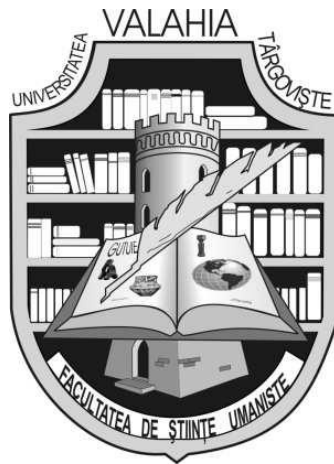


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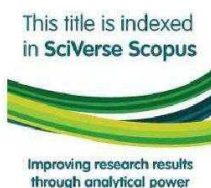
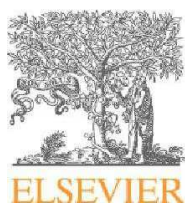
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Towards the end of the Romanian Middle Ages: The instauration of the Phanariote regime in Moldavia and Wallachia (1711/1716)

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Abstract: For more than one hundred years (1711/1716-1821), the history of Moldavia and Wallachia was deeply marked by the realities generated through the installation and evolution of the Phanariote regime. This new political regime instituted in the Romanian Principalities (1711/1716) was actually the answer and the solution adopted by the Ottoman Empire to the new political situation emerged at the end of the 17th century and especially at the beginning of the 18th century in the area of Central and South-East Europe. The Phanariote solution practically represented a compromise between the older suzerainty of the Romanian Principalities and the institution of a direct Ottoman dominion.

Key-words: The instauration of the Phanariote regime, 1711/1716, new political regime, Moldavia, Wallachia, international context, 1683-1711/1716, Phanariotes

„For over 100 years, the history of Moldavia and Wallachia has been profoundly marked by the realities generated by the installation and the evolution of the Phanariote regime” (I. Stanciu, I. Oncescu, 2004).

This new political regime instituted by the Ottoman Empire was inaugurated in the year 1711 in Moldavia (after the betrayal of the reigning prince Dimitrie Cantemir by his alliance with the Russian Empire), by a first reign of Nicolae Mavrocordat (26 Sept. 1711-25 Dec. 1715), and in the year 1716 in Wallachia (by the removal from the throne of the last local reigning prince, Stefan Cantacuzino, 1714-1716), by a second reign of the same ruler, Nicolae Mavrocordat (25 Dec. 1715-14 Nov. 1716), and came to an end in the year 1821, by the reign of Mihai Șuțu in Moldova (12 June 1819-29 March 1821) and Alexandru Șuțu (3 Nov. 1818-19 Jan. 1821), in Wallachia (C. Bălan, 2002; C. C. Giurescu, 1944; C. Neagoe, 2008; S. L. Damean, I. Oncescu, 2015).

Thus, since the years 1711/1716 and until the year 1821 (when in Wallachia broke the movement

for national and social awakening led by Tudor Vladimirescu), Moldavia and Wallachia were governed by princes recruited by the Ottoman Empire who were part of important Greek families (Callimachi, Caragea, Ghica, Hangerli, Ipsilanti, Mavrocordat, Mavrogheni, Moruzi, Racoviță, Giani-Ruset and Șuțu) living in the neighborhood called Phanar of Constantinople (M. Bărbulescu et al., 1998; P. Cernovodeanu, 2002; C. Neagoe, 2008; D. Berindei, 1991). Associated to the administration of the Ottoman Empire (had held the position of *great logothetes - mari dragomani* - namely interpreters or translators of the Ottoman Porte), *the Phanariotes* became the instruments by which the suzerain power controlled Wallachia and Moldavia yet without formally abolishing their internal *autonomy* (M. Bărbulescu et al., 1998). This new political regime instituted in the Romanian Principalities was actually the answer and the solution adopted by the Ottoman Empire to the new political situation emerged at the end of the 17th century and especially at the beginning of the 18th

century in the area of Central and South-East Europe (M. Bărbulescu et al., 1998; P. Cernovodeanu, 2002; C. Dinulescu, 2012; N. Edroiu, 2002; I. Stanciu, I. Oncescu, 2004).

