

The Vlachs - People Formed Around a Dynasty

By Stefan Staretu*

Serbian kings were co-heirs to the Arpad dynasty, Stefan Dragutin and his son, Stefan Vladislav, son of the eldest daughter of the last significant Arpad king. His Angevin adversaries, descendants of a younger sister of Dragutin's wife, had the support of the papacy. In the Hungarian regions where Dragutin and Vladislav's supporters had estates, Serbian Vlachs were colonized. In the Krasso region, where even today the population is bilingual in Serb and Vlach and has a mixed identity, in which Serb and Vlach are interchangeable, the same, and which onomastically preserve all the main family names that Vlach nobility in counties colonized later from this region, such as Maramoros or Hunyad has (this is the Crisov land mentioned in the Roman and Vlachata medieval narrative, the first land settled by the Serb Vlachs under Dragutin in Hungary from which they later spread). In the Hunyad County, where the wedding of Dragutin's son, Vladislav, and Laszlo Kán's daughter took place, the first Vlachs from Serbia came as reinforcement of the political enterprise of the Nemanjic dynasty as a successor of the Arpad line, despite a papal ex-communication. Afterwards, in the areas of Miklos Pok (Maramaros, Ugocsa, Bereg), another ally of Dragutin, influenced by Andrew of Halics, another wave of Serbian Vlach colonists came, the ancestors of Maramaros nobility. In the acts of the Catholic Church in Câmpulung Muscel, a note about Negru Vodă's wife is preserved. She is called Katalin, the daughter of the Hungarian King. This implies the identity between the semi-legendary XVIIIth century figure of Negru Vodă and Dragutin. Negru Vodă probably is a translation of Maurovlach, black Vlach. Heraldry common to Serbia, Bosnia, Wallachia, and Moldavia, the Ethiopic heads, supports the identity between Hungarian Wallachia, and Nemanjic Serbia, and the origin of its dynasty from the Nemanjic. This genealogic identity is preserved in the painted family tree of Curtea de Argeș, where Neagoe Basarab implies the symbolism of the 12 tribes of Israel to suggest the political unity of Serbian Vlachs in the ottoman regions and the colonized north.

Introduction

A people united by a single language cannot crystallize in a frame characterized by the absence of centralized authority. Different groups of shepherds isolated in their mountains, framed just by transhumant contact, cannot explain the Vlachs' genealogical, linguistic, and social coherence. Another model must be taken into account.

I propose in this text a new model concerning the functioning of the peoples of the Balkans, based on the centrality of their own dynastic, monarchic

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structures, which as concentric circles of authority frame and structures language, customs, religion, state, and is the root of their individuality.

Following these patterns of analysis, I believe that the formation of the Vlachs as ethnicity is determined by and generated around the Serbian medieval dynasty. I think that all available evidence concerning the documentary presence, the judicial status, and the genealogical pattern that can be reconstructed with great accuracy shows that the Vlachs got formed in their entirety as part of the medieval Serbian monarchy.

The Serbian monarchy was formed in the middle Carolingian age when rulers of different military structures organized in the valleys of the Dinaric Alps appear to be shaped after the destruction of the Avars and under pressure from Bulgarian expansion.

In this period, the people here followed a pattern of development very similar to the pattern of the Vikings¹, with which they were strictly contemporaneous in their dependence on the Byzantine authority.

The Vikings were Varangians, old Roos people having strong kingly structures in their fiords and Baltic strongholds but served as nomadic mercenaries for the Byzantines or the Carolingians. The name with which they were referred in Scandinavia was different from the name with which they were referred in their diasporic nomadic mercenary service for the Byzantines. They were called Roos, Russians, in Scandinavia, but Varangians, Vikings as designating the structures which they formed in Constantinople or in the Balkans to serve Byzantine military objectives, to protect different strategic examples, or to confront the enemies of the empire. They did not definitively settle in any of these structures, which did not emerge as states of monarchies, but they returned to Scandinavia where the monarchies there consolidated benefitting from the Byzantine experience.

Diokleea, Raska, and Nemanjic Dynasty

I believe that the Vlachs followed from the VIII till the XIV centuries a similar model. Called Serbs when applied to their kingdoms in Serbia, kingdoms like Diokleea or Raska, Hum or Travunia, and Vlachs when in military service as mercenaries for the Byzantines, Bulgarians, Turkic peoples (Pechenegs or Cumans) or Hungarians, they never permanently settled the areas in which their diasporic military services were employed but formed temporary, nomadic structures following the need of their employers, tending to return to their base in

1. Martin J. Dougherty, *The Dark' Ages – From the Sack of Rome to Hastings* (Amber Books Ltd., 2019); Dougherty, *Norse Myths – Viking Legends of Heroes and Gods* (Amber Books Ltd., 2016).

Serbia and afterward searching another commission where a new generation was employed for the needs of the circumstances.

This is why if we examine with an intensely critical method the spurious documentary evidence of the Vlachs in the period, the same pattern as the evidence that comes from the Varangians-Vikings appears². The same military contexts, the same geographical areas, the same social context, with specificities regarding the pastoral basis for the sustenance of the Vlachs and the maritime basis of the Vikings.

Diokleea and Raska appear as the Scandinavia of the Vlachs in numerous sources, and their ethnological cyclical return to the fatherland mimicking some bees returning to their hive will be investigated below.

After the consolidation of the Nemanjic kingdoms, a differentiation appears between the population that became committed exclusively to the new state, and the groups that conserved their mercenary way of life. This model appears also in Scandinavia, where the early Danes or Swedes refer to the clans that kept the connection to Byzantium using the exonym, because of fiscal and property differences. This is the explanation for the existence in Serbia of a stable, fixed population, the Serbs, and the mobile population, the Vlachs. The Serbs are the Danes, the fixed aristocracy, emerging from the leadership of the old Vlach clans, that permanently resided in Diokleea and Raska and formed the basis for the state life there. The Vlachs are the periphery of the same clans, that maintain their nomadic military way of life in the service of different regional powers, but retain a basis in Serbia. This double structure, present in the early Scandinavian kingdoms as well, assured the expansion of Serbia in the Balkans following the roots of this military service, as in the case of the Vikings' expansion into what would become Kievan Rus, which retains in their early chronicles the difference between the Russians, the Rus, the fixed stable aristocracy based on agriculture, and the Varangians, the same Russians when they preferred to cyclically serve in the Byzantine military.

This model emerging in Serbia explains why the Serbian population that came out of Serbia after the boom of the Nemanjic dynasty, Vlachs migrating in Byzantine Macedonia, Bulgaria, or Hungary is called exclusively by the name Vlach, although it contained social stratum from both the stable aristocracy and from the pastoral military.

But how was this population formed in the first place? After the fall of the Eastern Roman Empire, the old Roman population of the Balkans migrated from their cities in the Dinaric highlands and to the coastal Adriatic cities. This migration formed a unified ethnic-genetical region, in Diokleea and Raska, where a single genealogical matrix emerged, and a single process of language shift from the provincial East Roman language to a bilingual Slave-Latin language spoken equally alongside a prevalent Slavic language emerged.

2. Ibid.

What was conserved was the gravitation of this entire ethnic system around a dynastical structure, which conserves the important role of the emperor, mostly originating amid the same population of the Roman Danubian provinces, the so-called Illyrian emperors, in the centuries before the fall of the Danubian limes. This social structure of the Roman Danubian provinces, centered around a pattern of family continuity in assuming the imperial function due to a military service very similar at the level of the Roman army to what the Vikings and the Vlachs did in the later Carolingian and Byzantine periods, emerging from the continuity of the origin of the emperors from the Balkans in the III-VI centuries, was conserved after the compression of the population in the area of the Drina, Lim, Tara, and Ibar valleys.

This gave rise to the different rulers, which followed a Carolingian cultural framework, and gradually adopted Carolingian Christianity after a period of noninstitutional religion. This period gave rise to confusion, the people separating the institutional Christianity of the coastal cities, which they deemed Latin or Roman, from the pagan-like mountains, a source of the confusion surrounding the origin of this population and their separation from the *Romeic* Byzantine status. Thus, legends about a north Danubian origin, from a mythical and progressively Slavic Dacia, or White Serbia, a confusion with the Croats, which remained in the patterns of mythologization that surrounded the Danubian reservoir of emperors in the III-IV centuries, linked for prestige motives with the Dacian legacy, a non-Roman cliché of barbarian masculinity, monopolized the public discourse in Byzantine sources concerning this people, linked to the Danish/Varangian appropriation of Dacia emerging in the same period and the same discourse, due to a similar way of life.

