

AUGUSTINIAN MODEL IN THE BYZANTINE POLITICAL THINKING. CASE STUDY: THE ELEMENTS OF POLITICAL AUGUSTINISM IN THE CURRENT ROMANIAN MENTALITY

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ABSTRACT

The byzantine society, de jure and de facto heir of the Greco-Roman world, has it's own philosophy, it's own structure model and policy thinking. Without doubt, for the New Rome this model is that sprang from the Christian teachings, and as a philosophy it harmoniously blends the legacy of the Roman world with Blessed Augustine's thinking about man and city which itself is a symbiosis between the acquired pagan knowledge and Christian experience of the latter. The Byzantine fortress (The Empire-n.n.) will use religion as the main instrument for political and social consolidation. Religion (Christianity – n.n.) is, for the Byzantine monarchy, the path to divinity, immortality... The Byzantine Christianity is not just a "phrase invented by them" as in the words of Eminescu, but a complex mechanism which represents the totality of good concepts about the world and about life of the constantinopolitan city. In preparing this study we started from the model offered by St. Augustine, "De Civitate Dei", a model which compares the two types of cities - people's city, with all its flaws, and the City of God, personified by the Church to which the Christian Roman Empire provides the Regnum. Our study tries to reflect how the model of the two cities becomes a political ideology of the Byzantine Empire and, arch over time, how it is manifested in the public and political mind of the Romanian society. This research tries to increase the understanding of the mental archetypes amongst those who are active participants in public life in Romania. However, we want our message to be disseminated in a wider public and to provide the possibility of assimilation, as much as it can, of the participatory political culture. Thus, the study becomes an attempt of reporting the Byzantine society, respectively the current Romanian society, to the model of the three types of political culture offered by Almond and Verba - participatory, parochial and dependent.

Keywords: political thought, political culture, Augustin, Byzantine Empire, Romanian mind

INTRODUCTION

This study emerges from "Augustinian paradigm in the byzantine thinking and the political culture", one of the authors' dissertation work. The novelty is reflected in reporting to the mental and historical evolution of the Romanian people, especially in the current times, of the researched aspects in the mentioned work.

The study analyses the implementation of the Augustinian theory in the byzantine public philosophy and, arch over time, has does not have an influence on the balcanic mentality in general and Romanian mentality in particularly. In the same time, the study tries to follow and identify the ways the Augustinian teachings, especially the ones in "De Civitate Dei", influenced the religious, political and day-to-day life of the whole Medium Eve, especially the relations between the Church and the State in the Occident and in the Byzantine Empire¹, and the way it manifests in Romanian

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¹ Ibidem, 4.

present, how and how much it kept its Augustinian paradigm in the XX – XXI centuries, and what are the distortion elements of Happy Augustine's message.

The research models used in this study are: *descriptive*, which deals with the fundamental aspects of Augustinian philosophy, and *comparative*, with which we tried to apply Augustine's model to the praxis of political philosophy or the Dark Ages and also in the contemporary world. We must note from the beginning that our research theme relates to the broader area of political utopias.

Specialized historiography includes many titles among which we selected the ones we consider to be the most important: *De Civitate Dei*², *A History of Byzantium*³, *Civic culture: Political attitudes and democracy in five nations*⁴, *Identity in rift: postwar Romanian mentalities*⁵, *A burning culture: about Schism, Ludic and Balkans*⁶, *History of Byzantine philosophy*⁷, *The philosophy of St. Augustine*⁸ or *the Christian paradigm of freedom between ontic and meonic*⁹.

1. Augustinian paradigm

Nothing is lost, but everything is transformed, is inherited, continues ... History of the Byzantine Empire has a special place in medieval history, a special case from several points of view: it is a bridge between ancient Rome, whose heir and religious reformer line is, and the Ottoman Empire, which continues the Byzantium in a political perspective. If the historians agreed that the Constantinopolitan era ended in the middle of the fifteenth century, when the Rome of Orient was conquered by the *osmanlâi* (Romanian term. *otoman*) (May 29, 1453), the birth of the Christian Empire still leaves room for controversy.

Although the chronological limits and continuity of history do not currently play an important role, there are epochs in which, after achieving a certain degree of civilization, past accumulations produce a visible transformation that gives a new turn in the whole world¹⁰. According to specialists, a such *culminating* period took place in the history of the Roman Empire in the early decades of the fourth Christian century during the reign of Constantine the Great (306-337 AD), about which J.B. Bury said it represented "a new era, in a more profound sense than the reign of Augustus, the founder of the empire"¹¹.

Certainly, Bury refers to what, by edict of 313, Constantine the Great granted the Christian religion to become lawful. Tradition says that the son of Helen and Constantius Chlorus would become favorable to Christianity due to events during the struggle for succession against Maxentius in 312, when "his victory would have been announced by the Christian symbol of the cross, represented by the first two Greek letters of the name of Christ"¹²; but the conversion was to come much later, on his deathbed, but even then it was not out of pure conviction.

² Augustin, *De Civitate Dei* (Editura Științifică, București, 2002).

³ Stelian Brezeanu, *A History of Byzantium* (Editura Meronia, București, 2005).

⁴ Gabriel A. Almond, Sidney Verba, *Civic culture: Political attitudes and democracy in five nations*, (Editura Du Style, București, 1996).

⁵ Sorin Alexandrescu, *Identitate în ruptură: mentalități românești postbelice* (Editura Univers, București, 2000).

⁶ Aurelia Satcău, *O cultură în flăcări: despre Schismă, Ludic și Balcani*, vol. 1 (Carpathia Press, București, 2006).

⁷ Nikolaos Matsoukas, *Istoria filosofiei bizantine* (Editura Bizantină, București, ISBN 973 – 9492 – 49 – 5).

⁸ Anton I. Adămuț, *Filosofia Sfântului Augustin* (Editura Polirom, Iași, 2001).

⁹ Adriana Claudia Cîteia, *Paradigma creștină a libertății între ontic și meonic* (Editura Cetatea de Scaun, Târgoviște, 2007).

¹⁰ J.B. Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire from the Death of Theodosius I to the Death of Justinian* (*Istoria Imperiului Roman târziu: de la moartea lui Teodosie I până la moartea lui Iustinian I*), Volumul I, Publisher: Dover, New York, 1958, p.1, apud <http://www.questia.com>, consulted on the 27th of May 2011, 21: 45.

¹¹ *Ibidem*.

¹² Jean Carpentier și François Lebrun (coord.), *Istoria Europei* (Editura Humanitas, București, 2006), 85.

Whatever the nature of his conversion (belief or political pragmatism!), Constantine the Great will protect the followers of Jesus Christ, Christianity being gradually transformed into a Christian "history, ecclesiastical, based on public obligations"¹³. It made the transition from Roman to Byzantine Christianity¹⁴. In fact, Christianity was the locomotive that pulled the train called the Roman Empire to a new world, even if not all wagons have reached the finish line. The transfer was made from the disordered and pagan Rome to the New Rome located in the old capital of Byzantium, who now wears Christian clothes. By its monotheist nature, Christianity has provided the unity of the empire for more than a millennium.

Byzantine society, de jure and de facto heir of the Greco-Roman world, has its own philosophy, its own pattern of structure and of political thinking. Undoubtedly, for *the New Rome*, the model is emerged from the Christian teachings and, as a philosophy, it harmoniously blends in the heritage of the Roman world with Blessed Augustine's thinking about man and city, which itself is the symbiosis of the *pagan knowledge* and the *Christian experience* acquired by the latter.

The Byzantine citadel (Imperial-o.n.) will use religion as its main instrument of political and social consolidation. Religion (Christianity - o.n.) is the Byzantine monarch's gateway to divinity, immortality... Byzantine Christianity is not just a "phrase invented by them" as Eminescu said, but a complex mechanism, which represents the synthesis of the totality of good concepts about the world and life of the Constantinopolitan city

Some considerations on the notion of political culture

The term of political culture is, like many other concepts and terms, one very new, being first used by the German illuminist Johann Gottfried Herder, in late eighteenth century¹⁵ (the century of lights - o.n.), although the term, in the sense of **political thought**, is extremely old. Raisa Radu believes that political culture related items are included in the *Veterotestamentar writings*¹⁶, stating that "The Bible contains oracles, paraenesis and anathemas of the prophets in which they refer to different qualities and inclinations of the Amalekites, Philistines, Assyrians and Babylonians"¹⁷.

