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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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¹ 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 Slavonian 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 Đerić (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 Vlachs*«) – Radoslav Grujić (1878-1955) /

This name is closely related to the ancient Slavic³ god Veles⁴ (or Volos). In the Middle Ages, some Vlachs⁵ were partially romanized, but most of them refused that process.⁶

Serbs⁷ from the middle-aged Raška⁸ and Bosnia⁹ named their compatriots from Dubovnik – Vlachs, and later, people from Dubrovnik also referred to Serbs from the interior of Hum peninsula¹⁰ as Vlachs.¹¹

Vasilije Đ. 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, Vlasi, 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 Serviani« (»Morlachs or Serbs«) – R. Grujić / V. Đ. Krestić: „*Apologia of the...*“, 1989, p. 54.

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

⁴ Serbian (Cyrillic script): Велес/Волос; Old Russian: Велесъ/Волосъ; 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): власи.

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): Сербѣ; Greek: Σέρβοι; Latin: Sorabi / Serbi / Servi; German: Sorben / Serben; English: Sorbs / Serbs; Upper Sorbian: Serbja; 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 Serbier 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 Syrmia: 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). »Єдно отъ нѣи, Сербѣи, єдна грана Сармата« (»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 Serbska, 1832, p. 2). »...the Sclavonian race is recognised in Europe are the appellation of Wends, Winden, O.-H.-G. Winidâ, A.-S. Veonodas, 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 жупанија (or Жуна Рашка) / Кнежевина Рашка / Краљевина Рашка; Latin: Rasciæ / Juppania Rasciæ (or Juppa Rasciæ) / Principatus Rasciæ / Regnum Rasciæ.

⁹ Bosnia is one of the historical regions of the medieval Serbia. »regnum Servilie, quod eat Bosna« (»Serbian Kingdom, which is Bosnia«) – Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski (1816-1889): „*The Diplomatic Codex of the Kingdom of Croatia, Dalmatia and Slavonia*“ (1103-1200), Volume II (Zagreb: Društvo za

These Vlachs, who lived in the hinterland of Dubrovnik, or in Raška, Bosnia and Zeta, have been engaged in livestock breeding¹² and caravan 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 Land¹³ (or *Vlaška Land*¹⁴) was in the area of today's Romania, and later (c. 1241)¹⁵ it was also known as Voivodeship of Wallachia¹⁶ (or *Voivodeship of Vlaška*¹⁷), with all typical characteristics of a Slavic state.

jugoslavensku povjest i starine, 1875, p. 148). »*Surbiam autem, que et Transmontana dicitur, in duas divisit provincias: unam a magno flumine Drina contra occidentalem plagam usque ad montem Pini, quam et Bosnam vocavit. Alteram vero ab eodem flumine Drina contra orientalem plagam usque ad Lupiam, et Lab, quam Rassam vocavit.*« (»Serbia in turn, which is also called Zagorje, he divided into the two areas: one from the great river Drina towards the west to the mountain Pina which he yet calls Bosnia, and the other from the same river Drina in the east direction to the Lapije and Labsko lake which he calls Raška.«) – Jaroslav Šidák (1903-1986): „*The chronicle of the Priest of Duklja*“ (Zagreb: *Matica hrvatska*, 1950, pp. 54-55).

