefs from a certain place. Sometimes the new beliefs can make room for themselves among the existing ones in a subtle way, almost unnoticeable, but other times they can produce breakage and disorder in the society, modifying the balance of the existing status quo. That is why this issue deserves to be submitted to our study and thoroughness. KEY WORDS: migration, Neo-protestant, Baptist, Seventh Day Adventist, Pentecostal, Evangelical Christians, freedom, state.

1. The Migration of the German Baptists and their arrival to Romania

The beginnings of the Baptist Movement in Romania can be traced back to 1856, among the German ethnics, and 1875,

among the Hungarian and Romanian population. The first known German Baptist was Carl Scharschmidt, a carpenter who, in 1856, had settled in Bucharest. Only 7 years later, in 1863, August Liebig, a German Baptist minister exiled from the North of the Black Sea, established in Bucharest's center, the first German Baptist Church, on Popa Rusu Street 22. The building continues to exist even today when it shelters a Romanian Baptist Church.

1.1. The Migration of the German Baptist to Russia

On December 4, 1762, Catherine II of Russia ("the Great") sent an invitation to the people living in the central European countries to come and settle in the Russian steppe territories lying between the Volga River and the Black Sea, with the purpose of civilizing her subjects and, by means of European influence, to initiate a transfer of inventiveness and industriousness through the implantation of colonists. The invitation was directed in particular to the groups of Reformed "Separatists."¹ These were those who, by reading the Bible, realized that there can be no association between the Church and the political system. Outraged by the corruption of the Catholic Rome and also worried by the compromises that Luther and Zwingli had begun to make in order to justify the "holy wars", these evangelical believers, in some places named the "Moravian brethren", the "Swiss brethren", in other places known as "Anabaptists" (from the practice of re-baptizing the adult converts), rejected categorically any form of association with the political power of the time².

In an absolute sense, these Anabaptists were not part of the Protestant Reformed Movement, although they appeared in the same historical period. By virtue of the same doctrine "of two swords", the Reformed territories became as exclusivist as the territories still affiliated to Rome. Loyal to the principle that "the preference of the senior" decides the mandatory religion of the land, the Reformed Protestant began persecuting the Catholics with the same zeal as the Catholics had persecuted the Protestants. These mutual persecutions caused large population movements. The Catholics ran into the "Catholic territories", while the "Reformed" gathered from everywhere fled to the "reformed" territories. Most unhappy of all were the "Separatists" Reformed. They became "separatists" by daring to envision a society in which the State and the Church were to become two entities completely different in structure and destiny. The fundamental doctrine of the Anabaptists changed the aberration of "the two swords" with the doctrine of Church and State "separation." Because the "Separatists" were protesting against the errors of the "Protestants", they were named "Neo-protestants."

Persecuted and hated to death both in the Catholic and the Protestant lands, the Anabaptists gladly accepted the invitation of Catherine the Great, herself a descendent of the German aristocracy, to settle in the Russian steppes between Volga and the Black Sea. In just a few years, over 68,000 German colonists, most of them Mennonites,³ left toward Southern Russia. The invitation was followed on July 22, 1763, by another document signed by the Tsarina Catherine the Great, guaranteeing advantageous conditions for the "colonists," such as: (1) total religious freedom; (2) exemption from taxes and any other financial obligations to the Russian Government; exemption from ordinary and extraordinary obligations to the Russian state; (3) exemption from military service; (4) the right of property over the territory received from the Russian state, with the stipulation that it was a collective property, and not a private one; (5) the land could not be alienated without the knowledge of the Russian authorities; (6) the right to buy another property as private citizens and register it as private property.⁴

Most of those who accepted the invitation of the Tsarina were coming from the German lands. Thousands of Anabaptists took the road to Russia. When the German government revoked the exemption from the military service granted to the Mennonites, in 1789, other thousands of Germans left to Russia. Living in "closed" communities, preserving their German language and their "home" culture, the colonists prospered materially and numerically. They were without equal in the cultivation of wheat, many of them becoming farmers and owners of wheat mills.⁵ The first colonists settled in the Ekaterinoslav Governorate. In 1865, there already were 213 German colonies in the large territory lying between Bessarabia and Caucasus.

Without an adequate pastoral assistance, the colonists' church life degenerated into formalism and repeated fragmentation. Around

the middle of the 19th century, a movement of spiritual reawakening began among them. The German ethnics started to gather together in their homes, forming small groups of prayer and Bible study. Before long, they realized that they needed answers at many questions and sought them at people learned in theology. One of those whom they contacted was Johan Gerhard Onken (1800–1884),⁶ who, in 1834, had founded the first Baptist Church in Germany and was passionate to train new missionaries.

Onken started a dialogue with the Germans in Russia, by mail. Some of the German colonists realized that, in general, they agreed with Onken's principles and teachings, especially with the teaching regarding the baptism by submersion of those who had become personally convinced of the Christian faith. The teaching regarding the baptism of the adult persons caught on especially in the Mennonite communities and led to the formation of new groups named the "Churches of the Mennonite brethren."

1.2. The migration of the German Baptist from Russia to Romania

The evangelistic fervor of the Baptists in Russia eventually led to reprisals from two distinct directions: the colonists and the Russian authorities. The colonists were not happy with the increase in numbers of those "perturbing" the community life with their pretensions of being called to "holiness". The colonists' Christianity was seen more as a facet of their German patriotism. Like an island surrounded by a sea of Orthodox Slavs, the Germans contented themselves with the religious form and, thus, were upset by the Baptists' "excesses" of godliness.

On the other hand, the Russian authorities were faced with the inevitable. The native population was embittered by the fact that the colonists were doing better economically and enjoyed the privilege of being exempted from obligations and taxes to the State. The occasion for the conflict to break out was offered by the Baptists themselves. In their missionary zeal, the German missionaries preached the Gospel to the Russian, too. Those convinced by the Gospel asked to be baptized – which was prohibited by the law and the agreements between the Russian government and the German colonists. Two Russian believers had been baptized, namely Elim Zseibel and Trifon Chlystun, by the pastor Abraham Unger. The baptized Russian went on to preach the Gospel and baptize multitudes of Russians who were embracing the Baptist faith. Consequent upon these, the initial astonishment of the Russian Orthodox Church changed to wrath. In reprisal, in 1871, the Russian Government annulled all the privileges warranted in the "invitation" and edict issued by Catherine the Great. After 100 years of privileges, the Germans were forced to live under the same laws and obligations as any other Russian citizen. In fact, without the protection of the laws, the Germans had a harder lifer than the Russians, becoming the target of all sorts of abuses. They were forbidden to have schools in their own language, and in some places, they had been forced to take on Russian names.⁷

Forced by the events, many German colonists moved to Moldavia and Romania. Many of the Romanian Baptist communities can trace their beginnings back to the activity of the German Baptists who came to Romania from Russia.⁸

The majority of the Germans going out of Russia chose to "discreetly" travel through Europe to America. Persecuted in the past in Germany, and now in Russia, they had no other choice than to migrate to the New World. Nonetheless, the invitation of the Tsarina had at least in part the desired effect. The civilizing traces of the German "Separatists" continue to be visible even today in Crimea, and in some places in the northern territories of the Black Sea.

The beginnings of the Baptist Movement in Romania can be traced back to 1856, among the German ethnics, and 1875, among the Hungarian and Romanian population. The first known German Baptist was Carl Scharschmidt, a carpenter who, in 1856, had settled in Bucharest. Only 7 years later, in 1863, August Liebig, a German Baptist minister exiled from the North of the Black Sea, established in Bucharest's center, the first German Baptist Church, on Popa Rusu Street 22. The building continues to exist even today when it shelters a Romanian Baptist Church.

Other Baptists exiled from Ucraina, in 1864, established in the same year, a German Baptist Church at Cataloi, in Dobrogea – at the time, under ottoman jurisdiction.⁹

A third center of the German Baptists was at Tarutino, Bessarabia (today Ukraine). This church was established as mission in 1875, and was granted the status of independent church in 1907. Through its activity, the German church in Tarutino established and sponsored many missionary spots. In the first part of the 1930s, the Germans had ten churches in Bessarabia, but the number of believers was less than 1000.

In spite of the fierce opposition of the Orthodox Church, the first Romanian Baptist Church in Muntenia was established in 1909, at Jegălia. The Romanian Constantin Adorian (1882–1954) had studied theology at Hamburg, Germany. Returning to Romania, he joined the German Baptist Church in Popa Rusu Street and, in 1912, began a missionary work among his co-nationals.

After the Union of Transylvania and Romania (1918), all the Baptists in Romania united in 1919, forming the Union of the Baptist Churches in Romania. However, each ethnic group had its own interests, thus making the collaboration extremely difficult. The Germans had their own associations, and in 1929, the Hungarians in Transylvania and the Russians/Ukrainians in Bessarabia also founded their own associations.

Besides their fiery missionary zeal, the Romanian Baptists observed the puritan code of living, abstaining from tobacco and alcohol, prohibiting jewelry and observing Sunday as the Sabbath day. The relations with the state were, at times, very difficult, especially in the period between the wars. Under the pressure of the Orthodox Church, between December 1938 and April 1939, all Baptist Churches in Romania were officially closed.

2. The Emergence of the Pentecostal Denomination in Romania

2.1. The immigrants from USA and the spreading of the Pentecostal faith in Romania

The spread of the Pentecostal faith in Romania owes its origins to the influence of the US Pentecostal ideas. Signals of the emergence of this faith in Romania date from 1915, in Surducu Mic.¹⁰ Later on, a historian of the Pentecostal Church mentions the year 1919, as the year when a Pentecostal baptism was officiated by a German Baptist lady, returned from USA, in Dârlos, Sibiu, thus being founded the Pentecostal churches in Curciu and Dârlos, among the Lutheran Transylvanian Saxons.¹¹ Through the activity of Zigler Susana, Michael Teleman was converted to the Pentecostal faith. For many years, he will be member of the leadership of the Pentecostal denomination, as the Transylvanian Saxons' representative. Following a local complaint, in 1922, a number of Pentecostal believers from Curciu had been arrested and sent to be judged by the Martial Court in Cluj–Napoca. After a week of interrogations and beatings, they were released.¹²

2.2. The beginning of the Pentecostal denomination in Păuliș and the first organizational endeavors

Nevertheless, the prominent role in the emergence of the Pentecostalism in Romania, and implicitly in Transvlvania and Banat, will belong to Gheorghe Bradin, born in Cuvin and married in Păuliș, both villages in Arad County. The first historian of the Pentecostal denomination was Gheorghe Comşa, the Bishop of Arad.¹³ In 1925, a few years after the emergence of Pentecostalism in Romania, Comsa was describing the "Pentecostal sect" as having the smallest number of followers and regarded it as "imported from America to Cuvin, Arad County.¹⁴ In Cuvin, 1925, the "sect" was numbering 25 believers, according to the data provided by the Comsa, and they were led by Vasile Semenaşcu. In Păuliş, as we read in the autobiography of Gheorghe Bradin, was formed the first nucleus of the Pentecostal denomination. "...on September 10, 1922, we have inaugurated in our house, the first Pentecostal congregation in Romania."¹⁵ In 1921, a group of seven Romanians emigrants to USA attended the meetings organized by a Pentecostal "healer" in Los Angeles, Aimee Semple McPherson, founder of the Pentecostal International Church of the Foursquare Gospel and during these meetings, the Romanian group received the Holy Spirit baptism. Two of them were the Baptists Petru Andres and Constantin Sida who, afterwards, would write about their experience to their relatives and friends in Romania. Thus, the Baptist believer Petre Pernevean, from

Păulis, received a letter from his friend Constantin Sida, relating the activity of the Pentecostal evangelist in L.A., as well as the miraculous healings Sida had witnessed. Petre Pernevean read the letter to other Baptists, including Gheorghe Bradin.¹⁶ Gheorghe Bradin took the greatest interest in these religious experiences, as his wife had long been ill.¹⁷ Petru Andras, related to Gheorghe Bradin, on his wife's side, sent a letter to one of his brothers at Păuliș, in 1922, together with the brochure The Bible Truth, describing the way to receive the baptism of the Holy Spirit. Gheorghe Bradin sent a letter at the address on the brochure and received a response and several brochures from Pavel Budeanu, born in Arad and, at the time, leader of the Romanian Pentecostals in USA.¹⁸ Pavel Budeanu had translated from English in Romanian, the Confession of Faith, printing it in USA with the title "Declaration of the true fundament, sanctioned by the General Council of the congregations of God", covering 14 pages.¹⁹ Bradin read the brochures and decided to leave the Baptist Church. On September 10, 1922, he opened in his house the first Pentecostal House of Prayer in Romania.²⁰ A substantial part of the Baptist community would follow him shortly afterwards. Thus, by the end of the year, the community of Pentecostal believers in Păuliș reached the number of 30 members and had a choir too.²¹

In 1923, a second Pentecostal community is organized at Cuvin, in the house of Vasile Semenaşcu. Pavel Budeanu stayed in contact with the Pentecostals in Romania and, in 1924, when he came in visit, organized the first baptism in the waters of the Mureş River, baptizing 16 individuals.²² The Bishop Grigore Comşa declared in 1925 that "this sect, being discovered in time, was stopped by the Minster of the Cults and, therefore, it was impossible for it to spread outside Cuvin and Păuliş." Following these interventions, Gheorghe Bradin in Păuliş and Ilie Gavril in Şoimoş had been arrested and tried by the Martial Court in Sibiu, then in Timişoara, where they were released.²³ The Pentecostal Church in Păuliş was lead in 1925 by Gheorghe Bradin, its founder, and Dimitrie Stoiu.²⁴ In 1926, other four Pentecostal congregations were founded in Arad county: Măderat, Pâncota, Şoimoş and Arad–Micălaca.²⁵ 80

Conclusions

The last part of the 19th centry and the beginning of the 20th century registered an exodus of emigrants from Transilvania and Banat to the U.S.A. Monthly, statistics shown that thousands of citizens emigrate towards the American continent. In 3rd June 1907 the newspaper "Our country" stated that "last week alone 4.049 individuals left our country"²⁶. Several weeks later, the same periodical would state that "last week, 2667 individuals left our country, to go to America"²⁷ and on the week 7–14 October another 2627 people²⁸.

Not even after the Great Union, the situation from Transilvania and Banat improved. It was said that the "population of the mountains, impoverished and exploited by all, tried to leave its home and emigrate to America"²⁹. The Minister of Interior of the time, Octavian Goga, noted that "but the Romanian from Transilvania, the emigrant, has a particular psychology. He does not go there to be displaced definitively and become an American citizen³⁰. Most of these emigrants returned to Transilvania, and once returned to the country they brought with them the new neo–protestant beliefs that they knew and embraced abroad. That's how many of the emigrants who left with the orthodox belief in their souls would come back baptized in neo–protestant confessions.

This emigration process would be braked after 1924, and we find this in the same speech of Octavian Goga "we will not encourage an emigration process, that is why the past, as well as the new government have stopped the emigrations, no more passports for America are being granted. Under our government this exodus of the people from Ardeal has stopped ..."³¹.

Some of those who had migrated came in contact with new beliefs and these beliefs have been shared afterwards with those back home. That led to the emergence of the Pentecostal denomination among the orthodox and Baptist believers. Other had migrated forced by the circumstances, as in the case of the German colonists from Russia and Ukraine, and brought with them to Romania, the Baptist faith, spreading it among the Orthodox Romanians. Therefore, we can see that the population migration phenomenon has implications that can radically alter the balance existing at some given time among certain denominations. This often leads to conflicts and unrest within the community, until the new beliefs succeed to make room for themselves among the historical churches.

NOTES

¹ The term of "separatists" comes from the attitude of these reformed believers toward the protestant church integrated in the state structures. The separatist movement meant the separation of some Christians from the protestant reformers who, by separating from Catholicism, had caused the Catholic Rome Empire to shake; still they didn't dissociate themselves from the political powers of those times and only replaced the Catholic Empire with other smaller empires of Protestant exclusiveness.

² Ioan Georgescu, *Coloniile germane din Dobrogea* în *Analele Dobrogei*, anul VII, (Cernăuți: 1926), p. 19.

³ The Mennonites are a Protestant religious confession originating in Friesland, Netherlands, in the 16th century. Mennonites branched from the Anabaptist movement whose members insisted on being baptized again and didn't recognize the infant baptism. In 1536, a former Frisian pastor, Menno Simons (1496–1561), became Anabaptist and gathered the Anabaptist followers in Northern Europe, in congregations that took his name. The new movement was strongly supported by the Netherlands and Switzerland, where the Mennonites become the target of Catholic persecutions. In the 16th century, many of them were forced to leave their houses and left to USA, settling mainly in Pennsylvania, Ohio and Middle West. In 2006, the Mennonite denomination numbered 1.5 million members, most of them living in Canada, the Democratic Republic of Congo and USA.

⁴ Ioan Georgescu, *Coloniile germane din Dobrogea* în *Analele Dobrogei*, anul VII (Cernăuți: 1926), p. 19.

⁵ Frank H. Woyke, Heritage and Ministry of the American Baptist Conference, (Oakbrook Terace: Conference Press, 1979), 20–22.

⁶ Born in Germany, on January 26, 1800, Johan Onken grew up in England and, afterwards, in Scotland. In 1823, he returned to Germany and founded the Sunday School Society, in Hamburg. In 1834, he became a Baptist. With financial support from the American Baptist Missionary Organization, he established Baptist groups in Germany and Denmark. Through his efforts and travels, churches were established also in Austria, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Netherlands, Poland and Russia. He died in Zurich, Switzerland, on January 2, 1884. ⁷ Alexa Popovici, *Istoria baptiștilor din România 1856–1989,*(Oradea: Făclia, 2007), 90–102.

⁸ Frank H. Wolke, *Heritage*.. op.cit., 309.

⁹ Ioan Georgescu, *Coloniile germane...* op.cit., 27–28.

¹⁰ Constantin Cuciuc, *Religii care au fost interzise în România*, București: Editura Gnosis, 1996), 66.

¹¹ Trandafir Şandru, *Biserica penticostală în istoria creștinismului*, (București, Editura Biserica lui Dumnezeu Penticostală din România,1982), p. 130. According to the author, such a baptism took place in 1921, in Curciu, where lived Zigler Suzana, the believer returned from USA.

¹² Modoran Gheorghe, *Originea și evoluția Biserici Penticostale din România în perioada interbelică și antonesciană* în Theorēma, (Cernica: Editura Institutului Teologic Adventist, 2012), vol. 7, nr. 1, p. 110.

¹³ According to the Dictionary of the Romanian Theologians, Grigore Comșa (or Gheorghe Comșa) was born on May 13, 1889, in Comana de Sus, Făgăraș (Brașov County), died on May 25, 1935, Arad. He attended the Lyceum in Făgăraş (1900-1908), the Theological Institute in Sibiu (1908-1911), the School of Law, University of Budapest (1911-1915), from which he received also his Doctor's degree. In parallel, he studied theology at the Catholic College of Theology in Budapest; afterwards he received his MA degree (1921), then the Doctor's degree (1925) at the College of Theology in Bucharest. He serves as deacon in Sibiu (1915), editor at "Telegraful Român" (1918), sub-director and general sub-director at the Ministry of Cults and Arts in Bucharest (1920–1925), at the same time-deacon at Amza Church, deputy in the first Parliament of the Unified Romania (1920). On May 3, 1925, he was elected Bishop of Arad, tonsured at Sinaia, receiving his monastic name of Grigorie, ordained as bishop on June 14, installed on July 12, 1925. He was honorary member of the Romania Academy (1934), of the Society of the Romanian Writers and of the Syndicate of the Journalists in Banat, member of the Astra Central Committee. Esteemed oratory and missionary bishop, he was a fervent defender of the Orthodox faith against the religious proselytism; he founded a number of theological collections (The Library of the Orthodox priest, The Library of the Orthodox believer). He coordinated the activity of the Theological Academy in Arad, of the Official Bulletin "The Church and the School" and the whole church life in the diocese. He published over 75 works (sermons, anti-sectarian brochures etc.)

¹⁴ Gheorghe Comșa, *Călăuza cunoașterii și combaterii sectelor*, (Cernica: Tipografia Bisericească, 1925), 74.

¹⁵ ANIC, MCA fond Direcția de Studii, dosar nr.4 din 1947, 42.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, dosar 95/1960, 1–18.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 42.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 1–18.

¹⁹ Gheorghe Comșa, *Călăuza cunoașterii și combaterii sectelor*, (Cernica: Tipografia Bisericească, 1925), 75.

²⁰ ANIC, MCA fond Direcția de Studii, dosar 95/1947, 42.

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²¹ Trandafir Şandru, *Biserica Penticostală...*, op.cit., 12.

²² Ioan Ceuță, *Mișcarea penticostală în evenimente și relatări ale* secolului XX, (București: Lumina Evangheliei, 2002), 147.

²³ Trandafir Şandru, *Trezirea*..., op.cit., 89.

²⁴ Gheorghe Comșa, *Călăuza. . ., op. Cit.*, 75.

²⁵ Modoran Gheorghe, *Originea și evoluția...*, op.cit., 112.

²⁶ Țara noastră, anul I, nr. 23, (Sibiu: 1907), 388.

²⁷ Țara noastră, anul I, nr. 26, (Sibiu: 1907), 436.

²⁸ Tara noastră, anul I, nr. 42, (Sibiu: 1907), 692.

²⁹ Țara noastră, anul IV, nr. 29, (Cluj: 1923), 924.

³⁰ *İbid.*, 294.

³¹ Ibid.

Historical Aspects of the Hussite Migration in Moldavia for Religious Freedom

Ioan–Gheorghe Rotaru

ABSTRACT: The study shows a few issues related to the migration of the Hussite believers during the 15th century due to the lack of religious freedom and religious or economic persecutions they were subjected to in Bohemia and Moravia which were their homeland, migrating towards Poland, Hungary, Transylvania and Moldavia where they found shelter and religious acceptance. A notable fact is that the rulers of Moldova at the time, Stefan the Great and Alexander the Kind who were Orthodox christians, not only did they offer the Hussite the possibility to leave in peace and unbothered by anybody due to their religious believes but even offered them certain privileges. The study shows that religious tolerance is a demonstration of love and respect towards another, indispensable qualities of a believer's spiritual life. KEY WORDS: Hussite, religious persecution, sect, heretics, acceptance, Moldavia.

In this study¹ we aim to present a few issues related to the migration of a group of believers due to the lack of religious freedom and religious or economic persecutions which they were subjected to in their native country,² namely we specifically refer to the Hussite group that migrated from Bohemia and Moravia area which was their homeland during the 15th century,³ towards Poland, Hungary, Transylvania and Moldavia.⁴

During the socio–political and religious context at the time, after the banishing of the Hussites,⁵ i.e. the spiritual descendants of Jan Huss,

from Hungary, many of them would find a new home in Moldavia,⁶ from where they will exert a certain religious influence not only in Moldavia⁷ but also in the Eastern parts of Transylvania especially in the area occupied by the Secui and their neighboring counties. As such, after the Hussite settling in Moldavia, Hussitism, as religious movement, begins to also develop in the Transylvanian territories.⁸

The term of *Hussite* which we utilize comes from the name of the priest and professor Jan Huss (1369–1415) who was a professor and provost of the University of Prague. Influenced by the teachings of John Wycliffe⁹ and together with his friend Ieronim of Prague,¹⁰ expose himself as defending the teachings of the English reformer. Due to the fact that Provost Jan Huss protests against Pope Alexander the fifth decision (1409–1410) to publicly burn the religious writings of John Wycliffe, he was excommunicated by the Church of those times. After these events a revolt breaks loose in the Bohemian region. Jan Huss, starting with the year 1412, was preaching against the indulgencies. As a consequence of these actions papal bulls begin to be burned, but because of the revolts, Jan Huss has to flee, during which time he will write his masterpiece *De Ecclesia (About the Church*).¹¹ In the year 1414 under the assurance of Emperor Sigismund he comes before the Council of Konstanz where he would be arrested, and in the year 1415, labeled as heretic, burned to the steak. His work is continued by the zealous follower of his teachings, Ieronim of Prague, who would also be burned to the steak in 1416.¹² The spiritual descendants of the teachings of Jan Huss, being persecuted in their own homeland, had to flee and find shelter in other parts of Europe.

We have to mention the fact that the Hussites¹³ found a temporary shelter in Moldavia after the dramatic events that followed the death of provost Jan Huss¹⁴ and Ieronim of Prague,¹⁵ after the wars waged by the Czech Hussites led by Jan Ziska¹⁶ and after the religious persecutions aimed towards them. It is considered however that the first groups of Slovakian and Hungarian Hussites arrived in Moldavia as early as 1420. In this regard, the *Chronic of Levoca* (Slovakia) mentions the Hussites arrival in Moldavia around 1420.¹⁷ The Moldavian ruler Alexander the Kind,¹⁸ Romanian Orthodox believer, manifesting tolerance and acceptance towards

another religion, received the Hussites well and allowed them to settle and live in the cities from his country. Romanian historian C.G.Giurescu wrote about the Hussites arrival in Moldavia and their welcoming by the Moldavian ruler Alexander the Kind saying that the ruler: "allowed their settling in Moldavia in the towns of Trotus, Bacau, Roman and the nearby villages from the latter two towns—in Târgul Neamţ, Cotnari, Huşi and Ciubarciu on Nistru, as well as the the villages Saint John, Saint Peter and Saint Anton.¹⁹ More so the ruler issued a written command that nobody was to disturb them for practicing their religion."²⁰

In Moldavia, the Catholic Bishop of Baia, John of Ryza, entered in a religious conflict with the Hussites but they were under the protection of the Moldavian ruler who also offered them some privileges as well as housing areas in Bacau.²¹

Other Hussites groups looked for shelter in Transylvania, but the religious persecutions from the Catholic Bishops John of Oradea and Gheorghe Lepes of Alba Iulia together with the papal inquisitor Jacob of Marchia, made the Hussites to leave Transylvania and look for refuge and shelter in Moldavia. By mid 1437 a large number of the Hussites from Hungary moved to Moldavia led by priests Toma and Valentin and settled in Trotus (Târgu Trotus) and other areas. Some of these Hussites settled in the Sălaj area in Northern Transylvania where they build several towns. It is well known that the town of Cehul Silvaniei was founded by the Hussites.²²

Once settled in Târgu Trotus, the Hussite priests Toma and Valentin translate the *Bible* for the first time into the Hungarian language.²³ Some historians (M.Constantinescu, C. Daicoviciu, St. Pascu) believe that the Bible was translated into the Hungarian language by the Hussite priests in 1430.²⁴ Bandini, a papal envoy, who visited Moldavia during the rule of Vasile Lupu, tells a story, which circulated in the Moldavian area, about the arrival of a group of Hussites in 1460 because of the religion persecution instilled by the king Matei Corvin.²⁵

Other groups of Hussites arrived in Moldavia between 1481 and 1483 due to being banished by king Matei Corvin on the request of Pope Sixtus the 6th. Part of these Hussites settled in the town of Huşi, some in Saint Ieronim, near Huşi, some in Raducaneni on the banks of the river Prut and others in Roman. Between 1481–1488 new groups of Hussites arrived in Moldavia from Silezia and Moravia because of king Matei Corvin's religious persecution, and in Moldavia they found shelter, acceptance and religious freedom being well received by the ruler Stefan the Great.²⁶

The Hussite presence in Moldavia is confirmed by several documents, namely:

The March 5th 1431 letter of Bishop Ioan Ryza of Baia send to Bishop Sbiegniew of Krakow.27 This letter mentions a man named Jacob who renounced the Catholic faith and together with six other monks, who also renounced the Catholic faith, is making Hussite missionary propaganda in Moldavia. Moldavia's ruler, Alexander the Kind, allowed the Hussite proselytism in Moldavia also due to some political reasons because he wanted to weaken the Polish influence in Moldavia.²⁸ Thus the Catholic Bishop Ioan Ryza of Baia complains to Bishop Sbiegniew of Krakow of the favors awarded to Jacob by the ruler Alexander the Kind as well as showing the ruler's audacity and pride.²⁹ So, at Bishop Ioan Ryza's request to Bishop Sbiegniew, the latter addresses the king of Poland who sends a letter (on April 6th 1431) to the ruler Alexander the Kind telling him, among other things, about the downfall of Bohemia due to the anarchy created by the Hussites. The intervention had no effect and so the Hussites settled wherever they wanted until the time of Alexander the Kind's descendents, when a new pro Poland political orientation resulted in banishing the Hussites in Transylvania.³⁰

The letter from April 6th 1431, send by the king of Poland, Vladislav Jagiello, to the Moldavian ruler, Alexander the Kind. As a result of the letter send by Bishop Ioan Ryza of Baia to Bishop Sbiegniew of Krakow, the latter addresses the king of Poland asking him to intervene to the Moldavian ruler Alexander the Kind. This letter send by the king of Poland to the Moldavian ruler contained two issues regarding the Hussites: First the king asks the ruler to end the acceptance and support shown towards the Hussites in Moldavia and second he asked for the extradition of Jacob, the main Hussite preacher in Moldova along with his acolytes, so they can be trialed and punished for heresy by the Polish authorities.³¹ The kink of Poland's requests fell on deaf ears and the Hussites settled wherever they wanted until the time of Alexander the Kind's descendents, when a new pro Poland political orientation resulted in banishing the Hussites in Transylvania.³²

The letter from January 1432, send by the Bishop of Krakow, Sbigneus (Zbigniew) Olesnicki, to Cardinal Cesarini. The Bishop's letter details some important issues about the status of Catholicism which is confronted with the Hussite ideas of the strong Hussite community in Moldavia. Bishop Sbigneus³³ wrote that the Hussites represented a strong source of heresy for the Catholics and that Jacob, the Hussite preacher, managed to convince a large number of Catholics to convert the Hussite teachings and renounce the Catholic religion.

The letter of Pope Eugeniu the 4th *from* 1446 that said: "I heard with great sadness that in Moldavia a lot of heretics found shelter, especially those from the abominable Hussite sect."³⁴

Certain details about the Hussites 'that live in Moldavia and they are refugees', are found in a *letter from 1452 belonging to the Patriarch of Constantinople, letter send to the University of Prague,* which referenced the Hussite believers.³⁵ The Hussites, banished as heretics from everywhere by the Catholics, found shelter in Moldavia under the rule of Alexander the Kind and Stefan the Great.

A document from 1452 which mentions Vadul Huşilor, also attests to the presence of Hussites in that area at that time.³⁶

The testimony and activity of Catholic priest Constantinus Romanus. This Roman Catholic priest, converted to Hussitism in Moldavia, was in 1452 one of the most active and passionate preachers of Hussite teachings in Moldavia.³⁷

A note from 1571 addressed to the Vatican by the Catholic Bishop of Camenita. In this note the Bishop made the Vatican aware of the existence of roughly 2000 Hussites that live in the cities of Huşi, Roman and a few nearby villages.³⁸

*The testimony of the Catholic Bishop Petru Bogdan Baksic.*³⁹ The Bishop, around mid 17th century, talks about the life of Hussites and their way of worship.

The Sigil of the town of Huşi. It is described, according to a document sealed in 1667, as having the form of an open book, which has on its sides a simple cross and a double one. It is suggested that

the book portrayed is the *Bible*. The *Bible* was taken as a symbol of the city's founding and it is believed to be a clear reference at the Hussite beginnings of Huşi.⁴⁰ Târgul Huşi was founded by the Hussites from Moldova.⁴¹

Ioan of Ryza, the Catholic Bishop of Baia, who belonged to the Polish Church, had a special mission for Moldavia, a mission which consisted in the strengthening and spreading of Catholicism in Moldova, using all the favorable moods of the ruler Alexander the Kind, but all attempts to convert the ruler to Catholicism made by his wife Rimgailla,⁴² who was a Polish Catholic, failed.⁴³ Alexander the Kind not only refuses to convert to Catholicism but also divorces his wife Rimgailla, this causes extreme anger to Pope Martin the 5th (1368–1431), who in 1420 tasks Bishop Ioan of Ryza to analyze the reasons that led to the annulment of marriage between the Moldavian ruler Alexander the Kind and Rimgailla (Ringala).⁴⁴

In 1431, Jacob, the leader of the Hussites in Moldavia, will gain the favor of Alexander the Kind and the Moldavian Hussite community becomes privileged, even being protected by a royal privilege (hrisov).⁴⁵ Besides the fact that they were allowed to build homes in Bacau, the royal hrisov also contained a certain provision regarding their protection, namely any harm brought upon the Hussites was punishable by a fee of twenty Turkish ducats.⁴⁶ The ruler Alexander the Kind also too special measures to protect the Hussite preachers from the Catholic Cleric's attempts to exact certain reprisals on them.

Under these conditions, Catholic Bishop Ioan of Ryza, being unable to convert the Moldavian ruler, Alexander the Kind, to Catholicism, signals in 1431 the presence in Baia of a community of Hussites believers gathered around a Krakowian Hussite refugee named Jacob, even narrating some of his declarations from the discussion he had with the Moldavian ruler to the Catholic Bishop of Krakow Sbigneus (Zbygniew). The fact that that discussions was held before the Moldavian ruler confirms the suspicion that it was a call to judgment made by the Bishop before the laic supreme forum. Unable to obtain, from the Moldavian ruler Alexander the Kind, the banishment or the surrender of the Hussites towards whom the ruler showed great favor, Bishop Ioan of Ryza asks the Catholic Bishop of Krakow to intervene with the king of Poland, Vladislav Iagello, so that the request for the Hussite extradition to appear as a request of the king and not as an initiative of the Catholic Bishop from Moldavia.⁴⁷ The letter from March 5th 1431, send by the Catholic Bishop of Baia, Ioan of Ryza to Sbigneus (Zbygniew) Okesnicki, the Catholic Bishop of Krakow, comes from the Archive of the Teutonic Order from Gőttingen.⁴⁸ The document shown brings forward precious information about the history of Hussitism as well as about knowing certain aspects of Moldavia's religious policy under the ruler Alexander the Kind regarding the support found the Hussites in Moldavia. Moreover the document presents also presents some negative aspects regarding the moral integrity of the Roman Pontiffs.⁴⁹

Due to the fact that the Catholic Bishop Ioan of Ryza failed in all his attempts to stop and prevent the Hussite development and if at first the Episcopal and Princely authorities do not pay much attention to Hussite activities, in 1436 the Catholic Bishop Gheorghe Lepes,⁵⁰ asks for immediate help to stop and destroy the Hussite heresy. As a consequence to the growing Hussite influence in Hungary and Transylvania, Pope Eugeniu the 4th, tasks the Franciscan inquisitor Jacob of Marchia⁵¹ with the mission to eradicate the Hussite heretical movement.⁵²

In 1436 the Franciscan Jacob of Marchia is named as Main Vicar in Bosnia and at the same time is tasked with a mission from the Pope and the Synod of Basel to act as inquisitor in Hungary and the Austrian territories, with the purpose of following the Hussite converts. Jacob of Marchia is first invited by the Catholic Bishop of Oradea,⁵³ then by the Catholic Bishop of Transylvania, Gheorghe Lepes, and the Canon of Cenad.⁵⁴ In 1436 the inquisitor Jacob of Marchia is quite active on these territories, with the purpose to eradicate the Hussite teachings, his actions having a strong echo in Transylvania on the eve of the Bobalna Uprising (1437–1438).⁵⁵With this occasion Jacob of Marchia gathered and noted the thesis of the dogmatic teachings of the Hussite converts in Transylvania.⁵⁶

In conclusion we state the fact that for the descendants of Jan Hus, persecuted for their faith in their homeland, migrated to other territories, where they found religious tolerance and the permission to freely practice their faith. The political authorities at the time from Moldavia and Transylvania offered shelter and support for believers different than those who lived in those territories, and the Hussite believers enjoyed those privileges.

NOTES

¹ We mention the fact that this study is part of a much larger work written in Romanian, about the Sabbatarian group in Transylvania. Thus the ideas from this study can be found in a Romanian version by Ioan–Gheorghe Rotaru, *Sabatarienii în contextul vieții transilvane (sec. XVI–XIX)*. (Cluj–Napoca: Editura Risoprint, 2014), vol. I., 129–140.

² E.G.White, *Tragedia veacurilor*. (București: Casa de Editură Viață și Sănătate, 2011), 82–85.

³ Cerasela Maria Vîrlan–Blaj, "Comunitățile catolice din Moldova. Studiu de caz – Satele cu populație romano–catolică din vecinătatea orașului Roman," in *Journal for the Study of Religions & Ideologies*, I/ No. 3/ Winter 2002, 168; Mihail P. Dan, *Cehi, slovaci și români în veacurile XIII–XVI.* (Sibiu: Editura Progresul), 1944, 85–86.

⁴About Hussite group, see: http://articolecrestine.com/biserica/reformain-moldova-autor-oltei-cristina.html, accesed 03.08.2016.

⁵ Ioan–Aurel Pop, *Națiunea română medievală*. (București: Editura Enciclopedică, 1998), 103; Earle E.Cairns, *Creștinismul de-a lungul secolelor. O istorie a Bisericii Creștine*. (Dallas, T.: BEE International, 1992), 247. See: E.G.White, *Tragedia veacurilor*. (București, Casa de Editură Viață și Sănătate, 1997), 94–108; Ibid., "The Great Controversy between Chirst and Satan," In *Spirit of Profecy.* Harrah, Oklahoma: Academy Enterprises, Inc. f.a.), I., 801–806.

⁶ P. P. Panaitescu, *Începuturile și biruința scrisului în limba română.* (București: Editura Academiei RPR, 1965), 32–34; Nicolae Iorga, *Istoria poporului românesc*, Otilia Teodoru–Ionescu (trad.). (București: Editura "Casei Școalelor," 1922), vol. II., 242–243; N.Iorga, *Istoria Românilor. Cavalerii*. (București: 1937), vol. IV, 433.

⁷ Florin Lăiu, *Roma sau Ierusalim? O descriere a istoriei creștinismului, de la origini până în 1988,* iulie 1988, Piatra Neamţ, 161. https://www.scribd.com/document/242347081/Roma-sau-Ierusalim, (Last accessed on July 17, 2016).

⁸ Gheorghe Vlăduțescu, *Ereziile evului mediu creștin*. (București: Editura Enciclopedica, 1974), 87.

⁹ E.G.White, *Tragedia veacurilor*. (București: Casa de Editură Viață și Sănătate, 2011), 58–69.

¹⁰ Ibid., 71.

¹¹ Work written in 1413. http://www.gazetademaramures.ro/jan-hus-reformatorul-ceh-al-romano-catolicismului-13898

¹² E.G.White, *Tragedia veacurilor.* (București: Casa de Editură Viață și Sănătate, 2011), 75–81.

¹³ Zdenek V. David, Utraquists, Lutherans and Bohemian Confession of 1575, în "Church History," 68, 1999, nr. 2, 294–336; Jaroslav Pánek, "The question of tolerance in Bohemia and Moravia in the age of the Reformation," In *Tolerance and Intolerance in the European Reformation*, Ole Peter Grell, Robert W. Scribner (ed.), (Cambridge, 1996), 231–237.

¹⁴ The Council of Konstanz (1414–1418), condemned Jan Hus to be burned on the steak, sentence carried out on 6th July 1415. cf. E.G.White, *Tragedia veacurilor*. (București: Casa de Editură Viață și Sănătate, 2011), 70–85; Mircea Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii Ortodoxe Române*. Second Edition, (București: Editura IBM al BOR, 1991), 338–339; See and: Ulrich von Richental, *Cronik des Constanzer Conzilz*, hrsg. von M.R. Buch, (Hildesheim, 1962); Constantin I. Karadja, "Delegații din țara noastră la Conciliul din Constanța (în Baden) în anul 1415," In *Analele Academiei Române, Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice*, s.III, t.VII, (București, 1926), 59–91; Adrian Magina, *De la excludere la coabitare. Biserici tradiționale, Reformă și Islam în Banat (1500–1700)*. (Cluj–Napoca: Academia Română. Centrul de Studii Transilvane, 2011), 57.

¹⁵ Burned on the steak in 1416.

¹⁶ E.G.White, *Tragedia veacurilor*. (București: Casa de Editură Viață și Sănătate, 2011), 82–83.

¹⁷ Mihail P. Dan, *Cehi, slovaci și români în veacurile XIII–XVI.* (Sibiu: Editura Progresul), 1944, 84–88; Claudia Dobre, "Preaching, Conversion, Ministering and Struggling Against Hussites: the Mendicants Missionary Activities and Strategies in Moldavia from the 13 to the First Half of the 15 Century," In *Revue des Etudes Eud–Est Éuropéennes,* București, XLII (2004), nr.1–4, 82.

¹⁸ Alexander the Kind, ruler of Moldavia between 1400–1432. For details: Constantin Cihodaru, *Alexandru cel Bun: (23 aprilie 1399 – 1 ian. 1432),* (Iași: Editura Junimea, 1984).

¹⁹ Dr. Anatol Măcriș, *Segmente și fragmente de istorie...*, 119.

²⁰ C.G.Giurescu, *Istoria românilor*, vol. I., Bucureşti, 1974, 146. cf. Dr. Anatol Măcriş, *Segmente și fragmente de istorie*, (Bucureşti: Editura Agerpress Typo, 2000), p.118. About romanians tolerance, see: Gh. Speranță, "Dovezi de toleranță religioasă în Țările Române," In *Biserica Ortodoxă Română*, an. LXXXIII (1965), 7–8 (iul–aug.), 735–751.

²¹ *Călători străini despre țările române*, Maria Holban (ed.). (București : Editura Științifică, 1968), vol. I, 64–65; Șerban Papacostea, Știri noi cu privire la istoria husitismului în Moldova în timpul lu Alexandru cel Bun, In Șerban Papacostea, *Evul mediu românesc. Realități politice și curente spirituale.* (București : Editura Corint, 2001), 279–286.

²² Dr. Anatol Măcriș, *Segmente și fragmente de istorie*, 118.

²³ Mircea Păcurariu, Istoria Bisericii Ortodoxe Române. Second edition, 338–339; Şerban Papacostea, "Știri noi cu privire la istoria husitismului în Moldova în timpul lui Alexandru cel Bun," In Studii și Cercetări Științifice–Istorice, Iași, vol. XIII, fasc. 2, 1962, 253–258; Constantin C.Giurescu, "Cauzele refugierii husiților în Moldova și centrele lor în această țară," In Studii și articole de istorie, nr. 3, 1966, 27–44; I.Manu, "Pătrunderea husitismului în țările române și apariția primelor texte religioase în limba română," In Glasul Bisericii, București, an XXXIII, 1974, nr. 3–4, 284–293; Vezi și I. Macurek, "Husitismul în România," In Revista istorică, XIV, 1928; Mihail P. Dan, Cehi, slovaci și români în veacurile XIII–XVI, (Sibiu: Editura Progresul, 1944), 82–90; Dr. Anatol Măcriş, Segmente și fragmente de istorie, 118.

²⁴ Dr. Anatol Măcriș, *Segmente și fragmente de istorie*,118.

²⁵ Marco Bandini, *Codex. Vizitarea generală a tuturor bisericilor catolice de rit roman din Provincia Moldava, 1646–1648,* Traian Diaconescu (ed.), (Iași: Editura Presa Bună, 2006), 94; *Călători străini despre țările române...*, vol. V., p.229. cf. Laurențiu, Rădvan, *Orașele din Țările Române în Evul Mediu (sfârșitul sec. al XIII–lea–începutul sec. al XVI–lea),* (Iași: Editura Universității Alexandru Ioan Cuza, 2011), 533.

²⁶ N.Grigoraş, *Moldova lui Ștefan cel Mare*, (Iași, 1982), 224. cf. Dr. Anatol Măcriş, *Segmente și fragmente de istorie...*, p.119; Marco Bandini, *Codex. Vizitarea generală a tuturor bisericilor catolice de rit roman din Provincia Moldava*, *1646–1648...*, 94; Radu Manolescu, "Cultura orășenească în Moldova în a doua jumătate a secolului al XV-lea," In *Cultura moldovenească în timpul lui Ștefan cel Mare*, M.Berza (ed.), (București: Editura Academiei Române, 1964), pp. 84–86; Mihail P. Dan, *Cehi, slovaci și români în veacurile XIII–XVI*, 99–104, 196–206.

²⁷ *Călători străini despre țările române,* Maria Holban (ed.). (București, 1968), vol. I, 65.

²⁸ I. Gabor, *Parohia catolică Bacău*, pro manuscripto, (Luizi Călugăra, 1985), 10.

²⁹ Călători străini despre țările române. Maria Holban (ed.), I, 65.

³⁰ Maria Teodor, "Continuitatea reformei în Moldova medievală," în *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie A. D. Xenopol*, (Iași, 1991), 198.

³¹ Ibid.

³² *Călători străini despre țările române*. Maria Holban (ed.). . . , I, 65; Papacostea Şerban, *Evul mediu românesc. Realități politice și curente spirituale*. (București: Editura Corint, 2001), 282.

³³ Zbigniew (Sbigneus) Oleśnicki (Polish, 5 December 1389 in Sienno – 1 April 1455). Oskar Halecki; W: F. Reddaway; J. H. Penson, *The Cambridge History of Poland*. CUP Archive. 237.

³⁴ Gh. Ghibănescu, *Originea Hușilor.* (Bârlad: Tipografia Română,1887). cf. Dr. Anatol Măcriș, *Segmente și fragmente de istorie...*, 118–119.

³⁵ P. P. Panaitescu, "Husitismul și cultura slavonă în Moldova," In *Romanoslavica*, X (1964), 282–283.

³⁶ *Documenta Romaniae Historica,* A II, p.22, nr.20.

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³⁷ Mihail P. Dan, *Cehi, slovaci și români în veacurile XIII–XVI*, 193.

³⁸ Dr. Anatol Măcriș, *Segmente și fragmente de istorie*, 119.

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³⁹ Marco Bandini, *Codex. Vizitarea generală a tuturor bisericilor catolice de rit roman din Provincia Moldava, 1646–1648...,* 94; *Călători străini despre țările române.* Maria Holban (ed.). (București: Editura Științifică, 1968–1983), vol. V, 229. cf. Laurențiu Rădvan, *Orașele din Țările Române în Evul Mediu (sfârșitul sec. al XIII-lea începutul sec. al XVI-lea)...,*532.

⁴⁰ Melchisedec Ștefănescu, *Chronica Hușilor și a episcopiei cu asemenea numire*. (București: Tipografia C.A.Rosetti, 1869), 132–133.

⁴¹ Istoria dreptului românesc, Ioan Ceterchi (coord.), Vladimir Hanga (resp. for volume). (București: Editura Academiei R.S.R.), 1980, vol. I, 436.

⁴² Rimgaiila, (Ringala, Ryngalla) Lithuanian princess, the fourth wife of Alexander the Kind, she was the sister in law to the king of Poland, Vladislav al II-lea Iagello.

⁴³ *Călători străini despre Țările Române,* Maria Holban (ed.). (București: Editura Științifică, 1968), vol I, 62.

⁴⁴ I. Filitti, *Din arhivele Vaticanului*, I, (București, 1913), 34–36, doc. 20. The third wife of Alexander the Kind was Rimgailla (Ringala), who was sister to Vytaudas and sister in law to Vladislav al II-lea Iagello. At the same time Rimgailla Ringala was related to Alexander the Kind, being first cousin to Anastasia, wife of Roman I and mother of Alexander the Kind. Before the marriage to Alexander the Kind Ringala was married to the duke of Mazovia, but became his widdow. https://ro.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alexandru_cel_Bun, accesed 17.07.2016.

⁴⁵ P. P. Panaitescu, Începuturile și biruința scrisului în limba română..., 33–34.

⁴⁶ L. Demény și J. Pataki, "Husitské revolucni bnuti na uzemi Lidove Republiky Rumunské," In *Mezinárodni oblas husitsvi*, (Praga, 1957), 185–220. cf. *Călători străini despre Țările Române*. Maria Holban (ed.), vol. I, 63.

⁴⁷ The comminatory letter of king Vladislav Iagello to the Moldavian ruler, as a result of this appeal, was published in the *Monumenta Medii Aevi Historica res gestas Poloniae Ilustrantia* collection, XII, 254–255, where it was also published a letter of the Bishop of Krakow, Zbygniew Olesnicki (Oleśnicy) (1389–1455) to Cardinal Cesarini, informing him of the news received from from Ioan of Ryza, the Catholic Bishop of Baia regarding the progress of Hussitism and Alexander the Kind's religious policy (*Monumenta Medii Aevi Historica res gestas Poloniae Ilustrantia*, XII, 290–291) from the second half of january 1432. He died before April 30th 1438 when his successor, the Dominican Petru Czipser, was named, cf. I. Filitti, *Din arhivele Vaticanului*, I, 46, doc. I, 36. See *Călători străini despre Țările Române*, vol. I, 63; For more details: Lorenzo Cardella, *Memorie storiche de' cardinali della Santa Romana Chiesa*, (Rome: Stamperia Pagliarini, 1793), III, 81–82; Alfonso Chacón, *Vitæ, et res gestæ Pontificvm Romanorum et S. R. E. Cardinalivm ab initio nascentis Ecclesiæ vsque ad Vrbanvm VIII. Pont. Max.*, 4 vol., (Romae : Typis Vaticanis, 1677), II, col. 910–911; "Essai de liste générale des cardinaux. VII. Les cardinaux de la fin du XVe siècle», In Annuaire Pontifical Catholique 1932, (Paris: Maison de la Bonne Presse, 1932), 138; Conradus Eubel; Guglielmus van Gulik, Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevi, Vol. I (1198–1431), (Münich: Sumptibus et Typis Librariae Regensbergianae, 1913); reprinted, (Padua: Il Messagero di S. Antonio, 1960), 214; Piotr Nitecki, Biskupi Kościoła w Polsce w latach 965–1999. Słownik biograficzny, Przedmowa Henryk Gulbinowicz, (Warszawa: Instytut Wydawniczy «Pax», 2000), col. 319–320; Krzysztof Rafał Prokop, Polscy kardynałowie, Kraków, Wydawnictwo WAM, 2001, 17–31; Conradus Eubel; Guglielmus van Gulik, Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevi, Vol. II (1431–1503), (Münich : Sumptibus et Typis Librariae Regensbergianae, 1914), reprint (Padua: Il Messagero di S. Antonio, 1960), 8, 32, 64, 139; Călători străini despre Țările Române. Maria Holban (ed.), vol. I, 64–65; Şerban Papacostea, "Știri noi cu privire la istoria husitismului în Moldova în timpul lui Alexandru cel Bun," In Şerban Papacostea, Evul mediu românesc. Realități politice și curente spirituale, (București: Editura Corint, 2001), 279–286.

⁴⁸ The translation was made after the original in latin from the Archive of the Teutonic Order, currently in Gőttingen. The text of this letter was published by Serban Petrescu in the article called "Știri noi cu privire la istoria husitismului în Moldova în timpul lui Alexandru cel Bun," In *Studii și cercetări științifice*, Istorie, Iași, XIII (1962), nr. 2, 257–258. The Catholic Bishop Ioan of Ryza is mentioned by Sadi Ionescu in *Bibliografia călătorilor străini*, 17, and N. Iorga în *Studii și Documente*, I–II, XXXII.

⁴⁹ L. Demény și J. Pataki, "Husitské revolucni bnuti na uzemi Lidove Republiky Rumunské," In *Mezinárodni oblas husitsvi*, (Praga: 1957), 185–220. cf. *Călători străini despre Țările Române*, vol. I, 62–66.

⁵⁰ Constantin C.Giurescu, Dinu C.Giurescu, *Istoria românilor*, 2...,60; Also check Alexandru Moraru, *Etnie și confesiune în Transilvania veacului al XVI-lea*, In "Studia Universitatis Babeș–Bolyai. Theologia Orthodoxa," XXXVIII, 1993, nr. 1–2, 34.

⁵¹ Jacob of Marchia (Iacobus Picenus, Iacob de Picano, de Monte Brandone), (n.1394–d.1476), of Italian origin, was a member of the Franciscan Order. In 1432 he is send by Pope Eugen the 4th to tend to the life of the monks of the Franciscan Order in Bosnia, and in 1434 we find him in Cenad, from where he is recalled by the Pope and send to Bosnia again. In 1435 he works in the Pecs Episcopy (Ungaria); About the activity of inquisitor Jacob of Marchia in Transylvania. Look at: *Istoria României*, vol. II, (București: Editura Academiei, 1962), 404; V. Fraknói, *Magyar-ország egyházi és politikai ősszekőttetései a rámai szentszékkel*, vol. II, (Budapest, 1902), 34 and the following.; Tóth Szabó Pál, *A cseh-huszita mozgalmak és uralom tőrténete Magyarországon*, (Budapest, 1917), 155 and next. cf. *Călători străini despre Țările Române*. Maria Holban (ed.) vol. I, 67–68.

⁵² Gheorghe Vlăduțescu, *Ereziile evului mediu creștin*, 87.

⁵³ I. Fejér, *Codex diplomaticus*, vol. X/7, 808; cf. *Călători străini despre Țările Române*. Maria Holban (ed.), vol. I, 67. ⁵⁴ F. Fermendzin, *Acta Bosnae*, 151–153 and I. Fejér, *Codex diplomaticus*, vol. X/7, pp. 808–810; cf. *Călători străini despre Țările Române*. Maria Holban (ed.), vol. I, 67.

⁵⁵ http://decanatcatolicbacau.ro/new/scurt-istoric-al-comunitiicatolice/, accesed 17.07.2016.

⁵⁶ *Călători străini despre Țările Române.* Maria Holban (ed.) vol. I, 67–73.

The Migration of Pragmatic Principles on Language Teaching

Mihaela Georgiana Manasia

ABSTRACT: This paper deals with language education, field constantly evolving, sometimes by simple adjustments, while at other times by much more radical ones. It is a fact that we live in an accelerated world, our lives being punctuated by thousand daily activities, which requires language education to be rethought and reconcile methodological principles and pragmatism in order to offer instruction that is modern, efficient and in accordance with students' expectations, needs and learning habits. The first part of this analysis will expound some theories that have served as foundation for the migration of some pragmatic principles to language teaching. The second part will consider the idea that constant evolution is not subjective or random, but based both on societal changes and feedback from previous trends. A last objective consists of the investigation of those benchmarks that have formed a pragmatic framework describing in detail a more modern approach to teaching. KEY WORDS: pragmatism, foreign language, education, autonomous learners, semiotics.

Current research seems to validate the view that learning a foreign language must be done primarily through direct practical situations. There seems to be no compelling reason to argue that the initiative to orient educational efforts towards a major final communicative purpose has produced a radical change within language teaching.

This pragmatic approach to teaching foreign languages has been implemented following the profitable interaction of sociolinguistics with didactics. This is the time when the main characteristics defining the communicative perspective were established: the communicative context and acts of enunciating developed in close connection with the type of speech produced, the utterer's linguistic performance that is also reported to his or her social status, the types and levels of speech used according to social categories, the speakers' attitude towards their own statements, normative judgments of the language, language planning; everything that serves as a substrate to the language, which determines its own existence.¹

Therefore, everything, starting from the reflection on the techniques to be used, on how much space to allot to the oral and written aspects, on the type of units to be taught, on the diversification of situation registers and studying topics to more attractive and diversified course books, has been redesigned in order to respond most effectively to the utilitarian purpose of the current methodology and didactics of foreign languages.

As noted before, these changes in the philosophy of education² are mainly due to the interaction of didactics with sociolinguistics which shows a great deal of interest in the pragmatic manipulation of language. Pragmatics together with syntax and semantics constitute the three dimensions of semiotics. Charles Morris, the founder of pragmatic linguistics defines this discipline as follows: "La syntaxe est l'étude des relations formelles des signes entre eux. La sémantique est l'étude des relations des signes aux objets auxquels ils sont applicables. La pragmatique est l'étude des signes à leur interprètes"³ (Syntax is the study of formal relations of signs among themselves. Semantics is the study of relationships of signs to the objects to which they apply. Pragmatics is the study of signs to their interpreters).⁴ Therefore, pragmatics treats signs by relating them to their users and refers directly to circumstances in which linguistic communication is performed. It involves an analysis of conditions related to the situational context, which is extra-linguistic in nature. Anything that can intervene at the moment of communication: personality, age, knowledge of the speakers, etc.

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With regard to this new dimension of language teaching, it is worth mentioning the main theories that served as foundation for the migration of a series of pragmatic principles towards to abovementioned field. First, we must evoke J. L. Austin with his theory of speech or language acts. He classifies speech acts into constatives (e.g. "The weather is bad") and performatives ("He promised to *come*").¹ According to him, *"saying is doing,*" but not always under the same form. Sometimes our role is according to the purpose of speech i.e. to inform, question or ask our interlocutor to do something, etc. According to Searle, another linguist, "parler une langue, c'est poser, réaliser des actes de langage, des actes comme : poser des affirmations, donner des ordres, poser des questions, faire des promesses et ainsi de suite" (Speaking a language means performing speech acts such as: making statements, giving orders, asking questions, making promises, etc.") Hence, the theory of speech acts resulted in envisaging linguistic communication as a set of relationships between interlocutors.

In the last years, educational research that has also provided ample support for this new pragmatic approach to language teaching is that of H. P. Grice. According to him, interlocutors must cooperate, "parler avec sincérité, pertinence et clarté, tout en donnant l'information nécessaire mais seulement l'information nécessaire"⁵ (speak with sincerity, relevance and clarity, while giving the necessary information, but only the necessary one), in order to establish a successful conversation. For this to happen, four conversational rules or "maxims" need to be present:

- the maxim of quality (the content of the communicative exchange must be true therefore avoid false statements);
- the maxim of quantity (the conversation should be limited to what is really necessary);
- the maxim of relation (the conversation must be relevant);
- the maxim of manner (the interlocutors must express themselves in a clear, concise manner and without any ambiguity).

However, it is true that it is quite difficult sometimes to meet all these maxims when we find ourselves involved in the context of a real communicative situation. Despite a certain number of difficulties in learning and teaching how to make conversation, we can always try to implement teaching strategies that will make it seem as close as possible to the real one.

The evidence suggests, therefore that pragmatics has put forward a series of benchmarks functioning as a rich source of inspiration for the development of new language teaching techniques. These benchmarks have formed a pragmatic "framework"⁶ that describes in detail the current communicative, notional and functional approach. The most obvious development in the didactics of foreign languages due to the contact with pragmatics has resulted in the following characteristics:

A. The Division of Roles

We are currently witnessing a change of roles of the actors involved in the learning process. The traditional pattern, in which the teacher as holder of knowledge transfers it towards the learner who receives it passively, should no longer be valid today. The teaching process reverses somehow these roles by becoming a mediation attempt organized between the object of learning and learner. It is this mediation that can be called *guidance*. This happens in order to make the learner autonomous in his efforts to develop his or her communicative competence in the foreign language he is studying. In a more general sense, this autonomy aims to gradually eliminate guidance and hence the progressive diminution of the teacher's role in favor of the learning process.

Teaching the student how to learn is an essential aspect in the pedagogy of language learning because the ability to study autonomously is not innate, it must be acquired, either in a natural manner, or, and this is the most common case, in the context of a formal systematic and well-organized learning process. We speak indeed of ability—that is the power to do something, and not behavior, a way to act. Autonomy is thus a term that describes a potential skill in a given situation, that of learning, in this case, and not the real behavior of an individual in this situation. It goes without saying that the teacher is the one who has the very important role to educate learners in teaching them how to study.

It is clear from the above that the success of this mediation and empowerment are strongly related to the importance that the two sides allocate to establishing a few ground rules that will direct their joint project. In the language class, the joint project between the guiding part and the guided part is called didactic contract. The term *contract* refers to the idea of two partners bound by a commitment which was negotiated and, in the end, was fully accepted by both parties, while the term *didactic* let us know precisely what the negotiation will bring: the learning process. This contract or the rules of the game is developed from the outset and states that the learning process involves two people, on an almost equal level.

As already stated, the purpose of the learning agreement is not to eliminate or reverse teacher/learner hierarchical relations but to express them, "de les dire pour que les différents rôles qu'assument les acteurs de la relation didactique ne se dissimulent pas les uns les autres"⁷ (to describe them so that the different roles assumed by each actor involved in the educational relationship do not dissimulate one another). Consequently, this implies the necessity of an explanation of how the educational process functions, of the presentation of the didactical and pedagogical objectives of this approach, as well as the rights and obligations of the actors involved in the learning process.

This change of roles asks the teacher to give up its pedestal and intervene as a thinker, motivator, model, mediator and trainer⁸ in order to determine them to successfully complete their learning project. On the part of the learner, a global involvement in the learning process is expected. S/he is no longer the passive actor supposed to receive and store information, but an active player who builds his or her own knowledge.

My personal experience and detailed research conducted on the teaching of foreign languages in France and Romania have shown that this distribution of roles has already taken place in this domain. Both a learner and later a teacher in France, I had the opportunity to experience this change and its consequences. Most learning activities were designed to allow the possibility for teachers to guide learners towards their empowerment and active participation to their learning process.

The same theoretical tendency is observed in Romania, but transposing it into practice is a lot less obvious than in France. A former communist country, Romania has long envisaged learning foreign languages in a traditional way which makes it more difficult for some people to overcome this traditionalism. In general what this indicates, on the one hand, is that asking teachers to no longer perceive themselves as knowledge-holding "masters" means asking them to forget about a reality that had been existed for quite a very long time. It is clear from the above why this can be really destabilizing and time demanding. On the other hand, teachers are not the only ones who can find themselves in a distressed situation. Learners can also be destabilized by their new role. The former *student* now becomes an *active learner* for several reasons:

- the individual is thus considered as an actor of the class;
- a symmetry to that of the teacher is created, which clearly highlights the interactive conception of acquiring knowledge during the language class;
- this actor is considered to be a didactic concept, different from the social role that is traditionally referred to by the term *student*.

If a passive spectator in the past, he must now become actively involved, fact which requires more effort and capacity on his part.

B. Focus on the Learner

Didactics has shown a great deal of interest in one of the actors involved in the learning process namely learners, but it has done so without having really defined their new status and what they often do. They are now placed in the front of the educational stage and one of their main duties would be to get involved and participate actively in the construction of knowledge. Whatever its limitations, the focus on learners has resulted in the significant attention paid by the field of didactics to educational needs and goals. Indeed, according to Henri Holec, "l'apprenant intervient toujours pour déterminer l'objectif de l'activité dans laquelle il s'engage:

- lorsque l'objet n'est pas explicité par l'enseignement ou que l'explicitation fournie n'est pas 'entendue, l'apprenant l''invente', le construit à partir de sa perception de la situation d'apprentissage;
- lorsque l'objectif est explicité, l'apprenant intègre, internalise l'explicitation fournie et reconstruit l'objectif à partir de l'interprétation qu'il fait de l'explicitation : par cette opération, il transforme l'information qu'il reçoit en connaissance opératoire susceptible d'orienter son activité, c'est une opération nécessaire : sans elle, l'information reçue reste à l'état de connaissance 'intellectuelle' externe, et n'a aucune incidence sur le comportements d'apprentissage.
- Mais le concept d'objectif, comme celui de besoin, sont difficile à cerner, d'autant plus qu'ils appartiennent au langage courant."⁹ (The learner always intervenes in order to determine the objective of the activity in which he is involved:
- whenever the object is not explicited by the education process or that the explicitation provided is not clear enough, learners must invent and built it starting from their perception of the learning situation;
- when the objective is explicit, learners integrate, internalize the explicitation provided and rebuild this goal based on their interpretation of that explicitation: through this operation, they transform the received information into operative knowledge susceptible to influence their activity, it is a necessary process: without it, the information received remains under the form of external intellectual knowledge, and does not affect in any way the learning behaviors.

But the concept of objective, as well as the one of need, is difficult to identify, especially since they belong to the everyday language.) These concepts are intertwined: the needs stand for the question, the objectives are the answer, which must be adequate." The phrase "besoins langagiers fait immédiatement référence à ce qui est directement nécessaire à un individu dans l'usage d'une langue étrangère pour communiquer dans les situations qui lui sont particulières ainsi qu'à ce qui lui manque à un moment donnée pour cet usage et qu'il va combler par l'apprentissage."¹⁰ (Language needs refers immediately to what individuals need directly in the use of a foreign language in order to communicate in situations which are peculiar to them, as well as what they lack at a certain moment for this use and that they will fill by learning).

One must also "être conscient des attentes et des attitudes des étudiants pour pouvoir comprendre leur résistance ou leur participation et adapter son comportement pédagogique à la classe"¹¹ (be aware of the students' expectations and attitudes in order to understand their resistance or participation and adapt one's pedagogical behavior to the class).

Therefore, learning contents must meet a key condition: comply with learners' language needs in different areas of experience. We are dealing with language teaching based on specific objectives, the first one consisting of selecting and structuring speech acts and statements in an accessible and effective manner for classroom practice. It is necessary to highlight the following points:

- the functions of language as a means of communication;
- the actions that we perform via language provided that communication is generally considered as an essential way of acting on the others;
- the rules speakers have to obey to when they are involved in verbal exchanges;
- the extra-linguistic characteristics that determine the use of language.¹²

In order to better exemplify the above theoretical notions, we will refer to the case of FFL (French foreign language) taught in France and Romania. As already stated, in France, the approach in the teaching of foreign languages is more learner-centered than in Romania. A needs assessment allows the teacher to identify those specific needs and correlate them with the corresponding objectives. The type of students studying FFL in France have most of them specific needs that demand a quick and effective learning process, supposed to ensure their integration into the new society or the improvement of their foreign language skills.

Governed by integrative motivation i.e. issued from a general interest in the language, the country and the French people, learners make in most cases the deliberate choice to undertake this learning. The teacher should take advantage of this positive attitude he will try to keep throughout this process.

In Romania, the learning process of FFL is rather 'programmed',¹³ taking place in an institutionalized environment. Learners do not necessarily always choose to be there. Some believe that the language classroom is often discouraging because it is a place where one "speaks to say nothing." As the class situation is often "unreal", students, especially the young ones, do not even realize why it is sometimes necessary to learn a foreign language. It is especially in these cases that the teacher has the role of initiating and maintaining motivation for the study of FFL.

This appears to be even more important given that in Romania the teaching of FFL can start from a very early age and last for a long time. General education in this country involves eight years and is divided into two cycles:

- the primary one (grades I to IV)
- secondary (grades V to VIII)

Teaching FFL can begin in kindergarten or the first primary year if French is the first foreign language studied. Nevertheless, the first option as foreign language seems to be English since 90% of Romanian students are studying it, while 66% study French as a second foreign language. Its study continues until the end of high school and may be extended depending on the learner's choice of university.

It is therefore essential to remind students regularly what the purpose of such learning is, to what extent it can meet their current and future social, professional, cultural, tourist needs, etc., which will have a positive effect on their learning motivation and success of this process. This concern is the result of the learner-centered approach, non-existent under the previous totalitarian regime, but more and more evident today.

Learners' motivation and needs are coupled, combination that is closely related to the objectives. We are more motivated when we know or we want to succeed. In the case of most Romanian learners of FFL, we may have to do with an integrative, but also instrumental motivation resulting from the need to learn a language for practical reasons: travel, consult bibliography, pass an exam, work in a field requiring knowledge of the French language, etc.

C. The Consideration of all Factors of Pragmatic Communication When Developing Educational Strategies

When developing educational strategies, the following factors related to pragmatic communication must be considered:

- the situation;
- the interlocutors' intentions;
- the roles they assume;
- the anticipation of actions;
- students' previous experience.

D. Activities Reconciling Morphological and Syntactic Aspects with the Pragmatic Vision

It is advisable to choose exercises and texts that promote authentic language communication.

This new situation reflects the complementarity that can be established between semiotics which incorporates pragmatics as one of its three branches and education. Transmission of knowledge is almost exclusively done through signs, especially linguistic ones; the acquisition of know-how occurs most often through the manipulation of signs. Mastering the pedagogical act thus merges well with the rational and controlled production of signs and with good knowledge of their interpretation process. Learning as information-treating process refers to semiotics in the sense that when we learn, we create structures of meanings in our brains.

The evidence suggests, therefore that the methodology and didactics of foreign languages has benefited a great deal from various interactions with several other areas, the greatest change being brought about by the insertion of the pragmatic component.

NOTES

¹ Robert Galisson. et Daniel Coste D, *Dictionnaire de didactique de langues*, (Hachette : 1976), 507–508.

² Ioan–Gheorghe Rotaru, "Educația–prin prisma ideilor unor filosofii moderne," in *Educație. Educație specială*, Baia Mare: Editura "Maria Montessori", 1 (2011), 5–10.

³ Charles W. Morris, *Signs, Language and Behavior* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1946), 73–397.

⁴ Throughout this paper, the quotations in French are followed by their translation into English made by the author of this article.

⁵ Paul Grice, "Presupposition and Conversational Implicature", in *Radical Pragmatics*, New York: Academic Press, (1981), 183–197.

⁶ Council of Europe *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment,* (2011), Council of Europe.

⁷ Marc Weisser, *Pour une pédagogie de l'ouverture*", (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1997), 23–45.

⁸ Paul Cyr, *Les stratégies d'apprentissage*, (Paris : CLE International, 1998), 118–120.

⁹ Henry Holec, "Apprendre à apprendre et apprentissage hétéro–dirigé", *Le français dans le dans monde*, numéro spécial, *Les autoapprentissages*, (1992), 49–50.

¹⁰ René Richterich, *Besoins langagiers et objectifs d'apprentissage*, (Paris: Hachette, 1985), 92.

¹¹ Janine Courtillon, *Elaborer un cours de FLE*, (Paris: Hachette, 2003), 35–46.

¹² René Richterich, *Besoins langagiers et objectifs d'apprentissage*, (Paris: Hachette, 1985), 96.

¹³ Jean–Paul Calvet, *Pour une écologie des langues du monde,* (Paris: Plon : DL 1999), 78.

The Phenomenon of Migration: A Linguistic and Sociological Perspective

Mirela Beatris Munteanu

ABSTRACT: The empirical research, which substantiate this analysis, is developing in two researching stages. In the first phase of the research, the context of our preoccupation is the semiotichalpragmatic approach of the terms. We are interested in analysing the terminology of the word *migrație* in the scientific, respectively the common language, having at the base of the analysis the specialty dictionaries, because the semantic evolution of the words still remains a theme, which produces especially the interest of the researcher. In the second phase of the research we intend to make a radiography of a group of re-emigrant pupils, by trying to answer the questions about the typology and about the migration network, following the socio-linguistic dimension of this phenomenon. KEY WORDS: migration, re-migration, semantics, lexical families.

Preliminaries

The topicability of the investigated theme is determined by the fact that the structuring of the lexic is one of the controversial problems of the modern semantics, by representing one of the most complex levels of the language, with interpretation's issues, because there can be established a variety of relations between the units of the lexic. There exists multiple ways of tapping the lexic, the novelty of the research being the study of the lexic of terminology of *migrație* as a system, and not as an irregular, unorganised ensemble of units.

In romanian linguistics, the paperworks abot the structured semantics are still in early phase. The research of the lexic, as many specialists tried, by "fields" (as parts more or less organised), regarding some criteria, has been shown to be more and more fruitful.

1) The Lexical-Semantic Field of the verb a migra

Inherited from latin, the lexem *a migra* possesses a semantic wealth, so it can be described "step by step" through its placement in all kinds of possible "constellations".

Semantically speaking, in Romanian, the verb *a migra* is polyvalent, the sentences can be clasified depending on its semantic value, developing and creating around it a series of relations.

The generic term of the category, the intransitive verb *a migra* (DN), is a neologism which came in Romanian from French (< fr. *migrer*) and Latin (< lat. *migrare*) and was for the first time registered lexicografically in the paperwork of Laurian and Massim, *Dicționar al Limbii Române*, 1876. The definition of the term, both in the general dictionaries, and in the specialties dictionaries, is strictly scientific, the content of the definitions, regarding the semantic sphere, being limited, bounded:

- 1. (about populations) to move in mass from a teritory to another, from a country to another one.
- 2. (about some animals, birds) to move in mass from a place to other, in specific periods of the year.
- 3. (physics; about particles) to move to a given direction under the influence of different factors, agents.
- 4. (refering to computer users) the switch or the cause to move from a system to another.

According to *Dicționarului explicativ al limbii române*,¹ the lexem *a migra* was formed through regressive derivation from the noun *migrație*.

The character of system of the words in a language has been proven in a convincing way by Saussure, who used, in this purpose, the notion of "associative groups" (*constelation*). This idea can be ilustrated by the word *a migra*, which is associated with: *migrare*, *migrație*, *migranți*, *migrator*, *migrațiune*.²

Another associative series places the *migrant* in the neibourhood of *emigrant, imirant, remigrant* (the recalled ideas are heterogeneous, but they still interfere through the common note "person who (e–, i–, re–) migrate", marked through the identity of the prefix).

Generally, the specialized vocabulary is improving by following the generally valid patterns, at the level of the general lexic. The lexical family of the verb *a migra* in Romanian, is composed by: *migrant, migrator, migrare, semimigrator, intermigrație, nonmigrație.*

Some words were formed on the field of the Romanian language, borrowed through latin pathway *migrator* (< lat. *migrator*), others are borrowed from another languages: *migrant* (DN) adj., s. m. f. "(animal, human) which/who migrate" (< fr. *migrant*), and others were formed or by the derivation process: *migrare* – the verb *a migra* + the substantival suffix –*are* ("the action of migration and its result"). The noun *migratie*³ has the alternative of *migratiune* and is synonymous with the noun *migrare*, being certificated in the year 1848 and defined as "the movement of a mass of people, tribes or (a number of people), determined by causes deriving from economical, social, political circumstances or natural; the migration".

The adjective *migrator* is certified in the year 1872 and is considered by DN as being borrowed from (< fr. *migrateur*, lat. *migrator*). The form *migrator* was fromed through derivation (internal way of improving, enriching the vocabulary) from the verb *a migra* + the adjectival suffix *-tor*, such that the term has the meaning "which/who migrates, travelling". The adjective *migrat* v. *cimirieni* "tribe with thracian origins, who migrated in antiquity from the north of the Black Sea to Asia Minor" [Pr.: *-ri-eni*] (DEX '98) is a neologism.

Although it isn't separately registered in MDA, the noun *migrațiune* is certified at least in the year 1925 in the legislation, came in Romanian through french pathway (from fr. *migration*, lat. *migratio*, *-onis*), having two meanings: 1. migration (*migrațiunea*)

păsărilor), referring to the migration of the birds. 2. migrating movement (*migrațiunea unei populații*), referring to the migration of one tribe. *Migrațiunea* is not reduced only to the movement from a space to another, but seen as a releasing of some significant changes in the invidual and collective life.

It is interesting that *migrația* can be a phenomenon which could change, but also an ongoing process.

We have identified an element with unknown etymology: adj. *semimigrator*, formed from the word *migrator* + *semi* – "half", meaning "(about fish) which migrates deep in the freshwaters, moving from puddles to rivers and viceversa, or from a river to another one" (SN)

A tracing language, which reproduces the same meaning as in the biology, is the term *intermigrație*; the lexem has its origins from the english *migration* + *inter*-⁴, being used with the meaning of "the migration of two populations, one taking the place of the another one" (< engl. *inter-migration*) (DN).

Linguistics treats with more and more interest these complex processes, which have a large spectrum of repercussions. Studying the causes and the types of semantic changes, acad. Al. Graur claims fairly that a words' meaning is a part of the most mobile elements of a language, and the modifications at semantic order represent one of the most interesting aspects of the vocabulary's dynamics.⁵ Thus, the noun *transmigrație* (DEX), being used in another semantic sphere with the meaning "religious concept, according to which the soul from a body goes, after death, into another body". In DN it's defined as "metempsychosis" (< fr. *transmigration*, lat. *transmigratio*).

The structure of the given lexem's field, from the perspective of the componential⁶ analysis, is the following:

- core: [+ action], [± location], [+ membership], [+ integration], [+ direction];
- associative field : [± social effects], [± moral quality], [± origins], [± discrimination];

From the lexicographical definitions given to the verb, we can remark the occurrence of some secondary semes, of the type : [+/- Equilibrium], [+/- Identity], [+ Affect], [+/- Adaptation], [Assessment] [positive]/[negative] etc.

According to scientific documentation, we have included amongst the verb *a migra* three lexical groups/subfields: *a emigra*, *a imigra* and *a remigra*, the analysis emphasizes more characteristics and semantic preferences of the terms. If we analyse the phenomenon of migration, referring to a given population, then we can talk about three forms of migration: *imigra***ție** – ensemble of entries, *emigrație* – ensemble of exits and *re–migra***ție** – ensemble of returns, such that we can observe that any migration act is, at the same time, a migration, emigration and possibly a re–migrațion.

Before the detaliaton of the dissociation criterias, we are going to present the recurrent collocations grouped thus:

1.1. The terminology of the verb *a emigra*

The term is certified in the year 1842 by Gheorghe Asachi, being a neologism from French and Latin (< fr. *émigrer*, it., lat. *emigrare* < lat *ex* – outside, *migrare* – to migrate, to go) and has the meaning "to leave its native place, its country, to establish into another country". In Romanian the verb *a emigra* enters into a relationship of synonymy with "a expatria", "a pribegi" (old use), "a se înstrăina", (old use, bookish) "a se desăra" and into a relationship of antonymy with "a se repatria".

The lexem *emigrație* is certified in the 17th century, at Miron Costin; version: *emigrațiune*, and *emigrant*, *emigrare*, *emigrant* are certified in the first half of the 19th century (MDA).

Emigrant is a neologism from French (<fr. *émigrant*) used with substantival value "which/who emigrates; which/who is in emigration" (NEDLR), having as synonyms *expatriat, pribeag.*

Emigrat is a loanword from the fr. **émigré**, uesd with substantival and adjectival value (formed through conversion from the verb *a migra*), meaning "emigrant". According to DS it can be synonymous with *refugiat*, *expatriat*, *exilat*, *deportat*, *fugar*, *fugit*, *pribeag*, *pribegitor*, (old use) *surghiunit*.

