

“Christianizing” Transnistria: Romanian Orthodox Clergy as Beneficiaries, Perpetrators, and Rescuers during the Holocaust

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The violent behavior of fascist Orthodox clerics serving in the Transnistrian Orthodox Mission during World War II contributed to the “Romanianization” of Transnistria initiated by the Antonescu government in 1941. These churchmen stand out as bystanders, beneficiaries, and even perpetrators of the Holocaust. Subscribing to the antisemitic programs of the outlawed Iron Guard and of the Antonescu government, these men took an active part in exploiting, robbing, and even murdering both local Jews and other deportees from Bessarabia, Bucovina, and elsewhere in Romania. They illustrate both the suffusion of fascist ideology into all sectors of Romanian society and the role of clergy at every level.

On June 22, 1941, along with their German allies, Romanian troops crossed the Prut River into the Soviet Union in their country’s effort to recapture the territories of Bessarabia and Bucovina (ceded to the USSR in the wake of the 1939 German-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact). The Romanian and German forces swept through the Soviet defenses and, on August 10, reached the River Bug. The Romanian–German Tighina Convention assigned the territory from the Dniester to the Bug—“Transnistria”—as a territorial prize for the Romanian government to exploit and eventually settle.¹ The Germans envisaged Transnistria as a means to appease Romanians’ wounded pride after the painful cession of Northern Transylvania to Hungary in 1940 (under the German- and Italian-sponsored Second Vienna Award). General Ion Antonescu’s government refrained from fully integrating Transnistria, in part because the *Conducător* (Leader) thought that would constitute acknowledgment of the cession of Transylvanian territory.²

From the establishment of the Romanian Governorate in Tighina on August 19, and from mid–October 1942 in Odessa, the Romanian authorities organized the newly acquired territory into fourteen counties (*județe*), each subdivided into three districts (*raioane*). Remarkably, the organization of this state administration lagged behind the Romanian Orthodox Church’s establishment of its “Orthodox Mission” for Transnistria in August.³ Initially based in Tiraspol, this ecclesiastical entity came under Archimandrite (abbot superior) Iuliu Scriban (1878–1949), a professor of New Testament studies at the Iași University Department of Orthodox Theology (before the cession of Bessarabia, at Chișinău University).⁴

A new body of missionary clergymen was to provide religious “assistance” to the Orthodox population, regardless of their ethnicity. At first, the Mission’s pastoral duties were charged to frontline Orthodox priests serving as officers in the Romanian Army or to regimental chaplains from combat units pursuing the retreating Red Army.⁵ At the behest of the Romanian authorities, in 1942 the Orthodox Mission was reorganized and the Holy Synod in Bucharest officially incorporated the territory of Transnistria into its canonical structure as an Exarchate under Metropolitan Visarion Puiu (1879–1964; Puiu had retired from the Metropolitan See of Bucovina in 1938).⁶

Below I survey the behavior of numerous fascist clergymen and theology students serving as “missionaries” in the Romanian Exarchate or in formations of the Romanian Army. Individual cases of clergymen who acted as beneficiaries, perpetrators, or rescuers of Jews will broaden the discussion about clerical participation in the Holocaust.

Several questions arise. Was this story an isolated episode in the life of the Orthodox Church? Was the involvement of the Romanian Orthodox clergy in the Holocaust individual, was it a manifestation of the radicalization of the Church throughout Romania, or was it emblematic of Christian churches in all Eastern European fascist states? How did the central administration of the Romanian Church react when it learned of the murderous behavior displayed by some of its clergy? My case studies suggest that the radicalization of these individuals had taken place earlier, when antisemitic discourse in Romania and in the Orthodox Church in particular first became violent. It deserves emphasis at the outset, however, that we can identify no direct impulse from the central hierarchy motivating violent behavior by individual fascist clerics in Transnistria.

My case studies of clerical involvement in the robbery, sexual abuse, and killing of Jews and members of the local Slavic population should be taken as individual: every story has unique features. And yet, the question of the Romanian Orthodox Church’s collective responsibility remains. By assisting in the Romanianization of Transnistria, the clergymen I have studied stand out as examples of bystanders, beneficiaries, and perpetrators of the Holocaust. Subscribing to the antisemitic drive of the Romanian state, they made nefarious contributions to the pillaging, general abuse, and even murder of their Jewish neighbors.⁷

FASCIST ORTHODOX PRIESTS EVOLVED from the interwar “redemptive antisemitism” of the infamous *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, which portrayed the Jew as the eternal “Other” responsible for every social ill, to more openly violent purposes.⁸ State-patronized brutality against the Jewish community shortly before and during World War II enabled—even provided moral incentives for—the ruthless behavior of a part of the Orthodox clergy in Transnistria: if the Army and the government enjoyed “license” to pillage and to kill, why not them?⁹

The missionaries’ disposition reflects in part kinship and friendship ties, as well as mutual ideological sympathy with the fascist Iron Guard (also known as the Legion of the Archangel Michael). Since they kept their activities secret from the central authorities of the Orthodox Church (which remained close to the government when the Iron Guard was outlawed in 1941), the individual priests,’ monks,’ and students’ criminal involvements should not be attributed to the Church as a whole.

Let us take but one example of the role of personal ties within the ecclesiastical structure: In 1935, then Bishop Visarion Puiu of Hotin appointed Archimandrite Fr. (Father) Antim Nica (1908–1994) as the superior (*exarh*) of the Orthodox monasteries in the Hotin Bishopric.¹⁰ During the late 1930s under Visarion Puiu’s influence, Nica had joined the Iron Guard and became, with Puiu’s help and that of National Christian Party leader Gheorghe Cuza, the teaching assistant of Archimandrite Iuliu Scriban.¹¹ Antim Nica sponsored Antim Tabacu’s (to whom we return below) entrance into the Cernica Monastery in 1940.¹² Through his brother’s (Antim’s brother Andrei Nica was a regular married priest, and later dean of the priests in Chişinău) influence in Chişinău’s wartime Archbishopric, Nica was well connected to the Bessarabian priesthood (especially Fr. Portase-Prut, who also figures below), and enjoyed a regular place at Bishop Efreim Enăcescu’s table, relationships that helped Nica become bishop of Ismail in early 1944.¹³ Through such networks

of friends and acquaintances, leaders of the Orthodox Mission/Exarchate like Metropolitan Puiu, Archimandrite Iuliu Scriban, or Archimandrite Nica could also benefit from personal relationships with top-hierarchs of the central Church administration, Patriarch Nicodim included.

Another commonality is the fact that many of these clergymen were already members of missionary organizations of the Orthodox Church, such as the Patriarch Miron Cristea association in Bucharest (Fr. Iuliu Scriban, Fr. Gheorghe Paschia, Fr. Dimitrie Balaur, and others); the *Renașterea* Society of Orthodox priests in Oltenia (Metropolitan Nifon Criveanu, Fr. Doară, Fr. Stoenac, and others); and the Chișinău circle editing the journal *Misionarul* and *Biblioteca Misionarului* Orthodox collection of the theological studies (Fr. Antim Nica, Fr. Nicodem Ioniță, Fr. Benedict Ghiuș, Fr. Teodor Rudiev, and others).¹⁴ All emphasized “spiritual renewal,” institutional reform of the Romanian Orthodox Church, the state-assisted efforts to convert Jews and the neo-Protestant sectarians, countering Communist (atheist) influence among blue-collar workers, and promotion of ultranationalist agitation among the younger generation.¹⁵ No wonder these men perceived the formation of the Orthodox Mission in Transnistria as an opportunity to put into practice their interwar ideas.

THE FOLLOWING PRESENTS THREE examinations of the careers of the “missionaries.” The first introduces the antisemitism of some of the Orthodox clergy manifested during the Legionary Rebellion of January 1941 (having cooperated with General Antonescu to overthrow King Carol II, the Iron Guard sought to take power for themselves but were suppressed). This period witnessed further radicalization: a racist Legionary theology, abandonment of any thought of converting Jews, and encouragement of violence against the latter. Involvement in murderous pogroms during the Legionary Rebellion foreshadowed fascist clerics’ crimes in Transnistria. The article next turns to the creation of the Transnistrian Orthodox Mission and Orthodox Exarchate, and their program of “re-Christianization” and “Romanianization” of the territories recaptured from the Soviet Union or received from the Germans as compensation for the earlier territorial cession to Hungary. The last section presents individual case-studies.

The missionary activity of Romanian Orthodox churchmen during the war and their participation in the Holocaust came under scholarly scrutiny only recently.¹⁶ While most Romanian historians (Vasilescu, Stavarache, Stan, Solovei, and others) have focused exclusively on the state archives and depict the violent behavior of churchmen—or even their missionary efforts—from a matter-of-fact perspective, others, especially those writing from the perspective of the Orthodox Church, tend to disregard the experience of other ethnic groups in Transnistria or the participation of Orthodox missionaries in the robbery and killings of Jews (Fr. Mircea Părcurariu, Ciorbă, Verenca, Tănase, and more).¹⁷ Drawing upon Romanian and foreign archival collections, historians such as Jean Ancel, and, more recently, Ion Popa and Diana Dumitru, have touched upon the issue of clerical violence but have not focused on actual examples.¹⁸ By shedding light on individual fascist clergymen, the present contribution intends to correct overgeneralizations based on describing—or ignoring—the brutal behavior of a number of Orthodox priests in Transnistria. It contradicts the widespread historiographical assumption that priests, monks, and military chaplains failed to encounter Jews due to the latter’s internment in concentration camps and ghettos.¹⁹ On the contrary, clergy and former theology students were at the forefront of both genocide and rescue.

I have drawn upon an array of sources in the Romanian National Archives; the National Council for the Study of the Securitate Archives (CNSAS) in Bucharest; the United States Holocaust

Memorial Museum's archival collections (the Odessa Oblast', Nikolaev Oblast', the Moldavian National, and other archives); the oral history testimonies of survivors and witnesses; and newspapers and journals of the Romanian Orthodox Church. These documents afford a comprehensive picture of brutal tendencies displayed by a portion of the Orthodox clergymen in the Transnistrian Exarchate, in particular as recorded in their individual Securitate files.

Antisemitic Violence during the Legionary Rebellion (January 21–23, 1941)

On September 6, 1940, following on Romania's national humiliation at the territorial concessions to the Soviet Union, Bulgaria (the Treaty of Craiova with Bulgaria was signed only the next day, but the terms had been clear for two weeks), and Hungary, General Ion Antonescu successfully pressed King Carol II to accept responsibility and to abdicate in favor of his son, the new King Michael I.²⁰ Due in large part to the growing influence of Nazi Germany in the domestic affairs of Romania, Antonescu's new cabinet was made up of "technocrats" (meaning specialists with no official party allegiance), generals, other experts, and members of the Iron Guard. This government continued their predecessors' antisemitic policies, prohibiting Jews from owning pharmacies, landed property, commercial real estate, distilleries, grain stores, or transportation businesses.²¹ During the months of the "National Legionary State," the Legionary Police (the semi-governmental paramilitary force of the Iron Guard during the Legionary State) and the newly established "commissars for Romanianization" took great pains to strip Jews of their property.²²

The clergy's antisemitism underwent a process of gradual clarification—and theological legitimization—mostly under the influence of the Legion.²³ The March 11, 1937 public condemnation of Freemasonry by the Holy Synod in Bucharest (at the behest of Metropolitan Nicolae Bălan of Transylvania [1882–1955]); Patriarch Miron Cristea's (1868–1939) public support for the antisemitic initiatives (imitating Germany's) during King Carol II's personal dictatorship (1938–1940); and the Church's acceptance of various laws culminating in Decree no. 169 revoking the citizenship of Romanian Jews were just a few of the instances when the Orthodox Church publicly professed its disdain for its Jewish neighbors.²⁴ On January 22, 1938 the government led by Prime Minister Octavian Goga (1881–1938) passed the Decree-Law no. 169, which deprived 225,222 Jews of Romanian citizenship, stripping them of their political rights, and right to own property or work in any of the branches of the Romanian state.

