HOW ROMANIANS SAY IT, IN THE PEOPLE'S WORDS:
LOCAL ONOMASTICS AND TOPONYMY
IN LATIN TRANSYLVANIAN DOCUMENTS

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Abstract: *The Transylvanian area, unlike other regions, knew a rather late development of the national languages, thus leading to a late and fragmentary use of vernacular languages in written form. Only in the 16th century the use of vernacular became common. The present paper intends to analyze some aspects of the mixture between the official and administrative language, Latin, and the vernacular elements. Written communication mingled Latin with spoken words and expressions, documenting an interesting dialogue within the confines of a cultural environment which featured many languages and confessions.*

Keywords: vernacular languages, local onomastics, toponymy

Introduction

Proper and common nouns, originating from vernacular languages, often present in some Medieval Latin documents, have a great importance for reconstructing the past and may, very often, indicate the ethnicity of their carriers, notaries or people living in certain places. Naturally, determining ethnicity based on onomastics and toponymy is relative, even risky, if not corroborated with other clues. However, the form of names of places and people provides the opportunity to clarify certain historical and philological aspects of utmost importance. For example, the fact that the same river bears on its upper course a Romanian name of Latin origin (Repedea), and the same name on the lower course, but translated into Slavic or putting on a Romanian-Slavic variant (Bistriţa) is relevant in this sense. It can show that late latinophones or early Romanians were pushed at a certain time to the hilly and mountainous area of Slavs (slavophones), who have done nothing but translate the existing name into their language. Likewise, the toponyms or oronyms of Slavic origin known in Romanian, coupled with other resonant names given by Hungarians, Saxons or Szeklers show the priority of the first, stemming from the period when latinophones cohabitated with the Slavs. This is the case, for instance, of Târnave versus Kokel (Küküllő), Bălgrad versus Alba Iulia (Fehérvár), Braşov versus Kronstadt, etc.

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1. The name Braşşov

The demonstration concerning the name of Braşov is thus significant as a model, less known and put forward relatively recently in Romanian by the late medievalist historian Thomas Nägler: "As regards the German name of the city Braşov, Kronstadt, the historical continuity in Transylvania comes further out. The name Braşov has been taken from the Slavic language during the stay and assimilation of the Slavs by the Romanians in Bârsei County, meaning juniper, a plant which is common in the Carpathian Mountains. On their arrival in Bârsei County, after 1211, as they met here the Romanian population, the Saxons took over the name, translating it into Medieval German, where Krane was the word for juniper. This name, like all the others, had to be adapted to the official language, Medieval Latin. As in Latin Krane meant nothing, the scribes of the time, bothering themselves not with a translation into Latin and, due to the linguistic proximity between Krane and Krone (= crown), have naturalized the name Corona and the German Kronen = Kronstadt, meaning now «the city of the crown», although it originally had nothing to do with any crown, but with the above-mentioned plant. In today's Saxon dialects (Kronen and its variants) one does not necessarily understand the meaning *crown*. The name history of the city of Braşov-Kronstadt hence illustrates a perfect continuity since the period of Romanian-Slavic cohabitation (7-8ᵗʰ centuries) to that of Romanian-German cohabitation (13ᵗʰ century), the name being documented in the form «Brasu» in 1271, and since 1336 in the form of «Corona», the two names being used in parallel until now"[1].

2. Romanian names of places

From 1944 already, the historian Ion Moga inventoried a number of Romanian toponyms in Transylvania and its neighboring regions, all mentioned in Medieval Latin documents, of course, in corrupt, but easily identifiable forms: *Kapreuar* or Căprioara, in 1337 *Nuksora*, namely Nucşoara, in 1359, *Charamida (Charamada)* or Cărămida, in 1364, *Margina* (Marginea) in 1365, *Radesd* (Rădeşti) in 1369, *Zekulay* (Săcălaia) in 1379, the *Neutidul* Mountains (Netedul) and *Nedele* (Nedeia) in 1307, respectively 1373, the rivers *Riusor* or Râuşor (1377), *Chernyswara* or Cernişoara (1380), *Stramba* or Strâmba (1390) and many others[2]. Some of these toponyms have fascinating stories, brought to light under special circumstances. Many have undergone so great transformations while they were rendered by scribes (notaries, chancellors) who did not know Romanian that it is now almost impossible to seize their real Romanian sonority.

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[1] T. Nägler, *Transilvania între 900 şi 1300*, in I.-A. Pop, T. Nägler (coord.), *Istoria Transilvaniei*, vol. I, Cluj-Napoca, 2003, p. 215-216.

[2] I. Moga, *Les Roumains de Transylvanie au Moyen Age*, Sibiu, 1944, p. 50-71.

