

## STATE AND CHURCH IN THE ORGANIZATION OF MOLDAVIAN COUNTRY UNTIL THE END OF 18<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY

**Ioan Scripcariuc**

„Stefan cel Mare” University, Suceava  
scripcaioan@yahoo.com

**Rezumat:** Biserica ortodoxă cu structurile sale teritoriale, Mitropolia și episcopiile, a jucat un rol deosebit în organizarea administrativă a statului medieval moldovenesc. Este cunoscută întreaga dispută legată de recunoașterea Mitropoliei Moldovei de către Patriarhia Ecumenică a Constantinopolului. De asemenea este deosebit de importantă situația Episcopiei de la Rădăuți, contemporană în mod evident cu întemeierea țării. S-a impus astfel și un model creștin în administrație, părăsit însă mai ales de la sfârșitul secolului al XVI-lea, când întreg statul se așează pe alte baze decât cele originare.

**Abstract:** In the administrative organization of medieval Moldavian state, the Orthodox Church and its territorial structures, Metropolitan and Episcopates, played an important role. It's known throughout the dispute over the recognition the Metropolitan Church of Moldavia by Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople. It is also very important situation of the Episcopate of Rădăuți, obviously contemporary with the founding of the country. Has established itself a Christian model of administration, but mainly left at the end of the sixteenth century when the entire state is placed on bases other than those originating.

**Résumé:** En l'organisation administrative de l'Etat moldave médiévale un rôle important a joué Eglise orthodoxe et ses structures territoriales, le métropolitain et les évêques. Est connu dans le différend sur la reconnaissance métropolitaine moldave par le Patriarcat œcuménique de Constantinople. Il est également très important la situation d'Épiscopat Rădăuți, évidemment contemporaine de la fondation du pays. S'est imposé comme un modèle chrétien de l'administration, mais surtout à gauche à la fin du XVIe siècle, lorsque l'Etat tout entier est placé sur des bases autres que celles d'origine.

**Keywords:** Medieval Moldavian state; church; administrative organization; Metropolitan Church of Moldavia.

In becoming a nation, according to its historical destiny, its state organisation always respects it and moulds according to its geographical dimensions, besides which those spiritual dimensions have always been more than a simple intensifier. The heritages are intensified in this flow by the valuation of new experiences. The

European medieval state has been characterized by its Germanic tradition, the heritage of Roman Antiquity valued by Christianity. There also have been set up two classical patterns: the Roman-German one, with a lot of influences of Gallo-Germanic tribes and the Byzantine one, with influences of Greek antiquity.

Organised, especially in Western side, in Orders and rigid Corporations, the medieval state appears yet as secluded and limited just only for modern type of man, the man of post-iconoclast revolutions, of pagan inspiration, triggered in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. In reality, as the historian Gheorghe Brătianu remarked: “people of those ages didn’t have any political rights, but they were more equal to each other from economical point of view”<sup>1</sup>. The analysis of sources shows that never until the end of 16<sup>th</sup> century man has never been more master of his work and of the outcomes of his work and has never been placed in a more complete freedom compared to those who were considered primarily in a Christian state as “near, close”. Medieval freedom was primarily assessed in its Christian way, for which political rights didn’t have any significance but only for the rank and place given by God for each individual in society.

Naturally, even from its first ways of organising, State needed administration as means of surviving, through the elementary needs as justice, defence and organizing of Church. Within European society also functioned a classical three-party pattern, identified by the bishop Adalbert de Laon as the three Orders<sup>2</sup>. Administration imposed from the beginning, from central level of monarch, especially in Western medieval state, by heritage, increasing and adapting to classical patterns or formula to ensure its vitality in Eastern, Byzantine pattern. After the establishment of Western Christian Empire and together with imposing of universal monarch in person of Charlemagne, a process of Christian alienation triggered by diverting far from patristic tradition<sup>3</sup>, phenomenon which explains to a great extent also the separate evolution of state-church relations: from the dominant symphony within the states under the influence of Byzantine Empire to the conflict expressed so many times with violence in Western medieval states. Everywhere the medieval state didn’t experience a separation of powers in modern way, enlightened, and this functioned through its communitarian and personalised structures. Because of this reason, its functions are not clearly shaped and they are many times very weak delimited. On that period there was prevailing the outlook of Christian monarchy in which, the chosen of God was also the master of all lands and their inhabitants. As a

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<sup>1</sup> Gheorghe I. Brătianu, *Tradiția istorică despre întemeierea statelor românești* [Historical tradition about the foundation of Romanian medieval states], Bucharest, Eminescu Publishing House, 1980, pp. 123-124.

