

AN ORTHODOX THINKER AND A ROMANIAN HEART: THE SAINT HIERARCH ANTHIM

Henrieta Anișoara ȘERBAN*, Elena LAZĂR**

Abstract. 2016 is an anniversary year, dedicated to the Saint Hierarch Anthim, a multi-faced personality of Georgian origin, but with a Romanian accomplished life. He was a true Orthodox believer, a Hierarch of our Orthodox Church in Wallachia and a deep thinker, who lived through the teachings of the faith. At the same time, he was a good manager and a philanthropist, a scholar, a polyglot, a calligrapher, a typographer, a Church architect, an orator turned writer, a painter and a sculptor. His great homiletic work entitled *Didahiile* sends to *Didache*, the oldest post-Bible Christian text, famous at Constantinople, known also as *The Teachings of the Twelve Apostles (The Teachings of the Lord to the Gentiles (or Nations) by the Twelve Apostles)*. The study approaches and develops these dimensions of the personality and of the thought of the Saint Hierarch Anthim, in order to emphasize both his life and his work as an esteemed symbol of the Orthodox faith.

Keywords: Anthimos the Ivirite; Orthodox faith; *Didahiile*; philosophical and theological thought; homiletic.

Introduction

The paper presents a multi-faced personality of Georgian origin, but with a Romanian accomplished life, at anniversary time, as 2016 is a year dedicated to this true Orthodox believer, the Saint Anthim, who was Hierarch of our Orthodox Church in Wallachia, and who lived exemplary through the teachings of the faith. Saint Hierarch Anthim was celebrated in his anniversary year at the Romanian Academy, through the Exhibition *ANTHIM IVIREANUL, Anthimos the Ivirite – Bishop and Hierarch, typographer and engraver* (August 24-30, 2016) organized

* Correspondent Member of the Academy of Romanian Scientists, Scientific Researcher II, PhD, Scientific Secretary, Section of Philosophy, Psychology, Theology and Journalism of the Academy of Romanian Scientists, henrietaserban@gmail.com.

** PhD, Romanian Academy, elenalazar1968@gmail.com

by the Cabinet of Manuscripts and Rare Books at the Romanian Academy. Saint Hierarch Anthim was a scholar, a polyglot, a calligrapher, a typographer, a Church architect, an orator turned writer, a painter, a good manager and a philanthropist, and a sculptor. His great homiletic work entitled *Didahiile* sends to *Didache*, the oldest post-Bible Christian text, famous at Constantinople, known also as *The Teachings of the Twelve Apostles (The Teachings of the Lord to the Gentiles (or Nations) by the Twelve Apostles)*. The study approaches and develops these dimensions of the personality and of the thought of the Saint Hierarch Anthim, in order to emphasize both his life and his work as an esteemed symbol of the Orthodox faith.

Saint Hierarch Anthim the Ivirite wrote a total of 68 books although usually only 63 are mentioned and all 68 are available at the Romanian Academy Library, many of them in Romanian during a period when it was more scholarly to write in Greek, Latin or Slavonic languages. Saint Anthim the Ivirite established the first public library in Romania. He published the first book in Arabic language in the world. He was a determining and active factor in the implementation of the service in Romanian language in the Churches of Hungaro-Wallachia.

We find the milestones for this process of gradual introduction of the Romanian language in the public religious service in a work of Policarp Chițulescu entitled “Romanian *Hieratikons* printed by St. Anthim the Ivirite: in 2013, 300 years from the printing of the Romanian *Hieratikon*”.¹ Târgoviște printing started to publish ethical, exegetical and judiciary texts dedicated to churches and schools: *The Law Collection from Govora* - 1640, *The Gospel for Study*, Bălgrad - 1641, *Romanian Book for Study*, Iași - 1641 and 1643, *The Gospel with Teaching*, Govora - 1642, *Teachings for All the Days*, Câmpulung - 1642, *The Gospel with Teaching*, Dealu - 1644, *Seven Religious Mysteries*, Iași - 1644, etc.; the first book in Romanian that could be used in the religious service, largely disseminated, is the *New Testament* from Bălgrad - 1648, followed by a second book necessary to the religious service (homily), the *Psalter* from Bălgrad - 1651, with a second foreword which is recognized as a true Orthodox catechism.²

¹ Policarp Chițulescu, “Romanian *Hieratikons* printed by St. Antim Ivireanul: in 2013, 300 years from the printing of the Romanian *Hieratikon*,” available at <http://www.cntdr.ro/sites/default/files/c2013/c2013a18.pdf>, accessed at July 11, 2016.

² Policarp Chițulescu, “Romanian *Hieratikons* printed by St. Antim Ivireanul: in 2013, 300 years from the printing of the Romanian *Hieratikon*,” available at <http://www.cntdr.ro/sites/default/files/c2013/c2013a18.pdf>, accessed at July 11, 2016.