The lexem *emigrare* was formed through an internal method of improving, enriching the vocabulary, namely the derivation with suffix from the verb *a emigra* + substantival suffix –*are* ("the action of emigration and its result; repatriation"), having as synonymously

series (DS): *emigrație, expatriere,* (old use) *pribegie,* (old use, bookish) *desțărare,* (old use) *înstrăinare.* (~ of a political combatant).

The lexical family of the term *a emigra* is completed with the noun *emigrațiune* formed through derivation from the word *emigrație* + suffix *–une,* v. *emigrație* (SN).

1.2. The terminology of the verb a imigra

According to MDA the verb is considered to be the most recent word in Romanian, being certified by DEX only in the year 1975. In Romanian it means "to establish into a foreign country, leaving so its homeland" (< Cf. fr. *immigrer*, lat., it. *immigrare*).

The lexical family of the verb is less numerous, compared to the others lexems, being composed of: *imigrant* (DA ms); *imigrare* (DEX); synonym *imigra*ție; imigrațiune (DEX).

The noun *imigrare* was formed through derivation from the verb *a imigra* + suffix *–re*. The name of an action is systematically reproduced through the so-called long infinitve, becoming a noun. Its suffix is *–re*, united with the infinitive's theme (*migrare, emigrare, imigrare, remigrare*). These derivates receive a concrete meaning, denoting the result of the action and even the object considered to result from action.⁷ According to DN the meaning of the term *imigrare* is "the action of imigrating and its result; establishment into a foreign country" and enters into a relationship of synonymy with the lexems *imigrare* and *imigrație*.

According the dictionaries, the term *imigrant* is borrowed from French – *immigrant*, lat. *immigrans*, ~*ntis*, reffering to "a person who imigrates (or has recently migrated)".

1.3. The scientific terminology of the verb *a remigra*

In Romanian the documentary material gives us *remigrant* as parasynthetic derivative with the prefix *re*– + root – the verb *a migra* + adjectival suffix –*ant*.

The words of a language, like the living organisms, do not remaing stationary; they are increasing and decreasing all along. "In the life of a language reigns the universal *discursus*, the ideas never rest, but always roam, receive new things and its sphere generalizes or remains bonded to a specific phenomenon, specializing itself."⁸ The semantic extension is defined through a simple displacement of the meaning, made by the speakers on the basis of some equivalencies between two or more objects, phenomenon or actions.

The noun *re–migrant* suffered a semantic evolution too; according to dictionaries, it means:

1. *Entomology.* In aphids and another plants' louses; a female of a parthenogenetic generation with wings (sexuparae), which returns to the primary host plant, in autumn.

2. *Zoology:* In vertebrates, especially the sea turtles: an individual which migrates back to a sit in case which it grew in the previous seasons.

The acual meaning "a person or a thing who or which returns, a person who returns to the homeland, or whose citizenship was restored" is used starting with the 20th century, probably after the latin *remigrans* \rightarrow " coming back" and *"remigrare"* to come back".

The form *remigrare* is certified in the 17th century, inherited probably from the latin word stem *remigrāt*–, meaning "for moving back home, for coming back".

1.4. The syntagmatic relations of the verb a migra

The linguist E. Coşeriu distinguish the relations called lexematical from onomasiological⁹ (the starting point is a signified which enter into relations with different signifieds) and semasiological¹⁰ (the starting point being a signified). Like other linguists, Eugen Coşeriu approached the problem of the classification of the lexical fields, defining two big types of structure: paradigmatic (relations *in absentia*) and syntagmatic (relations *in praesentia*). The paradigmatic structures are: primary (the notion does not need in its definiton another notion)—*lexical field* and *lexical class*—and secondary (the notion does need in its definition another notion). In the sintagmatic structures, we emphasize three types: *affinity, selection* and *envolvment*.¹¹

Because in a semantic description a ranking of meanings is imposed, we will inventorize and discuss the most frequent and important contexts of the lexem *a migra*, used in collocations, starting from basic to increasingly distant meaning.

Migrare (migration): ~ of the workforce, ~ of pollutants in the soil, networks of ~.

Migrație (migration):

- *migrație internă/externă¹²*—reffering to a national territory, we distinguish *migrația internă*, when the movement is made inside the respective country, from *migrația externă* or *internațională¹³*, when the movement is made outside the country.
- migrații clandestine—term used for the work called in early period migration of opportunity (because the movements of this type firstly base themselves on speculation and inventiveness in the conversion of some unfavorable or neutral circumstances into favorable situations which allow the achievement of a migration project into a place where, legally speaking, it wouldn't be possible.¹⁴
- *migrație a creierelor* reffers to the fact that, from the viewpoint of the occupation and instruction, the majority of the romanian emigrants are students or they graduated an institution of higher education.
- migrație de tip navetă;¹⁵
- migrație temporară/definitivă reffering to a determined period of time, we talk about migrația temporară, when the person, who left for a determined period of time, remigrates and migrația definitivă, when the migrant does not come back anymore.
- Latent ~, phenomenon of ~, the literature of migration, ~ etnică, ~ neregulamentară, zone de migrație naturală, ~ legală/ilegală, procese de ~, fluxuri de ~.

Migranți: "migrant/immigrant workers", traffic of migrants, the migrations of the workers, MO no. 92 from 13rd August 1975¹⁶, *migrants from villages / cities – the first* invests money with priority *in production,* in economical development, *the second* prefers consumption and fun.

*The migrant flux, the migrant phenomenon Migrant/–*ă: migrant workforce.

Emigrare: Clandestine emigrant, definitive emigration – "total protest in relation with *temporary emigration,* which express a relative disproof of the departure society".¹⁷

Emigranți:

- emigranți de succes;¹⁸
- *emigran*ți stresați "the emigrants with a doubtful socioprofessional status or dominated by uncertainty and aspirations, this having an emotional impact over the family left home";
- *emigranți ambivalenți* ("warts and all") encourages the occurrence of *problem children*, especially when they are teenagers, because of the tense family situation and the absence of some *certainlies*.¹⁹
- emigranți "mioritici";²⁰

Imigrare: policy of immigration, the process of immigration.

2. The Implication of Migration on the Family

The second part of the study has as main objective the impact migration has on the family, intending to prove how the alternative use of two languages can influence the communication of a 10-12 years old child. To analyze this aspect, we have followed the locution of the pupils during the Romanian class and recorded the communication mistakes found in the written assessments.

We have chosen this topic, because, more or less, the phenomenon of migration affects all of us (unfortunately everyone has somebody outside the country: parents, husbands, children, nephews). After the analysis of the alarming statistics about the phenomenon of migration from our country, we have noticed the distructive effect of it on the family members. The situation of the children with parents who left the country was and is still not enough studied. We know that, since the early years of school, the pupil begins to accumulate informations, with focusing on the communication and social integration and re–integration skills, from an inter– and transdisciplinary perspective. Thus, the communication develops itself on two axis: one of the native language and of the cognitively acquisitons obtained through it, and other of the spoken language in the adopted country, which becomes the main factor of faciliating the integration in the new social environment.

The school and the family are the two poles of education, which contribute through specific methods at teenagers' growth. Family is the first school of the child by exerting an powerful influence, which influences its moral–spiritual profile for the rest of their life. The behavior model given by the parents – which children take through imitation and learning – represents the social decisive model regarding the formation of their conception about life, and of the manner of behavior in relation with social norms and values.

The development responsability of the child in the first stages firstly belong to the family. However families with single parents represent a particular situation. In this case, even if the endeavor of the parent are worthy of its satus, there still exist some negative aspects, which, unfortunately, can affect the child's path and development.

3. The adaptation crisis of the remigrants children

The children of the Romanians who emigrated into other countries are privileged to be integrated in an educational system, that helps them adapt, such that the newcomer has its knowledges about the language, mathematics, physics, chemistry etc. tested, in order to be able to study all the subjects with the teachers of the classes in which they are registered. These pupils benefit of special training classes, during the program, or even outside the program.

The situation of the children, who come back into the country after some time of living with their parents abroad, is difficult too. Some of them, at the age between 10 and 12 years, do not know Romanian anymore, and cannot readjust to the Romanian communities, to the schools.

The correlation between the language and the behavior generates the interaction between social and linguistic components, and the way of using languages proves the attitude of the speaker besides the respective language (native or foreign). In the linguistic community of a country we can identify linguistic groups generated by historical factors, among which appears the phenomenon of migration.²¹

We ask ourselves whether the school can ensure a propitious context for developing the human personality, context which is based on a system with real values, helping the remigrant pupils to learn the national language, culture and values. These pupils are forced to learn to communicate in the language of the country where their parents lived, such that, linguitically speaking, the native language became, gradually, a passive tool of linguistic communication, until the native speakers have forgotten it.

What happens to these pupils who come back to the Romanian educational system which, after some researches, has a higher degree of difficulty than in the countries from which they remigrate? Unfortunately, the pupils have mostly to adapt quickly, because they don't have any additional classes for learning the language. Furthermore, they are facing different methods of teaching, some children having troubles in understanding how to approach every subject. Through remigration, the Romanian speaker is exposed to a linguistic–cultural imbalance, by his exit from his native culture, so from the native linguistic community too.

The communication in the native language represents the ability to express and interpret concepts, thoughts, feelings, facts and opinions, both in written and spoken form (listening, speaking, reading and writing), respectively to interact, linguistically speaking, adequately and creatively, in different social and cultural contexts: education and development, at work, at home and in the spare time.²²

Studying the evolution of a group of middle school pupils, I've noticed, as a Romanian teacher, that the remigrant pupils confront themselves with a linguistic barrier, which impedes them to integrate in the Romanian school environment, problem which depends on the period of time when they were in the adoptive country. Communication in Romanian has significant differences, directly proportional to the number of the years elapsed since their departure from the homeland. I have tried to help them learn easier the language by writing some linguistic materials.

These pupils showed a variety of manifestation, reffering to the phenomenon of acculturation, as the manifestation linked to the phonetic aspect, obviously influenced by the language of the adoptive country, Romanian lexical elements wrongly used, or even forgetting the gramatical structure of the native language.

Linguistic interferences, as a result of social–cultural contacts, produce diverse alterations in the language's system, which is permanently developing, reconstructing. These alterations, determined by the influence of a language on another language, consist in loaning words or in phraseological unities, adapted or not, tracing language. We consider that "two languages are in contact if they are used alternatively by the same people".²³ The languages interference can be observed in any place where there are different languages, on the same territory or on neighboring territories.

From the interaction with these children, we've noticed that:

- many times they don't understand the communication in Romanian, and others understand it partially;
- they are using words from the other language;
- phonetically, they use erroneously diacritics, they are replacing the vowel ă with *a* and viceversa: "Ma (mă) numesc Mihaelă (Mihaela), Biancă (Bianca)"; they double the consonants preffering to use the geminate consonants: *r* becomes *rr*, also they are confusing the consonant *v* with *b*: "Nu ştiam să borbim (vorbim) bine română.";
- they are not applying the Romanian spelling rules (they are using erroneously the hyphen in the conjugation of the verb at the subjunctive mood: "s-ă (să) învăț");
- they are making subject-verb disagreements: "Părinții a (au) decis să plec.";
- they forget to adapt the flexional categories of the verbs (diathesis, tense, mood, number): "Era foarte bine că înțelegem (înțelegeam) tabla înmulțirii.";

In addition, we can say that the school is the most propitious factor for integration, having in mind that school can be the place of interaction. However, to produce a real integration there should be made some changes in the educational system, by organising some free Romanian courses, writing of bilingual materials (the involved teachers participating at these courses of learning these languages). To be able to help these children the curriculum with the school's decision to introduce an optional course of Romanian language, culture and civilization, which could be adjusted to the educational system of the country of residence, to the level of every class, to the work rate and to distribution of the content.

The actual social conjuncture (the absence of the parents who are working abroad, the necessity of counseling and careful monitoring of them) have determined the teachers to preoccupy especially about this situation.

Important is to understand that the school, cooperating with the family and the community, can assure a propitious context to the development of the pupil's personality, centered to the system of real and valid for this epoch values, flexible and easy to adapt to changes.

Conclusions

In the first stage of the research we have tried to analyze the terminology of the phenomenon of migration from an etymological and semantic perspective, the lexical field being composed of 3 lexems: *a emigra, a imigra, a remigra*. From a diachronic perspective, we have noticed that mostly the elements have been certified in paperworks since the 19th century, most of them being loan words from French and Italian.

Analyzing the structure of the word *a migra*, we have noticed that its semantic sphere can have more meanings, organised in an objective way in reality. Thus, we have observed that the verb *a migra* has not only the meaning, which is kept today, namely "to move in mass from a territory to other, from a country to other", but it has

been enriched with the meaning "change or the cause of changing to a system to another" (reffering to computer users).

The meaning of *a migra* changed through the same phenomenon of enlargement: it became comprehensive without restricting to some action. The verb *a migra* was formed from the noun *migrație*. This verb, from the special meaning of "moving in mass from a place to other, in specific periods of the year", has received a more general meaning: "to move from a place to other, to roam or to traverse some places". Interesting is the terminological inconsistence caused by the confusion between the long infinitive *migrare* (reffering to displacement, movement on long distances of creatures) and the noun *migrație* (used to designate the internal movement of inhabitant).

The second stage of the article is dedicated to research of the family impasse induced by departuring abroad. The phenomenon of migration is not reduced just to moving to a place to other, but it can be seen as a release of substantial changes in the life of the invidual or of the collective. These complex processes can be treated from a linguistic perspective too.

Through remigration, the Romanian pupil is exposed to a linguistic-cultural imbalance, by leaving and coming back in the native culture, so in the native linguistic community. To facilitate the reintegration of these children in the Romanian educational system, there must be a tight collaboration between the school, pupil, family and community. Teachers can establish a communication bridge between these sides, through involving the child in extracurricular activities, which are correlated to the educational purposes. To motivate the pupils, we will use methods and complementary tools of evaluation: systematic observation of the pupils' behavior, portofolio, self–evaluation.

Integration is a long process, which base itself not only on sustained action of the remigrants children after their arrival in the country of destination, but on the receptivity, respect and support of the local population and of the authorities towards the newcomers.

Finally, to underline the rol of the parent in child's life, I will quote a child of a parent who has temporarily emigrated.

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A morning like many others I've lived... my parents are preparing again to go abroad. The only thought I have is that I'm not the only child who has to live these kind of moments. I sit next to my brother, who is one year older than me, and I try to hold back my tears. I didn't succeed this time either, although he wasn't braver than me. The story repeats itself every year. It almost seems normal to me to see people from my village or from my country leaving, one by one, leaving behind them a lot of tears and questions.

The idea of an agitated sea waves came into my mind. The same are the waves of my life, some taller, which toss you and knock you down, but you get up and keep going, hoping that, one day, all will be changed. Another image which overwhelmes me, is of a sweater which is disintegrating into numerous threads; these threads are gathered into clews, which you put into different drawers, like I saw at my mom before she went to Spain. One day she will come back definitively, and then she will take those threads and start knitting. It will be that beloved sweater which I was wearing at school.

There are many images like this which come into my mind, and which I keep close as some priceless treasures. They help me through tough times, when I miss my parents. I like participating at school competitions, involving in sketches, the teachers even say that I am a talented actress. I participate at these activities because I know how much they would delight my parents, even though they are 3000 km away from me. Sometimes I send them recordings with me, to help them live the emotions which every parent has.

However, under the rose, I wish I would never be constrained to see my parents leaving again, as it happened this morning. I am approaching my elder brother, who is supposed now to protect me. At least, this is what mom is telling him every time. (Vasluianu Patricia, Gânduri matinale)

NOTES

¹ *Dicționarul explicativ al limbii române, Academia Română* (București: Institutul de Lingvistică "Iorgu Iordan", Editura Univers Enciclopedic, 1998). ² See DEX98: MIGRAȚIÚNE , migrațiuni , s . f . 1. Movement in mass of some tribes or population from a territory to other, determined by economical, social, political or natural factors; migration. 2. Movement in mass of some animals from a region to other, to breed, to search for food etc.; migration. 3. (In phrases) Oil's (or naptha's) migration = process of moving the oil and the related gases from the ore into rocks or into a extraneous underground area. [Pr : - ti - u - . – Var.: migrátie s.

³ In *Dicționarul de Sociologie*, the term *migra*ție means: "The movement of a population from a region to other, especially from rural to urban areas, as well as from a society to other. In both cases, the people who migrate."

⁴ See Alexandra Cuniță, *La formation des mots – La dérivation lexicale en français contemporain* (Editura Didactică și Pedagogică, București, 1980): The terms obtained through prefixing can be classified according to two factors: the nature of the relational element involved by the syntactic structure which it translates, and the class whom it belongs – mostly the class of the basic lexical morpheme. According to their semantic nature, the prefixes can indicate different relationships, can have some distribution. In the Romanian terminological system, the most frequent and productive prefixes are the neologistic one, acknowledged at international level. They are characteristic to the technic-scientific sphere, and they surpass its limits seldom: a–, anti–, bi–, co–, contra–, extra–, hiper, intra–, post– ş.a.

⁵ Al. Graur, *Schimbările de sens* in *Studii de lingvistică generală* (București: Editura Academiei, 1960), 212

⁶ We use componential analysis to emphasize these distinctive characteristics which help us to define the term. It was found that all lexical unities can be reduced, semantically speaking, to an ensemble of pertinent characteristics.

⁷ Ion Coteanu and A. Bidu–Vrănceanu, *Limba română contemporană. Vocabularul* (București: Editura Didactică și Pedagogică, 1975), 175.

⁸ Lazăr Șăineanu , Încercare asupra semasiologiei limbii române. Studii istorice despre tranzițiunea sensurilor (București: Tipografia Română, 1967), 157.

⁹ Kurt Baldinger, Vers une Sémantique moderne (Paris, 1984), 133: L'onomasiologie, au contraire, part du concept qui (...) estmindépendant de la structure d'une langue donnée, pour trouver les désignations, les relations linguistiques dans une ou plusieurs langues. L'onomasiologie cherche les monèmes qui, par une de leurs significations ou sémèmes, servent à exprimer le concept en question.

¹⁰ Ibid., p.132: La sémasiologie part du signifié (ensemble de toutes les significations liées à un signifiant) et examine les différentes significations ou sémèmes en dégageant les sèmes ou differentiae specificae. (Kurt Baldinger.

¹¹ Eugen Coșeriu, *Prelegeri și conferințe* in the Yearbook of literary linguistics and history(Iași: Supliment, I, A. Lingvistică, XXXIII, 1992–1993), 88.

¹² External migration means solving through "violent" (extreme) ways the conflict between the individual and society (reffering to native society).

¹³ T. Rotariu, *Dicționar de sociologie* (București: Editura Babel, 1993): international migration is, above all, an "extinction" of individuals, temporary or definitive, from a reference space.

¹⁴ Maria Cojocaru, *Efectele migrației*. Support course– *Migrația și Efectele ei în Plan Familial*, 38.

¹⁵ Vasile Miftode, *Portret al migrantului*. Suport curs – *Migrația și Efectele ei în Plan Familia*l, 29.

 16 International act of the Conference for security and cooperation in Europe, elaborated in Helsinki at 1st August 1975, which appeared in MO no. 92 in 13th August 1975.

¹⁷ Bogdan Voicu, *Penuria pseudo–modernă a postmodernismului românesc* (Iași: Editura Expert Projects, vol. I, 2005), 148.

¹⁸ Daniel Funeriu, *Un român deștept uluiește Europa* (București: Cotidianul *Evenimentul zilei*, 2 octombrie 2006).

¹⁹ *Ambivalence* reffers to ambivalence of the attitudes, of the positions and "explanations" of different Romanian emigrants.

²⁰ The newspaper *Gândul*, 7 octombrie 2006.

²¹ Mina–Maria Rusu, *Educația sociolingvistică în contextul migrației* (Chișinău: Revista *Limba Română* nr. 7–8, 2011).

²² Mina–Maria Rusu, *Competența de comunicare – perspective de abordare* (Chișinău: Revista *Limba Română* nr. 11–12, 2009).

²³ Uriel Weinreich, *Languages in Contact*, With a preface by André Martinet, *Third Printing* (Hague–Paris–Mouton, Mouton & CO, 1964), 1.

Narrative Migration between Subjective and Objective in the Hallipa Series: Trademarks of Modernism

Simona Liutiev

ABSTRACT: Wishing to modernize the Romanian novel, Hortensia Papadat Bengescu creates a writing marked by narrative inconstancy and multiple stylistic formulae. Over the aesthetic background of balzacianism, naturalism, proustianism, expressionism, decandent-existentialism, alternating fresco with details, she uses impressionist techniques, mythical projections, archetypes and symbols that converge around a heteroclite stylistic level, so that reading of her novels plays a soteriological role. The reader is engaged in a hermeneutical labyrinth that will point out profound significance. Bengescu often justifies the stylistically changes with the reflector-character's mood shifts or psychic faculties: intuition, reflection, emotion. After the first novel of the series, the author cannot risk an introspective prose; the omniscient narrator provides the necessary elements so that the reader will be able to understand the situation. The main function is given to the account, the consciousness conditions are thoroughly analyzed, and the lack of plot is grammatically suggested by using the past perfect, the tense of suspending action. Except for the first novel, where the reflector-character doesn't contest her perceptions, in the next novels these perceptions are constantly replaced or subdued by a neutral narrator. But, above all, one can identify a narrator who chaffs, debates, borrows and lends others' vocabulary. The importance of chronological evocation is diminished due to the time-consciousness, linked with Bergson's concepts of time and duration, the uninterrupted stream, those moments of expansion or contraction accordingly with the individual meaning. Yet, the watchword is flashback: the characters recall different events, so the present tense is put in the second place. The ellipse is very important, the "narrative delay" (Umberto Eco) making the past more current than the present and leading to similarity with Proust's writing. The Janus-faced time is recurrent at the characters' and narrator's speech level and brings the author's style closer to Thomas Mann's. It is also noticeable the idea of human dissolution in time joint to the decadent vision of waving or undulating time.

KEY WORDS: reflector-character, time consciousness, narrative suspension.

Modern Novelistic Architecture

Hortensia Papadat Bengescu has produced, through the Hallipa series, a composition with a complicated orchestration, a specific symbolism, where motif and leitmotif lead. Carmen Georgeta Ardelean distinguishes in the weaving of the novels an obvious identity between the Wagnerian musical architecture and the literary one:

selecting and exposing a theme, developing variations after transitions, polyphony, they all seem to schematize the same structure, since the literary theme creates the character profile, sketches the environment, pins it in a convenient historical and social situation, introduces secondary actions that amplify or discolour the theme.¹

These are narrative formulae closer to anarchy rather than to escape traditional corseting. The reflector–characters have not been designed to mark the obsessive themes, but to help creating a "novel geometrization" that favoured pluriperspectivism. It may seem "a deficit of existence"² this centrifugal meaning of characters' obsessive return to the past in order to extract biographical acts, giving the impression of a possible new prose grafting onto the novel stock. It's not only the typical character in typical situations, it's not only the naturalists' disease, but it's the epicentre of snobbism, the decadence at all levels, and this completely justifies some characters' occurrence throughout many novels. Liutiev: Narrative Migration between Subjective and Objective in the Hallipa Series 127

Nicolae Manolescu notices too that the novels do not fall within the family chronicles typology, either as pattern or as narration, due to that "systematically refusal of motion,"³ yet the sickly motifs are polyphonically introduced. In Bengescu's works, polyphony means counterpoint (registers that are independent in rhythm and sound but interdependent in harmony), *imitative polyphony* (the identical rerun of a musical phrase) and dividing polyphony (in simultaneous variations) of a single voice. The author considered that each character is allowed to come to the fore in an attempt to catch the multiple sides of life, and the continuity of the novels is given by this precise environmental unity. The counterpoint is used in depicting couples that evolve in different rhythms but keep, from various reasons, interdependence, joined to the imitative polyphony made by a third person in the conjugal triangle. "Families are counter pointed groups obsessed with independence but declaring an unwanted interdependence."⁴ The imitative polyphony can be found in the obsessive introduction of themes, motifs, and leitmotifs endlessly proliferated in the novels, and it becomes a major theme itself. The one voice dividing in a series of variations polyphony can be traced in the narrative perspective.

Lexis and Writing. Modern Stylistics

Tudor Arghezi contradicted Buffon's 1753 statement that "the style is the man himself", and introduced the concept of indirect style, in which

a disgusting subject is draped in verbal texture, and it its length does not become equal with immortality and academic eternity, it can survive even as an embalmed corpse.... When the subject stinks, you spray perfume over it, and the pen can give so much perfume, and make the opacity become transparent. In the surgery the indirect style is called anaesthesia.⁵

Bengescu's novels have initiated the modernisation of Romanian novel both in typology and style, "a style that massively grasps the Romanian essay and the motion psychology analyse."⁶ Rodica Zafiu arrogates the tendency towards "macabre themes, obscure symbols and intense neologistic vocabulary"⁷ to the purpose of the mimetically writing. On the other hand, Tudor Teodorescu Branişte declared himself horrified by "the haemorrhaged sense": "Hortensia Papadat Bengescu's writing is a menace for Romanian language and a monstrous attack on literary common sense."⁸ As for Eugen Ionescu, he considers her a merely copycat of French literature: "The writer does nothing more than repeating a formula, presenting the shabby and dimly mended masks of French literature on Romanian faces."⁹ The neologistical abundance playing a main function in characters' depiction differentiates the author from writers such as Camil Petrescu or G. Călinescu.

Perpessicius is the one who defends the writer from style scarcity and "misfortuned work" allegations:

It is less important how many people do not read it, how much do some people read it, how thrilled some people are by reading it, how trained some people consider themselves by this kind of literature, how many people are captivated or swept away. Not how many people you can count, but how many they are and what their name is (*non numerantur, sed ponderantur*).¹⁰

The style does not consist only in vocabulary (counting the mistakes), it's a sign of mature writing. The author's style is excellent, and so is the substance it expresses. She wanted to synchronise with the "aesthetic experiences of the time" but she also organically repudiated any association with Proust, whose writing she didn't appreciated, acidly considering that it represented "the chance or mischance of being fashionable. The lack of snobbery limits the investigation... A pictorial canvas of the age and a miniatural mosaic of great art."¹¹ Ion Negoitescu admits the pure aesthetic value of her works, yet he doubts the credibility of the fictional universe which is "plausible but incredible"¹² whilst Eugen Lovinescu notices the originality and the force in the psycho–physiological analysis.

Her narrative inconstancy also emphasizes the multiple stylistic formulae of the time she portrays. Over the aesthetic background of

balzacianism, naturalism, proustianism, expressionism, decadentexistentialism, alternating fresco with details, she uses o combination of impressionist techniques, mythical projections, archetypes and symbols that converge around a heteroclite stylistic level, so that the reading of her novels "plays an initiation anthropological role,"¹³ and ultimately implies a soteriological function. The reader engages him/herself in the adventure of the sense, a hermeneutical labyrinth that will point out profound significance using the art of detail. Bengescu is keen to often justify the stylistically changes with the reflector–character's mood shifts or psychic faculties: intuition, reflection, emotion. Doina Modola marks especially in the first novel of the series the expressionist manner in

the tensed and synthetic style, the nervous transcending of the detail, of the particular towards general and absoluteness, the ability of symbolically irradiating, all these giving away their expressionist style and defining the striking vision of the artwork.¹⁴

The meanings assert themselves both realistically and symbolically, the inner world of the book becomes the synthetic and dynamic metaphor of time, through simultaneity techniques, summaries, deformed suggestion, so that the author creates a synthetic novel that has a wide opening of meanings at all levels. Yet unfamiliar with the style and due to the fact that the numerous characters and casuistry impose their own organization, Bengescu cannot risk, in the second novel of the series, an introspective prose in which "the inner stream of consciousness to be reproduced in all its disorder"15 that has made the first novel difficult to understand, and chooses to be more cautious, not to fully reveal "the house of senses," instead the omniscient narrator provides the necessary elements so that the reader will be able to understand the situation. Starting with the third novel of the series, the main function is given to the account whilst the reflector-characters disappear completely at the same time with "the drowning of this lively, indistinct inner soul into the cold as ice water of caste convention,"¹⁶ the consciousness conditions are thoroughly analyzed, and the lack of plot is grammatically suggested by using the past perfect tense, the tense of suspending action. One can notice the stirring style Tudor Vianu has talked about: "every new phrase sort of comes back to the initial point, so that the wholeness doesn't look like an advancing move but like a recession and intensification ... the entire stylistic process seems a depth stirring."¹⁷

The Dishevelled Maidens contains all the stylistic forms that were fashionable at the time: stylization and ornament (*jungenstil*), abundance of myths, archetypes and symbols, accounts of the decadent *morbidezza*, search for symbolists' correspondences, elevation of the physiological naturalism related to the social and psychological side, subtle touch of expressionism in the erotic demonism almost perverted by the instinctual forces caught up in a constant fight against individuality.

Her novels have suffered a strange destiny of various "makeovers" at the stylistic level, orthographic and phrasing level, giving here and there the impression of two different authors, so it's very difficult to posthumously certify the already edited texts. That is way Gabriela Omăt, coordinator of the most recent edition of Fundamental Works drawn up by the National Foundation for Science and Arts in the "G. Călinescu" Literary History and Theory Institute, pleads for revising the Eugenia Tudor Anton edition, carried out by Minerva publishing house between 1972 and 1988, and she tries to assemble the last novel through an "experimental reconstruction"¹⁸ of the existing 900 manuscript pages. Bengescu has mostly undertaken the "corrections" of the editions published during her life, especially those concerning the obsolete lexical forms, but the recent edition of her works makes a giant leap by keeping the alternations, marking the method of writing the new words with asterisk in the footnotes; a major leap has been made yet at the typographical corrections undetected for decades. There have been different reading chapters printed in periodicals and not included in the first edition, so they are now reproduced in addenda after the novels they belonged to. Even the chronology of the novels publication has been respected, though it is known that before *Roots* (1938) the author produced The Fiancée (1935). On this occasion a rectification has been made concerning the year when the first novel of the series appeared, mistakenly recorded as 1926 instead of 1925. Additionally, the latest edition recovers the novel *The Stranger*, with its own organizational form in restitution that required a huge amount of work in articulated assembling due to stylistic gaps and adjoining texts, so that it has become a rewriting work, a creative dossier twice the volume of the novel itself, successfully keeping the logic of the narrative structure. In the absence of a basic text, the starting point was, paradoxically, "multiple basic texts that enlighten about the most special Bengescu's writing techniques"¹⁹ but it hasn't lead to an appropriate publishing of the novel. This bric-a-brac has been the subject of the montage method, here and there of the transferable auctorial method in order to get narrative plausibility and allow the reader to develop his/her own reading version starting from this "restoration hypothesis,"²⁰ getting over the disharmonies between tone and narrative tenses, anything but to miss the chance of coming into contact with the work. In spite of this unusual recomposing process, the interpretation of Bengescu's work will be recovered and the present project will be successful. It offers the most substantial information about the writer's creative personality hidden for too long, and some shocking revelations about the relation she has assiduously disputed between novel figments and her biography.

Excessive use of neologisms might be considered a feature of the decadent style, in accordance with the urban civilisation it depicts, making it more intense psychologically and reducing the public reader. The modernity of the writing is obviously sustained by the specialised new lexis strewn within the ornamental texture. It's not the mere use of the neologisms, but their abundance that incorporates the style into decadent aesthetics, and Ion Minulescu has even counted such words.

The Polyhedral Aspect. Fiction in the Mirror Spectrum

In Papadat Bengescu's works can be traced not only an alteration of the observational angle, as Liviu Rebreanu has remarked, but also a diversification of narrative perspectives, so there is no exact account since there are many consciousnesses that perceive, assimilate, interpret, reproduce, summarise, charge, reflecting a more or less credible reality. Except for the first novel, where the reflector-character does not contest her perceptions, in the next novels these perceptions are constantly replaced or subdued by a neutral narrator. But, above all, one can identify a narrator that chaffs, debates, borrows and lends others' vocabulary. Liviu Rebreanu was the first to notice the narrative innovation of the reflector-character, the author's spokesperson, with the role of interiorizing the plot.

Unlike all the other writers, she is the only one in our literature, for now, to represent a new school, with new ways of perception and representation. In her work, world and life stay still while the storyteller is constantly changing his or her observational angle, hoping to catch life on the go, in its simultaneous course. Maybe Mrs. Papadat is closer to the real facet of life, or maybe she isn't; let the future decide.²¹

Ion Bogdan Lefter has pointed out the difference between the narrative perspective in the technical sense and the auctorial attitude as two separate things, so adopting the third person story telling doesn't necessary mean objectivity, but disguise with a false detachment. "Similar or opposed human types, the characters take the inner substance of the work, and the author can freely cast on them her confession vocation and introspective passion."²² She sees her characters first from within, then corporally, and almost always in perfect contradiction. This inverted type is against the usual psychological perspective; her psychological observations are in accordance with the character typology, not ethical standards, and this "disguising technique,"²³ not the objectivity, has ensured the value of her work.

In *The Dishevelled Maidens* the classical narrator is doubled by Mini at third person, but the voices do not overlap: Mini is nostalgically sensitive, while the other narrator is rational, pragmatic, and even admonishes her divagations. The interior monologue is exposed through the free indirect speech and produces a double focalisation that "overcrowds the phrase, forcing it to express more thinking levels simultaneously."²⁴ The reader has the impression that the characters' thoughts are permanently reproduced and distorted by someone

else, so the credibility is diminished. In A Concert of Bach's Music, the presence of multiple narrators, probably Lovinescu's idea, hasn't been liked because it lacks the depth of the previous sole narrator. In The Hidden Road the characters are not allowed to be narrators, perhaps because they don't have an authentic life and in the novel there's a "serious disagreement between the concrete author and the inner self detesting her own female condition."²⁵ Roots partially comes back to the double perspective, and the reflector-characters Mini and Nory reappear, bearing comparison to noesis and noema, Husserl's philosophical paradigms. Mini is noesis, the knowledge and synthesis, Nory is noema, searching for the roots and essence. There's a new voice, the absent character Mado's, representing conscience, a superior instance in the shadow, Nory's obsession. In The Stranger one can notice the existence files technique, Elena's double filtered diary, reproduced by Lucian and commented by the impersonal narrator's voice. Gabriela Omăt's work hypothesis ends up with the protagonists' symbolical and resigned return to Gârla, with the raisonneur character's sceptical and melancholic reflection on time. In accordance with the counter point technique. an outside observer comes into scene, Coca Aimée, left without her greatness and making infantile remarks about the Ina-Marcian relationship, with no analysing spirit when she plays the narrator. Instead, leaving the present, Ina finds in the remembrances a fertile land for her compositions, her maestro wondering if the final work will be a nocturne or a prelude. The fragment *It seemed that midst* the clouds, in which Ina is unpleased by the maestro's constrains, though she herself feels corseted in the musical creative process, somehow reminds of Mini's impressionist meditation in the first novel. Marcian has meditative moods missing Switzerland, Elena aching for the lost son. The reader feels superior sometimes, for instance in the pages about Ina's escape to Gârlele estate, finding biographical details about Nory, Grecu and Dia. The characters keep notes: Sphinx Marcian's diary, Elena's notes, Ina's notebook spending during her vagrancy, all of them being talked about posthumously to connect disparate events. Characters' complexity requires a conscious duality of their temper, often therapeutically. Lucian knows to temperate his harsh appearance by practicing music, "he'll stay

around music for the need of splitting himself, for not being a single character, but another one that keeps in balance his rival,"²⁶ to have "thoughts with no etiquette"²⁷ towards Elena, even after her death, to split himself during his marriage (at the railway station in Viena, at Elena's death), in the same way his wife does. But for Nory the mirror has always been an enemy, as for many females, revealing also her moral asymmetry: "The mirror was an old enemy of hers, concerning the face, and now the soul."²⁸ Walter has been living in an immortal future; Ina's mother has been constantly taking shelter in an unknown place and time to bear the marriage with a mediocre man; Elena has detached herself remembering things about her son and then about her husband. The only one who chooses to experience duality close to imponderability is Ina, "I've never felt so lively my existence,"29 who will eventually loose contact with reality. The characters are seen both in other characters' mirror, and in the mirror of their conscience, by the narrator or by their own. Some have talked about a halving of the logic and absurd in the episode describing Ina's depression, when she goes to the places so dear to her adoptive parents, "an island of light through the storm and darkness within her."30 The reflector-character is considered an unwanted remain of lyricism by Lovinescu, but indispensable by Pompiliu Constantinescu, Anton Holban, N. Manolescu. It can be a mark of subjectivity but in the same time a new character made up by the author to hide her thoughts, and also a necessary novelistic technique. Virginia Woolf considered the reflector as part of the author-narrator-character-reader paradigm, and one can identify the author-reader perspective or the character's freedom as a narrator, an advantage for both, so that the reader recognizes himself/herself in the discourse, and the author lets the character breathe.

Inner Time and Outer Time

In the novels of the Hallipa series, the importance of chronological evocation is diminished due to the time–consciousness, and "most of the time runs in the characters' consciousness."³¹ There is a clear

link with Bergson's concepts of time and duration, the uninterrupted stream, the continuous evolution, those moments of expansion or contraction accordingly with the individual meaning, the subjective time. This idea is analyzed in the first novel, when Mini looks at the old pendulum showing the minutes passing "slowly, unbound in lower rhythms."³² Though the narrative perspective prefers the past and often creates the impression of suspended time, there are specific time references to the daily schedule. Even the temporal breakings abound in time references. Yet, the watchword for Bengescu's narrative is *flashback*. From Mini, who periodically reaches the past, most of the characters take the function of recalling different events, thus the present tense is put in the second place and makes the impression of alert pace exactly because most of the actions in the daily life are less important than the past ones. That way, even when recalling, the story pace is not slowed down. Some constancies are the *bourgeois hour* 4 p.m., Thursday parties, the precise moments when the characters intensely experience time (the concert, Sia's funeral). A main function is also given to the ellipse: months and seasons between actions, most of them during traveling, are suspended.

This "narrative delay," as Umberto Eco names it,³³ making the past more current than the present, has lead to the well known similarity between Bengescu's and Proust's writing, this auctorial free movement on the hour plate, a time outside time, a simultaneous time. Most of the "plot" lies within the characters' consciousness, hence the discrepancy between inner and outer time. The energetic and involved Nory has often times of remembrance, inferior characters such as Aneta Pascu and Costel Petrescu also make introspections, permanent comparisons or references to a sublimated past. These small or big digressions "are attempts to explore the essential, profound, even more real reality."³⁴

The Janus-faced time is recurrent at the characters' and narrator's speech level and brings the author's style closer to Thomas Mann's in *The Magic Mountain* or *Doctor Faustus*. The idea of time expansion or contraction, the subjective perception of time is most pointed in the reflector-character Mini: "Time and space seemed to her, on the contrary, longer because people and situations hadn't distracted her from that rough thought of people and places."³⁵ It is also noticeable the idea of human dissolution in time: "Mini was looking at the big pendulum and at her watch. She was captivated by hours. Mika-Lé and the others were dissolved in time. They were all thousandths of seconds of the pulse beating the hours unfolded above the city."³⁶ Some characters are solar, their rhythm is connected to the daylight, and others are caught in the bio-physiological clock rolling down; Nory is philosophical about the male superiority and puts the blame on the ancestral time: "I probably bear within me the conscience of the time when they began dominating life, because this sense of slavery dwells in me, the liberated one!... they fill the time and space of bigger life ... as well as the time and space of our smaller life."³⁷ The more precise is the present, the more indistinct is the past, a complementarity deriving from nostalgia for those "antediluvian times."³⁸ Though this time regression in which present is simultaneous with remembrance, the characters allow themselves some sort of vagrancy. The end of *The Roots* has many philosophical thoughts about time, with Madona living her final days on New Year's Eve: "How to live your last days? Ever since she knew Caro, he's been always looking for the next day... Mado alone has been living in the incommensurable time. But what is time? Declaims Nory in peto... Time had been divided by people's will into halves, guarters, slices.... If so, she, Nory, could be younger. She'll be 36 the day after tomorrow in the arbitrary divided, revised time. She's been besieged by time, under its law, and also fighting it. She and those included in the space of a destiny that has blend them together in its complicated weaving."³⁹ These thoughts take the form of an essay in the last novel, *The Stranger*: "Our time is a moment of recollection, the one to come is a moment of doubt, and then?"⁴⁰ The series end up with a (less profound than Mann's heroes') meditation on time during the surviving characters' symbolical return to their origins.

Another important aspect has been revealed from the angle of the decadent vision on time, the abandon of the plot in the favour of stylistic preoccupations that "block, diminish or cancel the chronological progressive plot of realistic novel."⁴¹ Accordingly to Geambattista Vico's waving or undulating time theory, history follows two alternative moves, corsi et ricorsi, ascending and descending; this has allowed a biological interpretation. Temporal travelling overlaps or eludes the spatial travelling. The character that prefers, even causes herself slips into the past, is 25 years old Ina, called "loafer, a dirtier word than tramp."⁴² Back from Gârlele, Ina and Lucian feel immortal, experiment resignation in front of destiny and act like the last survivors of a transition time, "a bridge between two centuries, a rest that is yet showing many signs of ending."43 In *The Stranger* there are many temporal inconsistencies concerning the Ina's, Lucian's and especially his parents' real age: a version that Lucian's mother died when he was seven and later on his father died, another version that his old and widowed mother retired in Ardeal; some rejuvenating ecstatic experiences: Ina feels she's 15 again after meeting The Leopard, Walter desperately tries to reach immortality but only Marcian and at some level Elena succeed. The women are frightened by time and by freedom, they want to escape the present in a pathological manner. The actions with emotional impact are deleted from their memory, so Ina doesn't know when exactly her mother fell ill and died, or where her parents are buried, she only knows she was 14-15. She remembers older events, not the near past, she's aware that "time passing grinds and also preserves,"44 she ultimately looses contact with reality and the recovering process is slow, turning into resignation in front of fate, and Godless Ina ends up feeling immortal.

The sole survivors of the Hallipas are aware they belong to a transitory generation, make suppositions about the future, and are at peace with the new generation, but they draw themselves in resignation, "shutting the door after they've passed near shadows of other destinies, all those you couldn't conceive otherwise than living beings, and that placed you in an absurd fight with death, all those who turned themselves into icons painted by memory."⁴⁵ The only one that doesn't change is disease, and time passing proves itself to favour all the characters. NOTES

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² P. Constantinescu, *The Romanian Interwar Novel*, (Bucharest: Ed. Minerva, 1977), 70–71.

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⁴ Ibid., 105.

⁵ T. Arghezi, *The Indirect Style*, in *Informația zilei*, III, no. 541, July the 10th 1943, *apud* Ivașcu, G., Tănăsescu, A., *Word Ordeal 1939–1945. Testimonies of Romanian Consciousness during the Years of the Second World War* (Bucharest: Ed. Eminescu, 1977), 358.

⁶ E. Simion, Introductory Study to Hortensia Papadat Bengescu, *Works* (Bucharest: Romanian Academy, National Foundation for Science and Arts, 2012), VII.

⁷ R. Zafiu, *The Symbolist Romanian Poetry* (Bucharest: Ed. Humanitas, 1996), 17.

⁸ apud E. Simion, op.cit., VI.

⁹ E. Ionescu, *No*, in *Vremea* (Bucharest, 1934, reedited by Humanitas, 1991), 118.

¹⁰ Perpessicius, *Romanian Writers*, vol. III, (Bucharest: Ed. Minerva, 1989), 264–265.

¹¹ N. Papatanasiu, *Literary Halts with Mrs. Hortensia Papadat–Bengescu*, in *Hortensia Papadat Bengescu interpreted by*, anthology, introductive study, chronology and bibliography by Viola Vancea (Bucharest: Ed. Eminescu, 1976), 122–123.

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¹⁴ D. Modola, afterword and chronology to Hortensia Papadat Bengescu, *The Dishevelled Maidens, A Concert of Bach's Music, The Hidden Road* (Cluj–Napoca: Ed. Dacia, 1986), 305.

¹⁵ N. Manolescu, *The Critical History of Romanian Literature. 5 Centuries of Literature* (Pitești: Ed. Parallel 45, 2008), 321.

¹⁶ Ibid., 340.

¹⁷ T. Vianu, *The Romanian Writers' Art* (Bucharest: Ed. 100+1, Gramar, 2002), 270.

¹⁸ G. Omăt, edition, notes and comments to Hortensia Papadat Bengescu, *Works* (Bucharest: Romanian Academy, National Foundation for Science and Arts, 2012), CLVII.

¹⁹ Ibid., CLXV.

²⁰ Ibid., CLXVI.

²¹ apud Manolescu, N., op. cit.: 311.

²² I. B. Lefter, *Mask Playing, the Final Stage: the Hallipa Series* in Roman, Andreia, *Hortensia Papadat Bengescu—The Vocation and Style of Modernity* (Piteşti: Ed. Parallel 45, 2007), 85.

²³ Ibid., 86.

²⁴ C. L. Rădulescu, *Hortensia Papadat Bengescu the Great European of the 1930s* (Bucharest: Ed. Reef, 1996), 107.

²⁵ Ibid., 121–122.

²⁶ Hortensia Papadat Bengescu, *Works* (Bucharest: Romanian Academy, National Foundation for Science and Arts, 2012), 450.

²⁷ Ibid., 482.

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- ²⁸ Ibid., 41.
- ²⁹ Ibid., 238 .
- ³⁰ Ibid., 540.
- ³¹ C, G. Ardelean, op. cit., 155.

³² Hortensia Papadat Bengescu, *Works, vol. III, The Dishevelled Maidens, A Concert of Bach's Music, The Hidden Road*, edition and notes by Eugenia Tudor Anton (Bucharest: Ed. Minerva, 1979), 10.

³³ U. Eco, *Six Walks in the Fictional Woods* (Constanța: Ed. Pontica, 1997), 90.

³⁴ E. Auerbach, *Mimesis* (Bucharest: Ed. Polirom, 2000), 492.

³⁵ Hortensia Papadat Bengescu, op. cit., 38.

³⁶ Ibid., 73.

³⁷ Ibid., 72.

³⁸ Ibid., 75.

- ³⁹ Ibid., 543–544.
- ⁴⁰ Ibid., 619.

⁴¹ D. Wier, *Decadence and the Making of Modernism*, apud Angelo Mitchievici, *Decadence and Decadentism* (Bucharest: Ed. The Old Princely Court, 2011), 17.

⁴² H. Papadat Bengescu, op. cit., 511.

⁴³ Ibid., 619.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 528.

⁴⁵ Ibid. 624.

The Migration of Literary Ideas: The Problem of Romanian Symbolism

Cosmina Andreea Roșu

ABSTRACT: The migration of symbolists' ideas in Romanian literary field during the 1900's occurs mostly due to poets. One of the symbolist poets influenced by the French literature (the core of the Symbolism) and its representatives is Dimitrie Anghel. He manages symbols throughout his entire writings, both in poetry and in prose, as a masterpiece. His vivid imagination and fantasy reinterpret symbols from a specific Romanian point of view. His approach of symbolist ideas emerges from his translations from the French authors but also from his original writings, since he creates a new attempt to penetrate another sequence of the consciousness. Dimitrie Anghel learns the new poetics during his years long staying in France. KEY WORDS: writing, ideas, prose poem, symbol, fantasy.

A the beginning of the twentieth century the Romanian literature was dominated by Eminescu and his epigones, and there were visible effects of Al. Macedonski's efforts to impose a new poetry when Dimitrie Anghel left to Paris. Nicolae Iorga was trying to initiate a new nationalist movement, and D. Anghel was blamed for leaving and detaching himself from what was happening in the country. But he fought this idea in his texts making ironical remarks about those who were eagerly going away from native land ("Youth" – "Tinereță", "Looking at a Terrestrial Sphere" – "Privind o sferă terestră", "The Land" – "Pământul").

He settled down for several years in Paris, which he called *a literary Babel tower*. His work offers important facts about this

period. To the chilhood garden he associates the sometimes serene and sometimes depressing atmosphere of the Parisian parks giving him moments of reverie and deep meditation. ("In Luxemburg" – "În Luxemburg"). He recollects his native land even when he has the chance to see Claude Monet, Camille Pissard or Paul Cezanne, at Seine's shores. In his work he is influenced by these artists alongside Edouard Manet, Auguste Renoir, Eugene Carriere and Antoine Watteau; he assimilates from them some plastic art techniques, making full use of color and light.

He also used to go to famous literary coffee houses (Cafe Vachette, where Jean Moreas was king; Cafe Voltaire, Lorena, Closerie des Lilas, frequented by Paul Fort, Albert Mockel, Picasso, Utrillo), spent much time with his Romanian friends: Şt. O. Iosif, Sextil Puşcariu, Kimon Loghi, G. Petraşcu, Virgil Cioflec, Iorgu Juvara, Ștefan Popescu ș.a. and he always was the leader of discussions, as Sextil Puşcariu recalls. During that period Rimbaud was still dominating literary society, and Mallarme gathered in his house the cultural figures of the time: Jules Laforgue, Paul Claudel, Rene Ghil, Henri de Regnier, Paul Valery, Gustave Kahn, Andre Gide.

There was an extraordinary crossing of literary ideas and tendencies (especially symbolism and parnassianism) with great impact on D. Anghel's work. He takes over the identities impressionists made between man and nature as subjects of pictural image, and also the correspondence between poet's emotions and their manifestations though natural elements. Whereas Jean Moreas, Henri de Regnier, Francis Viele–Griffin were heading towards neclassicism, Dimitrie Anghel was getting closer to parnassians (Theophile Gautier, Leconte de Lisle). Yet he was not receptive to Mallarme's prosodical and lexical innovations or to Gustave Kahn's și Jules Laforgue's theories about blank verse.

In Paris he had the first contact with Albert Samain's, Paul Claudel's, Francis Jammes', Emile Verhaeren's, Edmond Rostand's or Maeterlinck's works and got to know them well since they were acclaimed both by public and critics and extensively draw his attention. Yet all these European influences didn't make him lose touch with Romanian literary context, and he kept writing for numerous magazines published within his native country's borders.

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In Anghel's poetry the referential space is essential, the perspective evolves towards the identity of Romanian garden as a referent to the full efflorescence in French symbolism. His work represents an attempt to perceive a different consciousness order, a revolute phase of biography, une vie anterieure in Baudelaire's words. He uses anamnesis - interpreted as (self)exclusion of the ego out of existence - manifested through daydream ("Love" -"Dragoste", "Recollection" – "Amintire", "Melancholy" – "Melancolie", "Metamorphosis" - "Metamorfoză", "Fantasies" - "Fantazii"), sleep or agony (the poet's identification with Narcissus - "Death of Narcissus" - "Moartea Narcisului", "Fantasies" - "Fantazii"), "Hidden Pain" -"Dureri ascunse", "In the Storm" – "În furtună"). Anghel learns the new poetic art during his years in France not from Mallarme - as one would expect - or from Verlaine, but from Samain's lyric manifesto: "Je reve de vers doux et d'intimes ramages", a poem appeared in April 1890 in the literary magazine "Mercure de France". Anghel imitates to some extent Samain's style in terms of indirect elegiac tone, dimmed remembrance, lack of inner morbidness.

Due to the fact that he staved a long time in France and knew French language remarkably well (translating the works of many French poets), he doesn't feel the pressure of Romanian language, and doesn't oppose neologism, although it's very hard to introduce neologisms in poems, as Garabet Ibrăileanu noticed. The author doesn't make excessive use of new words, but he masters them every time he has the chance to insert them within text. Throughout his evolution as a poet, Dimitrie Anghel used the neologisms more and more, in an original manner for his era: *ghintiană*, *dant*, *evantaliu*, machinal, comptoar, estampă, estompă, fantasc, fantoșă, trajectorie, simtimânt ("Fantasies"), because these words displayed a stylistic *value for people of the time.*¹ Despite using archaisms, there is a balance between old and new forms of words in Dimitrie Anghel's poetic vocabulary. It's a modern language thanks to the simple grammatical structure; the poet creates a text that makes an easy access to a complex message.

Under the French symbolism influence both in his original creations and in his translations, Dimitrie Anghel offers the Romanian poetry the context of universal lyricism. His imaginary is simbollically represented, in a conventional analogical manner, by reality transfiguration as a result of poet's terror faced with the constraining real world, the actual commonplace. Anghel distinguishes himself in the context of Romanian symbolism by a specific approach towards floral universe. He explained his predilection for the world of flowers in a page of prose in "The Story of the Troubled Ones" ("Povestea celor necăjiți"). The poet considers the garden filled with special flowers to be a privileged hideaway space where he can withdraw in the ideal, and he often identifies himself with the floral element turned into an avatar—exclusively interpreted as metamorphosis, without any negative connotation.

Flowers' fragrances awakens his emotional memory and makes him escape into the world of ideas. Very close to nature, he often associates himself with natural elements, usually with the aristocratic spirit of the white lily and, at a certain point, with the oak through an allegory – "The Oak and the Mistletoe" ("Stejarul și vâscul"). The oak is the symbol of stability and persistence over time, of power, masculinity and immortality; in ancient times it was dedicated to goddess Hera and the Dryads were oak nymphs. The oak's heavy wood has been compared to incorruptibility. Associated with the potential to live long, it symbolizes power and eternal life.

However, the floral avatar motif is very significant in a text with an intriguing title that seems to predict the message: the poem "Metamorphosis" ("Metamorfoză") from the 1909 volume "Fantasies" ("Fantazii"), and also in the poem "In the Garden" ("În grădină") from the 1905 homonymous volume, Anghel's first volume of poetry. On the other hand, in "Death of Narcissus" ("Moartea Narcisului"), the poet ultimately finds his human avatar.

Having a contemplative artistic vision and an emotional serenity, using the floral element, the poet *spreads fragrances* that *produce a languorous musical mood, expressed at the sound level by often long lines, with litanic and recitative inflexions.*² Poetic images are inserted in a frame of solitude and decadence, so that the garden is a privileged hideaway space, where flowers offer companionship, satsfaction and harmony through synesthesia. The floral shapes, culours and perfumes are found at the refined stylistic level in

the personifications, impersonating or metaphorical epithets, and analogies (for instance, "In the Garden").

The poet has his own vision about fantasy, his ability to fantasies implies escaping the daily reality into the inner world of complex figments, hence the contemplative artistic vision. Dimitrie Anghel outlines an alert vigorous and bright style, easy recognisable. In terms of plastic art, his works are an aesthetic delight for the expert eye. He started his literary activity as a poet, but he published here and there a few prose texts that are rather stylistic and inner meaning exercises for his real and significant prose after the year 1910. As a writer he created a special work, displaying distinctive features on the Romanian literary scene in the first years of the twentieth century. Everyone can notice the stylistic and compositional refinement, the exceptional artistic vision.

Dimitrie Anghel's short prose doesn't have a proper narrative structure. The author doesn't use the typical storyline and doesn't show strong conflicts between antithetic characters, arborescent literary plots or dynamic dialogues. In his texts the narration and depiction continuosly combine in order to create the atmosphere or to suggest the ambience of past times. Remembrance in the sense of transposing to the world of *ghosts* seems to follow the Proustian pattern but in a symbolist manner in which the colour effects harmoniously blend with the musical ones, the structure and theme are specific to symbolism, the texts are rather lyrical. There is a clear romanticism influence regarding reverie, melancholy and interest for the miserable ones.

Dimitrie Anghel is considered by the critic Şerban Cioculescu a poet with a romantic moral configuration, due to the need of alternative shelter in an universe of intimate vibrations or stunning garment,³ a literary predecessor of Tudor Arghezi, another important figure of Romanian literature, in terms of structural afinities and kaleidoscopic vision. Both writers are equally gifted because of their lexical variations and metaphorical flow.⁴

Reserved and showing preconceptions, literary critics of the time demanded precise narrative elements and that is why they underestimated D. Anghel's prose; they didn't particularly understand his desire to run from reality to ghostly world. They compared his writings to Alexandru Macedonski's, noticing the same *tendency to describe indoor and still life* and the same *artificial* vision that *devaluates nature, takes out its traditional pathos*⁵ as the world is depicted in "A Symbolic Dream" ("Un vis simbolic"), but also the same *obsession for strange objects.*⁶ Musical virtues of Anghel's prose are obvious in "Ghosts" ("Fantome") and more discrete in other texts in which the confession is made in a low voice, and the methods are hardly subject to analysis through the dreamlike sceneries and the indistinctive olfactive emanations creating a mysterious magic setting, typical for calling up *the ghosts*.

The stylized intellectualist element conveyed by neologism is diminished since in depicting the indoor space the recollection requires emotional not intellectual representation. Another element illustrative for his modern style is the use of analogies by an extensive register of his aesthetic experience. Yet the neologism is widely spread throughout his prose. When describing the furniture he uses new terms which he knew from his travellings (Japanese vases), likewise when naming musical instruments, sometimes with their original form, without a language adaptation of a word who lacks its correspondent into Romanian (epineta). Instead he uses synonymy: fragrances and perfumes for perceiving the emanations from cosmic nature,⁷ respectively for cosmetics, proving himself an artist of dissociation, with a safe choice of the phrase.⁸ A sign of rich and multiple view, lexical variety seems to be rhe result of a fine intellectualism in search of diversity for the purpose of suggesting subtle nuances. There are remarkable olfactive images that capture the flowers's fragrances in the garden, endowed with a personal language (for example, the contrast between the strong lily fragrance and the dahlia mild one).

His entire prose scores an alternation of new and old word forms with the special aim of avoiding repetition; the use of neologism is thus a *stylistic sample*.⁹ In "The Falling Stars Picker" ("Culegătorul de stele căzătoare") there is a real but not at all annoying invasion of neologisms. In Anghel's prose *the main function of neological style* is its *handling* in a more certain and natural manner; *the intellectualism never takes the harsh form of pedantry*¹⁰ like in Macedonski's texts, it's only *a means of humor*.¹¹ The author associates old with modern, mityhical with real, sublime with obscene, creating a contrasts system that makes the psychological basis for the the reader's amusement. Tudor Vianu is the only critic to notice the writer's skepticism in *the oscillation between different stylistic registers*¹² as an attempt to save himself through humor, and in the rare ability to *vary the expression of the same thing, some of these expressions coming from the most diverse cultural sources.*¹³ On that account he is given the credit of enriching the expressive means of Romanian literature.

The leit-motif technique, by typical symbolist correspondences, introduces in his prose poems, together with the ornamental fairylike vision, a peculiar musicality, a certain rhythm given by repetition, inversions, syntactic parallelisms, long phrases, preference for some verbal tenses. Rhythmicity is rendered by sequences made of main sentences with only a few subordinate sentences when the space is depicted through enumeration of decorative elements. For the same purpose he uses extensive syntactic arborescences such as the one called period in "The Story of an Anthill" ("Povestea unui musuroiu"). Serban Cioculescu marked that the period structure is oratorical, Ciceronian, in terms of dimension if not of topics.¹⁴ The phrasal construction is typical, symmetrical, well organized, the verb prevails and appears usually at the beginning of the sentence. Likewise, the adjective or adverb determination is made by placing these parts of speech before the word they depend on—noun or verb, which is not the typical word order in Romanian and thus the poetic transposition makes an impression of mannerism. In portraits, D. Anghel uses the abstract epithet which doesn't individualize but rather dims, in order to confer an emotional touch to remembrance. Musical sounds and passages form a highly expressive metaphorical language. The text is rythmic but not quite fluid.

The prose poems are merely aesthethic, not al all the work of a memorialist. Şerban Cioculescu noted that *there's no sign of symbolism anywhere in Anghel's memoir pages.*¹⁵ Memories cause an artistic emotion that is mostly enhanced outside human being. The core of poetic inspiration is the feeling, and the sufferings are expressively suggested in a lucid ironic bitter way by metaphors. It's illustrative in this manner the identity between artist's condition and the cuttlefish, in the text "Noah's Ark" ("Arca lui Noe").

Attracted by the mystery and horror register, D. Anghel picked up several of his queer subjects during his staying in France. Consequently, he wrote about a marquis who loves hunting in "A Secret" ("O taină") and about a hunter's suicide in "The Mystery on Navarre Street" ("Misterul din strada Navarre") without clearing up facts in the end. Of great fantastic effect is the text called "Our Daily Bread" ("Pâinea noastră cea de toate zilele"). The bizarre is projected in the decorative, lacking a proper narrative structure. The appearance can be easily confused with the essence, and the fantastic is captured in the beautiful combination of colour and light in order to show the miracle of cosmic nature in a pictural not existential way. The aesthetic view of nature is enchanting.

Of rural inspiration and seemingly just a pastiche of countryside passions,¹⁶ Anghel's stories stand out through chromatic somptuosity in detriment of storyline which is actually reduced to a simple idea. They sometimes have a subtle burlesque intention ("The Enemy of Mechanization" - "Dusmanul masinismului") or are merely the core of an anecdote ("Old Letter" - "Scrisoare veche"), but do not create new myths as one would expect from a fantasist. However, he has written a few original tales ("The Fireflies" - "Licuricii", "The Thief" – "Hoţul", "Amfitrita's Suitors" – "Peţitorii Amfitritei") inspired by folklore and bearing symbolic meaning: the wretched human condition, the solitude, the social misfit. Hence the desire to withdraw in the charming beauty of nature where everything is reduced to rhythm and harmony, to man's relationship with infinity, to the mystical thirst for knowledge and the will of relief through the beauty of particular words. The act of recalling is given magical powers to the extent of resizing and rehabilitating the human condition, because this is ultimately the artist's mission, as Serban Cioculescu mentions: Among all our memorialists, none has mastered like D. Anghel the emotional potential of musical origin and the talent of conveying emotions by evoking human shadows and the things they did throughout their lifetime, the natural ambiance,¹⁷ so that the characteristic note of the writing is subjectivity, and its corollary lyricism.¹⁸

His memoirism is highly evocative and sensitive. In the pages he wrote anyone can notice the emotional and chromatic intensity, with a preference for purple and red. The objects of contemplation make real splashes of colour in a pictural impressionist manner. Mihai Zamfir identifyes Anghel's prose with an *object poetry*¹⁹ that brings a new, aestheticized and intellectualized impulse. In his work there is an indistructible connection between prose and poems, more obviously in the portraits (especially mother's portrait), and the author brings forward beautiful legends embedded in a flower's name.

Having a significant contribution to the stylistic development of our prose by the use of neologism, Dimitrie Anghel's work *manifests, at a higher level, the artist's strenuous effort in moulding the formless paste of the language.*²⁰ His prose *proves, when read again, to be a modern one and it allows nowadays an exceeding comprehension of his writings not only as a flowers' poet work but as one who successfully attempts to place the Romanian literature in the European context.*²¹ The contact with new sciences like linguistics, psychoanalysis, sociology or the new philosophical movements is appreciated as a revolution in the way people think, and achieving progress implies a subjective interpretation that is yet based on both artistic taste and critical opinion, as Eugen Simion pointed out talking about the post–war literary criticism.

Fond of Frech poetry, Anghel has known symbolists' works very well, but he hasn't seemed to be too interested in theories about new poetry, or too sensitive about literary doctrine or symbolist manifesto. He praises writers regradless their aesthetics, and he takes from them the musical intimism within the line, the cantilena and litanic fluidity, the emotion, the correspondences. He shows a free and diverse inspiration, he uses the symbols and he intellectualises the feelings.

NOTES

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² D. Micu, *Literatura română în secolul al XX–lea* (București: Editura Fundației Culturale Române, 2000), 35.

³ Ş. Cioculescu, *Dimitrie Anghel* (București: Ed. Publicom, 1945), 105.

⁴ Ş. Cioculescu, *op. cit.*, 159.

⁵ T. Vianu, Arta prozatorilor români (București: Ed. 100+1 Gramar, 2002), 203.

⁶ T. Vianu, *loc. cit.*

⁷ Ş. Cioculescu, *Dimitrie Anghel*, 108.

⁸ Ş. Cioculescu, *loc. cit.*

9 T. Vianu, op. cit., 205.

¹⁰ T. Vianu, op. cit., 204.

¹¹ T. Vianu, op. cit., 206.

¹² T. Vianu, op. cit., 205.

¹³ T. Vianu, op. cit.,, 207.

¹⁴ Ş. Cioculescu, *op. cit.*, 111.

¹⁵ Ş. Cioculescu, *op. cit.*, 72.

¹⁶ Ş. Cioculescu, *op. cit.*, 118.

¹⁷ Ş. Cioculescu, *op. cit.*, 124.

¹⁸ Ş. Cioculescu, *op. cit.*, 125.

¹⁹ M. Zamfirescu, *Poemul românesc în proză*, (București: Ed. Minerva, 1984), 281.

²⁰ Ş. Cioculescu, *op. cit.*, 116.

²¹ A. Sasu, *Dicționarul biografic al literaturii române*, vol. I (Pitești: Ed. Paralela 45, 2006), 50.

Quest for the Impossible: Conformity and Sameness in Two Science Fiction Dystopias: Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World* (1932) and Lois Lowry's *The Giver* (1993)

Radwan Gabr El-Sobky

ABSTRACT: This paper is a comparative study of the quest for the impossible: conformity and sameness in two science fiction dystopias: Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World* (Britain in 1932) and Lois Lowry's *The Giver* (America in 1993). It is an attempt to demonstrate the two novelists' ideologies of the quest for perfection through achieving conformity and sameness in two dystopian societies; such a quest is a quest for the impossible. The methodology of this study is based mainly on the concept of dystopian science fiction and on the characteristics of the dystopian society depicted in science fiction literature that are stated in M. Keith Booker's *Dystopian Literature: a Theory and Research Guide* (1994), and in M. Keith Booker's and Anne–Marie Thomas' "Dystopian Science Fiction" in *The Science Fiction Handbook* (2009).

KEY WORDS: utopia, dystopia, conformity, sameness, Aldous Huxley, Lois Lowry.

Introduction: Replacing Utopia with by Dystopias

Most utopias written in the twentieth century tended to be replaced by 'dystopias', a term suggesting negative utopia. Dystopia as a term and concept appeared clearly in the first half of the 20th century as a result of the appearance of various dictatorships that caused two disastrous World Wars; these dictatorships

manipulated people and robbed them of their freedom, will and dignity. Dystopias tend to criticize all forms of totalitarianism and to expect what may happen in the future. Janet Witalec delineates the reasons for appearance of dystopia in the 20th century:

Some of the finest dystopian works were produced during the Nazi era in Germany, during the Stalin era in Russia, in response to various wars over the decades, and as a commentary upon various totalitarian regimes (Witalec 1).

So the dystopian fiction of the 20th century criticizes the dictator political regimes that manipulate citizens by every possible means. In his book *Dystopian Literature*, Keith Booker sees that the dystopian society is characterized by problematic and political practices as a result of an entire control:

Dystopian literature generally constitutes a critique of existing social conditions or political systems, either through the critical examination of the Utopian premises upon which these conditions and systems are based or through the imaginative extension of those conditions and systems into different contexts that more clearly reveal their flaws and contradictions (Booker 3–4).

Major Characteristics of Science Fiction Dystopia

According to Booker and Thomas there are major characteristics of the society depicted in dystopian science fiction. First, the authority imposes various types of control on citizens' lives by using various ideologies such as corporate control through products, advertising, mottos and/or the media; mindless bureaucracy through a tangle of red tape, relentless regulations, and incompetent government officials; distorting or eliminating past history; complete censorship and surveillance; scientific and technological control. Second, people in the dystopian society lose basic human traits such as freedom, individuality, love, family and identity. Third, the authority misleads people by claiming quest for perfection through achieving conformity and sameness among all people. Fourth, preoccupying people with constant entertainment provided by the state (Booker and Thomas 65–74).

Utopias and Dystopias vis-à-vis Science Fiction and Fantasy

Both utopias and dystopias share characteristics of science fiction and fantasy; and both are usually set in a future in which technology has been used to create perfect living conditions. However, once the setting of a utopian or dystopian novel has been established, the focus of the novel is usually not on the technology itself but rather on the influence of science and technology on the minds, psyches, emotions, and behaviours of people who live under such conditions.

Most writers view utopia as a place, state, or condition that is ideally perfect in respect of politics, laws, customs, and conditions. In their views, utopia symbolizes a perfect world. It denotes to a visionary or ideally perfect state of society whose members live the best possible life. In utopias, there are no problems like war, disease, poverty, oppression, discrimination, inequality and so forth. In his book, *The concept of utopia*, Ruth Levitas cites Moritz Kaufman's definition of utopia as follows:

What is utopia? Strictly speaking, it means a 'nowhere Land', some happy island far away, where perfect social relations prevail, and human beings, living under an immaculate constitution and a faultless government, enjoy a simple and happy existence, free from the turmoil, the harassing cares, and endless worries of actual life (Levitas 12).

The Early History of Utopia

The early history of utopia began with Plato's *The Republic* (380 B.C); and after that came Thomas More's *Utopia* (1516). In their book *Utopian Thought in the Western World*, Frank E. Manuel and Fritzie P. Manuel see that Plato's *The Republic* is one of the earliest utopian texts which served as "a plan for an ideal society in which laws were non–existent, and where static perfection and immutability were vital" (Manuel 158).

The influence of Thomas More's Utopia on the genre

The influence of Thomas More's *Utopia* on the genre has been immense, not only because it is as the earliest work mentioning the word "utopia," but also because it presents contemporary issues within the context of an ideal society. It is said that "Thomas More was the discoverer of the Greek word 'Utopia' which is translated to mean 'no place'" (Claeys 77). Thomas More's *Utopia* emphasizes the construction of the utopian society upon the principle that "nobody owns anything, but everyone is rich" (More 28). In this novel More shows an ideal society close to perfection in almost every way. His main focus is to show a world without poverty, greed, or crime. He presents a utopian society that shares the same language, customs, institutions, and laws.

Dystopia is a futuristic, imaginary world in which nothing is perfect

On the contrary, dystopia is a futuristic, imaginary world in which things have gone wrong and in which everything is unpleasant or bad, typically a totalitarian or environmentally degraded one. Dystopia is a world in which nothing is perfect. The problems that cause worry and distress to people in the real world are often even more extreme in dystopias. The dystopian world is characterised by various oppressive societal controls with the plea of questing for a perfect society free from pains, diseases and poverty. In other words, "dystopia represents the fear of what the future may hold if we do not act to avert catastrophe" (Levitas 165).

The idea of dystopia in the 20th century fiction and "carceral city"

The idea of dystopia in the 20th century fiction was influenced by the idea of "carceral city" discussed by the French philosopher Michel Foucault (1926–1984) which he dates to 1840, the date of the opening of Mettray prison colony in France. It was a private reformatory open prison without walls; it was established in 1840 for the rehabilitation of young male delinquents. In this open prison there were various ways of control used by authoritarian governments that extend to the private affairs of people's lives. Mettray represented the birth of a new kind of supervision. This carceral system is a kind of dystopia. Foucault's discussion of the "carceral city" as a modern system of punishment based on supervision resembles societies depicted in dystopian fiction because censorship and surveillance in dystopias overwhelm all people of society by a network of power that shapes everyone's life (Foucault 300–305). This carceral city is like the society of Huxley's *Brave New World*, the world of Orwell's *1984* and the community of Lowry's *The Giver*.

Various factors influenced the concept of dystopia

The dystopian literature of the twentieth century took on a gloomy and prophetical nature. It acquired this dark vision from major works appeared in the second half of the 19th century. These works have influenced the concept of dystopia up till now. The first work was *The Communist Manifesto* (1848) by German philosophers Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels who planned the communist future from the existing patterns of their time. They advocate public ownership of property and natural resources rather than private ownership. This call for the abolishment of private property is considered a destruction of the personal freedom and individuality. The second work was Charles Darwin's On the Origin of Species (1859) which is considered to be the foundation of evolutionary biology. Charles Darwin described evolution of human beings by the process known as "natural selection" in which "changes in genetic traits allow a person to better adapt to its environment and help it survive" (Williams 125). This theory of evolution was opposed by the Church of England and scientific establishments. The third work was H. G. Wells' A Modern Utopia (1905) in which Wells envisioned a World State to be characterized by entire control over its inhabitants. These works influenced modern and post-modern utopias to be ironic and to turn into dystopias.

The influence of these works appears clearly in the themes of most dystopias especially Huxley's *Brave New World* and Lowry's *The Giver*. Numerous philosophers and authors imagined the dark visions of the future where totalitarian rulers governed the life of ordinary citizens. Those dictator rulers misled people by giving them false impressions that they live the paradise of utopia but in reality it is the anti–utopia. So the dystopian literature situates itself in direct opposition to utopian thought.

In her introduction to "Dystopias in Contemporary Literature" Janet Witalec defines dystopian literature as "fiction that presents a negative view of the future of society and humankind"; she also delineates the common themes of dystopian literature in the 20th century:

Some common themes found in dystopian fiction include mastery of nature; technological advances that enslave humans or regiment their lives; the mandatory division of people into castes or groups with specialized functions; and a collective loss of memory and history making mankind easier to manipulate psychologically and ultimately leading to dehumanization (Witalec 1).

The dystopian protagonist is depicted as an outsider

In the dystopian fiction, the protagonist is depicted as an outsider who often feels trapped and struggles to escape. He ponders the existing social, scientific, cultural and political systems and feels that something is terribly wrong with the society in which he lives. Through the outsider's perspective, the reader recognizes the negative aspects of the dystopian world. In this type of fiction, the authorities represent the antagonist as they work against the protagonist's aims and desires.

A quest for perfection is a quest for the impossible and The Concept of Conformity and Sameness

Huxley's *Brave New Word* and Lowry's *The Giver* quest for perfection in a form of utopia by means of achieving conformity and sameness. This quest for perfection is a quest for the impossible because no world can be perfect; for the only way to have a perfect world is not to have a world at all. The intended meaning of conformity here is the acceptance of or adherence to the standards, laws, rules and regulations of society so that the behaviour and actions of people can be the same. In dystopian fiction conformity is the blind obedience to the rules of the authorities of the state; and it can be attained through obliging all people to think and act in the same way at the expense of their will and freedom of choice. In one of his speeches, President John F. Kennedy said: "Conformity is the jailer of freedom and the enemy of growth" (Kennedy's Speeches). That is to say when people allow themselves to conform to what the totalitarian government asks them, they lose the ability to grow into their own persons.

Leon Mann in his *Social Psychology* sees that "The essence of conformity is yielding to group pressures, but, it too, may take different forms and be based on motives other than group pressure" (Mann 48). The word 'group' in Mann's context means 'society'. Mann's definition emphasizes the important role of society in attaining conformity. Elliot Aronson describes conformity as "a change in a person's behavior or opinions as result of real or imagined pressure from an individual or group of people" (Aronson 19). This type of pressure mentioned by Mann and Aronson is in normal society. But in dystopian society conformity is imposed by the pressure of the higher authority represented in the government or the society as a whole to make people similar and conformed. So it is the "conformity in which the opinions and behaviors of individuals become more similar to the opinions and behaviors of the majority of the people in the group" (Stangor 167). As for sameness, it means uniformity or complete similarity or lack of variety among people. It means that all individuals in a community are made to be the same. It is the loss of individuality.

The differences between Huxley's Brave New World and Lowry's The Giver are based on differences of Time and Place and Background

In regard to the two novels, some critics see that the major ideas of Lowry's *The Giver* were taken from Huxley's *Brave New World*. So Lowry's novel may seem like a new version of *Brave New World* but in different form and style. Those critics state that *Brave New World* is the America of the 1930s because Huxley was fascinated by the American progress and culture at that time. And respectively *The Giver* is the America of the 1990s. The differences between the two novels are based on differences of time, place, background and the way of using scientific theme. Huxley wrote his novel in 1932 in London with a scientific background as he is the grandson of the zoologist and comparative anatomist Thomas Henry Huxley who was known for his defence of Charles Darwin's theory of evolution; whereas Lowry wrote her novel in 1993 in Portland, Maine in America with an interest in children and young adults.

Huxley's Brave New World and Lowry's The Giver are two dystopias set in future

Huxley and Lowry set their dystopias in future. The two authors design their fictional societies to be very advanced scientifically and technologically. This advancement allows the authorities to manipulate humans completely by adopting certain methods or ideologies such as genetic engineering, cloning, brainwashing, censorship, surveillance and conditioning to oblige people to behave in a certain way. The authorities in both future societies are in constant quest for perfection by exerting efforts conformity and sameness and consequently achieving stability and happiness. In their attempt to achieve conformity and sameness, the authorities do away with basic human traits such as freedom, love, identity, individuality and family. And in order to have full control over people, the authorities oblige people to adhere to certain ideologies to achieve their intended goal.

The Goals of Dystopian science fiction

Dystopian science fiction has its goals. Critics and writers state that one of the possible aims of dystopian literature is that it often serves as a warning of various problems that can possibly happen in the future. The authors of dystopian fiction often present a future ideal society which seems to be built on utopian principles of harmony, peace and stability but in reality it is a problematic society that requires rethinking. Dystopian writers not only points out the flaws of the present world, but also urges young readers to be critical rather than ignorant of what goes on in the world around them. David Sisk sees that dystopian literature is "concerned with improving human existence and directing attention toward contemporary problems" (Sisk 10). Many critics point out that often the purpose of dystopian literature is to warn and to inform generations of what their worlds may look like if they continue on the same path. Dystopian fiction also serves to warn members of a society to pay attention to the society in which they live and to be aware of how things can go from bad to worse without realizing what has happened. Critic Susan Stewart sees that "Dystopian novels serve as cultural critiques and models as to what might happen if we pursue some of our present courses" (Stewart 28). Thus dystopian fiction functions as a criticism of politics, societal values, technology and corporate control, showing the reader the worst case scenario that may happen, and making him question social and political systems.

The Purposes beyond achieving conformity and sameness

The authorities of the two dystopian societies in Huxley's *Brave New World* and Lowry's *The Giver* determine their aims beyond achieving conformity and sameness. The intended aim is to achieve comfort, equality, happiness, stability and finally living in a perfect world.

Authorities in Brave New World aim at maximizing happiness at the expense of truth and beauty

In *Brave New World* the authorities aim at maximizing the happiness of all members of society. According to Mustapha Mond—one of the ten controllers who represent the authority—the World State prioritizes happiness at the expense of truth and beauty:

We believe in happiness and stability... Our Ford himself did a great deal to shift the emphasis from truth and beauty to comfort and happiness... it was happiness rather than truth and beauty that mattered (Huxley, *Brave* 158).

