GENS VLACHORUM
IN HISTORIA SERBORUMQUE SLAVORUM
(Vlachs in the History of the Serbs and Slavs)

Part 1

Summary: This article deals with the issue of the term Vlach, that is, its genesis, dispersion through history and geographical distribution. Also, the article tries to throw a little more light on this notion, through a multidisciplinary view on the part of the population that has been named Vlachs in the past or present. The goal is to create an image of what they really are, and what they have never been, through a specific chronological historical overview of data related to the Vlachs. Thus, it allows the reader to understand, through the facts presented here, the misconceptions that are related to this term in the historiographic literature.

Key words: Vlachs, Morlachs, Serbs, Slavs, Wallachia, Moldavia, Romanian Orthodox Church

The terms "Vlach"¹, or later, "Morlach"², does not represent the nationality, that is, they have never represented it throughout the history, because both of this terms exclusively refer to the members of Serbian nation, in the Serbian ethnic area.

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² Serbian (Cyrillic script): влах. "Now in answer to all these frivolous assertions, it is sufficient to observe, that our Morlacchi are called Vlassi, that is, noble or potent, for the same reason that the body of the nation is called Slavi, which means glorious; that the word Vlah has nothing to do with Latin, and though it be the root of the name Volacchi, it is so, because, notwithstanding the colonies planted by Trajan, the general population of Dacia consisted, as every body knows, of people, who spoke the Sclavonian language; and those who came there, in after ages." – Giovanni Battista Francesco Antonio "Alberto" Fortis (1741-1803): "Travels Into Dalmatia: Containing General Observations on the Natural History of that Country and the Neighboring Islands; the Natural Productions, Arts, Manners and Customs of the Inhabitants" (London: James Robson and Co., 1778, pp. 47-48). "Valachicae seu Rascianae gentis" ("Vlachs or Rascian people") – Vasilije Derić (1867-1931) "On the Serbian Name in the Western Lands of our People" (Belgrade: State Printing House of the Kingdom of Serbia, 1901, p. 58). "Rasciani vulgo Valachi" ("Rascians commonly called Vlach") – Radoslav Grujić (1878-1955) /
This name is closely related to the ancient Slavic god Veles (or Volos). In the Middle Ages, some Vlachs were partially romanized, but most of them refused that process.

Serbs from the middle-aged Raška and Bosnia named their compatriots from Dubrovnik – Vlachs, and later, people from Dubrovnik also referred to Serbs from the interior of Hum peninsula as Vlachs.

Vasilije D. Krestić (1932-): "Apologia of the Serbian People in Croatia and Slavonia" (Belgrade: Prosveta, 1989, p. 54).

2 "The Morlacchi generally call themselves, in their own idiom, Vlassi, a national term, of which, as far as I have been hitherto able to discover, no vestige is found in the records of Dalmatia, before the thirteenth century: it signifies men of authority, or powerful." – G. B. F. A. Fortis: "Travels Into Dalmatia...", 1778, p. 46-47. »Morlachi o Servianì« (»Morlachs or Serbs«) – R. Grujić / V. D. Krestić: "Apologia of the...", 1989, p. 54.

3 Serbian (Cyrillic script): Славени; Latin: Slavi / Sclavi / Sclaveni; Greek: Σκλαβοί.

4 Serbian (Cyrillic script): Велес/Волос; Old Russian: Велес/Волос; Russian: Велес/Волос; Polish: Weles/Wolos. Old Slavic god of earth, waters, forests, i.e. patron of cattle (horses and horned animals) and stock-raising. He was a god of trade, which was often connected with these animals (for example, caravan trading).

5 Serbian (Cyrillic script): Блас.

6 When I speak about this process, I am not referring to the process of romanization of Serbs, which was carried out on the territory of the modern Romanian state in the period from the 15th to the 20th century, which was performed by the Catholic Church. We can freely define this process as «de-Slavization» of the mentioned area.

7 Serbian (Cyrillic script): Серби; Greek: Σέρβοι; Latin: Sorabi / Serbi / Servi; German: Sorben / Serben; English: Sorbs / Serbs; Upper Sorbian: Servj; Lower Sorbian: Serby. »Ein Hauptstamm der Sarmaten, welcher von Alters her den Namen der Serbier führete, war bereits vor Christi Geburt gerade aus Asien nach Kleinund Groß-Polen gezogen und dafelbst feßhaft geworden« (»Yet before Christ, a main Sarmatian tribe, that had name Serber for centuries ago, moved from Asia directly to Small and Great Poland and settled there.«) – Friedrich Wilhelm von Taube (1728-1778): "Historical and geographical description of the Kingdom of Slavonia and Voivodeship of Syria: A description of their natural features, their current organization as well as the new arrangement of ecclesiastical, civil and military matters", Volume 2 (Leipzig: Imperial and Royal Government Council, 1777, p. 43). »Сою оть иви, Сербои, соня грана Сарпиманя« (»One of them, Serbs, one branch of the Sarmatians«) – Pavle Stamatović (1805-1864): "About the Slavic and Serbian people and language" (pp: 1-36) Serbian Yearbook, Part 1, Volume 28 (Buda / Budapest: Matica Servska, 1832, p. 2). »...the Sclavonian race is recognised in Europe are the appellation of Wends, Winden, O.-H.-G. Winidâ, A.-S. Volos), which was given to them by their German neighbours, and the title of Servians, Serbs, Sorbs, which they bestowed upon themselves. It is of no avail for the purposes of ethnography to examine the name which this race received from their neighbours, but it is interesting to inquire why they called themselves Servians. From a comparison of the forms Sermende, Sirmien, with others in which the b is changed into m, Grimm (...) is disposed to recognise the root Serb' in the name of the ancient Sarmatians« – John William Donaldson (1811-1861): "On two unsolved problems in Indo-German Philology" (pp. 138-159), "Report of the Twenty-first Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science held at Ipswich in July 1851" (London: John Murray III, 1852, p. 144). Petar B. Bogunović (1967-): »ORDER OF THE DRAGON: In the year of the Lord 1408« (pp. 15-70), Chivalrous culture, № 2 (Belgrade: Great Priory of the Knights Templar of Serbia, 2013, p. 41).

