

BABEȘ-BOLYAI UNIVERSITY OF CLUJ-NAPOCA
FACULTY OF HISTORY AND PHILOSOPHY
DEPARTMENT OF MEDIEVAL HISTORY AND HISTORIOGRAPHY

**RELATIONS AMONG THE ROMANIAN COUNTRIES
BETWEEN MID-FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES
(1438-1541)**

**-PHD THESIS-
ABSTRACT**

SUPERVISOR:
PROFESSOR DOCTOR **AVRAM ANDEA**

PHD CANDIDATE:
DANIELA-MONICA MITEA

CLUJ-NAPOCA
2011

CONTENTS

I. INTRODUCTION

1.1. SCOPE OF RESEARCH

1.2. HISTORIOGRAPHY OF RELATIONS AMONG ROMANIAN COUNTRIES BETWEEN THE MID-XVth-XVIth CENTURIES, PARADIGMS AND HISTORIOGRAPHICAL TYPOLOGIES

1.3. DOCUMENTARY SOURCES DEPICTING THE THEME; RELEVANCY AND GRADE OF THEIR PUBLISHING

1.4. METODOLOGICAL DIRECTIONS FOLLOWED IN TACKLING THE PROBLEMATICS AND NEW PROSPECTS GIVEN BY THIS RESEARCH

II. RELATIONS BETWEEN ROMANIAN COUNTRIES AS PART OF THE POLITICAL-MILITARY INTERSTATAL RELATIONSHIPS CROSS CENTRAL AND SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE BETWEEN THE - XVth-XVIth CENTURIES

2.1. ASPECTS OF SUZERAIN-VASSAL LINKS IN MOLDAVIAN-POLISH RELATIONS BETWEEN THE YEARS 1438-1499 (WITH SOME REFERENCES UNTIL 1541)

III. ACTA POLITICA

3.1. GENERAL FRAMEWORK OF POLITICAL RELATIONS BETWEEN ROMANIAN COUNTRIES BETWEEN THE YEARS 1438-1541

3.1.1. Transylvania's political relations with Wallachia between the years 1438-1541

3.1.2. Transylvania's political relations with Moldavia between the years 1457-1541

3.2. MEDIEVAL SUZERAINTY AND SOVEREIGNTY. STRUCTURALITY AND FUNCTIONALITY IN THE STATUS AND EVOLUTION OF TRANSYLVANIAN FIEFS GRANTED TO WALACHIAN AND MOLDAVIAN RULERS

3.2.1. Sovereignty and suzerain-vassal relations

3.2.2. Fiefs and their significance in the Romanian Middle Ages. Southern, South-Eastern and Eastern borders regime of Transylvania and Kingdom of Hungary in the relations with Wallachia and Moldavia

3.2.3. Amlaş and Făgăraş

3.2.4. Geoagiu de Jos or Geoagiu de Sus?

3.2.5. Vinţu de Jos and Vurpăr

3.2.6. Ciceu and Cetatea de Baltă

3.2.7. Bistrița and Rodna's district; Unguraș

3.3. POWER, LEGITIMACY AND PRETENDENCE. THE DYNAMICS OF POLITICAL RELATIONS, STATUS AND DEVELOPMENT OF PRETENDERS FROM WALLACHIA AND MOLDAVIA IN TRANSYLVANIA

3.3.1. Pretence and exile

3.3.2. Vlad Dracul in Transylvania as pretender

3.3.3. Vlad Țepeș as contender and hostage in Transylvania and Hungary

3.3.4. Dan III as pretender in Transylvania

3.3.5. Basarab the Elder (Laiotă) as contender in Transylvania

3.3.6. Basarab IV Țepeluș as pretender in Transylvania

3.3.7. Vlad the Monk as contender in Transylvania

3.3.8. Mihnea the Bad as pretender in Transylvania

3.3.9. Mircea III, son of Mihnea the Bad, as contender in Transylvania

3.3.10. Radu Bădica as pretender in Transylvania

3.3.11. Radu from Afumați as wandering in Transylvania

3.3.12. Petru Rareș as a contender in Transylvania

3.4. POLITICAL-MILITARY RAPPORTS AND DIPLOMACY. INSTRUMENTS WELL OR LESS KNOWN OF THE RELATIONS

3.4.1. Envoys and messengers, spies and information management. Case study: Late medieval diplomacy in warfare times. Political and military relations between Transylvania, Hungarian Kingdom and Wallachia during the years 1438-1456