For instance, on July 24th, 1364, reporting to King Louis I about the demarcation of the Icuş estate (probably a district) for the Romanians Stanislau and Carapciu and their brothers, the capitol in Cenad notes, along with the situation of the boundaries, many toponyms, including "a place commonly called Teglauar, that is, as the Romanians say, Cărămida [brick], where two boundary signs have been raised "(*unum locum Teglauar vocatum, vulgariter, secundum vero Olachos, Charamada vocatum, ubi sunt due mete terre erecte*)[3]. One can see how the Romanian name of the place – Cărămida [brick] – given by the locals in their language, has been reproduced in Hungarian, in agreement with the notary's language. Other times, different methods have been chosen, as is the case of the toponym Valea: a document issued on May 20th, 1378, after a long trial with the old Romanian owners of princely origin, certified that the judge of the royal court had awarded the *Woya* estate in Banat to Benedict Himfy, the former ban of Bulgaria; in that context it was said that, in 1342, King Charles Robert had confirmed, for eternity, for faithful endeavours, the Romanians Mihail [Michael], Ioan [John] and Nicolae [Nicholas], sons of Petru [Peter], son of *Tyuan*[4], the place where they lived, called *Patak*, in the Ilidia district, and that this place "is called *Woya*[5] by another name". But the Hungarian word *patak* means "valley", which testifies that the name *Woya* is the corrupt version of the Romanian "Valea". Similarly, the name *Nogfalu*, in Hungarian, *Gorozdorf* in Saxon or *Magna Villa walachicalis* in Latin, are nothing but the translations into these three languages of the Romanian-Slavic toponym Sălişte (attested about two decades before the names in German and Hungarian), in 1383, which both mean "big village")[6]. Other Romanian (or Romanian-Slavic) place names attested in forms close to the original, are Cuieşti (*Kuesd*), Secaş (*Scekus*) and Gârlişte (*Gralista*), in Banat, on August 3[rd,] 1351[7], Ampoiţa (*Ompeyicha*) and Abrud (*Abrudbana*), in Alba, on June 2nd, 1320[8], Ampoiţa (*Ompaÿcza*) again and Fileşti (*Fÿlesd*), in Alba, in 1369[9], Cacova (*Kakoua*), near Sibiu, on November 24th 1366[10], Ciuta (*Chuta*) in Banat, in 1411[11], Bârsana (*Barzanfalua*), Maramureş, 1390,[12] etc. Besides, in Maramureş, the villages Cămârzana, Călineşti, Copăceşti, Crăceşti, Crăciuneşti, Crăiniceni, Crişăneşti, Criva, Dăneşti, Darva, Deseşti, Dragomireşti, Găneşti, Hărniceşti, Ieud, Iza, Lipceni, Moisei, Năneşti, Neagova, Onceşti, Rozavlea, Săcel, Sălişte, Săpânţa,

[3] *Documenta Romaniae Historica*, *Series C. Transilvania* (infra: DRH. C), vol. XII, p. 295-303.
[4] It is an example of Romanian name corrupted by the notary, difficult to trace back.
[5] DRH, C, vol. XV, p. 413-438.
[6] I. Moga, *Les Roumains de Transylvanie*, p. 61.
[7] DRH, C, vol. X, p. 48.
[8] *Documente privind Istoria României, Seria C* (infra: DIR. C), 14th century, vol. I, p. 355-356.
[9] DRH, C, vol. XIII, p. 568-569.
[10] DRH, C, vol. XIII, p. 276-277.
[11] F. Pesty, *Krassó vármegye*, vol. III, p. 269-270.
[12] R. Popa, *Ţara Maramureşului*, p. 66.

Uglea, Bilca[13], etc. are in the same situation, all recorded in forms of names containing the Romanian or Romanian-Slavic terms from which these names derive. The same process is registered in Haţeg County and its vicinity, with the settlements Balomir, Băreşti, Bar, Băieşti, Bărişor, Breazova, Britonia, Bucova, Bunila, Călan, Câmpul lui Neag, Cernişoara, Cârneşti, Chitid, Ciula, Clopotiva, Costeşti, Crăguiş, Criva, Crivadia, Densuş, Dumbrăviţa, Fărcădin, Galaţi, Grid, Hobiţa, Hăţăgel, Leşnic, Lingina, Livadia, Ludeşti, Mălăieşti, Măţeşti, Merişor, Muncel, Nălaţi, Nucşoara, Ohaba, Ohăbiţa, Ostrov, Ostrovel, Paroş, Pâclişa, Peşteana, Petros, Peştiş, Plăişor, Poieniţa, Ponor, Pui, Răchita, Răchitova, Râuşor, Săcel, Sânpetru, Sibişel, Strei, Streisângeorgiu, Stroieşti, Şerel, Ştei, Toteşti, Tuştea, Unciuc, Uric, Vad, Valea, Zăicani, Zlaşti[14], etc. One may thus enumerate such names in Banat as well: Agriş, Almăj, Baciu, Bădra, Belibuc, Berlişte, Besna, Biniş, Bizerea, Bogdan, Bogâltin, Borziuc, Bolvaşniţa, Bratoca, Bruznic, Caran, Caransebeş, Caraşova, Caraş, Cerna, Cerneţ, Ciuta, Comiat, Cornet, Criva, Cuieşti, Dobrogoste, Dobroian, Dobrotă, Dragotă, Dubrul, Gamza, Gârlişte, Goruia, Grădişte, Grebenaţ, Gurea, Hălmeag, Ianova, Iancu, Ilidia, Jupa, Leordiş, Lugoj, Luncaviţa, Maciova, Mal, Margina, Măcicaş, Măgoieşti, Mâtnic, Mehadia, Miculeşti, Mihăenţi, Mihălinţ, Neacşu, Novac, Ohaba, Ohabiţa, Pleşa, Pogănici, Prisaca, Ramna, Rădeşti, Rădulenţi, Rudăria, Ruginosu, Săcel, Sălişte, Sebeş, Secaş, Severin, Stancu, Stăvarcea, Strâmtura, Surduc, Surian, Şoşdea, Timişel, Tincova, Toplicean, Topliţa, Turcu, Valea, Vozeştia, Sanislau, Zăzeşti, Zăvoi, Zorlenţ[15], etc.