In this period, we have Vlach military seminomadic settlement from Serbia in Byzantium, we have vague recollections of Vlach's similar activity in Hungary and Bulgaria, but the most important process comes from the consolidation of a kingdom, a Carolingian-like kingdom in Serbia. This kingdom, which reached its height during Constantine Bodin, will have the force to proclaim its dynasty as the last Bulgarian dynasty. This will be the source for the Asan dynasty, chiefs of a group settled from Serbia to central Haemus for military reasons by the Byzantines that seized power and constructed the second Bulgarian state.

Afterward, as Serbia became centralized, we see that the monasteries conserve within their estates, pockets of Vlach nomadic military, central to international recognition of the Serbian military power, by assuring expansion. As the Serbian state expands, it establishes monasteries that become colonizing centers for the mobile population that afterward settle following the agricultural aristocratic feudal pattern. The difference between Serbs and Vlachs in this legislation is not the same as the difference between the Roman population and the Frankish population or other Germanic populations in kingdoms of western Europe, as the difference appears the same in the Byzantine legislation regarding monastic Vlachs, without implying the ethnical difference between the *Romeic*

Greeks and the Romanic Vlachs, both inheritors of the same eastern Roman empire before 600 A.D.

This is a political and military distinction, accentuated by the references to the interdiction of the settled aristocracy to adopt a Vlach mobile way of life, not because of an ethnic linguistic difference, but because of political multitasking, such as similarly the great Scandinavian feudal kingdoms that maintained Varangian Viking structures' way into the XIth century, or as English pirates remained a force for Britain in the XVIth century colonial race.

The places' names relating to the earliest stratum of colonization in Thessaly-Pindus, like Servia linked to the Byzantine sources, including a Byzantine emperor, to the Vlachs that came there from Diokleia, or the numerous Bulgarian charters and church-dedication inscription making reference to the Nemanjić origin of the Asan dynasty or some of its branches, from Saint Simeon or Saint Stefan Prvovencani directly, comes as a confirmation of a single identity for the settled Serbs and the nomad military Vlachs, as the Normans in Sicily and Constantinople had churches dedicated to norman saints like Thomas Becket³ or Saints Boris and Gleb or Saint Vladimir.

In a Ragusa chronicle, these words describe the society of the Adriatic fortress in its beginnings: *A division of the inhabitants was established in Ragusa. Thus, when the inhabitants of the Lower Wallachian fortress came, self-sustaining castes were established. Many Wallachians were wealthy. They formed the Parliament of the Citadel, dividing the population into three states: first the nobles, then the townspeople, and then the common people, for they had come from Wallachia with many servants. The third part was the nobles, for from the beginning many had fled from Serbia and Bosnia, and who were not people of low condition, for they were tributaries, many being captains or counts or governors, being of noble origin. The nobles received the government of the country, or other services, and only formed the Parliament. The first of them was Pavlimir Belo.*⁴

This Vlach named Pavlimir Belo is known as the restorer of the kingdom of Serbia, known since then as the kingdom of Diokleia⁵, will be the founder of the dynasty that will become known as the Nemanjić Dynasty. His son Krajina, lord of Trebinje, will have as a descendant, Hvalimir, who will give birth to Cucimir, Dragomir's father, and Stefan Vojislav's grandfather, grandfather of King Diocletian Constantin Bodin, the last tsar of the first Bulgarian tsar under the name of Peter. Constantin Bodin will have Petrislav as his brother, who will be the father of a Vukan. Vukan has as his son Uroš I, whose son Zavida will be the father of St. Simeon Nemanja, the founder of the Nemanjić dynasty⁶.

3. Dirk Booms and Peter Higgs, *Sicily: Culture and Conquest* (The British Museum Press, 2016), 241.

4. <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/55332/53332-h/55332-h.htm>; Andrei Pippidi, *Documente privind locul românilor în sud-estul Europei* (Academia Română, 2018), 23-24.

5. Brill.com/view/book/9789004447639/BP000012.xml?rkey=iglk57&result=4.

6. Tibor Zivkovic, *Portreti srpskih vladar: IX-XII vek* (Beograd, 2006), 119-124.

Simultaneously with the flourishing of the Diokleia monarchy, a revolt of a certain *Niculița*, archon of the Vlachs and diocese of Servia takes place in the Serbian city of Thessaly⁷. Various authors who will describe his actions will say that his homeland is the land of Hum, often phonetically deformed so that it can be confused with Haemus, but undoubtedly is Hum, Zahumlja who had his capital in Trebinje, the residence of Pavlimir Belo, the ancestor of the Nemanjić dynasty, Diokleia dynasty, Serbia. Constantine Porphyrogenitus mentions that this city, Servia in Greece, is named after the Serbs, a refugee people from the Roman imperial provinces of the Danube at the time of the Danube Empire collapse⁸. At the time, he was writing *De administrando imperii*, the capital of a region already called Megali Vlachia of Greece. The process of the arrival of some Vlachs who were also called Serbs in the area of Thessaly is being pushed back in time. They will create a military center that will be known by their ethnic name, Servia, while the region will be known as Great Vlachia.

In the XIth century, after the fall of the Bulgarian state, a Serbian aristocrat from Diokleia, Nestor, called Illyrian or Vlach, will lead a detachment of troops from Diokleia sent to help the Byzantine army on the Lower Danube⁹. Paisie's Chronicle from Hilandar will recount the origins of Diokleia, from Cattaro, Kotor, of Vlachs from the Tarnovo area, deported from Serbia for military purposes¹⁰. Later, in the rhymed chronicle of Philippe Mouskes, written around 1240, we have the following reference to the Asan dynastic family: *Si fist il rois un mariage/ Que rois Ausens l'ot en plevie/Ki sire iert et rois de Servie*¹¹.

A certain Caloian places an inscription on his foundation in the old Serdica, in which he talks about his dynastic families like this: *This holiest church of the Hierarch of Christ the Most Holy Nicholas and the holy and honest martyr of Christ Pantelimon was built at the expense, under the care and great love of Kaloian, the emperor's sevastokrator relative of St. Stephen King of Serbia*¹².

Emperor Constantine Asan of Bulgaria will write about the origin of the Asan family the following in a letter issued for St. George's Monastery in Skopje: *following Simeon Nemanja, the father of my kingdom*¹³.

7. Florin Curta, *Southeastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 500-1200* (Cambridge Medieval Textbooks), 246; Curta, "Imaginea vlahilor la cronicarii cruciadei a IV-a. Până unde răzbate ecoul discuțiilor intelectuale de la Constantinopol?" *Arheologia Moldovei* XXXVIII (2015): 25-68.

8. Constantin Porfirogenetul, *De administrando imperii*, 950.

9. [Ebooks.unibuc.ro/istorie/ideologie/5.htm](http://ebooks.unibuc.ro/istorie/ideologie/5.htm).

10. http://www.makedonskatribuna.com/BROJ_24_SLAVO-BULGARE.pdf.

11. Pierre Courroux, "Philippe Mousket, Aubri de Troisfontaines et la date de composition de la Chronique rimee," *Medioevo Romanzo* 39, no. 2 (2015): 419-434.

12. Srdjan Pirivatric, *The Boyana Church Portraits. A Contribution to the Prosopography of Sebastokrator Kaloyan*, 12-35.

13. Srdjan Pirivatric, *Une hypothese sur l'origine du Tsar de Bulgarie Constantin Asen –Tich* (Belgrad : Recueil des travaux de l'Institut d'études byzantines XLVI, 2009), 313-331.

Ioniță Caloian mentions in his famous letter to the Pope of Rome his illustrious ancestors Peter and Samuel¹⁴. Peter is none other than Constantine Bodin, the ancestor of St. Simeon Nemanja, and Samuel is the father of Gabriel Radomir, the father-in-law of Stephen Voislav, the king of Diokleia mentioned above, the ancestor of Bodin.

Vukan, the eldest son of St. Simeon Nemanja, writes to Pope Innocent III reminding him that his family, St. Simeon's, is pope-related¹⁵.

In the legend of *Roman and Vlahata*, it is said that people with Roman blood came from Diokleia in Hungary, under the protection of King Vladislav and of Archbishop Sava, in whom we see a son of St. Stephen Dragutin, who sought to take over the Arpadian throne at the time of the Arpadian dynasty ending and the emergence of the Angevins, and Sava II, his contemporary hierarch. These Serbs and Vlachs, symbolized by the characters Roman and Vlahata, will have settled in the Carașova region, called Criș in the text, from where they will then emigrate to Moldova via Maramureș¹⁶.

