The Burning Bush of the Mother of God – a Movement of Spiritual and Literary Renewal

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Notre étude essaie de mettre en évidence l'aspect spirituel du mouvement «Rugul Aprins» qui a marqué la culture roumaine juste après la deuxième guerre mondiale.
C'est un phénomène culturel de résistance contre le communisme "un phénomène de résistance spirituelle orthodoxe" dans une période quand cette doctrine athée voulait s'installer.
L'idée fondamentale de ce mouvement était la déification de l'homme par la répetition perpetuelle de la prière de Jésus. C'était une altérnative chrétienne, "une université libre, une académie avec des sujets orthodoxes qui a englobé toute une aire spirituelle" [1].

Mots-clés : Rugul Aprins al Maicii Domnului, movement spirituel, histoire culturelle

The Burning Bush represents the spiritual movement that suggests the unsubstantial fire that burned but never consumed: "And the angle of the lord sappeared unto him in a flame of fire out of the midst of a bush:and he looked, and behold, the bush burned with fire, and the bush was not consumed" (Exodus 3, 2), a symbol representing both the Mother of God eternaly Virgin and the prayer of Jesus: "I am come to send fire on the earth; and what will I, if it be already kindled!" (Luke 12, 49).

According to the remark of father André Scrima, the example of Moses ("I am that I am" – Exodus 3, 14), for which this expression may mean "I am that I am" I will be with you meaning that I will be present for you, represents the traditional exegesis through wich the Christian must discover within himself the image of Christ in order to confess Him in the world. Each one of us is called to become king, priest and teacher, and becomes all these things in proportion as he accepts the dialogue with God, the same way that Moses did, travelling to the hidden centre of his being.

The Romanian phenomenon *The Burning Bush*, appeared during the Second World War, but developed mostly in the first years after the War, especially in Bucharest. Although it didn't last long, this phenomenon must be emphasized upon because, both through its content and the personalities that generated it, it must be included and "remembered by the vast history of the Romanian spirituality and culture. At least tangetially, it must be underlined and remarked also as a

[1] Hieroschemamonk Daniil Sandu Tudor, *Taina Rugului Aprins*, *Foreword by* Prof. Gheorghe Vasilescu, Anastasia Pulishers, Bucharest, 1999, p. 18.

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phenomenon of attitude, in a period of dramatic confrontation between the forces of good and those of evil, in the recent history of the Romanians"[2].

Romania was, during 1944-1945, in front of what was going to be "an occupation identical with a military one, rough and of long duration of the Romanian soul"[3].

Consequently, the movement *The Burning Bush* must aso be included among the first and daring clear actions of "Orthodox spiritual resistence against communism"[4], in a period in which it tried to strike root in Romania as a consequence of "the great Western haggling and betrail from Yalta"[5].

For the intelectuals from Antim, *The Burning Bush* is a letter from the *Holy Scripture*, and the anniversary of this movement, the 4th of September, constitutes "the moment and the place of return in spirit of all those who have been blessed with the love for hesychasm living and knowledge"[6].

The bush that burns continuously and never consumes becomes the symbol of the Christian duration under the fire of the trouble come upon our people from the atheist East.

The essence of principle of the *Burning Bush* has been the deification of man through the continuous pronunciation of Jesus' name.

To speak about the *Burning Bush* means to speak about a certain epoch (age), an epoch of Romanian cuture and spirituality. And within the Romanian spirituality, of a certain period from the life of our Church. *The Burning Bush* has been a turning point in which both the Church, through its people and the Romanian culture through its people "have tried to adopt an attitude and to create an atmosphere of battle and resistence. The word means also the state of culture"[7]. *The Burning Bush* is also the symbol of the Mother of God, who stood like a burning bush, that never consumed, even though she was the instrument through which God became visible on earth.

The communist leaders saw in this movement a clandestine organization "a subversive reunion, that promoted activities hostile to the social order of the state"[8], the real oficial entitling during the trial is not "The Burning Bush", but "The Alexandru Teodorescu Group and others"[9].

