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Prof. ALEXANDRU BOLDUR

GREAT THRACE

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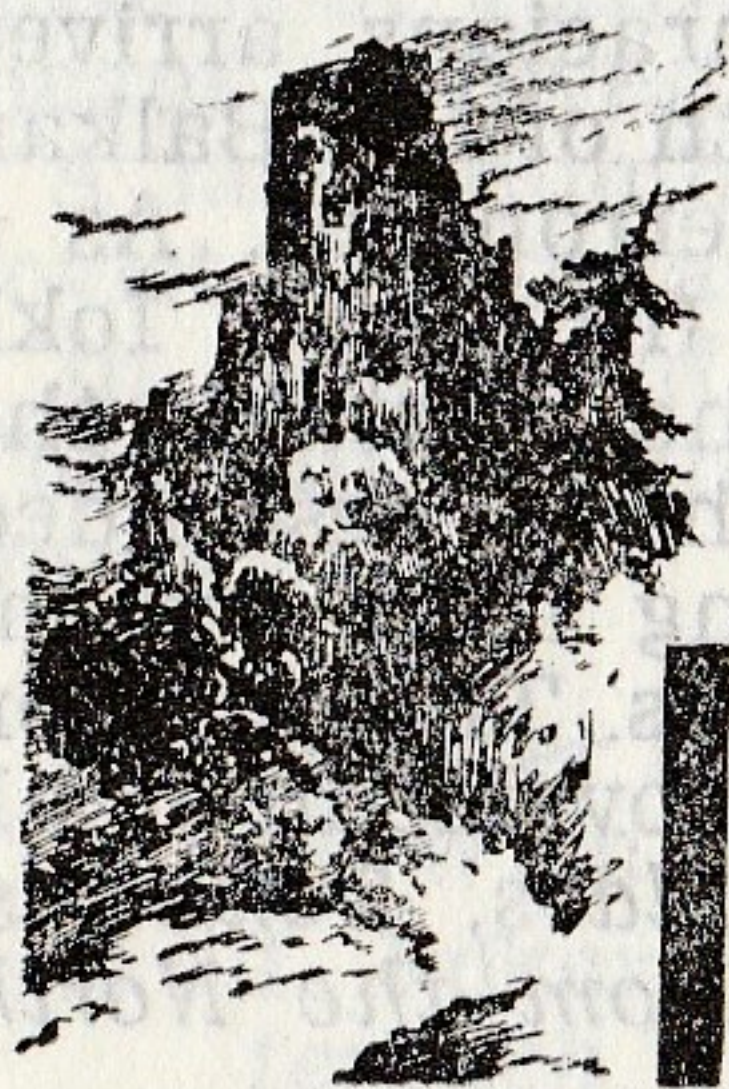
Calle Conde Peñalver, 82, 4.º D

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GREAT THRACE

by Prof. A. BOLDUR



It has been my feeling for a long time that the Thracians were unjustly neglected in Rumanian historiography. This led me, a long time since, to amass pertinent material and data. The ensuing work was completed towards the close of the year 1974. The title I gave it is: "Great Thrace. Synthetic problems in the prehistory and early history of Thracians". I also let it be translated in French on my own account.

The work falls into two parts. The title of the first part is: "Thracians from regions to the North and East of the Carpathians, and their neighbours in prehistory".

The second part deals with the destinies of Thracians from these regions in historical times.

It has been known long since that the Thracians had been the predecessors of the Romans, and formed their ethnic base. This justifies the special consideration which has been given to this theme.

Now our work assumes an enhanced public value. In order to justify the seizure under Stalin of the Rumanian provinces Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina, an ideological current has arisen in Kishinev, which opposes the very notion of a Rumanian people. N. A. Mohov, A. M. Lazarev and others wage a struggle against "rumanism" and misrepresent the role of the Union of the Rumanian principalities Moldavia and Muntenia (1859), contending that the notion of a Rumanian people is out of the question, there being only Romanic East European peoples.

They disregard the fact that the Union of the Rumanian Principalities had been eulogized by the revolutionary democrats of the past century, and indeed by V. Lenin.

The authors from Kishinev, in their malignancy, make proof of lack of knowledge and obscurantism.

It ensues from the present work that Moldavian Bessarabia constitutes an integral part of the territory which was occupied in prehistoric and early historic times by Thracians, and that the Union of the Rumanian Principalities in 1859 was but a natural reunion of different Thracian tribes into a single whole.

In the following, the readers are offered a concise account of the contents of my works: a resumé.

Here are the conclusions I have reached to.

There exists in our country an opinion (especially ingrained among linguists) that the Thracians arrived north of the Danube coming from the South of the Balkan Peninsula. This thesis is fundamentally erroneous. As a matter of fact, there are few authors (Norberth Iokl, A. A. Shahmatov, V. A. Moshkov) who sustain the contrary, that is, that the Thracians have descended towards the Danube and beyond it coming from regions situated north and south of the Carpathians. This opinion conforms with the general direction of movement of all Indo-European peoples. *Celts, Germans, Slavs, Tokharis, Hittites, Greeks, Italiots* — all migrated from the North towards the South but not inversely.

Besides Indo-European north-south migration, there have also been east-west migrations (Baltic peoples) and west-east ones (Aryans). *Not a single Indo-European people has ascended from south to north.* Why should the Thracians have been an exception to this empiric law?

Reliable evidence of prehistoric Thracian settlements north and east of the Carpathians is furnished by the archaeological material culture *Cucuteni-Ariusd-Tripolye*, whose characteristics according to the overwhelming majority of investigators of this culture are Thracian.

Ancient authors such as Herodotus — father of all history, Strabo, Ptolemy, Stephen the Byzantine and Ammian Marcelline have transmitted abundant information about the Thracians. However they do not indicate the boundaries of the territory occupied by these. Ptolemy however outlines their spread on a larger scale than the others, acknowledging their settlements between the Vistula, the Adriatic, the Black Sea, the Dniester and the Dnieper.

The map drawn up by the illustrious Rumanian archaeologist Vasile Pirvan for the period I 000-800 B. C. and based on Ptolemy's cannot be considered satisfactory, since Thracian settlements north and east of the Carpathians are shown only *in the vicinity of these mountains, while beyond is just blank.*

On the other hand, Constantine Porphyrogenitus, in his writings of the middle of the X-th century o. e. testifies that the original birthplace of the Slavs was at the sources of the Dnieper. Situated in this region are: Novgorod the Great, and the lakes Ilmen, Ladoga, Onega. Which means that the space of the prehistoric spread of the Cucuteni-Tripolye culture was not occupied by Slavs.

These considerations led us towards a so-to-say demographic investigation of the space between the Pripyat and the Carpathians, where there appeared later the regions of Volhyn, Hallicia, Podolia. We resorted to modern means of investigation: toponymy and hydronymy.

A large number of maps has been examined: Russian, Soviet, Ukrainian, etc.

In search of determinative roots and characteristic Thracian terminations I have been guided by the following works:

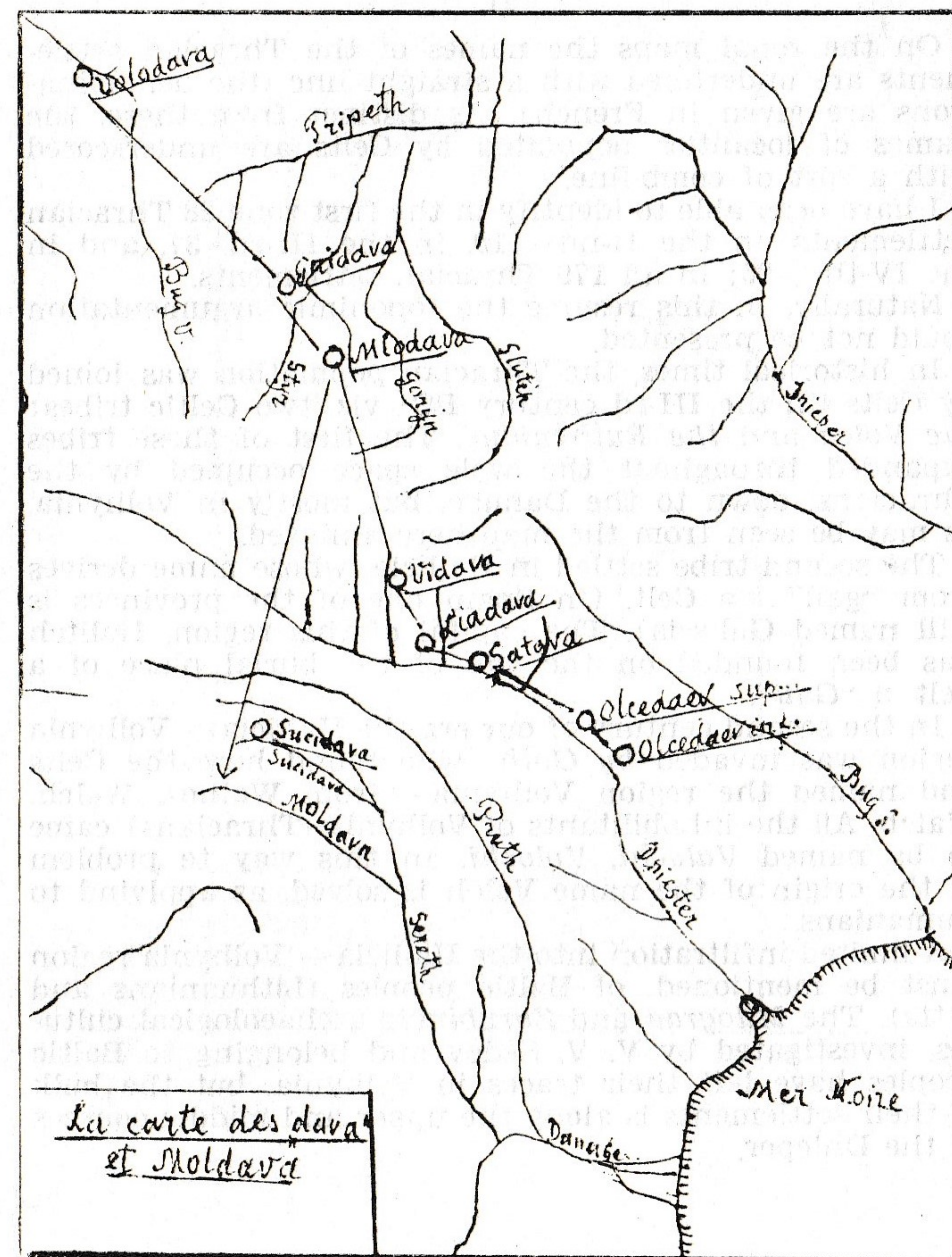
- 1) Dimiter Detsche, (Sofia), *Die Thrakischen Sprachreste*, Wien, 1957.
- 2) I. Pokorny, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Berlin, 1947-1957.