8 Serbian (Cyrillic script): Рашка / Рашка жупанција (ој Жуна Рашка) / Кнежевина Рашка / Краљевина Рашка; Latin: Rasciae / Juppania Rasciae (or Juppa Rasciae) / Principatus Rasciae / Regnum Rasciae.

9 Bosnia is one of the historical regions of the medieval Serbia. »regnum Serville, quod est Bosna« (»Serbian Kingdom, which is Bosnia«) – Ivan Kukuljević Sackinski (1816-1889): "The Diplomatic Codex of the Kingdom of Croatia, Dalmatia and Slavonia" (1103-1200), Volume II (Zagreb: Družtv za
These Vlachs, who lived in the hinterland of Dubrovnik, or in Raška, Bosnia and Zeta, have been engaged in livestock breeding and caravans trading.

It is unknown when this name for the mentioned social category of the Serbian population in the triangle of today’s Czech Republic, Greece and Dalmatia, appeared for the first time, but it is certainly related to Slavic god Veles (or Volos).

Wallachia’s Land (or Vlaška Land) was in the area of today’s Romania, and later (c. 1241) it was also known as Voivodeship of Wallachia (or Voivodeship of Vlaška), with all typical characteristics of a Slavic state.

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11 Nikola Vukčević (1927-2010): „The etymology of the term ‘Vlach’ and its various meanings“ (pp. 315-342), „Subject and method of patriarchal community research in Yugoslavia“, Scientific Meetings, Volume 7, Department of social sciences, Volume 3 (Titograd/Podgorica: Montenegrin Academy of Sciences and Arts, 1981, pp. 334-335).  
12 They are characterized by the practice of bi-regional livestock breeding, which is why they were on the constant move.  
13 »Пре доласка Мајара, у Средњем подуначкем постојала је област која се звала Влашка земља« (Before the arrival of Hungarians, there was an area called the Vlach’s Land, in the Middle Danube) – Bogumil B. Hrabak (1927-2010): „Vlachs (old residents and newcomers) in the basin of West Morava (until 1570)“ (pp. 5-46), Collection of Research Works of National Museum, № XX, (Čačak: National Museum Čačak, 1990, p. 7).  
14 Serbian (Cyrillic script): Влашка земља [Land of the Vlachs – translator's note].  
16 Serbian (Cyrillic script): Војводство Влашка.  
17 We can find this form of giving name to states among Serbs, so we have names such as Raška (Rascia), Vlaška (Wallachia), and Češka (Czechia).
The hypothesis of the Czech-Serbian historian Bogumil V. Hrabak\(^{18}\), about the immigration\(^{19}\) and appearance of the Vlachs in the territory of Herzegovina caused by the immigration of the Slavs, are not correct because they were completely denied by the DNA genealogy, which ultimately defeated the Anglo-Saxon theory of the great migration of Slavs on the Hum Peninsula in the 6th century. Similarly, his unfounded theories about the Roman origin of Vlachs, was immediately embraced by Croatian historians (national-romanticists) who had previously been close to this idea (Vjekoslav Klaić\(^{20}\), Ferdo Šišić\(^{21}\), Petar Skok\(^{22}\), etc), trying to convince themselves and their own local public that these »Vlachs« were not Serbs, and therefore the Serbs are not even inhabitants-natives in Dalmatia.

The Albanian Zef Mirdita\(^{23}\) went a step further and he even began to claim that »Vlachs« are a specific nation\(^{24}\), instead of a social-proffesional structure, making an absurd historical-linguistic gymnastics, which has nothing to do with the facts nor with the logic.

Similar theses were also represented by Anglo-Saxon historians so, for example, the German historian Franz Krones\(^{25}\) claimed that Serbs and Croats were a nation (i.e. a Slavic tribe), which settled down and assimilated some native Vlach population.\(^{26}\)

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\(^{18}\) Serbian (Cyrillic script): Богумил Храбак.


\(^{21}\) Ferdinand „Ferdo“ J. Maksimilijan Šišić (1869-1940): „Franz baron of Trenck, and his constables: Historical discussion“ (Zagreb: Shareholder's Printing House, 1900, p. 26). »...svijest o nacionalnoj pripadnosti bila je kod Šišića nedefinirana, pa je nekad nastupaokao Slaven, nekad kao Hrvat i Srb, a nekad i kao Nijemac« (»... Šišić did not have defined consciousness about his ethnicity, so he sometimes declared himself as a Slav, sometimes as a Croat and Serb, and sometimes even as a German«) – Mira Kolar-Dimitrijević (1933-): „Historian Dr. Ferdo Šišić as a parliament member from 1908 till 1911“ (pp. 413-433), Slavonian Shrines, Volume 3, № 1 (Zagreb: Department of History of Slavonia, Syrmia and Baranya – Croatian Institute of History, 2003, p. 414). Ferdo was a Serb by father (his father, Jakov, was ethnic Serb from today's Montenegro), and he was German by mother (her parents were from two German colonial families from Banat, i.e. her father's name was Thomas Hanke, and mother's - Emilia Hunt).


\(^{23}\) Serbian (Cyrillic script): Зеф Мирдита.


\(^{25}\) Serbian (Cyrillic script): Франц Кронес фон Маркланд.

\(^{26}\) »Dagegen macht der serbocrontische Stamm durch Slawisirung der Wlachen Dalmatiens (Maurovlachs-Morlachen)« (»In contrary to that, the Serbo-Croatian tribe made a significant progress through the slavization of Dalmatian Vlachs (Maurovlachs-Morlachs)«) – Franz Xaver Krones von Marchland (1835-1902): „Short review of the Austrian history with particular attention to the sources and literature“ (Vienna: Alfred von Hölder, 1882, p. 432).
Historian Hrabak also believed that the Albanians were the bearers of the older Katun layer in Herzegovina, that is, he explains that appearance of katuns in this area was a result of early migrations from the territory that belongs to today’s Albania.\(^{27}\) It is interesting that this historian, here (\textit{accidentally or deliberately}) ignores the important fact that Slavic toponyms are older than Albanian ones, even in today’s Albania, and with this fact, his thesis loses any serious scientific foundation.

