

ATINER CONFERENCE PAPER SERIES No: HIS2012-0310

Athens Institute for Education and Research

ATINER



ATINER's Conference Paper Series

HIS2012-0310

**Prince Michael the Brave in the
History of the Romanians**

Gelu Călina

Lecturer

University of Craiova

Romania

ATINER CONFERENCE PAPER SERIES No: HIS2012-0310

Athens Institute for Education and Research
8 Valaoritou Street, Kolonaki, 10671 Athens, Greece
Tel: + 30 210 3634210 Fax: + 30 210 3634209
Email: info@atiner.gr URL: www.atiner.gr
URL Conference Papers Series: www.atiner.gr/papers.htm

Printed in Athens, Greece by the Athens Institute for Education and Research.
All rights reserved. Reproduction is allowed for non-commercial purposes if the
source is fully acknowledged.

ISSN 2241-2891

15/11/2012

An Introduction to ATINER's Conference Paper Series

ATINER started to publish this conference papers series in 2012. It includes only the papers submitted for publication after they were presented at one of the conferences organized by our Institute every year. The papers published in the series have not been refereed and are published as they were submitted by the author. The series serves two purposes. First, we want to disseminate the information as fast as possible. Second, by doing so, the authors can receive comments useful to revise their papers before they are considered for publication in one of ATINER's books, following our standard procedures of a blind review.

Dr. Gregory T. Papanikos
President
Athens Institute for Education and Research

This paper should be cited as follows:

Călina, G. (2012) **“Prince Michael the Brave in the History of the Romanians”** Athens: ATINER'S Conference Paper Series, No: HIS2012-0310.

Prince Michael the Brave in the History of the Romanians

Gelu Călina

Lecturer

University of Craiova

Romania

Abstract

Michael the Brave was a Romanian prince, one of the greatest personalities of the Romanian history, who lived during the XVI-th century. Ever since he ascended the throne of Romanian, Michael the Brave was concerned to unite under one helm the three Romanian provinces. He fought for the emancipation of the Romanians from under the Ottomans and Habsburgs, for the recognition of the Romanians from Transylvania region as a recognized nation before the joining of the Transylvania to the ancient territory and for the recognition of the Orthodox confession in the places where the Romanians were not politically recognized. He was the first one to unify the kingdom of Romania, in 1600, but unfortunately, this unity didn't last. The only thing that lasted was his thought for the descendants, for the followers, that Romania has to be unified. What made Michael the Brave took a few years, but remained in the minds of the followers as a goal for which generations fought and finally achieved in 1918. The short reign of Michael the Brave left deep traces in the Romanians' history and especially in the hearts of the Romanians from everywhere, who have believed in the restoration of the ideal of unity of the Romanian state.

Contact Information of Corresponding author:

Who was Michael the Brave?

He was born in 1557 or 1558 and was long time considered the illegitimate son of Prince Pătrașcu the Good and of Lady Tudora from Cantacuzino's genealogy. Besides the Romanian language he spoke Greek and Turkish fluently and lived many years in Constantinople, also, travelling a lot. He never met his father but rose in various cities of merchants¹. He was also a very good diplomat, managing to keep abreast of international events, especially going to create lasting relationships in Europe not only in Constantinople. He had relatives who lived in Istanbul (Ianni Banul, Andronikos Cantacuzino, etc.) who helped him with money in order to receive the throne of Wallachia, as it was the custom of that period. Before receiving the throne he has held various other duties, including the most important one, that of the Ban of Craiova².

After he became ruler sought to establish solid links with the Prince of Moldavia and with the Prince of Transylvania.

In this period there were several Balkan liberation movements of peoples in the Balkans and Michael sought to have connections with their leaders to coordinate the implementation of his political plan. In the first phase,³ he aimed to remove his country Wallachia, from Ottoman suzerainty, presenting his case as a Christian one and the immediate response was the war with the Sublime Porte. He initiated a long correspondence with Pope Clement VIII (1592-1605) who wanted to start a new crusade, and worked hard to get help from big European chancelleries, he received help several times, but in turn, Michael the Brave had to help him with money or soldiers in other circumstances⁴.