Under cover of the Romanianization of industry and commerce, Legionary officials during the Legionary State deprived Jews of their businesses through violence and blackmail—to the former's own benefit.²⁵ Their fury targeted not only commercial property: many synagogues and Jewish schools were expropriated and converted into Party headquarters or simply destroyed; many Jewish homes were robbed and vandalized.²⁶ Even before the uprising, five students from St. Nicholas Seminary in Râmnicu-Vâlcea stormed the local synagogue, removed the six-pointed star over the entrance and stole vestments, manuscripts, and other objects.²⁷ As one of them confessed during subsequent questioning by the police, they were all members of the Iron Guard's youth organization, the Brotherhood of the Cross.²⁸

The director of the St. Nicholas Seminary was Fr. Gheorghe Doară, Legionary leader of Vâlcea county and a vocal antisemite. During the Uprising, Doară, Fr. Stoinac (spiritual father, or confessor, of the seminary), and armed students barricaded the seminary against the Army and threatened to blow it up rather than surrender.²⁹ The government, now led by Antonescu alone, decided to close the school and exile staff and students to other seminaries and monasteries.³⁰

The failed coup d'état against General Antonescu constituted in part an extension of the violence against Jews that the Legionaries had pursued during their time in power.³¹ During the rebellion, the Legionaries orchestrated one of the most savage pogroms in the history of modern Romania.³² Even though some priests and theology students had long been involved in violence against the Jews, with the establishment of the National Legionary State on September 14, 1940, and especially the Rebellion, the role of Legionary clergymen increased. As one eyewitness recalls, the tolling bells of the Orthodox churches announced the commencement of the pogrom in the Dudești and Văcărești neighborhoods of Bucharest.³³

One of the pivotal leaders who instigated the Legionary militias (armed paramilitary organizations including the Legionary Police, the Legionary Motorized Guards, and others; supported officially and unofficially by Legionaries and sympathizers in the government) to loot the Jewish neighborhoods of Bucharest was Fr. Ștefan Palaghiță, an Orthodox priest and Legionary commandant.³⁴ A former graduate student (in theology), Palaghiță was for a time a parish-priest in Berlin (1938–1940). At the intervention of Deputy Prime Minister (and Iron Guard leader) Horia Sima, Palaghiță was appointed (in September 1941) inspector general at the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Arts.³⁵ During the Rebellion, he led the armed Legionaries into the Jewish district of Dudești and took part in looting, beatings, and murders.³⁶ He urged the population to resist soldiers and disarm gendarmes attempting to suppress looting.³⁷ Staff and students of Sibiu's Theological Academy, led by Professor Spiridon Cârdea (1902–1990) and assisted by Legionary militiamen, rounded up Jews in the courtyard of the Academy and at gunpoint forced them to hand over their valuables.³⁸

At the Antim Monastery in downtown Bucharest, most of the monks, led by Hieromonk Nicodem Ioniță (abbot from 1940 to 1941), were members or sympathizers of the Iron Guard. Fr. Antim Nica, Fr. Teoctist Arăpașu, and Fr. Benedict Ghiuș, were just a few.³⁹ Some of its inhabitants had recently graduated from the Cernica Monastic Seminary, one of the most heavily Legion-influenced schools in Romania.⁴⁰ On January 22, 1941, led by their abbot and using explosives previously collected for the Rebellion, monks of the Antim Monastery plundered and then blew up a synagogue on Antim Street.⁴¹ The armed monks then terrorized the predominantly Jewish neighborhood, forcing its inhabitants to remain indoors, fearful for their lives.⁴²

After Antonescu and the Army crushed the rebellion, it was officially condemned by the Holy Synod as a diabolical temptation that had led the Legionaries to undermine the state and the Conducător himself.⁴³ Patriarch Nicodim refrained from any sterner condemnation of the violent behavior of the Legionaries, while local bishops shielded Legionary clergymen from repression and allowed them to continue parish work in remote villages. World War II permitted the rehabilitation of these priests as chaplains or missionaries, and thus enabled further expression of their violent antisemitism in the newly acquired territories.

From Mission to Exarchate, August 1941–December 1943

Following joint Romanian–German military operations across the Prut and Dniester rivers, the Holy Synod established an Orthodox Mission for Transnistria (August 15, 1941), canonically dependent on the Romanian Patriarchal See in Bucharest.⁴⁴ It was shaped as a mission rather than a bishopric⁴⁵ under the assumption that the atheist Communists had destroyed the Russian Orthodox Church there. The main architect of the Romanian Orthodox Mission, Archimadrite Iuliu Scriban, felt that Transnistria had to be “re-evangelized.”⁴⁶ Welcoming the conflict with the USSR as a Holy War,

as well as an ideal opportunity to recover the eastern provinces lost in 1940, Romanian Orthodox hierarchs, priests, monks, and seminarians alike seized their opportunity.⁴⁷

Encouraged by their initial leader, Archimandrite Scriban, missionary priests and military chaplains considered the liberated territories and Transnistria a religious no-man's-land.⁴⁸ An immediate aim was to vilify the Jews in the press and in sermons. During their first contacts with the population there, the Orthodox clergy behaved according to the antisemitic tenets of their state and Church; here was their opportunity to act according to their belief that Judaism was a "Satanic religion," and that "Bolshevism" had been engendered by the Jews with the purpose of undermining European Christian civilization.⁴⁹

After the cessation of military operations, soldiers, administrators, and churchmen sought to determine how many Moldavians the Communists had deported from Bessarabia to remote regions of the Soviet interior, at the same time inciting the desire for revenge of those who remained.⁵⁰ Orthodox clergymen depicted their new Jewish neighbors as perpetrators (or at least middlemen) in the Bolshevik assault on religion and the destruction of churches and monasteries, or their conversion into workshops, cinemas, barns, and the like.⁵¹

After establishment of Romanian administration in Bessarabia and Transnistria, the missionary efforts of the Romanian Orthodox Church thrived.⁵² Many Orthodox chaplains in the military units liberating Bessarabia and occupying the left bank of the Dniester such as Fr. Dimitrie Bejan (1909–1995), Fr. Iustin Pârvu (1919–2013), Fr. Nicodem Ioniță (1905–1942), Fr. Gheorghe Doară (1896–1972), Fr. Stoiciu, Fr. Antim Nica, and others, had volunteered in part to escape from under the cloud of association with the Rebellion.⁵³ The memoirist Captain Dumitru Păsat cites Fr. Leu, nephew of the Metropolitan Tit Simeirea of Cernăuți, sent to the front as a chaplain to atone for his Legionary past (possibly Leu was the nephew of Bishop Grigorie Leu of Huși rather than of the Metropolitan).⁵⁴

A representative fascist chaplain in liberated Bessarabia was the above-mentioned infantry captain Fr. Dimitrie Bejan. In his student days, while traversing the Bessarabian countryside as a member of the Monographic School teams (a sociological program created by Professor Dimitrie Gusti) that also secretly engaged in Legionary propaganda, he denounced the Jews as the actual masters of Bessarabia, "where milk and honey flow just for the Canaanites [Jews]. [The Jew was] welcomed in our lands while wandering through the world after he asked [the Romanians] for mercy and shelter. Soon, the foreign merchant took over the local economy. From that position, he [derides the local Romanian] while inviting the nations across the borders: 'Welcome to the delights of Canaan.' The original owner of the country was turned [by the Jews] into a slave on his own land."⁵⁵

Bejan followed up his missionary appeal to fellow clergymen to re-Christianize Bessarabia and Transnistria with expeditions from Romania. Following Metropolitan Archbishop Nicolae Bălan of Transylvania and bishops Nicolae Popovici of Oradea, Andrei Magieru of Arad, Vasile Stan of Maramureș, and Veniamin Nistor of Caransebeș, the Transylvanian missionary expedition in Bessarabia and Transnistria attracted 2 archdeacons, 4 deacons, 45 priests, and 5 deans. It left Sibiu on September 1, 1941 and reached Chișinău on the sixth.⁵⁶

According to Fr. Gheorghe Secaș (a former counselor to then Archbishop Nicolae Bălan and subsequently chaplain of a motorized regiment), in Chișinău Metropolitan Archbishop Bălan and Bishops Magieru, Stan, Popovici, and Nisto decided that Metropolitan Bălan would take four missionary teams to Lăpușna and Orhei counties; Bishop Andrei Magieru of Arad three to Tighina and northern Cahul counties; Bishop Vasile Stan three to Hotin and half of Bălți counties; Bishop

Nicolae Popovici three to Soroca and the other half of Bălți counties; and Bishop Veniamin Nistor three to Ismail, Cetatea Albă, and southern Cahul counties.⁵⁷ Reaching 600 villages and towns, the fifty-eight missionaries thus baptized large numbers of Moldavians and Ukrainians, consecrated new churches, ordained local priests, performed rites, and conducted memorial services for the dead, in particular soldiers who had fallen at the front.⁵⁸



Nicolae Bălan, 1940, Wikimedia Commons, courtesy of Tetcu Mircea Rares.

In addition to Fr. Gheorghe Secaș's 1941 record of the expedition, articles from the ecclesiastical press shed light on atrocities by the retreating Communists, stoking the anger and already rabid antisemitism of the Orthodox clergy.⁵⁹

While walking through liberated Chișinău, Secaș wrote:

The main streets and buildings were burnt and dynamited. It was the same with buildings belonging to the [Orthodox] Church. Starting with the magnificent metropolitan cathedral and with the metropolitan palace, the metropolitan residences, the Department of Orthodox Theology, the metropolitan high school . . . everything is obliterated, devastated, burnt. The Bolsheviks and the Jews have committed these acts of crude barbarity like true vandals. Your mind darkens to see how embittered their souls were and what barbarities they were capable of committing. Their retribution will be the fate of Cain. . . . The sons of Judah have all the reason in the world to cry because Bessarabia got rid of them. They are the children of the curse and they should receive double retribution for their barbaric deeds.⁶⁰

Secaș mentions a number of massacres by the Communists before their retreat (seventy people in the courtyard of the Italian Consulate in Chișinău, eight peasant hostages shot in the vilage of Răzeni), all blamed on the Bolshevik authorities and "the Jew-devils."⁶¹

The July 25, 1941 establishment of the ghetto in Chişinău and of others across Bessarabia, all under military supervision, saw the near complete isolation of the local Jews from the Gentile population—the first step toward the autumn 1941 deportation of Jews from Romania, Northern Bucovina, and Bessarabia to Transnistria.⁶² Individual Orthodox clergymen such as retired priest V. Gumă from Chişinău unsuccessfully resisted official policy, helping Jews such as Moise Preigher and Avram Nemirovski escape from the Chişinău ghetto.⁶³ Nevertheless, due to the near disappearance of Orthodox priests from Bessarabia and Bucovina under Soviet rule, the participation of local clerics in crimes against the Jews—or in their salvation—from 1941 to 1944 appears rarely in the archival records.

Metropolitan Nifon Criveanu of Craiova (1889–1970) pursued another mission in Transnistria.⁶⁴ He had been one of the first hierarchs of the Holy Synod to encourage his priests and monks to leave for Bessarabia and Transnistria; he went too, consecrating new churches and supervising priests.⁶⁵ If Metropolitan Nicolae Bălan discouraged clergy from applying for postings across the Dniester, Criveanu offered the Legionaries among them a tempting apple. On April 21, 1942 he gained government approval for forty more missionaries to go to Transnistria, where the Legionaries might by dint of honest toil rehabilitate themselves in the eyes of the Antonescu regime; on May 22, 1942 he obtained approval for another twenty-five, priests from his own diocese. Hopefully these men might then escape further government persecution.⁶⁶ Such were Fr. Gheorghe Doară, former Legionary leader of Vâlcea County and director of St. Nicholas Seminary, and his close-friend Fr. Stoenac, former spiritual confessor of that same seminary.⁶⁷

The new missionaries in Transnistria benefitted from the liberality of the first head of the Orthodox Mission there, Archimandrite Scriban: under him the ecclesiastical authorities allowed numerous arrivals to serve as missionaries and parish priests without much in the way of vetting.⁶⁸ Indeed, in some cases the government itself forced some priests and monks to leave their Romanian parishes and monasteries for Transnistria, as for example the abbot of Tismana Monastery, hieromonk Gherasim Iscu (1912–1952; hieromonks are priests who receive monastic tonsure, or monks who serve as priests), a well-known Legionary sympathizer.⁶⁹ Another was Fr. Dosoftei Morariu (1913–1990), a member of the Brotherhood of the Cross and graduate of the recently closed Cernica Seminary (many of whose students had been associated with the Rebellion).⁷⁰ Morariu served as a deacon (assistant to the priest) at the Cathedral in Balta, a correspondent for the Bucharest newspaper *Glasul Monahilor* , and secretary for the Balta deanery.⁷¹

Missionary work in Transnistria started with 14 missionary deans (one per county), 63 missionary priests, and 1 missionary deacon; plus 19 local priests and 8 local deacons.⁷² The population in Bessarabia and Transnistria often requested (sometimes successfully, sometimes not) reappointment of their own former parish priests.⁷³

According to Archimandrite Nica, the administrative vicar of the Orthodox Mission, simplification of procedures for those who wished to come to Transnistria as missionaries and temporary parish priests made appointments easier; in early 1942 the number of lower clergy grew to 15 deacons, 203 priests, and 87 readers.⁷⁴ Any priest or hieromonk with one year's experience, who could speak Russian or Ukrainian, and who had canonical blessing for six months' leave from his bishop, might become a missionary priest in Transnistria.⁷⁵ But simplified procedures notwithstanding, not all priests applying for Transnistria were accepted. According to their complaint to Metropolitan Nifon Criveanu of Craiova, Fr. Alexandru Gregorian (Scăieşti, Dolj County) and Filip Popescu (Rovine, Dolj County), who had received the blessing of their bishop to leave for Transnistria, were rejected

by Archimandrite Scriban because their hair and beards were short and they were unfamiliar with the languages and religious sensibilities of Bessarabia and Transnistria.⁷⁶ Nor did state financial incentives fail to attract some of those looking for a fresh start in Transnistria: on top of the salary that the government continued to pay their wives at home, missionaries received generous governmental allowances in Transnistrian roubles according to the ranking of their new parishes; Ukrainian priests (i.e., clergy of the Russian Orthodox Church), by contrast, had to settle for donations by their flocks.⁷⁷

In contrast to the Department of Religious Denominations (under the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Arts), at this stage the Patriarchal administration in Bucharest remained largely in the dark about any abuses or crimes committed by its missionaries, thanks in particular to the unwillingness of eyewitnesses to report on fellow clergy, to the official secrecy imposed by the military authorities (especially regarding the mass murder of Jews), and to the complicity of the highest-ranking authorities (especially of Antim Nica) in corruption and violence. What facts the Patriarchate received came primarily from Scriban and Nica themselves; Nicodim, moreover, seems to have accepted reports from government authorities—and all the more from the Jewish community—with reluctance.⁷⁸

In 1942 the Mission's canonical status changed, becoming an Exarchate under recently retired Puiu, former metropolitan of Bucovina (1935–1940), and moving its headquarters from Tiraspol to Odessa.⁷⁹ The transformation entailed bringing the Transnistrian apparatus directly under the canonical jurisdiction of the Patriarchate, its head now a member of the Holy Synod in Bucharest. It also signified tighter control, with Bucharest now requiring the Exarchate to submit detailed reports and to obtain approval before promulgating major administrative or other acts.⁸⁰ Despite this, Puiu, assisted by his right-hand man Nica, saw to it that only censored reports were sent.