This movement was founded in 1945, under the patronage of the Antim Monastery in Bucharest, by Sandu Tudor, as a response to his preocupations to discover the theological meaning of the world and is oriented towards three

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[2] Antonie Plămădeală, *The Burning Bush*, no publishing house, Sibiu, 2002, p. 18.
[3] *Ibidem*.
[4] *Ibidem*.
[5] *Ibidem*.
[6] Mihai Rădulescu, *Apprehension. Conviction. Acquittal*, Agapis Publishing House, Bucharest, 2003, p. 17.
[7] Antonie Plămădeală, *op. cit.*, p. 37.
[8] Mihai Rădulescu, *op. cit.*, p. 72.
[9] *Ibidem*.

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directions: a) cultural act; b) political act; c) spiritual act. Students and and great personalities of the time, laics and monks adhered to this movement.

In 1950, the meetings of the movement have been forbidden, because it had become inconvenient for the communist authorities. On the 14th of June 1958, all the members of *The Burning Bush* have been arrested[10].

The Burning Bush marks in the Romanian spirituality and culture a moment of continuity. It joined a certain level of spirituality in the Romanian religious life, it marked certain changes and orientations in it and thus it deserves to be a part of the Romanian religious history: "*The Burning Bush* wanted to emphasize on Christianism's most profound elements, on those that were strongly connected with its origins and wanted to develop a mission in a world in which its existence was forbidden"[11].

In the history of the Romanian spirituality, after the Paisie Velicicovschi moment and after de Calinic of Cernica moment, *The Burning Bush* is considered to be the third moment through which we were being prepared to enter the great darkness of fifty years of atheism. This preparation was accomplished through the inner prayer, that was going to support the survivalof the Romanian people.

The Burning Bush moment was preceded by the moment from Sâmbăta de Sus with father Arsenie Boca; the Slatina Monastery moment with father Cleopa; the 1936 moment, the literary group "Thought and letter", founded at the Antim Monastery as well which had the following members: archimandrite Iuliu Scriban, Mircea Vulcănescu, Paul Sterian and Sandu Tudor. In the same time, there were also other groups active: "The Hobgoblin" conducted by E. Lovinescu, and "Literary Dialogs". Another moment before *The Burning Bush* is also the *Cernăuţi* Moment, called "Seven Days of Vigil": "Sandu Tudor together with father Benedict organizes a meeting dedicated to reflection and prayer, from the 1st to the 7th of August 1943, under the protection of the Transfiguration. Fortunately, they were welcomed to Cernăuţi by the Metropolitan of Moldavia and Bucovina: Tit Simedrea [...] the group, thus, reunited in this north of Romania at that time, according to a well designed schedule, that was distributed to participants in brochures. The day was divided between the office of the Liturgy, meditation hours and personal prayer, work session, open discussions"[12]. Among the participants we would like to mention: Paul Sterian, Alexandru Elian, Constantin Noica, Alexandru Mironescu and Sandu Tudor, who participated with the closing paper of the conferences from Cernăuţi, *The Prayer of the Heart and the Holy Hesychia*. The programme that was published here had a very significant motto: "Redeem the time, because the days are evil" (Ephesians 5, 16), which idicates the fact that the

[10] According to Cristian Vasile, *The Romanian Orthodox Church in the first communist decade*, Cartea Veche Publishing House, Bucharest, 2005.

[11] Antonie Plămădeală, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

[12] André Scrima, *The Time of the Burning Bush – The spiritual Master in the Eastern Tradition*, Humanitas Press, Bucharest, 2000, p. 141.

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initiatiors and the participants to those seven days of vigil were fully aware of the fact that they found themselves in a historical moment, in a moment of danger.

We are talking about a *hesychast programme* very well thought and put together by authorized people. This programme would be resumed at Antim Monastery through conferences, followed by discussions and secret prayer. We offer as an example the programme from Cernăuţi:

Sunday, 1st of August 1943: Rev. Nicolae M. Popescu, *Calendar and Vigil*; Alexandru Elian, *From Icon to Confession*;

Monday, 2nd of August: Alexandru Mironescu, *The Relics of Saint Stephen and the Everlastingness of the Body*;

Tuesday, 3rd of August: Anton Dumitriu: *Knowledge and Asceticism*;

Wednesday, 4th of August: Paul Sterian: *The seven Youths of Ephesus and the Proofs of the Resurrection*;

Thursday, 5th of August: Constantin Noica: *Pathos and Patmos*;

Friday, 6th of August: Petru Manoliu: *Transfiguration and the delivering Beauty*;

Saturday, 7th of August: archimandrite Benedict Ghiuş: *Confessor and Healing*; Sandu Tudor: *The Prayer of the Heart and the Holy Hesychia*.