The same source shows that the Metropolitan Ștefan of Wallachia (1648-1653; 1655-1668) kept going these translations of texts in Romanian and the printing of texts in Romanian, as well. Despite resistance from those that “protested and found fault with their Shepherd”³ and despite the financial obstacle he was able to change “a few norms and propose them in Romanian”⁴ and this way he kept only few “rites in Slavic, but the rules and important directions in Romanian, for the use of priests”⁵: *The Burial of Priests*, Târgoviște - 1650, *Mystirio or Sacrament*, Târgoviște - 1651, *The Consecration of Churches*, Târgoviște - 1652, and the voluminous *Correction of the Law*, Târgoviște - 1652.⁶ Varlaam contributed also importantly in this respect and he was followed by Metropolitan Dosoftei who dared publish liturgies in Romanian, *The Hieratikon*, translated from the Greek, at Iași, in 1679.⁷ The canonicity of the introduction of national languages in the religious service took place as early as the 12th century in Syria and other places in Asia and Africa, where the Greek language had been abandoned in favor of the local one.⁸ “The *Liturgy* of Dosoftei contained, apart from some prayers and preaching, rules that were serviced only by the bishop, like, for example, the service for the consecration of the Anthimysion, for lack of a proper Archieratikon. After the gift offered to the Romanian language by the Metropolitan Dosoftei, the efforts for the translation of the holy texts continued at Bucharest. In the printing press established by Varlaam the Metropolitan of Hungarowallachia, the *Hieratikon* appeared in 1680 under the supervision of Teodosie, the Metropolitan of Hungarowallachia, but only with the Romanian cultic rules, because, as the Metropolitan confesses: ‘and I neither wanted nor dared to put the whole liturgy in our language and to move it thus... for a lot of other reasons that pushed me through’. However, the old Metropolitan was the first to print in 1682, entirely in Romanian, to be read in churches, *The Gospel*, with the pericopas ordered according to Greek practice, after the three great periods of the liturgical year: *Pentecostarion*, *Octoechos*, *Lenten Triodion*, and in 1683 there appeared, also in Bucharest, the *Apostolos*, also entirely translated into Romanian, with its contents ordered according to the liturgical year. Further on, at

³ *Ibidem.*

⁴ *Ibidem.*

⁵ *Ibidem.*

⁶ *Ibidem.*

⁷ *Ibidem.*

⁸ *Ibidem.*

Bălgrad, The *Book of Hours* was printed in 1687 (and the *Euchologion* in 1689), and at Bucharest were printed: the monumental *Bible* (1688), *The Greek-Romanian Gospel* (Bucharest, 1693), *The Psalter* (1694) then, at Snagov, the *Romanian Gospel* (1697). ”⁹

In this brave line of national workers we find also, as the sources show, the Bishop Mitrofan of Buzău (a former apprentice of the Metropolitan Dosoftei), who printed the *Menaia* from 1698 with a rich content: proverbs, synaxaria and typikon all translated into Romanian.¹⁰

We find that in the transition toward the full Romanization of the religious services a compromise stage was represented by prints in Slavic-Romanian at Buzău: *The Euchologion* (1699; 1701), *The Octoechos* and *The Lenten Triodion* (1700), *The Pentecostarion* (1701), *The Psalter* (1701), *The Hieratikon* (1702) and *The New Testament* at Bucharest (1703), printed by St. Anthim the Ivirite.¹¹ Bishop Damaschin that followed Mitrofan at Buzău (+1703) left us extensive translations of the holy texts into Romanian, were published though later, after his death, except a second edition of the *Apostolos* (1704).¹²

But the “one that consecrated the introduction of the Romanian language in the cultic service of our Church was the St. Hierarch Anthim the Ivirite. He is the real creator of the Romanian liturgical language that is still used in liturgical books today. After the *New Testament* of 1703, he printed more liturgical books, but they were in Slavic-Romanian (*The Antologion* and *The Little Octoechos* issued at Râmnic in 1705). In 1706, St. Anthim printed in Romanian, for the first time in Wallachia, also at Râmnic, the most needed liturgical books: *The Hieratikon* and *The Euchologion*, bound together under the Greek name of *Euchologion*. This new initiative was the definitive step toward the consolidation of the presence of the Romanian language in the cultic service of our Church. The rapid dissemination of these two books in all the Romanian Countries was due to its reception amid the priests and it hastened a second edition, with the *Hieratikon* and the *Euchologion* printed as separate volumes at Târgoviște, in 1713. We must not forget that St. Anthim had published first the liturgy in Greek even as early as 1697 in the Snagov *Antologion*, a text that was later reprinted in the beautiful and

⁹ *Ibidem*.

¹⁰ Policarp Chițulescu, “Romanian *Hieratikon*s printed by Antim Ivireanul: in 2013, 300 years from the printing of the Romanian *Hieratikon* at Târgoviște”, available at , accessed at July 11, 2016.

¹¹ *Ibidem*.

¹² *Ibidem*.

elegant Greek-Arab volume also at Snagov, in 1701, and in 1709 the Greek liturgy was included in the Church service printed at Târgoviște. We mention the fact that of the Greek liturgies here referred to, only the Greek-Arab Hieratikon contains typikonal indications. Because the Romanian Hieratikon appeared as a self-standing book only in 1713, at Târgoviște, it was believed to be the first Romanian Liturgy printed by St. Anthim.”¹³ As a passing observation, the Catholic Church gave up the service in Latin only later.

