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Claudiu-Lucian TOPOR*

Memoirs from the time of military occupation: Romania's Europeanisation and Germany's civilising mission (1916-1918)

Abstract: The occupation policies and the interaction of the Germans with the populations of Eastern Europe have become a topic of interest especially in post-World War II research interested in observing the continuity or discontinuity with the policies adopted by the German authorities in the context of the First World War. But what about Romania? With the attack in the summer of 1916, the Reich Germans' perceptions of Romanians changed fundamentally as it became necessary to inculcate a new image of Romania as an aggressor nation. The official propaganda presented the German combatants with the image of a treacherous Romania and a people dominated by pretense. The German military occupation of Romania ended in the fall of 1918, but the publication of the memoirs of the former combatants did not take the end of the war into account. The memoirs were enriched every year after 1916. In the inter-war years, however, there was also a new impetus in the publicity generated by the need to justify the reasons for the war. German memoirs portray the Romanians as dirty, fickle, cunning and treacherous. Germany's war in Eastern Europe is thus transformed into a struggle that ultimately reveals the supremacy of German culture. Occupied Romania was not only to be exploited economically but also entrusted to a cultural mission. As is evident from many of the writings written during the war, the victorious Germany discovered a new colonial mission in the East: to transform the backward natives from a savage mob into a civilized people of Europe.

Keywords: Germany; War; Military occupation; civilization; Romanian people.

The Austrian philosopher (of Jewish origin) Martin Buber addresses in the book *I and T(Y)hou* (1923) the distinction between experience and encounter in the case of otherness. He concludes that only the encounter really places us in front of the other. It is not the experience that lays the foundations of the encounter, but, on the contrary, the encounter makes the experience possible¹. Of course, this scheme of representation, briefly presented, opened up comfortable opportunities for

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¹ Martin Buber's book is reviewed as such in *Dictionnaire de l'altérité et des relations interculturelles*, coordinated by Gilles Ferréol and Guy Jucquois, Paris, Armand Colin, 2005, p. 18-19.

philosophical debate. But its alternatives, reproaches, additions are of less interest here. However, what would stimulate more the interest of knowledge in this case would be the question of whether the study of narrative testimonies can ensure the transfer of the above paradigm into the reference field of a historical reality. And of course, whether this historical reality can objectively capture the picture of war from which the subjectivism of the perception of foreign military occupations derives.

Historiographically, the topic of military occupations has successfully migrated in recent decades to the area of interest of cultural history, which has paid increasing attention to violence against civilians during the course of wars. John Horne and Alan Kramer have thoroughly investigated the violent practices introduced by the Germans in the occupation zones of France and Belgium, to which nearly six thousand civilians fell victim². The occupation policies and the interaction of the Germans with the populations of Eastern Europe were the topic of research for Vejas Liulevicius, who concluded that there is a continuity between the utopias of “living space” from 1914-1918, and those of 1939 and 1945. He also described the Supreme Command of the German Forces in the East (Ober-Ost, the military government) as a laboratory for the National Socialist *Lebensraum* policies³. Here we can also include the study of Stephan Lehnstaedt⁴ which addresses the issue of the continuity of abuses committed by the Germans in the case of the occupation regime in Poland⁵. We ask ourselves whether such a continuity was also felt in the aims of German war in the Romanian space. David Hamlin argues in favour of this hypothesis. The immediate objectives of the “occupying” Germans anticipated the policies of the “allied” Nazis. The regime of the German military occupation (an exercise of irresponsible power in breach of international law) subordinated the Romanian economy, using its resources to continue the war in 1918, the same way later on the Nazi Reich, in full swing of reconstruction, tried to regain economic influence for the exploitation of raw materials⁶. The same state of continuity, deriving from a violent antagonism of a cultural-historical nature, can be identified in the formation of perceptions. Negative stereotypes with an emphasis on anti-Slavic racist currents spread widely before the war and remained imprinted in the memory of German fighters, contributing to the formation of confusing and undifferentiated images of their

² John Horne, Alan Kramer, *German Atrocities 1914: A History of Denial*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 2001.

³ See Vejas Liulevicius, *War Land on the Eastern Front: Culture, National Identity and German Occupation in World War I*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2000.

⁴ Stephan Lehnstaedt, *Imperial Polenpolitik in den Weltkriegen: Eine vergleichende Studie zu den Mittelmächten und zu NS-Deutschland*, Osnabrück, Fibre Verlag, 2017.