<sup>2</sup> Georges Duby, *Cele trei ordine sau imaginarul feudalismului* [The Three Orders or the imaginary of feudalism], Bucharest, Meridiane Printing House, 1998, p. 25; Jaques Le Goff, *Intellectualii în evul mediu* [Intellectuals in Middle Ages], Bucharest, Meridiane Publishing House, 1994, p. 22.

<sup>3</sup> André Vauchez, *Spiritualitatea evului mediu occidental secolele VIII-XII* [The spirituality of the Western Middle Ages 8-12 centuries], București, Meridiane Publishing House, 1994, p. 9.

consequence, it was remarked the mechanism of medieval organization. Until the dawn of Modern times, hardly one could make differences, and for Romanian states, the analysis mainly juridical, haven't seized the peculiarities<sup>4</sup>.

The medieval state from Eastern Europe had particular structures, with a lot of hues and differences. In a Slavic sea, The Romanians assume and develop many state organizations from Byzantine source.<sup>5</sup> These organizations are especially seen in organizing of the princely council and in the special report between state and church. More severe with individual and with itself, the Western state transformed old German structures into a classic Roman new coat.

The analysis of specificity of state evolution in Romanian States, the fact of Christianization early from beginning and the evolution from rural structures made Nicolae Iorga to set forth the theory of initial rural state; “(țeranii) the peasants were our boyars and as head of state there was (țeranul) the peasant, humble to God, who was sitting on the princely chair of country”<sup>6</sup>. The process summarized by N. Iorga in the syntagm of “primary rural” state has to be approached with certain reserves. The essential fact is that Romanian states grew up mostly in rural life. At foundation of medieval Romanian state's organization can't be put only a lack of organization and the coming back to old, primitive communal society<sup>7</sup>, after the withdrawal of Roman reign. In this respect, not only the maintaining of connections with Byzantine Empire for longer centuries but especially the Christian thought have been represented the real grounds for establishing the medieval state. Noticing the evolution of state “by spreading of Romanian people from mountains to field”<sup>8</sup>, we underline the local grounds of state organization for Romanian people, with later reflections on the whole evolution of institutions.

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<sup>4</sup> Ioan C. Filitti, *Despre vechea organizare administrativă a Principatelor Române* [About the old administrative organization of Romanian Principalities], in „Revista de drept public” [Journal of public law], 1934/1935, excerpt, p. 8.

<sup>5</sup> Ion I. Nistor, *Temeiuri romano-bizantine ale începuturilor organizării noastre de stat* [Roman-Byzantines grounds of the first beginnings of our state organization] in „Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice” (The Annals of The Romanian Academy. Memoirs of the Section History), s. III, T. XXV, 1942-1943, pp. 843-883.

<sup>6</sup> N. Iorga, *Rostul boierimii noastre* [The aim of our boyars], in *Istoria românilor în chipuri și icoane* [History of the Romanians in Faces and Icons], vol. II, 1905, Bucharest, Atelierele Socec Publishing House, p. 145

<sup>7</sup> Henri h. Stahl, *Contribuții la studiul satelor devălmașe românești* [Contributions to the study of Romanian villages], vol. I, Bucharest, Romanin Academy Publishing House, 1958, passim; and P.P. Panaitescu, *Obștea țărănească* [The peasant community], Bucharest, Romanian Academy Publishing House, 1964, pp. 11-14.

<sup>8</sup> A.D. Xenopol, *Istoria Românilor din Dacia Traiană* [History of Romanians from Dacia under Trajan Emperor], vol. II, 4<sup>th</sup> edition, Bucharest, Scientific and Enciclopedic Publishing House, 1986, p.160.