The citizens of this dystopian society are happy and content with their simple lives as it is stated in the novel when some characters declare: "We don't want to change. Every change is a menace to stability" (Huxley, *Brave* 153). But in reality such happiness is unreal and deceptive: "In accordance with Fordism, truth and beauty have been replaced by comfort and one brand of 'happiness' for all, a happiness which to Huxley signals humanity's quiet and irreversible self-destruction" (Deery 260).

Conformity in The Giver is called "Sameness"

In The Giver the authorities aim at achieving "Sameness" which means all people must be equal and the same. Lois Lowry describes a world of "sameness" where the lack of differences allows each member of the community to have a predetermined role and to follow a strictly enforced set of rules. The Elders depict sameness in a way that makes it sound absolutely necessary, and without it, the whole world may fall apart. In the community of *The Giver* people accept everything as it is because they do not know any difference: "Our people made that choice, the choice to go to Sameness. Before my time, before the previous time . . . we relinquished sunshine and did away with difference" (Lowry, Giver 95). This sameness is terrifying and further imposes conformity on all people. So the community of *The Giver* is a uniformed society. People dress the same clothes; eat the same food; their houses are the same; and most of them look the same as well. By the age of ten, they all have a short hair style: "As each child's hair was snipped neatly into its distinguishing cut: females lost their braids at Ten, and males, too, relinquished their long childish hair took on the more manly style which exposed their ears" (Lowry, Giver 46). In The Giver the purpose of sameness is to protect people from wrong choices and to achieve safety for them.

In The Giver the purpose of sameness is safety and protection of people from wrong choices

In both novels people are prevented from choice. In *Brave New World*, occupations, spouses, even children are chosen for people rather than allowing them to choose themselves; and for the community of *The Giver* people are not able to think for themselves and to differentiate between right and wrong, so choice is banned: "We don't dare to let people make choices of their own (Lowry, *Giver* 124). All choices in *Brave New World* are made by the controllers and in *The Giver* choices are made by the Elders. Susan Lea sees that people's inability of choice in *The Giver* is because choice requires acknowledgement of difference and contrast which is lost by sameness. She sees that "one might propose that choice is dangerous unless exercised only by the dominant who know how to make right decisions, in which case, choice ensures safety and sameness" (Lea 56). When Jonas, the hero of the novel, chooses to leave, he regrets his choice: "Once he had yearned for choice. Then, when he had had a choice, he had made the wrong one: the choice to leave. And now he was starving" (Lowry, *Giver* 174). In reality choice is what makes life worth living. If choices sometimes cause pain, they can also cause great happiness.

Conformity and sameness replace diversity and individuality

Huxley's *Brave New World* and Lowry's *The Giver* explore the idea that conformity and sameness replace diversity and individuality. All differences are eliminated. The two novels depict two abnormal societies in which uniqueness and individuality do not exist. So the ideology of eliminating individuality and uniqueness is one of the requirements of the continuity of the dystopian functional society. Chris Ferns sees that in the dystopian society "people are types rather than distinct individuals" (Ferns 113). Booker and Thomas also see that "people are even referred to as numbers rather than people. These numbers have lost all true individuality; they are merely interchangeable parts in the giant machine of the State" (Bookers and Thomas 67). This elimination of individuality prevents individual choice and keeps people away from participating actively in society.

In Brave New World, community is given priority above the individual

In *Brave New World*, the community is given priority above the individual; and although this priority may seem like a sort of devotion, the way in which Huxley illustrates it strips a person of any form of individuality. William Matter argues that in Huxley's new world, "individuality must be repressed because it invites a malleable social structure" (Matter 95). Because of the suppression of individuality, there is no depth of feeling, no artistic creativity and no intellectual excitement. What makes a person an individual is to have a sense of himself as being separate, distinct, and unique. This sense of self includes both the joys and sorrows of one's life. The motto by which all citizens of the World State must live is "Community, Identity, and Stability." In the World State, the word "community" does not represent the same significance as it may to someone living in the modern day and age. Instead, the community in in this slogan refers to the caste system that separates people with similar characteristics and destinations from the larger society.

The Giver's community is founded on the idea of Sameness

Like *Brave New World, The Giver's* community is founded on the idea of sameness which means the elimination of difference in its members. In order to achieve this sameness, individuality is discouraged. Almost every aspect of the community in *The Giver* exists to stop and prevent diversity and individual creativity; all rules and ceremonies are the same for all children. Even the physical appearances of the people are the same, and any variation is not allowed.

After Jonas is appointed the new Receiver of Memories, his individuality appears. Jonas begins to see things differently: "I saw the way things were going, a long time back. . . . I'm one of the innocents who could have spoken up and out" (Lowry, *Giver* 82). And through his training with the Giver, Jonas witnesses a birthday party which is a foreign concept to him; it makes one person stand out from the crowd. After seeing this birthday party, Jonas "understood the joy of being an individual, special and unique and proud" (Lowry, *Giver* 121). Thus the idea of achieving conformity and sameness is based on eliminating individuality and the emergence of community.

People of *Brave New World* are conditioned according to their castes

So such a dystopian society is functional because it consists of five castes; each caste has its function in society. These castes are kept under strict surveillance by various control methods. They are controlled mentally as well as physically. They are programmed to behave in the same way and therefore allow social stability. Every caste is programmed through childhood to be suited for the jobs in which they will be placed and to be happy within their class and position in life. According to Michel Foucault's theory of carceral societies: "the distribution [of classes] according to ranks or grade has a double role: it marks the gaps, hierarchizes qualities, skills and aptitudes" (Foucault 181). So the people of *Brave New World* are conditioned according to their castes. By favour of genetic engineering scientists can control the amount of oxygen given to the embryo and consequently influencing the form and size of the upcoming baby.. Mr. Foster explains the idea:

Nothing like oxygen-shortage for keeping an embryo below par... The lower the caste ... the shorter the oxygen. The first organ affected was the brain. After that the skeleton. At seventy per cent of normal oxygen you got dwarfs. At less than seventy eyeless monsters ... who are no use at all. An Epsilon embryo must have an Epsilon environment as well as Epsilon heredity (Huxley, *Brave* 8).

The special education program for the manipulated people is called "Elementary Class Consciousness"; it is closely connected to one of the most important conditioning techniques of the World State called "hypnopaedia" on which class conditioning depends. This program effectively forces people of one caste to dislike other castes to prevent risks of social unrest from an early age onwards. A loud speaker states the aspects each caste:

Alpha children wear grey. They work much harder than we do, because they're so frightfully clever. I'm really awfully glad I'm a Beta, because I don't work so hard. And then we are much better than the Gammas and Deltas. Gammas are stupid. They all wear green, and Delta children wear khaki. Oh no, I *don't* want to play with Delta children. And Epsilons are still worse. They're too stupid to be able to read or write. Besides they wear black, which is such a beastly colour. I'm so glad I'm a Beta. (Huxley, *Brave* 19).

These aspects illustrate the ideology of the government of Brave New *World* towards achieving conformity and sameness: "no civilization without social stability. . . stability can be achieved if people think and look the same" (Huxley, *Brave* 28). Stability, in this way, demands automatons, human beings. The government designs people's lives so that no one can desire something one cannot have.

Thus in *Brave New World*, social status was determined before birth. Each caste is assigned certain professions based on predetermined features before and after birth. The lower classes are assigned professions that require hard physical labour while higher classes are assigned professions in the field of culture, thought and education.

People of *The Giver*'s community are conditioned according to age groups

Unlike *Brave New World*, *The Giver*'s community is divided into age categories. From birth to the age of twelve children are classified according to their ages e.g. the sixes, the sevens, the eights till elevens. Each age category receives certain instructions from the authorities. These instructions concern everything about children's lives such as food, drink, clothes, behaviour, advice, warning, etc.

Everyone in the community lives by rules contained in the Book of Rules. Each family is called a family unit and is made up of a mother, a father, and two children. The government puts a rule for family: "Two children – one male, one female – to each family unit. It was written very clearly in the rules" (Lowry, Giver 11). Parents in a family unit must apply for each child because they are not allowed to choose children.

In the Age of Twelve, conformity can be achieved through imposing psychological and mental control

In both novels controlling children before twelve is to some extent easy because they are still too young to understand the policy of the totalitarian governments. So both Huxley and Lowry give the age of twelve a great consideration. This consideration comes as a natural result of the importance of this age in the life of man. It is the age of transition from childhood to adolescence. When children reach the age of twelve, they are faced with physical, mental and psychological changes. Almost this age is the beginning of maturity. It is the age of forming a teenager's sexual, emotional, cultural, and spiritual passions. So the writers of dystopian fiction choose this age of twelve to be a start of mind control over teenagers to achieve their claimed utopia. At the age of twelve, authorities start to impose psychological and mental control on people for the sake achieving conformity. In this age social influence involves a change in beliefs and behaviour in order for people to fit in with a society. This change is in response to pressure imposed upon people by their authoritarian governments.

In Brave New World and The Giver, professions are assigned in the age of twelve

In *Brave New World and The Giver*, professions are assigned in the age of twelve. This assignment takes different forms. Huxley identifies certain job for each caste. The job of every caste is predetermined before and after birth through genetic engineering. Through scientific control of the genes, the laboratories determines who is going to be what. But in *The Giver* when children reach twelve years old, they begin training for the professions they will be assigned to. It is supposed that such professions are based on the adults' interests, abilities, and limitations. But the jobs here are assigned to people at the age of twelve regardless they want them or not; they do not have the freedom of choice:

I heard about a guy who was absolutely certain he was going to get assigned Engineer . . . and instead they gave him Sanitation Laborer. He went out the next day, jumped into the river, swam

across, and joined the next community he came to. Nobody ever saw him again (Lowry, *Giver* 60).

Ideologies of quest for conformity and sameness

In order to attain conformity and sameness, Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World* and Lois Lowry's *The Giver* create some ideologies that influence people's beliefs and behaviour. These ideologies are just dark visions of a utopian society that may achieve happiness and stability by altering the mindset of people. The ideologies of achieving happiness and stability in these dystopian societies are based mainly on total control of people's lives. People must sacrifice their identities and freedoms to make sure that everybody is able to survive, advance, and live a life of happiness. The two novels present a gloomy future where almost total conformity is an important aspect of society.

Science and Technology and the use of Genetic Engineering

The best ideology to perform conformity is through science and technology. By favour of genetic engineering in Brave New World thousands of babies are manufactured to be alike and consequently look identical. In their quest for conformity and sameness, Huxley and Lowry depict characters as genetically engineered and conditioned to follow the rules of the authorities and like what they have and be happy. Emotions and feelings are not supposed to exist in either dystopia. So seeking for utopia leads to dystopia. The society in Brave New World is more technologically advanced than that of *The Giver*. So the emergence of science and technology as a superior ideology of control makes critics label Brave New World and *The Giver* as science fiction dystopias that follow the rules and assumptions of futuristic imagined science. They are labelled science fiction because they deal principally with the impact of future science and technology upon people. Basil Davenport defines science fiction as "fiction based upon some imagined development of science or upon the extrapolation of a tendency in society" (Davenport 15). John Clute and Peter Nicholls see that a story of science fiction is "a narrative of an imaginary invention or discovery in the natural sciences and consequent adventures and experiences" (Clute 311).

Isaac Asimov, an American professor of biochemistry and a novelist, sees that science fiction story:

must be set against a society different from our own – usually, but not necessarily, because of some change in the level of science and technology.... The science fiction story destroys our own comfortable society. It does not deal with the restoration of order, but with change... we leave our society and never return to it (Asimov 226).

In science fiction literature, the authors imagine scientific advances ahead of their time. This advanced technology appears in Huxley's usage of genetic engineering in *Brave New World* which is visible mainly through the idea of eugenics and the genetic modification of embryos. In this novel children are no longer born to mothers and fathers but they are produced and grown in governmental laboratories where embryos are genetically manufactured with homogeneous characteristics. This usage of genetic engineering is considered a major feature of a dystopian society in which one can find: "standard men and women; in uniform batches. The whole of a small factory staffed with the products of a single bokanovskified egg" (Huxley, *Brave* 7). So people in *Brave New World* are mere clones that are conditioned and brainwashed to conform to their dystopian society.

The program of genetic engineering in Lowry's *The Giver* has common features like that of *Brave New World* but it takes different form. In *The Giver* humans are genetically engineered to stop seeing differences. The process of genetic engineering in this novel is made by genetic scientists who study human genes and attempt to eliminate differences or unique characteristics in people and in the environment to keep sameness. The climate and topography are scientifically controlled. If selective breeding, in real scientific experiments, is used with animals for certain purposes, it is used with people in *The Giver* for choosing the best genes that are able to achieve sameness. The scientists in this dystopian society use selective breeding to keep people from passing on dangerous diseases. Within the society of *The Giver*, birthmothers are not allowed to keep their own babies after giving birth to them. Babies are moved to Nurturing Centers where they are fed and trained in a certain way until families can be found for them. In these Nurturing Centers, there is a process of development and application of scientific methods, procedures, and technologies that permit direct manipulation of genetic material in order to change the hereditary traits of a cell or organism. Jonas states that in these centres the "instructors in science and technology have taught us about how the brain works. It's full of electrical impulses. It's like a computer. They are well trained. They know their scientific facts" (Lowry, *Giver* 106).

Science Fiction uses science and Technology as an ideology of control

Therefore writers of dystopian science fiction use science and technology as a major ideology of control. In order to achieve conformity and sameness, both Huxley and Lowry introduce the idea of genetic engineering which does away with the uniqueness of the human beings. Through the use of scientific theme, both novelists raise questions as to whether or not cloning and conditioning can be futuristic logical steps in order to achieve a utopian society controlled by science.

Elimination of all problems and all sources of trouble and pain

By favor of genetic modification, both novelists managed to depict people as carefree, healthy and advanced. Authorities could mislead people that war, poverty, diseases and all pains have been eliminated. The irony is that all of these things have been achieved by eliminating many things people derive real happiness from such as family, cultural diversity, art, literature, science, religion and philosophy. In *Brave New World* Mustafa Mond, the Resident Controller of Western Europe declares: "No pains have been spared to make your lives emotionally easy—to preserve you, as far as that is possible, from having emotions at all" (Huxley, *Brave* 26).

Like *Brave New World, The Giver* presents us with a world where war, poverty, crime, suffering, and bigotry have been completely eliminated. In this community, people strive to maintain "sameness" where all people are equal and same. But the reader quickly perceives that something is wrong with this supposedly perfect society. Memories of basic human emotions such as love and hate have been completely suppressed; and also cultural practices including art, music, literature, and even colour, have also been completely erased. Lowry herself, in an interview, says that the community in *The Giver*: "lost everything—literature and music and art and all of that" (Lowry, *Giving Up*). Both the best and the worst aspects of humanity are instead stored within the mind of the Giver who explains the idea of sameness to Jonas the protagonist saying:

Our people made that choice, the choice to go to Sameness. Before my time, before the previous time, back and back and back. We relinquished color when we relinquished sunshine and did away with difference . . . We gained control of many things. But we had to let go of others (Lowry, *Giver* 96–97).

Mass Consumption as an ideology of attaining conformity, sameness and equality

According to the authors of dystopian fiction, one of the ideologies of achieving conformity and sameness is by encouraging mass consumption as long as there is no poverty. Mass consumption means the use or purchase of goods or services by all people more than their needs. And by the way *industrialization allowed for mass consumption of material goods:* "Every man, woman and child compelled to consume so much a year. In the interests of industry. The sole result... 'Ending is better than mending. The more stitches, the less riches' (Huxley, *Brave* 29).

In the field of economics mass consumption is an economic theory that means expanding consumption of goods is beneficial to the economy. In the field of dystopian fiction, mass consumption is an ideology for achieving social and political stability and consequently conformity. Most dystopian societies are mass–consumption societies in which people are encouraged to consume more to compensate for their suppression. Many writers in the field of economy define mass consumption society as the society in which all people expand their range of consumer goods. The idea of mass consumption is new in the human history because it requires mass production and both require opulence which was not available in the past. In 1964 George Katona, an American psychologist, confirmed this idea:

Throughout the course of human history, poverty has been the rule, riches the exception. Societies in the past were called affluent when their ruling classes lived in abundance and luxury... [Now] We are rich compared with our grandparents and compared with most other peoples of the world (Katona 5–6).

In Huxley's *Brave New World* and Lowry's *The Giver* people are trained to be over-consumers and hard workers. In these dystopian societies human behaviour is conditioned so that people can consume goods and services as much as possible. This conditioning in turn means that the makers of such goods or providers of such services are able to stay employed. The caste system in *Brave New World* encourages consumption and production. And in *The Giver* each person gets a job which should be productive for the sake of consumption.

Brave New World encourages and supports the culture of mass consumption

The authorities of *Brave New World* encourage and support the culture of mass consumption: "We condition the masses to consume manufactured articles as well as transport... And that is the secret of happiness and virtue–liking what you've got to do" (Huxley, *Brave* 23). Huxley's attitude towards mass consumption is also clear in Linda's attitude towards more consumption of clothing:

And look at these clothes. This beastly wool isn't like acetate. It lasts and lasts. And you're supposed to mend it if it gets torn . . . it never used to be right to mend clothes. Throw them away when they've got holes in them, and buy new. The more stitches, the less riches. Isn't that right? Mending's anti-social (Huxley *Brave* 78).

The controllers of *Brave New World* ask people to throw the old things away even if they are beautiful and to have new ones based on the principle of over–consumption:

World Controller: 'We haven't any use for old things here.' John: 'Even when they're beautiful?'

World Controller: 'Particularly when they're beautiful. Beauty's attractive, and we don't want people to be attracted by old things. We want them to like the new ones' (Huxley, *Brave* 219).

The ideology of mass consumption in Lowry's The Giver is a sort of compensating people for loss of identity

Like Brave New World, in *The Giver* the ideology of mass consumption is used but in a different way. If mass consumption in Brave New World is used as means of distraction, in The Giver it is used as a sort of compensating people for loss of identity and freedom. In The Giver Lowry is influenced by her American capitalist society and material culture where people tend to form their identities through consumption. Consumption can be related to selfidentity formation and expression. Jean Baudrillard sees that the American society is "organized around the consumption and display of commodities through which individuals gain prestige, identity, and standing" (Baudrillard 71). Lowry invents the jobs of Food Delivery People to deliver food for each meal to community members because people in this community do not cook their own food. This type of jobs encourages people to consume more food not caring about its preparation and its cost especially there is no poverty; and at the same time to spare time for them to be mass productive. "Food Delivery people usually populated the community at that time [afternoon] of day" (Lowry, *Giver 2*). The Giver's community includes also a salmon hatchery, a place where salmon are raised for the people's consumption. People consume as much as possible without exerting any effort to get their consumed materials.

The Use of Sex an ideology of achieving conformity and Sameness

Promotion of promiscuous Sex in Brave New World as an ideology of achieving conformity

Another ideology of achieving conformity is controlling sex. Brave New World promotes promiscuous sex and the general attitude toward sex is that one sexual partner is not enough. Promiscuous sex in *this society* is legal whereas emotional attachment or love is illegal. Sex is dehumanized and made devoid of passion; it is treated casually and publicly rather than as a personal matter. Promiscuous sex is celebrated in different ways; it is presented in the 'Feelies' and in ceremonies. There is no real relationship between sex, love, commitment, intimacy and reproduction or any kind of deep emotion; it is used for distraction and pacification. The act of sex in Brave New World is controlled by a system of social rewards for promiscuity and lack of commitment. Even children play erotic games in the hatchery and conditioning centre. For them it is normal that children do such things and have fun doing them. When people grow older and their passions grow calm and become less excited and less excitable, they use sex as a form of entertainment. On the contrary chastity is dangerous. Mustapha Mond delineates the dangers of chastity:

Chastity means passion, chastity means neurasthenia. And passion and neurasthenia mean instability. And instability means the end of civilization. You can't have a lasting civilization without plenty of pleasant vices (Huxley, *Brave* 209).

For the sake of preventing women from reproduction through this promiscuous sex, the World State sterilizes two thirds of women. The women who are not sterilized have to use contraceptives. If a woman gets pregnant, there are many abortion clinics where she can abort her baby. Sex in Huxley's world is abnormal and odd.

Repression of Sexual desires by using drugs in The Giver

Unlike *Brave New World*, in *The Giver* sexual desires are repressed. It is not allowed for people to have sex outside one's

spouse. And if there appears any sexual stirring, it is suppressed by using a certain drug not named in the novel. There is a medication used for stopping sexual urges in young people. Sex is an alarming matter for the elders. When Jonas has a dream interpreted as sexual stirrings, his mother gives him a medication and informs him about it:

It's the pills. That's the treatment for stirrings ... you mustn't forget. I'll remind you for the first weeks, but then you must do it on your own. If you forget, the Stirrings will come back. The dreams of the Stirrings will come back (Lowry, *Giver* 39).

It is clear that both Huxley and Lowry are on opposite directions concerning sex. In *Brave New World* sex is free and promiscuous because marriage is not permitted but in *The Giver* sex is repressed because marriage is permitted. Both sex and marriage in the two novels do not mean love or any type of family ties.

Hiding the Past from people and deactivating memory in dystopian societies as an ideology of achieving conformity

Both Huxley and Lowry use history as an ideology of control. The authoritarian governments usually make use of history in their favour. It is an important ideology for achieving conformity and sameness and consequently the supposed perfection in dystopian societies is controlling the past through eliminating history. People are hidden from the events of the past. The authorities hide the past from people in order to prevent comparison. People are hidden from the existence of God, of mothers and fathers, of family and of natural and biological processes such as reproduction and creation. Chris Ferns sees that achieving perfection through conformity requires no change by hiding the past from people:

Once perfection (of whatever kind) is achieved, change automatically becomes a threat–and the problem with the past is that, simply by showing that things were once different, it demonstrates that change is at least possible. The very existence of the past where things were different implies that society is 'not static but kinetic', and dystopian societies uniformly go out of their way to obliterate its memory (Ferns 119).

Controlling History is through Controlling Memory Who controls the past controls the future

But the question is how authorities in dystopian societies can hide the past. Controlling past history can be done through the idea of containment of memory which means that knowledge of the past is either banned or changed by the controllers to prevent unjust and unpleasant comparisons. Controlling memory is a way to show people that there is no other way for the existence of things rather than what is available for them and to convince them that their life is the best. As memory is important for man, authorities of the dystopian societies deactivate it. Man without memory of the past is nothing. Deactivating memory is an ideology for abolishing identity. Edward Said sees that memory is strongly related to identity and nationalism and he believes that the representation and manipulation of memory has an effect on identity: "memory and its representations touch very significantly upon the questions of identity, of nationalism, of power and authority" (Said 176). Said also explains that the issue of memory is related to national identity: "memories of the past are shaped in accordance with a certain notion of what 'we' or 'they' really are" (Said 177). In dystopian society memory becomes a tool to be used by authorities to influence public opinion to take their sides. And since it becomes a tool, memory can be controlled. In his dystopian novel 1984 George Orwell put a slogan at the tongue of the ruling Party to change the past history: "Who controls the past controls the future: who controls the present, controls the past" (Orwell 37). And this is the policy of dystopian despotic governments in Huxley's Brave New World and Lowry's The Giver.

In Brave New World Knowledge of the past is banned because History is bunk

In *Brave New World* Mustapha Mond instructs people to disregard the painful lessons of history and to ignore the past in order to focus on the future progress. The authority disregards history because if people understand what came before, they may

find it better and consequently rebel. Mond quotes Ford's slogan that "History is bunk" (Huxley, *Brave* 34) because it revolves around human vices, weaknesses and emotions such as love, anger, vengeance and temptation. This is clear in the director's remark that "Most historical facts are unpleasant" (Huxley, *Brave* 24). Such facts are no longer part of the human experience and they have no place in a society built around maximizing happiness. Mustapha Mond distorts the past history saying: "No wonder those poor pre-moderns were mad and wicked and miserable. Their world didn't allow them to take things easily, didn't allow them to be sane, virtuous, happy" (Huxley, *Brave* 29). Mond's meaning is that by doing away with events of the past, the World State has finally brought stability and peace to humanity.

In The Giver Forgetting the Past is to forget the defects inherent in the past society

Like *Brave New World*, Lowry, in *The Giver*, imagined a society where the past was deliberately forgotten in order to allow people to live in a kind of peaceful ignorance. She, like Huxley, sees that there are a lot of defects inherent in the past society: "I knew that there had been times in the past—terrible times—when people had destroyed others in haste, in fear, and had brought about their own destruction" (Lowry, *Giver* 112). By removing people's memories and giving them all to the Receiver of Memory, the authority refuses to acknowledge the past and consequently its own humanity.

Deactivating Memory an ideology of achieving conformity in The Giver

In *The Giver*, Lowry sees that conformity and sameness can be achieved in the community through deactivating memory. She realizes that to eliminate all sorts of pains, memory must be abolished. Memory can be deactivated through abandoning and stopping the memories of the society's collective experiences. When Jonas was assigned to be the new receiver of past memories, he learns from the Giver that such memories are a source of wisdom for the receiver only; but for people there must be no memories at all because if they get wisdom, they will have deep thought and may rebel:

The Giver explains to [Jonas] that memories give wisdom which he needs in order to advise the rest of the Elders on issues ... The memories also enable Jonas to experience new feelings at greater depth. Having seen things like colors and oceans, Jonas realizes that the kind of feelings his family and other citizens in the community feel are not genuine – only shallow feelings (Lowry, *Giver* 137).

The price of losing the memory of the past is high. Losing the memory may make people avoid the pains of the past but they are deprived of wisdom as well. When Jonas asks the Giver: "why can't *everyone* have the memories?" the Giver answers: "everyone would be burdened and pained. They don't want that" (Lowry, Giver 112).

Effect of Eliminating Memory in The Giver: Life is Monotonous and Meaningless

It is clear that eliminating memory in these dystopian societies causes life to be meaningless, dull and boring because memory is related to the idea that there can be no pleasure without pain and no pain without pleasure. The people of the two societies of *Brave New World* and *The Giver* cannot appreciate the joys in their lives because they have never felt pain; their lives are totally monotonous and devoid of emotional variation. By losing memory, people lose their humanity. John, in *Brave New World*, realizes his need for pains to feel real happiness: "I'm claiming the right to be unhappy; . . . the right to catch typhoid; the right to be tortured by unspeakable pains of every kind'" (Huxley, *Brave* 185). In an interview, Lowry was asked: "What did the community gain by not having memory? And what did they lose?" She answered:

They certainly gained safety, security, comfort. No war, no crime no poverty, no pollution . . . those are good things. What did they lose, though, in exchange? Maybe their very humanity (Garrett 129).

The Use of Medication as a means of Achieving Conformity Drugs for the sake of distraction and Entertainment

Another ideology for achieving conformity and sameness is the use of drugs for the incurable and intricate cases. The authorities of the dystopian societies encourage people to use some drugs to keep them away from considering their circumstances and from dealing with the reality of their situation. The function of these drugs is to cure any thought of rebellion if exists. Bookers and Thomas state the function of drugs in dystopian societies:

Individuals spend most of their time in the pursuit of instant happiness through the use of drugs, and mind–numbing multi–sensory entertainments, that are continually broadcast to keep the minds and senses of the citizenry occupied at all times . . . sex, drugs, and popular culture prevalent in this society are intended primarily to divert attention from social problems and to prevent individuals from developing any sort of strong feelings that might lead them to challenge official authority" (Booker and Thomas 67).

Soma is a source of happiness in Brave New World

The authoritarian government of *Brave New World* society succeeds in inventing a new drug called 'soma' after six years of pharmaceutical research. The World Controllers deliver this drug to control people's emotions, desires and minds that may threaten the conformity and stability of the World State. 'Soma' is legalized to remove any case of sadness, misery or suffering. It is half tranquilizer, half intoxicant which produces an artificial happiness that makes people content with their lack of freedom. This drug gives the users high pleasure and puts an end to all their worries. People take the soma drug in order to give their minds 'holiday' by absenting them from their surroundings. Mustapha Mond highlights the true reasoning behind soma:

If ever, by some unlucky chance, anything unpleasant should somehow happen... there's always soma to give you a holiday from the facts. And there's always soma to calm your anger, to reconcile you to your enemies, to make you patient and longsuffering.... You can carry at least half your morality about in a bottle. That's what *soma* is (Huxley, *Brave* 162).

In this dystopian World the people are dependant upon soma at anytime when unpleasant thoughts, feelings or emotions are shown. Soma can drive any bad thoughts out of mind. Doctors declare that one cubic centimeter of soma cures ten gloomy sentiments. When Linda was discovered to be 'mother', unfamiliar and obscene word, she was given soma to absent her mind and then end her life. For Linda, taking soma gives her:

the possibility of lying in bed and taking holiday after holiday, without ever having to come back to a headache or a fit of vomiting.... The holiday it gave was perfect... The remedy was to make the holiday continuous ... Every soma-holiday is a bit of what our ancestors used to call eternity (Huxley, *Brave* 87).

A relief-of-pain medication provided to community members to relieve pain in The Giver

Like soma drug in *Brave New World*, in *The Giver*, there is a relief–of–pain medication that is provided to community members to relieve their pains so that no one can suffer. Whenever there is any kind of unpleasant thought or pain or disease, people are immediately given this unnamed medication to ease their pains. This medication is given to all people of the community except for the Giver who bears the pains and memories of the whole society. It is in the form of ointment or a pill or an injection:

Relief–of–pain... was always provided in his [Jonas'] everyday life for the bruises and wounds, for a mashed finger, a stomach ache, a skinned knee from a fall from a bike. There was always a daub of anaesthetic ointment, or a pill; or in severe instances, an injection that brought complete and instantaneous deliverance (Lowry, *Giver* 137).

Unlike *Brave New World*, the value of pain in the life of man is stated in *The Giver*. When the Giver transmits to Jonas a memory of pain and nausea during training to be the next Giver, it is a memory that gives Jonas an understanding of true physical pain, something the rest of the citizens in the community never feel. The Giver explains to Jonas that it is only by facing pain and loneliness that a person can grow and develop courage. According to the rules of the authorities, the relief–of–pain medication prevents people from development, courage and wisdom. When Jonas asks the Giver: "Why do you and I have to hold these memories [of pain]?" The Giver replied: "It gives us wisdom" (Lowry, *Giver* 139). It is the wisdom that all people are deprived of.

Censorship and Surveillance as an ideology of Achieving Conformity

In order to achieve conformity and sameness, the authorities use the ideology of censorship and surveillance to control people. Censorship means controlling and reviewing all sources of information for the sake of removing or hiding parts of it that are considered unacceptable or inconvenient by the authorities. On the other hand, surveillance means the continuous observation of people especially those who are suspected of something illegal by the authorities. In dystopias people are also denied the right of having information.

In Brave New World, Citizens are also forbidden to read or even have access to reading material

In *Brave New World*, censorship consists in controlling and eliminating undesirable information which authorities consider to be dangerous for stability. Citizens are also forbidden to read or even have access to reading material. In this dystopian society people are conditioned to be interested in other things except for books. The authorities consider reading a waste of time. Children are trained to hate books as well as flowers by conditional by making conditional linking between books and loud noises, flowers and electric shocks in their minds: "They'll grow up with what the psychologists used to call an 'instinctive' hatred of books and flowers. Reflexes unalterably conditioned. They'll be safe from books and botany all their lives" (Huxley, *Brave* 17).

In The Giver surveillance through loudspeakers in people's houses

Like Brave New World, Lois Lowry, in The Giver, shows that the citizens are always being watched. Everything they do is under supervision by the Elder Community. They have no freedom in this hellish civilization. Every little thing done by people is observed. If a person is out of order, he will be publicly called out by a loudspeaker. There are loudspeakers installed in people's houses which cannot be turned off. These loudspeakers - like telescreens in Orwell's 1984 - are used to maintain order and guide people to act accordingly. The speakers are used to remind people of proper behaviour, the rules and regulations of the community. For instance, the speaker talks to a young girl indirectly while she is in her own residence: "Attention. This is a reminder to females under nine that hair ribbons are to be neatly tied at all times" (Lowry, Giver 28). Jonas feels humiliated when he realized that he is being watched all the time. He is bewildered by an announcement that had been specifically directed at him when he had taken an apple home. No one had mentioned it, not even his parents: "Attention. This is a reminder to male elevens that objects are not to be removed from the recreation area and that snacks are to be eaten, not hoarded" (Lowry, Giver 29). This constant surveillance is an important ideology of dystopian fiction to keep order and stability.

Ideologies for eliminating differences

If the previous ideologies are adopted for achieving conformity and sameness, there are other anti-human ideologies for dealing with differences. In the two novels any appearance of any difference is not tolerated. In order to eliminate differences and to have total conformity and sameness, the governments of the two dystopias commit terrible atrocities. In both novels, old people after sixty are considered to be different. Their difference consists in their being experienced and consequently they are old enough to think deeply in their situations; and as a result they may be a reason for disturbance and rebellion. So there must be an ideology for eliminating old age.

Ending the life of old people in Brave New World and The Giver to keep Conformity

In *Brave New World*, old people after sixty are killed: "All the physiological stigmata of old age have been abolished. And along with them all the old man's mental peculiarities" (Huxley, *Brave* 228). Ending the life of old people is good for the dystopian society of *Brave New World* because they are dangerous. Mond argues that man thinks more in his old age and this means that thought itself is inherently harmful. He sees that old age is dangerous for the community—not because of physical weakness, but because of mental prowess. He states the reasons for killing the old people:

We preserve them from diseases. We keep their internal secretions artificially balanced at a youthful equilibrium. We don't permit their magnesium–calcium ratio to fall below what it was at thirty. We give them transfusion of young blood. We keep their metabolism permanently stimulated... Youth almost unimpaired till sixty, and then, crack! the end' (Huxley, *Brave* 111).

Like *Brave New World*, the authority in *The Giver* ends the old people's life and those who are different to achieve total conformity. Old people after sixty are killed by lethal injection even if they are healthy. Release is a term used for ending life in the community of *The Giver* but it is never described that way; so the people of this dystopian community think that the released people are sent to somewhere else but in reality they are killed. The old are released because they are no longer valuable. In *The Giver*, release is either punishment or euthanasia:

There were only two occasions of release which were not punishments. Release of the elderly, which was a time of celebration for a life well and fully lived; and the release of a new child, which always brought a sense of what–could–we–have–done (Lowry, *Giver* 5).

Other cases of ending the life of some people in *The Giver* Unlike *Brave New World*, in *The Giver* there are other cases of ending the life of some people by killing. First, when identical twins are born, they are weighed and the lighter one is killed. The reason for this type of killing is that identical twins cause confusion for everyone and the community avoids confusion. Second, when a person is discovered to be suffering from incurable pain or disease, he is killed. Third, release is done to a newborn child who does not grow fast enough. Fourth, release is used for those who break three rules or make a mistake. These various types of ending the life of people are done for the sake of achieving sameness.

Views of dissatisfaction with the World in Brave New World and The Giver

In *Brave New World* Huxley expresses his dissatisfaction with the modern world he lives in. He envisions the future of totalitarian societies in which individual liberty has been usurped by totalitarian rulers. So the consequences of state control are a loss of dignity, morals, values, and emotions—in short, a loss of humanity. Such consequences express: "a vision of a nightmarish future, fears of totalitarian ideology and uncontrolled advances in technology and science" (Baker 22). It is an unhealthy society for human beings to live in.

Like Huxley, Lois Lowry wrote *The Giver* as a dystopian novel because it was the most effective means to communicate her dissatisfaction with the lack of awareness that human beings have about their interdependence with each other, their environment, and their world. She uses the irony of utopian appearances which can be considered a sort of deception from the side of despotic government against citizens.

The Price of Conformity and Sameness

All these ideologies of control indicate that the price of achieving conformity and sameness is too costly. In *Brave New World* and *The Giver*, a lot of sacrifices have been made in order to achieve conformity and sameness. People have to give up things like feelings, beauty and truth. Huxley and Lowry seem to pose some questions: how much does conformity cost? What if sameness is achieved? What gets lost when people's desires are immediately met? The outsiders realize very well that the ideologies of control done by the authorities are wrong because they eliminate deep thought, culture, and strong passions without which people are automatons not human beings.

There are two opposing views concerning the price of quest for perfection. The first view concerns the authoritarian governments who see that by achieving conformity and sameness, they succeed to achieve happiness and stability and consequently utopia. The second view concerns the dystopian protagonists: Bernard, John and Jonas who see that by losing individuality, identity, freedom, love and family in return for unreal false happiness and superficial stability, the populace lost their humanity and live in a dystopia. In *Brave New World*, Mustafa Mond confirms the first view of the authorities:

The world's stable now. People are happy; they get what they want, and they never want what they can't get. They're well off; they're safe; they're never ill; they're not afraid of death; they're blissfully ignorant of passion and old age; they're plagued with no mothers or fathers; they've got no wives, or children, or lovers to feel strongly about; they're so conditioned that they practically can't help behaving as they ought to behave (Huxley, *Brave* 183).

John the Savage, who represents the second view of the outsiders, is convinced that people lost a lot of basic human qualities, so at the end of the novel he expresses his dissatisfaction and anger by shouting:

'I don't want comfort. I want God, I want poetry, I want real danger, I want freedom, I want goodness. I want sin.'... 'I'm claiming the right to be unhappy; the right to grow old and ugly and impotent; the right to have syphilis and cancer; the right to have too little to eat; the right to be lousy; the right to live in constant apprehension of what may happen tomorrow; the right to catch typhoid; the right to be tortured by unspeakable pains of every kind.'...'I claim them all' (Huxley, *Brave* 185).

The Cost of Happiness

The cost of happiness in both novels is sacrificing feelings, beauty and truth. Jonas, in *The Giver*, like John in *Brave New World*, realizes how much has been taken from people by the path of conformity and sameness. Both realize the significance beyond the absence of choice in the life of people. One cannot choose a spouse, a child, a job or even clothes. Jonas longs for difference:

'Well'... Jonas had to stop and think it through. 'If everything's the same, then there aren't any choices! I want to wake up in the morning and *decide* things! A blue tunic or a red one' He looked down at himself, at the colorless fabric of his clothing. 'But it's all the same, always.' ... 'I know it's not important, what you wear. It doesn't matter. But–It's the choosing that's important, isn't it?' ((Lowry, *Giver* 67).

In reality the price paid for achieving conformity and sameness in dystopian societies is very high because it costs people to do away with many basic human traits making them semi-humans or non-humans. Humans are created not to be the same but there must be some differences; they are different in their minds, bodies, tempers, colours, faiths, hopes, ambitions, fears and dreams. The absence of difference in these dystopian societies symbolizes an absence of joy, pleasure, choice and creativity in general. The people in these dystopias have been transferred to a meaningless and passionless existence. People get things in return for giving up other things: "The community of the Giver had achieved at such great price. A community without danger or pain. But also, a community without music, color or art. And books" (Lowry, *Giver* 122)

Dystopia in the Outsiders' Perspective

Therefore, the dystopian societies often appear superficially perfect but often underneath they are faulty and imperfect places. People of these societies often appear as if they live in paradise but it is only due to the outsiders' views that the bitter reality of this society is presented. So this apparent dystopia often functions as an example of perfection that has gone too far. In Huxley's *Brave New World* John the Savage uncovers the shortcomings of his society and thinks of escape; in Orwell's 1984 Winston Smith questions the morality and legitimacy of the Big Brother regime but could not escape; and in Lowry's *The Giver* Jonas feels defeated and alienated and consequently thinks of escape. So dystopias are fictional worlds where oppressive societal control exists under the illusion of creating a perfect society.

Exile or escape for the outsiders is the Final procedure

If the shortcomings of the dystopian society are uncovered by symbolic outsiders in both novels, those outsiders are punished severely. The price paid by those outsiders is either exile or escape. Those few who do not fit into the community of *Brave New World* are exiled to far isolated islands. Bernard is exiled to Iceland; Helmholtz Watson is exiled to the Falklands; John escapes to a hill outside London. Jonas escapes from the community of *The Giver* to a hill outside America. Exile or escape of the outsiders is symbolic of questing for normal life in which they can find pains, diseases and poverty; they look forward to unhappiness instead of the superficial false happiness of their supposed utopias. Critic Carter Hanson argues that exile and escape are for the outsiders only because "The stability and static nature of Sameness [and conformity] ... depends upon a contented populace who ask few questions and perceive little need for change" (Hanson 49).

The End of Brave New World: John Escapes to a hill outside London

When John decides to go away and leave London, he seeks for a normal life far away from this brave new world. The end of the novel brings John the Savage into direct physical conflict with the brave new world he has decided to leave. Fasting, whipping himself and vomiting the civilization of this harmful world to purge himself, John cries: "I ate civilization. It poisoned me; I was defiled ... I ate my own wickedness ... Now I am purified" (Huxley, *Brave* 183). He spends the first night on his knees, not sleeping but praying to God: "Oh, my God! Oh forgive me! Make me pure! Oh, help me to be good!" (Huxley, *Brave* 184). Of course, the reason for his coming to this hill is to experience unhappiness and to think about the horror of the civilized world. In his new life of seclusion among the pretty forests, groves, ponds, and flowers, John realizes that he is happy. But this happiness does not last long because he dies few days later. He does not have enough time to enjoy his new life. Huxley seems to say that real happiness in this world is difficult to attain. The reason for his quick death is left for the reader to guess.

The End of The Giver: Jonas Escapes to a hill outside his community

Like John in *Brave New World*, Jonas in *The Giver* decides to escape to a hill outside his community. He, like John, seeks for a normal life far away from his hellish society. Jonas escapes to Elsewhere, an unknown land that exists beyond the boundaries of the communities. But, unlike John, Jonas does not declare his comfort and purity. He just declares his feeling of hunger and disease.

Both novelists' choice of 'hill' as a new escape for John and Jonas is significant. Geographically, hill is a natural elevation of land, or a mass of earth rising above the common level of the surrounding land; or a group of plants growing close together. Symbolically, hill symbolizes the elevation of both protagonists above the level of their disastrous civilizations. The biblical significance of hills can be seen in some verses as in the Book of Psalms: "I will lift up mine eyes unto the hills, from whence cometh my help." (Psalm 121:1). This verse refers to optimism by God's help. There is another verse for hills in Old Testament chapter eight the Fifth Book of Moses Called Deuteronomy:

For the Lord thy God bringeth thee into a good land, a land of brooks of water, of fountains and depths that spring out of valleys and hills; . . . A land wherein thou shalt eat bread without scarceness, thou shalt not lack any thing in it; a land whose stones are iron, and out of whose hills thou mayest dig brass. (Deuteronomy 8:7–9).

Here hills symbolize the new paradise for which John and Joas long. They also symbolize seclusion through which man can contemplate his own status to have a new start.

Ambiguity in Dystopian Fiction

John's happiness in the new environment of hill does not last long because he dies few days later. He does not have enough time to enjoy his new life. Huxley seems to say that real happiness in this world is difficult to attain. The reason for his quick death is left for the reader to guess. The same can be said to Jonas whose escape is ambiguous; the reader does not know what may happen in his future. Both Huxley and Lowry intends her readers to have an open en. The open end is one of the aspects of dystopian fiction. This open end, which causes an ambiguous effect, is clear in both novels but in different proportions. Each novel leaves out one vital detail that can hardly determine exactly what may happen, leaving the reader to guess what may occur based on his own thoughts and opinions. The story of the dystopian novel is often unresolved even if the hero manages to escape from the dystopian society in which he lives. The reader is not informed about the end of dictatorships of those dystopias. The dystopian protagonists may succeed to escape to a new desired society but they cannot overthrow the totalitarian dystopian society. Why is the dystopian world not overthrown in both novels? The audiences are left to their own conclusions.

The ending of Brave New World is less ambiguous than The Giver

The ending of *Brave New World* is less ambiguous than *The Giver*. When John chooses for himself a new life, his life ends in death. The reason for death in this time in particular is left for the readers' inference. Does this mean that humans must live under control? Or does it mean that freedom is destructive? There is no clear answer. *The Giver* has also an an open ending. When Jonas moves towards the unknown land of Elsewhere, the reader does not know whether the place he is looking for exists or not. This is because Lowry leaves us with the warning that "perhaps it was only an echo." Lowry intentionally writes an ambiguous ending so that

readers can decide for themselves about Jonas' destiny at the end of the novel. She mentions the reason for choosing an ambiguous ending of the novel:

I liked the ambiguity of the ending. The reason is because *The Giver* is many things to many different people. . . . So I don't want to put my own feelings into it, my own beliefs, and ruin that for people who create their own endings in their minds. . . I like people to figure out for themselves. And each person will give it a different ending (Lowry, *Newberry* 130).

The Messages of Dystopian Fiction

As the ending of dystopias is usually ambiguous, there are various messages conveyed to the reader at the end of each novel. Most writers of dystopian fiction usually seek to uncover truth about the plight of the present world by projecting the major expected problems in the future and amplifying them. Most dystopian fiction is often connected with science fiction where imagined technology plays an important role. So one of the messages of science fiction dystopias is that technological advancement must be controlled and must be based on ethical considerations without which there will be disastrous consequences. There is another important warning message about the nature of totalitarianism. Dystopian fiction also attracts people's attention to the current political situation in order to tie them to the political attitudes of their countries. It usually tends to resolute the central conflict by death because there is no life without troubles; and in this world man cannot get rid of all his problems and to live an ideal perfect life.

Huxley's Message

Huxley wrote his novel to transmit a warning message that scientific progress can be dangerous if used incorrectly. The novel explores the dangers of technology and what it can do to a whole world. Huxley's idea is that technology does not have the power to save humanity successfully. So Huxley warns people of the potential dehumanization of man in a technological world in the future. In a 1962 interview, Aldous Huxley, defends his purpose in writing *Brave New World* and warns of a society controlled by the factors that rule his fictional society. He says that the new forces of science and technology, pharmaceutics, and social conditioning could:

iron humans into a kind of uniformity, if you were able to manipulate their genetic background . . . if you had a government unscrupulous enough, you could do these things without any doubt . . . We are getting more and more into a position where these things can be achieved. And it's extremely important to realize this, and to take every possible precaution to see they shall not be achieved. This, I take it, was the message of the book (Goodman 13).

The Giver's Message is Choice is Constructive and absence of choice is destructive

The main message of *The Giver* is that man without freedom, love, family and will is semi-human. For man choice is constructive and not destructive. And this is a shared message with *Brave New World*. Lowry wants also to transmit her clear message that freedom, choice and memory are related and important. So it is impossible for man to have a good life without them. In the novel's conclusion, Jonas sees the lights of a village below the hill. It is very likely that this supposed community is just a conception of fantasy:

All at once he could see lights, and he recognized them now. He knew they were shining through the windows of rooms, that they were the red, blue, and yellow lights that twinkled from trees in places where families created and kept memories, where they celebrated love. ... Suddenly he was aware with certainty and joy that below, ahead, they were waiting for him (Lowy, *Giver* 179–180).

The lights seen by Jonas symbolize the lights of a new civilization that may be better than his dystopian society of *The Giver*.

The Shared Message of the two novels: achieving conformity and sameness is impossible

Both *Brave New World* and *The Giver* share common messages. One of these shared messages is that a genuine normal life is a mixture of happiness and suffering. So man must suffer in order to know true happiness. This means that achieving conformity and sameness in this way of dystopias is impossible. Huxley and Lowry argue that people without sorrow and distress are people without souls. The two novelists describe a world without suffering and a world without soul. They transmit a warning message against the dangers of unethical scientific progress that may do away with the soul of man.

By the end of the two novels—*Brave New World* and *The Giver*—Huxley and Lowry sent a frightening message to the whole world that one day in the future our world might just turn into the World State of *Brave New Wold* or the Community of *The Giver*. In this imagined world, basic human traits such as freedom, love, family, and parents may not exist. Therefore, the two novels describe a real dystopia. Another shared message of the two novels is that humanity is nothing without depth of thought and emotions. Humanity's true happiness and stability can be achieved by intimacy and profound attachment to others, close family ties and a strong sense of people's ability to have power over their destiny.

These messages of the two novels are transmitted through the dystopian protagonists who develop into independent maturing individuals with unique abilities, dreams, and desires. So the two novels can also be seen as an allegory for this process of maturation through which John and Jonas reject their societies where all people are the same to follow their own paths. John in Huxley's *Brave New World* and Jonas in Lowry's *The Giver* are the two main outsiders who find themselves similarly unable to fit into their dystopian societies.

Conclusion

In conclusion both Huxley and Lowry admit—in several talks and interviews—that their novels *Brave New World* and *The Giver* are negative utopias in which they provide frightening visions of the future. Both describe two futuristic societies that have alarming effects of dehumanization. This dehumanization occurs as a result of the absence of basic human qualities such as spirituality, religion, family, love, freedom. This dehumanization occurs also as a result of people's obsession with physical pleasure and finally the misuse of technology.

By eliminating all aspects of variation and diversity in favor of conformity and sameness, the World State in Brave New World and the Community in *The Giver* have rejected the truly utopian possibilities and have turned to truly dystopian societies where people are not free to move society forward. By eliminating the very things that make man human such as the arts, music, literature, culture, freedom, passion and emotion, it is impossible to achieve real conformity and sameness. By eliminating feelings, aspirations, identities, and many other things that make people human, authorities of these dystopias oblige people to live a pointless and meaningless life. A society in which individuality and creativity are eliminated and in which people have no control to make their own choices and form their own lives is not a beneficial society at all. Such a society, if exists, is disadvantageous, unfavourable, unhelpful, unfriendly, bad and consequently dystopian. Finally Brave New World and The Giver are two science fiction dystopias that quest for perfection through achieving conformity and sameness. Such a quest is failure because it is impossible.

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Migration and Its Consequences

Ivan Vasile Ivanoff

ABSTRACT: Migration, as a social phenomenon, has an especially complex character and can be analyzed from the point of view of the state which is the source of the migration as well as from the point of view of the state which is the destination of the migration. Its causes are especially complex but the economic ones are determinant and are fundamentally different of the causes which determine the population to seek refuge in case of armed conflict. The effects of the migration are equally complex and can be analyzed from the point of view of the source states as well as from the point of view of the destination states. This study conducts an applied analysis of the phenomenon regarding a territorial and administrative division from Romania.

KEY WORDS: migration, immigration, emigration, refugee, exodus, causes, consequences, Brexit.

An extraordinary complex phenomenon it has become nowadays an extremely important problem which affects family, the local and international community as well as the states.

If during the communist regime in Romania one could talk about an internal migration, namely of the people from villages towards cities as a consequence of Romania's forced industrialization, an uprooting caused by political and economical factors, nowadays the phenomenon have become so complex and multi-valent that it covers a lot of field approaches.

Thus, the transition from a centralized economy and forced industrialization to a new society based on decentralization and

private property, from a social organization and pyramidal politics to an organization specific to the market economy has led, in consequence, to unprecedented demographic, economic and social movements in Romania's modern history. The fast impoverishment of the population, the lack of capitalist and neoliberal type of education, the mentalities inherited from the previous age which focused on the concept of the all powerful state and stability have created the objective conditions of triggering this migration phenomenon which has consequences no one even dreamed about only a short while ago.

In Romania's case it produced a strong depopulation of the urban communities, especially of the rural ones leading to the rapid aging of the local population amidst the fast and constant demographic decline. The active population migrated massively, especially the young work force but also the highly qualified one (e.g. IT specialists, doctors, architects, researchers, etc). This phenomenon has consequently brought with itself a social and demographic setback. The main causes being the economic and existential ones, however one cannot neglect the other types of causes such as: lack of a professional future, lack of interest from the decision makers, the will to affirm oneself, etc.

The consequences of this phenomenon are extremely complex. Thus on one hand it precisely solves certain existential requests of those who migrate due to economic issues and implicitly offer financial support to those who stayed at home and indirectly to the Romanian state. On the other hand the family relations are irreversibly destroyed by the forced separation of the spouses, of parents and children, of the old people and the young who left, etc. Then the integration of those who left in other moral values, cultural, religious and economic systems is very difficult even more so for the elderly. Social and familial dramas multiply and grow in geometrical progression reaching worrisome proportions. We thus notice on one hand more depressions and mental illnesses for the children who are left alone at home with their grandparents, grand-grandparents or close relatives and on the other the elderly abandonment by the young which completely destroys the patriarchal concept of the Romanian, Balkan and Eastern family in which the grandparents, the children and the grandchildren lived together in harmony.

Migration coupled by the demographic decline constitutes for Romania one of the greatest dangers even for the national security.

On the other hand migration constitutes a deep and important concern for the host countries of this phenomenon. Thus the high number of migrants creates distortions on the local work market force. Even if this phenomenon does bring certain benefits for the host countries, such as economic growth, the overwhelming of the local population by the economic migrants causes a reaction of rejection towards them. If the phenomenon would be scarce and took a long time then the assimilation of the migrants by the local population would have been much more efficient and without collateral consequences. If the economic migration overlaps with the refugee crisis from areas with armed conflicts then we can talk about a real phenomenon which had the Biblical Exodus as a precedent in history. We are talking about the massive relocations of people due to the war in Syria, the millions of refugees in Turkey, the hundreds of thousands in Europe who entered through Greece and Italy, etc. The European Union tried countless times to solve this situation either by implementing obligatory quotas for the member states by the J.A.I. Council, or stopping the breaches at the external borders of Europe, or though agreements with Turkey to keep them on its territory. However it is believed that 'stopping at the source' of the phenomenon is the best way which consists in stopping the war in Syria, helping this country to rebuild after the war and returning its scattered population home. We are talking about a multitude of action plans but the only sure things are the consequences and 'calming the refugee's effects' only represents a temporary fix which does not solve the situation. The EU member states reaction to the obligatory quotas is well known and ranges from total rejection to even leaving the EU. The result of the recent referendum in the United Kingdom regarding the Brexit was determined first of all by the rejection of immigration by this state. The consequences are still unknown and only time will be able to answer the questions that derive from this phenomenon.

Hence migration has long surpassed being addressed only casuistic and in theory making an abrupt entry into the practical and existential sphere of the world's nations and states. At the moment it is one of the phenomena which preoccupy the public opinion most because its effects lead to the deepest existential corners of the human being. We can draw from this never ending dissertations and academic analysis that a 'roman fleuve' would be unable to exhaustively address this problem. An exhaustive analysis of the emigration phenomenon in the current context of the development of civilizations being impossible we propose to catch certain punctual aspects which affect the economic and social life of a county in Romania for which we can make some ascertainments related to the extremely vast topic of migration.

Thus, having as an object of study the Dâmbovița County, we can make certain observations regarding the migration phenomenon.

A longitudinal analysis, in time, having as an object of focus the modern, contemporary, development period of this county I noticed an interesting fluctuation regarding migration.

If prior to 1968, when this area belonged to a larger region and there was no county division of the country, it was a certain lull regarding emigration the population was somewhat stable and the forced industrialization wasn't as stressed. After the county was formed began the massive industrialization of this territory so the population from the country migrated towards the cities and the commute phenomenon was in full swing at the time. Besides the country to cities migration it was also felt the migration from the less industrialized areas of the country towards the more developed ones, and the Dâmbovița County, being a developed area, attracted a lot of work force from other geographical areas of the country. The availability of jobs, the social politics regarding commuting, education, healthcare, made possible this migration without visible negative effects towards the population. It was actually an internal migration, between the same national borders where the cultural and religion impact wasn't significant. Meanwhile the population homogenized and the eventual negative effects of the migration became blurred therefore we cannot discuss about special consequences of the phenomenon.

The Revolution from 1989 completely shifted the paradigm of migration because it led to a total turnover of the value system starting from the base towards the superstructure.

The step by step destruction of the national economy branches, the ineptitude or the lack of economic development strategies of the country, the adaptation of the old mentalities to the new social, political and economic realities resulted pretty fast in the emphasis of the migration phenomenon leading today to severe and even irreversible consequences. With the opening of the national borders and the negotiations regarding our country's integration into the European and Euro-Atlantic organizations, in the previously mentioned context, began the massive depopulation of the county. If in 1990 the county's population was approximately 545.000 people in 2011, at the last census we barely reached 505.000 people. Migration combined with the regressive demographic phenomenon, in the context mentioned above, led to this massive depopulation of the county. In 2007, in Castelion, Spain, alone there were 20.000 people from the Dâmbovita County. This migration led on short term to getting some jobs abroad for those who left and a pretty fragile economic 'stability' of the county. Those working abroad send money to those at home and with that money almost all of them would build houses and buy cars (the Romanian dream from the communist era!). This led not only to choking the traffic in the county's towns but also to environment pollution due to uncontrolled tree cuttings. The irreversible destruction of the economic branches caused the county to transform from a heavy industrialized county into a modest one without a consistent and multilateral industry. Commerce grew unchecked, the rail transport took such a dramatic plunge that some railways came close to being closed with others shutting down permanently (note the industrial lines or even the civilian ones such as the railroad connecting the town of Moreni to the rest of the county!)

Beyond the economic aspects mentioned above, the social, moral and cultural ones are dramatic. The number of divorces grew exponentially through attacking the families separated by the flux of the economic migration. The number of births lowered, the number of deaths grew and the social phenomena diversified and amplified. Thus the number of children left in the care of their grandparents or close relatives grew a lot and depression and mental illness among children and your people became alarmingly high. Moreover the villages in the county are old and the elderly people left without the support of their children who went abroad to work, find themselves into an unprecedented existential helplessness.

In this dramatic context the local and county authorities find themselves in the position of solving an unprecedented situation so their decisions are sometimes ungainly and inefficient. Thus they try to attract foreign investments and several remarkable steps have already been achieved for this successfully privatizing the Special Steels Enterprise from Târgoviște and the Fridge Factory from Gănești by bringing the Renault Technologic Centre to Titu, and creating industrial parks so that in the last few years the local migration phenomenon slowed down a bit because of that. On the other hand a lot of people from the county who are working abroad plan on coming back when they retire so they invest in small family business to assure them a certain existential comfort. Moreover it was tried in Castelion, for example, until the Romanian state formed a consulate in that town, to form a county representative to serve as a gathering place for those abroad, a centre for documentation and enlightenment as well as an office to resolve certain marital status issues. More so, even the church got involved by financing and orthodox church in Castelion where those who ended up on these lands can satisfy their spiritual need according to the cultural and moral Romanian tradition.

We don't know what the future holds, but the issues mentioned above are far from being resolved. We hope for a reflux of those who migrated abroad. For this the economic policies for attracting the work force will continue and will be on the agenda of the local public authorities. On the other hand the national mental collective as well as the dâmbovițean one rejects the very idea of receiving on our territory the refugees that are to be relocated to Romania. Perhaps it is a paradox for a people that knows the migration phenomenon rejects the idea of receiving other nationalities on its territory, however the media coverage of the bomb attacks, the savagery of terrorism, the religious and spiritual gap between Romanians and Muslims lead to such concussions. The Romania people's tolerance is well known, the peaceful living together in Dobrogea between Romanians, Turks and Tatars is already a good example, however the acceptance of the obligatory quota is heavily rejected. Speaking about good manners and tolerance. The fact that the Romanian orthodox people voted for president a German ethnic by evangelical faith says a lot! Such examples can be multiplied and prove the aforementioned assertion.

In conclusion migration is and will continue to be a long while from now a complex problem. Right now it even affects the national security and the public policies to stop or diminish the phenomenon are not quite strong enough to lead to a massive reversibility of the phenomenon.

Are National Identities Artificial?

Marian Gh. Simion

ABSTRACT: This paper outlines the debate over the artificiality of national identities by attempting to explore questions such as: What are national identities? How are they created? And, who is involved in creating them? If they are modern creations then why do their adherents insist they are ancient? If they are created what are the goals of their creators. This debate is increasingly relevant in the context of migration and integration; a phenomenon that primarily seems to affect the Global North.

KEY WORDS: custom, ethnicity, identity, nationalism, tradition

The central image used in defining globalization was oriented toward a descriptive model which pointed to "a process, a condition, a system, a force and an age,"¹ that affected not only the social, economic, political, cultural and environmental conditions of humanity, but also national identities. Triggered by conflict as well as by economic hardship, the current transnational migration will most likely resurrect the lingering debates over identity, particularly as numerous migrants become resistant to being integrated into the host nation.

Artificiality of National Identities: The Debate

The need for a debate over the artificiality of national identities was apparently enunciated in 1969 by Fredrik Barth, in his introduction

to a multi-authored collection of essays titled, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference*. Yet, the real debate erupted only after the publication of *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, by Benedict Anderson, in 1983.

At his time, Fredrik Barth did not see nationalism as an artificially created identity, but as a persistent cultural trait which can't be subjected to development. To his credit, he was able to challenge the common tendency expressed by the sociologists who associated nationalism with modernization, and saw it as a trait of the political culture, and not as something embedded into the cultural psyche.

In his call to challenge this status quo, Fredrik Barth stated that, "the constitution of ethnic groups, and the nature of boundaries between them, has not been correspondingly investigated."² On this same occasion he emphasized that while boundaries between ethnic groups can disappear, identities do not. His argument was based on three approaches such as:

1) the contention that ethnic groups are categories of ascription and identification by the actors themselves;

2) the existence of a clear process in generating and maintaining ethnic groups; and

3) the focus on ethnic boundaries and boundary maintenance.³

Nevertheless, the debate over the artificiality of national identities gained serious impetus with Benedict Anderson's provocative book *Imagined Communities*, published in 1983. Unlike, with the contemporary waves of cultural primordialism advocated by political scientists such as Samuel Huntington (who considers identity as a given),⁴ Benedict Anderson is a constructivist *par excellance*, considering identity as a learned, mutable concept. In defining the artificiality of national identity, Anderson contends that this is

imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion.⁵

Because of this imagined community, people create imaginary bounds of commonalities with other people, whom they neither met nor will they ever, but treat them, in their minds, as extended family.

During the past three decades, numerous scholars such as Walker Connor, Loring Danforth, Michael Hechter, Donald Howowitz, David Laitin, Amílcar Antonio Barreto, Mila Dragojević, and others have produced seminal works on various aspects of nationalism that either expanded Anderson's typology or looked into adjacent issues. This demonstrates that Anderson's ideas are still widely accepted in defining nationalism as an imagined political community, sovereign and inherently limited, which took shape with the deconstruction of the belief in a divinely-ordained ruing class. Furthermore, it is widely accepted that nationalism took shape in the post-Westphalian context, which created a shift of focus of sacredness from a universal (often religious) language (e.g. Latin), to an indigenous language spoken and understood by all. This development was ignited by the idea of simultaneity generated by the development of the 18th century's print media (novel and newspaper), which created virtual bonds amongst people. Thus, the script language infused the concept of sacredness to a national language, while the idea of a centripetal center of authority infused the ideas of sovereignty and self-determination.

The development of the print-languages had several consequences, as it created new unified fields of communication, gave fixity to a language through the creation of grammar and dictionary, and infused a nation's historicity. Certain dialects dominated the fixity of language, endorsing a sense of group superiority that stays at the basis of nation-state.

Benedict Anderson's work offered new paradigms which have clarified numerous ambiguities of self-identification. Moreover, Anderson offered new tools that became the basic guidelines in the development of surveys related to people's self-identifications and self-attachment to imagined communities.

As the debate over the artificiality of national identities erupted, a new volume of essays edited by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger was published under the title *The Invention of Tradition*, challenging the claim of tradition's "ancientness" as a marker of identity. As expected, this new volume fueled the debate over the artificiality of national identities, as it challenged the claim of ancientness of certain British customs used as instruments in reclaiming the royalty's vanishing glory. The strongest debate surrounded the issue of *custom* versus *tradition*. A *custom* was defined as a local habit emergent from resource availability and with no real historical backing, whereas *tradition* was defined as a cultural continuity of beliefs, principles and social attitudes, of unknown precise historical origins. This controversy erupted over an inferred British claim of uncontestable historicity of certain customs, when, in fact, these were invented no earlier than the nineteenth century. This included the use of the quilt, the creation of new Indian princes, and the use of the parades.

A Scottish invention, the quilt became representative of the British army then soon turned into a symbol of loyalty. As one would argue, this is but one example of a "law of unanticipated consequences," whereby a Scottish folkloric tradition is transplanted and turned into a symbol of loyalty.

In distinguishing between tradition and custom, Hobsbawm writes that tradition

must be distinguished clearly from 'custom' which dominates so-called 'traditional' societies. The object and characteristic of 'traditions,' including invented ones, is invariance. The past, real or invented, to which they refer, imposes fixed (normally formalized) practices, such as repetition. 'Custom' in traditional societies has the double function of motor and fly-wheel. It does not preclude innovation and change up to a point, though evidently the requirement that it must appear compatible or even identical with precedent imposes substantial limitations on it.⁶

While Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger challenged the 19th century British construction of symbolic and ceremonial traditions, Patrick Geary, in his book *The Myth of Nations*, attempted to deconstruct the nationalist myths of the European nations. He added to the debate the existence of three stages in the creation of imagined communities in Central and Eastern Europe such as:

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1) the study of language, culture and history;

2) interpretation and promotion of 'national' writings by patriots; and

3) the apogee, whereby a national movement reaches its peak.⁷

These aspects have, in fact, been the key basis the nationalist doctrine and of national identity.

National Identity: Its Creation, Its Actors and Their Goal

The concept of nation (and national identity) was based on the myth of a common descent and on the idea of a shared identity linking the elite and the masses. Historically, the promoters of the concepts of *nation* and *nationalism* were the members of the middle class elites, such as intelligentsia, merchants, landlords, and various types of professionals including lawyers, military men, local and provincial functionaries.⁸

The intellectuals were professionals with access both to the ruling class and to the peasants. This status quo had enabled the intellectuals to comprehend both classes well enough to be able to communicate and generate new ideologies about identity. As the intellectuals claimed to be the legitimate representatives of the peasants—or "the dominant group's deputies" in Gramsci's words⁹—the intellectuals placed their efforts in the creation of a hegemonic belief which was to become dominant. Once a new ideology was transformed into a societal consciousness of identity, and thus turned hegemonic, this new ideology became a dominant concept of identity, which was in a permanent need of being restated, reassured, and defended by the intellectuals against any possible detractors; thus securing their control over political power.

Viewed differently, the members of the middle class were the only ones who had enough confidence to challenge the legitimacy of the ruling class, and also able to understand and maintain ties with the lower class. Therefore, in order to usurp the authority of the ruling class, the intellectuals invented artificial bounds so as to create a sense of community that would easily respond to certain incentives and unite against an oppressive ruling class. Another element that is defended by the elite was their strategic association with traditional values and with pre-existing folk beliefs that were already hegemonic. This was rather a utilitarian strategic use by the intelligentsia, yet endowed with great outcome.

As Benedict Anderson explains, in Central and South America, nationalism was ignited not by the Indians, but by the Europeans immigrants who wanted to break away from Europe. More to the point, in the case of 19th century Puerto Rico, as Amílcar Barreto explains, the "*criollo* elites began constructing a new identity that glorified local customs and accentuated the *jíbaro*—the island's mountain peasant—as the paradigmatic Puerto Rican."¹⁰ Once being the lower class of European society, the new immigrants seeking a better life in America, soon became empowered by what the New World had to offer, turning themselves into a strong middle class elite, and manifesting strong tendencies of self-sufficiency.

As Hobsbawm and Ranger explain, the creators of British nationalism were the London inhabitants of Welsh origins who, once financially accomplished in the new place, turned nostalgic about their origins. Nevertheless, the intelligentsia made use of tradition not only as nostalgia but also as a self-defense mechanism directed against modernity. Consequently, the local legends, symbols and songs, bearing the slightest community–related theme, were often redefined and retransmitted, this time with a heavy impetus of a glorious past. As in the British case, the dragon became the symbol of Whales, while the song writers expressed real opposition to modernity, often invoking Druidic elements.

Moreover, the British cooptation and even "invention" of new Indian princes, was used as a symbolic act to create new ties between India and the British Empire. Towards this goal, the British invented new ceremonies that were neither Indian nor British, yet crafted for the purpose of creating a new national identity.

As Hobsbawm himself surveys the development of mass traditions in Europe up to the First World War, he finds that the strongest symbolic elements in creating national identities are festivals, holidays, monuments, stamps, sports and schools associated with nationalism, the labor movement, and the rising middle classes. Additionally, as Anderson points out, national identity is created also through symbols that the members of a community could identify with, such as the symbol of the *Tomb of the Unknown Soldier*, meant to respect the heroism of an imagined community.

As the first national identity was credited to the French revolution, this was promoted and advanced through the Napoleon's Wars. Quoting from Etienne Bonnot de Condillac—who is credited for having argued that 'each language expresses the character of the people who speak it'—Patrick Geary makes strong efforts to demonstrate that the objectification of language was the backbone of creating national identity; thus acknowledging the strong contribution made by the German linguists.¹¹ Furthermore, Geary holds the ethno-archaeology accountable for creating a false sense of historicity.

In the case of the 1995 debate over the 50 anniversary of WWII, which raised the question of displaying the fuselage of the *Enola Gay*—the airplane which dropped the atomic bomb in Hiroshima and Nagasaki—heated debates surrounded the issue of American national identity. This unfortunate debate, which emerged into a political rage detonated at that time by the ultraconservative House Speaker, Newt Gingrich, demonstrated that the invention of the American nation is still an open-ended experiment.¹² This is so because—as Amílcar Barreto explains—in the US the "dominant social groups have emphasized some cultural traits over others."¹³

Another goal of the nationalists is the creation of cultural boundaries as a way of safeguarding identity, as well as an ideological sense of protecting one's kin. These boundaries are acclaimed to be both physical and ideological. As language is an obvious factor of identity, this has often fueled claims for boundaries, as in the case of the Quebecoise nationalist ideology.¹⁴

Modernity and Why History

Nationalism is a modern phenomenon that uses history more as an ideological tool, and less as a narrative of past events. Nationalists often link their identity to a glorious legendary past, which in

numerous instances, this either did not exist, or if it did so, it existed for a short period of time. Because of this ideology, nationalists often dream of the "greater" country. Often, nationalist elites claim symbolic identities, which their ancestors never had, as in the case of the European elite in Mexico using Aztec symbols. Yet, it is important to specify that these Aztec symbols were romanticized and appropriated only after the real threat of the Aztecs has been completely eliminated.

As Eric Hobsbawm writes,

[m]ore interesting, from our point of view, is the use of ancient materials to construct invented traditions of a novel type for quite novel purposes. A large store of such materials is accumulated in the past of any society, and an elaborate language of symbolic practice and communication is always available. Sometimes new traditions could be readily grafted on old ones, sometimes they could be devised by borrowing from the well-supplied warehouse of official ritual, symbolism and moral exhortation - religion and princely pomp, folklore and freemasonry (itself an earlier invented tradition of great symbolic force).¹⁵

Derivative of ancient myths, Patrick Geary tries to demonstrate that modern nations which link their past to ancient myths are purely wrong, since the elites borrow ancient myths to gain popularity and political support to advance their political interests. In other words, the elites act mainly as primordialists by appropriating existing narratives.

As the debate over the artificiality of national identities went beyond Anderson's theoretical backdrop, new case studies made serious attempts to demonstrate this theory.

One tendency was not just to deconstruct, but rather to question the so called claims for "ancientness" of customs and traditions that were once considered taboos. This is a case not only raised by Hobsbawm and Ranger in *The Invention of Tradition*, but also a case strongly argued by Patrick Geary's recent book *The Myth of Nations*. The authors of the essays contend that many so called "traditional" practices—particularly those related to public ceremonial—are in fact quite recent inventions, often deliberately constructed to instrumentalize particular ideologies. As Eric Hobsbawm writes in the introduction of the volume, "[n]othing appears more ancient and linked to an immemorial past, than the pageantry which surrounds British monarchy in its public ceremonial manifestations."¹⁶

In conclusion a nation is an imagined political community, created by the elites through a unified language and myths of common ancestry; both used for objective and utilitarian reasons so as to foster a shift of power from the ruling class to the intelligentsia.

NOTES

¹ Manfred B. Steger, *Globalization: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 7.

² Fredrik Barth, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference* (Long Grove, IL: Waveland Press, 1969), 9.

³ Barth, Ethnic Groups and Boundaries, 10.

⁴ Samuel P. Huntington, *Who Are We? The Challenges to America's National Identity* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2004.

⁵ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1981), 15.

⁶ Eric Hobsbawm, Terence O. Ranger (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 2.

⁷ Patrick J. Geary, *The Myth of Nations: The Medieval Origins of Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 17-18.

⁸ Cf. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 51, as well as Amílcar Barreto, *Language, Elites, and the State: Nationalism in Puerto Rico and Quebec* (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 1998), 23, and Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1971), 131.

⁹ Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, 12.

¹⁰ Barreto, *Language, Elites, and the State*, 22.

¹¹ Geary, *The Myth of Nations*, 25-34.

¹² T. Fujitani, Geoffrey M. White, Lisa Yoneyama (Eds.) *Perilous Memories: The Asia-Pacific War(s)*

(Durham, London: Duke University Press, 2001), 324.

¹³ Barreto, *Language, Elites, and the State*, 23.

¹⁴ Richard Handler, *Nationalism and the Politics of Culture in Quebec* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988), 58.

¹⁵ Hobsbawm, Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition*, 6.

¹⁶ Ibid., 1.

The Phenomenon of Migration in Contemporary Society Viewed from a Religious Perspective

Ioan Lucian Răcilă

ABSTRACT: The migration phenomenon has always existed in our world, fluctuating by the historic context, the economic, political, social and demographic disparities between the Central and East European countries and the EU Member States, the interdependencies between the origin and receiving countries and the European integration process evolutions. In the European Union, an integrated and inclusive approach of the migration issue is necessary. But a common policy regarding world migration rests on an ambitious objective. A common approach of the economic migration management and the harmonization of the migration policies of the Member States represented a challenge for the European Union and will become urgent in the future, especially due to the demographic ageing.

KEY WORDS: migration, society, religion, Islam.

Introduction

Migration is not a new concept, but it has existed since the beginnings of mankind. The phenomenon has not stopped in time, but has changed and acquired new forms. Migration processes are conducted simultaneously, are increasing in many countries of the world and behaves in a completely unexpected. One of the long term results of this development could be the emergence of

multicultural societies, tending toward new concepts of citizenship or national state.

Most developed countries have become diversified companies, multiethnic, and those who have not yet reached this level turned decisively in this direction. For researchers in the field of migration has become increasingly clear that this phenomenon should be seen as normal and structural element of human society throughout history.

An important characteristic of the population is moving from one place to another. The right to move was recognized globally for over half a century by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Declaration stipulates in Article 13: "Everyone has the right to move freely and to reside in the territory of any State" and "Everyone has the right to leave a country, including the home, and to return to his country".¹

CNN Analysis on the Migration of Syrian Refugees²

TURKEY: 1.9 million immigrants

Remarkably, this country accommodates nearly half of the total number of Syrian refugees and, clearly, is more than it can bear. Turkey is the number 1 of these displaced families. And geography can be an explanation, because Turkey and Syria share borders.

LEBANON: 1.1 million immigrants

Influx of refugees in Libya is so great that the country's population of 4.4 million grew by 25%. And this country is neighboring with Syria.

JORDAN: 629 000 immigrants

Jordan offers shelter to a large number of refugees from Syria, Iraq, Somalia and Sudan, but the Syrians are the majority in the population of refugees, according to the United Nations. Moreover, Jordan has a history of this—about half the population of 7 million people being of Palestinian origin. However, the arrival of the Syrians can cause problems with resources and "could have a negative impact on public opinion in Jordan, regarding the situation of refugees," says the UN. About 20% of immigrants Syrians are now sheltering in camps.

IRAQ: 249,000 refugees

Like Syria, Iraq was the target of attacks launched by Islamic State — a terrorist group that conquered parts of both countries in order to establish their own Islamic caliphate. However, it is not surprising that many Syrian refugees receded in northern areas such as Irbil, Duhuk and Nineveh, which are closest to the Syrian border and a majority Kurdish population, the UN says.

On the other hand, the situation of Syrian refugees in Iraq is a little ironic, given that, at some point, Iraqis were the ones that took refuge in Syria. Around 38% of Syrian refugees are living in camps in Iraq, according to US Department of State.

EGYPT: 132,000 refugees

Egypt made a discordant note on how the Middle East countries deal with refugees. Specifically, there is no refugee staying in a camp. In fact, an Egyptian billionaire, Naguib Sawiris, one of the richest men in the region, has offered to buy an island for refugees. He could buy an island in Greece or Italy, and that island would be named Hope.

Countries which have applied for asylum Syrians:³

GERMANY: 98 700 applications

SWEDEN: 64700 applications

FRANCE: 6700 applications

UK: 7000 applications

DENMARK: 11,300 applications

HUNGARY: 18,800 applications

Syrian refugees have made several requests for asylum in other parts of Europe, between April 2011 and July 2015 as follows:

- Romania: 2292 applications
- Spain: 5500 applications
- Netherlands: 14,100 applications
- Austria: 18600 applications
- Switzerland: 8300 applications
- Bulgaria: 15000 applications
- Italy: 2,143 applications
- Greece: 3543 applications

The Official Position of the US and Canada

Approximately 1,500 Syrian refugees were admitted to the United States, most of them since January, but a State Department official said the number could increase in 2016.

Regarding Canada, over 2,370 Syrian refugees arrived in this country in January 2014. The government promised in January that it will accept 10,000 Syrian refugees over a period of 3 years, according to Toronto Sun. Since then, 1074 refugees arrived in Canada.

AUSTRALIA announced that it will accommodate 12,000 migrants, which exceeds the maximum number accepted in Australia through humanitarian programs, set at 13750 per year. Also, the country plans to spend 44 million dollars for food, blankets and emergency supplies to ensure the livelihoods of 240,000 people who are in refugee camps.

In contrast, other rich countries such as Russia, Japan, Singapore and South Korea have offered zero places for Syrians fleeing war — Amnesty International says.