⁵ Christoph Cornelissen and Arndt Weinrich, *German Historiography on World War I, 1914-2019*, in *Writing the Great War. The Historiography of World War I from 1918 to the Present*, ed. Christoph Cornelissen and Arndt Weinrich, New York, Oxford, Berghahn Books, 2021, p. 167

⁶ David Hamlin, *Germany's Empire in the East. Germans and Romania in Era of Globalisation and Total War*, Cambridge, 2017, p. 324 and following.

opponents in Southeast Europe⁷. As Gundula Gahlen argued, the Romanian front represented an unknown world for most German soldiers⁸. Mechtilde Golczewski considers that Romanians received relatively little attention even in German memoirs during the Balkan wars. After analyzing a considerable number of writings belonging to German authors, he concluded that for various authors from the German space Romania did not fit the phrase “Balkan state”. It was portrayed as a trusted ally of the German powers that accepted its territorial claims to Bulgaria⁹. With the attack of the summer of 1916, the perceptions of the Germans in the Reich changed dizzyingly. Now it became necessary to inoculate a new image of Romania as an aggressor nation. And this image was supposed to remove the assumption that the German war was being fought in the East in a secondary theatre where the ultimate sacrifice would have been in vain anyway. The official propaganda presented to the fighters the image of a treacherous Romania and of a people dominated by hypocrisy. Soldiers sent to fight beyond the Carpathians encountered a predominantly rural population whose language, traditions, and customs they did not understand. They consequently showed it little respect and compassion. German memoirs present Romanians as dirty, fickle, cunning and perfidious. Germany’s war in Eastern Europe thus turns into a struggle for the supremacy of German culture. The accentuation of this cultural supremacy in relation to the Romanian opponents serves to morally legitimise the war aims. Occupied Romania was not only to be economically exploited but also subjected to cultural missionary work. As many narrative writings show, victorious Germany discovers a new colonial mission in Eastern Europe: the transformation of the natives from a savage mob into a civilized people¹⁰. The German authorities sought to prevent in-depth interaction between soldiers and civilians under the military occupation. The Europeanization of Romanians occurred only from top-down (through laws and reforms) and did not require too close ties between the population and the foreign occupiers. It amounted to the modernization of Romania in the historical succession of the time of Carol I¹¹. As an edifying example of the

⁷ Jürgen Angelow, *Die Mittelmächte im Rumänenfeldzug von 1916/1917. Kulturelle Transfers und Erinnerungskultur in “Militärgeschichtliche Zeitschrift”* (MGZ) 66 (2007), p. 135.

⁸ Gundula Gahlen, *Erfahrungshorizonte deutscher Soldaten in Rumänenfeldzug 1916-1917*, in *Am Rande Europas? Der Balkan-Raum und Bevölkerung als Wirkungsfelder militärischer Gewalt*. Im Auftrag des Militärgeschichtlichen Forschungsamtes, hrsg. von Bernhard Chiari und Gerhard P. Gross. Unter Mitarbeit von Magnus Pohl, R., München, Oldenbourg Verlag, 2009, p. 137-159.

⁹ Mechtilde Golczewski. *Der Balkan in deutschen und österreichischen reise und Erlebnisberichten 1912-1918*, Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag, 1981, p. 24.

¹⁰ Gundula Gahlen, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

¹¹ See also, Mihail Iordache, *Wege der Europäisierung Rumäniens. Die Regentschaft König Karls I von Rumäniens (1866-1914)*, in Harald Heppner (Hrsg.), *Attraktionen und Irritationen. Europa und sein Südosten im langen 19. Jahrhundert*. Neue Forschungen zur ostmittel – und südosteuropäischen Geschichte, Band 10, Berlin, Peter Lang, 2019, p. 73-84; Edda Binder-Iijima, *Europäische Integration durch Hofkultur. Die Höfe Bukarest, Sinaia, Sigmaringen und Neuwied und ihre Vermittlungs- und Repräsentationsfunktionen*, in Edda Binder-Iijima, Heinz-Dietrich Löwe, Gerald

progress to be continued, the propaganda journal *Rumänien im Wort und Bild* published in its first issue (1917) a programmatic article showing where Romania's road to Europe had begun and where it ended. The article ("Bukarest vor 50 Jahre") presented the capital of Romania as a modern, European city that had overcome in just half a century the prejudices of Orientalism¹². It is true, however, that precisely in this European Bucharest, the German military occupation produced important changes and introduced forms of requisition that offended the Romanian population. The Germans took over the spaces of socialization and controlled the dynamics of cultural life at their discretion. The National Theatre building had been requisitioned for use by German troops, and cafes, restaurants, cabarets, and nightclubs had been requested for the Central Powers officers. In May 1917, the authorities decided to requisition the bells of the churches in Bucharest in order to melt them down and obtain the bronze necessary for the manufacture of ammunition¹³.