The evolution of human society, from the pre-state organization to the political organization, is pointed, in this type of writings, by the listing and analyzing the rights of the political leaders - kings, military commanders, archons, nobles - on subordinates. Greco-Roman Antiquity writings are eloquent in this respect. "Histories" of Herodotus contain particulars of different ways to understand politics and how to relate to it. By idealizing the democratic model of state management, Herodotus claims that "the Athenians showed initiative and zeal when these qualities served as a benefit of all"¹⁸.

Interesting is, for the demonstration on how the Antiquity relates to the concept of political thinking (culture), the work of Origen, "De principiis" which examines the Bible as a body of laws that orchestrates Christianity in the philosophical sense.¹⁹ Origen believes that three ways of the Old and the New Testament exist - historical, mystical and moral - which he calls "*the body of the text* (the message to the simple people), *the soul of the text* (the moral significance) and *spirit of the text* (which allows initiation of the supreme truth)"²⁰.

Byzantine political philosophy is an intermediate phase between classical philosophy and modern political thinking. Therefore the bases were placed in *the golden age* of Hellas of Socrates,

¹³ Adriana Claudia Cîteia, *Paradigma creștină a libertății între ontic și meonic* (Editura Cetatea de Scaun, Târgoviște, 2007), 27.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*.

¹⁵ Raisa Radu, *Cultură politică* (Editura Tempus, București, 1994), 10.

¹⁶ **VETEROTESTAMENTAR** adj. wich belongs to the Old Testament (ex. Veterotestamentar prophets). (lat. *vetero* „to make it old”) - cf. <http://dictionare.edu.ro/>, consulted on the 27th of May 2011, 22:15.

¹⁷ Raisa Radu, *op. cit.*, 10.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, 12.

¹⁹ Anton I. Adămuț, *Filosofia Sfântului Augustin* (Editura Polirom, Iași, 2001), 37.

²⁰ *Ibidem*.

"who dropped down philosophy from heaven and brought it within the walls of the cities, introducing it in households, and he was the one who forced it to inquire the lives and customs of the people and the good and bad things"²¹. "Consequently, the subject of political philosophy is the City and the Man, in this case the relations between the soul (man) and place (city).

1.1.1. The beginnings of political thinking in Europe

The notion of *political culture* in ancient Greece can not be separated by what *city* means. The people's lives, the way of thinking and political steering, the good (in the sense of good and right - nm) are synonymous with the very existence of the city, which accompanied the whole history of Hellas.

Plato and Aristotle, considered to be the founder of philosophy in the service of the polis²², are the most important thinkers of the Greek area. "Republic" of Plato, considered a "rigid work"²³ gives us an ideal city, which implies ideal citizens. "Politics" of Aristotle is an exposure of personal experiences, presented in a realistic way. Plato is an idealist, an incurable dreamer, while Aristotle is "a cold logician, whose fantasy is not allowed to take any step without being controlled by reason opposed with reality"²⁴. Regarding the administration of the city, Plato argues that a good leader needs good education, the knowledge of the *Goodnes*, and to acquire *Wisdom* ... The prerequisite for acquiring it is free time, "which means the one who have to work for a living can not acquire the wisdom, but only those who have independent livelihood"²⁵.

As mentioned, Aristotle's political philosophy identifies its fundamental axis in historical reality. Aristotle is not an adept of equality, but believes that "a governing is good if it pursues the good of the whole community"²⁶, identifying three good regimes (monarchy, aristocracy and *politea* - the constitutional government) and three harmful forms of government (democracy, oligarchy and tyranny)²⁷. The purpose of political philosophy is to create the best political system, but this goal is virtually impossible as long as people-citizens will be anchored in existing policy, however identifying an ideal leader, Hippodamos, about which we find that he was the first political philosopher, a brilliant city planner and a proponent for the order, giving attention to the way he dressed and enjoying to have as much knowledge about the universe. Hippodamos proposes a city that revolves around the number 3: 10,000 citizens divided into three groups, a territory divided into three sections, three types of laws and three reasons that lead to initiation of trials to the Court of Justice.²⁸

For the Antiquity, the city is the only place where one can live, there is nothing else beyond, beyond are barbarians, eternal enemies, Tartary ... The first to sees otherwise this issue of foreigners is Cicero, who, in the first century BC, stated that <<the whole foundation of human community>> is threatened when an unfavorable treatment is applied to foreigners compared with that applied to Roman citizens "²⁹. The thesis (the argument) of Cicero is a form of political culture, in the sense of reporting the speaker to the state policy and to the general mentality of the Roman Republic.

²¹ Leo Strauss, *Cetatea și omul*/ trad: Radu Pavel Gheo (Editura Polirom, Iași, 2000), 21.

²² Vasile Muscă, *Aristotel sau filosofia în slujba polis-ului*, în Vasile Muscă și Alexander Baumgarten, *Filosofia politică a lui Aristotel* (Editura Polirom, Iași, 2002), 73 – 93.

²³ *Ibidem*, 76.

²⁴ *Ibidem*.

²⁵ Bertrand Russell, *Istoria filozofiei occidentale*, volumul I (Editura Humanitas, București, 2005), 124.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, 208.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, 209.

²⁸ Leo Strauss, *op. cit.*, 26- 27.

²⁹ Robert D. Kaplan, *Politici de război: de ce necesită conducerea politică un etos păgân* (Editura Polirom, Iași, 2002), 42.

Almond's and Verba's³⁰ accepted meaning to the concept of political culture is a particularised distribution "of patterns in the orientations to political objectives, as it is done between members of the nation" or community. Divided into three main categories (**participative, parish and dependent**), political culture may or may not be "in harmony with the structures of the political system."³¹ If we would try to identify the type of political culture of Athens, we would be turning to a participatory culture. The participation of all citizens in the debates in Agora was not only a right but a duty, decisions being taken following discussions that took place three times a week. Valuable information in this respect we have from Thucydides, who, in the "Peloponnesian War" refers to a speech of Pericles on the benefits of democracy.³²

Unlike Aristotle and Plato, who seek the ideal city or try to identify the best form of political organization, Thucydides puts us in the everyday reality of the city, irrespective of how severe or abject reality is. By "Peloponnesian War", Thucydides brings a new image of the ancient city, whatever it is: Athens, Melos or Sparta. Carefully analyzing the historian's work, we can distinguish the three types of political culture theorised by Almond and Verba. Thus, when the city is not under threat of war or unwanted constraints (lack of democracy - a.n.), we can talk about a political culture of obedience to divine will, people leaning towards the past, towards the traditional values, praising moderation and submission.³³

Rome's expansion will bring "a political organization, a lifestyle, a culture (including political - a.n.) - based mainly on Greek elements - which are strong unifying factors"³⁴. If the type of political culture, in which we consider that Athens is, consists mainly of a predominantly participatory political culture, imperial Rome has a dependent one, in the sense that the emergence of the empire and the relocation of Roman institutions' operating mechanisms have contributed to "a gradual decline of the role of the people's assemblies"³⁵ and to an increase of the imperial powers. Thus, the emperor was Imperator (commander of the army and the possessor of the judiciary and the legislative), pontifex maximus (high priest) and protector of the people (Pater Patriae), which gave him various gifts: the establishing of the imperial cult by Augustus will result not only in the replacement of the dictum VOX POPULI, VOX DEI (voice of the people is the voice of God) but rather the weakening of the institutions of republican Rome. The fundamental principle of political culture of imperial Rome was the phrase "bread and circus" within the meaning of food and show. The emperor increased his powers in the detriment of the people, which he turned into a mere tool, in a mass for manoeuvres.

Therefore, the emergence of the Christian community in Judea Province and the rapid expansion of faith in the resurrection of Jesus Christ in the entire imperial space have confused both the Roman administration and the simple citizen who could not conceive to have a life led by the modesty imposed by the Gospel and by the preachings of the apostles; this triggered the violent reaction against Christians in the first three centuries of our era. In terms of thinking, Plotinus (204-270 AD) is considered to be the last of the great philosophers of antiquity, "as it helped to shape medieval Christianity and Christian theology."³⁶ With Plotinus start the rumours about salvation by philosophy, by reference to the mystic of One, who can not think and can not create the perfect way, everything in the world appearing through illumination, through emanation, like the relationship

³⁰ Gabriel A. Almond și Sidney Verba, *Cultură civică: atitudini politice și democrație în cinci națiuni* (Editura Du Style, București, 1996)

³¹ *Ibidem*, 50.

