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## *A CONSCIOUS FORGERY OF HISTORY UNDER THE AEGIS OF THE HUNGARIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES*

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The Publishing House of the Academy of Sciences of the Hungarian People's Republic has recently put out a comprehensive three-volume 2,000-page History of Transylvania (Erdély Története). The work of a researcher team, it has the Minister of Culture of the Hungarian People's Republic, Köpeczi Béla, as its responsible editor. Since the subject of the Hungarian researchers' investigation is Transylvania — ancient Romanian land — it is only natural that it aroused the interest of Romanian historians. This is all the much more so as they have a right to know how old nationalist, chauvinist theses and clichés circulated in the old system and the old historiography were discarded.

The History of Transylvania under Köpeczi Béla's coordination does in no way meet this expectation. Regrettably, we must say from the beginning that

the work is hardly different from the old Hungarian chauvinist and revisionist historiography in its fundamental theses and conclusions. The reader of the book is left with the impression of an incredible anachronism, because the volumes the Publishing House of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences put out in 1986 sound as if they were written more than four decades ago. And yet, the book came off the press in our time carrying the authority of the highest scientific forum, and having a member of the Hungarian Government as its responsible editor.

Romanian experts will analyse the History of Transylvania and give their opinion on each of the major questions it raises. What we want to do now is to give our readers a general idea of the work and single out the elements for an appraisal that can lead to only one con-

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clusion: we are faced with a gross distortion of the history of Transylvania and implicitly of the history of the Romanian people, with these which are as much harmful as they are injurious for our people, with a deliberate attempt to contest Romania's territorial integrity. On such fundamental questions of Romanian history as: the ancestral Geto-Dacian continuity, the Daco-Roman descent, continuity in the forefathers' land, the unity of the Romanians in the Middle Ages, and their political and legal status, the fight for national and social emancipation of the Romanians in Transylvania, the great battles for independence, the creation of the unitary national state and the place of the Romanians in world history, on all questions essential for the past of the Romanians, the position of the authors of the history of Transylvania is — as we are going to see — in sharp disagreement with the facts of history, which they distort and falsify.

From the first chapters dealing with protohistory, one can clearly grasp the authors' intention to deny all continuity of settlement in Transylvania, indeed in all ethnically Romanian space. To be sure, no one denies that in the Paleolithic and the Neolithic, in the Bronze Age and the Iron Age population movements did occur. However, in spite of that population movement, archaeological research has shown that the area was permanently inhabited by a native mass that successive waves of migratory populations could not dislocate. What the authors of the History of Transylvania are concerned with is to make this part of the Dacian area look like a place where populations came and went, often left it deserted, a kind of no-man's-land. This is a way of contesting all continuity of settlement and hence of denying the oldness of the autochthonous Geto-Dacians and their state organization in the time of King Burebista more than two millennia ago.

We then come across the thesis-turned-obsession of Hungarian history: the Dacians' extermination by the Roman conquerors, which is upheld to refute the continuity of settlement in the large Dacian area north of the Danube and especially in the intra-Carpathian territory. In that respect, what the History of Transylvania says is much the same thing that the old nationalistic Hungarian historiography did. "Nor is it indifferent in an analysis of depopulation that precisely the central part of Decebalus' country" (i. e. Transylvania

— our note) "became a new province. It was a territory the population of which was decimated not only by warfare — waged, for the most part, in that territory as well — but also by the Dacians' resistance to the ultimate, having stayed loyal to Decebalus until he took his cup of poison. It was primarily that region's population that the Romans slaughtered, it fell into slavery or took refuge from the conquerors into unoccupied territory". On this subject, the authors also deliberately ignore the findings of archaeological research that brought to light Dacian vessels or fragments of them, inside the Roman castra in Transylvania — at Micia, Augustia, Bologa, Buciumi, Orheiu Bistriței — to say nothing of the Dacian settlements unearthed at Lechința de Mureș, Cașoț, Nostac, Obreja, a.o. or of the cremation necropolises of the same autochthonous Dacian population at Soporu de Cîmpie, Cașoț, Obreja, etc. which, alongside other evidence, prove that the answer to the question which the scholar B. P. Hasdeu had asked in his time "perit-au dacii?" (did the Dacians disappear?) is definitely no. However, if the authors of the History of Transylvania chose the shirk, out of bad faith, the findings of archaeological investigations, incontestable testimonies of the Dacians' material and spiritual culture, of Dacian continuity in that hearth, they should have had knowledge of the famous inscription at Grammeni near the ancient city of Philippi, in Macedonia, which was quite a revelation to the world's historians. Anyway, that inscription does not say — as the authors of the book do — that the hero King Decebalus died "drinking the cup of poison" together with "the Dacians' ruling class which committed mass suicide".

Re-launching Robert Roesler's unscientific theory of the latter half of the nineteenth century on the south Danubian origins of the Romanians, the authors of the History of Transylvania deny the possibility of Dacia's Romanization, claiming that "the replacement of the language which was Romanized to the highest degree, the taking over of Latin as a mother tongue, cannot be proved in Dacia, and historical and social development did not make them any more likely". That was an assertion the authors had to make in order to show that the Romanian people was formed south of the Danube, somewhere in the Balkans and nowhere else, where the Roman colonists of Dacia would have

gone in the year 271 when Emperor Aurelian decided to withdraw the Roman administration and army from Dacia. "It is just possible" the authors concede "that not all the population left the province, although there is nothing to support this possibility. Anyway, on the strength of what has been shown so far, one may say that the number of those who stayed behind was insignificant". And, further on: "A two-century old archaeological research in Transylvania could not supply a definite proof of the continuity of the "Roman" population in Dacia worth being considered. The authors, in the best Roeslerian tradition, even outdoing their "master", resume the vacuum theory according to which the area north of the Danube was vacated of the Daco-Roman population only to be able to depict Transylvania as a territory uninhabited by an autochthonous population or by colonists — "A country of all and no one" as the authors say somewhere. Then, in that no-man's-land, Goths, Huns, Gepidae, Avars, Slavs, Bulgars came in succession but not a trace of a Daco-Roman, and eventually Romanian population.

Have the authors forgotten that a Hungarian historian — Huszti András — wrote that: "The descendants of the Getae still live where their parents did and speak the language that their parents used to speak. No nation has a language closer to the ancient Roman (Latin) language than the Romanians have., which is a sure and unmistakable sign that they are the descendants in Transylvania of the ancient Roman colonists, of which we briefly say this: The name of this people in its own language is 'Roman' that is from Rome, or Romanian". Reference to this author is not a decisive argument, what we want to remind is that there were Hungarian historians who could objectively state the truth, a fact of Romanian history: the Daco-Roman and Romanian continuity north of the Danube.

At a time when, in the authors' opinion, the space between the Carpathians and the Danube would have been under the way of the first Bulgarian Empire, in 894, the Hungarians arrived in the Carpathian basin: "therefore, the first place where the Hungarians dismounted was Transylvania. Eventually they took the way down the valleys of the Mureş and the Crişul Repede and possibly through the Meseş Pass toward the Pannonian Plain".

The authors of the History of Transylvania try to arbitrarily change historical facts, reverse the situations, by making the Romanians migratory, and the migratories — a stable population. The fact is that, after the Hungarian tribes arrived in the Pannonian Plain in 896 and their westward advance was checked, they began to raid intra-Carpathian territory, i. e. Transylvania. There, the Romanians had lived for many centuries in political formations recorded by various historical sources among which the Chronicle of the anonymous notary of King Bela, therefore a principal source of Hungarian historiography. The authors of the History of Transylvania depict instead the Hungarian tribes as "dismounting" first in Transylvania, in the midst of a Slavic population where Proto-Bulgarian elements would also have been, and only afterwards moving into the Pannonian Plain. In that way Transylvania becomes "overnight" an old "cradle" of the Hungarian tribes, older even than the Pannonian Plain where the Hungarian state now lies.

And the Romanians? asks the reader. Where were they who formed the majority population of Transylvania? Say the authors faking caution: "We cannot engage here in a dispute on the so-called Daco-Roman continuity, that is on the endurance of a Romanized population in Transylvania since ancient times. We must only say what we said before, namely that there is no evidence — historical, archaeological or toponymic — of a Romanian population in Transylvania prior to the early thirteenth century". The fact is that there is ample evidence to that effect, the fruit of decades of Romanian historiographic research. Only that the authors of the History of Transylvania either ignore it, or belittle it, or simply "nullify" it.

A relevant example of their negation of the sources that do not fit into their pre-arranged patterns is the "treatment" given to the anonymous notary of King Bela (Anonymus). It takes the authors many pages to "prove" that he was wrong when saying that when they first raided the intra-Carpathian territory the Hungarians found the Romanians there. The authors' painstaking effort to "nullify" Anonymus is queer and at the same time amusing: rarely had a historiography been so intent on discrediting and disproving the historical accounts supplied by one of the earliest sources of its own history. What is Anonymus' guilt? Its gravity is

exceptional in the eyes of the authors. He records the Romanians in Transylvania and Banat and refers to "a one Romanian" Gelu "Duke of the Romanians". Understandably, to people who deny the Romanian continuity in Transylvania, the anonymous notary is a painful "obstacle" and his guilt calls for the "liquidation" of his chronicle, or rather of his information on Transylvania, on the Romanians of Transylvania in the first place. The authors proclaim Anonymus to have wrongly understood a passage in the old Russian Chronicle "A Story of Past Times" and projecting into the ninth-tenth centuries a fact of his time, that is to say of the late twelfth century: the Romanian-Bulgarian Empire.