When *The Burning Bush* constituted in Bucharest, around 1945, the times were indeed "evil". What was started in Cernăuţi, both with hope and with fear, receives in Bucharest a new dimension, that of entering in an apocalyptical period, of preparing for "the entrance of the souls into catacombs". The Burning Bush was the preparation for the entrance in the Great Communist Darkness. The mystic password of Christian survival was *the isolation*, the sheltering into the mystery of *Jesus' Prayer*.

Only after this moment from Cernăuţi came *The Burning Bush*.

Father Daniil was at the origins of the event from Cernăuţi, before becoming a monk. Here's how Metropolitan Antonie Plămădeală describes him: "Always elegant, dressed in expensive costumes designed by the latest fashion, with moustache and goatee, with penetrating eyes, Sandu Tudor was a handsome man, fully aware of his great intelligence, with a slightly acquizitive attitude sometimes, superior and sarcastic. The others hardly had any acces to the conversation where he was"[13].

The members of The Burning Bush

One may distinguish between two periods: 1. 1945-1950 – Constitution and consolidation; 2. 1953-1958 – a period of rediscovery and profound study of the theological dimensions. In 1949, father Daniil (Sandu Tudor) is arrested for the first time, and the activity moves from Antim Monastery to Neamţ Monastery.

The group from Antim included: a) monks: fathers: Sofian Boghiu, Benedict Ghiuş, Petroniu Tănase, Dumitru Stăniloae, Felix Dubneac, Antonie Plămădeală,

[13] Antonie Plămădeală, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

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Adrian Făgeţeanu, Roman Braga, novices: André Scrima and Anghel Papacioc, archimandrites Vasile and Haralambie Vasilache; b) laics: writer and publicist Sandu Tudor, doctor and poet Vasile Voiculescu, professor and writer Alexandru Codin Mironescu and his son, Şerban, the man of culture Paul Sterian, doctor Gheorghe Dabija, writer Marcel Avramescu, professor Alexandru Elian, collector Paul Constantinescu, mathematician Valentin Poenaru, architect Constantin Joja, writer I. M. Sadoveanu, professor Octav Onicescu, professor Tudor Vianu, Mircea Vulcănescu, poet Ioan Barbilian; c) orthodox students from ATOS (Asociation of the Orthodox Students), students: Virgil Stancovici, Virgil Cândea, Roman Bragă, Mihail Rădulescu, Nicolae Nicolau, Nicolae Bordaşiu.

The members of The Burning Bush met on Sunday afetrnoons, listened to the religious offices, studied the writings of the Holy Fathers, explained the divine services (Monday – the Holy Liturgy with its traditional symbolism; Tuesday – the Holy Liturgy from a musical point of view; Wednesday – the Holy Liturgy from an iconographic point of view, Thursday – the Holy Liturgy from an artistic point of view).

They also met in the library of the monastery where they held theological conferences.

A numerous and varied audience used to participate to the meetings of the group.

The untiring and always useful quotes of the lectures, the pertinent explanations rwquired by the varied apperceptive level of the audience, the personalities of the speakers and the availability of the listeners, enabled the spiritual osmosis that was created at Antim.

Many people heard mentioned there for the first time the names of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, Evagrius Ponticus, Maximus the Confessor, John Damascene, Gregory Palamas and other Saint Fathers of the Church.

The essence of the lectures was of an apologetic type, there were no polemics with other religions or cults. The Christianism of the grup from Antim was not only a cultural phenomenon or a refined intellectual exercise, but especially an inner need, a request of the soul. Christ was alive and active in them, He was The One True God, that revealed Himself more clearly, as they were looking for Him more ardently.

The Burning Bush and the communist authorities

The conflict was an ideological one: the first wanted a spiritual renewal of the nation, the latter wanted to suppress it, until the "levelling down" of the consciences. But, paradoxically, the bigger the oppression was the bigger the spiritual resistence. The clear motives of the arrest of the members of The Burning Bush were the following: "writing, multiplication and distribution of materials hostile to the social order of the country" or "slander of the Soviet Union and of the social order of that state [...] or contacting some legionary elements, organizing in

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legionary clandestine actions [...] where the possibility of eliminating the sociopolitical regime in Romania was discussed"[14].