- 3) A. Walde-I. Pokorny, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen*, Berlin-Leipzig, I-II, 1927-1932.
- 4) Vl. Georgiev, *Issledovania po sravnitelno-istoriceskomu iazykoznaniiu* (Studii de lingvistică comparată), Moscow, 1958.
- 5) Vas. Pârvan, *Getica*, Bucharest, 1926.
- 6) I. I. Russu, *Limba traco-dacilor*, 1967.
- 7) W. Tomaschek, *Die alten Thraker*, Vienna Academy, Philolog. Histor. Sect., vol 128, Vienna, 1893, IV, & vol. 130, Vienna, 1894, II.
- 8) V. N. Toporov-O. N. Trubaciov, *Lingvisticeskii analiz ghidronimiki verhnego Podneprovia*, Moscow, 1962.

Conventionally the space has been divided into four geographical zones, with reference to the larger rivers: the I-st zone the Western Bug and the San; II-Styr, Goryn and Slutch rivers; III - the rivers Teterev and South Bug; IV - upper and lower Dniester.

I have been able to find numerous Thracian settlements, as will be seen in the maps here annexed, with roots as: *bes, ber, bus, buz, but (bud), shep, boc (byk), sar zur, rez (riz), mal, bal*. In many instances the prefixes *per, ter* have been found. Many Thracian settlements have the characteristic termination "dava".

The prevalence of the Thracian "dava"-s is especially interesting. From the map annexed here, it will be seen that on the Western Bug (along its lower course) there is a *Volodava* — on an affluent named *Volodavca*; along the Styr there is *Gnidava* on its left and *Mlodava* (certainly a metathesis of *Moldava*) — on its right; on the upper tributaries of the Dniester there are: *Vidava, Leadava, Șatava* (certainly *Șadava*) and on the left bank of the Dniester there are: *Upper Olceadaev* and *Lower Olceadaev* (names formed from *Olced — deva* through metathesis). The very presence of these "dava"-s prove that from the demographic point of view the space between the Pripyat and the Dniester constitutes a single whole.



II

On the zonal maps the names of the Thracian settlements are underlined with a straight line (the denominations are given in French). As distinct from these, the names of localities populated by Celts are underscored with a sort of comb-line.

I have been able to identify in the first zone 28 Thracian settlements, in the II-nd — 19, in the III-rd — 37, and in the IV-th — 95; in all 179 Thracian settlements.

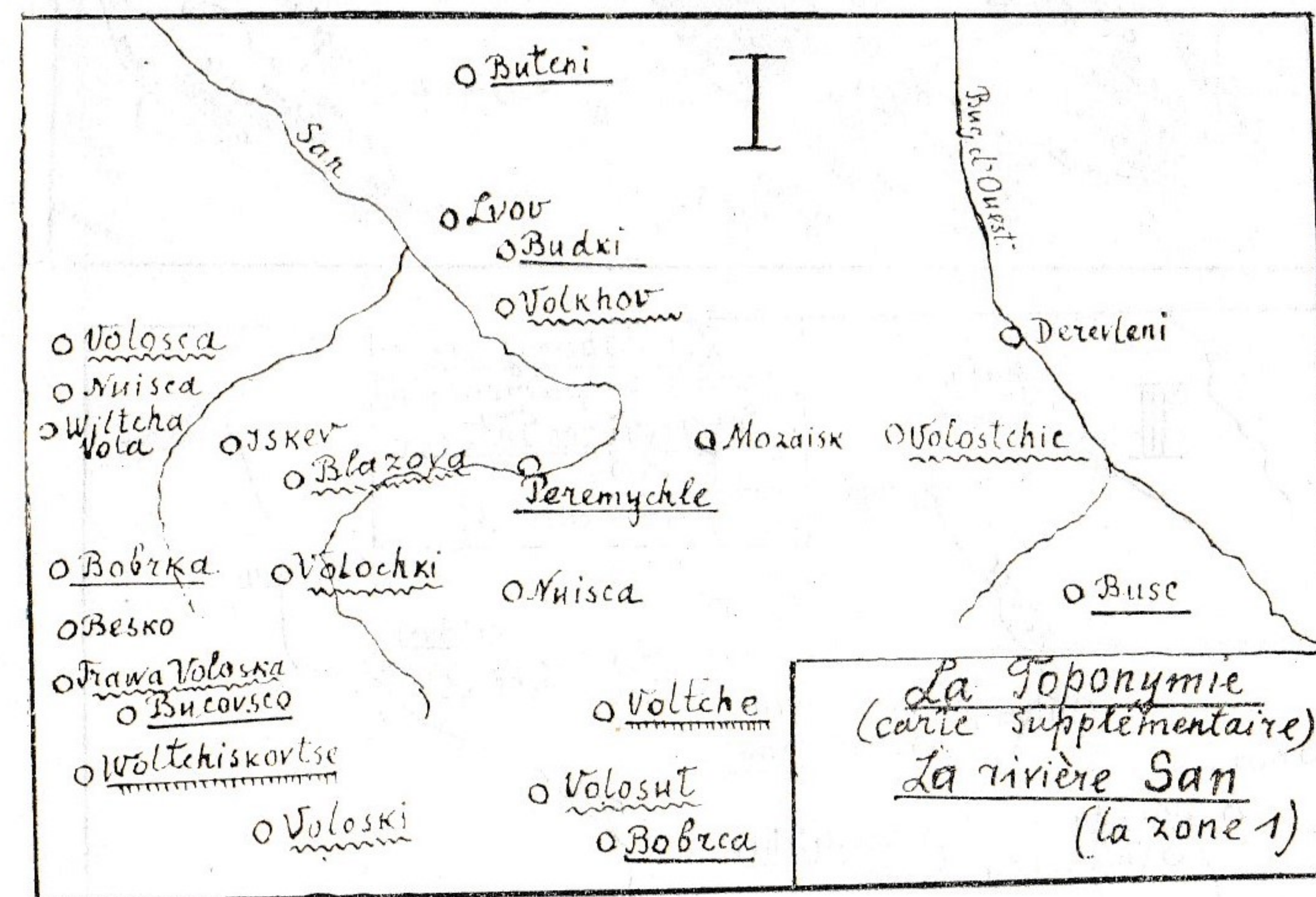
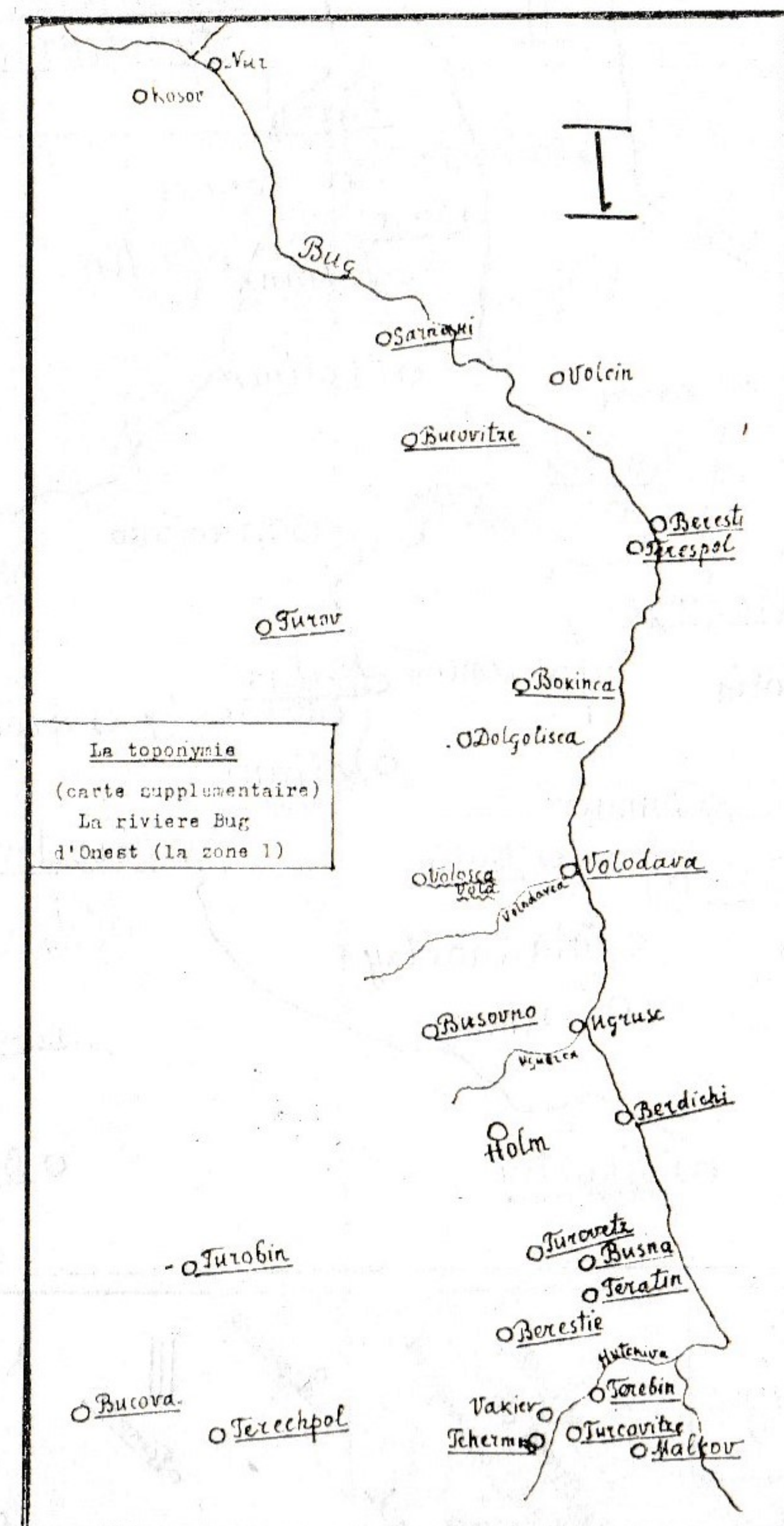
Naturally, in this resume the toponimic argumentation could not be presented.

