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Adrian VITALARU*

In the capital of the allied state. Romanian diplomats in Belgrade (1919-1941)

Introduction

Relations between Romania and the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes/Yugoslavia went through several stages from the end of the First World War until the disappearance of the Yugoslav state following the German invasion in April 1941. While relations between the two neighbours were marked by the dispute over the Banat region during the Paris Peace Conference, the signing of the peace treaties ushered in a period of stability in relations between Bucharest and Belgrade. Clearly, the creation of the Little Entente in 1921 and the Balkan Entente in 1934 made Romania and Yugoslavia members of two regional alliances, which led to a diversification of points of collaboration and a tightening of bilateral relations¹. However, the demarcation of the common border and the situation of the Aromanian and Romanian minorities in Yugoslavia caused tension between the two allied states². Even though the Czechoslovak crisis of 1938 and the disappearance of Czechoslovakia in March 1939 led to the break-up of the Little Entente, diplomatic relations between Bucharest and Belgrade were strengthened, at least formally, by raising the level of diplomatic representation from legation to embassy in February 1939. Thus, Yugoslavia was an important ally and political partner for Romania, which maintained a network of career and honorary consulates on the territory of the neighbouring state, without, however, this partnership being transformed into close economic cooperation³.

Within this framework, the main objective of our approach is the analysis of the 'profile' of diplomats accredited at the diplomatic mission in Belgrade: who

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¹ Milan Vanku, *Mica Înțelegere și politica externă a Iugoslaviei. Momente și semnificații*, București, Editura Politică, 1979, *passim*.

² Dan Lazăr, *România și Iugoslavia în primul deceniu interbelic. Relații politico-diplomatice (1919-1929)*, Iași, Editura Universității „Alexandru Ioan Cuza”, 2009, p. 162-168.

³ Vasile Râmneanțu, *Istoricul relațiilor româno-iugoslave în perioada interbelică*, Timișoara, Editura Mirton, 2006, p. 227-275.

were the diplomats sent to represent the Romanian state in Belgrade? Did they have any personal or professional connections with Yugoslavia, with the Balkans or with other states allied to Romania? Was Yugoslavia a professional attraction in the careers of Romanian diplomats? Can we assign a certain intellectual and professional profile to the chiefs of diplomatic mission in Belgrade?

From Gheorghe Filality to Victor Cădere: the heads of the diplomatic mission

At the end of the First World War, the Romanian legation in the new the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes was still under the leadership of Gheorghe Filality (b. 1864, joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1888), appointed to Belgrade in 1909. He was well acquainted with the Balkans, having worked in Belgrade at the beginning of his career, but had also been a member of the diplomatic staff of the legation in Constantinople. Filality, who had left Serbia during the war, returned to Belgrade on 15 May 1919⁴, practically reactivating the Romanian legation in the capital of the neighbouring state. He did not stay in Belgrade very long, as he was appointed, from 15 November 1919, commissioner of the Romanian government in Turkey⁵.

On the appointment of the new incumbent as head of the Legation, Filality asked the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to give him the opportunity of sending letters of recall, which he had not done in 1919. In September 1920 he wrote to Prime Minister Al. Averescu, who was acting Minister of Foreign Affairs, asking for this favour, together with a two-month leave of absence. “As Your Excellency knows of course, I have been accredited to the Serbian Court for ten years. I have lived with this valuable people through the most terrible as well as the most magnificent moments of their history. I have made lasting friendships there and have always enjoyed the most affectionate sympathy of the Prince Regent”⁶. Apparently, Filality's request was accepted⁷.

The authorities in Bucharest did not rush to appoint an extraordinary envoy and minister plenipotentiary as head of the legation in Belgrade, but appointed, in 1919, Constantin Langa-Rășcanu as chargé d'Affairs⁸. This move demonstrates the tense relations between the two countries on the issue of Banat, but also a process of accommodation of Romania's diplomatic network to the new geopolitical realities.

After this intermezzo, the government in Bucharest appointed Theodor Emandi as extraordinary envoy and minister plenipotentiary to Belgrade on 1 August 1920. Born in 1868 in Bârlad, Emandi graduated the Faculty of Law from

⁴ AMAE, fund Problema 77, F 12 – Gheorghe Filality, vol. 2, Telegram no. 3, Belgrad, 16 May 1919, unpage.

⁵ Ibidem, Decree signed by minister N. Mișu, Bucharest, 12 November 1919.

⁶ Ibidem, Telegram no. 2153, Constantinopol, 11 September 1920.

⁷ Ibidem, Telegram no. 22203, Bucharest, 18 September 1920.

⁸ AMAE, fond Problema 77, L 23 – Constantin Langa-Rășcanu, Status of functions, unpage. It is here mentioned that the diplomat held the leadership of the Belgrade legation.

the University of Iași (1892). He was a lawyer, but he was also involved in politics, being a member of the Conservative Party, like his father⁹. After the establishment of the Conservative-Democratic Party, Emandi became an important member of the political group led by Take Ionescu¹⁰. His correspondence with Take Ionescu demonstrates the close links between the two politicians. That is why in 1920, when Take Ionescu was Minister of Foreign Affairs, he proposed Emandi's appointment as Minister Plenipotentiary in Belgrade.

Emandi's appointment was part of a broad move as Romania expanded its diplomatic network in 1920. In this context, other people close to Take Ionescu were also appointed to head diplomatic missions: Constantin Hiott in Prague and Dimitrie Plesnilă in Helsinki. The appointment of Emandi and Hiott to Belgrade and Prague, in the capitals of the countries with which Romania was interested in allying itself, shows that Take Ionescu sought to place his trusted men, who were faithful to his plans in international politics. In the autumn of 1920, Take Ionescu was trying to obtain agreement for the creation of a 'Little Entente of Five', which would include Romania, Poland, the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, Czechoslovakia and Greece¹¹. As Take Ionescu's plan did not take shape, he agreed to a "three-way alliance" with Belgrade and Prague, and Emandi was the Romanian foreign minister's "transmission belt" in Belgrade. At the same time, an important task of Emandi was to negotiate the demarcation of the border between the two states, and the result of these efforts was the Belgrade Protocol (1923)¹². The diplomat Radu Florescu, who had worked for some time at the Belgrade legation, wrote to Emandi in January 1927. Among other things, he stressed that the negotiations between the two allied states had been difficult. "I do not wish to speak ill of the Serbs on the very day I receive a Serbian decoration, but I must admit from your experience and my own when I was working in the Commission for the Delimitation of the Frontier that it is not an easy thing to deal with the Serbs, indeed it seems to me the most difficult thing of all branches of diplomatic dealings. In this respect you have a special merit"¹³.