The Romanian medieval states have respected from the beginning the classic byzantine pattern, with the ruler being an autocrat but loving of his people. The fact that historical tradition preserves for most of medieval voivodes a bright image is given by the conception grasped by Dimitrie Cantemir according to which, beyond of some relative exaggerations, rulers “didn’t miss any prerogative of supreme power with which the greatest princes boast of. Out of God and their sword, these princes didn’t recognize no one more powerful within their country, they weren’t bound to any foreign prince, either as vassal or depending on faith”<sup>9</sup>. Autocrat but being no Asian tyrant, the Romanian prince were outlined by Nicolae Iorga as some who “have not a single offending word, of pride, of certainty in their means and their calling. They were defended also the humiliation imposed by Eastern Christianity but also by the nature of their people”<sup>10</sup>

The influence of Byzantine orthodox conception in organizing the medieval state becomes, especially starting with 15<sup>th</sup> century, a permanence. This fact is showed by the diplomatic formula found in official documents and especially in those documents meant to monasteries and eparchies. From the particle “Io” denoting, in the tradition of Orthodox Eastern Empire, the divine origin of princely rule<sup>11</sup> and in the titles “cu inimă curată și luminată”, to the more complex addressing of archimandrite Nicolae from Voroneț monastery to voivode Vasile Lupu on 24<sup>th</sup> September 1634 by using Slavonic language as a sacred formula in a Romanian official document: ”Binecinstitorului și de Hristos iubitorului, celui încununat de Hristos Dumnezeu cu coroana împărătească, celui uns cu mirul bine mirositor, bucuria Ieleonului, celui curățat prin baia botezului și celui dăruit de Împăratul cerurilor cu cinstitul sceptru, prea milostivului marelui nostru domn, Io Vasile voievod”<sup>12</sup>. Also the voivode Miron Barnovschi used, in a legacy to Dragomirna monastery in 1626, the formula: “Binecuvântat este preabunul Dumnezeu, care în a sa bunătate m-a ales din pântecele maicei mele și m-a dăruit cu domnia și voivozia țării” completed later

<sup>9</sup> Dimitrie Cantemir, *Descrierea Moldovei* [Description of Moldavia], Bucharest, Romanian Academy Publishing House, 1973, p. 123.

<sup>10</sup> N. Iorga, *Scrisori de boieri, scrisori de domni* [Letters of boyars, letters of princes], 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Vălenii de Munte, Datina Românească Publishing House, 1925, p. 155.

<sup>11</sup> Emil Vărtosu, *Titulatura domnilor și asocierea la domnie în Țara Românească și Moldova până în secolul al XVI-lea* [The titles of princes and association to reign in Wallachia and Moldavia until the 16<sup>th</sup> century], Bucharest, Romanian Academy Publishing House, 1960, pp. 85-86; P.P. Panaitescu, *Io în titlul domnilor români* [Particle Io in the title of Romanian princes], in “Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie A.D. Xenopol” (AIIA), (Yearbook of the Institute of History and Archeology A. D. Xenopol), XXIV, 2, Iași, 1987, p.70; see latest and Daniel Flaut, *The relationships between the State and the Church in the Romanian Countries (14<sup>th</sup> -18<sup>th</sup> centuries)*, în „Revista Română de Studii Euroasiatice” (Romanian Journal of Eurasian Studies), an IV, Constanța, no. 1-2/2008, pp. 49-63.

<sup>12</sup> Documenta Romaniae Historica (DRH), A. Moldova, vol. XXII, Bucharest, Romanian Academy Publishing House, 1974, pp. 293-294, nr. 262.

with “Pentru mila covârșitoarei sale bogății se cuvine deci pururi să mulțumim lui Dumnezeu căci ne-a deschis ușa milostivirii sale și lumina înțelepciunii și am văzut că nici o slavă nu stă pe pământ neclintită și cu moartea neîmpărțită, ci ca floarea se veștejește și ca umbra trece și se strică tot omul”.<sup>13</sup> By all these facts the institution of state and reign takes shape according to Christian ideology and Orthodox Church, as centre of spreading out power and administration within the state.

A lot of information regarding the attitude and position of voivode within the frame of state, especially until 17<sup>th</sup> century, come mainly from monastic field, that one which played the intellectual role in society. For this reason, many of these information can be accused of subjectivism; yet, it is undeniable that from the medieval state's point of view, its relation with Christianity, of Eastern-orthodox shade for Romanian countries, the political synthesis achieved primarily in Byzantine Empire continued particularly through Romanian voivodes, „Byzantium after Byzantium” syntagm gaining clearly more than a cultural reference<sup>14</sup> and accompanied by numerous specific features of Romanian evolution.