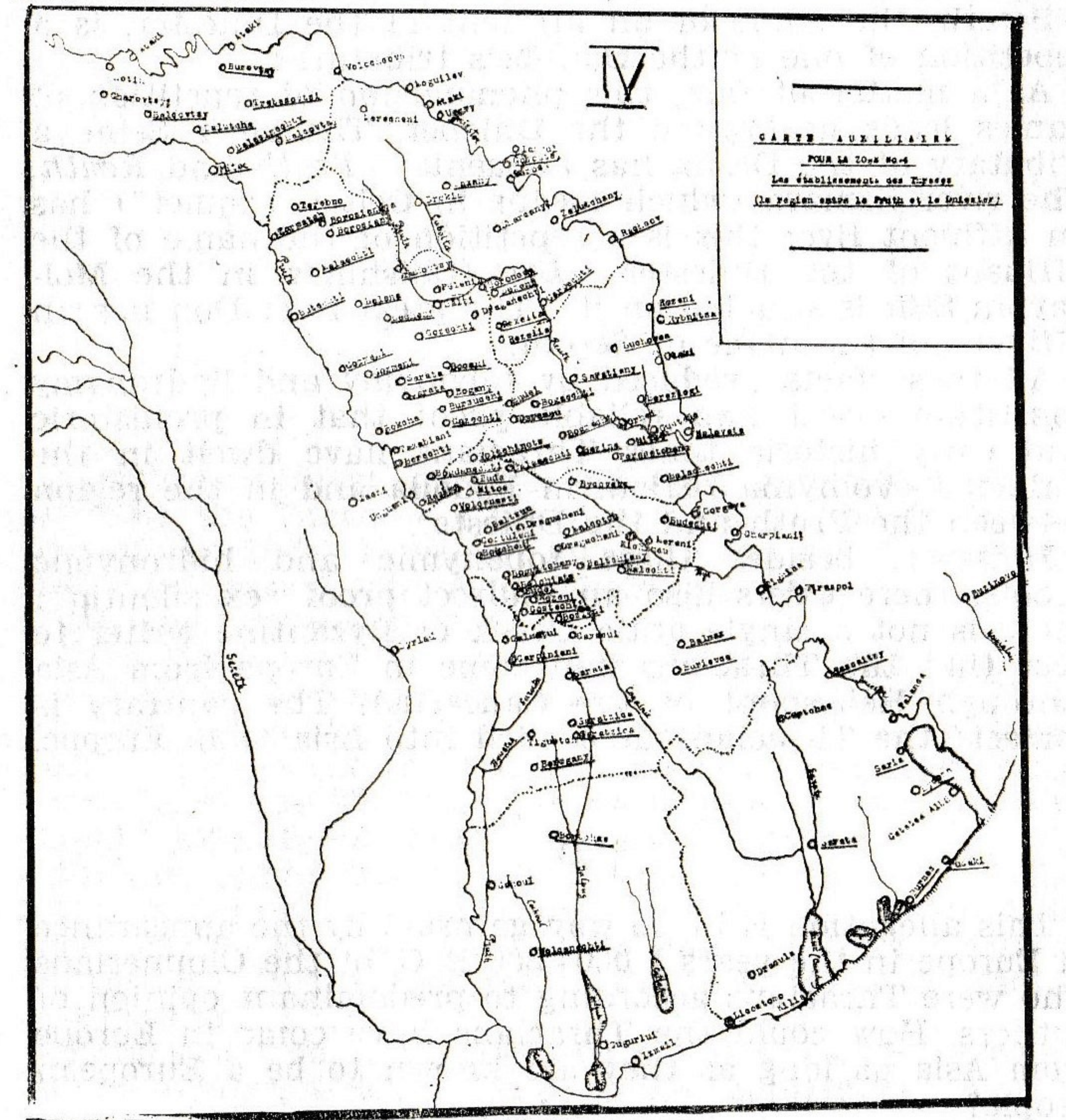
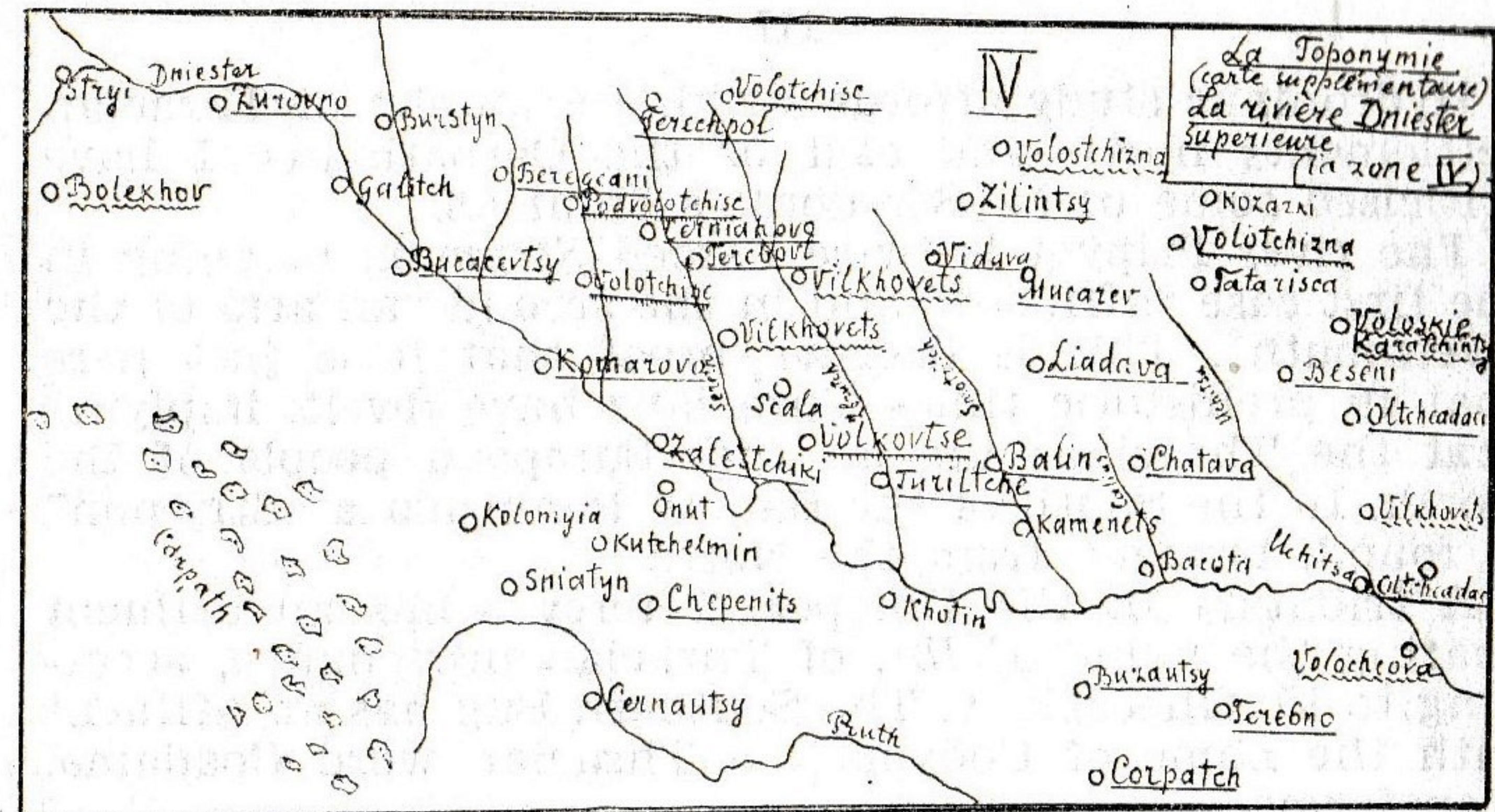
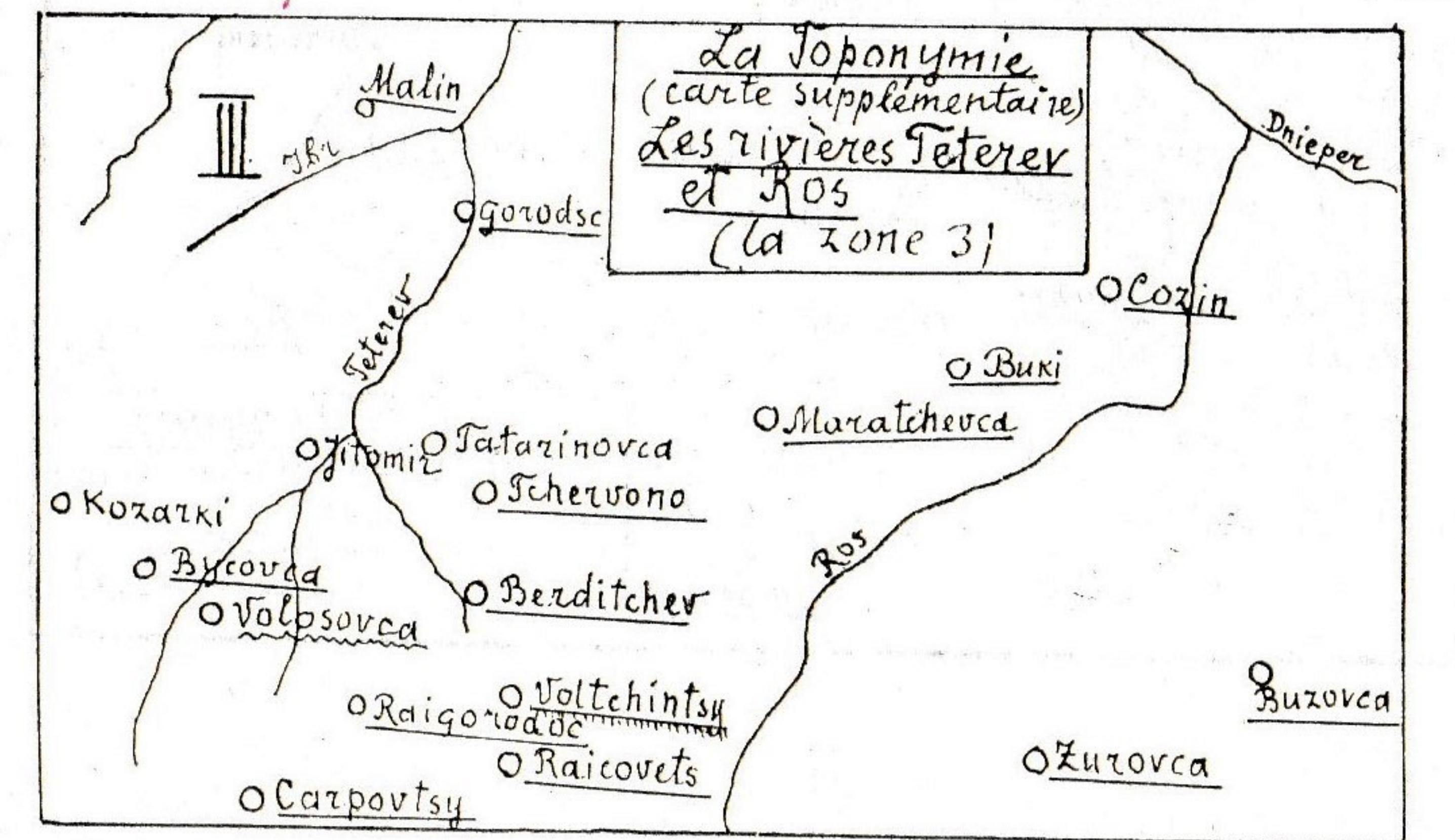
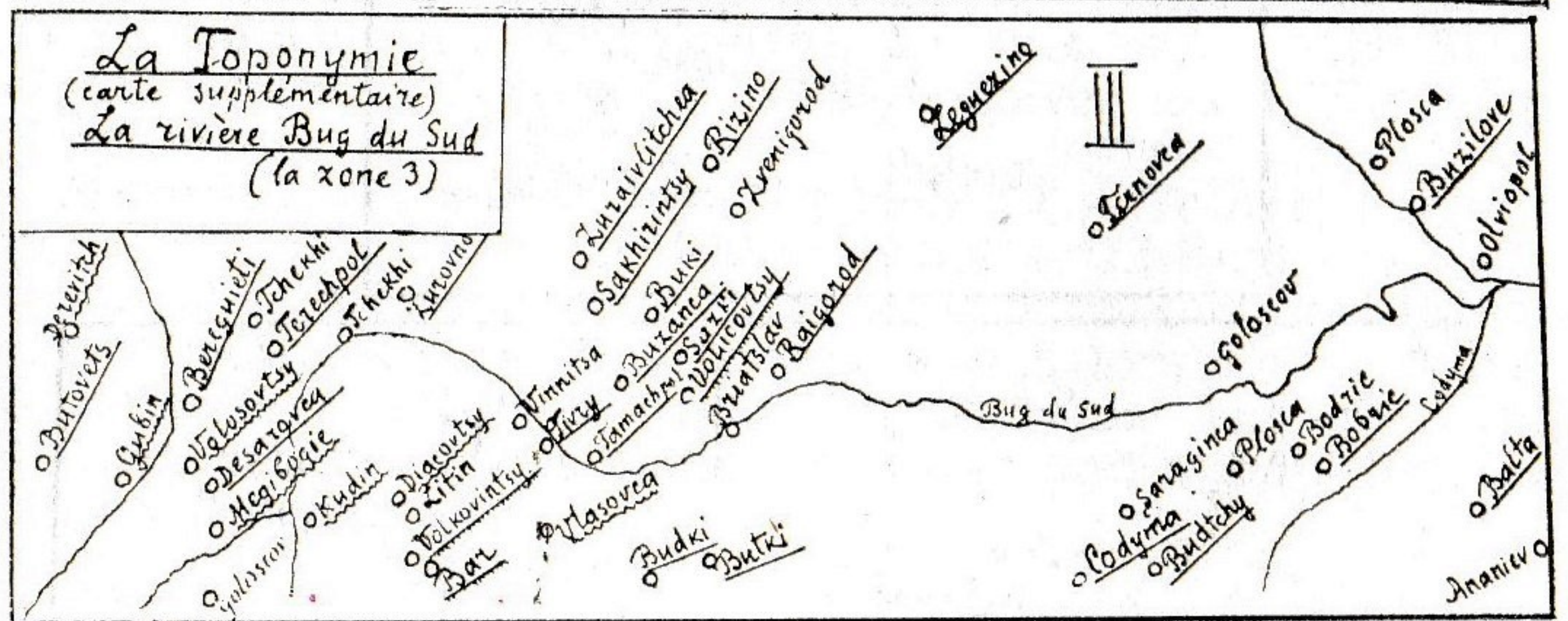
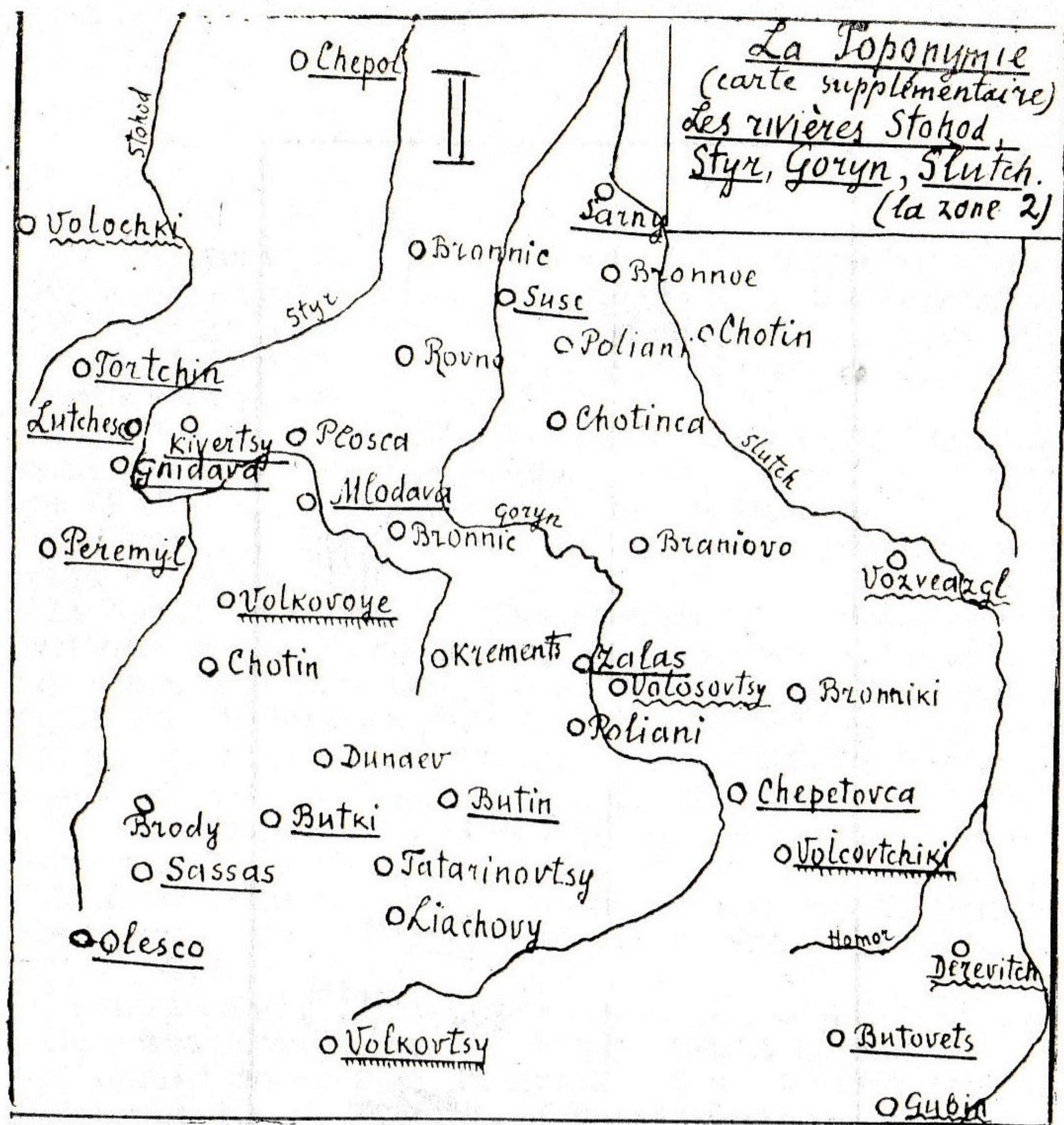
In historical times, the Thracian population was joined by Celts (in the III-rd century BC) viz. two Celtic tribes: *the Volca* and *the Ruthenians*. The first of these tribes expanded throughout the wole space occupied by the Thracians, down to the Danube, but mostly in Volhynia, as may be seen from the map here annexed.