Quite often, however, Romanian names, after being used in parallel with the Hungarian ones, have been changed entirely, depending on the patronage of the Catholic chapels newly-funded for Hungarian masters or on other criteria. Thus, a document from 1230, mentions the village Sântejude, near Gherla, in connection with an older donation (made to some noblemen coming from Hungary), by the name *Wesscel*, later mentioned as *Vizoulteluk* (1291) or *Vascultelke* (1315). The name *Zent Egjed* (Sant Egidio) is mentioned only in the 14th century, by the patron of the Catholic church, mentioned in 1331. Therefore, the village was first named Vescel, Vâscel or Vascul/ Vâscul, a toponym with Romanian resonance if we consider the diminutization and the enclitic definite article masculine *-l*. Originally, the name was taken as such (with the adapted spelling), so that, in a new stage, to be added the termination *-telek* (*-telke*), namely "place", "land", "piece of land". After the village entered in the territory of the Wass family and a Catholic church dedicated to St. Egidio (Szent Egyed) was founded in the 14th century, the name Sancto Egidio or *Scenth Egud*, with its variants is imposed[16]. That name, strange for

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[13] *Ibidem*, p. 63-112.

[14] Idem, *La începuturile Evului Mediu românesc*, p. 84-131.

[15] D. Ţeicu, *Banatul montan*, p. 290-400.

[16] Vezi I.-A. Pop, *De la lumea medievală la cea modernă*, in Ioan Mârza (coord.), *Monografia comunei Ţaga*, Cluj-Napoca, 2009, p. 283-305.

Transylvania, shows precisely the extra-Transylvanian, Western origin of the Wos family; there is no other church in Transylvania with this patron, but there is one instead in the Vas County in Hungary, where the Wass family probably stems from[17]. The same happened with Onceşti in Maramureş, also called *Varalia* (Sub Cetate) in 1360, with Tohan (near Braşov), called *Olahteleky* (The Romanian Land), with Beznic (in Banat), later named *Abosfalva,* with Mihalţ (Alba), "*Kozepvinc*, by another name" (Vinţul de Mijloc), with Nedele (Nedeie), later named *Wegsaghavasa,* etc. For many other villages the Romanian names have been translated into Hungarian: Văleni (Maramureş) becomes *Patak*, Râu Bărbat, Râu Alb, Râu de Mori, Grădişte, Reea from Haţeg become *Borbatviz*, *Feheviz*, *Malomviz*, *Varhel*, respectively *Gunazfolu*, and Măru, Neacşu, Spini or Prisaca from Banat, become, in Hungarian, *Almafa*, *Nexefalua*, *Novakfalua*, *Tyvis,* respectively *Gyepew*, etc. The village Grădişte (a name with Slavo-Romanian resonance, acquired during the cohabitation of latinophones with the Slavic population), from Haţeg County – where the ancient Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa, the capital of Roman Dacia, was located – has preserved in the Middle Ages, for a while, the Romanian name Brătunia[18] or Bătrâna[19], translated into Latin documents as *Brethonia*.

In some cases, the Romanian names of places are added Hungarian terminations, as in the examples: *Kopachfalwa, Dezefalwa, Hernyachfalwa* (document concerning Maramureşş, from October 12th, 1365[20]). These names of villages (*falva/ falu* means village) come from common nouns and adjectives in Romanian, such as "tree", "often" and "diligent". "Satul lui Stancu [Stancu's Village]" appears *Ztankfolua* (document from Banat, issued on March 29th, 1378[21]). In the same documents from the 14th century, under the corrupt or adapted spelling of the scribe (*Terra Moldavana*, *Zlatyna*, *Zeleste*, *Vyssou*, *Moyze*)[22], one may recognize traditional local names such as Ţara Moldoveană, Slatina, Sălişşte respectively Moisei. The Romanian resonance of some toponyms from Haţeg can be seen in a document dated on June 8th, 1377[23], issued in Alba Iulia: *fluvium Ryusor* (with the variant *Ryusoor*)…, *villam Olacalem Thuelyfalw vocatam…*, *quatuor villas Olachales Brazua, Bradath, Walee et Ohaba vocatas*. It refers to the Romanian toponyms Râuşşor (river and village), Breazova, Brădet (later called Zeicani), Vale (later named Păucineşti) and

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[17]The same can be said about the village Sucutard, taking its name from Sf. Gothard (Sanctus Gothardus). See A. W. Kovács, *The History of the Wass de Czege Family*, Hamburg, 2005, p. 49.