As central institutions, Reign and Church have concentrated all positive energies of state, especially after 1453, when being connected with Ecumenical Patriarchy of Constantinople by canonical and civil right<sup>15</sup>, the Romanian Metropolitan Churches would become the gates of a real cultural imperialism. If certain foreign influences have partly determined a separate evolution of medieval Romanian states<sup>16</sup>, particularities have reflected upon numerous high dignities and institutions, in shapes of law and styles of Slavic language and first of all in the military system of citadels and of Moldavian counties, depending on which the administration should have been regarded as a body where foreign specificity and influence were more or less felt. It is here to recall the observation of Nicolae Iorga<sup>17</sup> according to whom “in organization and administration one can feel the starting point from the old kingdom”, where the system of princely courts and crossing the country for trials would be “a Hungarian habit”, which remains valid in part if one adds for “the traveller” prince the very well-known Christian pattern of Jesus Christ, as Emperor of World also a

<sup>13</sup> DRH, A. Moldova, vol. XIX, Bucharest, Romanian Academy Publishing House, 1969, p. 43-46, nr. 32.

<sup>14</sup> Nicolae Iorga, *Bizanț după Bizanț* [Byzantium after Byzantium], Bucharest, Romanian Encyclopedic Publishing House, 1972, passim.

<sup>15</sup> Valentin Al. Georgescu, *Bizanțul și instituțiile românești, până la mijlocul secolului al XVIII-lea* [Byzantium and Romanian medieval institutions until the midst of 18<sup>th</sup> century], Bucharest, Romanian Academy Publishing House, 1980, p. 20

<sup>16</sup> P.P. Panaitescu, *De ce au fost Țara Românească și Moldova țări separate* [Why Wallachia and Moldavia have been separate countries], în vol. *Interpretări românești* [Some Romanian facts], Bucharest, Universul Publishing House, 1947, pp. 139-140.

<sup>17</sup> N. Iorga, *Istoria Românilor* [Romanians History], vol. III, *Ctitorii* [Founders], Bucharest, 1937, p. 222

pilgrim. Humble and anonymous traveller to spread God's righteousness.

The medieval state had in Church, everywhere in Christian world, the ground for building and organizing. In a Byzantine tradition, state was at the same time an argument for organizational construction of church. Medieval Romanian states, Wallachia as well as Moldavia, have initiated moves for organizing and recognition of some domestic Metropolitan churches at short while after the political raise of their voivodes. Clearer for Wallachia after the recognition of Iachint of Vicina as Metropolitan in 1359 the institutional church bodies in Moldavia evolved in specific conditions, conditions that gave the nuances of state organization.

Almost all princes' actions are religiously motivated on belief that "the one who does useful deeds and welcomed by God, not only he gets praise and magnificence in this earthly life but after death his name remains immortal"<sup>18</sup>. It was recognized that the ruler was also a direct representative of divinity and that his actions should carry its blessing if, of course, the ruler would carry with honour the gifts received during the religious ceremonial of investment. In this direction there were motivated also all the social reforms initiated by Constantin Mavrocordat<sup>19</sup>, after numerous metropolitans have expressed so many times their protest against fiscal abuses of certain rulers. In this respect, Church, by its structure and organization, has largely influenced the organization of State<sup>20</sup>.

The foundation of Church structures in Moldavia is done in similar and parallel situations to State structures. According to Eastern tradition, every nation foundation needed also an ecclesiastic one. For these reasons, all moves for self-organizing old Moldavian Church are simultaneous<sup>21</sup> with moments of affirming State's independence and authority, by involving ecclesiastic Patriarchy, regarded as a true "Balkan stage"<sup>22</sup> of Moldavian history. After a long conflict with Constantinople Patriarchy and in close connection with the stages of foundation of Moldavian

<sup>18</sup> N. Iorga, *Studii și documente cu privire la istoria românilor* [Studies and documents concerning the Romanians History], vol. XXI, Bucharest, 1912, pp. 150-151.

<sup>19</sup> Gh. I. Brătianu, *Două veacuri de la reforma lui Constantin Mavrocordat* [Two centuries since Constantin Mavrocordat's Reform], în "Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice", (The Annals of The Romanian Academy. Memoirs of the Section History), s. III, tom. XXIX, 1947, p. 455.

<sup>20</sup> Petru Râșcanu, *Lefile și veniturile boierilor moldoveni în 1776* [Wages and incomes of Moldavian boyars in 1776], Teză de licență [Thesis of bachelor], Iași, 1887, p. LXXX.

<sup>21</sup> Șerban Papacostea, *Întemeierea Mitropoliei Moldovei. Implicații centrale și est-europene* [The Foundation of The Metropolitan Church of Moldavia. Central and East-European implications], în vol. *Românii în istoria universală* [Romanians in Universal History], vol. III, Iași, 1988, p. 526.