The Ottomans' recession had also set into motion the movement of liberation from under the Ottoman tutorship, especially by the attempts of the Romanian Countries helped by the great powers to leave the Ottoman system. This new situation emerged (as was for instance the alliance of the Moldavian ruler Dimitrie Cantemir with Russia in the anti-Ottoman fight in the year 1711), practically threatened the Ottoman Empire with Moldavia and Wallachia's escape from under its dominion and even with the loss of the entire Balkan region, especially since Russia had declared itself the supporter of the liberation fight in the name of the Orthodoxy. *Phanariotism* has not been connected in a special manner to the Romanian Principalities, having a more general character, based on an older tradition of functioning of the „*Turkish-Phanariote pact*” (M. Bărbulescu, et al., 1998; I. Stanciu, I. Oncescu, 2004). In the case of Moldavia and Wallachia, the Ottoman Empire introduced this new regime for them to continue to remain under its dominion, in the new international context of the beginning of the 18th century. The Phanariote solution practically represented a *compromise* between the older suzerainty of the Romanian Principalities and the institution of a direct Ottoman dominion (F. Constantiniu, 2002; I. Stanciu, I. Oncescu, 2004).

Yet, to understand how this *compromise* was reached, it is necessary to take a glimpse at the history but also at the evolution of the international status of the Romanian Countries and of their foreign politics, since the 15th century until the beginning of the 18th century. In order not to become pashaliks (eyalets) of the Ottoman Empire and in order to keep their internal autonomy, the Moldavians but also the Wallachians paid *tribute* to the Ottomans even since the 15th century, after a long period during which the Romanian voivodes had fought against Turkey (in the year 1417, the Wallachians paid tribute for the first time, and in the year 1456, the Moldavians). The anti-Ottoman fight continued, however, during the next century – the 16th – as well, under the leadership of rulers such as Despot Vodă (1561-1563), Ioan Vodă cel Viteaz (1572-1574), Aron Vodă (1591-1595), Mihai Viteazul (1593-1601), even though Wallachia and Moldavia passed from the status of *countries paying tribute* to that of *vassal countries*. A

hard blow was received by the Romanians when, after the year 1540, Hungary became a Turkish pashalik. We can remind here that even since the foundation of Moldavia (1359) and Wallachia (1330), they considered themselves defenders of the Christian world, a stronghold of the fight against the Ottoman Empire, which was threatening to destroy Europe. With all the Romanian voivodes, such as Vlaicu Vodă (1364-1377), Mircea the Old (Mircea cel Bătrân) (1384-1418), Stephen the Great (Ștefan cel Mare) (1457-1504), the Romanian Principalities appear as a gate of the Christian world, which, if it was to fall, all the Christian world was in danger. After the anti-Ottoman war led by Michael the Brave (Mihai Viteazul) starting with the year 1595 and the temporary union of the Romanian Countries in 1600, the anti-Ottoman rhetoric continues to appear in the documents of those times, yet it was expressed more rarely directly by the Romanian rulers. Practically, the latter no longer manifested except privately the joy of the defeat of the Ottoman Empire by the Christians at the same time showing Europe their powerlessness for fighting alone against the Turks, especially that now they no longer had a strong army (the army of each Principality being by mid-17th century of around 35. 000 - 40. 000 fighters) (V. Georgescu, 1995).

Until the beginning of the 18th century the Romanians won, in the course of time, a series of victories against the Ottoman Empire (1394-Rovine, 1462-Târgoviște, 1475-Vaslui, 1595-Călugăreni) but winning these battles did not mean that they won the war against the Ottomans. This is why one could feel a growing need of allies to defeat the Turks, practically the need of joining an alliance system. The Romanians helped their Balkan neighbors in the battle of Cirmen (1371), in the crusade of Nicopolis (1396) and established treaties and vassalage relations with Hungary (1426, 1455, 1507, 1511, 1517), but also alliances with Poland (1389, 1411). The fall of Hungary, in the year 1526, under the attacks of the Ottoman Empire meant a heavy blow for the Romanian princes as well, depriving them of their main ally in the anti-Ottoman war, in a context in which Poland pursued in the 16th century a politics close to that of Turkey. Attempts of alliance were made by the Romanians with the Habsburg Empire as well, as it happened in 1535 and 1572 (Moldavia) and in the year 1598 (Wallachia). The international conditions, quite unfavorable to the Romanians, made them practically be surrounded in the year 1672

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by the Ottoman Empire without the possibility to rely on external support (V. Georgescu, 1995).

Under these circumstances, in the 17th century, a system of alliances was attempted between Moldavia, Wallachia and Transylvania, practiced successfully during the time of Iancu of Hunedoara (Iancu de Hunedoara) and Michael the Brave (Mihai Viteazul), yet this system did not yield the results hoped for. Practically, *the international juridical status of the Romanian Principalities „was the result of the relations between the politics of the diplomatic partners, the objectives of the Romanian external politics and the means they had at hand to implement their objectives and counterbalance the politics of their neighboring States”*(V. Georgescu, 1995).

