# ASPECTS REGARDING THE FOREIGN CONFESSIONAL POLICY OF THE COUNTRY OF MOLDAVIA DURING THE REIGN OF IEREMIA MOVILA (1595-1600;1600-1606)

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**Abstract.** This article refers to issues concerning the foreign religious policy of the country of Moldavia during the reign of Ieremia Movila (1595-1600, 1600-1606). The ruling of Ieremia Movila took place in a complicated time in the history of Moldova, both politically, and religious. One particular importance to the ruler during this period is the church relations with the neighboring states. In this context, the ties of the Country of Moldova with the Ecumenical Patriarchate, the Orthodox Fraternity of Lvov, as well as the Athos monasteries are registered. Thanks to the material support given by the Moldovan authorities to the Orthodox centers under foreign political and religious domination, they were able to resist the Catholic pressure and reform, as well as the excessive financial demands on the part of the Ottoman authorities. Therefore, these links have materialized by: subsidizing and finishing the construction of the Adormirea Maicii Domnului Church in Lvov; subsidizing and worshiping some Moldovan

monasteries, the Athonite monasteries. **Keywords:** Counterreform, Ieremia Movila, orthodox, chatolic, protestant, orthodox, fraternity,

The end of the sixteenth century, from a political and religious point of view, is a difficult problem for Eastern and South-Eastern Europe.

stavropighion, Otoman Empire, athonite monasteries.

In the Romanian countries the Ottoman domination reaches its height, the reaction to which was the start of the anti-Ottoman struggle, through their accession to the Christian League. The Christian League was born on the initiative of Pope Clement VIII, who was joined by the Habsburg Empire, the German states, the Italian duchies Tuscany, Mantua and Ferrara. In the name of the Pope, the monks visit the palaces of the christian masters under the ruling of the Otoman Empire and ecourage the enslaved peaples to protest. Religious sentiment reached a form of fanaticism. Bulgarian bishops and advisers, like the patriarch of Constantinople, are in a situation where they could liberate the people of South-Eastern Europe. For his part, the counselor responds to the idea of reviving the Byzantine Empire. The thought of placing the cross on the domes of St. Sophia and an installation of a Christian King are shared with Christians in Constantinople, as the restoration of the former role of the Patriarch of Constantinople spread widely within the population

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becoming a significant element in the definition of Greek national policies<sup>1</sup>.

Moreover, it is clear from the sources of the time that the Catholic Counter-Reformation policy is booming. The interest of the Catholic states was directed to counteract the Protestantism that supported the cause of the Ottoman Empire. The papacy, after the Council of Trento, turned to Eastern issues, neglected as long as Rome was confronted with church reform and the Protestant revolution. The Holy See intended to compensate for the losses suffered in the West by relaunching the ideas of unity in Florence. The solution, however, was inseparable from the Ottoman factor that made any chance of church reunification being ruined. This explains the fact that in these circumstances Papa Pius V, even at the beginning of his pontificate, in 1565, and the death of Suleiman (1566), made efforts to organize an anti-Ottoman league, an idea that will remain constant in the aims of the Holy See. The anti-Ottoman coalition, envisaged in these years, will materialize in the last decade of the century when, amidst the outbreak of war, the attempts to reunite the churches, completed in the Union from Brest (1596), which marked, by the union of the Ruthenians, will intensify, a first success of Catholicism in the Eastern space<sup>2</sup>.

In such circumstances, the ruler of the country of Moldova, Ieremia Movila (1595-1600; 1600-1606), developed a confessional policy active abroad. In this context, they highlighted the links of the country of Moldova with the Ecumenical Patriarchate, the Orthodox Brotherhood of Lvov, as well as the Athonite monasteries.

Thus, the Patriarchate of Constantinople benefited from the generous support of the Moldovan ruler. The King of Moldova sent aid to the Patriarch to Constantinople and invited him several times to come to Moldova. He is even promised that Moldova will become a founding member of the Patriarchate of Constantinople.

However, more from the lack of money than from the sense of pride, as well as the formation of a common front in the fight against Catholic and Protestant proselytism, which was accentuated during this period, came the Ecumenical Patriarchs in the Romanian Countries.