Political project of Prince Michael the Brave

One of the greatest dangers, for the Church, from outside, during the late Middle Ages in Europe was the Ottoman expansion. When the competition between East and West after 1054 turned into a war, Islam has developed the most. Mohamed's journey to Europe was favored by Byzantine political dictatorship, tax, and religious or spiritual policy of its emperors too. It is interesting to note that at the beginning, the Byzantine Empire considered Islam as a Christian Arianism and places it on the same framework with the other Christian sects. Apologetic and polemical literature of Byzantium discusses with Islam in the same way that it had made against the Monophysites, Monothelites and other heresies.⁵

In that second part of the sixteenth-century, Spain was the largest political and military power being in important competition with England. Spain was the promoter of Counter Reformation in Roman Catholic Church's attempt to restore its dominion over Europe, and offensive Catholicism did not limited

¹ Ion Sirbu, *History of Mihai Vodă Brave Lord of Romanian Country*, ed. Facla, 1976, p. 14

² Stefan Andreescu, *Restitutio Daciae. Studies on Michael the Brave*, ed. Albatros, Bucharest, 1997, p. 29

³ Nicolae Iorga, *The Story of Michael the Brave*, ed. N. Gheran and V. Iova, Bucharest, 1936, p. 11

⁴ Ștefan Ștefănescu, *Romanian History*, Volume IV, ed. Encyclopedic, Bucharest, 2001, p. 599

⁵ Dan Zamfirescu, *Orthodoxy and Roman Catholicism in their specific historical existence*, ed. Roza Vânturilor, Bucharest, 1992, p. 145

only to regain territories passed to the Reformation but also to have an economic motivation.

House of Habsburg of Austria was related to the Spanish King Philip II and at the Court of Rudolf II the ones who ruled, it appears that were the Jesuits, who were thinking about the Christian Europe' decisively attack against the Turks. Emperor had concluded a treaty with the Turks in 1568, but he was not sure of it because very often the Turks started expeditions on the Mediterranean coast in Croatia and Dalmatia, thus a constant danger. In this context Pope Clement VIII addressed messages to all European countries to form a League of all Christians against the Turks¹.

All three Romanian provinces were now under Ottoman suzerainty and paid large amounts to Constantinople annually. As he confessed later, Michael the Brave entered into the Holy League according to his will and his Christian faith. At first Michael was avoided by papal emissaries in the region because he was quite young and new at throne. But because he has taken the initiative and wrote to the Prince of Transylvania, offering help in the fight against the turks,² he felt that many Christians in the Ottoman Empire wanted to rebel against the state of humility and poverty in which they lived. As noted by various authors³ in almost all these peoples who were in the Ottoman empire lacked political leaders that would lead them to achieve their ideals of life and Michael the Brave was a political leader in the true sense.

From several places there were voices that propagated Christians release from the Ottoman Empire, and among the most well organized propaganda was the Republic of Ragusa, which was created on the Adriatic Sea's coast in the fifteenth century, with headquarter in Dubrovnik, but in addition it had various colonies in the region, in Belgrade, Sofia and Tîrnovo in Bulgaria, Dobrudja, Isaccea, and even Ismail, Odessa region (Ukraine today). Dubrovnik was a vassal state of the Ottoman Porte and paid as others the annual tribute to the pasha of Herzegovina (Bosnia present). In exchange for this tribute their merchants received the right to circulate throughout the Ottoman Empire space. In the absence of political leaders, papacy's propaganda was supported by merchants from Dubrovnik⁴, who were Catholics, in order to spread among the Orthodox the idea of uprising against the Ottomans.

Papacy used not only traders but also diplomats, Church people like bishops or monks. It is also true that an important role was played by the Jesuits. Nearly a hundred raguzani passed in the service of Michael the Brave and fought with him (for example Deli Marcu)⁵. Other raguzani were messengers sent by Michael, being in relationship with the Pope or the Habsburg Empire. In Michael's army there were not only Romanian soldiers but many others like Serbian, Croatian, Bulgarian, Albanian, etc. As the fame of Michael the Brave

¹ P. P. Panaitescu, *Michael the Brave*, Bucharest, 1936, p. 36

² Ibidem, pp. 40-41

³ Ibidem, p. 42

⁴The town of Dubrovnik was called in Italian Ragusa and in Romanian Raguză. Raguză has changed its name in Dubrovnik in 1918.

⁵ P.P. Panaitescu, *Michael the Brave*, Bucharest, 1936, pp. 42-43

grew as a result of his victorious battles against the Turks, increasingly more people in the Balkans came and enrolled in his army.