[18] Maria Holban, *Din cronica relaţiilor româno-ungare*, p. 234-235. R. Popa, *La începuturile Evului Mediu românesc*, p. 87-89. Maria Holban derives the name *Brithonia* from Brătunia or Brătuia, stemming from the antroponym Bratu. Radu Popa agrees with this opinion.

[19] S. Brezeanu, *Identităţi şi solidarităţi*, p. 283-286. Stelian Brezeanu proposes, bringing forward many analogies, the derivation of the corrupt form of *Brithonia* from the Romanian *Bătrâna*.

[20] DRH, XII, p. 362-363.

[21] DRH, XV, p. 387-390.

[22] DRH, XII, p. 398-399.

[23] DRH, XV, p. 248-251.

Ohaba (later named Hobiţa). The name of the Romanian village *Thuelyfalw* (located about 2 km from Sarmizegetusa, meanwhile disappeared) probably comes from the noun "tei [linden]". On September 12th, 1380[24], the name appears, still in a Romanian context, *terra Polonycza vocatam penes rivulum Cernyswara*, namely "the land called Poieniţa, located on the river Cernişşoara". "Poieniţa" is the Romanian diminutive of the common noun "poiana [meadow]".

3. Romanian common nouns

Surprising Romanian common nouns such as *cergă [rug]* (1331), *cărămidă [brick]* (1364), *pod [bridge]* (14th century), *baltă [pond]* (1418), some of them now toponyms, appear early. All of them are mentioned in a Romanian context and in connection with the Romanians. For example, on March 7th, 1418, Pippo of Ozora (Filippo Scolari), earl of Timiş, relating about a demarcation of estates made for two groups of Romanians who were in conflict, in the presence of "certain honest and noble knezes" (*certos probos et nobiles kenezyos*), mentions "a certain swamp called *Fertes*, named Balta [pond] in Romanian" (*quendam paludem Fertes vocatum, in volacho Baltha dictum*)[25]. As in other cases, the Romanian noun pond (now a toponym) is rendered in Latin as *palus, -dis* (= swamp) and *fertes* (= slime) in Hungarian, taken as synonyms. In 1202, the Romanian name Ficior (anthroponym originating from a common noun, too) is mentioned as *Fichur*, North of Oradea, near the "Bihor fortress"[26]. The same name would later become the nickname of some members of the Romanian More family from Ciula Haţegului. When certain Romanian words could not be rendered in their original form, but it was intended (very rarely, otherwise) to indicate them, phrases are used. Thus, in a document dated July 26th, 1368, containing a contention between serfs, one of them had to give to the other, inter alia, two pairs of sandals called "Romanian shoes" (*caligas Olachales*)[27].

Of particular importance are the names of social categories, functions, authorities, status that exist in Romanian and are reproduced in Latin texts. Hence, the noun *cnez* [kneze] or *chinez* is mentioned, stemming in Romanian from Slavic, but absorbed by the Slavs from old German (*kunig, kenig*, namely prince, king). The Romanian knezes are old Romanian leaders of communities, now ruling over villages or parts of villages, with their own subjects. The ruling area of a kneze was called a cnezat [principality]. The forms of rendering in Latin texts these names of kneze and cnezat vary. Thus, on November 8th, 1352, *quenesi in provincia Seebus* ("the knezes from Caransebeşş County")[28] are mentioned, and a year later (on

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[24] DHR, XV, p. 776-777.
[25] F. Pesty, *Krassó vármegye*, vol. III, p. 284-287.
[26] I. Moga, *Les Roumains de Transylvanie*, p. 49.
[27] DRH, C, vol. XIII, p. 533-534.
[28] DRH, C, X, 1977, p. 160-161.

November 29th, 1353), the same leaders, this time in the Ciceu region in Northern Transylvania, appear as *kenezÿ* (*Olachos suos et kenezÿos* = his Romanians and knezes")[29]. Other forms of the name of knezes are *ipsi kenesii* (1363)[30], *Iuan kenezzyo* (1369)[31], *Nicolaus quenessius* (1376)[32]. The term *cnezt*, derived from *cnez* [kneze] has fewer variations: *keneziatus*, *kenezatus*, *kenezyatus*. The name voivode (Romanian-Slavic term). used in connection with the Romanians, has various forms as well: *vaivoda*, *voivoda*, *woyvoda*, *waywoda*, *woyvada*, *woyvoda*, etc. There were many Romanian voivodates in the Medieval kingdom of Hungary, more precisely in Transylvania, Maramureşş, Banat, Crişşana, Ung, Bereg, Ugocea, etc., but only one of them was officialised, namely Transylvania, ruled by a leader ranked as voivode, named by the Hungarian king. Initially, the old local voivodes were recognized in this position. The same process, which took place earlier in Transylvania, happened in Maramureşş in the 14th century. Here, in the voivodate of Maramureşş, one can see how the Romanians' voivodes, chosen by the gathering of the country's knezes, are accepted as rulers by the Hungarian king as well. However, the difference in relation to Transylvania is that the ancient Romanian voivodes are appointed by the king as earls, the old voivodate gradually becoming, towards the end of the 14th century, county in the kingdom of Hungary. The term voivode, official perpetuated in Transylvania until the 16th century, entered in Hungarian as *vajda*.