Serbian historian, Branišlav Đurđev\(^{28}\), believed that the Vlachs were not ethnicity in the true sense of the word, but the assembly of the natives, assimilated by the Slavs.\(^{29}\)

In America, Trajan Stojanović\(^{30}\) was concerned about this topics (\textit{he was a professor of history at Rutgers University}) and, following Anglo-Saxon theory about „Great migration of Slavs“\(^{31}\), he claimed that Vlachs are descendants of antic Romans\(^{31}\) and Celts\(^{32}\). This scientist undeniably described the expansion of Morlachs\(^{33}\)

\(^{27}\) Bogumil B. Hrabak (1927-2010): „Settling of Herzegovinian and Bosnian Vlachs in Dalmatian Zagora in the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries“\(^{\,}\) (pp. 67-87), Collection of Research Works: Migrations and Bosnia and Herzegovina (Sarajevo: The Institute for History Sarajevo, 1990, p. 80.

\(^{28}\) Serbian (Cyrillic script): Бранислав Дуред (anglicized as Branišlav Đurđev).


\(^{30}\) Serbian (Cyrillic script): Трајан Стојановић (anglicized as Trajan Stojanovich)


\(^{32}\) »The name „Vlach“ itself may come from the name of a partly Romanized Celtic population, the Volcae. One group of Volcae had migrated from the middle Danube to Languedoc (between the Rhone and Toulouse The rest had stayed in place, perhaps in the valley of the Oulkos (medieval Volka, contemporary Vuka) or moved eastward or southeastward. The Slavs themselves associate the name „Volka“ with their own word for „wolf“, suggesting in turn the possible earlier presence in the area of a Romanized Dacian population.« – Ibidem, p. 128.

\(^{33}\) »...molte famiglie di Morlachi anticamente chiamati Mazaci, o Mazei, abitatori del Monte Albio nella Dalmatia, in quella parte, che viene al presente denominata Morlacchia, la quale, al parere de’piu eruditi Geografi, cominciando dal paefe di Vinodok, s’eftende fino al canale di Novegrado.« (»...many Morlach’s families, which have also been called Mozacs or Mazei earlier, inhabitants of Biokovo in Dalmatia, have come to this area from Morlach’s prefecture, that (by the opinions of expert geographers) begins with Vinodol’s sea and it extends to Novograd’s sea [south end of Velbit’s canal – translator's note].«) – Nicola Beregani (1627-1713): „The History of the wars of Europe since the emergence of the Ottoman Empire in Hungary, 1683 by Nicola Beregani, Venetian nobleman“, Volume 1 (Venice: Bonifacio Ciera, 1698, p. 121). The name »Mozacs« or »Mazei« (for Vlachs, i.e. Morlachs) was probably derived from the name of a Vlachian brotherhood from Herzegovina which have been settled in Dalmatia earlier, because even today, in the Serbian brotherhood Bogunović from Lika and Bosanska Krajina, we can find family name Mazalica (a \textit{part of that family transforms it in Mazalić}), and we also find similar family names in Serbs in the »Old Herzegovina« – today’s Montenegro: Mazalica (Pljevlja, Old Herzegovina – today Montenegro), Mazalo (Kotor, Montenegro), Mazalo (Pljevlja, Old Herzegovina – today Montenegro), Mazarak (Gorovići, Montenegro), Mazarević (Perast, Montenegro), Mazarović (Perast, Montenegro), Mažić (Old Herzegovina – today Northwestern Montenegro, area of Piva), Mazić (Plužina, Old Herzegovina – today Montenegro), Mauka (Budva, Montenegro), Mažan (Kotor, Montenegro), Mažarović (Herceg Novi, Montenegro), and Mažić (Budva, Montenegro).

All the families mentioned here have originated from the regions where Vlachian’s summer hamlets (\textit{katuni}) were numerous.
but, by doing that he went even a step further (in his thesis) than other historians, ethnologists and ethnographers, because he even determined »Roman character« of Morlachs in Dalmatia, or more precisely, in Morlacchia (English historian and geographer Thomas Salmon published a map in 1766 under the name »Hungary with Turkey in Europe«, and there is a region »Morlacchia« on it).

In addition to thesis mentioned above, Stojanović divides Vlachs in four geographic groups, that is, in addition to Western Valachia, he locates three other groups and claims that they are (mostly) romanized native inhabitants (Celts, Illyrians, Daco-Mysians [Dacians nad Mysians], Thracians and Goths).

I can accept this territorial division but I must add a fifth part to it – Valachia in the Czech (region Moravia) and in Poland (region Silesia), which is officially known as Moravian Wallachia (or Wallachian Moravia). Inhabitants of this region speak a language very similar to Czech and Slovakian language, which is described by English philologist Hyde Clarke (President of the Academy of Anatolia and Member of the German Asiatic Society). These Vlachs are, allegedly, descen-