Father Daniil Tudor – accelerator and organizer of the *Burning Bush*

The Burning Bush, as a spiritual movement, is, in fact, the work of father hieroschemamonk Daniil Tudor from Rarău Hermitage, his last place of reclusory.

We must say "clearly, leaving no room for interpretations: the Initiator of *«The Burning Bush» was father Daniil Tudor*, formerly known as Sandu Tudor, the pseudonym of Alexandru Teodorescu, writer, peot, who founded in 1932, in Bucharest, the literary review «The firey Flower» and, in 1933, another review, «The Faith». He was their owner and director. As a monk at Antim Monastery and as an abbot at the Crasna-Gorj Hermitage, he received the name Agathon. The name Daniil was given to him as a schemamonk at Sihla Neamţ"[15].

A complex and contradictory personality, very little known to nowadays generations, Father Daniil (Sandu) Tudor is considered to be the organizer of *The Burning Bush*, a spiritual movement which "consumed within a pick of intellectuals from Bucharest who wanted to achieve, with the help of the Fathers of Philokalia and the Desert Fathers, the joys of the Holy Ghost and which would acquire its real dimensions in the historical perspective"[16].

Alexandru Teodorescu was born in 1896, on the 24th of December, in Bucharest, son of Sofia and Alexandru Teodorescu (a retired judge and president of the Court of Appeal from Ploieşti). He had two brothers, Ovidiu and Mircea.

He completed his first studies in Ploieşti. In 1914 he was mobilized, and in 1916 he went to the battlefield as a sublieutenant. In 1921 he returned to Bucharest and resumed his life as a publicist and began studying painting at the Academy of Fine Arts. In 1924 he returns to the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters which he had left "unable to bear its boredom". He would graduate from it in 1928, expressing his will to act in the world of letters. Subsequently he would be named substitute teacher at the Rural High School in Pogoanele.

He started with his pseudonym Sandu Tudor in 1925 with the volume of poetry *Comornic*, and in 1927 he wrote the religious poem: *Akathist of our Allpious Father Saint Dimitrie the New, the Shepherd from Basarabov*, which he received in 1928 the blessing of the Saint Council of the Romanian Orthodox Church to publish.

He collaborated with the review "The Thinking", under the direction of Nichifor Crainic.

In 1929, he was granted a scholarship, and he visited the Saint Mount Athos, where he found out tht the truth does not lie in books, and the redeeming gain that he found here was Jesus' Prayer.

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[14] André Scrima, *The Time of the Burning Bush…*, p. 27.

[15] Antonie Plămădeală, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

[16] Hieroschemamonk Daniil Sandu Tudor, *The Mystery of the Burning Bush, Foreward* by professor Gheorghe Vasilescu, Anastasia Publishers, Bucharest, 1999, p. 5.

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In 1930 he printed the weekly review "The Fiery Flower" which would last until 1936. Collaborators: Alexandru Sahia, Ion Călugărul, Eugen Ionescu, Mircea Vulcănescu, Constantin Noica, Emil Cioran, Nae Ionescu.

Between 1933-1938 he publishes the paper *The Faith*, an idependent, popular daily paper, of political and spiritual fight, where he has Zaharia Stancu, Cicerone Theodorescu and Eugen Jebeleanu as main collaborators. The paper fought against antisemitism.

In 1936 he wrote two articles: *The Gorilla with Helmet and Mask*, in which he commented on the agression of Mussolini against Ethiopia, and *The blonde Beast, the dark Beast*, an article written against Hitler and Mussolini.

Between 1939-1941 he was called-up reservist on the battlefield. When he returned he was named commander and professor of a technical school. In 1942 he was arrested by the General Safety together with other writers of the left and admitted to Târgu Jiu. He was released and went back to fight until 1944, when he returned home to find out that his third marriage was "bankrupt". He decided to "serve only to Christ. I am sick of transience".

In 1945 he joined the community from Antim Monastery: "[…] the fact that I've become a monk has been for me the most natural and just achievement of my life"[17].