Integrating well into the political and diplomatic environment in Belgrade, Emandi remained at the head of the legation after several successive governments in Bucharest. Both the Liberals and the government led by the leader of the People's Party, Al. Averescu, collaborated with the former politician, who became Romania's diplomatic representative in the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. His case was not unique. Other heads of diplomatic missions, recruited

⁹ Adrian Butnaru, *Iamandi: cronică unei familii*, Iași, Editura PIM, 2016, p. 257-258.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 259-260.

¹¹ Lucian Leuștean, *România și Ungaria în cadrul „Noii Europe” (1920-1923)*, Iași, Polirom, 2003, p. 27-33.

¹² Dan Lazăr, *op. cit.*, p. 122-126.

¹³ Romanian National Library, Saint Georges collection, Emandi Archive, CI 5, Radu Florescu to Th. Emandi, Bucharest, 6 January 1927.

from outside the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, were also kept in diplomacy: Constantin Hiott – until 1925 and Traian Stârcea until 1928.

His mission to Belgrade ended on 1 February 1928, when he was appointed Extraordinary Envoy and Minister Plenipotentiary to Prague. Emandi's move to Czechoslovakia was part of a wide-ranging change in the leadership of Romania's legations under the co-ordination of Foreign Minister Nicolae Titulescu. In fact, the two were colleagues in the Conservative-Democratic Party, sharing common ideas and political affinities, which explains the protection offered by Titulescu to Emandi.

Emandi's replacement in Belgrade was Nicolae Filodor, who between 1925 and 1928 headed the Romanian legation in Prague¹⁴. Therefore, the authorities in Bucharest decided to "rotate" the leadership of the two legations. This move demonstrates Titulescu's interest in strengthening relations between Romania and the allies of the Little Entente. Both Emandi and Filodor were well aware of the "Little Entente dossier" and the challenges to relations between the three allied states. Moreover, Nicolae Filodor (b. 20 June 1869) was an experienced diplomat. He had a law degree from Paris and graduated (with a diploma) from the School of Political Science in the French capital. Filodor was appointed in 1895 supernumerary attaché of the legation, thus beginning his diplomatic career¹⁵. Throughout his career he worked at the legations in Berlin (1896; 1902-1906), Constantinople, Sofia (1900-1902), Petrograd (1906) and London (1906-1907). In the context of the Balkan Wars (1 June 1913), he was appointed head of Romania's diplomatic mission in Athens, where he remained until 1 July 1920. In 1920 he was involved in a "special mission" next to Prince Carol of Romania, accompanying him on his trip to the Far East, and the following year he represented Romania in the International Straits Commission¹⁶. In January 1922, Filodor was appointed Secretary General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which was a confirmation of his political and administrative capabilities¹⁷. He ended his term as secretary general on 1 October 1925, when he was appointed to head the legation in Prague¹⁸.

With Emandi's agreement and Titulescu's consent¹⁹, Filodor left Prague on 1 March 1928 and the next day arrived in Belgrade²⁰. It was not until 15 March that

¹⁴ Ion Mamina, George G. Potra, Gheorghe Neacșu, Nicolae Nicolescu (eds.) *Organizarea instituțională a Ministerului Afacerilor Externe. Acte și documente*, vol. II, 1920-1947, București, Fundația Europeană Nicolae Titulescu, 2006, p. 540.

¹⁵ AMAE fund Problema 77, F 15 – Nicolae Filodor, vol. 1, Royal Decree of 13 December 1895, unpagued.

¹⁶ Ibidem, Royal Decree of 23 April 1921, unpagued.

¹⁷ AMAE fund Problema 77, Nicolae Filodor, vol. 2, Decree no. 2987, București 21 January 1922, unpagued.

¹⁸ Ibidem, Royal Decree no. 2464 din 24 September 1925, unpagued.

¹⁹ Ibidem, telegram no. 190, Prague, 23 January 1928, Filodor to Ministry of Foreign Affairs, unpagued.

²⁰ Ibidem, telegram no. 534, Belgrade, 6 March 1928, Filodor to Ministry of Foreign Affairs, unpagued.

he handed over the letters of accreditation to King Alexander. Filodor appreciated the discussion with the King, in which references were made to the Little Entente, noting in the report sent to Bucharest that: “During the audience His Royal Highness showed me great goodwill authorizing me right at the end to address him personally if I should encounter difficulties, asking for advice”²¹.

Gheorghe Filodor’s mission to Belgrade ended on 31 December 1930²², when he was retired, along with eight other diplomats who met the legal retirement conditions²³. Although it was taken in haste, the decision to retire Filodor was not punitive but was motivated by the attempt of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs management to reduce expenditure in the midst of an economic crisis. The Belgrade mission was therefore the last of N. Filodor’s three-and-a-half-decade diplomatic career.

After Filodor’s retirement, the important post of Romania’s extraordinary envoy and minister plenipotentiary to Yugoslavia went to Alexandru Gurănescu. Born on 9 May 1881 in Focșani, Gurănescu belonged to a different generation than that of his predecessors. Gurănescu graduated in law from the University of Bucharest and joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1902 as a copyist. After becoming acquainted with diplomacy in the central administration of the ministry, he was sent in 1911 to the legation in Sofia, where he worked, with a brief interruption, until 1 March 1916. Although rumours circulated in diplomatic circles about his “Germanophilia”, his work in the Bulgarian capital was appreciated in Bucharest²⁴.

Gurănescu’s career went on in normal parameters until 1 May 1918, when, following an incident in Finland, he was recalled²⁵. Gurănescu was reinstated in the diplomatic corps on 1 July 1921 and worked in Romanian diplomacy until May 1941, when he was retired. In the first decade of the interwar period, he was technical adviser and delegate on behalf of Romania to several conferences concerning the resolution of financial issues between the successor states of the Austro-Hungarian Empire²⁶. This shows that Alexandru Gurănescu was familiar with the realities of Central and South-Eastern Europe. However, after 1921, he worked abroad in Northern Europe, at the legations in Stockholm (1921; 1927-1928) and Helsingfors (1921-1922), and on 1 March 1928 he was appointed chargé

²¹ Ibidem, telegram no. 630, Belgrade, 15 March 1928, Filodor to Ministry of Foreign Affairs, unpage.

²² Ibidem, telegram no. 3116, Belgrade, 29 December 1930, Filodor to Minister of Foreign Affairs, unpage. Making his arrangements with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, he stayed in Belgrade until 20 January 1931.

²³ Ibidem, Royal Decree no. 3720 of 14 November 1930.

²⁴ Daniel Cain, *Amorul și revoluția. Întâmplări lumești din vremea Marei Război*, in Daniel Cain, Aneta Mihaylova, Roumiana T. Stantcheva, Andrei Timotin (eds.), *Spre pământul făgăduinței, între Balcani și Bugeac. Omagiu doamnei profesoare Elena Siupiur la împlinirea vîrstei de 80 de ani*, Brăila, Editura Istros, 2020, p. 363-365.

²⁵ Ibidem, p. 362-363.