¹⁰ Serbian (Cyrillic script): *Хумско полуострво* (Балканско полуострво, or simply Балкан); Latin: *Hæmonia classica / Pæninsula Hæmonia* (*Pæninsula Balcanicæ, or simply Balcanicæ*). »Old Serbs used the word „Hum“ for hill (mountain), while the word „Humka“ meant „mound“. The name *Zahumlje* (Latin: *Zachlunia*), for the area in present western Herzegovina and southern Dalmatia, derived from the original word „Hum“, or in old Serbian language – Хльмъ (*za + Hum*: „behind the Hum“), that, after the transcription into Latin, was changed to – *Zachlunia* (Greek: *Χαχλοῦμων χώρα*: land of *Zachlunians*), or to the latinized form of the basic word „Hum“: *Chelmania, Chelm, Chulmorum, Chulmia u terra de Chelmo* (*Land of Hum*).« – Petar B. Bogunović (1967-): „*BATTLE OF ANGORA: Anno Domini 1402*“ (pp. 13-74), *Chivalrous culture*, № 3 (Belgrade: *Great Priory of the Knights Templar of Serbia*, 2014. p. 49). »*Haemus, hum, hem, holm = domb, hegy, halom. Krobyzi, krivicsi orosz törzsek. Coralli = Gorali, hegyalakók. Triballi = Szrbali, dardániai szerbek.*« (»*Haemus, hum, hem, holm = Haemus Mons [Balkan Mountains – translator's note], hill, mountain, pile [vertical structural element – translator's note]. Kriviches, Krivichi Russian tribe. Coralli = Gorals, Highlanders, Triballi = Serbs, Dardanian Serbs*«) – Ede Margalits / Eduard Margalić (1849-1940): „*Serbian historical repertory*“ (Budapest: *Hungarian Academy of Sciences*, 1918, p. 105).

¹¹ Nikola Vukčević (192?-1982): „*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 Мађара, у Средњем подунављу 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 region*«) – 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*].

¹⁵ »*Around 1241 Radu Negra, said that Duke of Fogeras has founded a voivodeship in Wallachia, which finally fell under Turkish supremacy after the battle of Mohacs in 1526*« – Henry Woldmar Ruoff (1865-1935): „*The Volume Library: A Concise, Graded Repository of Practical and Cultural Knowledge Designed for Both Instruction and Reference*“ (Chicago: *The W.E. Richardson Company*, 1912, p. 179).

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 B. Hrabak¹⁸, about the immigration¹⁹ 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 Mirdita²³ went a step further and he even began to claim that »Vlachs« are a specific nation²⁴, instead of a social-professional 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 Krones²⁵ claimed that Serbs and Croats were a nation (*i.e. a Slavic tribe*), which settled down and assimilated some native Vlach population.²⁶

¹⁸ Serbian (Cyrillic script): *Богумил Храбак*.

¹⁹ Zef Mirdita (1936-2016): „*Vlachs in the Historiography*“ (Zagreb: *Croatian Institute of History*, 2004, p. 168).

²⁰ Vjekoslav Alojzije Ferdinand Franjo Klaić (1849-1928): „*History of Croats from the earliest times to end of 19th century*“, Volume 3 (Zagreb: *Matica hrvatska*, 1985, p. 22).

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 Srbin, 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*).

²² Petar Skok (1881-1956): „*The Arrival of Slavs to the Mediterranean*“, *Maritime Collected Works of the Adriatic Guard*, Volume 1 (Split: *The Adriatic Guard - Croatian Printing House „Stjepan Vidović*, 1934, p. 127). In his works about this topic, Skok almost puts a sign of equality between incompatible concepts of Roman and Vlach.

²³ Serbian (Cyrillic script): *Зеф Мирдита*.

²⁴ Zef Mirdita (1936-2016): „*Vlachs, an old Balkan people: From their first historical appearance until today*“ (Zagreb: *Croatian Institute of History*, 2009, p. 55).

²⁵ Serbian (Cyrillic script): *Франц Кронес фон Маркланд*.

²⁶ »*Dagegen macht der serbocroatische Stamm durch Slawisirung der Wlachen Dalmatiens (Mauromlachen-Morlakken)...«* (»*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 (*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, Branislav Đurđev²⁸, 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 Stojanović³⁰ was concerned about this topics (*he was a professor of history at Rutgers University*) and, following Anglo-Saxon theory about „Great migration of Slavs“, he claimed that Vlachs are descendants of antic Romans³¹ and Celts³². This scientist undeniably described the expansion of Morlachs³³

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 Ђурђевић (anglicized as Branislav Djurdjević).

²⁹ Branislav Đurđev (1908-1993): „The Vojnucs: With reference to the development of Turkish feudalism, and the question of the Bosnian seignorial economy“, Herald of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, № 2 (Sarajevo: National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1947, pp. 108-109).