We will not resume here the — so old — discussion on the source value of Anonymus' Chronicle. We confine ourselves to stating a point that was already made, namely that as long as no political interest prompted a distorted presentation of the history of Transylvania, no one, even in the Hungarian kings' entourage, would hesitate to admit that the Romanians had been in Transylvania for many centuries before the Hungarian tribes raided it. For all the limitations of his time, Anonymus was far closer to truth than the authors of the History of Transylvania who miss nothing to distort that truth: the Romanian autochthony and continuity in the intra-Carpathian-Danubian-Pontic space, therefore also in Transylvania, conclusively supported by historical, archaeological, linguistic, toponymic, ethnographic and other evidence.

Can anybody question the existence, at the end of the ninth century and the beginning of the next, of comprehensive political formations on Transylvania's territory like the voivodeship (duchy) or "countries" as the Romanians called them at that time? Narrating the Hungarians' advent to Transylvania, Anonymus shows how the Hungarian armies first conquered in heavy battles, the territory of such a voivodeship extending to the Tisa in the west, beyond Satu Mare in the north, up to the Piatra Craiului Massif and the Meses Gates in the east, and down to Mureş in the south.

Such a political formation, a "country" (terra) as the chronicler records it, fully corresponds, as far as its territory was concerned with a high concentration of

settlements found in the north-west of Transylvania: the name of its leader (dux) was, according to the same chronicler, Menumorut, and his seat was in the stronghold of Biharea (near Oradea). Here is what the chronicle of the royal notary Anonymus reads: "Indeed, Arpad's envoys Usubuu and Veluc, crossed the river Tisa at Lucy Ford and made for the fortress of Bihor where they greeted duke Menumorut and presented him with the gifts their duke had sent him. In the end, however, having delivered to him Duke Arpad's message they claimed the above-named territory. Duke Menumorut received them with goodwill and, piling presents on them, on the third day asked them to go back. He also gave them an answer, saying: "Tell Arpad, duke of Hungary, your master: we owe him what a friend owes to a friend, everything he may find necessary, for he is a stranger and in need of many things. But the territory he asked of our goodwill, we will never relinquish, not as long as we live. And we were sorry when Duke Salanus, ceded a very large territory out of love, as they say, or of fear, which they deny. As for us, we will not cede one inch of the land, even though he says he has a right over it. And his words do not hurt our hearts, for he has shown us he descends from King Atilla, who was named 'the scourge of God'".

Nevertheless, the authors of the new History of Transylvania proclaim that "the Romantic characters and insignificant fighting depicted by Anonymus are otherwise unconfirmed. Let us remind first that this is not the only example of a historic fact being narrated in just one source as Anonymus. The main thing in such cases is that the source be put to close scrutiny in order to reveal what is authentic, genuine." The "hypercriticism" of Anonymus by the authors of the History of Transylvania reminds us of the child thrown out along with the bath. Legendary elements — to be found in medieval chronicles including Anonymus' — should not obscure the facts, particularly when corroborated by written and archaeological sources: political formations led by judges and voivodes existed throughout the Romanian-inhabited area in the eighth-tenth centuries. A map of the archaeological finds in the intra-Carpathian area gives an outline of the three political formations recorded by Anonymus who may have been wrong

in some details, but not on the major fact of the Romanians' anteriority to the Hungarians in Transylvania: the trees should not hinder us from seeing the wood.

By denying, demolishing, falsifying historical sources, the authors of the History of Transylvania bring back the whole arsenal used by the opponents of the Romanian continuity north of the Danube. To them, the Romanians were a population of shepherds which the less numerous it was south of the Danube, the more numerous it grew north of it. In order to appear concerned with scientific "rigour", the authors write feigning caution: "However, we must venture the hypothesis that the relatively late documented advent of the Vlacho-Romanians in the Southern Carpathians going back to 1210 at best, may not mean that they effectively came there only shortly before that date". And, in order not to "venture" too much, the authors admit that instead of the year 1210, the organization of the Romanians in the Southern Carpathians as frontier guards, appointed by the Hungarian kings (of course!) "may be considered to have taken place between 1150 and 1200".

Once the thesis of the late advent of the Romanians in Walachia and Moldavia first, and in Transylvania afterwards is "launched", the authors make persistent attempts to persuade the reader that a number of disasters that befell Transylvania favoured the Romanians alone. If the great invasion of 1241 brought devastation to Transylvania, the benefits were reaped by whom? by the Romanians. "A direct consequence of the Tatar invasion was also the massive immigration of the Romanians" the authors write. It is then said that the Hungarian royalty populated the devastated area around fortresses "with Romanian shepherds who retreated northwards from Bulgaria and Serbia". Another "ally" of the Romanians in the opinion of the authors of the History of Transylvania would have been the black death epidemic that hit the continent in mid fourteenth century: "The plague epidemic of 1348-49 that brought havoc to the whole of Europe and, according to domestic and foreign sources, also decimated the population of Hungary ... opened to the Romanians the way to the villages of the dead Hungarians and Saxons. A shortage of work force made the landowners colonize the villages of inner Transylvania,

partly or wholly depopulated, with Romanians who were less afflicted by the plague and whose number had risen anyway, through permanent migration". We leave it to the readers to judge how scientific this argument is.

With a "nomadic" way of living and the Balkans as their place of origin, the Romanians are portrayed as a primitive population whose development was below the level of other ethnic groups of Transylvania. The authors insist on the backwardness of those shepherds who infiltrated silently and surreptitiously the intra-Carpathian area, where they would have been "absorbed" courtesy of a policy of colonization and disasters that left vast areas depopulated. However, the authors seem to forget that in that population, depicted as "roving, primitive and barefooted" one of the most brilliant political and military personalities of the fifteenth century was born — Iancu of Hunedoara — who became Governor of Hungary. In the authors' view, the only progress of the Romanians of Transylvania was that of a gradual if very slow sedentarization: "The people who had developed a sedentary way of life by the end of the sixteenth century only made up a very small part of the Romanian peasantry of Transylvania. Its majority had retained a semi-nomadic way of living as shepherds and cattle growers". And further on: "These collectivities that were not attached to the land, but migrated freely with their animals ... are an embodiment of the Romanians in seventeenth century Transylvania".

It is the authors' opinion that the Romanians of Transylvania would have had a strong weapon that could have assured their prevalence in the structure of Transylvania's population ... They, the roving shepherds and their herds would have ended up as the majority population in relation to the sedentary Magyars, Saxons and Szeklers thanks to three factors: sedentarization, which ends movement and enables the authorities to list the people down (meaning that the Romanian population did not actually rise but was only listed by the state of feudal lords), immigration and the birth rate. According to the authors of the History of Transylvania, there were times of a massive influx of Romanian population from across the Carpathians — from Walachia — Moldavia — who fled the tax burden more often than not. And Transylvania granted them permission

to stay for, say the authors: "until 1687 Transylvania was a country that could offer protection. A fairly well-consolidated country whose new possibilities called for more and more work force. So it welcomed any alien".

We agree with the authors that, at that time, Transylvania was "a country that could offer protection and was fairly well consolidated". Only that, it then was an autonomous principality unincorporated in the Hungarian kingdom that had collapsed and disintegrated in 1541. After Central and Southern Hungary was incorporated into the Ottoman pashalic, Transylvania like the other two Romanian countries, Walachia and Moldavia, enjoyed broad autonomy, which strengthened their ties even more.

As for the natural population rise, let us just say that the authors do not hesitate to remind of the "polygamy" of the "nomadic" Romanians of Transylvania.

We chose to quote the above-mentioned injurious and defamatory assertions and characterizations of the Romanian people, in order that the reader may get an idea of the "scientific probity" of the authors, of their elementary disrespect for historical truth, for the multimillennial history of the Romanian people. Let history — this "foremost book of every nation" judge what the truth is.

Let us now dwell on another question. Why does the History of Transylvania not state the reason for which the Hungarian royalty adopted the principality as a political-administrative formula for Transylvania, i. e. an institution with a specific content in the mediaeval Romanian society, similar to the Walachian and Moldavian ones, which integrates it into the political structures of the Romanian space? Why does it not explain anywhere a major fact of the Middle Ages, which the Romanian historiography proved, namely that the principality of Transylvania has fundamental characteristics identical with those of the principality of Walachia or Moldavia? It is known that, like in Moldavia and Walachia, the prince of Transylvania concentrated all the military, administrative and judiciary attributions of the state in his hands. It was an absolute authority — just like across the mountains — but for the fact that it could not call itself "supreme ruler". There is no explanation in this History of Transylvania for the fact that "nowhere in the territory of

the old Hungarian kingdom — once so vast — could we find the traces of any territorial and political organization similar to that of the principality of Transylvania. This organization is a specific Romanian product on both sides of the Carpathians that the Hungarian penetration to the centre of our political space could not destroy despite its repeated attempts over the centuries". It would have been but natural that this History of Transylvania explained the specific character of the voivodeship structures in relation to the administrative organization of the Hungarian kingdom, but such questions — essential as they are — were of no concern to the authors, and one can easily understand why. They should have admitted that, owing to the presence of the Romanians with their specific institutions — voivodeships and cnezdoms — throughout Transylvania, the royalty had been compelled to recognize and accept the political-administrative institutions of the autochthonous Romanians. The authors preferred the forgery and denigration to a thorough and objective analysis of the history of Transylvania. Their main goal was not the truth, that is an authentic reconstruction of facts, but the "demonstration" of a preconceived thesis with a clear political end: the absence of the Romanians in Transylvania during the Hungarians' advent in the intra-Carpathian area to challenge the Romanian people's legitimate rights over its ancestral hearth.