The second tribe settled in Hallicia, whose name derives from "gall" — a Celt. (In Spain one of the provinces is still named Galissia). The capital of this region, Halitch has been founded on the site of the burial place of a Celt, a "*Gall*".

In the second century of our era the Hallicia — Volhynia region was invaded by *Goths* who found here the Celts and named the region Volhynia — from Walhoz, Welch, Walch. All the inhabitants of Volhynia (Thracians) came to be named *Valachi*, *Volochi*. In this way the problem of the origin of the name Voloh is solved, as applied to Rumanians.

A limited infiltration into the Hallicia — Volhynia region must be mentioned, of Baltic peoples (Lithuanians and Letts). The *Milograd* and *Zarubinetz* archaeological cultures, investigated by V. V. Sedov and belonging to Baltic peoples have left their traces in Volhynia, but the bulk of their settlements is along the upper and middle courses of the Dnieper.





Hydronimic study affords striking examples of Thracian settlements north and east of the Carpathians. I have criticised some of M. Seredonin's opinions.

The river Pripyat is twice named *Strymon*, meaning in the first case "affluent" and in the second "an arm of the rivermouth". This is decisive proof that it is just here that in prehistoric times Thracians have dwelt, implying that the Thracians are an Indo-European people of the North. In the South of the Balkan Peninsula a "Strymon" is found, brought from the North.

A tributary of the Dnieper, Teterev — has an affluent bearing the name of *Ibr*, of Thracian provenance, according to Vl. Gheorghiev. The Southern Bug has an affluent with the name of Codyma — a Thracian word Coadama, transformed.

Sereth, the name of an affluent of the Dniester, is a repetition of one of the Danube's tributaries.

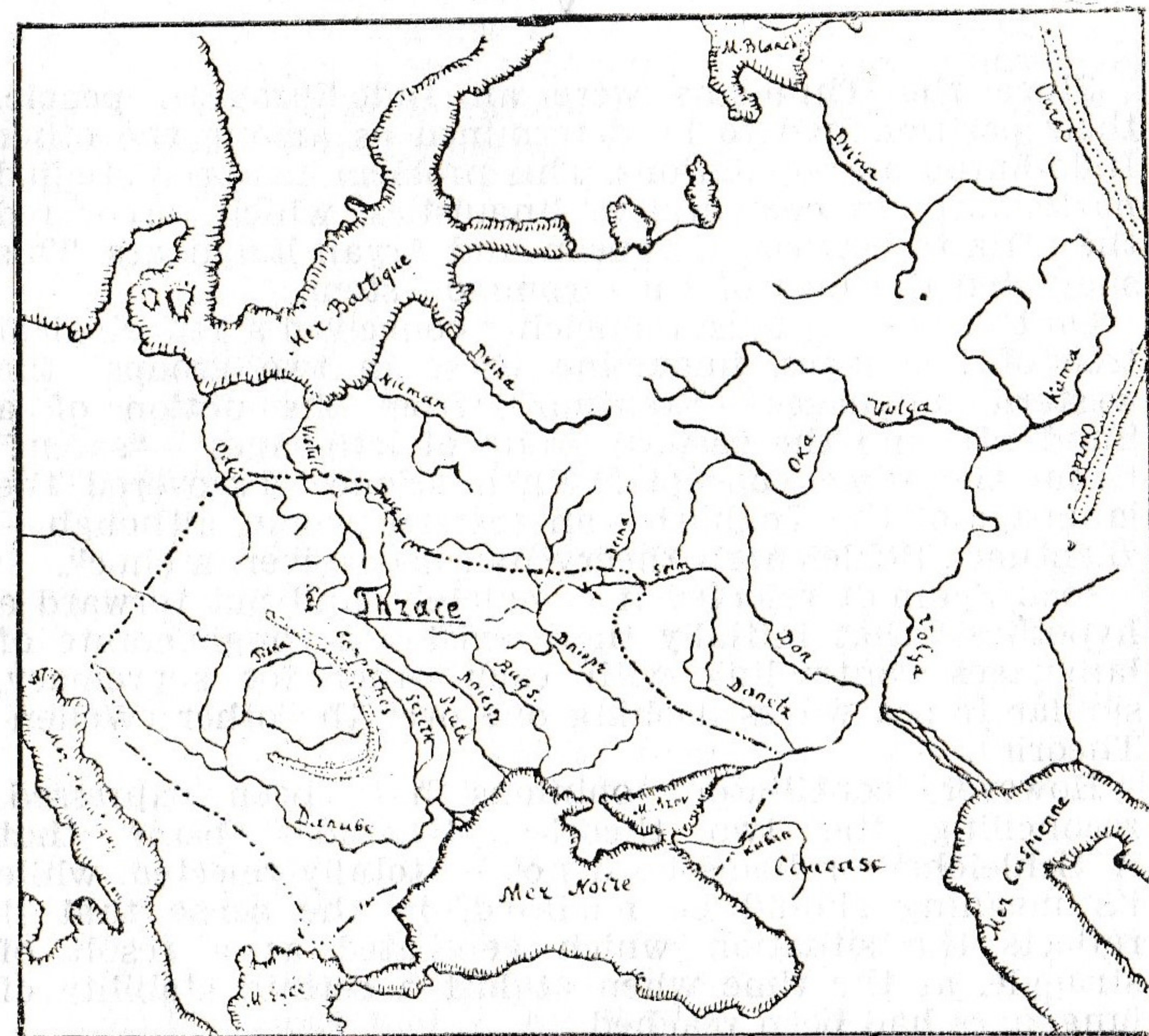
As a matter of fact, this phenomenon of repetition of names leads us beyond the Dnieper. The river Seim, a tributary of the Desna has affluents — *Pruth* and *Reuth*. The river Samara (which means in Celtic — "quiet") has an affluent *Byc*; this is a repetition of the name of the affluent of the Dniester — *Byc* (Chishinev in the Moldavian SSR is situated on it). The great river Don has an affluent of the name of *Sereth*.