³⁰ Serbian (Cyrillic script): Трајан Стојановић (anglicized as Trajan Stojanovich)

³¹ »For the Latini, the Danubian Romans in their new Dinaric mountain homes were Nigri Latini, Maurovalachi, or Morlaks: Black Vlachs« – Traian Stoianovich (1921-2005): „Balkan Worlds: The First and Last Europe“ (Armonk/London: M.E. Sharpe, Inc., 1994, p. 127).

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 Morlacchi anticamente chiamati Mazaci, o Mazei, habitatori del Monte Albio nella Dalmatia, in quella parte, che viene al prefente denominata Morlacchia, la quale, al parere de'piu eruditi Geografi, cominciando dal paese 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 Velebit's canal – translator's note].«) – Nicola Berengani (1627-1713): „The History of the wars of Europe since the emergence of the Ottoman Empire in Hungary, 1683 by Nicola Berengani, 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 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), Mazić (Old Herzegovina – today Northwestern Montenegrin area of Piva), Mazić (Plužina, Old Herzegovina – today Montenegro), Mazuka (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 (*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«³⁴ of Morlachs in Dalmatia, or more precisely, in Morlacchia (*English historian and geographist Thomas Salmon published a map in 1766 under the name »Hungary with Turkey in Europe«³⁵, and there is a region »Morlacchia«³⁶ on it*).

In addition to thesis mentioned above, Stojanović divides Vlachs in four geographic groups³⁷, that is, in addition to Western Valachia, he locates three other groups and claims that they are (*mostly*) romanized native inhabitants³⁸ (*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 Wallachia³⁹ (*or Wallachian Moravia*⁴⁰). Inhabitants of this region speak a language very similar to Czech and Slovakian language, which is described by English philologist Hyde Clarke⁴¹ (*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 1766“ (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 (Vlachorynchinos, 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 Rynchinos, 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 Psunj 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.

dants 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 Kuripečič⁴³ (*Austrian Notary from Styria*) recorded his own findings about the origin of the Vlachs, Čići and Martolos.⁴⁴

Herzegovinian bibliographer Đorđe Pejanović⁴⁵ has explained Kuripečič's term »Zigen« in his translation of the original work of this author: »It is obvious that this refer to Чуце or Туће. That name was used by the inhabitants of Čićarija⁴⁶, karst region in the eastern part of Istria (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 Курипечич (anglicized as Benedict Kuripechich).

⁴⁴ »Die anderen sind Surffen / die nennen sie Walachen / und wir neñen sie Zigen oder Marcholosen« (»The others are Serbs, which they call Vlachs, and we call them Čići or Martolos.«) – Benedikt Kuripečič (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). »Benedikt Kuripešič (Benedict Curipeschitz), a Habsburg envoy to Süleyman the Magnificent, who travelled through the Balkans in 1530-1531, as one of „the nations and religions“ in „Lower Bosnia“ (western part of Bosnia), mentioned the Serbs (Surffen), also called the Vlachs (Wallachen), Čići (Zitzen) and Martoloses (Marcholosen).« – Vjeran Kursar (1975): „Being an Ottoman Vlach: On Vlach Identity (Ies), Role and Status in Western Parts of the Ottoman Balkans (15th-18th century)“ (pp. 115-161), Journal of The Center for Ottoman Studies Ankara University, № 34 / Autumn 2013 (Ankara: The Center for Ottoman Studies at the Ankara University, 2014, p. 124).

⁴⁵ Serbian (Cyrillic script): Ђорђе Пејановић (anglicized as Djordje Pejanovich).

⁴⁶ Serbian (Cyrillic script): Тућапуја; Italian: Cicceria, Monti della Vena, German: Tschitschen Boden.

⁴⁷ »Očito je da se ovdje misli na Čiče ili Čiče. Tim imenom zvali su se stanovnici Čičarije, krševite oblasti u Istočnoj Istri (od Trsta do Kranjske), naseljene pravoslavnim Vlasima, doseljenim sa istočne strane Jadrana« – Đorđe P. Pejanović (1878-1962): „Chronicle of travels through Bosnia, Serbia, Bulgaria and Rumelia in 1530“ (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1950, p. 26).