It is worth pointing out that following the Union of Brest (1596) some Orthodox from Rzeczpospolita were forced to accept it, and as a result the Greek Catholic Church was created<sup>3</sup>. Considering the fact that Orthodox Moldova was close to the Polish Catholic Kingdom, we realize this danger to Moldova, in particular, and to the whole Orthodox world in general.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Şt. Ştefănescu, Mihai Viteazul. Între "Republica christiana" şi monarhia absolută, în Istoria României. Pagini Transilvănene, Ed. Centrul de Studii Transilvane, Cluj-Napoca, 1984, p. 81.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> P. Teodor, *Politica ecleziastică a lui Mihai Viteazul în Transilvania*, în: Revista Istorică, nr. 5-6, București, 1993, p. 479, 480.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Б. Гудзяк, *Криза і Реформа. Киніївська Митрополия, Царгородский Патріархат і генеза Берестейськой уніі*, Ed. Институт Истории церкви Львів, 2000, p. 590.

Indeed, we recall that on October 15, 1594 Malaspina in Warsaw mentions: "if the King wins the heart of this people from Rzeczpospolita one million souls will be able to be won, and the Country of Moldova and Muntenia will follow their example". Also during this period, the idea of passing the Patriarchal chair from Constantinople to Rzeczpospolita, Vilno, Lvov or Kiev was considered, believing that it would be easier to achieve Unia, but this path suffered a failure<sup>2</sup>.

Among the ecumenical patriarchs who maintained intense links with Moldova, we mention Miletie Pigas, who maintained links with the Country of Moldova, both as patriarch of Alexandria (1590-1601) and as ecumenical patriarch (March 1597 - March 1598).

Thus Miletie Pigas as deputy patriarch of Constantinople, was not in Moldova, but maintained links with Jeremiah Movil, materialized by correspondence. The Lord of Moldova sent the patriarch aid to Constantinople and invited him several times to come to Moldova. He was even promised that Moldova will become a founding member of the Patriarchate of Constantinople. In his turn, the patriarch promised to raise the metropolis of Suceava to the step of patriarchy. The first step in this respect was the establishment of the Episcopate of Husi in 1598<sup>3</sup>.

It was claimed that a few years after the establishment of the Moscow Patriarchate (January 26, 1589) (which was founded more for the sake of granting aid to the Patriarchate in exchange for its recognition), the Church of Moldova was elevated to a higher level of organization. ecclesiastical - archbishopric or patriarchy - which implicitly brought him complete disregard<sup>4</sup>. Although those times were particularly difficult, however, the famous Alexandrian prelate appreciated the fight, which, at the same time, Mr. Jeremiah Movilă took for the defense of Orthodoxy, considering that it was natural for his "political name" to be accompanied by the church enlargement "in the double quality that it had then, and personally took care that the chair of the metropolitan of Moldova was elevated to the rank of archbishopric. After this, as in other cases, moreover, it was for a sobriety of the Orthodox patriarchs to recognize this new situation intervened in the life of the Church of Moldova. But even without the latter form on November 3, 1598, Patriarch Miletie Pigas now returned to Egypt, announcing such a fact to Metropolitan Gheorghe Moghila (1595-1600), which already by a letter from March 3, 1597 was entitled, "Chir Gheorghe Moghila archdeacon of

 $<sup>^1</sup>$  С. Плохий, Папство и Украина. Политика римской курии на украинских землях в 16-17 в., Киев, 1989, р. 25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Славяне и их соседи. Выпуск 3, Москва, 1991, р. 83.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> L. Pilat, *Între Roma și Constantinopol.Biserica și puterea în vremea lui Ieremia Movilă*, În: L. Pilat, Studii privind relațiile Moldovei cu Sfântul Scaun și Patriarhia Ecumenică (secolele XIV-XVI), Iași, 2012, p. 262-283.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> *Ibidem*; N. Iorga, *Istoria bisericii Românești și a vieții religioase a românilor*, Vol. I, ed. II, București, 1995, p. 239.

