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ANALELE ȘTIINȚIFICE  
ALE  
UNIVERSITĂȚII „ALEXANDRU IOAN CUZA”  
DIN IAȘI  
(SERIE NOUĂ)

# ISTORIE

TOM LXVII  
2021

Editura Universității „Alexandru Ioan Cuza” din Iași

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## **German administration in Romania under military occupation: everyday life in the vicinity of the operations army (1916-1918)\*\***

After the heavy fighting in Transylvania, Dobrogea and the Muntenia Plain, the resistance of the Romanian army collapsed before the onset of the winter of 1916. General Falkenhayn and the 9<sup>th</sup> German Army advanced deep into Romanian territory with the intention of reaching the Siret river until the arrival of the Russian reinforcements. Rains and impassable roads slowed the advance of enemy troops but were not enough to stop them completely. Although the Romanian units in the vanguard put up fierce resistance, the troops eventually withdrew resignedly when faced with the German juggernaut. It fell to the Russians to occupy most of the front deserted by the Romanian divisions. The Danube Defence Group, the Northern Army and the First Army were disbanded. Only the Second Army, with General Averescu in command, remained on the battlefield. It consisted of the Râmnic Group, which defended a small part of the frontline, north of Râmnicu Sărat, and the Oituz-Vrancea Group, consisting of remnants of the Northern Army, with the mission to defend the peaks of the Eastern Carpathians. Only five available divisions, most without full numbers, ensured the survival of the Romanian military authority in the field, in one of the critical moments of the war<sup>1</sup>.

As of 1914, an area of 65064 km<sup>2</sup> in Romania, out of a total of 139,693 km<sup>2</sup>, had been conquered. The main administrative structures of the enemy included the territory of the Military Administration (the counties of Muntenia/Greater Wallachia – Argeş, Dâmboviţa, Ilfov, Ialomiţa, Muscel, Olt, Prahova, Teleorman and Vlaşca; then the five counties of Oltenia/Lesser Wallachia – Dolj, Gorj, Mehedinţi, Romanaţi, Vâlcea) under the command of Infantry General Tülff von Tschepppe und Weidenbach, appointed military governor, the

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\*\* This work was supported by a grant of the Ministry of Research, Innovation and Digitization, CNCS/CCCDI – UEFISCDI, project number PN-III-P4-ID-PCE-2020-1868, within PNCDI III.

<sup>1</sup> Glenn E. Torrey, *România în Primul Război Mondial* [Romania and World War I], Bucharest, Meteor Publishing, 2014, p. 171-173.

Stage area, which stretched along the Buzău River from the Carpathians to the Danube, the Stage Region of the 9th German Army; the Operations Area of the 9th German Army (Râmnicu-Sărat, Buzău, Brăila counties, part of Putna county), the Operations Area of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Bulgarian Army and the German Stage Administration in Dobrogea<sup>2</sup>.

The administrative-military structures changed the appearance of the country, deepening the fragmentation of the occupied territory. Traffic restrictions fractured direct communication between free Moldavia and the part of Romania under German occupation. Some interdictions were maintained even after the signing of the Bucharest peace treaty. For example, by an order dated August 30, 1918, the Putna Prefecture received notification from the Ministry of Interior that travel permits valid for departure to Moldavia (or Bessarabia) could be issued only for certain categories of individuals: wives, parents and children of soldiers in active duty in Moldavia, who could not travel to the occupied territory, farmers with estates in Moldavia, released prisoners who were temporarily in the occupied territory and were returning home to Moldavia. Also, trips from Moldavia or Bessarabia to the occupied territory covered the needs of special categories: those demobilized and their families, civil servants from the occupied territory and their families, farmers who owned land and their families<sup>3</sup>. News circulated everywhere the way people did: with difficulty and under careful surveillance. An ordinance on the spread of inaccurate news was issued for the area of operations of the 9th German Army. The document was valid as of 12.08.1917 and was drafted under the signature of Infantry General Johannes von Eben. The dissemination of inaccurate news aimed at shedding unfavourable light on the military situation of the allied central powers was prohibited under penalty of imprisonment for up to five years and a fine of up to 5000 marks. Competences were transferred to the military tribunals to determine the penalties, and in milder cases the military commanders themselves decided<sup>4</sup>.