During this period, the Serbian church and the medieval Serbian elites will settle in administrative areas called banat on the southern border of Hungary, the Serbian Kingdom of Srem, important centers such as Vidin ruled by Jupan Dragoș became metropolises of Serbia,¹⁷ and Serbian ethnic centers (see Figure 1)¹⁸.

14. Curta, *Imaginea vlahilor la cronicarii cruciadei a IV-a. Până unde răzbate ecoul discuțiilor intelectuale de la Constantinopol?* 2015, 25-68.

15. O. Hageneder, W. Maleczek, and A. A. Strnad (Eds.), *Die Register Innozenz' III* (Wien: Verlag der Osterreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1979), 324.

16. P. P. Panaitescu, *Cronicile slavo-române din sec. XV-XVI, publicate de Ion Bogdan* (București: Editura Academiei R.P.R., 1959), 158-161.

17. Metropolitan Mitrofan of Vidin, Metropolitan of the Serbian Church signing a document for Dușan's Vatoped together with other Serbian synod colleagues in 1345, source Bistra Nikolova, *Ustrojstvo i upravljenie na Bălgarskata Pravoslavna Zărkva*, IX-XIV vek (Sofia, 1997), 214.

18. Parte Occidentale dell Europa, Descritta e Dedicata Dal P. Cosmografo Coronelli, Ail Illustrissimo Signore Giovanni Da Mula, Senatore Amplissimo Nella Serenissima Republica di Venetia, 1690 (Budapest, Stiefel Kft., 2004).

Figure 1. Map of Serbia in Southwestern Wallachia, Including Vidin: Overview and Detail¹⁹



19. Ibid.

On another map from the 16th century²⁰, Oltenia and the Hungarian Banat are named *Rascia*. The capital of this so-called entity is given to Târgu Jiu, named after Zsil, the Hungarian name, as it appears on another map, above. Putna in the Vrancea area is named after him, and Putna Monastery, founded by Stephen the Great, is named *Ștefanoputna*.

In the area of Serbia, there is a place reminiscent of Jupan Dragoș. Here on this map, we cover the distance from Dragoș to Stephen the Great, from Serbia to Putna, *Sfânta dinastie Drăgoșească/ The Holy Dragoș dynasty* according to the lost inscription from Putna²¹, which we have referred to in other papers.

Why is this part of Hungary called Rascia? Because this was the part most involved in the war of succession with the Angevins of Ștefan Dragutin's state, which was called the Kingdom of Rascia, Serbia, or Srem. Only this kingdom could explain the transfer of the name of the medieval kingdom, Raska, which is also called Stari Ras or Stari Vlah, from Rascia in the Studenica area (present-day Sandjak or Stari Vlah) in the Banat of Severin, in Hațeg, where the wedding of Ștefan Dragutin's son with Ladislau Kan's daughter took place. Thus, we have further proof that Severin was part of Dragutin's Kingdom, and that the Bessarabians dynastically succeeded this Nemanjić branch that came to Hungarian royalty. It is no coincidence that the Cistercian abbey of Cârța supported Dragutin's successors and accepted them as abbey patrons, as evidenced by the document appointing the abbot issued by Vlad Dracul, and how the Hungarian-Wallachian lords of the Duchy of Făgăraș ruled until the time of Neagoe Basarab. The Cistercians, related to Bernard de Clairvaux, the author of *Liber ad milites templi de laude novae militiae*²², the manifesto by which the Templar Order, founded by his brother-in-law Hugh de Payens, received the approval to reinstate the Temple in Jerusalem, in the Christian liturgical circuit, apparently supported those who saved as much as they could, the Dragutin Nemanids from the patrimony of an order destroyed by the Angevins fighting Rascian Serbia which is clearly shown in Figure 2, centered on Hunedoara and Caraș-Severin counties.

20. *Le Mystere De La Sainte Lance* 2017: <https://www.dailymotion.com/video/x6ffkd4>.

21. Ștefan S. Gorovei, and Maria Magdalena Szekely, "Moldova și Regalitatea sacră," in Dumitru Năstase, Ștefan S. Gorovei, et al. (eds.), *DE POTESTATE. Semne și expresii ale puterii în Evul Mediu românesc/studii și articole*, 179-214 (Iași: Alexandru Ioan Cuza University Publishing House, 2006), 179-214.

22. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liber_ad_milites_templi_de_laude_novae_militiae.

Figure 2. Map with the Highlight of Rascia West of Olt: Overview and Detail²³



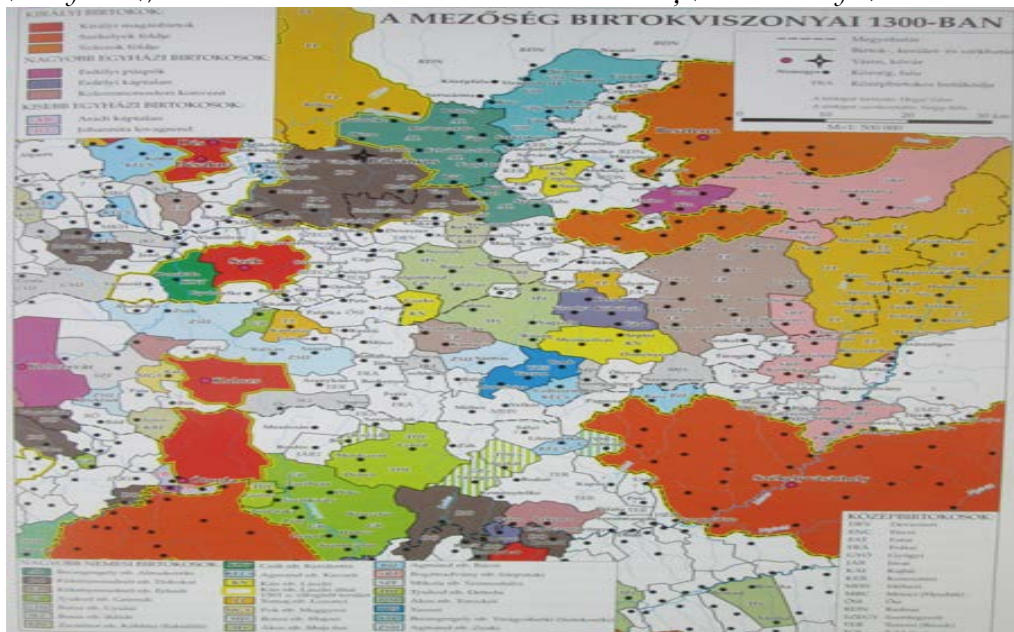
Serb-Vlach Settlement Areas

The Serbian-Vlach origin is obvious from the correlation of the evidence of chronic memory with archaeological, ownership, and genealogy evidence. Ștefan Vladislav, agglutinated with Ladislau Arpad, his ancestor through the wife of