<sup>22</sup> Răzvan Theodorescu, *Implicații balcanice ale începuturilor Mitropoliei Moldovei. O ipoteză* [Balkanian implications of beginnings of Moldavian Metropolitan Church. A hypothesis], în vol. *Românii în istoria universală* [Romanians in Universal History], vol. III, Iași, 1988, p. 563.

medieval state<sup>23</sup>, the establishment of Moldavian Metropolitan Church is directly connected with defining of internal State structures. This fact is obvious especially when the recognition of the organizing status of Moldavian Church stands for the origin of tradition about the awarding by Emperor Ioan VII Palaiologos to voivode Alexandru cel Bun of the signs of Byzantine autocrat and of law codes.<sup>24</sup>

The Stoudious Agreement, granting the secular rights of Byzantine Emperor<sup>25</sup>, created, in the middle of 14<sup>th</sup> century, the favourable context for Moldavian voivode Petru Mușat's initiative, both for the edification of Metropolitan institution and also as a real manifestation of independence in the domain of relations with Polish Kingdom<sup>26</sup>. The same circumstances created the legend according to which Iuga voivode placed Moldavian Church dependent on the Patriarchy of Ohride and especially they "au descălecat orașe, pren țară, tot pe la locuri bune și le-au ales sate și le-au făcut ocoale prin pregiur și au început a dărui ocine pren țară la voinicii ce făceau vitejii la oști"<sup>27</sup>. It was natural in this context that an autocrat ruler, who contributed to the edification of Moldavian Metropolitan Church, to be also the organizer of State. And if ruler Petru I Mușatinul is a founder who "only the naturally death made the accomplishment of his work not to belong to him"<sup>28</sup>, Alexandru the Good imposed himself as a real" Byzantine autocrat"<sup>29</sup>. As "the only master" and as a judge, the Moldavian ruler will apply in many cases his credentials in canonical law (establishment of Metropolitan Churches, bishops and monasteries; the appointment and revocation of hierarchs; regulation of judging competences and regulation of foreign cults)<sup>30</sup>, being partially similar to a Byzantine Emperor. By virtue of these

<sup>23</sup> Ștefan S. Gorovei, *La începutul relațiilor moldo-bizantine. Contextul întemeierii Mitropoliei Moldovei* [At the beginning of Moldavian-Byzantine relations. The context of foundation of Moldavian Metropolitan Church], în vol. *Românii în istoria universală* [Romanians in Universal History], vol. III-1, Iași, 1988, p. 877.

<sup>24</sup> Alexandru Elian, *Moldova și Bizanțul în secolul XV* [Moldavia and Byzantine Empire during 15<sup>th</sup> century], in *Cultura moldovenească în vremea lui Ștefan cel Mare* [Moldavian culture during the reign of Stephen the Great], Bucharest, Romanian Academy Publishing House, 1964, pp. 119-143.

<sup>25</sup> Ștefan S. Gorovei, *op. cit.*, p. 861.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 876. See also Ștefan S. Gorovei, *Poziția internațională a Moldovei în a doua jumătate a sec. XIV* [The International position of Moldavian state in the second half of 14<sup>th</sup> century], în AIIA, XVII, Iași, 1980, pp. 215-216.

<sup>27</sup> Grigore Ureche, *Letopisețul Țării Moldovei* [The Chronicle of Moldavian State], 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Bucharest, State for Art and Literature Publishing House, 1958, p.75.

<sup>28</sup> Leon Șimanschi, Georgeta Ignat, *Constituirea cancelariei statului feudal moldovenesc* [The Formation of Moldavian feudal State Chancellery], part I, în AIIA, XIX, Iași, 1972, p. 124.

<sup>29</sup> N. Grigoraș, *Țara Românească a Moldovei până la Ștefan cel Mare* [Romanian country of Moldavia until Stephen the Great], Iași, Junimea Publishing House, 1978, p. 119 and Constantin Cihodaru, *Alexandru cel Bun (23 aprilie 1399- 1 ianuarie 1432)*, [Alexander the Good (23 April 1399 – 1 January 1432)], Iași, Junimea Publishing House, 1984, p. 151.