Also, wealthy Gulf Arab countries do not accept any refugee:

- Saudi Arabia: 0
- United Arab Emirates: 0
- Kuwait: 0
- Qatar: 0
- Bahrain: 0

The conclusion of the study conducted by CNN highlights the growing crisis of Syrian refugees and the differences that have arisen between the countries that welcome these desperate people with open arms and those who refuse to open their borders. It is also understandable that the rich countries of the Arabian Gulf have not solidarity with their fellow Syrians, and there are many questions about how Europe will look like in a few decades, when these immigrants will have become citizens of the respective states and will influence social, political and especially religious life.

It outlines a threefold fundamental question of religious freedom in the context of the current religious phenomenon: Islam will absorb Christianity in Europe? Reverse? Or survive together, both? European specificity involves a kind of partnership between state and church, and "identity politics has become the central feature of the European political landscape in this century,"⁴ while the European Union has itself become a source of identity or identities.⁵

The Role of Religious Symbols and Practices in Contemporary Education

Few people really realize the immense power a symbol possesses, because we cannot understand the history and evolution, we think simplistic or stereotypical or just realize that the symbol existed at a certain time in history. We truly understand some of its mystery, only when we recognize the eternal substance, because the symbols, which are universal expressions of the sacred refers to the primordial, or definitely statements about the human condition: birth, initiation, sexuality, death. So that "in one time or another in history a symbol can pass under the shadow of silence (sometimes surprising), while another may burst downright incendiary."⁶

Although most symbols are universal, there are a number of specific symbols for each culture. Various symbolic elements are characteristics of human existence, leading to a combination of ordinary and supernatural.

Specific cultural symbols.

If some symbols are universal, most of them present cultural specifics and individuals' existence is determined by these symbols. Thus, since the early ages of life the meaning of various symbols and representations is learned. This learning process is done using elements such as icons for primitive populations, or symbolic signs: the cross, the lamb and the fish for Christians or crescent and the Star of David. By learning, when the individual will face that symbol, the religious sentiment will be implicitly generated.

Consumption or prohibition of consuming certain foods are also linked to religious symbolism. In numerous religions, some plants and animals fulfill a symbolic function, religiously relevant. Thus, certain foods are prohibited of consuming or consuming them is allowed only under certain circumstances, but mainly in a religious context. For example, in India it is known that the cow is a sacred animal so its meat cannot be consumed. For Hindus, the cow is "revered as a symbol of warmth, as the mother of earth, milk producer and indirectly of ghi (Butter–N, N.), essentially for sacrifices.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, through specific activities undertaken by representatives of the London Missionary Society, the celebration of Christmas came to be known even by the Tswana tribes. Subsequently, the local substrate was merged with the Occidental one, spreading to the pastoral Bantu populations, even in the most isolated regions of the Kalahari.

The natives' perception about Christmas was restricted to the idea that it would signify the birthday of the god-head of the white men. To the amalgamation of local and Western traditions contributed a Tswana Custom–Herero tradition which consisted in sacrificing a bull for their Bushman neighbors, as an annual gesture of good intentions. The bull began to be identified with Christmas. Since the 30s of last century, every time in December is held a meeting of Bushmen for marketing cattle and settling marriages.⁷

Throughout history we grasp a series of violent conflicts around religious symbols. There are many examples that could be mentioned here, but a good example is the order of the Moscow Patriarch, Nicon in 1653. The stake was whether believers must make the sign of the cross with two fingers (symbolizing the dual nature of Christ) or three–finger (symbolizing the Trinity). However, most of them preferred to endure a terrible persecution, only not to abandon the ancient tradition of making the cross sign with the thumb and forefinger together.

Even Tsar Peter the Great (1682–1725), in his huge effort of westernization of Russia, was linked to the ancient symbols. He was forcing his subjects to wear European suits and smoke. He ordered that the beards of the boyars must be cut, and, if necessary, he would

cut them himself. Another particularly strong symbol: ancestral laws were punishing the one who snatched someone else's bear by paying 12 coins and only 5 coins for a man who killed a peasant without reason.

When the great leader Ataturk Kernal wanted to modernize Turkey after World War I, not only he imposed the introduction of European digits, alphabet and calendar, but he also prohibited wearing a fez instead of a traditional "hat" to the "hat".

Also, neither the history of France is not exempted from the fight against symbols of overloaded significance, but also the contemporary period is loaded with tensions regarding religious symbols: The Islamic hijab etc. During the French Revolution, from 1792 it was prohibited wearing ecclesiastical clothes, and the authorities were confiscating anything with bronze (crucifixes, pews, angels, devils, etc.) to turn them into cannons. During the terror, the cemeteries were left without any religious symbol. To prove that the old regime and the old times had been abolished, the Christian calendar is replaced by the Republican calendar, which inaugurates a new era with the first year.⁸

Wearing Religious Clothes or Symbols

Various religious people often feel forced by their religion, or have a religious motivated desire to wear religious symbols, religious attire or other symbols that constitute proof of their membership of a particular religion. As practices that espouse some individuals religious, I could mention: wearing a turban and kirpan (the religious knife) by Indian Sikhs, the adoption of the dreadlocks hairstyle by Rastafariens, wearing a hijab (Islamic veil) by Muslim and Hebrew women, kipa for the Hebrew men and wearing the cross by Christian religionists. Also, even members of the same religion may hold different opinions about the rules of their religion in such cases.

Even the UN Human Rights Committee have legitimized that exposure of religious symbols or wearing religious clothing or head coverings is a manifestation of religion to be protected by international law.⁹ If we analyze the veil headwear on women, it seems that it is imposed at the beginnings of Christianity, being about a submission gesture from it. Decisions about the form of the vestments and religious symbols should be taken individually, in principle. In a UN report on freedom of expression of religion, the police chief of Iran said that "in 2006 more than one million women were sanctioned because of how they were wearing the hijab, and 10 000 of these were accused of violating the dress code.¹⁰

We could say that these coercive measures are limiting religious freedom of the people involved and at the same time signifies a serious violation of freedom of expression and women's rights.

In some European countries, it is developing an opposite phenomenon: women who want to wear the veil, are forbidden to wear it and the places where it can be worn are becoming fewer. Recently, there have been efforts to implement even more coercive measures, that prevent women from wearing the Hijab in public places in France, Belgium and Italy. There is a modern school of thought which says that wearing the veil is not required by Islam, yet there are even more schools of thought who say the contrary.

The most serious arguments justifying restrictions on attire and religious symbols could be:

- Security or public safety. Sometimes these restrictions are justified and quite accurate by not allowing the Sikhs students to wear religious knives with them. In Canada, the Islamic veil is associated with the extremist Islamic fundamentalism.
- Wearing the Hijab is incompatible with women's rights. Wearing it is considered a synonym with the alienation of women.
- Wearing robes and religious symbols are worn often due to pressure by religious leaders, but not willingly.

Prayer, Education and Religious Practice in Schools

Freedom of expression and religion take a new look when placed in the context of public institutions, especially in schools, prisons or army, where some participants may have very little freedom to escape the forms of religious speech or other forms of expression that they even find offensive.

School environments have proven to be real controversial battlefields for freedom of religion and expression. Various teachers and students who spend many hours in school, have a desire to express their religion in different ways: by wearing dresses or religious symbols, prayer or participation in other forms of religious expression, such as religious meditation or Bible reading.

Sometimes even parents and children, may require the school to teach personal religious values or doctrine or exclude school subjects included in the curriculum which, in their view, could undermine the religious teachings. On the other hand, other teachers, parents or students may be hostile to all these forms of religious expression and may feel bothered by them.

It is quite difficult to maintain a balance between the two sides, especially in institutions like school, because there can be a wider context of religious pluralism. Usually, it is accepted that forcing students to participate in religious practices or imposing the participation in sectarian religious education or other forms of religious expression represents a serious violation of human rights in contemporary society.

Also in schools it is forbidden to recommend religion by using prayer, meditation, reading of religious incantations, even if participation is voluntary.

Institutions of United Nations Human Rights focused on the issue of religious freedom, without taking into account the neutrality clause factor of the state towards any religion, a complex factor. They allowed religious education, as long as parents and students, adopt an honest way and not an overwhelming one not to participate in those subjects. European Court of Human Rights has been more open to the idea that the ability to participate or not in the religion classes in schools is enough to protect students' rights and to protect them from pressures or serious social difficulties that such a situation can generate.¹¹

God Nowadays: The Return to the Triad Jerusalem, Athens, Rome

In the history of the Judeo–Christian–Islamic God is Creator, Lawgiver, Saviour, Mediator and King, and the three monotheistic religions are claiming all from the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob–in Judaism and Christianity; Ismael in Islam.

If we look closely at religious values or cultural history which was built on Judeo–Christian tradition, it requires an ascertainment: in Europe, the Synagogue on one hand and the Church on the other hand, have both taken the representation of and almighty God, creator, guide and savior of the world, who is revealed and intervenes in human events anytime, through those who are in this world. Amid this unfolds all European culture.

In modern times, issues such as differentiation and empowerment of values have increased continuously to create the impression of a plurality where each value becomes a purpose in itself. Many thinkers who are cultivating conceptual exercises, think that they are deprived of any moral, civic or political significance, but they feel if they do not pay attention to values of this nature.

If a number of politicians understand new democracy only as a leader selection technique or simply as a framework for their ascent to decision roles, applied in richer countries;¹² as well as some economists, cannot seize beyond the interdependence of indicators, more than formal processes sides satisfactory for themselves. It is well defined and ingrained among scientists, the conviction that what they do means isolation, without any mistake, in the search for truth.

Meanwhile, due to differentiation and empowerment of values, it was created a conscience—that passes for many people as reality—a detachment of values when under the pressure of reality, researchers realized that they meet evil purposes, when amoral

politicians feel discovered, when economists are forced to admit that their formalisms generate impoverishment, when scientific analysts are forced to admit that what they do is understood more deeply by those who oppose oversimplification.

Differentiation and autonomy of values are affirmed and promoted today as positive processes, the only way to provide any of the chosen values.

The need for a unitary consciousness of values, which we feel today, in the age of globalization, more than in previous decades cannot be restored by the simple rhetorical proclamation of interdependencies values.

"Christianity is above all not a moral but a hope, not ethics, but eschatology. Together with the word 'God' in our soul has been put something that deeply worries us. We should not indulge in any case, to adapt to this shorthand pragmatic benchmarks of justice."¹³

Making from religion today—in the era of expansion unprecedented science, of multiplication unparalleled of philosophical perspectives, of the most daring intellectual initiatives, globalization sciences, trade, communications—the main foundation may seem an act of forcedly bringing in present a form of spiritual life not only ancient but also inevitably having the patina of time. The blaming on religion asynchrony can be reached by rushed people, unaware, uninformed, those without a minimum reflexivity; so the problem is not to reject this allegation, but to take it seriously. Some modern scholars, consider that there is also an asynchrony of productive nature, necessary to the contemporary period.

There is a high level regarding the difficult situations on Western countries. The Christian religion has been in existence for over two millenniums, as its asynchrony, within the meaning of another era of origin is striking; on the other hand, in social life religion is often used to decorate occasions, such as a security ideology.

Certainly, "religion is a phenomenon of asynchrony, a patina phenomenon, which still today many who consider themselves religious use it only festive and too little serious and radical."¹⁴ On the one hand we have the "systematic lingering" in asynchrony or freezing into theologies developed sometime in the past; on the other hand, it is trying the abolition of religious asynchrony and turning it into a kind of "civic religion," adapted to the present time; another approach of the religious asynchrony in the contemporary theology consists of "theological attempt to retrieve and process the creator nature of religious asynchrony."¹⁵

When we refer to contemporary asynchrony practicing Christians, this is not a backwardness but a questioning manner and oriented on the change of reality under the impact of religion. So, the future is born not just by synchrony, often superficial, of modernity, but also by its productive asynchrony, as the religion.

Missionary by its very being, religion has never neglected social implementing of its soteriological and eschatological content.

At the beginning of the third millennium of Christianity, social, political, economic, cultural, etc. issues, cannot be considered to be situated in a parallel plan to ecclesial life. The role and task of religion and implicitly, the Christian religion in the new global missionary context become increasingly more difficult, but not impossible.

The concern of Christian churches and other contemporary religions, accorded to communion and social fraternity, shows that all dogmas and creeds need to emphasize and lead to the encounter between God and the world, to understanding the social–political reality by people of faith perspective and from the presence of God in the world, an explosion of values on all of its plans (social, cultural, political, economic, etc.) in a universal–human and perfect way. In this way, the social doctrine of Christianity is not only Christians, but the entire human society.

The crisis of contemporary Christianity is about the valor order, which is a result or a long-term effect of "social Hellenization." By Hellenization we can understand taking over late Greek philosophy and its implementation in Christianity, which resulted in the universalization of Christianity and even produced a self-alienation process of Christianity. Starting in year 70 d. AD., with the overthrow of the Temple of Jerusalem and the dispersion of Jews throughout the world, the Jewish religious values began to dilute increasingly more, being replaced by Greek philosophies; Even the Bible is interpreted more Greek than Hebrew, and the center of gravity on religious values is moved from Jerusalem to Athens. It is fetched the Greek representation of cosmos and it is implemented in the biblical act of creation according to the Hebrew thinking, it is fetched the stoic representation of unitary world, which places the man before it with his goals and the wisdom of Solomon, the man ceases to be a result of divine creation, in the biblical sense, but participates in the logos. All Greek philosophy topics are converted on Christianity's arena. The famous Cardinal Ratzinger draws attention to this Hellenization and notes that today the triangle of Jerusalem, Athens, Rome must be restored, with three sides and three angles and that no angle should be blunt, but the greek thinking has blunt other angles.

The effects of alienation from Judaism to Christianity was felt most strongly in the occurrence of the Jewish Holocaust. The association between the reaction of Christianity to Judaism and the pagan reaction to hebrews Christian was the background of mutual alienation, in which each contributed in time. Most contemporary thinkers advocates for a recovery of this triangle and I could show you some of their arguments in favor of this triangle, Jerusalem, Athens, Rome:¹⁶

- It could enable better responses to the fundamental issues of Christianity in today's crisis of values, to the need to reaffirm the potential of Judeo–Christian tradition where is based the Euro–American civilization, to the need of Judeo–Christian– Muslim trialogue, etc.
- It would allow the reaffirmation of the native Christian commitment and would trigger certain needs or matters of faith which today are just pure formalisms.
- It would bring the basic intellectual structures, under the ethics of justice and love of your neighbor, which is otherwise the main source of moral renewal.
- It would re-edify strength to the Western values, so outdated today, uniting the too dispersed resources of the grandiose Judeo–Christian traditions.
- It would provide the ground for theological research and solutions that enable the trialogue to completely come out from the parallel monologues stage and go into the point where it would realize common origins.

- It would provide a better basis for formulating appropriate articles religious affiliation in Europe without reducing its Western component and without reducing the spiritual disclosure of European culture.
- It would provide a basis for making the solidarity Europe–U.S., an effective spiritual force, of which today's world, marked by individualism and relativism, needs.

Conclusion

Migration has existed since ancient times, recording, however, different intensities from one historical stage to another and developing new forms. In the European Union, free movement of workers was one of the first citizens' rights recognized by Community law. However, EU Member States have experienced similar situations in terms of migration, adopting different positions and policies on the immigrants.

As a result, the European Union, establishing a common policy on migration remains an ambitious goal. It is likely, however, that the demographic decline in the European Union, whose consequences will arise in the future, to change attitudes on migration in the Member States. The link between demographic change and migration policies will be an important issue in the near future. Economic migration has an important role to meet the needs of the European labor market. In addition, the developed regions of the world compete in attracting immigrants to cover economic needs. For these reasons, it needs a policy on economic migration worldwide. A joint management of economic migration and the harmonization of migration policies of the Member States is one of the most important challenges of migration in contemporary society.¹⁷

When referring to the term "terrorism", we automatically think of Islamic international terrorism, but we ignore very much all criminal acts and all aspects of domestic terrorism, found in all European countries. It is enough to open any newspaper and see all forms of social violence: vandalism, hooliganism, skinhead attacks, racism, neo-Nazi groups and even acts such as armed attacks in schools.¹⁸ Islam came to promote the principles of freedom; freedom of religion, thought, expression, etc. Islam rejected people's enforcement to believe even in its message. The Qur'an says regarding freedom of religion, "Let there be no compulsion in religion: truth be seen clearly from error." (Al–Baqarah: 256).¹⁹

The idea of modernity in the Islamic world has entered with the following characteristics: separation of spiritual and temporal authorities, promoting individualism and social and political pluralism. The individualism opposes social values promoted by Islam, which emphasizes the idea of community. The principle of freedom did not come as a result of a revolution or social evolution, but it came from above. While Islam has affirmed the principle of freedom also wanted to avoid tampering with religion.²⁰

Another major type of freedom is freedom of thought. The Islam urged people to think about the universe and recognize the wisdom behind creation. Islam promotes the responsible freedom: a kind of freedom which respects other societies, religions, etc.

After the fall of communism, traditions and religious communities acquires a new political, social, legal significance with fundamentalist religious manifestations, with specific manifestations not only for the Middle East but also countries of Africa, Southeast Asia and the Indian subcontinent. They sometimes overlap the national and ethnic conflicts favorable circumstances for a global terrorism seeking to avenge the frustrations caused by Western civilization.

Religious tolerance attitudes have greatly expanded communication among states, regions, individuals with different religious affiliations. Also, globalization has broken the ethnic, social, religious barriers bringing humanity into a "brotherhood unanimity" and imposing a particular set of values, global values. As a result, traditional, national, regional and even individual values disappeared and will disappear, all amid a social, political, religious "ecumenism" which tends to flatten and shape even the last form of awake conscience on the whole planet.

The challenge of the contemporary religious man is, as the Saviour says, "to understand the times" and to take up his cross daily "Matthew 16:24 (faith, the Bible, prayer, etc.)—typical values pertaining to religion ready to follow Him in society, bringing the message of life, love and truth (moral-religious values) to a world which is being prey ideologues of any kind which makes you lose your individuality.

Personally, as I watch these current trends (pluralism, secularism, atheism, secularization)²¹ and their effects on religion and social life, I firmly believe that a reform and even a theological, social or ideological reformulation, at the level of interpretation of the religious phenomenon, it is stringency imposed. Also, I agree that this triad Jerusalem, Athens, Rome, is of a paramount importance; but I think it is imposed a new conversion of Christianity to the initial values, a return to the true queen—Biblical thinking, not just some traditional values found irrelevant in the face of a globalized society in all aspects, but returning to the universal, eternal and even fixed values updated to contemporary man's concepts; a return to the eternal trinity: Father–Son–Holy Spirit.

NOTES:

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⁵ George Schopflin, *Pe căi diferite spre multiculturalitate*, în Lucian Nastasă, Levente Salat (ed.), *Relatiile interetnice în România postcomunistă. Documentele conferintei* "Modelul românesc de relații interetnice. Ultimii zece ani, următorii zece ani", *Bucuresti, 7–8 iulie 2000* (Cluj–Napoca: Centrul de Resurse pentru Diversitate Etnoculturală, 2000), 127.

⁶ Nicu Gavriluță, *Mentalități și ritualuri magico–religioase* (Iași: Editura Polirom, 1998), 38.

⁷ Richard Borshay Lee, Eating *Christmas in the Kalahari* (American Museum of Natural History, Dec. 1969), 150.

⁸ Dumitru Otovescu, *Sociologia culturii* (Craiova: Editura Beladi, 2010), 223.

⁹ UN Human Rights Committee, *General Comment 22: The Right to Freedom of Thought, Conscience and Religion Art. 18* (1993), 4.

¹⁰ Asma Jahangir, *Report of the Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Religion or Belief – Addendum – Summary of Cases Transmitted to Governments and Replies Received* (28 February 2008), 125.

¹¹ *Folgerr v. Norway*, 46 EHRR 47 at 1186, 2008, 7.

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¹⁵ *Ibidem*, 533.

¹⁶ Andrei Marga, *Religia în era globalizării* (Cluj–Napoca: Editura Fundației pentru studii europene, 2006), 213–216.

¹⁷ Carmen Tudorache, *Evoluția fenomenului migrației în Europa*, 2016, http://www.store.ectap.ro/articole/211.pdf.

¹⁸ Mikhail Reshetnikov, *Journal of Analytical Psychology* (2008), http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com, 654.

¹⁹ Muzammil H. Siddiqi, *Pakistan Link* (2004), http://pakistanlink.org/ religion.

²⁰ Safi–ur–Rahman Al–Mubarakpuri, *Ar–Raheeq Al–Makhtum* (Houston: Salam Publications Dar, 1996), 411.

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The Role of Migration and Culture in the Developing of Society

Samuiel Bâlc

ABSTRACT: The frequency and the size of the migrating movements of population over the historical eras have always been an impressive phenomenon. Voluntarily or forced, people have changed their place of living and work inside and outside the borders of their own countries, hoping to realize some aspirations, hoping in new opportunities or new assurances. The research made in the sphere of historical demography proves the influence of demographical variations, provoked by the phenomenon of migration on the historical development of society through interactions between economic, political and cultural factors. As a result of migration, the pluralistic society is more and more evident, regardless of what part of the world we are talking about. The modern human needs to cope with an avalanche of information, costumes, convictions and religions, that are not specific to the place in which he lives. The cultures that were characteristic to a people or to a geographical place are frequently crossing paths, coexisting in the same society and putting a lot of pressure on the formation of the individual. KEY WORS: migration, culture, society, globalization, change.

According to Dumitru Sandală: "The migration, as a sociodemographic event, refers to the movement of a person or a social group outside of their original community, in order to change their permanent residency and their usual place of work."¹ The migration represents a social phenomenon, which grew in size exceedingly in the twentieth century. All along history, the migration was determined either by the desire to conquer new territories, by the desire to have better revenues, to change one's social statute, to make a family whole again, or by the desire to know different societies and contemporary civilizations.

"The developing of the transport and communications industries, which facilitated mobility and long distance communication, have made it possible that in the twentieth century, the annual average growth of migration to be 2.6%, compared to a 1.7% average growth of the world population."²

Ștefan Ștefănescu remarks the fact that: "The modifications made in the structure of the population influence the apparition of new phenomena and institutions."³ Citing the French historian marcel Reinhard, Ștefan Ștefănescu proves the importance of the demographic factor, the way in which the modifications made into the structure and movements of population influences the political structure, the administrative organization and the economic–cultural development of society over the historical eras: "Without some density of population the political structure cannot affirm itself, the administrative organization is not doable and the economic–cultural development is unconceivable."⁴

Aurel Drăguț was underlining the fact that: "At the beginning of the history of humanity, migration had a definite function, through it avoiding the consequences of ecological hazards, discovering superior conditions of living, assuring the continuity of human species."⁵ We should remember that, in antiquity, migration was usually the mass movements of slaves or the transforming of the ex–soldiers of the conquering armies into colonials established in the occupied territories.

The migration of population and the assimilation of them by the peoples of the land have created in the Medieval period the demographic premises of the formation of the centralized feudal states. Economic development and especially city developments would have been slowed down by the presence of a sedentary population, incapable of reacting promptly in the presence of economic opportunity. On the other side, migration was the demographic support of industrializing and modernizing society. Slowly, after the disperse of the migrating peoples, in the Medieval period migrations loses its violent trait and becomes a strong economic causality. Thus, Aurel Drăguț was underlining that: "The dominant current in the internal spatial movement is now the rural to urban migration, and in the external one, the intercontinental transfer."⁶

If until the nineteenth century the phenomenon of migration was mostly consistent of the transport of African slaves over the Atlantic, the emigration of whites having low numbers, starting with the nineteenth century we can talk about the beginnings of the modern period of migrations, consisting of a massive exodus towards the New World.

Important modifications in the phenomenon of migration are taking place, in volume but also in the intercontinental migrating direction, after World War II, when there takes place economic reinvigoration in the countries of Western Europe, because of the help and export of American capita. In this period, we observe a growth of internal migration, to the detriment of intercontinental migration.

The contemporary migration has a diversified character, the processes becoming more and more heterogenic under the aspect of destination and of the structure of the population involved. The number of women involved in the process of migration has been notified, number which was dominated in the past by men. The explanation given is the change in the structure of the population of the receiving countries, respectively the requests for care services provided generally by women, of the reunion of families, marriages, sex industry, facts that justify the growth of female migration.

The social categories involved in migration have changed exponentially, and also the reasons the purposes for these. Involved in this process are young people, old people, persons with no qualification or highly qualified. Besides economic objectives, the purposes are studies, family relations, the desire to know other societies and civilizations.

A different characteristic of contemporary migration is the change of the statute of some countries, countries from people used to emigrate to countries into which people emigrate. Thus it is the case for countries from southern Europe: Italy, Spain, Portugal. It can also be noticed that, at the present, the developed countries are suffering a process of aging of the population, major imbalances between generations, all combined with the decline of fertility. Also, we can observe the decline of the active population which needs to support the growing inactive population.

At the same time, a different problem which appeared in the context of contemporary migration is multiculturalism, the cultural heterogeneity of the developing countries which sparks different problems. The integration, sometimes difficult, of immigrants who do not always conform to the expectations of the dominant model of the receiving countries, the building of parallel societies, true enclaves strongly differentiated culturally by the majority cultural model can provoke tensions or societal marginalization. The situation can also aggravate because of the intolerance of the majority society (racism or cultural racism), multiculturalism thus not being the solution for the problems raised by the phenomenon of migration.

Contemporary migration is also favored by the intensification of the process of globalization⁷ and restructuring of world economics. The rise and quick developments of new cities or regions generates a permanent migration of different social categories towards these areas who need personnel for the financial, technological and scientifical services which they offer.

The typologies of contemporary migrations do not differ much from those of the migrations of other historical eras, being able to be interpreted, according to Anna Ferro, by:

- the nature of the borders which were crossed (internal and external migration);
- the temporary horizon of the migration (temporary or definitive migration);
- the degree of freedom which the immigrants have (voluntary of forced migration);
- the organizational form of the migration (spontaneous or with a contract);
- the legal status of the immigrants (legal or illegal);
- the organizational mode of the migration (individual or in groups).⁸

Depending on the form of the borders crossed we can distinguish between the internal migration, the movement of the immigrants being done between the borders of the same country and the external migration. The internal migration of the population is determined by causes that are socio–economic, political, educational or military. The speed of the industrializing process which requests new work forces, coupled with the promoting of a centralized economic policy favors more and more a migration from the rural areas to the urban areas. The privatization and economic restructuring programs, the rise of unemployment is the laws concerning property of land also favors the flux of the internal migration from the urban areas to the rural area.

The phenomenon of external migration presupposes the crossing of state borders, process which all modern countries want to control. Besides the difficulties of access in a different country, external migration also presupposes a juridical and sociological change of the individual who is subjected to a different normative regime from his country, enjoying less rights and less socio–economic, juridical and political options than the citizens of that country.

Depending on the horizon of the migration, we can differentiate between two types: the permanent migration and the temporary migration. The first consists of the definitive change of the country of permanent residency, and the second meaning just a residency in a country different than the one in which one has his permanent residency. In the contemporary world, the movements beyond the borders of people are generally less and less conditioned or administratively registered, the official statistics concerning the number of immigrants and emigrants never being in accordance with reality.

The insecurity generated by the political sphere is most of the times doubled by economic motivations. The economic migration has reasons that are predominantly materialistic, the migrants choosing locations or countries where material compensations are high, for the same amount of work.

The political migration appears in the context of not respecting some fundamental rights, unfavorable treatment applied to some minorities, or other similar practices.

The spontaneous migration is characterized through the situation of the emigrants who do not have exhaustive information about the receiving country, they have wrong information or are counting on the information received from other emigrants, they do not have complete documents, have little material resources, maybe not even personal or official contacts.

The migration that happens because of a work contract presupposes the existence of some contracts in the receiving country, contracts that inform, facilitate and even support the migration. This support, alongside other information, can mean material support or the facilitation of social and professional integration.

In the case of this type of migration the state can be involved as well, through specialized institutions which try to regulate or even control migration, the social networks of family or friendships. The support of the migration phenomenon does not only mean the facilitation of access in the receiving country, but also support with material means, jobs or accommodation.

This typology of migration is considered to be appeared because of the policies of the states that are involved in the process of migration, through which they have tried to control the flux of immigration, resulting with the term controlled migration. Depending on the effective mode of the unfolding of the process of migration we can distinguish between individual migration, seen more often before 1990, or the migration of ethnic, religious, political or personal groups.

The analysis of the theories of migration proves, according to Anna Ferro, that we cannot have predetermined laws of migration, these being a process of continual developing, governed by a series of structural factors of rejection or attracting, which determine the migrants to leave their place of residency, temporarily or definitively.⁹ In the case of the rejecting factors we can enumerate: the economic decline of the area, followed by the rise of unemployment – loss of job, discriminatory treatments for political, religious or ethnic reasons, natural catastrophes or military conflicts, the cultural isolation from the community, familial reasons.

In the category of the attractional factors, which favor migration, we can include the high job opportunities, the perspective of higher wages, family reasons (the perspective of marriage, the reunion of family), the existence of a richer society culturally speaking, or educational or recreation.

In the passing of history there have existed countless theories, classic or neoclassic, all of them proving that the phenomenon of migration, through its frequency and its implications, have constituted an important explanatory element of the structure and of the dynamics of demography, history, geography and economics. The phenomenon of migration modifies the social structures of the states involved in this process, the migrants being studied from multiple perspectives: sociological, economic, historic, geographical, but also from the perspective of political sciences.

Because of the growing number of the persons involved in the phenomenon of migration, the transnational migration can be interpreted as a type of globalization. In the evolution of population are intertwined three factors: birth rate, death rate and the special mobility of the persons. The growing of population has favored the slowing down of the aging of western societies through immigration. The growth of immigration was caused by the big differences between of socio-economic development that exist between the original countries and the receiving countries, by wars, especially civil wars, by ecologic catastrophes and by climatic changes.¹⁰ Although the number of migrants has grown, the relative percent in the total population of the world has not increased significantly because of the growth of world population, transnational migrations not seeming to be spectacular anymore.

The main causes of emigration are economic, social, political or religious. The phenomenon of external migration, regardless that it is done in groups or individually, implies after all the uprooting, the leaving of the place of birth, of childhood, of work; it implies a lot of courage, decision, a more serious attitude towards life, asking for more initiative. The integration in a different society, with a different style of living, culture and costumes, requires a lot of flexibility, implying generally the change of a career.

It is known that each person bears some traits of thought, of feeling and of manifestation, traits gained all along life. All of these individual particularities come from the social sphere in which that person has been raised and in which he gained life experience. The term that defines this aspect is the term culture.

According to Barnouw: "culture is a complex full of knowledge, beliefs, art, law, morals, costumes and any capacities and abilities gained by a person, through which it identifies itself as a member of a particular society."¹¹ The definition given by UNESCO in 1982 in Mexico at the World Conference of Cultural Policies, was evidencing that:

Through culture we understand today the totality of distinctive traits, spiritual and material, intellectual and emotional, that characterize a society or a social group. It involves, besides art and literature, the way of life, the fundamental rights of the human being, systems of value, traditions and belief.¹²

E. Schein was defining culture as being: "an ensemble of fundamental hypothesis that a group has invented, discovered or built to resolved its problems of adaptation to the surrounding habitat and of internal integration."¹³ On a different note, Bouyer was defining culture as being: "the coherent ensemble of the mutual attitudes of the employees in the context of their productivity."¹⁴

One of the definitions of culture that is most often quoted in the specialized literature, belongs to Hofstede. According to him: "culture is a collective program of the mind which distinguishes between the members of a group or of a category and the members of a different group or category."¹⁵

Culture includes the meanings, the values, the convictions, the norms and the artefacts. Moreover, Liliana Ciascai and Iuliana Marchiş were saying that: "culture represents the core of individual and social identity and it is a major component of the reconciliation of group identities in the context of building social cohesion. The analysis of culture refers to all the factors that model the individual traits of thought, of behavior, of feeling and of action (of the individuals as members of society)."¹⁶

The term culture thus represents a collective phenomenon that evolves in time and which involves a continual fluidity of past– present–future. It represents *"the totality of knowledge, skills and usual behavioral patterns which are mutual and which are transmitted by the members of a society"* (Ralph Linter).

Although the defining and the understanding of culture is important, the way in which these model us as humans is more important. Thus, Aurelia Bălan underlined that:

The real value of culture is in its relationship with civilization, [...] the substance of culture forms the spirit, its necessities, while the substance of civilization is formed by matter: the biological and the satisfying of its needs. . . . The two components of history, culture and civilization, needs to be then in permanent interaction, similar to the one between soul and body, to condition each other. . . . The civilized human is truly the educated one, the cultured one, the one with self-control and a noble behavior, a nobility acquired through culture, not only by simply descending from a family with noble blood.¹⁷

The case of group migration, or of the existence of a community made by those who previously left, makes the uprooting less painful in the socio–economic and cultural life of the emigrants who reached their new country.

In the context of political, socio–economic and cultural change, the ones that chose to emigrate have faced firstly problems of survival, the need of changing the mentality and traditional costumes, given the requirements of the new societies in which they need to integrate. The process of integration has always been long and sometimes painful, and sometimes disillusionment has crept in besides the personal and professional realizations, sometimes sacrifices needing to be done. As Gabriel Bădescu noticed: The transnational migration, temporary or definitively, for work, has diverse effects on the migrants and their families, which concern the change of their citizenship, the civic involvement, the attitude towards the minority groups, religious tolerance, family relationships. Concretely, work outside the country influences the level of social trust, because of life in a social sphere with trustworthy persons and efficient public institutions, not often being the case of confrontation with hostile local authorities or with an unfriendly local population.¹⁸

Following the studies made, it has been noticed that emigrants are more tolerant toward minorities, toward persons of a different ethnicity or a different religion and more likely to be involved in the political life or in the social–cultural life of the community. At the same time emigrants care more about schooling and are more flexible in their relationships with the members of the family, investing more trust in the children. Migration involves thus all the spheres of human existence: economic, political, religious and cultural, contributing directly and indirectly to the development of society.

NOTES

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² Istvan Horvath, Remus Gabriel Anghel, *Theories of migration and Romanian migration. Introduction into the sociology of migration: Romanian theories and case studies* (Iaşi, 2009), 14.

³ Ștefan Ștefănescu, *Demography, a dimension of history* (Timișoara, 1974), 7.

⁴ Marcel Reinhard, "Histoire et demographie", in *Revue Historique*, t. 203, 1960, 194.

⁵ Aurel Drăguț, International migration and the problems of development (București, 1981), 16.

⁶ Aurel Drăguț, op.cit., 17.

⁷ Ioan–Gheorghe Rotaru, "Globalization and its effect on religion", in *Jurnalul Libertății de Conștiință*, Mihnea Costoiu, Liviu–Bogdan Ciucă, Nelu Burcea (eds.), (Les Arcs, France: Edition IARSIC, 2014), 532–541.

⁸ Anna Ferro, Romanians in foreign lands. A snapshot about the migration of brains (Iași, 2009),15.

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¹⁰ Thomas Faist, *"*Transnational migration as a relative immobility in a globalized world", in *The Sociology of migration*, (Iaşi, 2009), 129.

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¹⁵ F. Bouyer, "Cercles de qualite et culture d'entreprise", *Revue francaise de Gestion*, Nr. 47–48, September–october, 1984.

¹⁶ Liliana Ciascai, Iuliana Marchiş, *Intercultural and media education* (Cluj–Napoca: University Press of Cluj, 2008), 8.

¹⁷ Liliana Ciascai, Iuliana Marchiş, *Intercultural and media education* (Cluj– Napoca: University Press of Cluj, 2008), 9.

¹⁸ Gabriel Bădescu, Oana Stoian, Andra Tănase, *"*The cultural effects of the migration of the work force from Romania", in *The Sociology of migration*, 279.

Migration and the Creation of Hybrid Identity: Chances and Challenges

Consuela Wagner

ABSTRACT: The "migration" process brings along the issue of confronting with the self identity. The contact with, and life within a new culture involves a change for the individual, and it automatically leads-consciously or unconsciously-to the need of reconstructing his own identity. There are different factors which influence this process, like: personal competences, the purpose and the aim of migration, the cultural differences between the origin environment and the migration one, the material, social and time resources, the personality traits, etc. Depending on these factors, the work of reconstruction the identity can develop benefic strategies and some with a devastating effect. So, it is important to know to which extent a "hybrid" identity or even a "worldwide" one, can be desirable or even favorable on the one hand, and on the other hand which are the challenges brought along with it. KEY WORDS: identity, hybrid, cosmopolitan, reconstruction, migration.

T he topic of the human identity—as a subject of multiple social disciplines—becomes more and more relevance in the context of globalization and also in the continuous change process of the of the 21st century Western society, regarding the development of the individual's personality. Parallel with this, the phenomenon of migration and social integration gain on the present political arena in the last couple of years. The present study aims to analyse the

development and reconstruction of the adult migrants' identity within the Western society, with a final perspective over the chances and challenges which it brings along.

Identity and Migration

The term of identity in Psychology has its roots partly in Erik Erikson's theory, according to which this represents the capacity to keep a continuity and an inner coherence.¹ The Modern Age offered indeed continuity and predictability. But the postmodern society has precisely destroyed these values: unity, continuity, coherence, sense of development, and has replaced them with terms, such as: discontinuity, fragmentation, dispersal, reflexivity, and transition. As a result, the concept of identity no longer represents the formation of an inner nucleus, but a continuous activity of adjustment between interior and exterior, like one or more projects, mostly contradictory throughout lifetime.² According to Petzold, the postmodern identity "constitutes itself in the negotiation of the limits and positions through correspondents, consensus–dissension processes of the subjects within the "social community."³

The specialized literature approaches many classifications of the human identity. This article limits itself at two essential types: the narrative or personal identity and the collective identity. There is a part of the human identity created from the confrontation with the natural environment. That is why the way in which a person interprets the life events is important. Kaufmann stated: "Identity is the story that everyone tells about himself"⁴, which Ricoeur calls "*narrative identity*", or "*personal identity*"⁵ which does not refer to a certain identity about the self but at the content of the proper sense given to the different moments in life.⁶ In the narrative identity the different reference cultural systems obtain relevance in different moments of life, which gives identity a setting and transitory character.⁷

On the other hand alongside the narrative identity it is also mentioned about "the collective identity" as the basis of socialization, which integrates an individual in an amply manner within a collectivity.⁸ First there are general similarities as nation, language or skin color. In addition through socialization a collective set of experiences and attitudes, norms and social convention are transmitted.⁹ In this context we can talk about ethnicity as a form of identity, based on which ethnic groups form themselves.¹⁰ The noticeable difference between individual and collective narrative identity, consists according to Jenkins, in the fact that the first one accentuates the differences, and the second one accentuates the similarities.¹¹

In the modern society the image of a successful life or of a successful identity is changed. The attachment versus time or place disappears, so that Bauman talks about an identity of "chameleon" type and about the postmodern fear to be attached to something or someone "Fixeophobia".¹² There are postmodern thinkers which postulates the dissolution of Self defining identity as a variable amount of different masks.¹³ But the need for a certain coherence is typical to human nature. Because the decisions and life targets are established based on the experiences made through recognition and classification.¹⁴

A stable development of human identity constitutes the central point of a healthy development of personality that develops in the process of confrontation and social development solving tasks. The more an individual is capable of decision and action, the more he possess the ability to solve social problems; the more he is integrated and appreciated in social contexts, the better are the conditions of identity development. Even if in the postmodern societies the social development tasks are structured differently and have different content and dynamic, yet these are not annulled. And just solving these transmit the feeling of autonomy, responsible for a reflected self-image, which in its turn influences identity.¹⁵

How can you describe the attainment of identity today? The Metaphor" Patchwork "¹⁶ express the fact that the individual is forced to gather fragments of his existence and to rank them in a logical way.¹⁷ Today identity attainment has both the purpose and the condition to create coherence, which in its turn requires the ability of self-organization, of combination of positive expectations with

the available resources and finally with the capability to exploit the meaning of life. The success of this work is inside evaluated through the criterion of authenticity while outside is evaluated through the criterion of social recognition or appreciation.¹⁸

And which is the situation of adult identity in the case of migration? Because a national or cultural migration process is not just moving from one place to another but also influences in different ways the human identity often causing a crisis in this regard. Migration is a central phenomenon, closely related to the increasing internalization of social relations.¹⁹

There are several reasons for migration which depend of personal factors and also of politico–economical factors.²⁰ Vordermeyer differentiates between three typical models on the causes of migration, that are distinguished by the different degree of personal decision: "*refugees*", "the bearers of hope" and "the world players".²¹ These categories automatically involve certain characteristics that influence the identity reconstruction process. Because it depends on both the purpose and the reason of migration and also depends upon the emotional relationship towards the country of origin. Because "the migrant will seek in the host country what he was missing in his home country and will miss in the host country the things that he left in the country of origin."²²

The refugees, the asylum seekers are forced to migrate for many reasons, their decision is not voluntary but imposed.²³ The factors that impose migration are those that produce tension, the "Push" factors, as political or religious pursuit, wars, natural disasters or economic crisis.²⁴ For this category of migrants adapting to the new country will be more difficult than for those who have made this step willingly.²⁵ According to Flusser " *the refugee*" carries with him his country of origin, which makes harder his integration into the host society.²⁶

As triggering factors of migration, besides the "Push" factors there are also the "Pull" type factors. These—to which belong the political stability, the freedom of conscience, a prosperous economy, a democratic structure and a greater chance of winning—have a positive and alluring connotation for individuals.²⁷ Migrants' *"bearers of hope"* migrate in order to achieve a higher standard of living with the hope of a better life, in order to fulfill their desires and interests. A basic premise is still the existence of a certain degree of dissatisfaction with the present situation.²⁸ Regarding the freedom of decision there are several constellations: starting from the conscious weighing of advantages and disadvantages, sometimes pushed by the emotional need of family reunion, to a profound dissatisfaction that pushes the individual to migration. Due to the fact that the type of "bearer of hope" takes a conscious decision regarding migration, critically analyzing the situation, he is more open to new and so better prepared for confrontation and integration into the host country.²⁹

The third type of migrant, "the world player" comes mostly from Western countries, well developed and represents through his experimental and elitist qualities, the expression of a postmodern identity. This migrants are often looking for new elements, adventure, intend eventually the possibly of widening their own cultural horizon or on the contrary are seeking for an ideological retreat as against the postmodern consumption hedonistic society.³⁰ "The world player" takes the decision to emigrate consciously considering his own identity and interests, willing to do experiments.

The "Hybrid" Identity

*Hybridity*³¹ is a construct that defines identity construction processes at people that brighten up in the same time of more cultural reference systems, such as migrants. It is about a binary or multiple code that is held on further, although involves the dissolving in many forms.³²

In the field of social sciences the term of "*hybridity*" constitutes together with the term of "*diversity*" a central category of social reorganization with an appropriate behavior towards heterogenity.³³ Common language describes "*hybridity*" as a form of mixture, combination, overlap or interbreeding.³⁴

As typical elements of "*hybrid*" identity³⁵ the following characteristics are mentioned: multiple cultural backgrounds, experience exchange between self and external assignment³⁶ and

also the ongoing process of own identities negotiation. The central feature of the hybrid identity is the belongingness, which may take various forms. Some migrants, especially those from the first generation, have a clear sense of mono–affiliation to the country of origin. But even if this feeling emotionally persist, however at a cognitive level multiculturalism is recognized, which indicates a degree of hybridity small to medium, with only a few reflections and internal negotiations.³⁷

The feeling of *multiple belonging* is often met, especially beginning with the second generation due to socialization in both contexts. These migrants refuse the assimilation while they see in hybridity the solution of solving the pressure of decision.³⁸ Specific to this group is the cultural Code–Switching, which makes possible the passing from one form of identity into another. Due to the prominent situational identity, these people cannot be classified into a certain category, which leads to the lack of trust from the part of the environment.³⁹

There are hybrid identities which are accompanied by *the lack of a cultural background.* This phenomenon appears especially when an individual is continuously approached with respect to a foreign background, with which he does not have anything to do.⁴⁰ There isn't any cultural context which could offer a full recognition, thus the feeling of forced marginalization appears.⁴¹

A last category of migrants regarding the cultural background is not in connection with a certain culture, but regarding the transcultural orientation systems, these individuals perceive themselves as "*cosmopolitans*" or "*worldwide citizens*". These select their own criteria of affiliation and they are opposing to any attempt of categorization, especially to national ones.⁴²

But do all the migrants develop a hybrid identity? And what form of affiliation do they adopt? Which are the strategies used in the migration process of reconstruction the identity?

Leaving the origin country, the migrant suffers the lost of a part of his identity, especially regarding the cultural identity. The uproot experience is accompanied by a surprise in the host-country: the migrant acts "normally" but the environment behaves differently, so the expected reaction from the outside is missing. This fact destabilizes the self identity. The partial lost of identity still has to be recovered in order to offer the individual a stable existence. There are different strategies of reconstructing the identity approach by migrants in the host-country. In this process the key elements are his relation with the origin country and with the host-country. According to Vordermeyer⁴³ it is about 4 typical models in choosing the strategy for reconstructing the identity: "the native foreigner", "the nostalgic", the "hybrid" type and "the cosmopolitan", where "the cosmopolitan" is an extended model of the "hybrid" one.

The type of "*native foreigner*" is the type of strategy based on total assimilation, when the migrant gives up his own cultural identity and joins the cultural mass existing in the host country. In this way this type becomes "more native than the natives", even though he is still a foreigner.⁴⁴ Especially "*the refugees*" who had negative experiences and the lack of appreciation in the origin country present the disposition of giving up the native cultural identity, renouncing to both to the negative and positive aspects too.⁴⁵ "*The native foreigner*" is usually aware of the advantages that the new country has, and he wants to fully use them, in order to create a home there. His level of expectations and hopes is quite high, so he has a big burden of responsibility on his shoulders.⁴⁶ Eva Hoffmann talks in this context about "the whip of ambition and fear."⁴⁷

The issue of "*the native foreigner*" in the reconstruction of identity consists of the increasing whish of adaptation, which determines him to handle intensively the new culture and mentality, trying to internalize it as much as he can.⁴⁸ In the same time he is forced to fight against his cultural roots, which assumes the consequent separation from his origin, together with its norms, language, traditions and conventions.⁴⁹ In the case in which the host-society does not appreciate enough these efforts it is possible for "*the native foreigner*" to completely deny his origin, which often leads to hate or self abnegation.⁵⁰ Despite of his efforts, "*the native foreigner*" would not be completely accepted by the natives, but he will have a special place in the community, because even though he shares the present with the native ones, he does not share the past.⁵¹ With respect to the reconstruction of his own identity, the desired

assimilation process will lead to the creation of an instable identity, in which the migrant will not be able to be himself.⁵²

Thus, there is a second category of migrants, which does not give up to their roots, but on the contrary, they try to preserve them in the host-country too. Vordermeyer talks about the type of "*The Nostalgic*", who lives from the nostalgia of the past from the origin country, with all the cultural forms belonging to it, cultivating a rejection attitude towards the host-country, considering himself only an "exiled". This type of migrant tries to avoid the new influences, concentrating only on the origin culture.⁵³

Due to the fixation of "*the nostalgic*" on his cultural roots and on his integration in the cultural groups belonging to the same ethnic group,⁵⁴ he has a stable and durable identity in the host-country with the possibility of an emotional, social or even financial refuge.⁵⁵ If this type of migrant is not only anchored in the past, but he is oriented to the future too, promoting in the host-country actively, self-confidently and in a positive and clear way, values from the origin country, he has on a long term more chances for recognition and appreciation.⁵⁶ Otherwise—if oriented toward the past—his space of action is massively reduced and lead to uncertainty, social isolation and poverty. "*The nostalgic*" languishes in his own development, departing from both the host-country and the origin country, which during this period keeps developing itself.⁵⁷

The next type of strategy in the reconstruction of identity has to do with a synthesis model between "the native foreigner" and "the nostalgic", which tries to combine the origin country with the host one: "*the synthesis type*". This "*hybrid*"⁵⁸ type is situated "between a rock and a hard place", it has a *multiple background*, trying to remain loyal to the origin culture but in the same time to be an active member of the host culture.⁵⁹ This type of synthesis meets both the advantages and the disadvantages of the culture from the origin and host country – which gives him self confidence – and it has "moderate" acknowledgement in both cultures. The advantage of this strategy is the fact that the migrant can negotiate between more cultures, trying to understand them, to combine and to mix them together. The disadvantage is the partial loyalty, especially when the individual reaches a conflict situation between these cultures.⁶⁰

In these situations the equality in practicing the reference systems is born through the continuous changing due to the Code–Switching or only to the phenotypical characteristics – which is problematic when most of the population perceives this fact as a contradiction with its norms, and when it possesses only a little empathy and tolerance in ambiguity.⁶¹ The migrant "*hybrid*" won't feel anywhere at home and he won't be accepted as fully native, but will have mixed feelings in both cultures: of native and of foreigner. Due to the lack of a complete affiliation, not feeling anywhere fully understood, and due to the often change of perspective, and of the outdistance because of the pressure of adapting, this type of migrant is risking to develop interior conflicts, anxiousness and instability.⁶²

The first 3 strategies of modeling the identity are confronted with difficulties, because all these 3 types try to be something that they really aren't.⁶³ Regarding the fourth strategy, the "cosmopolitan" one, it represents a revised model of the "hybrid" or "synthesis" one, according to the statement of Eva Hoffmann: "we do not exist only within a culture, but outside of it too."⁶⁴ Appiah calls as a basic characteristic of this model: the feeling of responsibility and the respect for all people, irrespective of their cultural particularities.⁶⁵

The concept of "*cosmopolitan*" doesn't have anything to do with the cultural identity, nor with the creation of the universal values, or with a relativist approach about the so called cultural circles. Appiah does not define the "*cosmopolitan*" type neither as a "dialogue between cultures"⁶⁶ nor as a privilege of high class society, but as an "attitude" very plastically exemplified in Pascal Zacharys thesis about "roots and wings": the roots symbolizes the connection of an individual with his origin while the wings represent his openness for the new cultural.⁶⁷

Even though he feels as belonging to the mankind, and he is "at home" in the entire world, thus, "*the cosmopolitan*" usually has an original place and cultural roots, a place of memories with a special subjective significance, but not objective.⁶⁸ The strong roots—under the form of ethnic or family relations—are essential for the psychical stability and for the disposition for opening towards the new and for a solid responsibility feeling.⁶⁹

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"The Cosmopolitan" is aware of the fact that acknowledging and accepting his own roots, which have contributed to the shaping of his personality, will make him free of prejudice and decisional pressures.⁷⁰ He is aware of the fact that he is neither the product of the roots nor of the wings, but of the personal confrontation with both of them. As a social being *"the cosmopolitan"* is searching for a home, a place where he could feel "at home", which he finds it where he understands and he feels understood, where he is emotionally connected, even though as time passes he changes his residence.⁷¹ Because a life without a central background is, according to Robbins only a mitos.⁷² *"The Cosmopolitan"* feels responsible for the entire humanity and planet and it reflects the interaction between the local and the global level, in an interdependence relation.⁷³ He wants to have a positive influence where he lives.⁷⁴

We have seen the fact that the first three strategies mentioned above, for reconstructing the identity, abnegates the past on different paths: "*the native foreigner*" is denied, "*the nostalgic*" is conserved while "*the hybrid*" is transfigured. Instead, "*the cosmopolitan*" reflects the past and the present, so it is well prepared for the future. It is loyal to his roots in a reflected, not idealistic way, not trying to destroy them. "*The cosmopolitan*" takes into consideration both the originar relations and obligations and the responsibilities for the new loyalties. In comparison with the "*hybrid*" migrant, who tries to have 2 backgrounds, this one frees himself from the loyalty pressure, having a distant position towards both of them.⁷⁵

The reconstruction of identity represents a big challenge for the "cosmopolitan" migrant as well as for the "hybrid" one, because his duty is to put together, to connect the fragments of his life in a reasonable way, in spite of non-integration in a collective cultural context. Even though the biography is based on the roots of his identity which he does not deny, "the cosmopolitan" describes what he lived, why (the reason) and where it lead to (the consequences). Both the life circumstances and the personal responsability play an important role. He acknowledges his entire history, with all its pieces, contradictions and ambivalences, fact which consolidates his capacity of critical reflection and decision. Because the roots are the sign of his origin and past, while the wings are like windows to the world, under the sign of his development. The centre of identity is in his individual identity and not in a collective one, which defines him as a "cosmopolitan", as an individual capable of over passing a certain influence, of giving up prejudices and of accepting the changes. The roots and the wings complete each other reciprocally: because only the roots alone limit the perception of the world, while the wings alone do not confer the safety of a fundament.⁷⁶

But both the multiple background ("*hybrid*" identity) and the individual one (the "*cosmopolitan*" identity) are characterized at the outside by a diffuse character and partially unclear which leave the impression of ambivalence and equivocalness. So these people cannot be tagged or put a certain category, but due to the fact that they do not belong to any category, they are in an intermittent space, they follow the logic "both one and the other" and thus, they contradict the idea of loyalty of "either one/or the other" position and affiliation.⁷⁷ This attitude can cause aggressivity to those expecting clarity.⁷⁸

The Chances and the Challenges of the Development of Hybrid and Cosmopolitan Identity Met at Migrants

The massive changes in the context of globalization, as well as the dominance of virtual worlds in the Western society, emphasize the individuals' overstrain, concerning the reconstruction of identity. The individual is constrained to permanently adapt to "new things", and to redefine his identity. The Western social contexts have become much more precarious, and many individuals have not acquired in their socialization the necessary qualities for achieving a self identity, for personal projects, as well as for surpassing identity crises.⁷⁹ Thus, the "identity crisis" during his youth becomes a permanent adult phenomenon.⁸⁰ If this process is already difficult for the natives, then do the migrants stand a chance?

We have seen that there are different strategies of reconstruction the identity used by migrants, the *"hybrid"* being very common and widespread, its fine-cut form, the *"cosmopolitan"* one, showing "the ideal". Achieving a self identity, particularly in the circumstances of Western pluralism, requires certain premises in order to achieve success. Which are these, and to what extent are they available for migrants?

The first premise is a *deep confidence* in life, that offers, from the beginning a perception of continuity, and is based on the experience of having a circle of people that are trustworthy in any situation. Thus, many emigrants that are separated from their families need to start life from scratch, which is a heavy burden. In this context, the host countries have the duty to adopt a supportive and benevolence attitude, particularly in the phase of adaption. Together with this *deep confidence*, there it is also needed, in preserving human relationships, *the balance between autonomy and dependence*, an element that has been destroyed in the Western society, on the basis of the unilateral stress of gender specifics.⁸¹

The third important element in the reconstruction of identity is a certain *"sense of coherence"*⁶² in the orientation of life through the cultural transmition of the norms, targets and the meaning of life. The traditional societies dispose of an obvious tight enough corset of the normative standards, whereas the Western societies propagate a pluralism of the values which does not mean "endless freedom", but implies the obligation of reflection and own conscious choice of a personal system of values. However, this thing is conditioned by more personal skills, which a lot of Western citizens do not have.⁸³ If this process is already difficult to achieve for the natives, it will become even more difficult for a migrant who comes from a traditional society.

Fourthly, it is about the social resources, considered to be a *"social capital"*, namely a network of social relations, as well as the capacity to bind and maintain new relations on their own initiative. The fact that the under privileged or marginalized collective groups exhibit shortages in this field is proved. Taking into account the fact that the *"social capital"* depends almost entirely on the "economic capital" does not make this thing a surprise. People from marginalized groups, which many migrant are a part of, encounter a lot of obstacles and they have only a few supportive resources, remaining therefore deficient in this important domain.⁸⁴

Thus, the reconstruction of a proper identity with a personal meaning of existence also needs enough material resources, namely *"economic capital"*. However, this is exactly the weakness of the postmodern society, further led by the economic imperative progress. The modern capitalism completely undermines—according to Bauman⁸⁵—the solidarity principle. However, it is important for the migrants to be connected to the labour market, so that they have a basic material insurance.

Another personal needed proficiency is *the capacity of negotiation, reflection and personal decision* regarding the rules, norms, targets and paths of life. In the Western society, life functions in a democratic manner of forming the decision, of active implying in social life, which requests specific abilities to solve the conflicts. Moreover, it is also about the *civil competences*, which make the accomplishment of proper interests possible in the society, taking into account the common interests.⁸⁶

It is obvious that the Western society's demands in the successful reconstruction of identity are very high, even for the natives. Therefore, it is very hard for the migrants to succeed. Is this really an acceptable option? Is it desirable, moreover, to have a hybrid or even a cosmopolitan identity? Which one prevails more—the advantages or disadvantages?

Unfortunately, it has been proved that people with *hybrid or cosmopolitan identity* have to face more discrimination and social disadvantages because they do not match the homogeneous cultural mass group.⁸⁷ These migrants are not understood or accepted, and they have to achieve more than normal, so that they have the same rights. Thus, some of them exhibit the risk of proper ethnicism with tendencies of radicalization.⁸⁸ On the other hand, the individuals with *hybrid or cosmopolitan identity* can develop creative integration strategies, cultivating values which are attractive on an international level , such as: bilingualism, values centered on family, psychical stability, a higher tolerance in frustration⁸⁹ and dexterity in the conduct towards diversity⁹⁰, flexibility, empathy, tolerance in ambiguity, as well as capacity of mediation and negotiation.⁹¹ Therefore, depending on the social environment where they reside, they will be treated or not with social gratitude.

Conclusions

The postmodern society imposes a process of permanent reconstruction of identity.⁹² Personal autonomy and self consistency are seen as ideals of existence, which imply reflexive proficiencies and individual negotiations.⁹³ The obstacles, changes and crises belong to the human life. However, there are situations that lead to an overcrowding of heavy burdens so the individuals are overcharged with the integration and processing of what they have lived, in their personal identity.⁹⁴

Although the individual is a "global citizen" by birth, he will be initially formed by the experience of the collective identity. A desire and a self conscious decision is needed, so that one can distance himself from this later. Thus, a migrant needs an active capacity of operating, positive interpretation of his situation from the host country, so that it gives him the necessary courage to follow new paths. However, there are a lot of causes about the host country and the origin one, which can hinder the development of this inner attitude. Therefore, the reflection of the host society on their attitude towards the migrants and the new elements is necessary, the integration of which they could benefit of, instead of only developing assimilation plans.⁹⁵

The "cosmopolitan" strategy is really efficient because it takes into account both the collective identity and the individual biography of a person who claims to be the product of both elements. Thus, one can find a middle road between the sense of belonging and personal development.⁹⁶ A cosmopolitan migrant has the opportunity – due to his possibility of comparing the objectivity—to see solutions in the problems of the host country. (in the conditions in which he is offered this possibility.) He is aware of his advantages as a translator of the meaning of life or as a clarifier of cross-cultural elements, but he does not try to act as if he knew the answers because he realizes that prejudices are a human feature widely spread. Instead, he searches for his way in life, compromising things: He learns to protect himself of foreign prejudices, to use them, mock them, and above all, he learns how to use his personal advantages. He sees in other individuals people with an individual unique biography, not using tags.⁹⁷ According to Flusser, the cosmopolitan is not a victim of the society, but a "foreteller of the future".⁹⁸ On the other hand, the cosmopolitism has its own price: the so-called uprooting trauma,⁹⁹ which appears to be the feeling of living "between worlds."

Moreover, this ideal faces practicability obstacles. The two points of criticism: elitism and idealism do not only have a minimal constitution, because which migrants that come as refugees from traditional and simple structured societies have the time, interest and necessary resources to confront their personal identity? Furthermore, who is going to introduce them to the complexity of the Western thinking and explain them the pluralistic reason and mentality? Most of these migrants are concerned with their daily survival and the time devoted exactly to reflection, lecture, and communication has become a luxury of the aristocracy in the postmodern society. Therefore, the cosmopolitism is considered to be elitist.¹⁰⁰

Furthermore, is this going to have a chance to exist in a world devoid of this ideal? To what extent is and will be "*the cosmopolitan*" socially accepted and recognized?¹⁰¹ As the mankind does not entirely live in a selfless manner, it won't be able to live like this without prejudices. Thus, the cosmopolitism has an idealistic character.¹⁰²

The range of development possibilities increasingly extends in the pluralistic societies, process which implies many opportunities and freedoms, and simultaneously, feelings of losing the control and growing risks of failure.¹⁰³ However, the development of a *hybrid identity*, ideally of a *"cosmopolite"* in terms of psycho structural integration of the cultural issues concerning the traditional and host culture, is also possible and desired from a psychological point of view.¹⁰⁴ If a migrant manages to live a life being aware of his origin and development, as well as giving a positive significance to his migrant status, he will possess an identity stable enough, so that he is active and acts efficiently on a local level.¹⁰⁵ NOTES

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¹ Erikson 1966, 107.

² Keupp in Petzold 2012, 82; cp. Pörnbacher 1999, 185.

³ Petzold 2012b, cp. Ibid. 1975

⁴ Cp. Kaufmann 2005, 63.

⁵ Cp. Ricoeur, 1991.

⁶ Kaufmann 2005, 157.

⁷ Cp. Straub & Renn 2002, 13 f.

⁸ Berg 2001, 234; Sökefeld in Petzold 2012, 43. According to Vordermeyer (2012) through the process of socialization, the first cultural identity remains

deeply ingrained, as a foundation of the human identity.

⁹ Vordermeyer 2012, 28–29.

¹⁰ Eriksen 1993 and Jenkins 1997

¹¹ Jenkins 1997, 19 f.

¹² Bauman 1997, 22.

¹³ Zschocke 2005, 133.

¹⁴ Vordermeyer 2012, 21–26.

¹⁵ Hurellmann in Petzold 2012, 73–74.

¹⁶ Keupp 1988

¹⁷ Ibidem.

¹⁸ Keupp in Petzold 2012, 96. There are phases of the society when the personal life is integrated into the cultural frame, which confers safety, clarity, but also high social control, and there are also phases of independence, when the individual follows personal paths and options.(Giddens 1997, 123)

¹⁹ See Heckman 1983

²⁰ See Heimbach–Steins 2016, 22ff.

²¹ Vordermayer 2012, 43. The boundaries between these theoretical types of migrants are not always clearly determined. (ibid. 46.; Heimbach–Steins 2016, 34)

²² Vordermeyer 2012, 48.

²³ Cp. Han 2005, 101.

²⁴ Han 2005, 15.

²⁵ Cp. Zschocke 2005, 23.

²⁶ Flusser 2000, 33.

²⁷ Han 2005, 15. The "Pull" factors are actually responsible for the "*bearers of hope*" and "*world players*" migration.

²⁸ Vordermeyer 2012, 45.

²⁹ Flusser 2000, 33.

³⁰ The intention of reflection on personal identity or the desire of a spiritual life and social responsibility can also push this type of migrants to take this decision. (Vordermeyer 2012, 47; Zschocke 2005, 260ff.)

³¹ Through the relation between gods and people in the Greek mythology, the term of hybridity already marks a phenomenon of passing the limits. Throughout history, even if it usually got a negative connotation, at least during the postmodern period the term of hybridity gained a positive meaning due to

the successful combination between multiple areas. (Foroutan in Brinkmann & Uslucan 2013, 90.)

³² Foroutan in Brinkmann & Uslucan 2013, 90.

³³ Cp. Hein 2006, 28.

³⁴ Cp. Bronfen / Marius/ Steffen 1997, 93; Hein 2006, 2.

³⁵ Cp. Schrader et al. 1979

³⁶ Cp. Dannenbeck 2002, 273 ff.

³⁷ Foroutan in Brinkmann & Uslucan 2013, 93.

³⁸ Comp. Räthze1999, 204 ff.

³⁹ Foroutan in Brinkmann & Uslucan 2013, 93.

⁴⁰ See Hobsbawm / Ranger 1993

⁴¹ See Uslucan 2011

⁴² Foroutan in Brinkmann & Uslucan 2013, 94.

⁴³ Vodermeyer 2012, 49.

⁴⁴ Han 2005, 236.

⁴⁵ There may be a lot of reasons concerning the desire of assimilation: ideological incongruities with the country of origin, an intense fascination towards the host country or even the lack of identity or personality. (Vordermeyer 2012, 51.)

⁴⁶ Vodermeyer 2012, 51.

⁴⁷ Hoffman 1993, 172.

⁴⁸ Cp. Han 2005, 250.

⁴⁹ Ibid. 252.

⁵⁰ Cp. Wieviorka 2003, 145. 175.

⁵¹ Vordermeyer 2012, 53; Han 2005, 249.

⁵² It is possible that this person, as he reaches an old age, starts looking exactly for what he wanted to destroy earlier: aspects from his country of origin. (cp. Wieviorka 2003, 175)

⁵³ He may have never left his country of origin voluntarily; anyway, he develops a sense of betrayal of the traditional origin culture that he tries to compensate, using this strategy. (Vordermeyer 2012, 56–57) However, there are also other causes that can lead to this attitude: a hostile or rejecting atmosphere in the host country, a degradation of the social and financial status, missing the dear ones still living in the origin country, disappointment toward the expectations in the host country. (Cp. Han 2005, 241.)

⁵⁴ In this case, the social ghettos with their networking activity fulfill an important function in the orientation and adaptation, at least superficial, of the new migrants concerning the new conditions in the host country. (Vordermeyer 2012, 58.)

⁵⁵ Wieviorka 2003, 37 ; 135f.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 150.

⁵⁷ Vordermeyer 2012, 60–61.

⁵⁸ Cp. Müller 2013, 265.

⁵⁹ Cp. Han 2005, 237.

⁶⁰ Vordermeyer 2012, 63–64.

⁶¹ Foroutan in Brinkmann & Uslucan 2013, 91–92.

⁶² Cp. Han 2005, 253.

⁶³ Vordermeyer 2012, 66.

⁶⁴ Hoffman 1995, 302.

⁶⁵ Appiah 2007, 12f.

⁶⁶ Appiah 2005, 256.

⁶⁷ Zacharys 2000, 21.

⁶⁸ Cp. Coulmas 1990, 490.

⁶⁹ Cp. Zachary 2000, 56.

⁷⁰ Cp. Flusser 2000, 20.

⁷¹ Ibid. 24.

⁷² Robbins 1998, 250.

⁷³ Beck/Grande 2004, 25.

⁷⁴ Cp.Appiah 2005, 241–243; Zachary 2000, 67.

⁷⁵ Vordermeyer 2012, 81–82.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 77–79.

⁷⁷ Cp. Beck/Grande 2004, 27f.

⁷⁸ Foroutan in Brinkmann & Uslucan 2013, 95.

⁷⁹ The new challenges have led to an increasing number of psychical diseases (30% of the population of the Western society) and psychosocial problems. (Petzold 2012a, 10–11)

⁸⁰ Faltermaier et.al. 2002, 67; Seiffge-Krenke 2014, 86ff.

⁸¹ Keupp in Petzold 2012, 98; cp. Benjamin 1993.

⁸² From Antonovsky's model (1997), who emphasized the importance of the sense of familiar coherence.

⁸³ Keupp in Petzold 2012, 99.

⁸⁴ Ibid. 99–100.

⁸⁵ See Bauman 1993

⁸⁶ Keupp in Petzold 2012, 101.

⁸⁷ Cp. Zick / Küpper 2012, 166 f. 171.

⁸⁸ Foroutan in Brinkmann & Uslucan 2013, 98.

⁸⁹ Cp. Boos–Nünning / Karakasoglu 2005, 96 ff., 213 ff., 335 ff.

⁹⁰ Cp. Badawia 2002, 245 f.

⁹¹ Cp. Keupp 1999, 280.

⁹² Weber in Sterbling 2006, 184.

⁹³ Cp. Lohauß 1995, 216–217.

⁹⁴ Seiffge-Krenke 2014, 86ff.

⁹⁵ Foroutan in Brinkmann & Uslucan 2013, 99.

⁹⁶ Vordermeyer 2012, 87.

⁹⁷ Vordermeyer 2012, 83–84.

98 Flusser 2005, 16.

⁹⁹ Cp. Zachary 2000, 54.

¹⁰⁰ Vordermeyer 2012, 87.

¹⁰¹ According to the stages of personality development, during the adulthood, the target of the Western society is exactly the conventional level 6, the so-called "type of performance", the reaching of it being appreciated by the Western society. (Susanne Cook–Greuter 2008; Thomas Binder 2016) Unfortunately, it is omitted the fact that there are also other levels in the adulthood development, as the post conventional and its subcategories, which still exist as achievable targets, within which the "cosmopolite" type is also included.

¹⁰² Zachary 2000, 87.

¹⁰³ Keupp in Petzold 2012, 85.

¹⁰⁴ Callies et.al. 2012, 36-41

¹⁰⁵ Vordermeyer 2012, 87.

Migration and the Church in Contemporary Europe

Sorin Bădrăgan

ABSTRACT: One of the aspects which is growing in size and importance in the contemporary world, specifically, in Europe is migration. The 'old continent' is flooded with 'new people' who were 'far neighbors' until recently. This paper explores the way in which contemporary migrationis dealt with by Europe, specifically European Union member countries. A significant input can be offered by the church in the migration issue, as the Bible is has to say a lot about this phenomenon. This article aims to explore these aspects as well as suggesting that migration is, more than a challenge, an opportunity of service and witness for the church.

KEY WORDS: Migration, Europe, church, integration, refugees.

In recent years migration has become one of the main issues of concern for the international community because of the refugee crisis, which came to the front page particularly in 2015 with the 'exodus' to Europe. Nevertheless, migration is an inherent human experience as old as the race itself; also, migration is a far more complex phenomenon than the refugees—it includes the movements of people who choose to relocate for various reasons: economic, social, political. Especially within its daring project—European Union, Europe is one of the main desired destinations for migrants: high standard of life and freedoms in any possible area. In 2015 it became clear that the European states do not respond uniformly to the migrant issue, particularly to the refugees: some countries welcomed the refugees while others built fences to 'protect'

from them. Within EU the relocation of people is not considered international migration anymore given of the four fundamental freedoms of the Union; that is freedom of movement of people. However, the perception of the citizens of Western countries is far from being so open and welcoming; for example, one of the arguments used in the successful 'Leave' campaign for the 'Brexit' referendum was related to the issue of Eastern Europeans 'flooding' the UK taking away the jobs of the 'locals.'

European Union is weakened after the referendum outcome in the UK; it is still to be seen what how this will impact the principles of the Union (especially the much debated the freedom of movement within EU) and even its existence. But how do churches relate to migration? What have the churches done and what could they improve when dealing with the refugee crisis? In order to explore theses issues, we will consider the phenomenon of migration in contemporary Europe, then we will look at migration in the Scriptures and theology in order to suggest some things that the church could improve or start doing in relation to migrants.

Migration in Europe

In 2015 the number of international migrants in the world was 244 million people, which is a growth of 41% compared to 2000; out of these migrants, nearly a third were to be found in Europe (76 million) and a third in Asia (75 million). For Europe, this is a significant number as it means that the percentage of the migrants out of the population is as high as 15%. Over this period of fifteen years, Europe has gained an average of 1.3 million persons per year. Without this influx of persons, the population growth rate on the continent would have been negative.¹ The United Nations report warns that although the population decline has been delayed and will probably continue to be slowed down, the ageing of the population is irreversible—which will eventually lead to a decline by 2050 and even worse by 2100.²

European Union has reported an immigration of 3.8 million persons in 2014 (the latest year with comprehensive data), while the

emigration was 2.8 million; it is virtually impossible to have precise figures on people actually coming in or leaving European Union as such, as these two figures include flows between the 28 EU Member States. However, working with the immigration figure, we learn that 1.6 million persons were not citizens of member countries, while 1.3 million citizens were changing their country of residence within the EU, 870 thousand were nationals returning to their countries and 12.4 thousand stateless people.³ The 1.3 million citizens moving within the EU are reflected in the nearly fifty per cent (13 countries out of the 28 members of EU) of EU countries which have reported higher numbers of emigrants than of immigrants. Significant is also the fact that the perception that the migrants from non-member countries are the majority of the people coming into Europe is not wholly accurate, the percentage being 42%.

The immigrants to EU in 2014 contributed to the decrease of the median age of EU: in the latter the median age was 42 years, while the median age of the immigrants was 28 years.

Among the migrants of a particular importance are the refugees; UNHCR, the UN Refugee Agency reported that in 2015 65.3 million people have been forced to leave home; nearly a third of these people (21.3 million) are refugees of whom over a half under the age of 18; the rest of the people forced to leave home have found shelter within their own country. Nearly half of the refugees (around 10 million) are stateless, which means they are denied nationality and implicitly basic human rights (education, healthcare, employment).

Of the people who are displaced in the whole world, Europe is hosting 6%, while the Middle East and North Africa are hosting 39%; there is no European country among the top six hosting countries in the world.

The International Organization for migration reported 1,046,599 arrivals to Europe by land and by sea, while for the period January–July 2016 there are reported 278,201arrivals and 3,151 dead or missing in the Mediterranean Sea.⁴ The number of the arrivals for the seven months of 2016 is considerably lower than the number for the equivalent months of 2015—less than half of the 610,516 persons in January–July 2015. One of the main reasons for this drastic decrease is the unfavourable attitude of Europeans

towards the refugees, who have been suspected to include ISIL terrorists.

European Union has developed a framework of policies and regulations concerning migration with the purpose of welcoming and integrating migrants of all types within the borders of EU. Some of the main legal mechanisms which regulate the complex issue of migration have been developed in the main treaties of EU or agreements such as Amsterdam (1999), Dublin II (2003), Common Basic Principles on Integration (2004), the programmatic Zaragoza Declaration (2010), the founding of European Asylum Support Office (EASO) in 2010 which seeks to implement Common European Asylum System (CEAS) and the courageous and practical European Agenda for the Integration of third country nationals (2011). EU is one of the main contributors to the work of international and European organizations which deal with migration, especially with refugees. All this, of course, does not guarantee an efficient integration of the migrants, first of whom are the refugees. As it has been shown above, due to the public pressure, the EU member states have responded to the refugee crisis at a much smaller scale. While the conflicts in the countries which are the exporters of refugees have not ended-for example, the top three countries which the refugees came from in 2015 were Syria (4.9 million), Afghanistan (2.7 million) and Somalia (1.1 million) ('Figures at a glance', UNHCR)—EU member states do not succeed in overcoming in the blockage caused by the overreaction of the public opinion towards the crime produced by some of the refugees, raising concerns on the infiltration of radical Muslims among those coming in Europe.

How are the churches relating to this challenge of migration, especially to the refugee crisis? How could they improve their involvement in the needs of the neighbor.

Migration in the Bible

Although an important social and, as we shall see, biblical phenomenon, there hasn't been a significant theological reflection on migration.⁵ In the last couple of decades, primarily because of

the international migrant crises in various parts of the world, there has been a growing interest in articulation a theology of migration.

Migration is indeed a concept imbedded in the biblical story from its incipient phase in which Adam and Eve migrate out of the garden of Eden (Gn 3:23–24) to its completion in the disclosure of the New Jerusalem, the final destination for 'migrants' of all 'tribes and races' (Rv 21:1–4). It seems appropriate to agree with Hoppe who asserted that the Scripture is "a literary tapestry woven from the stories of migrants."⁶

Andrew Walls suggests that in the Bible there are two paradigms of migration: one *adamic* and the other one *abrahamic*.⁷ In the former the migration is punitive being the result of the breaking of the Law of God and the way curse and suffering are avoided. In the latter migration is redemptive being the answer to a divine call to blessedness and communion with God. The two types are overlapping in the Scriptures, but the paradigm which prevails is the *abrahamic* one, as all those called to journey to the heavenly Jerusalem eventually reach their eternal destination.

But Scriptures do not only acknowledge migration as an essential human experience but also regard it as a condition of the people of God, as a matter of divine concern to the point of the identification of God with the migrants and even as a way to describe the divine *kenosis*. The people of God is formed while the Israelites were migrants in Egypt and then generation after generation the migrants in a fallen world respond to the divine invitation to join the redeemed family of God; in the New Testament we are reminded of a citizenship that is in heavens making the children of God mere migrants on the move. (PhIm 3:20) This image is drawn upon also in 'Lumen Gentium, The Dogmatic Constitution on the Church', where the Council Vatican II speaks of the church in terms of people of God which is migrating: 'the Church, while on earth it journeys in a foreign land away from the Lord, is like in exile.'⁸

God commands the Israelites to embrace the strangers, to love and care for them on the one hand because the ultimate ownership of all lands belongs to God himself (Lv 25:23) and on the other hand because the Jews had themselves been strangers in Egypt. (Dt 10:19) If these reasons fail to convince the nationalist and racist Israelites, God identifies himself with the stranger by declaring his love for him or her. (Dt 10:17–18) The rights of the strangers are protected by divine command which, once broken, triggers the curse of the divine wrath. (Dt 27:19) The same care is requested by Jesus, whose identification with the stranger is complete: welcoming the stranger is to receive Jesus himself. (Mt 25:38, 40) This is why the hospitality (*philoxenia*: love of the stranger)plays such an important role in personal and corporate Christian life: embracing the stranger, the other, we receive his or her Maker and Sender.

Along the lines of Walls' paradigms of migration, we could speak of a third type—the Christic one; Paul speaks of Christ's journey which started from the heights of divine perfection (Phlm 2:6), went down to the abyss of death (Phlm 2:8) and then back to the initial glory and honor (Phlm 2:9–11) but this time raising up the ones who used to be 'children of wrath' (Eph 2:3, 6, 7). Christ comes into the world to redeem it but he is rejected as stranger (Jn 1:11)—the Creator becomes the stranger. Also, the earthly ministry of Jesus was the journey of an itinerant preacher rejected (Mt 8:20) and then condemned as a worthless stranger.

Toward a Theology of Migration

Daniel G. Groody offers a helpful tool to reflect theologically on migration taking firm steps towards laying down the groundwork for a theology of migration. He suggests that there are four foundations for a theology of migration: *Imago Dei, Verbum Dei, Missio Dei* and *Visio Dei*, corresponding to the classical theological themes of creation, incarnation, mission, and the vision of the kingdom of God.⁹

He starts by drawing on the understanding that any human being, including the migrant or the refugee, bears the image of God, and this leads to an imperative to define the migrant in relation to his or her Creator and to treat the migrant with dignity.