The German military occupation of Romania ended in the fall of 1918, but the publication of the memoirs did not take into account the end of the war. The memoir heritage was enriched every year after 1916. In the interwar years a new editorial impulse followed, generated by the need to justify the reasons for the war. The emergence of two groups of narrators was noted, makers of the image of war everywhere in Europe. The first group corresponds to those who write material portraying events that took place before their eyes. These are usually diary entries, concise daily impressions. The second group includes post-war writers who attempted objective and analytical expositions. However, it remains difficult to establish in which of the two groups bias is more embarrassingly visible. The historiography of the last decades reveals thorough researches of the relations between Romanians and Germans either built on an imagological vein or elucidated in the light of memorialistic literature: Arnold Huttman¹⁴ and Klaus Heitmann¹⁵. However, it appears that the German military occupation in Romania remained a theme ignored by German historiography. I found only one study on memoir writing during military occupation, published in a 2005 volume, in which the author aims to present the topic from the perspective of the ordinary soldier's

Volkmer (Hg.), *Die Hohenzollern in Rumänien 1866-1947. Eine monarchische Herrschaftsordnung im europäischen Kontext*. Köln, Weimar, Wien, Böhlau Verlag, 2010, p. 99-121.

¹² Lisa Mayerhofer, *Zwischen Freund und Feind. Deutsche Besatzung in Rumänien 1916-1918*, München, Meidenbauer, 2010, p. 327.

¹³ Maria Bucur, *Romania, War, Occupation, Liberation*, in *European Culture in the Great War. The Arts, Entertainment and Propaganda, 1914-1918 (Studies in the Social and Cultural History of Modern Warfare Series, number 6)*, edited by Aviel Roshwald and Richard Stites, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2002, p. 256-259.

¹⁴ Arnold Huttman, *Reiseeindrücke aus Landstrichen des heutigen Rumänien 1773 bis 1915*, München, Südostdeutsches Kulturwerk, 1984.

¹⁵ Klaus Heitmann, *Das Rumänenbild in deutschen Sprachraum 1775-1918. Eine imagologische Studie*, Köln, Wien, Böhlau Verlag, 1985.

perception¹⁶. The case studies presented there are the memoirs of a lawyer from Jena (a corporal in reserve in the infantry troops)¹⁷, also published more recently in Romanian translation, as well as the memories of Kurt Tucholsky, a journalist by profession (18-year-old non-commissioned officer from Berlin, assigned in April 1918 as a commissioner to south-western occupied Romania)¹⁸. The same Günther Klein explains the historians' reluctance to research frontline memoirs beyond the Carpathians through the perception of military occupation in Romania as a period of mobilization of troops in the administrative sense and not as an era of popularization of heroism. This hypothesis is confirmed if we analyse the substratum of some of the notes published in those years. They were supposed to remove the false impression of a recreational expedition in the presence of a slumbering enemy. As Pastor Weiss, himself involved in the events, noted, to resist on the Carpathian front meant not only to guard against the furious attacks of the Romanians, with screams, gunfire and horn calls, but to defy to the bitter end the winter cold and the famine that constantly torments the Bavarian soldier¹⁹. We find the same intention in the war reports of Adolf Köster, who had seen in the Romanian soldier a fierce enemy. In the battle of Sibiu, the Romanian fighters had been better commanded than the Serbian "hordes" had been the previous year. The spirit and energy of the German school penetrated the operative ideas of the Romanian commanders and the withdrawal from the great siege battle was not due to their tactical inability but on the contrary to the absolute superiority of the German soldiers who boldly and wisely applied the campaign plan. In Brasov, the Romanians' losses were probably the most significant. "I saw the Romanian blues (our note: the Romanians dressed in blue uniforms) – Köster writes – jump, squat, run... I saw the Romanians falling, swaying, leaving their bodies behind... The dead lie in the scorching sun among the dark craters. The medics are roaming around the place with stretchers and sniffing shepherd dogs"²⁰.

My research is in continuity with the intentions of Günter Klein's study, bringing into debate other notes belonging to German memoir authors. Taken by the war throughout Romania, they do not occupy high ranks in the military hierarchy. They are ordinary people who come from various backgrounds. What particularizes their narrative is the very experience of war. After exhausting marches, the German soldiers rejoiced at the thought of the long-awaited victory.