<sup>30</sup> N. Ceterchi et al., *Istoria dreptului românesc* [History of Romanian Law], vol. I, Bucharest,

connections, we understand the involvement of Church, as institution and ideology, in the organization of Moldavian state, as being extremely important. The fact that beneficiaries of some special privileges of eparchy are important monasteries as Bistrița<sup>31</sup> or Putna<sup>32</sup>, besides mentioning of some privileged situation of Episcopate of Rădăuți<sup>33</sup> in sequence of one main position on Moldavian Church's hierarchy, shows how, even from the beginning, Church organization depended on and conjugated with administration.

The establishment of episcopates in Moldavia, after the foundation of Metropolitan Church, is ascribed by the chronicle tradition to the initiative of voivode Alexander the Good<sup>34</sup>, and the Episcopate of Rădăuți is put in direct connection with the establishment of the country<sup>35</sup>, could be considered by the status of the first necropolis of Moldavian voivodes and by its special configuration<sup>36</sup> as the first establishment of Metropolitan Church. We had to underline the fact that for the Episcopate of Roman, "Metropolitan of Lower Country", with priority among several churches from Suceava Metropolitan, the foundation was also connected to the oldness and importance<sup>37</sup> of the second trade fair of the country at the beginning of 15<sup>th</sup> century, placing it in the period of years 1408-1413<sup>38</sup>, after chronicles being

Romanian Academy Publishing House, 1980, p. 256.

<sup>31</sup> DRH, A. Moldova, vol. I, Bucharest, Romanian Academy Publishing House, 1975, pp. 424-425, nr. VI. Although false, the document can cover the reality that eparchies were divided on virtue of some traditions, respecting also the administrative structures.

<sup>32</sup> DRH, A. Moldova, vol. III, Bucharest, Romanian Academy Publishing House, 1980, pp. 140-143, nr. 74.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.135-139, nr. 73

<sup>34</sup> Grigore Ureche, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

<sup>35</sup> Dimitrie Dan, *Cronica Episcopiei de Rădăuți* [Chronicle of Episcopate of Rădăuți], Viena, 1912, pp. 25-26. Here it is released for the first time the hypothesis that, being situated near the village Volovăț „one of the first residence of reign”, in Rădăuți resided the first Metropolitan of the country.

<sup>36</sup> It is about the presence of some church porch within the shrine, most likely of later time, because the authors of archeological resarches from Rădăuți consider that the church from Rădăuți had only a function of chapel of some feudal residence during the whole 14<sup>th</sup> century (Dimitrie Dan, *Cronica Episcopiei de Rădăuți* [Chronicle of Episcopate of Rădăuți], Afterword and notes by Diac. Vasile M. Demciuc, Harieta Sabol), Bucharest, Basilica Publishing House, 2009, p. 37; Lia and Adrian Bătrana, *Contribuția cercetărilor arheologice la cunoașterea arhitecturii ecleziale din Moldova în secolele XIV-XV*, [Archeological research contributions to the knowledge of ecclesial architecture of Moldavia during 14<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> centuries] in „Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Veche și Arheologie” [Studies and Researches of Ancient History and Archeology], tom 45, Bucharest, nr. 2, 1994, p. 146.

<sup>37</sup> Scarlat Porcescu, *Episcopia Romanului, întemeiere și organizare* [The Episcopate of Roman. Foundation and organization], Bucharest, 1941, p. 49.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 20.

confirmed by other internal documents<sup>39</sup>.

The involvement of reign in the organization of the Church had also some important effects upon juridical and administrative organization of the state. With a more flexible structure than of the county, monastic attendances will be one main means in solving many legal conflicts and in applying the rule of law<sup>40</sup>.

Interesting suggestions are given also by the fact that since its establishment, the Third Episcopate, that from Huși, had the eparchy situated in its main part on the Eastern side of Prut river. Compared to the configuration of counties from that area, this fact may launch assumptions concerning the stages of establishing administration of medieval Moldavia and especially in connection with the Church's involvement in administration in the context where Church and Reign took over and developed numerous local structures with all spiritual, social and economic consequences which have been showed later.