By Verbum Dei, Groody refers to the incarnation, which he regards as the strongest pillar for a theology of migration: 'The Verbum Dei . . . is the great migration of human history: God's movement in love to humanity makes possible humanity's movement

to God."¹⁰ Exploring the implications of the divine kenosis with the climax in the crucifying of Christ, Groody develops some of the ideas of Karl Barth who speaks of the incarnation as "the way of the Son of God into the far country."¹¹

The Missio Dei in which the church takes part is to restore the fallen human beings to a whole relationship to the Creator as well as within the humanity by creating a new community of equality, acceptance and love. This work of reconciliation entails the affirmation of all human beings, any possible barrier being taken down to foster a genuine togetherness.

The last concept Groody uses in his attempt to articulate shortly a theology of migration is Visio Dei. For the theologian this concept goes beyond the Kingdom of God as it will be revealed in the eschaton, by bringing it into the present, making it a reality for the new people of God.¹² The community of the redeemed is to live out the values of the Kingdom to fully come, and to promote these values into the wider society in order to connect it to the will that God has for it. In other words, it is not only the destination that counts, but the journey too. It is a transformative experience, an adventure to which the humankind is invited in order to fulfill its destiny.

The Role of the Church

As it has been shown, the reasons for migration make up a complex phenomenon as it includes economic migrants, refugees, temporary workers, wonderers, stateless people, lawful and lawful residents. Each category and each case should be treated individually. However, there some things the Church could do—in some cases it already does—but its involvement could be improved.

The Church as a Prophetic Voice in the Public Arena

In the highly technological world that we live in, the public arena can easily be dominated by voices which manipulate: the press, influential public figures, and powerful state structures of various types. The church is to make her voice heard with a positive message about migration promoting ideas such as: migration is inherent to our human nature; it benefits the countries which welcome migrants by solving or at least alleviating the dramatic issues of demographic catastrophes and shortage of workforce. A continent such as Europe should be reminded that for centuries it was the greatest 'exporter' of migrants—from the Middle Ages up to twentieth century Europe has conquered land on virtually every continent¹³ and it has sent Europeans to all these places, generally to rule, to control. Some of the migration in Europe (especially in the UK and France) is related to this historical relationship to countries on other continents which used to be part of the according empires.

The prophetic aspect refers to the fact that the church should offer the positive perspective of the Scriptures on migration, sanctioning the states when they are careless with this issue. This mandate is not oriented only towards the often heartless states but also to the people of Europe: the inviolable principle of the dignity of each human being and the responsibility which derives from our capacity of stewards of what we have for our fellow human beings, these urge for a positive approach to migration.

The Church as the Conscience of a Society

The Church needs to call the society to the values of the Kingdom as the only way to accomplish peace, development and the well being of its members. Whenever values such as respect, love, care, compassion, hospitality, generosity, life are denied or deserted, the church should warn society in relation to the wrong way it is going.

The Church ought to be involved in asking those in power to promote laws and policies which seek the wellbeing of the migrants to that country as much as the wellbeing of the citizens of that country. Such an involvement was when, in 2001, Catholic and Protestant leaders emphasized the urgent need for the improvement of the conditions in which migrants were kept in a detention center near John F. Kennedy International Airport in New York City; conditions which were allegedly worse than in prisons.¹⁴ The Church could also ask governments to work more thoroughly to improve situations in the migrants (especially refugees) exporting countries. One could argue on the role the powerful and influential western countries could have played in working beforehand to avoid some of the devastating conflicts in countries such as Syria, Afghanistan, Iraq.

Another area where the church can be a 'conscience' is in watching the way the states or EU structures are fulfilling their responsibilities; a commending enterprise along these lines is that of five European ecumenical organisations (The Churches' Commission for Migrants in Europe (CCME), the Conference of European Churches (CEC), Eurodiaconia, EU–CORD, and ACT Alliance EU) which urged the European governments to implement the requirements of the treaties or laws with the purpose on acting for the well being of the refugees (Press Release No: 16/05, 17 March 2016 Brussels).

Migration: An Efficient Partner in Evangelical Mission

In his chapter 'Coming to Gath: Migration as Mission among Philistines', Robert Gallagher makes the point that in the biblical story of David's life, the forced migration of David facilitated a kind of knowledge of God to the pagan King Achishand to those under his influence; Gallagher suggests that means that migrants can be effective missionaries and that their stories should be considered when developing a strategy for missions.¹⁵

European migration has been done not only with a view to master new lands, but also by sending missionaries to all these new territories which were perceived as the perfect candidates for basic evangelism.¹⁶

Also, the reverse is possible and effective: migrants are experience uprooting, instability so they are probably more open to consider the message of the God who is meeting these needs.¹⁷

Therefore, the church should consider carefully each of its members who is migrating in order to equip and to send with the purpose of witnessing to the new life in Christ. While some churches suffer the loss of those who leave, a healthy understanding of the concept of the Kingdom of God will help these churches be positive about the migration of her members.

Churches as Welcoming Communities for All Migrants

In a study sponsored by *The Churches' Commission for Migrants in Europe and World Council of Churches*, Darrell Jackson and Alessia Passarelli show that the churches are not succeeding at integrating the migrants in churches, less so in the ecclesial leadership.¹⁸ The low percentage of migrants integrated as church leaders into the adoptive communities where their faith represents the majority highlight a real need for integration. Churches should make room in all areas of church life to migrants, including leadership. The ecclesial community is to be a family which offers its support, care and love to all its members as well as migrants with the hope to integrate. Should the church fail in this area, then the capacity of the church to offer the help to all affected categories of people will be severely diminished.

Conclusion

Migration is one of the most significant issues faced by the contemporary world. Given its history as well as its present, Europe should have the internal resources to continue to protect its values and, at the same time, to serve the needs of its neighbours. As the challenges of migration are significant, the church could play an important role in the dynamics of the phenomenon in European Union. The church could draw much from the biblical story and bring her contribution to improving the reception and the integration of the migrants.. The church has a golden chance to serve the lowly, witness to the Gospel and have a lasting impact in a contemporary Europe which is running away from its Christian heritage.

Migration represents not only a challenge posed by migrants, but it is also a great opportunity for service and efficient witness.

NOTES

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¹¹ Cf. Karl Barth, *Church Dogmatics*, G. W. Bromiley (trans) G. W. Bromiley and T. F. Torrance (eds.) (New York: Continuum, 2004), 157–210.

¹² Groody, 660–3.

¹³ Walls, 16.

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¹⁵ VanThanh Nguyen and John M. Prior (eds.) *God's People on the Move. Biblical and Global Perspectives on Migration and Mission*. (Eugene, Oregon: Pickwick Publications, 2014), 29–45.

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The Migration of Protestant Music in European Culture

Cristian Caraman

ABSTRACT: The migration of musical art forms, from one nation to another, from one century to another and from one cultural context to another was a historical panacea of humanity. Through music, the Christian faith has managed to keep the dialogue open amongst the main Christian orientations—Catholic, Orthodox and Protestant/Evangelical. This article links the beginnings of protestant music, during the XIV and XVI centuries, to the spiritual manifestations that shaped the protestant music throughout history. A very important piece of the reformation is the Protestant chorale. The chorale brought forth the ideology of the reformation and gave life to the esthetic ideas of the humanists. The invention of the printing press in Krakow in 1475 helped spreading the teachings of Protestantism.

KEY WORDS: Reformation, Protestant music, humanism, Chorale, Protestant, Christian faith.

The Spread of Protestantism in Europe

E ach branch of the Reformation was deeply affected by Humanism. Martin Luther used the Greek New Testament edited by Erasmus, perfecting the understanding of Pauline theology, and Huldrych Zwingli, John Calvin, Philipp Melanchthon and Théodore Bèze were initiated in the humanist studies prior to embracing Protestantism. The Reformation, regarded as a transitional period between the late Middle Ages and the Modern Era, is characterized by the development of a new type of culture, which has struggled to survive, while the old model was equally struggling not to perish. The Reformation is a religious movement initiated by Martin Luther, which led to the emergence of a new Christian community independent of the Roman Catholic Church, and a new type of religiosity, Protestantism. Martin Luther's aspirations, however, had a major impact not only in the religious realm, but in the political, social and cultural aspects of our civilization. The Reformation, which took root in Germany, spread to Switzerland, which developed its own model by Huldrych Zwingli, and then to France, where Calvin started a new movement, namely the Huguenots. Reformed churches have spread to the Netherlands, England and Hungary. During the eighteenth century, the Protestant movement reached North America, the Far East, Africa and Eastern Europe. Through Martin Luther (1483-1546), Europe's old mentalities of liturgical worship were shattered, giving way to a whole different musical style, which will replace the old repertoires of psalms with new genres, such as the anthem and the chorale. The emergence of the printing press, in the mid fifteenth century, encourages the dissemination of music and encourages individual worship practices. Another important aspect of this new religious wave, represented the close link between religion, literature and music, where music occupies an important place in the social and religious society. Martin Luther managed to reform the music and worship practices, reinstating the monodic form of singing, accessible to all believers. The Protestant Chorale encouraged the participation of believers in the act of worship through common singing, as it was in the Hebrew religious services at the temple. Among the musical works of Martin Luther, most representative remains Eine feste Burg ist unser Gott ("A mighty fortress is our God.") This chorale is structured on the repetition of a main melody, followed by another, shorter melody, or a melodic conclusion. This form represents the quintessential form of the Protestant Chorale.¹ During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the homophonic writing of the Protestant Chorale, contributed to the transition of the cantus-firmus from the tenor voice to the soprano. The Reformation was started in Germany by the German humanist scholars, and was developed by secular intellectuals and by the clergy. The German humanists were very

interested in the Greek and Latin classics, and they continued to write in Latin throughout the fifteenth century, but in the sixteenth century, German is beginning to be introduced as the main language of the arts and of German versification.²

Hussite Movement and Music

German Reformation will be animated specifically by the Hussite movement. One hundred years before Martin Luther, Prague becomes a center for pre-Reformation³, through Jan Hus, the leader whose followers, the Moravian Brothers and the Taborites,⁴ spread his ideology around central Europe. The Moravian church, through the Hussite movement, later became one of the most missionary oriented churches in the history of modern Christianity.

Hussite teachings influenced English Protestantism and later influenced Martin Luther, head of the German Reformation, who considered Jan Hus as the main author of the Reformation. Jan Hus is said to have composed about 18 songs.⁵ Generally speaking, Hus would adapt a biblical text to popular songs. The melodies used, were old Czech songs, short, and with an austere character. These songs were accessible to the congregation and had no ornaments, with the text in Czech.

No instrumentation was used due to the prohibition of such musical expression in the church. The hymns sang during the Hussite wars had a strong revolutionary spirit. Many of these songs were assimilated by the Lutheran chorale, sometimes being translated in German. A good example of such a hymn is *Jesus Christus unser Heiland*⁶ song. The characteristics of the Hussite music are:

- 1. Monodic singing and adapting the text in the Czech language. The liturgy was sung in Czech, as it was forbidden to sing Mass in Latin. The songs were simple and widespread;
- 2. Instrumental music was forbidden, including organ;
- 3. Czech folk melodies were used;
- 4. The composition of new songs with Czech text;
- 5. Continuing the tradition of keeping the most used songs.

Bedřich Smetana (1824–1884) and Antonin Dvořák (1841–1904) remain the exponents of Czech Renaissance music. The Hussite movement stimulated the formation of the Czech language and prepared the national musical culture. The Hussite music was preserved manuscripts and also in printed collections since 1501. Hussite songs, such as *Jesus Christus unser Heiland* (Jesus our Savior),⁷ were translated into German and used in the Lutheran liturgy. Also, Hussite songs, which were composed as monodies and used texts in Czech, have been used in the works of the greatest Czech composers. In the opera *Libusa* and the symphonic poems *Tabor* and *Blaneck* by Bedřich Smetana, in the *Hussite Overture* by Antonin Dvořák, and the *Symphonic Fantasy* by Otakar Jeremiáš.

Reformation of the Lutheran Church Music

Monodical hymns from the Medieval Latin text were taken and adapted for Protestant worship services. These hymns were harmonized and were set on a German biblical text. *Te Deum*, a fourth century AD song, will become *Grober Gott, wir loben Dich* in German and *Holy God we praise thy name*^{β} in English. The reformation, as religious movement was adopted by peoples of Germanic origin from northern and western Europe. It is considered that the onset of the Reformation occurred with the 95 theses placed on the doors of the Wittenberg cathedral by Martin Luther issued on 31 October 1517. The main ideas of the text are:

- Through repentance, not by indulgence,⁹ it receives forgiveness of sins;
- Sola fide (by faith alone) and not salvation through good deeds, acts as the effect and not the cause of salvation;
- Sola Scriptura (Scripture only) is the only religious authority;
- Solo Christo—head of the Church is Jesus Christ, not the pope, which disputed the infallibility;¹⁰
- Sola Gratia—(by grace) expression used by Protestants who emphasize divine initiative in choice and justification;
- Concept of the priesthood of all believers.

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Martin Luther studied music as did any cleric from the medieval period. His oratory and musical skills were guite remarkable. Martin Luther had a clear and defined knowledge of music, as demonstrated by his psalm and motet composition, Non moriar sed vivam. This work was composed using compositional techniques, such as polyphony and harmony. Martin Luther sang in the choir of the monastery St. Augustine of Erfurt, where he learned and perfected in the study of lute and music theory. Martin Luther's compositional career is divided into two distinct periods: the first period up to 1524 and the period after 1524. The first 12 of the 23 songs composed during the first period are just paraphrases of Latin works. Eleven songs are composed entirely independent of which, six are psalms. The Lord's Prayer, composed by Martin Luther, became part of the Lutheran catechism.¹¹ A symbol of Protestant music, the chorale *Ein 'feste Burg ist unser Gots* by Martin Luther, was inspirational to composers such as Giacomo Meyerbeer (1791-1864), who used it's melodic line in the opera and Huguenots, and by Felix Mendelssohn (1809–1847) in his work, Reformation Symphony. Martin Luther gave particular importance to music as part of an educational tool. Martin Luther's reformation regarding the liturgy was based on the belief that church music is meant to:

- Glorify God
- Worship
- Educate the congregation

From the monodical expression, the protestant chorale will develop into harmonically developed versions of melodies of four to five voices. Thus, by imposing rhythm cadence of equal value and breadth, it becomes a Hymn that gives rigor, strength and greatness to the composition. German folk song,¹² German dances,¹³ Latin–German¹⁴ song, Dutch folk songs and the Latin sacred music have had an important influence on Protestant music. Also Catholic melodies are borrowed and used for creation of the Protestant Chorale.¹⁵ Liturgical repertoires of songs that belong to the beginnings of Protestantism contain a combination of several musical forms, juxtaposition and arrangements so as to match the

song text. At first the songs were sung in Latin, and then appeared in German translation as well. German sacred songs and the songs that appeared during the Crusades were used also in the liturgy and in individual homes. The contrafacta technique meant adapting new text, usually independent of the original text, to the old songs well known by the congregation, with the intent of renewing old song with the new Protestant doctrine. Therefore, accepting secular songs, such as the Lied, in the protestant repertoire was easily assimilated. The significance of contrafacta genre is highlighted by Martin Luther, who considers secular songs very beautiful, but recommends involving protestant poets in rewriting the texts. Some of the secular songs with protestant text are: We Himmel hoch, da Komm ich her (written by Martin Luther), with a text taken from an old folk poem Ich Komm aus fremden her Louden. Contrafacta-lied was composed by other composers as well. Hans Sachs, Paulus Speratus or the pastor Valentin Triller who wrote, in 1555 Liederbuch de Wachter and Schesich Singbuchlein out gottlicher Shriff.

Martin Luther came under the pressure of other reformers; so he created fixed rules and a specific order of using music for liturgical evangelical services. He published these rules in several editions of the Deutsche Misse. Martin Luther and the Reformation representatives have introduced the Protestant Chorale to replace the Gregorian Psalmody and the polyphonic art of the Dutch masters, as a new compositional style. One of the earliest protestant composer, besides Martin Luther was Johann Walter the Elder (1496–1570). At the urging of Martin Luther, he writes the first collection of Protestant songs Geistlich Gesangbuchlein, in 1524. He also wrote a Magnificat, St. Matthew Passion, two collections of choral songs (1522 and 1561) and the song *Von Himmel hoch*, celebrating a song written by Martin Luther. He left an epitaph-poem about the death of Martin Luther and in the history of Lutheran music will be considered the first Lutheran cantor, a system of liturgical expression that will be maintained up to Johann Sebastian Bach and beyond. Music by Johann Walter exceeded German lands and had great influence on French composers, especially on Goudmiel.¹⁶ The greatest German master of counterpoint was polyphonic writer Ludwig Senfl (1468–1542/1543), a member of the imperial chapel

in Augsburg. His creation includes the creation of masses, motets, psalms and songs. He proposed the introduction of polyphonic techniques when composing chorales. In 1530, Martin Luther asks him to write a motet on the anthem In Peace.

The sermon ranks first in the protestant liturgy, music being the frame of the sermon. Matthaeus Le Maistre (1505–1577), Johann Walter's successor at the court of Dresden, composed many works, hymns, songs for high voice and some canons composed in the Dutch tradition (eg Mensch, Wiltu laben seligh și Christe der du bist Tag und Lichf). In his second collection (1577), Matthaeus Le Maistre composes within simple polyphonic style, while Lucas Osiander (1534–1604) in his collection Funfzig Geistliche Lieder und Psalmen (Wittenberg, 1586) shows that music must be written in such a way that the whole Christian congregation be able to enjoy singing everywhere. Burck Joachim (1546–1610) in his Cantiones Sacrae (1573) uses chromatic and other stylistic sensibilities to highlight the text. Johann Eccard (1553–1611) will publish Gestliche Lieder (1578–1589) and Gerstliche Lieder auf dem Choral (Königsberg, 1589) where the melody is for the higher voice, while the other voices move in an ornamental harmony in a polyphonic form.

Features of Huguenot Music

French musical culture of the sixteenth century was marked by the music of the Huguenots. Huguenots are French Protestants, and their music and culture spread beyond France, and by the end of the eighteenth century reached Germany, Netherlands, Italy, Czech Republic, Poland. In 1512, Lefevre d'Etaples formulates the principles of French Protestantism which will be adopted by the French nobility and even the royal court. The social and democratic character of the movement has made religious service to be used in the French text instead of Latin. The main manifestation has been the implementation of monody, and the Huguenot psalm sang in French, thus very accessible to people. Huguenot musical features can be defined by the severity of the melodic structure, which was sang very slow and measured, composed of equal length according

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to the text syllables, and boasting a fermata for every ending. Psalms were sung not only during the religious service, but also at home, in schools, craftsmen workshops, and on the battlefield.¹⁷ Around 1533 Clement Marot, best known representative of the French Reformation, begin to translate the psalms, and in 1534 being in Ferrara, at the court of Duchess Renée de France, Clement Marot continues to translate the *Psalms*, and in 1542 he published the first edition of the psalms in French. In 1539 the first Calvinist Psalter is published in Strasbourg, which contained 19 psalms, of which 13 were translations by Clément Marot and 6 were translations of Jean Calvin. Louis Bourgeois continues to refine the musical side of the *Psalter* until 1552, and in 1562 structures the music of the psalms on counterpoint, note against note, moving the melody to the tenor. Goudmiel Claude (1520–1572) alongside Claude le Jeune remains the most important composers of French Protestants of the sixteenth century. After converting to Protestantism, Claude Goudmiel devoted his entirely life to the publishing of the entire Hugenot Psalter on a polyphonic structure. In 1564, Théodore de Bèze will publish the complete Psalter of Clément Marot. This edition of the Psalter was a work of practical hymnology, where the psalms were treated in three parts, with rich ornamentation and with the melody generally sung by the high voice. In 1562, Claude Goudmiel wrote a simpler form and completed the psalms, and songs that did not use the traditional melodies and used harmonization of Geneva songs (1551). The work of Claude le Jeune is a summary of the sixteenth century that will open the door for new musical forms, which will bear influence particularly on the meter in music. The treatment of psalms was done from a geographically diverse perspective, from composition for four voices, to the complete *Psalter* by Polish composer by Mikolaj Gomółka (Krakow 1580), which used songs deducted from plainsong, or Protestant and folk songs, to the amazing collection by Marot and Bèze published by the Dutch composer Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck (1562-1621) in four volumes (1604, 1613, 1614 in Amsterdam and 1621 in Haarlem). Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck was the first composer who wrote the form of choral variations and the Genoese Psalter, published in four volumes (1604–1621). One of the main characteristic of the Huguenot music was the singing of popular

songs using versified psalms. The monodies used by the Huguenot hymns used elements of folk songs, heroic poems and elements of the Gregorian chant. The transformation of the Hugenot monodies into a polyphonic writing, using four voices is gradual. The main compositional aspects of the Huguenots were:

- The entire congregation singing in unison during the liturgy;
- Four voice polyphonic structure in counterpoint, used only for home singing;
- Polyphonic counterpoint, where the melody migrates from voice to voice;
- Four voice polyphonic structure in syllabic–counterpoint.

The creation of the Huguenot Psalter was a task built by several authors, including poet Clement Marot, philosopher Thomas Bèze and lesser known composers such as, Wolfgang Matthäus, Matthias Greiter, Wolfgang Dachstein, Guillaume France, Louis Bourgeois and the better known Goudmiel Claude and Claude Le Jeune. The Huguenot chorale has undergone changes due to social expansion , from the aristocracy and nobility to the broadest sections of French society. Also Calvinist music has crossed the borders of France in the Netherlands, reaching Germany, England, Poland, Switzerland, Hungary and Transylvania.

Polish Protestant Song

With the socio-economic development and cultural of Poland, in the second half of the fifteenth century and first half of the sixteenth century, the humanist movement gives room for reformation in Polish spiritual and cultural space. In Poland, the reform was made by nobility and bourgeoisie. Jan Hus's teachings found followers in Poland,¹⁸ especially in the cities of Gdansk, Poznan and Krakow. The Polish Reform ideologist was Mikolaj Rej (1505–1569). Mikolaj Rej translated many psalms into prose and composer Waclaw Szamotuly put it to music. Also, many Czech hymns were widespread in Poland, and many Hussite songs were published in Krakow due to the ban

on protestant music across the border. As in Bohemia, reformation preceded the flowering of humanism in Poland. The left wing of the Polish reformation was represented by the Polish Brothers,¹⁹ who proclaimed equality between classes, which led to the return of nobility within the Catholic Church in 1555, who legalized the existence of reformed churches in Poland. Mikolaj Rej's Psalter was published in 1555. Another proponent of Polish Protestantism was Lucas Gorka (b. 1593), who founded the Czech Brothers movement and had great musical activity in Poland. Another representative of Polish Protestantism was musician, theologian, poet and activist Andrzej Trzeciewski (m 1584). He is the author of several songs included in the collection of Piotr Artomiusz, and author of an excellent translation of psalms, later put to music in Krakow, 1557. In 1557 in Krolewic, Jan Seklucian published a collection of *Christian* songs on one voice, the collection included works by Waclaw Szamotuly, old songs and well known Catholic songs. Most widespread collection of songs was the Lutheran Cantional by Piotr Artomiusz, which appeared in several editions, where the vast majority of songs were written on a single voice preserving the uniformity of the Lutheran chorales. Protestant schools in Bielzicy, Kozminski, Leszen, Bojanowo, Tourn, Gdansk, Krakow helped to increase the role of protestant music in Poland. Polish folk songs will also influence polish protestant songs. Another composer of polish protestant songs was Cyprjan Bazylika of Sieradz (1535–1594) who along with other composers anticipates some features of the compositional style of Mikplaj Gomółka. Other composers of protestant music will arise thereafter, and other collections of *Cantionals*, like those of Lazarz Andrysowicz (1556), Martin Siebeneycher (1543) wich includes transcriptions of polyphonic works by Waclaw Szamotuly and Nerina Clerici-Balmas (1587) on one, two and four voices. Other outstanding polish composers that have contributed to the protestant music were, Waclaw Szamotuly and Mikolaj Gomółka. Another important composer was Mikolaj Gomółka (1539–1609), who synthesized and processed polyphonic music into protestant Psalters. The only work of his that has been preserved is a *Psalter* which contains 150 psalms translated and synthesized into lyrics by Jan Kochanowski (1530–1584). Psalter melodies were published

in 1580 in Krakow. The music of these Psalters is characterized by an expressive cantabile, simplicity and naturalness, where melodies from all voices, especially that of soprano, carried on with great freedom and spontaneity. The most important Renaissance polish protestant work is the *Kochanowski Psalter*.

Anglican Religious Music

Anglican religious music English Reformation coexisted with the English humanism, being initiated by the king, and taking a long time to get off the ground. Like Jan Hus, John Wycliffe (1320-1384)²⁰ capitalized on the antipope nationalist sentiment during papal captivity, when the Pope resided in Avignon. Reform trends have crystallized around the teachings of John Wycliffe and his followers, the Lollards. Bohemians students studying in England took the teachings of John Wycliffe and started the Bohemian Hussite movement. In 1549 was introduced in the new liturgy of the Church of England. The Book of Common Praver. Between 1553 and 1558. the Anglican Church was legalized by Queen Elizabeth I. Unlike Puritanism and other religious currents, Anglican Church services and worship music preserved the pompous character of the Catholic ritual. During Queen Elizabeth I reign, the religious services were accompanied on the organ and other instruments (trombones, horns). A feature of the Anglican worship music is the relative simplification of musical writing, by giving up the complicated counterpoint singing and switching to prayers and a versified text in English. Another feature was the promotion of new genres such as metered psalms. Between 1560 and 1600, 19 editions of metered psalms music were published. The first published Anglican liturgy was created by John Merbecke in 1549. One of the features of the Anglican service was combining stylistic features of simple music accessible to the masses, with the pompous Catholic practices. Among the chief British polyphonist of the sixteenth century, who wrote music for the services of the Anglican Church, were John Taverner (1490–1545); Christopher Tye (1500–1572); Thomas Tallis (1505–1585); William Byrd²¹ (1543–1623) and Orlando

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Gibbons (1583–1625). For the new Anglican liturgy Thomas Tallis (1505–1585) composed liturgical services, psalms, 12 hymns, in the Renaissance musical tradition. Along with Henry Purcell, William Byrd remains the greatest English composer and polyphonist of the sixteenth century.²² Orlando Gibbons (1583-1625) composed 40 hymns in the Anglican style. John Taverner (1490-1545) is known for taking positions in favor of Lutheran doctrine and anti-Catholic campaign during Thomas Cromwell, yet his music is written more in the traditional Catholic style (8 masses, Hallelujah songs, hymns, psalms, Te Deum). The spread of Protestantism in England was strongly reflected in the entire culture of the sixteenth century, while in Scotland Calvinism triumphed. Other Anglican composers were John Blow (1649–1708) composing 100 anthems,²³ Henry Purcell (1659–1695) with the full-anthem²⁴ Hear my prayer and the verseanthem O sing unto the Lord, Georg Friedrich Händel (1685–1759) with Chandos Anthems (1717), Coronation Anthems (1727) and Igor Stravinsky (1882–1971) with Anthem (1962). Influenced by William Byrd, Thomas Morley (1558–1692) wrote a lot of Anglican church music and instrumental keyboard music. Henry Purcell (1659–1695), an innovator of the time, will leave an impressive number of works, masks music scene and a large amount of Anglican music (hymns, psalms and sacred songs). Adapting to the taste of the new era and expressiveness of Italian music and writing patterns influenced by William Byrd and Orlando Gibbons, he wrote more for the Anglican worship in Elizabethan and Jacobite school tradition. combining the spiritual momentum with a tremendous expression, thus generating an art of enhancing and fascinating decor.

Conclusion

The Protestant Reformation created the Lutheran Church, the Reformed Church, the Anglican Church and the Anabaptist movement which, in time will form many other radical movements and independent churches in Europe, and especially in the Americas. As a direct consequence, music accompanied the events taking place and helped at the development of the newly formed liturgies. Given

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the era, the musical core of the reformed churches maintain its coral roots, weather it was within the Calvinist, Anglican or Hussite religious movements.

The principle of using the energy of expression of popular creation as a potential spiritual–existential medium appears in these circumstances as evidence that argues for a direct relationship between the congregation and the clergy. Protestant musical discourse it's more clearly understood in the Lutheran spiritual model, but also in the artistic expression of classical, romantic, and twentieth century composers. This appearance of the reformation movement will continue to grow, having as the driving force of accessibility to the liturgy, the Lutheran chorale, which will bloom every which way the reformation took roots. Formal and stylistic characteristics of the Lutheran chorale are the German national language, metric verse, and simple melody.

The chorale has evolved over the centuries from a monodical form to a compositional variety that includes chorale-prelude chorale-motet, cantata and chorale-suite. At the beginning of the Protestant Reformation the chorale represented a congregational hymn, known as *Geistliche Lieder* (religious songs), *Psalmen* (Psalms), *Christliche Lieder* (Christian songs) and *Gesang* or *Kirchengesange* (songs for the church). In the late seventeenth century, the name of the chorale that was traditionally attributed to the simple *Latin song* (cantus planus), will be applied to the German Protestant hymn. In the protestant liturgy, the congregational hymn plays an important role, equivalent to the *Gregorian Chant* (Gregorianischer Choral) and the choral song (chorus choralis) of the Roman Catholic liturgy.

In the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries, the term chorale refers to the simple harmonization of the German anthem songs, such as Johann Sebastian Bach's chorales, and hymns written for four voices. In modern times the term means a simple song, and the religious hymn (Kirchenlied) means a simple devotional song. I believe that, in terms of historical and informational substance, I have captured many of the important elements of the beginnings of the protestant music, generally known by the public only through small fragments of information, insufficiently deep in their logical sequence to gain an understanding of the great migration of protestant music.

NOTES

¹ Cristian Caraman, *Music Genres Protestant* (București: National University of Music: 2011), 41.

² Theobald Hoeck (1573–1624), German poet, who published a collection of poems Schönes Blumenfeld, about the question of writing in German. In 1537 he translated Odissea for the first time in German. http://de.wikipedia.org/ wiki/Theobald_Hock (Last accessed March 6, 2016.)

³ Jan Hus was the Rector of the University of Prague in 1409 and pastor of Bethlehem Chapel. He proposed to reform the Roman Catholic Church in Bohemia, but the Papal Council of Constance made the decision to burn him at the stake.

⁴ The Taborites (Czech Táborité, singular Táborita) were members of a religious community considered heretical by the Catholic Church. The Taborites were centered on the Bohemian city of Tábor during the Hussite Wars in the 15th century. The religious reform movement in Bohemia splintered into various religious sects. Besides the Taborites, these included the Adamites, Orebites, Sirotčí ("Orphans"), Utraquists and Praguers. Alfred Bertholet, *Dictionary of Religions* (Iasi: Alexandru Ioan Cuza University, 1995).

⁵ J. Hus, composed songs during his studies at the University of Prague (1389–1396), and during his time in jail in Konstaz (1414–1415). He sent 23 of his verses and songs to Skopek prior to his execution on July 6 1415.

⁶ Caraman, Ibid., 35.

⁷ Ovidiu Manole, *Cantus Christianus* (Timisoara: Agape, 1998), 14.

⁸ Caraman, Ibid., 38.

⁹ Tetzel, the Pope's emissary who, alongside his aides, claimed the saving power of indulgences, in exchange for money. This has led to outrage of the enlightened spirits of the time. Earle E. Cairns, *Christianity Through the Centuries*, (New York: Zondervan, 1996), 277–278.

¹⁰ Contested Infallibility, is the possibility of error in the interpretation of Scripture and beyond by the Pope. Bertholet, Ibid., 209.

¹¹ Vater unser im Himelreich (in German). D. Martin Luthers Werke, vol. 35 (Weimar: Kritische Gesamtausgabe, 1883), 463–467. English translation made by MacDonald, is Luther's Works, Liturgy and Hymns, vol. 53, Ulrich S. Leupold Ed. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, USA, 1965), 297.

¹² The Song *Zu Tode Der Kuckuk gefallen hat sich* (Cuckoo fell and was struck dead) was a contrafacte transformed in *Der Papst hat sich zu Tode gefallen* (The Pope fell and was struck dead). Another children's song about chasing the Pope refrain: Come pope, get out.

¹³ The melody of the chorale *In dir ist Freude* (In you there is joy) was borrowed from *Balletti (Balets)* by G. Gastoldi (1591); the melody of the *Wasmein Gott will, das geschehe* (May your will be done, of Lord) was borrowed from the love song *II me suffit, de tous mes maux* (I've had enough suffering).

¹⁴ The use of songs by the Meistersinger, such as *Silberweise* (Silver song) by Hans Sachs, whic was a contrafacta of the polular Latin song *Salve Regina*, used by Martin Luther to compose the chorale *Eine feste Burg*.

¹⁵ Ambrosius of Milan's Anthem *Veni Redemptor Gentium* (Come savior of men) becomes the Protestant anthem, *Nun Kommt der Heiden Heiland* (Now comes the Savior of pagans); hymn *Veni Creator Spiritus* turns *Komm Gott* Schopfer, Heiliger Geist (Come Holy Spirit, Our Creator), the hymn *Te Deum laudamus* in *Herr Gott, dich wir loben* (Praise Thee O Lord.)

¹⁶ Claude Goudmiel (1514–1572, Lyon), French composer, and an outstanding representative of the Protestan music. Oxford Companion to Music. Alison Latham, 533; Gerald Abraham, *The Concise Oxford History of Music* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 220–222.

¹⁷ The Huguenot Psalm 68, played an important role in the French military music, as well as L'homme arms (Armed man), but banned in church music and picked up by various composers including Palestrina.

¹⁸ Jan Hus had many adherents in Poland, especially in the academic environments. Expulsion from the Czech Hussites in 1548 contributed to a proliferation of their ideas in Poland.

¹⁹ The Polish brothers were Aryan priests, so called heresies of Arius. Illustrated Explanatory Dictionary of the Romanian Language (DEXI); Bertholet, Ibid., 31, 32.

²⁰ John Wycliffe, a professor at Oxfond, and English church reformer. Cairns, Ibid., 245.246; Williston Walker, *A History of the Christian Church* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1959), 267.

²¹ William Byrd was an English composer of the Renaissance. He wrote in many of the forms current in England at the time, including various types of sacred and secular polyphony, keyboard (the so-called Virginalist school), and consort music. He produced sacred music for use in Anglican services, although he himself became a Roman Catholic in later life and wrote Catholic sacred music as well.

²² William Byrd composed *Great Service, Short Service,* a series of anthems such as, *This day Christ was born, Sing Joy fully, Praise our Lord all ye Gentiles.* Abraham, *The Concise Oxford History of Music*; see also Latham, Ibid., 1142, 1143.

²³ The anthem, is an English specific genre, similar to the motet sung in French and German, and English. Anthems will undergo many transformations in form and language. Latham, Ibid., 48–50.

²⁴ Full–anthem, for acapella choir, or organ accompaniment. This anthem's structure is very different to other forms of anthem due to the variety of texts set to music. Latham, Ibid., 496.

The Concept of the 'Elected' People in the Abrahamic Religions

Cosmin Tudor Ciocan

ABSTRACT: The Divine election is certainly one of the more profound and controversial doctrines of religions, in every Holy Scripture and beyond. It certainly helped many wandering people, ranging from a place to another, in slavery, poverty or ousted by other. Also, it helped maintain loyalty to traditions; it brings hope for poor and meek, it implies divine protection and helps overcome the most severe social handicaps. The conception of chosenness has at the same time negative appointment regarding the others, non-chosen, and so it leads to moral and eschatological debates and paradoxes. How the most known religions—Judaism, Christianity, and Islam—relate to this concept, and what is their interpretation of this profound concept, we will try to build on the relationship of pilgrim people, expelled and ousted. For the biblical interpretation of the concept, we will see it as a separation among others but also with a special call in relation with them. The Christian side of it aimed at the beginning against the ultra nationalistic view of chosenness as in Judaism, then it gained the same facet as Israel, within the concept of predestination. For the Islamic part, the concept borrowed some issues from both previous religions, but also set its vision and application of it. What are the differences and mostly the circumstances that led to such conceptions—we will see during this paper.

KEY WORDS: jealousy, chosenness, elected people, hope, Judaism, Christianity, Islam, religious leaders, covenant, ousted, sovereignty, predestination, theopolitical nation.

What Makes a Religious Leader (RL) be Authentic?

Is there any element to distinguish a religious leader¹ from a mundane leadership? From our foray in leadership, it stands out the fact that an RL ensures his flock of things impossible to obtain or even prove but nevertheless believed in. Using this prerogative of 'being elected' by God to enact a people of divine interest and pass on this attribute of the election, the RL has the power to help his flock overcome any difficulty a person can encounter in life. Due to that method he gives psychological/spiritual comfort, he encourages his flock to move on in hard times, to stand still when everybody is staggering, to keep on doing things that no one else ('sane') would probably do instead. All these outcomes and many others only an religious leader can influence his flock to undergo, are the results of what only a real RL gives to his people. This is not the correct pattern he appoints [since] do not believe that there is no such thing as 'wrong religious pattern' as opposed to a 'correct' one], the exhaustive explanations about the lifestyle he can give, or the unstained conduct he might display. In fact, all these features are preceded by the only gift that really matters, giving hope. Any religion aims for people's salvation; what is this *salvation* and how it comes to be seen in different religious movements we will see shortly after. However, for the actual purpose, the role a religious leader has in conserving the identity of errant people, as the most valuable and efficient tool for doing this is to encourage and feed them with the conception of 'chosen people'. It helped many wandering people, ranging from a place to another, in slavery, poverty, or ousted by other. As religion usually helps people in need, it grew with the concept of chosenness for those expelled and ousted.

Nothing else counts as much as *hope* for people; humans can bargain anything, from food to dignity, for the real price, but when it comes to religious belief, man cannot accept any compromise. There are situations in which man fights for wealth, for treasures, for food, water or less, for social/moral/political values or more, but for a proper price he can *be made* to fight or leave the fight over any of these motifs. The psychological trigger that can change a fighter into an obedient or vice versa, from a peaceful one into a rampant militant, is *giving him hope*. How is it possible to achieve 'hope' in such manner that it transforms definitely and unchangeable a person, a group, or an entire community? The answer lies not with the expectation of achieving a higher material state or some goods 'in this life', as other mundane leaders might promise for their electorate. It lies in the case of religious pledges, the only valuable one that can literally 'move mountains' is that of *divine election*. Building a study case of this concept, we have to know that all religious promoters used it, and with high success, I might add.

Religiousness and the need of considering divine chosen

It is normal for a leadership group to establish the rules in which obedient people have to govern their lives. It is also understandable that the religious leaders—as for example 'the Church'—have the role to manage and succor the relation between people and God, for there are not many who are entitled to be leaders in a community, and religious leaders even less. To put people on a religious track, with moral conduct and humanitarian behavior, obvious it is needed for some who can facilitate genuine knowledge in this regard—based on several motifs, like *learned knowledge*, life self-experience, supernatural bygones, atypical gifts, etc. Starting from reasons like these, human society came to entrust 'special people' with religious leadership based on odd and different particularities. This characteristic was always took in the human society as a *sign*—either from G–d, or from Devil—and people who bore the mark of this particularity—differentness—were invested with special powers and therefore endowed with man's religiousness in every age. As an example, we find a man with severe handicap regarded as devil's work in certain societies (Lv 21:16-23) or ordained as a priest in another.

What it is particular to underline here, is that those "elected people," a.k.a. *religious leaders*, have to have monopoly over religiousness of individuals, that them and ONLY they have the power to conduct people's religious life as if they could not do anything without or beyond their power. It is not wrong to ask someone what G-d might want us to do in specific cases but is blatantly wrong to

make this someone's statement the final and indisputable G-d's will. When asking for G-d's will and getting a whole scale of answers in the same regard, it is hard to anyone to look upon all of them as trustful, unmistakable, unequivocal statements, because there is no possibility for G-d to create subjective, different and opposed declarations of will. That is why I cannot conceive a monopoly in any regard from human's behalf, even if it comes to 'the Church' matter of authority. It is more than possible for G-d to reveal Himself to man, but in the same time—and I say this as a scholar so fond and deepened in research on revelation—He leaves man to carry the burden of interpretation and social manifestation of it in man's subjective hands. *Why is that?*, or rather, *why don't I trust that there is a command or a controlled dictation in the relationship between G-d and 'elected men'?*

In the context of my book the answer should be a truism, for there is no religiousness on behalf of man [as a self-directed behavior to recognize G-d's merits, powerness, and authority] unless G-d, the revealer, won't give man space to behave in return, as a feedback, an adequate answer to G-d's activity over creation. Otherwise, all He would receive in return is a mechanical, unproductive, without pleasure behavior, one that was written in the creation code and for that matter, it would be redundant to give a command/dictation through revelation, once He already gave a controlled prescription of living, a predestination of behaviour. The bottom line is that no one-religious: leaders, institutions, society-should be given with a monopoly on the people's manner to behave and give religious responses to G-d, for there is no way you can control the internal feeling you want to express in behavior. You can offer some general lines, already-proved-as-working patterns, but you cannot expect all the followers to act in kind and without no exceptional, different, self-expressing conduct.

H.R. Niebuhr explains this religious–psychological phenomenon as an egoistic faith and vision, for "we imagine ourselves as the center of things. We portray the self as protagonist and our community as chosen.... I construe all things in terms of their relation to my self, my group, and their cherished projects."²

The Concept of *Election* in Different Religions

Obvious, the exemplar of this model is the biblical Israel, in which Anthony Smith finds the quintessential formulation of divine election and covenant. The people "consented to be chosen, and to submit themselves to the law of goodness and justice."³ This strong feeling and motivation to do great things has inspired and empowered other peoples who felt they had been given divine favor, and it has provided the stimulus and reasoning for moral renewal among those who see themselves as chosen.⁴ It brings hope to people in sorrow, in need or slavery and it helps them going on with their lives even when nothing from surroundings encourages them to do it. That is the primary reason for I said that religion is a tool made for slaves to overcome their situation; it is mostly, popularly known as the fact that *people turn to God only when they have problems and encounter hostile situations*.

The first embodiment of the concept in peoples' religiousness is the presence of a *covenant*, one that *God strongly look forward* to make between Him and the chosen ones. 'Coming [as initiative] from God' it has multiple purposes; first it ensures to the chosen ones the fact that they are protected by God and everything they do is under oath, so it is sacred and also taboo, without question considered accepted by God—so, they are allowed to take whatever measures they want to fulfill their promises. Then it ensures to God a people to take care of His work/will in the world; all other reasons and purposes are secondary to these. "Covenant, according to Bader-Save, is the 'correlate of election that, through Torah and the land, determines the material and political shape of Israel's free and holy life in mutual relation to God."⁵ The covenant always came with same sacrifices of any type, vegetal, animal or human; it is also an insurance that no party will redraw from the covenant. Psychologically, it stands like this: *I* [man] *am willing to make the* sacrifices you [God] demanded, but in return you have to keep your word, otherwise you are not a divine person, one who is not able to *lie.* It is a sort of policy under whose umbrella many great things

were done in human history, some in a good sense, and other in the worst possible.

The second major sacred foundation of *chosen*ness is that of territory and the notion of the 'homeland'. It goes closely with the theopolitics of Israel as the nation that would be a visible sign of God's reign, and thus of God's salvation. This closes the triangle of chosencovenant-reign, making out of the elected people a purposefully engaged one, targeting all its energy "to restore the singular people to its election-and-covenant identity."⁶ On top of everything, "being chosen, therefore, would appear to be a special and positive status that places the chosen over and above the non-chosen."⁷ Therefore, by a 'normal' utterance, it is implied that being elected is a good thing, while non-elected one is definitely considered outside the perimeter of sacredness, having less rights and lower position in the hierarchy of salvation or God's reign. "Whether called chosenness or election, the special nature of that divinely authorized status—its presumed superiority—has been glorified by religious civilizations when in positions of imperial power,"⁸ creating a hierarchy more and more specialized in the imminence of God's kingdom's advent: from all nations a chosen one, within this chosen people a descent, a blood kindred elected to lead the people, and above all few special called persons to rule them all 'as God commands'.

Judaic Understanding of Election

The concept of election starts with the biblical tell of *Abraham encountering Jehova* and receiving His blessing, "I will bless you, I will make your name great, and you will be a blessing . . . and all the peoples on earth will be blessed through you." (Gn 12:2, 3). Of course, there was a great debate of whether *Abraham was elected by Jehova because he entrusts his life to God or on the contrary he gave his life to God because he was chosen.*⁹ The balance inclined to the first scenario of Sodom, where Abraham has faced another test, another moral dilemma: obey Jehova's will of condemning transgressors or stand for their living right. "In the words of psychologist and Torah teacher Naomi Rosenblatt, this story is about "the power of the man of integrity to be the conscience of the world." Abraham's conscience does not allow him to keep silent. His tone is respectful, but his questioning is unrelenting. God choose to disclose His own intentions to Abraham to see how Abraham responds. In this regard, Abraham wins because he came to the defense of the innocent even as he loses the fight to save the cities. Abraham passes the character test by standing his moral ground while maintaining his relationship with his creator."¹⁰

The Jewish mistical tradition puts this election on a Mosaic base and it starts with Shavout, described in Torah as an agricultural festival during which the first fruits were brought to the Temple in thanksgiving. "Shavuot is the time when God and Israel are wed. But no Jewish wedding is complete without a marriage contract, known as a ketubah. The mystics explain that the contract binding God and Israel is the Torah. It records the duties of Israel to God—to follow God's law by being a holy people—and the duties of God to Israel—to maintain Israel as a Chosen People."¹¹ This alienation from the Abrahamic promise grow bigger with Mosaic regulations, for example Shabbat,¹² the ultimate Jewish holiday. This command (Ex 20:9) it is not just a day off for the chosen few, but the new sign of election as it was the circumcision in the time of Abraham. "Shabbat is one of Judaism's great gifts to humankind. The concept that there is a day when you stop your labors, when you turn inward instead of out, is a Jewish innovation."13 That is why the Sinaitic covenant is the form of Israel's fulfillment of election. "This covenant proceeds directly from Yahweh's sovereignty as Yahweh founds a society to embody His reign in the world."14

Bottom line, Jews as descendents from ancient Israelits, considere themselves as the 'chosen people', i.e. chosen to be in a covenant with God.¹⁵ The concept stresses on the fact that God was the first to incline the balance in their favor, so there is no one to blame for that election except God, whose plans are unknown to man and thus must be taken as it is by everyone (every nation). Simply, gents have to obey this regulation because He was the one who pronounce "Ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests and a holy people." (Ex 19:6) Besides the concept of 'holiness'—mostly overlaid with taboo in the antiquity, i.e. forbiden, intangible and sacred, a strong prohibitions relating to any action this 'holy people' might be doing, otherwise misapprehend by others—they have also receive

the position of 'priesthood' among nations. So, from the original point of view over Jewish chosen*ness*, election was related to a the role of Abraham and Moses among their surrounding people, the former in relation with all tribes and the later within Jews; "in this view, Jews are charged with living a holy life as God's priest–people."¹⁶

But unlike the real and full promise of Jehova, "in you will all the families and kindred of the earth be blessed ... and in thy seed all the nations of the earth shall be blessed" (Gn 12:2; 26:4), Judaism grew within the concept of *elected people* as *against all others*. It was clear from the previous episode that Abraham already was posed in protector and spokesman of others in front of the Creator and did not care to his kin only. But after the period of Egyptian slavery, the ofsprings of Abraham reinterpreted the conception of election; they took it as elected *from* others, rather than chosen *among* others. So, instead of considering the historical episode of Joseph and his brothers as the model of what elected/chosen mean in the eyes of Jehova—one that would have to take care of the others, even in their roving or wandering. The story goes with Joseph chosen by God among his brothers and then elected by Pharaon, in the beginning to be band and then to rise as the guvernor of Egypt, but he didn't considered this twist as a payoff situation against his brothers and revenge their betrayal because he would consider himself as elected from them. "Now do not be grieved or angry with yourselves, because you sold me here, for God sent (שלח, Shalach = sent forth, soweth, cast] me before you to preserve life." (Gn 44:5) Same pattern was putted by Jesus with Peter (Chefa) when saying "I have prayed especially for you [Peter], that your [own] faith may not fail; and when you have turned back, strengthen your brothers" (Lk 22:32).

Most Jews hold that being the "Chosen People" means that they have been placed on earth to fulfill a *certain purpose*, while all others are lost and unworthy of God's attention since they are not chosen. Traditional proof for Jewish 'chosen*ness*' is found in the Torah, the Jewish bible, in the Book of Deuteronomy (chapter 14) where it says: "For you are a holy people to Hashem your God, and God has chosen you to be his treasured people from all the nations that are on the face of the earth." In the Book of Genesis (chapter 17.7) it also written: "And I [G–d] will establish My covenant between Me and you [Abraham] and your descendants after you in their generations, for an everlasting covenant, to be God to you and your descendants after you." But not even in these texts the anti-gentiles attitude is not present or implied at all. In fact, every mentioning on gentiles made in Old Testament show that they will receive God's mercy, attention, and even blessing through Abraham's offspring (Gn 22:18 "In your seed all the nations of the earth shall be blessed, because you have obeyed My voice", cf. Ps 22:27; 86:9; Is 9:2; 60:3; Dn 7:14; Mal 1:11, et. all). Nevertheless, Judaic people are elected among all other nations, but not in spite of them, on the contrary, to bring them closer to Jehovah's blessing through a work of centuries of serving others. "He says, 'It is too small a thing that You should be My Servant To raise up the tribes of Jacob and to restore the preserved ones of Israel; I will also make You a light of the nations So that My salvation may reach to the end of the earth." (Is 49:6). There is no negative appointment in all the mentioning about gentiles except in the beginning of Mosaism, through the 'voice' of Moses and some of the following judges that have viewed the gentiles within Canaan as their enemies, for standing between Jews and their promised land. Other than that, all the prophets put the concept of 'chosenness' as among other nations and related to them, for "the Gentiles are fellow heirs and fellow members of the body, and fellow partakers of the promise in Christ Jesus through the gospel" (Ephesians 3:6).

The concept of 'bachar' (בר Hebrew – compare Aramaic , בר, Syriac *int*, Assyrian bêru) is the divine choice *with a special call or duty:* Abraham to bring forth out of Ur (Neh 9:7), Aaron to serve Moses in his position within Jews and perfume miracles (Ps 105:26, 27) Israel to prove idols wrong and bring monotheism into nations sight (Ez 20:3–7), Judah to be a leader (1 Chr 28:4), David to bring balance into the people's faith (1 Sm 10:24; 16:8–10) and to build a house for God's name, and Jerusalem to make His name mighty (2 Chr 6:5,6,7). But the voice of prophets were never fully accepted, especially when it was about the 'others'; growing as a feeling of *jealousy* (Dt 32:21), the concept of 'chosen*ness*' stood between Jewish people and all others (cf. Lk 15:11–32). Instead it was ever stressed on words that emphasize the position in relation to others, 'above all people' (Dt 7:6; 14:2), and not the interest and

the relation they should bring forth for them, moreover since it was God's single merit for this election and none from the Jews (Dt 7:8).

From this ground election came with a job to be done by the elected people, as it was with Joseph, and through sorrow, suffering and wandering they should have brought the name of real God to all people on the face of the Earth (Jer 16:19; Zec 8:22; Ps 67:2: "That Your way may be known on the earth, Your salvation among all nations.") "Because of the Jews' small numbers, any success they would have in making God known to the world would presumably reflect upon the power of the idea of God."¹⁷

This conception was recurrence over centuries and in times of persecution, the 'chosen*ness*' doctrine was a source of great strength for the Jewish people. Similarly the talmudic explanation for chosenness—that the willingness of Israel to accept and obey the Torah was the reason for their election—helped maintain loyalty to tradition and to halakhah in periods of stress and forced conversion to other religions. It grew stronger with Zionism whose goal was to strengthen the separation of the Jewish people from their surroundings and return them to a Jewish state. Also, the goal of Reform Judaism was to integrate into the society around them while preserving Jewish identity."¹⁸ In some ways the Zionist dream that gave birth to Israel has not succeeded. Fewer than half the world's population of Jews have chosen to live in Israel; the ingathering of all Jews, the dream of its founders, has not been achieved."¹⁹

The Concept in Christianity

For the Christian part, the concept of the election was not so stressed on for a very long time. "Within Christian doctrine, Smith notes, chosen*ness* is transferred from a particular ethnic community to the universal Church of believers."²⁰ Of course, it was also implied from the beginning, mostly as a response to the Judaic version of this concept. And to see that it was so, we have to listen St. Apostle Paul saying over and over again that "in Christ there is no distinction, no Jew nor Greek; there is no bondman nor freeman; there is no male and female; for ye are all one in Christ Jesus" (Rom 3:22; 10:12; Gal 3:28; Col 3:11). I know that the last thing I should assert in writing like this would be that I know *what God would have thought* because this assertion is usually waved around by everyone about so many and different things that made no one clearly understands any longer what is that God really wants. Still, considering the revelation of God—written mostly in the sacred books of each religion—it is clear that God does not consider himself as belonging to a man or another, to a people or another, chosen or not; "is God the God of Jews only? Is He not the God of Gentiles also? Yes, of Gentiles also" (Rom 3:29–30). So, in the light of the new revelation that came through Jesus, apostles somehow banned the conception of election, at least as it was understood by Jews, as a people *from* all and *instead* of all others, and have repositioned Him in the center of all humankind, "For there is no distinction between Jew and Greek; for *the same Lord is Lord of all*, abounding in riches for all who call on Him" (Rom 10:12).

This perspective was only apparently new in the biblical history; in fact, it was only the original plan²¹ from which Jews, mixing it with their ultra-nationalism and the desire of overcoming all exiles and castaways they have been through, have transformed it into the hope that God would only serve their own interests and purposes. This original plan was revealed from time to time by prophets, but no one was ever listening, for their eyes were closed to the big picture and their ears shut to God's real will; "The LORD is near to all who call upon Him.... I will also make You a light of the nations, so that My salvation may reach to the end of the earth." (Ps 145:18; Is 49:6). This truth was obvious from the beginning and the apostles made it the case of Christianity, so as to its own election was only to do Christ's work and spread His words among gentiles, and not to emphasize the chosenness and perk up with it (cf. Rom 1:1). It is even more disappointing for a people that has been confusing its tradition of 'chosenness', thought in antagonism from non-Jews, when God spikes and denies their 'rightful' title of 'chosen people' saying "And the LORD said, 'Name him Lo-ammi, for you are not My people and I am not your God.' ... And I will say to those who were not My people, 'You are My people!' And they will say, 'You are my God!"" (Hos 1:9–10; 2:23; Rom 9:25–26).

For apostles and for Christians later on in general *election* was understood only as *among* all other people, each and every one being chosen to do God's work, according to His call and gift, and serving two purposes, praising the Lord and helping others (1 Cor 7:17–24; Eph 4:4). Indistinctive and non-selective, this concept of 'chosenness' was mostly substitute with that of 'calling', whose specialness was also considered exclusively about holiness (1 Pt 1:15; 2 Tm 1:9). The concept of election was special for Christians from the beginning, partially for the reason I already told above, and also because of its relation to the divine calling. "Many are called but few chosen" (Mt 22:14) expresses the role of man's *free will* and his cooperation with God's grace: while God [through His Son] calls everyone to inherit His Kingdom, still few are elected to actually have it. In the beginning this equation was solved only by considering following God's commandments, and so the emphasis was no longer on the chosenness, but on the calling, that was universal and reachable to everyone. After the failure of the nation of Israel (Jer 31) of serving as the chosen among others to bring them all to one God, and arriving "to a point of no return in its rebellion against Yahweh and Torah,"22 a new covenant was needed to build new grounds in the relationship of man with God. To be chosen was not an issue any longer because it has separated people from within; now, the chosenness should be left apart for "all your descendants will be called and counted through the line of Isaac" (Rom 9:7). Since it was the belief of Christians that all people belong to God and have received the calling, to be chosen among others leave Judaic tradition and start building another one. Who received the calling to serve others and bring unto God's salvation was considered special, elected to do Christ's work. But this election was not granted with a higher position, a superior rank, for "he that is greatest among you shall be your servant" (Mt 23:11; Mk 10:43-44; Phil 2:5-8). Considering the same attitude of Christ as an example in humility "everyone should be concerned for not [merely] his own interests, but also each for the interests of others" (Phil 2:4-5). But who receives the special calling and how can we distinguish them from others?

However, the rejection of chosen*ness* from the Christian part was not meant to last and so, consumed by the same feeling of grandeur and elevation, it was easily corrupted to re-embrace the same specialness of election while being persecuted, in the form of *predestination (Latin præ, destinare)*. "What predestination means, in its most elementary form, is that our final destination, heaven or hell, is decided by God not only before we get there, but before we are even born."²³ Its strong character, build upon "two essential elements: God's infallible foreknowledge (præscientia), and His *immutable decree* (decretum) of eternal happiness,"²⁴ had the same consideration as when Jewish people has turned *chosen among* with elected instead of, while being persecuted. It has started with the heresy of Pelagius (fifth century AD), who would have wanted to get even with his persecutors and set a curse upon them in return, this ascetic monk call by St. Augustine a "saintly man," vir sanctus, has used for his personal defense the double coined predestination: eternal salvation for the elected ones (positive election) as well as the eternal damnation of the reprobate (negative election). St. Augustine (354-430) developed his teaching explaining Romans 5:12 and Romans 9 in "Ad Simplicianum," "so that the purpose of God does not stand according to election, but election is the result of the purpose of God." (I, 2, 6) Later on, Luther (1483–1546) and Calvin (1509–1564) have also used this teaching while being persecuted by the Roman-Catholic Church for trying to reform its mistakes and wrong behaviors, emphasizing that "some are preordained to eternal life, others to eternal damnation." (Institutio Christianae Religionis 3.21.5). As any other explanation of chosenness, predestination was supposed to underline a perfect expression of God's love and mercy. "It was certainly loving of God to predestine the salvation of his people, those the Bible calls his "elect" or "chosen ones." It is the non-elect that are the problem."²⁵ Because, if only some people are elected for God's Kingdom, what happens with all the others? Also, if God defends and protects only the chosen ones (aka clergyman) against any threat coming from disobedient individuals who must be punished for their impudence, is God loving after all? Other than the endless issues on moral, ethics, eschatology, etc. arising from this inclusive concept, it stick to the same problem as the Judaic chosenness—only few are in God's favor and no one can determine the reasons of this divine call. In fact, if we measure the percentage of those in favor in comparison with those awaken of 'side without even knowing why, we will see that God's partiality is mostly against humankind and not for it.

Bottom line, this Christian fundamental teaching is not far from the Judaic misconception of inequality between nations in the eyes of Yahweh. The strength of Christian chosen ones to impose their own voice as God's has the same ground as Jewish's-the sovereignty of God. Its justification was also borrowed from different biblical texts (Eccl 9:2), but the reason why those theologians came up with it stood on the same ground, the eager to be divine avenged. "The LORD says to my Lord: "Sit at My right hand Until I make Your enemies a footstool for Your feet" (Ps 110:1). The concept was obviously built as a shield against any threat from 'others' to those 'elected'; if anyone touches a chosen man, he should be damn by God as an enemy of His children, regardless of what good that enemy might have done. This was the concept of hunted Israel and its behavior grew stronger against all others with each exile he took, ending in hatred against everybody, even its kin (Samaritans), and the same theory was born inside Christianity in two distinct ways. One was of that heresy of *Predestinarianism*, and other in the response of sacramental hierarchy who, by the power invested in them, express "unavoidable and invincible" the damnation of God over whoever do not obey their regulations. In this regard, the ecclesiastical practice of canonization was the expression of this invested power of elected: who obeys the mother Church can receive the eternal salvation (by indulgence of Church) and who stand against a clergyman will be cursed to eternal damnation-of course, regardless of whatever good he might have done already. To justify this abnormal 'divine justice' appointed through the Church's judgment, the mainline Christianity distinguishes between good things made by a non-elected and good things made by those who obey Church's regulations; the former never count for salvation. The concept of predestination, confessed openly or asquint by Christian denominations, is the keynote of what the idea of chosenness means for Christianity, as covenanttheopolitical-nation was for Israel.

There is also another detail that should be important in the understanding of the concept regarding the comparison of it in these two religions. While in Judaism the concept of election has started with a group/tribe and has surrounded the entire nation of Israel encompassing every individual regardless of what they might think/believe/feel about it, for Christianity the same concept had an opposite development. We have seen that the offspring of Abraham, the Israel nation, was entirely entitled with the special attention from Yahweh as His 'elected people'; there was no one and nothing left aside from this chosenness among the sons of Israel "you, your son or daughter, your male or female slave, your ox or donkey, any of your livestock, or the foreigner who lives within your gates, so that your male and female slaves.... The stranger who resides with you shall be to you as the native among you, and you shall love him as yourself" (Dt 5:14; Lv 19:34). The whole people living within the edges of the 'chosen people of God' receive his blessing equally, "'There shall be one standard for you; it shall be for the stranger as well as the native, for I am the LORD your God." (Lv 24:22) On the other hand, the Christian concept of 'chosenness' has started with individuals, apostles elected one by one, handily picked by God to spreads His call among nations. The election worked the other way around for the Christian part, first the selection of few persons who spread the word as seeds and from all these seed other few people had to be chosen by God to be entrusted with His kingdom. Thus, the 'chosen people of God', a.k.a. the Church, had to be grown with individuals, not groups, nations, tribes or any other social gathering "you are Christ's body, and individually members of it" (1 Cor 12:27). The difference within Christian denomination is the way they understand the binding agent that hold together all the parts of this body that is spread worldwide in the entire history of humanity; "the whole body, which is nourished and held together by its joints and ligaments, grows as God enables it" (Col 2:19). However, it doesn't matter if this 'body of Christ' is seen as worldly (Orthodoxy), institutional (Roman-Catholic), or spiritual (Protestant), since, in our case, the significance is all the same: "even as the body is one and yet has many members, and all the members of the body, though they are many, are one body, so also is Christ" (1 Cor 12:12).

In conclusion, while for the Judaic conception of chosen*ness* the entire nation starts like a body and all who are inside it has to be considered elected no matter what, for the Christian understanding *the body* is built with each person converted to Christ and thus understood as the sum of those who believe.

The Concept in Islam

Because Islam followed the same emerging pattern as Christianity, the sociology of creating the 'chosen people' followed also the same type: starting with a man—which was *elected* by God, namely Muhammad—than he has chosen his disciples, who eventually were spreading his teachings in the purpose of giving to God a people of servants and believers (Muslim, Arabic: مسلم = "one who submits [to God])."²⁶ The process of building Allah's 'chosen people' is somehow similar only with the initial Christian preaching method: telling everyone about the revelation Muhammad had from God (Arabic: الله Allāh), God of Abraham, the One divine entity revealed as against idolatry and polytheism. However, if we consider the whole Christianity, things are no longer the same, because the protestant side of it professes that the preaching of Gospel does not *make* literally chosen persons from non-believers, instead it only activates those who were already chosen by God from eternity and places them inside the body of Christ. In other words, from the Protestant perspective of Christianity the 'chosen people' do not become so by conversion, but they become aware of this eternal calling by hearing the Christian Gospel; "faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God" (Rom 10:17). Protestants cannot accept the free-will acceptance of the divine calling on behalf of man, because, in that case, it wouldn't be a divine choice, but a man's one. On the other side of Christianity, Orthodoxy and Catholicism, it is considered that anyone can answer to the universal call of Christ and by doing that they become chosen by God (to continue the work of Christ and so to receive the divine chosenness' laurel wreath); it is no body in particular that has the status of chosenness, it is rather opened for everybody and only activated by man's free answer. "He who has ears to hear, let him hear.... Whoever believes and is baptized will be saved, but whoever doesn't believe will be condemned" (Mk 4:9; 16:16).

Considering this, now we can appoint the differences Islam belief has over the chosen*ness* concept with previous religions. "In the first place, Mohamet the Prophet preached to his little world of polytheistic Arabs the doctrine of One God—all–wise and all–powerful—a conception not exceeded in beauty by any other revelation. From the first, however, Islam was not so much idealistic and spiritual; it was rather a social and political code, built around the essential doctrine of monotheism. Jewish influence, especially that of the Old Testament, had much to do with shaping the later development of Islam; but it does not appear that the Prophet knew the Jewish scriptures."²⁷

Therefore, Islam started with a religious promoter that has experienced God's uniqueness in his life and has wanted to inform his kin about this *revelation*. Muhammad was another religious promoter, enlightened with a personal experience and willing to share his vision of God with others. The religion that was developed by his followers took, in time, diverse forms and traditions that supplemented its original vision, sometimes way apart from it. Of the establishment religious communities Arabs were converted to, "the polytheists were the greatest obstacle to the emergence of Islam, and the Our'an directs its resentment and anger mostly toward the indigenous religion of the Arabs and those who practiced it."28 That way has started the fight against all those who associates other polytheistic powers with true God (mushrik) or did not follow Muhammad and accept the validity of the Qur'an (kafir); these infidels or unbelievers were the real enemies of spreading the true image/teaching of Allah. The traditional Arabian polytheists (mushriks) or Jews and Christians (kafir), the Qur'an refers to them as unbelievers and notes that "unbelievers tried actively to destroy the new religious movement,"²⁹ and again this new emerging religion was confronted with the same struggle as the Christianity in its beginning when confronted by Judaism. "... you fear that those who disbelieve may disrupt [or attack] you. Indeed, the disbelievers are ever to you a clear enemy" (Surah 4:101). This is due to the moment and place Muhammad start receiving his revelation, his hometown of Mecca, a major polytheistic religious center in his day, and there is no evidence that there were Jewish or Christian communities living in Mecca in the seventh century. Moreover, "when Muhammad began to attract followers to monotheism who then shunned the traditional religious practices in favor of simple prayer to the One Great God, he attracted the ire of the religious establishment."³⁰ That was the situation with the Jewish community in Yathrib (622), future Medina (a shortened form of *Madinat al–Nabi*, *City of the Prophet*), that saw in him a competing religious movement and so a threat to their religious path.

Now, in comparison with Judaic community and believe on 'chosen people' which was a closed group, an elite of mankind entrusted with God's words and commandments, Muhammad has considered that the 'chosen people' is not at all a closed group, but rather consists of everyone who embrace Allah's call, and his mission was to awake them from the moral sleep and regain them for the secret, true Kingdom of God. Unless they are awakened, they cannot receive Allah's privileges or enter His unlimited 'chosen people'. That is why the *awakening* has to be done with everyone, regardless of how it was done, violently or not, because, while being still asleep, they are unaware of what they do, say or believe.³¹ "Say (unto them, O Muhammad): I exhort you unto one thing only: that ye awake, for Allah's sake, by twos and singly, and then reflect: There is no madness in your comrade. He is naught else than a warner unto you in face of a terrific doom.... Thou wouldst have deemed them awake, whilst they were asleep" (34:46; 18:18). The threat lies not in any worldly sin or temptation-as it is for Jews or Christians which consider that they can actually lose their elected position only by taking a wrong step in life and make a certain sin against God's commandments-because Muslims do not consider any specific sins as a barrier between them and their promised election for Aljana (heaven). "Other than the Infallible ones (whom Allah has vowed to keep away from sins), no human being is perfect and all of us make many mistakes."³² Instead, if they do not enkindle someone to Allah's real existence and believe, they are not entrusted with their promises. Thus it is a *must* to awake someone, violently or not, to the Islamic faith. Therefore, while Christians try to repent-more or less, from Orthodox, to Catholics or Protestants-for their sins in order to be forgiven and not band from their unstable status of chosenness, for Muslims the status is very clear and stable, but the call has to be fulfil regardless of the sins you inherently do. Moreover, the inheritance of Aljana is regardless of the wrong and sins Muslims might have done in life like Protestants Christians since they have to

cross over the bridge over Hell (as–Siraat) prior to entering Heaven, so that they are "purified by means of their settling any wrongs that existed between any of them in this world."³³

Accordingly, there is a strong logical correlation between the emergence of each religion and its conception of chosenness. Starting mostly like Judaic tribes, Muhammad and his followers had to consider themselves as elected by God to spread and also defend the real and genuine understanding of Allah. Therefore, the 'chosen people' couldn't be considered others than those who submit entirely to God and his call—first Muhammad, then his first 'baptized',³⁴ Abu Bakr as-Siddig, and thereafter all those who accepted their invitation to Islam. "And who has a better religion than he who submits himself entirely to Allah?" (4:125) because "whoever submits His whole self to Allah and is a doer of good, He will get his reward with his Lord." (2:112) For the same reason, they also obey the covenant contractor, circumcision, as the seeing sign of chosenness, a sign that protect those who bear it and enables Allah blessings upon him and his family. It is thus an extensive understanding of chosenness, not entirely individual (as in Christianity), but not also related to a nation (as for Judaism).

Conclusion

Beyond those already appointed differences between the three main religions on the growing concept of chosen*ness*, we should face as a conclusion the fact that while for the Christian and Muslim side of the concept it needs to be growth with new people and thus the method of proselytizing is a keynote of their completing community of believers/chosen people, for the Judaic side there is no such thing since the original covenant was between Yahweh and Abraham's offspring. That means that it is a huge difference in the attitude of relating with others from each these three religions and it all start from the way they perceive the 'chosen people'. Namely, Jews will see everybody else as beyond the edges of Promised Land and chosen*ness*, but not specially a threat because there is no one who compete over God's covenant with them except those who stand between them and their rightful worldly Kingdom, Palestine.

For Muslim things are more assertive since their special call is to convince everyone about Allah's existence and to impose His moral laws in order to achieve the special place in the heavenly Kingdom of the chosen people. As for Christians they see in anyone an opportunity to practice their special call—good deeds—and also as an opportunity to convert (for the Orthodox/Catholic side) or to activate (Protestants) to the elected people of God, that is why they are opened to conversation to everyone and willing to serve and demonstrate that they are the true messengers of Christ while serving/preaching; a threat is ultimately considered only by those who do not understand the universality of the divine calling over mankind and they start fighting over nothing, because the status of elected people is not possible to be lost in theological contradictions, but through fight and violence might be so.

As we have seen at the end of the concept in Islam, when talking about sins and how it is affecting the chosenness vision, the 'sin concept' is also crucial for whom each religious community acts within or outside itself. Because the 'chosenness' is related to the covenant Yahweh did with Israel, it stays in contact with fulfilling the covenant part and Jews will mostly try to accomplish their rituals and divine commandments as a minimum level of implication (Mt 23:23). For Christians there is a major threat to achieving chosenness status in God's kingdom, and that is the sin; some (Orthodox and Catholics) live under the reign of fear that they might lose this status by making a certain, unimportant sin, and this is why they live mostly in repent and even away from sinners (as hermits), while others (Protestants) know that the only sins that can jeopardize the chosenness are not to serve others and evangelize them. At the same time, Islam greatest sin is not to convince others about the Prophet's message and Allah awakening call, and that is why proselytizing is a key pillar of Muslims' deeds. So, regarding violence and hatefulness, there is no religion encouraging or promoting them. Instead each is dealing these sentiments differently, and that is why some are more eager to display them, while others' violent reactions are only culturally inhibited; some are eager to help people in need because they are

aware of their calling, while others only have to do it as a minimum duty or lesser, by tradition. One thing that all these religions share about chosen*ness* and deeds/sins is that doing good in practice is the proof of having the right belief in the heart or, as Protestants say, good things are a proof of salvation, of course with some shades, but in practice, it is pretty much the same. The tint is that while some are doing it because they have to, others because now they really want to. "That association among some monotheists of chosen*ness* with arrogance and self-importance would sometimes result in terrible abuse of others who were not considered part of God's chosen community."³⁵

In conclusion, there is no problem in using this kind of religious hope for those that need it to overcome life difficulties, like for wandering people, ranging from a place to another, but it also doesn't suppose to be used as against others, *non-chosen* people.

NOTES

¹ Abbreviation for this will be RL.

² Helmut Richard Niebuhr, *The Meaning of Revelation* (Westminster: John Knox Press, 2006), XVII.

³ Anthony D. Smith, *Chosen Peoples* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 57.

⁴ Braden P. Anderson, *Chosen Nation: Scripture, Theopolitics, and the Project of National Identity*, (Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2012), 52.

⁵ Anderson, Ibid., 93.

⁶ Ibid., 125.

⁷ Reuven Firestone, *Who Are the Real Chosen People? The Meaning of Chosenness in Christianity, Judaism, and Islam* (Woodstock, VT: SkyLight Paths Publishing, 2008), 9.

⁸ Ibid., 10.

⁹ Rabbi Barry L. Schwartz, *Judaism's Great Debates. Timeless Controversies from Abraham to Herzl.* (Jewish Publication Society/Behrman House), 2012.

¹¹ Ibid., 184.

¹² It is the *Sabbath*, known in Modern Hebrew as *Shabbat*.

¹³ Ibid., 199.

¹⁴ Anderson, 93.

¹⁰ Ibid., 7.

¹⁵ "Jews as the Chosen People" https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jews_as_ the_chosen_people (Last accessed March 15, 2016.)

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ "Judaism: The 'Chosen People,'" in *Jewish Virtual Library*, https://www. jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/Judaism/chosen_people.html (Last accessed on July 5, 2016.)

¹⁸ Schwartz, 88.

¹⁹ Ari L. Goldman, *Being Jewish. The Spiritual and Cultural Practice of Judaism Today*, (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2007), 181.

²⁰ Anderson, 52.

21 Cosmin Tudor Ciocan, "The Failure of the 'Mosaism' Project: What Happens When Politics and Self-Centrism Mixed With Religion," in Titus Corlățean, Ioan-Gheorghe Rotaru, Eds. *The Future of Knowledge: Proceedings of Harvard Square Symposium* (Cambridge, MA: The Scientific Press, 2016), 291.

²² Anderson, 129.

²³ R. C. Sproul, *Chosen by God* (Carol Stream, IL: Tyndale House Publishers, 2001), 21.

²⁴ "Predestination", in *New Advent online Encyclopedia* http://www. newadvent.org/cathen/12378a.htm (Last accessed on July 6, 2016.)

²⁵ Sproul, 31.

²⁶ "Muslim" At: www.etymonline.com (Last accessed on July 6, 2016.)

²⁷ Archibald R. Colquhoun, "Pan–Islam," in *The North American Review*, Vol. 182, No. 595 (Jun., 1906): 906–918. Published by: University of Northern Iowa, 906. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/25105584 (Last accessed on July 6, 2016.)

²⁸ Firestone, 125.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid, 127.

³¹ The influence of neo-platonism that was strongly seen in the Arab writings of Abu Yusuf Ya'qub ibn Ishaq Al-Kindi (ca. 800–870 CE), Al-Farabi (c. 872 – c. 950), or Abu al-Walid Muhammad (Averroes) (1126—1198), make them say that Allah always says the truth (by His prophets), but man cannot understand it and continues to get it wrong because he is asleep. See more in "Islamic Platonists and Neoplatonists" http://www.john-uebersax.com/plato/ ip.htm Last accessed on July 7, 2016.)

³² "The Duties of Men," in *Principles Of Marriage & Family Ethics. Part 2.* "Ahlul Bayt Digital Islamic Library Project." https://www.al-islam.org/ (Last accessed on July 7, 2016.)

³³ "Paradise People," in *Islamic-Islamic*, http://www.islamicislamic.com/ paradise_people.htm (Last accessed June 9, 2016.)

³⁴ "Abu Bakr the First Among Men to Enter Islam," *SunnahOnline.com*. retrieved at http://sunnahonline.com/library/history-of-islam/305-abu-bakr-as-siddiq (Last accessed June 9, 2016.)

³⁵ Firestone, 63.

Is There a Theological Side to the Romanian Exodus?

Teodor-Ioan Colda

ABSTRACT: In this paper, the author brings into discussion the Romanian phenomenon of migration, often described as 'the Romanian Exodus' due to the impressive numbers of Romanians who emigrated to the West (especially to Western Europe). His aim is to bring a theological dimension to the sociological discussion. He argues for the need of 'local' or 'contextualized' Romanian theologies that could meet the current social events experienced by Romanian people. He believes that the Romanian Exodus could be a starting point in developing such theologies.

KEY WORDS: migration, Romania, Exodus, indigenous theology, contextual theology.

In the beginning of the last decade, the Romanian media used the term Exodus to describe the migration of Romanians to Western Europe.¹ In year 2000 the statistics were showing that no less than 2 000 000 Romanians were involved in this exodus.² Europeans became concerned with the numbers of Romanians constantly coming to the West,³ and used the same term to describe the phenomenon.⁴ Statistics report that "between 1990 and 2000, 35 per cent of Romanian households had at least one member abroad."⁵ The Romanian exodus⁶ was associated with poverty and despair, both aspects being realities which characterized most of the ex-soviet bloc countries after 1990, but Romania's case was one of the worst, because "after the Revolution Romania's road to

democracy looked [...] the most treacherous in Eastern Europe."⁷ In this context, as Potot puts it, "migration thus becomes a way of life that involves movement back and forth between a relatively comfortable home and an unidentified elsewhere."⁸ This is the reason why "the external migration remains one major unknown variables, concerning Romania's population."⁹

Coming back to M. Glenny's statement that Romania's road to democracy looked the most treacherous in Eastern Europe"¹⁰ one can easily notice that this observation has multiple implications even in religious or faith concerning matters.¹¹ One of the results of a 2004 survey commissioned by *The Wall Street Journal Europe* was the following: "Romania has the highest score for religiosity in Europe" with 97 per cent of Romanians thinking of themselves to be religious people. Even though it seems surprising when one thinks about the endless struggle of the country in fighting corruption, "such high rates are confirmed by the 2002 national census, which showed that 99.6 percent of the Romanian population claims to belong to an officially recognized religious denomination."¹²

This odd relationship between religiosity and corruption in post-communist Romanian society is just one of the aspects of a broader characteristic described by Professor Lucian Boia as the "equivocal condition of the Romanian Culture, mentality, [and] of Romanian attitudes. "¹³ A well-known Romanian journalist is aware of the same problem and referred to it with regard to the construction of the new orthodox cathedral in the city capital of Bucharest stating the following:

In Orthodox countries, religion has always been close to the state. In Romania, even today, the Orthodox Church is close to the worldly power. The political elite and the church need this cathedral of party and state. If one cannot eradicate corruption and its sister poverty, one erects a cathedral... What would this cathedral mean for ordinary people? Could they relax and be closer to God in this church–palace of protocol?... Do Romanians need a God–Mall?¹⁴

This easily noticeable relationship between religion and Romanian culture or society leads to the question present in the title of this paper: "Is there a theological side to the Romanian exodus?" This is not an inquiry *per se*, but rather a starting point for what I consider to be a very important discussion in terms of theological developments in present Romanian theological scholarship.