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*): + ІѠ ВЛАДНЦЛА ВОИВѠД

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 ВЛАДНЦЛА ВОИВѠД ГИЪ (abbreviation ГИЪ: ГОСПОДНИЪ)

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 ВЛАДЪ ВОИВѠДА**

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 ВЛАДЪ ВОИВѠДА ГИЪ** (abbreviation ГИЪ: ГОСПОДИИЪ)

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**⁴⁸

Alphabet: **Cyrillic script**

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 Quiclet⁴⁹ mentions Morlachs, who he met on his journey to Constantinople, but he underlines that they are the Serbs.⁵⁰

During his journeys to Dalmatia and Istria (1765, 1770, 1771, 1772 and 1773) Alberto Fortis, Italian Catholic priest⁵¹ (he was a member of the Order of St. Augustine⁵²) recorded, in 1774, various information about the life of Morlachs (who, as he states, call themselves Vlachs⁵³) in his book „Viaggio in Dalmazia“ (Travels into Dalmatia). Fortis did not believe in possibility that Morlachs originated from the Old Romans.⁵⁴

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, Hellenization, Bulgarization 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 Albania⁵⁵ (1914-1917), and Romanianized 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 Romania⁵⁶ (1866-1881) and Kingdom of

⁴⁹ Serbian (Cyrillic script): *Кукле*.

⁵⁰ »...des Morlaques ou Serviens...« (»...Morlachs or Serbs...«) – Quiclet (1???-1658) / Jean Promé (161?-1668): „Travellings of Mr. Quiclet to Constantinople by Land“ (Paris: Jean Promé, 1664, p. 108). »In 1658, another traveller, Frenchman Quiclet, who travelled by coach from the Bosnian town of Zvornik (Izvornik) to Istanbul, informed that all coachmen 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 (*Biblioteca 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 Свеног Августина*; Latin: *Ordo sancti Augustini*.

⁵³ The denomination of Moro-Vlassi, and corruptly Morlacchi, as the inhabitants of the towns call them...« – 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).

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 Vlasi, 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 (ор 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

Romania⁵⁷ (1881-1947), i.e. Hellenized in the regions where in 19th century (*for the first time in history*), again by Germans, was created (1832) Kingdom of Greece⁵⁸ (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 Eitel 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 Tassilo von Hohenzollern (1835-1905). The full name of the King Ferdinand I was Ferdinand von Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen. He was succeeded 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 Ἑλλάδος*. 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 underage, the Regency Council ruled in his name (*in the period of 1832-1835*), headed by German Count Josef Ludwig von Armansperg (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 succeeded 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 4th, 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).

⁵⁹ Roger Dillard Woodard (1951-): „*The Ancient Languages of Europe*“ (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008, p. 51).

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 Slavs⁶⁰ were found even on Peloponnese from 6th century until 19th century (*it is a personal observation of French linguist Peter Laurent*⁶¹).

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 Bulgaria⁶² (1878-1908) and then Tsardom of Bulgaria⁶³ (1908-1946).

In the caravan trade, conducted by Vlachs, we often meet with terms such as »katun«⁶⁴, »kramar«⁶⁵, »katunar«⁶⁶, or »ponosnici«⁶⁷, 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.⁶⁸

Kramar (*or primićur*⁶⁹) 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 Sclavonian 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), Knyaz 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), Knyaz of Bulgaria (reigned: 1887-1908) and Tsar of Bulgaria (reigned: 1908-1918) but, this time, from Saxe-Coburg and Gotha-Koháry (*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), whos 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*): *катун*; 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*): *катунар*; Latin: *caputis cathoni*.

⁶⁷ Serbian (*Cyrillic script*): *поносници*. »*Ponosnici*« (*this term has Slavic origin*) were, in medieval caravan terminology, an armed (*Vlach's*) escort.