All these facts produced by toponymy and hydronymy constitute direct and reliable proof that in prehistoric and early historic times Thracians have dwelt in the Hallicia — Volhynia region, in Podolia and in the region between the Pruth and the Dniester.

However, besides these toponymic and hydronymic proofs, there exists also an indirect proof "ex silentio": there is not a single antic Greek or Byzantine writer to aver that the Thracians had come in Europe from Asia (through Hellespont or the Caucasus). The contrary is correct: the Thracians descended into Asia from Europe.

IV

This allegation is in no way gainsaid by the appearance in Europe in the years 1000 - 800 B. C. of the Cimmerians who were Thracians according to predominant opinion of authors. How could the Thracians have come in Europe from Asia as long as they are known to be a European people?



Cimmerians must be regarded as a part which broke off from the Thracian stem during the period of disruption of the Indo-European unity, in the third millenary B. C. and passed into Asia. Their appearance in Europe is but their return to Europe.

In a similar way of migration must be regarded the appearance of Thracians south of the Danube. It is probably around 2000 B. C. that a group of Thracians from north and east of the Carpathians detached itself from the bulk of the Thracian populace, passing south of the Danube into regions in the vicinity of Greece.

Finally, approximately about 1200 B. C. a part of the Thracian populace passed into Asia Minor, where they occupied the land of the Hittites and burnt their capital Hattushash. In this new region they became to be known as Phrygians.

Thracians from north and east of the Carpathians being forced to migrate descended south and contributed towards the formation of Romanian states.

Since the Thracians were an Indo-European people, their position had to be determined as among the other Indo-European populations. This problem has been studied particularly in comparative linguistics, which discovered the affinity between European and Aryan languages. This suggested the idea of their common stem.

On this basis, August Schleicher conceived a genealogical tree of languages, imparting these in two groups: the western languages — "kentum" (from the notion of a hundred), and the eastern group of languages — "satem" (from the same concept). When science discovered the language of the Tokhari — an eastern people, although — "kentum", Schleicher's theory had been given a shock.

Ioch Schmidt rejected it completely, and put forward a hypothesis that initially there existed a conglomerate of languages contending with each other for supremacy, similar to sea waves dashing one over the other (Wellen-Theorie).

However, conciliatory opinions have been expressed, reconciling the two theories, the idea being that A. Schleicher's scheme need not be totally rejected, while its meaning should be modified, in the sense that it reflects the situation which generated as a result of struggle, at the time when at last a certain stability of languages had been reached.

It is our opinion that a scheme of Indo-European languages must exist, stipulating a classification in the following three groups: 1) Kentum, 2) Satem, and 3) languages which might be termed intermediate between the former two groups, without any reference as to the geographical distribution of the respective peoples, it being observed however that the "kentum" is mostly represented in the West, while the "satem" — mostly in the East. The characteristics of languages have formed under the influence of their mutual relations and vicinity. A project of such a scheme is submitted by the author. The Indo-European peoples occupied spaces vaguely approximate to their present distribution. Changes intervened as a result of migrations.

As regards the establishment of the original birthplace of the Indo-European peoples, opinions of scientists (linguists, historians, archaeologists, anthropologists, ethnographers and geographers) are divided: some locating it in Europe, others — in Asia. The latter of the two hypotheses was predominant till the second half of the

past century. A list of 60 names of scientists is cited as an example of the divergency of opinion on this subject.

In our opinion, the distribution of Indo-Europeans through *the valleys of Europe between the Rhine and the Caspic Sea* was such as may be gathered from the map here annexed.

VI

Our assertion that the Hallicia — Volhynia region, Podolia and Besarabia have been inhabited by Thracians leads us to investigate the problem of the initial birthplace of the Baltic peoples and Slavs, who were the Thracians' neighbours.

The native land of the Baltic Peoples (Lithuanians and Letts) has been established by the studies of K. Buga and M. Vasmer. Highly close to these are the opinions of A. Moora (Tallin) and A. Kotziubinsky (Odessa). The mother country of the Baltic peoples was situated north of the river Pripyat, in the basin of the rivers Berezina, upper Dnieper, Soj and extended to the sources of the Volga and the Oka.

As regards the land of provenance of the Slavs several theories exist. Summarizing and examining the opinions of the Czech investigator L. Niederle, Russian authors A. A. Shahmatov, L. A. Pogodin, P. N. Tretiakov, F. P. Filin, T. Lehr-Splavisky and V. Mossinsky (Poland), the Ukrainian M. Grushevsky, and Ferdinand Lot (France), we established that the native land of the Slavs was situated north and east of the native land of the Baltic peoples, in the region of the river Volhov, and the Ilmen, Ladoga and Onega lakes.

From this motherland the Slavs migrated in the II-nd century of our era towards the Vistula into the region abandoned at this epoch by the Goths who migrated south. In their migration towards the mouth of the Vistula, the Slavs pressed the Baltic peoples aside, forcing them to move towards the shores of the Baltic Sea, the mouths of the Nieman and Western Dvina (a region occupied at the time by Ugro-Finns). The latter were forced to move northward (Estonia and other Ugro-Finns).

The Slavs who migrated towards the mouth of the Vistula are known in the old documents under the name of "Sclavins". These Slavs descended in the VI-th century o. e. towards the Balkans, whereby Slav peoples of the West and the South arose. South of the Danube they slavized the Bulgarians. They penetrated also the terri-

tories of the Dacians and the Gets, but were assimilated there.

Another branch of Slavs migrated from their birthplace (probably also during the II-nd century o. e.) eastward in the direction of the middle and lower courses of the Volga and Don. This branch is known in ancient sources *under the name of Antsy*. Passing in their migration in the neighbourhood of the Ugro-Finns, they mingled with the latter (a non-Indo-European population). In the VI-th century of our era they descended towards the Black Sea, and in the company of Slavs (Sclavs) appeared at the frontiers of the Roman Empire. The Antsy are *the predecessors of the Great Russians (Velikorossy)*.

Besides these two branches of Slavs, in the X-th century o. e., under the influence of Varangians, other Slavs broke away from the stem of the Slav native land. These migrated south, towards the middle courses of the Dnieper, founding together with the Varangians in Kiev a Varangian-Russian state. These Slavs were *the predecessors of the Ukrainians*.

A third group of the contemporary Russian people, the Bielorrussians, occupied the spaces abandoned by the Baltic populace, but since in this territory there remained yet some Baltic elements, especially Letts, the Slavs mingled with the latter, giving birth to *the Bielorrussian people*.

The Indo-European unity began to disintegrate about the years 3.000 B. C. But the exact times of departure of the different peoples and their settling in their actual places have been different. Some left earlier, others—later. In establishing Indo-European peoples' cultural phenomena, the method of historical retrospection must be applied, proceeding from established facts towards the unknown.

The problem of the Lussaka culture remains a topic of debate. Its vestiges are sought, as far—without success.

The Indo-Europeans' culture was certainly primitive: in economy as well as in their handicraft pursuits, in the art of ceramics, in blood-relationships in family life, social organization and religion. The Thracians' religion had a dual aspect, being at the same time uranic and chtonic, solar and earthly.

VII

The first part of our work closes with a chapter dedicated to the very important *problem of the Thracians' latinization*. How and in what circumstances did they abandon their own language, appropriating the Latin?

These questions are answered in the study which makes part of this last chapter of Part I and has been published in the "Centre for Historical Studies" Bulletin, of Venice, "Noi Thracii" (We—Thracians'), in nr. 12 of its I-st year and nr. I of the II-nd year.

Here are the conclusions reached to:

1) Latinization has been due to the superiority of Roman culture over that of the Thracians'.

2) Latinization cannot be explained by the Roman conquest of Dacia.

3) Erudites in comparative linguistics, especially A. Meillet and N. S. Trubetskoy, explain to us the appearance of Romanic languages (thus implicitly the latinization of the Thracians) by the prolonged process of decay of the Roman Empire, conquered by barbarians. It is noteworthy that N. S. Trubetskoy does not time the Roman influence over the barbarians in the later epoch of the III-IV-th centuries o. e., but admits it as far back as in the eneolithic.

4) The process of latinization of the Thracians began as far back as *in the epoch of transition from the neolithic to the bronze age*. The process of latinization of the Thracians has been influenced by Celts who have left deep traces in the economic life of the Thracians, as well as in the toponymy and hydronymy of the territory occupied by the Daco-Geto-Thracians. The Celts have also produced some influence over the language of the Thracians, too.

5) The Italiots' movement towards Italy started from Carinthia, in Austria, and Liubleana—in Jugoslavia. The Thracians have had relations with *the archaeologic culture of Vucedol* near Liubleana through *Transilvania* (Ariushd, Petreni, Cotsofeni). Due to these relations the Thracians became bilingual, speaking besides their own language—the *proto-Latin*.

6) The site of formation of the Rumanian language is not in the South of the Balkans, but north of the Danube and north and east of the Carpathians.

7) The science of linguistics must not pretend to solve alone the problem of formation of the Rumanian people and Rumanian language. Its role is only to help the historians to formulate their theses. (Sextil Pușcariu.)

VIII

The original birthplace of the Thracians was north and east of the Carpathian mountains and in the heart of

these; it may be witnessed in two epochs: 1) in 3.000 - 2.500 B. C. (the Cucuteni - Arieshd - Tripolye culture), and 2) in 1.000 - 800 B. C.