²⁶ AMAE, fund Problema 77, G 44 – Alexandru Gurănescu, vol. 1, Status of functions, unpage.

d'affaires in Lisbon²⁷. The leap in career made in 1927-1928 by Alexandru Gurănescu, legation counsellor from 1926, can also be explained by his marriage, in January 1927, to Tamara Franasovici, sister of the politician Richard Franasovici, member of the National Liberal Party and later a close friend of King Carol II and the politician Gheorghe Tătărescu²⁸.

However, it was not until the middle of 1930 that Gurănescu was promoted to Minister Plenipotentiary, 2nd class, and appointed to head the legation in Portugal (20 June 1930 – 1 January 1931). His stay at the head of the legation in Lisbon was short-lived, as he obtained a post that was much more important in the geography of Romania's international representation – the head of the legation in Belgrade.

When he arrived in the Yugoslav capital, in January 1931, Gurănescu was almost 50 years old and had gained experience in international politics. Clearly, the Belgrade post was a step Gurănescu had taken towards the elite of Romanian diplomacy.

Alexandru Gurănescu was a diplomat involved in the affairs of the legation. His reports show a good knowledge of the political life in Yugoslavia and of the stakes of the Romanian-Yugoslav bilateral relations. However, his relationship with N. Titulescu, Foreign Minister from 1932-1936, was fraught with tension. Gurănescu did not appreciate Titulescu's policy of rapprochement with the USSR, while the Romanian Foreign Minister expressed his dissatisfaction with Gurănescu's qualities²⁹.

Some Romanian visitors who went to the Belgrade legation had mixed opinions about the Gurănescu family. Irina Procopiu notes in her diary, under the date of April 23, 1933, – "Lunch at Gurănescu's. Very kind. Beautiful legation, tastefully furnished. She talks too much and is so vulgar!"³⁰.

In November 1936, Alexandru Gurănescu was appointed head of the legation in Vienna, where he remained until Austria was incorporated into Germany and the legation was transformed into a consulate. After this experience in the former imperial capital, Gurănescu was appointed head of the legation in Bern (1 April 1938 – 15 October 1940), which was the last mission of his diplomatic career.

Gurănescu's replacement, university professor and politician Victor Cădere, was in his second period in diplomacy. Born on 22 June 1891, Cădere graduated in law from the University of Iasi (1913), but also studied in Paris after the war. In 1925, he became a professor at the Academy of Law in Oradea, but also became involved in politics. He was a member of the National Party and then of the National-Peasants' Party, deputy (1928-1930), secretary general of the Ministry

²⁷ Ibidem, Decree of 31 December 1927, signed by N. Titulescu, unpage.

²⁸ Ibidem, Status of functions, unpage. See also Daniel Cain, *op. cit.*, p. 374.

²⁹ Walter M. Bacon Jr., *Nicolae Titulescu și politica externă a României 1933-1934*, Iași, Editura Institutul European, 1999, p. 268, 284.

³⁰ Irina Procopiu, *Pagini de jurnal (1891-1950)*, Iași, Polirom, 2016, p. 76.

of Justice (1930) and of the Ministry of the Interior (1930-1932)³¹. As a trusted man of King Carol II, Cădere was appointed, in May 1932, to head the legation in Warsaw, in the capital of a state allied with Romania. Cădere proved to be well suited as head of the legation, happily combining his legal culture, political and administrative experience with the ability to integrate easily into diplomatic circles in the Polish capital. His replacement in 1935 therefore caused regret in Warsaw. After refusing to take over the leadership of the legation in Brazil, Victor Cădere was appointed Extraordinary Envoy and Minister Plenipotentiary of Romania to Yugoslavia on 1 November 1936.

Victor Cădere proved to be a high-caliber replacement for Gurănescu, acting in Belgrade on several already established lines: the rights of Romanians in Yugoslavia, the Little Entente, the Balkan Agreement. However, in August 1938, King Carol II appointed Cădere royal resident of the Lower Danube County, a position he held from the second half of September 1938 until January 1939. Cădere was transferred to Romania's internal administration, being shifted from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the Ministry of the Interior³². In Cădere's place, the affairs of the legation in Belgrade were taken over by the 1st class secretary of legation, Dan Geblescu³³. Thus, the Romanian Legation in Yugoslavia was left without leadership in an extremely tense period, marked by the end of the Czechoslovak crisis, the First Vienna Award and border changes in Central Europe.

However, the implementation of the decision to transform the legation in Belgrade into an embassy led King Carol II to appoint V. Cădere as Romania's ambassador to Yugoslavia. This way, between February 1939 and October 1940, the diplomatic mission in Belgrade was one of Romania's six embassies. The appointment of Cădere as ambassador was a reconfirmation of his diplomatic activity, but also of the trust with which the Romanian sovereign credited the diplomat. Despite the close relationship between Carol II and Cădere, the diplomat remained at the head of the diplomatic mission in the capital of Yugoslavia even after the radical political changes that took place in Romania in September 1940. His mission in Belgrade ended in April 1941, after the defeat of Yugoslavia by Nazi Germany. Cădere's diplomatic career continued with a final mission abroad as head of the Romanian legation in Portugal (1942-1944)³⁴.

³¹ Ioana Ecaterina Asăvoaie, *Diplomatul Victor Cădere (1919-1944)*, Bragadiru, Editura Miidecărți, 2019, p. 17-20.

³² *Ibidem*, p. 21-22.

³³ About Geblescu's work in Belgrade, see Stelian Neagoe, *Dan Geblescu – un diplomat uitat*, in Dan Geblescu, *Chestiunea Basarabiei și relațiile româno-sovietice, 1917-1934*, ediție inedită, studiu introductiv de Stelian Neagoe, București, Editura Machiavelli, 2013, p. 18-20.

³⁴ Ioana Ecaterina Asăvoaie, *op. cit.*, p. 304-379.

Diplomatic staff of the Belgrade legation/embassy

Even though the legation in Belgrade was important in Romania's diplomatic network, due to the alliances between the two countries, but also to other dossiers on bilateral relations, the diplomatic staff of the Romanian diplomatic mission in the capital of the neighbouring state included, besides the head of the legation, two or three other diplomats, to whom were added the military attaché, consuls and, later, a press attaché. For example, at the beginning of 1922, the diplomatic staff of the legation in Belgrade consisted of Teodor Emandi, together with the 2nd class legation secretary Emil Zarifopol, 3rd class legation secretary, Arthur Anastasiu and the attaché of the legation Ion Popescu-Pașcani. The military attaché, Colonel D. Motaș, vice-consul Theodor Ciomandra, and the military attaché's assistant, Captain Ervin Nечay³⁵. The composition of the Legation in Belgrade was similar to that of the diplomatic missions in Prague and Warsaw, Romania's allies.