⁶⁸ Milenko S. Filipović (1902-1969): „*Structure and Organization of the Medieval Katun*“, Symposium on Medieval Katun (*held on the 24th and 25th of November 1961*), Special Editions Volume 2, Department of Historical-Philological Sciences, Volume 1 (Sarajevo: *Social Society of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina*, 1963, p. 44).

⁶⁹ Serbian (*Cyrillic script*): *примихур*; 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 formation⁷⁰, which was named »*ponosnici*« (*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 captain⁷¹ (*capitaneus turmæ*), 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 governments of different towns made deals with Vlachs, in order to ensure safe transport 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: Banjani⁷² (*Bagnani*), Bobani⁷³ (*Bobani / Iubani*), Burmazi⁷⁴ (*Burmas / Bormaxi*), Vlahovići⁷⁵ (*Vlachouich / Vlachouichi / Vlacouich*), Vragovići⁷⁶ (*Vrachouich / Vragouich / Vragouichi*), Gledevići⁷⁷ (*Glegeuich / Gleghieuich / Gleghieuichia*), Drobnjaci⁷⁸ (*Drobnach / Drobnigačich / Drognaz / Dropgnach / Drupinach / Idobrignach*), Žurovići⁷⁹ (*Surouichi / Xurouich / Xurouichi / Xurouichi*), Kresojevići⁸⁰ (*Cherso-*

⁷⁰ Vlach, who was a caravan escort guard, armed with a bow, sword and a shield.

⁷¹ Serbian (*Cyrillic script*): *kaneman*; Latin: *capitaneus turmæ*.

⁷² »...*videlicet Radogna Cepernich et Guosdenum ambos de vlahis Bagnani*...« – SAD (Lam. de For., № XXXV, fol. 174v, August 22nd, 1463). Banjani had their katuns in the areas Jezero 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 vlahchus 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 (1936-2016), claim that members of this katun were Albanians assimilated by Slavs (Z. Mirdita: »*Vlachs in the...*«, 2004, p. 168) while, at the other hand, Croatian historian Marko Veگو was more careful in his conclusions and he claimed that katun's name was non-Slavic, i.e. Ilirian. Marko Veگو (1907-1985): »*Settlements of the Bosnian medieval state*« (Sarajevo: *Svjetlost*, 1957, p. 24).

⁷⁵ »...*Vlatchus Dobraseuich vlahi Vlachouich voiuode Radossau*...« – SAD (Div. Not., № XX, fol. 23, June 24th, 1435). Vlahovići had their katuns in the area of Vlahovići village, near Ljubinj, which was named after them, and they are also localized near Bioska area.

⁷⁶ »...*Iunach, Milouez fratres Branchouich, Goyanum et eorum fratrem de catono Regoe Vragouich*...« – SAD (Lam. de For., № II, fol. 51v, May 1st, 1411). Vragovići had their katuns near Trebinje (*in Dubrava and Lug*).

⁷⁷ »...*homines voiuode Sandali et supra Stipchum Glegeuich et Braianum et Mircum Stanichnich homines domini regis*...« – SAD (Lam. de For., № IV, fol. 155v, February 28th, 1420). Gledevići had their katuns at Primilovo polje, in the settlement Gledevci, which was named after them and which is 5-6 km north-west from Ljubinj (*near the road to Stolac*).

⁷⁸ »...*supra Radiuoi Boxich Drobnach morolachum de Prepogle*...« – SAD (Lam. de For., № V, fol. 195, September 1st, 1423). Drobnjaci had their katuns in Bijela and Prijepolje and in the Jezero 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 Kaladžurđevića je živjelo vlaško pleme Žurovići. Vlasi Žurovići 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 Žurovići (catun Zuri, Xur, Sur, Xurović) a od 1437 godine mjesto Kaladžurđevići kao i danas*...« (»*Vlach tribe Žurovići lived near*