Why did the authors choose to ignore the opinions of historian Farcaşy Elek who wrote in 1912: "The kings of Hungary were compelled to accept the special organization of Transylvania with powerful voivodes at its helm, under the strong pressure of necessity, since the sense of independence was so deeply rooted here that once started the statal formation could no longer be stopped".

Another telling example of the authors' "scientific" methods is the way in which they present the status of the Romanian nobility in Transylvania and the beginnings of the policy of excluding the Romanians from the political life of Transylvania. In the authors' opinion, the social, national and religious discrimination to which the Transylvanian Romanians were subject — ultimately brought to the situation of "tolerated population" — is the result of their late coming through the shepherds' immigration or the peasants' escape from Wal-

chia and Moldavia in the seventeenth-eighteenth centuries, which would explain their marginal condition in the Transylvanian sociopolitical life. The authors "admit", as we could see, the sedentation of part of the Romanian population and the existence of a Romanian nobility but the absence of a mediaeval Romanian "nation" (with a mediaeval, i. e. political, meaning since in the Middle Ages, a "natio" only included the privileged stratum of an ethnical community): is explained by them as follows: "At the end of the Middle Ages the majority of the Romanian population had become serfs to the Hungarian or Saxon nobility, and partially to the Romanian nobility that had emerged from its ranks. This is precisely the reason for the absence of a separate Romanian noble 'nation', because the serfs, whatever their nationality, had no political rights, whereas the nobility, irrespective of nationality too, was only one nation." And furthermore: "The Romanian nobleman proclaimed himself a member of the nobiliary 'Hungarian nation' and, whereas the voivodes and boyards of Walachia and Moldavia, except for isolated cases, compromised with the Ottoman power, the Romanian noblemen in Hungary firmly committed themselves, alongside the Magyars, to the fight against it, which was a prerequisite for their privileged status."

We do not insist here on the disparaging statement about "isolated cases" of fight against the Porte, because any reader can measure the authors' mystification if he knows that such "isolated cases" make in fact the epic of the mediaeval history of the Romanian people so many times inflicted defeat on the Ottoman military power under the rule of valiant princes who dearly loved their country: Mircea the Great, Vlad Ţepeş, Stephen the Great, Radu of Afumaş, Ioan Vodă the Brave, Michael the Brave, and who, with an army of native inhabitants holding the plough in one hand and the sword in the other, ensured the Romanian lands a status of autonomy from the Porte, while most of the Central and Southeastern European states were abolished and turned into pashaliks. What reason did the European public opinion of the time have to acknowledge those country and army leaders as defenders of European civilization? What we want to show in relation to the Romanian people's history are the authors' forgeries when historical facts defy the attempts to distort them. It is known that in 1366 Louis I of Anjou, king of Hungary made

a number of decisions which marked the beginning of Romanians' elimination from the political life of Transylvania. The most serious of his decisions was to make the recognition of the status of nobility conditional upon adherence to Catholicism. We are surprised to see that this exceptionally significant moment in the history of Transylvania is not dealt with in earnest in the paragraphs concerning the Romanians, but that it is discussed in the chapter on "The mediaeval culture in Transylvania", the section "The mediaeval religious culture of the Romanians of Transylvania". A problem of political history of major interest is purely and simply dispatched as a religious question of lesser importance. To sow confusion, the authors deliberately correlate the measures taken by King Louis I of Anjou to the proposals that Vicar Bartholomew of Alverne advanced to the sovereign, and the authors conclude that "such a repelling zeal not only had no effect upon Louis the Great, who did not start another conversion campaign, but also aroused repulsion, especially in the Magyar noblemen of Transylvania interested in making the Romanians settle down". In fact, the measures issued by the Hungarian sovereign in 1366 mark the beginning of a process which was to culminate in the alliance between the Magyar nobility, the Saxon patriciate and the Szecklers' leaders (Unio trium nationum of 1437), a political formula which was to underlie the structures of Transylvania for centuries on end and make of the autochthonous and majority — Romanian — population "tolerated" in their own land.

In the same paragraph on the mediaeval culture in Transylvania, the authors also approach the question of Christianity. They show that in the beginning, the Roman Church and the Eastern Church coexisted in Hungary and "Transylvania was both at the confluence and at the periphery of the two Christian cultures. The Roman Church was represented by the ethnic Hungarians and Germans, while the Byzantine one by the ethnic Romanians and Ruthenians." As for the Romanians, the authors assert that their Christian traditions were of Balkan and Slavic origin. They ignore the well known fact that in the Romanian language, the basic Christian terms are of Latin origin, that Christianity is documented in Transylvania after the withdrawal of the Roman army and administration from Dacia, and that, therefore, when the

Hungarian tribes got into the intra-Carpathian area there existed there a Romanian Christian population that gravitated toward the Patriarchate of Constantinople and the Byzantine Empire. The Hungarians were Christianized in the year 1000 into the Roman Church (the schism between Rome and Byzantium occurred in 1054, but it was preceded by tension and alienation), and, as the authors correctly show, at the beginning the two Churches coexisted. It is easy to understand that, under those circumstances the presence of Christian Romanians in Transylvania favoured the dissemination of the new religion among the Hungarian population. However, concerned as they are, to "bring" the Romanians from south of the Danube before the 14th century, the authors fail to say something also about this aspect of the history of Transylvania.

After "settling" the question of the Romanians' origin, of their native territory, letting them "wander through the Transylvanian Mountains behind their flocks of sheep", the authors pass on to another question: the presentation of Transylvania as a component of Hungary. The fall of the Hungarian kingdom following the battle of Mohacs (1526) and the new political status of Transylvania, which became an autonomous principality, dependent on the Porte, very much like the two other Romanian countries, does not prevent the authors — faithful continuers of Hungarian nationalist historiography in this respect too — from showing this ancient Romanian land, which has always been inhabited by Romanians, who have permanently represented the majority population, to be a new Hungarian "country": "Hungarian rulers and political leaders therefore determine the fate of Transylvania, which has become a state. In the decades subsequent to 1526, the new state, which controlled its destiny with ever greater awareness, essentially remained what it had become during its bloody decades: a remnant of the Hungarian mediaeval state, left in the East. Outside pressure tore this territory from the mother country, changed its statal form and imposed a new and daring foreign policy on its leaders. But it failed to defeat the thinking and the consciousness of the Magyar character of the ruling forces of society." Therefore, the Principality of Transylvania is presented as a continuation of the Hungarian Kingdom, a political entity different from the other two Romanian states, the Walach-

ian and the Moldavian one. The authors differ on this point from a series of chroniclers, historians and geographers who stressed Transylvania's completely distinct orientation from Hungary's. Thus, chronicler Cserei Mihály noted that "to Transylvania, the threat always came from Hungary and the Hungarians", while historian Szilágyi Sándor affirmed in 1866 that "Transylvania's history cannot be integrated in Hungary's history as it has a specific character", very much as geographer Cholnoky Jenő emphasized that "Transylvania has its own history, distinct from the Hungarian one". Distinct from the Hungarian one and, we add, integrated in the Romanian land and society. That is what the Transylvanian aulic chancellery in Vienna acknowledged when mentioning in 1779 "the close connection that existed between the great Principality of Transylvania and the neighbouring countries, Moldavia and Walachia", with which it formed a true economic unity.

From the very preface of the work, the authors maintain that "Transylvania's history has for centuries been intertwined with the Hungarian people's history". You know what exaggerated importance was attached by old Hungarian historiography and is still attached today — particularly in the Hungarian emigration circles — to Hungary's millenary rule over Transylvania. But a simple arithmetic shows that the period during which Transylvania was a part of Hungary is confined to the 51 years separating the establishment of the Austro-Hungarian dual Monarchy in 1867 from the decision of the Great National Assembly of the Transylvanian Romanians on December 1, 1918, to unite Transylvania to Romania. As for the rest, until Hungary fell under Suleiman the Magnificent's blow, Transylvania was, as has already been said, a voivodeship with a vigorously outlined political individuality. On becoming an autonomous principality in 1541, it could no longer maintain relations with Hungary — as the authors affirm — because Hungary had ceased to exist as a state, Buda itself having become the centre of an Ottoman pashalic. When the Habsburg offensive caused the Ottoman withdrawal, after 1683, Transylvania became a principality within the Habsburg Empire, then great principality, separately administered by Hungary. Where are the centuries and the millennium of Hungarian rule, then? Only in the feverish minds of the revisionists' who have become incapable even of performing an elemen-

tary computation.

One cannot find in this History of Transylvania any objective presentation of the close political, economic, military and cultural ties between the Romanians on either side of the Carpathians. The Romanian people's unity is denied, and the political, economic, and military collaboration of the three Romanian countries is eluded. The first union of the Romanian lands, achieved by Michael the Brave, is described in a revolting manner. Not only is the great voivode shown as a "mercenary", as an instrument of Emperor Rudolf, ungrateful to his "benefactors", the Bathorys, but there is a denial of the very consciousness of kin of the Romanian people and of the one who, for the first time, united the Romanians under one rule:

"We have no data indicating that Michael intended to give the Romanians in Transylvania a political role. Quite the contrary is true. In Transylvania he had brought several faithful Walachians, just like in Walachia he turned on Szecklers and Magyars to assist him govern." Therefore, the political work of the first man to unite the Romanians, one of the dear symbols of national unity, is presented with the same bad faith which alters historical reality up to disfigurement. The measures that Michael the Brave took for the benefit of the Romanian peasantry and clergy, as well as his religious policy, in which the efforts to dislodge, through religion, the "Unio trium nationum" formula are obviously ignored by the authors, concerned as they are to depict the great voivode as a harsh and bloody conqueror: "The prince and army leader started his soldiers against Moldavia, and in May he drove away Prince Ieremia, a friend of Poland. The insignificant booty he found in that poor country could solve the problems for just a few weeks. At the end of summer a large part of the triumphant army could support itself only by plunder. The local population — Magyars and Romanians alike tried to put up armed resistance, which only worsened the repression". The bright image of one of the most important personalities of the Romanian people's history, who sealed with his own blood the act of the union of all the Romanians, is thus smeared by slander

Small wonder that, being obsessed by the wish to contest Transylvania's Romanian character, the authors present in the same distorted way the main stages of the struggle of national emancipation

of the Romanians of Transylvania, who become the majority population only in mid-eighteenth century, so the authors say. The national character of the 1784 Revolution led by Horea, Cloșca and Crișan is called into question, and instead of an analysis of the demands included in *Supplex Libellus Valachorum* (1791) they simply affirm that "its authors could not really expect their nation to be given a place as a separate political entity in the three-nation system.