Few Romanians had therefore legitimate reasons to travel from one side to another of the frontline. Constantin Argetoianu was one of the few able to travel to “the other side”, to Muntenia/Greater Walachia, at a time when travel restrictions were still active in the theatres of operations. Beyond the lines interspersed with trenches and barbed wire, reaching “the German territory” he discovered a country that was changed in places, in some instances much too different from the country he had left behind during the retreat. Even from a speeding train he could see with his own eyes the traces of war. On the one side there was the ruin left by

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<sup>2</sup> Petre Otu, *România în Primul Război Mondial. Belligeranța 1916-1917* [Romania in World War I. Warfare 1916-1918], Bucharest, Litera, 2017, p. 124-125.

<sup>3</sup> Vrancea County Bureau of National Archives (DJVAN), fonds Prefectura Putna, dossier nr. 4/1918. From the Ministry of the Interior/Permits Service, to the prefect of Putna county. Nr. 3478 of 19 August 1918.

<sup>4</sup> Buzău County Bureau of National Archives (SJBAN), fonds Brăești Town Hall, dossier nr. 242/1917, leaf 26.

bombardments. After passing by the trenches dug by the Romanians in Putna county, Argetoianu saw fallen bridges, broken lines, emptied villages. Then, suddenly, in Focșani, he spotted signs in the German language. In the first Romanian city under German occupation the people looked distressed. They were sighing and waving handkerchiefs that they used afterwards to wipe tears from their eyes. After the Moldavian Focșani, located on the border between the historical provinces, a border that was back in place due to the unpredictable course of the war, Argetoianu's journey continued deep into the heart of Walachia. The train was now passing deserted stations, with their names altered: Râmnicu-Sărat had become "Rimnic-zarad", Buzău was now "Butzau", Mizil had to be pronounced "Mitzil"<sup>5</sup>. Indeed, the retreating Romanian army had left behind it a desolated landscape<sup>6</sup>, a territory with a frightened population and with few resources, left in the hands of the enemy. After four months of grueling marches, the German soldiers rejoiced at the thought of victory. They had conquered village after village and city after city<sup>7</sup>. They could almost taste the expected reward for military success. Marching through the Romanian villages, they found plenty of food and heated accommodation. In the larger cities they even got to experience the indulgence of affluent life<sup>8</sup>. Constantin Kiritescu, the author of the oldest (and perhaps the most popular), monographs of the war for the unification of the nation,

<sup>5</sup> Constantin Argetoianu, *Pentru cei de mâine. Amintiri din vremea celor de ieri* [For those of tomorrow. Memories from the time of those of yesterday], vol. IV, part. V (1917-1918), ed. Stelian Neagoe, Bucharest, Humanitas, 1993, p. 158-160.

<sup>6</sup> Olga Gigurtu bitterly noted from Craiova, where she had retired to the chancellery of a Red Cross hospital: "(...) The city, more than half deserted! Most of those who had called for war more fiercely fled at the first twist of fate! Darkness reigned everywhere, for fear of the zeppelins, all the lamps were out, only from a window with a narrow shade could you see a thin line of light that served as a guide to the poor passer-by! The authorities had also deserted us, we were completely left in the hands of the Lord! (...)". Olga Gigurtu, *Amintiri și icoane din trecut* [Memories and icons from the past], 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., preface by Georgeta Filliti, Bucharest, Corint, p. 194-195.

<sup>7</sup> German war diaries contain valuable details about the conquest of every corner of the Romanian land. They provide detailed descriptions not only about the taking of important cities, but sometimes even about occupying towns and villages. The authors of the diaries wanted a lasting record of the memory of their military triumph. They stand out due to evocations of remarkable accuracy. Here are some examples of such pieces of resistance: Albert Reich, *Durch Siebenbürgen und Rumänien. Ein Gedenkwerk für Gruppe Krafft und rumänische Kriegsteilnehmer. Mit 130 Bildern, Karten und Begleitwort*, München, (Sonderausgabe bei A. Reich), [ohne Datum um 1916]; Helmut Schittenhelm, *Rasboi. Eine Soldatengeschichte aus dem Feldzug gegen Rumänien. Mit vielen Originalaufnahmen*, Stuttgart, R. Thienemanns Verlag, 1917; Georg Schultze-Bahlke, *Mit Schwert und Pflug durch Rumänien. Mit zahlreichen Abbildungen*, Verlag Hermann Meusser, Berlin, 1918; J. Weiss, *Mit einer bayerischen Infanterie-Division durch Rumänien. Ein Kriegstagebuch mit 6 Karten und 112 Bildern*, München, 1917; Alfred von Olberg, *Die Siegeszug durch Rumänien. Auf den Spuren unserer Armee*, Hermann Hilger Verlag, Berlin, 1918.