In 1948 (September), brother Tudor became a monk and received the name Agathon, and in March 1950 he became a priest on behalf of the Crasna Monastery (Gorj), Archiepiscopate of Craiova. Also, in 1950, hieromonk Agathon was arrested with the charge of fascism and hostile attitude towoards the government and the new communist order. He was sentenced to five years of tough detention to the Danube-Black Sea Canal. He was released after almost three years, he returned to Neamţ Monastery, and in 1952 he received the *great schema*, under the name of Daniil, ordained by Father Cleopa. In 1953 he joined the comunity of Slatina Monastery and became superior of Rarău Hermitage. Father Sofian Boghiu said about father Daniil: "Hieromonk Daniil, superior at Rarău Hermitage in Bucovina continued there as well the work of *The Burning Bush* until 1958 when he was arrested"[18].

On the 14th of June 1958 he was arrested and picked up from the house of Alexandru Mironescu (Bucharest), together with the latter and with his son, Şerban, accused of "crime of conspiracy", mystical activity against the working class. He was sent to the Military Court in Bucharest, in a gorup of sixteen intellectuals, called "the Alexandru teodorescu group and others", consisting of clerics and laics who formed the steady centre of the Group *The Burning Bush*. Amongst those who were convicted we mention: Alexandru Teodorescu, Sofian Boghiu, Felix Dubneac, Arsenie Papacioc, Alexandru Mironescu, Gheorghe Văsâi, Şerban Mironescu, Nicolae Rădulescu, Grigorie-Dan Pistol, Gheorghe Dabija, Vasile Voiculescu, Dumitru Stăniloae, Emanoil Mihăilescu. Father Daniil was

[17] Antonie Plămădeală, *op. cit.*, p. 6.
[18] Hieroschemamonk Daniil Sandu Tudor, *The Mystery of the Burning Bush…*, p. 145.

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sentenced to 25 years of tough detention, 10 years loss of civic rights and seizure of all his possesions. He was amongst the few priests who had to wear chains; he followed the road of prisons: Uranus, Jilava, Gherla, and he got to Aiud in 1960 severely ill of rheumatism and tuberculosis.

There were times, when, at the end of his human resistence, he would tell his collegues that he was afraid of losing his conscience and will and give up.for his resistence he was convicted to spend most of his time at "the black".

Father Daniil died on the 17th of November 1962, at 1 am after a brutal beating with the boots and cudgels in his head and stomach, brought to the hospital in profound coma, with maximum cerebral hemorrhage in his ventricals.

He was put to rest in a common grave, and at his head there was a board with his prisoner number on it. Information about his death: Teofil Dumbrăveanu, writer from Suceava, testified that the prisoners called father Daniil "the saint"[19]; [...] "on the way to the cemetery "Three Poplars", when they were getting out of the gate, they stabbed himin the heart with an iron spear to check wheather he was alive or dead"[20]; "[...] the youngmen who dug a ditch in prison, found a skeleton with chains on its feet and thought that this was the prisoner Daniil the Saint"[21].

When he found out about Father Daniil's death, hierodeacon Bartolomeu Anania, gathered a few priests from prison and said prayers for him secretly.

Father Iustin Pârvu said: "Let's comemorate father Daniil Tudor each year, on the 17th of November and pray to God that his saint relics will eventually be discovered"[22].

All those from *The Burning Bush* who have passed through prison felt in a permanent communion, and so *The Burning Bush* never disapperaed. "Only Sandu Tudor never came back! He died in Aiud. He may be canonized! [...] he was put to prison for *The Burning Bush*, for his faith. He wasn't imprisoned because he promoted legionary politics because he wasn't legionary. He died in prison for his faith! [...] a cross must be bult for him at Rarău, from where he was taken to prison as the superior of this hermitage"[23].

This wish was fulfilled on the 14th of August 2003 when a cross of white marble was built near the church of the Rarău Monastery, and a funerary monument was placed in the cemetery of the monastery to the memory of father Daniil, the superior of this monastery.

Th servents of the evil shauted to the father: "you wanted to burn the communism with your Burning Bush"[24].

"At down pool of martyr blood,

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[19] Antonie Plămădeală, *op. cit.*, p. 21.
[20] *Ibidem*, p. 27.
[21] *Ibidem*.
[22] ***, *The Burning Bush. Superior Daniil from Rarău*, Panaghia Publishing house, Bucharest, 2004, p. 186.
[23] Antonie Plămădeală, *op. cit.*, p. 72.
[24] ***, *The Burning Bush…*, p. 149.