The international status of Moldavia and Wallachia was defined even since the 14th century in relation with the great Christian powers situated to the west, north and east, but also with the Ottoman power coming from the south. Yet this status was not determined, in the 14th - 17th centuries, by the evolution of the realities regarding the Christian powers, but by the evolution of the relations with the Ottoman Porte (V. Georgescu, 1995).

„When one talks in general about the status of the Romanian Countries in relation to the Porte, one understands by this a set of rights and obligations of one <<partner >> to the other” (M. Maxim, 2003). More concretely, the juridical status of these countries in relation to the Ottoman Empire, as it results from the Islamic law. Yet, what was truly the status of the Romanian Countries in relation to the Porte? Since the years 1530-1540 and until 1878, the Romanian Countries (Transylvania until 1688/1689) ceased being subjects of international law, being instead in a state of dependence to the Porte, in a regime of tributary protection. This status of belonging to the Ottoman Empire was not always or did not mean a unilateral status, at the mercy of the Ottoman Empire. There has also been a bilateral status: in the period 1595-1623, when Moldavia's status was influenced by Poland; in 1774-1856, this bilateral system operated by the cohabitation of the Ottoman suzerainty with the Russian protectorate (the case of Moldavia and Wallachia); in 1856-1878, Ottoman suzerainty and collective protection of the great European powers, also in the case of Moldavia and Wallachia /the United Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia/ Romania. This status practically varied depending on the relation of

forces between the Ottoman Empire and the great European powers.

In the period previous to the instauration of the Phanariote regime and of the Habsburg regime, 1601-1711/1715, Moldavia and Wallachia (Transylvania until 1688/1689) were under the exclusive, unilateral protection of the High Porte, and their juridical status was imposed by the Islamic law. Often a question emerged, namely whether this “ideal” status was preserved according to the letter of the law (*ad literam*), yet it is difficult to make a clear distinction between the legal status (*de jure*) and the real one (*de facto*) especially when the sources represent the Padishah's rulings and acts. As head of the Islamic Community (*Umma*), he is a source of Islamic law; as sovereign of the Romanian Countries (this being the official term during the modern period) he is again a source of law. His acts and rulings having a character of law for the Romanians, they were free to drift away from the provisions of the classical status, all the more so when it comes to those of the first commitments (*adh, ahdame* - book of covenant). After the year 1526, practically after the battle of Mohacs, the status of the Romanian Countries was imposed, not agreed upon. There was no global act for the status of the Romanian Countries as a whole, as it happened for example in the case of Leopold's Diploma of 1691 concluded between the Habsburg Empire and Transylvania. The juridical sources of this status were multiple: (*ahd* - covenants; *ahdname* - books of covenant; *berat* - diplomas of designation; *hatt-i sherif* - illustrious books; *hukun* - orders, *buyuruldu* - commands, *ferman* - decisions emitted in the name of the emperor/sultan (M. Maxim, 2003).

From a juridical perspective, the status of the Romanian Countries in relation to the Porte was, from the juridical perspective of the Islamic law, including for the 16th century, one of *tributary protection (ahd-ad-dhima)*. The Islamic (Arab) term *dhima*, in Turkish *zimet*, had the sense of contract of mutual rights and obligations. In other words, the sultan was obliged to protect the tribute-payer and the latter had to fulfill a series of obligations. During the period 1601-1711/1715, Moldavia and Wallachia (Transylvania until 1688/1689), as we have mentioned, were under a tributary protection regime and had to bear the consequences of the Ottoman system with its

features of eastern despotism. In the 17th century, the status of the Romanian Countries had to bear as well the consequences of the Ottoman decline. The statute of tributary protection (*ahd-ad-dhima*), granted by the Islamic law to some State entities (such as the Romanian Countries, the Crimean Khanate, Ragusa, some kingdoms and principalities of Georgia, temporarily Lebanon) situated in the frontier areas (East and South-East Europe, Caucasus, Orient), between the Islam and the great non-Muslim countries and preserved to the benefit of both parties, as buffer States was substantiated in the case of the Romanian Countries by a series of rights and obligations (M. Maxim, 2003).