It is only natural that Saint Anthim writes *Didahiile*, a derivate of *Didache*, in the spirit of the Byzantine theological culture interwoven with his extremely warm, literary and philosophical style. His works are developments of thoughts that have the hallmark of Orthodox sermons. In this respect we can characterize his entire work as homiletics. As the various specialized dictionaries explain, *homiletics* derives from the word *homily*, that is, “a sermon”. Saint Anthim was an artisan of Orthodox preaching, an excellent communicator of the Truth of the Holy Scriptures in all the most important biblical topics. His writings bring homiletics to a wider public than that of a restricted and specialized one, outside the community of the preaching elders and pastors, creating a particular Orthodox public sphere.

In homiletics, in general, and in Saint Anthim’s writings, in particular, the truth of the Bible meets rhetorical artship and educational strategies, which does not as much persuade as does the political discourse, for instance, but uses a host of specific techniques to warm the hearts of the believers and prepare them to receive the holy power of spiritual words. In this perspective, religious discourse as the one involved in homiletics, although it should not entertain a pursuit of more or less hidden interests, it should not be plain. As Saint Paul embraced eloquence to better communicate his crucial message, homiletics as it is present in the writings of Saint Anthim embraces rhetorical strategies and figures of speech that are meant to bring people closer to God. For in this writings Saint Anthim makes apparent the flame of his gift from God and intoxicates the others as if they have this gift, too. His legacy is that we can communicate Christ’s teachings and His love on a daily basis.

We can interpret many of his works such as *Didahiile* or *Sfătuiri creștine-politice* in the sense that we can situate the writings in the current *Mirror of Princes* as a literary and philosophical thought current inheritor-works of the tradition of homiletics and of the *Imago Dei* doctrine.

¹³ *Ibidem*.

In this perspective, the paper interprets closer the work of Saint Anthim the Ivirite entitled *Sfătuiri creștine-politice* (*Christian-Political Advice*), written in Greek as a Hierarch of Hungaro-Wallachia, and translated from Greek by Constantin Erbiceanu, then edited for the first time in the journal *Biserica Ortodoxă Română* XIV (1890-1891), at Tipografia “Cărților bisericești” Press, Bucharest (pp. 334-355) a text which was then adapted in Romanian by priest Dorin Octavian Picioruș, PhD, and published at Bucharest by *Teologie pentru azi* Press, in 2010.

There are two main directions of the interpretation central to this paper, both included in the literary genre known as the “Mirror of Princes”: one direction follows the similarities and the differences in comparison to another important work for late medieval political philosophy *Învățăturile lui Neagoe pentru fiul său Teodosie* (*The teachings of Neagoe to his son Teodosie*) and the other one identifies as well similarities and differences comparing this work to *The Prince* of Niccolo Machiavelli.

Anthim’s Christian and Political Advice for the Ruler and the Mirror of Princes

For Saint Hierarch Anthim the earthly Lord should struggle to please his Creator. The earthly Lord remains a subject of God and he should prove himself in front of God as a Good Christian. The hierarch’s perspective on government is indebted both to the Mirror of Princes, the ruling literary current during the Middle Ages (from 10th to 13th centuries), and to the *Imago Dei* doctrine, too.

The Mirror of Princes¹⁴ is a literary genre characteristic for medieval times, including a type of writings that offer advice to emperors, kings, voyvods, rulers, etc., a literature that attempted to identify the best way the crucial rules of princely conduct and to describe the appropriate image of secular power described after the image and the resemblance of divine power as identified by the theologians, in relation with holy writings and as well with the objective laws and

¹⁴ Cf. Rob Meens. "Politics, mirrors of princes and the Bible: sins, kings and the well-being of the realm," *Early Medieval Europe*, vol. 7, no. 3, 1998, p. 352 sqq; Bjorn Weller, "Mirror for Princes", available at <https://www.britannica.com/topic/mirror-for-princes>, accessed at September 12, 2015. The latter is a very good synthesis useful for our attempt to provide a fair and necessary, but succinct, contextualization for Saint Anthim’s work entitled *Christian-Political Advice*. See also Sajida Sultana Alvi, *Advice on the art of governance. An Indo-Islamic Mirror for Princes*, State University of New York Press, 1989.

rules accepted in a country at the time of the elaboration of the particular princely advice compendium. At the time, the perfect city was a replica of a divine one, and in general there was a preoccupation for the divine plan, which was the universal blueprint for all the successful and desirable areas of human life, including government. The origin of this sort of literature is placed in the writings of the ancient Greek historian Xenophon.¹⁵