Suceava", among other things shows that his chair ,,was now elevated to the rank of archbishop", he, the metropolitan, for the "honor" that was due to him at that time, as a consequence of the stepping up of the eparchy his "has" "from him, the patriarch, the right to wear for this high dignity" the patriarchal mantle adorned with four rivers (crosses) (called Palistravion) prescribed in the Eastern world only for the patriarchs of the apostolic seats and the patriarchal crutch. Committed only in this way, the rise of the Moldovan Churches, after the Greek fashion, to the rank of "archbishopric" had to be ratified, but he alone, without the consent of the other Orthodox patriarchal chairs, could not, as Miletia Pigas had wished<sup>2</sup>. The well-known precipitation of the events in the Romanian Countries from the glory days of Mihai Viteazul and the departure of the Alexandrian prelate from Constantinople prevented the synod from being held and, once again, the issue in question was resumed<sup>3</sup>. However, the great independence of the Church of Moldova increased greatly through the church act performed by Miletie Pigas and its prestige in the Christian world remained. A testimony of the time informs, for example, that: "Metropolitan Gheorghe Moghila, although Moldovan and of Orthodox rite, does not recognize as superior the patriarch of Constantinople nor any other patriarch from the east".

At the attention of the Lord of the Land of Moldova, Ieremia Movila, were also the Athonite monasteries. The Holy Mountain became in that period a symbol that represented the unity of Orthodoxy. As Mount Athos gains in autonomy and especially after the fall of Constantinople, it is important as a symbol of freedom of orthodox faith and of maintaining the Byzantine tradition. It was the period when principles that were not included in the Ottoman administration, strongly supported the reconstruction of the Holy Mountain<sup>5</sup>.

According to some sources, the first of the rulers of the Land of Moldova, who established links with the Athonite Monasteries, was Alexander the Good, who by a royal book of May 26, 1442, committed himself to coming with aid and annual gifts for the benefit of the Zograf Monastery.

The support of Ieremia Movila for the Athonite monasteries materialized through: the renovation and decoration of some monastery buildings, money support, worship of the Moldavian monasteries, hermitages and churches with all the methods, various gifts.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Documente privind Istoria României (DIR), A. Moldova. Veacul XVI, Vol. IV (1591-1600), București, 1982, p.157-158; Şerbănescu N., *Autocefalia Bisericii Ortodoxe Române cu prilejul centenarului (1885-1985)*. În: Centenarul autocefaliei Bisericii Ortodoxe Române (1885-1985), Ed. EIBMBOR, București, 1987, p. 63.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 64.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 65.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 64.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> M. Crăciun, *Protestantism și ortodoxie în Moldova (sec.XIV-XV)*. Cluj, 1996, p.35.

Thus, special attention from the king was enjoyed by Vatoped Monastery, the one thathas played a role of prime importance in the Athonite hierarchy. Generally speaking, it was the second in this hierarchy after the Great Lavra. But in the thirteenth century, the Vatoped occupies practically the first place, before the Great Lavra<sup>1</sup>.

The Vatoped monastery benefited from Romanian aid from Stefan cel Mare, who built the arsana, which he consecrates to the St. Mary. Thus, at this monastery 53 acts of the Ieremia Movila are kept.

There is no document in the archive of the Vatoped monastery that contains any direct aid granted to the monastery of Movila Ieremia. Instead, a large number of documents regarding the wealth of the Golia Monastery in Iasi, which was a metoh of this Athonite monastery, are kept. Among these documents there is also a Greek saying in May 30, 1604, by which the King strengthens the worship of Goliath to Vatoped. Until now it was known that the Golia Monastery was dedicated by Ana Golaiasa on March 30, 1606. The shrine of May 30, 1604 is of exceptional importance for the history of the Golia Monastery<sup>2</sup>. This seems to be the first monastery in Moldova dedicated to Vatoped. Dania is reinforced by Metropolitan Theodosius Barbovschi and the three bishops of the country<sup>3</sup>.

Likewise, on March 30, 1605, the Ieremia voivode strengthens the worship by Ana Golia and her son, Michael, to the Church of the Ascension of the God with all her wealth to the monastery of Vatoped on the Athos Mountain<sup>4</sup>.

Also, Ieremia-Voda, in his reign, granted a privilege to the Great Lavre, which had suffered from the earthquake of 1585. The help from the Lord was used to erect the church tower and to restore the monastery roof and trapeze<sup>5</sup>. In 1598, the Lord gave the Great Lavra monastery the sum of 6,000 rough<sup>6</sup>. Moreover, Ieremia, is the first ruler of the country of Moldova to support this monastery<sup>7</sup>.