¹⁶ Günter Klein, *Die deutsche Besatzung in Rumänien von 1916 bis 1918 im Lichte der deutschen Weltkriegs memorialistik*, in Krista Zach (Hrsg.), *Deutsche und Rumänen in der Erinnerungsliteratur. Memorialistik aus dem 19. und 20. Jahrhundert als Geschichtsquellen*, München, IKGS Verlag, 2005, p. 145-160.

¹⁷ Gerhard Velburg, *Rumänische Etappe. Der Weltkrieg, wie ich sah*, Minden, Köhler Verlag, 1930.

¹⁸ See Michael Hepp, Kurt Tucholsky. *Biographische Annäherungen*, 1 Auflage, Hamburg, Rowohlt, 1993.

¹⁹ *Mit einer bayerischen Infanterie-Division durch Rumänien. Ein Kriegstagebuch. Mit 6 Karten und 112 Bildern von J. Weiss*, Divisionspfarrer, Verlag von Jos. C. Huber (1. Januar 1917). Vorwort, p. 22.

²⁰ Adolf Köster, *Die Sturmschar Falkenhayns. Kriegsberichte aus Siebenbürgen und Rumänien*, München, Verlag Albert Langen, 1917, p. 32.

Passing through the villages scattered at the foot of the mountains, they found plenty of food and warm bedding in the peasants' huts. Quartered in cities, the officers discovered the hustle and bustle of a wealthy lifestyle life. They probably couldn't imagine a better life. As the Romanian army retreated from the enemy, an abandoned territory was left behind, with modest settlements, where a poor and frightened population survived, putting its scarce food resources at the discretion of the enemy. The German memorialist realistically captures the profile of this world but describes it in terms of a civilizing mission.

My paper begins with a picture presented in an autobiographical novel. The author is originally from Rheinpfalz, a province that belonged to Bavaria at the time, and works as a simple trader in his civilian life. Wilhelm Michael Schneider left us an influential book²¹, from which a pale compassion for the austere life of the Romanian peasants in Greater Walachia emerges towards the end. Schneider had been incorporated in October 1914, after a short period of training, into the 23rd Bavarian Infantry Regiment in Flanders. By 1917 he had fought on the Western Front, where he was wounded several times. The roads of war led him to Romania. After advancing to the rank of reserve lieutenant, he was assigned to the 27th Bavarian Infantry Regiment, which was to take part in the battles of Mărășești. However, Schneider arrived on the front as late as September 1917, at a time when only the echoes of the battle were present. He travelled through Romania in long marches and collected many memories of the people and places where he was quartered. In the villages, he pays close attention to the peasants. These are poor people, even though the land of the country is fertile. Most live in adobe huts, men work tirelessly, and women are exhausted and resentful. Schneider's feelings remain constantly confused. A mixture of indignation and compassion springing from the narrative of a character (Infantryman Perhobster) who compares the tirelessly working people of the villages of his homeland with the drones of a region with a blessed climate²². Near Buzau, he was quartered for several weeks in the home of a village blacksmith. As a craftsman who "occasionally had work", the blacksmith was one of the richest people in the village. He had three children (alive), a 17-year-old girl, a 10-year-old girl and a four-year-old boy (Nicolae). The other children had died. Little Nicolae cried every time he was asked to wash in the yard of the house, holding a bowl of cold water in his hand. He always threw out the water and rubbed his eyes with his dry hands. In bad weather (winter), Nicolae would fill his mouth with water to warm it before using it to wash his face²³. Schneider skilfully introduces here (using the expression of compassion) the theme of the differences of civilization between two worlds. Accused of atrocities committed on the Western Front, the Germans tried to blur a negative image

²¹ Wilhelm Michael Schneider, *Infantrist Perhobster. Mit bayerischen Divisionen im Weltkrieg*. Series bayerisches Armeemuseum. Neu herausgegeben mit Anmerkungen, Bilddokumenten und einem Nachwort von Dr. Dieter Storz, Wien, Verlag Militaria, 2014.

²² *Ibidem*, p. 264.