If we look at the composition of the diplomatic staff of the legation in the early 1920s, we see that Zarifopol was already a diplomat with 11 years of experience in the Romanian diplomatic corps³⁶. He fit the profile of the classical diplomat. He had legal studies and had alternated work in the central administration of the ministry with that of the diplomatic missions. Arthur Anastasiu was born in Craiova on 21 March 1884, studied law in Paris, and was appointed to Belgrade on 15 September 1920³⁷, while Zarifopol was appointed on 1 August, together with Emandi. Popescu-Pașcani, newly attached to the legation (1 October 1921), served for a short period (15 November 1921 – 1 February 1922) at the legation in Belgrade³⁸.

In September 1923, the diplomatic staff of the Legation in Belgrade consisted of Th. Emandi, Arthur Anastasiu and Costantin Flondor, 3rd class secretary³⁹. The new member of the diplomatic staff was Flondor, from an important Romanian family in Bukovina. Constantin, born on 14 February 1899, had studied in Chernivtsi and Vienna, but also had a doctorate in legal studies from Innsbruck. After the war he joined the Romanian diplomatic corps, first at the legation in Prague and then in Belgrade, after which he moved to several European

³⁵ Ministerul Afacerilor Străine. Personalul 21 ianuarie 1922, București, 1922, p. 27.

³⁶ ACNSAS, fund Documentar, 8845, vol. 5, Structure of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the diplomatic missions of Romania, document drawn up on 11 September 1929, unpage. Zarifopol was born on 25 November 1887.

³⁷ Ministerul Afacerilor Străine. Personalul 21 ianuarie 1922, p. 27; Ciprian Nitulescu, *Între pace și război. Diplomati români pe continentul american (1940-1944)*, in Constantin Bușe, Ionel Căndea (eds.), *In Honorem Professoris Constantin Bușe Octogenarii*, Brăila, Editura Istros, 2019, p. 796.

³⁸ Anuar diplomatic și consular 1942, București, Monitorul Oficial și Imprimeriile Statului, 1942, p. 147-148. Popescu-Pașcani was born on July 2, 1895 in Văleni (Roman) and graduated from the Faculty of Law at the University of Iași.

³⁹ AMAE, fund Problema 77, vol. 16, Telegram from the Roumanian legation in Belgrad, 16 September 1923, unpage.

capitals (Sofia, Vienna, Copenhagen)⁴⁰. Radu Florescu also worked at the Belgrade legation in the middle of the first decade of the interwar period. He was born on 5 May 1895 and studied law at the University of Iași. Florescu was admitted to the Romanian diplomatic corps in September 1920⁴¹. After working at the legation in Prague, Florescu was a member of the staff of the diplomatic mission in Belgrade. After his uncle, Nicolae Filodor, was appointed head of the legation in Czechoslovakia in 1925, Florescu was transferred to Prague, where he collaborated again with Emandi from 1928⁴². In the middle of the first decade of the interwar period, the Legation Counsellor Ion Vlădoianu was also active in Belgrade⁴³.

Teodor Emandi also collaborated in Belgrade with the legation secretary Mircea Cristescu, who was part of the Belgrade legation staff from 1 June 1925 until the end of 1929. Born in Bucharest (20 October 1896), where he also studied law, Cristescu entered the diplomatic career on 1 October 1921, when he was appointed Attaché of the Legation. Before Belgrade, he worked at the Washington legation and in the Ministry's Central Administration, and after his experience in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, he moved on to various diplomatic missions (Prague, Ankara, Cairo, Tirana, Budapest)⁴⁴.

Thus, in June 1926, the Legation in Belgrade included, in addition to the Minister Plenipotentiary, a legation counsellor (I. Vlădoianu), a 3rd class secretary (M. Cristescu), a consul, a chancellor and a typist⁴⁵. We therefore see a reduction in the diplomatic staff of the diplomatic mission in the capital of the neighbouring and allied state.

An important collaborator of Nicolae Filodor and Alexandru Gurănescu was the legation counsellor Eugeniu I. Papiniu, an experienced diplomat who worked in Belgrade from the end of the first interwar decade⁴⁶ until 1933⁴⁷. Born on 3 September 1885, Papiniu studied law and began his diplomatic career in 1905. Before arriving in Belgrade, Papiniu was familiar with Romania's policy in the Balkans, having worked in the Balkan, Eastern and Italian Section of the central

⁴⁰ Oana Popescu, *România și Danemarca în prima jumătate a secolului XX*, Târgoviște, Editura Cetatea de Scaun, 2010, p. 52.

⁴¹ See Adrian Vițălaru, *Recruiting the Staff of Romania's Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the First Decade of the Interwar Period: Legation Attaché Entrance Exams*", in *Romanian Diplomatic Corps (1918-1947): Recruitments, Professional Ways, Intellectual Profiles*, editors Adrian Vițălaru, Ionuț Nistor, Adrian-Bogdan Ceobanu, Konstanz, Hartung-Gorre Verlag, 2020, p. 92-93.

⁴² Radu R. Florescu, Matei Cazacu, *Sânge din săngele lui Dracula. Saga boierilor Florescu*, București, Editura Corint, 2016, p. 257-261. ACNSAS, fund Documentar, 8845, vol. 5, Structure of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Diplomatic Missions of Romania, document drawn up on 11 September 1929, unpage.

⁴³ AMAE, fund Problema 77, vol. 16, Telegram from the legation of Belgrad, 13 May 1926, unpage.

⁴⁴ *Anuar diplomatic și consular 1942*, p. 120.

⁴⁵ AMAE, fund Problema 77, vol. 1, Telegram from the legation of Belgrad, 30 June 1926, unpage.

⁴⁶ ACNSAS, fund Documentar, 8845, vol. 5, Structure of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Diplomatic Missions of Romania, document drawn up on 11 September 1929, unpage.

⁴⁷ Ibidem; AMAE, fund Problema 77, vol. 2, List of diplomatic staff of Romanian legations and consulates in 1933, unpage.

administration of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs⁴⁸. For a short period (10 July – 15 September 1930) the post of 1st class Secretary of the Legation in Belgrade was occupied by Mihail I. Mitilineu, a diplomat who then worked for several years in Prague⁴⁹.

Alexandru Gurănescu had among his collaborators in Belgrade the 1st class Secretary of Legation, Marcel Romanescu. He worked at the Legation in Belgrade from 1 October 1932 until 14 May 1934, when he was transferred to the diplomatic mission in Copenhagen. Romanescu was born on 11 October 1897 in Liege (Belgium) and graduated with degrees in literature and philosophy. He became a legation attaché in September 1920 and worked in several legations (Holy See, Warsaw, The Hague, Madrid)⁵⁰.