The European apogee of this literature was met during the Middle Ages in the Byzantine Empire and in the Islamic world.¹⁶ If in the Islamic world these works are true hand-books for the art of good government and for the good use of power, which are extremely practical and technical in nature and capitalize upon the pre-Islamic traditions, the Byzantine works for instance those starting with the 10th century and until those from the 13th century are either collections of Christian wise thoughts and examples of wise conduct, or, collections of Christian pieces of advice adequate for certain concrete rulers and elaborated on the basis of the Christian perspective on power. Saint Augustine correlated the position of the emperor with his duties, especially with the main duty to ensure the moral and Christian welfare of his subjects.¹⁷ This perspective is present also at Saint Anthim. Saint Gregory I places the accent on the importance of the role of the bishops which is seen as greater in importance than that of the secular power, although emphasizes the moral rule as a point of reference for the future moral welfare.¹⁸

We find similarities between Saint Anthim's work and Saint Isidore's from Ireland who memorably proclaimed that *rex a rectum agere* (the word "king" comes from acting with justice) and *non regit qui non corrigit* (who does not correct the states of affairs does not truly reign).¹⁹ Bjorn Weller states that another unknown Irish writer launched a current of the treatises that clarify the virtues and the vices of princes (pseudo-Cyprianus), as well as their responsibilities during dire times, such as famish, floods, invasions etc.²⁰

In these writings the tyrant is differentiated from the just ruler. John of Salisbury presents in *Policraticus* classical concepts concerning the structure of

¹⁵ *Ibidem.*

¹⁶ *Ibidem.*

¹⁷ *Ibidem.*

¹⁸ *Ibidem.*

¹⁹ *Ibidem.*

²⁰ B. Weller, *op. cit.*

society and sustains the right of opposition to tyrants and also the right to kill the tyrant.²¹ During the 13th century we can encounter the same position at Godfrey de Viterbo, Helinand de Froidmont and Gerald de Wales. The same century is “responsible” for a better reception of Aristotle and this way the logical structure of the texts of this type is improved, as well as their theoretical quality. In these texts the historical, Biblical or interpretative precedent decreases in importance as originality increases.

Saint Thomas Aquinas and Giles of Rome provide reference to natural law and feudal law, and elaborate the thesis of responsibility of the ruler towards the common good²², towards the “national” aspect, similarly to Saint Anthim conception. Saint Thomas Aquinas’ and Giles of Rome’s writings were in a way a generator for other such writings gradually written with predilection in the “prototypes” of the national languages and hallmarked by the gradual desacralization of the theoretical writings ever closer to the Roman law and humanist writings (Petrarch, 14th century), and at the same time ever farther from theology²³.

As for *Imago Dei* doctrine, in conformity with the specialized works and dictionaries, this addresses the particular nature of the relation between human beings and God – human beings are the image of God. While God self-actualizes through humans, people are taken into a special care by God and this way people are co-creators and co-participants to a sacred reality.²⁴ According to this doctrine people must love God and love their fellow human beings, too.

According to Saint Ignatie Briancianinov we have a particular relation between the face (the similarity as image with God) and the resemblance with God, which are not necessarily concomitant: the “face (image) and resemblance of God in man, at the time of his fall, were changed. The resemblance, which stayed in a perfect absence of evil in the qualities of man, from the misrecognition of this evil and of its relation to these qualities, was destroyed. At the time when the resemblance was destroyed, the face was desfigured, but not destroyed in totality.

²¹ Rob Meens. "Politics, mirrors of princes and the Bible: sins, kings and the well-being of the realm," *Early Medieval Europe*, vol. 7, no. 3, 1998, p. 352; Bjorn Weller, "Mirror for Princes", available at <https://www.britannica.com/topic/mirror-for-princes>, accessed at September 12, 2015.

²² *Ibidem*.

²³ *Ibidem*.

²⁴ See among other works James Orr, *God's Image in Man, and Its Defacement in the Light of Modern Denials*, Charleston, BiblioLife, 2009; Dominic Robinson, *Understanding the Imago Dei: The Thought of Barth, von Balthasar and Moltmann*, London, Routledge, 2011.

‘Let us recognize thus – says Saint Dimitri of Rostov – that, the face of God is also in the man who is not a believer, but the resemblance, only in the Christian working the good deeds. When the Christian commits a deadly sin, deprives himself only of the similarity with God, but not of the face of God. And even if he were sentenced to eternal sentence, the face of God is in him forever. The resemblance though cannot be.’ In the Church, also, we sing: The face of Your unspoken glory I am, although I bear the wounds of the sins. Rise me up to the One of resemblance, with the originary beauty adorning me.”²⁵

There is a connection between the series of writings gathered under the name Mirror of Princes and the *Imago Dei* doctrine. The writings type Mirror of Princes hold up the good image of Prince, which is, in the great majority of these works also a Christian dual image, since the ruler was considered responsible first to maintain in his life and through his deeds the Christian relation between the face and the resemblance with God and to set this way a good example to the crowds. It is as if these writings were a magic mirror, showing the ideal image of the Prince, which was for the European cases Christian, or religiously correct in this respect, in all the cases outside Europe; the same mirror showing the distorted images that any Prince should avoid.

All these aspects concerning the characteristics of the Mirror of Princes writings and the *Imago Dei* doctrine are present at Saint Anthim in his work entitled *Christian-Political Advice*. At Saint Anthim political office is seen as an extraordinary gift from God Almighty and this gift comes along with great responsibilities. As following we are going to illustrate this idea with the rich and metaphorical discourse displayed by Saint Anthim.