Equally interesting are the names given to Romanians in the Latin and Hungarian Transylvanian documents. The old forms, found also in narrative sources, are *blacus*, *vlachus*, *valachus*, *volachus*, etc., stemming apparently from the name of the first Romanized Celtic tribe, *volcae* or *vlocae*. Due to the specificity of Hungarian, *vlachus* turned into *olachus* or *olahus*. In the Latin texts of the 13th and 14th centuries, both forms (*vlachus* and *olachus*) are to be found, with the predominance of the second. Examples: *Olachi* (1353), *Olaci* (1355), *Olaki* (1357), *Volaci/ Volachi* (1357), *Holahi* (1363), *Valachi* (1366), *Wlachones* (1474), *Walchi* (1373). The latter forms, quite weird, come from Western, papal editorials, where the realities of Transylvania and Hungary were little known. All these variants originate from the languages spoken to the West and North of the regions inhabited by Romanians. They are vernacular words adapted to Latin, words through which the Romance peoples were called. As in South-East Europe the Romanians were the only latinophones, *Valachus* and its derivatives refer to Romanians. For example, the form *Olahus* is modeled in Medieval Latin after Hungarian, where the Romanian is called *olah* and the Italian *olasz*.

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[29] *Ibidem*, p. 239-241.
[30] DRH, C, XII, p. 137-144.
[31] DRH, C, XIII, p. 608-609.
[32] DRH, C, XV, p. 1-3.

4. Names of people

The most fascinating is, however, the Romanian anthroponymy present in Latin documents related to Medieval Transylvania and the surrounding regions. It is generally of Latin and Romanian-Slavic origin, but it includes many calendar names, even from the Catholic calendar. The double names for the same person start to emerge now, a Romanian traditional name and one chosen from the usual Hungarian names, usually from the Catholic calendar. The tendency is only beginning in the 14th century, but it will increase in the 15th century, the best known case being that of the Hunedoara brothers, sons of Voicu, named Iancu and Ivașcu at home, in the Romanian orthodox environment, and in society, in the their official elitist world, among Hungarians and Westerners, Ioan [John] (Ivașcu's early death no longer claimed another distinctive name in relation to Ioan [John]) [33]. Double names could result from a new baptism, Catholic, as it happened with the Romanian Șerban, which became Ștefan [Stephen]: on May 16th, 1366 in Cluj, King Louis I gave the news that, since his faithful servant, the Romanian Șerban of Aciua, had become Ștefan [Stephen] through baptism in Catholic rite, receiving as a gift the Aciuța estate neighbouring Aciua (villages in Arad county), having the obligation to donate each year the sheep fiftieth tax, the pigs tax and to fulfil faithful services in the future as well[34]. Baptism did not mean however abandoning the old name, which continued to be used at home, where they could practice biritualism (attendance of both Orthodox and Catholic churches). The new name usually had the resonance of the old one: Șerban – Ștefan, Șerban or Șurban – Urban, Radul or Ladul – Ladislau, Vladislav – Ladislau etc. But most Romanian ennobled knezes, who have remained small feudal leaders in their villages, have continued to keep the old traditional names along with the Byzantine faith and the whole complex of beliefs, customs and traditions called "Romanian law".

The names of rulers, mentioned South of the Carpathian Mountains, are very often recorded in Transylvania, in surprising forms and circumstances. Litovoi, Seneslau, Tihomir, Basarab, Vlaicu, Dan, Vlad, Radu, Mircea, Aldea, etc. appear like this, the names of the country's founders, of the founders of the dynasty and of the rulers of Țara Românească [Wallachia]; likewise, one may meet Dragoș, Bogdan, Mușat, Lațcu, Iuga, etc., founders and members of the Moldavian dynasty. Morevover, all the names of noblemen, ladies and princesses, courtiers and servants which are to be found South and East of the Carpathians are found again in Transylvania, Banat and the neighbouring regions.

To illustrate this, let's take a look at an almost forgotten document, issued on August 12th, 1389, concerning Banat, where dozens of Romanian names are enumerated, belonging essentially to small knezes, still owners of their subjects, and

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[33] I.-A. Pop, *Numele din familia regelui Matia Corvinul: de la izvoarele de epocă la istoriografia contemporană*, in "Studii și materiale de istorie medie", vol. XXVI, 2008, p. 123-137.