²³ *Ibidem*, p. 267.

through a peaceful coexistence in the East. The Romanian villages, plunged into poverty, offered the ideal laboratory for the proliferation of compassion of the occupiers towards the local population. In Schneider's novel, little Nicolae was scared every time Perhobster wanted to explain to him how to wash his face (!) In the end, the two adjust to the gesture of mutual help: reconciliation takes place around a piece of chocolate (!) Schneider's narrative was well received at the time. Thomas Mann wrote him a letter on July 7, 1929, stating that his war novel belonged among the strongest and most authentic testimonies, so it was recommended, as a charity, that such books on the truth of what had happened be shared with those who did not know how to write the story of their own destiny in war. Other reviewers from the Weimar Republic of Germany (Ernst Leonard) had found in the pages of the book a disturbing document that did not show us the war the way it had been seen by its contemporaries but how it had been experienced by them first-hand. Despite its literary tone, however, the book remains more of a frontline diary. Schneider talks about the life of Romanians only in a small chapter "Kreuz und Quer durch Rumänien" ("along and across Romania") where the author avoids any remarks about the German military occupation. Infantryman Perhobster had entered the area of operations of the Ninth Army and had little information about the military government installed in Bucharest. At the beginning of April 1918 he returned to Germany, only to return to the French front, where he took part in the battles of Soissons and Reims. Wounded in the thigh, he left the war scene for good.

Schneider's narrative does not remain singular in the landscape of German accounts of the war. Frontline memoir writing is the success story of a military expedition (*Strafexpedition*) organized by the Germans against the Romanians. The narrative begins with the battles fought for the "liberation" of Transylvania, continues with the battles in the Carpathian passes and ends with the offensive in the plain of Greater Walachia. Here the story of the memorialist triumphantly captures the collapse of the enemy and justifies the establishment of the occupation regime. This seems to be the logic of exposition in the narrative of Alfred von Oderberg (the second memoir writer of my research) who arrives on the Romanian front on November 17, 1916 together with a group of journalists sent to the area of operations of Falkenhayn's army. Like Schneider (alias Infantryman Perhobster), Oderberg appears as a dynamic character and as the protagonist of a failed war. An unfortunate shell explosion in 1914 had caused him injuries that left him disabled. At the end of a long period of convalescence, he returns to the front, this time in the middle of a war of movement. Oderberg writes only about battles. His notes evoke both Falkenhayn's battles in the Carpathian passes and the German-Bulgarian offensive in Dobruja. The account of the military campaign also captures Mackensen's crossing of the Danube and the occupation of Bucharest. A smooth country opened before Oderberg's eyes. Its villages were populated by lazy peasants who were content with the little they had, as were the managers of the boyar estates. Indolence, laziness, and servitude are their hallmarks. Everywhere

you look you see only ragged women and dirty children, lazy men and old people drowned in brandy. The peasants' houses resemble the huts of the natives of Africa. They are pathetic, dilapidated and ruined. Oderberg believed that only German industriousness could remove poverty from the lives of these people. The Wallachian plain would become a land flowing with milk and honey, and the lazy peasant would become a zealous farmer aware of the reward of his labour. The author concludes that this civilizing mission was in the hands of the Germans. It would take three decades for Romania to reach heights that without German aid could never hope to reach. Gradually it was turning into a land of abundance that owed its gratitude to the Germans for eradicating corruption and bringing order to settlements and to the legislation²⁴.

The same idea of the civilizing mission is echoed by the notes of a "Dozent" of the Humboldt Academy in Berlin, Georg Schultze-Bahlke, suggestively titled *Mit Schwert und Pflug durch Rumänien* – "with the sword and the plough through Romania" (1918). The content of the book reveals again a good knowledge of the realities of the Romanian space²⁵. Accompanied by photographs that on each page reveal the German "contributions" to the recovery of the Romanian economy, the book appears to be the work of an analyst. The author insists on the contrast between the richness of the earth and the laziness of the people. Romania is presented as a poor country with abundant resources. Schulze-Bahlke seeks to justify the German military occupation regime by the usefulness of exploring natural resources. German troops roam the country but do not oppress the Romanians. Although he admits that the wave of the war ravaged the whole country, the huge damage suffered by the population was caused by the Romanian allies who devastated the oilfields, set fire to grain depots, destroyed factories, railways, roads and bridges in their retreat. The German administration in Romania undertook the reconstruction of the country. It was bringing the light of a higher culture closer to a people who had reached the edge of the abyss because of the lies, indolence, and corruption of its leadership. As once in the old medieval chivalric orders, the Germans recaptured the lands of Eastern Europe with the sword and then contributed to the spiritual elevation of the region by cultivating work ethic, order and duty in the life of each individual. First the sword and then the plough. The German iron had succeeded in removing the rot from the very being of the Romanian state and had brought to life the moral significance of human existence which had hitherto been hidden from the Romanians²⁶. This theme also pulsates in the writings of Willy Frerk, although his notes were intended only as a free account of the fiercest battles and most heavy defeats suffered by the Romanians. He presents the victorious German offensive as a military campaign

²⁴ *Der Siegeszug durch Rumänien. Auf den Spuren unserer Armee* von Alfred v. Oderberg, Major im Kriegspresseamt, Berlin, Hermann Hillger Verlag, 1918.