A first modern dimension is in this vision on government that the ruler has duties and the mentioning of the privileges is made only in order to limit, nuance or diminish them. The ruler has his first duty to God: “Try as much possible to please your Maker and your prayer to Him should be accompanied by good deeds. For the characteristic of the Sun this is: His light bestows [everywhere], while that of the good Lord is to take care of everyone. And the wise ones and the multitude of poets say clearly how many and who were the rulers who had good habits. This should happen because God Almighty was Himself the one who gave you a great

²⁵ Sfântul Ignatie Briancianinov, *Cuvânt despre om*, Galați, Editura Egumenița, 2007, p. 83. See also Paul Evdokimov, *Vârstele vieții spirituale*, translation in Romanian by Priest Professor Ion Buga and Anca Manolescu, *Foreword* by Priest Professor Ion Buga, Bucharest, Humanitas, 2000, pp. 180-181.

honour when he enabled you to be alone a ruler [over the Romanians from Wallachia]. For this reason even more you should honour Him and to do whatever are the things He well-pleases, as well in the public life, as in your privacy”.²⁶ We can interpret here a distinction between public and private that was going to be fully developed only later in modernity. We notice also another element of modernity in the insistence on the duties of the ruler. This Orthodox perspective on government places the duties of the ruler before his privileges, which appear surprisingly dimmed for a Byzantine approach of the king power.

From the duty of the ruler toward God derives as well the main duty that the ruler has to his subjects: “Love all your subjects and love them all alike, as well the foreigners as the domestic subjects, without any differentiation. You should love them as your children, because you are their parent and this is your duty: to do them all good. And the subjects should obey and listen and nurture right thought for their Lord. They should reason lovingly among them and cast the misunderstandings away from their soul. This should be because the eye is light for the body [Mt. 6, 22] and a ruling is the one that helps the city. The healthy eye maintains the balance of the body, as the righteous Lord strengthens his throne. And great reward you will obtain from God for your soul, if in your life you will judge [with justice] as well the friends and the enemies. Throw away from you the judging of the fellow and away from the evil-mouth; throw these away as a snake with two heads, for they damage our inner self greatly. Love your subjects with humanity, for they shall love you with all their hearts. No wild madness should ever conquer you, for the Lord [God], most often, reigns through much sufferance. Be moderate and serene with the good ones, as you also want to be seen by God”.²⁷ This does not mean that the king has only one duty in front of his subjects. His duties are numerous and the burden of the crown is all the more heavy as the king is morally responsible for everyone before God.

However, because the king is socially responsible for his people as well, Saint Anthim embraces the role of a counsellor and suggests extreme precaution in this respect: the ruler is to make sure that he is surrounded by good advisers in all the things, for all unexamined deeds [in terms of consequences] may have bad consequences and they are a bad thing. So, when the ruler feels he is not wise enough he should get help from his counsellors to keep the country peaceful, in

²⁶ Antim Ivireanul, *Sfătuiri creștine-politice*, text adapted by Priest Dorin Octavian Picioruș, PhD, translation from Greek by Constantin Erbiceanu, Bucharest, Teologie pentru azi Press, 2010, p. 6.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 7.

wisdom: “Throw away from your palace the one who commit scandals and keep as sons of the city only the peaceful ones. Rule, Lord almighty as much as possible through love and never bring harm to your subjects! Oh, great is the good deed! The good deed elevates and deifies, beatifies as well the soul and the body and cleanses it from wrongs. And if Sun shows us light as a creature, then, you, Bright ruler, come from above to lit up the stars. You do not come to be filled with light, but to do the right thing. Always search human soul, for it is made of dirt, and you follow the good ones. Follow the good deeds of the emperors and think well over these, as a careful ruler and then your subjects shall live wisely, and always wish you, their Lord many happy returns”.²⁸

Embracing a rather modern perspective, the enemy of the ruler is defined by Saint Anthim as the one who stays not only against the ruler but also against social life. This is the reason why the prince should “adorn his life with good deeds, as many as possible, for as long as you live”.²⁹ Another element of modernity at Saint Anthim is that the Lord should be a juridical objective referential as a reasonable and predictable ruler: “And it is a fair sign of kingship for the Lord to be in agreement with himself, fulfilling exactly the words he utters and which one must keep in his heart. You [Lord] are to be a wise judge and your thoughts and your will should be in conformity with your decisions. Think closely your actions over and consider these as in a mirror casting away the villain deeds as rascals”.³⁰ But as modernity is not completely present yet, Saint Anthim continues to maintain the definition of the relation between king and subjects according to the model of parenting relations which was adopted during the Middle Ages from Aristotle.