3.4.2. Doctors as intermediates of the relations between Romanian Countries

3.4.3. Oath and curse as “building” formulas in documents depicting political and economical relations

IV. ACTA OECONOMICA

4.1. GENERAL FRAMEWORK OF ECONOMICAL RELATIONS BETWEEN ROMANIAN COUNTRIES BETWEEN THE YEARS 1438-1541. QUALITY ISSUES

4.1.1. Transylvania's political relations with Wallachia between the years 1438 -1541

4.1.2. Transylvania's political relations with Moldavia between the years 1438 -1541

4.2. TRANSYLVANIAN BORDER CUSTOMS AND CUSTOM RELATIONS BETWEEN ROMANIAN COUNTRIES

V. ACTA ECCLESIASTICA ET CULTURALIS-ARTISTICA

5.1. ECCLESIASTICAL RELATIONS ESTABLISHED BETWEEN ORTHODOXY AND CATHOLICISM IN THE RELATIONS BETWEEN ROMANIAN COUNTRIES (FROM FLORENTINE UNION TO REFORM)

5.1.1. Features of Orthodoxy-Catholicism relations in Transylvania

5.1.2. The influence of Transylvanian Catholicism in Wallachia and Moldavia

5.1.3. The influence of Extra-Carpathian Orthodoxy in Transylvania

5.1.4. Clerics as intermediaries of political relations between Romanian Countries

5.2. INTERMEDIARIES, INFLUENCES AND WORKS IN CULTURAL-ARTISTIC RELATIONS BETWEEN ROMANIAN COUNTRIES

5.2.1. Transylvanian architectural and painting influences in the relations with Wallachia and Moldavia

5.2.2. Stylistic influences from Wallachia and Moldavia in Romanian architecture and painting in Transylvania

5.2.3. Art, movements and mutual stylistic influences in the field of manuscripts

5.2.4. Ornaments, cult and home use objects circulated in trade with precious metals between Transylvania, Wallachia and Moldavia

5.2.5. Watermarks of paper documents illustrating the relations between Transylvania and Moldavia. Case study: Acts from the collection „Bistrița City Mayoralty” for the first half of XVIth century, the period between 1500-1541 (Cluj County Department of National Archives)

VI. FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

VII. REFERENCES

KEY-WORDS:

Mid-XVth-XVIth centuries; period between 1438-1541; late medieval Romanian diplomacy; Transylvania; Kingdom of Hungary; Romanian Country (Wallachia); Moldavia; relations between Romanian Countries; Romanian medieval unity; political-military ties; economical and customs relations; cultural-artistic relations; ecclesiastical ties; relations between churches of Greek and Latin traditions; suzerain-vassal relations; rapports between suzerainty and sovereignty; anti-Ottoman fight (crusade) and relations between Romanian Countries; Eastern Christianity and its evolution; Transylvanian fiefs of Wallachian and Moldavian rulers; pretenders (contenders) of Southern and Eastern Carpathian thrones, sheltered in Transylvania; diplomatical and cultural intermediaries; cultural-artistic influences; et aliis.