Most theology is done or produced in the West, originating in the Catholic, Protestant or Evangelical traditions of Western Europe and the United States. In a sense Western theology became globalized theology because of its impact on other continents. P. D. Matheny noticed that "the failure to acknowledge the contextual nature of theology became acute. The advocacy of a link between Western culture and theology was discovered to be a danger weakening the integrity of communities of faith."15 William Dyrness admits (in 1994) that "with 20,000 to 30,000 theological books pouring from western presses annually there is not much time left over to listen in on theological conversations taking place elsewhere."¹⁶ Nevertheless, "our church of the twenty-first century has definitely become a global church, a world church, with the vast majority of Christians from the so-called Two-Thirds World."17 Now the idea of global theology includes theological contributions from other different realms besides the West¹⁸ and also theological contributions from rather more unconventional perspectives.¹⁹ The terms used to refer to theologies produced in different places of the World are: indigenous theology and contextual theology (the later gradually replacing the former).²⁰ In the new context of theological debate raises "the question for theologians . . . whether to go with one of these global theological flows or whether to focus on one's local or regional concerns."²¹ This observation implies the fact that "theologians have always been influenced by their context and to a varying degrees some have demonstrated an awareness of the influence that their own specific context and experiences have had on the theologies they develop. Such a claim about the influence of context on theology cannot be selectively applied."22

Regarding the Romanian theological developments, one can easily notice that, in a sense, all theology (even Eastern Orthodox theology with its most influential Romanian theologian, the late Father Professor Dumitru Stăniloae, an acclaimed scholar in church dogmatics)²³ can be considered in its adolescence, struggling to recover after a half of century of communism.²⁴ One can hardly speak of a Romanian 'indigenous'²⁵ or local²⁶ theology. Now, from an Evangelical perspective, most theology produced in Romania is influenced by western theology. Even the Evangelical theologians who earned doctoral degrees in Romania and produced monographs in biblical studies (which is quite a neutral field), find their scholarship based on Western scholarship.²⁷ For all other theological fields, things are quite similar.²⁸

Yet, there are some notable exceptions.²⁹ One of the most relevant contributions that comes to my mind, in terms of Romanian local or contextualized theology, is the monograph produced by Daniel Maris (PhD, University of Bucharest), the Rector of the Baptist Theological Institute of Bucharest: Biblical Creation: Theological *Reflections in the Context of Christian Dialogue.*³⁰ He explores the Creation Bible account as a starting point for a dialogue between Evangelicals and the Orthodox Church in post-communist Romania. He develops his incipient research and findings, produced while studying for a master's degree in theology at Regent's Park College, University of Oxford.³¹ He also produced a number of essays in practical theology: Change to a post-communist society in Romania, the effects upon Evangelical Christian Communities: A discussion and application of Christian ethical teaching on divorce and remarriage in contemporary Romania: A critical evaluation of mission in contemporary Romania with particular reference to Baptist church planting within a largely orthodox country.³²

Another important example would be Corneliu Constantineanu's (PhD, University of Leeds) monograph: *The Social Significance of Reconciliation in Paul's Theology*.³³ He reserves the last chapter of his study to discuss Paul's understanding of the social significance of reconciliation in the Romanian context.³⁴

I would also add a project which is in progress. Drake Williams III (PhD, University of Aberdeen), Professor of New Testament Language and Literature at Tyndale Theological Seminary, in the Netherlands, and Associate Professor of New Testament at the Evangelische Theologische Faculteit in Leuven, Belgium, is responsible, together with the New Testament Romanian scholar Octavian Baban³⁵ (PhD, Brunel University), faculty member of the Baptist School of Theology, University of Bucharest, for the Romanian Exegetical Commentary Series on the New Testament (Comentarii Exegetice Românești). This is the first project of its kind and is involving mostly Romanian New Testament scholars who were educated in the country or abroad. Rather than translating a commentary from an English intermediary, this series works with the Greek and Hebrew language and compares it with the Corneliscu³⁶ and Noua Traducere³⁷ Romanian translations of the Bible. Reference to the Eastern Church fathers is a part of the comments provided. A practical application is also given.

Even though the theological contribution of Romanian scholars may be considerable in some cases, the major problem is that the vast majority of doctoral theses and theological studies are produced in Romanian, which makes interaction with Romanian 'indigenous' theology very difficult and scarce. Still, the major problem of Romanian theology, in the broader sense, is the external influence and the lack of contextualization that would give Romanian theology the attribute of 'indigenous.'

Current events sometimes force people to bring a theological perspective to different life situations. The most recent event, already mentioned above, which marked the Romanian society has been the 'Colectiv' tragedy. During the night of November 30, 2015, more than 30 young people died and almost 150 were injured in a fire at 'Colectiv' Club in Bucharest. In the following weeks the number of deaths increased. The tragic accident caused large protests in Bucharest and a change of government.³⁸ The victims that survived the fire used biblical terms to describe the horror of their experience, terms like 'hell' and 'the flames of hell.' An elderly lady, the grandmother of some friends who live abroad, whom I visited at a hospital in Bucharest and who was not a believer, decided to convert after the 'Colectiv' tragedy. She was baptized then, and became a member of the church where I minister. When asked what convinced her to become a Christian she testified that she was profoundly marked by the deaths of the young people in the 'Colectiv' fire. She became aware of the comparisons made by the survivors with 'hell' and 'the flames of hell' and decided that she

would not end in hell when the time will come for her to leave this life. This example supports S. P. Mueller's conclusions that:

The final sources of theological information that is often used is experience. Like it or not, our experiences influence how we think, understand, and feel. We are more likely to believe something that we have seen for ourselves, and we tend to be skeptical of things that we have not personally experienced. As with reason, experience can be used in service to other sources or seek to reign over them. Our theology can help us interpret and understand our experiences, or our experiences may shape and change our theology.³⁹

Another example that came to my attention some years ago is the interpretation given by Dr. D. Jemna regarding the Romanian post-communist period of transition. He manages to bring together the Exodus experience of the Israelites and the transition experienced by Romanians after 1990 in a brief conclusion:

If we were to analyze the transition of Romanian society, at all levels, we could use in reaching this purpose the experience of the Israelites after leaving Egypt. An approach like this would relate in some essential aspects. First, both for the Israelites and for the Romanian people, there has been a turning point in history, which completely changed the data of their previous social existence. Rupture with the past leads inevitably towards a period of change, difficult to manage, with problems and dangers, with the risk of missing the perspective which opens up ahead. The period of change is legitimate and implies a series of decisive acts of delimitation in relation to the past and acts of straightening the society on its new course. Second, sadly for both nations, change becomes transition. The start is missed, and history moves towards an undesired direction. For the Israelites follows a period of 40 years of wandering in the wilderness, a time of transition which buries a generation of people in the arid sands of the desert.⁴⁰

Returning to the Romanian exodus, is this migration phenomenon an opportunity in disguise for Romanian theologians to do theology in a very Romanian way? How would today's Romanian theologies look like if they were informed by recent events? How would Romanian theology look if it was informed by the Romanian Revolution of 1989 and the fall of communism, the struggle towards democracy and the lengthy transition, the accession to NATO and to the EU, the economic depression, the 'Colectiv' tragedy, the Bodnariu family crisis,⁴¹ and also the Romanian migration to the West. All these sociohistorical realities of Romanian society could very well inform and shape our theologies, because they have informed the Romanian way of thinking and way of life.

This could somehow be a problem for the Romanian Eastern Orthodox theologian, however, because of the dogmatic restrictions imposed by a hermeneutical model based on the Church Fathers and the traditional interpretation of the Church. Yet the theological applications might slightly be influenced by the above mentioned events. For the Protestant or the Evangelical theologian things are slightly more generous in terms of producing local or contextual theologies. K. Koyama's conclusion is compelling.

No theology is indigenous to a local situation as pineapple is indigenous to the Hawaiian Islands. The challenge to indigenize theology is ever with us, since the world in which we live is culturally and religiously pluralistic, and it is constantly changing in both smaller and greater degrees. Indigenous theology is a process concept. There is no finished indigenous theology. Indigenous theology means indigenization of theology which is an essential function of theology itself... the theology of the West should not be transplanted wholesale to the East.⁴²

I am aware of the fact that Romania, as a member state of the EU, is considered to be in a sense a Western State. This implies that Western theology is predominant in Romania, and at a certain level this observation is correct.⁴³ Yet Romania is positioned at the very East of Europe's West. The Oriental legacy is still quite strong in present Romanian society and manifests its self both in the social and religious life of Romanian people. If in the West, the Catholic and Protestant traditions played an important role in shaping the

mentalities and the behaviors of the people, in Romania this role was assumed mostly by the Eastern–Orthodox tradition, which brought noticeable particularities to the Romanian way of life and spirituality. More to this is the fact that in Romania, Christianity is very diverse and disrupted. Romanian Christians are not very fond of ecumenism. In this context Dr. Daniel Mariş proves to be accurate when affirming that "religious intolerance has led to manifestations of 'pre–modern tribalism.'"⁴⁴.

Because of its important dimension and vast complexity,⁴⁵ the Romanian exodus can be the experience which could encourage more serious theological reflection from a local, contextualized perspective.⁴⁶ The Romanian society with its "equivocal condition," best expressed in the high level of religiosity and high level of corruption, is in need of coherent local theologies that address the many problems that Romanians are facing currently. It is well known that one of the major characteristics of modern Romanian culture is 'imitation', especially imitation of the Western culture.⁴⁷ Being aware of this reality I am compelled to emphasize even stronger the need of local Romanian theologies that can meet urgent social experiences such as migration.

NOTES

¹ See Teodor–Ioan Colda, "Exodul mereu în actualitate ca simbol al recuperării demnității umane. Metanarațiunea exodului în relație cu libertatea și moralitatea poporului lui Dumnezeu [Exodus always in recovery as a symbol of human dignity. Exodus meta–narrative in relation to the freedom and morality of God's people]" in *Libertate și moralitate*, edited by Dr. Ioan–Gheorghe Rotaru & Ștefan Mateaș (Cluj–Napoca: Napoca Star, 2015), 117–132.

² Grigore Silași & Ovidiu Laurian Simina, "Romania, a Country in Need of Workers? The Bitter Taste of 'Strawberry Jam'," *The Romanian Journal of European Studies*, 5–6 (2007), 188.

³ "Even though Romanian migration has long been considered a problem in terms of the process towards EU accession, Romanian migrants have contributed in many ways to the economic restructuring of their homeland." Swanie Potot, "Transitioning strategies of economic survival: Romanian migration during the transition process" in *A Continent Moving West? EU Enlargement and Labour Migration from Central and Eastern Europe*, edited by Richard Black, Godfried Engbersen, Marek Okólski & Cristina Panţâru (IMISCOE Research; Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2010), 250.

⁴ "Since 2007, there has been a steady Exodus of Romanians from all walks of life towards Western Europe." Oana Romocea, "Faces of Migrant Identity: Ethical Dilemmas in Research among Romanian Migrants in the UK" in *East European Diasporas, Migration and Cosmopolitanism,* edited by Ulrike Ziemer & Sean P. Roberts (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2013), 124.

⁵ Potot, 250.

6 Cara Uccellini, for example, presents a history of Romanian migration to Italy: "Romanian migration to Italy. Insiders and outsiders" in *Globalisation, Migration and the Future of Europe. Insiders and Outsiders*, edited by Leila Simona Talani (Routledge Research on the Global Politics of Migration; Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2012), 102 and following.

⁷ Misha Glenny, *The Rebirth of History. Eastern Europe in the Age of Democracy* (London: Penguin Books, 1993), 97.

⁸ Potot, 250.

⁹ Ioana Vădăsan & Laura Cismaș, "Economic and Social Aspects of Romanians' Migration within the European Union" in *Migration, Mobility and Human Rights at the Eastern Border of the European Union – Space, Freedom and Security,* edited by Grigore Silași & Ovidiu Laurian Simina (Timișoara: Editura Universității de Vest, 2008), 366.

¹⁰ Glenny, 97.

¹¹ The following information is taken from a different study of mine: Teodor–Ioan Colda, "The Cathedral of National Salvation and the Palace of the Gospel: Desiring the Salvation of the Romanian Nation Through the Gospel of Christ" in *Jurnalul Libertății de Conștiință* (2014), 714.

¹² Cristian Romocea, *Church and State: Religious Nationalism and State Identification in Post–Communist Romania* (London: Continuum, 2011), 5.

¹³ Lucian Boia, *De ce este România altfel?* (second edition; București: Humanitas, 2013), 90.

¹⁴ Cristian Tudor Popescu quoted by Lavinia Stan & Lucian Turcescu in *Religion and Politics in Post–Communist Romania* (Religion and Global Polities Series; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 62. See also Cristian Tudor Popescu, "Catedrala Mântuirii Neamului," *Adevărul* (March 23rd, 2004).

¹⁵ Paul Duane Matheny, *Contextual Theology: The Drama of Our Times* (Cambridge: James Clarke & Co, 2012), ix.

¹⁶ Willaim Dyrness, *Emerging Voices in Global Christian Theology* (Eugene, Oregon: Wipf & Stock Publishers, 1994), 10.

¹⁷ Stephen B. Bevans, "What Has Contextual Theology to Offer the Church of the Twenty–First Century?" in *Contextual Theology for the Twenty–First Century*, edited by Stephen B. Bevans & Katalina Tahaafe–Williams (Cambridge: James Clarke & Co, 2012), 4.

¹⁸ A notable example is the *Africa Bible Commentary. A One–Volume Commentary Written by 70 African Scholars*, edited by Tokunboh Adeyemo (Nairoby, Kenya: WordAlive Publishers, 2006). Other examples: Justo L. González, *Mañana. Christian Theology from a Hispanic Perspective* (Nashville, Tennessee: Abingdon Press, 1990); Ada María Isasi–Díaz & Fernando F. Segovia, *Hispanic/Latino Theology* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1996); Gwinyai H. Muzorewa, *The Origins and Development of African Theology* (Eugene, Oregon: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2000); Jung Sun Oh, *A Korean Theology of Human Nature* (Lanham, Boulder, New York, Toronto, Oxford: University Press of America, 2005); Sebastian C. H. Kim, *Christian Theology in Asia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

¹⁹ Liberation theology, black theology, feminist theology, queer theology all are considered contextual theologies. ["Queer Theology brings to Liberation Theology's class and ethnic analysis the conflict in the construction of sex, sexuality, and gender." Marcella Althaus–Reid, "Doing a Theology from Disappeared Bodies: Theology, Sexuality and the Excluded Bodies of the Discourses of Latin American Liberation Theology" in *The Oxford Handbook of Feminist Theology*, edited by Mary McClintock Fulkerson & Sheila Briggs (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 448.]

²⁰ Stephen B. Bevans, *Models of Contextual Theology. Revised and Expanded Edition* (Faith and Cultures Series; Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 2004), 80.

²¹ Kevin J. Vanhoozer, "One Rule to Rule Them All?' Theological Method in an Era of World Christianity" in *Globalizing Theology: Belief and Practices in an Era of World Christianity*, edited by Craig Ott & Harold A. Netland (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Academic, 2006), 99.

²² Angie Pears, *Doing Contextual Theology* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2010), 9.

²³ See Dumitru Stăniloae, *Theology and the Church* (Crestwood, NY: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1980); IDEM, The Experience of God. Orthodox Dogmatic Theology. Vol. 1. Revelation and Knowledge of the Triune God, trans. ed. Ioan Ionita & Robert Barringer (Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1994); IDEM, The Experience of God. Orthodox Dogmatic Theology. Vol. 2. The World: Creation and Deification, trans. ed. Ioan Ionita & Robert Barringer (Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 2000);); IDEM, The Experience of God. Orthodox Dogmatic Theology. Vol. 3. The Person of Jesus Christ as God and Savior, trans. ed. Ioan Ionita & Robert Barringer (Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 2011); IDEM, The Experience of God. Orthodox Dogmatic Theology. Vol. 4.The Church: Communion in the Holy Spirit, trans. ed. Ioan Ionita & Robert Barringer (Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 2012); IDEM, The Experience of God. Orthodox Dogmatic Theology. Vol. 5. The Sanctifying Mysteries, trans. ed. Ioan Ionita & Robert Barringer (Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 2012); IDEM, The Experience of God. Orthodox Dogmatic Theology. Vol. 6. The Fulfillment of Creation, trans. ed. Ioan Ionita & Robert Barringer (Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 2013); IDEM, The Holy Trinity: In the Beginning There Was Love (Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 2013).

²⁴ I am using again one of my previous studies: Teodor–Ioan Colda, "Is There Anything Left to be told About John? The Future of Johannine Character Studies and the Literary Concept of *Bildung*" in *The Future of Knowledge*. *Proceedings of Harvard Square Symposium, volume 1*, edited by Titus Corlățean & Ioan–Gheorghe Rotaru (Cambridge, MA: The Scientific Press, 2016), 34.

²⁵ "Indigenous theology is theology of a particular people, with geographical, cultural, and social boundaries; it is local in the sense of being identifiable with the theological work, beliefs, and practices of a particular people." Matheny, 34.

²⁶ I consider the term 'local theology' to be more appropriate than 'indigenous theology' due to the connotations the later one carries: "indigenous people work for the liberation of both the oppressors and the oppressed." Wati Longchar, "Indigenous theology in Asia: Issues and Perspectives" in *Asian Theology on the Way. Christianity, Culture, and Context,* edited by Peniel Rajkumar (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2015), 91.

²⁷ Some examples: Ciprian–Flavius Terinte, *Viața Bisericii conform metaforelor Pauline. Perspectiva apostolului Pavel referitoare la natura și menirea Bisericii* (Oradea: Societatea Biblică din România, 2010); Romulus Ganea, *Credincioși Legământului: repere isagogice și teologice în studiul cărții Estera* (Cluj–Napoca: Risoprint, 2013).

²⁸ Some examples: Otniel Ioan Bunaciu, Între vremuri. O prezentare a vieții lui Karl Barth și o introducere în teologia Cuvântului (Dorotea, 2000); Sorin Bădrăgan, Ekklesia între dogma și praxis. O paradigmă contemporană a doctrinei baptiste despre biserică (București: Editura Universității din București, 2015).

²⁹ Dr. Mihai Handaric dedicates a chapter to the analysis of the Romanian developments in the scholarship of Old Testament theology in his monograph: *Tratat de istoria interpretării Teologiei Vechiului Testament* (Arad: Carmel Print, 2007).

³⁰ Daniel Mariş, *Creația biblică. Reflecții teologice în contextul dialogului creștin* (București: Editura Didactică și Pedagogică R. A., 2009). See Teodor–Ioan Colda, review of *Creația biblică. Reflecții teologice în contextul dialogului creștin*, by Daniel Mariş (București: Editura Didactică și Pedagogică R. A., 2009), 320 p, ISBN: 978–973–30–2455–2, in *Jurnal Teologic* 11.2 (2012), 201–204.

³¹ Daniel Mariş, *The Biblical Doctrine of Creation: A Basis for Theological Conversation between Evangelicals and the Eastern Orthodox Church in Contemporary Romania* (București: Editura Universitară, 2009).

³² These essays and others are collected in the volume: Daniel Mariş, *Theological Reflections upon the Practice of Faith. Extended Essays in Applied Theology* (București: Editura Universitară, 2009).

³³ Corneliu Constantineanu, *The Social Significance of Reconciliation in Paul's Theology: Narrative Readings in Romans* (London: T&T Clark, 2010).

³⁴ Constantineanu, 185–205.

³⁵ Dr. Octavian Baban was one of the members of a team of Bible scholars responsible of a new inter–denominational Romanian translation of the New

Testament from the Greek original. The first edition was printed in 2009 by the Societatea Biblică Interconfesională din România.

³⁶ The "Dumitru Cornilescu" version (from the name of the scholar who had done the translation) of the Romanian Bible is the most popular Romanian translation of the Bible. The first edition was printed in 1921 and a revised edition was printed in 1924. See Emanuel Conțac, *Dilemele fidelității. Condiționări culturale și teologice în traducerea Bibliei* (Cluj–Napoca: Logos, 2014), 85–90.

³⁷ The "Noua Traducere" version is the most recent translation of the Romanian Bible. Its first edition was printed in 2007 by the International Bible Society. See Conțac, 91–93.

³⁸ See "Protest de amploare în București. Peste 25.000 de români au protestat după tragedia de la Club Colectiv," *jurnalul.ro*, November 3, 2015, accessed November 4, 2015, http://jurnalul.ro/stiri/observator/protest-de-amploare-in-bucuresti-peste-10-000-de-oameni-s-au-adunat-in-piata-victoriei-700290.html.

³⁹ Steven P. Mueller, *Called to Believe: A Brief Introduction to Christian Doctrine* (Eugene, Oregon: Wipf & Stock, 2006), 9.

⁴⁰ Dănuț Jemna, "Iconomia tranziției" in *agorachristi*, January 14, 2008, accessed February 28, 2008, http://agorachristi.wordpress.com/2008/01/14/ iconomia-tranzitiei/.

⁴¹ See Daniela Mariş, "Barnevernet sau mic ghid de psihiatrie cu susu'n jos" *apud* Adrian Pătruşcă, "Dosarul 'Bodnariu–Barnevernet–Norvegia': Când nebunii pun mâna pe conducerea balamucului și fac experimente sociale," *Evenimentul zilei* Nr. 7631 (Luni, 1 februarie 2016),4–6.

⁴² Kosuke Koyama, "Indigenous Theology" in *A New Dictionary of Christian Theology*, edited by Alan Richardson & John Bowden (London: SCM Press, 1983), 291.

⁴³ This is true especially in acedemic spheres.

⁴⁴ Mariş, *The Biblical Doctrine of Creation*, 15.

⁴⁵ "Immigration is a complex and dynamic phenomenon influenced by factors belonging both to the country of origin (push factors) and destination (pull factors)." Georgiana Anton & Marian Preda, "Ethical and Methodological Dillemas in Researching Vulnerable Groups in Romania" in *Practices of Ethics. An Empirical Approach to Ethics in Social Sciences Research*, edited by Isabella Paoletti, Maria Isabel Tomás & Fernanda Menéndez (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013), 117.

⁴⁶ Dr. Octavian Baban managed to do this in a 2006 short article in which he compared Romanian migration and Romania's EU accession with the original Exodus. Octavian Baban, "Peste Iordan în Schengen [Over the Jordan to Schengen]" in *Creștinul azi* 6 (2006), 6–9.

⁴⁷ See Mihaela Alexandra Pop, "The Promethean Man: Eastward or Westward?" in *Romania: Cultural Identity and Education for Civil Society*, edited by Magdalena Dumitrana (Romanian Philosophical Studies, V; Cultural Heritage and Contemporary Change Series IVA, Eastern and Central Europe, Volume 24; Washington, DC: The Council for Research in Values and Philosophy, 2004), 172.

Migration: Social–Religious Synergy from the Perspective of Dogma History

Iacob Coman

ABSTRACT: The hysteria of crowds of people migrating to Europe knows an unprecedented level. The situation is quite unclear in terms of those who intended to follow this phenomenon or those who have taken it on the go. What we see is that both, the former and the latter, got out of control this phenomenon on which they believed themselves quite sure. As far as we are concerned, we want in the present study to avoid speculation and nurturing ideas related to various conspiracies. To this end, our study will be based on records of historical, sociological and biblical origin. Under the title, "Migration: Social-Religious Synergy from the Perspective of Dogma History" I intend to critique the phenomenon of migration, from the end of this decade, under three aspects: 1) The idea of origins and the purpose of emigration; 2) Ontology of the idea of migration, that is the superhuman aspect of this issue and the divine involvement in this type of phenomenon; and 3) Introductory acknowledgments on the religious missionary activity and its imbalance of forces. KEY WORDS: migration, socio-religious synergy, dogma, the migration of the idea, missionary activity, religious syncretism.

Introduction

The second decade of the third millennium begins with a seemingly new phenomenon, migration .The stability and tranquility of the European and American societies seem to be troubled, and the security established after the World War II seems to be questioned. All this phenomenology is managed politically,

religiously and socially in quite different forms. From the desire of being assimilated of those who leave their countries of origin, for preserving their lives, and to their images as being a social danger, any attitude has its well justified arguments. On the surface, this reality can be argued as being only as shown, although on the background are all sorts of speculation about the infiltration of terrorists, on Muslim missionary activity, etc. However, an extensive review may fundamentally change things. "No people in the Roman world is not pure Roman, It has a native substrate, a Roman layer and a migratory added one."1 This historical basis of Europe compels us to note that all of Europe is populated by migratory peoples who behave like natives. In other words, the population of Europe is one that imposes itself not one that was here. This reality can be extrapolated to the United States, Canada, Australia, Middle East and, why not, the whole world. In this context the issue of migration has to be considered in a more complex area. To this reality of substrate, layer and added layer overlapping is added the phenomenon of this last century, phenomenon through which the conflict of nuances within the same religion, the Christian religion, is replaced with the agreeability of religious diversity and its promotion. "The interest in Eastern spirituality, manifested especially since the 60s of the last century, did so that they become a visible presence, appealing to Europeans. The current religious situation can be described much like a "mosaic of beliefs." Furthermore, the explosion of "the new religions" and religiosity generate an appetite for syncretism varies indefinitely the options and recipes of faith."² The socio-religious synergy is emphasized thus as a victory over traditional belief opens the possibility for the spiritual comfort of other masses of immigrants, different from the financial comfort.

In the present study I do not intend to underscore an European ethno–genesis, but will try to give an introductory perspective on migration phenomenology. Migration takes into account the complex reality of human beings, a reality that conjugates the dimensions of the existence at sociological, psychological, religious and physical level. Man is shifting from one place to another as a being not as a machine. The trauma of displacement should be mitigated by the joy of fulfilling a dream, and the integration is bilateral. Not only the immigrant integrates with the native–born, but actually the native integrates with the immigrant also. Are negotiated the percentages, but mutual integration is not negotiable.

In this context, just as we can not dissociate the human beings from the existence of God, so we can not dissociate the phenomenon of human beings migration from God's providence. Re–assignation and re–interpretation of this phenomenon of migration, the way it is used in terms of political and financial capital, the use of this phenomenon for honest people to seek over state protection in the detriment of their freedom, none of these removes the punctual presence of God. To ignore this reality, implies accepting the error at the expense of honesty. In the following we shall provide in a sucking manner, an introductory study in the phenomenology of migration. We will keep the socio–religious synergy and their synoptic, so that we can have, at the proposal level, a more complex perspective on this phenomenon.

Migration: Origins and Purpose

Migration is related to the genesis, to the ontology of the being, it is the specificity of human existence, about a datum reflected in the words of God at the creation: "And God blessed them, and God said unto them, Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the Earth." (Genesis 1:28) The reality of migration is within us the way eros is, in the way that us, as men and women, aspire towards the intimate event, through which we anticipate our multiplying. Refocusing on the origins and purpose helps us look at things differently, but in reality we were created to move throughout the Earth. From Eden to all parts of the Earth, Man was created with the desire to migrate. "Human beings were a new and distinct order. They were made "on His image and likeness" and the purpose of the Creator was for them to populate the Earth."³ Hunger and deprivation as reason for migration, insecurity and the protection of life as reason for migration, dreams of prosperity elsewhere as reason for migration, are only forms of masking the true reason. In the pattern of the human being it is this code of the journey. Going from one place to another is after all a matter of conscience, ie keeping the relationship with God. We decided to get land allotment to the detriment of our

fellows and to our personal detriment, we all decided to become ethnics to the detriment of other ethnicities, reciprocity that brings freedom and purpose of creation to a form of spiritual communism. Because of the curse of the Tower of Babel and also because of human alienation from God, time has deepened enormously the ethnic importance creating insurmountable pseudo-obstacles. "Who will abolish the feeling of national differences? He brings into play irreducible values; It keeps to reasons which reason knows and others which reason does not know."⁴In other words we created our walls against freedom and against our way of being. This keeps in force the option for a reality foreign to our genesis, the reality that we are not of the same origins and consequently nor the same destiny or the same rights.

The problem migration from the perspective of the Bible is bivalent. The early days of human beings contain the idea of migration both as a blessing and a curse. Genesis 1:28 specifies migration as a blessing in the declaration "replenish the Earth", but from the perspective of Genesis 3:23, "Therefore the Lord God sent him forth from the garden of Eden, to till the ground from whence he was taken," migration is a curse. From this perspective, the perspective of the expulsion from Paradise, man is homeless. In this event appears the idea of traveler. "Abraham and the other patriarchs wanted to see their goodness acquisition and have never ceased to constantly seek their heavenly homeland....⁷⁵ They were the travelers of God towards God, they were the nomads of God's gifts benefiting from these, they were the model of residents in places which did not bound them with anything. "By faith Abraham, when he was called to go out into a place which he should after receive for an inheritance, obeyed; and he went out, not knowing whither he went. By faith he sojourned in the land of promise, as in a strange country, dwelling in tabernacles with Isaac and Jacob, the co-heirs with him of the same promise: For he looked for a city which had foundations, whose builder and maker is God." (Heb 11:8-10) The expulsion from Paradise through its trauma, has forced in the human beings the longing for migration. It made it more acute, more stringent, and the reality of death has redirected the idea of journey from earth to heaven. So was reinvested Abraham's soul and the purpose of his existence.

Consequently, the idea of migration is established by God. After the flood, God repeats the words from Genesis 1:28 as follows: "And you be fruitful, and multiply; bring forth abundantly in the earth, and multiply therein!" (Gn 9:7) The expression or the imperative "you multiply" obliges Noah's family to a perspective totally foreign to what we mean today by native place, homeland and native village. Commenting on the verse 21 from Genesis 1, St. Basil the Great notes the following: "God made us fully masters in choosing where we want to live on earth, so that to fill it rationally."⁶ That is, due to complex reasons of each of us, we decide to migrate and we choose where to stay for a while. The reality of the blessing and of the curse of being travelers reconfigured the attitude of the human ineffable. Because of this we are also nostalgic, the nostalgia being the groundwater, the existential background on which the journey of each of us takes place. It is a kind of "dissatisfaction" that moves us from one happiness to another, with pain and sorrow that we have lost the first one and the hope that the next will be closer to what we dream for. This oscillation transcends the history of each life and imposes on us the wish for immortality. Writing about heaven, Saint Basil the Great asks the following question: "Did I cheered you up by telling you about the pleasures of paradise, or more I saddened you through the comparison between heaven and the corruptible? For, first of all, thy mind is moving towards the high and above the world, to those who have their citizenship in heaven..."7In other words, each of us exceeds metaphysically his/her own existence, building up the longing to emigrate to heaven, longing drown in the journeys on earth. The keystone of the drama is perceived by each personally, when they realize they can not find any place on earth so exotic and prosperous, enough to die beautifully. And this dream to life sits in the foreground the origin and end of migration: migration is from God in order to reach Him.

The Dogmatic Migration of the "Idea"8

The "idea" of God has a way expressing migration in the superlative. Lit in Abel the killed, re–lit in Set the promised, through

Abraham, Isaac and Jacob the "idea" migrates. Within this idea was born the migratory Jewish people and within this idea is extended the Judaism into Christianity, giving birth to it. "Christianity first appeared as an extension of Judaism."9 A Christian can not be assumed to not be Jewish, for Jesus the Jew and the Jew apostles have extended the decisions of the Old Testament in a complementary manner in the New Testament, and through this extension God forged His revelation that we call the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments. It is an extension through which the dialogue between God and man is retained until today, an extension which personally involves God in the human body of Christ, in the God Who lives and dwells among people: "And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us, and we beheld his glory, the glory as of the Only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth." (In 1:14) John the Apostle expounds this relay race of this *idea* in the followings: "The Revelation of Jesus Christ, which God gave unto him, to show unto his servants things which must shortly come to pass; and he sent and signified it by his angel unto his servant John: Who bare record of the word of God, and of the testimony of Jesus Christ, and of all things that he saw," (Rv 1:1-2) from God to Jesus, from Jesus Christ to His Angel and from His Angel to John, and later on through John to us. We have in mind the law of the movement of ideas, a law that goes far beyond the possibility of physical displacement of peoples or individuals. Paradoxically, a law can not exceed the movement of the being because the being bears ideas. This reality is imperative in noting the ineffable substrate that originates the migration of masses. The great contemporary migrations, the mass movement of the Muslim population to Europe, do not concern only the idea of individuals fleeing from death towards areas where life can continue, but in particular have in mind the migration of the *idea*, the original idea or the compromised one. The idea can not disappear, this would entail the disappearance of God; be it clean, be it compromised, it will last until the relocation of all things, because the idea itself is intimate to God's own existence.

The origin of the *idea* is born in God and has a dogmatic character. God has determined how the universal reality would be and He determined why and how to know and to do man who

wants to migrate to His Kingdom. Dogma should not be seen as a form of teaching that some councils have done in certain historical phases, but it should be seen in its biblical origins and its framing above time. The wording in Acts 16:4 ("the decrees of the apostles and elders which were at Jerusalem"—ta dogmata) is a point in time of a reality located above time. Everything God says, that is His idea, has a dogmatic character and can not be determined by time and culture, since it falls within above time. God's idea or His doctrine has been inalienable throughout history and led the whole humanity all this time. Its migration could not be stopped nor crushed in content. Around the idea of God there were born martyrs, traitors and from God's idea were invented other ideas from which were made lifeless gods. When we talk about the history of dogma or about the migration of belief decisions, we talk about God and people, the movement of ideas can not be apart from God and, in our opinion, nor outside human beings. "Religion is a practical problem of humanity, since it concerns our supreme happiness and those aptitudes that characterize a holy life. But in all religions, these skills are closely related to a particular *faith* or *denomination*, well defined, retrospectively called as Divine Revelation."10 In other words we are dealing with the migration of the "idea" and the migration of the compromised idea. But, "the compromise" can not exist without idea, nor can be born from something else than the idea. All religions, notes Adolf Von Harnack, designate their idea retrospectively as Divine Revelation. In other words, all religions admit that their faith is a reality that migrated over time from God until them forming them. The dialectics of good faith or bad faith, true faith or false faith falls within everyone's honesty to keep accurate the judgments of God or to compromise them. Its destruction is impossible; it would be identical to our destruction. A child can get distanced to plus infinity from the origins of his parents, but can never become a non-child for his parents. In the context of our study, no religion can completely eliminate the idea; it can compromise it, but can not eliminate it.

This ebb and flow from the Idea and towards it, that is from God's judgments and toward them is one that characterized the actual movement of populations across the earth and especially in the East, Europe and America. "The period between centuries IV-VII entered into European history as the era of the Great Migration..."¹¹ The thirst to move in the area of others and eliminate them through crime or assimilation, is not the instinctual thirst for meat, but the thirst of the compromised idea that people have embodied, becoming identical with it. Jaroslav Pelikan marches for two millennia in his works in order to prove the impossibility of the new to the detriment of the idea of continuity: "... Continuity and change in creeds and confessions, conducted over a period of twenty centuries . . . how the creeds appear and therefore as they "disappear", usually with "melancholy, long reflux noise", how they sometimes appear again in another form, even with what might be called, even occasionally, "a triumphant, long, of recovery noise," but most often in a manner less dramatic, but equally real."12 The video based on the massive population migration from the last two years, and which we impose as a political capital, as a reality that gets out of our control, is a sided and tendentious synthesis of the migration phenomenology. synthesis through which we choose to misinform ourselves, to mask our fear and hide from ourselves and our fellowmen the contemporary history of idea migration.

In conclusion we are frightened that migration is reborn. Through our ancestors we have ensured ourselves that the migration was successful and justified only through us, we, those become Europeans, Americans, but things are not like this. The *idea* is in an unprecedented battle with the idea plus something. The movement of masses of people is the background of this struggle between God and Satan. The world foreign to us, comes to us because it can no longer bear what we believe and how we behave and because it is in love with what we believe and how we behave. This vagueness makes it impossible for selecting and puts us in a position of unprecedented unknown. We are all incisive and all are compliant and this is due to the common denominator moments or contradiction in the meeting between those who migrated earlier and those migrating now. "Historical research of the origins of Christianity increasingly clarifies that, for several decades, Christianity was one of the religious subsystems in which Judaism of the Second Temple has branched ..."¹³ how, in fact, for those who accept that the world was

created by God, all religions on earth that caused the migration of masses, are religious subsystems in which the Idea has branched, more or less compromised by its recipients.

The migration from the beginning of the third millennium begins on this background of stiffness of the judgments of God in conflict and, sometimes, in reciprocity with the increasing rigidity of the decisions taken by human society. In the short term this phenomenon favors only the great leaders of the world. In the long term we are approaching the moment when the Idea, that is the judgments of God, shakes the yoke of human society which attempts to compromise them. Sociological and ideological European and American synergy are on the verge of declaring victory or bankruptcy. The freedom of conscience or the tranquility proposed to God's judgments and other human judgments would declare the feast of renewal or everything will collapse in an uncontrolled manner. The migration phenomenon will decide together with those who manage it the celebration or mourning face of the so-called "human rights" and of the so-called "human freedoms." "Freedom means freedom from sin and death in Christ, and at social level-the battle of ideas."14 The idea in conflict with the idea plus something is the real background of all conflicts.

Migration or the Apocalyptic Form of Missionary Activity

Deliberately or not, the millions of people who take the road to Europe are missionaries of the third millennium. The desire of assimilation, as we mentioned in the introduction, can not take unilateral aspect, assimilation is always bidirectional. Europe's effort to assimilate immigrants involves an effort of the same intensity to make ourselves assimilated, if not smaller. The appetite of the new generation for the Eastern and Muslim religious novelty is growing, reality that facilitates our assimilation by them and not vice versa. This is because we, the Europeans, have no one to believe in. Differently from them we only believe in ourselves. This reality makes their strength to be *twice* and ours *once*. So, the space in which we are assimilated is twice bigger than the space in which they can be assimilated. In these conditions it is easy to see which side is the victory. The Christian missionary activity at the beginning of the second millennium resulted in the triumph of the Crusades, and at the end of the millennium resulted in the triumph of the sophisticated weapons of the European and American world which conquered territories and populations, opposes the oriental missionary activity resulted in its bare hands, hands holding children and crossing borders without being resisted by anyone. Without a god nothing is possible! Nietzsche's phrase, from The Parable the Madman, "God is dead", proves itself again as unreal. A world with an imaginary God still may be possible, but a world without God. as we, the Europeans and Americans want, is not possible. The synergic creation of a society that believes in No one and the peace in such a society are shakier than ever. We could say that in this context the words of the Holy Scriptures make sense again: "For when they shall say, Peace and safety; then sudden destruction will come upon them, as travail upon a woman with child; and they shall not escape." (1 Thes 5:3) The peace and comfort of an Europe, in the early years of promising drive, is disturbed by the greater silence of people who, in silence and nonviolence, establish another world over our skidding world. "As a sort of late reaction to the offensive of the Christian missionary activity, the emigration from the former colonial empires have brought in the West quite important communities of other religious affiliations, especially Muslim."¹⁵ The phenomenon is even more severe as their uprooting has already the roots of the second generation in most of the West. They leave home and somehow come home to their grandparents.

Talking about the features of modern thought, Hajime Nakamura emphasizes the revival of skepticism and the rejection of any divine authority in favor of human reason and in favor of the credit this gives us. "Such a spirit of challenging the authority – he notes – leads to the formation of the absoluteness of the self, as does Descartes, the final result being the idea that what can not be doubted is the ego, one's self."¹⁶In these circumstances the European postmodern society exempts itself of the existence of God and is left alone. We are thus witnessing a phenomenon of apocalyptic missionary migration through which those who do not believe in the God of the Holy Scriptures turn to those who no longer believe in the God of this Scripture with a mission to get them to believe in what they have never thought. The apathy towards the religious element in Europe in favor of humanist militancy does not strengthen the society, but weakens it, divides it. European and American societies no longer have around whom coalesce, are similar to a large military elite which no longer has a commander whom to take orders from. Over comes a people holding children, with life out of the reach of death, with power out of the reach of helplessness, with the dreams unfulfilled and yet a people with a staggering power. We are witnessing the most aggressive form of missionary activity expressed by some people who do not have at hand any light weapons or heavy weapons. However, their weapons make the European and American societies hysteric these apocalyptic missionaries bring children, mothers, fathers holding children, families; armament ready to blow all European and American military bases, weaponry with which we can no longer compete; We no longer have kids, mothers, fathers, husbands and wives, we no longer have families.

The European and American religious synergy founded a cocktail of existence within the safety of love of humanity and aspirations based on who we are as people is hit from the ground. The migration phenomenon from the end of this decade resembles a Christ. Christ refused sword victory, commanding Peter to put it into the sheath. "Rather than accept conquer by the sword, He received death on the cross. By choosing such an alternative at a time of great turmoil, Jesus broke with the conventional path of action on which have committed all other professed saviors...."17 This type of Chrislike behavior resembles the face of those who marched in convoys from the Orient to Europe. The "millennial" generation military incursions and a force that can not be competed is answered with the defeating march; "we have been defeated, we will move on to you!" The reality we are witnessing is downright hallucinating! The claims of civilization that we reclaim do not allow us to meet them the way the Christians missionaries were greeted in the second and third centuries after Christ. The ferocity of the Dark Ages can not characterize us under any circumstances. The only chance that we could have had is God, Whom we don't have anymore. Consequently the imbalance of forces is frightful.

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In conclusion, migration should be seen as somewhat apocalyptic missionary activity. The expression Pax Romana is heard loudly in the noise of the march of these barefoot men. They ask for our surrender in a velvet missionary war, being aware that we can not refuse their life, the more so since in it in their children's lives, we have secured our future. Jesus' words: "I am the vine, you are the branches: He that abides in me, and I in him, the same brings forth much fruit: for without Me you can do nothing." (Jn 15:5) can be an acceptance of what is to be or may be a confirmation of what is already done. If we remained without God, we have already taken their God. If this has not yet happened it is quite difficult to find solutions to socio-scholastic revive the faith of our fathers; that is the parents of the Bible. Their weapons, as we mentioned above, can not be competed with our weapons. This is why young generations, if they can, would have the resources to resurrect the family, children, the biblical home and the church, which are the greatest and unquestionable freedom. The history of Europe and America will end with us if we do not invest in these things.

NOTES

¹ Cf. https://ro.scribd.com/doc/83097376/POPOARELE-EUROPENE (Last accessed on July 18, 2016)

² Anca Manolescu, Europa și întâlnirea religiilor – Despre pluralismul religios contemporan (Europe and the Encounter of Religions – On Contemporary Religious Pluralism), (Iași: Polirom, 2005), 13.

³ Ellen G. White, *Comentarii biblice ale Vechiului Testament (Biblical Comments on the Old Testament)*, (București: Păzitorul Adevărului Publishing, 1995), 7.

⁴ Paul Hazard, *Criza conștiinței europene 1680–1725 (The Crisis of the European Conscience 1680–1725)*, (București: Humanitas, 2007), 399.

⁵ Saint Gregory of Nyssa, *Scrieri partea a doua (Writings. Second Part)*, (București: Publishing House of the Mission and Bible Institute of the Romanian Orthodox Church, 1998), 63.

⁶ Saint Basil the Great, *Scrieri dogmatice și exegetice (Dogmatic and Exegetical Writings)*, (Bucureștiș Basilica, 2011), 307.

⁷ Saint Basil the Great, 343.

⁸ In this term"ideas" capture the whole thought of God that we find in the text of the Holy Scriptures. It gets more complex because it alsosystematizes the

Scripture contextualizing it on its great themes: the journey to heaven, God's deliberate love, the way of forgiveness of sins in Christ Jesus our Lord, etc.

⁹ Jonathan Hill, *Istoria gândirii creștine (History of Christian Thought)* (Oradea: Casa Cărții Publishing, 2007), 13.

¹⁰ Adolf Von Harnack, *Istoria Dogmei – Introducere în doctrinele creștine fundamentale (History of Dogma – Introduction to Fundamental Christian Doctrines)* (București: Herald Publishing, 2007), 27.

¹¹ Cf. http://www.moldovenii.md/section/220/content/895 (Last accessed on July 18, 2016).

¹² Jaroslav Pelikan, Credo – Ghid istoric și teologic al crezurilor și mărturisirilor de credință în tradiția creștină (Credo: Historical and Theological Guide to Creeds and Confessions of Faith in the Christian Tradition) (Iași: Polirom Publishing, 2010), 61.

¹³ Claudio Moreschini, Enrico Norelli, *Istoria literaturii creștine vechi grecești și latine (Early Christian Greek and Latin Literature), vol. I* (Iași: Polirom Publishing, 2001), 9.

¹⁴ Gheoghe Calciu–Dumitreasa, http://citateortodoxe.ro/citate-lupta-ideilor (Last accessed on July 18, 2016).

¹⁵ Manolescu, 13.

¹⁶ Hajime Nakamura, *Orient și Occident: o istorie comparată a ideilor (A Comparative History Of Ideas)* (București: Humanitas Publishing, 1997), 473.

17 Arnold J. Toynbee, *Studiu asupra istoriei* – sinteză a volumelor I–IV (*A Study of History*) by D.C. Somervell. (București: Humanitas Publishing, 1997, 724.

The Church and Migration: The Role of Faith in Social Integration and Behavior Change of the Roma People

Daniel Fodorean

ABSTRACT: Roma or Gypsies are originally a migratory people who today are spread across several continents and living in many countries, especially on the continent of Europe. Several sources indicate that 8 million of Roma live in Eastern Europe. Romania has the largest Roma population in the area, over 535,000 persons according to the latest official estimates. The changes that have occurred over the last 20 years in Europe Central and Eastern Europe, it made a large number of Roma people migrate to Western European countries. This raised a new kind of issues in Western, but also in Eastern Europe, the authorities sometimes, reaching the point of no longer find solutions in the management of Roma issues. This paper proposes that we look not only at state responsibilities to solve these issues but also to the church responsibilities to spread the message that can change their behavior.

KEY WORDS: Immigration, Emigration, Migration, Gypsy, Roma people, Culture Church Mission.

Roma People: A People with Migrant Origins and Migratory Trend

In the book *Gypsies from Romania a minority in transition*, Emanuelle Pons identifies the term "Roma as coming from Sanskrit (original: romani) means *man*, *married man* and, in a broader sense, the *person belonging to our group*."¹ The term was contrasted with *gadzo*, *gadza*, which means *he, they*, ie the non-Roma, ie the different from us. About the origin of this people there were more theories, but mainly two of these took a more pronounced place in the debates, that is: some contend that the Roma come from India, while others attest their origin in Egypt.

The Indian origins of the Roma had been supported by linguistic and historic arguments. One of the scholars who ascribed Indian origin to the Roma language was István Wali, a Hungarian student in theology, in the Netherlands. He noted a striking similarity between the language of his fellow Indians and the language spoken by the Roma in Hungary.² Researcher, Donald Kenrick,³ claimed that the Roma left India in the third century when Shah Ardashir (224-241 AD) conquered northern India and transformed it into a colony of Persia. In these circumstances, the Roma resettlement has occurred gradually and in a peaceful manner, and one of the reasons was that the wealth of Persian Empire began to attract various emigrants. One of the reasons for their departure from India—according to Crişan Niculae's theory was that "the last class, pariah, it is of those disinherited of the life, the people without any right than to live, do the hardest menial work. Suffice to say that pariah was a caste (class) so devoid of any religious and social rights."⁴ The basic thesis of most authors is that the Gypsies were the pariah of India and that their departure from the country is explained by the attitude and behavior of upper castes, ranging from contempt to murder.

Roma's Egyptian roots (in addition to other hypotheses on their origins) were described by Vasile Burtea, who wrote that:

For a long time, it was believed that the Roma have their origins in Egypt. For this reason, the British, and others after them, called them *Gypsie*, that is "Egyptians" or those who came from Egypt. There were assumptions, opinions or speculation affirming that the Roma People are Persians and Phoenicians, or Turks and Tatars left after wars fought in these places. Folkloric expressions affirm that they were to be baptized by the Pharaohs (mocking allusion to Egyptian origins). According to some, they were inhabitants, while for others, even the founders of ancient Rome, or the Roman Empire (from romaios = citizen of Rome) and even . . . ancient inhabitants of Dacia that kept sacred key elements of language, customs, traditions, etc.⁵

Thus, chroniclers, especially those from the medieval period, have identified the Roma with the Egyptians because of the dark color of their skin, much like that of the native population of Egypt. The chroniclers present Gypsies as a people "dark skin," having its own hierarchical structures and claiming that their homeland is the Little Egypt.

A well-defined position on the Roma origin is the Indian hypothesis supported especially by the linguistic argument, "in the language of the Roma have been identified over 500 Indian words whose origin can be easily recognized."⁶

Related to their origin first appears the dimension of migration, "the initial migration to the northwestern Indian subcontinent, followed by migration outside India."⁷ Roma migrated from India in the Byzantine Empire, and in the eleventh century were scattered in different parts of the empire. The migration of the Roma to the Byzantine Empire was a gradual process that took several decades, and was probably a consequence of the advances of the Seljuk Turks in Armenia. Here, the Roma were named *athinganoi*, name originally assigned a heretical sects present in the Byzantine Empire in the eleventh century, which means untouchable (not recommended for contact with them.) It is possible that through their different living style and non-interference with other communities, Roma has been likened to that sect followers and, therefore, have received the same designation from the Byzantine population.

During the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries the Roma spread in south-east and central Europe, as well as in North Africa. Roma people entered into the North America and South America only in the nineteenth century.

Today the Roma are spread across several continents and live in several countries, but mostly in the southeastern part of Europe. Several sources indicate a total of 12 million of which 10 million inhabitants of Europe, 8 million in the countries of Eastern Europe. Romania has the largest Roma population—over 535,000 persons—according to the latest official estimates, between 1.5-2 million according to unofficial dates.

Despite an attempt to systematize the origins and the migration of the Roma, it is generally recognized that the Roma is not a homogenous population. They are divided, at least in Romania, in about 40 groups arranged according to family ties, professions, dialect, sedentary or nomad lifestyle.

The main groups include: *ursarii* (bear trainers and performers), *căldărarii* (coppersmiths manufacturers and repairers of copper vessels), *fierarii* (blacksmiths, farriers) *crăstarii* (vendors horses), *spoitorii* (pots and kitchen saucepan), *rudarii* (working with wood), *boldenii* (flower sellers), *argintarii* (silverware, jewelers), *zlătarii* (extract gold from riverbeds), and others. There are very important linguistic differences between the groups.⁸

This reflection on their origin and migration throughout the centuries on various continents can lead to the conclusion that migration is itself part of their identity. Also, this is confirmed by the way the Roma, from different countries, relate to each other. After thirty years from the founding of The International Romani Union, at the 5th World Romany Congress in 2000, they issued an official declaration that Romany are a non-territorial nation. A special approach and different from other nations, namely their national identity is not linked to a territory advances their evidence for migration as part of their identity, but what makes a nation are the customs and traditions they promote. However at the first World Romani Congress organized in 1971 near London—funded in part by the World Council of Churches and the Government of India—their the green and blue flag from the 1933 conference, embellished with the red, sixteen-spoked chakra, was reaffirmed as the national emblem of the Romani people, and the anthem, "Gelem, Gelem" was adopted.

In the context of democratization after 1990, easing border and eastward enlargement of the European Union, the Roma visibility acquired new dimensions with the new wave of migration from Eastern Europe toward Western Europe with a more developed economy. For Roma this migration, according to Professor Mircea Duțu, was relatively easy because: "... whatever European country they live, Gypsies have one language and nationality, even identical habits, more or less obvious. However, in France, Britain, Germany, Scandinavia, Switzerland and Belgium they remained registered from a century ago as nomads. This exceptional administrative regime generated a systematic supervision of movement. . . And the state of nomadic or 'person in permanent circulation' is considered as a new nationality. As remarked in this regard Henriette Asseo, a Frenchwoman continues to be considered the administratively a 'nomad' and provided with a traveling permit, even if its commercial activities require relatively small displacements. 'This represents to ignore seniority of presence in specific the national territory and its total integration,' concludes the specialist."⁹

Europe became a continent attractive to immigrants because of incentives legislative and economic interests that of some EU countries. Europe could not restrict the access of Roma coming from Romania and Bulgaria due to the fact that they were not simple immigrants, but they came through their home countries joining the EU, and now are European citizens. According to Oleg Brega, through this massive migration of Roma "leaders of European countries have tried to resolve the issue of differences between European citizens equal by law, as they knew better, sometimes flagrant violation of human rights, violating interstate agreements and European regulations in force."¹⁰

This tension between the status of Roma citizens in Europe and other citizens and the conduct of ethnic Roma made the issue of Roma a topic on the political agenda of the European Union. At the continental level, they initiated special programs for their social and economic integration. But up to this, massive expulsions of Roma were, especially in France and, earlier, Italy. In the summer of 2010 it is estimated that the French authorities have expelled more than a thousand Roma¹¹ coming mostly from Romania, and later destroying their unauthorized camps. *Il Giornale* reported on 22 April 2011 about such a case, and the statement quoting the mayor of Rome, Gianni Alemanno: "We identified 161 people, of which 67% are criminals. It is not true that they have nowhere to live. Many have houses in their home country and they come to Rome not because of the desperate situation, but in hope to have higher incomes, even illegally obtained." All these actions of expulsion, also applying certain hidden bad treatments to Roma, led to diplomatic tensions between states and debates within EU bodies. All parties agree that the solution to solving this issue at European level has to do with Roma social integration and not discriminatory actions. The social integration of Roma is a subject that requires an extended analysis. However, for the purpose of this paper I'll continue offer a brief analysis of the culture and the behavior of the Roma in society, and how the Church can become involved in their integration in society.

Cultural Particularities and Ethical Challenges

On the one hand, some believe that the integration of Roma among other cultures is an easy task. For example, Oleg Brega claims that:

Roma, by the way they have adapted various cultures that came in contact with along history and wanderings through the world, seems to constitute a paradigm of interculturalism, a model for other Europeans. Some scholars believe that the first contact with European civilization Roma took more than they gave: borrowed religions, words, phrases, traditions and tools. However, they remained authentic, faithful to their ancestral traditions.¹²

On the other hand, some believe that social integration of Roma is through behavioral changes, and they represent an abandonment of such customs and traditions that project an immoral character and keeping the custom and traditions of those who are moral. The argument that any culture is a whole and that it cannot come off the negative elements is a false."Personally, I support the possibility of changing a culture because, as I stated on a different occasion, although each culture struggles to preserve the values acquired along the recorded time every culture develops various trends over time. These trends do not require a total detachment from the cultural background of the original human community. An attack on the identity of that community, by redefining elements of life or by adding others, is an attack on the original fundament."¹³

Roma culture today manifests a combination of old habits that come from its historical past and modern elements of our world. The progress of society has not determined the complete break with the past, Roma communities proving a greater resistance to external influences than the majority population.

What are the Main Characteristics of Roma Culture?

1) The Centrality of Family, as the First and Most Important Social Group

Every family culture should be important, but for the Roma community this has a special role. The entire social structure of the individual life is around the family and the community is nothing but the gathering of individual families and extended families; that is the larger family. An important role in traditional Roma family plays "amare phure" ("our elders" or "our grandparents.") The first aspect to note is that the name refers to blood relatives—grandparents—and to all the elders in the community, respecting and caring for both. "Eun le phuren, on hale maj but manro sar tute" ("Listen to the elders, they ate more bread than you.") Never a traditional Roma family will send their elders to a nursing home, however poor they are, and however luxurious the nursing home may be.

The elders are the reference of the extended family, have the highest status in the traditional Roma community, they (if men), are the judges (krisinitoră) of the community. The high status of the old man emerges from wisdom, honor, experience, balance and responsibility. At least, in theory, male-female roles are not identified as superior-inferior, but they are complementary: the man is the head of the family and is responsible for maintenance his wife and children. He is responsible for the education of children, housework, including food preparation and supervision of sick or elderly family members. This emphasis on masculinity may have generated by the significance of name Roma, meaning man or married man. Roma people, in social dimension, have a communitarian understanding; they are people-oriented relational and for them relationships matter.

Family law is one of purity laws, the basic principle of traditional education is the lajimos Roma's ("shame"), and the girl's virginity at marriage has the value of a sacrament, because it is the basis of Roma morality. The so-called "bride price" covers exactly this value, and it is superior to the beauty, the diligence and the modesty of the girl, or her family's wealth and status. Guarantee soundness and sustainability marriage, *încuscririi* cohesion and a good treatment of the girl in new family.

It is known that they try resolving contentious issues in the interior of the community, at a "divano" (talks) or if necessary, convene Kris Romani (Gypsy judgment). Kris is a court-fledged composed of different "Viți" and it is monopolized by men; it consists of a council of elders and one or more judges—all men. Women seldom speak in kris's, but they may do so if they are directly involved in the conflict. They get married at an early age: boys 14-15 years old and girls to 12-13 years old.

2) A Community with Marginal Trends

Certain isolation from the majority population and especially maintaining a certain measure of migratory nature, according to Elena Zamfir and Cătălin Zamfir,

were effective defensive strategies, but they also had a side effect: perpetuating marginalization. The Roma community has developed an active strategy of survival on the margins of society, in poverty and self-isolation. Self-marginalization by their own behavior is a way of obtaining acceptance and tolerance, and therefore its price.¹⁴ This attitude creates a complex "victim of discrimination" feeling on the one hand, and a comfortable marginalization, on the another. It explains why they placed their camp on the outskirts of a village, from where they come and visit the town. The interaction with the majority population is limited as they later withdrew in their own community.

3) Specific Occupations According with Migratory Character

It is likely that the original Roma population have been characterized by a specialization in certain types of jobs, complementary to agriculture that involve migratory nature. As a community the job they have are: ursarii (give performances bears), căldărarii (coppersmiths - manufactured and repaired copper vessels), fierarii (blacksmiths,farriers) crăstarii (vendors horses), spoitorii (pots and kitchen saucepan), rudarii (working with wood), boldenii (flower sellers), argintarii (silverware,jewelers), zlătarii (extract gold from riverbeds) etc.

4) Belief in Superstitions and Cultural Ethics

About their faith can say that:

Their initial belief was very similar to that of Medo-Persians who believed in two main: Ormuzd, the principle of good and Ahriman, the evil principle; These two main manifestation with equal possibilities in the surrounding world. Gypsies believe in Del-God, the principle of good, and Beng, principle of evil. Gypsies opposite attitude of the two superpowers is always observant, considering that her man can only be a spectator outside the two main battle that equal possibility to influence the evolution of phenomena surrounding world.¹⁵

This kind of approach show that they do not believe in a personal God and sovereign, and as a result is slipping in all sorts of superstitions. Superstition is one of the most common types of popular beliefs it is believed that certain beings or things have supernatural powers that can influence the life of people. Roma people religion can be filled with the memory of some strange superstitions that embraces faith. Fear rabbit (*Sosoi*) is manifested by the belief that approaching a rabbit alive or dead means misfortune. Fear snake (SAP) is common in former nomadic gypsies. Just the fear of naked neck chickens with superstition is rooted in religion Gypsies. Among elementary religion borrowed most entrenched is the belief that the dead can turn into the undead. This can be explained by the fact that Gypsies are generally a fearful people.

In addition there are habits loaded with mystical elements such as when the child was born, the young mother is covered immediately with a jacket or other clothing to her husband or one who is responsible fatherhood and to the place of birth is make a fire to take away the traces (fairies) evil baby just now want to kidnap the mother and it turned to a vampire. When the child dies before baptism or born dead, sprinkle the grave, before lowering body with milk taken from the mother, because her breasts dry up soon to milk without harming them. Good is also spraying the tomb of unbaptized child with rainwater collected from the eaves of a church.

Because of superstitious and mystical beliefs and personal and collective morality was influenced to assist generally in the adoption of cultural ethics as a principal reference. Cultural ethics argues that ethical truth is conditioned by the system of values and moral habits of a culture determined. The essence of cultural relativism is that good and evil can be judged subjectively or relative only by reference to a specific company and each company has its own moral system.

Anchoring in the cultural system of which I have spoken so far, leads to behavior that can be characterized by stealing, begging, violence, murder. And all these have created an attitude of rejection from the majority population, especially in countries of Europe where they migrated.

5) A People with Special Artistic Qualities

All historians and ethnographers are unanimous in recognizing the Gypsies' special artistic qualities. Well there are not any locality in Romania and any party that does not fiepresent Gypsy folk music singers.

Faith, Church and Holistic Transformation

In order to integrate Roma into society is needed so the change in behavior from them, and changing the attitude of society towards them. Not only governmental institutions and social protection bodies should do something about it, but especially the church.

First of all, the Church has to share and show the love of God to all men. Christians believe that divine love is essential to experience God's ethics. Track the love must emanate from God, who "loved us first"; she must conquer the Christian heart, who love God so much that he will not be burdened with wishful thinking. Then comes love for people is subconsecventă love of God. In fact, the Bible says that it is impossible to love God and also to hate your brother. Finally reaching the love of self, that self-esteem, or more accurately, the humble personal appreciation that our value was won at Calvary through death of Jesus Christ.

The essence of ethical behavior occurs in what we might call the "golden rule" of Christianity: "All that you desire to make you people do ye even so to them." (Matthew, 7:12). Being accepted by others helps the individual to accept himself. Unfortunately, many people live without a sense of appreciation because they are too aware of their mistakes and failures.

Christ has acquired a real human nature, and we are all included in this nature. With restored the link between God and man is everyone's duty to acquire salvation.

Three important components serve as its support to the call of reconciliation:

- Initiative (the Heavenly Father)
- Call (Church who carry forward the apostolic message)
- a response (human believer)

Reconciliation begins with a change of attitude on the part of God that trigger a change of attitude of the believer to God. In apostolic definition of sin is the transgression of God's law - so attitude

and act of hostility towards the Heavenly Father. In the process of reconciliation meet three essential factors:

- who conceives and offer—this is the position of God;
- He who brings out potentially—this is the position of the Son incarnate, dead and risen;
- The receiving it (the man who repents)

Christ has acquired a real human nature, and are included in this nature and we all .With restored the link between God and man is everyone's duty to acquire salvation.

Secondly, the Church has to serve practically all people in society. Bishop Virgil Bercea at Conference "Roma Migration: dilemmas and perspectives of the European Union" (19/02/2015) organized by the Diocesan Caritas Oradea with Greek-Catholic Diocese of Oradea stated that the Church has a very important role in giving meaning to life these people are children of God like everyone else in them as close as most are really being hard test, but with chief plays a fundamental role in creating them within education. "As always, the Church tried to be close, more so today, because along with being quite excluded, intervened including migration, which is a worldwide phenomenon and not only them, Roma but all of us into all sides. But the fundamental role of the Church is trying to create a culture and him out of this situation where they are refused, in general, from school education, culturalization."

Thirdly, the church is God's instrument for holistic change the individual and society. The church is God's instrument for the individual and society changed holistic "to experience the change we need to access God's power source and acknowledge that there is no such power in ourselves. "Faith is not a part of the Christian life is even entirely Christian life. The term holistic emphasizes the importance of the whole and the interdependence of its parts. Change a person does not consider only the spiritual side, but also the intellectual, physical and social.

In 2014 in order to see how faith has changed the behavior of Roma in Romania I developed and applied a questionnaire consisting of 10 questions to a total of 100 Roma people who live in rural and in urban areas. The number of respondents is 65% male and 35% of the number of females. Among participants surveyed 7% of the Roma respondents had higher education, 15% had high school, 40% had secondary education, 38% of primary school. To the question "What are traditional practices which have influenced negative behavior prior to conversion?" Their answers show that 90% of people said that dancing, 85% mentioned music, and 80% gossip. To the question "What have you removed from life after you converted?" 65% of people dancing removed, 65% of people have eliminated gossip, 65% of people have eliminated robbery. At question "What do you think should be done to the Roma community in order to grow in the faith?" 90% people responded "applied faith," 85% people responded "participation in church service," 85% people responded "to be honest (not be duplicitous).

Conclusion

In conclusion, we can say that Roma are by their very identity migrating are in constant motion, and this is not a problem for them. This nation no country has influenced their lifestyle. Their culture, like every culture, has non-moral issues are encouraged to be preserved, but also issues that conflict with moral values. Christianity means change, and this is possible.

NOTES

¹ Emmanuelle Pons, *Ţiganii din România o minoritate în tranziție*, (București: Editura Compania, 1995), 8.

² G. Sarău, *Rromii, India și limba rromani* (București: Editura Kriterion, 1998), 44-46.

³ Donald Kenrick, *Historical Dictionary of the Gypsies (Romanies)* (2nd ed.). (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2007), xxxvii-xxxviii; 189.

⁴ Niculae Crișan, *Țiganii: mit și realitate*, (București: Editura Albatros, 1999), 22.

⁵ Vasile Burtea, *Rromii, În sincronia și diacronia populațiilor de contact* (București: Editura Lumina Lex, 2002), 25.

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⁶ Cf. http://www.romania-actualitati.ro/tiganii_origini_si_raspandire_ harta-18846

⁷ Cf. http://www.romania-actualitati.ro/tiganii_origini_si_raspandire_ harta-18846

8 Cf. http://www.intercultural.ro/carti/interculturalitate/romi.html

⁹ Cf. Mircea Duțu, Află cum au ajuns romii în România și care e numărul lor, http://www.dcnews.ro/istoria-tiganilor-afla-cum-au-ajuns-romii-in-romaniasi-care-e-numarul-lor_37152.html

¹⁰ Oleg Brega, *Europa și romii: Un test de viabilitate pentru UE, disertatie* (Iași: Universitatea Alexandru Ioan Cuza, 2011).

¹¹ Ibid., 26.

¹² Ibid., 3.

¹³ Daniel Fodorean, *Conducerea Bisericii în Postmodernism* (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Risoprint, 2011), 39.

¹⁴ Elena și Catalin Zamfir, *Țiganii între ignorare și îngrijorare* (București: Editura Alternative, 1993), 27-28.

¹⁵ Oprea X, *Studiu Etnologic: Minoritatea Etnică*, Universitatea de Nord, Baia Mare, 2011.

Current Migration Phenomenon and Labor Productivity in Christian Perspective

Adrian Gh. Paul

ABSTRACT: It is often stated that Europe was born in the year AD 325, in Nicaea, with the first Ecumenical Council of the Christian Church, which formulated the fundamental dogma on God and gave the continent a genuine model of faith. In this paper I will focus on the phenomenon of migration from a religious perspective. A special emphasis will be placed on the Orthodox Christian perspectives on labor, productivity, and the general values that characterize Europe as a Christian continent.

KEY WORDS: Migration, productivity, communion, unity, Love, Solitary, solidarity, community.

A ccording to the Romanian Christian thinker, Constantin Noica, Europe was born in 325 AD at Nicaea, with the first Ecumenical Council of the Christian Church who formulated the orthodox creed, fundamental dogma about God as He revealed himself fully in Jesus Christ as Trinity, namely as a communion of love in the ontological unity of the three divine persons: Father, Son and Holy Spirit. In other words Nicaea of the year 325, gives the authentic model of the Christian faith: "Christianity is the religion of religions and Europe is the culture of cultures."¹

In the European world today, especially after the unification of the Member States, the only form of authentic confession is and remains the one of its formation: the personal relationship of man and transfigured–deifying with the ONLY Person in two natures (divinity and humanity) of Jesus Christ, meaning the promoting of a new way of life, solitary and solidarity, personal and communitary at the same time communion. This convergence between personal and comuniar scored over centuries in the elapsed times the whole history of Europe. For the Church it is precisely the centrality of the human person, that not the man taken in isolation, but of the community from which man belongs, was the principle, the center and the purpose of the society who represented the "Orthodoxy" of the authentic Europe. Only such a man could be seen authentically, in the perspective of personal rights and social equality, of unconditional freedom or of expression of solidarity in the social plan. Conceived in Christian and Orthodox way, the human person could be placed over any system, any isolated logic, any reduction or exaggeration that do not take into account the human being dignity in its relations and integrated into his community.

In this study we will focus on migration phenomenon increasingly hard in the content of developed European states and we will take a religious look, even we will outline a Christian Orthodox vision, over the labor productivity and all the values that have characterized Christian Europe always and today It stands to lose permanently before the started challenges of secularization, profane, globalization and mondialisation.

Terminological Elements

It is known that the term of migration comes both from the French (*migration*) and Latin (*migratio*, –onis) and represents the phenomenon of mass displacement of some populations from one territory to another, displacement caused by various factors, either economic, social, political or religious, ethnic or natural.² Regarding migration one must, however, referr to the two components of it: emigration and immigration. A emigrate is the act of leaving the homeland and to establish (permanently or temporarily) to another country (in fr. *émigrer*, lat. *Emigrare*.)³ To immigrate represents the act of coming from a foreign country to settle here (in fr. *immigrer*,

lat. *Immigrare*.)⁴ Talking about the issue of migration, we must distinguish between its forms: internal/external and legal/illegal.

Emigration in the sense of people migration, legal or illegal, to other countries represents a major interest factor for the source State and its institutions. The State interest is acute as it needs a more precise knowledge of the population who emigrate, of the causes that favor or prevent this. These causes are further developed in studies that take into account a variety of factors, from the political-social to the economic, cultural, ethnic, and religious. Based on these studies, it can elaborate prognosis on a short, medium and long term, regarding the demographic aspects on regions, areas and countries, can be grounded normative acts, and also appropriate sectoral policies. The fact that many people are leaving to work abroad has created serious demographic gaps in some areas. There are entire villages in Eastern and Southeastern Europe where there are only elders left, due to the departure to work abroad of the active population, villages with the risk of dissapear, with all the ensuing consequences.

Immigration is considering foreigners who, for various reasons, migrate to other states. Is a factor taken into account by local authorities, as the share of those who want to come in the Destination State, are coming from underdeveloped or developing countries. They accede generally, from the same reasons that the nationals are going abroad. Foreigners who migrate generates a series of positive and negative effects, with repercussions on both their selves and on the local population

Besides these terminological clarifications, we must address seriously the legal and illegal migration and overlooking the broad legislative approach to each of them, to correctly understand the current phenomenon of migration in Europe. Legal migration is a solid accepted forme by all European states of the world, because it can be controlled as a number of people, places and work areas and both can be determined over time. In this regard, almost all European states close accords, agreements, treaties or conventions by providing facilities to workers who migrate legally and pledges to respect the legal conditions of employment and social protection as for their nationals. Respecting the rights and obligations under the agreements, ensure those states' representatives, who, by virtue of their powers vested, may intervene beside the authorities of the state, beneficiary in order to remedy the situation. In this way, migration can be easily controlled by the recipient State of the work performed because it provides only jobs that their citizens do not have dealt (or did not want to deal with) from various reasons.⁵ Therefore, the legal migration allows states to collect their taxes related to gains made by nationals abroad and to quantify these revenues to set them correctly in relation to the budget deficit. It must not forget that after these agreements, the involved countries gains also with cultural, social and technological exchanging, developments taking place between populations that come into contact.

The illegal migration is an alternative commonly used by people who can not use the legal route to go abroad. As a component of human trafficking of all kinds of social manipulation, illegal migration is a scourge increasingly larger and more unmanageable to be controlled through criminal networks implied or ingenuity of criminals. To all this is added the differences in the legislation of source countries, of transit or target that make more difficult the struggle of authorities to combat this phenomenon.

We must not forget the contribution of migrants who, aspiring to fulfill the purpose or threats or indications of traffickers, prefer to remain silent or deny any connection to criminal groups or individuals who help them. In this regard, we underline that there were made statistics of the European United Nations Organization, which reveals that the profits obtained from international traffic of human beings—here entering international procuring, traffic with beggars, disabled, children and illegal migration—since the beginning of XXI century to the present, were higher by almost 50% than the gains from international traffic with stolen cars and approx. 25% higher than those obtained from drug trafficking. That is why the knowledge of illegal migration phenomenon is important for any state.

The modern era, especially contemporary, experienced a diversification of migration phenomenon and a steady growth in the number of migrants.

In the world there have been recorded major migrations, as number of people or period of time. The most famous is the emigration of Jews, who went around the world after the temple from Jerusalem was destroyed by the Romans in the first century AD. Another major migration was the Poles after their state was conquered by neighboring empires, once in the eighteenth century and again during the Second World War. In the latter case, the Soviets expelled over 12 million of Poles from the annexed territories. There was a phenomenon imposed by the political regime and determined by group interests.

But in this case, the migration is a general phenomenon in modern societies today, which has developed especially in the recent decades. Of course, there have been more intense or calm periods, depending on the social, economic and cultural phenomenon, from different eras and historical stages that humanity went through. The globalization of economy and politics, the continuing fusion of cultural factors, shortening the distances through the explosive growth of the media and the availability of quickly and cheaper transportation , make the migration, especially unregulated one, to always be difficult to separate as a regional phenomenon or controlled by national means.

Usually, the causes of migrations today are multiple: looking for a job or looking for a better paying employment, hunger and poor living conditions, political and religious persecutions, ethnic discrimination, unfavorable climatic conditions (eg desertification), natural disasters (floods, earthquakes etc.), wars or conflicts in some regions of the world. But do not forget that as there are factors that push populations to migration from one region to another, there are factors that attract to a specific area, such as: developed industry, better conditions of life, better social protection (the existence of substantial aid for the unemployed, for the maternity, for the pension), personal security, better medical care and optimal education conditions, etc. An important factor that attract is also the state policy regarding the emigration. Developed countries such as Canada, U.S.A., Australia and New Zealand encourage immigration through special programs that provide facilities to migrants.

The Issue of *Social Migration* from the Perspective of the Orthodox Church

We will not stop in our approach to these facilities or major directions which gives rise to the current phenomenon of migration, but we will draw some guidance of religious nature, to highlight the role that the Church holds, for the proper functioning of the community, where the immigrants are installing, and what is its involvement in providing assistance to migrants. For the beggining, we are worth noticing that in the Statute for the organization and functioning of the ROC, art. 5 says: *the Romanian Orthodox Church comprises the Orthodox Christians from the country and the Romanian Orthodox Christians living abroad, and those canonically received in her communities (para. 1).* And further says: *the Romanian Orthodox Church is national and majoritary according to apostolic age, tradition, the number of believers and its outstanding contribution to the life and culture of the Romanian people (para. 2).* Therefore, the Romanian Orthodox Church is defined as *the Church of the Romanian people.*⁶

It is known that the idea of "national identity" describes the feeling of indigenous appartenance, intimately to each person, and depends on how the person internalizes its identity the most important landmarks, such as the language, culture and faith. Over time, the expression of national identity had known to many thinkers of Romanian nation, more formulations: *the national specific*, had called it Garabet Ibrăileanu, Mircea Vulcănescu calls it *romanian spirituality* and Nae Ionescu says *romanian spirit* or *national consciousness*.

Others say it *romanism* or *romanian ethnic*—as Constantin Radulescu–Motru says, *mioritic space*—as it appears to Lucian Blaga, the *romanian phenomenon* is the name given by Mihail Ralea, *the orthodoxy* called it Nichifor Crainic, *the romanian soul*—Constantin Noica, or *the national specific*—George Călinescu.⁷

The Priest Dumitru Stăniloae called it *Romanian balance* and showed, in its own way, that the *balance of the Romanian people*, seatled, as Mihai Eminescu said,

as an edge of separation, between the storm that is coming from the West to face the one of the East, it has generated a great power of cultural synthesis, defining for the romanian national identity.

The Priest Dumitru Stăniloae formulated lapidary this Christianized synthesis, saying that we, the Romanians, have a sense of mystery from the Eastern Orthodox Christian tradition and Latin lucidity.

The spirit of complex synthesis of our nation—he says—it does not explains only from its persistence of the immemorial middle ages in the space between West and East, but also in his combining of the Latin character and the Orthodox Christianity. Moreover, our Latin character is no stranger to the age of our being by the Thracians, who never moved from this area between East and West, but also from the combination in himself of the Latin character and the Orthodox Christianity.⁸

In his turn, our national poet Mihai Eminescu, knowing well the life and the history of the Romanian people, and the role of the Church and the faith in the development of culture and the Romanian language, as an alive garment of the teachings of faith and liturgical cult, called the Church as the

spiritual mother of Romanian people, who begot the unity of language and the ethnic unity of the people,⁹

being also the

guardian of the Latin element . . . which established and unified our language in a way so admirably, that we are the only people without proper dialects.¹⁰

In this context, it raises some fundamental questions about how our ancestral Romanian Church can get involved in programs carried internationally, the International Organization for Migration in Romania? Does the National Church has a role in supporting assistance to migrants, whether they be of other religions or

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ethnicity? We will say that the Church had, has been and will continue to have an important role in everything that issues the social, cultural and spiritual order for the citizens of the unitary Romanian state.

The Church has always been a unifying element in building and maintaining communities in Romania or in the diaspora. Migration leads to important socio–economic and cultural changes. It changes the perception of migrants and host communities over the world. It generates new social experiences, it transformes the lifestyle and character of the migrant and it has a significant impact on the dynamics of social groups, both over those migrating and those receiving migrants.

In Orthodox Romania, as in most European Union states, there are structures of the Church assisting migrants, legal or illegal, and especially vulnerable migrants: children, single mothers, and migrants with health problems or the elderly. The church can be considered one of the most important partners in assistance programs for migrants, because it has millennial experience of involvement in the phenomenon of social relief and care of the sick, destitute, helpless or foreigners.

These people are in difficult situations, are far from home, from family, they are in an alien space, often in a culture very different from the one they came from, they need support and spiritual comfort that, whatever their religious denomination is, the Church can offer them material support, encouragement and spiritual comfort. Church's involvement in assistance for migrants is, therefore, a prerequisite for the smooth functioning of the entire community in which they arrive.