34 »Along the Dinaric chain the Morlaks ultimately occupied a series of mountain pastures from Kotor (Cattaro) in the south to Senj (Segna) in the north. A complex of Dinaric Valachiae (countries of Romanized populations) – covered the region east of the Adriatic coast: Hlm or Hum (from Vlach culme, derived from Latin culmen, for „hill“), or part of the region later known as Hercegovina, Old Valachia (Stari Vlah), in the mountain corridor that divided Bosnia-Hercegovina and Montenegro from Serbia and was itself separated into two halves by the caravan route that ran southeastward between Foča and Novi Pazar; Romanija to the east of Sarajevo; Mount Cicarija (so-called after a speech habit of the Vlachs) in Istria; and numerous Morlak cantons (katuni) in the central and northern mountain regions inland from the Adriatic of the Latini, whose Italic language largely disappeared by the end of the seventeenth century, yielding to Slavic and Venetian Italian, The last speaker of that tongue died on the island of Krk (Veglia) in 1898.« – Ibid., p. 127.
35 That map was made around 1760 by his compatriot Thomas Jefferys (c. 1719 - 1771) the royal cartographer to King George III.
36 »Hungary with Turkey in Europe « (Historical map: between pages 164 and 165) – Thomas Salmon (1679-1767): „A new geographical and historical grammar: Wherein the geographical part is truly modern; and the present state of the several kingdoms of the world is so interspersed as to render the study of geography both entertaining and instructive“ (London: William Johnston, 1766, map attached on the left side of the page 165).
37 »Apart from the western Valachiae emerged three other groups of Valachiae – southern, eastern, and northeastern. The southern Valachiae included an Upper Valachia in Epirus; a Valachia Major in Thessaly; a Valachia Minor in Aetolia and Acarnania; and a Valachia (Vlachorynchinoi, a name suggesting a mingling of Vlachs or speakers of a Romance language and the Slavic or Avaro-Slavic tribe known to the Greeks as Rynchoinoi, after an unidentified river) in southern Macedonia, probably between the lower Vardar and the lower Struma (Strymon). The eastern group included Balkan and Rhodope Valachiae and a group of Valachiae stretching from the Dobrudja to Anchialos on the Black Sea. The fourth or northern group of Valachiae included a White Valachia (Muntenia, Wallachia) on the left-bank lower Danube; a Black Valachia (Moldavia or Bogdania) from the Carpathians to the Prut River, a Valachia Minor (often known as Oltenia) to the west of Black Valachia; Valachiae projecting from the Carpathians into Transylvania; and a Valachia Minor (Mala Vlaška) in western Slavonia between the Ilova River to the northwest and the Psnunj Woods to the southeast.« – Ibid., p. 127.
38 The four geographic groups may have comprised several different components and mixes of Romanization: Celtic, Illyrian, Daco-Mysian, Thracian, and Gothic.« – Ibid., p. 128.
39 Serbian (Cyrillic script): Моравска Влашка; Czech: Moravské Valašsko (or simply Valašsko).
40 Serbian (Cyrillic script): Влашка Моравска.
41 Serbian (Cyrillic script): Хајд Кларк.
vendants of Romanized population (that came from the south, i.e. from today’s Romania), but he had serious doubts about that thesis42 (in non-Slavic character of this mountain population). He also noticed anti-Slavic attitude of the author (Mr. Martziano) of the article that he was analyzed.

While serving as a translator (in the name of the Vienna’s court) in diplomatic mission in Turkey (1530-1531), Benedikt Kuripečić43 (Austrian Notary from Styria) recorded his own findings about the origin of the Vlachs, Ćići and Martolos.44

Herzegovinian bibliographer Đorđe Pejanović45 has explained Kuripečić’s term »Zigen« in his translation of the original work of this author: »It is obvious that this refer to Чиче or Туње. That name was used by the inhabitants of Ćićarija46, karst region in the eastern part of Istra (from Trieste to Kranjska), inhabited by Orthodox Vlachs, moved in from the eastern side of the Adriatic«.47

42 »In his attempts to determine the classification by the philological method, he appears to have been baffled; for, notwithstanding a determined analysis of the local dialect, he has not been able to bring forward any evidence against its Slavonic character. He therefore applied himself to physical characteristics, and he affirms that these are distinctly Wallachian, particularly in the beauty of the women. He has further applied himself to the race features, and upon these he greatly relies as confirmatory of a Wallachian type. As to what he says of the pronunciation being more melodious than is usual among Slaves, this appears to be of very doubtful value. He affirms that the popular legends and songs confirm, but of this we do not as yet know the evidence. He says their habits and clothing are distinctly recognisable; and this last feature really marks the Wallachians. Their mode of feeding and habits generally he identified, and he observed a particular antipathy towards the Slaves. What he strongly relies upon, however, must command the attention of all who know Wallachia, and that is what is euphuistically described as the little taste the women have for sacrificing to Vesta.« – Henry Harcourt Hyde Clarke (1815-1895): „Notes on the People inhabiting Moravian Wallachia” (pp. xc-xcii), Journal of the Anthropological Society of London, Volume 4 (London: Anthropological Society of London, 1866, p. xci).

43 Serbian (Cyrillic script): Бенедикт Курипеић (anglicized as Benedict Kuripechich).
44 »Die anderen seind Surffen / die nennen sie Walachen / und wir neñen sie Zigen oder Marcholosen« (»The others are Serbs, which they call Vlachs, and we call them Ćići or Martolos.«) – Benedikt Kuripečić (c. 1490 - 15??): „The Voyage: Departure of the Royal Highness to Constantinople in the delegation to the Court of the Turkish Emperor Suleyman in 1530” (Augsburg: Heinrich Steyner, 1531, p. 20); Inventory number: Res/4 Turc. 81.34, Bavarian State Library (Munich, Federal Republic of Germany).
45 Serbian (Cyrillic script): Ђорђе Пејановић (anglicized as Djordje Pejanovich).
46 Serbian (Cyrillic script): Циче; Italian: Cicceria, Monti della Vena, German: Tschitschen Boden.
Title of coin: silver dinar
Ruler who minted the coin: Vladislav II Basarab (14??-1456), ie. Vladislav al II-lea (Romanian)
Title of the ruler: Voivode of Wallachia (reigned: 1447-1448 and 1448-1456)
Minted time: between 1448 and 1456
Weight of the coin: 0.45g

Text on the coin (avers): + ІѾ ВЛАДНСЛА ВОЊВѢА
Description of the coin (avers): Coat of Arms of Wallachia (a mountain eagle or a vulture, standing on a helmet) surrounded by the writings which is also in the circle of pearls.

Text on the coin (revers): + ІѾ ВЛАДНСЛА ВОЊВѢА ГЊ (abbreviation ГЊ: ГОСПОДЊ) (abbreviation ГЊ: ГОСПОДЊ)
Description of the coin (revers): Family Coat of Arms (a horizontally divided circle which contains, in the upper part of his left field, a crescent and a six-pointed star under it; and in his right field there are three horizontal stripes from the center of the circle to its end), surrounded by the text which is also in the circle of the pearls, while the text is separated in the upper part by the, so called, »Maltese cross«.

Language: Serbian
Alphabet: Cyrillic script
Title of coin: *silver dinar*
Ruler who minted the coin: Vladislav „Vlad“ III Basarab (1431-1476), ie. Vlad Țepeș (Romanian)
Title of the ruler: Voivode of Wallachia (reigned: 1448, 1456-1462 and 1476)
Minted time: between 1456 and 1462
Weight of the coin: 0.56g

Text on the coin (avers): + ІѠ ВЛАДЬ ВОЊВѢД
Description of the coin (avers): Coat of Arms of Wallachia *(a mountain eagle or a vulture, standing on a helmet)* surrounded by the writings which is also in the circle of pearls.