UNDER INVESTIGATION

The purpose of this research is based upon the fundamental axiom of any communication between people, the fact that “there is to be related. Anybody can not develop long term if is isolated from others”¹. Also, in the same manner, no state entity, institutional or human one, even from the Middle Ages, they would not have existed and could not only develop but in mutual favorable or unfavorable rapports, with relatively similar entities or face relatively different others, across which a genuine communication could be established or maybe less a deficient one. Medieval direct relationships were transmitted to posterity as verbatim recorded, through the written documents, even the spoken messages being described by entries “viva voce” sent by messengers and by the circulation record of transcarpathian rumors, as well as evidenced diplomatic correspondence, formal and informal messages that were communicated directly, some in verbal, some in the written way. These were also adapted by the filters of the needs and values of their emitters, transmitters and receivers. This complex process involves together some steps as simplification-leveling, selection-overheating and assimilation of the unknown elements through those partially known², especially in the verbal communication of secret messages, which also outlined the possibility that information could be delivered in some way perceived as a distorted manner and to interfere with the proper conduct of diplomatic ties.

Communication in the relations between Romanian Countries in the medieval period was therefore held to be modulated primarily through intermediaries and especially by means of written documents, with these features being an interpersonal and interstate function, particularly important and universally valid for any historical time. The big difference that we could detect in the relations between the Romanian states in the late Middle Ages to the next century diplomacy could be that this direct communication was more direct and personal calling more often and using more human essence least that sophisticated diplomatic stratagems. At the same time, medieval communication between the Romanian Countries between the mid-fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was far more complex than that of previous centuries and especially by the developing of this activity in chancelleries of secular and ecclesiastical institutions, which shifted the diplomatic focus primarily concerns the exchange of the written acts, conveyed through special envoys or broader messengers.

Although the title that we set for this research is a classic one, not necessarily the happiest possible, following the pattern of interpretations of the thematic categories and from the register of “medieval Romanian unity”, issues objectived by the integrating phrase “Relations between Romanian countries between mid-fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (1438-1541)”, however, we believe that it could be completed with an archetypal subtitle, with

¹ Daniel Bognoux, Introducere în științele comunicării, translation by Violeta Vintilescu, Iași, 2000, p. 27.

² Peter Burke, Istorie și teorie socială, București, 1999, p. 119.

symbolic force, without reiterating the historical perspective on the territorial confederations vision. Thus, the phrase “under the protection of the Crown of Hungary” can demonstrate the integrative nature of these political, economic, cultural, artistic and religious ties, which were held in permanent alignment, according to the suzerain-vassalic model, of Wallachia and Moldavia’s to the politics of Hungarian Kingdom, Voivodship, then the Principality of Transylvania, even in the moments in which the subordination to the Ottoman Empire or to the Kingdom of Poland has acquired a strong foundation and a character. We are calling archetypal subtitle as repeats and restores at the symbolic level, but in another form, the phenomenon leading to the conquest of the Romanian extra-Carpathians Countries, through the action of a “founding hero” from Transylvania, found then into the composition of the Kingdom of Hungary, in the framework of the political-military Transylvanian effort for state aggregation of Wallachia and Moldavia, in which Transylvania has developed an important political and military role of coagulation factor in the beginnings of Romanian states³, a recovery across the ancient, once a unity or space tend towards unity, that “unus mundus”, a distinct unit in the fundamental character of all neighboring specificities⁴, a complex phenomenon that can be denominated in the formula “unity in diversity” and, equally, of diversity that can curdle into a specific form of cross-state drive.

Thus, the subtitle chosen illustrate not a political and territorial union in which the Romanian extra-Carpathian Countries have been effectively merged to the Kingdom of Hungary or to the Transylvanian side, but a geopolitical, natural, symbolic close proximity, which was folded over the interpretation of historical perspective, that gave prevailed intercompany unity of a “Commonwealth”, a cooperation of neighboring states initiated and circulated around the need to better manage security of regional political and military expansion in the Turks and later the Habsburgs, to maintain links subsumed to the need of substantial economic welfare of all stakeholders and share a common Christian faith, which the Hungarian and Habsburg Catholicism and Protestant denominations have subsequently sought to impose for making the institutional and doctrinal orthodoxy vast majority of Romanian population. Historiography of unity addressing the historical evolution of the Romanian people is a matter of fact quite extensive, but not sufficiently take into account institutional differences or particularities of all they could involve plurality of late medieval Romanian states⁵.