ich / Chresoeuichi / Cresoeuich / Cressoeuich / Criesoeuichi / Criesoeuichii / Icessoyeuich), Kutlovići⁸¹ (*Cutlouich / Cutlouichii / Icutlouich*), Maleševci⁸² (*Malaseuīci / Malesseueç / Mallesauetz / Malleseuich / Millessouich*), Mirilovići⁸³ (*Mirillouich / Mirilouich / Mirilouichi*), Pilatovci⁸⁴ (*Pilatouaç / Pilatouci / Pilatouzi / Pillatouci / Pillatouci / Pillatouich*), Pliščiči⁸⁵ (*Plescich / Pliescha / Plische*), Predojevići⁸⁶ (*Predoeuīç / Predoeuich / Predoeuich / Predoeuich / Priedoeuichi / Priedoeuichii*), Primilovići⁸⁷ (*Primillouich / Primilouich*), Riđani⁸⁸ (*Righiani / Rigiana / Rigiani / Rigyani*), Tomići⁸⁹ (*Thomich / Tomichii*), Ugarci⁹⁰ (*Garza / Ugarach / Ugarçi / Ugarzi*), etc.

During history, Vlachs were under several noble families, so we can see that Sankovići, important Serbain noble family⁹¹, controlled Vlach's families such as

Začule and Kaladžurđevići. Vlachs Žurovići were under possession of knyazes Pavlovići in the 15th century. Near Dubrovnik, the Catun of Žura Bogunović was mentioned in 1367. Later the same Catun was named Žurovići [catun Zuri, Xur, Sur, Xurovič] and from 1437 it was named the place Kaladžurđevići up to present day...« – M. Vego: „Settlements of the...“, 1957, p. 132. »...Milorad Vladicich vllacchos voyuode Radossau Paulouich Xurouich...« – SAD (Lam. de For., № X, fol. 160, March 31st, 1434). The knyazes Pavlovići remained the rulers of the Catun Žurovići up to 1463. Žurovići had their katuns in the area of Dubrovnik's hinterland.

⁸⁰ »...*Goychus Chersoeuich morovlachi de catune Chersoeuich...«* – SAD (Deb. Not., № VIII, fol. 169v, May 1st, 1379). Kresojevići had their katuns in Plana and nearby areas (in Rudine region).

⁸¹ »...*Voyslauus Stresouich vlachi de catuno Cuthlouich...«* – SAD (Deb. Not., № IX, fol. 192, May 26th, 1383). Kuglovići had their katuns in Tribimlja (in Popovo area).

⁸² »...*contra et aduersus Vocazium Dubraucich de vlachis Malesseuci...«* – SAD (Lam. de For., № XLI, fol. 4v, December 6th, 1468). Maleševci had their katuns in the areas of Rudine, Kute and Korita, and near settlements in the wider area of Rudine. Radmilo B. Pečić (1969-): „Maleševci in Bileća's Rudine“ (pp. 21-51), Collection of Research Works, Volume XLVI (3)/2016 (Kosovska Mitrovica: Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Priština, 2016, p. 22).

⁸³ »...*in Rudine Billegia in caton de Duoe Mirilouich pascendo...«* – SAD (Div. Canc., № XXX, fol. 5v, March 23rd, 1393). Mirilovići had their katuns in the area of Rudine (near Bileća), i.e. Hrasno.

⁸⁴ »...*Vladoye Pillatouich vlachi de cathono Pillatouich...«* – SAD (Div. Canc., № XXXV, fol. 195, June 22nd, 1405). »...*Radoe Bosigchouich de villa Pilatouzi ad Bilechia omni jure...«* – SAD (Div. Canc., № LXIX, fol. 16, October 24th, 1459). Pilatovci had their katuns near village Pilatovci, in Bileća area.

⁸⁵ »...*Volcoslauo Plescich comite vllacorum omnium domini regis Rassie et Bossine...«* – SAD (Deb. Not., № IX, fol. 106, February 15th, 1382). Pliščiči had their katuns near Gacko (there is a necropolis at *Veliko groblje, near Stepen*), Samobor, Cernica and Rudine, north of Ljubomir and Trebinje, and Modrič was their main settlement.

⁸⁶ »...*Obrado Giurgeuich de vlachis Priedoeuichii...«* – SAD (Lam. de For., № XLII, fol. 177v, November 29th, 1470). Predojevići had their katuns in the area of Bileća.