³² Raisa Radu, *op. cit.*, 12.

³³ Leo Strauss, *op. cit.*, 249.

³⁴ Jean Carpentier și François Lebrun (coord.), *op. cit.*, 70.

³⁵ *Ibidem*.

³⁶ Bertrand Russell, *op. cit.*, 305.

between fire and heat.³⁷ In Russell's view, Plotinus is, in cultural terms, the end of a world - the Greek one - and the beginning of another - the Christian world.

"For the ancient world, tired because of the centuries of disappointment, worn out by despair, his doctrine could have been acceptable, but it couldn't have been stimulating. For the barbaric world, where reckless energy needed not to be stimulated but contained and regulated, what was able to penetrate out of his teaching was good, because the real evil was not apathy, but brutality.³⁸ "Therefore, Plotinus's philosophical inheritance, which entered the Christian theological concept, will also enter the way of functioning of the *New Rome's* institutions, and hence it irradiated the whole life inside and outside the empire.

1.2. Byzantine political culture

We can not talk about the development of the Byzantine Empire without observation on the transformations that took place throughout the European space, in the human mentality and in the functioning of the institutions in the transition period from Antiquity to the Middle Ages. The political culture of the following one, *de jure* and *de facto*, of ancient Rome is in line with the coordinates imposed by Christianity, not just a religion or a philosophical current but fundamental axis of the Medieval world.

We must admit that the Medieval European world and, especially, its civilization is founded on principles emerged from the teachings of the Gospel, in other words, on Christianity. Unique, by reference to Jesus Christ, and yet different, with a flourishing world of cathedrals and universities in the West, and conserving both the Greek and Orthodox traditions, Eastern Europe remains original in many respects, being, as related to the religious phenomenon, the only continent entirely christianised.³⁹ Christianity has influenced life in all of Europe, be it religious life, whether we refer to the functioning of institutions. Clothed "with a broad white mantle of churches"⁴⁰, Europe will see a development which, without any real break, leads from the ancient city to the medieval one, from the Greco-Roman pantheon to the Christian era.⁴¹

As Jacques Le Goff says, the medieval man, whether king or subject, the patriarch, pope or Christian, citizen or peasant, merchant or intellectual, is Christian by excellence, rarely happening for an individual not to be animated by the teachings of dogma, whether Orthodox or Catholic. If, however, existed, this human should have been excluded from the medieval world picture, as was one who didn't know God, or, worse, did not recognize God⁴². "The fool says in his heart <<God does not exist!>>"⁴³ is the foundation of Augustinian and post-Augustinian poorly-understood paradigms of a theology which, in the name of Jesus Christ, has killed. From this verse in Psalms rise all the prelates of the Dark Ages, in their convenience and greed. The people of the Middle Ages are people without universe, without opening ... People are limited, depending on the category, they belong to the field, the village or, in the happy case of monarchs and high prelates, to the Eurasian space.

The introduction of Christianity, first as a lawful religion (313), and then as the imperial religion, while prohibiting pagan cults, was a turning point in European history. The great migrations also contributed to this mutation, which was the cause of the division of the *colossus with clay feet* in

³⁷ Anton I. Adămuț, *op. cit.*, 37.

³⁸ Bertrand Russell, *op. cit.*, 316.

³⁹ Jean Carpentier și François Lebrun (coord.), *op. cit.*, 141.

⁴⁰ René Rémond, *Religie și societate în Europa: secularizarea în secolele al XIX- lea și XX (1780 – 2000)* (Editura Polirom, Iași, 2003), 27.

⁴¹ Jean Carpentier și François Lebrun (coord.), *op. cit.*, 88.

⁴² Jacques Le Goff (coord.), *Omul medieval*/ trad: Ingrid Ilinca și Dragoș Cojocaru (Editura Polirom, Iași, 1999), 8.

⁴³ Psalmi 14, 1, apud Jacques Le Goff, *op. cit.*, 8.

the Western Roman Empire and Eastern Roman Empire (395 AD) and the disappearance of the first, in 476, with Odoacer's⁴⁴ deposit of Romulus Augustus.

In this context of socio-political and cultural-religious mutations, the European civilization transfer takes place to a more complex form of organization, which can be understood by "the opposition of an Oriental Europe, where Roman structures maintained and developed in the Byzantine Empire, and Western Europe, whose development depends on the distribution of power between barbarian kingdoms and contacts between the two forms of culture, Roman and German"⁴⁵.

On this bidimensional mold (the fight between good and evil, the confrontation between the Byzantine civilization and the existing danger beyond the Danube limes, but also the fight from within Christianity, between different schools of thought) will be and will persist what today we call the Byzantine Empire. The *reduced* Roman Empire, who focused its whole political and administrative power in Constantinople, lasted a thousand years, and for a long time was the most powerful state in Europe, even if surrounded by enemies and grinded by internal strifes for life and death.⁴⁶

Throughout the world's Medieval thinking about man, we discover the paradigm of the two cities not only regarding to the outside world, Babylon and Jerusalem being perfectly integrated in the universe represented by the human individual. Thus, the same being is inhabited by two entities: one virtuous and another sinful. The first is created in the image and likeness of God, the other one being no more than the heir of the original sin of Adam and Eve, being punished with death penalty. So, what Gnostics identified with spirit and matter, Christians related to the two cities: one, full of virtue, "condemned" to eternal life, and one that is doomed to the burning which transcends time. And in terms of human's image, we have to deal a bivalent aspect: between centuries IV - XII the prevailing image is one of a man both weak and vicious, knelt before God to ask forgiveness, while the image of creative-creation, able to continue the work of Trinity in the city's terrestrial space and to save, imposes since the twelfth century.⁴⁷

Augustine referred to Rome when speaking of Babylon as a prototype of the human city and to the Church when talking about Jerusalem. Official theology, both Eastern and Western, considered the two cities as the same individual, in the nature of the sin, the flesh, and in the nature of the virtuous, the spirit.

Byzantine history, recorded in documents, will encounter distinct stages of its evolution, from the expansion period to decline, and from there to the empire that gave apparent signs of recovery, but a pseudo-recovery, which is rather the chance of history.

The end of Greek-speaking Roman Empire is admirably captured in the work of Palamas - "Death of Byzantium": "... The turks are coming, the turks are here, we are surrounded by Karaman, the destroyer of the world, the one that wastes peoples, Asia's ruler. And *acriții* are the histron's mockery. Silvered lances are rusty, gold saddled battle horses are red because of lice ... and Nichifors alone, and the rulers and the impetuous Tzimisces and Bulgarohton centaurs aren't only smoke anymore, cloud and ashes, the great Dighenis Acritas was sipped by Caron, in the depths and darkness, the heart of Hellenism died"⁴⁸.

Byzantinism survived after the fall of Constantinople and other imperial centers, basic elements of law, culture, theology and political ideology, consolidated in more than a millennium, will radiate throughout the space Orthodox in Russia, Armenia and Georgia to northern Africa and Serbia. A special case is that of the Romanian Principalities, where continuity of Byzantine forms

⁴⁴ **Odoacru** – German leader (b. ca 430 - 493 m.), an officer in the Roman imperial guard of 472, commander of the barbarian militia formed by heruli, scirians, rugians and turcilingi, position of the leading events of 476 – cf. ****Enciclopedia de istorie universală* (Editura All Educational, București, 2003), 959.

⁴⁵ Jean Carpentier și François Lebrun (coord.), *op. cit.*, 89.

⁴⁶ J.B. Barry, *op. cit.*, 3, apud <http://www.questia.com>, consulted on the 31th of May 2011, 12:45.

⁴⁷ Jacques Le Goff, *op. cit.*, 9.

⁴⁸ *Apud* Eugen Barbu, *Săptămâna nebunilor* (Editura 100 + 1 Gramar, București, 1996), 5.

experienced particular issues because of the Greek aristocracy exile which began in the XIV century and continued in the centuries XVI and XVII. Whether we refer to Greek language, as the language of school and office during the phanariot reigns, to taking over Byzantine legislation, political ideology and mentality, which is preserved until today, "it is outlined a laborious adaptation of the law to the socio-economic needs and political changing of the Romanian society."⁴⁹ It is significant in this regard that romanian rulers claimed to be considered legitimate heirs of the Byzantine emperors.