23. Ibid.

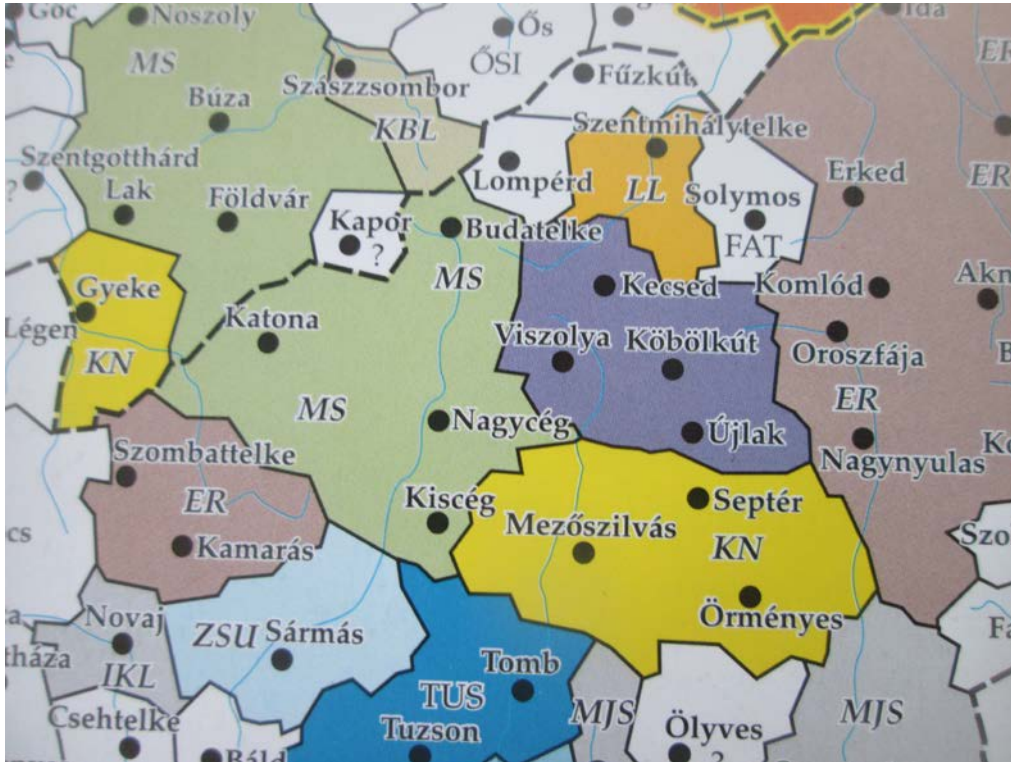
Ștefan Dragutin, the wife of Negru Vodă/the Black Prince, given by the Hieromonk Ștefan as the daughter of the Hungarian king, wears the Arpadian ax of St. Ladislaus, as the Angevins in the cycle promoting their succession find a mirror of their evolution in their Catholic Ladislaus, who kills the Cumanian dressed in the clothes of Serbian fashion of the time. But Ladislaus Kán, the great ally of Ștefan Dragutin, who married his daughter to Ștefan Vladislav, also owned the Chiraleș estate. The symbolism is obvious and immediately apparent. The battle immortalized in *Viața Sf. Nicodim/ The life of St. Nicodemus*, in *Roman și Vlahata / Roman and Vlahata*, and the cycles commanded by Angevin rivals took place in Chiraleș. After defeating Kán, whose sons follow their Nemanid brother-in-law in Hungarian-Wallachia, Charles I of Hungary takes over the Chiraleș estate for him (Figure 3)²⁴.

Figure 3. Map of Transylvania with the Highlight of the Possessions and Ladislau Kán (KN-yellow), Overview and Detail with the Estate Urmeniș (Mezoormenyés)²⁵



24. Tibor Kollar, *Közepkori művészet a Szamos mentén II. Templomok a Mezősegtől Beszterce-Naszodig* (Budapest: Iskola Alapítvány Kiado, Koloszvar –Moller Istvan Alapítvány, 2021), 321.

25. Ibid.



Thus, the Serbs and the Angevins fought symbolically at Chiraleş, where Ladislaus the Saint had the battle after which he gave the ax to the virgin saved from the Cuman. The virgin becomes Hungary, saved either by the Angevin or by the Nemanid, from what for each, legally was heresy, orthodoxy, and respectively Catholicism. The Slavonic original of the text translated by Stephen the Hieromonk is visible in the phrases translated from Serbian Slavic, unintelligible in the era of modernization and aggressive Latinization of the language after Cuza, as in the syntagm Hungarian-Wallachia recognizable in the structure of *Hungary and of the Romanians*, *vlaskoi* or *vlahiskoi* being interpreted as the plural of the Romanian term, and not unitary with Hungary, by the translator who looked at the medieval name of Muntenia, or even in the image with the ax, inaccessible in the XIXth century to the author who had nowhere in the Haşeg-Oltenia area to see a cycle preserved especially in Szeklerland and covered with lime following the reform.

But Ladislau *Kán* also owned the Urmeniş estate, with one of the most spectacular Transylvanian villa-type castles, a place where Transylvanian princes spent their summers. The castle certainly inherits a residence of Ladislau *Kán* there²⁶. Ladislau *Kán* had his daughter married to Ştefan Vladislav, being

26. Z. Bicsok, and Z. Orban, „Isten segedelmevel udvaromat megepitettem...” *Történelmi családok Kastélyai Erdélyben* (Csikszereada: Gutenberg Kiado, 2012), 108-110.

excommunicated by the pope for that²⁷, in an act whose form concludes with a wedding combined with the coronation of the Serbian king as Arpadian's rightful heir and with *Kán's* conversion to Orthodoxy (this is the period when the Holy Crown of Hungary is attested in Deva, in the possession of Ladislau *Kán*). Please note that in *Roman and Vlahata* it is said that the Romanovics, in St. Sava's family, received the land from the Hungarian Transylvania, which they colonized leaving Caraş and ascending to Maramureş. Hungarian Transylvania, a syntagm by which we see the counties associated with the medieval Hungarian noble nation (the counties are on the premodern maps of Transylvania noted as Hungarian, in contrast to the Szekler, Saxon, or former feuds of Moldavia or Muntenia), defined about the Mureş. The thought of this residence, as a place related to the memory of the wedding between Ştefan Vladislav and the daughter of the Transylvanian voivode Ladislau *Kán*, his estate in the Hungarian counties, which completed the possessions in Hunedoara-Haşeg, a place ruled at the time of *Roman and Vlahata* text writing by the Banffy family, a family currently in litigation with Stephen the Great over estates in northern Transylvania, including Chiraleş, so important, mentioned symbolically, gives us an insight into the geographical imaginary of the genealogical origin of the medieval Serbian Orthodox elites of Moldavia and Maramureş. For this is one of the places where the Romanov Wallachian Serbs converted the daughters of the Hungarian crusaders to Orthodoxy.

As a confirmation of the connection with Maramureş, on this estate is attested around 1400 the Man family, confirmed by its branch by Cozma armalist as a branch of the Man family from Şieu through its sub-branch from Solnoc (Lăpuş area)²⁸, the family still existing today, including crosses in the Orthodox cemetery. But if the Man family certainly came here to Ormeniş as part of the Serbian aristocratic groups, clans brought by Ştefan Dragutin and Ştefan Vladislav to consolidate the Hungarian rule of the non-Germans, why not see the whole picture of the bringing and transfer of the medieval Serb population? These were the ancestors of today's people in Hunedoara, Haşeg, Caraşova, and Maramureş, at this time the highest authority of the Serbian state in Hungary.

27. Zsuzsanna Kovacs, Miko Zsuzsanna, and Szabo Csaba (szerkesztette), *Erdely: 1000 év oroksege* (Cluj-Napoca: Budapest and the Foundation for School Publishing House, 2020), 34.

28. [https://hu.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mez%C5%91%C3%B6rm%C3%A9nyes\(1413-ban_tuzsoni_Bolgár_Miklós_bevádolta_Örményes_birtokon_lakó_Mihály_vlah_kenézt_és_Mánt_hogy_Dragus_nevű_jobbágyától_elvettek_egy_40_forint_értékű_lovat_forintját_száz_új_dénárral_számítva._Az_ügyet_helyi_szinten,_a_bíró_és_kenézek_által,_nem_tudták_megoldani_ezért_az_ügynek_az_ország_nemesei_elé_küldését_javasolták-In_1413,_Miklós_Bolgár_of_Tuzon_accused_Mihály_vlah_Kenye_and_Mán,_who_lived_in_Ormenis,_of_taking_a_horse_worth_of_40_forints_from_his_serf_named_Dragus_for_a_hundred_new_denarii._The_case_could_not_be_resolved_locally_by_a_judge_and_slanderers,_so_it_was_suggested_that_the_case_be_referred_to_the_country's_nobles\).](https://hu.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mez%C5%91%C3%B6rm%C3%A9nyes(1413-ban_tuzsoni_Bolgár_Miklós_bevádolta_Örményes_birtokon_lakó_Mihály_vlah_kenézt_és_Mánt_hogy_Dragus_nevű_jobbágyától_elvettek_egy_40_forint_értékű_lovat_forintját_száz_új_dénárral_számítva._Az_ügyet_helyi_szinten,_a_bíró_és_kenézek_által,_nem_tudták_megoldani_ezért_az_ügynek_az_ország_nemesei_elé_küldését_javasolták-In_1413,_Miklós_Bolgár_of_Tuzon_accused_Mihály_vlah_Kenye_and_Mán,_who_lived_in_Ormenis,_of_taking_a_horse_worth_of_40_forints_from_his_serf_named_Dragus_for_a_hundred_new_denarii._The_case_could_not_be_resolved_locally_by_a_judge_and_slanderers,_so_it_was_suggested_that_the_case_be_referred_to_the_country's_nobles).)