To another Athonite monastery, Zografu, on March 14, 1598, Ieremia Movila strengthened an older damage: 6,500 silver coins annually, to which were added another 100 yellow Hungarians and 500 silver coins for the hospital in the monastery: the monks were obliged to pray for him on Saturday evening (paraclis)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Documenta Romaniae Historica (DRH). A. Moldova. Vol. I. București, 1975, p.311-312; Bodogae T. *Ajutoare românești la mănăstirile din Sfântul Munte Athos*. Sibiu, 1940, p.218.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> F. Marinescu, N. Mertzimekis, *Ieremia Movilă și ajutorul acordat unor mănăstiri de la Muntele Athos*. În: Movileștii. Istorie și spiritualitate românească, Vol. 2, Suceava, 2006, p. 188.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> F. Marinescu, Contribuții privitoare la relațiile dintre Țările Române și mănăstirea Vatoped de la Muntele Athos, p. 292.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Documente privitoare la istoria orașului Iași. Vol. I. Acte interne (1408-1660). Editate de Ioan Caproșu și Petronel Zahariuc, Ed. Dosoftei, Iași, 1999. p. 95-97.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> A. Zubco, *Biserica în Țara Românească și Moldova în secolele XIV-XVII*, Chișinău, 2001, p. 126.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Gh. Moisescu, *Contribuția românească pentru susținerea Muntelui Athos în decursul veacurilor*. În: Ortodoxia, București, 1953, nr. 1-2, p. 246-247.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Hurmuzaki - Iorga, *Documente privind istoria românilor*, Vol. XIV/1, București 1915, p. 108.

and on Sunday morning (liturgy)<sup>1</sup>. A month before he died, Ieremia Movila received in Iasi the visit of the monks from Zografu, who complained that they were dispossessed by the saint of Saint Nicholas near Iasi. In order to confirm their declaration, they brought with them the gift of Petru Scihopu, through which the donation had been made and a renewal was requested. On May 25, 1606 (7114), the gentleman confirmed the old act with the indication that "the revenues from Saint Nicholas will go to the Holy Mountain, to the Zugrav monastery". In one of the oldest graves of the monastery, in the heading of Moldova, appear the names of such gentlemen as Stephen the Great, Bogdan Illya, Alexandru Lăpușneanu, but also Ieremia Movila with his children<sup>2</sup>.

Also in Zografu there is a commented Psaltire, in 194 pages, executed on paper in this monastery by Chiril, former hatman and porter of Suceava under Ieremia Movila. In the library of the monastery there is still a service Mine, in May, worked on paper in the same monastery and in the same year by Chiril Hlubocian from Moldova<sup>3</sup>.

For Dionisiu Monastery we have no direct information about the works done after some help offered by the Movila Ieremia. However, some of the constructions in this monastery were erected with the help of this gentleman, because in a 16th century gravestone it is possible to read: ", before the liturgy we honor the parastas of the founder Ioan Ieremia, the ruler of Moldova, his wife and his son, Constantine. "On another sheet of the same manuscript it can be read that, on the day of February 2, after the smallevening ceremony, ,,we honor the parastasis of Mr. John Jeremiah, his wife, and their son. Constantin". And in another Tipicon of the monastery, from the 17th century, it is mentioned that Movila Ieremia and his son. Constantin, woull be mentioned on January 25. Also, in some manuscripts from Dionisiu the names of other Moldovans who were mentioned in the prayers of the monks are also mentioned. Thus, in the same 16th century, the name of the great vornic Nestor Ureche and his wife, Mitrofana in another manuscript, is mentioned, the metropolitan Theophan (probably II), for whom the monks had to pray first Saturday of the fast", and in other places, on two of the manuscripts mentioned above, the name of the metropolitan Anastasie (1580-1587) is mentioned. Another metropolitan, who pastor during the reign of Ieremia Movila, Theodosie Barbovschi, helped to erect the paraclis, with the dedication of Saint George, from Dionysius<sup>4</sup>.

At the Dionisiu monastery, an Epitrahil made in Moldova is kept, donated by the young man Gavriil Moţoc. At the same monastery, a Schedule worked in Moldovan workshops at the order of Gheorghe Moghila, Metropolitan of Suceava, has been kept since the period of 1587-1606<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> N. Iorga, *Istoria Bisericii Românești*, București, 1995, Vol. II, p.493.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> F. Marinescu, N. Mertzimekis, op. cit., p. 189.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 190.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> F. Marinescu, N. Mertzimekis, op. cit., p. 188-189.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> A. Zubco, *op. cit.*, p.127.