The history of the 1848 Revolution is seriously distorted. The struggle of the Transylvanian Romanians is presented as a counter-revolutionary movement, with the Apuseni Mountains where Avram Iancu led the Romanians' resistance, being depicted as an alleged Transylvanian "vendee" (in reference to the French province where counter-revolutionary movements were organized during the revolution). The grave mistakes in the national policy of the government led by Kossuth Lajos are totally ignored, and the fateful decision of the Magyar nobility to unite Transylvania to Hungary is justified by the authors as being "out of self-defence" whereas the May 30, 1848 vote of the Cluj Diet in favour of that union is portrayed as achieving the "unity of the two sister homelands" i. e. Hungary and Transylvania. In exchange, the Romanian revolution and its leaders are harshly criticized: Simion Bărnuțiu whose "confused" conception aroused "external mistrust" and threatened the "harmony of nations" causing a "break from reality". At the Blaj assembly of May 1848 counter-revolutionary tendencies would have shown, with the Romanian intellectuals stirring "religious and national hatred."

In the context of the 1848—1849 events, violence is shown to have been connected with the Romanians: "The retreating Romanian rebels set Aiud with the college and its library on fire "out of revenge", and organized an awful bloodbath in the Magyar town.

In the early 1868, the Sibiu Diet, where the majority of the deputies were Romanian is assessed as a "skilful plot of the Vienna Government" and the Sibiu delegates to Vienna as "beggars", "the government's puppets": minimizing the Romanians' struggle and that of the Sibiu Diet for national and social rights the authors affirm that: "A durable system cannot be directed against the leading section of Magyar society, against the

Magyar liberal and conservative camps, the oldest force of the country, commanding the most powerful economic positions and having the greatest political potential, as well as powerful allies beyond Piatra Craiului.

However, the Austrian-Hungarian dual monarchy established in 1867, Transylvania's incorporation into Hungary and the Magyarization policy are spared the blame that otherwise should have been put on them. More than that, we learn that the Romanians would have failed to appreciate "constitutionalism" as well as the fact that "the Romanians of Transylvania were united to their kin in Hungary, that they were brought into one and the same camp". One might have expected the Hungarian historians to make an in-depth analysis of the consequences that the dualist formula had had for the Austrian-Hungarian monarchy which Marx, Engels and Lenin denounced as a state of social and national oppression, a true prison for peoples. Have the authors been really oblivious of the description Friedrich Engels had made of the Austrian monarchy as early as 1848 as a "medley which resulted from inheritance and thefts, this organized patchwork where ten languages and ten nations mix up, a fortuitous melange of most contradictory habits and laws"? (Fr. Engels, *Începutul sfârșitului Austriei/The Beginning of Austria's Fall*, in Marx-Engels, Romanian edition, vol. 4, Editura Politică, Bucharest, 1963, p. 511). Have the authors forgotten what Marx wrote in 1875? — about the majority of the subjected population in Hungary who did not like the Hungarians and unwillingly bore their yoke, whence their continuing struggle? (K. Marx, *Conspectul*, in Marx-Engels, *Opere*, vol. 18, Editura Politică, Bucharest, 1964, p. 609). Have the authors been ignorant of what Lenin said in 1916? — "The liquidation of Austria-Hungary was historically speaking only a continuation of Turkey's dismemberment, and similarly to it a necessity of the historical process of development" (V. I. Lenin, *Broșura lui Junius*, in *Opere*, Romanian edition, vol. 30, Editura Politică, Bucharest, 1964, p. 8). While skipping over that grim chapter of world history, the authors superficially criticize the problem. For instance, the mention of a harsher policy pursued during Banffy Dezso's rule is immediately followed by a "scientific" conclusion: "But even then (in Banffy Dezso's time — our note) it was more smoke than fire".

It is common knowledge that in the short 51-year period from 1867 to 1918, the policy promoted by the Budapest Government wronged and oppressed the non-Hungarian nationalities, sought their forced Magyarization by draconic measures which drew the blame of world public opinion. Here is what the great Russian writer, Lev Tolstoi, for one, wrote about that denationalization, Magyarization policy "It is sad to see how abroad Count Appony (one of the staunchest supporters of Budapest' denationalization measures — our note) has the reputation of a pacifist, whereas in Hungary he does not concede non-Hungarians even human being status. Any sound-minded person ought to tear the mask off this liar's face so that the whole world may see he is a bird of prey, not a benefactor". And Norwegian writer B. Bjoernson, "the giant of the North", as he was called, said: "In my youth I had been a great lover and admirer of the Hungarian people. Later, as I knew them better. I found their chauvinism despicable. Sooner or later, such wrongdoings will be the end of Hungary". Economic and cultural policies, education, the judiciary, the Church and the colonizations, the gendarmerie and the prisons, all were used in an attempt to change Transylvania's demographic, economic and social picture, its ancient Romanian physiognomy.

There is disregard for the Memorandum movement which the authors tried to present as an isolated action seen by its contemporaries as "antechamber beggary". Is it really possible that historians claiming to be exploring the past from a historical materialist angle should so assess the national claims of the Romanians of Transylvania who were subject to discrimination and oppression? Today the words "antechamber beggary" are an insult to the Romanian fighters' memory and the ones who say them are in the same league with those having sent the Memorandum campaigners to jail.

It is worth reminding the great truth that the leader of the Romanian National Party of Transylvania, Ion Rațiu, said at the Memorandum fighters' trials: "We are prosecutors, not defendants ... Can anyone here speak of trial, of defence in the legal sense? No. You can do anything you like. We are not guilty, and you, though masters of our individual bodies, are not masters of our conscience, which in this case is the national conscience of the Romanian people. You do not have the competence to try us —

this competence belongs to another greater, enlightened and surely unbiased court that will try us all ... It is the court of the civilized world that will condemn you once again and more harshly than it did so far. While condemning us, your intolerance, your racial fanaticism that has no rival in Europe will only succeed in showing the world that Magyars strike a dissonant note in the concert of civilizations".

We are surprised by the fact that of the 2,000 pages of the book, not even one is devoted to the historical legitimacy of the modern Romanian state of 1859, the objective necessity of which was the natural consequence of the law-like process of the Romanian nation's assertion in the entire Dacian area. Useless to look in the History of Transylvania for an analysis of the birth of the nation, of the national question, of the law-like process of reintegration of the national state. Instead, we find a distorted image of the great events of 1918, in which the effort and will of the entire nation to be reunited within the boundaries of one single state — the unitary national state — are replaced by the action of a "group of the Romanian bourgeoisie in Arad".

Reality attests that the peace treaties concluded in 1919—1920 sanctioned the international recognition of the foundation or accomplishment of the national unity of states in Central and South-East Europe. The Romanians' struggle for the accomplishment of their nation-state unity falls in that broad framework by virtue of the right to self-determination expressed in representative, democratically elected and plebiscitary assemblies, of the will of the Romanians that were under foreign oppression to unite with the country. That reality is also ignored and distorted. The Treaty of Trianon (June 4, 1920) is described as an imperialist treaty which brought about "the dismemberment of the historic Hungarian state". Imposed by the imperialist states, the peace treaties "did not take into account the peoples' right to self-determination, and in many cases even ethnical realities" write the authors, underlining that the only socialist state, Soviet Russia, did not recognize them and "never gave up Bessarabia, as Bulgaria did not accept that South Dobruja belonged to Romania". Referring to the struggle for unity waged by the Romanians and their leaders, the authors show that, instead of accepting the equitable resolution of

the national question on the basis of the centuries old coexistence within the Hungarian state, they left the "definitive decision to the Romanian royal army and peace treaties". The Treaty of Trianon is shown as partly responsible for the fascist, reactionary orientation of Horthyist Hungary: "The fact that the dismemberment of the historic Hungarian state took place concomitantly with the defeat of a revolution and peace deals were made that brought grave national prejudices, prevented a democracy from being established that would have gradually made the Hungarian society accept the law-like process of changes and overcome misfortunes, and by creatively adjusting to the new conditions, would have searched for ways of cooperation with the neighbour peoples". A deplorable attempt to rehabilitate Horthy and his regime through the "imperialist peace system" which the authors offer him as a convenient alibi. The authors view Horthy's fascist regime with surprising "discretion" and are also quite parcimonious in putting a well-deserved blame on it, which history has long confirmed.