After all, in *Roman and Vlahata* we can see the image of a territory from the Tisza to the Mureş, colonized by Serbs who came from Caraşova, from Criş, and arrived in Maramureş (the passage seems confusing due to the clumsiness of the Serbian editor of the version we have). Here, the Serbs of the Man clan (Peterman, a form of the name Neman, Nemanja, used by nobles perhaps out of reverence for Stephen Nemanja-St. Simeon), are colonized as aristocrats of the new Nemanid Hungary from Maramureş to the Transylvanian Plain, wherein the villages of Cozma and Sîmboleni will become noble armalists who will ensure the protection through military service of the great castles of the Transylvanian aristocracy that colonized them there, a privileged minority of noble armalists in the still Hungarian and reformed majority of the Plain at the time.

As a supplement to the above, it should be noted that in part the descendants of Dragutin's companions named Man and Olah (derived from the ethnic name) are now found in the Reformed Cemetery, being Hungarianized in time, after which they partly found their origin at the arrival of the Moldavians in the time of Stephen the Great, an explanation also for the cross of Man in the Orthodox cemetery.

Throughout the South-Danubian Serbian state, the Serbs are systematically called, through synonymy, Vlachs, a phenomenon that continues until the XIXth century in literary sources and until now, the non-Orthodox peoples neighboring the South-Danubian Serbs call them exclusively with the term Vlach.

There are still mentions of Serbs as Vlachs at the time, but they can all be structured into three categories that reveal three states of existence of this population. The earliest mention appears in the historical tradition of Pavlimir, the founder of the kingdom of Diokleia, the people and dynasty of whom are called Vlachs. Then, in the period after the fall of first Bulgaria, the Vlachs are always mentioned in the context of a policy of military mobility of the Byzantine army, the Vlachs being colonized in areas of military interest. In all existing sources dealing with their origin, it is seen that they are the only groups of population with military assignments, sent from Diokleia, to help stabilize the northern Byzantine Balkan region, in the context of the fall of first Bulgaria and the subsequent Pecheneg and Cumanian attacks. Then follows the stage of state structuring in Bulgaria, in which the Vlachs themselves already speak, asserting in all existing sources their origin in Diokleia, and the membership of the Asan dynasty in the Nemanid dynasty, the Nemanid dynastic cult, and the political elites in the Vlach people that will be structured in Diokleia.

Subsequently, with the deployment of the Serbian state structure of Ştefan Dragutin in Hungary, all the Orthodox political elites of Angevin Hungary will claim the Nemanid origin, until late in the XVIIIth century, and the Nemanid dynastic cult will know here a remarkable flourishing, developing a political philosophy synthesized in the centering of *The teachings of Neagoe Basarab / Învăţăturile lui Neagoe Basarab* around the concept of *Vidovdan* and the exclusive

continuation of the founding process in the great Serbian monasteries by the North-Danubian Nemanid descendants.

What was the life of the Vlachs, also called Serbs, in Diokleia before the emergence of the Pavlimir dynasty, whose roots are lost in an era of refuge, compression of the population of the northern Roman Balkans facing the Avar-Bulgarian and then Moravian invasions in that area? As evidenced by the transfer of relics to the Dalmatian area, saved from the cities that formed the genealogical centers of the Roman Imperial Illyria, points where almost all the emperors who ruled between Diocletian who gave the name Diokleia, passing Constantine and Justinian, up to Phocas, who is dethroned by his Greek-speaking successor.

Even during the emergence of the Serbian-Serbian dynasty in Trebinje, the pope wrote to Mutimir, presumably a nobleman under the authority or belonging to Pavlimir's structure, that: priests from Diokleia without bishop dependence, through acephaly, must comply with the new diocese of Pannonia founded by Metodije between the Slavs and the Bulgarians of the Moravian area. The status of acephaly, mentioned here, coincides with the absence of the names of bishops for Dubrovnik in the very period under consideration and allows us to get an idea of the religious life of the Balkan Roman peoples who became Vlachs or Serbs through a process of isolation both from the Moravian-Bulgarian pagans of the north and east, as well as from Italy in the west, at a time when the Adriatic became a favorite territory of operations of the Arab pirates, besieging even Ragusa.

Isolated between the Dinaric Alps and the Adriatic Sea, these people will continue to call themselves Romanians, but they will also be called Vlachs, a term in which we see a resurrection of the old Galilean name that Judeo-Christians, Christians of Jewish origin at the beginning of the church gave to themselves, just as in Serbian we see a *servus*, one from Nazareth, an Ebionite, meaning servant of the Lord, another term that the Judeo-Christians used for themselves in antiquity, preserved as a name even by Arab Muslims who thus show their potential origins or directions from which they were most strongly influenced, meaning Muslims are still subject.

In Rome, despite the immense Aryan pressure in Italy and the isolation of the papal city, surrounded by Aryan barbarian military structures, there was a constant awareness of the problem of the Vlachs just crystallizing as an entity, of the Romans isolated among barbarians on the other side of the Adriatic. The mosaic of a beautiful Virgin holding the Holy Scripture from the Basilica of Santa Sabina (Figure 4), in which *ecclesia ex circumcissione* as a phrase joins the term Illyria, symbolically, or the representation in the chapel dedicated to the Illyrian Dalmatians at the Lateran Cathedral in Jerusalem and Bethlehem, the Davidic and Messianic cities, as if flanking the icons of these saints whose relics, partially, the pope of the time, himself Illyrian, wanted to save in case the Protovlach Roman bastion of Serbia Diokleia fell.

Figure 4. *Inscription from the Basilica of Santa Sabina*²⁹

There is confusion. The Byzantines tended to assimilate the land of Hum, the heart of Diokleia, and the area of origin of the dynasty of Pavlimir, with Haemus, although the forms of the name reflect the reality. The military deployments of warrior groups in Diokleia, sent by the kings there under the command of their close relatives or sometimes even their direct ones, to get involved in the conflicts between Bulgarians and Byzantines on both sides depending on political opportunities, create the image in the mind of the Byzantines of nomadism of these Vlach Serbs, which seem to extend from their Diokleia wherever there are mountains to defend in the Balkans. It was a circular movement, depending on military needs, in which a generation once ended its service returned to Diokleia, and then the young generation replaced it, similar and descending directly from the service of the Roman legions in Illyria in the glory days of empire. Thus, in the area of Greece, or the Danube Bulgaria, we have several leaders of the Serbian Vlachs from Diokleia who are deployed, fulfill their mission, and return to Diokleia, being succeeded by other groups, led by other leaders, from other generations, everything is coordinated by the kings of Diokleia in collaboration with the regional Byzantine military structures.

During this time, the royalty of Diokleia, although descended from the family that will have had the preeminence as an organizational and leading authority in the process of settling refugees from the entire Roman Balkans in the VIIth century in the area of Diokleia-Hum, at a time when the organization looked like that of the Roman people refugees from the Lombards in Venice, knows a consolidation in the idea of imposing a dynastic succession from father to son, certainly influenced by the Carolingian model, which reverberated through Rome so far. In parallel with the establishment of dynasties of Moravian or Bulgarian origin in the area, Diokleia was built as a people and will develop a unique language, the old Vlach language, spoken in bilingualism with a Slavic language also spoken by these Vlachs, who are also called Serbs as preserved to this day in Carașova or the valleys of the Serbian Morava and the Serbian Timoc by the Serb inhabitants there, but also by the Serbs called Istro-Romanians, pushed from the same Hum mentioned above at the Italian border and on the island of Veglia, as well as here, waves of migrants got to Meglen. There, merging with Vlach Diokleia inhabitants relocated in Byzantine interest, they will form the

29. <https://www.flickr.com/photos/paullew/5104376384>.

Megleno-Romanians of Serbian origin to this day, bearers of the Nemanid dynastic cult through the ballads of their folklore and the icons of their churches.

The region will remain connected to Rome, and due to its connection with Rome, will collaborate with Byzantium, so that the moment of Constantine Bodin is very well managed by Diokleia, who is satisfied with the recognition of the dynastic right of the Nemanid dynasty to the Bulgarian throne. right used by the Nemanids who will be known as the Asan family, who in writings will define their right and ancestry as Nemanid, also benefiting from the direct presence of St. Sava, the great reorganizer of Romanian Christianity, who will be buried among the Asan family members.