According to older information, the Serbian monastery Hilandar benefited from an annual aid of 6,000 rough, to which 300 rough were added for the monk who came to Moldova to take this amount of money<sup>1</sup>.

At the Cutlumuş monastery, Mrs. Elizaveta Movilă covered in gold the cover of a Gospel from the 12th century, disappeared from the monastery after 1935. The note of donation also mentions the sending of a cup and two crosses of silver and gold<sup>2</sup>.

At the Dohiariu Monastery, on the north wall of the narthex, there is a painting, probably from the eighteenth century, depicting Theofan a former metropolitan of Moldova, surrounded by two angels, blessing with his right hand, and on the left holding a Gospel, the inscription accompanying it sounds, in translation, as follows: "The bright shepherd of Theophan Moldova". In the same church there is also a funeral inscription, placed over the remains of the metropolis of "his relative", Mrs. Elisaveta, … the wife of the Blessed Ieremia ", in the year 7106 <1597 September 1 - 1598 August 31><sup>3</sup>.

On the 16th of May 1604, Ieremia Movila strengthened the village of Borcesti in the Neamt county, with a mill and pracca place to the Xiropotamu monastery<sup>4</sup>. On June 24, 1604, the ruler added to the above mentioned monastery and the village of Colibani in Moldova<sup>5</sup>. Until recently, it was believed that the Movila Ieremia gave, through a document dated June 24, 1604, the village of Colibani to Xiropotamu Monaster.<sup>6</sup>. Only, under this name, another monastery is hidden, the ruling of the great vornic Nestor Ureche, whose name, Secu, translates into Greek Xiropotamu, the village of Colibani was ruled, in the 17th century, by this monastery. During the second reign of Ieremia Movila (1600-1606), Nestor Ureche, a boyar involved in the mysteries of the Movilites and the epitropic of the sons of Ieremia Movila, erected the Secu monastery, near the Neamt Fair, which he worshiped, with the approval of Xiropotamu monasteries<sup>7</sup>.

Finally, by a letter from March 3, 1597, Ieremia Movila confirms to the Stavronichita Monastery a donation of 4,000 silver coins annually and 400 coins to monks who will come to Moldova to take this amount. Instead, the king asked to be prayed for with his whole family<sup>8</sup>.

The Orthodox Fraternity of Lvov enjoyed a special attention from the Moldovan ruler.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> F. Marinescu, N. Mertzimekis, op. cit., p. 188.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 189.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> *Ibidem*, p.190.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> DIR, A. Moldova, Vol. V, (1601-1605), București, 1953, p. 150-151.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> A. Zubco, *op.cit.*, p. 126.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> P. Șt. Năsturel, *Le Mont Athos et les roumains. Recherches sur leur relations du milieu du XIV a 1654*, Roma, 1986, p. 174.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> P. Zahariuc, *Introducere la Documente româneşti din arhiva mănăstirii Xiropotam de la Muntele Athos. Catalog* (ed: Marinescu F., Caproșu I., Zahariuc P.), Iași, 2005, p. 8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> F. Marinescu, N. Mertzimekis, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

We should mention here that the first Moldovan ruler who established relations with the Lvov Orthodox Brotherhood was Alexandru Lăpusneanu (1552-1561 and 1564-1568).

The effort to support the orthodoxy in the heavy confrontations of Eastern Christianity, on the one hand, with the Ottoman authority and, on the other, with the Counter-Reformation and the offensive of the Reformation materialized, during the reign of Petru Schiopu (1574-1591), who intervened on next to the King of Poland, Sigismund of the III, in order not to obstruct the reconstruction of the burned church and to defend them from those who would like to prevent them<sup>1</sup>.

With the request to support the Orthodox Brotherhood of Lvov, he addressed the Moldovan rulers, the Patriarch Ieremia of Constantinople. In November 1589, the high prelate asked Peter Scihopu to give his full support to Stavropy in Lvov. This request is repeated in the following year (1590), being addressed to both Petru Schiopu, ruler of Moldova and Mihnea II, lord of the Romanian Country. But none of them answered the Patriarchs appeal, because both were soon forced to leave their throne<sup>2</sup>. Also from the Patriarchs Address to the help of the Lvov Brotherhood, under his jurisdiction, it appears that the Romanian countries were considered as the only defenders of Orthodoxy in the region.

