

ITALIAN AUTHORS AND THE ROMANIAN IDENTITY IN THE 16TH CENTURY

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Like most peoples of Central and South-Eastern Europe, during the Middle Ages the Romanians inhabited several countries and behaved differently, according to the existing circumstances. Consequently, the Romanians did not have a strong, active national community, similar to that of the modern era. The Romantic historians and some of the later generations embellished the Middle Ages with the image of united nations/peoples, fully aware of their own identity. The obvious exaggerations in the field, especially those belonging to the era of nationalist communism, have unfortunately led to an unjustified counter-reaction which, in some circles, currently tends to refute any manifestation of a medieval Romanian national conscience, as if the latter had merely possessed a primitive gregarious spirit, had not wondered at all about their origin, had not been in the least aware of their linguistic unity, of their common traditions and shared denomination, and, in general, of everything that made them different from their neighbors.

As is often the case, the relative truth as we know it today is somewhere in the middle. During the Middle Ages the Romanians lived scattered in two Romanian states (under Romanian political authority) and in provinces or regions of Hungary or of the Ottoman Empire, where they enjoyed the status of subjects; at the time, they were never able to act conjointly and made no attempt to carve one single Romania; nonetheless, due to their elites and regardless of their place of habitation, many Romanians were aware of the existence of a larger Romanian-inhabited space, of a common language shared by Moldavians, Wallachians, Transylvanians, those of Oltenia and the Maramureș, etc., of a common Christian faith, of an ancient Roman ancestry. Consequently, like everyone else in Europe, the Romanians also had their medieval nation¹ which, in the 16th–17th centuries, was taking the first tentative steps in the direction of modernity. It is only natural for things to have been so. Just like individual people, any community, of any time and place, asks questions and

¹ Ioan-Aurel Pop, *Națiunea română medievală. Solidarități etnice românești în secolele XIII-XVI*. București, 1998, passim.

comes up with answers (be these real or imaginary) regarding its origin, language, beliefs, traditions and customs, that is, regarding its identity in relation to other communities. And any ethnic community will have at least some members capable of contemplating the overall image of the group and of defining, in a simple or in a more elaborate form, its identity, basic features, personality. At the same time, this is also done by foreigners. The latter are the most qualified to identify the specific features of various nations, make comparisons and draw conclusions. The Romanians became quite early known to the Byzantines (Greeks), the Slavs and the Hungarians (end of the first millennium), and a bit later to the Orientals, the Germans, the Italians, the French, etc.

By 1500, the Italians already have a tradition of mentioning the Romanians. From Pope Innocent III (approx. 1200), Poggio Bracciolini (1380–1459), Flavio Biondo (1392–1463) or Enea Silvio Piccolomini (1405–146), to Alessandro Cortesi (1460–1491), Antonio Bonfini (approx. 1427–1502), Filippo Buonacorsi Callimaco (1438–1496) or Nicolaus Machinensis, bishop of Modrusa and papal legate, the Italians talk about the Roman origin of the Romanians and about their language, derived from Latin². Antonio Bonfini goes as far as saying that the Romanians defend their language more fiercely than their lives³, while Nicolaus Machinensis knows that the Romanians have one language for the holy rites and for writing, namely Slavonic (Illyrian), and another (*vernaculus sermo*), very close to the language of the Romans and to Italian, which they use *ab incunabulis*⁴. They also knew that the Romanians had two names: one they used for themselves and which preserved the memory of Rome (*rumân/român*), and another given them by the foreigners⁵, erroneously explained by Piccolomini (Pope Pius II) as deriving from the name of a Roman general, Flaccus (*vlachi*, with its derivatives)⁶. Also before 1500, some authors claimed to have learned of the Roman origin of the Romanians from the latter themselves (from some Romanians)⁷.

² Al. Marcu, *Riflessi di storia rumena in opere italiane dei secoli XIVe XV*, in "Ephemeris Dacoromana", I, 1923; Adolf Armbruster, *Romanitatea românilor. Istoria unei idei*, second edition, București, 1993, pp. 32–76; Claudio Isopescu, *Notizie intorno ai Romeni nella letteratura geografica italiana del Cinquecento*, in "Bulletin de la Section Historique de l'Académie Roumaine", XVI, 1929; Maria Holban, *Călători străini despre Țările Române*, vol. I, București, 1968; George Lăzărescu, Nicolae Stoicescu, *Țările Române și Italia până la 1600*, București, 1972, pp. 245–270.