In this sense, regarding their rights, the Romanian Countries were keeping their individuality, administering themselves by means of Christian rulers, according to the country's laws and customs (rights that were often infringed) and regarding the obligations of the parties, the Ottoman Empire took upon itself to defend them in exchange for the Romanian Countries' main obligation of paying tribute (*haraç*), beside a series of other obligations (gifts – formal: *peshkesh* and informal: *rusfet*). Just like other obligations to the Ottoman Empire (just as in the case of other tributary States), the Romanian Countries were no longer able to have their own foreign politics, having at the same time, beside military obligations, other economic obligations (from selling with priority to the Ottoman Porte, a trade monopoly will be reached (because the tributary States were not allowed to sell certain items to the Islam's *enemies*), the payment of certain taxes at the frontier of the Ottoman Empire, but also other obligations (M. Maxim, 2003). One must not mistakenly take the status of the Romanian Countries for the status of these countries' rulers, a serious error made by a series of European diplomats that knew neither the Islamic law, nor the realities of the ground north and south of the Danube (M. Maxim, 2003).

The Romanian Principalities, considered territory of the covenant (*dar-al-ahd*), an intermediate category between war territory (*dar-al-hard*) and peace territory (*dar-al-islam*) ransomed their *peace* by paying their tribute to the Ottoman Empire, as we have mentioned, even since the 15th century, thus maintaining their political structure independent in relation to the Ottoman Empire, with the obligation not to undertake hostile actions against

the Muslims. After the year 1526 (the battle of Mohacs), when the situation of forces changes in Central and South-East Europe, but especially after the year 1541, when Hungary became Turkish pashalik and when Transylvania was an autonomous principality, yet under Ottoman suzerainty, the international status of the Romanian Principalities will change as well, since they become now *vassals* of the Ottoman Empire. Practically, *the vassalage regime* dramatically narrowed the State's functions by the usurpation of certain rights by the Ottoman Empire, by the doubling of the political dominion by an economic dominion. For the moment, the internal autonomy of Moldavia and Wallachia was preserved, yet their external politics became subordinated to the Ottoman Empire, the Principalities' troops being obliged to accompany the Ottoman ones in their campaigns, while the rulers who were still elected for a certain period of time by the country had to be confirmed by the sultan. In the meantime, the sultan will give up consulting the boyars in the Romanian Principalities when choosing reigning princes, and they will be appointed directly by him. The duration of a reign will also go down from 7-8 years during the period 1359-1538 to 2-6 years during the period 1538-1711. Moreover, the defense power of the Romanian Principalities decreased now, the rulers being surrounded only by Ottoman guards, the cities being demolished, the capitals of Moldavia and Wallachia being moved (from Suceava to Iași and from Târgoviște to Bucharest) in plain areas easy to conquer and in the vicinity of the frontiers of the Ottoman Empire, in order to be easy to control. The political dominion was now doubled by the economic one, as we have mentioned, by the payment of the *tribute* and of the *peshkash* (gifts under the form of goods and money), of obligations under the form of goods and work but also by the institution of the *Ottoman trade monopoly*. They practically constituted ways of exploitation drying up the resources of the Romanian Principalities for purposes that were foreign to their interests. We shall remind here that the level of the tribute (*haraç*) had grown from 3000 guldens in the year 1456, paid by Moldova, to 155.000 guldens in Wallachia in the year 1593. Certainly, there were also periods of fluctuation of the level of the tribute paid by the Romanian Principalities in the course of time: in the year 1601, Wallachia was paying 32.000 guldens, while Moldova was paying 26.000 guldens at the end of the 17th century. Transylvania also paid a tribute,

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after 1540, namely 10.000 gulden and it had become, in the year 1699 (when the province was included in the Habsburg Empire), 40.000 gulden.

The tribute (*haraç*) was, nevertheless, not the hardest obligation paid by the Romanian Countries until the beginning of the 18th century, but the *peshkash* (gifts under the form of goods and money) paid to the various clerks of the Ottoman Empire to win their benevolence (viziers, central dignitaries, Ottoman pashas designated at the Danube – practically all the Ottoman dignities the reigning prince came in touch with). Other sums were spent by the Romanian rulers to buy the reign, as it happened for instance in the 17th century (from the payment of sums of 100.000 gulden to 1.000.000 gulden in the case of certain rulers). In the 17th century, one more tax emerges, confirming the reign at various periods of time (every year or every three years) called *the little mukarar* and *the great mukarar*. Practically, these obligations of buying and confirming the reign were really impoverishing the Romanians in the 16th-17th centuries, beside other duties under the form of money and goods to the Ottoman Empire. Evidently, during these centuries, the Ottoman economic dominion did not have the same intensity, its intensity varying from epoch to epoch, the degree of intensity being determined as well by the evolution of the Romanian-Ottoman political relations. The economic pressure on the Romanian Principalities emerged, therefore, later than the political one, after the tribute-based regime was changed into a vassalage regime, being aggravated especially at the end of the 16th century, and then, after a period of decrease, it increased again at the end of the 17th century (V. Georgescu, 1995).