Text on the coin (revers): ІѠ ВЛАДЬ ВОЊВѢД ГІѢ (abbreviation ГІѢ: ГОСПОДѢЊ)
Description of the coin (revers): Family Coat of Arms *(a horizontally divided circle which contains, in the upper part of his left field, a crescent and a six-pointed star under it; and in his right field there are three horizontal stripes from the center of the circle to its end)*, surrounded by the text which is also in the circle of the pearls.

Language: **Serbian**
Alphabet: **Cyrillic script**

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48 The language, used by the medieval nobility and population of Wallachia and Moldavia for speaking and writing, could not ever be any kind of Romanic language *(or Romance language)*, and especially it could not be Romanian language *(or Rumanian language).*
A century later (1658), French chronicler Quiclet mentions Morlachs, who he met on his journey to Constantinople, but he underlines that they are the Serbs.

During his journeys to Dalmatia and Istria (1765, 1770, 1771, 1772 and 1773) Alberto Fortis, Italian Catholic priest (he was a member of the Order of St. Augustine) recorded, in 1774, various information about the life of Morlachs (who, as he states, call themselves Vlachs) in his book „Viaggio in Dalmazia“ (Travels into Dalmatia). Fortis did not believe in possibility that Morlachs originated from the Old Romans.

One can not speak about Slavization of native population (Vlachs) in today’s Dalmatia, Herzegovina, former Rumelia (Bulgaria and European Turkey), Greece (Epirus, Thessaly and Macedonia) and today’s Romania and Albania, but only about Romanization, Helenization, Bulgarianization and Albanization of native Slavic inhabitants.

It is clearly visible in old toponyms, which are Albanized in the regions where in 20th century, (for the first time in history), Germans created (1914) Principality of Albania (1914-1917), and Romanized in the regions, where in 19th century (for the first time in history), again by Germans, was created (1859) Romanian state, ruled by Germans in time of Principality of Romania (1866-1881) and Kingdom of

49 Serbian (Cyrillic script): Кикиле.
50 »...des Morlaques ou Serviens...« (»...Morlachs or Serbs...«) – Quiclet (161?-1668) / Jean Promé (1658) / Jean Promé (1664, p. 108). »In 1658, another traveller, Frenchman Quiclet, who travelled by coach from the Bosnian town of Zvornik (Zvornik) to Istanbul, informed that all coaches in the region were Serbs, also known as Morlaks.« – V. Kursar: „Being an Ottoman...“, 2014, p. 124.
51 Fortis was educated under strict supervision of Antonio Agostino Giorgi (1711-1797), who was a Procurator General of the Augustinian Order and Librarian of the Biblioteca Angelica (Bibliotecæ Angelicæ) in Rome. Giorgi was also very influential in the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (Sacra congregatio de propaganda fide).
52 Serbian (Cyrillic script): Ред Светог Августина; Latin: Ordo sancti Augustini.
54 »I do not think it can be reasonably concluded, that the Morlacchi of our days are descendants, in a right line from the Romans, who settled in Dalmatia.« – Ibid., p. 48. »Now in answer to all these frivolous assertions, it is sufficient to observe, that our Morlacchi are called Vlassi, that is, noble or potent, for the same reason that the body of the nation is called Slavi, which means glorious; that the word Vlah has nothing to do with Latin, and though it be the root of the name Volacchi, it is so, because, notwithstanding the colonies planted by Trajan, the general population of Dacia consisted, as every body knows, of people, who spoke the Sclavonian language; and those who came there, in after ages.« – Ibid., pp. 47-48.
55 Serbian (Cyrillic script): Кнежевина Албанија (or Шћиптарска кнежевина); Albanian: Principata e Shqipërisë (or Shteti Shqiptar). The first Albanian state in history of Europe was created in 1913 by Germans, and it was ruled by German dynasty Wied-Neuwied. The first ruler of this modern creation was Wilhelm Friedrich Heinrich von Wied (1876-1945), Prince of Albania (reigned: 1914-1925). Karl Viktor Wilhelm Friedrich Ernst Günther von Wied (1913-1973), son of this »Albanian ruler« wore a title »Hereditary Prince of Albania« until his death.
56 Upon creation of Romania, its ruler becomes a German prince from Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen dynasty. He ruled under the name Karl I (1839-1914), Knyaz of Romania (reigned: 1866-1881) and
Romania\(^{57}\) (1881-1947), i.e. Helenized in the regions where in 19\(^{th}\) century (for the first time in history), again by Germans, was created (1832) Kingdom of Greece\(^{58}\) (1832-1924, 1935-1973).

If we look at the northern regions of the today’s Greece (Epirus and Thessaly) in which there was a great influence and presence of the Greek population in the ancient times (see the map »Greek dialects«, i.e. the spread of the Greek language from the American linguist Roger Woodard\(^{59}\)), we can see that Macedonia, Thrace and Illyria were, absolutely, non-Greek states. Also, in herementioned areas (Epirus and Thessaly) there were already some Greek inhabitants, especially in the northern part.

King of Romania (reigned: 1881-1914). His full name was Karl Eitc Friedrich Zephyrinus Ludwig von Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen. Since he did not have male descendants, he was replaced on the Romanian throne by German Prince Ferdinand I (1865-1927), King of Romania (reigned: 1914-1927), who was a son of his brother, Prince Leopold Stephan Karl Anton Gustav Eduard Tassoil von Hohenzollern (1835-1905). The full name of the King Ferdinand I was Ferdinand von Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen. He was succeed by his younger son Michael I (1921-2017), King of Romania (reigned: 1927-1930 and 1940-1947), whose full name was Michael I von Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen. When he was forced to abdicate, his brother, i.e. the older son of Ferdinand, Karl II (1893-1953), King of Romania (reigned: 1930-1940), took the throne, and his full name was Karl II von Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen. After another forced abdication, he was again succeeded by his predecessor and his younger brother Michael I. Not even one of this »Romanian rulers« did not marry a »Romanian« girl, nor they had any family ties with »Romanians«.