In 1933, the staff of the Romanian Legation in Belgrade consisted of Minister Plenipotentiary Al. Gurănescu, Legation Counsellor Eugeniu I. Papiniu, 1st class Legation Secretary Marcel Romanescu, together with consul Theodor Ciomandra, vice-consul D. Țărălungă and the 1st class press secretary Raul Anastasiu⁵¹. In terms of diplomatic staff, the legation was similar to the diplomatic missions in Prague or Warsaw, but had fewer diplomats than the legations in the headquarters of the major powers (London, Paris, Washington, Berlin)⁵².

One diplomat who trained at Romania's diplomatic missions in the Balkans was Paul Negulescu⁵³. He became a legation attaché on 16 November 1924 and served as 2nd class secretary of legation in Belgrade from 1 May 1934 to 15 April 1937, collaborating both with Al. Gurănescu and Victor Cădere. He then continued his Balkan tour in Athens between April 1937 and May 1939, and during the war years he headed the Romanian consulates in Beirut and Istanbul⁵⁴.

Victor Cădere also collaborated in Belgrade with Emanoil Krupenski, who served as 1st class secretary at the legation in Yugoslavia from 1 January 1937 to 1 February 1938. Born on 30 March 1895 in Bucharest, he obtained a law degree and was appointed attaché to the legation on 15 November 1923. Krupenski worked in several diplomatic missions (Athens, Warsaw, Madrid, Lisbon) before arriving in Belgrade. After his experience in Yugoslavia, he worked in Sofia and Ankara, and then in Barcelona and Madrid⁵⁵, which makes him a diplomat specialised in Balkan affairs and Romania's relations with the Iberian Peninsula. In

⁴⁸ AMAE, fund Problema 77, vol. 1, List of officials of the International Political Directorate.

⁴⁹ He was born on 2 July 1896 in Bucharest, studied law and joined the Romanian diplomatic corps in 1921. Adrian Vițălăru (ed.), *Anuar diplomatic și consular al Regatului României, 1946. Din istoria Ministerului Afacerilor Străine*, Iași, Editura Universității “Alexandru Ioan Cuza”, 2016, p. 228. *Anuar diplomatic și consular 1942*, p. 140.

⁵⁰ Adrian Vițălăru, *Aspecte din activitatea unui diplomat român: Marcel Romanescu (1897-1955)*, in AŞUI, LXI (2015), p. 467-481.

⁵¹ AMAE, fund Problema 77, vol. 2, Staff of Romania's diplomatic missions in March 1933, unpaged.

⁵² See *ibidem*.

⁵³ Born in Bucharest on 14 August 1900, Paul Negulescu studied law and political economy.

⁵⁴ Adrian Vițălăru (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 231-232. *Anuar diplomatic și consular 1942*, p. 142.

⁵⁵ Adrian Vițălăru (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 222. *Anuar diplomatic și consular 1942*, p. 134.

Krupenski's place, Caius Văleanu from Banat was appointed. Born in Lugoj on 24 April 1902⁵⁶, Văleanu studied law at the University of Bucharest and was admitted as a legation attaché on 16 November 1925⁵⁷. After having been on the staff of the legations in Berlin, The Hague and Madrid between 1930 and 1933, Văleanu worked from November 1933 until January 1938 at the diplomatic missions in Athens and Sofia. Văleanu's Balkan tour continued in Belgrade, where he served as legation/embassy secretary from February 1938 until the end of June 1939⁵⁸. Although Văleanu did not return to the Balkans after the Belgrade mission, he trained as a diplomat at the missions in Athens, Sofia and Belgrade, and was the only diplomat with origins in Banat to work in Yugoslavia between 1919 and 1941.

Dan Geblescu, an experienced diplomat born in Craiova on April 3, 1901, also left his mark on the relations between Romania and Yugoslavia. Having studied law, Geblescu was appointed attaché to the legation on 1 July 1924. He worked abroad at the legations in Paris and The Hague, and on 1 May 1938 he was transferred as 1st class secretary of the legation to the capital of Yugoslavia. For several months in 1938, he was also a delegate to the Permanent Secretariat of the Little Entente, which demonstrates the many facets of his mission in Belgrade⁵⁹.

From 1 July 1939, the main collaborator of V. Cădere was the embassy counsellor Nicolae Solacolu. Born on 6 March 1895 in Bucharest, Solacolu had a law degree and was admitted to the diplomatic corps in 1921. Solacolu had practically trained as a diplomat in the Balkans, since he had worked between 1927 and 1933 at the Romanian legation in Sofia. His career continued in the central administration of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1933-1938), and from May 1938 to June 1939 he was on the staff of the Romanian Legation in Italy⁶⁰. Solacolu remained an important link in Romania's consular network in the former territory of Yugoslavia and during the German occupation, when he headed the Romanian consulate in Belgrade⁶¹.

From January 1, 1938 to May 26, 1941 at the diplomatic mission in Belgrade worked Aristide Burileanu, in the post of Attaché of the Legation, then 3rd class Secretary of the Legation and of the Embassy. Burileanu was born on 26 March 1913 in Turnu-Severin, studied law and joined the Romanian diplomatic corps in June 1936⁶². Zeno Câmpeanu served in Belgrade alongside Burileanu from 1 July 1939 to 20 May 1941. Born in Dej on 27 October 1913, Câmpeanu studied law in Paris and entered the Romanian diplomatic service as a legation

⁵⁶ Caius' father was the lawyer Aurel Văleanu, a leading politician from Banat and member of the Romanian Parliament after 1918.

⁵⁷ Adrian Vițălaru, *Recruiting the Staff of Romania's Ministry of Foreign Affairs...*, p. 101-102.

⁵⁸ Adrian Vițălaru (ed.), *Anuar diplomatic*, p. 251; *Anuar diplomatic și consular 1942*, p. 156.

⁵⁹ Adrian Vițălaru (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 213-214; Stelian Neagoe, *op. cit.*, p. 18-20. *Anuar diplomatic și consular 1942*, p. 128.

⁶⁰ *Anuar diplomatic și consular 1942*, p. 151.

⁶¹ Adrian Vițălaru (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 245. See also AMAE, fund Problema 77, S 71 – Nicolae Solacolu, Status of functions, unpage.

⁶² Adrian Vițălaru (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 194; *Anuar diplomatic și consular 1942*, p. 114.

attaché on 1 December 1936. The mission to Belgrade was the first mission abroad for the Embassy Secretary Câmpeanu. We note that Z. Câmpeanu continued to serve in Yugoslavia, since he was transferred in May 1941 to the legation created in Zagreb, Croatia⁶³.

During the period when the diplomatic mission was led by Victor Cădere, Emil Oprișanu was also active in Belgrade. Born on 8 September 1906 in Buzău, Oprișanu studied law and was admitted to the diplomatic corps on 1 April 1933. Unlike other young diplomats, Oprișanu worked in Belgrade and in the territory of the former Yugoslav state from 15 April 1937 until 1 July 1942, either as secretary of legation in the diplomatic mission in the capital of Yugoslavia (1937, 1938) or as head of the Romanian consulate in Skopje (1937, 1938-1942)⁶⁴. He was thus one of the young diplomats whose career was closely linked to Yugoslavia and Romania's interests in the Balkans.