The period after the First World War is briefly dealt with "for want of appropriate data and analyses" as the authors erroneously assert, because there is plenty of such data. "After 1918", they say, "the history of Transylvania is part of Romania's history. Continuing economic, social, political and cultural processes or new ones that are in progress, should now be analysed from the angle of the entire Romania. The situation in the territory under discussion is changed". Transylvania's union to Romania had a negative impact on the Transylvanians — the authors assert tendentiously — because of its "annexation" to a poorly developed country and the alleged seizure of the riches and enterprises by the massively colonized "Romanians from the Old Kingdom". Defying the reality of the inter-war period, the authors contend that the Magyar nationality did not have full opportunities to develop "partly because of unfavourable socio-economic processes, and partly because of a discriminating national policy, or of the process of Romanianization ... In the first moments of the change of history, the Magyars of Transylvania were confused and dejected. They could accept neither the idea that the millenary state organization, of which they had been an organic part, disappeared in a few weeks, nor the idea that annexation to a foreign country,

with a less developed socio-economic base, fated them to minority status”.

As a result, after 1918 there is no mention in the book of Transylvania's organic integration in the unitary Romanian national state, of the fact that it united with the other Romanian provinces, or of Romania's reintegration, but only the “change of rule”.

In their presentation of the history of Transylvania the authors completely ignore the assessments in Romanian documents of the crucial moments in that history, and do not manage to insert a few lines in the 2,000 pages about the organic links — economic, demographic, cultural — between Transylvania and the other Romanian provinces ... But when they come to the period after 1918, when the Romanians' permanent aspiration to build and live in a unitary national state was accomplished and became an irreversible historical reality, they at last remember to quote from a document — the Resolution of the third Congress of the RCP (1924), imposed by Comintern, as is known, by which “the peoples' right to self-determination up to separation was proclaimed and it was established that Romania, by uniting various regions, turned into a multinational state from a national state”.

The fascist Vienna Award is presented as “arbitration” requested by the Romanian Government with the Horthyist regime's repressions and crimes being concealed by reference to an alleged similar policy of the Romanian authorities. “Thus, the so-called national policy of reciprocity began, expulsion being answered by expulsion on the other side, internment by internment, closing down of schools by closing down of schools which made the fate of the Romanians in the north, respectively, of the Magyars in the south, completely insecure”. Therefore, the sign of equality is put between the situation of the two populations, but nothing is said about the fact that apart from expulsion and internment, which the authors referred to, a terror of unparalleled ferocity was unleashed in North-Western Romania. Men and children were slaughtered, pregnant women were slashed, whole families were exterminated, prominent intellectuals and clergymen were assassinated, mass massacres were staged, like those of Ip and Trăznea, horrible crimes were prepared like those

of Moisei and Sârmaş. These were the landmarks of the horrible years of the Horthyist occupation in North-Western Romania. These facts cannot be glossed over for they are still vivid, painfully vivid, in the memory of the inhabitants of that Romanian Land.

Lacking the most elementary scruples vis-à-vis historical realities, persevering in distortion and falsification, the authors suggest a similar parallelism also as regards the situation of the Jews in Transylvania in the years of the Second World War. They state that “an important part of the Jewish population, some 90,000—100,000, was driven out” from the territory overrun by Horthyists, while in Romania “387,000 Jews were assassinated”. Does none of the authors know that from the Horthy-occupied territory not an important part, but absolutely all, therefore not 90,000—100,000, but over 160,000 Jews were deported? And does none of them know that Horthy himself admitted that deportation, as conducted by the Hungarian gendarmerie, surpassed in cruelty even what happened in Nazi Germany? Is it possible that the authors should be totally ignorant of the works of the American historian Randolph Braham about the Holocaust in Hungary and in the territory severed from Romania under the Vienna Award, an historian who emphasized that the Jews there were exterminated at an unprecedented rate by the most terrible deportation and cruel murder programme to have existed throughout the war? With reference to Romania, the same historian states that, under those dreadful circumstances, Romania was a haven, an oasis for the Jews.

We think we have quoted sufficient examples of distortion of Transylvania's history and of disparagement of the Romanian people's history. However, we add the conclusion of the work, which is as serious as it is biased: “Transylvania is a distinct ethnic and cultural entity in Central and Eastern Europe and the course of its situation bears on the development of this region...” Therefore, according to the authors, Transylvania is not a component part of the Romanian State but “a distinct ethnic and cultural entity”. The Romanian State's sovereignty is implicitly restricted since “its situation (Transylvania's, o.n.) bears on the development of this region (Central and Eastern Europe — o.n.) Given these falsehoods, any honest reader, any well-meaning person can only feel indignation



Manuels scolaires en langue magyare

and revolted when reading the provocative affirmations of the team of authors led by Köpeczi Béla. How dare the authors of this book on the frontcover of which one can read *A History of Transylvania* try to annul the outcome of a lengthy struggle, which demanded sacrifices of the Romanian people, for the attainment of a permanent, century-old aspiration? How can such a work serve "the friendship between the two peoples" as the responsible editor of

the work emphatically states?

It is unanimously acknowledged that, through the Romanian Communist Party's policy, the national question has been settled fully and definitively: The Romanians and the nationalities have the same rights and duties, and are engaged in the same effort for the building of the multilaterally developed socialist society. But, about the great accomplishments of Socialist Romania made in all spheres, inclusive of the national ones, the authors

say next to nothing for... lack of information, as they candidly state.

In fact, on reading the work one comes to the conclusion that the authors are interested less in the fate of the Magyar nationality in Romania and more in causing diversion and misleading public opinion. Thus, their action is nothing else but one of those attempts to create a false problem of "the minorities in Romania" which is grounded on no objective fact. United by their struggle and work along the centuries, the Romanian people and the nationalities living beside it have given a new look to their common homeland, the Socialist Republic of Romania.

By its political orientation, this History of Transylvania appears as a work written in a revisionist and chauvinist spirit, perfectly fitting into the nationalist Hungarian historiographic literature which, ever since the past century has sought to justify the revival of certain outdated political and territorial structures.

From the multitude of Horthyist propaganda works we should mention only the book "Transylvania" printed by the Hungarian Society of History, the preface of which is dated August 1, 1940. It was written also by a team of authors including the then Hungarian Prime Minister Teleki Pál and several historians, among them Makkai László who is now, too, one of the editors of the History of Transylvania. The work "Transylvania" was intended to convince Hitler and Mussolini that Transylvania should belong to Hungary. Therefore, shortly before the fateful Vienna Award, the Horthyist regime had asked Hungarian historiography to offer, through its representatives, a historical justification of the revisionist, annexationist claims on Transylvania. We should also mention that the Propaganda Ministry of Hitler's Reich asked an expert commission led by W. Czeli to give its opinion on that work. After a rigorous examination, the experts concluded that what was meant to influence the stance of the great Fascist powers was just "political fraud". However the interests of Hitler's Germany and of Fascist Italy determined the Vienna Award under which the Northwestern part of Romania went to Horthy's Hungary.

In 1946, during the Paris Peace Conference, the same Makkai László published in French a History of Transylvania the purpose of which was to convince, this time the anti-Hitler coalition, that

Transylvania, through its entire history, belonged to Hungary and that the so-called injustice of Trianon should not be reiterated. The author's "arguments" failed to convince and the menial bargaining attempts in Paris to get at least part of Transylvania's territory ended in failure.

Today, the same Makkai László, who wrote for Hitler and Mussolini, then for their conquerors, is trying again, alongside other colleagues, his hand at falsifying and detracting the Romanian people's history. Regarded in his country as an "expert" in Transylvania's history, he actually appears as a belated "apostle" of a revisionist creed invalidated by history.

Whom do the authors want now to persuade that Transylvania is a "distinct ethnic and cultural entity"? Whoever compares the three quoted works, the publication of which has spanned the interval from Horthy's Hungary to our days, notes that the fundamental theses and, sometimes, even their formulation are the same. The authors' promises to "apply the fundamental categories of historical materialism" have proved empty words. What we have here is a work written in a reactionary, nationalist spirit with chauvinist, revisionist tinges.

As one could see, the method of the Hungarian teams is very "simple": everything refusing to fit into the patterns of their pre-determined interpretation, which has a political purpose of the most obvious revisionist essence, is left out. Characteristic in this respect is the treatment given to Romanian works of history the conclusions of which are ignored or labelled "outdated". Dialogue, a true exchange of opinions, carried out with competence and objectivity, is made impossible. Do the authors of this History of Transylvania imagine that, by turning a blind eye to the testimonies refuting their theses, the latter cease to exist? Supplied by the past centuries and millennia, these testimonies — from that of Herodotus about the Getae to contemporary sources — will always stand proof of the Romanian continuity and unity in the Dacian hearth. And any interpretative construction disregarding them will finally collapse.

One point should be made: in this work one does not come across enormities that the old Hungarian historiography maintained, such as the statement that the Romanians had come to be a majority

population in Transylvania thanks to the specific food they were consuming, that of shepherds, based on dairy produce. Present-day forgers are more refined. They no longer resort to such enormities and seek to sell their propaganda in a more credible package: that of a "scientific", "objective" research. This is what the so-called "Committee for Transylvania" set up by emigrants of Hungarian descent in the United States tried to do by printing in 1980 a supplement to its publication "Carpathian Observer" under the headline "Transylvania and the theory of Daco-Roman-Romanian continuity". No remarkable difference between the ideas of the authors of the texts printed in this supplement and those supported by the authors of the History of Transylvania. Perhaps this was the reason for which a talk between four historians in the Hungarian People's Republic — Györfy György, Hanak Péter, Makkai László and Mocsy András (the last two are also editors of the History of Transylvania) was reproduced. There is no difference between the historiography of Hungarian emigration and the historiography of the Hungarian People's Republic when it comes to Transylvania or, more exactly, to the revisionist stand on it.