³ Maria Holban, *Călători...*, I, p. 483.

⁴ A. Armbruster, *op. cit.*, pp. 64–66; Șerban Papacostea, *Geneza statului în evul mediu românesc. Studii critice*, revised edition, București, 1999, pp. 245–246.

⁵ It has been recently shown that a fragment from a universal chronicle drawn up in Italy around 1313–1315 and copied in 1394 by Ammaretto Mannelli of Florence uses for the first time the name *român*, alongside that of *valah*. See Șerban Turcuș, *Prima mărturie străină despre etnonimul "român" (1314)*, in "Cele trei Crișuri", seria a III-a, an I, 2000, nr. 7–9 (iulie–septembrie), pp. 1–14.

⁶ Maria Holban, *Călători...*, I, p. 472 (Latin text on p. 474).

⁷ Ș. Papacostea, *op. cit.*, pp. 239–248.

Thus, in the 16th century, Italian and Italian-speaking scholars and politicians had a pretty good idea about the Romanians who, in the previous century, had taken part with some measure of success in the late crusade⁸. After the year 1500, at a time of increased mobility and westward Ottoman expansion, we witness an increased interest in Central and South-Eastern Europe. Of the approx. 35 Italian authors who, between 1500 and 1593 (up to the reign of Michael the Brave, which must be discussed separately), referred to the region that would later become Romania, 30 speak about the identity of the Romanians or of some Romanians, or, in other words, about the origin of the Romanians, their language, name, denomination, garb, customs, institutions, etc. Of course, they do not all talk about each and every one of these issues, nor do they approach them in the same manner.

For instance, of the 30 aforementioned authors, 20 claim that the Romanians are descended from Romans or from Italians, one (Tranquillo Andronico⁹) claims that they are descended from Dacians and Romans, one says that their ancestors were Italian (Giovanni Botero¹⁰), another that they descend from Italians and Longobards (Ferrante Capeci, who also adds that there are the oldest inhabitants of Transylvania¹¹), and about five others (Mario Negri, Mancinelli, Sivori, Rocca, Bocignoli¹²) say nothing particularly clear about this issue. Francesco Massaro states that Transylvania is a Roman colony¹³, while Antonius Buccapadulius only says that the Moldavian prince, Petru Șchiopul, is of Roman extraction¹⁴. The explanation for this origin is not always provided. Francesco della Valle knows from the monks of the Dealu Monastery that Emperor Trajan and then others came with soldiers from Rome and colonized Dacia¹⁵. Antonio Maria Graziani talks about a Latin colony under Emperor Trajan¹⁶, and Giovanandrea Gromo says that the Romanians descend from a Roman colony founded in Transylvania by Tiberius while fighting against king Decebalus (obvious anachronism) and left there (strengthened) by Hadrian¹⁷.

⁸ G. Lăzărescu, N. Stoicescu, *op. cit.*, pp. 7–314; D. Găzdaru, *Mențiuni italiene și dalmatine din secolul al XVI-lea despre limba și poporul românesc*, in “Arhiva”, XLVII, 1940, passim; A. Armbruster, *op. cit.*, pp. 49–142.

⁹ A. Armbruster, *op. cit.*, pp. 89–90; G. Lăzărescu, N. Stoicescu, *op. cit.*, pp. 278–280.

¹⁰ A. Armbruster, *op. cit.*, pp. 139–140; G. Lăzărescu, N. Stoicescu, *op. cit.*, pp. 321–325.

¹¹ A. Armbruster, *op. cit.*, p. 131; G. Lăzărescu, N. Stoicescu, *op. cit.*, pp. 309–311.

¹² Their texts or comments on those are to be found in the quoted works (*Călători străini...*, A. Armbruster, G. Lăzărescu and N. Stoicescu and others).

¹³ Maria Holban, *Călători...*, I, p. 162.

¹⁴ A. Armbruster, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

¹⁵ Maria Holban, *Călători...*, I, p. 321; A. Armbruster, *op. cit.*, pp. 90–91; G. Lăzărescu, N. Stoicescu, *op. cit.*, p. 282.

¹⁶ Maria Holban, Maria Alexandrescu-Dersca Bulgaru, P. Cernovodeanu, *Călători...*, II, p. 377; A. Armbruster, p. 108; G. Lăzărescu, N. Stoicescu, *op. cit.*, p. 288.

¹⁷ Maria Holban, Maria Alexandrescu-Dersca Bulgaru, P. Cernovodeanu, *Călători...*, II, p. 312; A. Armbruster, *op. cit.*, p. 124; G. Lăzărescu, N. Stoicescu, *op. cit.*, p. 292.

Giovanni Lorenzo d'Anania believes Wallachia to be a former colony of the Roman senate, intended as a barrier in front of barbaric invasions¹⁸.

For most of these authors, the origin of the Romanians is associated to their name, and this name is a twofold one: *vlahi* (Wallachians) – *rumâni* (Romanians). As to the name *vlahi* (with its variants) given by foreigners to the Romanians, nine authors (M. Coccio, G. Candido, T. Andronico, A. Centorio, P. Giovio, G. Ruggiero, G. L. d'Anania, F. Commendone, A. Possevino)¹⁹ take up the theory developed in the previous century by Enea Silvio Piccolomini. According to the latter, the name *vlahi* allegedly comes from that of Flaccus, the Roman general. However, many Italians, especially those who had traveled across "Dacia", knew that the Romanians did not call themselves *vlahi*. One group of authors (T. Andronico, Fr. della Valle, Fr. Capeci, the anonymous author of 1587²⁰) clearly state that the *vlahi* actually call themselves Romanians (Romans), others or the same authors (R. Maffei²¹, the anonymous author of 1587, Fr. della Valle, A. Possevino²²) specify that the Romanians get their name from the ancient Romans and that this is clear proof of their Roman origin. Finally, Fr. della Valle, A. Guagnini²³, G. Gromo and the same anonymous author of 1587 also add that (some of) the Romanians themselves (proudly) declare to be descendants of the Romans. Another group of authors (A. M. Graziani, G. Ruggiero²⁴, G. L. d'Anania, the 1588 report of the mission of the Jesuit order²⁵, the anonymous Jesuit of 1583²⁶, G. Botero) state that the language they speak accounts for the Roman origin of the Romanians.

But the language itself is seen as a clear mark of identity in almost all writings of the time. Of the 30 authors studied, only four (A. I. Burgius, B. de San Giorgio, Fr. Massaro and A. Buccapadulius) fail to mention the language of the Romanians. In one way or another, all the others stress the Latin origins of the language spoken by the Romanians: 12 say that Romanian comes from Latin or from Roman, the 16th century form being a "corrupt" or "distorted" form of the ancient language; eight authors claim that the language of the Romanians comes from Italian (Italic) or that it resembles Italian: two humanists know that the Romanian language is derived from Latin and Italic (Italian); two others say that the language is rich in Latin words, one

¹⁸ A. Armbruster, *op. cit.*, p. 126; G. Lăzărescu, N. Stoicescu, *op. cit.*, p. 299.

¹⁹ See note 12.

²⁰ A. Armbruster, *op. cit.*, pp. 131–132.

²¹ A. Armbruster, *op. cit.*, p. 84; G. Lăzărescu, N. Stoicescu, *op. cit.*, p. 270.

²² A. Armbruster, *op. cit.*, p. 129; G. Lăzărescu, N. Stoicescu, *op. cit.*, p. 302. See also Maria Holban, Maria Alexandrescu-Dersca Bulgaru, P. Cernovodeanu, *Călători...*, II, pp. 527–607.

²³ Maria Holban, Maria Alexandrescu-Dersca Bulgaru, P. Cernovodeanu, *Călători...* II, p. 291.

²⁴ *Ibidem*, pp. 630–631.

²⁵ A. Armbruster, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 130, note 151; Maria Holban, Maria Alexandrescu-Dersca Bulgaru, P. Cernovodeanu, *Călători...* II, p. 594.

(G. L. d'Anania) that it is Latin-Slavonic, and another (Fr. Sivori²⁷) that it is a mixture of Latin, Italic (Italian), Greek and Slavic elements. Giulio Mancinelli²⁸, a Jesuit who visited Wallachia and Moldavia, seems to be the closest to the truth when saying that Romanian "is half Latin and half [Latin] vernacular", being the first known author to connect Romanian and vernacular Latin²⁹.

Some texts, fewer in number, also talk about the denomination of the Romanians. Marcantonio Coccio³⁰, Giulio Ruggiero, Antonio Possevino, Anibal di Capua³¹, the anonymous of 1587, Francesco Commendone³² state that the Romanians are Christians of Greek rite (Byzantine, Oriental), but some of the authors, especially the Jesuit ones, suggest that they had initially been members of the Catholic Church and that they could be brought back into this Church. Popes like Gregory XIII (1572–1585), Sixtus V (1585–1590) and Clement VIII (1592–1605), on the basis of the directives issued by the Council of Trent, promoted the offensive of the Roman Church in Northern, Central and South-Eastern Europe. Thus, the Catholic Church was seeking both to convert the Romanians and keep them in the anti-Ottoman Christian alliance. The authors explain to the papal circles the rights of the Holy See over the Roman colony on the Danube, the most important argument being the fact that the Romanians traditionally belong to the Latin world³³.

Among the elements which designate the Romanians as descendants of the Romans, which prove their common ancestry – apart from the historical data, the language and the name – we also find references to: agriculture, animal husbandry and letters (?) with M. Coccio; Roman antiques and medals, with J. B. Castaldo³⁴; customs and laws, with P. Gioivo³⁵ and Fr. Commendone; institutions, traditions and garb, with A. M. Graziani; the countenance (physical appearance) and customs, in the 1588 report of the Jesuit order's mission.

Many Italian authors expressed their opinions regarding the ethno-linguistic unity and the identity of the Romanians from Moldavia, Wallachia, and sometimes Transylvania. Thus, Raffaello Maffei (Volterano) says that the Dacian space, which in his time included Transylvania (*Septem Castra*) and *Valachia*, the latter divided into two, is inhabited by the descendants of the Roman colonists, who speak a semi-Italic language³⁶. Tranquillo Andronico states that in older times all Romanians used

²⁷ A. Armbruster. *op. cit.*, p. 138. See Ștefan Pascu, *Petru Cercel și Țara Românească la sfârșitul sec. XVI*, Sibiu, 1944, *passim*.

²⁸ Maria Holban, Maria Alexandrescu-Dersca Bulgaru, P. Cernovodeanu. *Călători...* II, p. 519.

²⁹ G. Lăzărescu, N. Stoicescu. *op. cit.*, p. 309. A. Armbruster, *op. cit.*, p. 132, note 155.

³⁰ G. Lăzărescu, N. Stoicescu. *op. cit.*, pp. 271–272.

³¹ A. Armbruster, *op. cit.*, pp. 129–130.

³² *Ibidem*, p. 128.

³³ A. Armbruster, pp. 128–129.

³⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 104.

³⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 105.

³⁶ A. Armbruster, p. 84; G. Lăzărescu, N. Stoicescu, pp. 270–271.

to live under one prince, and their separation came at a later date³⁷; he also talks about “two Wallachias”³⁸. A. Ioannes Burgius knows that Moldavia and *Transalpina* (Wallachia) are both Wallachia³⁹, while G. Lorenzo d’Anania talks about the “Greater and the Little Wallachia” (the two Romanian states outside the Carpathians), phrase later taken up by G. Botero⁴⁰. A. M. Graziani sees the ethnic unity of the Romanians from the former colony of Trajan reflected in their language, political institutions, customs and garb⁴¹. The anonymous companion of Possevino (1583) says that those who called themselves Romans (Romanians) in his contemporary Transylvania also inhabited Wallachia and Moldavia, up to the Black Sea⁴². The other anonymous author, writing in 1587, says that Wallachia lies south of Moldavia, and that the inhabitants, also called Romanians, speak the same language, wear the same garb and share the same denomination⁴³. Giovanandrea Gromo locates the Banat of Lugoj and Caransebeș in *Valachia Cisalpina* (*Valachia Transalpina* was Wallachia!), that is in a Romanian country, sign of a demographic and even institutional reality and of a name used at the time and also present with other authors⁴⁴. Franco Sivori says that the language of the inhabitants of Wallachia is the same as the one spoken by the inhabitants of neighboring Moldavia, brave people who believe they have no betters⁴⁵. Ascanio Centorio states that Moldavia and Wallachia are united, both bearing the single name of *Valacchia*⁴⁶.^{luj}