In both cases it is with "*Great Thrace*" that we have to do. Its dimensions are presented in the map here annexed.

As regards the Thracians who remained in Europe, the author distinguishes six nuclei of their spread. These are:

- 1) Thracians (Dacs, Gets) — north of the Danube.
- 2) Thracians (numerous tribes) — south of the Danube.
- 3) Thracians in Crimea, within the Bosphorus State, which according to M. Rostovtsev contained the Cimerians and the local Thracian tribes "Sindi" and "Meotis", and besides these, the Greek, the majority of the population being Cimmerian (Thracian).
- 4) Ulitchy - Tivertsy along the Dniester, and between the Dniester, the Dnieper and the Black Sea (Bessarabia).
- 5) The Land of the Tcherven towns (in Volhynia).
- 6) The Land of the Bolohovenes (in Podolia).

Besides these six centres, there exists an intermediate region beyond the Dnieper, roughly in the region of Poltava and along the rivers Desna and Seim.

The decline and reduction of Thracian space begins in the IV-th century o. e. when the Bosphorus State had been conquered by the Romans.

Other reductions followed:

- a) in the VII-th century o. e. the Bulgarians arriving from the East occupied Thracian territory beyond the Danube.
- b) Following the establishment of the Varangian - Russian state (Kiev), the Thracians lost the region occupied by the Ulitchy - Tivertsy, as well as the localities beyond the Dnieper.
- c) In the IX-th century o. e. the Hungarians arrive in Pannonia, finding there Thracians (probably Aghatirses).
- d) In the X-th century, the Land of the Tcherven Towns is conquered in 981 by the prince Vladimir the Saint. The principal towns of the Land of the Tcherven Towns, besides the capital, were Peremyshl in the South-West and the town of Lutchesk in the East.
- e) Towards the end of the XIII-th century the Land of the Bolohovenes is conquered as has already been said, by the Hallician prince Daniel.

G. Kazarov outlines on a large scale the initial space occupied by the Thracians: they occupied the Balkan Peninsula from the Pontus Euxinus down to the Adriatic Sea, and were to be found on the middle course of the Oder, on the Vistula and in the space between this river

and the Dnieper. To this a region beyond the Dnieper must be added.

The reduction of the territory occupied by the Thracians falls into three stages: 1) Thrace had been *Great* up to the beginning of our era; 2) after the Roman conquest of Dacia, Thrace still remains *great*, since the dimensions of Roman Dacia were small; 3) the situation is radically changed with the downfall of the Bosphorus State in Crimea, in the IV-th century o. e. However, the direct reductions of the space occupied by the Thracians began as a result of Bulgarian, Hungarian, Russian, Tartar, Lithuanian and Polish conquests. At this stages Thrace becomes *Small*.

On the remaining territory left of the Danube, Rumanian principalities appear: in the XIII-th century - in Transilvania and Muntania (Țară Românească), and in the XIV-th century - in Moldavia.

IX

The second part of our work is entitled: "*Thracians from north and east of the Carpathians throughout history*".

Obviously I have been impelled to examine at greater length the history of the Volhynia region, and thus discovered the "*Tcherven towns*" which were not Slavonic (neither were they Polish or Russian). With reference to these towns the Soviet historian B. D. Grekov writes: "The Tcherven towns make one an impression of hoary antiquity, when there were neither Poles nor Russians there". (Borba Russi za sozdanie svoego gossudarstva. The Russians' strife for the creation of their own State, Moscow, 1945, p. 68). N. Nassonov likewise considers them to be outside the boundaries of Russia.

The Arab writer of the X-th century o. e., Massudi, qualifies this region as being Slav, while the names he cites cannot be considered Slav (Madjac, Astarbrana with its king Saklaich, etc.).

All of Massudi's writings concerning this corner of the world certainly refer to tribes, not to states, which did not even exist. On the whole, for lack of precise knowledge concerning the ethnic character of the populace they describe, Arab writers indulge in fantasy.

The Bavarian Geographer of the IX-th century o. e. distinguishes in Volhynia populaces bearing three names: *the Bussany* with 231 strong points, *the Unlitchy* (recte: Ulitchy) — with 318 and *the Velunzanys* — with only 70.

The "Unlitchy" is the tribe of *Ulitchy-Tivertsy* of whom the Russian chronicles inform us, of Thracian origin. The "Velunzany" are the volhynians (who are also Thracians). (See the author's essay "The Enigma of the Ulitchy-Tivertsy People" in "Balkan Studies", 1968). As regards the "Bussany" (whose identification as dwellers along the Bug is erroneous), we suspect that under this name are concealed the "Duleby's of the Russian chronicles.

Russian conquerors appeared in Volhynia and Hallicia only in the XI-th century, after the conquest of the Tchernov towns by the Russian prince Vladimir in A. D. 981.

Russian denominations appearing in the Hallicia - Volhynia region are all of recent origin.

Podolia was also an ancient Thracian region. When the Thracians got to be called Volochy and later — Bolohovenes, they founded a state — the "*Land of the Bolohovenes*". This state co-operated with the Tartars and was later conquered and destroyed by the Hallician prince Daniel.

About the middle of the XIV-th century there appeared here the Lithuanians, and a century later — the Poles. At one time the North of Podolia was under Polish sway, while the South was under the Tartars. Russians appeared here as recently as in 1793, in the reign of the Empress Catherine II.

In Podolia there exist vestiges of Thracian kings' estates. In the third zone there is a locality *Rizino*, which would mean "the king's", the roots "*riz*" or "*rez*" meaning in the Thracian language — king. The same is the meaning of the root "*rai*" which appears in the name of a place — *Raicovetz*. This locality attained in the Bolhovenes' times a high standard of prosperity. Excavations have attested the state of welfare once attained by this country.

In Podolia and in the space between the Pruth and the Dniester vestiges of Thracian settlements appear in the names of localities as Carpineni, Carpeshti, Carpatchi, Besseni, Bezina, Bereguete, Tivertsy, Tivry, Sarateni.

It is especially interesting to note that beyond the Dnieper, at mid distance between the Seim and the Samara, affluents of the Dnieper, there exists *Carpovo Gorodishtche*, which means "stronghold of Carps".

X

Prior to the foundation of the Kiev state, Varangian-Russian hordes ventured on plundering raids against the

Byzant. These raids enriched the Varangian-Russian warriors and preceded the formation of the Kiev state. Relating about the plundering expeditions in Byzant and the conclusion of treaties with Greek tsars, the Russian chronicles cite the names of the in Russian princes and their envoys. Among the names of these Th. Thomsen found many names to be of Scandinavian origin.

Examining the list of Russian princes and their envoys, we have established something new and interesting. Among the names listed, 13 are derived from the names of six rivers: the *Istru*, *Tyras*, *Styr*, *Svir*, *Utus Narev*. The prospect of raids and incursions in Byzant attracted to their organizers warriors of different local aboriginal tribes, not only Slav, but also Thracian, Finnish, Celtic, Lithuanian, Varangian.

The territory of the Varangian-Russian state presented at the epoch a mixture of different ethnic tribes, unconnected between them. These tribes (among whom - Thracian tribes too), contributed towards the emergence and the structural organization of the Russian state Kiev, similarly to a later process, when in the XV-th century Stephen the Great of Moldavia, through his alliance with the Moscow prince Ivan the III-rd contributed to the establishment of the national Great-Russian State (see our work: "*Stefan cel Mare, Voievod al Moldovei, 1457-1504*", Madrid, 1970).

Following the chapters dedicated to the original native land of the Slavs and the foundation of the Kiev state, a detailed study is made of the problems dealt with in a general way in the first part of the present work.

In the first place the problem of the Ulitchy-Tivertsy is examined. The author sustains that the Tivertsy (alias Ulitchy) were a Thracian tribe whose name was derived from Tyras (the Dniester).

At the same time we were able to put to use the sound opinion of the Ukrainian historian N. Kostomarov, who established a relation between the Ulitchy-Tivertsy and the Bolohovenes. This author writes as follows: "The land of the Ulitchy is Podolia which within the system of rule of the Bolohovene princes acquired characteristics of independence".

Existing theories are then examined in detail concerning the name of "*Voloh*" (among others - the essay of Aron Densuşeanu and that of G. Popa-Lisseanu).

It has been mentioned earlier that the name "*Voloh*" appears in the second century o. e., with the advent of the Goths in Volhynia. The latter applied the name to the

Thracian inhabitants of Volhynia. In the Russian chronicles the Volohs are mentioned under the names of Volohy, Valahy, Volossy. But the adjectival form is always "Volosky".

I have also examined in detail the records on the *Land of the Bolohovenes*, giving special attention to the following: the name (wholly erroneously attributed a Russian character by N. P. Dashkievitch), the external policy of the Bolohovene princes, the social-political structure of the land, the ethnic characteristics of the Bolohovenes, their historic destinies.

The opinion frequently encountered in historical writings, that the invaders on Thracian soil lay waste the land in the course of their advance, had to be rejected as being absolutely out of accordance with historical reality. The invaders had need of the aborigines' labour. As proof, an example of the Tartars' behaviour in the Russian principalities is cited.

The Thracians (Bolohovenes, Ulitchy-Tivertsy, a. o.), in their migration to the South, in Hallicia and farther on, to the Danube, played a double role.

In the XII-th century they contributed towards the creation of primary Romanian political formations: the Land of the Brodnitchy and the land of Byrlad, and in the XII-XIII-th centuries — the establishment of Moldavia and Muntenia (Țară Românească).

XI

Together with the settled Thracians, the newcomers founded the *Land of the Brodnitchy*. The name of "brodnic" is a chronicler's deformation of the word "bronnik" — that is — a man clad in chain armour. When speaking of the Brodnitchy, the Russian chronicles never make any allusion to "brod" — a ford. The Brodnitchys are always warriors, never — *men from the ford*.

The Brodnitchys assisted the Russian princes (between the years 1116-1223) as mercenaries, in their internecine wars, and were recruited in overwhelming majority among Thracians dwelling in the Hallicia — Volhynia region and Podolia. *Here was their source*. When Tartar domination was established over Russian principalities, the Russian princes could no longer achieve power by using forces. This chapter of our work has been published in "Revista Arhivelor", 1975, nr. 2, p. 191 and subsequ.

Northern Thracians have also been instrumental in the development of events in the *land of Byrlad*, a country

with some 40-50 thousand inhabitants, and extending down to the Danube. This chapter has also been published in the above-mentioned periodical in 1974, nr. 3. My conclusions at the time were as follows:

1) The name of Byrlad has been launched by the Goths in the II or III century o. e.

2) In the XII-th century the land was of appreciable dimensions and had a numerous populace.

3) In the XIV-th century o. e. Byrlad became the capital of Moldavia, retaining this capacity approximately 6 years (1374-1379) during the reign of Iurg Coriat.

4) Under Petru Mușat, the lower country (of Byrlad) was governed by his grandfather Costea, as his deputy. The latter's authority is attested by documents for the year 1386 and may be extended hypothetically for the whole period of Petru Mușat's reign (1380-1391).