In the last decade of the sixteenth century, the Croats, the Serbs and the Albanians rebelled against the Turks in Serbia, there were also many outlaw gangs formed and frequently attacking Turkish garrisons but these did not last long. Since 1595 movements were reported in Albania, Greece and Bulgaria. Michael has received and settled in Wallachia many Serbs and Bulgarians, and he was seen as a liberator.

Through his uncle Ianni (Iannis), Prince Michael had close contacts with Greek nobility and leading representatives of the Greek Orthodox Church. In Fanar, the Orthodox district and place of Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople, there was a strong Greek community and there was a part of them that claimed a large uprising against the sultan. The Greeks from Peloponnese and Sparta fought the Turks and hid in the mountains, seeking and managing significant damage to the turks. Michael the Brave was part of a great movement of liberation of the Greek clergy under turkish vassalage and concerning this movement an important place was occupied by the orthodox metropolitan of Tîrnovo, Dionysius Rally, grandson of Andronikos Cantacuzino who helped Michael to gain the throne. Dionysius Rally was one of Michael the Brave's advisors who were also part of the Holy League. Because of his political activity, he had to take refuge in Wallachia, at Michael's court. After 1601, we find this metropolitan in the suite of General Basta, who killed Michael, and then received a pension from the Emperor Rudolf II for various diplomatic missions, particularly in Orthodox rulers¹.

Even long before Michael occupies the throne, a lot of people from south-eastern Europe were talking about a rebellion against the Turks, and it seems that it was the work of a great family of Constantinople, named Cantacuzino.

Locally, Michael the Brave briefly managed the political union of the three Romanian nations: Wallachia, Transylvania and Moldavia, but he was always between two great powers, the Ottoman and Habsburg. Brave Michael's work was short-lived, but left deep traces in history and especially in the hearts of Romanians from all historical provinces until 1918, they believed in the restoration of this ideal of unity of the Romanian state². Under a social and religious aspect, the rights and freedoms won by Michael for the Romanians in Transylvania made the oppression of the majority in the principality of Transylvania to be more difficult and not feasible without revolt³.

The sense of unity of language and faith of Romanians in the three countries was very strong in Michael's thought and action. For example, in the confession of faith since 1595, four years before conquering Transylvania, Michael wrote in the political treaty that he concluded with Prince Sigismund Bathory, on May 20, 1595, article 13, the following: "All Romanian parishes,

¹ Ibidem, pp. 54-56

² Ștefan Andreescu, *Restitutio Daciae. Studies on Michael the Brave*, ed. Albatros, Bucharest, 1997, p. 231

³ Ștefan Ștefănescu, *Romanian History*, Volume IV, ed. Encyclopedic, Bucharest, 2001, pp. 607-608

present in his Serenity, prince Sigismund Bathory, will be under the judgment and ruling of the Romanian Orthodox Metropolitan of Târgoviște, decisions taken by the venerable priest of the Romanian Country¹". This treaty actually is approaching the Romanians in Transylvania with those over the mountains of the Romanian country. The consequences of this Treaty have been enormous, so many priests, monks and merchants of the Romanian country have crossed the mountains into Transylvania and lit the flame of hope union of Romanians hearts, telling the ones present here about Wallachia beyond the mountains, the fairs, about freedom, about the richness of the Romanian Country, especially about the fact that Michael's army is still invincible².

Transylvanian peasants, who were long oppressed by nobility, enjoyed the most the treaty concluded in 1595 in Alba Iulia. Samoskozy's Chronicle tells us so: "The news of the bloody struggle Șelimbăr quickly crossed all Transylvania. Romanian people that are living in villages of Transylvania created a conspiracy and made a union with their countrymen who came over and stood fearless, based on the trust that a prince of their people gave them"³. General Basta wrote in January 1600 in a military order: "I found that the Wallachian sent priests in all the villages, the edge of the country, again, inhabited by his people, which gives me a suspect feeling", which confirms one more time that Michael used the Orthodox clergy for his cause⁴.

During this period the end of the century there are numerous testimonies that Moldavia and Wallachia were the favorite asylum place of serfs from Hungary and Poland. Michael the Brave, though military and political exponent of the feudal regime in Wallachia, becomes the idol of the neighboring countries' peasants. Michael's military and political actions have emanated great power of seduction and conquest, power that Michael and the Wallachia state exerted on the south-eastern Europe. When Michael stepped in Transylvania, he was warmly received and many ran under his army's banners. The Poles that ruled in a part of Moldavia looked at Michael with great fear⁵.