Quite naturally, the most valuable observations regarding the Romanians belong to the authors who, on various occasions, had had the opportunity to visit the lands inhabited by the Romanians. Documentary information is also of relevance, as it comes to reflect the dominant scholarly perception of the Latin origin of the Romanians. The authors who visited the Romanian states or the neighboring ones (Hungary, Poland) form the majority – they are nineteen in number – as compared to those who rely exclusively on other sources. In fact, it is precisely the eye witnesses, with very few exceptions, that provide the most accurate data regarding the Romanians. For instance, R. Maffei, who visited Hungary, is among the first to no longer derive the name *Valachus* from that of general Flaccus⁴⁷. Michele Bocignoli, who once passed through the Romanian provinces, envisages a cooperation between Wallachia, Transylvania and Moldavia in the struggle against the Turks, as the

³⁷ A. Armbruster, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

³⁸ Maria Holban, *Călători...*, I, p. 248.

³⁹ A. Armbruster, *op. cit.*, p. 89, note 32; G. Lăzărescu, N. Stoicescu, *op. cit.*, p. 273.

⁴⁰ G. Lăzărescu, N. Stoicescu, *op. cit.*, p. 321.

⁴¹ A. Armbruster, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

⁴² *Ibidem*, p. 130, note 151.

⁴³ *Ibidem*, pp. 131–132.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 131; G. Lăzărescu, N. Stoicescu, *op. cit.*, p. 310.

⁴⁵ A. Armbruster, *op. cit.*, pp. 138–139.

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 103, note 70.

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 84.

subjection of these countries would have meant the end for the Hungarians and the Poles⁴⁸. Francesco della Valle, secretary to Aloisio Gritti, had the opportunity to talk to Romanians directly and see how similar their language was to Italian, how they call themselves Romanians “because they say that long ago they came from Rome”, how some of the Romanians talk about the Roman colony set up in Dacia by Emperor Trajan; clear testimony for the authenticity of the data is the phrase “Știi românește?” (Do you speak Romanian?), presented by Francesco de la Valle as proof of the Latin origin of the language and of the people⁴⁹. Tranquillo Andronico, another one of Aloisio Gritti’s secretaries, alleges that Flaccus instituted marriages between Dacians and Romans, the result being the Romanians, who call themselves Romans (... *et nunc se Romanos vocant*)⁵⁰. One can assume that it is from the same local population that T. Andronico learned about the idea of a previous political unity of the Romanians, idea that would later resurface in Romanian culture. Actually, the Italian author doesn’t really have much love for the Romanians, which isn’t in the least surprising given his misadventures in these parts. Nonetheless, even the internal strife and the custom of disposing of one’s princes – which the author notices in the case of the Romanians – are seen as evidence of their Roman origin⁵¹. Visiting Transylvania, general Castaldo seeks to reconstitute Dacia starting from the pattern of the Roman conquest. G. Gromo writes that the Romanians inhabit the whole of Transylvania, while A. Possevino notices that the Szekler and the Romanians inhabit the same areas and that the latter enjoy an inferior political status in the country. It is quite significant that all the authors who claim that the Romanians call themselves so or claim to be descendants of the Romans (T. Andronico, Fr. della Valle, G. Gromo, F. Capeci, the author of the 1587 description, A. Guagnini), actually visited the Romanian provinces and had the opportunity to talk to Romanians directly. Sometimes, the direct observations made during their travels are combined with documentary information or with the opinions voiced by the neighbors of the Romanians. Thus, with Alessandro Guagnini, with the anonymous Jesuit of 1583, or with Ferrante Capeci⁵², the theory of the Roman origin of the Romanians is completed and developed along the Polish (maybe Polish-Hungarian) model, taken up chiefly from Martin and Joachim Bielski: the Romanians are descended from Romans, but from Roman outcasts and exiles, banished from Italy⁵³; paradoxically, this is illustrated with the example of Ovid, the poet banished to Tomis (not in Dacia, but in Moesia) at the time of Augustus

⁴⁸ Maria Holban, *Călători...*, I, pp. 175–180.

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, pp. 321–340; A. Armbruster, *op. cit.*, pp. 90–01.

⁵⁰ A. Armbruster, *op. cit.*, p. 90; G. Lăzărescu, N. Stoicescu, *op. cit.*, p. 278; Maria Holban, *Călători...*, I, pp. 246–255.