In relation to strangers the ruler has the duty to rule with dignity over the poor strangers, because this way not only God shall bestow His gifts over the king, but also the nation he rules shall be praised which completes another duty to his people and to God. And here we arrive at another trace of a modern element. “And if you want to be enriched by all the gifts from God, rule then with dignity over the poor foreigners, for the praise everywhere the nobility of the Romanian kind. Your good name, your mild nature and your hospitality, if heard of everywhere, they shall run to you from all over the world. Because these

²⁸ *Ibidem.*

²⁹ *Ibidem.*

³⁰ *Ibidem.*

unfortunate beings suffer in the places where there are masters the unfaithful, for the numerous taxes”.³¹ Saint Anthim does not insist on the economic aspects of government but presupposes these aspects known and sufficiently important so that he suggests that a good and faithful king should not impose unbearable taxes: for this is the reason why the foreigners come into a different country, they are fleeing from the huge taxes imposed by the unfaithful kings. And even though Saint Anthim does not present the situation in terms of image, all the advice he offers is always beneficial in terms of image, at the time called simply “good name”, preserving this way the greatness of the king on Earth and his holiness in front of God. This double being of the king is tended to the best possible way through the parental advice provided by the hierarch.

The conception on government developed by Saint Anthim is structured around a central idea of care and parenting: as the king is a parent to his subjects, the hierarch should act as a parent for the king and not let *him* slip, precisely due to the Orthodox vision of the world, where God is the holy Parent of all, the path and the life, and due to *Imago Dei* doctrine, the unparalleled example. “When you see their burden and their work you were a forgiving and mild parent and have mercy on them as if they were your own”.³²

The law is for Saint Hierarch Anthim, first and foremost, the Orthodox law conveying the words of Christ. He writes: “Only God fear indulge in your soul and it should be the safe place in your life. Be faithful and cast away from you the lack of devotion and the evilness that dehumanizes you. In all the possible manners you should be law abiding and not infringe upon it and never stray away from the words of Christ. For, if you fulfil the commands of Christ, of the good Maker, then you became a kind son of this law Giver.

Honour Him and adore the Lord with passion, also according to your free will and not out of fear of Him, because He did not order us that. Prove yourself as a defender of the “*principleness*”³³ of laws and think them over and talk about them with all your heart. And you should also know the fact that the demon hurts by sweetness, and then he hits you by shame with extreme cunning. For the Almighty, the Lord, told us in His carefulness: I call upon you, Oh, man, judge of your own correctness. And that one knows himself and his inner state, the one

³¹ *Ibidem*, p.8.

³² *Ibidem*.

³³ Our highlighting of the concept which is rich in philosophical, political philosophy and philosophy of law meanings.

who knows first of all his Maker. Get a good grip of your desire and do not let it rule over your mind”.³⁴

This paragraph correlated the law, the Christian teachings, the Christian belief and the free will. Out of free will the human being knows as well himself, his Maker and the “*principleness*” of law. For Saint Anthim true and deep faith goes hand in hand with true knowledge. He writes about the nature of the connection between virtue and knowledge as he interprets it and afterwards he explains what he means by virtue, in great detail: “Virtue is very good and as well good is science which is growing through study and brings us a good reputation. Cast away from your memory envy, which is very bad, for the envious one has a share of great trouble. When you see yourself ruling over your enemy, then you should be a good judge of yourself. And sing and praise your Lord for that and leave His judgment [act upon your enemy] and forgive your enemy. For these are the characteristics of the true believer and of the good shepherd, so that this believer stayed as a giant, strong in his decisions, this way observe the treaties he concluded and stay strong in his conversations. And, also, he should not be greedy, but find pleasure in whatever he earns legally and not to be despising. Suffer with generosity all that comes from God and daily thank God for what you have”.³⁵

The good governance is informed by this connection among Christian Orthodox faith, virtue, knowledge, lovingly demeanour and kingship. The ruler should be both a good Orthodox and a good shepherd of believers. The definition of good governance, in this perspective, states: “As the philosophers say, any well ruled kingdom is recognized by three good things: if there is bread, in abundance, in the markets, if, everywhere, we find an enlightened justice and if there is safe everywhere so that the people can go everywhere without fear and obstacles”.³⁶ This is a rather modern definition, relevant as well in contemporary democratic states, with reference to welfare, in terms of economic standards, in terms of justice (rule of law, considering all the nuanced observations concerning law in this work of Hierarch Anthim) and in terms of security.

Interesting is also the definition of a good ruler: “And, as the philosophers say, a good ruler is the one who is trustworthy [we may interpret, that a good ruler

³⁴ *Ibidem.*

³⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 9.

³⁶ *Ibidem.*

is the one who is legitimate], able to judge what is to be judged, and has his subjects in mind, that is, the one who cares thoroughly for his subjects. But, most certainly, the ruler is all the more worthy to be loved when he has his subjects at heart, that is, the one who nurtures a true love, a heartfelt kind of love [for his subjects], which he happily shows, for it flows freely from his heart to them. And, when he has them to his belly, then, that is a bad and unjust one [namely, a bad and unjust ruler]. Make yourself a good example of your ancestors and struggle to do, as well as your ancestors, good deeds. Never show carelessness to yours, for they are not to be careless against your decisions”.³⁷ In modern terms, the ruler has to be responsible and accountable, but in Anthim’s terms the ruler has to be lovingly, a good Christian, a just judge and an example³⁸ to his subjects. Love should be accompanied with empathy and in this sense Anthim uses the Greek term for “mercy”³⁹ toward the “little ones” (in a Christian understanding of the expression) and this nuances in a characteristic manner his conception of virtue. He says: “The good deeds and all the acts of philanthropy are similar to seals that close tight the moths of all enemies. Consider virtue as the only nobility and afterwards observe the nation, the ancestors. Close no unthought-of businesses while you are on the throne and discuss for counselling only with those who fear God. Run away from arrogance and vain praising for these cast out of society everyone. You should know, my son, all is vain in this world, unstable, insecure all filled with want. And peaceful, sure, real are only the future things that are imperishable [the kingdom of God]. And this world is solely a view, accordingly to the Theologian [Gregory] and we are but merchants in this fake world. Trading the perishable things we are taking the Kingdom [of God]. [...] For, [you see] we are going in heavens out of mercy, as sons of God, provided His kindness”.⁴⁰

Finally, the good ruler should defend society against corruption: “And the good Rulers, who are also praised, when they commit injustice to the poor ones then they are very sad. For this reason, you lift the injustice that oppresses them and release them from it, by sending just boyars, who will save them from injustice. Consider your subjects, watch the servants, for due to the wrongdoings of your people the enemies cast upon you great responsibility. Always avoid the

³⁷ *Ibidem*.

³⁸ See also, *Ibidem*, p. 11. “Be a model, a light, an example for your flock, to make your deeds shine as the Sun!”

³⁹ *Ibidem*, p.10.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*.

flatterers, the unfair, the liars and the too lecherous, in order to not corrupt, Oh, Almighty, all society, but, on the contrary, the good deeds and your rename opinion [to be followed]. [...] The root and the foundation [of the good society] is the pleasant gathering [the civil assembly] and the decent speech is the salt of all good things.”⁴¹ Also, as a corollary of the definition provided for the good ruler, Anthim underlines that “[...] the plenitude of the happiness of the rulers is *to give all the justice* to their subjects.”⁴²

We can see that such writings prepared the development of political thought and the philosophy of law toward the renaissance political theories and the theories of law which became central to modern thought, in general.

The political thought of Saint Hierarch Anthim could be inscribed within the great area of the late medieval political thought, but his conception presents for sure several elements of originality. The characteristics of the late medieval political thought are in our view: 1. the image of ruler seen as a reflection of the Maker; 2. the centrality of the Christian virtue; and 3. the absolute power of the ruler over his subjects.

The political thought of the Saint Hierarch Anthim is similar in these respects, but original in that it underlines the responsibility of the ruler towards his subjects, his responsibility in moral and Christian terms (he is responsible not only for the salvation of his soul, but also for observing the conditions for the salvation of the soul of his subjects), the importance of the economic aspects for the good life in society and, finally, his crucial role in ensuring justice (and a climate of justice that reminds us of the concept of rule of law) and in fighting corruption in society.

When comparing the perspective on the good ruler, good governance and good society with the perspective in the work entitled *The Teachings of Neagoe Basarab to His Son Theodosie*, considered the first literary work in Romanian culture, we find interesting similarities and differences. As known, Neagoe Basarab was a ruler of Wallachia between 1512 and 1521. This work attributed to him is considered either an early work or the very first work of Romanian

⁴¹ *Ibidem*, p.12.

⁴² *Ibidem*, p.13.

literature and it was written in an elevated version of Church Slavonic, the literary language in the medieval Eastern Europe.⁴³ Neagoe Basarab's *Teachings to His Son Theodosie* is a very interesting encyclopaedic treatise with Christian Orthodox political philosophy relevance, with mystic relevance, with diplomatic and with military strategy relevance. Specialists consider that it was translated in old Romanian by Udriște Năsturel in 1635 a version that remained preserved until today at Cluj in the Academic Library saved from the personal library of Ștefan Cantacuzino, who was as well a prince of Wallachia between 1714 and 1716, while the text of the modern edition cited above comprises pages 125 to 343. Second, by the tone: the author bestows his recommendations and advice with dignity and poise, and an unerring sense of what is becoming for a ruler and for a ruler's entourage.⁴⁴

Florentina Grigore notices that when approaching the construction of the legal system in *The Teachings...* the central theme is "represented by human quality called to building and completing the legal system. The human being is ontologically placed between (...) Legal Justice and (...) Transcendent Justice. The person called to judge is the link between two different ontological orders: the order of the Absolute (...) and the order of the Relative (...) The Teachings of Neagoe Basarab to his Son Theodosie was written at almost the same time as *The Prince* by Machiavelli. If we look at Machiavelli's work and that of Neagoe Basarab, we are able to see two distinct ways to build and give legitimacy to the legal system. The Teachings do not approach a sophisticated architecture of the legal system, with hierarchies and complex abilities. The discourse about justice especially implies the moral valuation of the people summoned to judge and to do what is right. This work is about the foundation of the legal system regardless of its structure. (...) From Machiavelli we have a different vision about Justice and the Legal system: he focuses on the system and not on the person who performs those functions within the system."⁴⁵

⁴³ Dorin Ștefanescu and Dumitru Mircea Buda, "Body Clothed In Immortality The Anthropological Problem In Neagoe Basarab's Teachings", *European Journal of Science and Theology*, vol.9, no.3, June 2013, pp. 63-77.