One is amazed and indignant that such a work which defies historical truth, grossly distorts and blackens the glorious multimillenary past of the Romanian people could appear under the aegis of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. How is it possible that an institution meant to be the highest forum of scientific uprightness and professional ethics should approve of a work which has nothing in common with science and ethics, which unscrupulously disregards and twists the most elementary truths, which revives slanders and theses long-considered to

have been thrown into the wastebin of history circulating noxious, dangerous ideas which can only produce disgust and anger, can only divide, can only cause dissension and embitter the climate?

This History of Transylvania is an example of how history should not be written. Deliberate disregard of uncomfortable sources and of the specialized literature that comes to different conclusions, arbitrary interpretation (a suggestive example being the biased use of the population data provided by conscriptions and censuses), falsehoods and disparaging statements — this is what characterizes this work which appears to us as a belated, anachronistic and regrettable edition of the old positions of Hungarian historiography, and more than that, of the Horthyist period.

History is called upon, first and foremost, to find and disseminate the truth, and everything built on truth is enduring and beneficial. Much like the languages in Aesop's famous fable, history — depending on how it is written — can bring peoples closer or throw them apart. We are living in a world that aspires to peace, security and cooperation: why should we not place history in the service of these ideals of the whole of mankind? Why should it not serve, as it is due, the noble cause of mutual knowledge and rapprochement among peoples? Why should we degrade it to the distasteful function of hatemonger? By so doing, we debase history as a science and we disqualify ourselves as historians. This is what the authors of the History of Transylvania unfortunately forgot when they chose to appear as forgers of history.

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AVIZ. Articolul *Le Danube, berceau de la civilisation de l'Europe Centrale et du Sud-Est* de Acad. Emil Condurachi, apărut în volumul «4th International Thracian Conference - Boston 7-10 June 1984» Milano, 1986 și reluat în «Noi Tracii» nr. 142, 143 și 144 din anul 1986 va apare în forma lui completă în «Revue d'Histoire» a Academiei Române.

## ADUCEREA IPOTETICĂ A COLONIȘTILOR DIN IMPERIU

de AUREL STOICANU

Mulți istorici contestă colonizarea masivă, relevând că informația lui Eutropiu din 369 nu e demnă de încredere (exagerase și cu exterminarea Dacilor) și că Romanii n-au mai făcut colonizări dinainte de epoca Imperiului.

«Nu pare că în secolele II-III s-au mai făcut colonizări multe ca acelea de sub Cezar și August», scrie istoricul J. Toutain. Alți istorici sunt mai categorici, contestând, în baza mărturiilor scrise - printre care și *Analele* lui Tacit -, încetarea colonizărilor după August, mort în anul 14 e.n. «În practică, moda colonizării ia sfârșit după August», subliniază Pierre Grimal, printre alții, iar denumirea și statutul de colonie romană «vor mai fi conferite cu titlu onorific».

Dintre istoricii noștri, N. Iorga contestă categoric colonizarea masivă a Daciei. După el, știrea lui Eutropiu e «dubioasă». Acesta a exagerat intenționat, *infinitas copias* fiindu-i necesare pentru umplerea golului, întrucât exterminase pe Daci: *viris exhausta*.

Colonizarea adevărată se făcea prin trimiterea compactă de «legiuni întregi, cu tribunii lor și centurionii lor și cu soldați din fiecare companie, încât uniți să facă un fel de oraș», spune Tacit (*Ann.*, II,2). O atare colonizare este absolut exclusă în Dacia.

«Dacia secătuită (exhausta)» este o exagerare «retorică, a autorului, care subliniază activitatea lui Traian - favorabil apreciat de tradiția senatorială - în opoziție cu Hadrian, care a fost criticat de cercurile senatoriale», scrie istoricul Vl. Iliescu în *Izvoarele istoriei României* (București, 1970, II, p. 37).

Că Eutropiu exagerează și că nu putem pune bază pe el o dovedește și informația despre retragerea din 271 (IX,15,9): «Aurelian a golit (*intermisit*) provincia Dacia. Romanii pe care i-a scos de pe ogoarele și din orașele Daciei i-a așezat în partea de mijloc a Moesiei». Același istoric remarcă just: «Vrând să salveze prestigiul roman și totodată să nu diminueze figura lui Aurelian, care e laudat de autor că a restabilit Imperiul, Eutropiu lărgeste operația de evacuare a Daciei și creează astfel iluzia unei evacuări totale, la fel cum sub Traian vorbise de o colonizarea integrală a Daciei. Și astfel s-a creat o tradiție

greșită ce a fost preluată de Festus și de HA și pusă apoi în circulație (cf. Vl. Iliescu, *Părăsirea Daciei...*, SC IV, XXII, 1971, 2).

Pe Eutropiu îl mai corecta și Iordanes, în sensul că retragerea romană însemna de fapt numai aceea a legiunilor, a armatei (cf. *Fontes Historiae Dacoromanae*, II, nota 3, p. 467).

Prin urmare, n-a existat o colonizare a Daciei, care a fost ocupată strict militar, fără a se urmări o romanizare sau latinizare. Pretinsa colonizare o tratăm aici ca o *ipoteză*.

a. Care era *numărul* celor care ar fi venit? 5% din populația dacă? Eventual mai mult? Sau mai puțin? Izvoarele istorice tac. Poate că n-aveau ce «colonizare» să semnaleze. În orice caz, ar fi trebuit să fie un număr infim față de numeroasa populație băștinașă, care-i copleșea, mai ales că la cei supuși s-au adăugat curând Dacii refugiați («exodul» lui Pârvan) și reîntorși, și apoi Dacii liberi. Unii coloniști au plecat în 271, dar nu mulți, negustorii cei bogați. Restul a rămas asisgurând continuitatea istorică, împreună cu grosul populației locale. Așadar, coloniștii reprezintă (în ipoteza că au venit) o pondere minimă. Deci s-a produs nu romanizarea de către ei a Dacilor, ci, dimpotrivă, înecarea loc în marea autohtonă, dacizarea lor.

Că indigenii erau foarte numeroși o subliniază Pârvan: «Densitatea populației trace a Daciei era într-adevăr impunătoare» (*Getica*, p. 752). Tot el spune că numărul coloniștilor era inferior chiar aceluia al veteranilor.

b. Legea *desnaționalizărilor* prevede că ele pot fi realizate numai:

- prin superioritatea numerică. Fiind un număr infim, coloniștii erau neapărat sortiți dacizării.

- prin similitudinea de ocupații sau prin identitatea care ar fi asigurat și contactul dintre ei. Coloniștii nu erau însă țărani ca Dacii. Gutschmied și alți istorici moderni au stabilit că erau puțini țărani, ca Dacii, cei mai mulți fiind negustori, meseriași, sclavi, slujitori ai cultului. Este un fapt extrem de important. Însuși Pârvan sublinia că: «baza romanismului a fost pretutindeni așezarea țăranilor de limbă latină» (*Getica*, p. 142). «Romanii n-au putut prinde rădăcini decât acolo unde au putut deveni țărani» (*Ibidem*, p. 154). Oamenii noștri de știință au stabilit că erau puțini.

Neavând superioritatea numărului, nici una culturală (singura decisivă, în ultimă analiză, în materie de asimilare, idee subliniată pentru Dacia și de Gamilschegg) și nici identitatea de profesii, rezultă că ei nu puteau desnaționaliza pe băștinași. Puteau romaniza numai Romanii țărani (cf. Pârvan).

c. Coloniștii mai erau handicapați, în cursa pentru desnaționalizare, și de condiția lor de viață, fiind *împrăștiați și în continuă mișcare*, cum a subliniat N. Iorga. Nu erau constituiți în grupe compacte și nici statornici, pentru a întemeia așezări latinizante.

d. A patra observație privește *originea* coloniștilor. *Ex toto orbe romano* nu includea și Italia, oricât ar părea de neverosimil, pentru că inscri-

ptiile nu ne arată coloniști italici sau romani. Câteva cazuri din cele peste 3.000 de inscripții nu contează. Explicația stă în faptul că era interzisă trimiterea de coloniști din Italia, chiar de către Traian. Când, mai târziu, Antonin Piul (mort în 161) a colonizat Spania și cu Italici, excepția a fost îndată remarcată, accentuându-se că lucrul s-a făcut *contra Trajani praecepta*. Însemnarea din *Historia Augusta* e mai mult decât elocventă.

În legătură cu inscripțiile - din care 2/3 sunt în «latină» - e de remarcat că nu trebuie să li se acorde o importanță exagerată din punct de vedere etnic, întrucât multe se datorau categoric caracterului oficial al limbii cuceritorului, altele obișnuinței, limbii pietrarului, modei etc. Tablele votive catolice de azi în limba latină sunt nerelevante din punct de vedere etnic. Că factorii citați operau mai mult la orașe se datorește poate faptului că la sate, unde trăia imensa majoritate a populației, nu s-au găsit decât 230 de astfel de inscripții. În orice caz, acest domeniu ar trebui cât mai mult cercetat, sub toate aspectele, și temeinic interpretat. O pistă de cercetare ar fi considerarea latinei inscripțiilor ca vulgară, un fel de pre- sau proto-latină (termeni improprii și derutanți), ori geto-dacă. E foarte probabil să se ivească surprize dacă s-ar reciti inscripțiile pornind de la teza mea că geto-daca și latina sunt limbi surori, geto-daca dăinuind în română. Ar veni la lumina zilei cu totul alte interpretări, poate relevante.