From Christian perspective, Brave Michael helped the Orthodox Church in order to be recognized as well as the Roman Catholic was. From another point of view he took care of the spiritual and material condition of the priests and Orthodox monasteries. Coalition of European countries (Holy League) led by Pope Clement VIII, against the Ottoman Porte had always a sword ready to fight from Michael, to save Europe from Turkish assault. Indirectly, however, the Habsburgs, Hungarians and Poles did not help much; they even organized with General Basta, Michael's death on Câmpia Turzii. Once Michael was dead, the Romanian dream of freedom from serfdom / slavery and land ownership has been shattered.

¹ Ibidem, p. 600

² Ibidem, p. 601

³ Ibidem, p. 602-603

⁴ Ștefan Andreescu, *Restitutio Daciae. Studies on Michael the Brave*, ed. Albatros, Bucharest, 1997, p. 284

⁵ Ibidem, p. 274

Powers of the time could not withstand the political unification of the territories inhabited by Romanian and have seen in Michael's reign a great force that they could not control but have undertaken many efforts to thwart this ideal.

Prince campaign in Transylvania

The medieval state of Hungary and Transylvania tried to incorporate it and politically melt its borders, but it continued to remain faithful to its links with Romanian Principalities and the Orthodox Church¹.

Michael the Brave, of whose death are more than 410 years is one of the largest political and military personalities of Romanian history. Among his contemporaries, many names have realized its exceptional ability². Henry IV, king of France was interested in Prince Michael's activity; however, in German literature and especially the Balkan folklore, Michael was played like a god of victory and goodness³. Gheorghe Palamed of Greek origin, set at the court of Prince Constantine wrote a poem where he compares Michael with Alexander Macedon⁴. During his glory "the Polish diplomats' protest to the Pope, now that the printing of the West glorifying feats humiliated them, Vatican excuses printers of great curiosity and zeal with which the European public interest in Michael's works"⁵.

When Sinan Pasha was on his way in Superior Hungary, in Vienna, Michael "encouraged by no one" attacked behind the Ottoman military system and stopped the offensive led by Sinan and his focus on the Romanian Country. "It is well to remember that the battles in front of Sofia, Adrianople and then on the Danube and Călugăreni, stood one of the largest military forces that Islam has ever mobilized against central Europe. What increased peoples sympathy for Michael the Brave was the intolerable situation in which Christian allies have placed the Vallachian ruler once the danger has passed"⁶.

While Transylvania was disputed between the Habsburgs and Hungarian kings, in August 1526 the Hungarian army was defeated by the Turks who occupied Budapest in September⁷. In 1541 the Turks occupied Buda again and turned Hungary into central and southern Turkish province for the next 150 years, and Transylvania, Banat and counties combined under the name of "Partium", were organized in an autonomous principality under Ottoman suzerainty⁸. Zapolya family led principality but there was always political instability, because the Turks and Habsburgs always battled on these territories. Since 1571 the throne changes from Zapolya family to Bathory family who were faithful to the Turks,

¹ Victor Papacostea, *Romanian and Balkan civilization*, ed. Eminescu, Bucharest, 1983, p. 225

² Ibidem, p.235

³ Ibidem, p.235

⁴ P. P. Panaitescu, *Michael the Brave*, Bucharest, 1936, p. 58. For Palamed see George O. Trafali, *Gheorghe Palamede's Poem in the revue Romanian Literature and Art*, IX, 1905, p. 244-253, 483-498

⁵ Victor Papacostea, *op. cit.*, p. 236

⁶ Ibidem, p.236

⁷ Mircea Păcurariu, *Romanian Orthodox Church History*, vol. I, p. 495

⁸ Ibidem, p.496

with the exception of Sigismund Bathory (1581-1597, 1598-1599), who later joined the Holy League.

Concerning the religious life of Transylvania we should mention that in 1543 the Diet of Cluj proclaimed the principle of religious freedom. Luther's reforming ideas were soon found in Transylvania and in 1550 the Diet of Transylvania, joined in Turda city, recognized Lutheranism as *religio recepta*¹. Prince John Sigismund adopted Calvinism which became the official state religion in 1564, as well as Unitarianism which was also recognized in 1568. These new protestant confessions have weakened Catholicism and in 1556 the Roman Catholic Diocese of Alba Iulia was dissolved and later were abolished the Cenad and Oradea's Catholic bishops².