Her permanently mission is to make society think to the high command of the supreme love of God, *for God so loved the world that he gave his one and only Son, that whoever believes in him shall not perish but have eternal life* (Jn. 3:16), meaning that to deepen the thirst of human solidarity, always recalling the meaning of the Cross of Christ, of the crucified and sacrificial love, the only one that elevates man *from earth to heaven* and raises us *from the grave to life*.

Therefore the Church is the one that is urging all its Christians, filled with the confidence of their faith, to strive hard to develop a renewed reflection on what are called *human rights* in the

contemporary society, being entrusted of the *secret brother*, taught by Christianity and the Church is the most appropriate means to love your neighbor—*as yourself*. That the great commandment of Christ comes down to: *Love each other as I have loved you. Greater love has no one than this: to lay down one's life for one's friends* (Jn 15:12–13).

The authentic Christians, in their capacity of "friends" of Christ, but also with all that sense the real mystery of the individual human being, are urged to dare and say that this world seemingly enclosed was and is open to dawn without sunset of light resurrection of Jesus Christ, themselves being alived in the world like the *light of the world and salt of the earth*. (Mt 5:13–14).

The faithful witnesses of the Church are those who have the duty to reveal to the secular world the actual mystery of life, namely that today we are in this world traveling all of us, like myrrh–bearing women, on the road to Resurrection to seek with our opened and joyful hearts, the One who gave a fuller sense to the whole human existence through His love, to the end we will find a large table with Christ—the fatty Veal, the eucharistic table in Emmaus, which makes our hearts burn "until we fully rest in Him in His kingdom."¹¹

Thus, the duty of every Christian is to communicate to the European "construction" a renewing breath in the perspective of "divine–humanity", of the time in which God reveals Himself to man and man is fulfilled in God through the love to fellow–brothers. Therefore, all human works in his work of participation, in everything that is good by nature, in the loving opening to the neighbor, and gradually leads him to participate more deeply to the divine life itself, discovered by the gospel of Christ. The more the man is coming in/to God by using the gracious help of God, the more he becomes more human or more man, where is levying the power of this mutual gift that deifies the man to God, through the love of God, and makes God a man for the man through His love for man, just as through this change God becames man for the deification of man, and man becames God by the grace for God's incarnation.¹²

However, this requires an effort, a dynamic activity, openness to the other, a noble work. And we know that labor productivity is the most important manifestation of social capital. Accordingly, the ability of labor to produce and to provide certain services, creates favorable conditions for economic development of the state and maintenance of the lives of its citizens. The socio–economic existing conditions in our country, it creates some economic pressures for highly qualified labor force. Aged infrastructure, social and economic disparities, high unemployment, lack of jobs and others, are some prerequisites for migration of intellectual capital of the country.

Most young people are attracted by new opportunities in career or profession of other job, the higher wages and better living conditions abroad. Therefore migration, in the context of globalization, characterized brain drain as loss of qualified personnel and increase the number of cheap and skilled labor for the developed countries and higher industrialized in Western Europe. Young people prefer to go abroad; others prefer to come into the country. Church concerns all with the same eye as a good mother, caring for assistance and mutual aid of migrants to come, and worrying for those who are gone and do not always have the spiritual means and religious guidance necessary to maintain, if not increase the value of their spiritual personality.

In this context we are witnessing a reversal of educational values, in which the moral law is discredited and the man tends to become (or even became) a servant of matter, craving for profit and money, cold character, concrete and metallic of technical civilization, stifling in the soul of man the last sigh after God, the Church is called to do Christian education and to direct her spiritual children enrolling them on the path of holy love.

This is because in a desecrated and secular society, like the current one, only the Church can make religious education, because it is the place where believers are sharing the life and truth to God, where they all unite the "mystical body" of Lord, embedding responsible and savior through Holy Baptism and where they receive as food his divine body broken on the cross and His shed blood as a clean sacrifice for them in the deepest humility and love.

In this sense the Church is attentive to migration phenomenon and must remain particularly concerned on moral, behavior and salvation of her children's souls, the educational issues raised by today's society; it must remain deeply rooted in the practical life of its members, to those who ask him for support, always gaze directed toward the divine, developing into the modern man soul of today, always moral and educational values as virtue, developing a sense of duty and responsibility, rendering a fair and honest work, and vigilance in the great problems that arise within the current society: justice, peace, family, person, society, solidarity.

According to Church teaching, before God all people are equal, because we are all creatures of the same heavenly Father, God, made in His image and because they all share the same caring from God. And whereas in everyone dwells an immortal soul, which gives all the quality to be "image" of God, equality means first the spiritual equalty, which then must be acknowledged in its outer order, understood as a development of specific own being to achieve its purpose and of a society to which he belongs.

Spiritually, this equality is translated into fact by calling all to salvation: So in Christ Jesus you are all children of God through faith, for all of you who were baptized into Christ have clothed yourselves with Christ. There is neither Jew nor Gentile, neither slave nor free, nor is there male and female, for you are all one in Christ Jesus. If you belong to Christ, then you are Abraham's seed, and heirs according to the promise. (Gal 3:26–29). Socially, mirroring concrete in our daily life, the equality principle manifests itself as an equalty before the laws, the equality before public burdens, the equality in function occupation and public dignity or equalty at birth and origin.

All these equalities between people preached by the Christian doctrine are not formal equalities, but fully real. From these principles of equality rezults the principle of community interests, such as fraternity, as a consequence, if not as a result or aspect of equality.

Fraternity can be defined as the feeling of love and appreciation to our neighbor, whatever it may be, just like our brother by blood, and as external attitude, its surrounding from all acts of brotherly love: *How good and pleasant it is when God's people live together in unity! It is like precious oil poured on the head, running down on the beard, running down on Aaron's beard, down on the collar his robe. It is as if the dew of Hermon were falling on Mount Zion. For there the LORD bestows his blessing, even life forevermore* (Ps 133:1–2) or *Come, you who are blessed by my Father; take your inheritance, the* kingdom prepared for you since the creation of the world. For I was hungry and you gave me something to eat, I was thirsty and you gave me something to drink, I was a stranger and you invited me in, I needed clothes and you clothed me, I was sick and you looked after me, I was in prison and you came to visit me. Truly I tell you, whatever you did for one of the least of these brothers and sisters of mine, you did for me. (Mt 25:34–40)

Here is where we find and share the blessings of God, eternal life and the inheritance of the kingdom of heaven: in direct relationship with the Christians-brothers. In this respect, it was said that fraternity requires a heart full of love, kindness, patience, forgiveness, benevolence, as only real brothers can have for one another. And this attitude can manifest itself only in the spirit of Christian liberty, which is the right that the man has to act according to his will, externally, but respecting the rights of its neighbors, loving them as brothers. For Christian being, owner of spiritual freedom, promotes the freedom of neighbor, because she is no longer controlled by the old spirit of sin, seeking only his own, but is possessed by the spirit of Christian love, which Love is patient, love is kind. It does not envy, it does not boast, it is not proud. It does not dishonor others, it is not self-seeking, it is not easily angered, it keeps no record of wrongs. Love does not delight in evil but rejoices with *the truth*. (1 Cor 13:4–6)

Today, on the same grounds, Christian morality and Christ Church are against any form of enslavement of man by man: exploitation, colonialism, neo-colonialism, slavery, etc., ruling firmly for their abolishment. On the contrary, it teaches self-help, Christian socialization, respect for others, tolerance, mercy. Here, in the Church, Christians are not regarded as mere isolated individuals, but as people united to Christ—Head of the Church, and called to unite with fellow-brothers after the model of supreme love of the Holy Trinity. But the living beings, who live their lives in the flesh, Christians are bound in their earthly lives by specific circumstances of their historical existence. Even subjective salvation is achieved by each of them in the world, among their peers rather than outside.¹³

Stressing the importance of peers ministry, the realization of which we are responsible before God, St. Isaac the Syrian says:

*Nothing can close my heart so much of God, as alms.*¹⁴ Charity is the brotherly action full of compassion for the needy. However, this action from the other reveals the mission or the apostolate of the Church.

Christians are the "salt of the earth," and the "light of the world" (Mt 5:13), meaning those who serve the world's redemption (1 Pt 2:9). Let's look at the criteria that universal judgment will consist in the practice or proscribing the love to people, which has its firm foundation in God's sight by man.¹⁵ Each of us will love Christ fully only when he will love and serve every man, and to serve means working, even salvation, to another.

And not only to work his salvation, but even pro-exist for another, that we want to live in communion of life to enrich us all over each other in sociability. In this respect Saint Basil says so categorically: *Nothing is more nature than our own fellowship and to need one another and to love our neighbor*.¹⁶ Therein lays the true sociability, understood as essential trait of human nature, gained and experienced in the Church—the place of true human and divine– human communion, in which each member achieve their specific responsibility.

To successfully penetrate into the depths of human being, it needs personal relationships that in their highest form it can be found the communion of love between humans. In other words, the deep knowledge of the human being, the fulfillment of person itself, the development and its achievement, includs its relationship with other people. In this sens, the Old Testament psalmist said: *In You is in recess all those who are glad* (Ps 86:6), meaning that God as a supreme personal Being is the deepest source of understanding and fulfillment of human persons created and that the relationship with Him, that man's participation to the infinite richness of intratrinitarian life of God is the fulfillment of human life in a boundless enrichment.

The Gospel of Jesus Christ establishes love as basic commandment to humans, this is not simply a philosophical or ethical option, but a necessary condition of a normal living state—a condition which corresponds to true human ontology.

Spiritual life is not just a human activity among others, but it is the center and core of the entire human life: *Love the LORD your God with all your heart and with all your soul and with all your strength*. (Mt 22:37; Dt 6:5), for the state of love one discovers his infinity, that longing after absolute and understand that eternity is not only a desire, but a necessity that can be achieved for the human person (love never fails—1 Cor 13:8).

Really love is the only state of a person who gives meaning and value to all existences in the world, and in love, the spiritual man is not a man who loves randomly, but for him love becomes a permanent state of life. And the religious and spiritual life is timeless. It is a permanent need for humanity. Since mankind always needs love and communion, neither science nor technology can replace spiritual life.

For this, many serious problems nowadays, such as alienation, nihilism, individualism, lack of sens, fear, anxiety, aggression, divisions and tensions, unfair dividing of world's wealth and others, are largely because of the lack of spiritual maturity, the communion of love. When science and ration work together with the Holy Spirit, everything becomes a means of communion; instead when the ration lies in the service of individual and collective selfish burdens, we are fragmenting our indivisible nature in countless parties, and thereby we are loosing the semblance with God and we are disfiguring, once with the divine image in us, even our identity.

This is why they said that *really the rationals proved to be only the saints*, because they have sanctified ration through a pure life in which love for God and neighbor was manifested at the highest level. The spiritual life, makes the individual a person, a society into a communion, a communication into an Eucharist, a word into a prayer, from an activity a famous Liturgy, a stranger into a friend, a enemy into a man, a sinner into a saint, a human into the very image of Christ, a world into a holy Eucharist, a historical reality into one everlasting, opened to life communion and eternal joy.

In order to fit the issue of migration in the approach full of love of the gospel of Christ, we should specify that often was said that the issues of brain drain becomes important for education. This is because the education, as a key of the human development, is correlating with migration country–abroad and even rural–urban migration, characteristic to the phenomenon of the societies in industrial advancement phase and possible funding.

It appears that young people migrate from rural areas to urban areas, to make studies, to eventually benefit from a well-paid job. This form of mobility increase the level of education of the rural population and it increases the real chances of having well-paid jobs in urban areas. On the other hand, with increasing qualified urban population, it increases the unemployment among them.

Accordingly, the rapid urban agglomeration increases the chances of emigration of the qualified population, in response to excess of qualified and unsolicited labor on the labor market. Thus, the growing unemployment in the urban region correlates with the tempo of international migration. Any young, unfulfilled and unsatisfied economically in the country will take the road to a new horizon abroad.

Therefore, the brain drain seriously affects education system and economic growth by reducing the number of skilled labor. It is therefore necessary to develop correlation policies of the report between the education process and training of youth (including qualified staff) and the requirements of the real economy. Unfortunately we say that, the national higher education system does not cover all the specialties required in the labor market. A number of current professions require specialization that education system does not provide them.

The process of training and professional skills development is performed in general and theoretical terms and the practical appearance is often absent. But what does the process of training with the migration? It has, even if the migration brain drain can not be controlled by the education system, yet the situation of brain drain could be monitored by government policies, oriented to the analysis of migration and education process, through the establishment of appropriate vocational education, by developing policies of correlation with labor market demands with the education sector, which could be able, perhaps the only, to change the real situation of brain drain and as such, the work could be understood and practiced at its true value. All we have to do at the end of this brief is to restore the Church vision and the Christian faith about work.

Working in Christian Perspective

Work is an organic element of human life. Being created *in our image* (Gn 1:26), working becomes a man's duty. In Genesis it says that in the beginning *there was no one to till the soil* (Gn 2:5); creating the Garden of Eden, God had placed man in it *to work it and take care of it* (Gn 2:15). Work is man's creative process that under its original likeness to God was called to co-worker and co-creator with God.¹⁷ This is because God himself, as Christ the Saviour says, is working: *My Father is always at his work to this very day, and I too am working* (Jn 5:17) and he urges people to work *for the food that endures to eternal life*.¹⁸ (Jn 6:27) This is the first spiritual work of man: to keep the commandments of God or acquire virtues, through which he can reach perfection and union with God.

But after man fell into sin, departing from his Creator, the work nature has changed: *By the sweat of your brow you will eat your food, untill you return to the ground*. (Gn 3:19). Creative component of labor weakened and it became for man a way to acquire the means to stay alive. The notion of "work" lead us today to think of the millions of people across the globe and of all times, who from the moment of man appearance on earth and so far, have testified that human life is an activity, a creative effort.¹⁹ The work is the basic condition of human life and of the social progress, because "a job is not just a means through which you can earn money, but constitutes a fundamental dimension of man on earth."²⁰ We can say that the work has made the man. It is a process between man and nature, because through labor, man enters in contact with nature and uses the latter for its own needs.²¹

Work is an activity with effort, directed towards a purpose. It is the leading driver of human life, without work you can not do anything, without it there is no life. Everything that is big in humanity is the result of work, and the civilization is its product. Man must work, to toil, to make an action to transform nature, to provide a calculated effort, steadfast, that can produce food, clothing and all others that are necessary for him to live. Work is thus a necessity of human life, but also of the human spirit, because the spirit is activity! From the religious point of view, the work is the condition of our existence as people and also of the entire Universe, as the Creator's work because even the term "creation" requires work.

Work is a human specific process. There is a difference in terms of human labor and animal, because the animal is acting on instinct, while man works as a spiritual-biological being, freely and consciously. The man made a plan in his mind and put a motiv to the realization of what he proposes to do, that work not only employs the members of his body, but also spiritual power, that is always active. Man mastered the laws of nature, knowing them. Man adapts not only to the nature, but also act upon it, turning it and mastering it. He therefore is manufacturing tools, improving them continuously in order to be more suited to his purposes. In work manifests the spirit superiority over nature. Man's work is both spiritual and physical, it is the activity of spirit and effort of the body.²² Human work is not purely physical, as is animal activity. Man conquers and transforms the surrounding nature, but he also owns the society and his own being. Labor does not change only nature, but also the society and the man.²³

Man does not only need material goods, but it is conditioned by the spiritual ones, energy without which he is not complete, but both of them procure through work. To do this, in human life is a difference between physical work, which usually produce goods that satisfies the biological needs and intellectual work, or rather spiritual work, producing goods that satisfies the needs and spiritual aspirations. But we must know that both jobs are equally necessary. The two are related to work performed by the one who works physically, not as an animal, but he engages in his work and reason and will, so the intellectually working is committed to his work and physical effort, is committing also the body. Therefore, as man is a psychophysical unity, so his work, be it intellectual, whether physical, is unity of spiritually and physically effort, is the unit of physical and intellectual work. Thus the two kinds of work are complementary,²⁴ and the harmony between them is as natural as possible. Any real work is holy, it means the sweat of thy face, "sweat brain" and especially the "heart", it covers the calculations of Kepler, and the meditations of Newton, so all the sciences, all the songs dedicated to the heroes who have ever lived, each feat, each martyrdom, even the *agony of bloody sweat*, which all people have called it divine. Through work, man rules the earth and turns it at his will, in that he always makes progress through work and effort.²⁵

The term "work", according to the Dictionary of ethnology and anthropology, designate various ways today invented by man to act on its natural environment and to exploit the material resources of its social existence.²⁶ Therefore, work is an individual or collective activity, intentional and non-instinctive, exercised over nature through a succession of operations, with the aim of detachment from the material means to serve to human needs.²⁷ So, work is a vital necessity to human and is the instrument of progress. Through work, man is the creator of culture and civilization and pushes the humanity forward on the path of progress constantly renewed. The whole universe appears, from its beginnings until today, as a large working community, which by its work owns the land and turns it after his liking, progressing from the stage of primitiveness to current stage of culture and civilization.

To understand more clearly the work in its true aspects towards man's fulfilling and life enriching, let's see what is the purpose and value of work, and its effects on the one that improves by working.

The Purpose and the Value of Work

It is recognized that work is a part of every human being and the Church always held to highlight the value of work to human. But between this and its dedication and consacration as a measure of human value is a huge gap. Granting full time to work, the exaggerated concern for food and other things proper to biological life, removes man from faith in God and in His care or providence. (Mt 6:24–33). Man shall not live to work, but to work to live, from a Christian perspective for the work itself does not have unconditional value. It is blessed when is in cooperation with God and contribution to the realization of His plan concerning the world and man. If work serves only the selfish interests of an individual or human community and satisfies the sinful needs of spirit and body, it is not pleasing to God. In this sense, the word of God emphasizes the indispensable need to daily work, but it also establishes a special rate when in the fourth commandment of the Decalogue says: *Remember the Sabbath day by keeping it holy. Six days you shall labor and do all your work, but the seventh day is a sabbath to the LORD your God. On it you shall not do any work, neither you, nor your son or daughter, nor your male or female servant, nor your animals, nor any foreigner residing in your towns. For in six days the LORD made the heavens and the earth, the sea, and all that is in them, but he rested on the seventh day. Therefore the LORD blessed the Sabbath day and made it holy.* (Ex 20:8–11)

It can easily see that by this commandment of the Creator, the human working process is put in relation to the divine creation that gave birth to the world and with man's determination to devote Creator one day a week, "the Lord's day," that the daily worries to not dissuade the man from his Creator and Lord.

It is true, again, that the earth does not give its fruits to man, but with labor. Animal only eats what the earth gives, unprepared. Man has free will and intelligence, and must pay tribute for it, through labor, better said, to develop these abilities through work. Work appears, then, as the will of God, as His first commandment. Do not understand that it occurs only after the fall of man into sin, as a punishment for sin and as a condition of sinning. No, the work does not represent the curse of God on man (Gn 3:17–19), but the effort it is added to it, on the one hand, because after the fall into sin, the nature gives hardly its fruit, on furthermore, for that man feels too much weight on the work in the state of sin or of selfishness and laziness that he fell in.²⁸ We can say that in his being, as ordained by God, there is nothing hard about work, because it is seated next to the joy. Sweat and toil, which are part of the work by the fall into sin, receive for the Christian a positive role, which is to rein in nature and not arouse passions and selfish whims.

This "punishment" for man to work, has two advantages: expiation of sin and means of purification of moral training. So, the work, along with its character of toil, remains a joy, even very large and profitable to life. So the labor law remains the law of human life, not as punishment, but as destiny.²⁹ This is seen from the *Book of Proverbs* (Prv 6:6–11) is said that the lazy must learn from the ant what working means (Prv 31:10–31) is praised the diligent. Likewise, it must be understood the words of Apostle Paul, who says: *the one who is unwilling to work shall not eat.* (2 Thes 3:10)

After Christian teaching, work is not only a means of selfsustainability, as found in pre-industrial society, where work usually had a productive or manufacturing character and was linked exclusively to the family and social environment of man, but also has a wider social purpose, as one that educates the Christian soul and it strengthens the body, giving him the opportunity to express their faith through deeds pleasing to God—the mercy and love of neighbor: *Thieves should no longer steal. Instead, they should go to work, using their hands to do good so that they will have something to share with whoever is in need.* (Eph 4:28)

Work is not only a divine commandment, by which accomplishment man honors God and nor only a necessary condition of life and welfare, but is the main factor that form, educate man on the line of virtues in direct relation with his neighbor . Therefore it is not necessarily intended the acquisition of wealth, but rather the exercise of love, so we can say that the Christian life is the life of work and that Christianity really is the "religion of labor". And how love is in close touch with work, for only the diligent really loves, that there is a higher purpose of Christian labor. As love culminates in the sacrifice for your neighbor, so the work finds its highest purpose in *serving your neighbor*, with a complete self-denial. In this sense St. Basil says: *Everyone should aim in his ministry to serve the poor, and not his own need*.³⁰

Relationship between Work and Profession

The Church blesses any work done for the good of the people and urges every Christian, as his living member, to fit the work towards the moral perfection in Jesus Christ. At the same time, it does not give any preference to any form of human work, if it meets the Christian moral norms and, as such, required the development of society and social–economic progress. But society development, the economic progress and human welfare and family are strictly related to profesional activity or the "profession" of the Christian, whose exercise does not automatize, but fall directly into life in Christ.

In the world and society, the believer is called to practice his profession working *as working for the Lord, not for human masters*. (Col 3:23). Thus is places their work in the perspective of love and prayer. Through the gift of selfgiving in the service of neighbor and prayer man is raised to his divine archetype. Therefore, in the Orthodox tradition, the work remained steadfast subordinated to asceticism and prayer, for the harmonization of intellectual work amid the physical, the Eastern tradition has developed a natural law found in the words: pray and work (*ora et labora*).

Thus, the church practice converted work in prayer, as it understood that work rise from the love of God and neighbor, and the prayer in methodical effort of spiritual perfection as a reservoir of new working forces.³¹ In this context each profession is the domain of cultivation of Christian love and the acquisition of life in Christ by learning the most chosen virtues, which the object "after the flesh" becomes a spiritual content. In this sense St. Ignatius said, *That which after the flesh you do, they are spiritual, if you do them all in Jesus Christ.*³²

Christianity appears as a community of workers whose work is intertwined with moral perfection and spiritual effort. The true Christian can only be a worker, a spiritual worker seeing a true brother in the worker handbook and does not hesitate to do physical work, but also a manual worker who strives to form also spiritually, thus making brother with the spiritual.³³ So, the spiritual and biological forces of the faithful are always engaged in an ongoing effort of a theandric activity, of a creation, as the perfect model of the work of Jesus Christ. For as Christ's work is one theandric, divine–human, so the human labor is theandric when is directed to do the good, it is because God helps and it supports man in his work, whether it is a good purpose.

As we see fitting the profession of "Christian" or of "good man" in the perspective of life in Christ has existential moral consequences. The Christian can not be indifferent to the consequences of exercising his profession. Exercising its profession, he exercised himself. The goal is not only economically, but also spiritually. Therefore, when the truth comes into opposition with economic interests is bound to prefer it, because this is spiritual benefit. In this sens St. Clement of Alexandria says, *Knowing the truth, get rich and with the right disposal.*³⁴

But we must point out here and the difficulty that presents the contemporary society, namely that of finding and fighting against the moral consequences of their work. Unceasingly increased, the extensive division of labor and its incessant correlation to the broader goals and mechanisms removes the sense of personal responsibility. The worker, whether faithfull or not, is transformed into a simple unit of an anonymous ensemble. The work an impersonal activity within a broader program, and it is usually depersonalized.

This because in today's society, more industrialized and globalized, appeared a certain industry whose purpose is rather not the profession of "Christian" and putting it in the work on the spiritual level, but the spread of vice and sin, and satisfy passions and devastating addictions, such as drunkenness, drug addiction, debauchery and adultery, that no longer save the human person, nor remove or prevent its various distortions, but promotes them with accurately to depersonalization, selfishness, loneliness and suicide. The Church testifies about the sinfulness of such activities, which harshly condemned, as corrupt them not only the workers, but the whole society, and considers that these adverse consequences are due to poor understanding of the profession of work. For depersonalization of human and direct connection of work to the car, reduced its ability to socially approach the people and favored individualism and narrow–mindedness at own self.

The industrial society and the current civil service worker, running a monotonous mechanical work or provide a specific service, is often separated and isolated—at least during the exercise of his work, but not only—to his companions. With more so as contemporary technology and automation becomes possible to increase productivity and also reduce staff by removing the worker from the workplace and rising unemployment.³⁵ The consequence is that work and especially the specialized professional occupation alienates from everyday life, do not given time for family life and turns into an autonomous activity, an incessant and frenzied running, assumed to cover some needs of living, growing incessantly and look like they never end.

The contemporary man, always in an unceasing tension and a long stress for purchasing the welfare, and pressed under the burden of anxiety and worries caused by lack of insurance for a job, is increasingly under pressure of work and argues that he has not enough time for anyone and anything. The cause of this phenomenon is, on the one hand, the greed of employers, reducing wages and job insecurity in the globalized economy and, on the other hand, man's refusal to dispose of his time in unprofitable activities.

This thing determines the industrialized man to become confused, stressed, dissatisfied and more tired, and during his work very tired, as he stopped largely to bring the joy of personal creation and communication in his business, not talking about the loss of aesthetic sense for the religious element. By removing this dimension—the lack of prayer, fasting and participation to the religious services in the public divine worship of the Church—this modus Vivendi becomes destructive of individual privacy, and social health.

The modern man of today, forget that in the Church, his entire time becomes festive, celebrate, that Sunday, holidays and Feasts, when it celebrates the Holy and Divine Liturgy are special days of quiet, soul resting, to noble and holy joy, they are moments devoted to silence and prayer, for better understanding, peace, solidarity and community–agape love with fellow–brothers in the spirit of the Church of Jesus Christ.

In this context, the Church exhorts its spiritual children not to obey their fellow brothers to exploitation, oppression, subjugation beyond their powers or slavery, nor be seized by the evil spirit of greed and dishonest wealth, but to settle how much God gives and if, through their honest and right work, they acquire more than they need, to care of those who, for various reasons can not earn a living—such as the disabled, the sick, refugees, orphans and widows—entrusting that doing so, they will receive "grace upon grace" and *so that the LORD your God may bless you in all the work of your hands.* (Dt 24:19). Because the Christianity has always condemned a society based on exploitation of any kind and fought for the liberation of work and especially for its full reward. The exploitation of worker and refusal to pay for honest work are placed by Christian morality between the raging sins, considered a crime against man and a sin before God: *Behold the hire of the laborers who have reaped down of yours fields, which you have kept back, shouts and the cries of the reapers have entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth*–says the Apostle James (Jas 5:4) and respects worker rights and the desire to enjoy the fruits of his labor: *Who plants a vineyard without eating any of its fruit? Or who tends a flock without getting some of the milk?... because the plowman should plow in hope and the thresher thresh in hope of sharing in the crop.* (1 Cor 9:7–10)

Church always agreed with that spiritual welfare and survival of society are indisputable priority in distributing the material means and that they are possible only if the health care, promoting education, deepening religion and living faith and life insurance and welfare for all citizens will be seriously considered and recognized by society and the State as the highest price values to promote. Societies and nations experience has shown that these are true values that underpin a lasting and happy life.

We can only finally see that in the Christian perspective the current migration phenomenon arouses much interest to all societies and nations of the European world, and therefore Romanian, called to respond promptly to the message of the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, based on love for others and that work is and remains the "golden bracelet" for those who are into natural human fulfillment and helping those in need. I mean work is not only a means of self-sustainability, but should be seen as social purpose. So once saw St. Anthony the Great, who never wanted to work something that his neighbor to have less advantage than him, because it considers the neighbor's gain as "best work."³⁶ Unfortunately this spirit is rarely found in contemporary societies lacking within the doer spirit of Jesus Christ and His pleasing saints.

That is why the Church is called to address such social problems, to connect with real people, who live these problems and they feel their personal responsibility in their capacity as migrants, to extend helping hand, awakening in the souls of all the sense of social justice, equality and helping when needed. For when someone knows a small minority of humanity has provided the bulk of funds for development and economic assets, while most lacks elementary civilization means and is underfed or even starving, you can not remain indifferent. The identification and awareness of these injustices and social issues constitutes, I believe, the first step in combating it.

The next step is to put into action to restore the social justice, mutual aid, balancing the relationship between the rich and poor, of the weak and the strong, between minorities and majorities in adopting security measures and implementing cohabitation rules and mutual support in society. I think here the Church is called to be at the forefront of these social movements and guidelines aimed at fulfillment and cohabitation of man on the way to the fullness of eternal life.

NOTES

¹ Constantin Noica, *European Cultural Model* (București: Ed. Humanitas, 1993), 64–65.

² Cf. Explanatory Dictionary of the Romanian Language, 681.

³ Ibid., 339.

⁴ Ibid., 476.

⁵ Migration Trends in selected EU Applicant Countries, vol. IV—Romania, *More "Out" than "In" at the Crossroads between Europe and the Balkans*, IOM, 2003.

⁶ Statute for the Organization and the Functioning of the Romanian Orthodox Church (București: Editura Institutului Biblic și de Misiune al Bisericii Ortodoxe Române, 2008), 14.

⁷ *Cf.* Constantin Schifirneț, Romanian identity in the context of tendencial modernity, in *Revista Română de Sociologie*, New Series (Year XX, no. 5–6/2009): 471.

⁸ Pr. prof. dr. Dumitru Stăniloae, *Reflections on Romanian People's Spirituality* (Craiova: Ed. Scrisul Românesc, 1992), 14.

⁹ Mihai Eminescu, *Time*, 14 august 1882, republished in *Mihai Eminescu. Opere* (București: *Editura Academiei Române*, 1989, vol. 13), 168–169.

¹⁰ Mihai Eminescu "Free Thinker, Free Thought," in in Time, February 2, 1879, republished in *Mihai Eminescu. Opere (București: Editura Academiei Române*, 1989, vol. 10), 187.

¹¹ As the Blessed Augustine expresses so happily.

¹² Pr. lect. univ. dr. Adrian Gh. Paul, "Revealing and spiritual meaning to the word 'theology'" in *Ortodoxia Maramureșeană*" (year VIII, Baia Mare, No. 8/2003): 231.

¹³ Pr. prof. dr. Petru Răzuș "Christian Responsibility to the World," in *Ortodoxia* (no. 2/1972): 300.

¹⁴ Sfântul Isaac Sirul, *Spiritual Words*, as cited by Paul Evdokimov in *The Ages of the Spiritual Life* Romanian translation by Pr. prof. Ion Buga. (București: Asociația filantropică medicală creștină Christiana, 1993), 95.

¹⁵ Pr. prof. dr. Dumitru Stăniloae, *Orthodox Dogmatic Theology*, vol. III. (București: Editura Institutului Biblic și de Misiune al Bisericii Ortodoxe Române, 1992), 435.

¹⁶ Sfântul Vasile cel Mare, *Regulile Mari*. Romanian Translation in series Părinți și Scriitori Bisericești vol 18. (București: Editura Institutului Biblic și de Misiune al Bisericii Ortodoxe Române, 2008), 225.

¹⁷ Pr. prof. dr. Dumitru Stăniloae, "Christian Teaching On Work" in *Studii Teologice* (No. 1–2 /1953): 24.

¹⁸ Georgios Mantzaridis, *Morala Creștină*, (București: Editura Bizantină, 2006), 277.

¹⁹ Î.P.S. Nicolae Mladin, *Moral Theology Studies*, (Sibiu: Editura Arhiepiscopiei Ortodoxe Române, 1969), 45.

²⁰ Oliviu Felecan, *Work Concept*, (Cluj–Napoca: Editura Dacia & Mega, 2004), 22.

²¹ B. Zaharescu, *Elementary Course of Political Economy*, vol I. (Sibiu: Editura Progresul, 1946), 12.

²² Mladin Nicolae, Bucevschi Orest, Constantin Pavel, Zăgrean Ioan, *Orthodox Moral Theology*, Manual for theological institutions, vol II. (București: Editura Institutului Biblic și de Misiune al Bisericii Ortodoxe Române, 1980), 151.

²³ Mladin, 46.

²⁴ Zaharescu, 12.

²⁵ Mladin, Bucevski, Pavel, Zăgrean, 151. In some old ages, the picture of human life is all about "the need to till the land and get fed." Felecan, 24.

²⁶ Bonte Pierre & Michel Izard *Ethnology and Anthropology Dictionary* (Iași: Editura Polirom, 1999), 452.

²⁷ Felecan, 33.

²⁸ Stăniloae, *Christian Teaching...*, 25.

²⁹ Mladin, Bucevski, Pavel, Zăgrean, 152.

³⁰ Sfântul Vasile cel Mare, *Regulile Mari 42.1*. Romanian translation by Iorgu D. Ivan. in vol. *Writings* part II, colecția Părinți și Scriitori Bisericești vol 18. (București: Editura Institutului Biblic și de Misiune a Bisericii Ortodoxe Române, 1989), 285.

³¹ Mladin, 52. Venerable Isaac the Syrian addressed to the monks the following instruction: "Working hand'll be a small thing, to eliminate idleness; One thing that will not disturb your mind. And if you want to work with more manual labor for the sake of charity, know that prayer is above it in her step."

(Sfântul Isaac Sirul, Wrd 33, in romanian transation by Pr. prof. dr. Dumitru Stăniloae, in *Filocalia* vol 10. (București: Editura Institutului Biblic și de Misiune al Bisericii Ortodoxe Române, 1981), 186.

³² St. Ignatius of Antioch, *Ephesians 8:2*. Romanian translation by Pr. dr. Dumitru Fecioru. in *Scrierile Părinților Apostolici* in Părinți și Scriitori Bisericești vol 1. (București: Editura Institutului Biblic și de Misiune al Bisericii Ortodoxe Române, 1979), 173.

³³ Mladin, 51.

³⁴ St. Clement of Alexandria, *The Pedagogue*, 3:11, 78:4. Romanian translation by Pr. dr. Dumitru Fecioru part of colection Părinți și Scriitori Bisericești vol. 4 (București: Editura Institutului Biblic și de Misiune al Bisericii Ortodoxe Române, 1982), 81.

³⁵ Mantzaridis, 278. Viewed from the perspective of Christianity work, unemployment (the fact of not working) is a negative because it injures the man not only economically and socially, but also morally and spiritually. Unfortunately, there is a more assiduous tendency of the society towards deprivation of modern man of labor, deprivation of work related to professional specialization and economic competition, which makes him an easy prey of the antisocial activities and would endanger his existence and social and even biological survival. Therefore, the need to combat the unemployment is imperative.

³⁶ St. Isaac the Syrian, *Word 81*, as cited in Mantzaridis, 281.

Christian Life as a Pilgrimage

Timotei Rusu

ABSTRACT: The life of faith is interwoven with our domestic life. If people are relocating for a better life on this earth, there is a spiritual dimension present in their spiritual journey. What are the characteristic of a spiritual pilgrim? Looking at the teaching of Jesus, Apostle Paul and Apostle Peter our values can be shaped so that we are on mission as we travel to our permanent home. KEY WORDS: Pilgrimage, faith, destination, mentality, treasure.

In recent years we have seen an unprecedented phenomenon of worldwide migration. Europe is still experiencing and is divided over the hot subject of immigrants. Michael S. Teitelbaum, a senior research associate with the Labor and Work-Life Program at Harvard Law School, stated that: "[a]s the world watches wave after wave of migrants and refugees pour into and across Europe, what was once shocking now seems routine. There can be no doubt that a major crisis, both humanitarian and political, is under way." Teitelbaum continued: "In increasingly raucous political and press debates in Europe and elsewhere, recent movements are being described as new *disasters, policy failures*, and even *invasions* that the EU and its member states have proven incapable of addressing effectively."¹

During these intense times, it is appropriate to add a theological approach to this subject. The closest idea to migration is the spiritual concept of pilgrimage. Since migration is physical, from one place to another, pilgrimage is necessarily spiritual. So, a pilgrimage is a journey with spiritual meaning. Dee Dyas, from the University of York, explains the starting point of pilgrimages: "The Book of Genesis, part of the Old Testament scriptures inherited from Judaism, tells a story central to Christian ideas of pilgrimage: the expulsion of Adam and Eve from the Garden of Eden after they disobey God by eating the fruit of the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil (Genesis 3). The Fall of Adam and Eve is shown to have profound implications. They and their descendants are condemned to live as exiles in a harsh and inhospitable world, alienated both from God and from one another by sin. Adam and Eve's eldest son Cain later murders his brother Abel in a fit of jealous anger because Abel's offering to God has been judged more acceptable than his own (Gn 4:1-16). As punishment, God sends Cain into further exile, away from his home and family."²

The history of mankind can be seen as a history of pilgrimage. In every heart there is desire to return to the Garden, but there is no way back to the Eden. Abraham was the first one who made a migratory journey at God's command. Prophetically, he was ready to sacrifice his own beloved son at the Mount of Moriah. Later, this mount, where Jerusalem was built, became the place of pilgrimage for many people. Three times a year, the Jewish people would take a spiritual journey to Jerusalem for national and spiritual holy days.

Besides moving toward a sacred place, there is also a new dimension in a Christian's faith. It is an eternal dimension—moving toward a spiritual final destination. Peter Masters describe the pilgrims as "those who *seek a country*. Biblical pilgrims live in another country alongside the resident community, but they do not fully integrate. They are *alongsiders*, soon to go home. They may accomplish great things for the benefit of the country in which they live (as Joseph did), but they never cease to be pilgrims."³ This approach is not new, but it is not popular either. It is not new because in 1678, John Bunyan wrote "The Pilgrim's Progress," the second bestselling of all ages, a book translated in over 200 languages and never out of print. It is not popular because the pilgrim approach is radically different from our "here and now" approach. The pilgrim message is different from what our society is promoting and what our hearts desire.

In the third millennia, the "pilgrim dimension" of Christian life is rarely taken into account; even if it is at the center of Christian theology. Talking about it, we have great information in the teaching of Jesus as well as Apostles Peter and Paul. A pilgrim has a special destination, a unique mentality, a well-placed treasure, a spiritual quality of life and a great mission.

Destination of a Pilgrim

Most of the time Jesus Christ was misunderstood because He taught about the Kingdom of God which is the Kingdom of Heaven. The religious teachers of his days did not get this perspective. They were afraid of Jesus' influence and popularity, thinking that He would be an earthly king – a threat to their popularity, power and prestige. But the Kingdom of heaven is spiritual not material. And even there is a present aspect of it; the Kingdom of heaven is a spiritual, future destination.

This idea is clearly stated when Jesus spoke in His Sermon on the Mount: "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven." (Mt 5:3), "Blessed are those who are persecuted because of righteousness, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven." "Blessed are you when people insult you, persecute you and falsely say all kinds of evil against you because of me. Rejoice and be glad, because great is your reward in heaven, for in the same way they persecuted the prophets who were before you." (Mt 5:10-12), "Therefore anyone who sets aside one of the least of these commands and teaches others accordingly will be called least in the kingdom of heaven, but whoever practices and teaches these commands will be called great in the kingdom of heaven. For I tell you, that unless your righteousness surpasses that of the Pharisees and the teachers of the law, you will certainly not enter the kingdom of heaven." (Mt 5:19-20)

In the last week of Jesus' earthly life, He made it clear to His disciples, the final destination: "Do not let your hearts be troubled. You believe in God; believe also in me. My Father's house has many rooms; if that were not so, would I have told you that I am going there to prepare a place for you? And if I go and prepare a place for

you, I will come back and take you to be with me that you also may be where I am. You know the way to the place where I am going." (Jn 14:1-4)

Heaven is where Jesus went after His death, burial and resurrection. He is busy now with building our house, as Apostle Paul declared: "For we know that if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens. For in this we groan, earnestly desiring to be clothed upon with our house which is from heaven: If so be that being clothed we shall not be found naked. For we that are in this tabernacle do groan, being burdened: not for that we would be unclothed, but clothed upon, that mortality might be swallowed up of life." (2 Cor 5:1-8)

Mentality of a Pilgrim

Apostle Peter wrote a letter to Christians as sojourners, strangers. "Peter, an apostle of Jesus Christ, to the strangers dispersed through Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia, elect, According to the foreknowledge of God the Father, unto the sanctification of the Spirit, unto obedience and sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ: Grace unto you and peace be multiplied." (1 Pt 1:1-2) He continued applying this mentality to their lives: "beloved, I beseech you as strangers and pilgrims, abstain from fleshly lusts, which war against the soul;" (1 Pt 2:11). A stranger is a person who does not belong to a certain place; a pilgrim is the one who is in a march to a spiritual destination.

Steven J. Cole, in his article *The Pilgrim Life*, stated that: "Being a pilgrim just isn't the dominant model of the Christian life for our times. Our view of Christianity is geared to the here and now: What will it do for my marriage? How will it help me raise my kids? Will it help me succeed in my career? Will it help me overcome personal problems? Will it help me feel fulfilled as a person? Heaven is thrown in as a nice benefit at the end of the ride. But heaven is not our focus. We want to enjoy life now and cling to it as long as we're able. We don't view death as the gateway to everything we've been living for. We see it as something to be postponed and avoided at all costs. We don't view ourselves as pilgrims."⁴

As a criticism of our worldly mentality, Peter Masters points out: "Today's new teaching says we must love it here, do the things that the world does, sing their songs, play their genre of music, watch their films and plays, dance their dances, and wear their most daring styles, along with other compromises that would have horrified believers throughout the last two millennia."⁵ This is opposite to what the whole Bible teaches and illustrates.

Abraham is a type of pilgrim. He is offered as an example to us in Hebrews 11:8-10. "By faith Abraham obeyed when he was called to go out to a place that he was to receive as an inheritance. And he went out, not knowing where he was going. By faith he went to live in the land of promise, as in a foreign land, living in tents with Isaac and Jacob, heirs with him of the same promise. For he was looking forward to the city that has foundations, whose designer and builder is God." Abraham literally left his home and home town to follow God's instructions. But his pilgrimage is one of faith and perspective. That is why the author of Hebrews concluded: "All these people were still living by faith when they died. They did not receive the things promised; they only saw them and welcomed them from a distance, admitting that they were foreigners and strangers on earth. People who say such things show that they are looking for a country of their own. If they had been thinking of the country they had left, they would have had opportunity to return. Instead, they were longing for a better country—a heavenly one. Therefore God is not ashamed to be called their God, for he has prepared a city for them."(Heb 11:13-16)

Bob Hoekstra noticed that "Abraham understood that spiritual sojourners and heaven-bound pilgrims must stay away from earthbound cravings that undermine one's godly quest. And truly if they had called to mind that country from which they had come out, they would have had opportunity to return. Abraham and his seed had many tests and trials in their pilgrimage with the Lord. If they had set their attention on the country they forsook, they would have been tempted to return there."⁶ We are not called to leave our country and immigrate, but to have a mentality of a pilgrim; to not settle, to not develop roots, to not live for here and now and forget about our country!

Perhaps one of the most accurate descriptions of Christians as pilgrims, and one of the first apologetic writings is the second century letter to Diognesus. An unknown author, named Mathetes (Disciple) wrote to the roman emperor the following truths.

"For the Christians are distinguished from other men neither by country, nor language, nor the customs which they observe. For they neither inhabit cities of their own, nor employ a peculiar form of speech, nor lead a life which is marked out by any singularity. The course of conduct which they follow has not been devised by any speculation or deliberation of inquisitive men; nor do they, like some, proclaim themselves the advocates of any merely human doctrines. But, inhabiting Greek as well as barbarian cities, according as the lot of each of them has determined, and following the customs of the natives in respect to clothing, food, and the rest of their ordinary conduct, they display to us their wonderful and confessedly striking method of life. They dwell in their own countries, but simply as sojourners. As citizens, they share in all things with others, and yet endure all things as if foreigners. Every foreign land is to them as their native country, and every land of their birth as a land of strangers. They marry, as do all [others]; they beget children; but they do not destroy their offspring. They have a common table, but not a common bed. They are in the flesh, but they do not live after the flesh. They pass their days on earth, but they are citizens of heaven. They obey the prescribed laws, and at the same time surpass the laws by their lives. They love all men, and are persecuted by all. They are unknown and condemned; they are put to death, and restored to life. They are poor, yet make many rich; they are in lack of all things, and yet abound in all; they are dishonored, and yet in their very dishonor are glorified. They are evil spoken of, and vet are justified; they are reviled, and bless; they are insulted, and repay the insult with honor; they do good, yet are punished as evil-doers. When punished, they rejoice as if quickened into life; they are assailed by the Jews as foreigners, and are persecuted by the Greeks; yet those who hate them are unable to assign any reason for their hatred."⁷

Treasure of a Pilgrim

One of the best ways to tell if someone has the pilgrim mentality is to see how they think and act about possessions. Jesus had radical teachings about treasures. He was very explicit when He commanded: "Do not store up for yourselves treasures on earth, where moths and vermin destroy, and where thieves break in and steal. But store up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where moths and vermin do not destroy, and where thieves do not break in and steal. For where your treasure is, there your heart will be also. The eye is the lamp of the body. If your eyes are healthy, your whole body will be full of light. But if your eyes are unhealthy, your whole body will be full of darkness. If then the light within you is darkness, how great is that darkness!" (Mt 6:19-22)

Jesus knew that our heart follows our treasure and shapes our mentality and our lifestyle. In this context Jesus brought the discussion about the eye. Our vision about life and eternity will dictate what we will do with our money, time and influence. Money is not a problem, but how we administrate it tells about our values. A pilgrim seeks those things which are above, where Christ sits on the right hand of God. He set your affection on things above, not on things of the earth. (Col 3:1-2)

Jesus didn't preach to be poor or financially bankrupt. He had a great volume of teaching about stewardship, about faithfulness in small things, about investment. A pilgrim is not necessary a poor person (only if God decides them to be so), but he is using his possessions to serve his purpose, to obey Jesus' command to make disciples. He invests in God's Kingdom, he invests in relationships, and he is God's hands and feet in this world. He is certainly not worshiping money but mastering it. A pilgrim is in a journey and he travels light.

In conclusion, in our materialistic world, the disciples of Jesus must resist the temptation to be like the world. We are in the world but not of the world! The pilgrim mentality gives a needed direction to so many who are shipwrecked through the seas of materialism, lust and nonsense. It also gives a light to the eyes blinded by the lights of egotism and immorality. And necessarily gives a fulfillment of a life worth living when a person not only follows Jesus, but helps others to do the same.

NOTES

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Judaism and Migration

Ioan Stinghe

ABSTRACT: Migration in history has generated ethnical and religious synthesis, demographical, cultural, economical, social and political changes. Today, the migration phenomenon has taken amplitude in the context of two unrolling processes with a visible potential for changing the contemporaneous world: the extension of the European Union and the democratization in the Arabic world. Is there any connection between the development of the Judaism and the actual migration phenomenon? The study limits itself at analyzing the migration's origins in the context of the creation of the Jewish people and of the impact of the Judaism upon the world. The conclusion emphasizes the fact that setting the migration concept in relation with the development of the Judaism, has an empirical and a theological support, which reveals the result of a dynamic juxtaposition, as a product of the divine providence. KEY WORDS: migration, stranger, Judaism, change, development, providence.

Introduction

Throughout time, migration has had as an effect ethnical, religious and economic changes, followed by the resettlement of political reports on regional level, and presently on a worldwide level, causing crises and changes of values. During this period, in contrast to other ages, besides the constant results of the migration phenomenon, we notice a new "product": the globalization of the occidental democratic paradigm.

Beside the important demographic, sociologic, economic changes, determined by the present population's movements from different territories, there is a change that attains the cultural depths of the societies. The change in question refers to the birth and the consolidation of a way of living based on the aspiration to prosperity, individual freedom and democracy, surpassing the ethnical, religious and other differences.

The contemporary societies attach certain contradictory and variable significances to migration, depending on the evolution of the economic and cultural indicators, and of the collective security and international juridical settlement indicators.

Thus, the migration may end up being seen, in a certain context, as an "invasion" of the poor in a developed society, where they search for economic prosperity. In another context, migration is perceived as a process in which the rich win, attracting the intellectuals of the poor societies, taking advantage of their highly qualified work capacity, without investing in their professional development.

In the biblical history, we discover a process of another type of migration, initiated by the divinity with a certain motivation and purpose. After the definition of the terms, this will be the start of research, followed by the analysis of the beginning, and the development of Judaism. Eventually, we will analyse the impact of Judaism on the Occidental society, which has become "the pattern" desired at a worldwide level, and thus, "the target" of the contemporary migration waves.

Defining the Terms

Migration, migrations f.: voluntary movement of some individuals, or populations from a territory to another, determined by economic, social, political, cultural, natural and other factors.¹

Migrations are a phenomenon of universal proliferation, which has favoured the development of humanity from the genesis to these days. The massive movements of the migrating populations, which began a long time ago, had deep influences on the existential human fields, from the damaged geographical environment, materialized by the disturbances in the ethno—demographic field, in the economic evolution, the dynamics in the socio-political structures, in the cultural field, confessional relations etc.

The large diversity and complexity of the big migrations impose an epistemological approach of global dimensions, asserting a vast expansion of the horizon. The impact of the big migrations on the development of humanity determines their irradiation and elucidation, needs infusions of new revealing data, and a shaded corroboration of the narrative, linguistic, archeological information, the interdisciplinary types of research being the only effective ones.

Judaism is defined as the religion of the Jews, based on the Bible (OT.) and the Talmud; mozaism.² The word "Judaism", based on how Emmanuel Levinas describes it in the Dificila Libertate (Difficult Freedom), represents a religion, a system of beliefs, rites and moral prescriptions, built on the Bible, the Talmud, Rabbinic Literature, mixed with the mystique and the theosophy of the Kabbalah.

"Judaism" refers to a culture—result or foundation of the religion, but having its own becoming; the source of the big monotheist religions, to which the modern world owes as much as it does to Greece and Rome."³

Judaism is a revealed religion, which is the basis of Christianity; it is built on the revelation of the Old Testament, and has the role to prepare the world for the return of God's Son. Judaism is the first religion based on the belief in a unique God—monotheist. Judaism, according to the description of the venerable theologist Hans Kung, is "a fatidic mysterious community", of everyone who descended from Jacob named Israel, and those converted to Judaism. They are a community based on the experience with the unseen, untouchable, unknown God, "in the light or shadow of whom stood Israel, beginning with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob."⁴ Jacob Neusner stated that "Israel" has always meant "the sacred people, the chosen one," to whom God has gifted Torah, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob."⁵

Beginnings

To determine the period in which the Jewish man became part of history, it is necessary for us to go back to his origins. Andre Neher captures this moment: "The Jew was born in the same time with Adam, the first man, who had already deposited the germs, simultaneously with the ones of the entire mankind." He states further on that the Jew bears within himself the recollection of some events throughout history, which he reactivates during each Shabbat "The Memorable Day of the beginning".⁶

The whole Creation belongs to God. All people belong to God. Why has God chosen His own people? Why has He chosen Israel?

In the beginning there were the direct ancestors of Abel and Seth, Adam's sons, Noah and Shem being the parents of all the Semites and the Patriarch of Israel, along with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. The biblical report describes the succession of generations, inserting some information bound to certain deeds, events and occurrences.

At the beginning, the Genesis relates the role and the purpose of man on Earth, uttered by the Creator, using words that have become verbs: "Be fertile and reproduce yourselves, and fill your land, subdue it and possess it over the fish of seas, over the birds of the sky and over each living thing that moves on Earth".⁷

In an embryonic condition, this message contains the germs of migration. After falling into sin, God decides the banishment of Man from Eden: "Thus, He banished Adam from Eden; and in the East of the Garden of Eden he put some cherubim to twist the flared sword, so that they can guard the path to the tree of life."⁸

This new situation places man in a new posture: if he was "the master" before, having the role of a "governor" or "administrator", he then, is outside of Eden in his new posture, owning the premise of a "traveler".

Shortly after this event, the first descendants of Man appear, Cain and Abel, and the first attempt ended with the first crime in history, at the end of which, Abel, loyal to the Creator, had been killed. After this tragedy, a new determination of man appears, as a consequence of Cain's deed: "You are damnable now, banished from this field, which has opened its mouth to get the blood of your brother from your hand!

"When you will work the land, may not give you its wealth anymore. Solitary and fugitive you shall be on Earth."⁹ Under these new circumstances, man becomes a "traveler", looking for a more favorable place for living.

During the same period, Adam's son was born, whom he named Seth, the child considered to be a substitute of Abel. Seth also had a son, called Enos, "that was the time people started calling the Name of the Lord".¹⁰

After the flood, Noah and his sons, Shem, Ham, and Japheth got out of the boat, "and by them was the whole Earth covered."¹¹

The event concerning the building of the tower of Babel, created, after the flood, the premises of the peoples' migration.¹² The biblical text relates that, "the entire Earth had a single language and a single way of speech. And it happened, as they had gone East, that they found a plain in the land of Shinar; and they lived there."

People have begun building a fortress with a tower, having as purpose to "let us make a name, not to be spread on the whole surface of Earth." This decision emphasizes the opposing spirit in front of the Creator, in view of the fact that man had been destined to grow, inhabit and administer the land.

The migration was temporary means, necessary in reaching this purpose. For the accomplishment of the divine plan in collaboration with mankind, a new supernatural intervention was necessary, thus "the Lord baffled their language and, from that place, He spread them on the whole surface of the Earth, so they stopped building the fortress."¹³ The tower had been called "Babel" (confusion) the place where the Lord baffled the language of the whole world.

This was the crucial moment when the peoples' migration, which "is spreading all over the Earth", was getting a global dimension.

Throughout the course of history, when some peoples in their development were reaching a certain potential, their edenic instinct to grow and to possess the perverted field, was determining them to expansion movements and new territorial conquests. Thus, enormous masses of people invaded various territories from time to time, frequently driving chain reactions across wide areas. Ethnic groups had been seriously endangered, and sometimes, they had disappeared, being removed or assimilated by their oppressors.

Peoples' migration, described in the Illustrated World Great History, includes the movement of the Semite and Indo-European tribes from the Near East, which was crystallized in the third millennium B.C., with their ascertainment from Mesopotamia to Egypt.

Around 2400 B.C., the Semite Acadians conquered the Sumerian city–states and they formed an empire. The Canaan people settled in Palestine and they established city–states, the same way as the Amorites, natives of Syria, did. The Amorites established the first dynasty of Babylon and they reigned over the old Babylonian Empire.

In the 13th century B.C., the Arameans, Semite ancestors of Jews, made their appearance. They defeated the Assyrians in Syria and Palestine (under the reign of David and Solomon, for instance) and thus, they increased their influence in Mesopotamia after 1100 B.C. The Aramaic Chaldeans finally defeated the Assyrians and they formed the Neo–Babylonian Empire (625–539 BC).¹⁴

From Creation to Migration to History

The Jews¹⁵ were a small group of tribes descendant from the big family of the Semitic peoples. The first Jews weren't "nomads", but farmers and shepherds. They initially settle down in Mesopotamia, but the political and socio–economic pressures determine them to migrate to the Euphrates' and Nile's Valley, "having the Canaan land as their centre of gravity, where different tribes aim to settle down", according to the description of the distinguished Josy Eisenberg.¹⁶

"History begins at Sumer"; but an explanation is necessary: whose history and with whom? In a magisterial manner, Andre Neher replies "The history begins at Sumer–Shinar, via Abraham's gesture, objecting against the Tower of Babel, and launching man's challenge against it."¹⁷ The native ancestry, beginning with Adam, Abel and Seth, of the Semite Acadians, leads us to Abraham. Eber and Peleg are the ancestors of Abraham.¹⁸

Abraham, the patriarch and the ancestor of the Jewish people, opens *the first period of the history of Judaism*, which extends from Abraham to Moses (aprox. 1900–1400 BC), age that includes: the settlement of Abraham and his family in Canaan; the migration to Egypt in the time of Jacob, the patriarch; the egress from Egypt under the leading of Moses; the reception of the Law on Mount Sinai; the re-conquering of Canaan and the foundation of the institution of Judges, the first of them being Samuel.

A remarkable deed during this age, noticed by rabbi dr. Iacob Ițhac Niemirower is that, "even in the first period of time, the ability to say 'no' reveals itself in the Jews. What the patriarch thought about God in a positive manner, science cannot establish exactly."

However, what is certain is that, Abraham denied his father's polytheism, opposing to the paganism of his time.¹⁹ Due to this act, the human race exists freely, and God has allowed their existence even today.

The second period is the Kingdom, beginning with Saul, the first king, followed by David, the most important king of Israel, and then Solomon, who completed the construction of the Temple of Jerusalem.

The Assyrian and Babylonian Empires will conquer Israel, they will destroy the Temple of Jerusalem, and the majority of the Jews will be taken as slaves to Mesopotamia, and then to Babylon.

The third period is the rabbinic one, which includes the history from the banishment to the destruction of Jerusalem. After the repatriation of the Jews, the walls of Jerusalem, including the Temple were remade, and the central cult is reestablished.

Thenceforth the year 63 B.C., the Roman domination begins, which culminates with the war of the years 66–70 BC, when the Judeans are defeated definitively.

This moment marks the history of Judaism. The Judaic religion takes a new shape. Without the Temple and the Aaronic priesthood, losing their genealogy, their membership is no longer known. The Jews pray in synagogues, and the sacrifices stop. Their faith is founded on the Holy Scriptures revealed by God and written down, first by Moses, and then, by other authors.

The essential book of Judaism is represented by the Old Testament, also called the Judaic Bible. Another essential book for Judaism is represented by the Talmud or the "Oral Law", a collection of theological, historical, and juridical works that complete and explain the Bible. The authors of these works are the rabbis of the 5th century B.C.

Abram or Abraham (abt. 2150–2000 BC) is the first among the three biblical patriarchs, worshipped by the three most important monotheistic religions: Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. The Genesis tells us that God charged Abraham to become the father of a new nation in Canaan.

According to the Bible, Abram ("Father [God] is glorious"), whose name becomes Abraham ("The father of many peoples"), born in Ur (Mesopotamia), is commanded by God (Yahve) to leave his home town and the people he was part of, to travel to a land, where he becomes the father of a big nation. Abraham obeys and, at the age of 75, he heads off toward Canaan (the territory situated between Syria and Egypt), accompanied by: Sarai, his wife, whose name becomes Sarra ("Princess"), Lot, his nephew, and other consorts. Once he reached there, God vows that his "seed" will dominate that realm and will become a great nation.

Abraham will be blessed with two sons: Ismael, born by Hagar, Sarra's handmaid, and Isaac, to whom Sarra gave birth herself. Isaac will become the heir of the promise made by God. Although Isaac is his only inheritor, Abraham does not hesitate when God, trying to challenge his loyalty, asks him to sacrifice his son. Certain of Abraham's unshaken faith, God accepts the sacrifice of a ram in the place of Isaac.

As location, Abraham's experience begins in "Ur Kasdim", the motherland of the Terah family (clan), and ends at Macpela Cave. Most researchers argue that Ur Caşdim is the olf Sumerian city Ur, today Tell al–Muqayyar today (or Mughair), about 350 km from Baghdad.

Genesis 23:19–20 recounts that when Sarah died at Hebron, Abraham bought the cave from Machpelah, near Hebron, together with the surrounding lands, as burial place for his family. It is the first ownership clue of a part from the Promised Land of Abraham and his descendants.

According to Genesis 23:7 Abraham died at the age of 175 years and was buried near Sarah in the cave of Machpelah. Judaism considers Abraham a model of virtue, because he respected all the commandments of Lord, although they had not yet been revealed by God.

Abraham was the first who knew the Unique God; Genesa12:1 wrote: "The Lord said to Abram: " Leave your country, your relatives and your father's house and come ahead to the land that I will show you."

This imperative constitutes the base of an atypical migration process, which moves not only Abraham and his family, but through the intersection with other nations and peoples, new events, experiences, new precepts are born, laws, that gradually write a history.

A reliable source, *The Universal Britannica Encyclopedia* tells us about Abraham that he laid the foundation of the morning prayer (daily ministry, involving recitation of Shema and of the eighteen blessings). Abraham also established the Jews circumcision ritual—"the entry into the covenant of our father Abraham" refers to circumcision.

The source also recalls the position of Christians, who have always considered him the father of all believers²⁰. His Fidelity, the desire to believe in God were the model of all the saints from the ages that followed²¹ and "it was imputed unto him for righteousness"²² as the basis of his justification before God, either by faith without actions²³, either by faith and actions.²⁴

The obedience that he showed by not hesitated to sacrifice Isaac made Abraham, in terms of Soren Kierkegaard, "the Knight of the endless resignations" and was interpreted as the typological prophecy of Him "He, Who din not spared His own Son, but gave Him to death, for all of us."²⁵

In Islam, the Qur'an portrays him as as a prototype prophet close to God, who endured the opposition of his own people, when he wanted to spread the true religion.²⁶ The Islamic hagiographies include Abraham in the genealogy of Mohammed and of other important prophets.²⁷

We can see how the history of Abraham, plaited with prehistory, in fact with the history of mankind from the Creation to the building of the Tower of Babel, leads us to the history of Israel, as a part of the universal history. In the last verse of Genesis 22:16–18 God promised: "And in thy seed all the nations of the earth shall be blessed, because you have obeyed My voice."

Troubled mankind discovers, as Alexandru Şafran stated, an amazing phenomenon that arouses amazement, even anger—the presence of a people which with all the endured miseries from the nations, has not lost its identity and strength to resist.²⁸

For centuries, Jews have preferred a secluded existence towards the surrounding populations. In the modern era, many of them were involved in the politics and culture of the nations among whom they lived, retaining their own identity and beliefs.

I. Epstein says that according to the tradition of the Bible, the Hebrew people had accepted the task of forming a universal Kingdom of God, realizing the fairness and justice on his entire nation.

The faith in this mission gives meaning both to individual and social life, creating "a new type of Hebrew personality by endorsing a double ideal, of his nation and of humanity." The motivation of Hebrew nationalism is "the socio–religious idea which involves the cooperation of all people and nations on the basis of equality and fraternity."²⁹

One of the most knowledgeable Hebrew scientists from the Bible, David S. Luzzatto, highlighting the superiority of religion towards philosophy, in a presentation of his thesis says: "The world civilization is the product of two particular elements: Atticism and Judaism. To Athens we owe philosophy, arts, sciences, development of intelligence, of order, of love for beauty and greatness, for intellectual and learned moral. To Judaism we owe religion, morality that comes from the heart and from self abandon, from the love for Good." His statement ends with the conclusion that emerges from the reality that society needs emotion, that can not be offered by Atticism, and human nature will always react "in favor of the heart, of Good and Judaism."³⁰

From History to Actuality

It is necessary and important the distinction between Judaism as a faith and Hebrews as a people. They have had an impact on the development of capitalism but in different ways.

Judaism had an impact by focusing on work as a virtue and considered private property as a precondition for the individual freedom. Both rising from the the Biblical record.

Judaism saw prosperity as a sign of God's blessing, and work as a privilege for man to be in "partnership with God in the work of creation."

The Jews, throughout time, have often lived in difficult conditions; for example in the Middle Ages they had the prohibition to own properties and to practice more basic professions. So they were forced to engage themselves in trade and finance. The result was that they became specialists in banking—financial and international trade.

Judaism as a religious vision promotes values such as integrity, freedom and independence of the individual and its responsibilities towards society.

The prophet Micah dreamed of a day when "every man shall sit under his vineyard and under his fig tree, and no one will make them be afraid."³¹ A world of limited government and of respect for private property, in which individuals are sustainable through their own work, it is a world of human dignity and freedom.

The Jewish provisions for "tzedakah" (charity and rightness) are not conceived just to attenuate poverty, but first and foremost to reestablish the independence and autonomy of the individual. In the Jewish law, the highest form of charity is to find a job for someone, so that he or she, not to depend on charity.

This gives to the individual the human dignity and freedom. These are an example from the way of thinking and from ethical and theological claims of Judaism in the free market economy field.

Among the most important ways, in which the rabbinic thinking has contributed to the moral reflection on ethics in business, is

described in the Hebrew literature as a subject of reflection for more than three thousand years.

It begins in the biblical books with provisions, such as fair and decent treatment of employees, honest tasks and measures, and also periodic remission of debts, in order to avoid creating an underclass.

These principles were developed in the rabbinic literature, which sets out detailed principles of fair trading, workers' rights, unfair competition, and so on. It continues through the prophetic literature with the message of prophets Isaiah and Amos.

The historical evolution of the last two millennia has contributed, as Andre Neher stated to the maintaining of Judaism on the path of prophecy, through those spontaneous internal forces that formed the "prophetic" continuity of the Hebrew people. How could this stage had been reached ? The conclusion of Andre Neher may be an answer: "Thanks to the democratic and laic view that pharisaic imposed to the Synagogue, suppressing any institutional or hereditary clergy, assigning the roles of spiritual orientation and vigilance to the Masters of Law, to all laic rabbis.³²

This conception has been agreed in various circles of thinkers, taken and initiated in the West, then being adapted to the history of that time. With time it became an autonomous concept, which once put in practice led to the development of nowadays Western society, point of attraction for immigrants.

Preliminary Considerations Regarding Migration

Migration can be considered an accurate indicator of the social body health and the result of some cumulated phenomena, of which the most important is the continued impoverishment of the population.

The person that is heading to a new country in search of better opportunities in terms of economic benefits, finding a superior professional environment or wider the pathways to family, culture or religion, is supposedly engaged in a process of migration (emigration from the country of origin and immigration in destination country). In the opinion of specialists, such a migration is regarded as voluntary. Throughout the history international migration, it was, it is and will be a reality. Every year, millions of people leave their homes and cross the national borders in search of better living standards, security for themselves and their families, in search of jobs, from handicraft to high-tech activities.

In the 21st century international migration is one of the key factors that shapes the world we live in; it plays a central role in the global processes of social, economical and political changes.

In this context, migrants continue to be considered by the majority of the populations from the destination countries, as intruders aggravating the crisis on the labor market, with a great contribution to the growing criminality or to the social welfare budget supplement.

Another important aspect is the demographic aspect. Developed areas are rarified areas from a demographic point of view and these areas will attract people from other areas, with the power of a physical law.

Mankind can not live a long time torn by this demographic imbalance, that will generate balancing social movements and processes. From the perspective of demographic imbalance, migration is the only solution.

Conclusions

Objectively and subjectively speaking, the Western episteme has the chance to reorganize the European world migration due to real and virtual migration that in two decades has made us reach an axiological consensus almost unexpectedly; a democratic consensus which means freedom and prosperity.

Many of the European continent states have acquired a multiethnic character, including important communities of non-European immigrants and, especially, inassimilable immigrants. Under the impact of migration the autonomy of nation-states was redefined, focusing on multiculturalism.

Contrary to the predictions of analysts, the nation–states from Europe haven`t vanished, still remaining the main political entities

that have the ability to determine or change, through their foreign policy, the evolution of the international relations.

From the perspective of benefits, migration contributes directly to reducing poverty, unemployment, adjusts the imbalances from the labor market and stimulates the growth of investments in human resources.

The surplus of the labor force determines the increase of consumption, resulting in GDP growth, leading to living standards rising, contributing to the improvement of the living standards of the families left behind.

All of these aspects related to migration, largely have their origin in the Bible principles, assimilated, applied and promoted throughout the history of Judaism as basic principles of a free and democratic society.

NOTES

¹ Ioan Oprea, et al. *Noul dicționar Universal al limbii române*. (București: Editura Litera Internațional, 2009), 915.

² Ibid., 713.

3 Emmanuel Levinas. *Dificila Libertate*. (București: Editura Hasefer, 1999), 43.

⁴ Hans Küng. *Iudaismul*. (București: Editura Hasefer, 2005), 41–42.

5 Jacob Neusner. *Iudaismul În Timpurile Moderne.* (București: Editura Hasefer, 2001), 29.

⁶ Andre Neher. *Cheile Identității Iudaice.* (Bucuresti: Editura Hasefer, 2001), 46.

⁷ Gn 1:28; cf. *Biblia Fidela*. Cluj–Napoca, 2010. All the biblical texts used in this article have this source.

⁸ Gn 3:24.

⁹ Gn 4:11–12.

¹⁰ Gn 4:25-26.

¹¹ Gn 9:18–19.

¹² Gn 11:1–32.

¹³ Gn 11:7–8.

¹⁴ Klaus Berndl, et al. *Marea istorie ilustrată a lumii. vol.1 (*București: *Editura Litera Internațional, 2008), 32–33.*

¹⁵ The etymology of the word is uncertain. It may have as a root the name 'Eber', one of Abraham's ancestors, or it may have its origin in the preposition 'beyond', the Jews coming from beyond Euphrates.

¹⁶ Josy Eisenberg. *O istorie a evreilor.* (București: Editura Humanitas, 1993), 12.

¹⁷ Ande Neher. *Exilul Cuvântului* (București: Editura Hasefer, 2002), 173. ¹⁸ Gn 10:25.

¹⁹ Ithac Iacob Niemirower. *Iudaismul* (București: Editura Hasefer, 2005), 128.

²⁰ Rom 4:11.

²¹ Heb 11.

²² Rom 4:3.

²³ Rom 3.

²⁴ Jas 2.

²⁵ Rom 8:32.

²⁶ Koran 3:65–68, 4:125, 6:74–83.

²⁷ Enciclopedia Universală Britanica, vol.2, A–B. (București: Editura Litera, 2010), 36-37.

²⁸ Alexandru Şafran. Etica Evreiască Și Modernitatea (București: Editura Hasefer, 2005), 91.

²⁹ Isidor Epstein. *Iudaismul*. (București: Editura Hasefer, 2003), 409.

³⁰ Ibid., 392.

³¹ Mi 4:4.

³² Neher, 2001, 161.

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The Impact of Migration on Church Mission

Liviu Ursache

ABSTRACT: I deal with the topic of migration's impact on mission, mainly within European boundaries, due to the recent waves of immigrants coming from the Middle East. The vast majority of these people is non-Christian and is seeking to settle in a western country. Mainly, these countries are secular, postmodern societies, being already on the verge of losing their Christian identity. Thus, the phenomenon of migration could be perceived as a threat to the Christian heritage of this nation. On the other hand, migration could be seen as an opportunity for mission as well; thus, churches do not need to be sending out missionaries for, instead, people come into their own turf.

KEY WORDS: migration, mission, worldview, church.

Migration has always been a big phenomenon in the history of this world. For different reasons people leave their home countries to settle in others either for temporary or for good. Last year, however, the number of the refugees in the world has reached more than 65 million, which is the highest level ever recorded. After an increase of five million a single year, the number of people displaced by conflict—refugees, asylum seekers or those displaced internally was at an estimated 65.3 million by the end of 2015. It is the equivalent of one in every 113 people on the planet, according to the UN Refugee Agency, and if considered a nation would make up the 21st largest in the world.¹

The year of 2015 is a stone mile as waves of immigrants reached the European continent, the most significant such phenomenon.

According to International Organization for Migration (IOM) 1,011,700 migrants came to Europe by sea and 34,887 by land last year, although the real number is estimated to be higher.² This amount to 1,046,599 immigrants. The statistics show that most of the immigrants come from Muslim predominant countries such as: Syria (50.2%), Afghanistan (20.2%), Iraq (7.1%) and some other countries from Middle East.

The impact of immigration on both the migrants and the citizens of the destination country is enormous. If one takes a quick look at what is happening in Europe, of the estimated 24 million migrants that were in the EU at the end of 2003, around 48.5% belonged to Christian Churches; a further 30.9% were Muslims and about 20.5% belonged to other religions.³ These new immigrants add to the total figures just mentioned as every year more and more sojourners come in the western world.

The integration of these newcomers is not an easy task. In many situations the newcomers do not embrace the culture of the destination country. Regardless of the reasons why they came in Europe, for most of them religion is central to their way of life and a crucial means of preserving identity as well as homeland connections. Even the less religious among immigrants often renew or revive their religious commitment as a vital part of dealing with alienation. In this case they take advantage of the economic facilities but disregard the spiritual values of the indigenous culture. Thus, the immigrants opt to develop separately, preferring to build their own religious edifices to create an environment where they could feel at home. In this case, the immigrant religious groups receive assistance from the locals, especially financial benefits.

Another possibility is when either the indigenous or the immigrants, who shared the same beliefs, are more numerous. In the first instance, the locals would assimilate the latter and would integrate them. This would be the ideal situation because on the one hand it fulfills the requirements of the Christian faith, which is an important internal question; and on the other hand, looking at the situation from a secular point of view, this approach is important for the integration process of migrants into society. If positive religious integration takes place this could become a resource for the wider integration of migrants.

In the second instance, when the immigrants would be more numerous than the locals, they would revitalize that religious group. That can happen more often in the more secularized Europe. Hanciles captures very well the idea of integration and its impacts on the indigenous people: "Regardless of whether the cultural encounters that occur in migration are marked by coercion or by fruitful accommodation, the cultural groups involved are seldom left unchanged. The movement of peoples has the capacity not only to foster cultural diversity but also to significantly alter demographic, economic, and social structures. This capacity makes it a potent source of social transformation and an active ingredient in the great dramas of history."⁴

Time reveals what the impact of the immigrants upon the indigenous culture would look like in the European countries. It is not easy to foresee the development of the church, probably the most important factor to take into consideration is the condition of Europe as to its spiritual development.

Europe has become more and more materialistic while the immigrants have a strong sense of the supernatural, regardless of the expression of their religion. The question is whether the church would see the phenomenon of immigration as an opportunity to fulfill its mission or not? As we have already seen, change happens but the question is what direction this change is going to be? Is it going to be a revitalization of the church or a step further away from the European historical roots? Is Islam going to dominate Europe taking over the Christendom?

Though we cannot accurately anticipate the future, we could glean from what is happening in Europe and build a case scenario as to where the things are going. We shall look into the mission of the church and then into the two possible directions church might take in Europe.

The Mission of the Church

The mission of the church is given by her master, Jesus Christ, to preach the Good News of the Gospel to the whole world. Quite simply, the missionary impulse imbedded in Christianity's core message defies restraint. Already in the third century Origen attested that "Christians do not neglect, as far as in them lies, to take measures to disseminate their doctrine throughout the whole world."⁵

The 20 centuries of history have showed the truth mentioned above. Christians, throughout the time, have managed to let people know the *kerygma*, the core message of Christianity. But what about this current historical phenomenon of immigration? Would it be another occasion for Christians to bring about their mission? The context is not an easy one in the light of the attacks in France and Germany as well as the tensions in the other European countries.

This could be either that *kairos*, the opportune time, or, on the contrary, a big threat. There are two opposing perspectives on the effect of migration on church mission: one negative and the other is positive. The Economist captures this two positions: "On one hand, European churches and religious charities have played a prominent role in succoring migrants and campaigning for them to be treated decently. On the other, politicians on the nationalist right are beating the drum of Christian nativism; they have redoubled their warnings about the threat to Europe's long-established religious culture."⁶

However, as the same publication captures it, the Christian organizations know how to better understand the times:

Both in Italy and across Europe, branches of Caritas, a Catholic humanitarian agency, play a big role in advocating for migrants' welfare, even in contentious situations. The network's French arm, known as Secours Catholique, hands out food and blankets to the people who have camped out in the port of Calais, determined to reach Britain. Its English branch, CAFOD, is lobbying the government to take in more refugees from Syria and elsewhere. Caritas is also active among immigrants in Greece (see picture), even though Catholics are a small minority in that mainly Orthodox land. Greece is yet another country where the Christian response to migrants has been conflicted; Ieronymos, the Orthodox archbishop of Athens, has called on compatriots to be generous to all newcomers, while the ultra-rightists of Golden Dawn (whose rhetoric ranges from Christian nativism to neo-paganism) claim to have plenty of secret supporters in the ranks of the church.⁷

A Gloomy Perspective

When the news about EU's commitment regarding the immigrants spread, many Christian leaders feared that this is going to be a rise of Islam. They also talked about the probability of terrorists being infiltrated among the immigrants. The attacks in France and Germany seem to confirm this very fact and added to the turmoil in these countries.

The biggest argument for this perspective lies in the worldview(s) most Europeans embrace. Sadly, the EU citizens do not adhere to Christianity wholeheartedly but rather hold on to a materialistic perspective on the world. In some instances, we read about those who abandoned the secular worldview and adopt some form of eastern spirituality while others, women included, converted to Islam. In many western countries church buildings were transformed into mosques and the European democratic systems fits well with the purpose of Islam.

Under the principle of political correctness, which is designed to protect and encourage the development of minorities, wherever they go and organized into communities the Muslims could access foreign funds in order to build mosques. This is the case with the prospective biggest mosque in Europe, authorized to be built in Bucharest.

Consequently, those view future of Europe in a more negative way have sufficient reasons why. They built their case mainly around what is been broadcasted and on the decisions the European officials are taking. From this perspective the things look gloomy.

A Positive Perspective

If we could change the lens through which we see things we might get a different perspective. For example, in this case, we could realize that the immigrants are human beings who left their countries due to major crisis and their needs could be met here. From the church mission perspective that could mean a shift in the paradigm of mission. Churches and mission agencies have invested enormously to send out missionaries to those countries that are closed to the gospel and now they are coming to Europe.⁸ Isn't that the biggest opportunity so far? The Christendom of western Europe, which was thought to be obsolete due to secularism could be challenged and, thus, revitalized by the flood of migrants.

In dealing with the immigrants, Christians need to take into consideration the specific biblical principles. The Lord had commanded His people to treat well the sojourners. Thus, they are to offer help in meeting the needs of both Christians and non-Christians. Agencies such as Caritas, Christian Aid and Samaritan Purse dedicated to this very end. Those organizations' workers were on the trenches, assisting the migrants from the very first time they landed and on the journey to the destination country as well as in the refugees' camps.

A second biblical principle is that human dignity must be respected regardless of the nationality or religion of the individual so Christians should love their neighbors, and in this case, they happened to be the immigrants.⁹ Such context is ideal for communicating the message of the Gospel.