⁸⁷ »...*Bogaueç Triesoeuich morovlachi catoni Branchi Primilouich...«* – SAD (Div. Canc., № XXIV, fol. 147, May 26th, 1376). Primilovići had their katuns at Primilovo Polje, near Ljubinje.

⁸⁸ »...*supra Dragossium de Righian vllacchum caputis cathoni et supra Vuchoye Voglicich et reliquos dicti cathoni...«* – SAD (Lam. de For., № III, fol. 97, September 19th, 1413). Riđani had their katuns near Vrsinje.

⁸⁹ »*Ego Mirchus Branouich de chatono Thomich confiteor quod loco me et operas meas ad standum cum Marino de Ponçi de Ragusio...«* – SAD (Div. Canc., № XXXI, fol. 112, August 3rd, 1394).

⁹⁰ »...*Obrad Boroieuch morolachus et chatonarius catoni vocatu Ugarçi...«* – SAD (Div. Not., № XII, fol. 337, June 30th, 1419). Ugarci had their katuns near Ljubomir and Rudine.

⁹¹ »...*Çeroueç Bogoeuich, Merglia Bratoglieuich, Stiepan Nenchouich et Millas Millatchouich de Thomich homines zupani Belliach...«* – SAD (Div. Canc., № XXIX, fol. 76, March 27th, 1390).

Bobani⁹², Tomić⁹³ and Ugarci/Ugarčić. Here-mentioned Bobani, later (*after Sanković family was extincted*), went under rule of Nikolić family and than Kosača, who controlled Ugarci⁹⁴, too. Pavlovići also controlled different Vlach's families (*Banjani, Maleševci, Vlatković, Predojević, Pervetinić and Žurović*). Žurović family was under jurisdiction of noble Pavlović⁹⁵ family, then Kosača⁹⁶ family, and Turks⁹⁷, at the end.

In North Dalmatia, at the end of the 14th century, historian Hrabak specifies some families whose names were also the names of local katuns: Krajšić (*or Krajčić*), Grkavac, Golac, Soković, Mrvčić, Vraktić and Vratković. The same author, at the beginning of the 15th century, finds katuns named: Branovac, Grkavac, Mrvšić, Kandidatić, Vizić, Gleđevac, Braničić 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

»...Chergneta Druschouich, Meglia Bratoeuch, Craimil Medosseuch, Çuetchus Dobrouitich homines Belliachi Semchouich de catono de Tomich...« – SAD (Div. Canc., № XXIX, fol. 103, June 17th, 1390).

⁹² Esad Kurtović (1965-): „*The Bobani Vlachs*“ (Sarajevo: *Society for the Study of Medieval Bosnian History „Stanak“ – History Department of the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Sarajevo*, 2012, p. 53).

⁹³ Esad Kurtović (1965-): „*Seigneurs of the Herzegovinian Vlachs*“ (pp. 647-695), *Collection of Research Works „Hum and Herzegovina Through the History“* (Zagreb: *Croatian Institute of History*, 2011, p. 650).

⁹⁴ Esad Kurtović (1965-): „*The Dubravčići, Ugarci Vlachs from the Ljubomir Area*“ (pp. 107-122), *Historical Review*, Volume 57 (Belgrade: *Institute of History Belgrade*, 2008, p. 107).

⁹⁵ »...domino Rectore ser Jacobo de Sorgo fecit lamentum supra Nenoie, Oliuerium et Vuchotam fratres Stepanouichi Xurouichi et Vuchassinum Oliuerouich et Iuanis Nenoieuch homines vaiuode Iuanis Paulouich...« – SAD (Lam. de For., № XXII, fol. 289, December 6th, 1449). »...Radosau Budisalich dauanti miser lo Rector ser Vladisau de Goze fa lamento soura Yuanis Nenoieuch de Surouichi homo de Petar Paulouich...« – SAD (Lam. de For., № XXVII, fol. 128, October 21st, 1454).

⁹⁶ »...Gliuboe Radoeuch omnes de Xurouichii vlachis jurisdictionis herceg siue jurisdictionis comitis...« – SAD (Lam. de For., № XXXVI, fol. 140, February 8th, 1465).