However, we believe that there was a medieval unity between the Romanian historical provinces, which is essentially a symbolic status, was not necessarily any prenatal invoice or fully subsumed typology of relationships, such as more subtle energy, a “egregore”⁶ of the complex and fruitful ties between the three Romanian Countries, whose director was looking

³ Șerban Papacostea, „Geneza statelor românești: schiță istoriografică și istorică”, in Idem, Geneza statului în Evul Mediu românesc, București, 1999, pp. 15-16, 22, 89; Ștefan Sorin Gorovei, Întemeierea Moldovei, Iași, 1997, pp. 33-71; Victor Spinei, Moldova în secolele XI-XIV, București, 1982, pp. 290-310.

⁴ Joseph Mitsuo Kitagawa, În căutarea unității. Istoria religioasă a omenirii, translation by Claudia Dumitriu, București, 1994, passim.

⁵ Cesare Alzati, „Reforma” și reforma catolică față în față cu ortodoxia pe pământul românesc în a doua jumătate a secolului al XVI-lea”, in Idem, În inima Europei. Studii de istorie religioasă a spațiului românesc, edition by Șerban Turcuș, Cluj-Napoca, 1998, p. 140 (the entire study, at pp. 140-170).

⁶ Omraam Mikhaël Aïvanhov, Egrogorul porumbelului păcii, București, 1991, passim.

for peace and security in the region in the Christian manner, functioning as a basis for political-military ties between states threatened by the danger posed by the Ottoman Empire, and later the Habsburg Empire. After the year 1526, this symbolic aggregation was only partially damaged, leaving confusion in the political-military ties between medieval Romanian states, which was reflected in the acceptance of Turks as diplomatic partners as viable as any other Christian state, plus entire evolution of the stormy relations between the Romanian Countries until 1541, when Transylvanian Principality made its appearance on the stage of history. The directions of peace and security of the “egregore” of unity materialized briefly through foreign policy actions of Romanian prince of Michael the Brave, at the turn of crossing between centuries XVIth and XVIIth, but no action survived precisely because they were met by force and not by the power of diplomacy, the organization really entitled to made the peace⁷.

In the same vein, we can notice that these links between the Romanian historical provinces before the joining of Michael the Brave in 1600 were marked by unity, but not that of the progressive, the historical perspective, which are considered as “pre-national”, but below the natural unity of regional, local, integrative, economic and political order of the rate of late medieval, the external shape of the suzerain-vassal links⁸, then premodern around alliance with Transylvania as part of subordinate and integrated political and symbolic heritage of the Hungarian Crown of Saint Stephen, even after the fall itself the Kingdom of Hungary in 1526 and after early ascendance of the Habsburg Empire in Transylvania. This kind of geopolitical unity, symbolic, was the basis of pre-modern unity of the Romanian, resulting passenger deeds of Michael the Brave, who sensed the need for support and legitimacy of such political and economic aggregation, which centuries of historical deployments past it abundantly practiced in teaching inter-unity building, that was based on primordial ethnic, language and faith of all the Romanians in the three medieval “Romanian Countries”, who were crossing the threshold to pre-modern⁹.

Beyond subscribing selective and uncritical manner in which the issue of unity was addressed in the research of the historical past and without minimizing the natural tendency of communion between state entities and communities, steering characteristics, interests and common perspectives, and whether geopolitical, however, we consider should emphasize communication as a regional, integrative, in the phrase “United States of Crown of Hungary”, development that the middle period between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries pictured without doubt. The terms “united provinces”, in relation to Transylvania or “united states”, in relation to Wallachia and Moldavia, to mean anti-Ottoman confederation complex integration and interstate, is a powerful archetype, which is based on the assumption of a term used by George Carew, diplomat linked to queen of England, Elizabeth I, to denote countries vassal of the Poland, of the crown of Saint Václav, in his work entitled “Relation of the State of Poland and the United Provinces of that Crown anno 1598”. At this writing are referred to as the provinces included in the Kingdom of Poland and the vassal states members of the same

⁷ Gheorghe I. Brătianu, L'organisation de la paix dans l'histoire universelle, București, 1997, passim.