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And the century of lie gives birth to injustice,
But under the cross, it will grow eternally,
The sacred church,
Into the catholic and apostolic plenitude"[25].

After his return from the Saint Mountain Athos (1929) he wrote the articles: *The Great Golden Night of the Mother of God* and *40 Days in the Saint Agura*, collected in the volume *Writings I* (Christiana Publishing house, Bucharest, 2001, p. 69): "[...] for me, for my nation, I think that knowing Athos is far more fulfilling than any ohter place in the West".

In 1948, Father Daniil (Agathon) wrote the fisrt variant with nine kondakions of the *Hymn Akathist to the Burning Bush of the Mother of God*, which through its theological profoundness and the beauty of poetry exceeds everything written before about the Mother of God as mediator in our effort of spiritual improvement. Because of these qualities, the akathist appears in an article published in Paris, named *L'orthodoxie ou le Buisson Ardent*[26].

This hymn was finished in its for with thirteen kodakions at the Rarău Monastery, in front of the Miracle-Working Icon of the mother of God, after the father became the hieroschemamonk Daniil and the superior of the monastery.

We have two manuscripts whinch, unfortunately, weren't ublished by the father: *The Book of the Holy Mountain* and *The Life of Neagoe Basarab*[27].

In 1957, he wrote, under the sacred inspiration of the Icon of Saint John Bogoslov from Rarău, *The Akathist of Saint John Bogoslov*, in a final form (The Chapel of Rarău Monastery has as a patron Saint John Bogoslov, honoured on the 26th of September).

In 1990, Christiana publishing house from Bucharest publiseh three volumes: a) *God-Love*; b) *The Sacred Prayer*; c) *The Mystery of the Holy Cross*, which comprise fragments recovered from the Security, after the death of the father. They also appeared at the same publishing house in 2000 unde the name *Notebooks* and represent 5% of the manuscripts from Antim Monastery. Professor Alexandru Dimcea is the editor of these *Notebooks*.

Although he retired from the world, he didn't loose the gift of writing poetry. His main contribution to the religious literature is the *hymnological icon*[28] cought in two different contexts: a) that of the literature of biblical inspiration and b) that of the perspective of the byzantine canon. For father Daniil literature is the result of approaching the Scripture through prayer. He wants to use byuzantine literary genres, to express religious feelings in his verse and to cultivate the *sensiblity for the sacred*, which is able to initiate that lyrical anthusiasm towards the divinity

[25] Hieroschemamonk Daniil Tudor, *Akathists*, Christiana Publishing house, Bucharest, 1999, p. 79.

[26] Hieroschemamonk Daniil Sandu Tudor, *The Mystery of the Burning Bush…*, p. 17.

[27] Roman Braga, *The Burning Bush*, Nemira Publishing house, Bucharest, 2001, p. 69.

[28] According to Constantin Jinga, *The Hieroschemamonk Daniil Sandu Tudor, the Man and the Work*, Christiana Pulishing house, Bucharest, 2005, p. 203-208.

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called *piety*. In order to achieve this, he chooses the adequate form: the byzantine liturgical poem based on the iconicity of the written text.

His akathists represent a complete theology. With them "Father Daniil came from culture into spirituality. He converted the culture"[29].

A different writer in the literature of the 20th century, father Daniil "integrates confortably with the traditionalist and autochthonus trend which he surpasses by emphasizing its originally elements – the ecclesiastical side – and paradoxically, by revaluating the instruments and facilities of the modern paradigm"[30].

The activity of *The Burning Bush of The Mother of God*, to which Father Daniil dedicated entirely, was "a meteoric appearance in the landscape of the Romanian spirituality in the first years after the second World War"[31].

This movement was an alternative of christian living to the atheist violence of the society. It was not a "missionary or catechetical school, not even a study group in the ordinary sense of the word, but a free university, an academy […] with an orthodox theme, which comprised a whole spiritual area"[32].

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[29] Antonie Plămădeală, *op. cit.*, p. 22.
[30] According to Constantin Jinga, *op. cit.*, pp. 203-208.
[31] Hieroschemamonk Daniil Sandu Tudor, *The Mystery of The Burning Bush*…, p. 18.
[32] *Ibidem*.

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