57 Serbian (Cyrillic script): Краљевина Румунија; Romanian: Regatul României.
58 Serbian (Cyrillic script): Краљевина Грчка; Greek: Βασίλειον τῆς Ελλάδος. Kingdom of Greece, for the first time in history, was created by Germans, i.e. a German prince from Wittelsbach dynasty. In the ancient times, there were Greek poleis (city-states), which had their own rulers, but there was never a state called Greece (poleis did not exist on the whole territory of today’s Greece). Father of the first King of Greece was Crown Prince Ludwig Karl August von Wittelsbach (1786-1868), i.e. latter Ludwig I, King of Bavaria (reigned: 1825-1848). Here-mentioned prince took the throne under the name Otto I (1815-1867), King of Greece (reigned: 1832-1862). His full name was Otto Friedrich Ludwig von Wittelsbach. Since Otto, upon the arrival in Greece, was underaged, the Regency Council ruled in his name (in the period of 1832-1835), headed by German Count Josef Ludwig von Armanerperg (1787-1853). King Otto was succeeded by a prince from German dynasty Glücksburg (House of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Glücksburg, a junior branch of the House of Oldenburg). This new German prince was the second king in the history of the Greek state, and he ruled under the name George I (1845-1913), King of Greece (reigned: 1863-1913). His full name was Christian Vilhelm Ferdinand Adolf Georg von Glücksburg. Father of this new »Greek king« was Prince Christian von Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Beck (1818-1906), i.e. latter Christian IX, Duke of Schleswig, Holstein and Lauenburg (reigned: 1863-1864) and King of Denmark (reigned: 1863-1906). George I was succeeded by his middle son Konstantin I von Glücksburg (1868-1923), King of Greece (reigned: 1913-1917 and 1920-1922). He was succeed by his son Alexander von Glücksburg (1893-1920), King of Greece (reigned: 1917-1920), but after his early death, his father ruled Kingdom of Greece for the second time (another two years). The next king was his oldest son Georg II von Glücksburg (1890-1947), King of Greece (reigned: 1922-1924 and 1935-1947), and after him, the youngest son Paul I von Glücksburg (1901-1964), King of Greece (reigned: 1947-1964). The last one on the Greek’s throne was Paul I von Glücksburg (1940-), King of Greece (reigned: 1964-1973). The only one from above mentioned »Greek rulers« of Greece, who accepted to marry (November 4\(^{th}\), 1919) a Greek woman (Aspasia Manos) was King Alexander, and that was immediately strictly condemned by his family, and especially by his conservative mother, a Prussian Princess, Sophia Dorothea Ulrike Alice von Hohenzollern (1870-1932).
It is precisely in these areas that various chroniclers record the presence of the Vlachs, in addition to those in the non-Greek regions north of them.

When considering the question of Vlachs, one should not neglect the fact that traces of the Slavs were found even on Peloponnese from 6th century until 19th century (it is a personal observation of French linguist Peter Laurent).

Serbian toponyms preserved in Bulgaria, until then, were bulgarized as well as personal names of the population (this process has also happened later in Albania), but also only after the formation of a modern Bulgarian state Principality of Bulgaria (1878-1908) and then Tsardom of Bulgaria (1908-1946).

In the caravan trade, conducted by Vlachs, we often meet with terms such as »katun«, »kramar«, »katunar«, or »ponosnici«, so I will, briefly, explain them.

Katun, was a mediaeval form of local self-government in the Hum Peninsula, and it was consisted of the members of different families (often non-related), who worked for their feudal master.

Kramar (or primitc ur) was a function, or leadership position in the caravan (it was often mentioned in the Dubrovnik’s archive), and it is related to the Vlachs

60 All the regions of the Vlachs have always historically coincided with the domains of Slavic ethnicity.
61 »From their manners, their features, and the names of many of the neighboring places, I should be tempted to regard them as proceeding from Scouvian blood: many travellers pretend, however, to have discovered in these barbarous hordes traces of a Spartan origin.« – Peter Edmund Laurent (1796-1837): „Recollections of a classical tour through various parts of Greece, Turkey, and Italy: Made in the years 1818 & 1819“ (London: George Byrom Whittaker and William Budd Whittaker, 1821, p. 182).
62 Serbian (Cyrillic script): Кнежевина Бугарска; Bulgarian: Княжество България. The first ruler of this German creation was a German Prince Alexander I (1857-1893), Kniaz of Bulgaria (reigned: 1879-1886) from Battenberg dynasty, whose full name was Alexander Joseph von Battenberg. When this German prince abdicated, he was not succeeded by his relative but another German Prince Ferdinand I (1861-1948), Kniaz of Bulgaria (reigned: 1887-1908) and Tsar of Bulgaria (reigned: 1908-1918) but, this time, from Saxe-Coburg and Gotha-Kohary (Catholic cadet branch of the House of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha) dynasty. His full name was Ferdinand Maximilian Karl Leopold Maria von Sachsen-Coburg und Gotha, and he was succeeded by his son Boris III (1894-1943), Tsar of Bulgaria (reigned: 1918-1943), born as Boris Klemens Robert Maria Pius Ludwig Stanislaus Xaver von Sachsen-Coburg und Gotha. Boris was succeeded by his son Simeon II (1937-), Tsar of Bulgaria (reigned: 1943-1946), who's full name was Simeon von Sachsen-Coburg und Gotha. Of course (as expected), neither of these »Bulgarian rulers« did not marry a »Bulgarian woman«, nor had any family ties with »Bulgarians«.
63 Serbian (Cyrillic script): Бугарско царство; Bulgarian: Царство България.
64 Serbian (Cyrillic script): катаун; Latin: cantus; Italian: cantone.
65 Serbian (Cyrillic script): крамар. »Ecce nos dedimus partem solutionis vestri viagii Stiepano vestro cramario.« – SAD (Lam. de For., № XLIII, 123, April 24th, 1473).
66 Serbian (Cyrillic script): кућун; Latin: caputis cathoni.
67 Serbian (Cyrillic script): поносници. »Ponosnici« (this term has Slavic origin) were, in medieval caravan terminology, an armed (Vlach’s) escort.
69 Serbian (Cyrillic script): примићур; Latin: primus in cera.
from the territory of today's Herzegovina and Montenegro. People in this function were »de facto« at the head of a small, armed formation, which was named »pono
nici« (the proud-ones) and it was in charge of escorting and security of caravans (traders and their goods).