The Romanians did try to modify this regime of Ottoman dominion often, especially after the introduction of the vassalage regime, as it happened during the time of Ioan Vodă cel Viteaz (John Voivode the Brave) (1572-1574), Gaspar Graziani (1620), Dimitrie Cantemir (1710-1711) in Moldavia or of Michael the Brave (1593-1601), Mihnea III (1658-1659) in Wallachia (V. Georgescu, 1995). As they did not succeed in changing their international status by military means, at the end of 17th century the Romanians tried to turn to the use of diplomatic means in the context of the defeat of the Ottomans under the walls of Vienna (1683) concluding alliances with the Habsburg Empire and with the Russian Empire (V. Georgescu, 1995).

The short reign of Dimitrie Cantemir in

Moldavia between the years 1710 and 1711 was another attempt of changing the international juridical status by military means with the help of Russia. Yet, the fact that the Moldavians and the Russians lost the battle of Stănilești on the Prut River in the year 1711, won by the Turkish-Tartar forces, ruined any hope of change of the international status of the Romanian Principalities, soon the Ottoman Empire turning to the instauration of the Phanariote regime (V. Georgescu, 1995).

The international context that had led to the instauration of the Phanariote regime in Moldavia and Wallachia (1711/1716) was closely connected to the campaigns lost by the Ottoman Empire against Poland, of the years 1672-1676, and to the major failure recorded against the Habsburg Empire, a failure that had reached its climax at the siege of Vienna, in the year 1683 (C. Neagoe, 2008; I. Stanciu, I. Oncescu, 2004).

The Turks' defeat at Vienna (1683) meant a visible military withdrawal of the Ottoman Empire, at the end of the 17th century. Taking advantage of this military weakness of the Turks, the Austrian armies occupied, after a series of victories, Hungary, Transylvania and other territories in the Middle Danube region (M. Bărbulescu, et al., 1998; N. Edroiu, 2002; C. Rezachevici, 2003).

The Anti-Ottoman League (including the Habsburg Empire, the Papal State, Poland, Venice) had also been joined, in the year 1686, by the Russia led by Peter the Great, who had initiated a campaign intending to conquer the northern Black Sea coast. In this context, caught in these tongs of the Christian Empires (Habsburg and Russian), empires that had now grown in force and were on their way towards modernization, Turkey concluded, at the beginning of the year 1699, the peace of Karlowitz, on the one hand with Austria, and on the other hand with Poland and Venice (I. Stanciu, I. Oncescu, 2004). By signing the peace treaty with the Ottomans, the Austrians were occupying the Principality of Transylvania and making it part of the Habsburg Empire, along with the territories of the former Kingdom of Hungary and the county of Bacská (the Ottoman Porte now still had, out of the territories they had once mastered in the region north of the Danube, only the Banat of Timișoara, but were obliged, for the safety of the Habsburg borders, to pull down the fortifications of Lugoj, Caransebeș, Lipova, Cenad). The Turks were ceding, at the same time, by the same peace treaty, in favor of Poland, the conquests made by them in the year 1672 (Kamenica,

Podolia and the regions of western Ukraine), while the Poles were evacuating the cities conquered in northern Moldavia. Venice was receiving under its dominion the Morean Peninsula, the Leukas Island, the cities of Knin, Risan, Vrgorac in Dalmatia, being at the same time exempted from the payment of the tribute for Zante (or Zakynthos) Island. In exchange for these possessions, the Venetians were to withdraw from Lepanto and destroy the fortifications around the Gulf of Corinth (N. Ciachir, Gh. Bercan, 1984). By accepting an international mediation during the peace negotiations from Karlowitz in the year 1699 (by the representatives of England and Holland), the Ottoman Empire admitted, for the first time in its history, the principle of the right of intervention of the Western powers, which later led to the interference of the European powers in its internal problems. It was evident, under these circumstances, that the old balance of forces between the Ottomans and the Christian powers (previously favorable to the first), was now changed in favor of the latter, and the periodical reopening, from now on throughout the 18th century, of some „*Eastern crises*” clearly showed the tendency of extension of the Austrian and Russian Empires to the detriment of the Ottoman one, now undergoing an irreversible decline (N. Ciachir, Gh. Bercan, 1984; I. Stanciu, I. Oncescu, 2004).