The Roman Catholic Church's fortunes were secular and Catholic priests and monks were expelled from the country. Catholic confessional regime was substituted by the Calvinist one. Orthodox people in spite of their majority will still have a tolerated status.

When Michael the Brave bound Transylvania and the other two Romanian provinces, he found here the Metropolitan John of Prislop, former abbot of the Prislop monastery. Michael was interested, before and during the brief reign, about the fate of the Orthodox Church. Thus, in 1595, the treaty we mentioned before, "*it was provided that all clergy, parish and monastery be left in the old custom and tradition, the rites, ceremonies and freedoms and even be able to raise the freely of their usual income*"³. Regarding the Romanian churches in Transylvania the treaty wrote that "will be under the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan of Târgoviște, listening to the orders and ordinances of the church and country's law and they can raise their usual and ordinary income."⁴

It was Michael the one who obtained permission to build a church-monastery from Prince Sigismund Bathory, near the city of Alba Iulia in 1597, which became the metropolitan residence. In July 1600 he decided that the "Romanian priests should not do feudal work, and those who remarry to be punished with 200 florins."⁵ Ever since he ascended the throne of Romanians, Michael the Brave was concerned to unite under one helm the three Romanian provinces. He acted as a "representative of the aspirations of Ottoman forces which operated in the Turk's Empire and Turkish suzerainty countries: Romanian countries, Bulgarians, Serbs and Greeks."⁶

The future Prince of Transylvania, Gabriel Bethlen was drawn into coalition with Protestant countries thinking of the union of three Romanian countries perhaps due to appreciation of the Romanian political force in one state⁷. Bethlen had the idea of creating a kingdom of Dacia, with Protestant confession, due to the union of Transylvania, Moldavia and Romanian

¹ Ibidem, p.497

² Ibidem, p.497

³ Ibidem, p. 502

⁴ Ibidem, p.502

⁵ Ibidem, p.503

⁶ Chereșteșiu, V., Bodea C., Surdu B., Mureșean C., Nuțu C., Acațiu E., Curticăpeanu V., *The History of Transylvania*, second edition, published by R.P.R. Academy, 1961, p. 205

⁷ Ibidem, p.209-210

Country. To succeed, he wrote the Ecumenical Patriarch Cyril Lukaris and asked the patriarch to support him convert Romanians to Protestantism. But Patriarch Lukaris remembers him about the "bond of blood and senses, living, in a secretly way, but stronger among Romanians in Transylvania Land, Romanian Country (Wallachia) and Moldavian people¹". Bethlen's project had political and economic basis without taking into account the prevailing orthodox confession between Romanians.

Pope Clement VIII called on Catholic principles: to be "light for the holy war, where it is not only the name of Your Majesty, but the Christians and honor, the benefit and good of the whole Christian republic."² After the blows from the Reformation the Roman Church's leader now searches to gather Catholics in one force against the Turks. So the Pope sent messengers all around the borders of the Ottoman Empire and the countries under Turkish suzerainty. Michael the Brave, even before meeting Pope's messenger, stood up against the Ottomans on the Danube, in Bulgaria³. Catholic Principles formed the Holy League of Jesuit inspiration and promised to help the uprising against the Turks. It seems that the League needed spectacular actions to support the Counter Reformation (cf. Nicolae Iorga)⁴ and it was based on the economic interests of Spain⁵. This Catholic League's solidarity was weak and rather an amount of political and economic rivalries⁶.

Conclusions

Both in Michael and Vasile Lupu's cases, the ruler of Moldavia, and the illustrious predecessors: Neagoe Basarab, Mircea cel Bătrân, Stefan cel Mare the religious factor⁷- orthodoxy, had its word. The next century "Petru Movilă's confession" will become the fundamental symbolic book of the Orthodox Church – as a sure guide⁸.

Romanian princes were united with their brothers under Turkish domination, but we can say that Prince Michael, gave expression to a general state of revolt against the Ottoman Empire throughout southeastern Europe. In the south Danube world, the clergy had an important role and somehow took over the duties of political leaders who lacked much in the area. Serbs, Bulgarians, Romanians, Greeks and Albanians are engaged in a wide Christian movement for liberation from the Turks.