⁵¹ A. Armbruster, *op. cit.*, p. 90, note 36.

⁵² See A. Armbruster, *op. cit.*, p. 109 (note 89), 130 (note 151), 131.

⁵³ *Ibidem*, pp. 117–121.

(approx. a century before the conquest of Dacia). On the other hand, the Romanians would have taken considerable pride in ancestors such as Ovid, had this theory not quickly turned defamatory (= Romanians are descended from the scum of Rome). We are dealing here with a theoretical model rooted in the reality of the 16th century, when Moldavia (called Wallachia by the Poles) was trying to break away from Polish suzerainty, when the Moldavians (called Wallachians by the Poles), of Orthodox denomination and perceived by their Catholic northern neighbors as "barbarous" and less civilized, didn't really seem to be close relatives of the ancient Romans and of the Italians. To tell the truth, the Moldavian perception of the Poles wasn't any more flattering. During the Middle Ages or the Renaissance, the other, the different neighbor, was not held in considerable regard. In other words, close vicinity tended to bear rather negative connotations. This is why the Italians, located far from the Romanians, came up with more credible and unbiased points of view, in spite of occasional distortions.

There are several reasons why the testimonies of the Italian travelers and authors regarding the Romanians and the lands inhabited by them in the 16th century are worth taking into account:

- they provide accurate information on the Romanian society of those times;
- they identify the elements outlying at the time the identity of the Romanians;
- they underline the essential part played by the Romanian language in maintaining the Latin identity of the Romanians; the description by Italians of the language spoken by the Romanians as Latin or distorted Latin, the observation that Romanian is similar to Italian and quite easily and quickly learned, all come to show the authenticity of the information;
- they show that the Romanians themselves claimed a Roman origin for their people.

With their typical mobility, in the 16th century and in the previous ones the Italians paid special attention to Central and South-Eastern Europe. Of all foreigners, it was the Italians that left the largest number of testimonies regarding the Romanians. Their credibility is relative, but considerably higher than that of other similar accounts. In these testimonies, we see the Romanians identified on the basis of their Roman ancestry, language, name, denomination, garb, physical appearance, institutions, etc. The name *Valachia* is often used for both Wallachia and Moldavia, the only Romanian states existing at the time, but also for the Banat, at times. More generic is the name *Dacia*, used in the deliberately archaic manner of the Renaissance and applied to Transylvania, Moldavia and Wallachia. The consistent data regarding the Latin nature of 16th century Romanian come to contradict the occasional rash assertions regarding a (re)Latinization of Romanian through the work of the Transylvanian School. Quite naturally, Romanian evolved and changed just like any other language, gradually acquired numerous neologisms (chiefly of Latin

origin), but always remained a Romance language, through its grammatical structure and vocabulary.

ITALIAN AUTHORS ABOUT THE IDENTITY OF THE ROMANIANS IN THE 16TH CENTURY

Name and data regarding the author	Title, year of production (publication)	About the origin of the Romanians	About the language of the Romanians	About the name of the Romanians and other data
1. Marcantonio Coccio (known as Sabellico) approx. 1436–1506	Enneade (1506)	Italic people and colony since the time of Flaccus; origin proven by occupations and letters (?)	Corrupt Roman language	Name from that of Flaccus; Greek rite
2. Raffaello Maffei (known as Volterrano) 1451–1522 – in Hungary	Commentarii Urbani (1506)	Roman colonists: origin through the name <i>vlah</i> and language	Semi-Italic language	The name <i>vlah</i> and Wallachia
3. Domenico Mario Negri (Maffei's contemporary)	Geografia (1557)		Latin language of the <i>morlaci</i> (Romanian group in the Balkans)	
4. Benvenuto di San Giorgio	Historia Montis-Ferrati...	Said to be descendants of the Romans		
5. Michele Bocignoli? – 1534 – in Wallachia	Letter to an imperial secretary		Use an Italic language	Cooperation between Wallachia, Moldavia and Transylvania
6. Giovanni Candido 1450–1534	Commentarior (1521)	Belong to the Italic peoples	Italic language	From Flaccus
7. A. Ioannes Burgius – in Hungary	Letter to I. Sadoleto	Roman colony		Moldavia + <i>Transalpina=Valacchia</i>
8. Tranquillo Andronico 1490–1571 – in Transylvania	De rebus in Hungaria...	Marriages between Dacians and Romans = Romanians. The Romanians call themselves Romans	Broken Roman language	All Romanians used to live under one prince