Christian model was applied also in the concrete organization of administration through the princely council and through its functions. The first council functions from Moldavia are mentioned on the occasion of the fair, originally Customs weigh's stabilization from Siret<sup>41</sup>, and then in a unique act from 26<sup>th</sup> September 1387<sup>42</sup>, in which, as commanders of citadels, granting official documents not only by their effective power, but by taking over a Polish pattern<sup>43</sup>. The Polish pattern, coming from a catholic world, included noble relations very similar to the classic feudal pattern and in order to fully enter this system they had to comply with the images of certain relationships between ruler and vassals, relations functional in the world where the Moldavian ruler obey through an established ceremonial. Beyond this, we are convinced that the ruler's pattern accompanied by councillors took a certain part of the pattern where God Savior was followed by apprentices, very present in all the rituals of the Eastern Church,

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<sup>39</sup> DRH, A. Moldova, vol. I, Bucharest, Romanian Academy Publishing House, 1975, p. 33, nr. 23 and then pp. 49-50, nr. 35. In other documents, also the Episcopate of Rădăuți is named Metropolitan. See DRH, A, Moldova, vol II, Bucharest, Romanian Academy Publishing House, 1976, pp. 334-336, nr. 220 (the document from 30<sup>th</sup> of August 1749 exemption of Rădăuți and villages from Coțmani).

<sup>40</sup> Alexandru I. Gonța, *Mitropolia și episcopiile ortodoxe românești în secolul al XV-lea* [Metropolitan and Romanian Orthodox Episcopates during XV<sup>th</sup> century], în „Mitropolia Moldovei și Sucevei” [Metropolitan of Moldavia and Suceava] XXXIV, Iași, 1958, nr. 1-2, pp. 21-25.

<sup>41</sup> DRH, A. Moldova, vol. I, Bucharest, Romanian Academy Publishing House, 1975 pp. 1-2, nr. 2.

<sup>42</sup> Mihai Costăchescu, *Documente moldovenești înainte de Ștefan cel Mare* [Moldavians documents before Stephen the Great] vol. II, Iași, 1932, p. 607

<sup>43</sup> Grigore Ureche, *op. cit.*, pp. 122-131.

precisely in a period during which appeals for recognition of the Organization of the Orthodox Church in Moldova were in full progress.

In such conditions, it is clear that the Moldavian medieval State had even from its beginning a system of organization in which the citadels complex played a special part in the evolution from initial nucleus, located only on Moldova Valley, up to the maximum formula, “from Plonini up to the Sea” written on 30<sup>th</sup> March 1392<sup>44</sup>, which shaped the administrative structures, along with old organization patterns and with the system of ruler’s courtyards. The functions of fortresses’ commanders in administrating their domains, clearly suggested especially by documents issued by rulers’ chancellors, directly allowed us to deduct the special role of “pârcalab” (fortress’ commander) and “vornic” (court’s commander) in the first administrative organizations<sup>45</sup> up to the middle of 16<sup>th</sup> century, along with decaying of Moldavian fortresses system<sup>46</sup>. Starting with mentioning of some boyars in the reign’s council only by the name of place where they resided or engaged in activities<sup>47</sup>, “pârcalabul” and “vornicul” held even from the beginning the main role in State administration, whose units, by their names, showed the dependence of one geographical centre and the complex process of medieval state foundation<sup>48</sup>. “Held” by “pârcalab” or “vornic”, the domains around a fortress or a reign’s courtyard appear this way as special bodies<sup>49</sup>. The numerous exemptions and privileges granted especially to monasteries and to Orthodox eparchies and ranking some churches from the villages are ordered according to the administrative organization<sup>50</sup>.

The special governors from counties, with the special responsibilities and very

<sup>44</sup> DRH, A. Moldova, vol. I, p. 3, nr. 2.

<sup>45</sup> D. Nechita, *Pârcălăbia în Moldova* [Moldavian’s fortress command], în „Arhiva”, XXXII, 1925, nr. 2, p. 93.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, nr. 3-4, pp. 252-253.

<sup>47</sup> In the first formula of the princely extended tip included in the document issued by the Chancellery of the voivode Alexander the Good at 7 January 1403 to Fortress from Suceava, its members are identified by the name of joined mainly to (Hârlău, Suceava, Neamț, Khotyn, Volhoveț, Vorona and Sinăuți), and with the Office of “vornic” DRH, A. Moldova, vol. I, pp. 24-25, nr. 17.

<sup>48</sup> V. Lungu, *Ținuturile Moldovei până la 1711 și administrarea lor* [Moldavian Districts up to 1711 and their management], în „Cercetări istorice” [Historical research], Iași, XVII, 1943, pp. 212-213.