⁸ Șerban Papacostea, „De la Colomeea la Codrul Cosminului (Poziția internațională a Moldovei la sfârșitul secolului al XV-lea)”, in Idem, Evul Mediu românesc. Realități politice și curente spirituale, București, 2001, p. 224.

⁹ Nicolae Bocșan; Ioan Lumperdean; Ioan-Aurel Pop, Etnie și confesiune în Transilvania (secolele XIII-XX), Oradea, 1994, passim.

crown, which underlined the title of rulers of Moldavia, who called themselves, in most cases only the quality of “palatinus” or “waivoda” in diplomatic correspondence with suzerains their country as they were leading integrated symbolic subject or neighboring kingdom, which is expressed by the phrases “membra coronae”¹⁰ or, later, by “communia dominia nostra”¹¹. We were allowed to extrapolate the formulation of “United Provinces” precisely because Transylvania was incorporated until 1526 to the Kingdom of Hungary, so that any relationship would be deployed, it would be served only in that system incorporating interstate relations and the Romanian extra-Carpathian Countries, thus bringing together all the historical Romanian provinces under the symbolic protection of the Crown of Saint Stephen, which was most notable during the reigns of kings Jagiellon in Hungary and Poland. Must also highlighted the real inequality between the provinces of the Kingdom of Hungary, Transylvania and the Romanian extra-Carpathian Countries, as independent states, to avoid falling into the trap of the situation on the positions of political and legal equality of the three state entities taken into this particular piece of research¹².

The best approach of the subject is therefore the detailed analysis of local relations, trans-Carpathians, knitted together by ties of border Saxon cities with princes, boyars and merchants of the Romanian Country and of the Country of Moldavia or with the management of various extra-Carpathian cities. Historical perspective can sometimes distort reality in a medieval research especially burdensome, which, because of the magnitude, fluctuates between the formula below subject of a compendium and the pretence of a synthesis, historiographical spectrum that we have taken it all. Returning, with this type of confederation it was creating a subject area of influence of that crown, as symbolic and secure assets of a regional power, a kind of intergovernmental coalition to maintain order and political balance of power in Central and Southeastern Europe and especially in relations with the Ottoman Empire and the Habsburg Empire. These inter-state inter-dependences were those who actually gave the measure a complex array of cross-state medieval drive.

Paradigm of “Commonwealth” provinces and countries has also grown during the period studied both by the Kingdom of Hungary and Poland, or through suzerain-vassals relationships, in restriction or by the agreements, conventions and treaties of peace and alliance from the positions of reciprocity, in development and specialization, noting that the states sought by confederation the management of the Turkish issue, and generally tried by all means to maintain a friendly “statu quo” to their foreign policy. All these developments were taking place especially as the security of the region for the period investigated has changed, especially after the capture of Constantinople by the Turkish power (29 May 1453), becoming the main objective of foreign policy of states in Central and Southeastern Europe. In the size of political theology, the paradigm of “common wealth” associated to the concept of “divine state” catholic, apostolic, hierarchic, transgressing interstate borders to build a “city people” led by the Holy See, mirroring imperfect, but aspiring theoretical to a symbiosis with what Saint

¹⁰ Victor Eskenasy, „Omagiul lui Ștefan cel Mare de la Colomeea (1485). Note pe marginea unui ceremonial medieval”, in Ștefan cel Mare și Sfânt 1504-2004. Portret în istorie, Putna, 2003, pp. 439-440.

¹¹ Nicolae Iorga, „Relații între români și poloni în epoca omagiului și după”, in Idem, Studii asupra Evului Mediu românesc, edition by Șerban Papacostea, București, 1984, p. 317.