²⁵ Georg Schulze-Bahlke, *Mit Schwert und Pflug durch Rumänien. Mit zahlreichen Abbildungen*, Berlin, Verlag Hermann Meusser, 1918.

²⁶ *Ibidem*.

lacking any resent. The “feldgrau” soldiers did not bring with them neither thievery nor pillaging in the country. From the first pages we discover them laying wreaths on the tomb of King Carol I at Curtea de Argeș. Going further through “Wilde Walachei” (“Wild Wallachia”), the author remembers with emotion the lyrics of a song that the German soldiers had also sung in the Jewish villages of Lithuania. They had only changed the name of the country:

“O wilde Walachei!
 Die Häuser sind voll Lächer
 Die Sonn’ scheint durch die Dächer
 Die Fenster sind entzwei
 O wilde Walachei”.
 (O, Walachia wild /
 Your houses are full of laughter/
 And the sun shines through the rafters/
 Broken panes let in the wind/
 O, Walachia wild!”)²⁷.

Suggestive lyrics about a happy country, hit by misfortunes. A rich country with poor people. Passing through Târgu-Jiu and Craiova, the course of the war takes the memoir author to Bucharest. The capital of Romania represents a point of attraction in all the notes of the German memoir writers. It is natural, however, to note that Frerk’s notes attributed an already changed aspect to the city. Bucharest had become a “German” city similar to others in Europe (Brussels, Antwerp) that had “benefited” from the military occupation regime. The presence of the Germans in Bucharest had brought rigor and order. German morals had been enthroned in a noisy city of pleasures. Even though it had lost much of the brilliance of its zest for life, “German” Bucharest had won by assuming solidarity with the new slogan of the German occupier.

Conclusions

Most memoir authors believe that the German army fought against the Romanians in a defensive war. The meaning of the campaign is not the conquest of a country but the pacification of a people. Falkenhayn’s troops pushed back the Romanians’ attack in Transylvania and entered Greater Walachia with the idea of removing from the war the unpredictable enemy who had adventurously abandoned his neutrality. As the “Impressions” of Karl Rosner (war correspondent) suggest, by proclaiming neutrality, Romania had obtained the very guarantee of its own development. Eventually she had intervened in a war in which she faced armies accustomed to victories after infernal battles. It was time for much blood to be shed

²⁷ Fr. Willy Frerk, *Siegeszug durch Rumänien*, Leipzig, Verlagsbuchhandlung Montanus-Markbücher Band 4, 1917, p. 109.

for Romania to “atone” for the mistake of August 27 (the day the attack on Austria-Hungary was launched) when it renounced the shield of neutrality. Romania wanted to decide the world war – says Rosner’s book – but it found itself in a position where the war decided its future²⁸. Although victorious, the German battles are divided according to distinct choreographies at perception level: the liberation of Transylvania (Petroșani, Sibiu, Brașov, Turnu Roșu, etc.) and the invasion of Romania (the occupation of Lesser Walachia, the battles in Dobruja, the capitulation of Bucharest, etc.) belong to the same war only in the design of military operations. The contact of the combatants with the local population reflects remarkable differences related to historical circumstances and the shaping of a different cultural profile. Transylvania belongs to the European imaginary; Romania belongs to the Eastern one. The population (including the Romanian one) in Transylvania welcomes the German troops as a liberating army, while the peasantry in Greater Walachia feels the presence of the Germans as an army of occupation (against which there are, however, no major reactions of hostility). In the German memoir version, the Romanian troops (consisting mainly of poor peasants) invaded the rich Transylvania in order to satisfy the thirst for wealth and the desire for power of the Bucharest elites. The Transylvanian Romanians woke up overnight with some uninvited guests in their yard. When referring to “fraternizations” across the historical border, the German memoir writer considers only isolated acts of good understanding (EX: onerous requisitions from the Saxon refugee households) between Romanians (soldiers and civilians), rather than the reflection of national feelings. From here follows – we believe – the conclusion of Romania’s Europeanization having as a substratum security reasons at its border with Austria-Hungary. As part of a civilized Europe, post-war Romania would curb its annexationist appetite by living in agreement with all its neighbours.

²⁸ Karl Rosner, *De la Sibiu până la Siret. Impresiunile unui corespondent de războiu. Impresiunile unui corespondent de războiu*, București, Editura Regele Carol, București, 1917. Vezi *Pe frontul transilvănean*, Transilvania 21 septembrie 1916, p. 9.