<sup>49</sup> Dan Lăzărescu, Nicolae. Stoicescu, *Ținut* [District], în vol. *Instituții feudale din Țările Române. Dicționar* [The feudal institutions of the Romanians countries. Dictionary], Bucharest, Romanian Academy Publishing House, 1988, p. 481

<sup>50</sup> See villages from Suceava District donated to the Episcopate of Rădăuți and Putna Monastery (15 March 1490, 44 churches in Suceava District and 6 in Chernivtsi, hardening of holding a donation of Alexander the Good) DRH, A. Moldova, vol. III, Bucharest, Romanian Academy Publishing House, 1980, pp. 135-139, nr. 72, and those for monastery of Putna (from March 15, 1490, 14 churches in Suceava and Chernivtsi Districts), *Ibid.*, pp. 140 - 143, nr. 73.

often temporary ones<sup>51</sup>, representing in particular of a fluid fiscal system will keep also a very vulnerable and open to abuses system, manifested towards the end of 16th century. Is obviously a period of output from Christian history and placing on the ground of mainly insecure and unstable measures. Beginning with complex military, juridical and economical functions, governors of land have particularly fiscal roles<sup>52</sup>, with many changes and shades in the specializing institutions. The latter brought also changes to the territorial structures of some counties and searching of new formulas, with particularizing the “vătafi” (heads of districts) institution, of county captain or captain of courtiers and continuing with administrative reorganizations since the middle of 17<sup>th</sup> century<sup>53</sup>. Analysis of the sources allows us to see that the reasons for most changes of the administrative system are multiple: taxation and abuses that led to numerous disorders, foreign influences and especially the Ottoman Empire pressures that removed the administration of Moldavia from its tradition. Transformation of such structures by abuses and interests, in a large measure just because they were compliant to the inner soul of state, through their long erosion, had been one of the main causes of reform attempts manifested in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. As a reflex of a new world and with ideological or social determinations<sup>54</sup>, Constantin Mavrocordat’s administrative reform “turns out to be previous to the settlements of modern Romania”<sup>55</sup>. All efforts for ordering a system turned defective are made on other ground bases than those originating. Transformations exceed the initial meaning of history and very often they even haven’t reached the reformers’ intentions affecting most of the times only the shape and not the content of a deeply corrupt administration<sup>56</sup>, facing a deep traditional society and a fundamentally spiritual one.

The Byzantine State pattern where symphony of State and Church was presented as a determinant factor was picked up in the organization of Moldavian

<sup>51</sup> Aurel V. Sava, *Boierii mari ai Moldovei, dregători de ținuturi* [Great boyars of Moldavia, governors of districts] în „Revista de drept public” [Journal of public law] XVII, nr. 3-4, 1942, pp. 466-492

<sup>52</sup> D. Ciurea, *Organizarea administrativă a statului feudal Moldova, secolele XIV-XVIII*, [Administrative organization of the feudal state of Moldova, 14<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> centuries], in AIIA, Iași, II, 1965, p. 153.

<sup>53</sup> Dan Lăzărescu, N. Stoicescu, *loc. cit.*

<sup>54</sup> N. Grigoraș, *Reformele cu caracter administrativ din Moldova lui Constantin Mavrocordat*, [The administrative reforms from Moldavia of Constantin Mavrocordat], in „Cercetări Istorice” [Historical Research], Iași, VII, 1976, p. 160.

<sup>55</sup> Gh. I. Brătianu, *Două veacuri de la reforma lui Constantin Mavrocordat* [Two centuries from Constantin Mavrocordat’s Reform], p. 426 and pp. 441-443.

<sup>56</sup> Nicolae Stoicescu, *Sfatul domnesc și marii dregători din Țara Românească și Moldova (sec. XIV-XVII)* [The hospodar’s council and the great dignitaries of the Wallachia and Moldova (14-18 centuries)], Bucharest, Romanian Academy Publishing House, 1968, p. 132. „They (the Romanian boyards n. ns.) there were against Greeks or robbery to indulge them and rulers which surrounded, but against the system witch remove them of the beneficiaries”.

State since the beginning of organizing it. One can see the influences of the Church from the functioning of law system to imposing an administrative pattern. Along with the change of balance of international power and permanently influenced by the distortion of spiritual patterns, the relationship between State and Church is substantially modified since the end of 16<sup>th</sup> century. Besides certifying some conflicts between rulers and hierarchs, the deep structures of State are affected, especially the way in which the governors report the functions they bear. Although it continues to be mentioned, the latter's "faith" loses more and more in content. Medieval Moldavian State begins to lose originating bases.