The "Moldovan Church" in Lvov knows a second life during the reign of Movileists. Coming to throne, the Movileists wanted to bring the beginning of a new royal dynasty, like that of the Musatins. Therefore, they tried to prove by their actions that they were worthy of his predecessors. An argument in this regard may serve the promise obtained from King Sigismund of Poland that the rule of Moldova was to be granted for the life of the Movila (August 25, 1597)³. The same thing can be found in the Turkish-Polish treaty of July 23 / August 4, 1598, whereby Ieremia Movila obtained from the Sultan the confirmation of hereditary rule: "he will be the voievod of the people of Moldova throughout his life and his voivodship will not be given to anyone else, and when he dies it will be granted to his son."<sup>4</sup>

After the ascension of Ieremia Movila (1595) the aid to the Orthodox Brotherhood of Lvov is resumed.<sup>5</sup> We must remind that in 1593 the Polish Kingdom granted to Ieremia Movila the Polish citizenship, a thing that conferred on him the right of a citizen and noble Polish. This fact better explains the connections of Moldovan voivodes and boyars with the Kingdom of Poland, from

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> V. Bolduma, *Raporturile Țării Moldovei cu centrele ortodoxe de peste hotare (sfârșitul secolului XIV- secolul XVII.)* Curs universitar, Chișinău 2018, p.158.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> А. Папков, *Братсво: очерк истории западных братств*, Сергеева-Лавра, 1900, р. 25, 33.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Şt. S. Gorovei, *Movileştii*. În: Magazin Istoric, nr. 6, Bucureşti, 1973, p. 68.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> A. Mehmed, *Documente turcești privind istoria României*, vol. I, București, 1976, p. 143.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Акты, относящиеся к истории Южной и Западной России, (1361-1598). Санкт-Петербург, 1863, том I, p. 268-272.

which in certain circumstances they were waiting for help<sup>1</sup>. It is known that the four daughters of Ieremia Voda were married to Polish nobles: Irina, the eldest daughter, was married on May 25, 1603, in Iasi, to Prince Mihai Wiszniewiecki; two years later, Maria, the second daughter, married Polish nobleman Stefan Potocki; Ecaterina-Margareta was married to Samuil Corecki (1616), Ana had been married four times, the last time with the hatman Stanislav Potocki, from where she remained in history as Ana Potocki. In the borders of the Kingdom of Poland, Ieremia Movila had a large estate in Ustie, on the Dniester<sup>2</sup>.

We should mention that the relations of Moldova with the Orthodox Brotherhood in Lvov were resumed under the conditions in which close political relations were established between Moldova and Poland (after the oath of August 27, 1595)<sup>3</sup>. The king of Moldova was seeking to fully benefit from the new favorable political conditions. Although the Turkish tribute pressed harder on the country's shoulders, Ieremia Movila found financial resources for the Orthodox believers in Lvov. After the consolidation of the reign, Ieremia Movila calls for the consent of King Sigismund to repair and equip the Stavropigian church in Lvov. On April 17, 1598, the king responds positively and orders that no one prevent the Moldovan voivode from building the church<sup>4</sup>. From this letter we can conclude that the Orthodox Brotherhood of Lvov, which continued to be pressured by the Catholic Church and the Protestant currents, which at that time dominated the kingdom as a whole, and the city in particular. In the inter-denominational struggles between the Counter-Reformation and the Protestant currents, the Orthodox Church in the region was involved, as both were striving to attract it by different means on their part. The Catholics gained victory in this fight, imposing on the Orthodoxthe Unification from Brest-Litovsk (1596) whereby a large part of the Orthodox went to the union forming the Greek-Catholic Church<sup>5</sup>.

From the correspondence between Ieremia Movila, Metropolitan Gheorghe Movila and the Orthodox Brotherhood of Lvov, it was insited that at any price, the construction of the church to be completed. At least this is the result of the letter of March 12, 1599, which informs the Orthodox people in Lvov that he sent 500 more golden coins<sup>6</sup>.