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>	= L'Année Epigraphique, Paris
<i>AIR</i>	= Arhiva Iсторică a României
<i>AIIAC</i>	= Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie Cluj
<i>AIIAI</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 Medi 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>ANSMB</i>	= Arhivele Naționale. Serviciul 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

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

<i>CTh</i>	= <i>Codex Theodosianus. Theodosiani, Libri XVI cum constitutionibus Sirmondianis, I, edidit adsumpto apparatu P. Kruegeri, Th. Mommsen, Hildesheim, 1970-1971</i>
<i>Cv.L</i>	= Convorbiri literare (ambele serii)
<i>„Dacia”, N.S.</i>	= <i>Dacia. Nouvelle Série, Revue d'archéologie et d'histoire ancienne, Bucureşti</i>
<i>DGAS</i>	= Direcția Generală a Arhivelor Statului
<i>DI</i>	= <i>Diplomatarium Italicum</i>
<i>DIR</i>	= <i>Documente privind istoria României</i>
<i>DIRRI</i>	= <i>Documente privind Istoria României. Războiul pentru Independență</i>
<i>DOP</i>	= <i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
<i>DTN</i>	= <i>Din trecutul nostru, Chișinău</i>
<i>DRH</i>	= <i>Documenta Romaniae Historica</i>
<i>EB</i>	= Études Balkaniques
<i>EBPB</i>	= Études byzantines et post-byzantines
<i>EDCS</i>	= <i>Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss-Slaby</i> (http://www.manfredclauss.de/)
<i>EDR</i>	= <i>Epigraphic Database Roma</i> (http://www.edr-edr.it/default/index.php)
<i>EpigrAnat</i>	= Epigraphica Anatolica, Münster
<i>ERAsturias</i>	= F. Diego Santos, <i>Epigrafía Romana de Asturias</i> , Oviedo, 1959.
<i>EuGeSta</i>	= <i>Journal of Gender Studies in Antiquity</i>
<i>Gerión</i>	= Gerión. Revista de Historia Antigua, Madrid
<i>GB</i>	= Glasul Bisericii
<i>GCS</i>	= <i>Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller</i> , Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1897-1969
<i>GLK</i>	= <i>Grammatici Latini Keil</i>
<i>HEp</i>	= <i>Hispania Epigraphica</i> , Madrid
<i>„Hierasus”</i>	= <i>Herasus. Anuarul Muzeului Județean Botoșani</i> , Botoșani
<i>HM</i>	= Heraldica Moldaviae, Chișinău
<i>HU</i>	= Historia Urbana, Sibiu
<i>HUI</i>	= Historia Universitatis Iassiensis, Iași
<i>IDR</i>	= <i>Inscriptiile din Dacia romană</i> , Bucurști-Paris
<i>IDRE</i>	= <i>Inscriptions de la Dacie romaine. Inscriptions externes concernant l'histoire de la Dacie</i> , I-II, Bucarest, 1996, 2000
<i>IGLN</i>	= Inscriptions grecques et latines de Novae, Bordeaux
<i>IGLR</i>	= <i>Inscriptiile grecești și latine din secolele IV-XIII descoperite în România</i> , Bucureşti, 1976
<i>IILPecs</i>	= Instrumenta Inscripta Latina. <i>Das römische Leben im Spiegel der Kleininschriften</i> , Pecs, 1991
<i>ILAlg</i>	= <i>Inscriptions latines d'Algérie</i> , Paris
<i>ILB</i>	= <i>Inscriptiones Latinae in Bulgaria repertae. Inscriptiones inter Oescum et Iatrum repertae</i> , Sofia, 1989
<i>ILD</i>	= <i>Inscriptiile latine din Dacia</i> , Bucureşti
<i>ILN</i>	= <i>Inscriptions latines de Novae</i> , Poznań
<i>ILLPRON</i>	= <i>Inscriptionum Lapidarium Latinarum Provinciae Norici usque ad annum MCMLXXXIV repertarum indices</i> , Berlin, 1986
<i>ILS</i>	= <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i> , 1892
<i>IMS</i>	= <i>Inscriptiones Moesiae Superioris</i> , Belgrad
<i>IN</i>	= „Ioan Neculce”. Buletinul Muzeului Municipal Iași
<i>ISM</i>	= <i>Inscriptiile din Scythia Minor grecești și latine</i> , Bucureşti, vol. I-III, 1983-1999
<i>JGO</i>	= Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas
<i>JL</i>	= Junimea literară
<i>JRS</i>	= The Journal of Roman studies, London
<i>LR</i>	= Limba română
<i>Lupa</i>	= <i>Ubi Erat Lupa</i> (http://lupa.at/)
<i>MA</i>	= Memoria Antiquitatis, Piatra Neamț