1.2.1. Christianity - a fundamental element of Byzantine political thought and culture

Life, during the Byzantine Empire, including citizens reporting to the political act, is indestructible related to the Christian religion. Christianity was the entire Byzantine political ideology, founded by Eusebius of Caesarea. According to this imperial theological doctrine, the result of "a long political and philosophical developments of concepts of East and Roman world"⁵⁰, "the Empire is the emanation of divinity itself and has a providential mission on Earth, which is to subject all the people of the universe and to impose faith in Christ."⁵¹ "Therefore, the entire nation will be subject to the ruler of the empire, which, according to the same theory, is the chosen (anointed) of God. King is God on earth, and everything is connected to it is sacred, "the Finance Minister will become, as soon as the king's wealth is identified with the wealth of the empire, <<committee of sacred spending>>, head of the imperial wardrobe, <<committee of sacred clothes>> etc "⁵².

Since the second half of the fifth century, in the same time with the power of the emperor, the political power of the Church increases; in 457, we assist the king's coronation ceremony by the patriarch, an "act that gave authority to the election of political bodies and translated into practice the idea that imperial power is of divine origin."⁵³ Church became thus, the soul of the empire, which ensured the geographical area for preaching the Word of God.

Starting from Almond and Verba's division of political culture, we can easily identify the membership of the Byzantine political culture to the type of dependent culture; the Byzantine state is extremely well organized, the old Roman magistracies are replaced by a bureaucratic apparatus, composed of officials appointed and carefully supervised by a despotic imperial authority. Here we can fit the links between the emperor and Byzantine different population groups. As Stelian Brezeanu said, "public relations between the old Roman prince and the magistrates who surrounded him gives way for links in course of <<privatization>> between the despot (*Dominus*) and officials, officials which were turned into his trusted people (*comites*) and, finally, the Roman citizen, a member of a free community, is replaced by the Byzantine subject (*doula*)"⁵⁴.

In fact, with the establishment of Christianity as the only religion of the Roman Empire, philosophy, political thought, morality and law were unified into a single body... The Church became the Empire, a dual unit of the 2 cities, "of which only one will reign forever with God, and the other will be in eternal torment with Satan"⁵⁵ in the sense that the Church's role will be the Christians' mobil to eternal life, to the *City of God*, as it is defined by St. Augustine. The city Augustine of Hippo speaks about is different from the city of people in which the "principles and those who subjugate nations are dominated by passion to dominate."⁵⁶ However, the existence of the **binomial empire - church** must be understood in letter and spirit of the Christed dictum "Give therefore to

⁴⁹ Stelian Brezeanu, *op.cit.*, 329.

⁵⁰ Stelian Brezeanu, *op. cit.*, 17.

⁵¹ *Ibidem*.

⁵² Paul Lemerle, *Istoria Bizanțului*/ trad: Nicolae Șerban-Tanașoca (Editura Teora, București, 1998), 33.

⁵³ Stelian Brezeanu, *op. cit.*, 18.

⁵⁴ *Ibidem*.

⁵⁵ Bertrand Russell, *op. cit.*, 376.

⁵⁶ Augustin, *De civitate Dei*, XIV, 28.

Caesar what is Caesar's and to God what is God's."⁵⁷ Administration and Byzantine church hierarchy used freely both biblical precepts and ideas arising from Augustinian thought, which they turned into Augustinianism. Byzantine subjects had no other choice than to comply with the will of his master, no other freedom than Christianity, according to which they could reject the political city's strength, "by choosing the desert cities."⁵⁸

The status of official church led to a profound change in the functioning of the empire, whether we talk about political life or the everyday life. Greco-Roman Pantheon was often used as an instrument of policy, but its value was rather symbolic. This (the use of pagan religion as an instrument of imperial policy - a.n.) did not involve any theory about the universe, no dogma that could share people's thinking and generate disputes, but rather was consistent with most pre-Christian religions and beliefs. Christianity destroys, simultaneously with the destruction of a world of fornication and abundance, the belief in a pantheon of gods with human weaknesses of the city. Once adopted as the state religion, Christianity turns, slowly but surely, in a political, imperial dogma, which had to define and consolidate itself. In this manner the Christological fights in the first centuries must be seen, and so has to be analyzed the second stage, one of the battles between iconoclasts and iconodules. Church, now in power, denied the other cults' right to manifest, forgetting the moments when it asked freedom for itself.

A great problem of both the Christianity and the empire was, without doubt, that of Christological fighting. In the context of an immense religious freedom and intense theological activity, the Church was faced with developing a strong controversy between various schools of thought within it.

In the fourth century, a new heresy grows - **Arianism** - due to Arius, a servant of the altar in Alexandria. It emitted the idea that the three persons of the Trinity would not be equal, as Son, unlike the father, is a creation, a creature of time without the body and timeless. Arius denied the consubstantiality of Jesus Christ and thus, indirectly, the divinity of the Son. Is excommunicated by Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria, which led to the division of the whole Christian Orient. The situation determined Constantine to intervene for the first time in disputes about dogma, to ensure internal peace of the empire. Consequently, he summons the First Ecumenical Council of Nicaea in 325. On this occasion a number of fundamental elements of Christian dogma are established (consubstantiality of Christ, Sunday, etc.), Nicaea having a particular importance, politically, because, "for the first time, the imperial power intervenes in a dogmatic matter"⁵⁹ placing the "foundation of the future establishment of relations between temporal and spiritual."⁶⁰

Another heresy was the **Nestorian heresy**, from the name of Nestorius, patriarch of Constantinople, that human nature of Christ outweighs the divine nature as the Son is nothing else but a man who became God. This doctrine was sentenced in 428 by Celestine, Bishop of Rome and Cyril of Alexandria ordered Nestorius to accept the orthodox teaching, threatening him with the deposition as Bishop.⁶¹ To avoid a worsening of the situation, Theodosius II convokes the Council of Ephesus, in 431, the Third Ecumenical Council. Following this, Nestorius is removed as a Bishop and Cyril was in management of the whole Christian Orient.

Two rationalist doctrines of Arius and Nestorius are opposed to **Monophysitism**, which emphasizes the divine nature of Christ, leaving human nature in the background. Monophysitism is condemned at the fourth Ecumenical Council (Sinod), in Chalcedon, 451.⁶²

⁵⁷ *** *Noul Testament*, Matei 22, 21 (vezi și Luca 20, 25).

⁵⁸ Adriana Claudia Cîteia, *op. cit.*, 7.

⁵⁹ Paul Lemerle, *op. cit.*, 23.

⁶⁰ *Ibidem*, 25.

⁶¹ *Ibidem*, 47.

⁶² Maria Georgescu, *op. cit.*, 81.

Byzantine philosophy is based, in the opinion of Nikolaos Matsoukas, on three factors, three basic archetypes: **Gnosticism**, **Judaism** and **Hellenism**.⁶³

Gnosticism, the syncretistic thinking of the pre-Christian era, is influenced by Christianity, but without losing the fundamentals. Gnostic philosophy is distinguished by two large categories:: dualism⁶⁴;

gnosis (knowledge) of universal and unitary reality, as a necessary and saviour movement.

Gnostic dualism aims the combining spiritual and material elements, stating that "the matter is the reality of lower and perishable (corruptible), while the spirit, or the intelligible element, is the high and incorruptible world"⁶⁵.

Judaism also influenced Christian-Byzantine philosophy. The triadic monotheism of the Old Testament (religious foundation of the chosen people), Judaism is the base of Christian theology but, with the loss of *Triadic God Himself* (by not recognizing the divine nature of Jesus Christ - a.n.), it becomes the main source of heresies, and Jews become apostates. In the conception of many historians of dogmas and theologians of the Bible, Christianity relies radically on Judaism, while for historians and theologians of the Church Christianity is a superior form of Judaism.

Hellenism is considered to be a different cultural matrix of Christianity, especially in terms of hierarchy.

Despite the fighting and the opposing elements of Gnosticism, Hellenism and Judaism are found in Christian theology, being assimilated by Christianity and integrated to his own interest.