From the letter of July 3, 1599 we find that for the urgency of the construction of the holy place, Ieremia Movila sends with a representative of the brotherhood, Nicolae, another 1000 golden coins. In another letter, dated September 20, 1599, he announced that he had sent 160 zlots to continue the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> C. Rezachevici, *Privilegii de indigenat polon acordate locuitorilor din Țările Române*. În: Revista de Istorie, nr. 7, București, 1975, p. 1095.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> C. Gane, Trecute vieți de doamne și domnițe, vol. I, Chișinău, 1991, p. 131, 142, 156 și 160.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> E. Hurmuzaki, op. cit., p. 344.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 451.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> М. Дмитриев, *ор. сіт.*, р. 42.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> E. Hurmuzaki, *op. cit.*, p. 523.

erection of the church, and if they were prevented, he would be announced to intervene with the king. On December 9, 1599, Ieremia Movila answers to the Orthodox community in Lvov that due to the unfavorable political events he cannot offer them any financial assistance, but he promises them help as soon as he gets rid of problems<sup>1</sup>. Indeed, the complicated political situation generates great financial problems. As proof is the specification made in a document from the beginning of 1601 from which we find that ,.... the Lord of Moldova was obliged to give 40,000 red zlots for the Polish army and tribute to the king. This money the king had to take from somewhere with an interest, from Turkey. 25,000 in six weeks after the country's peace and 15,000 after twelve weeks, and, as for the annual tribute, he said he could not do much, constantly talking about his big expenses ..." <sup>2</sup>. The same message was transmitted from the estate Ustie, beyond the Dniester, where he had taken refuge because Mihai Viteazul occupied the throne of the country of Moldova (for a short period, May-September 1600). From there the king informed him, on August 24, that he was in a difficult situation and could not send money. But it allows the Brotherhood to borrow on the account of the King for the construction of the church<sup>3</sup>.

In the summer of 1601, the shortcomings are even greater, because the Lord of Moldova recruits the lefegii to come to the aid of his brother Simion, who is on the throne of Muntenia. On june 30, 1601 the Moldovan king informs Sigismund III that he cannot send the amount of 28,000 zł he owed to the Kingdom, because he had to pay the debts to the Polish mercenaries. However, after three days Ieremia Movila sends to Lvov 200 zlotys, promising that he would increase the aid in better times (this promise is further proof that the Romanian countries were regarded as protectors of the Orthodox faith). The Lord kept his word, because on July 11, 1602, he announced the Orthodox Brotherhood of Lvov, through his messages Nicolae Lucașevici and Nicolae Dobreanski, about sending 500 golden coins. On May 18, 1603, he sends 1000 more golden coins. On June 10, 1604, he sends 1000 more; on May 3, in 1605-1000 more coins, on August 30, 1605-1000 more. On April 17, 1606 Ieremia Movila sendsr 1,000 more coins and regrets that the building of the church was stopped because of the metropolis Ipatii Potii, who prevented the construction of the church and by methods of constraint of the Orthodox brotherhood, whom strives to attract to unification<sup>4</sup>.

As can be seen, although in the second reign, Jeremiah Mobila faced great financial problems, however, during this period the material supports granted to the Orthodox Brotherhood in Lvov are much more substantial than in the first. This contradictory fact at first sight can be explained by the fact that the respective relations were part of both his political and religious program of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> E. Hurmuzaki, *Documente*, suplim. II, vol. 2, p. 38-40, 177, 283, 397, 344 și 345.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> I. Corfus, *Documente privitoare la Istoria României culese din arhivele Poloniei, sec. al XVII-lea*, București, 1983, p. 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> E. Hurmuzaki, *Documente*, suplim. II, vol. 2, p. 634-635.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> А. Папков, *op. cit.*, p. 70 și 75; E. Hurmuzaki, *Documente*, suplim. II, vol. 2, p. 536-538.

protection of orthodoxy, the gentleman did not even want in the most critical moments to lose the influence he had in this Brotherhood. The relationship of Ieremia Movila with the Orthodox Brotherhood in Lvov was not only limited to the granting of material aid, he was aware of the internal life of the community.

One of the most important events in the life of the Orthodox Brotherhood in Lvov was undoubtedly the reconciliation of the Brotherhood with Bishop Gideon Balaban, most notably the Orthodox hierarch remaining in the old faith (after the Brest-Litovsk Union of 1596), upset that by the elevation of the Brotherhood to the rank of extravagance every right to lead the Church Adormirea Maicii Domnului from Lvov was taken away. Ieremia Movila, along with Constantine de Ostrog (1528-1608), known as defender of Orthodoxy in the Polish Kingdom, intervened to reconcile Bishop Gideon with the Orthodox Brotherhood, addressing to the brethren the request "to live in peace with Bishop Gideon and honout him as appropriate. The final reconciliation took place on January 21, 1602 through the mediation of Luca Stroici, sent by the gentleman to Lvov specifically with this mission. Gideon Balaban promised not to interfere in the affairs of the Stavropy, and the Lvov Fraternity recognized his dignity and right to patriarchal exarch<sup>1</sup>. This reconciliation, mediated by the Ieremia Movila, solves one of the most pronounced crises in Eastern Orthodoxism at that time. This fact demonstrates the honor and honor that the Orthodox Brotherhood of Lvov wore to the Lord of Moldova.