<i>MCA</i>	= Materiale și cercetări arheologice
<i>MEF</i>	= <i>Moldova în epoca feudalismului</i> , vol. I-XII, 1961-2012, Chișinău
<i>MEFRA</i>	= <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 mediis aevi</i> , Berlin 1877-
<i>MI</i>	= Magazin istoric, București
<i>MIM</i>	= Materiale de istorie și muzeografie
<i>MM</i>	= Mitropolia Moldovei
<i>MMS</i>	= Mitropolia Moldovei și Sucevei
<i>MN</i>	= Muzeul Național, București
<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>	= Opționi istoriografice, Iași
<i>OPEL</i>	= <i>Onomasticon provinciarul Europae 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, București
<i>RC</i>	= Revista catolică
<i>RdI</i>	= Revista de istorie
<i>REByz</i>	= Revue des Études Byzantines
<i>RER</i>	= Revue des études roumaines
<i>RESEE</i>	= Revue des études Sud-Est européennes
<i>RGI</i>	= Revista Generală a Învățământului
<i>RHP</i>	= <i>Die römischen Hilfstruppen in Pannonien während der Prinzipatszeit. I: Die Inschriften</i> , Viena
<i>RHSEE</i>	= Revue historique de Sud-Est européen
<i>RI</i>	= Revista istorică (ambele serii)
<i>RIAF</i>	= Revista pentru istorie, arheologie și filologie
<i>RIB</i>	= <i>Roman Inscriptions of Britain</i> , Londra
<i>RIM</i>	= Revista de Istorie a Moldovei, Chișinău
<i>RIR</i>	= Revista istorică română, București
<i>RIS</i>	= Revista de istorie socială, Iași
<i>RITL</i>	= Revista de istorie și teorie literară
<i>RIU</i>	= <i>Die römischen Inschriften Ungarns</i> , Budapesta
<i>RJMH</i>	= The Romanian Journal of Modern History, Iași
<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 și monumentelor, seria Monumente istorice și de artă
<i>RMR</i>	= Revista Medicală Română
<i>RRH</i>	= Revue roumaine d'histoire

<i>RRHA</i>	= Revue roumaine de l'histoire de l'art
<i>RRHA-BA</i>	= Revue Roumaine d'Histoire de l'Art. Série Beaux Arts
<i>RSIAB</i>	= Revista Societății istorice și arheologice bisericesti, Chișinău
<i>Rsl</i>	= Romanoslavica
<i>SAHIR</i>	= Studia et Acta Historiae Iudaeorum Romaniae, București
<i>SAI</i>	= Studii și Articole de Istorie
<i>SANIC</i>	= Serviciul Arhivelor Naționale Istorice Centrale
<i>SCB</i>	= Studii și cercetări de bibliologie
<i>SCh</i>	= <i>Sources Chrétienennes</i> , Paris
<i>SCIA</i>	= Studii și cercetări de istoria artei
<i>SCIM</i>	= Studii și cercetări de istorie medie
<i>SCIV/SCIVA</i>	= Studii și cercetări de istorie veche (și arheologie)
<i>SCN</i>	= Studii și Cercetări Numismatice, București
<i>SCSI</i>	= Studii și cercetări științifice, Istorie
<i>SEER</i>	= The Slavonic and East European Review
<i>SHA</i>	= Scriptores Historiae Augustae
<i>SJAN</i>	= Serviciul Județean al Arhivelor Naționale
<i>SMIC</i>	= Studii și materiale de istorie contemporană, București
<i>SMIM</i>	= Studii și materiale de istorie medie, București
<i>SMIMod</i>	= Studii și materiale de istorie modernă, București
<i>SOF</i>	= Südost-Forschungen, München
<i>ST</i>	= Studii Teologice, București
<i>StAntArh</i>	= Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica, Iași
<i>T&MBYZ</i>	= <i>Travaux et Mémoires du Centre de recherches d'histoire et de civilisation byzantines</i>
<i>ThD</i>	= Thraco-Dacica, București
<i>TR</i>	= Transylvanian Review, Cluj-Napoca
<i>TV</i>	= Teologie și viață, Iași
<i>ZPE</i>	= Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik
<i>ZSL</i>	= Zeitschrift für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde