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**ROMANIANS OF EASTERN SERBIA IN THE PERIOD FROM  
1718 UP UNTIL NOW. BETWEEN ASSIMILATION AND  
IDENTITY**

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**Key Words:** Romanians, Vlachs, Serbia, Eastern Serbia, Romania, Timok, Timok eparhy

## **CHAPTER 1**

### **Romanians of Eastern Serbia in the period from 1718 to 1833**

In the first Chapter, I will explore the situation in Eastern Serbia at the beginning of the 18th century, to be precise from the signing of the Peace of Passarowitz (rom. Pojarevaţ, serb. Požarevac), in 1718 until 1833, when the Serbian Prince Miloš Obrenović (rom. Miloş Obrenovici)

This period is significant, as it is the moment in history when the ethnic structure of Eastern Serbia crystallized. This strcuture will remain unchanged until today. The territory under Austrian rule was divided, so Craina and its adjacent regions came under the administration in Timisoara, while at the same time the administration of the Kingdom of Serbia included folowing large towns: Belgrade, Pojarevaţ, Smederevo, Šabac, Valjevo, Kraguievac, Paraćin, Čačak and Stalac.

At that time, as a result of numerous wars, territory of Serbia was devastated and depopulated. Therefore, it is not surprising that to ensure more effective defence, this territory was colonised. The colonisation of the Germans in Banat was carefully planned, according to plan developed by Eugene of Savoy, without whose approval this could not be carried out. The Romanians, who were neither craftsmen nor skilfull farmers, were settled on the other side of Danube. The colonization, which folowed the establishment of the Austrian government in the area, after the Peace of Passarowitz, is characterised by the first wave of migration from the Romanian Principalities.

The 18th century was particularly difficult for the rural population. As the result of the increased taxation, the situation of peasants in Transylvania, under the control of the Hungarian nobility, was extremly difficult. The failiure of the uprising of Horea, Cloşca and Crişan against the Hungarian nobility in 1784 and 1785 resulted in the massive migrations from these territories.

In 1739, after the Peace of Belgrade was signed, the map of Europe changed again. The territory of East Serbia was ceded to Turkey, and the Danubeagain became a border between two empires.

The First Serbian Uprising, led by Karadjordje, broke out on 14 February 1804 in Orašac. In 1815 Second Serbian Uprising began under the leadership of Miloš Obrenovic.

The present-day Romanians of Serbia supported Serbian uprisings and participated in both revolts against the Turks.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **ROMANIANS OF EASTERN SERBIA FROM 1833 UP UNTIL THE FIRST WORLD WAR**

After the suppression of the First Serbian Uprising, led by Karadjordje Petrović, and the tumultuous revolt that in 1815 culminated in the Second Serbian Uprising, led by Miloš Obrenović, one of the most interesting and patriotic figures in the Serbian history, Serbia started to get rid of Turkish yoke. Although the Second Serbian Uprising under his leadership covered only *Pashaluk of Belgrade*, its implications were much deeper and had a strong echo in the territories, which participated in the first uprising. Due to his diplomatic talent, Miloš Obrenović managed to acquire Serbian autonomy. Later, Prince Milos also managed to obtain hereditary rights over the throne of Serbia. However, his greatest success was certainly the annexation of the territories that constitute more than half of the modern Serbian territory. These territories are also known, as six nachias, and are listed as follows: Krajina, Crna Reka, Paraćin, Kruševac, Stara Vlačka and Podrinje.

One of first activities, after the incorporation of the Timok nachia was the establishment of the Diocese of Timok. Although, until 1833 Timok Nachia was never under Serbian rule and the most of the population was of Romanian origin, Prince Milos, by appointing Bishop of Timok, began with the consolidation of the Serbian ethnic identity in this area. Majority of Romanian population from the region was involved in the process of integration, adaptation and assimilation, with the church, education, army and administration playing important role in this process. The population had to learn Serbian and for this purpose schools

in Serbian were established. It was also necessary, to strengthen faith and convince local population to attend church services. Within the army, Serbian nationalism was underlined by repressive behaviour and forced learning of the Serbian language, and every contact with administration and judges required knowledge of Serbian.

The attitude of the Serbian intellectual elite towards Romanians is evident from the notes of the famous Serbian scientist Joseph Pancic, made during the scientific expedition. Low level of hygiene among Romanians which causes disgust, poverty, the language they speak and hatred went so far as to accuse Romanians for all possible crimes and misdeeds. The general attitude of the notes is that "this mass of the population only damages the general progress of the country".

On the other hand, in all wars Kingdom of Serbia was involved, Romanians of Eastern Serbia participated in a high number and were loyal citizen.

## **CHAPTER 3**

### **ROMANIANS OF EASTERN SERBIA FROM 1941 UP UNTIL NOW**

After an unsuccessful attempt to establish neutrality, on 25 March 1941, the Kingdom of Yugoslavia signed accession to the Tripartite Pact. Two days later, in a military coup, regent Pavle was deposed, and King Petar II, which was minor at the time, was proclaimed adult. In the first hours of midnight on the 6<sup>th</sup> April 1941, a group of German armies crossed the Danube at Iron Gates, near the village Sip. Even before German bombers destroyed Belgrade, in Krajina, in Eastern Serbia, about 30 Yugoslav soldiers and civilian in the village of Mali Sip on the Danube had already been killed.

This was followed by air attacks on Belgrade, the capital of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, which marked the beginning of the April War. German forces defeated relatively easily Yugoslav Royal Army, which was forced to surrender on 17 April 1941. Few weeks after the surrender, deportation of all Yugoslav participants in the April War, as war prisoners started. From the available documents, it is known that the priest Suveică from Brza Palanka (Krajina) made a great effort, both in contacts with the high representatives of the Romanian authorities and with

Marshal Antonescu, to repatriate Romanians of Eastern Serbia who were taken as prisoners of war. These efforts produced results. All prisoners, even Serbs who spoke some Romanian, were released from the camps and sent home.

Although the Yugoslav army was defeated, the resistance was organised by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia – partisans. The leaders of this organization had the mission to recruit as many soldiers as possible, from all parts of the population, regardless of religion or nationality, in order to create a united front for the fight against the occupation. In the initial phase, a small number of people, familiar with the Communist Party program, joined the partisans, with the idea to fight fascism. Četnici, led by Draža Mihailović, initially constituted a resistance movement, but during the war this movement established co-operation with the fascist Axis. In the summer of 1941, a collaborative government led by General Milan Nedić, the so-called National Salvation Government was formed. According to some versions, his collaboration with the Germans was motivated by the need to protect population. Romanians from Eastern Serbia supported both partisans and četnici, as well as other groups, such as Nedić's army, Ljotici, and so on.

After the war, the Communists organised the elections, and shortly thereafter the constitution was adopted. Question of Romanians in Timok, was always in the centre of attention at the secret services' meetings, evident from the available documents describing in detail conduct of Romanians towards state authorities, which only reinforces the conviction previously held among Romanians that the secret service was active in the community for a number of years. Women were considered key to tackle the problem of illiteracy and backwardness of Romanians.

At the moment two names – Romanians and Vlachs are used to designate Romanian population of Eastern Serbia. Romanian and Vlach language exist in parallel. Serbian state supports Vlachs, while Romania Romanians. Within this division, certain number when speaking about themselves say that they are Romanians, but when speaking Serbian, say - ja sam vlah. I consider that their situation is more difficult.

## **Chapter 4**

### **TIMOC ROMANIANS AND THE FIRST WORLD WAR**

Romanians from Eastern Serbia participated equally alongside in the Serbian army in all the battles of the First World War. Soldiers in the Timoc division were mostly Romanians from Timoc, while the Dunav division consisted of Romanians from Branicevo, especially the 9th Regiment, where the most numerous were the Romanians from Homolie. Morava division also consisted of Romanians, because this area is inhabited by Romanians.

The attack of the Austro-Hungarian Army on the territory of Serbia was made over The Danube. After the victory at the battle of Cer, the Allies urged Serbian Army to enter the enemy territory. Crossing-bridges were established over rivers Drina and Sava, and for the later at two points: Kupinovo and Leget. The advance at Kupinovo, was entrusted to the First Army, while for the advance at Leget, the Timoc Division, under the command of General Vladimir Kondic, was selected. It should be noted that from the beginning the second passage was doomed to failure and the army was sacrificed in advance. Soldiers who were transferred to Leget were left without ammunition, due to the lack of spare parts at the pontoon bridge there were no reinforcements, and the enemy was becoming more numerous. The Battle of Leget resulted in huge human casualties and is considered one of the greater defeats by the Serbian Army in the First World War. If analyzed as a mean for achieving a certain goal, it can be said that it achieved its goal. The stationing of the Timoc Division on foreign territory, even short-lived, caused Austro-Hungarian Army to focus on this part of the warfield. As a result, this opened free passage for First Army over river Sava. This allowed for conquest of Zemun and Nova Pazova. It also helped the allies, in this case Russians, because the Austro-Hungarian division 29 had been slowed down on the Galician front.

6500 deaths at Leget and 4,800 prisoners, of whom only 600 survived the end of the war must not be forgotten. Prisoners were stationed in the camps, where they experienced very cruel treatment. Soldiers of the 9th Regiment were engaged at the cross-bridge in Kupinovo. After that, in September 1914 they participated in the Battle of Mackov Kamen. During the battle, they suffered enormous losses, which made this battle one of the most bloody during the entire war. The beginning of 1915 was quiet, without armed conflicts. However, epidemics caused 20,000 deaths among soldiers and twice as many among civilian populations. In October 1915, the German army entered the territory of Serbia by crossing the Danube close to the village Ram. Defending this area was the Dunav Division, which consisted mostly from Branicevo Romanians. The first victim was Milan Djordjevic, a Romanian soldier from the village of Manastirica.



However, these troops withdrew quickly, due to the enemy superiority and the grave situation in other battlefields. This was followed by the complete withdrawal of the Serbian Army. For more than 20 days, from the Danube to Resava river, frozen and hungry soldiers continued to fight without any rest.

The only hope for salvation was the retreat through Albania and rejoining with the Allied armies. This withdrawal took place in three directions.

The year 1916 was marked by the formation of the Thessaloniki front and the battles of Gornicev and Kajmakalan. At that time some of the troops were recovering in Corfu, other resumed their positions on the front, and the civilians which remained in eastern Serbia experienced a period of heavy survival under the Bulgarian occupation which lasted until 1918. Some of the worst atrocities was committed in the Romanian villages Ranovac and Kladurovo - the villages were burned and robbed, and the population was displaced. The ossuary in the village Bela Voda, where 250 residents were killed, stands as a testimony of this. At present there are eight monuments covered with moss as witnesses of these events. Local residents claim that in the past there were many more, but because of the carelessness only few remained. The population which stayed experienced Bulgarian genocide. Those who fled to the woods became haiducs. With the breakthrough of the Thessaloniki front, the Serbian army returned to its homeland.

The year 1917 was marked by achievement of the idea of Yugoslavism which, along with the liberation from the enemy yoke, became the second most important idea of the Serbian politics. The signing of the Corfu Declaration was the first step in formation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. After the collapse of the Thessaloniki front, the Serbian army, along with the allied one, quickly advanced in the liberation of the territories.

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **ROMANIANS OF EASTERN SERBIA AND THE CHURCH ORGANIZATION FROM THE PEACE OF POJAREVAȚ UNTIL UP TODAY**

Romanians inhabit parts of the northeastern Serbia, where they constitute the majority in four areas: Požarevac, Čuprija, Zaječar and Negotin. The Austrian administration, to which this region

was subordinated between 1718 and 1739, carried out a systematic colonization in the border areas, previously depopulated as a result of wars. Attracted by many benefits, such as tax exemptions, the ancestors of today's Romanians continued to migrate to these territories even after the end of the Austrian rule and return of these territories under Turkish occupation. An important number of settlers also moved after the failure of the Romanian peasants' rebellion against the Hungarian nobility in 1784. Territory of modern-day Serbia which, following the signature of the Peace Treaty of Pozarevac came under Austrian occupation, were partly under the jurisdiction of the Archdiocese of Belgrade, and another part belonged to the Vršac Diocese. Both Archdiocese of Belgrade and the Vršac Diocese had jurisdiction over an equal number of parishes, namely 8.5. At that time, the Diocese of Pozarevac, which included the town of Pozarevac and the churches of Gornjak, Majdanpek, Porec and the church in Petrovac, also existed.

Together with the settlers, Romanian priests arrived on these territories. Information about their arrival is provided by the exarch Maksim Radkovic, who on the order of the Archbishop of Belgrade, visited all parishes in 1734. Irineul Pavel from Zvižd, Romanian born in Naidaș, used church books written in Romanian, priest Gavriilo from Livadice, born in Romania, as well as monk Gavril from the Rukumia monastery, and the priest Aranitovic who served in the church in Pozarevac and was also of Romanian origin. These are just some of the information given by exarch Maksim. Interestingly, in the mixed parishes, where the priests were of Serbian origin, the exarch complains of the low morality of the Romanians who do not go to the church and do not respect the clergy. Even only Negotin and Zajecar came under Serbian rule in 1833, we have information about them in the years leading up to this year. For example, from the Turkish census in 1741, we find information that Romanian priests lived together with Romanian population. According to this census, there were 38 priests with specific Romanian names such as Ion, Radu, Vlad, Ștefan ...

In 1833, Milos Obrenovic extended Serbia to the Timoc region. The fact that even after the administrative and church annexation of the region, Romanian priests were present in Timoc is confirmed in the census of the Timoc Diocese from 1836. Prince Milos Obrenovic had a very close relationship with Romanians, as evidenced by the letter sent from Tekija in Romanian, asking for financial help for the church.

Even though the relationship between the Prince and the Romanians was quite decent, it is very

clear that he aspired to the homogenization of the state, which meant the strengthening of the Serbian national element inside the newly established state.

Following the Turkish withdrawal, a new wave of Serbian nationalism occurred. One of the main promoters of this idea was the church. In 1892, Melentije Vujic was appointed the head of the Timoc Diocese. He ordered that all Romanian icons be removed from the churches, and the walls would be painted with Serbian rulers. To reach this goal, in 1899, Bishop Melentije ordered that all newborns at baptism should receive only Serbian names. The list of allowed Serbian names, was displayed on the door of every church in the Timok Diocese.

The founding of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes only increased the aggressiveness of the assimilation. The Church imposes its spiritual authority over the whole territory; the Archdiocese was elevated to a rank of patriarchy. This is why the Romanians disappeared from the church records because the priests started registering them as Serbs.

In communist Yugoslavia the church was in a difficult position. However, it seems that Romanians of Eastern Serbia, despite the policy of assimilation through schools, army, media, have not lost their identity altogether. The appearance of priest Bojan Aleksandrovic is the hope for the restoration of the church service in mother tongue in Eastern Serbia. He was consecrated in 2005 by Bishop of Vrsac Danilo, what also represented a first act of setting up the Remesian Deanery. In protest at this act, the Serbian church has defied him.

Building of a church on its own land in the village of Malajnica near Negotin was a historic moment and a crossroad for a modern history of Romanian Church in Eastern Serbia. Despite accusation, death threats, complaints, the mission of father Bojan was not interrupted. Serbia is a secular state that assumed certain obligations, including religious freedoms. Unfortunately, as far as the governing authorities are concerned, this right is violated because Romanians in Eastern Serbia still cannot obtain building permits for their objects of worship. At present the church activity of the Romanian Deanery in northeastern Serbia takes place in five churches, with eight priests, and the service is conducted in the mother tongue.

## **CHAPTER 6**

### **THE DEMOGRAPHIC STATUS OF ROMANIANS IN EASTERN SERBIA**

Romanians from Eastern Serbia live in the north-eastern part of Serbia, which is bordered by the rivers Danube, Morava and Timok. The exact number of members of this community is almost impossible to determine.

It is necessary to determine, first of all, the number of descendants of Romanian immigrants after the Peace of Pozarevac, no matter how they declare themselves today.

To get to the most reliable indicators, we will start with the written sources that give us few but very valuable data. The first is, of course, the 1733 report by exarch Maksim Ratković of the Archdiocese of Belgrade, and the testimony of Jovan Mihajlović in 1735, which includes the territory of today's Branicevo and Pomoravlje districts, as well as the Turkish cadastral lists of Krajina and Ključ since 1741.

Precise data on settlements was recorded by Vladimir Jakšić, who in 1872 published the results of the census in the book published in Russia. Based on Jakšić's data, in 1846, 97,215 Romanians lived in Serbia, while this number according to Jakšić increased to in 1886. Until the official recognition of the Walachian Principality under the name of Romania, which took place at the Berlin Congress, Serbia recognized Romanians as a national minority whose kin-state is the Walachian Principality. Jaksic does not bring under suspicion the synonymity Vlach-Romanian, which he confirms at the beginning of his work.

In the following censuses until 1884 the ethnic structure of the population was not recorded. At the census of 1884 there were 149,727 Romanians. The next census took place on 31 December 1890, but unfortunately it did not provide precise data on the number of Romanians. What we can observe was the drastic reduction of the number of Romanians compared to the census that took place in 1884. In 1890 the official statistical data recorded 143,684 citizens of Serbia whose mother tongue is Romanian. This decrease in the number of Romanians was certainly not due to the war or other type of destruction whose victims were members of the Romanian population. Regardless of the natural growth of the Romanian population, which was the same as that of the Serbian majority population, it is incomprehensible such a reduction in number of the Romanians in the period of only six years.

The 1910 census was not published because of the Balkan Wars and the First World War began. Thanks to the Bulgarian historian Stojan Romanski we have precise data about the Romanian

ethnic population, in all those districts where Romanians are present nowadays. However, Serbian statistical data also had some drawbacks that even attracted Romanski's attention. For example, in the Kaona village (Zvižd commune), out of 872 inhabitants recorded in 1884, none was Serb - they were only Romanians, in 1890 out of 862 Serbs, only 8 persons of other nationality (Romanians) lived in the village. Five years later, 918 Romanians and only 2 Serbs were registered. Same situation happened in 1900. Only five years later the village was only populated by 1,005 Serbs. The Romanians no longer existed! According to Romanski, the total number of Romanians in Eastern Serbia in 1916 was 181,696, living in four districts.

In 1921, 231,006 people whose native language is Romanian or Aromanian have been registered in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.

The results of the 1931 census have never been published. From the material confiscated during the Second World War, Dr. Wilfried Krallert published a book in Vienna in 1943. It was not clear to him how the number of Romanians in Eastern Serbia decreased as compared to the previous census, from 149,964 to only 57,330 Romanians. For this drastic decline of the Romanians, in his book Dr. Krallert used the term "the terror of the census".

With the Communists rise to power, a new stage of assimilation, i.e. the Serbization of the Romanian population in this area began. The 1953 census shows a significant decrease of the Romanian population, which reached 28,047 inhabitants. When it comes to the 1961 census, it is interesting to say, strangely enough, that only 1,368 inhabitants declared themselves Romanians.

At the 2002 Census, 40,054 Romanians (i.e. in Serbian - Vlasi) were registered in East Serbia.

In maintaining the Romanian identity, women played an important role. However, this lasted only until the end of the Second World War, when the influence of the woman began to weaken, thus speeding up the loss of the Romanian identity in this area. In our opinion, to these numbers we need to add another 20,000 people who live outside their native settlements in Belgrade, Novi Sad, Niš, Subotica or Kragujevac. Through this research we come to the conclusion that in 2002 there were 260,000 descendants of the Romanians who originally came to Serbia after the Peace of Pozarevac in 1718.

According to the data gathered, the number of Romanians was the highest in 1971, almost 300,000 Romanians. Unfortunately, over time this number decreases, primarily because of the low birth rate, the precarious material situation, but also because of the situation in Serbia at the end of the last century.

Another reason for drastical reduction in the number of Romanian their migration in search of a better life. In the 21st century, the children of the descendants of the Romanian immigrants at the beginning of the eighteenth century, slowly forget the mother tongue of their ancestors. They rather communicate with each other in Serbian, German or French, rather than in Romanian.

Today, people in eastern Serbia are torn between two theories of their origins. According to one theory, Vlachs are considered Romanian. The second theory is the complete rejection of any connection between Vlachs and Romanians, considering Vlachs to be a separate people. In addition, a smaller number believe that the term "vlah" should be removed from use, others that the Vlachs are Serbs and that they have been named for some specific reason as Vlachs.

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