Metropolitan Puiu had great plans for the Exarchate, including transformation into a full-fledged metropolitan see in Odessa, with two bishoprics under its jurisdiction (Balta and Tulcin), three vicariates, and a grassroots clergy of nearly 2,000 (increased from the current 350).⁸¹ He envisaged new moral guidelines—no carpetbaggers for him!—to attract the best priests to Transnistria: applicants' age might range from thirty to fifty (physical vigor was essential, and senior priests would be less interested in rising in rank by dint of hard work); their stay would be limited to six months (he didn't want them establishing their own networks); and they would remain under the supervision of the Exarchal administration (i.e., they were temporary staffers until the newly-established seminary at Dubasari and Theology Department at the University of Odessa could replace them with locals).⁸² In any event, the number of parish clergy in Transnistria rose from 350 only to 400 at the end of 1943, by which time the Mission's days were obviously numbered. To be sure, 300 to 400 churches were re-opened. But that was as far as they would get by the time they had to flee. In Odessa the plan was to re-open forty-eight, though only twenty-five could be consecrated before the return of the Red Army.⁸³

Both constrained but supported by higher state and ecclesiastical authorities, the Exarchate preserved many of the original aims of Fr. Scriban's mission. Initially, re-conversion constituted only one aspect of a much broader program: reinstating former priests; refurbishing confiscated or vandalized churches; group baptisms of both children and adults; performing services, rituals, and sacraments; teaching religion in the schools; and, last but not least, carrying out social work among the sick and the poor.⁸⁴ As an example of the achievements that might be reported up the hierarchy, Fr. Pavel Mihail wrote to the Archbishopric of Chişinău about a mass baptism in April 1942 in the villages of Beţilovo, Novoselovca, Constantinovca, Stegleatino, Lozovoie, and Peneatovca (Tiraspol

County). With the formal permission of Archmandrite Antim Nica and the assistance of Professor Nicanor Timuș as chanter (lector), Mihail managed to convert 152 men, women, and children over a period of seven days.⁸⁵

Regarding the conversion of Jews, their marriage to Christians, or acceptance of other sacraments such as the Eucharist, priests seem to have been confused at first and wrote to Bucharest for clarification.⁸⁶ Under the government's Decree no. 711/4 of March 1941, they learned, Jews were not allowed to convert. Despite this, there were some cases of baptism, such as that arranged by Dumitru Stoler in the Bessarabian village of Onișcăuți, who adopted a young Jewish girl to keep her from being deported or, worse, shot by the Romanian authorities. In spite of this, gendarmes took the girl away (apparently to be shot) with the stunning argument, "you may have baptized her but her blood was not baptized."⁸⁷ Although these gendarmes were firm and other authorities did what they could to ensure that the Conducator's order was not violated, there were other cases such as that of Fr. Ioan Sârbu in Golta who baptized a Jewish woman and administered the Eucharist to her.⁸⁸

Clerics as Bystanders, Beneficiaries, and Collaborators

Priests and theology students in the Mission and in the Romanian Army contributed as perpetrators in the murders of Jews, or by enabling bystanders to take part in those murders, in Bessarabia and Transnistria. Following in the footsteps of Diana Dumitru, I argue that the genocidal disposition among some Romanian Orthodox clergy reflected interwar antisemitic indoctrination by fascist and antisemitic parties and movements such as the Iron Guard and the National-Christian Defense League.⁸⁹ Many members of the clergy fell under the spell of far-right mobilization as antisemitism became an idiom for nearly all social and political discontent.⁹⁰

During the Second World War fascist priests collaborated with the military to foster violence against "Bolshevik" Jews. The policies and practices of the Romanian administration suggested to these priests state endorsement of violence, thievery, and rape—and an opportunity for Legionnaires to prove their allegiance after their recent repression.⁹¹ Violent pogroms occurred once the Romanian troops arrived in Bessarabia and Northern Bucovina early in the war.⁹² At the settlement of Stâncea Rosnovanu the conscripted Legionary theology student Second Lieutenant Mihăilescu, together with his commanding officer Captain Stihî and the Legionary mayor of nearby Sculeni, forced forty Jews from that village to dig their own graves, made them hand over their valuables, and killed them.⁹³ The next day Mihăilescu, acting with Sergeant Vasile Mihailov, had another 311 Jews from Sculeni, freshly deported across the river Prut, machine-gunned, and their corpses afterwards searched for valuables.⁹⁴

An active killer of Jews in the Berezovca concentration camp was a lieutenant in the field gendarmerie, Dumitru Pandrea. A graduate of Sibiu Theological Academy and a secondary school teacher, Pandrea had been recruited under an order from General Antonescu's government conditioning ascension to the priesthood upon one year's military service.⁹⁵ While deployed in the Mostovoi sector, Pandrea took an active part in robbing Jews in ghettos along the Bug.⁹⁶ He also ordered the execution of many, and later, as camp commander, the execution of many Soviet prisoners of war.⁹⁷

Another clerical perpetrator and bystander was Fr. Captain Petre Roșu, chaplain of the 24th Battalion, 1st Mountain Division.⁹⁸ A former priest in Hăpria (Alba County) and then Alun and Ghelari (Hunedoara County), chaplain of the Sebeș garrison (also Alba County), and interwar

sympathizer of the National Liberal Party, after deployment Roșu witnessed first-hand Romanian and German soldiers' abuses of the Jewish population.⁹⁹ Roșu himself played an active part in killing Jews and in the subsequent pillage of their property.¹⁰⁰ These details came out during his 1958 trial for anti-Communist "agitation" (committed while drunk).¹⁰¹

Upon the arrival in Transnistria of Jews deported from Northern Bucovina, Bessarabia, and some parts of Old Kingdom Romania, the Missionaries continued to paint these former neighbors as "offspring of Satan" and likely "Bolsheviks."¹⁰² Missionary newspapers continued to feature front pages about the recent persecution of the Orthodox Church in Bessarabia under the Soviets.¹⁰³ Scapegoating both the local Jews and the recently arrived deportees as "the enemies of our faith and the friends of Bolsheviks" went hand in hand with the "Nationalization" of Transnistria, presenting its benefits to the ethnic Romanian population in an almost colonialist tone.¹⁰⁴ Following the genocidal policies of the new administration, Romanian clergymen dressed up ethnic cleansing of the Jewish population and suppression of neo-Protestant sects like the Baptists, Inochentists, and Adventists as God-ordained mandates.¹⁰⁵

Metropolitan Puiu of the Transnistrian Exarchate reported confidentially to the Synod in Bucharest his vision of their common mission: "The conquest of a nation begins with weapons, continues with its assignment of administrators, to be completed later on with its complete conversion. The second important point of the mandate given to me in Transnistria was the systematization of social life, a necessary action requiring two immediate steps: an urgent, sometimes surgical one falling in the hands of the civil administration and the Army; and the other of constant spiritual renewal through the Orthodox Church and school."¹⁰⁶ Puiu was aware that the "surgical" policies of the "civil administration and the Army" would have to precede this "spiritual renewal." Nevertheless, by ascribing—albeit implicitly—the killing of the Jews solely to state authorities Puiu's official correspondence veiled the participation of any of his clergy in murder and robbery. His silence protected not just friends such as Antim Nica, but others irrespective of any personal relationship. To this day official Church historiography leaves out the brutal behavior even of the Army, let alone the clergy, in Transnistria.

Competing with the indigenous ethnic German population to rob the Jews, the Romanian Army and civil administration easily prevailed.¹⁰⁷ Following in their footsteps, Orthodox clergy embarked on large-scale blackmail, demanding bribes from deported and local Jews under the threat that they might be deported further east, across the Bug into German hands.¹⁰⁸ They offered food and other necessities in return for jewelry, clothing, money, antiques, and other valuables. Some promised exemption from forced labor if Jewish communities turned over money and other valuables to the missionaries, parish priests, and their families.¹⁰⁹

Behaving as feudal lords exploiting their Jewish and Ukrainian serfs, Metropolitan Puiu and the priests around Archimandrite Antim Nica developed into a virtual First Estate, intent on expanding their wealth and influence over Transnistria.¹¹⁰ The priest Fr. Andrei Nicov, who became with Nica's support dean of Odessa, worked with a clique that included his brother Antim Nica and their friends hieromonk Varlaam Chiriță (abbot of Berșad Monastery) and hieromonk Antim Tabacu (abbot of Osipovca Monastery and spiritual superior of all Romanian Orthodox monasteries in Transnistria). Archimandrite Nica accumulated considerable wealth by trafficking gold watches and other readily fenced valuables stolen from the Jews; precious icons lifted from Ukrainian Orthodox churches (Romanian carpetbaggers "presumed" that the priests of any Ukrainian or Russian Orthodox churches still standing must have been collaborators with the "Bolsheviks"); and from the large mass

of the majority-Ukrainian population. Members of all these groups “voluntarily” handed property to the ecclesiastical and other authorities as “gifts” in return for favors and dispensations.¹¹¹ Some of the Orthodox clerics’ occasional female counterparts engaged in the same extortion, as the nun Pahomia Marinescu, serving as a nurse in the Queen Mary military hospital, trafficked in icons, tapestries, and other precious objects received from the local population.¹¹²

Many local Moldavians felt that the Mission overcharged for religious objects like crosses, prayer books, and calendars, or for performing various services and rites: “With the Yids gone, their place was taken by the priests.”¹¹³ In other cases (for instance, that of the hieromonk Varlaam Chiriță) foodstuffs coerced from the Jews and Ukrainians did in fact make their way via the administration in Odessa to poor, orphaned, and sick Moldavians.¹¹⁴ Under an order of the Romanian Gendarmerie, Metropolitan Visarion Puiu and his subordinate Father Ioan Vască received clothing and other goods confiscated from the Jewish population in Transnistria for distribution by twenty missionary priests to needy parishioners.¹¹⁵

Newly elected Bishop of Ismail (January 14, 1944), Antim Nica left Transnistria with three train-wagons of booty.¹¹⁶ Eager to evade the civil authorities—especially after King Michael’s August 23, 1944 coup overthrowing Marshal (since August 22, 1941) Antonescu brought Romania onto the side of the Allies against Germany—Nica appealed to friends for help. Varlaam Chiriță, Antim Tabacu, Archimandrite Flavian Alexe (abbot of Cocoșu Monastery), and Salomea Iordache (former abbess of the Ferapont convent in the Bessarabian village of Satu-Nou, destroyed by the Soviets after the war), transferred the loot to the Cocoșu and Celic-Dere Monasteries, all to be sold off piece by piece on the black market.¹¹⁷

A similar case was that of Fr. David Postase-Prut, assistant dean of Slobozia department of Râbnîța County (September/October 1941–January 1943) and right-hand man of Antim Nica.¹¹⁸ A rabble-rouser for the ultranationalist press in Bessarabia before its cession to the USSR in 1940, Fr. David was one of the first to cross the Prut in August 1941.¹¹⁹ On the recommendation of Archimandrite Antim Nica, Metropolitan Puiu appointed Postase-Prut to the central administration of the Exarchate as an inspector to oversee the work of missionary priests among their parishioners, and to oversee their support of the “Romanianization” of the region.¹²⁰ Profiting from Nica’s extensive “expertise” on stripping local Jews and Ukrainians of their property, Postase-Prut mobilized large numbers of cattle and sheep for the Romanian war effort.¹²¹ Cleverly bribing policemen and civil officials, however, this mastermind got most of the livestock back across the Dniester, sold it on the cheap, and pocketed most of the proceeds for himself.¹²²

Under the Communist-led cabinet of Petru Groza (est. March 1945), the police found approximately one hundred Astrakhans (Karakul hides) in Postase-Prut’s new home in Galați¹²³ despite the new government’s law requiring that all goods pillaged in Transnistria be handed back to the Soviets. (It remains unclear whether any reached their actual original owners.) On Postase’s tail for some time, the Securitate eventually determined that the crooks had long been converting valuables confiscated from the Jews and others into German or Romanian currency, subsequently invested in livestock, furs, art, and real estate.¹²⁴ This laundering had enabled clergymen to accumulate small fortunes under the very noses of the police.¹²⁵

Some priests sought to help Jews as much as they could, for instance former dean of Ananiev county, Fr. Marin Coșoreanu.¹²⁶ Having been transferred back to Romania on July 1, 1943, on September 15 Coșoreanu agreed to take some letters and money back to Transnistria for three Romanian Jews in the ghetto at Codima (Balta county). First he returned from the Romanian city of

Craiova to the town of Ananiev with the money (4100 *Reichskreditkasenscheine*, the German scrip for occupied Eastern Europe) and the letters.¹²⁷ According to Yosef Govrin, a Jewish survivor of Transnistria, Jewish communities in Old Kingdom Romania—generally not subjected to deportation—commonly found couriers willing to carry money and letters to deported co-religionists.¹²⁸ But because in this case Fr. Coșereanu was traveling incognito and without the required papers, he grew nervous and asked a certain deacon Dumbrăveanu to complete his mission.¹²⁹ Afraid to transport such a large sum, the latter turned for advice to his associate Fr. Popescu, dean of Ananiev, who summoned Coșereanu, counted the money in the presence of his associate Fr. Grigorescu of Cernova village, read the letters, and sent word to the military prefecture.¹³⁰ After the Colonel Prefect arrived Coșereanu admonished Popescu for this betrayal, but agreed to destroy the letters and handed the money over. Coșereanu denied that he had been sent by relatives of the Jews in the Codima ghetto, or even that the intended beneficiaries were Jews at all. Upon a thorough search, the gendarmes (police, but answerable to the prefect) found five poison pills on Coșereanu (those transporting information or resources to deported Jews near the Front could be jailed or even shot). Here the trail runs cold, as no file on Coșereanu survives in the former Securitate Archives—implying that the would-have-been rescuer may have been executed on the spot or died before 1946, when the new Communist police established its own archives.¹³¹

Looting local Jewish communities included conscription of Jewish men for labor on behalf of the Transnistrian Exarchate, service rendered possible by the Conducător's November 11, 1941 Directive no. 23 to the Government of Transnistria permitting the employment of the Jews at public or agricultural works.¹³² Archival records reveal that Archimandrite Nica, hieromonks Antim Tabacu and Varlaam Chiriță, and many other monks and priests in Transnistria used Jewish forced labor to re-build or refurbish churches and monasteries destroyed or damaged by the Communists or the war.¹³³

Romanian Orthodox clergy took advantage of Jewish women as well. The sexual abuse of the latter in its various forms during the Holocaust (rape, prostitution, negotiated sex) has come under sustained study only recently.¹³⁴ In the Romanian case, Jean Ancel pointed out that:

In June 1941 it was evident that Jewish women were considered spoils of war. Although the Romanian soldiers also raped Russian and Ukrainian women, as far as Jewish women were concerned it was clear that the soldiers could do with them whatever they wished since Jewish women were no longer considered human and were going to die anyway. The freedom granted the soldiers to give free rein to their desires and the encouragement granted to the peasants and the civilian population to attack Jews led in Bessarabia and Bucovina to the bestialization of an entire nation, irrespective of the individuals' social class, and absolved the Romanians of all moral, legal, Christian, or cultural restraints.¹³⁵

As in Bucovina and Bessarabia, married priests in Transnistria sexually exploited Jewish women.¹³⁶ Despite vows of chastity (the monks) and fidelity to wives (the priests), Romanian Orthodox clerics took advantage of vulnerable wives and daughters of Jewish forced laborers, or in some cases made Jewish women concubines in exchange for exempting husbands from forced labor, or in return for vitals such as food, medicines, or clothing.¹³⁷ “Sex for survival”¹³⁸ offered Jewish women one means to increase their or their families' chances.¹³⁹ Aside from any ideological justifications, the scandalous behavior of some Orthodox clergymen in Transnistria received a powerful incentive from the central authorities of the state. According to a report of the Romanian Gendarmerie (signed by General Vasiliu and Colonel Tobescu) to the Holy Synod in Bucharest, the immorality of the clergy also was

in part the result of the government's stipulation that all missionaries to Transnistria had to go without their wives and families.¹⁴⁰

Fr. Ioan Sârbu, a missionary priest from the Golta deanery, might be perceived as a representative case. Driving without a license, causing an accident that almost killed his visiting family, eating meat on fast days, absent from his parishes for days on end, always politicking with the civil authorities—Sârbu came under criticism by Prefect Lt. Col. Isopescu of Golta County in an official report to Archimandrite Antim Nica on September 12, 1942 for such scandalous displays as walking the streets accompanied by a female actress presumed to be his mistress and expressing himself in vulgar language to female parishioners in the village of Necetnia Mare.¹⁴¹ Though Fr. Ioan kept his position, the central administration in Bucharest recalled others who displayed similar behavior, such as Fr. Petru Schiopu, who lost his missionary parish in Crivoie Ozero (Golta county) on March 14, 1942 and was returned to his former parish in the Romanian Banat.¹⁴²

Another missionary, Paulin Lecca, recalled in his memoirs the advice he received from the hieromonk Gurie, parish priest of the church in the village of Păsățelu, upon arrival in Transnistria. Learning of the young man's plans to become a monk, the priest advised him to take a Jewish concubine, reassuring him that this would be permissible since she was not baptized.¹⁴³ Indeed, although several Jewish women offered their services in return for money and food, Brother Paul passed, opening himself to public ridicule, which perhaps suggests how "normal" the practice may have been.

More senior Orthodox clergymen also engaged in sexualized behavior towards Romanian women. The good-looking and charming Antim Nica, in particular, befriended, flirted with, and was photographed with women who could influence powerful husbands in favor of the Mission, the Exarchate—or Nica himself.¹⁴⁴ The hierarchy's summonses to morality met with indifference among the Exarchate's seniors, some of whom claimed ignorance of any blatant immorality undermining their clergy's pastoral vocation.¹⁴⁵ This notwithstanding, the scandalous public conduct of some clergy (and consequent pressure from both local and central State and Church authorities) led Metropolitan Visarion Puiu to promulgate stricter formal guidelines.¹⁴⁶

Final Remarks

The Transnistrian episode sheds light on the radicalization of fascist clergymen who, once embarked upon the Mission to "re-Christianize" Bessarabia and Transnistria, often ended up joining in the looting, exploitation, and sometimes killing of Jews and other members of the local population. Many had first demonstrated criminal tendencies during the Legionary Rebellion and its associated pogroms. Later, when the government itself proffered the opportunity to rob and murder with impunity in the Transnistrian hinterlands, many missionary clergymen once again expressed these inclinations. Their behavior under the Transnistrian Mission and then Exarchate stands as an ultimate expression of the interwar rabid antisemitism enabled or even encouraged by a part of the Orthodox clergy.

The silence of the contemporary Church on these experiences found its origin among the top bureaucrats in the administration of the Mission, concerned before all else to cover up their own gold rush at the expense of the Jews and other locals. The government was no less interested in covering up the Army's and the civil administration's violence against the Jews. The Romanian Orthodox Church may not have legislated Romania's Holocaust or carried it out, but it stood by and benefitted.

Some of its representatives took part, and its hierarchy shared the State's interest in obscuring what happened. The whitewashing of the past in postwar Church historiography, including any hint at the hierarchy's prior knowledge of where things might be headed or, in particular, complicity at any level in the actual events of the Holocaust, raises questions about today's Church's positioning in regard to the antisemitic past.

Relying upon ample documentation in the Securitate files, the postwar Communist regime could blackmail any number of churchmen. The latter's "Transnistrian moment" thus led them into collaboration with those very "Bolsheviks" they had so long denounced. Despite this, their involvement specifically in the Holocaust never led to prison time or even public criticism (let alone to any apologies). Many in this group not only survived the postwar ideological transition, but continued their ascent within the Church's hierarchy.

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Notes

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1. For the text of the military convention see Înțelegeri, Nikolaev Oblast Archives, Fond (collection) 2178, opis (registry) 1, delo (file) 9, p. 4, in Archives of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM), RG-31.008 (microfiche).
2. On the impact of losing much of Transylvania to Hungary, and on the ongoing World War II discussion between Romania and the German authorities over rescinding the 1940 decision, see Holly Case, *Between the States: The Transylvanian Question and the European Idea during World War II* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2009), 27–35.
3. Rodica Solovei, *Activitatea Guvernământului Transnistriei în domeniul social-economic și cultural (19 August 1941–29 Ianuarie 1944)* (Iași, Romania: Demiurg, 2009), 37; Ioan Silviu Nistor, *Istoria românilor din Transnistria* (Bucharest: Eminescu, 1998), 89–95.
4. For Iuliu Scriban's biography, see Fr. Mircea Păcurariu, *Dicționarul teologilor români* (Bucharest: Enciclopedică, 2002), 432–34. Although close to nationalist circles, Fr. Iuliu Scriban did not join the Iron Guard.
5. Olivian Verenca, *Administrația civilă românească în Transnistria 1941–1944* (Bucharest: Vremea, 2000).
6. Adresa Ministerului Cultelor no. 9719/3 Septembrie 1936 către Mitropolitul Visarion Puiu, Arhivele Naționale Centrale (ANR), Fond Visarion Puiu (VP), dosar (file) nr. 10, p. 31. For Visarion Puiu's biography and

his interwar involvements with antisemitism and fascism, see Ion Popa, “Visarion Puiu, the Former Romanian Orthodox Metropolitan (Archbishop of Transnistria)—A Historical Study of His Life and Activity Before, During and After the Holocaust (1935–1964),” *Holocaust. Studii și Cercetări* 5, no. 1 (2013): 182–203.

7. On the continuity of Legionary ideas and on former members of the Iron Guard during the Holocaust, see Armin Heinen, *Rumänien, der Holocaust und die Logik der Gewalt* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 2007), 99–107. For the pogroms on the eve or just after the start of the Axis invasion of the USSR, such as those in Dorohoi (July 1, 1940) or Iași (June 27–29, 1941), see Marius Mircu, *Pogromurile din Bucovina și Dorohoi* (Bucharest: Glob, 1945), 113–41; Heinen, *Rumänien*, 110–12. On the Iași pogrom, see Marius Mircu, *Pogromul de la Iași (29 Iunie 1941)* (Bucharest: Glob, 1945), 14–35; Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania*, 63–80; Liviu Rotman, Teșu Solomovici, *Istoria Holocaustului din România* (Bucharest: Teșu, 2005), 169–97; Jean Ancel, “The Jassy Pogrom—27th of June 1941,” in *Rumänien und der Holocaust. Zu den Massenverbrechen in Transnistria 1941–1944*, ed. Mariana Hausleitner, Brigitte Mihok, and Juliane Wetzel (Berlin: Metropol, 2001), 53–69; Jean Ancel, *The History of the Holocaust in Romania* (Lincoln: Nebraska University Press, 2011), 270–306; Jean Ancel, *Preludiu la asasinat: Pogromul de la Iași, 29 Iunie 1941* (Iași, Romania: Polirom, 2005), 71–78.

8. Saul Friedlander, *The Years of Persecution. Nazi Germany and the Jews, 1933–1939* (London: Phoenix, 2007), 84.

9. Aristotle Kallis, “‘Licence’ and Genocide in the East: Reflections on Localised Eliminationist Violence during the First Stages of ‘Operation Barbarossa’ (1941),” *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism* 7, no. 3 (2007): 6–23. For similar conclusions in a study of Northern Bucovina and Bessarabia see Simon Geissbühler, “‘He spoke Yiddish like a Jew’: Neighbors’ Contribution to the Mass Killing of Jews in Northern Bucovina and Bessarabia, July 1941,” *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 28, no. 3 (2014): 431.

10. Consiliul Național pentru Studierea Arhivelor Securității (CNSAS), Fond Rețea, file 319280, p. 4.

11. CNSAS, Fond Informativ, file 000701, vol. 1, p. 313.

12. CNSAS, Fond Informativ, file 547926, vol. 1, p. 24.

13. CNSAS, Fond Informativ, file 000701, vol. 7, p. 47.

14. Consilier, “Misionarism românesc,” in *Apostolul* 12, nos. 17–18 (1935): 273–74; “Asociația creștin misionară ‘Patriarhul Miron,’” in *Anuarul Arhiepiscopiei Bucureștilor cu date statistice pe anul 1941* (Bucharest: Tipografia Mănăstirii Cernica, 1941), 98–100. On the Renașterea missionary society in Oltenia, see Fr. Petre Sperlea, *Vartolomeu Stănescu, Episcop al Râmnicului Noului Severin (1921–1938)* (Bucharest: Basilica, 2014), 63–87.

15. Al. Nicov [Antim Nica], “Pentru convertirea lui Israel,” *Misionarul*, 6, nos. 1–2 (1934): 99–100; Fr. Gheorghe Paschia, *Tinerii biruatori*, 2nd ed. (Bucharest: Cugetarea, 1941); Fr. Nicodem Ioniță, *Formarea preotului după hirotonie* (Bucharest: Editura Sfintei Monastiri Antim, 1941).

16. For the historiography relating to the Orthodox Mission/Exarchate in Transnistria, see Ekkehard Völkl, *Transnistrien und Odessa (1941–1944)* (Regensburg, Germany: Lassleben, 1996), 78–88; Col. Dumitru Stavarache and Gheorghe Vasilescu, “Misiunea bisericească română în Transnistria (1941–1944),” in *Document. Buletinul Arhivelor Militare Române* I, nos. 2–3 (1998): 48–52. Stavarache and Vasilescu claim that creation of the Mission/Exarchate followed Antonescu’s initiative. Florin C. Stan, *Situația evreilor din România între anii 1940–1944* (Cluj-Napoca, Romania: Argonaut, 2012), 344–47; Rodica Solovei, *Activitatea Guvernământului Transnistriei în domeniul social-economic și cultural (19 August 1941–29 Ianuarie 1944)* (Iași, Romania: Demiurg, 2009).

17. Fr. Mircea Păcurariu, *Basarabia. Aspecte din istoria Bisericii și a neamului românesc* (Iași, Romania: Editura Mitropoliei Moldovei și Bucovinei, 1993), 119–23; Fr. Veaceslav Ciorbă, *Biserica Ortodoxă în Basarabia și Transnistria (1940–2010)* (Chișinău, Moldova: Pontos, 2011), 107–23.

18. Jean Ancel, *The History of the Holocaust in Romania* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2017), 430–36; Diana Dumitru, *The State, Antisemitism, and Collaboration in the Holocaust: The Borderlands of Romania*

and the Soviet Union (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2016); Ion Popa, *The Romanian Orthodox Church and the Holocaust* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2017), 41–72.

19. Jean Ancel, *Transnistria*, vol. 3 (Bucharest: Atlas, 1998), 236.

20. Dennis Deletant, *Hitler's Forgotten Ally. Ion Antonescu and His Regime, Romania 1940–1944* (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave, 2006), 52.

21. On Antonescu's antisemitism see Dennis Deletant, "Ion Antonescu and the Holocaust in Romania," *East Central Europe* 39 (2012): 63–68. For one answer by the Romanian Jewish community see "Federația Uniunilor de Comunități Evreiești către generalul Ion Antonescu (31 octombrie 1940)," in *Strategii comunitare de supraviețuire în contextul statului național legionar: Documente*, ed. Lya Benjamin (Bucharest: Hasefer, 2013), 242–44; Jean Ancel, *The Economic Destruction of Romanian Jewry* (Jerusalem: The International Institute for Holocaust Research/Yad Vashem, 2007); Ștefan Cristian Ionescu, *Jewish Resistance to "Romanization," 1940–1944* (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 38.

22. Wilhelm Filderman, *Memorii & Jurnal*, vol. II, 1940–1952, ed. Jean Ancel (Bucharest: Hasefer, 2017), 96–98; Emil Dorian, *Jurnal din vremuri de prigoană, 1937–1944* (Bucharest: Hasefer, 1996), 143.

23. On the interwar relationship between the Iron Guard and the Romanian Orthodox Church see Oliver Jens Schmitt, "Der orthodoxe Klerus in Rumänien und die extreme Rechte in der Zwischenkriegszeit," in *Klerus und Nation in Südosteuropa vom 19. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Aleksandar Jakir and Marko Trogrlč (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2014), 187–214; Roland Clark, *Holy Legionary Youth: Fascist Activism in Interwar Romania* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2015), 28–32; Radu Harald Dinu, *Faschismus, Religion und Gewalt in Südosteuropa: Die Legion Erzengel Michael und die Ustaša in historischen Vergleich* (Wiesbaden, Germany: Harrassowitz, 2013), 208–14; Ionut Florin Biliuta, "The Archangel's Consecrated Priests: An Inquiry in the Relationship between the Romanian Orthodox Church and the Iron Guard (1930–1941)," (PhD thesis, Central European University, 2013). For the antisemitic theology of the Romanian Orthodox Church between the wars, see Ionut Florin Biliuta, "Sowing the Seeds of Hate: The Antisemitism of the Romanian Orthodox Church in the Interwar Period," *S.I.M.O.N.—Shoah: Intervention, Methods, Documentation* 3, no. 1 (2016): 20–34.

24. Metropolitan Nicolae Bălan, *Studiu asupra Francmasoneriei* (Bucharest: Tipografia Cărților Bisericești, 1937), 5–6; Roland Clark, "Anti-Masonry as Political Protest: Fascists and Freemasons in Interwar Romania," in *Patterns of Prejudice* 46, no. 1 (2012): 40–57; Vladimir Solonari, *Purifying the Nation: Population Exchange and Ethnic Cleansing in Nazi-Allied Romania* (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press, 2009), 75–95; Diana Dumitru and Carter Johnson, "Constructing Interethnic Conflict and Cooperation: Why Some People Harmed Jews and Others Helped Them during the Holocaust in Romania," *World Politics* 63, no. 1 (2011): 13.

25. On violence against Jews before the Legionary Rebellion, see ANR, Fond Centrala Evreilor, file 3/1940, p. 3, in *Strategii comunitare*, 455–56; Emil Dorian, *Jurnal*, 137; *Comisia internațională pentru Studiarea Holocaustului în România, Raport Final*, ed. Tuvia Friling, Radu Ioanid, and Mihai E. Ionescu (Iași, Romania: Polirom, 2005), 108–109.

26. ANR, Fond Centrala Evreilor, file 3/1940, pp. 86–88, in *Strategii comunitare*, 448–49.

27. Adresa nr. 1621/1941 a Direcțiunii Seminarului Sf. Nicolae din Râmnicu-Vâlcea către Inspectorul General Șef din Ministerul Educației Naționale, ANR, Fond MCA, file 209/1941, p. 20.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 17. CNSAS, Fond Penal, file 010618, vol. 1, p. 109.

29. CNSAS, Fond Informativ, file 374964, vol. 1, p. 32. For Fr. Gheorghe Doară's interwar fascist activism, see Oliver Jens Schmitt, "Approaching the Social History of Romanian Fascism: The Legionaries of Vâlcea County in the Interwar Period," *Fascism. Journal of Comparative Fascist Studies* 3, no. 2 (2014): 127, 132.

30. For Cernica Seminary, see Bartolomeu Anania, *Memorii* (Iași, Romania: Polirom, 2009), 261.

31. CNSAS, Fond Penal, file 010618, vol. 1, pp. 24–25.
32. Matatias Carp, *Cartea neagră. Fapte și documente. Suferințele evreilor din România (1940–1944)*, vol. I: *Legionarii și rebeliunea* (Bucharest: Socec, 1946), 242–45, 247–88. For an eyewitness account of the Dudești pogrom, see F. Brunea-Fox, *Orașul măcelului. Jurnalul rebeliunii și crimelor legionare*, 2nd edition (Bucharest: A.P.P., 1998), 31–33. See too Emil Dorian, *Jurnal*, 146–47; interview with Constantin Roșu, April 4, 2004, USHMM, RG-50.573.0010, Jeff and Toby Herr Collection.
33. Emil Dorian, *Jurnal*, 149; CNSAS, Fond Penal, file 000324, vol. 12, p. 199.
34. Jean Ancel, *The History of the Holocaust*, 157, states that “several dozen Christian Orthodox priests, and perhaps hundreds, also played a significant role in the [Legionary] rebellion and pogrom,” but fails to mention any by name.
35. CNSAS, Fond Informativ, file 264668, vol. 1, p. 14; CNSAS, Fond Penal, file 010618, vol. 1, p. 172; *Pe marginea prăpastiei. 21–23 Ianuarie 1941*, vol. 2, 2nd edition (Bucharest: Scripta, 1992), 56–58, 76, gives a sense of the involvement of Orthodox clergy in the Legionary Rebellion. See Federația Uniunilor de Comunități Evreiești către generalul Ion Antonescu. Anexa (8 Martie 1941) in *Strategii comunitare*, 413, for the devastation wrought by Legionaries in the Dudești area.
36. CNSAS, Fond Informativ, file 264668, p. 43.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 17.
38. CNSAS, Fond MFI (Sibiu), file 12197, vol. 1, reel 146, pp. 2, 26; *Pe marginea prăpastiei. 21–23 Ianuarie 1941*, 200. For Fr. Spiridon Cădea’s antisemitism and Legionary activity, see his “Biruința legionară,” *Glasul Strămoșesc*, year VI, no. 1 (1940): 2. The same Legionary appetite for extorting jewelry from Jews (before and during the Rebellion) was observed in Călărași County. See interview with Aurel Giurcă, April 3, 2004, USHMM, RG-50.573.0009.
39. For Fr. Nicodem Ioniță’s Legionary activity during the Rebellion see CNSAS, Fond Informativ, file 000701, vol. 4, p. 170; Vasile Vasilachi, *De la Antim la Pocrov. Mărturii* (Cluj-Napoca, Romania: Eikon, 2015), p. 30.
40. Referat no. 45200/941 al Departamentului Cultelor către Ministerul Educației Naționale, ANR, Fond MCA, file 218/1941, p. 102; Paulin Lecca, *De la moarte la viață* (Bucharest: Paideea, 1999), 44.
41. CNSAS, Fond Informativ, file 000271, vol. 2, p. 39; see too Federația Uniunilor de Comunități Evreiești către generalul Ion Antonescu, Anexă (9 Decembrie 1940), in *Strategii comunitare de supraviețuire în contextul statului național legionar. Documente*, 301, which lists the Ronetti Roman Temple at Antim Street no. 3 as having been occupied by the Legionaries on November 8, 1940.
42. CNSAS, Fond Informativ, file 160110, vol. 1, p. 3; Mihail Sebastian, *Jurnal 1935–1944* (Bucharest: Humanitas, 1999), 292. See English-language edition: Mihail Sebastian, *Journal 1935–1944: The Fascist Years* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2000).
43. For Patriarch Nicodim Munteanu’s letter of support to General Ion Antonescu and his pastoral letter condemning the Legionary Rebellion, see “Cronică internă,” in *Biserica Ortodoxă Română*, year LIX, nos. 1–2 (1941): 103–105.
44. Rodica Solovei, *Activitatea*, 128–30.
45. Jean Ancel in *Transnistria*, vol. 3 states (p. 210) that initially the High Command of the Romanian Army pushed for a Romanian Orthodox bishopric in the Dniester region.
46. Archimandrite Iulie Scriban, “Lucrarea misionară peste Nistru. Încă nu e prilej de misiune ca la păgâni,” *Biserica Ortodoxă Română*, year LIX, nos. 9–10 (1941): 621–36.
47. Patriarch Nicodim Munteanu, *Biruința nu se poate dobândi doar prin destoinicia clerului, ci și prin vitejia întregii oști creștine* (Bucharest: Tipografia Cărților Bisericești, 1941). Metropolitan Irineu Mihălcescu,

Preoțimea și războiul sfânt. Contra hidrei bolșevice (Iași, Romania: Tipografia Alexandru Țerek, 1941), 7. Metropolitan Nicolae Bălan, “Înoirea forțelor morale ale națiunii,” *Revista Teologică*, year XXXI, nos. 9–10 (1941): 397–99. For the position of the Orthodox clergy in general, see Florin C. Stan, *Situația evreilor din România*, 341.

48. Archimandrite Iuliu Scriban, “Pastorală Războiului. Chemarea preotului la vreme de război,” *Biserica Ortodoxă Română*, year LIX, nos. 7–8 (1941): 385. On the chaplains see Aurel Pentelescu and Ionuț Constantinescu, *Episcopii Armatei Române. Biografii. Documente (1921–1948)* (Bucharest: Militară, 2016), 87–89. For the “fascist and racist activity” of Bishop Partenie Ciopron (1896–1980), at that time Bishop of the Army (1937–1948, a rank equivalent to brigadier general), and of Bishop of Hotin (with authority in both liberated Bessarabia and Transnistria), see CNSAS, Fond Informativ, file 002252, vol. 3, p. 129; and Jean Ancel, *The History of the Holocaust*, 430–36.

49. For the missionaries’ first contacts with the Jews in Bessarabia and Transnistria see Fr. Dimitrie Bejan, *Hotarul cu cetății. Cum se distruge un Neam!* 2nd ed. (Iași, Romania: Doxologia, 2010), 86.

50. Situația numerică a Românilor deportați de bolșevici în Transnistria, Nikolaev Oblast Archive, Fond 2178, opis 1, delo 2, p. 33, in USHMM, RG-31.008; Memoriu asupra problemei evreilor din Basarabia, Arhiva Națională a Republicii Moldova (ANRM), Fond 706, opis 1, delo 22, p. 4, in USHMM, RG-54.001M, reel 1.

51. For the statement of Abbess Tamara of Tabăra Convent (Orhei County) about the Soviets’ earlier takeover of the monastery for a workshop, managed by a local Jew, see Declarație, ANR, Fond MCA, file 102/1942, p. 198. See also Fr. David Portase-Prut, “Misiunea Ortodoxă în Transnistria,” *Raza* 12, no. 600 (1942): [I declare that] “the Judeo-Communist regime [closed] down the churches, imprisoning the priests.”

52. Fr. N.V. Hodoroabă, *Misionarism moldovenesc* (Iași, Romania: Tipografia “Lucrătorii Asociați,” 1942), 5–6; Fr. V. Prisăcaru, “Reîncreștinarea ținuturilor de peste Nistru,” *Misionarul*, year XIII, no. 1 (1942): 22–30.

53. CNSAS, Fond Penal, file 014497, vol. 1, p. 47; file 128707, vol. 1, p. 14. For Fr. Iustin Pârnu, see Hieromonk Teognost, *Părintele Iustin Pârnu și bogăția unei vieți dăruită lui Hristos*, vol. 1 (Iași, Romania: Credința strămoșească, 2007), 62. According to Adresa nr. 3452/22 decembrie 1942 a Sfântului Sinod către Ministrul Cultelor și Artelor, ANR, Fond MCA, file 2/1943, p. 4, throughout the war Patriarch Nicodim Munteanu asked the military to draft theology students, graduates, and clergymen into non-combat medical units. Despite this, many (former) Legionaries enlisted as chaplains or front-line soldiers and officers. See Dorin Dobrințu, “Legionarii și guvernarea Ion Antonescu (1941–1944),” in *Romania: A Crossroads of Europe*, ed. Kurt W. Treptow (Iași, Romania: Center for the Romanian Studies, 2002), 202–203.

54. Dumitru Păsat, *Memoriile căpitanului Dumitru Păsat* (Bucharest: Humanitas, 2015), 134.

55. Fr. Dimitrie Bejan, *Hotarul cu cetății*, 71.

56. Telegrama Generalului Radu Rosetti către Mitropolitul Nicolae Bălan, ANR, Fond MCA, file 126/1941, p. 223; CNSAS, Fond Informativ, file 0053331, vol. 1, p. 42; CNSAS, Fond MFI, file 11945 (Sibiu), reel 1, pp. 4, 22; Gheorghe Secaș, *Pentru sufletul Basarabiei. Ierarhii și preoții din Ardeal în misiune la frații din Basarabia dezrobii* (Sibiu, Romania: Tiparul Tipografiei Arhidiecezane, 1944), 8, 16; Bishop Nicolae Popovici, “Misiunea Bisericii Ardeleni în Basarabia și Transnistria,” in Nicolae Popovici, *Lespezi de altar. În slujba Bisericii și a Neamului la granița de vest a țării* (Beiuș, Romania: Tipografia Eparhială, 1942), 141–47; Deacon Gheorghe Moisescu, “Apostolatul Bisericii Ortodoxe Române în Transnistria,” *Biserica Ortodoxă Română*, year LIX, nos. 9–10 (1941): 605–14; Archimandrite Teodor Scorobeț, “Expediția misionară a Episcopatului ardelean în ținuturile desrobite,” *Revista Teologică*, year XXXI, nos. 9–10 (1941): 400–10; Fr. V. P. “Ierarhii ardeleni în misiune pe plaiurile Basarabiei desrobite,” *Misionarul*, year XIII, nos. 1 (1942): 47; Dean Colonel I. Dăcilă, “Cu Crucea pe pământ dezrobite,” *Arma Cuvântului*, year II, nos. 8–9 (1941): 5. On Fr. Dăcilă’s prewar anti-communism see Fr. Ioan Dăcilă, *În slujba Neamului prin Ecanghelie. Îndrumări morale și naționale* (Sibiu, Romania: Arhidiecezană, 1925), 117; for him “Bolshevism” was a “dangerous and invisible enemy.” See Aurel Pentelescu and Ionuț-Constantin Petcu, *Episcopii Armatei Române*, 102–104. For the number of Transylvanian

clergymen in the missionary expedition led by Metropolitan Nicolae Bălan, see Dr. Grigore T. Marcu, “Expediția misionară a episcopatului ardelean în Basarabia și Transnistria,” *Revista Teologică*, year XXXI, nos. 9–10 (1941): 456–57; Bishop Nicolae Popovici, “Misiunea Bisericii Ardelene în Basarabia și Transnistria,” in Nicolae Popovici, *Lespezi de altar*, 144, speaks of only fifty-three priests and deacons following the Transylvanian bishops in Bessarabia and Transnistria.

57. Secaș, *Pentru sufletul Basarabiei*, 18; idem, “Pentru sufletul Basarabiei,” *Arma Cuvântului*, 2, nos. 8–9 (1941): 6–12; Bishop Nicolae Popovici, “Misiunea Bisericii Ardelene în Basarabia și Transnistria,” in Nicolae Popovici, *Lespezi de altar*, 144.

58. Secaș, *Pentru sufletul Basarabiei*, 22; Dr. Grigore T. Marcu, “Expediția misionară,” 459. According to one source, Metropolitan Nicolae Bălan was the first to send a felicitation card to General Antonescu for starting the “Holy War against Bolshevism,” and he was the actual initiator of the Orthodox Mission in Transnistria. See “Decizie de propuneri de a redeschide acțiunea informativă împotriva Mitropolitului Nicolae Bălan,” USHMM, RG-25.004 (Romanian Information Service Archives), reel 244, file 26561, vol. 1, pp. 86–87. Nevertheless in his *Resisting the Storm. Romania 1940–1947* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1987), 99–100, Alexandre Safran claims to have asked, successfully, Metropolitan Bălan to intercede with General Antonescu to stop the deportations of the Romanian Jews to Transnistria. According to Florin C. Stan, *Situația evreilor*, 348, Metropolitan Bălan helped repatriate 873 Jewish orphans from the Beșad and Balta ghettos.

59. Archimandrite Antim Nica, *Viața religioasă în Transnistria* (Chișinău: Monitorul Oficial și Imprimeriile Statului, 1943), 51–60; Fr. David Portase-Prut, “Bat clopotele până la Bug,” *Transnistria creștină*, year I, no. 1 (1942): 15–17; Fr. Dumitru Balaur, “Pe urmele Mântuitorului răstignit a doua oară,” *Biserica basarabeană*, year I, no. 1 (1940): 10; Vasile Țepordei, “Sufletul basarabean în robie,” *Raza*, year XII, no. 606 (1942): 1; Andrei Beleasnă, “Ororile Bolșevismului,” *Transnistria creștină*, year II, nos. 1–3 (1943): 79–82.

60. Secaș, *Pentru sufletul Basarabiei*, 17; Fr. Sergiu C. Roșca, “Impozitul reîntregirii,” *Raza*, year XII, no. 608 (1942): 1, who attributed the damage solely to the Jews, and praised both the government’s new “reunification tax” and its decision to levy it on Jews at four times the rate paid by Gentiles.

61. Secaș, *Pentru sufletul Basarabiei*, 56.

62. Ordinul nr. 11 A (18 septembrie 1941), Comandamentului Militar al Municipiului Chișinău către Domnul General Guvernator al Basarabiei, ANRM, Fond 706, opis 1, delo 22, p. 4, in USHMM, RG-54.001M, reel 1; on deportations across the Dniester see Anexa nr. 4. Organizarea evacuării evreilor, *ibid.*, pp. 44–45, 47–49, 53–60. Even local authorities in Bessarabia acknowledged that the deportation of Jews over the Dniester amounted to nothing more than “organized robbery.” See *Dare de seamă asupra călătoriei de informație în făcută în Basarabia și Bucovina*, ANRM, Fond 706, opis 1, delo 23, p. 104, in USHMM, RG-54.001M.

63. Anexa nr. 2, ANRM, Fond 706, opis 1, delo 22, p. 35, in USHMM, RG-54.001M, reel 1.

64. For Nifon Criveanu, see Fr. Dumitru Păcurariu, *Dicționarul Teologilor Români*, 2nd ed. (Bucharest: Enciclopedică, 2002), 146.

65. Alexandru Smochină, *Care Patrie? Memoriile unui subprefect român în Transnistria* (Cluj-Napoca, Romania: Argonaut, 2014), 175.

66. *Mitropolia Olteniei în opera misionară din Transnistria* (Craiova, Romania: Tipografia Sfintei Mitropolii, 1943), 17; Adresa nr. 9855/21 Aprilie 1942 a Mitropoliei Olteniei către Ministrul Cultelor, ANR, Fond MCA, file 106/1942, pp. 108, 122. For Bessarabian priests who had fled the Soviets in 1940, found temporary assignments in Transylvania, and were now returning, see *Tablou cu personalul refugiat din Basarabia care urmează a se înapoia la posturile avute înainte de evacuare*, ANR, Fond MCA, file 108/1941, p. 13.

67. CNSAS, Fond Informativ, file 374964, vol. I, p. 47. For Fr. Stoenac, see CNSAS, Fond Penal, file 014497, vol. XI, p. 44; *Mitropolia Olteniei în opera misionară din Transnistria*, 17. Other Legionary priests such as Fr. Dumitru Rădulescu from Măldărești, Vâlcea County were turned down by the central administration in

Bucharest. See Pr. Constantin Brânzea, Consilier Referent al Mitropoliei Olteniei, către Ministrul Cultelor și Artelor, ANR, Fond MCA, file 106/1942, p. 44.

68. Pr. Grigore Georgescu de la Catedrala din Râbnia către Misiunea Ortodoxă din Transnistria, ANR, Fond MCA, file 106/1942, p. 67.

69. Ieromonah Gherasim Iscu către Ministrul Cultelor și Artelor, ANR, Fond MCA, file 106/1942, p. 99. The state's plans for Gherasim Iscu were approved by Metropolitan Nifon Criveanu. See Pr. Constantin Brânzea către Ministrul Cultelor și Artelor, ANR, Fond MCA, file 106/1942, p. 103.

70. CNSAS, Fond Penal, file 128707, vol. 1, 14.

71. Ibid. A deanery oversaw several parishes.

72. Archimandrite Iuliu Scriban și Archimandrite Antim Nica, "Dare de seamă pe activitatea Misiunii Ortodoxe în Transnistria de la înființare până la 31 decembrie 1941," *Transnistria creștină* 1, no. 1 (1941): 25. See also CNSAS, Fond Informativ, file 000701, vol. 3, 25–28. For the situation of the Orthodox Church in Bessarabia before the war see Fr. Sergiu C. Roșca, "Biserica basarabeană sub ocupație sovietică și primele realizări ale noii stăpîniri românești în Basarabia," *Misionarul*, 13, no. 1 (1942): 34–40; Svetlana Suveică, "The Local Administration in Transnistria and the Holocaust: Two Case Studies," *Holocaust. Studii și cercetări* 7, no. 8 (2015): 97–111.

73. Dare de seamă asupra călătoriei de informație în Basarabia și Bucovina, ANRM, Fond 706, opis 1, delo 23, p. 99, in USHMM, RG-51.001M, reel 1. Reappointment of Russian or Ukrainian clerics is poorly reflected in the Romanian sources, for obvious reasons, but deserves future research.

74. Archimandrite Antim Nica, "Dare de seamă pe activitatea Misiunii Ortodoxe în Transnistria de la 1 Ianuarie la 31 Martie 1942," *Transnistria creștină* 1, no. 1 (1941): 30; ANR, Fond MCA, file 106/1942, pp. 3–27; Archimandrite Antim Nica, "Aspecte misionare din Basarabia," *Misionarul* 13, nos. 2–3 (1942): 80–81.

75. "Cronică mărunță," *Transnistria creștină*, year I, no. 1 (1941): 64.

76. Referat nr. 5646/1942 al preoților Alexandru Gregorian și Filip Popescu către Sfânta Mitropolie a Olteniei, ANR, Fond MCA, file 106/1942, p. 95. According to a press article, Archimandrite Scriban favored Bessarabian priests as missionaries in Transnistria over clergymen from elsewhere. See Arch. Scriban, "Noroc de basarabeni!," *Raza* 12, no. 605 (1942): 1. On abuses, see the case of Mircea Avramescu (initially a secretary to Archimandrite Scriban), who took bribes to facilitate the appointment of theology students as missionary priests in Transnistria so they wouldn't be sent to the front. See Petiție adresată lui IPS Visarion Puiu, ANR, Fond VP, file 12/1942–1943, p. 4.

77. Alexandru Smochină, *Care Patrie?*, 173; Jean Ancel, *Transnistria*, vol. 3, 221. In Transnistria the new priests received payment from the government, although through the Church apparatus; this reflected the fact that the Exarchate was as much a State as a Church project. Missionaries asked substantial fees for baptisms, weddings, and funerals, and charged high prices for prayer books, crosses, icons, and the like. These practices made them unpopular and exercised a baleful effect on the religious renewal of the region.

78. "Dare de seamă despre lucrarea și înfăptuirile Misiunii Ortodoxe din Transnistria," in *Biserica Ortodoxă Română*, year LX, nos. 1–4 (1942): 138–44; *Raport General al Secției Administrative Bisericești din Arhiepiscopia Bucureștilor pe anul 1942* (Bucharest: Eminescu, 1943), 58–59.

79. Metropolitan Archbishop Visarion Puiu was a strong supporter of the Iron Guard. See Constantin Tomescu, *Prietenul meu Visarion Puiu* (Suceava, Romania: Tipografia Rof, 2005), 72. As Archbishop of Cernăuți and Metropolitan of Bucovina he funded out of his own pocket a work camp in Tămășești (Suceava County). In January 1937 he received at the Cernăuți Cathedral the coffins of two Legionary volunteers from the Spanish Civil War after their funeral procession across Romania. See ANR, Fond Ministerul de Interne, Diverse, file 4/1937, p. 3; Heinen, *Legiunea Arhanghelul Mihail*, 294. On accusations against Puiu by the government and by local Bukovinian politicians, see Constantin C. Dănilă către IPS Tit, locuitor al Mitropoliei

Bucovinei, ANR, Fond VP, file 10, pp. 10–12, 84. Marshall Antonescu appointed Puiu to head the reorganized Exarchate in Transnistria on November 23, 1942, at the request of Gheorghe Alexianu (1897–1946), the territory's civil governor (a step little appreciated in the Church hierarchy). See Deciziune no. 3109/1942 a Guvernământului Transnistriei, ANR, Fond VP, file 11/1941–1944, p. 10. As legal counselor of the Ecclesiastical Fund and professor of the University of Cernăuți, Alexianu had helped Puiu in 1937 draw up regulations for the administration of both the Fund and the Metropolitan See: Verenca, *Administrația civilă*, 229. After his appointment to the Exarchate Puiu asked the Minister of Religious Denominations and Arts, Professor Ion Petrovici, to rescind the Royal Decree of May 11, 1940 that accepted his resignation from the Holy Synod. See Mitropolit Visarion Puiu către Ministrul Cultelor și Artelor, ANR, Fond MCA, file 2/1942, p. 6. Regarding his activity in Odessa, see Alexander Dallin, *Odessa, 1941–1944: A Case Study of Soviet Territory under Foreign Rule* (Portland, OR: Center for Romanian Studies, 1998), 163–64. He resigned from the leadership of Exarchate in December 1943 due to the lack of material support from the government. See CNSAS, fond SIE, file 142, p. 20. For a detailed account of the priests deployed as missionaries in Transnistria, see Tabloul preoților veniți din țară în Transnistria, ANR, Fond VP, file 11/1941–1944, pp. 11–15 (Romanian priests) and 16–19 (local priests). For an account in English of the formation of the Orthodox Mission and the Exarchate in Transnistria, see Jan Bank with Lieve Gevers, *Church and Religion in the Second World War* (London: Bloomsbury, 2016), 249–51. On Puiu's life see Tomescu, *Prietenul meu*, 47–48; Dumitru Stavarache, “Mitropolitul Visarion Puiu (1879–1964) șef al Misiunii Bisericești Ortodoxe pentru Transnistria (decembrie 1942–decembrie 1943): Documente înregistrate la Serviciile Administrativ, Economic și Cultural al Misiunii,” in *Omăgiu istoricului Florin Constantiniu* (Focșani, Romania: Editura Muzeului Vrancei, 2003), 422–75; and Fr. Cristinel Ștefan Tanasă, *Visarion Puiu: Biografia unui mitropolit* (Iași, Romania: Doxologia, 2017), 94–105. For the occupation of Odessa by the Romanian Army and the antisemitic policies implemented by the Romanian administration, see Ottmar Trașcă, “Ocuparea orașului Odessa de către armata română și măsurile adoptate față de populația evreiască, octombrie 1941–martie 1942,” in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie G. Barițiu din Cluj-Napoca*, vol. XLVII (2008): 377–425.

80. CNSAS, Fond Informativ, file 000701, vol 3, p. 30.

81. Visarion Puiu către Mareșalul Antonescu, ANR, Fond VP, file 11/1941–1944, p. 32. Archimandrite Teofil Ionescu criticized the invasion of pre-1940 Soviet territory among the Church hierarchy and his own peers as “opportunism,” calling the acquisition of Transnistria “territorial profit”: Aviz din 12 Iulie 1943, ANR, Fond MCA, file 5/1943, p. 37. On the subject of three vicariates, see Jurnal nr. 1 [December 18, 1943], ANR, Fond VP, file 12/1942–1943, p. 42. Metropolitan Puiu appointed Archimandrite Nica one of the administrative vicars, but the other two positions remained unfilled. Ciorbă, *Biserica Ortodoxă în Basarabia și Transnistria*, 123–24; Solovei, *Activitatea*, 127. Dallin is right when he states that Tulcin and Balta were already raised to the status of bishoprics under Puiu; *Odessa, 1941–1944*, 164. The two candidates groomed by Visarion Puiu for the bishoprics of Balta and Tulcin were, respectively, Archimandrite Antim Nica and Archimandrite Antonie Harghel (1897–1961); both were already serving as administrative vicars of the Mission, but the growing collapse of the Axis position in the East meant they had to leave before any promotions could take place.

82. Expunere de motive, ANR, Fond VP, file 12/1942–1943, p. 9. None of the professors brought in to staff the new schools spoke Russian, which may have hindered “re-Christianization,” though we do not know how many potential students could not speak Romanian.

83. Dallin, *Odessa, 1941–1944*, 164.

84. For the missionary expedition see Grigore T. Marcu, “Veacul Ortodoxiei misionare,” *Revista Teologică*, year XXXII, nos. 1–2 (1942): 8; Archimandrite Iuliu Scriban, “Misionarismul ortodox din Transnistria,” *Ortodoxia*, vol. I (Bucharest: Tipografia Cărților Bisericești, 1942), 55–71; Pr. Misionar C. Munteanu către Ministrul Cultelor și Artelor, ANR, Fond MCA, file 106/1942, p. 84.

85. Fr. Paul Mihailovici, Professor Nicanor Timuș, “Raportul Pr. Pavel Mihail dela Soborul Vechi-Chișinău,” *Misionarul*, year XIII, nos. 4–6 (1942): 179–92.

86. Raportul D-lui Judecător al Cabinetului 4 Instrucție de pe lângă Tribunalul Ilfov nr. 197/1941 către Ministerul Justiției, ANR, Fond MCA, file 106/1942, p. 34.
87. Interview with Nicolae Crăciun, June 14, 2014, USHMM, RG-50.572.0171, Oral History interviews of the Moldova Documentation Project.
88. Prefectul Colonel Modest Isopescu (Prefectura Golta) către Revizorul Economic Nica, USHMM, RG-31.008 (Nikolaev Oblast' [Ukraine] Archives), Fond 2178, opis 1, delo 2, p. 178. Ordinul nr. 2144/9 Aprilie 1942 de la Prefectura Golta către Protoieria județului Golta, *ibid.*, delo 4, p. 331. The Patriarchate informed the government that thirty-three Jews had been baptized in Bucharest alone between March 4, 1941 and January 1, 1943. See also Tabloul de evrei botezați la parohiile din cuprinsul Mitropoliei Ungro-Vlahiei, ANR, Fond MCA, file 120/1943, pp. 4–7.
89. Dumitru, *The State, Antisemitism, and Collaboration*, 70.
90. Yosef Govrin, *Sub spectrul distrugerii: Amintiri din Transnistria și în timpul imigrării ilegale în Ereț Israel, 1941–1947* (Bucharest: Hasefer, 2015), 51.
91. On the violence perpetrated by Romania in summer and autumn 1941, see Jean Ancel, “The Romanian Way of Solving the ‘Jewish Problem’ in Bessarabia and Bucovina, June–July 1941,” *Yad Vashem Studies* 19 (1988): 127–232; Vladimir Solonari, “Patterns of Violence: The Local Population and the Mass Murder of the Jews in Bessarabia and Northern Bucovina, July–August 1941,” *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 8, no. 4 (2007): 749–87; Dumitru, *The State, Antisemitism, and Collaboration*, 139–231; Simon Geissbühler, *Iulie însângerat. România și Holocaustul din vara lui 1941* (Bucharest: Curtea Veche, 2015), 83–113; *idem*, “He spoke Yiddish like a Jew”: 436–38; Jan Bank, Lieve Gevers, *Church and Religion in the Second World War*, 421–28.
92. Mircu, *Pogromurile din Basarabia și alte câteva întâmplări* (Bucharest: Glob, 1947), 4–17; Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies Under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2000), 101–109; Vladimir Solonari, *Purifying the Nation*, 168–200; Jean Ancel, *The History of the Holocaust in Romania*, 204–33; Geissbühler, “He spoke Yiddish like a Jew,” 430–49.
93. Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania*, 94.
94. *Ibid.*, 94–95.
95. Adresa nr. 716/20 Martie 1942 a Sfântului Sinod către Ministrul Cultelor și Artelor, ANR, Fond MCA, file 2/1942, 38.
96. CNSAS, Fond Informativ, file 261884, p. 4, in USHMM, RG-25.084 (Selected Records from the National Council for the Study of the Securitate Archives). He also appears in the papers of the Romanian Gendarmerie Inspectorate in Transnistria with his rank (lieutenant) and salary: Batalionul 4 Jandarmi, Tabel, Fond 2242, opis 4c, file 18/1941, p. 156, in USHMM, RG-31.004M (Odessa Oblast Archives), reel 1. Alexandru Smochină mentions that the Berezovca ghetto was guarded by a legion of gendarmes under a lieutenant, but does not give his name: *Care patrie?*, 122. A growing body of scholarship about the Transnistrian ghettos focuses on such issues as memorialization, survival, everyday life, and so on: Avigdor Shahan, *Burning Ice: The Ghettos of Transnistria* (Boulder, CO: East European Monographs, 1996), 190–230; Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania*, 110–76.
97. *Ibid.*, 6, 9.
98. CNSAS, Fond Penal, file 000715, vol. 1, p. 13.
99. *Ibid.*, p. 32.
100. Adrian Nicolae Petcu, “Clerici hunedoreni sub persecuția comunistă,” in *Pătimitori și pătimire în închisorile comuniste*, ed. Fr. Florin Dobrei (Alba-Iulia; Deva, Romania: Reîntregirea; Editura Episcopiei Devei și Hunedoarei, 2015), 152.

101. CNSAS, Fond Penal, file 000715, vol. 1, p. 32.

102. Zinaida și Eugen Capusteac, “Preoții și sărbătorile sub sovietici,” *Biserica basarabeană*, year II, nos. 7–8 (1943): 285–86; Professor Constantin Tomescu, “Trans Nistrum,” *Transnistria creștină*, year II, nos. 1–2 (1943): 3–4.

103. See Fr. H. Vârtosu, “Mucenicie în Basarabia,” *Biserica basarabeană*, year I, no. 3 (1943): 160. Deacon Costache I. Paiu, “La răscrucea destinului,” *Arma Cuvântului*, year III, nos. 4–6 (1943): 97. On Russification of Bessarabia under Soviet rule see Charles King, *The Moldovans: Romania, Russia, and the Politics of Culture* (Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press, 2000), 90–95. Elena Șișcanu, *Basarabia sub regimul bolșevic (1940–1952)* (Bucharest: Semne, 1998), 125–34; Igor Cașu, *Dușmanul de clasă. Represiuni politice, violență și rezistență în RASS Moldovenească, 1924–1956* (Chișinău: Cartier, 2014), 215–76; Igor Cașu, “Stalinist Terror in Soviet Moldavia, 1940–1953,” in *Stalinist Terror in Eastern Europe: Elite Purges and Mass Repression*, ed. Kevin McDermott and Matthew Stibbe (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2010), 39–56.

104. On accusations against the Jews for spreading “false rumors” see Inspector regional de Siguranță Păpăsoțir către Guvernatorul Transnistriei, Fond 2242, opis 4C, file 38/1942, p. 105 in USHMM, RG-31.004M (Odessa Oblast Archives), reel 1. For Romanian colonial attitudes and the exploitation of the local population, see Archimandrite Antim Nica, *Viața religioasă în Transnistria*, 73; *Transnistria. Un an de la căderea Odesei, 16 octombrie 1941–16 octombrie 1942* (Bucharest: Monitorul Oficial și Imprimeriile Statului, 1942), 7–14; Alexander Dallin, *Odessa, 1941–1944*, 114–21; Archimandrite Antim Nica, “Dare de seamă,” 52; Vladimir Solonari, “Nationalist Utopianism, Orientalist Imagination, and Economic Exploitation: Romanian Aims and Policies in Transnistria, 1941–1944,” *Slavic Review* 75, no. 3 (2016): 583–602. On “ecclesiastical colonialism” see Alexander Dallin, *Odessa, 1941–1944*, 166: all church services were performed in Romanian; Visarion Puiu attempted to introduce Church Slavonic, but to no avail.

105. All Uniate missionaries from Romania who wanted to proselytize in Transnistria would have needed the approval of Governor Aleksianu and of Puiu—who never granted it. See ANR, Fond MCA, file 106/1942, 278. In a telegram of December 22, 1942 Nica stated that there were no Uniates in Odessa so there was no need for missionaries from Romania: telegrama Arhimandritului Nica către Secretarul General al Ministerului Cultelor și Artelor Aurel Popa, Fond MCA, file 106/1942, p. 283; Archimandrite Iuliu Scriban și Archimandrite Antim Nica, “Dare de seamă,” 22; Ottmar Trașcă and Constantin Iordachi, “Ideological Transfers and Bureaucratic Entanglements: Nazi Experts on the Jewish Question and Romanian-German Relations, 1940–1944,” *Fascism. A Journal of Comparative Fascist Studies* 4, no. 1 (2015): 86–90. This led to the government’s 1942 formal decision to forbid Uniate missionary activities in Transnistria advocated by the Uniate Metropolitan See of Blaj: Adresa Direcției Cultelor către Președenția Consiliului de Miniștri, ANR, Fond VP, file 11/1941–1944, p. 20.

106. CNSAS, Fond SIE, file 142, p. 6. On November 25, 1942 Patriarch (1939–1948) Nicodim agreed to the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Arts’s recommendation that the Holy Synod include Metropolitan Visarion Puiu as representative of the Transnistrian Exarchate. Communications between Puiu and the Patriarch were confidential, Puiu’s appointment by the government and confirmation by the Synod public. On the complexities of confidential and public, state and church discussions see Profesorul Aurel Popa, Secretarul General al Ministerului Cultelor și Artelor, către Sfântul Sinod, ANR, Fond MCA, file 2/1942, p. 4. Now Marshall Antonescu confirmed the decision of the Holy Synod to overturn Carol II’s 1940 Royal Decree accepting Puiu’s retirement (ostensibly “for reasons of health” but actually for dissatisfaction with his bad management of Church property, alleged embezzlement, and Legionary affiliation); and confirmed Puiu’s re-inclusion in the Holy See his jurisdiction over the Exarchate of Transnistria, the Archbishopric of Chișinău, and the Metropolitanate of Bessarabia. See Decret, ANR, Fond MCA, file 2/1942, p. 7.

107. Eric D. Steinhart, *The Holocaust and the Germanization of Ukraine* (New York: Cambridge University Press in association with the German Historical Institute, 2018), 33. For a World War II-era testimony, see Gheorghe Răscănescu, *Erou la Cotul Domului. Însemnări din război 1941–1944* (Bucharest: Militară, 2017), 112.

108. See Martin Dean, *Robbing the Jews. The Confiscation of Jewish Property in the Holocaust, 1933–1945* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 173–222; Götz Aly, *Hitler's Beneficiaries: Plunder, Racial War and the Nazi Welfare State* (New York: Henry Holt, 2008), 183–202. For Jewish resistance to “Romanianization” see Ștefan Christian Ionescu, *Jewish Resistance to Romanization, 1940–1944* (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 147–62; and idem, “Legal Tools instead of Weapons: Jewish Resistance to the State Takeover of Urban Real Estate and Businesses during the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944,” in *Jewish Resistance against the Nazis*, ed. Patrick Henry (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2014), 448–83. For the increasing phenomenon of Romanian administrators demanding bribes from the local Jews in Transnistria see Sinteză informativă asupra situației generale din Transnistria pe luna iulie 1942, Odessa State Oblast Archive Records, Fond 2242, opis 4C, ed. hr. (file) no. 28/1942, p. 72, in USHMM, RG-31.004M, reel 1.

109. Matatias Carp, *Cartea neagră. Fapte și documente. Suferințele evreilor din România (1940–1944)*, vol. III: *Transnistria* (Bucharest: Dacia Traiană, 1947), 199–206; Lecca, *De la moarte la viață*, 127.

110. CNSAS, Fond SIE, file 142, p. 51.

111. CNSAS, Fond Informativ, file 000701, vol. 1, pp. 2, 33; and file 546927, vol. 1, p. 7. On Archimandrite Antim Nica's questionable character, see the description by Hieromonk Gherasim Iscu (another fascist), in a March 16, 1943 letter to Metropolitan Visarion Puiu calling Nica “vain and mentally unstable”: Gherasim Iscu către Visarion Puiu, ANR, Fond VP, file 12/1942–1943, p. 28. Romanian security authorities were aware of abuses and corruption among the clergy and their associates in the civil administration. Direcțiunea Poliției de Siguranță către Ministerul Cultelor și Artelor, ANR, Fond MCA, file 106/1942, p. 5; Memoriu asupra problemei evreiești din Basarabia, ANRM, Fond 706, opis 1, delo 22, 8, in USHMM, RG-54.001M (National Archives of Moldova). Nica first volunteered for missionary work in Bessarabia (Bălți Cathedral), where he served as a priest in August 1941. See Tablou cu personalul refugiat din Basarabia care urmează a se înapoia la posturile avute înainte de evacuare, ANR, Fond MCA, file 108/1941, p. 11. That same month his brother, Fr. Andrei Nicov (Antim Nica had changed his last name because Nicov sounded too Russian), was appointed priest in the city of Călărași (Lăpușna County, Bessarabia): Tablou cu personalul refugiat din Basarabia care urmează a se înapoia la posturile avute înainte de evacuare, ANR, Fond MCA, file 108/1941, p. 11; and on May 7, 1942 Inspector of the Mission in Transnistria: Arhimandritul Scriban către Ministrul Cultelor și Artelor, *ibid.*, file 106/1942, pp. 111, 113. Then in June 1942 Andrei Nicov was appointed to Transnistria as assistant parish priest at the Chișinău cemetery church, to the consternation of the current priest, Fr. Pavel Grosu, who accused him of pursuing “interests foreign to those of the Orthodox Church” and against the wishes of the bishop, Efreim Enăcescu: Memoriu al Protoiereului Pavel Grosu, ANR, Fond MCA, file 106/1942, p. 213. Antim Nica's constant conflicts with Archimandrite Iuliu Scriban led to his ouster from the Orthodox Mission on October 3, 1942 for “negligence in performing his duties”: Arhimandrit Scriban către Direcțiunea Cultelor, ANR, Fond MCA, file 106/1942, p. 243. On December 31, 1942, Hieromonk Varlaam Chiriță was appointed by Puiu as abbot of St. Panteleimon Monastery in Odessa. See Tablou preoților veniți din țară în Transnistria aflați în serviciu la data de 31 decembrie 1942, ANR, Fond VP, file 11/1941–1944, 13. Hieromonk Antim Tabacu was also transferred to Osipovca (Dubăsari County) with the same order. See Tablou preoților veniți din țară în Transnistria aflați în serviciu la data de 31 decembrie 1942, ANR, Fond VP, file 11/1941–1944, 12; regarding how Fr. Antim Tabacu and his monks from Iosipovca robbed locals, see Lecca, *De la moarte la viață*, 135–36.

112. “Cine este starețul la mănăstirea Pasărea?,” Arhiva Secretariatului de Stat pentru Culte, Fond Direcția de Studii, file 85/1953, vol. 11, p. 48.

113. Notă informativă, ANR, Fond MCA, file 102/1942, p. 6. See also Legiunea Jandarmi Golta, Dare de seamă asupra activității informative pe luna iunie 1943, Nikolaev Oblast Archives, Fond 2178, opis 1, delo 57, 184, in USHMM, RG-31.008.

114. CNSAS, Fond Informativ, file 000701, vol. 3, 29.

115. Ordin no. 10 190/14 Decembrie 1942, Yad Vashe Archives, Gosudartvenny Arkiv Chernovitskoy Oblasti, M.52, file 50, p. 11.
116. Ibid., vol. 1, 246; Dudu Velicu, *Biserica Ortodoxă în anii regimului comunist. Însemnări zilnice*. Vol. II (1948–1959) (Bucharest: Arhivele Naționale ale României, 2005), 216, claims that in the 1950s, and despite occupying second-tier positions, Antim Nica was the richest Orthodox bishop in Romania, and that part of his fortune may have come from his illicit activities in Transnistria.
117. CNSAS, Fond Informativ, file 547926, vol. I, p. 22; Dudu Velicu judges that the looting was centered in the Ismail bishopric: *Biserica Ortodoxă în anii regimului comunist. Însemnări zilnice*. Vol. I (1945–1947) (Bucharest: Arhivele Naționale ale României, 2004), 170. Besides gold and other valuables extracted from the Jews and local Ukrainians, Hieromonk Varlaam Chiriță left Transnistria with 4,000 ancient historical documents from the Florina Monastery in Berșad, never returned: *Transnistria creștină*, year II, nos. 3–4 (1943): 62.
118. CNSAS, Fond Informativ, file 233982, vol. I, p. 2.
119. CNSAS, Fond Informativ, file 233982, vol. II, p. 94. According to Fr. V.P., “Cronică internă,” *Misionarul*, year XIII, no. 1 (1942): 56, Fr. Associate-Dean David Portase-Prut was part of a group of clergymen from Bessarabia who volunteered for missionary work in Transnistria and sought the blessing of Auxiliary Bishop of Chișinău Efreim Tighineanu. On Fr. Portase-Prut’s Legionary agitation see his “Cine sunt învingătorii?” *Gând Basarabean*, year I, no. 3 (1940): 1.
120. He was sent to his former parish in the village of Cărpiniș (Lăpușna County). Tablou cu personalul refugiat din Basarabia, care urmează a se înapoia la posturile de dinainte de evacuare, ANR, Fond MCA, file 108/1941, p. 16; CNSAS, Fond Informativ, file 000701, vol. 1, p. 185; *ibid.*, file 233982, vol. 1, p. 25.
121. CNSAS, Fond Informativ, file 233982, vol. 2, 87.
122. CNSAS, Fond Informativ, file 233982, vol. 1, p. 2; and vol. 2, p. 87.
123. *Ibid.*, file 233982, vol. 2, p. 35.
124. *Ibid.*, file 000701, vol. 1, p. 2.
125. The metaphor is taken from Aly, *Hitler’s Beneficiaries*, 202–24.
126. According to Alexandru Smochină, *Care Patrie?*, 174, while Fr. Coșereanu was dean of Ananiev County (starting July 20, 1942) he lectured twenty times in courses for primary and secondary school teachers. For other cases of Orthodox clergymen who helped or saved Jews during the Holocaust, see Ion Popa, *The Romanian Orthodox Church*, 59–62.
127. Ordin nr. 1931/13 octombrie 1943 al Legiunii de Jandarmi Ananiev către Inspectoratul General al Jandarmeriei București, ANR, Fond Inspectoratul General al Jandarmeriei, file 83/1943, 318, in USHMM, RG-25.002M, reel 35.
128. Govrin, *Sub spectrul*, 79.
129. *Ibid.* See also Legiunea de Jandarmi Ananiev către Misiunea Ortodoxă Odessa, ANR, Fond VP, file 12/1942–1943, p. 119.
130. *Ibid.*
131. Legiunea Jandarmi Ananiev către Inspectoratul General al Jandarmeriei București, ANR, Fond Inspectoratul General al Jandarmeriei, file 83/1943, p. 246, in USHMM, RG-25002M, reel 35.
132. Ordonanța nr. 23, Fond 2242, opis 4C, delo 16/1942, p. 50, in USHMM, RG-31.004, reel 1.
133. Viorel Achim, *Munca forțată în Transnistria: “Organizarea muncii” evreilor și romilor, Decembrie 1942–Martie 1944* (Târgoviște, Romania: Cetatea de Scaun, 2010); Alexandru Florian, “Munca obștească sau limbajul eufemistic al Holocaustului,” in *Munca obligatorie a evreilor din România (1940–1944): Documente*, ed.

Alexandru Florian, Ana Bărbulescu, Alexandru Climescu, Laura Degeratu (Iași, Romania: Polirom, 2013), 13–31. CNSAS, Fond Informativ, file 000701, vol. 4, p. 42.

134. Zoë Waxman, *Women in the Holocaust. A Feminist History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 41–45; Nomi Levenkron, “Death and the Maidens: ‘Prostitution,’ Rape and Sexual Slavery during World War II,” in *Sexual Violence against Jewish Women during the Holocaust*, ed. Sonia M. Hedgepeth and Rochelle G. Saidel (Waltham, MA: Brandeis University Press, 2010), 13–29; Zoë Waxman, “An Exceptional Genocide? Sexual Violence in the Holocaust,” in *Genocide and Gender in the Twentieth Century. A Comparative Survey*, ed. Amy E. Randall (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), 107–21.

135. Jean Ancel, *History of the Holocaust in Romania*, 438.

136. On the rape and murder of Jewish women from Bucovina, Bessarabia, and Transnistria in the Tulcin ghetto by the Romanian authorities and by Italian and Hungarian soldiers, see Anatoly Podolsky, “The Tragic Faith of Ukrainian Jewish Women under Nazi Occupation, 1941–1944,” in Hedgepeth and Seidel, *Sexual Violence against Jewish Women*, 103; Jean Ancel, *History of the Holocaust in Romania*, 441–44; Notă informativă, 19 Septembrie 1941, ANRM, Fond 706, opis 1, delo 22, p. 26, in USHMM, RG-51.001M, reel 1. On Fr. Varlaam Chiriță’s “immoral behavior,” see Lecca, *De la moarte la viață*, 173.

137. CNSAS, Fond Informativ, file 547926, vol. 1, p. 10; and file 000701, vol. 1, pp. 2, 33. Their behavior mirrored that of German soldiers on the Eastern Front. See Regina Mühlhäuser, “A Question of Honor: Some Remarks on the Sexual Habits of the German Soldiers during World War II,” in *Nazi Ideology and Ethics*, ed. Wolfgang Bialas and Lothar Fritze (Newcastle, UK: Cambridge Scholars, 2014), 149–77.

138. The expression appears in Kristy Chatwood, “Schillinger and the Dancer: Representing Agency and Sexual Violence in Holocaust Testimonies,” in Hedgepeth and Seidel, *Sexual Violence against Jewish Women*, 60.

139. Waxman, *Women in the Holocaust*, 43.

140. General C. Vasiliu, Inspector General al Jandarmeriei, către Ministrul Culturii Naționale și al Cultelor, ANR, Fond MCA, file 106/1942, p. 49.

141. Colonel Modest Isopescu, Prefectul Militar al Județului Golta către Arhimandritul Nica (note 68 of September 12, 1942), Nikolaev Oblast Archives, Fond 2178, opis 1, delo 2, p. 178, in USHMM, RG-31.008. Sărbu’s outlandish behavior has another explanation. According to an analysis by the Interior Ministry, Golta region was unfriendly to the missionaries: Russian and Ukrainian mayors opposed spending resources to refurbish Romanian churches, and insisted that people continue working the fields on Sundays. Thus deprived of parishioners and places of worship, most of the priests found alternate interests to pursue. See Sintează informativă asupra situației generale din Transnistria pe luna Iulie 1942, Fond 2242, opis 4C, ed. hr. no. 28/1942, p. 74, in USHMM, RG-31.004M (Odessa Oblast Archives), reel 1.

142. Preot Ștefan Rudiev către Ministrul Culturii Naționale și Cultelor, Direcția Cultelor, ANR, Fond MCA, file 106/1942, p. 74.

143. Lecca, *De la moarte la viață*, 156. On March 6, 1943, novice Pavel Lecca was appointed by Metropolitan Puiu the Exarchate’s official translator: Jurnal nr. 1, ANR, Fond VP, file 12/1942–1943, p. 47.

144. CNSAS, Fond Informativ, file 000701, vol. 1, p. 313.

145. Preot Ștefan Rudiev către Ministrul Culturii Naționale și Cultelor, Direcția Cultelor, ANR, Fond MCA, file 106/1942, p. 48.

146. Misiunea Bisericească pentru Transnistria: Ordinul nr. 3047/4 martie 1943, ANR, Fond VP, file 11/1941–1944, p. 38.