Conclusions

Romania's diplomatic mission in Belgrade between 1919 and 1941 was headed by five diplomats, even though Victor Cădere had, practically, two mandates. This shows that there was stability in the leadership of the diplomatic mission, unlike other missions in the Allied states (Wasaw). Apart from Filality, the longest mission to Belgrade belonged to Theodor Emandi, followed by Gurănescu, Cădere and Filodor. Of the five heads of mission, three were career diplomats (Filality, Filodor and Gurănescu), while Emandi and Cădere, although coming from outside the diplomatic profession, were integrated into the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, following diplomatic careers of 16 and 12 years respectively.

With the exception of Filality, none of the heads of mission had been active in Belgrade before becoming head of the legation, but some of them had expertise in Balkan affairs (Filodor and Gurănescu) and had been active in Prague, in the capital of the other member state of the Little Entente (Filodor). For Filodor, the Belgrade mission was the last of his diplomatic career, for Emandi it was the first step in his diplomatic career, while for Gurănescu and Cădere it was an intermediate post.

Of the diplomatic staff, Mircea Cristescu, Eugeniu I. Papiniu and Zeno Câmpeanu served Romania's interests in Belgrade the longest. Some of the diplomats who worked in Yugoslavia trained professionally at diplomatic missions in the Balkans, while for others the Belgrade mission was the beginning of a career in South-East Europe. This example demonstrates a certain institutional logic within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Other diplomats, however, moved from Belgrade to Prague or vice versa, either following a head of legation, such as R. Florescu on N. Filodor, or because they were familiar with the Little Entente dossier.

⁶³ *Anuar diplomatic și consular 1942*, p. 116.

⁶⁴ Adrian Vițălaru (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 234.

**In the capital of the allied state.
Romanian diplomats in Belgrade (1919-1941)**

Abstract

Relations between Romania and the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes/Yugoslavia went through several stages in the period 1919-1941. From the tensions marked by the Banat issue (1919-1920), at the level of allied countries within the Little Entente (from 1921) and the Balkan Entente (from 1934). That is why Romania's diplomatic mission in Belgrade, raised to the status of an embassy between 1939 and 1940, was an important diplomatic post in Romania's diplomatic network. However, in the analyzed period, the diplomatic mission had a staff equivalent to that of the diplomatic representations in the capitals of other allied states (Prague, Warsaw), but less numerous compared to Romania's diplomatic missions in the capitals of the great powers (Paris, London, Washington). But unlike the diplomatic mission in Warsaw and the capitals of other important states for Romania's foreign policy, the legation and then the embassy in Belgrade was led by five heads of mission. This fact demonstrates a stability at the level of the leadership of the diplomatic mission in the capital of the neighboring and allied state. At the same time, analyzing the profile of the diplomats who were active in the period 1919-1941 at the diplomatic mission in Belgrade, we notice, on the one hand, that most of them had law studies, and, on the other hand, that it existed at the level of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Romania the tendency to train diplomats specialized in Balkan matters.

Keywords: diplomats; Romania; Belgrade; interwar period; alliance.

ABREVIERI

<i>AARMSI</i>	= Analele Academiei Române, Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice
<i>AARMSL</i>	= Analele Academiei Române, Memoriile Secțiunii Literare
<i>AARPAD</i>	= „Analele Academiei Române”, seria II, București, 1879-1916
<i>AA.SS.</i>	= <i>Acta Sanctorum</i> , ed. Bollandisti, III ^a edizione, Parigi 1863-1870
<i>AB</i>	= Arhivele Basarabiei
<i>ACNSAS</i>	= Arhivele Consiliului Național pentru Studierea Arhivelor Securității
<i>AE</i>	= <i>L'Année Epigraphique</i> , Paris
<i>AIR</i>	= Arhiva Istorica a României
<i>AIAC</i>	= Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie Cluj
<i>AIAI</i>	= Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie „A. D. Xenopol”, Iași
<i>AIIC</i>	= Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Cluj
<i>AIINC</i>	= Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Națională, Cluj
<i>AIIX</i>	= Anuarul Institutului de Istorie „A. D. Xenopol”, Iași
<i>ALIL</i>	= Anuarul de Lingvistică și Istorie Literară, Iași
<i>ALMA</i>	= <i>Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi</i> . Genève.
<i>AM</i>	= Arheologia Moldovei, Iași
<i>AMAE</i>	= Arhiva Ministerului Afacerilor Externe
<i>AmAnthr</i>	= American Anthropologist, New Series, Published by Wiley on behalf of the American Anthropological Association
<i>AMM</i>	= Acta Moldaviae Meridionalis, Vaslui
<i>AMMB</i>	= Arhiva Mitropoliei Moldovei și Bucovinei, Iași
<i>AMN</i>	= Acta Musei Napocensis
<i>AMR</i>	= Arhivele Militare Române
<i>AMS</i>	= Anuarul Muzeului din Suceava
<i>ANB</i>	= Arhivele Naționale, București
<i>ANC</i>	= Arhivele Naționale. Serviciul Județean Cluj
<i>ANDMB</i>	= Arhivele Naționale. Direcția Municipiului București
<i>ANG</i>	= Arhivele Naționale. Serviciul Județean Galați
<i>ANI</i>	= Arhivele Naționale, Iași
<i>ANIC</i>	= Arhivele Naționale Istorice Centrale
<i>ANR-Cluj</i>	= Arhivele Naționale, Cluj-Napoca
<i>ANR-Sibiu</i>	= Arhivele Naționale, Sibiu
<i>ANRM</i>	= Arhivele Naționale ale Republicii Moldova, Chișinău
<i>ANRW</i>	= Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt, Berlin-New York
<i>ANSMB</i>	= Arhivele Naționale. Serviciul Municipiului București
<i>ANV</i>	= Arhivele Naționale, Vaslui
<i>AO</i>	= Arhivele Olteniei
<i>AP</i>	= Analele Putnei
<i>APH</i>	= <i>Acta Poloniae Historica</i> , Varșovia
<i>AqLeg</i>	= <i>Aquila Legionis. Cuadernos de Estudios sobre el Ejército Romano</i> , Salamanca
<i>AR</i>	= Arhiva Românească
<i>ArchM</i>	= Archiva Moldaviae, Iași
<i>ArhGen</i>	= Arhiva Genealogică
„Arhiva”	= „Arhiva”. Organul Societății Științifice și Literare, Iași
<i>ArhMold</i>	= Arheologia Moldovei
<i>ASRR</i>	= Arhiva Societății Române de Radiodifuziune
<i>AȘUI</i>	= Analele Științifice ale Universității „Alexandru Ioan Cuza”, Iași