XII

However, a contribution of much greater import has been rendered by the Thracians arrived from the North, towards the foundation of Rumanian states, Moldavia and Muntenia, and possibly — of Transilvania too. The population of Moldavia arose from three essential elements: 1) Thracians who descended from north and east of the Carpathians, 2) the sedentary Thracian population of the land, and 3) people who came over from the Maramureș (mostly boyards, noblemen). As far back as in 1946 in the periodical "Studii și Cercetări Istorice" of Iassy, our study was published in which we advanced that the foundation of Moldavia bore a marked northern character. The arguments brought up to sustain our theory have kept their weight to this day (except the 8-th).

There are toponymic indications that northern Thracians contributed also to the foundation of Muntenia.

The correctness of our theses has helped us solve the problem of the origin of the name *Moldava*. We have advanced a new Thracian hypothesis. We published a study to this effect in the "Revista Istorică", 1975, nr. 6.

In accordance with our theses we have been able to formulate also a new theory concerning the formation of the Rumanian people. We have shown which Thracian tribes gave rise to the population of Rumanian territories — Moldova, Muntenia, Transilvania and Dobrogea. Knowing the disposition of Thracian tribes, I attempted to outline the composition of the population of each of

these four Rumanian territories. Details will be given in a Separate Study.

Moldavia was made up of Getic tribes (Tiragets, Ulitchy-Tivertsy), Bolohovenes, Carps, Boca (Costobocs and Sabocs), Besses (or Bessenens), Busans (Dulebys) and Dacians.

Muntenia was made up of Burs (Oltenians), Dacians, Carps, Gets (Ulitchy - Tivertsy included), and Bolohovenes.

Transilvania: its stock population was formed of Agatyrs, who were joined by Dacians, Carps, Costobocs and Bolohovenes.

Dobrogea was formed by "Moesians" — a common denomination of several tribes, namely Gets, besses, crobizes, terizes, laians, bistonians and others.

This scheme certainly requires verification for eventual omissions. However, the principle at its base is sound and it is only in this way that the problem of the formation of the Rumanian people can be solved, which has been investigated with varied success by many authors (B. Hașdeu, A. D. Xenopol, N. Iorga, C. C. Ciurescu, D. Onciul, N. Nestor, Gh. Ștefan a. o.).

The establishment of the ethnic base of the Rumanians is the first object of the problem of the formation of the Rumanian people. The second object consists in tracing the influences which affected the ethnic base. These we have divided into four headings:

1) An influence of the greatest importance, with admixture of the human element (Roman influence, so powerful that it led to the latinization of the Thracians and the abandonment of their own language).

2) An important influence, with admixture of the human element (Slavs, Celts, Cumanes, — especially in Moldavia).

3) An influence of Secondary importance (Goths, Ghepides, Bastarns).

4) Unimportant influence (Scythians), (— in Dobrogea, Scythia Minor), Sarmathians, Tartars, Turks).

As a general conclusion it must be stated that the investigation of the less known branches of the Thracian populace from north and east of the Carpathians has helped us to establish a northern influence affecting the appearance of initial Rumanian political formations, as well as the foundation of Rumanian States, whose fusion came to be accomplished in 1859 and 1918.

The last chapter but one of the work is dedicated to thracology in Rumanian historiography, while the last deals with the 1972 Congress on thracology held in Sofia, and some of the more interesting papers read.

SCIENTIFIC PUBLISHED WORKS

1. *Istoriia Senata do reform imperatora Aleksandra II-go*. Sanct Petersburg, 1909, 300 pag. (manuscris). Din acest studiu a fost publicat un capitol — "Proishojdenie Senata" în revista "Voprosi obșcestvovedeniea", St. Petersburg, 1911.

In recenzia asupra studiului (In: "Otciot Universiteta", 1910, pag. 311-313), prof. V. I. Latkin își exprima astfel aprecierea: "Lucrarea are mari calități. Exprimiind unele păreri, autorul le argumentează totdeauna amănunțit. Chiar și acolo unde nu poți fi de acord cu autorul... trebuie să-i recunoști capacitatea de a gândi științific, dialectic, în spirit critic. În afară de aceasta, tânărul autor manifestă o mare erudiție în istoria dreptului rusesc, ca și o excepțională conștiinciozitate în tratarea temei".

2. *Kinematograf i Sveazannie s nim voprosi*. In: "Pravo", 1910, 8 p.
3. *Istoriia Senata*. In: "Pravo", 1912, Nr. 9. 4 p.
4. *Preemstvennost rabot parlamenta raznih leghislatur*. In: "Pravo", 1913.
5. *Traducerea în limba rusă a lucrării lui Léon Duguit*. "Le droit social, le droit individuel et la transformation de l'Etat", St Petersburg, 1914, 54 p.
6. *Traducerea în limba rusă a lucrării lui F. Lassalle*. "Über Verfassungswesen". St. Petersburg, 1914, 20 p.
7. *Otvetstvennost ministrov i otvetstvennoe ministerstvo*. In: "Russkaia misl", 1915, 25 p.
8. *Otvetstvennost ministrov*. In: "Vestnik znaniia", iulie 1915, 15 p.
9. *Gosudarstvennii kontrol (și alte două articole)*. In: "Entiklopediceskii slovar", editat de Societatea "Prosvetșenie", 1915-1916.
10. *Reforma Senata*. In: "Vestnik prava", Moscova, 1916, 20 p.
11. *Versalskii dogovor i Evropa*. Sevastopol, 1920, 88 p.
12. *Hlebnoe delo*. Cycle of three articles regarding the cereals problem (production, consumption, commerce) in Russia before and after the Revolution. Moscow, 1924, 50 pages.
13. *V. Krîmu vo vremea ghenearalov Slașciova i Vranghelea*. In: "Biloe", Leningrad, 1925, 20 p.
14. *La Bessarabie et les relations russo-roumaines*. La

question bessarabienne et le droit international. Paris, Gamber editeur, 1927, 410 p. Published in the opportunity of the Bessarabia's union celebration (1918-1928). Rewarded by the King Ferdinand's Foundation.

Din recenzii la această lucrare:

- *Revue historique du Sud-Est Européen*, București, 1927, Nr. 7-9. N. Iorga: "Une analyse juridique de tout premier ordre... Une exposition claire, par faitement documentée et conclusions fermes".
- *Archiva pentru știință și reformă socială*, București, 1927, Nr. 1-2. St. Ciobanu: "Lumină nouă... competența autorului în materie de drept internațional, utilizarea unui bogat material științific, expunerea clară a chestiunii...".
- *Convorbiri literare*, mai 1927. A. Tommaso Tittoni în art. "Basarabia, România și Italia": "Monografia cea mai completă ce s-a scris despre Basarabia... Boldur apără cu strășnicie drepturile României".
- *Revista critică*, Iași, 1928, Nr. 4. I. Hudită: "O lucrare de mare valoare istorică... Cartea d-lui Boldur, documentată foarte serios, a fost primită de istoricii streini cu mare încredere. Unii istorici francezi declară că și-au schimbat multe din părerile greșite în chestiunea Basarabiei în urma lecturii acestei cărți".
- *Graiul românesc*, 1927, Nr. 6. Em. b.: "Niciodată Basarabia... nu a fost apărută mai liniștit și mai temeinic... Suntem acum mai tari și mai mândri".
- *Poslednie novosti* (ziar rus), 7 apr. 1927, Paris. In art. "Zașcita nezașcitimogo" (Apărarea a ceea ce nu poate fi apărut), cunoscutul istoric rus P. N. Miliukov, deși combătea unirea Basarabiei cu România scria: "Trebuie să remarcăm... cunoștințele vaste ale autorului atât în chestiunile istorice, cât și în cele juridice legate de chestiunea Basarabiei. Partizanii unirii Basarabiei cu România din Europa au căpătat în persoana autorului un bun aliat. Oricine este interesat în chestiune va trebui să recurgă la cartea d-lui Boldur, remarcabilă prin calitățile sale științifice".
- *Cuvântul*, 1927, Nr. 728. In art. "Cealaltă Basarabie", Pamfil Șeicaru scria: "Alexandru Boldur unește vastitatea unei documentări cu eleganța unei dialectici seducătoare, severitatea metodei cu fluidi-

tatea stilului, animînd de la pagină la pagină, de la capitol la capitol interesul. Al Boldur reînnoiește tradiția lui Hașdeu în cultura națională și cea dintâi obligație a Statului român este de a crea o catedră universitară pentru acest învățat profesor basarabeian".

- *Cuvântul*, 7 aprilie 1927. In art. "Pentru Alexandru Boldur" Nae Ionescu spunea: "Boldur a scris o carte asupra Moldovei de peste Prut, care este nu numai o operă științifică de mare merit, dar — ceea ce este mai bun încă — prima justificare teoretică a drepturilor noastre asupra Basarabiei, pe care o putem prezenta Europei".
 - *Dimineata*, martie 1927. Victor Godeanu: "Boldur tratează juridic chestiunea basarabeiană... cu o demonstrație impresionantă".
 - *Universul*, 5 oct. 1927. "Studiul acesta obiectiv și documentat se impune conștiinței publice".
 - *Viitorul*, 12 martie 1927. Petronius: "Dl. A. Boldur dovedește prin chiar chipul cum a redat problema Basarabiei, în lefătură cu istoria și cu dreptul internațional, cu câte valori — unele ignorate — se poate mândri neamul nostru. O lucrare de savant".
 - *Adevărul*, martie 1927. Vlădescu Răcoasa: "O măiestrie suverană din toate punctele de vedere... Caracterul științific al lucrării, susținut cu o logică de fer de la prima până la ultima pagină și cu ajutorul unei bogății surprinzătoare de date, se impune cititorului ca o însușire cardinală... Dl. Boldur răscolește întreaga noastră evlavie. Prin pregătirea lui superioară el este o mândrie pentru viața noastră intelectuală".
15. *Societatea Națiunilor și știința dreptului internațional*. Chișinău, 1927, 84 p.
 16. *Istoria relațiilor politice ruso-române și istoricul Basarabiei*, Chișinău, 1928, 56 p.
 17. *Unirea*. Chișinău, 1928, 16 p.
 18. *Filosofia intuitivismului rusec*. In "Gândirea", 1929.
 19. *Autonomia Basarabiei sub stăpînirea rusească în 1812-1828*. Studiu istoric. Chișinău, 1929, 106 p.
 20. *Noua ordine constituțională*. Serie de 7 articole privind dreptul constituțional, publicate în ziarul *Cuvântul*, în iulie 1930: Parlamentul și voința generală. Puterea regelui. Sistemul partidelor. Ordinea constituțională. Deputații. Reforma senatului. Problema unor schimbări.