Kramar has always been subordinated (due to the contract rules) to a captain (capitaneus turmar), if he, as a representative of a town’s government, was in a caravan; and to a merchant (whose goods were in the caravan). Merchants and go
governments of different towns made deals with Vlachs, in order to ensure safe trans
port of their goods into the hinterland of Hum Peninsula. Katunar was a name for a leader (knyaz) of katun and with him one has made all deals concerning caravan trade. Some important Vlach’s katuns in the hinterland of Dubrovnik were: Banja
ni (Bagnani), Bobani (Bobani / Ibubani), Burmazi (Burmaz / Bormaxi), Vlaho
vič (Vlahouich / Vlahouichi / Vlacouich), Vragović (Vrachouich / Vragouich / Vragouichi), Gledevič (Glegeuich / Gleighueich / Gleighieuichia), Drobnjac (Drobgnaich / Drobignaich / Drogrnas / Drupinach / Idobrignach), Žurovič (Suroichici / Xuroichic / Xuroichici / Xuroichii), Kresojevič (Chersoeu-

70 Vlach, who was a caravan escort guard, armed with a bow, sword and a shield.
71 Serbian (Cyrillic script): kaneman; Latin: capitaneus turmar.
72 »...videleci Radogra Cepernich et Giosdenum ambos de vlachis Bagnani« – SAD (Lam. de For., № XXXV, fol. 174v, August 22nd, 1463). Banjani had their katuns in the areas Jezerko and Piva.
73 »...Vladissauum Uglessich de Bobani de Lug iurisdictionis herceg...« – SAD (Lam. de For., № III, fol. 205v, March 1st, 1419). Bobani had their katuns in the areas Žakovo, Lug, Šćenice and Prosjek, and near the settlement Osojnik, on Dubrovnik’s side.
74 »...Gradettich vlacchus de catono Craisclaui Mergnenouich Burmas...« – SAD (Div. Canc., № XXIV, fol. 129, March 28th, 1376). Burmazi had their katuns in the area of Burmazi village, near Stolac. Some authors, as Serbian geographist Zdravko N. Ivanović (1934-), Albanian historian Zef Mirdita (1907-1985): »Vlakh tribe Žurović« , claim that members of this katun were Albanians assimilated by Slavs (Z. Mirdita: Settlements of the Bosnian medieval state (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1957, p. 24).
75 »...Vlatchus Dobraseuich vlachi Vlachouich vouiude Rodossau...« – SAD (Div. Not., № XX, fol. 23, June 24th, 1435). Vlahovič had their katuns in the area of Vlahovič village, near Ljubinje, which was named after them, and they are also localized near Bisoa area.
76 »...Junach, Milouez fratres Branchouich, Goyanum et eorum fratrem de catono Regoe Vragouich... « – SAD (Lam. de For., № II, fol. 51v, May 1st, 1411). Vragović had their katuns near Trebinje (in Dubrovka and Lug).
77 »...homines vouiude Sandali et supra Stipchum Glegeuich et Braianum et Miricum Stanichnich homines domini regis « – SAD (Lam. de For., № IV, fol. 155v. February 28th, 1420). Gledevič had their katuns at Primilovo polje, in the settlement Gledevci, which was named after them and which is 5-6 km north-west from Ljubinje (near the road to Stolac).
78 »...supra Radiuoi Boxich Drobgnaich morolachum de Prepogle...« – SAD (Lam. de For., № V, fol. 195, September 1st, 1423). Drobnjac had their katuns in Bijela and Prijepolje and in the Jezerko area.
79 »In examining the Dubrovnik records, one can observe how the leadership passed down through a family and trace the changes in the names of the katuns. For example, the katun of Žur Bogunović became, in time, katun Žurović...« – Wayne S. Vucinich (1913-2005): A Study in Social Survival: The Katun in Bileća Rudine”, Monograph Series of World Affairs (Denver: University of Denver, Graduate School of International Studies, 1975, p. 24). »Oko Začule i Kaladurdevića je živjelo vlako pleme Žurović. Vlasi Žurović su bili u XV v. u sastavu zemalja knezova Pavlovića. U blizini Dubrovnika spominje se katun Žura Bogunovića 1367 godine. Kasnije se isti katun naziva Žurović (katun Zuri, Xur, Sur, Xurovič) a od 1437 godine mjesto Kaladurdevića kao i danas...« (»Vlach tribe Žurović lived near
During history, Vlachs were under several noble families, so we can see that Sankovići, important Serbian noble family, controlled Vlach’s families such as...

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Začule and Kaladurđevići. Vlachs Žurovići were under possession of knyazes Pavlovići in the 15th century. Near Dubrovnik, the Catun of Žura Bogunovići was mentioned in 1367. Later the same Catun was named Žurovići [catun Zuri, Xur, Sur, Xurovići] and from 1437 it was named the place Kaladurđevići up to present day...

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Bobani\(^{92}\), Tomic\(^{93}\) and Ugarci/Ugarčić. Here-mentioned Bobani, later (after Sanković family was extinguished), went under rule of Nikolić family and than Kosača, who controlled Ugarci\(^{94}\), too. Pavlovići also controlled different Vlach’s families (Banjanići, Maleševići, Vlatković, Predojević, Pervetinić and Žurović). Žurović family was under jurisdiction of noble Pavlović\(^{95}\) family, then Kosača\(^{96}\) family, and Turks\(^{97}\), at the end.

In North Dalmatia, at the end of the 14\(^{th}\) century, historian Hrabak specifies some families whose names were also the names of local katuns: Krajčić (or Krajčići), Grkavac, Golac, Soković, Mrvčić, Vraktić and Vratchki. The same author, at the beginning of the 15\(^{th}\) century, finds katuns named: Branovac, Grkavac, Mrvšić, Kandidatić, Vizić, Gledevac, Branić and Behošević (or Belošević), i.e. the names of some prominent people from several katuns: Janko, Milgost, Ogolac, Vilkota, Milonja, and Mrvac.\(^{98}\)

It is obvious that almost all of the names listed here have a distinct Slavic character, with only a few of them maybe not, although these »non-Slavic« names could be adopted by the Slavic population (by the acquisition of various political circumstances).