As subject of Poland, Ieremia Movila regularly sent his messages to the Polish Ligislative Meeting. The great Vortex of the Netherlands, Nestor Ureche and the postmannic Dragan, at the opening of the Legislative Meeting in 1597, pleaded for the preservation of the Orthodox faith in Moldova, as well as of all Moldovan customs<sup>2</sup>. This option expressed by Moldovan messengers makes us believe that the orthodoxy in Moldova itself was going through a difficult period. Not in vain did Ieremia Movila, in a letter addressed to the Orthodox Brotherhood, mention that he would help this church from abroad, although there are "many churches and fortresses in the country"<sup>3</sup>.

This reinforces our conviction that Lvov continues to be an important center for Moldova's economic, political and cultural interests. And in 1600 the same representatives addressed to the Legislative Meeting the request of Ieremia "for the clergy of the Russian people and the people of Lvov, to remain under the obedience of the Patriarch of Constantinople with their ancient spiritual privileges, as well as worldly and ancient" 4. The Orthodox community in Lvov also received great support from the logistate Luca Stroici, who from 1593 had the Polish cityzenship.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Акты, относящиеся к истории южной и западной России, р. 269.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> E. Hurmuzaki, *Documente*, suplim. II, vol. 2, p. 457.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> P. P. Panaitescu, *Mihai Viteazul*, București, 1936, p. 104.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 143.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> C. Rezachevici, op. cit., p. 1095.

Since December 16, 1590 Luca Stroici offers to the Orthodox Brotherhood of Lvov his services in addition to the voivode in whatever they ask.¹ He was probably a member of this community as well. After each letter sent by Mr. Ieremia Movila, there was another letter to the community from the Stroici logistate in which he communicated to the Lvovians that only because of his intervention the king sent the amount of money, or that the king has no money and when he will have to send it. Of all the letters sent by the logofat we do not find any of which would prove that Luca Stroici himself had sent some amount of money. On the contrary, when he was running out of money, he borrowed from Stroici's logistical office to send to the Brotherhood. This can be explained by the fact that once the reconstruction of the church by the Moldovan rulers, Petru Sciopu and Ieremia Movila, he wanted the Church of the Assumption of Lvov to remain a purely royal foundation, and the boyars reserved only the role of intermediaries between the rulers and the Orthodox Brotherhood from Lvov.

Some Moldovan boyars become members of the Brotherhood, as, for example, Nestor Ureche, in June 1612, while in Lvov, the great Moldovan ruler makes a covenant stating that "I have ignited God's loving desire and - I joined this brotherhood, to be with them all" <sup>2</sup>.

Thus, from the above we can point out that the reign of Ieremia Movila (1595-1600; 1600-1606) took place in a complicated period in the history of Moldova, both politically and religiously.

Particular importance for the ruler, during this period, is the ecclesiastical relations with the neighboring states. In this context, the ties of the country of Moldova with the Ecumenical Patriarchate, the Orthodox Brotherhood of Lvov, as well as the Athonite monasteries are included. Thanks to the material support granted by Mr. Moldova to the Orthodox centers under foreign political and denominational domination, they were able to withstand the pressure of Catholics and the Reformation, as well as the excessive financial demands of the Ottoman authorities.

Therefore, these connections were materialized by: subsidizing and finishing the construction of the Church of the Assumption of Lvov, subsidizing and worshiping some Moldovan monasteries, Athonite monasteries.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> E. Hurmuzaki, *Documente*, suplim. II, vol. 2, p. 41, 179, 248, 344 și 349.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ionescu-Nișcov T., Din istoria relațiilor moldo-ucrainene în prima jumătate a sec. XVII. În: *Biserica Ortodoxă Română*, nr. 11-12, București, 1965, p.1087.