A special place in the recivilizing of the Roman world it is the *dogma*. The concept of dogma asserts its supremacy in the Middle Ages, during the time when people "used to say that, if Lot challenged by the shine of the feasting, Job by patience, Abraham by faith, and Simeon by hope, after that, Solomon was challenged by the teaching (dogma)."⁶⁶

As stated, the doctrine will play the primary role in the Middle Ages, even if the obstacles in understanding the different meanings of the word persists today.

The greek meaning of the word, derived from the verb *doxein* ("to think", "to imagine", "to have this or that opinion") wich designates doctrines (principles) of different schools of thinking, recieves new meanings after the appearance of Christianity. In the first centuries after Christ's resurrection miracle, "dogma was the expression of what Christians accepted to confess"⁶⁷, the expresion of reality within the Church, not just a simple statement.

There are several types of interpretation of the dogma. Ferenc Eduard proposes the analyzing of the dogma in a triple perspective:

Interpretation as a *verbum rememorativum* - an evocative interpretation of the facts of God;

Interpretation of the *verbum demonstrativum*, in the sense that biblical precepts are an illustration of the divine will;

Interpretation of the *verbum prognosticum* - prophetic value of the Christian dogma.

The reign of Constantine the Great represented a very beneficial time for Christians and Christianity, which, though it was equal in terms of legality with other religions, it earned an ascendand against paganism, being placed, in the late fourth century AD, to final defeat of the latter.

⁶³ Nikolaos Matsoukas, *Istoria filosofiei bizantine!* trad: Constantin Coman și Nicolae Deciu (Editura Bizantină, București, ISBN 973 – 9492 – 49 – 5), 49 – 76.

⁶⁴ **DUALISM** – The use of two heterogeneous irreducible Principles (sometimes conflicting, sometimes complementary) to analyze the knowledge (epistemological dualism) or to explain the reality of the whole or general aspects of it (metaphysical dualism). Examples are the existence and epistemological dualism mind or subject and object, metaphysical dualism are examples of good and evil, God and world, body and spirit. Dualism opposes monism and pluralism.– cf. ****Enciclopedia Universală Britanică*, Volumul 5: *Dante – Evans* (Editura Litera, București, 2010), 190.

⁶⁵ Nikolaos Matsoukas, *op. cit.*, 51.

⁶⁶ Anton I. Adămuț, *op. cit.*, 7.

⁶⁷ *Ibidem*.

After a brief period in which the successor of Constantine, Julian the Apostate, gives an edict to reopen temples and offerings to pagan deities are allowed and Christians are removed from key positions in administration and education, Christianity regains force to the final blow on paganism, all culminating in the Edict of Thessalonica, in 380, that the only official religion is Christianity, and the edict of 392, which bans pagan sacrifices and ceremonies, including the entering into temples.⁶⁸

1.3. The Augustinian model in Byzantine political thought

Around the year 400, Augustine was already talking about the city of the wicked and the saints, mixed by bodies, but separated by will. In "The Republic", Cicero says that Rome is a way for iustitia, a quality which is not enough to Augustine of Hippo, who claims that lost iustitia will lead the transformation of empires in *latrocinia magna* (large robberies).⁶⁹

Full pages of City of God leave the bad impression that Augustine hated the Roman Empire and its political institutions, considering them as power-hungry organizations, created by the ones with influence with the purpose of controlling by their own will.⁷⁰ The foundation of the city of God is Christ, and the fundamental principle is love; the domain is this world the world beyond in terms of their spiritual connections; its law is divine will and its purpose is the victory over the terrestrial city.⁷¹

On the other hand there is the human city. It is organized on the principle of abundance, comfort, power, lechery and domination - perishable values, limited in time and space; the terrestrial city has, therefore, as a basis the devil, as purpose the intention to destroy the divine order, as finality the eternal punishment, and the principles are selfishness and contempt of God.⁷² Augustine claims victory of the divine city against the human city, assuming that the Church has seen many empires disappearing, while no empire ever didn't see the Church disappearance. Thanks to Augustine, the public good, proclaimed by the Roman mentality, was transferred to the doctrine of universal salvation, the reference system moving from the human city to the City of God.⁷³

This paradigm is the basis of the political philosophy of the Middle Ages, called the **political augustinism** - a hybrid of Christianity and pagan traditions. Political Augustinismul can be summarized in three different objects⁷⁴:

The principle of a supernatural society different than the state, but comparable to it;

The practical consequences deduced by Augustine from the first principle, under the impact of Rome;

The practical consequences deduced by other Christian thinkers.

Written between 412 and 427, *De Civitate Dei* was meant as a response to the pagans, who saw in the adopting of christianity the giving up of the pagan pantheon, because of the disaster of Rome, namely the eternal City predation by Goths⁷⁵. For Augustine, pagan worshipers' justification was meaningless; he exemplifies the fact that many of those who blamed Christianity were found, during the attack on Rome in 410, in churches "which the Goths respected, because they were Christians"⁷⁶, and as a counter-example are the events during the conquest of Troy, when the temple of Juno was not saved from disaster, concluding that "the Romans never spared the temples in the

⁶⁸ Anton I. Adămuț, *op. cit.*, 42.

⁶⁹ *Ibidem*, 173.

⁷⁰ Henry Chadwich, *Augustin* (Editura Humanitas, București, 2006), 135.

⁷¹ Anton I. Adămuț, *op. cit.*, 174.

⁷² Henry Chadwich, *op. cit.*, 137.

⁷³ Adriana Claudia Citeia, *Instituții eclesiastice pe litoralul vest-pontic, în lumina izvoarelor arheologice, literare și epigrafice în secolele IV – VII* (Editura Muntenia, Constanța, 2006), 209.

⁷⁴ Anton I. Adămuț, *op. cit.*, 174.

⁷⁵ Bertrand Russell, *op. cit.*, 371.

⁷⁶ *Ibidem*.

cities they conquered; in this, predation of Rome was milder than most of the past devastations and the slowdown was a result of Christianity⁷⁷.

Roman Empire was, in the Augustinian view, always a sinner, always devoid of virtue and that is why it will be destroyed by God, as its leaders, not wanting to know the true God, "they claimed to be wise and went crazy (...) and worshiped and served the creature rather than the Creator, who is blessed forever."⁷⁸ Unlike the Roman emperors who worshiped pagan gods, kings of the Christians are virtuous, because their virtue is eternal joy, and the city will endure as long as these leaders will be virtuous, giving the example of the Jewish kingdom, which "lasted as long as Jews have joined the religious truth."⁷⁹ St. Augustine believes that both Constantine and Theodosius I have been fortunate and full of virtue.

In this key must be seen throughout the life of the Church in the Middle Ages. The Church is therefore land area of the City of God, and the Byzantine Empire will be, in the conception of Augustinian epigones, the geographic Church. It is found the theoretical justification of Church policy, particularly in Western Europe. The *sine qua non* condition of the membership of the empire/state of the eternal space of City of God is to obey the Church, a requirement fulfilled only in the East, where the king will control the Church, being obeyed to the Patriarch only in matters of Christian piety.⁸⁰ This is especially true during the periods of intensified political crisis; the king, who was the absolute master of the visible world (inhabited), became deeply religious at this stage of political instability.

Augustinian thinking is confined to the idea that the church is the highest representative of the *supreme republic*, "embedded in a political organization (the state), called *Regnum*"⁸¹. According to this view, the Church is superior to the state; it has an indirect power over the empire, while the empire (the state) has a direct power over ecclesiastical institutions, in the virtue of the right of the ruler of *basileia* to be a bishop for matters outside of the Church.

In the Byzantine political thought, in which the cultural layers of the Greco-Roman and Christian were perfectly combined, the emperor is of divine essence, by assuming the entire earthly power, which he holds from God, also assuming the spiritual power held by the Church. If the Pope is the successor of St. Peter, the Byzantine emperor is the deputy of the high priest in Heaven, and the Patriarch is the heir of Jesus Christ. The Relationship between the king and the patriarch should be ideal, as is defined in Epanagoge, the harmony between the throne and the is kept with some concessions. Constantine the Great identified Christianity as the best tool to achieve absolute power, by the principle of "One God, one authority, one law";⁸² The Church comes into the proposed game by consolidating its power by blessing the emperor, "a bishop of the outside" and "a protector of the Church," as Olivier Clément says.