9. Francesco della Valle (? – 1545) – in Wallachia	Travelogue 1532; 1534	Romanians say to have come from Rome long ago; Trajan	Language similar to Italian	Call themselves Romans. "Do you speak Romanian?"
10. Francesco Massaro (?–d.1523) – in Transylvania	Report letter to the Doge (1523)	Transylvania = Roman colony		
11. J. B. Castaldo – in Transylvania	1552 letter	Roman colony	Language similar to Italian	Antiques and medals
12. Ascanio Centorio	Commentarii della guerra 1566	Roman colony established by Flaccus	Corrupt Italic language	Vlaccia=Moldavia and Wallachia
13. Paolo Giovio (1483–1552)	Historiarum... (1552)	Roman colony established by Flaccus	Latin	customs + laws prove Roman origin.
14. A. Maria Graziani (1537–1611) – in Moldavia	De Ioanne Heraclide Despota...	Roman colony established by Trajan	Latin	Vlachia=Transalpina and Moldavia; ethnic unity
15. Alessandro Guagnini (?–1614) – in Moldavia	Vita Despothi Principis Moldaviae	Call themselves descendants of the Romans	Language is Latin and Italic	Wallachians call themselves Romans
16. Giovanandrea Gromo (1518–?) – in Transylvania	Compendio di tutto il regno...	Say to be descendants of the Roman colony from the times of Tiberius and Hadrianus	Language like the Roman one; called Roman	Romanians inhabit the entire Transylvania and the Banat
17. Giulio Ruggiero (?– after 1573) – in Poland	Report to the Pope (1568) = Relazione copiosissima	Are Italian, Roman colonists from the time of Flaccus	Corrupt Latin, just like Italian	Name from <i>Valachus</i> ; Greek religion; first they were Catholic
18. Giovanni Lorenzo d'Anania	Universale fabrica del Mondo... (1582)	Colony of the Roman senate established by Flaccus	Latin with Slavonic words	Little and Greater Wallachia
19. Francesco Commendone (1523–1584)	Valachiae, olim Flacciae...1572	Roman colony established by Flaccus	Latin words in Slavic speech	Wallachia = Italia; Customs, laws of Roman discipline
20. Antonio Possevino (1533–1611) – in Transylvania	Transilvania (1584), Letters	Remains of a Roman colony, like with Pius II	Corrupt Italian	Name of Romans; might return to Catholicism; military prowess, inferior political status

21. Antonius Buccapadulius	Letter (1583)	Petru Œchiopul = ruler of Roman origin		Name tells of Roman origin.
22. Anibal de Capua	Letter	Moldavians of Roman origin	Language rich in Latin words	Greek rite
23. Anonymous Jesuit. with Possevino – in Transylvania	Missions' Description ... (1583)	From the ancient Roman people; from colonists or outcasts;	Roman language	Romanians inhabit Transylvania, Wallachia and Moldavia
24. Ferrante Capecci (1549–1589) – in Cluj	Letter (1584)	Descended from Italians and Longobards; sentenced to dig for metals; ethnic unity of Romanians	Language similar to Italian	Romanians = oldest inhabitants; call themselves <i>romaneschi</i> .
25. Anonymous Jesuit – in Moldavia	Anonymous Description (1587)	Say they are descended from the Romans; unity between Wallachians and Moldavians through language, garb, denomination.	Language derived from Latin	Name of Romans also with the Moldavians; Greek rite.
26. Giulio Mancinelli (1537–1618) – in Moldavia and Wallachia			Language half Latin and vernacular Latin	Language also has Greek words
27. Mission of the Jesuit order – in Moldavia	Report 1588	Moldavians = Roman colony: physical appearance, language, customs.	Language like that of the Romans	Greek rite
28. Franco Sivori (c. 1560 – after 1589) – in Wallachia	Memoriale delle cose occorse a me... 1581		Language derived from Latin, Italian, Greek, Slavonic	The same language as the Moldavians (barbaric)
29. Angelo Rocca	Commentario variarum artium 1591		Language is Roman	(after K. Gessner)
30. Giovanni Botero (1540–1617)	Relationi universali (1591)	Are of Italian origin	Language is corrupt Latin	Language shows Roman origin