Only in the era of the influence of the Crusades, when the idea of *renovatio*, of rebirth, will gain prominence, Stefan Nemanja will demand the pope to re-establish the kingdom of Diokleia, naming it according to the hagiographic writings left to us by his sons, *old kingdom*. Followed synchronously by the Asan family, who claims the restoration of a Roman empire, using the legal artifice of the ancestry of the Nemanids from the Bulgarian tsars only to have a territory recognized as large as possible, which they, as Vlach Serbs who had their abode in the Hum of Diokleia, the birthplace of Beli Pavlimir, will never be able to fully colonize it.

This phenomenon will be confirmed by the cultic and identity patterns developed by the Vlachs that migrated to Hungary in the XIII-XIV century, and finally settled following feudal colonization special to Hungary, which produced particular results, with great individuality.

This colonization seems to have been started by the war of succession following the extinction of the Arpad dynasty in Hungary. Formed around the dynasties of Serbia, connected in a complex genealogical tree to the kings, network expressed in the unique cult of Holy Kings that emerged after Nemanja, structured around the courtly centers of Serbia and the kingly monasteries, a great number of Serbians, both from the settled stratum and from the nomadic military (Vlachs), came to Hungary.

They were assigned land both in the noble regime, but also in the Vlach knezial regime, in the regions controlled by King Stefan Dragutin, his son Stefan Vladislav II and the Voivode of Transylvania, Ladislaus Kán, who married his daughter to Stefan Vladislav II on which occasion he probably crowned his son-in-law with the Holy Crown of Hungary, as an attentive reading of the ex-communication document that the papacy issued shortly afterward shows.

Important medieval sources, such as the legend of *Roman and Vlachata* or the *Life of Saint Nicodemus*, preserve an epical saga-like memory of this process. The king, which is modeled after Saint Ladislaus of Hungary, bearing an ax (what a Viking image), fights among the Tartars in an image that recalls the fresco themes of the legend of Ladislaus preserved in Szekler churches, and colonizes the Severin Banat, Maramureş, or the lands beyond the Olt. But this king is not Saint

Ladislaus of Hungary but Saint Stefan Vladislav II. He is related to a Saint Sava of Serbia (both the founder of the Serbian autocephalous church, but also Saint Sava the Second, contemporary of Stefan Vladislav II, fused in the texts), he is orthodox but on a throne of Latin tradition, and he engages in a polemic with Italians for the control of the Hungarian kingdom (the Italians being the Neapolitan armies of Charles Robert of Anjou). The Holy Nemanjic kings and hierarchs, as ancestors via patrilinear filiation appear in essential endowments of Moldavian hospodars as Stephen the Great like Voroneț (Figure 5), or Bălinești, where Sf. Sava is represented³⁰. As in Viking Sicily, only Anglo-Norman Viking saints like Thomas Becket³¹ are present in frescoes (Figure 6) in royal chapels of the dynasty, ignoring the older Sicilian saints, so in Moldavia, Serbian Saints are painted, ignoring the old Ruthenian saints that preceded the colonization of the Serbian Vlachs and the establishment of their royal authority.

Figure 5. *St. Sava in a Fresco at Voroneț Monastery, Romania (Foto Personal Collection)*



30. Bogdan Bratu, *Icoana Împărăției-Pictura exterioară a bisericilor Moldovei* (Suceava: Sfântul Ioan cel Nou Monastery, 2010), 21.

31. Booms and Higgs, *Sicily: Culture and Conquest*, 2016, 241.

Figure 6. *Thomas Becket in Fresco in Sicily*³²

In these kinds of texts, which illustrate a way of life similar to that of the societies that produced the sagas, the hero who saves the group is a royal relative of the group. In this way, the Serbian colonists, commonly named in a saga way as Roman and Vlahata, or the Romanovici, are saved by Saint Sava and the King of Hungary, and inherit through marriage in Hungary land in the Carașova and Severin regions, from where they expand to Maramureș following the Tisza, and from there in a different process to Moldavia and Halych, in a move to combat the Angevine pressure by an alliance with the old Varangians spoken above, the Russians of Halych. They were being dismantled as a state by the Polish feudal development. Thus, descendants of Serbian and Swedish mobile military societies, Serbian Vlachs and Russian Varangians fused in this north Carpathian area, fusing into a single ethnic reality, the Ruthenian Moldavians of the XV and XVIth century, which continued their expansion in their old ways towards the west.

But what are the signs left to this day of this process? The most striking one is the synonymy of Serb and Vlach³³ as ethnic terms, which was institutionalized in the Nemanjic state and afterward in the Turkish age, where all the old Serbian population of the kingdom that was part of the single genealogical pattern connecting the kingly families to the boyars and their mobile nonsettled clans, the Vlachs, was called Vlach. This is reflected in the designation of all modern Serbs as Vlachs by the nonorthodox nations with which they are in contact. This was an institutional reality, in the Ottoman conscriptions and census, in the literature of

32. Ibid.

33. Slavoljub Gacovic, *De la cetățenii romani la populația română în zona Tomocului* (Bucharest: Ethnological Publishing House, 2014), note 2166, 414.

the era, in the Austrian documents concerning the Serbs, in travelers' accounts, in which frequently the terms are designated as synonyms, in constructions such as Serbs called Vlachs, or Rascians called Vlachs, of Vlachs which are Serbs, and all the permutations possible. Some of these accounts note that the Serbs spoke in Raska a Romanic language, that was being marginalized in the context of the dominance of Slavic-speaking Muslim feudalists in the area, colonized there from Bosnia by the Turks.

The second visible aspect is the genealogical and cultic heritage of the Serb-Vlachs colonized in Hungary. In the churches constructed by the Hungarian-Wallachian or Moldavian princes, the Serbian dynastic saints are painted, presented in places that show that they are the national dynasty saints or of the medieval political state. This is accompanied by donations to Serbian monasteries under Ottoman control in Serbia or Mount Athos, in which the Serbian kings are explicitly called ancestors (via the paternal line, that is the terminology) of the hospodars of Wallachia and Moldavia.

These influences did not come via the noble elements that came to Wallachia after the fall of the late Despotate of Serbia. These were elements that were brought with the creation of the states, following the colonization of the Serbs in Hungary and the defeat by the Angevins of the Nemanjic party, which ended with a settlement, an armistice by which some areas under Angevin control, and the extra-Carpathian old Cumanian areas were given in administration and colonization to the groups formed by the Vlachs in the resistance led by the Nemanjic Dragutin and Vladislav and by Ladislaus Kan. This was completed afterward by the mixed Vlach-Ruthenian enterprise in Halych-Moldavia, which preserved its Serbian identity, as evidence of the absence of Russian dynastic cults but the presence of Serb dynastic cults, sometimes fused with Hungarian ones, demonstrates.

In the epoch of Stephen the Great, ruler of Moldavia, these early Romanians attempt to be recognized as the revived, although in exile, the kingdom of Serbia. The title of king of Serbia and Moldavia appears applied to the great voivode by Venetian and papal diplomats, and this will be continued up to the mid-XVIIth century, when Istvan Bathory called himself king of Serbia, Transylvania, and voivode of Wallachia and Moldavia³⁴ in the legend of a heraldic shield, continued by the excentric count Gyorgy Brankovics who is called in Hungarian acts a Rascian also called Vlach (the synonymity)³⁵ and Despot of Bacska and Vlaska³⁶ (which designates Serbia, as in the account of the famous French traveler who called the Serbia of Saint Tsar Lazar Vlachia in his account of the battle of

34. Gyula Dudas *A Bacsikai es Bansagi Szerbek Szerplesenek Tortenete 1526-1711* (Zombor, 1896), 16.

35. *Ibid*, 37.

36. Jozsef Thim, *A Szerbek Tortenete a Legregiebb Kortol 1848-IG-II Kotet Szrebia Tortenete 1367-1804-ig* (Nagy- Becskereken, 1892), 89.

Kossovopolije or the XV century chronicle of Sebastian of Mamerot who called a Dushanian Serbia, which ruled Serdica, Danemark³⁷, a confusion with the name Dacia, applied a little bit early by Kostenecki to Serbia proper in his life of Despot Stefan Lazarevic.

The statute valachorum, the status of south Danubian Serbs emigrating to Austria makes a noble from Hatzeg, part of the Banat of Severin, note that they, the Serbs, call themselves just like us, although they lost the language during the Ottoman times, as the north Danubian Serb Vlachs lose Slavonic due to ethnic isolation and the colonial structuring of their settlement.

Hungary early designated Transylvania land destined primarily for colonial settlement. The aristocracy, the Szeklers, the Saxons, and the Serb Vlachs were settled following a Carolingian and Ottonian³⁸ pattern of settlement, assisted by knightly crusader orders which supervised the entire process, based on the model the Franks established in their eastern expansion. This colonization implied forms of organizing possession, feudality, and church life that were economically more coherent than the still fragile framework of the Nemanjic state.