¹² Adrian Andrei Rusu, „Ștefan cel Mare și Transilvania. Un inventar critic, date nevalorificate și interpretări noi”, in Analele Putnei, I, 2005, 2, p. 92 (the entire study, at pp. 91-122).

Augustine called “City of God”¹³. The Catholic model, the “pax Christiana”, like interstate form of integration, was different from the model of Byzantine and post-Byzantine Christian states “Commonwealth”, represented by “pax Byzantina”, based on Orthodoxy as an organic system, like political and religious community known as the “politeuma”¹⁴, aggregation in which each province and member state should bear the responsibility for mistakes within the interstate community¹⁵. However, the Catholic pattern resembled Byzantine confederation by typology of relationships with secular authority and ecclesiastical management center, if not in form, but even in the content and overall significance of the relationships established between the involved institutions¹⁶.

About the relations between Romanian Counties between mid-fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (1438-1541) were written quite a few papers and studies, just as they were and still are relatively generous to research a topic for the later Middle Ages, which by all political typology of military, economic, cultural-artistic and religious that has involved, we have put in a position to grow a relatively thorough knowledge of Romanian medieval society as a whole, the history of neighboring kingdoms and empires and ties between provinces and Romanian states, all located in close connection with deployments occurrence spent externally Europe, especially in Central and Southeastern Europe and beyond. What we have tried through this research is to achieve the illustration of the object and its circumscription in the limits of an analysis and synthesis which is bordered by its generality to human medieval existence as identity in the manifestations in relation to otherness and by their particularities approach to the analysis of the relations between institutions, countries, cultures and civilizations, in a common symbiotic Romanian, Hungarian and Saxon, and on a higher plane, the junction, influence and influence of acculturation between the East and the West-European area of Southeastern Europe of Romanian Lands.

Throughout an investigation over several years, we have proposed and we were able to collect and process numerous historical sources covering a wide range of relationships from economic and political-military to the cultural-artistic and religious, but the investigation has exceeded both the limited time for research, as well as the outdated and relatively well circumscribed space for a simple investigation to develop into a PHD thesis. We started off with much enthusiasm to a vast exploration of a fairly broad themes in terms of information, but the fruits that we have collected from “the tree of knowledge” were still immature, because we did not have the necessary experience to depth research of the relationships between people, institutions, cultures and civilizations, including an extensive period of time as addressing all typology of relations from the perspective of the ties between the Romanian Countries,

¹³ Alexandra Pârvan, „Sfântul Augustin și controversile moderne asupra ordinii și liberului arbitru”, in Studia Mediaevalia, edition by Alin-Sebastian Tat, Cluj-Napoca - Târgu Lăpuș, 2005, pp. 96-119.

¹⁴ Dimitri Obolenski, Un commonwealth medieval: Bizanțul. Europa de Răsărit, 500-1453, București, 2002, pp. 10-11.

¹⁵ The historian underlined, taking Eusebius of Caesarea's thesis that “Basileia” or “Monarchia” was a reflection of the cosmos, as the emperor was mimesis and “hyparchos” of the “Great basileus”, represented by God. Thus, the terrestrial order imitated the divine order, a cosmic one, just as it was in the thinking of St. Augustine's, about the “city of the people” and “City of God”. Cf. Stelian Brezeanu, „Idea imperială bizantină și universul politic medieval european”, in Studii și Articole de Istorie, LIX, 1992, pp. 8-9 (the entire study, at pp. 7-13).

¹⁶ Ion Chiciudean, Bogdan-Alexandru Halic, Imagologie. Imagologie istorică, București, 2003, passim.

meaning the waivodal Transylvania, only intra-Carpathian area, Romanian Country and Country of Moldavia. A broad summary would also benefit if they had been matched and balanced analysis of all aspects covered in detail, but this approach had certainly need more time and entering a much larger quantity of internal and external historical sources, some perhaps inedited. For example, subsections related to the Transylvanian fiefs of the princes of Wallachia and Moldavia could be designed more valuable if we had studied also the historical realities in the villages of their size, but it ought to be properly detailed also other sections, on the other typology of links between the Romanian Countries, which would be considerably increased volume of pages and would have led to a much larger work than ought to be normal. In response to all summary needs, we have a historical background analysis, but we offset this shortcoming by trying to achieve a “synthesis-mosaic” in which to be addressed and discussed specific aspects of each typology to individual small items, the human dimension of relations, which often takes the particles of color and beauty of everything that can be called, in the manner described by the great historian Nicolae Iorga, the phrase of the “great history” through the action of the “the little ones”.

Chronological delimitation of this research is a very broad, between mid-fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but we considered necessary and a more accurate time circumscription period, where we chose to illustrate, analyze and synthesize the relations among Romanian Countries. To this end, we set as benchmarks the year 1438, when John Hunyadi took office of ban of Severin, moment marked by multiple meanings in the anti- Ottoman fight and the year 1541, when Transylvania became an autonomous principality under Turkish suzerainty. Whole period is crossed by a red thread, sitting under the sign of Turkish political and military threat and attempts coalition of Christian states in the Central area and especially that of South-Eastern Europe against the Ottoman Empire, directions to be placed and researched also the links between the Romanian Countries. We chose to present the relations between Romanian Countries, including waivodal Transylvania between them, although until the battle of Mohács (1526) Transylvania was part of the Kingdom of Hungary, since this historic province is still considered as a “Romanian Country”. This primarily demographically, because most of Transylvanians were Romanian-born population, as in economically, taking into account only salt and mining areas of Transylvania, as well as political, if it brings into question Romanian autonomies, of which we studied in particular those of the country Hațeg, Făgăraș and Rodna Valley and from where were most of the illustrations to which we turned over the materialization of this particular piece of research. In the context of geopolitical circumscription of voivodal Transylvania, we chose only examples of aspects of intra-Carpathian Transylvania, the seven counties and less of Banat, Maramureș and Western Parts, because otherwise we would have extended undue connections, not to being able to control effectively the information and with much less correlation, critical analysis and synthesizing them. Key managers of these border contacts and especially of political-military and economic relationships between the Romanian Countries were the cities of Sibiu, Brasov, Bistrita, “Universitas Saxonum” as border community, with thriving centers of political, economic and commercial flying, in the immediate vicinity of the Romanian extra-Carpathian Countries and expanded especially economically also at South and East of the Carpathians, by maintaining good ties with transalpine environments within the limits dictated by the political factors.

Contents of this paper tries to exploit the classical methods of approach to this kind of topic, along with modern ones, having an input section comprising object sought election

motivation, characterization of historiography and sources on the one hand, methods and new research directions this contribution intends to open, on the other hand. The introduction gives validity to the approach and opens historiographical and documentary perspectives for a research that can be described by the term “endless”, that is always enriched by finding new documents, new facets and interpretations of historical sources and historiography related to their known, but never fully completed. Section of interstate relations in Central and Southeastern Europe seeks to benchmark the nature, structure and reporting lines of mutual development in Eastern Christianity threatened by the Turkish forces, custom research by studying the political and military relations between the Moldovan-Polish 1438 and 1499, with some references until the year 1541, in terms of maintaining suzerain-vassal links and the medieval sovereignty of rulers and later feudal states.

After the circumscription of the object being investigated, we focused the analysis in typological perspective on all types of relations between Transylvania, Wallachia and Moldavia, in terms of political-military, economic, cultural-artistic and ecclesiastical ties, synthesizing the information into three major sub-sections, with other sections having lesser frequented historiography issues or at least that were not addressed in this form and not necessarily in terms of relations between the Romanian Countries as a special perspective, such as it can be observed in the detailed structure of the content. Given the extent of this research topics which surely only a collective whole historical experience would have been analyzing and integrating all its subdivisions from informational, temporal and spatial, quantitative and qualitative points of view, that it is why we consider the content as a detailed structure of a complex future research, more extensive than the present one, with the hope that researchers of the past, who will lean on the ground, will find useful suggestions and starting points to seek looking for new and original sources to deepen the higher awareness of this very broad topic for the late Middle Ages.