Constatarea că numărul antroponimelor geto-dace din inscripții e neînsemnat față de al celor romane este explicată de Pârvan prin posibilitățile materiale mai reduse ale populației dace. I.I. Russu, adept al romanizării Dacilor, scrie totuși: «Este firesc și se admite că inscripții (pe care să-și perpetueze numele) puneau numai părțile de sus ale societății, cei înstăriți și influențați mai mult de cultura urbană și modul de viață adus de Romani» (*Etnogeneza*, p. 91; H. Daicoviciu, cap. IV, A,d).

Mai adaug că istoricii consideră Romani pe unii Daci care-și luaseră nume triple (sistem roman). În asemenea epigrafe, scrie Russu, «Romanii» Aurelius Fuscus, Iulius Verecundus, Aurelius Iulianus ș.a., cu depline și impecabile nume clasice, ar putea fi considerați de orice neam, din orice provincie, chiar din Italia ori din Roma (*Op. c.*, p. 90). Era normal ca numele latin să înșele pe mulți istorici și epigrafiști. În ce privește numărul, majoritatea covârșitoare a numelor traco-dace sunt, după Russu, exclusive și tipice, foarte puține află analogii ori corespondențe la alte popoare indoeuropene. Antroponime sunt 1.190, din care 890 simple, 300 compuse bimembre; toponime 910, din care 700 simple, 210 compuse; onomastica traco-dacă e mult mai bogată decât cea ilirică.

După cum soldații proveneau din foarte variate părți ale Imperiului, tot așa și coloniștii reprezentau un amestec de creuzet: veniseră din împrejurimi, Illyricum, Hispania, Galia, Paflagonia, Siria, Caria, Bitinia, Africa. Din 20 sau chiar 25 de provincii. «N-a existat niciodată în istoria lumii o îngrămăditură de oameni mai diferiți ca fire și mai îndepărtați de originea romană» (N. Iorga). «Inscripțiile desvăluie un adevărat haos de naționalități» (V. Pârvan, *Dacia*, p. 154). Din totalul inscripțiilor descoperite în Dacia, 20% se referă la cultele orientale (cf. Silviu Sanie, *Culte orientale în România*, București,

1981). Grecii erau în număr copleșitor, fapt demn de remarcat, care explică și constatarea lui O. Densușianu că influența elinei asupra latinei a fost mai puternică în țările dunărene decât oriunde, cu excepția Siciliei. Limbajul grec stânjenea pătrunderea celui roman, pentru că Romanii culți vorbeau grecește. Evrei n-au venit, zicea Iorga. Azi se știe că au existat mici grupuri. Pretinșii «coloniști» erau bieți oameni necăjiți, care-și căutau norocul, fugind de sărăcia de acasă. Cultura lor era cel mult egală cu aceea a țăranilor daci sau -pe plan spiritual mai ales - chiar inferioară. (Cu excepția Grecilor). Ca nou veniți, lipsiți complet de omogenitate, ei trebuiau să se supună obiceiurilor pământului, nu puteau pretinde să-și impună modul lor de viață celor aflați la ei acasă, în mase compacte, cu cultura și tradițiile lor, la care nu înțelegeau să renunțe.

e. În legătură cu factorul de colonizare, neînsemnat, reprezentat de veteranii aduși, pe lângă opinia lui Iorga, sunt semnificative observațiile unui martor al timpului, Tacit, care în *Anale* spune: «că s-au trimis *veterani* ca să locuiască la Tarentum și Antium, dar n-au reușit să populeze aceste locuri. Cei mai mulți dintre soldați s-au risipit în provinciile în care își sfârșiseră stagiul militar». Apoi remarcă: dealtfel «nedeprinși să se căsătorească și să crească copii (până la Septimiu Sever, mort la 211, soldații romani nu aveau voie să se însoare, n.a.), ei mureau fără urmași. Căci nu mai erau ca mai înainte (de la Sulla la August), când se trimiteau legiuni întregi, cu tribunii lor, cu centurionii lor și cu soldați din fiecare campanie... Acum (în anul 60 e.n., situația fiind valabilă și după cucerirea Daciei, în ipoteza că s-ar fi făcut colonizări) se trimiteau soldați ce nu se cunoșteau între dânșii, din diferite companii, fără dragoste reciprocă, ca și cum ar fi fost altă speță de muritori, strânși în grabă la un loc și formând mai mult un număr decât o colonie» (*Ann*, II, 2). Această mărturie, de profundă semnificație și importanță, aruncă o lumină vie și concludentă asupra epocii și problemei noastre, îndeosebi asupra rolului colonizator minor al veteranilor.

Pârvan pune mare preț pe veterani, deși nu poate indica o cifră. El scrie că în Dacia «vor fi mai mulți decât coloniștii civili. Dar baza populației rurale a Daciei în 270 rămânea tot aceea dată de cele 150 serii de veterani» (*Dacia*, p. 153).

În lipsa unei alte indicații, încercăm să deducem numărul veteranilor pornind de la «cele 150 serii» de veterani de până la 270. Din această cifră rezultă că Pârvan consideră că prima serie ar fi dată de anul 120 e.n., deși împlinirea stagiului de 20 de ani - și 25 pentru auxiliari - s-ar fi realizat în anul 126 (106 plus 20), respectiv 131 (106 plus 25), neținând seama nici de faptul că mulți se reangajau, întârziind obținerea statutului de veterani cu 5 sau poate cu 10 ani, și reducând seriile de la 150 la 135-140, iar alții erau reținuți forțat, pentru cazuri de forță majoră, pentru mai mulți ani. Să admitem totuși ca valabilă cifra de 150 serii, pentru că în fond este judicioasă.

Situația s-ar prezenta astfel:

1a. *Legiunea XIII Gemina*, staționată de la 106 la 271, avea între 4.200 - 6.000 ostași. Luând *legiunea* ca un tot omogen, cu același stagiul de 20 de ani

pentru fiecare ins, împlinit simultan, rezultă că în anul 120 au fost lăsați la vatră 6.000 veterani. Dacă admitem că legiunea a fost reîmprospătată integral, a doua lăsare la vatră era în anul 140 și așa mai departe, pentru opt cicluri sau generații de câte 6.000 legionari, până la retragerea legiunii.

În realitate, anii stagiului împlinit nu erau egali pentru fiecare, așa că lăsarea la vatră se făcea treptat, cam câte 300 inși pe an (5%), urmând ca la 20 de ani să se obțină același număr de 6.000 eliberați. Legiunea XIII a dat astfel, până în 271, circa 45.000 eliberați, adică veterani, în cifră intrând și cei morți între timp, reangajați sau cu prelungirea de stagiu.

1b. *Legiunea V-a Macedonica*, staționată cu 61 de ani mai târziu (167 e.n.), până la 271, tot cu efectivul maxim de 6.000 soldați. Socotind de-a dreptul câte 300 veterani pe an, cele 89 serii (150 minus 61) au dat până la retragerea legiunii 25.700 veterani, rotund 27.000.

Totalul pe cele două legiuni (45.000 plus 27.000) este de 72.000 veterani până la 271 e.n.

2a. *Auxiliarii Legiunii XIII Gemina*, pe 150 serii, între 106 și 271, cu un total maxim de 5.000, devin veterani după 25 de ani de stagiu. În consecință, s-au perindat ceva mai puțin de șapte serii. Socotind că numărul eliberat anual este de 200 inși, pentru cele 150 serii dă un total de 30.000 veterani.

2b. *Auxiliarii Legiunii V Macedonica*, cu un efectiv de 5.000, între 167 și 271, deci 89 serii. Socotind direct pe ani tot câte 200 de inși, ajungem la un număr de circa 18.000 veterani.

Totalul auxiliarilor pentru cele două legiuni (30.000 plus 18.000) este de 48.000.

3. Totalul general pe cele două legiuni, plus auxiliarii, între 106 - 271, este așadar de 120.000 veterani, din care n-am scăzut încă pe cei decedați, reangajați, reținuți peste termen ori transferați.

4. Să vedem acum câți din acest total au putut contribui la acțiunea de romanizare. Deci câți s-au stabilit în Dacia?

Unii se reangajau și prelungeau data eliberării. La cât s-ar putea evalua această întârziere, această decalare a statutului de veteran, nu îmi dau seama. Unii constatau că li s-a prelungit stagiul fără voie (din cauza unor războaie, revolte) și își vedeau astfel întârziat statutul de veteran. Cu cât? Alții, din cauza prelungirilor, nu mai ajungeau deloc la pensionare. Câți? Nu pot emite nici-o apreciere, deși în mod sigur s-au întâmplat asemenea cazuri.

Cifra de 5.000 auxiliari pe legiune, socotită constantă în perioada ocupației militare, putea varia în anii de liniște, numărul lor diminuând.

La totalul pe legiune, alternând între 4.200 - 6.000, am considerat totdeauna cifra maximă. Dacă ea n-a fost atinsă, la cât s-ar fi redus totalul de 120.000? Greu de apreciat.

La alte categorii, am putea încerca unele evaluări. De pildă, la cei plecați acasă după împlinirea stagiului - care nu înțelegeau să beneficieze de lotul individual de pământ care le putea fi acordat, ci preferau să-și încaseze cei

12.000 de sesterți (circa 3.000 franci aur) și să-și croiască în satul natal gospodărie proprie și o altă viață, așa cum procedau țărani ardeleni plecați peste ocean - am aprecia procentul lor cel puțin la jumătate. Cei 120.000 veterani s-ar reduce deci la 60.000, din care scăzând măcar 10.000 veterani din categoriile arătate mai sus, ar rămâne cam 50.000.

De asemenea, am putea estima și mortalitatea veteranilor rămași în Dacia, probabil superioară celei a localnicilor din cauza războaielor și a cliimei mai dure decât în țările de origine. Poate că o vârstă de maximum 60 de ani e verosimilă, mai ales pentru sudici, dar nu numai pentru ei, atunci longevitatea fiind inferioară celei de azi.