For example, Hrabak, speaking about popular Vlach’s names in Herzegovina, cites following personal names: Bogavac, Milan, Miloje, Milovac, Putnik, Radmil, Radojko, Radovan, Ratko, Stojko, Utješen and Vukmir.\(^{99}\) On the other hand, he underlines only two names amongst them which are Roman (Balduin and Paskaš).\(^{100}\)
Петар Б. Богуновић, Власи у историји Серба и Славена

The area on which the Vlachs appeared during the history
Milica Despina Branković (1487-1554) and Voivode Jovan Njegoje Basarab\(^{101}\) (1482-1521). The exact time of the creation of the fresco is unknown to us, but it is assumed that it was around 1517.

The fresco fragment, separated from the monastery wall during the restoration of the monastery from 1881 to 1886.

The original location of the fresco fragments: Cathedral of Curtea de Argeș / Curtea de Argeș Monastery (Curtea de Argeș, Romania)\(^{102}\)

Place of storage: National Museum of Romanian History\(^{103}\) (Signature №: 131510).

\(^{101}\) Njegoje Basarab, Voivode of Wallachia (reigned: 1512-1521) married a Serbian woman, Milica Branković, in 1504. Njegoje Basarab, has been called Neagoe Basarab in Romania. Milica (Milița Despina) was a fifth daughter of Jovan Branković-Mladenović (1462-1502), Despot of Serbia (reigned: 1493-1502) and his wife Jelena (14?? - after 1529) from a noble Serbian family Jakšić. Along with the royal couple on the fresco, their children are also represented with them (L-R): Jovan (15??-1518), Petar (15??-1519), Teodosije (1505-1522), Stana (1506-1531), Roksanda (150?- posle 1554) and Angelina (15??-1519).

\(^{102}\) Mănăstirea Curtea de Argeș (Curtea de Argeș, România).

\(^{103}\) Muzeul Național de Istorie a României (București, România).
As a reason for occurrence of katuns, historian Branislav Đurđev sees feudal system, which will eventually degrade the older forms of the Slavic society organization.104

When, on March 18th, 1436, from the fortress of Klis a representative of famous Italian noble family in Dalmatia, Giovanni Frangipani105 (13??-1436), Knayz of Krk and Modruš, issued a Charter to Vlachs from Cetina župa (parish), he wrote it in Serbian Cyrillic letter, so they could understand it. Family names cited in this Charter are not Roman: Dražević, Draživojević, Dubravčić, Golešević, Grobačić, Grubišić, Kočić, Kustražić, Mišić, Ostojić, Poznanović, Prodanić, Ročević, Sanković, Vitković, Vojnović, and Vukčić.

In the village Grusi (the north east from Zadar in Northern Dalmatia) during the Gathering of the Upper and Lower Krajina League, the Krajina Statute (Vlach Statute) was adopted in the presence of all Vlachian leaders (harambašes, serdars, judges, etc.) in August 5th, 1654.

The Statute is written in Serbian language and Serbian Cyrillic alphabet.106 The version of the Statute which was translated to the Italian language (made at the same) time is called »Traduzione dal serviano« (»Translation from the Serbian«), and signed by Giovanni Gerolamo Giordani, »Cancelleria della lettera illirica e serviana« (»Chancellor of the Illyrian and Serbian Letter«).

Captain Filip P. Smiljanić107 (1630-1656)108 was charged to take this Statute from the gathering and to hand it to Lorenzo Dolfin109 (1591-1663), Provveditore generale of Dalmatia and Albania (reigned: 1652-1654) in Zadar.110

Archives:

State Archives of Dubrovnik111 (SAD) or National Archive in Dubrovnik / National Archive in Dubrovnik / Dubrovnik Archive – Sponce palace.

104 Branislav Đurđev (1908-1993): „About the influence of Turkish rule on the development of our peoples“ (pp. 19-82), Yearbook of the Historical Association of Bosnia and Herzegovina, № 2 (Sarajevo: Historical Association of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1950, p. 46).
105 Latin: Johannes Frangepanus (or Johannes Francopanus).
106 In historiographical materials, the Serbian Cyrillic alphabet used in this document is often mistakenly called as »Bosančica« (Bosnian Cyrillic), that is the artificial term being invented during the anti-Serbian and anti-Orthodox campaign of the Roman Catholic Church.
107 Serbian (Cyrillic script): Филип Петров Смиљанић (anglicized as Philip P. Smiljanich); Italian: Filippo Smiglianich; English: Philip P. Smiljanich. Provveditore generale claimed Filip as the chief leader of Morlachs in September 16th, 1654.
109 Serbian (Cyrillic script): Љорцо Долфин.
110 Ibid., p. 42.
111 State Archives of Dubrovnik: Diversa Cancelleria, 235 Volumes (1280-1815); Debita Notaria, 98 Volumes (1280-1810); Testamenta de Notaria, 94 Volumes (1282-1894); Diversa Notaria, 147 Volumes (1310-1811); Liber dotium Notaria, 22 Volumes (1348-1802); Sentenze di Cancellaria, 260 Volumes (1352-1815); Aptay de Misericordia, 20 Volumes (1362-1802); Liber Maleficiorum, 247 Volumes (1407-1816); Acta Consilii Minoris, 117 Volumes (1415-1808); Acta Consilii Rogatorum, 210 Volumes (1415-1808); Acta Consilii Maioris, 67 Volumes (1416-1808); Procurae di Notaria, 37 Volu-
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ВЛАСИ У ИСТОРИЈИ СЕРБА И СЛАВЕНА

Сажетак: Овај чланак се бави питањем појма влах, односно његовом генезом, дисперзијом кроз историју, као и географском дистрибуцијом. Такође, он покушава бацити мало више светлости на тај појам, кроз мултидисциплинарни поглед на онај део популације за коју се у прошлости или садашњости назив власи. Циљ је да се кроз својеврсни хронолошки историјски преглед података везаних за власе створи слика о ономе шта они заиста јесу, а шта никад нису били. Дакле, њиме се омогућава читаоцу да сам кроз ове изнесене чињенице схвати заблуде које се у историографској литературе везују за овај појам.

Кључне речи: власи, мурлаци, Серби, Славени, Влашка, Молдавија, Румунска православна црква