While St. Augustine sees the Byzantine empire as an anti-model of the of the *City of God*, yet the enounced principles resist in the Byzantine political thought, as his work includes few original ideas, as it is "of Hebrew origin and entered into Christianity by Apocalypse"⁸³, while the doctrine of predestination and election belongs to St. Paul, and the distinction between the two types of history (sacred and profane) may be sought in the writings of the Old Testament. Augustine's merit is the

⁷⁷ *Ibidem*, 371- 372.

⁷⁸ Rom. 1., 21 – 25, apud Aurelius Augustinus, *De Civitate Dei /Despre Cetatea lui Dumnezeu (413 – 427)*, în *De la Cetatea lui Dumnezeu la Edictul de la Nantes (izvoare de istorie medievală, secolele V – XVI)*, editori: Alexandru-Florin Platon și Laurențiu Rădvan (Editura Polirom, Iași, 2005), 176.

⁷⁹ Bertrand Russell, *op. cit.*, 373.

⁸⁰ *Ibidem*, 378.

⁸¹ Adriana Claudia Cîteia, *op. cit.*, 210.

⁸² Jean-Claude Eslin, *Dumnezeu și Puterea: teologie și politică în Occident/ trad: Tatiana Petrache și Irina Floare* (Editura Anastasia, București, 2001), 99.

⁸³ Bertrand Russell, *op. cit.*, 378.

unifying and the putting in line with the evolution of his own time. Therefore, the Augustinian paradigm⁸⁴ can be considered the starting point for both the Catholic West and the Orthodox East.

In the political thought of the East European medieval, the founding of Constantinople on the old foundation of Byzantium is the divine sign of the beginning of the Christian empire. The fall of Western Roman Empire in 476, will strengthen the power of Constantinople, Eastern Roman Empire remaining "the bastion of Christianity and the refuge of the Greco-Roman culture."⁸⁵

The entire existence of the Byzantine Empire will be restrained to the dispute between two principles: "a realistic and Oriental one, who wants at all costs to maintain the Roman territory remained in the empire, and its evolution, within its borders, of the Byzantine population and the other, idealistic and Western, that aspires to recapture the West from the barbarians and the return of the brothers within the great Roman nation."⁸⁶

The two fundamental principles of Byzantine ideology are the *order* (taxis) and *economia* (oikonomia), both referring to the goals of the empire and those of the Church. Another principle concept of the Byzantine theocratic doctrine is that there is no truly independent state, for the authority of both the land and divine is unique, which means that there can be only one empire: "of the Orthodox romans"⁸⁷.

Economia - wise wisdom - is the quality of the king to find and apply the best possible rule, theory which we find today in the Orthodox religion mentality states in the phrase "the lesser evil".

Taxis is an expression of the class that dominates relations between people, nature and society, the term being confused, in Byzantine thought, with that of hierarchy. Byzantine fortress, in terms of organization, is the fair view of the city of God. Heavenly hierarchy pyramid has God on top, while the king is on the highest step of the Byzantine hierarchy, which makes explicable the names of Cosmocrator (master of the world) and Cronocrator (master of the time), attributed to the Emperor by the Byzantine ideology.⁸⁸ By decoding the symbolism of the Byzantine institutional language, we find that the relation between the order (taxis) and economic (oikonomia), which replaces the old meaning of the term Sophia (wisdom), represents the foundation of the thinking of Pseudo Dionysius the Areopagite, and also the foundation of the whole theocratic imperial thinking. According to it, the emperor is lord of the entire area, while the patriarch is the one who gives legitimacy to imperial power.⁸⁹

The fundamental principles of the Byzantine political thought are linked to the relationship between church and state. The state, represented by the king, and the Church, represented by patriarch, were the basic pillars of the existence of *New Rome*. In the opinion of Ahreweiller H., the relationship between church and state, between the temporal and spiritual authority, have profoundly influenced "political guidance of the ideology of each age and conditioned the behavior of Byzantine people"⁹⁰. This was prophesied by Augustine, who, while seeing a counter-example of the Divine City, "accepts the cooperation between the two powers for the good of humanity"⁹¹.

In the Byzantine *Regnum*, collaboration between Church and State was compulsory, virtue that the king was subordinated, even if only out of Christian piety, to the patriarch, which was subordinated by the king, as an inhabitant of the city, otherwise, both would be crashed. This situation was summarized by king John Tzimisces, when he said: "I am aware of two powers on earth and in this life, priesthood and empire; the Creator gave the care of souls to the first, and to the

⁸⁴ **Paradigmă** – example, model, teaching, , cf. <http://dexonline.ro>, consulted on the 5th of June 2011, 22: 33.

⁸⁵ Hélène Ahreweiller, *Ideologia politică a Imperiului Bizantin*/ trad: Cristina Jinga (Editura Corint, București, 2002), 15.

⁸⁶ *Ibidem*, 16.

⁸⁷ Alain Ducellier, *Bizantinii: istorie și cultură*/ trad: Simona Nicolae (Editura Teora, București, 1997), 100.

⁸⁸ Hélène Ahreweiller, *op. cit.*, 129.

⁸⁹ Adriana Claudia Cîteia, *op. cit.*, 270 – 271.

⁹⁰ Hélène Ahreweiller, *op. cit.*, 121.

⁹¹ Adriana Claudia Cîteia, *op. cit.*, 212.

second gave the authority over the bodies, if these two parts do not suffer any curtailment, then good reigns in the world."⁹²

This happy relationship between the state and the Church will exist since the early beginning of Byzantium, being noticed, also in terms of imperial law, starting with the fourth century AD. In the time of Theodosius I, 150 decisions are issued in defense of orthodoxy, as shown in the Book XVI of the Theodosian code, compiled between 429 and 439.⁹³

But in the virtue of the Augustinian challenges, the Church and the emperor have identified the Hebrews as the new inhabitants of the terrestrial city, because they knew God, "they didn't glorify Him, neither were thankful, but became addicted to false thinking and their foolish heart was darkened."⁹⁴ This is the sense of the antisemitic politics of the Byzantine emperors. In 408, the Jews were denied the right to judge Christians, because in 431 to be called "*supernae maiestati et legibus Romanis inimici*, denying them the access to civil positions"⁹⁵.

As in other cases, the king has involved, as bishop from outside, in the application of a judicial system in the State-Church relations, including public law, starting with the fifth century, elements of the sacred law.⁹⁶

1.3.1. Byzantine imperial institutions and their reporting to the Augustinian model

For the Byzantine Empire, legislation and hierarchical organization of the state and the church played a key role. King, Court and Senate were the main institutions in the Byzantine Empire, in a centralized political system.

The Emperor. The concept on the imperial position is that the top hierarchy of the system is the *basilea*⁹⁷, the absolute master of *oikonomia* as it was considered the "deputy of God" and "friend of Christ".⁹⁸ Due to these qualities, the Byzantine emperor leads the empire by virtue of divine emanations, being, apart from political leader of the state, confessor of the Orthodox faith, its defender and an "equal of the apostles"⁹⁹, which gave him the right to control what happened inside, but especially outside the Church. After the victory against the Persians, Heraclius takes the title of "a *basileu* who has faith in Christ", which will become the exclusive privilege of the true sovereign of New Rome. Thus, Roman philosophy was integrated into Christian ideology, resulting in a new imperial doctrine, maintained by successors like Constantine II.¹⁰⁰

According to Nicholas the Mystic, the emperor of Constantinople "is above all terrestrial powers and the only power established on earth by the master of heaven"¹⁰¹, while others are "younger brothers" (Carol the Great), "Beloved sons" (Bulgarian tsar) or simple subject - *douloi* (venetian dog and armenian rulers). This type of christian *oikonomia* hierarchy is called the *doctrine of the family of kings*, as we find out in *De ceremoniis aulae byzantinae* (On the Byzantine court ceremonies), written by Emperor Constantine VII the Porphyrogenet in the middle of the tenth

⁹² Apud Hélène Ahrweiler, *op. cit.*, 123.

⁹³ Henri-Irenee Marrou, *Sfântul Augustin și sfârșitul culturii antice!* trad: Drăgan Stoianovici și Lucia Wald (Editura Humanitas, București, 1997), 117.

⁹⁴ Apud Aurelius Augustinus, *op. cit.*, în *De la Cetatea lui Dumnezeu la Edictul de la Nantes (izvoare de istorie medievală, secolele V – XVI)*, editors: Alexandru-Florin Platon și Laurențiu Rădvan (Editura Polirom, Iași, 2005), 176.

⁹⁵ Adriana Claudia Cîteia, *op. cit.*, 234.

⁹⁶ *Ibidem*.

⁹⁷ **BASILEU** (here, with the sense of emperor) - in Antic Greece, the name of the king; in Athens it was the title of the second archon which had religious functions. It was attributed to the kings of Persia and to absolute sovereigns of Hellenistic kingdoms, being, in the Constantinopolitan age, the title awarded to the Byzantine emperors - cf. ****Enciclopedia de istorie universală*, 294.

⁹⁸ *Ibidem*, 315.

⁹⁹ *Ibidem*, 423.

¹⁰⁰ Emanoil Băbuș, *op. cit.*, 85, apud. <http://www.crestinortodox.ro/>, consulted on the 8th of June 2011, 17:45.

¹⁰¹ Stelian Brezeanu, *op. cit.*, 135.

century. According to this book, the *basileia* was elected by the people and confirmed by the Senate, the role of people gradually decreasing in the favour of the army and, from the eleventh century, in the favour of the private guards of the powerful (*dynatai*). Leo III Isaurian, initiator of the iconoclasm, proclaims himself as "basileu and priest", an expression of *cezarpapism*¹⁰². With the occasion of legitimacy of Constantine VII is born a new institution of dynastic principle: *porphyrogennetos* (the birth in the purple room). Constantine believes that *porphyrogennetos* is "God's anointed" when he tells his son: "God himself has chosen you and appointed you from your mother's womb to give you your royalty for excellence."¹⁰³ While affirming the right of the born in purple is a very old idea, it returns with greater force during isaurian times. This legitimacy provided by virtue of being born in the purple extends to the two daughters of Constantine VIII, Zoe and Theodora, considered to be "our mothers". They give legitimacy to the spouses and to the adopted successors. Byzantine empire does not give up the foundations of its ideology. Related to the statute of the emperor, Patriarch Anthony IV responds in 1395, to Basil I, Grate Duke of Moscow, as follows: "The Holy Emperor... can not be assimilated to an archon or a local sovereign, because since the beginning emperors considered and strengthened faith in the world, gave power to the divine and sacred canons.

He is anointed with holy chrism, consecrated for the Roman emperor, of all Christians, and his name is commemorated in all places by the patriarchs, metropolitans and bishops, wherever people are called Christians, which is no privilege for any other prince or local sovereign¹⁰⁴. In this context, it is seen that the great Comnena of Trebizond, while abandoning the traditional name of their ancestors, they do not give away the imperial name, which they adapt to reality, the imperial title is "basileu of the East and the region beyond the sea".

Central administration. The more we move away from the time of Augustine, we see that giving up the old stratification of Roman administration (*magister officiorum*, *magistri militum* and *officiales*), a new hierarchy appearing, headed by the king. Under Heraclius, a new stage of state organization starts, where the military and civilian power are united in the *themes* (*a military unit, an administrative circumscription where a military unit was established – after the VII century*). The first themes appeared in Asia Minor (*Anatolikon*, *Armeniakon*, *Karabisiani*, *Opsikion*), while in Europe the *Helladic* and the *Thrace* themes were founded.

Starting the ninth century, the bureaucratic and centralized character of Byzantine administration increased, everything being in relation with the palace. There is a list of honorary positions (*axia*) and the official (*offikia*) that numbered 18 spots, the first three being the dignity of Caesar, *nobilissimos* and *curopalates*, to which only the imperial family had access. Ninth century and the next century brings a rapid increase in importance of the *parakoimomenos* function, the sleeping of king's guard, which becomes the confidant and the most important minister of the byzantine state. Locally, the number of the themes varies between 7 and 40.

In XI-XII centuries, the Senate, army and people are left behind, while kings increase their power by enriching the positions, although they were empty of content. Thus, the head of the hierarchy is occupied by the *sebastocrator* and inflation of functions would be evidenced by the appearance of the same functions with several steps (*sebastos*, *protosebastos*; *nobilissimos*, *protonobilissimus*)¹⁰⁵.

The Army. Again with Heraclius, the military is experiencing a deep reform, reflected by replacing old mercenary troops with rural militias formed by *stratiotes*. The army was driven, since

¹⁰² CEZAROPAPISM – a system of report between the state and the Church, in which the public authority has powers that traditionally are reserved to the Church, with the purpose of unifying the temporal power with the spiritual one.. – cf. ****Enciclopedia de istorie universală*, 423.

¹⁰³ Stelian Brezeanu, *op. cit.*, 155.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibidem*, 250 – 251.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibidem*, 135 – 136.

the seventh century, by a general wick was appointed *the great domestic* in the latter part of history of the Byzantine Empire. Marina was led at first by military officers. Leo III Isaurian divided the imperial navy fleet, one led by the Ploimon the drongar, based in Constantinople, and one fleet of three maritime theme (Kibyraiton, Hellas and Samos).

The elements of political augustinism in the current romanian mentality

Paraphrasing Professor Daniel Barbu, we can ask how much and how tributary we are to the Byzantine mentality, what percentage of quantity and quality of the Augustinian theory resides in the current public mental, especially in the approach of and reporting to the types of political culture.¹⁰⁶

Throughout its history, the Romanian people, the beneficiary of Daco-Thracian cultural elements, Greco-Roman and Christian, to which were added Slavo-Byzantine and Turan mental archetypes, was considered a keeper of tradition. This becomes a ritual role, refering to "the illustrious ancestors, the ancient habits. And these originary myths regenerates the social body, << confirms >> faith, dreamt or proved, in the existence of common roots and a shared destiny. Thus, it comes from << the double body >> and the divine origins of the kingship, (sic) or even the speeches on the sovereignty of theorists of the revolts"¹⁰⁷.

Based on the above, we find that, often in modern and post-modern history of Romania, the appeal to the ancestors is obvious, ritualic and timeless. The evolution of the trial and Antonescu's tragic end may have similarities with King Decebal's destiny, just as the whole life of a despotic ruler of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, is related to national heroes, whose heir and collector of positive energy was presented in the templates of the communist propaganda machine, but not in the collective mentality, people running a saw on him through jokes and expressions in the last years of his personal regime.

As the king was God's *deputy* on earth in Byzantine political ideology, in the same manner the romanian rulers were anointed of God, modern Romanian Constitution keeping the phrase "by the grace of God and national willingness, ruler of Romanians"¹⁰⁸.

In *De Civitate Dei*, Augustine transforms the Greek myth of *the eternal enemy* into the prototype of the *human city*. The sinful man, the roman citizen, doomed to perdition along with the empire he built, is opposed to the christian citizen, wich, if he wil be virtuous, he will become a citizen of the *divine republic*. This fight between good and evil is maintained during the entire existence of the Christian Church, and the world as a whole.

For Ion Antonescu, the eternal enemy, which is neither lucky nor virtuous, will be represented by the Gypsies and Communists, deporting the first in Transnistria and imprisoning the others. Romania entered the Second World War on 22 June 1941. This was not only an act of fair reunification of the country, but also an evidence that the head of the Romanian state identified the USSR as an "Enemy of the East and North"¹⁰⁹, asking them to release the Romanian soldiers in occupied territories from under the "red yoke of Bolshevism"¹¹⁰.

For the communist regime, the enemy is reversed and acquires new meanings. He becomes *the class enemy*. Capitalism, American imperialism, the decadent society are prototypes that can destroy the new *divine republic*, in fact a fearsome opponent of the city of God without God (own

¹⁰⁶ Daniel Barbu, *Republica absentă: politică și societate în România post-comunistă* (Editura Nemira, București, 2004), 9.

¹⁰⁷ Pascal Lardellier, *Teoria legăturii ritualice: antropologie și comunicare/ trad: Valentina Pricopie* (Editura Tritonic, București, 2003), 107-108.

¹⁰⁸ ****Constituția din 1866*, apud <http://www.rogoveanu.ro/constitutia/const1866.htm>, consulted on the 10th of January 2012, 13:04.

¹⁰⁹ ****Ordinul de zi către armată din 22 iunie 1941*, Monitorul Oficial nr. 145/ 22 iunie 1941, apud <http://istoriiregasite.wordpress.com/2011/10/30/ordinul-de-zi-catre-armata-din-22-iunie-1941/>, consulted on the 10th of January 2012, 13: 43.

¹¹⁰ *Ibidem*.

construction - a.n.). In one of his speeches in 1971, Nicolae Ceausescu warned the danger of capitalist products, be it material production or of the intellectual:

"It became a habit not too good, comrades, to look only to what is done elsewhere, to call for any import. This shows that there are some - let's say - kowtow to what is foreign and especially to what is produced in the West. It is the time ... to put our own strengths in the foreground... and only then to resort to imports. Books are printed in tens of thousands of copies that advocate bourgeois lifestyle, while good Romanian books can not be printed due to lack of paper."¹¹¹ Along with annoying the enemy, the class struggle is getting more acute: the new man is idealizes - the bulldozer-woman, heroine mother, the miner, the cooperative peasant etc., while the intellectual is a negative symbol. The image of the enemy of the working class is well summarized by Nikita Khrushchev, for wick "historians are dangerous people. They are able to disturb everything. They must be advised."¹¹² Therefore, the truth of the Augustinian philosophy is overthrown, a new truth being born, a new religion, a new universe. We are witnessing the failure of the twentieth century millennial movements (Romanian fascism and communism), emerged as a requirement of the collective mind to see - in this world and as soon as possible - the city projected by Augustine of Hippo

During the dictatorial regimes, the degree of subordination of church to state increases, although Augustine wanted a Church superior to the human Empire. Collaboration with the communist regime of the Romanian Orthodox Church has resulted in a pact "whereby, in exchange for supporting the communist regime, R.O.C. would have received in exchange the right to freely exercise their cult."¹¹³ So, R.O.C. adopted a double standard to survive, are rare moments in which clergy expressed opposition to the communist state. Nicolae George and Adrian Enache Petcu identify the Security's White Book, Volume II, a single document that recorded such an attitude.¹¹⁴

In addition, the paradigm of the two Augustinian cities exists both in the relationship between state institutions with opponents of the communist regime and in the Church of Christ. The Orthodox Church sees in the Catholic Church the representative of the *sinful city*, the vice versa being also true.

Transformations taking place during the twentieth century do not change the mentality of the citizen. We are witnessing a Byzantine *doula's* transshipment, limited in time, space and fact, to a human model slightly polished, but still expecting God's mercy, or state aid or illumination from Pater Patriae. The dependency of Byzantine subjects was related to the plot of land they worked on, the church and the lord. The dependency of the modern subject is anchored in a world without future, in the sense that now he lives in the past, the need to be assisted, guided and led is marking his existence. The creational universe of subjects in the last century was focused around some small activities and the type of political culture was mainly a dependent one. Moments when the collective mentality atitudine suffers some changes, caused by psychic over-saturation of individuals are rare (see Uprising of 1907 and the Revolution of December 1989) and short term, being enough for the satisfaction of the basic needs of the community.

Regime change in 1989 did not produce structural changes in the Romanian mentality, the single perceptible change being the actors: the West, former enemy became a friend, while the Cold War ally becomes an adverse stance. Romania's democratic path is marked by *semi-brakings* and *semi-membership*, based on terms set by Raymond Aron.¹¹⁵ This translates into how the Romanian

¹¹¹ Nicolae Ceaușescu, *non vidi*, apud Katherine Verdery, *Compromis și rezistență: cultura română sub Ceaușescu*/ trad: Mona Antohi and Sorin Antohi (Editura Humanitas, București, 1994), 384.

¹¹² Nikita Hrușciiov, *non vidi*, apud *ibidem*, 19.

¹¹³ George Enache, Adrian Nicolae Petcu, *Biserica Ortodoxă Română și Securitatea. Note de lectură*, 11, apud <http://www.comunism.ro/images/enachesipetcu.pdf>, consulted on the 10th of January 2012, 15:25.

¹¹⁴ *Ibidem*.

¹¹⁵ Raymond Aron, *Marxisme imaginaire: de la o sfântă familie la alta*/ trad: Adina Cobuz (Editura Polirom, Iași, 2002), 15.

society, freed from a totalitarian regime, sticks to the psycho-social ills, the recent past, as well as the original sin. Here we can fit the forms of manifestation of the Phanariot model, of Byzantine-Ottoman essence, with balkanic features (see trading perversion, culture, in the sense of the country's transformation into a huge bazaar - Ed), although in terms of leadership, we are witnessing a speech catalyst for Western values.

Amid the moral decay of the Romanian society, Augustinian paradigm becomes an instrument in the hands of the politician. The citizen of City of God vanishes from the public discourse, which is now focused only on signaling the residents of the non-virtuous city, enemies being identified according to the interests of the moment (fatty budgetary, pensioner asshole, school that produces stupid, 40% of medical diagnoses are wrong, moguls, etc.)¹¹⁶. But we also identify speeches in which the two cities appear, reminding the public positions and attitudes of Corneliu Vadim Tudor, Gigi Becali or Dan Diaconescu.

Romanian Orthodox Church continues to be one of the main institutions to influence the collective mentality, which can be used as an instrument of control in the interests of politicians. It appears that political discourse moves in the Church, the country's leaders at all levels trying to seize the moral ascendancy of the clergy on the population, mostly Orthodox.

It is not wrong to consider that the model of the two cities of the bishop of Hippo is always present. Thus, "the recent history remained to decide the vast, immeasurable division of east / west, which was committed and remained to perpetuate the fundamental form of mental structures, those responsible, in turn, for the distance between <<civilization>> and <<barbarism>>"¹¹⁷.

Conclusion

The entire existence of the Byzantine Empire, from Constantine the Great to the fall of Constantinople in 1453, is marked by Christianity, such socio-political and cultural development of the whole medieval Europe. Christianity meant not only a religious doctrine embraced by most people, as he was in the hope of a better future (albeit a future that transcends the space time, geographical and physical existence!) springs to go on, regardless of existing challenges, but the imperial official doctrine, which united the entire existing philosophical codex...

Christian philosophy summed up in its benefit of the Church and the emperor, all the pre-Christian ideas and all philosophical and political doctrines. The Byzantine political culture is one in which the subject (doulos) is entirely dependent on the senior, the master; the emperor is anointed by God and therefore has the right to life and death of the vassal. In the Byzantine culture, there is no such thing as the power of the people as it is in Pericle's Athens, but the will of the emperor, which is common with that of God.

The reminiscences of political Augustinianism meet today in the Romanian public mind, and the collective consciousness still keeps alive the experiences of the model of the two cities, which is poorly understood, a common thing for the totalitarian regimes that marked the twentieth century.

Our research focused on three main directions: Augustinian paradigm presentation and classification in the category of political utopias, the analysis of how the model of the two cities was taken and used in the self-interest of the emperor, transformed by the Byzantine ideology into God's deputy on earth, and identification of the elements of political Augustinianism in current Romanian mental, developed in the case study presented.

The subject of attention in this paper can be a starting base for those involved in studying the phenomenon of political culture of Byzantine and post-Byzantine. Also, this study provides the uninitiated a brief information on fundamental values that were the basis for the creation and development of the Romanian political thinking.

¹¹⁶ Elements of the speech of the president of Romania, Traian Băsescu.

¹¹⁷ Aurelia Satcău, *op. cit.*, 41.

We believe that through this study, for the first time we brought to the attention of those interested how the Augustinian model penetrated and influenced public thinking in the Middle Ages and modern times (be it dictatorial phases or stages of post-dictatorial - Ed) and also the classification of the byzantine and post-byzantine political culture in three types of political culture proposed by Almond and Verba.

We propose as future research directions the following:

Realization of a complex work (historical-sociological- and mental-psychological), in which to consider the weight of different types of political culture defined by Almond and Verba in Romanian mental structure;

Differences in approach / reporting / the Byzantine typology of Balkan peoples and populations;

Development of Augustinian concepts in the era of globalization.

To Christianity have been reported over the centuries not only different Christian denominations, but also other monotheistic religions which see their positions threatened, and totalitarian political ideologies (Nazism and Communism - sublime. Added), but which, while denying Christian truth, used the symbols of this religion.

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