21. *Bessarabskii vopros*. Chișinău, 1930, 52 p.
22. *Russkoe menșinstvo v Rumîinii*. Revista "Lloyd journal", Paris, vol. II, 1931, pp. 32-45.
23. *Ideologia politică a emigrației ruse*. In: "Viață românească", București, 1931, Nr. 4-5 și 6-7.
24. *Introduce la istoria Basarabiei sub ruși*. In: "Viața Basarabiei", 1932, Nr. 2.
25. *Dreptul local al Basarabiei*. Studiu istoric. Chișinău, 1932, 26 p.
26. *Problema pactului de neagresiune sovieto-român*. Chișinău, 1933, 20 p.
27. *Problema politicii creștinești și Statul*. Incercare de sinteză pe baza literaturii religioase moderne și a istoriei doctrinelor politice. Chișinău, 1933, 56 p.
28. *Stat țărănesc. Contribuții la formarea unei ideologii social-politice noi*. Chișinău, 1934, 55 p.
29. *Arabescuri revoluționare*. Amintiri. In: "Viața Basarabiei", 1935, Nr. 3, 15 p.
30. *Soarta istorică a nobilimii din Basarabia*. Chișinău, 1935, 24 p.
31. *Presa românească în Basarabia*. In: "Gazeta Basarabiei", 1936, Nr (?).
32. *Monografia istorică*. In volumul "Școala de la Câmpulung", București, 1936.
33. *Monografia istorică*. In culegerea "Cursuri libere de vară", Soroca, 1936, pp. 84-89.
34. *Istoria Basarabiei*. Contribuții la studiul istoriei românilor. Vol. I: *Epocile vechi* (până în sec. XVII). Chișinău, 1937, 324 p.

Recenzie în "Gazeta Basarabiei", 23 iunie 1937. Al. Bardier: "Istoria D-lui Boldur, scrisă într-un stil ușor, limpede, cu un fond atât de interesant pentru istoriografia Basarabiei, merită a sta pe masa oricărui intelectual îndrăgit de trecutul și de tot firul moldovenestii provincii. Problemele puse de autor și disecate cu atenție ne deschid ochii..."

35. *Imperialismul rusesc în Balcani*. Schiță de istorie. Chișinău, 1937, 32 p.
36. *Statutul internațional al Basarabiei*. Chișinău, 1938, 22 p.
37. *La philosophie et la théorie du droit en Roumanie*. In: "Archives de philosophie du droit et de sociologie juridique", Paris, 1938, Nr. 1-2.

38. *Muzica în Basarabia*. Istoric. In volumul "Muzica românească de azi". București, 1939, 48 p.

Recenzie în "Moldova", Iași, 1941. Paul Mihail: "Un studiu asupra muzicii în Basarabia lipsea cu desăvârșire. Nimeni din melomanii români sau ruși nu se abătuse asupra acestei teme... Dl. Boldur umple acest mare gol prin studiul ce l-a publicat și care trebuie să fie citit de toți cei cărora le este scump trecutul muzical al neamului".

Din scrisoarea lui G. Breazu (26 apr. 1939): "Vă arăt prin această scrisoare, odată cu mulțumirile mele cele mai călduroase, admirația vie pentru temeinicia științifică a acestui studiu. Abia acum, prin acest studiu, muzica basarabeană capătă un contur al existenței sale istorice în cadrul muzicii românești. Este de mirare cum, până azi, nu s-a gândit nimeni să facă o asemenea cercetare".

39. *Conservatorul de muzică din Chișinău*. In volumul "Muzica românească de azi", București, 1939, 12 p.
40. *Istoria Basarabiei*. Vo. III. Under the russian domination (1812-1918). The politics, ideology and administration. Contributions to the study of the Rumanian History. Chișinău, 1940. (Volumul II din "Istoria Basarabiei" nu a putut fi publicat.)
41. *Cu privire la originea românilor*. Serie de trei articole: 1. "Poporul strămoș indo-european". 2. "Ramificațiile poporului strămoș și fondul etnic românesc". 3. "Între popoarele "satem" și "centum". In: "Universul", decembrie 1941.
42. *Ucraina și ucrainenii*. Serie de patru articole: 1. "Ucrainenii și primul lor stat". 2. "Bogdan Hmelnițki și statul căzăcesc ucrainean". 3. "Curente sociale politice ucrainene". 4. "Pământul ucrainean din punct de vedere economic". Publicate în "Universul", octombrie 1941.
43. *Istoria Transnistriei*. Odesa, 1942, 40 p.

Recenzia prof. V. Selinov de la Universitatea din Odesa, ziarul "Molva", Odesa, 19 oct. 1942: "Un mic studiu asupra istoriei Transnistriei, scris de mâna experimentată a profesorului Boldur nu poate să nu atragă atenția persoanelor care se interesează de destinul acestei provincii. Cel mai important merit al autorului este originalitatea

punerii și rezolvării unui șir de chestiuni extrem de încurcate de către istoricii ruși, ucraineni, polonezi și alții”.

44. *Războiul Crimeei (1853-1856) și căderea Sevastopolului*. In: “Cele trei Crișuri”, noiembrie-decembrie 1942.
45. *Vasile Lupu și Bogdan Hmelnițki. O pagină din relațiile româno-ucrainene*. In: “Cele trei Crișuri”, noiembrie-decembrie 1943.
46. *O pagină din istoria relațiilor româno-ruse: Gheorghe Ștefan și Alexei Mihailovici*. In: “Cele trei Crișuri”, septembrie-octombrie 1943.
47. *Istoriia rumînskogo naroda*. București, 1943, 116 p.
48. *Istoria Basarabiei*. Vol. IV, “Basarabia românească”. București, 1943, 188 p.
49. *Românii și strămoșii lor în istoria Transnistriei*. Iași, 1943, 80 p.
50. *Cu privire la istoria Transnistriei*. Studiu critic. București, 1943, 20 p.
51. *Politica externă a lui Ștefan cel Mare într-o lumină nouă*. In: “Studii și cercetări istorice”, vol. XVIII, 1943, 40 p.
52. *Ilie Minea. Figura fostului director al Institutului de istoria românilor “A. D. Xenopol” din Iași*. In: “Studii și cercetări istorice”, vol. XVIII, 1943, p. 5-7.
53. *Locul lui Ilie Minea în istoriografia românească*. Ibidem, p. 465-468.
54. *Indo-europenii și migrațiunea slavilor. În legătură cu teoria lui A. A. Șahmatov*. In: “Studii și cercetări istorice”, vol. XVIII, 1943, p. 481-487.
55. *Polihron Sîrbu*. In: “Studii și cercetări istorice”, vol. XVIII, 1943, p. 488-490.
56. *O calomnie la adresa lui B. P. Hașdeu*. In: “Studii și cercetări istorice”, vol. XVIII, 1943, p. 490-492.
57. *Lista domnitorilor*. In: “Studii și cercetări istorice”, vol. XVIII, 1943, p. 492-493.
58. *Originea și sensul cuvîntului “vecin”*. In: “Volumul omagial Constantin Giurescu”, cu ocazia împlinirii a 25 ani de la moartea sa. București, 1944, p. 167-175.
59. *Problema relațiilor științifice-istorice româno-ruse*. In: “Comunicări”, Zlatna, 1944, 20 p.
60. *Expediția de la Prut*. In: “Comunicări”, Zlatna, 1944, 22 p.
61. *Jurnalul lui Petru cel Mare ca izvor de informație pentru Istoria Românilor*. In: “Comunicări”. Zlatna, 1944, 22 p.

62. *Intemeierea Moldovei*. In: “Studii și cercetări istorice”, Iași, vol. XIX, 1946, p. 174-193.
 63. *V-n-n-t-r din scrisoarea cahanului Iosif și N-d-r-r a lui Gardini*. In: “Studii și cercetări istorice”, Iași, vol. XIX, 1946, p. 194-197.
 64. *Știința istorică română în ultimii 25 ani. Constatări și remedii*. In: “Studii și cercetări istorice”, Iași, vol. XX, 1947, 95 p.
 65. *Cine a fost principele Olaha?* In: “Studii și cercetări istorice”, Iași, vol. XX, 1947, p. 312-313.
 66. *Unele îndreptări la discursul de recepție al lui C. Ionescu-Mihăilești*. In: “Studii și cercetări istorice”, Iași, vol. XX, 1947, p. 313-314.
 67. *Ion Filitti istoric*. In: “Studii și cercetări istorice”, Iași, vol. XX, 1947, p. 320-321.
 68. *Troian v “Slove o polku Igoreve”*. In: “Trudî sektora staroi russkoi literaturî”. Institutul de literatură al Academiei de științe a URSS, Leningrad, tom. XV, 1958, p. 7-35.
- Recenzie în “Studii și cercetări științifice. Filologie”, Iași, anul IX (1958), fasc. 1-2, p. 227-229, de Zamfira Mihail.
69. *Cronica slavo-moldovenească în cuprinsul letopisei Voskresenski*. In: “Studii, revistă de istorie”, București, 1963, Nr. 5, p. 1099-1121.
 70. *Slaviano-moldavskaia hronika v sostave Voskresenskoi letopisi*. In: “Arheograficeskii ejegodnik, 1963”, Moskva, 1964, p. 72-86.
 71. *Biserica în timpul domniei lui Ștefan cel Mare*. In: “Biserica ortodoxă română”, iulie-august 1964, p. 717-729.
 72. *Iaroslavna i russkoe dvoeverie v XII-om veke*. In: “Russkaia literatura”, Leningrad, 1964, Nr. 1, p. 84-86.
 73. *Biserica sub Bogdan al III-lea și Ștefăniță*. In: “Mitropolia Moldovei și Sucevei”, martie-aprilie 1967, pagina 243-258.
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ABSTRACTS (SUMMARIES)

1. *Unsprezece recenzii* în "Studii și cercetări istorice", Iași, vol. XVIII (1943), XIX (1946), XX (1947).
2. *O serie de recenzii* în "Adevărul literar" (Istoria Moscovei, Pușkin și altele.)
3. *Recenzie asupra lucrării lui Gh. Ghins* — "Pe căile spre statul viitor", în ziarul "Calendarul", 1930.

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1. *Curs de enciclopedia dreptului*. 1934, 195 p.
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4. *Le Grand Conseil des états sociaux dans l'histoire de la Moldavie et du Pays Roumain* (Sfatul Mare de Obște). 350 manuscript pages. There were published only 120 pages, then the printing was stopped and because of some arbitrary dispositions the exemplars of the printed part were destroyed; the author is the keeper of the unique saved exemplar (pattern).

5. *Gramatika rumînskogo iazîka dlea russkih*. 1962. Trei caiete mari, cca. 300 pagini.
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15. *The Rumanian history in the russian chronicles with annexations*. Old slavian vocabulary, princes' statement and genealogy, princes' chronology, geographic maps, etc. 1973, 650 p.
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19. *Revoluția națională în Basarabia din anii 1917-1918*. 1976, 140 p.
20. *Teritoriul moldovenese, cetățile dela Nistru și Chilia*. 1976, 100 p.

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1. *Apel către ucrainenii*. (În limba ucraineană, ajutat fiind la traducere de fruntașii ucrainenii Donțov și Russov.) În ziua de 23 iunie 1941, la postul de radio București.
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