This is why the Vlachs flourished in medieval Hungary, and probably this is why here and just here the Slavic language that all Vlachs spoke was assimilated totally into the romanian idiom, a fact that is noticed in the acts of the reformed princes of Transylvania, who address metropolitan Sava Brankovics, urging him to force his coreligionaries, called a people of Serb Vlachs (szerb Olah), to follow religious services in the Romanian (Olah) language, which appears a language that Serbs understand, contrasting the old Slavonic (oszlav) language that was lost³⁹. This is illustrated by a document of donation for Studenica monastery, written by Udriște Năsturel, on behalf of Voivode Mathew Basarab, in which he wrote that they lost the old language, although he tried to revive it even by translating imitation Christi in collaboration with Moldavian Metropolitan Varlaam, both in polemic with the superintendent of the reformed church of Transylvania, descendant of the castellan of Belgrade from the times of Matyas Corvinus, Filip More Csulai, Ioszeff Csulai, a Serb Vlach, whose name More means Maurovlach, a name applied to coastal Serbs since time immemorial, and also to the Bosnian or Moldavian state.

In this context, it is significant to highlight the interference between the Serbian and Romanian languages, exemplified in a very clear manner in a recently identified document⁴⁰ (dated around 1600 - the document is page 438 of

37. Sebastian Mamerot, *A Chronicle of the Crusades* (Taschen: Bibliotheca Universalis, 2016), 124-125.

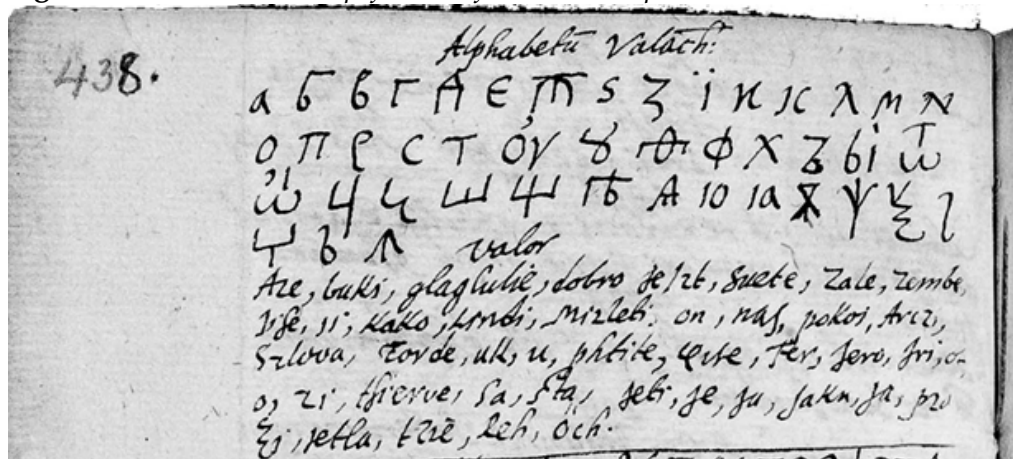
38. Roland Steinacher, et al., *Deutsche Geschichte –die Grosse Bild – Enzyklopadie* (Munchen: Dorling Kindersley GmbH, 2018), 60-61.

39. Dudas, *A Bacskai es Bansagi Szerbek Szerplesenek Tortenete 1526-1711*, 1896, 32.

40. Istvan Vasary, *A Szekely Iras Emlkei – Corpus Monumentorum Alphabeto Siculico Exaratorum (CMASE)* (Budapest: Bolcseszettudomanyi Kutatokozpont, 2021), 502.

the childhood florilegium composed by duke August of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel (1579-1666) after 1592 and is found Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel, with the identification data: Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelph. 22 Novices. 8^o, p. 438), in which under the title *Wallachian Alphabet- Alphabetu Valach* (Figure 7- the only clearly known mention to date), obviously derived from the *Cyrillic alphabet*, its letters are listed, including signs for sounds specific to the Romanian language, such as *gi*, after which the use of these letters for each word is exemplified, which very interestingly, belong both to the Serbian language, such as: *glaglulie, dobro*, and to the Romanian language: *zi, ochi*.

Figure 7. Mention and Exemplification of the Valach Alphabet ⁴¹



Heraldry also testifies to this perception, as the Ethiopic heads appear frequently for Serbia, Bosnia, Wallachia, and Moldavia in different heraldic armorials produced in the west⁴², with anti-Semitic and antimaurish undertones, as Mauro implied the Jewish Spain and Maurish problem, echoed in Vlach onomastic also as in the name Saracen (saracene) or in the narrative of Benjamin of Tudela in which the Serbs from Ravanica area (ravno), confused in the text with a place in Greece, are called Jews, as are the Ethiopians in the same text, and described with similar, identical quotations from messianic psalms.

This shows that the Vlachs, as Serbs⁴³, were formed around a nucleus of leadership that formed the basis of the later Nemanjic monarchy, a nucleus that emerged in the coagulation of the community during its compression from the Danubian provinces to the Dinaric Alps during the Avar invasions. This coagulation transformed the already existent network of dynastic power formed during the Roman period, and solidified by Justinian in the creation of a special religious infrastructure for this network of families related to the Illyrian roman

41. Ibid.

42. Dragomir M. Acović, *Heraldika i Srbi* (Beograd: Zavod za Utbenike, 2008), 252-253; Nenad M. Jovanovici, *Zastave i Himne i istori Srbije* (Beograd, Cetinje: Svetigora, 2010), 17, 31, 50.

43. Slavoljub Gacovic, *De la cetățenii romani la populația română în zona Tomocului*, 2014.

emperors⁴⁴, called symbolically Justiniana, after him, confirming that the basis in the imperial-providing network of elites from the area is genealogic.

Thus, in the Dinaric mountains, this matrix which always preserved a kind of monarchical rule, gave birth to the Nemanjic dynasty, which emerged from the fusion of the imperial families of the roman Balkans into one family, following a complex process of selection between elites already connected in the Justiniana Prima network, forming as a side result in a symbiotic way as a consequence of the selection process the aristocratically and military structure known as the medieval Serb nation, which was known as the Vlachs when the authors focused on their military nomadism, which continues in mechanism the military service that the Romans of the Balcans did during the Illyrian hegemony over the army and the imperial function, period when the structures that would fuse in the Nemanjic dynastical state were formed and then compressed after the fall of the Danubian limes in Diokleia and Raska.

This compression is shown by the symbolic genealogies of the Nemanjic, that trace their origin to Constantine and other of his imperial relatives, showing different nuclei of memory that fused, and identified with different cultural trends (probably the nucleus honoring Licinius was rather Slavic, and Constantine's was rather Latin), but also in the Davidic beauty that characterizes the entire Nemanja cult.

The Jesse tree, uniquely among orthodox peoples, is modeled into the Nemanjic tree, in a brazen messianic elaboration of the concept of New Israel, which reached its peak in numerous hagiographies in which the Serbs appear as revived, Christian Judaea.

Neagoe Basarab, the last great ruler of Wallachia, constructed his mausoleum in the old capital of Curtea de Argeş, where the relics of the Hungarian queen of Stefan Dragutin, identified as Katalina, wife of Negru Vodă in later XVIIth century texts, a reflection of the above discussed Mauro-Vlach, black Vlach name, concerning this Nemanjic branch as the branch of the Serbs that came to the north, to Hungary, and maybe also to the shortlived Kingdom of Srem established by Dragutin, who was called Serbia (Milutin's state was preferably called Rascia in medieval external sources), but also Wallachia, and presumably Maurovlachia to separate it from Rascia, the Stari Vlah, old southern Vlachia. This queen, which in iconography still wears the ax of the Arpad dynasty, of Saint Ladislau Arpad, and appears as giving favors to the Serbian Vlach nobility, was metaphorized in the XVIII century into a typical Vlach small landowner, and renamed following an attribute of the old catholic patron, Katalina, Catherine, called a lover of God in all here ancient hagiographies, Filotheea, but retained the principal elements of her conflict with the catholic branches of the Arpad family, although camouflaged in a rustic legend.

44. L. Barany, *Paulus Utjan-Pal apostol Europaban* (Olive Art Muveszeti Kozkereseti Tarsasag Kiado), 165.

This may be in a symbolic way the girl to whom Ladislaus gave his ax to kill the Tartar or Cuman, in the Szekler frescoes that had echoed into the life of Saint Nicodemus of Tismana.