In this section we discussed the information so synthetic in the frameworks of carrying the relations and analytical, with specific issues and case studies illustrating these issues. For example, the political-military relations, characterized in general way, we added the component of characterizing the main political contenders to transalpine thrones sheltered in Transylvania and a detailed analysis of the fiefs that Wallachian and Moldavian princes and boyars have acquired in Transylvania from Transylvanian and Hungarian authorities. We also discussed lesser-known issues related to messengers and informations management, physicians as intermediators of the relations and a characterization of the strengthening formulas of the documents illustrating these relationships, represented by the oath and the curse formulas as means to ensure greater diplomatic credibility in written documents. Related to economic relations, to their general characterization, we added the component of links between the Romanian customs, along with a characterization of the Transylvanian border custom system, through which Transcarpathian trading took place. Religious, cultural and artistic connections we have investigated through the paradigm of brokers and mutual influences, both Transylvanian in extra-Carpathians environments and the Wallachian and Moldavian in Transylvania, to which we made a detailed analysis of the clergy as diplomats, from a hand, of the manuscripts, ornaments movements and a pertinent analysis of the watermarks in the documents showing relationships between Transylvania and Moldavia, on the other hand. In this way, we managed to combine relatively harmonious the synthesis method with analysis and case studies.

Conclusions and final considerations make necessary clarifications on how the survey was discussed about how it deserve to be further examined and considered beyond the paradigm of unity, but not denying it entirely in its nature, especially since this idea had long dominated the modern and contemporary views on relations between the Romanian Countries, among which we included Transylvania. The whole time was located into the Ottoman threat, insecurity feeling which was necessary before regional solidarity, in which Transylvania, Romanian Country and Moldavia were the main pillars of alignment, “buffer states” and both insecurity factors of a hard to achieved, but much desired “pax Christiana”, in the conflict with “pax Ottomanica”. Bibliography section attempts to inventory as many archival funds of documents, published sources and a rich historiography illustrating general and special, direct, indirect or only tangentially to general topic, represented by the relations between Romanian Countries between the mid-fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, in hope that such detail will be useful to other historians who will address the subject from a future research, on a higher level of analysis and historical interpretation, much more thorough than the ones we have been able to offer in this particular piece of research.

We tried not to fall into the trap of selective and non-critical resume of a vast historiography for the Middle Ages, although anyone can recognize that “great discoveries” of the documentary material that illustrates the theme directly, at least from the Romanian space, have already edited and research works addressing the subject were sufficiently numerous and valuable, but rather dissipated in Romanian landscape historiography, Saxon, Hungarian and beyond. We returned in the pages of this work some groups of subjects involving in their approach four major categories of contributions: the synthesis, the monographic invoices, the thematic ones and case studies, in the context of classical and always necessary typology, research already outlined, of the relationships between medieval Romanian Countries, on the structural sections of the political-military, economic, cultural, artistic and religious matters.

This research paper aims to seek to answer a natural question that anyone concerned about Romanian history would put it, that related to what we could write about a subject fairly common and known and to where one can go with the interpretation of the various categories of relations between the Romanian Countries. This response is extremely difficult given the conditions under which resumption of previous information may overshadow the few personal contribution to a historian attempting to investigate this kind of topic, can make effectively. Given that we have had only limited and indirect access to research the unpublished possible sources inside and especially outside the country, this response is more difficult to offer. Everything we can offer is a historiographical research that ranges in spectrum of the compendium and the formulation of a synthesis, a new approach to the relations between the Romanian Countries, at the level of nowadays historical knowledge. From the poet Michael Eminescu’s assertion that “all-old and all-new were all”, we proceed with the confidence that the Good Lord will light our minds and we will still guided to this historiographical seeking with a fair resolution of the object sought, solution to be useful even to us, if not to those who will study this subject in the future more or less distant.