⁹⁷ »...de vlachis Xurouichii jurisdictionis Turcorum...« – SAD (Lam. de For., № XXXVII, fol. 95, September 30th, 1465).

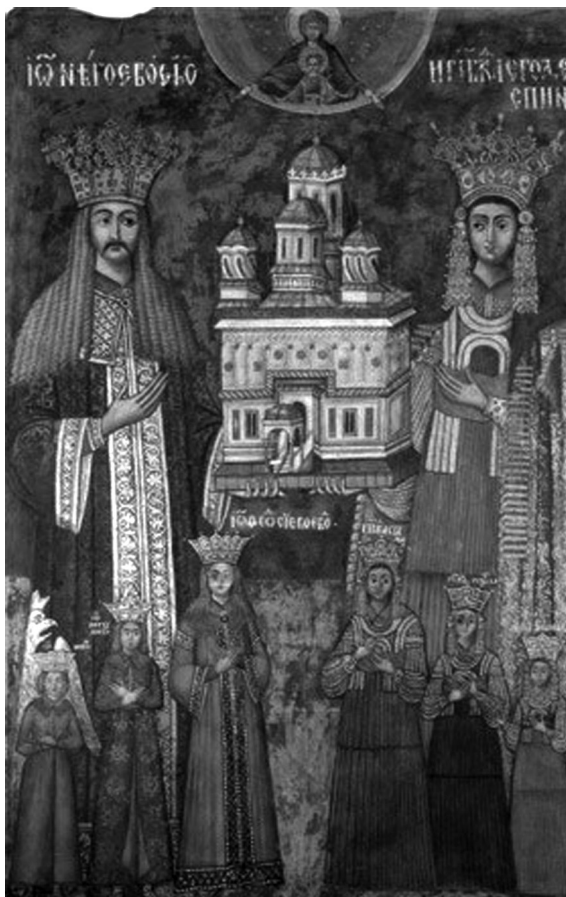
⁹⁸ B. B. Hrabak: „*Settling of Herzegovinian...*“, 1990, pp. 78-80.

⁹⁹ B. B. Hrabak: „*Settling of Herzegovinian...*“, 1990, p. 79.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 81.



The area on which the Vlachs appeared during the history



Milica Despina Branković (1487-1554) and Voivode Jovan Njegoje Basarab¹⁰¹ (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 Neagoje 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), Knyaz 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, Kustrazić, Milić, 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, »*Cancelliere 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 Смљанић* (anglicized as *Philip P. Smiljanich*); Italian: *Filippo Smigianich*; English: *Philip P. Smiljanich*. Provveditore generale claimed Filip as the chief leader of Morlachs in September 16th, 1654.

¹⁰⁸ Bogumil B. Hrabak (1927-2010): „*Characters and events from the Serbian past: Smiljanić family, the falcons from Zadar*“ (Belgrade: *Prosveta*, 1953, p. 42).

¹⁰⁹ Serbian (*Cyrillic script*): *Лоренцо Долфин*.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

¹¹¹ State Archives of Dubrovnik: *Diversa Cancellariæ*, 235 Volumes (1280-1815); *Debita Notariæ*, 98 Volumes (1280-1810); *Testamenta de Notariæ*, 94 Volumes (1282-1894); *Diversa Notariæ*, 147 Volumes (1310-1811); *Liber dotium Notariæ*, 22 Volumes (1348-1802); *Sentenze di Cancellariæ*, 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); *Procuræ di Notaria*, 37 Volu-

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ВЛАСИ У ИСТОРИЈИ СРБА 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 везује назив власи. Циљ је да се кроз својеврсни хронолошки историјски преглед података везаних за влахе створи слика о ономе шта они заиста јесу, а шта никад нису били. Дакле, њиме се омогућава читаоцу да сам кроз овде изнесене чињенице схвати заблуде које се у историографској литератури везују за овај појам.

Кључне речи: власи, морлаци, Срби, Славени, Влашка, Молдавија, Румунска православна црква