Kirsten Grieshaber wrote an article on September 4th, 2015, entitled "At a Berlin church, Muslim refugees converting in droves"¹⁰. She analyzed a particular church from Berlin, in which the attendance grew consistently due to the contribution of the immigrants. A couple from Iran converted to Christianity and was baptized. The reporter digs into the reason why that couple did convert, advancing the possibility that this would make it easier for them to integrate into the German society. Indeed, motivation is not a factor one can control but this is happening all over Germany as the article concluded.

Conclusion

The migrants from Middle East pose quite a challenge for the church today in carrying out her mission. With all the difficulties I believe church could seize the moment and turn it to an opportunity for growth. Churches across Europe are already in this process and many others could take their examples. They just need to understand the times and to act accordingly.

NOTES

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Foreigner, Guest, Friend: The Attitude Toward 'Strangers' from a Biblical Perspective

Arthur Wagner

ABSTRACT: The presence of the foreign citizens and of the immigrants from other countries or even from other cultures within society inevitably confronts the Western Christianity to look for an appropriate attitude towards phenomenon like: open opposition toward the foreigners, the subtle behavior of marginalization and the less successful intentions of social integration. Starting from the present situation, the article aims firstly a thematic examination from the perspective of the Old and the New Testament, followed at the end by an ethic-pragmatic approach. At a rational level it is about acknowledging the fact that the Christian religion, real understood, substantially contributes at overcoming the distance against the foreigners. At an emotional level it is discussed the downsizing of superiority feelings concerning the "foreigners," while the appellative dimension formulates the imperative: "Accept and understand "the foreigner" in order for a peaceful living together to be possible!" KEY WORDS: foreigner, migration, social integration, attitude, closeness-distance.

Being a "foreigner" in Modern Society: a Complex Phenomenon

The presence of foreign citizens and of foreigners in general within the society confronts the Western Christianity with the following question: how should they react on the one hand toward the open

hostility and the subtle marginalization of the strangers, and on the other hand towards the scarce social integration. The existence of the parallel societies, the controversial discussions about Germany as a country of migration, the present judicial situation regarding the status of the foreign citizens as well as the negative reactions with respect to them prove the actuality of this theme. The president of the parliamentary meeting of the European Advice, Lord Russell–Johnston has already criticized at The International Day of Human Rights from 10 December 2001 in Strasburg "the collective paranoia" about the migrant, which has reached a new apogee in Europe.¹ Thus, it is not surprising that in Germany the 22. "Decade of the Ecumenical peace of churches" took place under the motto "stranger," where the issue of the terrorism and hostility towards the strangers had a central role.²

In this context, the following question rises: what motivates people today toward migration? And what does migration involve for those in this situation? A clue for identifying the causes are for example the lack of the working places in the origin country as opposed to the offer of the working places from the migration country.³ There is also a difference between a voluntary migration (of one's own will) and an imposed one. The war and the lost of the habitat, starvation, poverty, the ethical, religious and geopolitical conflicts, as well as persecution are listed as imposed causes of last years' migration.⁴Another theory refers to the individual mood for migration,⁵ where it takes place in a voluntary way, from reasons of openness and personal interest for the new and the unknown. In this way, migration depends on the mood of the subject and the political-economical interests. Depending on the cause and reason of migration, this could mean for the individual both the widening of the cultural horizon and in the same time an impact, a cultural trauma,⁶ a permanent stress⁷ with massive implications regarding the identity, social integration and even its own mental health.⁸ This is because a migrant does not travel only between two different places but between two different existences and ways of life.9

The Attitude Toward the Foreigners in the Contemporary Society

The older ones still remember the Second World War, the times of running and expulsion, of rejection and marginalization. Here integrity can be considerably relieved. Since then until nowadays the number of migrants has been continuously increasing. In Germany, every fifth person has a migrant background; in Western Germany, almost every fourth person, whereas in the East, not even the twentieth person belongs to this category. From all the people who have a migrant background, two thirds emigrated as the first generation, and one third of them were born in the host country, as a second generation. More than half of this people have German citizenship.¹⁰ On a global level, the number of migrants increased last year—according to UN data—to 244 millions. This means an increase of 41% compared to the year 2000.¹¹

Nowadays, a holiday, a practice, a study or a business trip in a foreign country can offer benefic experiences of contact and relation with strangers. These experiences are with people, objects, customs and foreign traditions where on the one hand we are dealing with the fascination of the unknown and on the other hand with the unfamiliar, up to its threatening character. In these cases the perceptions and feelings pendulate between known and unknown, local and stranger, pleasant and unpleasant, welfare and misery, safety and danger.¹² Emmanuel Levinas has rightfully chosen "the foreigner," "the unknown" as an essential point of his philosophy.¹³

The spectrum of experiences with foreigners and about the foreigners from a real acceptance and a tolerance full of benevolence, sometimes an apparent neutrality, hidden rejection and unequal treatment, up to chicanery, hate, verbal aggression and actions motivated by the subtle but clear message: "leave!" This diffuse attitude of refusal goes sometimes up to open hostility. An attitude and an equal and fair treatment it is barely noticeable. Instead, a basic feeling of superiority develops, where the new comers are considered second-class people, inferiors, who are being tolerated but not accepted. 404 HARVARD SQUARE SYMPOSIUM 2/2016 | THE PHENOMENON OF MIGRATION

We often meet feelings or attitudes of superiority and power concerning these ones. Here there is the cardinal difference between "we" and "the others," between the natives and the immigrants: some live in some sort of safety and peace, and the others more often in danger and interior flurry. The first ones enjoy the position of superiority and the privileges regarding the priority demand of the natives, and are considered "superior" in respect to the foreigners, who are considered "inferior." Who is the host and who is the guest? At this question, the answer is clear from the very beginning.

The Attitude toward Foreigners in Christianity

As part of society and culture, the Christian Church deals with this situation. However, as citizens of society, Christians reflect broadly the pattern of thinking, the perceptions and the prejudice already existent in the surrounding area. Regarding the active members of the church, we can often talk about a successful social integration. The origin and race, the language and the social status have only a minimal role. However, sometimes there are conflicts and tensions, when different thinking and religious patterns come in contact or when these, with the aim of acceptance, provoke an open or hidden fight for power. Where the integration is not possible or desired, it remains only the possibility of a parallel existence between the cultural groups. Thus, even where there is a real cooperation between the natives and the foreign Christians, there still is sometimes the awareness of the difference between "inside" and "outside," present later on. This issue is because there is a lack of competence in handling "the differences," phenomenon which often manifests itself within the interior context of the same ethnic group.¹⁴ According to Theo Sundermeier there is an urgent need of developing a hermeneutics of the foreigner.¹⁵

How does the Christian faith deal with the foreigners and the migrants? Starting from the present situation, this article aims firstly a thematic examination of the attitude towards the foreigners from the perspective of the Old and then the New Testament, followed in the end by an ethical-pragmatic approach.

The Foreigner in the Old Testament

In the speech regarding the ethics of migration, the image of the foreigner in the Old Testament has an important role. On the one hand, it has to do with the fact that here the laws with respect to the foreigners leave the impression of a thorough debate, and on the other hand, with the fact that the above mentioned reasons have the origin in the context of the status of the people of the State of Israel as foreigners in Egypt. In this way, the fairness and identity are in close connection.

This study deals with the attitude and reaction against the foreigners, which we find in many biblical texts, which express theological beliefs, ethical ideals, as well as concrete and practical consequences. Instead, it will not elaborate upon or analyze the historic behavior of the Jewish towards the foreigners and the extent to which these ideals, rules or incentives were really realized. In this case, the statements of the Holy Scripture allow the abstraction of valuable principles, which could be useful in the present discussion for the argumentation of a Christian ethics with respect with the foreign fellow countrymen.¹⁶

The Literary Identification of "the Foreigner",

The Old Testament contains many idioms belonging to the semantic field of the word "foreigner": אדד [acher], another [brother], aforeign [God]; אדר [nokri], foreigner, a foreigner; דר][sar], foreigner, a foreigner; בכרי [sar], a foreigner, unknown, new comer¹⁷ (neighbor originally coming from another country).¹⁸ Through these terms are defined the citizens with the same origin who live outside the family or the relatives as well as all the non-Israelis who live temporarily or definitively in Israel.¹⁹ In this context the foreign classification ("uncircumcised")—especially in terms of religious affiliation—is a disapproving affiliation.

The Legislative Disadvantages of the Foreigner

The fact that foreigners and the new comers are not situated at an equal level with the originars is sometimes emphasized in The Old

Testament. The Mosaic Law stipulates more apparent disadvantages for the foreigners who lived in the State of Israel.²⁰ From a political point of view, a foreigner could not be elected emperor.²¹From an economical point of view the foreigner did not have his debt released in the forgiveness year;²² the same thing is valid for the interdiction of borrowing at interest.²³ From a social point of view the foreigners did not have the right of legacy in the State of Israel²⁴ and in the case of slavery it was no stipulated a liberation in the forgiveness year.²⁵ From a religious perspective, the foreigners were excluded from the religious cult, for example from the Easter Holiday, which to some extent was considered the National Day of the State of Israel.²⁶

The Strict Separation from the Foreigner

The different treatment of the stranger and his legal discrimination, who is seen as an "inferior" citizen, has its profound origin in the monotheist religion of the people of Israel.²⁷ The explicit Henotheism, and later on the strict monotheism lead to the main rejection of the foreigner divinities.²⁸ The fear of bowing to a pagan God—which was seen as a cause of the social decadence and of the exile—has lead in the period following the exile to the strict separation of the Jewish community from the foreign neighbors.²⁹ Moreover, this theme has lead even to the dissolution of the mixed marriages with foreign women, who, together with their children were expelled from Israel.³⁰ The Mosaic Law precisely forbids the marriage with pagan women;³¹ the Books of Kings remind in this context the case of Solomon and of his catastrophic and lasting consequences.³²

The Hospitality and the Obligation of Protecting the Foreigner

The above statements can create the impression that the Old Testament sustains the discrimination of the foreigner and the total separation from him. Thus, in reality, he expects much attention and care for the integration of the citizens of foreign descent, who, just because he does not have the same rights is under the special protection of community. Beside the disadvantages of the foreigner in the political, economical, social and religious domains, at the base of which stands the rejection of the pagan divinities—respectively the monopoly position of Yahweh—the Old Testament gives a great importance to the hospitality and care for the citizens from other countries. This takes place on 3 paths.

First, the Pentateuch knows and sustains explicitly the principle "the same rights for everyone!"³³ According to it, all people in the country must be judged after the same laws.³⁴ In a persistent way, the people are warned not to discriminate the foreigner in front of the law³⁵ because God does not look at people's face.³⁶ In the case of conflicts solved by a judge, God JHWH asked for the sentence to be fair and the foreigner to be treated as a brother.³⁷ Injustice was not allowed, in order for the foreigner not to end up being in need or being exploited or oppressed by the others.³⁸ Even the Exodus 22:20 or 23:9 forbid the "oppressive" behavior upon somebody, remembering to the people of Israel of its situation in Egypt³⁹ in the past.

Second, for assuring an equal treatment of the foreigners in Israel, they received an ample social protection, which protected them in front of exploitation and oppression and which offered them the basic needs.⁴⁰ This is visible in a concrete way in giving the free time in the Sabbath,⁴¹ in using the tenth for the poor,⁴² at the harvest day, in paying the day-workers and the season workers⁴³ as well as at the creation of the escape fortresses as a refugee place in case of vengeance.⁴⁴ Moreover, the foreigners were taken into consideration when spreading the tenth, which at a three-year period was distributed to the socially disadvantaged ones: widows, orphans and foreigners.⁴⁵

Third, the foreigners were invited to participate in the cultural and religious life of the people of Israel even though this was conditioned by certain rules. It is mainly about the annual holidays like the Harvest Holiday or the Tents Holiday.⁴⁶ Participating to the Easter Holiday was conditioned by the circumcision mark⁴⁷as well as the divine services from the Temple,⁴⁸ which were reserved only to certain people (Levites and priests). At these, all "foreigners" were excluded, meaning all the unauthorized Israelites and non-Israelites.⁴⁹ Still, the pagans were allowed to have jobs such as stonecutter at the temple⁵⁰ even being named as "worshipers of Yahweh" in the worship prayer of the temple by Solomon.⁵¹ The practical application of these laws referring to foreigners is exemplified in the case of the history of Rahab,⁵² Ruth⁵³ and the people of Gideon.⁵⁴ The fact that these two women of foreign origin belong to the genealogy of King David prove the respect and the appreciation of the Old Testament for the "foreigners."

A Theological Argument for the Commandment of Loving the "Foreigner"

The basic attitude of the Old Testament regarding the foreigners can be best summarized in the statement "you shall love [the foreigner] as you love yourself." By this, it is extended explicitly and unlimited the commandment "You shall love the other as you love yourself" upon the foreigner⁵⁵ who in this way becomes neighbor and brother.⁵⁶ The love full of care towards the foreigners and the new comers becomes even an example for the brotherly love for those of the same nationality.⁵⁷ Shortly this means: Love your brother as you love the foreigner!

Very important is the way of argumentation of the Old Testament regarding this friendly attitude about the foreigners. Mainly it is about 3 arguments. First, God loves the foreigners too, He takes care of them, and He protects them.⁵⁸ Second, all people are equal in front of Him and of His Law, He does not discriminate between those belonging to a nation and the foreign ones,⁵⁹ because "in front of Him, God does not take into consideration the face of people."60 And third, "you were foreigners in the country of Egypt too."61 The positive experiences lived by Abraham, Isaac and Jacob as guests in a foreign country,⁶² the ambivalent experiences undertaken by Joseph⁶³ and Moses as foreigners in Egypt, respectively Midian⁶⁴ as well as the unforgettable memories of the people of Israel about life and suffering abroad with the chore, oppression and maltreatment and with the liberation based on lack of rights, defense and hope⁶⁵ made up a convincing reason regarding the behavior full of love towards the foreigners from their own country. In other words, solidarity and the feelings together with the foreigners from Israeli, are based on his own collective and individual historical experiences as a foreigner of the people of Israel.⁶⁶ Who lived himself or in the

person of his ancestors the experience of being accepted or refused in a foreign country, knows "what the foreigner feels."⁶⁷ Shortly: only those who were foreigners can understand the foreigners.

The Foreigner in the New Testament

How are perceived this historical experiences of being a foreigner as well as the commandment of loving the foreigners from Israel during the period of the primary Christian Church? What attitude towards the strangers do we meet in the New Testament, which does not have anything to do with a people from the Middle East, but with an universal church which follows the example of Jesus Christ?

The New Testament Terminology in Reference to the "Foreigner"

The New Testament does not often talks about foreigners, especially because the Christian Church seems to nullify the national, ethical, cultural and social boundaries between people, trying to gather them in a church (ekklesia) of a worldwide nature. Thus, there is a multitude of terms, which express the idea of being a foreigner. These are: $\alpha\lambda\lambda\phi\psi\lambda\phi\zeta$, foreigner of descent, pagan in a non-Christian, in idolatry sense; $^{68} \alpha \lambda \lambda \circ \gamma \epsilon \nu \eta \varsigma$, foreigner as a nation, of another nationality; $^{69} \alpha \lambda \lambda \circ \tau \rho \circ \varsigma$, foreigner in an unfamiliar sense, unknown;⁷⁰ $\pi\alpha\rho$ οικος,⁷¹ $\pi\alpha\rho$ οικια,⁷² $\pi\alpha\rho$ οικεω, foreigner without rights; παρεπιδημος, foreigner without rights;⁷³ ζενος, foreigner of another nationality; unknown, unusual, curious; foreigner, new comer without rights.⁷⁴ More important than the term used and its semantic significance⁷⁵ are the theological principles and the important experiences referring to foreigners, about which the New Testament talks differently. These have to do especially with Saint Peter and Saint Paul, as well as with Jesus Himself, and are the base for the Christian attitude towards the strangers.⁷⁶

"Imitatio dei" in the Gospel of Matthew

At Matthew 5:17 the writer sustains the fulfillment of the law due to a better justice,⁷⁷ of the expected perfection⁷⁸ even though

there was already a clear climax: surpassing the interior aggression⁷⁹ up to the love for the enemies.⁸⁰ The love for the enemies means for Matthew sovereignty, due to "imitation dei." There are parallels in Antiquity where the goodwill and love are appreciated as an expression of interior quality and sovereignty.⁸¹ Even Seneca stated that the fact that God can not pour certain gifts upon the faithful ones without pouring them upon the unfaithful ones too.⁸² Matthew expresses this idea in 5, 45 like this: "because He makes His Sun to rise upon the bad and the good ones." And the Caesar Marcus Aurelius shares this thought throughout the call: "Love the mankind; follow God!"83 The letter of Aristeas encourages for the imitation of God, especially regarding kindness and justice.⁸⁴ Because the one who does good things, and is full of kindness and makes justice, that one is an "imitator" of God.⁸⁵ Plinius the Elder goes further on stating: "Deus est mortali iuvare mortalem" meaning "This is God: when a mortal helps another mortal."86

Paul and the Foreigners' Integration

The Apostle Paul, as no one else, was forced to overpass this distance and work for the integration of pagans, meaning of the non-Jewish in the Church of Christ. As "uncircumcised" these were considered "foreigners"—if not even "enemies"—at best "guests" in the house of God. Anyhow, they were excluded from the privileges of a "full citizen" in the house of God. Through the faith in Christ and in His Sacrifice, foreigners became heirs and citizens with full rights in God's Empire.⁸⁷ This interpretation passes over the principle of the Old Testament of hospitality and care full of love for the foreigners. The Gospel of the new Covenant broadens the old commandment of love by the fact that the ancient foreigner is declared and considered a full member of the people of God. The soteriologic indicative "you are" has a more radical implication than the ethical indicative "you must."⁸⁸

Jesus and the Experience of Being a Foreigner

According to the Gospels, Jesus from Nazareth often had in His life the fate of a foreigner. A little while after He was born, His parents took refuge in Egypt in order to escape from the anger of the Emperor Herod.⁸⁹ In this respect, Jesus spent His early childhood as a refugee in a foreign country, in this way repeating the experience of His own people.⁹⁰ Later on, He worked as a preacher, from place to place, not having a stable residence.⁹¹ Separated from His family⁹² and expelled from His birthplace⁹³ He lived the painful experience of being a foreigner in His own house⁹⁴ dying in the end as an expelled and lost outside the city.⁹⁵ The fact that He identified Himself with His little brothers, including with the foreigners, exemplifies His statement: "I was a foreigner and you welcomed me."⁹⁶ In other words, who refuses the foreigner the right to hospitality, refuses Jesus, because Christ shares the destiny of the foreigner.⁹⁷

Life as "Guests" and "Foreigners" in This World Treating the Foreigner as Brother

What significance do these principles and experiences have for the life of Christians in this world, especially regarding the behavior about the foreigners, the marginalized ones, the expelled, and the ignored ones; toward the emigrants, foreigners from another ethnic group, sheltered ones, refugees, new comers, season workers, toward those without rights, those followed or exiled? To this question, the following reflections are dedicated to. The answer will be looked for in the Holy Scripture, which offers in this respect a unique perspective—which if it is taken seriously—can lead to a totally new way of thinking.

God's Guests: the "Guest" Status in Israel: Social and Judicial Implications

According to the testament agreement the Promised country does not belong directly to the people of Israel, but to Yahweh, its God. In Leviticus 25:23 God stated: "because the country is Mine, and you are at me as some foreigners and new comers." And the psalmist confirms in Psalm 39:12: "because I am a foreigner in front of You, a fugitive, as all my parents." Recognizing the owner right of God, His people receive the right of "guest." From this comes the fact that all the earth, as a space for life with everything that belongs to it, it is only rented by human and it does not represent at all his personal or collective property. Based on this belief, the Mosaic Law deduces the concrete obligation that a property confiscated after 50 years, in the year of joy to be returned to the owner—a unique social–legislative system that ensures social justice and nullifies the gap between the rich and the poor.

This principle does not apply only to the material property but to all life aspects. Acknowledging the power of the divine creation leads to the acceptance of your own short life, which culminates in the statement: "In front of You we are some foreigners and inhabitants, as all our parents. Our days on Earth are like shadow and without any hope."⁹⁸ The length of our life is a so-called borrowed time, which does not belong to us, the same as the space of life is not our property. "I am a foreigner on earth. . . ."⁹⁹ Giving up any type of pride and any demand of domination and property implies the fact that all people on earth are foreigners and guests, and so the difference between the natives and the new comers becomes relative. So there is no room for feelings of superiority or demand of domination. Who is the host and who is the guest? The answer is, thus maybe unexpected: We are all guests and foreigners!

Heir of Covenant: Christian Pilgrimage and its Practical Consequences

The Old Testament calls the patriarchs of the old covenant repeatedly as being "foreigners and new comers" in their own country, like some sort of nomads during their entire life.¹⁰⁰ Every Israeli knew the story of their life. In Deuteronomy 26:5 one tells the story: "My father was a fugitive Armey, on the verge of dying; he came down in Egypt with a few people and settled there for a while." According to this model, the letter of Paul to Jewish people calls the patriarchs from the ancient times "foreigners and travelers on earth," some migrant nomads in the search of a better country, becoming in this way a model for Christians. "Because we do not have a stable citadel, but we are in the search of the future one."¹⁰¹ "But our citizenship is in the providence …"—completes the Apostle Paul.¹⁰² From this perspective Christians are foreigners in this world too, pilgrims on the road to the eternal home.¹⁰³

In the second century, the *Epistle of Diognetus* stated that even though Christians live in their own countries, they are still new comers. Even though they participate at the life of society, they suffer as foreigners do. Any foreign place is for them a home and any country is foreign for them. They live on earth, but they are citizens of the providence. The Christians live in the world but they are not from the world.¹⁰⁴

The New Testament explains in many places what does it mean in the practical life of the Christian the status of "foreigner and traveler,"¹⁰⁵ who in this world does not have a lasting residence. On the one hand, it means that Christians are in front of God responsible for their actions,¹⁰⁶ that they give up the selfish fulfillment of their instincts, having a correct life,¹⁰⁷ and on the other hand, it means that they do benevolence, sharing with the others (and with foreigners too) what they have,¹⁰⁸ being welcoming for guests¹⁰⁹ and not letting the "earthy" things—people or properties—to corner them.¹¹⁰

Conclusions

According to a study from Berlin referring to social integration¹¹¹ when immigrants come close to the middle level of the native population in the areas of education, jobs, social involvement, cultural assimilation—then we talk about a successful integration. In this process it is expected that in an ideal way a reciprocal closeness to happen.

From, the part of the host society, integration implies an opening, which means the accomplishment of the legislative equality of emigrants and of the native citizens, the free and equal access on the labor market. In the same time it is expected from the part of the emigrants to respect the plurality from the western societies. It is a need for the host society to prove tolerance towards the "unknown" elements brought by the emigrants¹¹² and still to actively encourage the common feeling of belonging.¹¹³

In this way it becomes possible the access of the migrants at different social status, which implies a cultural equivalence.¹¹⁴ The process of acculturation leads to the creation of values, norms, mentalities and new identities.¹¹⁵ Religion can act in this aspect on many levels in an efficient way: at the level of personal identity, of social identity as a member of certain religions or at the public–cultural level of the host–society. But, religion can hinder the integration process when certain religious communities get in conflict with the society due to the different moral and political beliefs, of the values and traditions incompatible with the basic principles of the host–society.¹¹⁶ The target and the purpose of the integration is to allow the development of the self respect of emigrants and their social acknowledgement, which seldom does not happen.¹¹⁷

The Christian religion sees in God an advocate of the foreigner and a trustful friend, in front of whom all the people—irrespective of their origin and ethnical, national, cultural or social belonging—are equal, meaning of the same value and importance. In the person of Jesus Christ, God Himself revealed the faith of a foreigner and of alienation, of refugees, of expelled ones, making common cause and identifying Himself with the foreigner as his brother.

An ethics based on the Holy Scriptures and oriented towards Jesus takes seriously the commandment of loving the one close to you, with all the consequences it implies. This implies the acceptance of the fact that loving one another includes loving the foreigner. Love the foreigner as you love yourself! The Christian ethics sees in the foreigner a citizen and a neighbor; it makes efforts for his integration in society and it does not let itself to be irritated by the prejudice and opposition. A biblical way of life is characterized by hospitality, as a visible and credible sign of acceptance, attention and acknowledging the foreigner and the citizens from another ethnic group. The consciousness and the experience of its own passing life, reflected on the base of theology and biblical ethics prevents any felling of superiority towards the foreign people or from another ethnic group and any unfair or illegal behavior—associated with disadvantage, contempt, roughness, exploitation or maltreatment toward these ones. The Christian hope regarding a new world is seen in the hope of the foreigner to find a home, an element with a solidarity effect. In this way, the Christian belief receives a strong political and social impulse.¹¹⁸

Reduced to its essence, the Biblical call can be formulated like this: Act as God –became human, and became a brother for the foreigners! For the church of Christ, this means: "It has to testify for God, Who enters in a type of a bond with the foreigner... Being a church means taking over the responsibility for the faith of the foreigner."¹¹⁹

NOTES

¹ See Russell–Johnston, David. "Statement by Lord Russell–Johnston to Mark the International Human Rights Day." 10. December 2001, *Council of Europe Press* Service. http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/rwb.nsf/db900SID/ACOS-64D732?OpenDocument (Last accessed on August 6, 2007).

² The action lead by the community "Service for peace" (AGDF) during 11–21 November 2001 included thousands of programs, divine services, commemoration journeys, as well as concerts and movie nights. In the centre of attention were the images of the enemies, which have developed after the terrorist attacks from the USA and the war from Afghanistan.

³ Hambach–Steins, Mariane. *Grenzverläufe Gesellschaftlicher Gerechtigkeit. Migration– Zugehörigkeit– Beteiligung* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2016), 152.

⁴ Hettlage–Varjas, A. & Hettlage, R. "Übergangsidentitäten im Migrationsprozess." *Zeitschrift für Frauenforschung*, 13/31995): 13–26.

⁵ Norbert Wenning, "Migration" in *Ethnische Minderheiten in der BRD.,* by C. Schmalz–Jacobsen & G. Hansen 1995, 338. See also Franz Nestman and T. Niepel. *Beratung von Migranten. Neue Wege der psychosozialen Versorgung.* Berlin, 1993.

⁶ Elke Bracht *Multikulturell Leben lernen. Psychologische Bedingungen universalen Denkens und Handelns.* (Heidelberg, 1994), 91. Greenberg, J. A.et al. "Why do people need self-esteem? Converging evidence that self-esteem serves an anxiety-buffering function." in *Journal of Personality and Social Psychologie* (1992/63): 913–922; Annette Treibel. *Migration in modernen Gesellschaften. Soziale Folgen von Einwanderung und Gastarbeit* (Weinheim, München: Juventa Verlag, 1990), 13; Siegfried Grubitzsch & Klaus Weber. *Psychologische Grundbegriffe. Ein Handbuch.* Rowohlt, 1998.

⁷ Elcin Kürsat–Ahleres. "Migration als psychischer Prozess." In: *Multikulturelle Gesellschaft—Monokulturelle Psychologie? Antisemitismus und Rassismus in der psychosozialen Arbeit*, by Attia et al., (Tübingen, 1995), 160.

⁸ Iman Attia. "Antirassistisch oder interkulturell? Sozialwissenschaftliche Handlungskonzepte im Kontext von Migration, Kultur und Rassismus." In Psychologie und Rassismus, P. Mercheril & T.Teo (Hg.), (Reinbek, 1997), 262; E. M. Leyer, *Migration,Kulturkonflikt und Krankheit.Zur Praxis der transkulturellen Psychotherapie.* Opladen, 1991.

⁹ Hettlage–Varjas & Hettlage, 14.

¹⁰ In 2014, 16.4 million people from the total population of 80.9 millions had a migrant background. (emigrants and their descendants). From 16.4 million people, 9.2 millions (56%) had German citizenship, whereas 7.2 millions (44%) had foreign citizenship. (See the Ministry of Statistics).

¹¹ The new total number also includes 20 million refugees, who left their country of origin because of the war. Most of them come from Syria, Afghanistan, and Somalia. One third of the migrants (abt. 76 millions) live in Europe, from which 12 millions are in Germany and 9 millions in the United Kingdom. The United States has, with a number of 47 millions people, the biggest migrant population. Twelve million people live in Russia, while 10 millions with foreign origin live in Saudi Arabia.

¹² Fögen, Marie Theres (Hg.): *Fremde der Gesellschaft. Historische und sozialwissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zur Differenzierung von Normen und Fremdheit.* Frankfurt a.M.: Klostermann, 1991.

¹³ Lévinas, Emmanuel. *Humanismus des anderen Menschen*. Hamburg: Felix Meiner, 1989. Lévinas, Emmanuel. *Zwischen uns. Versuche über das Denken an den Anderen*. München, Wien: Hanser, 1995.

¹⁴ Hambach–Steins, Mariane. *Grenzverläufe Gesellschaftlicher Gerechtigkeit. Migration–Zugehörigkeit–Beteiligung* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2016), 50f.

¹⁵ Theo Sundermeier. *Den Fremden verstehen. Eine praktische Hermeneutik. Sammlung*, Gotingen: Vandenhoeck, 1996.

¹⁶ Zehnder, Markus. "Umgang mit Fremden in Israel und Assyrien: Ein Beitrag zur Anthropologie des "Fremden" im Lichte antiker Quellen.", in: Beiträge *zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament.* Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2005.

¹⁷ The causes due to which people become גדימ are above all: hunger, the war, the personal poverty. (Kellermann, D. Art גור ThWAT I 1973, Sp 979–991. In: *Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament, Studien zur Soziologie des Urchristentums*, by Gerd Theisen, Tübingen: J.C.Mohr (Paul Siebeck, 1979), ארג, 984; Frank Crüsemann. *Fremdenliebe und Identitätssicherung. Zum Verständnis der Fremden–Gesetze in AT*, in WuD NS, 1987), 15–17.

¹⁸ In LXX the word π is translated προσηλυτος (71 times from the total of 85). *LXX*. Württembergische Bibelanstalt, Stuttgart, 1935. This is the term for the pagan converted to Judaism. (Alfred Bertholet. *Die Stellung der Israeliten und Juden zu den Fremden*. Freiburg i.B. Leipzig. 1896), 260; Karl Georg Kuhn. *Art* προσελυτος in ThWNT VI, Sp 727–745, προσελυτος, 1959), 728–731.

¹⁹ Dt 29:21; Is 61:5; Ob 11.

²⁰ Israel is not the only country with laws referring to the protection of the foreigner. (Jürgen J Stamm. "Fremde, Flüchtlinge und ihr Schutz im Alten Israel und in seiner Umwelt," in *Der Flüchtling in der Weltgeschichte*, by A. Mercier (Hg.), Bern und Frankfurt am Main, 1974, 58.) Thus, this protection, which has

its peak in loving the enemies (Lv 10:23) has in the Old Testament a certain significance, which is conditioned by the role of reminding his own migration in Egypt. (Stamm 1974, 58) Your own history requests an identification—partial at least—with the foreigner. (Reinhard Feldmeier. *Die Christen als Fremde. Die Metapher der Fremde in der antiken Welt, im Urchristentum und im 1. Petrusbrief.,* Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck: 1992), 41.

²¹ Dt 17:15. ²² Dt 15:3. ²³ Dt 23:21f. ²⁴ Gn 31:14f.; Eph 2:11ff. ²⁵ Lv 25:44-46. ²⁶ Ex 12:43. ²⁷ Feldmeier 1992, 53. ²⁸ Ex 20:3; Ps 81:10. ²⁹ Neh 9:2; 13:3. ³⁰ Ezr 10. ³¹ Dt 7:1–6. ³² 1 Kgs 11. ³³ Josef Schreiner & Kampling Rainer. Der Nächste der Fremde der Feind. (Echter, Würzburg. 2000), 27. ³⁴ Ex 12:49; Lv 24:16–22; Nm 9:14;15:15–29; Dt 31:12; Jos 8:35. ³⁵ Dt 24:17; 27:19. ³⁶ Dt 1:16f.; 10:17–19; 16:19; 2 Chr 19:6f.; Rom 2:11. ³⁷ Dt 1:16. ³⁸ Dt 24:17. ³⁹ Ex 3:9. ⁴⁰ Ex 22:20; 23:9; Lv19:33f.; 25:35; Dt 10:18. The late prophets reminded and indicated toward this legislative circumstance appealing to its fulfillment. (Jer 7:6; 22:3; Hos 22:7–29; Zec 7:10; Mal 3:5). ⁴¹ Ex 20:10; 23:12; Lv 16:29; Dt 5:14.

⁴² Dt 14:28f.; 26:12f.

⁴³ Lv 19:10; 23:22; Dt 24:19–22.

⁴⁴ Nm 35:15; cp. Jos 20:9.

⁴⁵ Ex 3:9.

⁴⁶ Dt 16:9–15; 26:10f.

⁴⁷ Ex 12:48f.; Nm 9:14.

⁴⁸ Lv 22:18; Nm 15:14–16; Is 56:3.6f.

⁴⁹ Ex 29:33; 30:33; Lv 22:10–13; Nm 1:51; 3:10–38; 17–5; 18:4–7; Ez 44:7–9.

⁵⁰ 1 Chr 22:2; versus Ez 4:1–5.

⁵¹ 1 Kgs 8:41-43; 2 Chr 6:32f.

⁵² Jos 2 and 6.

⁵³ Ru 2:10.

⁵⁴ Jos 9.

55 Lv 19:33f.

⁵⁶ Zec 7:9f.

⁵⁷ Lv 25:35.

⁵⁸ Dt 10:17–19; Ps 146:9.

⁵⁹ Nm 15:15f.; Dt 1:16f.; 10:17f.

⁶⁰ According to the prophetic mission of Ezekiel, the foreigners should be taken into consideration in relation with the division of the country after the exile; through this, keeping the property through inheritance became possible. (Ez 47:22ff) This revolutionary idea will be assumed and deepened from a Christological point of view in the New Testament (Eph 2:19).

⁶¹ Ex 22:21; Lv 19:33f.; Dt 5:14f.; 10:17–19; 16:11f.; 23:8f.; 24:17–21.

⁶² Gn 12:20–26; 12:46–50.

⁶³ Gn 39–50.

⁶⁴ Ex 2:22; 18:3; Acts 7:29.

⁶⁵ Gn 15:13; Ps 137:4; Acts 7:6; 13:17.

⁶⁶ Mercado L.F. *The Language of Sojourning in the Abraham Midrash in Hebrews* 11:8–19.*Its Old Testament Basis, Exegetical Traditions and Function in the epistle to the Hebrews* (Cambridge, MA: Diss Harvard University, 1967), 57.

⁶⁷ Ex 23:9.

68 Only Acts 10:28.

⁶⁹ Only Lk 17:18: a Samaritan.

⁷⁰ ca. 14x in NT.

⁷¹ From a lexical point of view the significance of $\pi\alpha\rho\sigma\kappa\sigma$ is not clear. In most cases the semantic circle used with the Greek and Hellenist writers, meaning inhabitants, colonies or neighbors. (compare Aristeabrief. Lettre d' *Aristee'a Philocrate* (SC 89). Hg. A. Pelletier, Paris, 1962; Rehet 139 ade mirabilus auscultatiionibus 837a; Dio Chrysostomus: Sämtliche Reden, eingeleitet, übersetzt und erläutert von W. Ellinger. Zürich/Stuttgart, 1967, 75,5,4; Diodorus Siculus. with an English Translation by C.H. Oldfather et al.(LCL) 12 Bde., Cambridge Mass / London, 1933-1967, 3,23,1 (bis); 12,60,5; 13,3,3; 14,12,2; 14, 91, 1; 14, 116, 1; Hdt 4,180; 7,235; Polybius. Geschichte. eingeleitet und übertragen von H. Drexler. 2 Bde. London/Cambridge, 1978, 3,42f; 3,68,1,1; Plutarch. Lives, with an English Translation by B. Perrim. (LCL) 11 Bde. London/Cambridge, MA, 1959–1970, 50,3; Strabo. The Geography of Strabo, with an English Translation by H.L. Jones. (LCL) 8 Bde. (London, Cambridge Mass 1966-1970), 1,1,10; 1,2,24. In LXX and in the early Judaic writings appears $\pi\alpha\rho\sigma\kappa\sigma$ 33 times. It is obvious the fact that this only in certain instances means "emigrant". 8 times in Lv 25; 6 times in Apocrypha; Macab. 6:36; 7:19; in 1 Esr 5:7; 2 Esr 8:35—means the Babylonian exile. Beside this significance, $\pi\alpha\rho\sigma\kappa\sigma\varsigma$ can present a judicial term too. In this context, it is about the report of Diodorus 20,84,2 "" $\tau\omega\nu$ δ ' $\epsilon\nu$ τη πολει κατοικουωτων κσι ζενων κσι ζενων δοντες εζουσιαν τοις βουλομενοις στναγωνιζεσθαι."

⁷²The adjective παροικος appears only in biblical context.(see Schmidt παροικος 1954, 841) Later on, the term can acquire social connotations too, as in

LXX in Sir 29,23ff.30ff "The accusation of being a foreigner" over δ ισμοςπαροικιας. Rarely (11 times) means παροικος a non citizen. According to Mercado *Language 30* the accent moved from the social domain in the religious one. (Kuhn, προσηλυτος 1959), 731.

⁷³ 3x im NT.

⁷⁴ ca. 13x im NT.

⁷⁵ Feldmeier 1992.

⁷⁶ Reinhard Feldmeier & Ulrich Heckel (Hg.). *Die Heiden: Juden, Christen und das Problem des Fremden.*, WUNT 70. Tübingen: Mohr, 1994. Feldmeier & Heckel, Ibid.

⁷⁷ Mt 5:20.

⁷⁸ Mt 5:48.

⁷⁹ Mt 5:21ff.

80 Mt 5:43ff.

⁸¹ H. Kosmala, H. *Nachfolge und Nachahmung Gottes im griechischen Denken* (ASTI 2, 1963); Michael Waldmann. *Die Feindesliebe in der antiken Welt und im Christentum. Eine historisch-ethische Untersuchung*. Wien, 1902), 38–85.

⁸² Kittel,G.et al. (Hg.). *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*. Bd. 5, Stuttgart, 1954, Benef. IV, 26, 1.

⁸³ Ibid.,, Nat. hist.2,7.

⁸⁴ Ekaterina Matusova The meaning of the Letter of Aristeas. In light of biblical interpretation and grammatical tradition, and with reference to its historical, Göttingen [u. a.]: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2015.

⁸⁵ Diognetbrief. In Wengst, K. (Hg.), *Didache (Apostellehre) Barnabasbrie,* 2. Klemensbrief, Schrift an Diognet. (SUCL: Darmstadt, 1984), 10, 6.

⁸⁶ Kittel, Ibid. Nat.hist. 2,7.

⁸⁷ Eph 2:11–22.

⁸⁸ While Paul overcomes the ethnical-social difference between the natives and emigrants of a people through the unity in Christ of the Hebrew and pagans, he keeps the spiritual-ethnic difference between believers and non-believers, between justice and injustice, between light and dark, between service and bowing and idolatry service, between pristine and dishonest. (2 Cor 6:14–18; 1 Cor 5) We could talk about the dialect of an identity which overcomes the polarities (the unity of the difference in Christos) and about the dialect of an identity which keeps the polarities (outside/inside, believer/unbeliever). The faith of Christ is on the one hand common and integrative and in the same time is the separation and excluding element, towards unfaithfulness and immorality.

⁸⁹ Lk 2:1–7.

⁹⁰ Mt 2:13-23.

⁹¹ Mt 8:20.

92 Mk 3:20f.; 6:4; Jn 7:5.

⁹³ Lk 4:16-30.

⁹⁴ Jn 1:11.

95 Heb 13:11f.

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96 Mt 25:35-43

⁹⁷ Bernhard Oestreich, "Der Fremde: Interdisziplinäre Beiträge zu Aspekten von Fremdheit." *Friedensauer Schriftenreihe*, Reihe B, Gesellschaftswissenschaften 7. (Frankfurt a.M.: Lang, 2003), 48.

⁹⁸ 1 Chr 29:15; Ps 39:13.

⁹⁹ Ps 119:19.
¹⁰⁰ Gn 17:8; 23:4; 26:3; 28:4, 37:1; Ex 6:4.
¹⁰¹ Heb 13:14.
¹⁰² Phlm 3:20.
¹⁰³ 2 Cor 5:9; 1 Pt 1:1–17; 2:11f.
¹⁰⁴ 2 Cor 5:1–5.
¹⁰⁵ 1 Pt 2:11.
¹⁰⁶ 2 Cor 5:9f.; 1 Pt 1:17; 2:12.
¹⁰⁷ 1 Pt 2:11f.
¹⁰⁸ Heb 13:14–16.

¹⁰⁹ φιλοζενια—Rom 12:13; 1 Tm 3:2; 5:10; Ti 1:8; Heb 13:2; 1 Pt 4:9; ζενος—Rom 16:23.

¹¹⁰ 1 Cor 7:29–31; 2 Cor 6:1–10.

¹¹¹ Berlin–Institut für Bevölkerung und Entwicklung, *Ungenutzte Potentiale. Zur Lage der Integration in Deutschland*, Berlin 2009), 9, 29–33. URL http://www.berlin-institution.org/fileadmin/user_upload/Zuwanderung/ Integration_RZ_online .pdf (Last accessed on July 19, 2007).

¹¹² Ibid., 29.

¹¹³ Bhikhu Parekh. *A New Politics of Identity. Politicales for an Interdependent World* (New York: Basingstoke, 2008), 87–90; Bert Brink. "Imagining civic relations in the moment of their breakdown: a crisis of civic integrity in the Netherlands," in *Multiculturalism and Political Theory*, by Anthony Simon and David Owen (London: Cambridge, 2007), 350–373.

¹¹⁴ Early Classics *The Epistel to Diognetus*. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1908. Attia 1997, 262; Leyer, 1991.

¹¹⁵ Ludger Pries. "Transnationale Soziale Räume. Theoretisch–empirische Skizze am Beispiel der Arbeitswanderung Mexiko–USA." *Zeitschrift für Soziologie* Jg. (25/6 1997): 456–472.

¹¹⁶ Berliner–Institut 2009, 4; Baumgartner, Christoph. "Religion. Integrationsmotor oder Hemmnis?" in *Ethik und Migration, Gesellschaftliche Herausforderungen und sozialethische Reflexion*, Michelle Becka ed. (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2010), 154–156.

¹¹⁷ See Paul Mercheril; Appel, S. & Teo T. "Ethnische Quotierung in der deutschsprachigen Psychologie? Dokumentation und Kommentierung einer Initiative". *Journal für Psychologie*, 3/1995): 53–62; Pries 1997; Hartwig Berger. "Vom Klassenkampf zum Kulturkonflikt. Wandlung und Wendungen der westdeutschen Migrationsforschung," in *Ethnizität.Wissenschaft und Minderheiten* by E. Dittrich & F.O. Radtke, (Opladen, 1990), 127. ¹¹⁸ "Acknowledging the fact that being a citizen of the future God's Kingdom will raise awareness among the Christians about the problems of the foreigners which surrounds them and will activate the brotherly love." Bietenhard, H. *"Fremd." Theologisches Begriffslexikon zum Neuen Testament* (Wuppertal: R. Brockhaus, 1971), 379.

¹¹⁹ Ela, Jean–Marc Ela "Ein Gott mit dem Antlitz des Fremden," in *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Gemeinde* (12/2007): 31–36.

Migration of the Evangelical Culture in Romania After the Fall of Communism

Ieremia Rusu

ABSTRACT: The Evangelical churches were established in Romania during the 19th and 20th centuries, but their cultural influence became more prevalent after the fall of Communism. In the first part of this paper, the author analyzes the cultural trends that emerged after the Romanian revolution of December 1989. In the second part, the paper highlights three historical conceptions regarding Christ and culture. In the third part, the paper focuses on the migration of the Evangelical culture in the post-communist Romania. In the last part, the author offers few suggestions on how to extend the impact of the Evangelical culture in the Romanian culture, by the occasional adoption of the concepts "Christ against Culture", and "Christ the Transformer of Culture."

KEY WORDS: Christ, Evangelical, culture, Romania, migration.

The Evangelical churches were established in Romania during the 19th and 20th centuries: Baptists in 1850,¹ Open Brethren (known in Romanian as *Creștini după Evanghelie* – Christians According to the Gospel) in 1989,² Pentecostals in 1922,³ and Adventists in 1869.⁴

Before communist period, Evangelicals were focused especially to change the life of individuals, and to establish churches. They could not play a big role in the Romanian society, because they were a very small minority, with small resources, and the Romanian Orthodox Church had then big power, being connected with the state. The Orthodox Church was not only an established religion in Romania; it was a political force as well. Its dogma was that the Orthodox Church was the only true and legitimate church in Romania.

When the communists took the power in Romania, their first goal was to destroy the ideological opposition, either political or religious. They put in prison political and religious leaders, and then they started to disparage other ideologies.⁵

For almost half of century, Evangelical Christians had to face a double persecution: from the communist authorities, and from the public opinion instigated by the leadership of the Eastern Orthodox Church. The goal of systematic atheist propaganda was to associate in the mind of Romanians crazy cults or sects from the whole world with Evangelicals. And they were successfully, because Evangelicals had not access to mass-media and they could not demonstrate that they were not David Koresh's cult from another continent.⁶

During the open persecution, subtle animosity, and distrust, the church could not become involved in social ministries, and even more, the church itself was pushed at the periphery of the society.

The Evangelicals established in Romania their own subculture. This was not only a reaction against society rejection. It was also a way to protect the members of Evangelical churches against atheism. The narrowest Christians were against the tools of the atheist propaganda: books, radio, television, and even newspapers.⁷ Gene Edward Veith Jr. described this type of community as a "Christian ghetto".⁸ Closed in their subculture, Evangelicals struggled to survive and to share the Gospel to other people through the only method they could apply constantly: evangelism by friendship. Though under persecution, Evangelical churches grew constantly in that period.

Because of the growing number, and of the readiness to suffer for Christ, Evangelicals constituted one of the strongest movement against communism in Romania. But the impact of the Evangelical culture in Romania came after the fall of communism.

1 The Crisis of Romanian Culture after the Fall of Communism

The revolution from December 1989 brought in Romania much more than a change of the political system. It brought a change of the world view. From an open atheism, many Romanians passed to faith in a Supreme Power who governs the world, known in general as "God". This change occurred suddenly, starting during the days of revolution. The totally unusual warm weather (50 to 65 F) during Christmas 1989 made possible anticommunist meetings of the large crowds during those days and nights, and in this way the population forced Ceauşescu's oppressive regime to abdicate. For this reason, even the most skeptical people admitted that God helped Romania during those days.

The political revolution from Romania brought also a cultural revolution. Romanians removed not only the communist symbols (as the communist emblem from the Romanian flag), but also a big part of the monstrous culture created during the communism. A large part of literature, poetry, art, music, but also behaviors, institutions, and organizations were abandoned. These external changes occurred faster than the change of mentality, because everybody was afraid to be identified with the communism which brought so much suffering.

The problem was how it would be developed the Romanian culture? What model must be adopted? Romania tried to find its own way. After the fall of the "iron curtain," Romania became not only an open country, but much more, a receptive one. In the Romanian society have shown several trends that are presented in the following pages.

1.1 Romania's Restoration to the Interwar Status

Some Romanians, especially the oldest generation, tried to restore the society as it was before the Second World War. They focused specially to set up again the Monarchy in Romania, by bringing from Switzerland the Romanian king, Michael I. Their cultural model was Romania during the interbellum time, before the communists took the power.

1.2 The Humanistic Culture of Communism

A few people, especially the former communist party nomenclature and their families, were looking back with nostalgia to communism. They did not abandon their communist ideals, and they tried to promote communist ideas in an attenuate form, as socialist ideology. Their philosophy of life was still the secular humanism, excluding God from their world view.⁹ Their eyes were still oriented toward the big Eastern neighbor of Romania, Russia.

1.3 Eastern Orthodox Church-Centered Culture

The Eastern Orthodox Church tried to restore its reputation destroyed by the compromises its leadership did during the communist period. The intention was to become credible for Romanians, in order to have a political control over Romania. The efforts were not oriented to a Christ-centered world view, but to an Orthodox Church-centered culture. In order to realize this, the Orthodox Church influenced politicians to vote a law to change its status from a denomination equal with the others, to the national church of Romania, with special and unique privileges. This did not happen, and the law of religious freedom no. 489 / 2006 established that all the denominations recognized by the state are equal in Romania and have same rights.

1.4 Romania's Integration into the Global Culture

Many Romanians, especially from the younger generation, were attracted by the Western culture, because of its strong civilization and the success of the Western political system. Without strong convictions, and without absolute values, Romanians had not the discernment or critical thinking, and they accepted everything from the modern Western culture. The capitalist economical system played an important role in this globalization process of the culture.¹⁰

For example, the first five laws established in Romania during the days of revolution certified the freedom of religions, freedom of political opinions, but also freedom for abortion! These five laws were the result of the population will, imposed by the crowds from the street, and not by a legal Parliament. And nobody dared to attack these "human rights" earned by the young Romanian martyrs in December 1989, with their own blood.

Two years later, when Romania applied to become part of European Union, the Western organizations imposed Romania to democratize the Constitution by giving rights to homosexuals. After a long debate, Romanian Parliament gave freedom to homosexuality. Their justification before the Romanian people was that, though this was contrary to Christian morality and to Romanian culture, the law was only a simple political act to be accepted as a democratic society, and not a change of behaviors. In this way, the political activity demonstrated that was not based on the Bible, or according with the Christian morality.

Romania was invaded by the modern Western culture, and unfortunate, the bad characteristics of this culture were received first by Romanians. The main instruments which facilitated this influence were the modern communications, and mass-media, especially television.

Romanians had in the last years of communism only one TV channel, with three to four hours TV program per day. At least one hour and half from this program was dedicated to the activity of the Romanian dictator, Ceausescu. In general, television was the most powerful medium in the world, but the hunger for television was amplified for Romanians because it was "the forbidden fruit" for long time in the past. Today, television continues its role as "molder of attitudes, of behavior, and of taste",¹¹ because the majority of Romanians are people with limited resources, and the television is their cheapest entertainment means.

"Television is brainwashing children, young people, and adults to accept an amoral life style."¹² Television gives good and useful things mixed with violence, unethical behaviors, nudity, and even obscenity and pornography, especially through TV cable.

1.5 Evangelical Christians and the Romanian Culture

What role do the Evangelicals would play in the Romanian culture? What would be the actions of the true Christians when the Romanian society struggle with the crisis of the end of the second millennium? How the Evangelical culture migrated in Romania during the last 26 years? This will be analyzed in the next pages. The study will try also to establish what must be the Christian position regarding culture in Romania. But first of all it will be analyzed the historical point of view adopted by Christians regarding Christ and culture.

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2. Christ and Culture: Three Historical Concepts

Professor H. Richard Niebuhr gave in his book *Christ and Culture* five ways Christians related to culture during the history of the church: (1) Christ against culture, (2) Christ and culture in paradox, (3) Christ the transformer of culture, (4) Christ above culture, and (5) Christ of culture. In the following pages we will only present the first three conceptions, because only those were accepted by Evangelicals during the history. "Christ above culture" is the traditional position of Roman Catholic Church and Eastern Orthodox Church. "Christ of culture" is the conception of Gnostics and liberals.

Richard Niebuhr analyzed in his book the relationship of Christ with culture and not of Christianity with culture, because he intended to emphasize the centrality of Christ in Person. He wrote: "A Christian is ordinarily defined as 'one who believes in Jesus Christ' or as 'a follower of Jesus Christ.' He might more adequately be described as one who counts himself as belonging to that community of men for whom Jesus Christ—his life, words, deeds, and destiny—is of supreme importance as the key to the understanding of themselves and their world, the main source of the knowledge of God and man, good and evil, the constant companion of the conscience, and the expected deliver from evil."¹³

Jesus Christ is more than a great teacher, lawgiver or religion leader. Jesus Christ is the Creator and the Savior of the mankind, the Son of God and the Son of man. The essence of Christianity is not a sum of beliefs or rituals, but a Person: Jesus Christ. For this reason, the author of this article will use Niebuhr's terminology *Christ and culture*, and not Christians or Christianity and culture.

The most common definition of culture in Romania is: "Totality of material and spiritual values created by humanity in the process of social and historical practice, including the institutions required by creation and transmission of these values."¹⁴

Paul G. Hiebert defines culture as: "the more or less integrated systems of ideas, feelings, and values and their associated patterns of behavior and products shared by a group of people who organize and regulate what they think, feel, and do."¹⁵ This is a good definition,

because expresses the three dimensions of culture (cognitive, affective, and evaluative), and the manifestation of culture in patterns of behavior and products.

2.1 The Radical Model: "Christ against Culture"

This was the earliest position Christians had in church history. The roots of this attitude of Christians are in some texts from the New Testament, and especially in 1 John 2. The Apostle John exhorted us to love God and our neighbor, and especially our brothers in Christ, because God loved us first. But also, the Apostle of love commanded us do not love the world:

Do not love the world or anything in the world. If anyone loves the world, the love of the Father is not in him. For everything in the world-- the cravings of sinful man, the lust of his eyes and the boasting of what he has and does-- comes not from the Father but from the world. The world and its desires pass away, but the man who does the will of God lives forever. (1 John 2:15-17).

The term *world* does not mean here the universe created by God or the human race, but "the present condition of human affairs, in alienation from and opposition to God."¹⁶ Niebuhr wrote:

The world appears as a realm under the power of evil; it is the region of darkness, into which the citizens of the kingdom of light must not enter; it is characterized by the prevalence in it of lies, hatred, and murder; it is the heir of Cain. It is a secular society, dominated by the "lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes and the pride of life.¹⁷

Ruler of these new people. The corollary of this conception "was

2.1.1 Prominent Promoters of the "Christ against Culture" position Tertullian

In the second century A.D., Christians started to believe that they constituted a new race besides Jews and Gentile. Jesus Christ established this new race or society, and He is the King and the

the thought that whatever does not belong to the commonwealth of Christ is under the rule of evil. This comes to expression in the doctrine the two ways: ... one of life and one of death."¹⁸ This doctrine devised sharply the Christians from the old society.

One of the church Fathers, Tertullian, promoted very much the position "Christ against culture" by emphasizing the authority of Jesus Christ as Lord. "With this concentration on the Lordship of Jesus Christ Tertullian combines a rigorous morality of obedience to his commandments, including not only love of the brothers but of enemies, nonresistant to evil, prohibitions of anger and the lustful look. He is as strict a Puritan in his interpretation of what Christian faith demands in conduct as one can find."¹⁹

Tertullian prohibited implication of Christians in some area as politics,²⁰ military service,²¹ philosophy,²² and arts.²³ Through his teaching, Tertullian put the basis for the radical anti-cultural movement in the church history.

Tolstoy

The famous Russian writer, Lev Tolstoy, though was noble by birth and wealth by inheritance, was unhappy because of the meaninglessness of his existence and the futility of the values esteemed by his society.

Then he had an experience that changed his life and that transformed his disappear into peace. Tolstoy describes in these words his experience:

I have understood Christ's teaching in his commandments and I see that their fulfillment offers blessedness to me and to all men. I have understood that the execution of these commandments is the will of that Source of all from which my life also has come. In its fulfillment lies the only possibility of salvation. I understood and believed that Jesus is not only the Messiah, the Christ, but that he is really the Savior of the world. I know that there is no other exit either for me or for all those who together with me are tormented in this life. I know that for all, and for me together with them, there is no way of escape except by fulfilling those commands of Christ which offer to all humanity the highest welfare of which I can conceive.²⁴ Tolstoy interpreted the Gospel according to Matthew literally, and he believed that Jesus Christ established His Kingdom on earth by abolishing the Law of Moses and giving a new law, having the following five commandments:²⁵

- 1. Live at peace with all men and never consider your anger against any man justified.
- 2. Do not make the desire for sexual relations an amusement.
- 3. Never take an oath to anyone, anywhere, about anything. Every oath is extorted for evil ends.
- 4. Never resist the evildoer by force, do not meet violence with violence.
- 5. Not to make distinctions one's own and another nations; not to arm oneself for war.

This interpretation of the Sermon on the Mount guided Tolstoy to the conclusions that:

- Christian faith was incompatible with the state;
- "The churches are anti-Christian institutions" by their "pride, violence, and self-assertion, immobility and death"²⁶.
- Philosophy, sciences and arts are not only useless, but bad, because they rest on falsehood.

Christian Groups

The conception "Christ-against-culture" was taken by medieval mystics, and several groups as Mennonites, Quakers, Amish, and Anabaptists.

Though "Christ-against-culture" was the response of Anabaptists to culture, not this was their intention. Stanley Haurwas was right when he wrote:

The early Anabaptists had no desire to withdraw from the world: They were murdered by Calvinist, Lutheran, and Roman Catholic societies because they attempted to be the church. Their withdrawal came in an attempt to prevent people opposed to them ... from killing their children. The Anabaptists did not withdraw. They were driven out.²⁷

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2.1.2 Theological Problems for the Radical Conception

Niebuhr saw four theological problems of conceptions "Christ against culture".²⁸ The first problem is the denigration of "reason "and exaltation of "revelation". But reason is not in opposition with revelation, and reason goes on outside of the Christian sphere. The second problem is that sin is not only outside of man, in the culture; sin is inside of human nature. The isolation from the world does not give the victory over the world. Thirdly, the emphasis on conduct (to be different than the other people from the world) lead to legalism and to neglect the grace of God. "The knottiest theological problem raised by the "Christ against culture" movement is the problem of the relation of Jesus Christ to the Creator of nature and Governor of history as well as to the Spirit immanent in creation and in the Christian community".²⁹

2.2 The Dualist Model: "Christ and Culture in Paradox"

This conception is called "dualist" because it tries to hold together Christ and culture, but also to distinguish "between loyalty to Christ and responsibility for culture."³⁰ This is not the *dualistic* Zoroastrianism of two equal and coexisted from the beginning of two forces: good and evil, symbolized by light and darkness.

The position "Christ and culture in paradox" has the roots in Paul's letters. The Paulin theology is centered on Christ. The righteousness of man cannot be accepted before the Holy God. And the righteousness of Jesus Christ had brought to light the sinfulness of man who tried to please God by his human efforts. For this reason God gave in Christ the perfect righteousness which can reconcile man with God. Identified with Christ in His death on the cross, Paul died to the world and the world died to him. The apostle resurrected with Jesus Christ to live a new life, for the Living God.

All people who had the experience of regeneration constitute a new humanity under the Lordship of Jesus Christ, since the unregenerate mankind, with all their cultural institutions are under the control of sin. But the Christians do not live in isolated communities of the saved. They live among the other people, witnessing to them by the proclamation of the gospel, by a redeemed life and by non-participation in actions and customs as those described in Galatians 5:19-21:

The acts of the sinful nature are obvious: sexual immorality, impurity and debauchery; idolatry and witchcraft; hatred, discord, jealousy, fits of rage, selfish ambition, dissension's, factions and envy; drunkenness, orgies, and the like. I warn you, as I did before, that those who live like this will not inherit the kingdom of God.

The Apostle Paul focused exclusively to the relationship of man with God through Jesus Christ, rejecting any other ways.

The expansion of the new humanity living for God was not past or it still to come: it is now going on. And it is only one way to become member of this new humanity: by salvation in Jesus Christ, and not by changing cultural customs or political system. Paul explained explicitly that the political authority's task from God is not to save men from the sin slavery, but to restrain and expose the sin. In this way Paul is dualist because there are two ethics not necessary contradictory: "the ethics of Christian culture and the culture in which Christian live."³¹ As long as we live on the earth, we need the cultural institutions not because they help us in our life with Christ, but because "they restrain wickedness in a sinful and temporal world."³² But this two ethics cannot be equal in value: one is temporal, another is eternal.

2.2.1 Prominent Promoters of the "Christ and Culture in Paradox" position

Marcion

In the second century, Marcion tried even to eliminate the Old testament in his effort to dissociate Christian faith from Jewish culture. "He recognized two moralities, the ethics of justice and the ethics of love; but the former was inextricably bound up with corruption, and Christ lived, preached, and communicated only the latter."³³

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Luther

The great reformer Martin Luther is the most prominent representative of this position through his writings: *Treatise on Christian Liberty*, and *Against the Robbing and Murdering Hordes of Peasants*. The duality is evident in Luther's thinking when he wrote:

From faith flow forth love and joy in the Lord and from love a joyful, willing and free mind that serves one's neighbor willingly and takes no account of gratitude or ingratitude, of praise or blame, of gain or loss... For as his Father does, distributing all things to all men richly and freely, causing His sun to shine upon the good and upon the evil, so also the son does all things and suffers all things with that freely bestowing joy which is his delight when through Christ he sees it in God, the dispenser of such great benefits.³⁴

On the other hand he wrote: "A prince or a lord must remember that he is God's minister and the servant of His wrath to whom the sword is committed for use upon such fellows. Here there is no time for sleeping; no place for patience or mercy. It is the time of the sword, not the day of grace."³⁵

Luther did not divide the life in Christ and the life in culture, the Kingdom of God and the Kingdom of the world. Though one of the two spheres (church and state) originated in God was perverted by sin, Christians have to live in both spheres, because Christ is absolute Lord, He is Lawgiver as well as Savior, Master as well as Redeemer.

The practical consequences are that the Christians may and must be involved in philosophy³⁶, in arts³⁷, in commerce³⁸, political activities³⁹, and even military career⁴⁰. Luther limited the usage of the force for Christians only to defend the neighbors when they have been entrusted with care of others as fathers or governors.

2.2.2 Theological Problems for the Dualist Conception

The dualist conception integrated well the dynamic character of God, and the biblical truths about man, grace and sin. With this understanding of the dynamic existence, the dualists revitalized both: Christian knowledge and Christian action. The dualists were accused that they relativized all the laws of society or of reason.

Another objection was that the conservatism is the logical consequences of seeing state only as a restraining force against sin, without positive institutions. The wrath of God is revealed not only against the sin, but also against the entire world with its temporal institutions. For this reason, the Christians are not motivated to be very much involved in this transitory and dying world.

2.3 The Conversionist Model: "Christ the Transformer of Culture"

The conversionist point of view has many similarities with the dualist conception, but there are also some differences. "What distinguishes conversionists from dualists is their more positive and hopeful attitude toward culture."⁴¹

The conversionists are not concentrated only to the redemption in Christ as dualists do, but also on the creation, because Christ is not only the Savior, but also the Creator. The Apostle Paul wrote: "For by him all things were created: things in heaven and on earth, visible and invisible, whether thrones or powers or rulers or authorities; all things were created by him and for him. He is before all things, and in him all things hold together." (Col. 1:16-17). And the Apostle John told us that "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. He was with God in the beginning. Through him all things were made; without him nothing was made that has been made." (John 1:1-3). Later, "the Word became flesh and made his dwelling among us." (John 1:14)

Another theological conviction specific to conversionists is the better understanding of the fall. The consequence of the fall is not that man became evil, but he became corrupted. His good nature from the creation became a perverted, a twisted, and misdirected nature. For this reason, culture is corrupted, not evil. Culture must be converted, not replace.

The third characteristic of the model "Christ the Transformer of culture" is the view of history under God's control:

For the exclusive Christian, history is the story of a rising church or Christian culture and a dying pagan civilization; for the cultural Christian, it is the story of the spirit's encounter with nature; for the synthesis, it is a period of preparation under law, reason, gospel, and church for an ultimate communion of the soul with God; for the dualist, history is the time of struggle between faith and unbelief, a period between the giving of the promise life and its fulfillment.⁴²

The conversionists defend their position with many biblical passages, but the most conversionist document seems to be the forth Gospel. They state that the Apostle John is a conversionist.⁴³

2.3.1 Prominent Promoters of the "Christ the Transformer of Culture" position

Augustine

Augustine expected that human society to be regenerated by the replacement of the pagan by the Trinitarian principles. His theology influenced the history, helping the conversion of the Roman Empire from a Caesar-centered society, to a medieval Christendom.

Christ is the transformer of culture for Augustine in the sense that he redirects, reinvigorates, and regenerates that life of man, expressed in all human works, which in present actuality is the perverted and corrupted exercise of a fundamentally good nature; which, moreover, in its depravity lies under the curse of transience and death, not because an external punishment has been visited upon it, but because it is intrinsically self-contradictory.⁴⁴

Calvin

The position of the great reformer John Calvin was very similar with Augustine's conception. For Calvin, the fallen and perverted human nature corrupted culture and made human society a means to transmit this depravity.

The church and state came from God. The state is God's minister not only with a negative role, to restrain evil, but positively

in the promotion of welfare. Human society is corrupt, but it must be influenced by the church, to become God's kingdom. This is an eschatological hope that Christ will transform human culture in the new creation.

3. Evangelicals and Culture in Post-Communist Romania

Prior to the Revolution of December 1989, the Evangelical churches adopted firmly the position "Christ against culture". The new religious freedom from December 1989 became a precious opportunity for Christians to share the gospel. The Evangelical movement knew a rapid expansion because Romanians were hungry for the Word of God and many of them received Jesus Christ as their Savior.

3.1 The "Migration" of the Evangelical Culture into the Romanian Culture

The doors which were once closed during communism now opened widely to the Evangelicals. Christians became involved in education, legislation, management and even politics.⁴⁵ This active presence was beneficial for the Christianity, because more and more people heard the gospel.

In the first years of freedom, Evangelicals had to explain to the Romanians that "bourgeois democracy was established primarily to give the individual freedom from the traditional cultural, social and political restrains of the feudal-medieval world."⁴⁶ In democracy, the majority must respect the rights of the minority. The change from Marxist collectivism to democracy gave Christians the opportunity to present Evangelical movement as a distinct component of the Romanian culture. Evangelicals are not a threat for the Romanian culture; on contrary, their pleading in public debates was that Evangelicals enrich the cultural spectrum of Romania by the Reform heritage.

The religious freedom was used by Evangelicals to help Romanians to turn back to God. They started in a short period of time numerous new churches, and missions. In Christian publishing/ printing houses they printed Christian books, magazines, and newspapers. In the new Bible institutes they train many ministers. In schools organized according to western colleges, students learn how to do social work as a ministry. The Christian orphanages and Christians medical clinics opened in Romania were very appreciated by society.

In the Christian universities established by the Evangelical denominations, students learn how to teach Christianity in public schools. In the academic world, Evangelicals started to bring their contribution, enriching the Romanian culture.

The most powerful instrument to penetrate the Romanian society was the Evangelical radios and televisions. Also, the internet became a very good instrument to promote the Evangelical culture, through the dedicated pages for theology, education, apologetics, and by broadcasting live the church services.

The result was that the value of the Evangelical culture became to be appreciated by the society. For example, in 2016, Evangelicals and the Orthodox Church worked together to change the article 48 from the Romanian constitution, in order to specify that the marriage is the union between a man and a woman. As a result, over 3 million people signed this improvement of the constitution. Also, in 2015 and 2016, in many places, Evangelicals worked together with the Orthodox Church to help the Budnariu family from Norway take back their children, and other families abused by Norway authorities.

3.1.1 Looking Forward

All these goals were achieved in two decades, with a tremendous effort of Christians, and without a well-defined strategy from the beginning. The Evangelicals were in this time of religious freedom as culturally conquerors in a territory that was hostile for long time.

Now it is time to organize and to establish strategies. One of them is what would be the relationship between Evangelicals and culture. The author of this article agrees with Dr. Okholm opinion that "the church is to be both transformationist *and* counterculture".⁴⁷ The "traditional" tendency is to be radical. But in some situation Evangelicals must have the conception "Christ against culture", in other domains the conceptions "Christ the Transformer of culture" is biblical. But what do Evangelicals have to do practically: In the author's opinion, Evangelicals from Romania must focus their efforts toward a few directions.

3.2.1. Lifestyle

Evangelicals must live a holy and humble life as Jesus Christ did. The church must remember what was good in the Evangelical traditions of Pietism and Puritanism. Useful distinctions did the Consultation on Simple Lifestyle from Hoddesdon, England, on March 17-21, 1980: "We also accept the distinction between necessities and luxuries, creative hobbies and empty status symbols, modesty and vanity, [...] and between the service of God and slavery to fashion".⁴⁸

This lifestyle will be a strong base to promote Christ in the Romanian culture. By being salt and light (Matthew 5:13-16), Evangelicals promote the conception "Christ against culture" in the domain were the Romanian culture is dominated by moral corruption and spiritual darkness, avoiding syncretism and compromise.⁴⁹

3.2.2. Promoting Evangelical Christianity as part of the Romanian Culture

The Romanian culture has some characteristics so different from the Bible that some characteristics of the Christian lifestyle are strange for them. For this reason, Evangelicals must continue to promote biblical culture as a distinctive and legitime part of the modern multicultural Romanian society.⁵⁰They must do this not in order to promote Evangelicals in the country, but to have freedom to present the Christ of the Bible to the Romanians.

In this way, Evangelicals will not struggle with the strong opposition from the public opinion which considers them cults.⁵¹

3.2.3. Contextalization

Though Evangelicals came in Romania more than one and half century ago, the effort to contextualize the gospel was almost totally neglected. For this reason, an Evangelical American feels more at home in an Evangelical church than in secular Romania. In worshiping God in churches belt according western model, Evangelicals sing German or English songs, and they teach American theology. In order to contextualize, Evangelicals started already to also use in their services Romanian music for the Christian songs, but they must change more than that. This contextualization must come not from foreign missionaries (they are happy that we are how we are), but from the Romanian Evangelical church itself, to be more relevant in the country. They must have the good balance stated in *The Lausanne Covenant*:

Because man is God's creature, some of his culture is rich in beauty and goodness. Because he has fallen, all of it is tainted with sin and some of it is demonic. The Gospel does not presuppose the superiority of any culture to another, but evaluates all cultures according to its own criteria of truth and righteousness, and insists on moral absolutes in every culture.⁵²

3.2.4 Socio-Political Involvement as Christians

Christians who are called to be involved in politics must stand for Christian values, and especially for righteousness, during this time when the moral issues have increasingly moved into the political arena, and when in Romania many laws are changed.

"We affirm", declared *The Laussanne Covenant*, "that God is both the Creator and the Judge of all men. We affirm that evangelism and socio-political involvement are both part of our Christian duty. For both are necessary expressions of our doctrines of God and man, our love for our neighbor and our obedience to Jesus Christ."⁵³

The church itself should be involved in social work, not only Christian organizations or individual Evangelicals. The church must be involved first of all in social work toward its members. In Romania, the poverty affects the life of a large part of population.

Though individual Evangelicals can be involved in politics, the church must remain separate from state, and play its vital role in society by fulfilling its spiritual purpose. The primary task of church is to preach and teach the eternal Word of God, not to deal with temporal issues of politics which can alienate people who think differently in political matters. In moral and spiritual issues, the church should critique society, without seeking political power. 440 HARVARD SQUARE SYMPOSIUM 2/2016 | THE PHENOMENON OF MIGRATION

3.2.5 Evangelical Education

Evangelicals must continue to extend the Christian formal education from the kindergarten, elementary school, till university level, in order to equip people with the Christian eternal values. The benefits will be manifested in the next generations.⁵⁴R. C. Sproul wrote that Christians must invest not only in theological education, but also in science, because `our world cries for talented Christian scientists!".⁵⁵

Evangelicals have to remember that Christ transforms the Romanian culture by saving persons individual, one by one.

NOTES

¹ Daniel Maris, "Human Rights within a Large Orthodox Post-Communist Country," *European Journal of Science and Theology* (October 2013): 73-80.

² Ieremia Rusu, *Ecclesiology of the Romanian Open Brethren* (Cluj-Napoca: Risoprint Publishing House, 2015), 33.

³ http://www.cultulpenticostal.ro/despre-noi/ (Last accessed August 10, 2016)

⁴ Ioan-Gheorghe Rotaru, Dan Iulian Opriș, Beniamin Roșca-Năstăsescu, *O istorie a adventismului de ziua a șaptea din România. Premise,* vol. I, (București: Casa de Editură Viață și Sănătate, 2009), 324.

⁵ Romania became a communist country under the threat of the Soviet tanks, and not through an electoral process, because the Romanian Communist Party had in 1945 less than 1,000 members.

⁶ Furthermore, the communist propaganda accused the Evangelicals to be foreign spies. The reason for this was the solidarity shown by the Christians from Western countries with the Romanian Christians persecuted for their faith in the Lord Jesus Christ. The political pressure exerted by the Western countries, especially by U.S. upon the Romanian government to stop the religious persecution, created big problems to communists.

⁷ Many parents, in order to protect their children against the atheist propaganda, did not allow a TV set or a radio in their home.

⁸ Gene Edward Veith Jr., *Postmodern Times: A Christian Guide to Contemporary Thought and Culture*, (Wheaton, IL: Crossway Books, 1994), 210-211.

⁹ Ioan-Gheorghe Rotaru, "Aspecte ale secularizării și ale omului secularizat", *Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai, Theologia Orthodoxa*, (2006), L-LI, nr.1, Cluj-Napoca, Cluj University Press, 251-266.

¹⁰ Anthony King, in his article "Architecture, Capital and the Globalization of Culture" (*Global Culture*, edited by Mike Featherstone, London: SAGE Publication,

1990), wrote on page 409: "... there is indeed a world or global culture which is largely the product of a world political economy of capitalism, as well as being the outcome of its technological and communicative effects."

¹¹ Jerry Falwell, *Listen America* (New York: Doubleday, 1980), 187.

¹² *Ibidem*, 192.

¹³ Richard H. Niebuhr, *Christ and Culture*, (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1956), 11.

¹⁴ *Dictionarul Explicativ al Limbii Romane,* (Bucharest: Editura Academiei, 1984).

¹⁵ Paul G. Hiebert, *Anthropological Insight for Missionaries*, (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1985), 30.

¹⁶ W. E. Vine & F. F. Bruce, *Vine's Expository Dictionary of Biblical Words,* Electronic Edition (Old Tappan, NJ: Logos Research Systems, 1996).

¹⁷ Niebuhr, *Christ and Culture*, 48.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, 50.

¹⁹ Ibidem, 52.

²⁰ Tertullian, *Apology*, XXXVIII. "As those in whom all ardor in the pursuit of honor and glory is dead, we have no pressing inducement to take part in your public meetings; nor is there ought more entirely foreign to us than affairs of state."

²¹ Tertullian, *De Corona*, XI. "How shell the son of peace take part in battle when it does not become him even to sue at law?"

²² In *Prescription Against Heretics*, VII, Tertullian wrote against the Christians who tried to establish a connection between Christianity and the Greek philosophy: "Away with all attempts to produce a mottled Christianity of Stoic, Platonic and dialectic composition. We want no curious disputation after possessing Jesus Christ. With our faith we desire no further belief"

²³ Tertullian, *On Idolatry*, X. "Learning literature is allowable for believers", but teaching it not, because it is impossible for a professor of literature to avoid teaching "the praises of idols".

²⁴ Tolstoy, "What I Believe", Works, Vol. XI, 447-448.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, 163-167.

²⁶ Tolstoy, "The Kingdom of God is Within You", Works, Vol.XX, 82.

²⁷ Stanly Hauerwas & William Willimon, *Resident Aliens* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1989), p. 40.

²⁸ Niebuhr, *Christ and Culture*, 76-82.

²⁹ *Ibidem*, 80.

³⁰ Ibidem, 149.

³¹ *Ibidem*, 166

³² *Ibidem*, 167.

³³ *Ibidem*, 169.

³⁴ Works of Martin Luther (Philadelphia, 1915-1932), Vol. II, 338.

³⁵ Ibidem, Vol. IV, 251.

³⁶ Niebuhr, *Christ and Culture*, 174: "In a person regenerate and enlightened by the Holy Spirit through the Word, the natural wisdom of man is a fair and glorious instrument and work of God."

³⁷ *Ibidem*, 175: "Music, said Luther, is a noble gift of God, next to theology. I would not change my little knowledge of music for a great deal."

³⁸ Works of Martin Luther (Philadelphia, 1915-1932), Vol. IV, 13. "Commerce is open to the Christians for buying and selling are necessary. They cannot be dispensed with and can be practiced in a Christian manner."

³⁹ *Ibidem*, Vol. III, 230 ff. "Secular Authority: To What Extent It Should be Obeyed".

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, Vol. V, 34 ff. "Whether Soldiers, Too, Can Be Saved".

⁴¹ Niebuhr, *Christ and Culture*, 191.

⁴² *Ibidem*, 195.

bidem, 196-206.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, 209.

⁴⁵ Immediately after revolution, people had chosen their leaders. They tried to find trustful and uncorrupted persons to lead them, and Evangelicals were such of people. Many Evangelicals became in this way involved in politics or in local leadership of communities, as mayor for example.

⁴⁶ Reinhold H. Niebuhr, *The Children of Light and the Children of Darkness*, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1972), 42.

⁴⁷ Dennis Okholm, *Culture against Christ*, Wheaton College.

⁴⁸ An Evangelical Commitment to Simple Lifestyle. Hoddesdon, Englad, March 17-21, 1980, Art.5.

⁴⁹ Timothy Keller, *Center Church*, (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2012), 230-232.

⁵⁰ Ioan-Gheorghe Rotaru, "Religious Freedom and the Spirit in Which it Should Be Defended", *Liberty Today – Trends & Attitudes*, nr. 1/2014, Bern, Switzerland, 61-63.

⁵¹ The convertions transform not only the inner life of the people, but also many of their customs and behaviors. Orlando E. Costas wrote in his article *Conversion as a Complex Experience*: "It is true that the Gospel frees Christians to fully identify with and participate in the joys and hops, the values and life struggles of their society, but at the same time, they must maintain a critical distance so as to be able to detect any form of idolatry or any attempt to absolutes a given practice, person, group, institution or vision."

⁵² *The Lausanne Covenant*, July 1974, Art. 10.

⁵³ *Ibidem*, Art. 5.

⁵⁴ Albert R. Mohler, Jr., *Culture Shift: Engaging current issues with timeless truth*, (Colorado Springs, CO: Multnomah Books, 2008), 65-72.

⁵⁵ R. C. Sproul, *Lifeviews: Make a Christian Impact on Culture and Society*, (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1994), 169-170.