<i>ATS</i>	= Ancient Textile Series, Oxbow Books, Oxford și Oakville
<i>AUAIC</i>	= Arhiva Universității „Alexandru Ioan Cuza” din Iași
<i>AUB</i>	= Analele Universității „București”
<i>BA</i>	= <i>Biblioteca Ambrosiana</i> , Roma, Città Nuova Editrice
<i>BAR</i>	= Biblioteca Academiei Române
<i>BArchB</i>	= Bundesarchiv Berlin
<i>BAR int. ser.</i>	= British Archaeological Reports, International Series
<i>BBRF</i>	= Buletinul Bibliotecii Române din Freiburg
<i>BCIR</i>	= Buletinul Comisiei Istorice a României
<i>BCMI</i>	= Buletinul Comisiei Monumentelor Istorice
<i>BCU-Iași</i>	= Biblioteca Centrală Universitară, Iași
<i>BE</i>	= Bulletin Epigraphique
<i>BF</i>	= Byzantinische Forschungen, Amsterdam
<i>BJ</i>	= Bonner Jahrbücher, Bonn
<i>BMI</i>	= Buletinul Monumentelor Istorice
<i>BMIM</i>	= București. Materiale de istorie și muzeografie
<i>BNB</i>	= Biblioteca Națională București
<i>BNJ</i>	= Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher
<i>BOR</i>	= Biserica Ortodoxă Română
<i>BS</i>	= Balkan Studies
<i>BSNR</i>	= Buletinul Societății Numismatice Române
<i>ByzSlav</i>	= Byzantinoslavica
<i>CA</i>	= Cercetări arheologice
<i>CAI</i>	= Caiete de Antropologie Istorică
<i>CartNova</i>	= <i>La ciudad de Carthago Nova 3: La documentación epigráfica</i> , Murcia
<i>CB</i>	= Cahiers balkaniques
<i>CC</i>	= Codrul Cosminului, Suceava (ambele serii)
<i>CCAR</i>	= Cronica cercetărilor arheologice din România, CIMEC, București
<i>CCh</i>	= <i>Corpus Christianorum</i> , Turnhout
<i>CChSG</i>	= <i>Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca</i>
<i>CCSL</i>	= <i>Corpus Christianorum Series Latina</i> , Turnhout, Brepols
<i>CDM</i>	= <i>Catalogul documentelor moldovenești din Arhivele Centrale de Stat</i> , București, vol. I-V; supl. I.
<i>CDTR</i>	= <i>Catalogul documentelor Țării Românești din Arhivele Statului</i> , București, vol. II-VIII, 1974-2006
<i>Chiron</i>	= Chiron: Mitteilungen der Kommission für Alte Geschichte und Epigraphik des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, 1971
<i>CI</i>	= Cercetări istorice (ambele serii)
<i>CIL</i>	= <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> , Berlin
<i>CL</i>	= Cercetări literare
<i>CLRE</i>	= <i>Consuls of the Later Roman Empire</i> , eds. R. S. Bagnall, A. Cameron, S. R. Schwartz, K. A. Worp, Atlanta, 1987
<i>CN</i>	= Cercetări Numismatice
<i>CNA</i>	= Cronica Numismatică și Arheologică, București
<i>CSCO</i>	= <i>Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium</i> , Louvain
<i>CSEA</i>	= <i>Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiae Aquileiensis</i> , Roma, Città Nuova Editrice
<i>CSEL</i>	= <i>Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum</i> , Wien, De Gruyter
<i>CSPAMI</i>	= Centrul de Studii și Păstrare a Arhivelor Militare Centrale, Pitești
<i>CT</i>	= Columna lui Traian, București
<i>CTh</i>	= <i>Codex Theodosianus. Theodosiani, Libri XVI cum constitutionibus Sirmondianis</i> , I, edidit adsumpto apparatu P. Kruegeri, Th. Mommsen, Hildesheim, 1970-1971
<i>Cv.L</i>	= Convorbiri literare (ambele serii)

„Dacia”, N.S.	= Dacia. Nouvelle Série, Revue d'archéologie et d'histoire ancienne, Bucureşti
DANIC	= Direcția Arhivelor Naționale Istorice Centrale
DGAS	= Direcția Generală a Arhivelor Statului
DI	= Diplomatarium Italicum
DIR	= <i>Documente privind istoria României</i>
DIRRI	= <i>Documente privind Istoria României. Războiul pentru Independență</i>
DOP	= Dumbarton Oaks Papers
DTN	= <i>Din trecutul nostru</i> , Chișinău
DRH	= <i>Documenta Romaniae Historica</i>
EB	= Études Balkaniques
EBPB	= Études byzantines et post-byzantines
EDCS	= <i>Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss-Slaby</i> (http://www.manfredclauss.de/)
EDR	= <i>Epigraphic Database Roma</i> (http://www.edr-edr.it/default/index.php)
EpigrAnat	= Epigraphica Anatolica, Münster
ERAsturias	= F. Diego Santos, <i>Epigrafía Romana de Asturias</i> , Oviedo, 1959.
Gerión	= Gerión. Revista de Historia Antigua, Madrid
GB	= Glasul Bisericii
GCS	= <i>Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller</i> , Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1897-1969
GLK	= <i>Grammatici Latini Keil</i>
HEp	= <i>Hispania Epigraphica</i> , Madrid
„Herasus”	= <i>Herasus</i> . Anuarul Muzeului Județean Botoșani, Botoșani
HM	= Heraldica Moldaviae, Chișinău
HU	= Historia Urbana, Sibiu
HUI	= Historia Universitatis Iassiensis, Iași
IDR	= <i>Inscripțiile din Dacia romană</i> , București-Paris
IDRE	= <i>Inscriptions de la Dacie romaine. Inscriptions externes concernant l'histoire de la Dacie</i> , I-II, Bucarest, 1996, 2000
IGLN	= Inscriptions grecques et latines de Novae, Bordeaux
IGLR	= <i>Inscripțiile grecești și latine din secolele IV-XIII descoperite în România</i> , București, 1976
IILPecs	= Instrumenta Inscripta Latina. <i>Das römische Leben im Spiegel der Kleininschriften</i> , Pecs, 1991
ILAlg	= <i>Inscriptions latines d'Algérie</i> , Paris
ILB	= <i>Inscriptiones Latinae in Bulgaria repertae. Inscriptiones inter Oescum et Iatrum repertae</i> , Sofia, 1989
ILD	= <i>Inscripțiile latine din Dacia</i> , București
ILN	= <i>Inscriptions latines de Novae</i> , Poznań
ILLPRON	= <i>Inscriptionum Lapidarium Latinarum Provinciae Norici usque ad annum MCMLXXXIV repertarum indices</i> , Berlin, 1986
ILS	= <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i> , 1892
IMS	= <i>Inscriptiones Moesiae Superioris</i> , Belgrad
IN	= „Ioan Neculce”. Buletinul Muzeului Municipal Iași
ISM	= <i>Inscripțiile din Scythia Minor grecești și latine</i> , București, vol. I-III, 1983-1999
JGO	= Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas
JL	= Junimea literară
JRS	= The Journal of Roman studies, London
LR	= Limba română
MA	= Memoria Antiquitatis, Piatra Neamț
MCA	= Materiale și cercetări arheologice
MEF	= <i>Moldova în epoca feudalismului</i> , vol. I-XII, 1961-2012, Chișinău
MEFRA	= <i>Mélanges de l'École française de Rome: Antiquité</i> , Roma