[34] DRH, C, vol. XIII, p. 100-101.

their homes[35]. Thus, the following are mentioned: 20 serfs and an empty courtyard, plus three mills "on the river commonly known as Pogănici" (*Poganch*); Marcu Ştefan, son of Drăguşa (*Dragucha*); Marcu cel Mic [The Small], Vasile (*Basilius*), kneze Răduş (*Rados*), Brateş (*Brethes*) and Dracşa (*Draxa*), George, Dionisie, Muşat (*Musa*), Miliţă (*Milita*), Bogdan, Radul, widow of Stoian (*relicta Stoyani*); then there are four or 24 cnezate [principalities] (the document has gaps and has been deciphered with difficulty), five serfs and an empty position in the cnezate [principality] of kneze Neacşu (*Nexa*), located on the part of village Pricul or Precul (*Prekolfalua*); moreover, kneze Prodan (*Proda*) with four of his serfs, kneze Stancu (*Stank*) with six of his serfs, kneze Dobruşa (*Dobrucha*) with nine of his serfs; the village Borziuc (*Borzlyuk*) appears next, with 21 serfs, out of whom seven, namely Văsiel (*Woszeel*), Solozlău (*Salazla*), Duşa or Ducşa (*Duxa*), Mogoş (*Magas*), Ilie (*Iliam*), Călin (*Calyn*) and an empty position (without serf), were located right in Borziuc, while other 13 serfs lived in the possession called Săceu or Săcel (*Zacho*), belonging to Borziuc as well; furthermore, the possession Jupa (*Supafalua*) included six serfs and was equalled with the previous two, namely Borziuc and Săcel; Druşan (*Drusanfalua*) estate follows, with nine serfs, the possession Sanislăul cnezesc [of the kneze] (*Zanislo Kenezfalua*) with eight serfs, the village Hălmeagul cnezesc [of the kneze] (*Halmagi Kenezhaza*) with two serfs and Ionuşu cnezesc [of the kneze] (*Ianuskenezfalua*) with 18 serfs; in a portion of the mentioned Jupa lived kneze Ioan [John] and a serf; in the villages called Nicolae [Nicholas] (*Miklosfalua*) and Lupu (*Farkasfalua*), belonging to Remetea, there were 15 serfs; in Râşca village (*Rachkfalua*) there were 14 serfs; in Drăşani (*Drasanfalua*) three; in the village Fileşu cnezesc [of the kneze] (*Phileskenezfalua*) 15; in Giur (*Gyurfalua*) 11; the serfs of the village Cheşa cnezească [of the kneze] (*Kechakenez*) are mentioned by name, namely Cheşa cnezul [the kneze], Lădean (*Laden*) Bogdan, Duie (*Duya*), Anca (*Anka*), Nicolae, Mihu (*Myhe*) Bogdan, Gheorghe Dragomir (*Dragmer*), Gheorghe Balea (*Balya*), Boriac (*Baryak*), Ioan, Oprişa (*Opprisa*) and Buşea or Bucea (*Bucha*); likewise, the serfs Ruja (*Ruza*), another Ruja, Lădulea (*Ladula*), Gheorghe, Fileş (*Fyles*), Ştefan, Drăşan (*Drasan*), Bogdan, Noşa (*Nosa*), Dâncu (*Dank*), Iuan (*Iwan*), Puşă (*Pousa*), Stanul (*Stanol*), Ionuş (*Janus*), Dobruşa, Dragomir, Filipaş (*Fylepes*) and Ioan, located there as well; then, the serfs Nicolae, Iuan, Buda, Dumitru, Gheorghe, Radeş (*Rades*), Oprişa, Roman, Stoian, Mircea? (*Mrisauch*) and Lacea (*Lacha*), in the same place; there is also the village Moian (*Mayanfalua*) with its mill located on the river Bârzava (*Borzua*), the village of kneze Nicolae [Nicholas] (*possessio Nicolai kenezii*) with 24 serfs, "the village of Nicolae [Nicholas], son of Pribil" (*Pribilfyamyclosfalua*) with 24 serfs and a mill, also located on the river Bârzava; the Cuieşti district appears, too (*districtum de Kwesd*), emptied of inhabitants, etc.

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[35] F. Pesty, *Krassó vármegye*, vol. III, p. 185-192.

Another example, from 1353, taken from the boundaries of Transylvania, speaks about *castelanus de Chycho, Olachos suos et kenezÿos, videlicet Petrum, filium Michaelis, Iula, Iwan, filium Brerer, Wayk, Frath et Iwan Longum … destinasset* ("the castellan of Ciceu sent his Romanians and knezes, namely Petru [Peter], fiul lui Mihai [Michael], Iula, Iuan [John], fiul lui Brerer, Voicu, Fratu and Iuan cel Lung [John the Long]." [36] In a document of October 12th, 1355, the following names given to Romanians are mentioned: *Iohannes*, *Iga*, *Dragus* (*filius Gyula, filii Dragus*), *Stephanus*, *Tatar*, *Dragamer*, *Kuzta*, *Myruzlo*[37]. It is clear that Ioan [John] and Ştefan [Stephen] – calendar names – are rendered by the form established in Medieval Latin and not as they were pronounced by Romanians. In the case of the others, an attempt has been made to render them phonetically, close to the pronunciation of their carriers and they must have sounded in the Romanian language of the time as follows: Iuga, Drăguş or Dragoş, Tătar, Dragomir, Costea and Mirăslău. *Gyula* must have been pronounced in Romanian Giula or Giulea, where the village name Giuleşti resulted from. Almost the same characters appear after exactly ten years, on October 12th, 1365, as loyal Romanian servants of the king (*fidelibus suis Volachys*) in the form: *Gywle, filio Dragus … item Stephano, Myroslawo presbitero, et Dragomer, filiis eiusdem Gywle*. Despite some phonetic rendering differences, they are Giula, son of Drăguş, Ştefan [Stephen], the priest from Mirăslău, and Dragomir.

According to a testimony from August 6th, 1351[38], some Romanians West of Maramureş, from Ugocea County, were called *Zerechen, Nicolaus, Balathin et Rugas, filii Karachun, woyvade de Bilke*. *Nicolaus* is again a calendar name, easy to render in Romanian, *Zerechen* can be Sărăcin and *Karachun* is undoubtedly Crăciun [Christmas]. The other two are however impossible to guess. By chance, a document from December 8th, 1363[39], where almost the same sons of the Romanian voivode Crăciun of Bilca are mentioned, helps us understand: *Valentinum, Serechin et Luchasium, filios Karochon, Valacos*. Therefore, *Balathin et Rugas*, from 1351, become Valentin and Luca in 1363. This difference in spelling is strange, especially since it is about calendar names. It is highly unlikely that the scribe from 1351 has not understood the ordinary Catholic names Valentin [Valentine] and Luca [Luke]. Taking into account certain analogies of the time, it can be assumed that the old forms of traditional Romanian names (maybe Balotă or Paltin, for the first, Rugoş or Lugoş for the second) have been adjusted/ changed, perhaps following the conversion of their carriers to Catholicism. The change was usually made with

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[36] DRH, C, X, p. 239-241.
[37] *Ibidem*, p. 362-364.
[38] *Ibidem*, p. 55-56.
[39] DRH, XII, p. 192.

Catholic names that had the same resonance. On December 30th, 1359[40], a "voivode of Romanians" called *Bybarch*, appears in Hălmagiu (*Holmad*) along with a "*Reman Olachus*". It's almost impossible to tell how the two names must have sounded in Romanian. On May 14th, 1361[41], a document that refers to "our faithful Romanians from the Land of Maramureş" mentions *Bud, Sandor, Oprissa, Johannis, Dragomer et Bayla, filiorum Locovoy, fidelium Olachorum nostrorum de terra Maramarusiensi*, speaks about a Romanian cnezat [principality] (*keneziatum*), as well as about another Romanian (*similiter Olahus*) called *Stan dictus Fejyr*. The Romanian names must have been Bud or But (preserved in Maramureş until today), Şandru, Opriş, Ioan, Dragomir, Balea and Stan. Licovoi can be very good be Litovoi (considering the graphical confusion between consonants c and t). The names *Sandor* and *Fejyr* are Hungarian variants for Alexandru [Alexander], respectively Albul [The White]. From the Hungarianized nickname of Stan the kneze the Romanian name of the Fereşti, the village from Maramureş, would result in time. On March 3rd, 1363[42], "all knezes and old Romanians from Haţeg district" (*universis keneziis et senioribus Olachalibus districtus Haczak*) judged by the laws of the knezes (*ius keneziale*), in the context of the cause mentioning Romanian names such as *Musath, Stroja/ Sztroja, Zayk*. These might sound in Romanian Muşat, Stroia or Stroie and Zeicu or Ţeicu.

In a document with legal force from February 2nd, 1365[43] one can find the names *Bakdan* for Bogdan and *Dragmer* for Dragomir and on February 26th, 1365[44] Petru [Peter] Negoiu, Maxim and Roman are mentioned, the voivodes of the Romanians (*Petro de Kege, Neguoy, Maxin et Roman, voyvodis Olachorum*) next to a kneze Ilie (*Elya kenezio*). The same year (September 22nd[45]), other names are mentioned (*Karapch Olachus, filius Ladislai, filii Zarna Olachy ... Stanizlao, Negwe, Wayuk, Nicolao et Ladislao, filiis Ladislai, filii Zarna*), belonging to certain Romanians from Ţara Românească [Wallachia] who have been given estates in the Romanian districts Marginea (*Margina*) and Icuş (*Ikus*), in Banat. Here as well appear Hungarian forms of calendar names (Ladislau), common forms of calendar names (Nicolae), but also strange Romanian forms (Carapciu? Românul [The Romanian], Zârnă Românul [The Romanian], Stanislau, Neagu, Văiuc?). If we corroborate the information given here with those from the Act of June 20th, 1371[46], then Carapciu remains unchanged (*Karapch*), while Neagu is articulated (*Negul*) and

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[40] DRH, XI, p. 452-453.
[41] DHR, XII, p. 27-29.
[42] DRH, XII, p. 130-133.
[43] DRH, XII, 398-399.
[44] DRH, XII, p. 402-404.
[45] DRH, XII, p. 444-448.
[46] DRH, XIV, p. 56-60.

Ladislaus becomes *Layk*, namely Vlaicu. On July 3rd, 1372[47], among the men sent by the Romanian knezes and nobles to dig the ditch of the Orşova fortress, *Nexe, filius Kopach, Gouasdya, Stan kenezius, Radul kenezius, Iuan Ruphus, Karachon* are to be found, namely Neacşu/ Necşea, son of Copaciu, Găvoşdea, Stan the kneze, Radul the kneze, Iuan cel Roşu [John the Red], respectively, Crăciun. The name Neacşu appears, on the same July 3rd, 1372, as *Nekche. Iohannes dictus Stoyan kenezius… Drag, filius Gyula, Gruhestan, Dragomer, Crichywan et Stanizlaus* from Maramureş are found in a document from July 1st, 1375[48]. They could be, in Romanian, Ioan also called Stoian, the kneze, Drag, son of Giula, Gruie Stan, Dragomir, Crişan or Criş Ioan/ Criş Iuan and Stanislau. Other Romanians are mentioned in the July 6th, 1374[49]: *Stoykan, filius Dragmerii, filii Voyna de Laysta, Danchul, Neeg, Woyk, filius Raduzlu et Selibor*, namely Stoican, son of Dragomir, son of Voinea of Lovişte, Danciul, Neag, Voicu, son of Radoslau and Selibor/ Sălibor. An anthroponym, Stancu, was the one that gave the name of the village *Ztankfolua*, mentioned on March 29th, 1378[50]. On September 12th, 1380[51], one may find *Stoyan, filius Mosyna de Nyres, kenezius Olachorum de districtu castri Hathzak*, namely "Stoian, son of Muşină of Mesteacăn [Birch], the kneze of the Romanians from the district of Haţeg Fortress". It is easy to see how the Romanian toponym Mesteacăn [Birch] has been translated to Hungarian. In the ambience of the Hungarian court at Visegrad, the records mention, on June 19th, 1376[52] *Bagdanum, filium Stephani et Radul, filium Wozunk* (later written *Woynuk*), which may suggest in Romanian Bogdan, son of Ştefan and Radul, son of Voinic or Voinuc. On October 6th, 1378[53], a Romanian noble born *ex nobili domina Margareta, filia Iwan, filii Myk de Urmezeu,* namely *"from the noble lady* Margareta [Margaret], son of Iuan, son of Micu of Urmezeu" is mentioned. The name Margareta [Margaret] may suggest here the lady's conversion to Catholicism, although it may well be only the translation of the name Muşata. An interesting onomastic is revealed on July 7th, 1376[54], in *Sandrino, alio nomine Alexa vocato, filio Bochus dicto Ffichormiklous, filii Dorman de Dormanhaza de comitatu Maromorosiensi*, which means "to Sandrin, also called Alexa, son of Buhuş called Ficior Miclăuş, son of Dărman of Dărmăneşti from Maramureş county". Sandrin is a diminutive from Alexa/ Alexandru, while the nickname Ficior/ Fecior (from the Latin *fetiolus*) shows how a common noun is about to become a proper noun. On

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[47] DRH, XIV, p. 237-240.
[48] DRH, XIV, p. 564-566.
[49] DRH, XIV, p. 472-473.
[50] DRH, XV, p. 387-390.
[51] DRH, XV, p. 776-777.
[52] DRH, XV, p. 51-53.
[53] DRH, XV, p. 487-495.
[54] DRH, XV, p. 60-62.

June 19th, 1376[55],, a *Radul, filius Woznuk*, with the version *Woynuk*, suggesting a connection with the common noun " voinic [sturdy]" (of Slavonic-Romanian origin).

Conclusions

All these names are particularly important not only from a historical point of view, but also from a philological one. Some of them are clear even in their Latin-Hungarian clothes, but others can only be guessed under the corrupt form in which they have been rendered, due to the specificity of Medieval Latin, but also to the unskillfulness of the notaries who did not know Romanian. From a historical point of view, the document reveals a world of small princely masters of yesterday with their subjects called "serfs", but also an ending world in terms of the old Romanian organization, now subordinated to other masters. However, knezes still had authority over their villages, the lands and people, on whose work they perceived aliquots, as ever, but saving for themselves only a part; the rest went to the new masters. The names of knezes and serfs, but also the names of the old villages are of old Romanian and Romanian-Slavic resonance, many enclitically articulated or diminutized after the specificity of the Romanian language, or ended in Romanian suffixes. Some names of places and people are kept as such, as the locals pronounced them, although the spelling invariably transforms them. Others are maintained, but Hungarian endings such as *-falva*, *-falu*, *-telke*, *-telek*, *al-*, *fel-*, etc are added to them. In the case of names of places and people (especially nicknames), it is clear that they stem from common nouns or adjectives in Romanian. There are also examples of replacing old names with new ones, suited to the new rulers, or of abandoning archaic names for others.

Through these local words and phrases, present in documents written in Medieval Latin, one can trace the specificity of a world that sometimes leaves itself to be discovered with difficulty under the coating of chancellery language.

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[55] DRH, XV, p. 51-53.