Around this Saint, and the graves of other rulers of Hungarian Wallachia, Neagoe built a new church, which was modeled after the temple of Solomon in Jerusalem. It had 12 columns to represent the 12 seeds of Israel, and an icon stabbed by Jews was brought to its consecration, an element that was required for a church in medieval Christianity to attain the status of the temple, as shown by a similar icon present in the church of Lateran in Rome, in the period it was an artifact reported to be the altar of the temple in Jerusalem or the Ark of the Covenant was exposed as a relic there, until discredited, it was removed in the XVIIIth century. In the funerary chamber of the church, an extended genealogy of the Nemanjic, starting from Simeon and Sava, through the early kings, and then the Hungarian Wallachian branches, confirms the Nemanjic consciousness of these rulers. Simeon and Sava were placed as flanking the funerary chamber, looking at each other, in a kind of triumphal arch architecture, alluding to the two columns from the entrance to the Temple.

So we have the 12 tribes of Israel, the Temple, and the new Davidic dynasty. This shows a national consciousness emerging for the Serbian Vlachs in the south and north of the Danube, expressed around the basic mechanisms that gave birth to the nation following a process of dynastic and monarchical coagulation of the people as ethnogenetic synchronicity between the formation of the social and ethnic characteristic formed by the emergence of the dynasty as part of this process following the restructuring of the imperial elites of the late roman Balkans.

Conclusions

What happened to the northern, Ruthenian Vlachs, to the Moldavians? Why are there the Moldavians missing from the genealogy of Argeş, from the 12 tribes? It seems that, as in biblical times, two tribes, Judah and Simeon, claimed to be all the 12, so now, the Serbian Vlachs from the Despotate and Hungarian Wallachia claimed to be all Nemanjic Serbia, Zeta, and Moldavia missing. No Balsic, Cernojevic, no Muşat, no Dragoş in the genealogy from Argeş. Although one of the oldest mentions conserved in a manuscript from the National Library in Bucharest mentions Stefan Dragutin as the Hungarian king of Zeta, showing that many of the people colonized in Hungary during the short Nemanjic rule there, came from the hearth of medieval vlachdome, in Raska and Diokleia, and that Zeta supported Dragutin.

Zeta may be missing because the Brankovic line of Neagoe's wife had authority in a symbolic way there in late Christian Balkan history, before the

Ottoman expansion, but what about the lost tribes, the Ruthenian Vlachs? Why are they missing, even though Neagoe's son in law was the nephew of Stephan the Great, Stefan the Younger, who symbolically was killed by a plot which had its perpetrators in the powerful Armenian Polish community from Moldavia on the day of the celebration of Saint Sava the Serb, as it is written on his gravestone from Putna monastery, and who continued his grandfather's politics of Serbian succession and *translation imperia* of Dusanian Serbia to Moldavia, and also the donations to the Serbian and Athonite monasteries in which they rivaled the Wallachians, preserving in Moldavia ancient Serbian royal artifacts like the epitaph of the empress Eufemia, the great poet, which is still kept at Putna.

This shows that although they still considered themselves Serbs, the Vlachs of Moldavia and the north Carpathians were already something else. As the 10 lost tribes became the Samaritans that considered themselves to be worthy of rebuilding the temple with Ezdra and Neemia but were not received, because an ethnic and linguistic, and religious change, so the northern Vlachs had no place in Neagoe's Serbian Vlach ethnicity and envisioned unified Kingdom.

What was happening to the north Vlachs? They were shifting language. As shown in the Slavic language of Moldavian documents, although the oldest ones have a Serbian redaction, as time passes they become more Ruthenian Slavic. The names of the Moldavian boyars although preserving a system of Serbian Vlach onomastics, shift towards the Ruthenian form. Stefan becomes Stetsko, Radul becomes rare, and then Ruthenised. Although claiming to the Serb and venerating Serbian saints, as shown by the lists of saints commemorated in Putna as shown in the Palinodia of Zacharia Kopistensky, they traveled for study in Liov and Ruthenia. They entered the ranks of Polish Ruthenian nobility. The Movilă family, although still painting the Serbian saints as national saints at Sucevița and donating manuscripts of the parallel lives of Serbian Kings and Archbishops written by Saint Danilo to their endowments, considered themselves Ruthenian and Polish in nationality, as emphasized by the writings of Peter Mogyla.

In a preface written by Peter Mogyla for a Triodion dedicated to his brother, voivode of Moldavia, Peter Mogyla writes about the Ruthenian identity of medieval Moldavian society comparing the Serbian Vlach component of this population to the Ruthenian one using the paradigm of symphony between Abraham and the gentile kings of Sodom, or the relationship between Melkizedek and other gentile kings from the early period of the history of the Jewish people. Thus, Moldavia has a Serbian Vlach origin, mentioned in the idea of holy rulership as inherited in humility and biological genealogical succession, but a Polish, Ruthenian mission, as part of the Polish nation and Polish republic.

The same is found in Maramureș, where the Serbian Vlachs switched to Ruthenian language as language of conversation beginning in the XVIth century, although as late as the XVIII century a Ruthenian speaking noble of Serbian Vlach origin, Ioszeff Sztojka, orthodox archbishop of Maramaros, intitled himself exarch

of Pech, the seat of the Serbian patriarch, but wrote Pech in its Ruthenian phonetic form, Pochaev, hinting at a clue for the background by which the great Russian monastery of today is called by this name⁴⁵, monastery founded by a saint which was made a monk in Putna, Jov Pochaev, and by a Polish nobleman of Moldavian origine, the Turkul family⁴⁶ of ministers which appear in the hospodar's royal council from the XIVth century, which has a strong Ruthenian identity, but kept connections to Moldavia and is responsible with the annexion of northern Moldavia, the Chernivtsi, Suceava and Neamț counties to Poland in the period of Constantine Cantemir, after Sobiesky's action, and which was continued by Halych Bukovina in the Habsburg period in which the Turkul's were great builders of new modern Chernivtsi although they changed religion.

But what about the Vlachs further west? Till connected to the Maramureș-Bereg and Moldavian bases, they probably contributed by their interaction with their relatives from the Sas-Drag group of nobles to the Ruthenisation in the identity of late Polish Moldavia and then of Habsburg Bukovina. Although the name of the herb, Drag, refers to the Serb noble Dragoș who married, in Vidin, his daughter to the Bulgarian vassal of Stefan Milutin, this herb became the center for the national Russian consciousness of Ruthenians in the premodern era and the basis of Ukrainian national revival later on after the Habsburg emancipation and the destructuring of earlier Russian-polish mentalities.

In Hungary proper, religious unions of some Serbian Vlachs with Rome following the Habsburg expansion mirrored the shift in identity in Halych, many of the Greek catholic Vlach leaders of Hungary being trained in theology in Munkacs or Lviv, and developed the Dacian-Roman continuity theory, which was instrumentalized for the confessional battle fought between Austrian Jesuits and the Serbian patriarchy of Karlowitz for Transylvania, Banat, and Western Wallachia.

This patriarchy, formed as a direct consequence of the *Statuta Valachorum*, was dependent on Russian support for its survival, and so replaced the traditional bilingualism of the religious life, influenced by the growing slavification coming from the Balkans due to Slavic Bosnian being the lingua Franca of Muslim Turkish rule in Serbia, this being the factor in the division of modern Serbian and Romanian nationalities in the Habsburg empire and afterward in modern Romania. The Serbs, the Raska Vlachs of Stari Vlah, spoke Bosnian Slavic, as witnessed by Evlia Celebi who speaks about the Bosnia that the Montenegrin Serbs spoke replacing their old Vlaski, which might have been a Romanian that was believed to be the tribal language of those Serbs, and the patriarchy of Karlowitz joined to this, influenced by the Yugoslav ideas promoted by the Zagreb intelligence in a process mirroring the emergence of the Dacian-Roman ideology in Transylvania.

45. *Cviato - Ispenchia Poceiaivskaia Lavra-Istoriceskoe Povestvovanie*, 2008, 78-79.

46. Iuri Nikolisin, *Lviv. Misto, sto nadihae* (Apriori Kniga, 2016), 116.

The Moldavians of Bukovina and Moldavia properly adopted the Ruthenian identities, first Russian and then Ukrainian (the Young Ruthenians), or the Dacian-Roman one, and in Bessarabia, they developed a no-national Russian identity, which subsists to this day.

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