<i>MGH</i>	= <i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica inde ab anno Christi quingentesimo usque ad annum millesimum et quingentesimum auspicis societatis aperiendis fontibus rerum Germanicarum mediæ aevi</i> , Berlin 1877-
<i>MI</i>	= Magazin istoric, Bucureşti
<i>MIM</i>	= Materiale de istorie şi muzeografie
<i>MM</i>	= Mitropolia Moldovei
<i>MMS</i>	= Mitropolia Moldovei şi Sucevei
<i>MN</i>	= Muzeul Naţional, Bucureşti
<i>MO</i>	= Mitropolia Olteniei
<i>MOF</i>	= Monitorul Oficial al României
<i>Navarro</i>	= M. Navarro Caballero, <i>Perfectissima femina. Femmes de l'elite dans l'Hispanie romaine</i> , Bordeaux, 2017.
<i>NBA</i>	= <i>Nuova Biblioteca Agostiniana</i> , Roma, Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum
<i>NDPAC</i>	= <i>Nuovo Dizionario Patristico e di Antichità Cristiane</i> , I, A-E, 2e edizione, Marietti, 2006; III, P-Z, 2e edizione, Marietti, 2008
<i>NEH</i>	= Nouvelles études d'histoire
<i>OI</i>	= Opştuni istoriografice, Iaşi
<i>OPEL</i>	= <i>Onomasticon provinciarul Europæ latinarum</i> , vol. I-IV, Budapesta-Viena, 1994-2002
<i>PG</i>	= <i>Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Graeca</i> , ed. J.-P. Migne, Paris, 1886-1912
<i>PIR</i>	= <i>Prosopographia Imperii Romani. Saec. I.II.III.</i> , editio altera, Berlin.
<i>PLRE</i>	= <i>Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire</i> , 3 vol., eds. A. H. M. Jones, J. R. Martindale, and J. Morris, Cambridge, 1971-1992
<i>RA</i>	= Revista arhivelor
<i>RBAR</i>	= Revista Bibliotecii Academiei Române, Bucureşti
<i>RC</i>	= Revista catolică
<i>RdI</i>	= Revista de istorie
<i>REByz</i>	= <i>Revue des Études Byzantines</i>
<i>RER</i>	= <i>Revue des études roumaines</i>
<i>RESEE</i>	= <i>Revue des études Sud-Est européennes</i>
<i>RHP</i>	= <i>Die römischen Hilfstruppen in Pannonien während der Prinzipatszeit. I: Die Inschriften</i> , Viena
<i>RHSEE</i>	= <i>Revue historique de Sud-Est européen</i>
<i>RI</i>	= Revista istorică (ambele serii)
<i>RIAF</i>	= Revista pentru istorie, arheologie şi filologie
<i>RIB</i>	= <i>Roman Inscriptions of Britain</i> , Londra
<i>RIM</i>	= Revista de Istorie a Moldovei, Chişinău
<i>RIR</i>	= Revista istorică română, Bucureşti
<i>RIS</i>	= Revista de istorie socială, Iaşi
<i>RITL</i>	= Revista de istorie şi teorie literară
<i>RIU</i>	= <i>Die römischen Inschriften Ungarns</i> , Budapesta
<i>RJMH</i>	= The Romanian Journal of Modern History, Iaşi
<i>RM</i>	= Revista muzeelor
<i>RMD</i>	= <i>Roman Military Diplomas</i> , Londra
<i>RMM</i>	= <i>Römische Militärdiplome und Entlassungsurkunden in der Sammlung des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums</i> , Mainz
<i>RMM-MIA</i>	= Revista muzeelor şi monumentelor, seria Monumente istorice şi de artă
<i>RMR</i>	= Revista Medicală Română
<i>RRH</i>	= <i>Revue roumaine d'histoire</i>
<i>RRHA</i>	= <i>Revue roumaine de l'histoire de l'art</i>
<i>RRHA-BA</i>	= <i>Revue Roumaine d'Histoire de l'Art. Série Beaux Arts</i>
<i>RSIAB</i>	= Revista Societăţii istorice şi arheologice bisericesti, Chişinău
<i>Rsl</i>	= Romanoslavica

<i>SAHIR</i>	= <i>Studia et Acta Historiae Iudaeorum Romaniae</i> , Bucureşti
<i>SAI</i>	= <i>Studii şi Articole de Istorie</i>
<i>SCB</i>	= <i>Studii şi cercetări de bibliologie</i>
<i>SCh</i>	= <i>Sources Chrétiennes</i> , Paris
<i>SCIA</i>	= <i>Studii şi cercetări de istoria artei</i>
<i>SCIM</i>	= <i>Studii şi cercetări de istorie medie</i>
<i>SCIV/SCIVA</i>	= <i>Studii şi cercetări de istorie veche (şi arheologie)</i>
<i>SCN</i>	= <i>Studii şi Cercetări Numismatice</i> , Bucureşti
<i>SCŞI</i>	= <i>Studii şi cercetări științifice</i> , Istorie
<i>SEER</i>	= <i>The Slavonic and East European Review</i>
<i>SHA</i>	= <i>Scriptores Historiae Augustae</i>
<i>SJAN</i>	= <i>Serviciul Județean al Arhivelor Naționale</i>
<i>SMIC</i>	= <i>Studii şi materiale de istorie contemporană</i> , Bucureşti
<i>SMIM</i>	= <i>Studii şi materiale de istorie medie</i> , Bucureşti
<i>SMIMod</i>	= <i>Studii şi materiale de istorie modernă</i> , Bucureşti
<i>SOF</i>	= <i>Südost-Forschungen</i> , München
<i>ST</i>	= <i>Studii Teologice</i> , Bucureşti
<i>StAntArh</i>	= <i>Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica</i> , Iaşi
<i>T&MBYZ</i>	= <i>Travaux et Mémoires du Centre de recherches d'histoire et de civilisation byzantines</i>
<i>ThD</i>	= <i>Thraco-Dacica</i> , Bucureşti
<i>TR</i>	= <i>Transylvanian Review</i> , Cluj-Napoca
<i>TV</i>	= <i>Teologie şi viaţă</i> , Iaşi
<i>ZPE</i>	= <i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>
<i>ZSL</i>	= <i>Zeitschrift für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde</i>