⁴⁴ See Eliza Miruna Ghil, "Neagoe Basarab's Teachings to His Son Theodosie: An Unorthodox Reading", *Southeastern Europe*, Volume L'europe Du Sud-Est, vol. 10, no. 1, 1983, pp. 48-71.

⁴⁵ Florentina Grigore, "The Concept of Justice ('Dike' and 'Themis') as It Is Revealed by *The Teachings Of Neagoe Basarab to His Son Theodosie*", *Agathon*, vol. 7, no. 1, 2016, pp. 24-32 (24).

In the specialized interpretations we find that “Dan Zamfirescu was also impressed by the way Neagoe had nourished his works from the *Weltanschauung* of his epoch, offering a 'relevant space particularly to the systematic transmission of the dominant ideology in which Romanian medieval society was living', a society where 'the religious element played an essential role', to such an extent that 'the ascetic ideal was pictured as supreme'. Thus, Zamfirescu concludes that Neagoe's text is 'a work of religious and moral instruction and education, a breviary of Eastern Ascetics and mysticism, an anthology of didactical texts selected and structured in accordance with the main purpose of the writings, a treaty of political theory from the perspective of divine-right Byzantine monarchy'.”⁴⁶ In Neagoe's case, as in the Anthim's case and actually in the whole Byzantine theology, “one may find the very strong Christian aspects of a type of Anthropology able to recover the profound human being, in the uniqueness of its presence in front of God and in the uniqueness of its presence in the world” (...) “The most outstanding feature of Patristic Anthropology, later accepted by Byzantine theologians all throughout the Middle Ages, is the concept according to which the human being lacks autonomy and yet gains true humanity only when the man lives 'in God' and possesses God-like features.”⁴⁷

On the other hand, and in incommensurable difference with Neagoe's and Anthim's perspectives, in Machiavelly's case we encounter a change of paradigm, a parting of the ways with Patristic and with the Middle Ages, the polemics are changing towards modern interests. According to the medieval perspective, or to the leading passions, Machiavellianism was misunderstood in a great variety of ways - Anglicanism, Calvinism, atheism, Tacitism, Jesuitism, Gallicanism, Averroism.⁴⁸

Ion Goian identifies the characteristics of a Machiavellian Revolution: “Machiavelli noticed though that the art of governing – governance – involved neither a reference to divine will, nor the recourse to traditional morality, but only a higher consciousness of the intended purpose as well as of the available means. Abstract like a problem in a game of chess⁸, the exercise of power is indifferent to adherence to divine laws or to an appeal to the distance between vice and virtue.

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁸ Apud, Ion Goian, „The Machiavellian Revolution”, available at <http://journal.ispri.ro/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/8-Ion-Goian-75-86.pdf> , accessed at 29th March 2016, Pol. Sc. Int. Rel., XIII, 1, Bucharest, 2016, pp. 75–86 (76).

This Machiavellian position seemed for many people to be infinitely provocative, acting as to dissolve for the very idea of sociality, inciting a return to bestiality, to a world of wild beasts, which tear each other apart (in fact, that Hobbes unquestionably starts from this Machiavellian suggestion when he proclaims the reality of the war of all against all).

The Machiavellian revolution can be approached as a synthesis of four directions, which presuppose: a. A deep analysis of the conceptual sphere of the political elements and factors, which involves the development of a series of fundamental concepts: power, political subject, interest, domination, hegemony, *virtù* etc.; b. a reinterpretation of the classical texts of political philosophy in a new perspective¹⁰; c. a new perception of the political praxis, in terms of the possible strategies and of the distinction between the public and the private sphere and d. a reconstruction of the political theory in the spirit of Renaissance anthropology.”⁴⁹

Machiavelli's Prince is the first in modernity to be concerned with his image. Anthim was concerned with the good name of the Prince, for the benefit of the subjects and of the country.

Contrary to the perspective of Neagoe Basarab, at Anthim the Orthodox fibre necessary for a good Prince though is inter woven with joy, happiness and personal fulfilment and it is not discussed heavily and exclusively in terms of duty. Also, the happiness of the Prince resulting from his fair conduct with his subjects is treated extensively at Anthim, but not so much at Neagoe.

Conclusion

We have in Anthim the last great medieval thinker, but also a Romanian patriot, one who has done for Romanian language important and immortal works. His work is still under examination for a great variety of exegets. Was his work *scientific*?

We can call it this way, as well as we can call it better *scholarly* for *scientific* was not yet in its full rights during the medieval times. In his work he has included the most important contributions to knowledge that he knew: the teachings of Christ. And in this scholarly characteristic, we find his contribution to the mirror of princes and at the same time his entire work an extremely

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*.

important introduction to a philosophical, a theological, a political science theory and a theory of law that prepared certain theoretical evolutions during Renaissance.

However, considering his important contribution to a national religious literature we have one more reason to appreciate Anthim as a great thinker, situated at the confluence of the medieval and Renaissance paradigms.

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