Faced with this visibly changing international context, the reigning princes of Moldavia and Wallachia were preoccupied as much as possible, at the beginning of the 18th century, by a reorientation of their foreign politics. They would have liked, in this new context, an emancipation from under the Ottoman dominion with the help of the Christian powers (Austria, Russia), which were now in a visible offensive. In the year 1711, as we mentioned previously, in the context related to the development of Peter the Great's campaign at Prut, the ruler of Moldavia, Dimitrie Cantemir, had opted for an alliance with Russia (P. Cernovodeanu, 2002; N. Edroiu, 2002; I. Stanciu, I. Oncescu, 2004). In Wallachia, this policy of alliances with the Habsburg Empire and with the Russian one, to escape from under the Ottoman tutelage had been manifested even earlier than in Moldavia, since the time of the reigns of Șerban Cantacuzino (1685-1688) and Constantin Brâncoveanu (1688-1714) (F. Constantiniu, 2002; N. Ciachir, Gh. Bercan, 1984).

Thus, the ruler Șerban Cantacuzino oscillated in the attempt of changing the international political status of Wallachia between concluding alliances with

Austria and Russia. Beside these objectives of breaking free from under the Ottoman yoke, Șerban Cantacuzino even tried to initiate some revolts of the Bulgarians and Serbians to accomplish his political plans. Since these plans of revolt had not succeeded regarding the Habsburg Empire, Șerban Cantacuzino was ready to accept even the suzerainty of Austria, yet accentuating the idea of Wallachia's independence in relation with the suzerain, the absolute internal authority, religious freedom, respect for the ancient customs of the country and the return of the rayas situated in the vicinity of the Danube that belonged to the Ottoman Empire. His sudden death, in the year 1688, gave the possibility, as we have shown, to another ruler of Wallachia, to deal with the Austrians and with the Russians. Under these circumstances, the ruler of Wallachia, Constantin Brâncoveanu (1688-1714), had tried, in his turn, in order to escape the Ottoman tutorship, to form an alliance with the Habsburg Empire but also with the Russian Empire. In the context of the Austrian victories after the year 1697, Constantin Brâncoveanu was gaining more and more ground in his alliance with Russia, to which, in the year 1698, he had even proposed a common war against Turkey. Similarly to the Wallachian rulers, the Moldavian reigning princes that ruled before Dimitrie Cantemir (1710-1711) in Moldavia, led the same policy of constitution of alliances with Russia and Austria, in order to break free from the dominion of the Ottoman Empire. The rulers of Moldavia took the following actions: Constantin Cantemir (1685-1693) concluded a treaty of alliance with Austria in the year 1691, but his follower at the throne Antioh Cantemir (1695-1700; 1705-1707) headed more and more towards an alliance with Peter I's Russia, a policy followed as well by the other Moldavian rulers, Constantin Duca (1693-1695), and Mihai Racoviță (1703-1705; 1707-1709) (M. Bărbulescu, et al., 1998; F. Constantiniu, 2002).

The reign of Dimitrie Cantemir (1710-1711) in Moldavia wanted the emancipation of the Moldavians from under the tutorship of the Ottoman Empire and the continuation of the policy of the previous rulers, yet it had a markedly anti-Ottoman character. Some Moldavian boyars approved the ruler's plan of escaping the Ottoman dominion by means of an alliance with Russia. Thus, Moldavia concluded a convention with Russia at Luck on 13 April 1711 and the ratification of this convention on 28 June the same year was followed by the arrival of the Russian

troops in Moldavia and according to the conception of Dimitrie Cantemir, who actually knew very well the Ottoman Empire and its policy, was legitimated by the abuses undertaken by Turkey and by the conclusion of the treaties between the Romanians and the Turks during the Middle Ages. The victory of the Turks against the Russians at Stănilești, on Prut River (18-22 July 1711), and the latter's retreat, for the moment, from the area of Moldavia, offered, under those conditions, to the Ottomans, the time they needed to consolidate their positions in the Romanian Principalities and to rapidly establish the Phanariote regime (M. Bărbulescu, et al., 1998; N. Ciachir, Gh. Bercan, 1984; F. Constantiniu, 2002; C. Rezachevici, 2003; I. Stanciu, I. Oncescu, 2004).

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