Brave Michael fought for:

a) empowerment of Romanians under the Ottomans and the Habsburgs;

¹ Ibidem, p.210

² Ion Sîrbu, *History of Mihai Vodă Brave Lord of Romanian Country*, ed. Facla, p. 49

³ Ștefan Andreescu, *op. cit.*, p. 230

⁴ Nicolae Iorga, *Modern history of the Balkan States*, Tipografia Neamul Românesc, Vălenii de Munte, 1913, p. 89

⁵ P. P. Panaitescu, *Michael the Brave*, Bucharest, 1936, p. 59

⁶ P. P. Panaitescu, *Around Michael the Brave. An answer to Nicolae Iorga*, ed. Official Gazette, Bucharest, 1937, p. 33-34

⁷ P. P. Panaitescu, *Michael the Brave*, Bucharest, 1936, p. 131

⁸ Ibidem, p. 131

- b) recognition of Transylvanian Romanians as a nation even before the territory of Transylvania joined with mother land;
- c) recognition of Orthodox confession in places where political and cultural Romanians were not recognized as equals even if they were more numerous, as in Transylvania;
- d) recognition of Orthodox confession as worthy and no less important than Catholicism and Protestantism;
- e) stopping the turks' expansion and domination, although sometimes the Ottoman conquest gave more freedom of religious - cultural movement than Catholic and Protestant sovereignty in Transylvania's principality.

What Michael the Brave accomplished, it lasted a few years, but remained in the minds of followers as a goal for which generations fought and finally achieved in 1918.

The short reign of Michael the Brave has created a precedent whose consequences that others tried to remove from Transylvania, after his death, but this idea did not succeed, in terms of political rights of Romanians. Part of Michael the Brave's fight opposed Ottoman expansion and the other part expanded on social - economic details of the Romanian nation. He was and manifested as an Orthodox prince, jointly with the European Christian world.

Bibliography

1. Romanian Academy, *Romanian's History*, Volume IV, ed. Encyclopedic, Bucharest, 2001
2. Andreescu, Ștefan, *Restitutio Daciae. Studies on Michael the Brave*, ed. Albatros, Bucharest, 1997
3. Bălcescu, Nicolae, *Romanian's under Michael the Brave*, in *Works*, vol. III, Bucharest, 1986
4. Brezeanu, Stelian, *Oriental Romanity in the Middle Ages*, ed. All History, 1999
5. Căndea, Virgil, *Romanian Testimonials abroad. Romanian creations in collections abroad*, Ed. Biblioteca Bucureștilor, Bucharest, 2011
6. Cheresteșiu, V., C. Bodea, Surdu B., C. Mureșean, Nuțu C., E. Acațiu, Curticăpeanu V., *History of Transylvania*, vol I-II, ed. R.P.R. Academy, 1963
7. Giurescu, C.C., *The History of Romanians*, vol. II, Bucharest, 1971
8. Iorga, Nicolae, *Michael the Brave's History*, ed. N. Gheran și V. Iova, Bucharest, 1936
9. Iorga, Nicolae, *Modern history of the Balkan States*, Vălenii de Munte, Tipografia Neamul Românesc, 1913
10. Lupșa, Ștefan, *Catholicism and Romanians in Transylvania and Hungary until 1556*, Bucharest, 1929
11. Panaitescu, P. P., *Michael the Brave*, ed. Corinth, Bucharest, 2002
12. Panaitescu, P. P., *Around Michael the Brave. An answer to Nicolae Iorga*, ed. Official Gazette, Bucharest, 1937
13. Papacostea, Victor, *Civilization Romanian and Balkan civilization*, ed. Eminescu, Bucharest, 1983

14. Păcurariu, Mircea, Prof. Dr., *Romanian Orthodox Church History*, vol I, ed. IBMBOR, Bucharest, 1992
15. Prodan, David, Academician, *Supplex Libellus Valachorum*, ed. Encyclopedic, Bucharest, 1998
16. Sîrbu, *History of Mihai Vodă Brave Lord of Romanian Country*, ed. Facla, Bucharest, 1976
17. Teodorescu, Razvan, *Romains et balcaniques dans la civilization sud-est européenne*, ed. Encyclopedic, Bucharest, 1999
18. Dan Zamfirescu, *Orthodoxy and Roman Catholicism in their specific historical existence*, ed. Roza Vânturilor, Bucharest, 1992