Ca atare, cei deveniți veterani în anul 120 au murit după 20 de ani, în anul 140 e.n.; veteranii din 140 au murit în 160 ș.a.m.d. În șapte serii și jumătate de câte 6.000, până în 271 au decedat 45.000 veterani.

Din Legiunea V Macedonica, cei pensionați în 190 au murit după 20 de ani, la 210, în total de 6.000; cei din anul 210 au murit în 230 ș.a.m.d. În patru serii de câte 6.000, până în 271 e.n. au decedat 24.000.

În total, din veteranii celor două legiuni, până la părăsirea Daciei, au decedat 69.000 veterani.

La auxiliari, socotind că cei din Legiunea XIII, pensionați în anul 125 au decedat în anul 150, iar cei din 150 în 175 ș.a.m.d., în șase serii a câte 5.000, până la 271 au decedat 30.000. Din Legiunea V, cei pensionați în anul 190, au decedat în 215 și cei din 215 în 250 ș.a.m.d., în patru serii de câte 5.000, până în 271 au decedat 20.000

Astfel totalul auxiliarilor decedați se ridică la 50.000.

Totalul general al decedaților pe cele două legiuni, cu auxiliarii, între 106-271, este de 119.000, cifră din care trebuie scăzuți cei 60.000 care ar fi plecat în patriile lor.

Prin urmare, aproape toți veteranii s-au stins din viață până în 271. Astfel nu mai putea fi vorba de nici-o acțiune a lor de romanizare după retragerea aureliană, sursa lor fiind secată definitiv din lipsă de împlăcitate. Până la retragere au avut însă rolul lor. Cât de mare?

5. Să comparăm totalul lor, de 50.000 (120 de mii minus 60.000 plecați și 10.000 greu evaluabili), considerându-l constant în toată această perioadă, cu totalul populației Daciei, pe care ar fi trebuit s-o «romanizeze».

Care era însă populația Daciei, mai întâi a Daciei întregi dinaintea ocupației și apoi a Daciei mici, devenită provincie romană?

Populația Daciei a variat. Sub Burebista era de două milioane, socotind că luptătorii - 200.000 după Strabo - ar fi reprezentat circa 10% din populația totală. Mai târziu numărul a mai scăzut. La cât, nu se poate ști. Pârvan menționează scăderea, însă tot el ne spune că în vremurile de care ne ocupăm noi «densitatea populației trace a Daciei era întradevăr impunătoare» (*Getica*, p. 752). Aș propune, orientativ, cifra de 1,5 milioane locuitori pentru Dacia Mare.

Pentru provincia romană, Banat, Oltenia și o parte a Transilvaniei, emitem în mod orientativ, cifra de 800.000 locuitori. Aceasta are ca punct de

sprijin afirmația lui Criton care spune că Traian a luat 50.000 bărbați daci înarmați, ca să-i trimită pe alte fronturi. Considerând războinicii cam 10% din populație, înseamnă că aceasta era de cel puțin 500.000, la care am mai putea adăuga circa 300.000, cifra corespunzătoare altor aproximativ 30.000 ostași daci neprinși.

Dacă am lua pentru comparație (numai) cifra de 800.000, totalul veteranilor ar fi prezentat 6% din populația provinciei. Aduug însă imediat *numai dacă* și numărul veteranilor ar fi rămas constant, ca acela al populației. Dar el a variat, între 50.000 și numai 11.000 la început (1,37%). De fapt a variat și cifra populației, dar, în defavoarea tezei lui Pârvan, ea a crescut («revanșa naturii» după război, plus sporul din perioada de pace ce a urmat).

Întrebarea care se pune este dacă - toutes autres choses égales d'ailleurs - cei 6 la sută veterani (sau doar 1,37) aveau forța necesară să romanizeze pe ceilalți 94%. Răspunsul de dat nu pare a prezenta greutatea prea mari.

În plus, auxiliarii trebuie scăzuți integral din calcul. «Aveau nevoie ei înșiși să fie romanizați», spune însuși fondatorul arheologiei noastre (*Dacia*, p. 148). Numărul veteranilor luați în calcul scade așadar cu 80% auxiliarii, de la 50.000 la numai 10.000, ceea ce în procente, față de totalul populației de 800.000, ar însemna 1,25%, în loc de 6%. Calculând la varianta minimă de 11.000 veterani, numărul lor ar scădea la numai 2.200, adică 0,27% din populație. Nici cât o picătură în iezorul carpatic.

În concluzie, dacă ținem seama de faptul că și cifra populației a crescut, avem următoarea situație:

a. 2.200 veterani apți pentru romanizare,

b. cifra ipotetică a populației de 800.000 ar fi crescut (după o variantă calculată de Silviu Câmpean) la circa 2,4 milioane locuitori (cu un spor anual de circa 7 la mie pe 165 ani).

Veteranii ar reprezenta atunci abia 0,09 la sută din populația pe care ar fi urmat s-o romanizeze.

Dacă aceste generații de coloniști veterani nu aveau nici o pondere, ce să mai vorbim de «coloniștii» civili? Acțiunea de romanizare prin coloniști -veterani sau civili - era, deci, cu totul imposibilă.

Să regretăm? Nu. Pentru că din această analiză rezultă că suntem «Romani» nu prin derivație, ci de la sursă, din europeni, frați cu Romanii.

Romanitatea noastră e originară, primordială, funciară, nu ocolită, pe când aceea a Romanilor ocupanți e derivată și impură, ei provenind din proromanii sau protolatini plecați de la noi.

Cât privește pe «coloniști», ei nu meritau numele de romani, reprezentând, cum am văzut mai sus, «o îngrămăditură de oameni».

Afirmația lui Iorga «*La masse bizarre de colons ne pouvait pas former la nation roumaine d'une formation tellement solide, ni lui donner la langue*» îndeamnă la meditație.

A.S.

## ORIGINEA LIMBII ȘI A NEAMULUI ROMÂNESC

Acesta este titlul lucrării (Ed. Nagard, Roma, 1986) ce cuprinde răspunsul generației tinere de intelectuali români la recrudescența vechii gărzi dogmatice. Pasiunea cu care sunt tratate problemele ce privesc originea limbii și a neamului românesc scoate în evidență că românul este perfect conștient de valorile istorice, etnice, culturale și lingvistice ale neamului său. Această conștiință nu poate fi înăbușită, chiar dacă uneori este redusă la tăcere. Ea inspiră libertatea de a refuza orice îngrădire străină și susține curajul de a infirma orice denigrare a moștenirii spirituale primite de la înaintași.

Conștiința de sine - mărturisită cu naturalețe de autori - exprimă convingerea românului despre existența sa. El se știe român și nu altceva, pe plaiul său dintotdeauna și nu venit de aiurea, cu limbă proprie, cu spiritualitate specifică, cu o cultură ce-l definește și cu o precisă conștiință a originii sale daco-romane. Ca să afirmi aceste adevăruri - care sunt așa, pentru că nu pot fi decât așa - nu trebuie să fii nici de dreapta, nici de stânga; ajunge să fii bun român.

T. V. BĂDESCU

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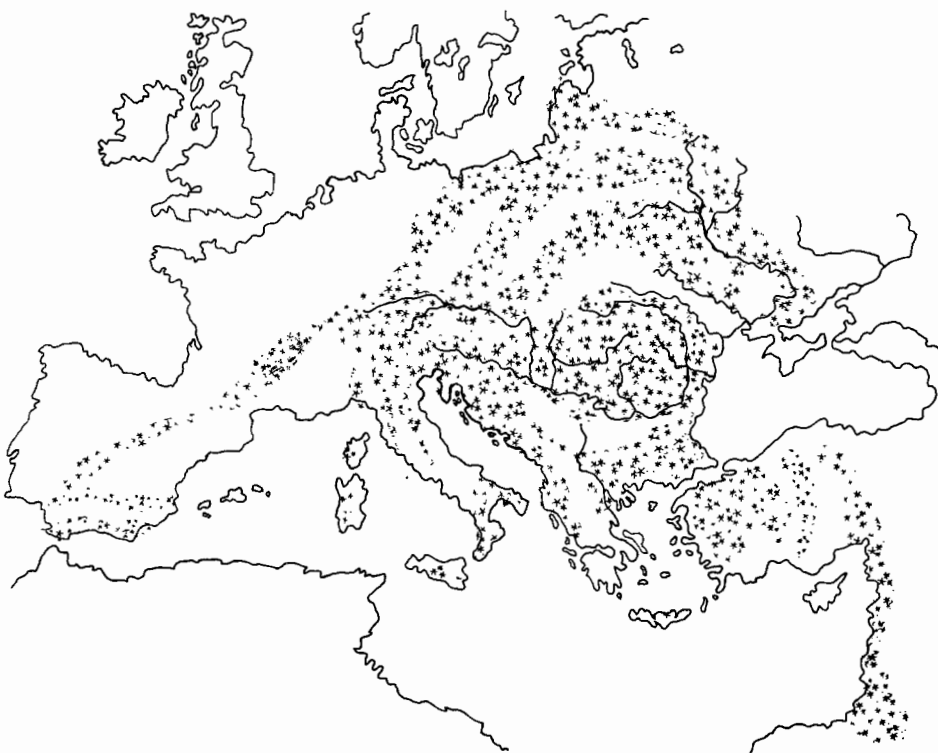
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*Tuturor, sănătate și voie bună !*

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«Tracii sunt neamul cel mai numeros și mai răspândit din lume, după cel al Indienilor» (*Herodot*)

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