<sup>8</sup> Gerhard Velburg, *În spatele frontului. Marele Război așa cum l-am văzut eu, decembrie 1916-iunie 1918. Însemnările unui soldat german în România ocupată* [Behind the frontline. The Great War, the way I saw it, December 1916 - June 1918. The notes of a German soldier in occupied Romania], translation from German, foreword and notes by Ștefan Colceriu, Bucharest, Humanitas, 2018. A war diary that is emblematic for the occupants culinary "debauchery".

characterized the German occupation as slavery for Romanians, lasting for two dark years in which there was no post, telegraph, no railway or newspapers, a regime of darkness and imprisonment. The images of the era hardly give off a different atmosphere. It would not be difficult to find the shadows of the occupation regime, but it would be more delicate to notice the differences. The Romanians living the occupied territory had to put up with different doses of military administration measures. The documents kept in the county archives reveal differences related to the daily life of the people from the region integrated in the Military Administration, the Stages Area, respectively the territory of the German army of operations. Near the frontline, movement restrictions were more severe, daily needs (food, fuel, and shelter) could be met only with immense difficulty, while violence often escalated. The procession of sufferings has remained etched in the memory of contemporaries. Elena Negrescu, the wife of the commander of the Romanian Danube flotilla, needed to show her “Red Eagle” (Rother Adler) medal in order to enter the Albatros villa (Marghiloman's residence in Buzău) where the German command was based. General Erstermann von Erste received her with surprise and after learning that her husband had been decorated for the reception of the German cruisers Goeben and Breslau in Constanța in peace time (which was not exactly true) guaranteed her a better treatment from the “Germans” in the period of occupation<sup>9</sup>. When he returns home after leaving Iasi, travelling on the train transporting the demobilized (the trip had lasted more than 29 hours), Dr. Vasile Bianu feels the heavy and suffocating atmosphere in which people lived there. On his return to Buzău, he concluded with deep compassion: “We, in Moldavia, also had hard times, really hard, but none of what we suffered can be compared to what was and is here”<sup>10</sup>. Among other memoir writers, Pia Alimănișteanu remembers the brutality of the German Stage in Buzău<sup>11</sup>, while Alexandru Marghiloman (a Germanophile politician) acknowledges the harsh German occupation regime when he recounts, in his “Note Politice” (“Political Notes”) his trip to the estate in Fundeni and his visit to the village of Comisoaia<sup>12</sup>.

The Germans arrived in Brăila on Saturday, December 23, 1916 (OS) / January 5 (NS), around 1 o'clock in the afternoon. Six automobiles full of officers armed with revolvers had arrived at the city hall, coming triumphantly from the

<sup>9</sup> Elena Negrescu, *Descrierea războiului de o refugiată. Notele unei românce care a suferit pentru țara ei. Jurnal Elena Negrescu, 1916-1918* [An account of war, written by a refugee. The notes of a Romanian who suffered for her country. The diary of Elena Negrescu, 1916-1918], Bucharest, Detectiv, 2006. Note from 5 December 1916, p. 163.

<sup>10</sup> Dr. Vasile Bianu, *Însemnări din Războiul României Mari* [Notes from the War for Greater Romania], tome II, *De la pacea din București până la încoronarea din Alba Iulia* [From the Bucharest Peace to the coronation in Alba Iulia], Cluj, Institutul “Ardealul”, 1926. Note from 29 August/11 September 1918, p. 65.

<sup>11</sup> Pia Alimănișteanu, *Însemnări din timpul ocupației germane* [Notes from the time of the German occupation], Bucharest, Independența Press, 1929, p. 89.

<sup>12</sup> Alexandru Marghiloman, *Note politice 1897-1924* [Political notes], volume III *1917-1918*, Bucharest, Institutul “Eminescu”, 1927. Note from 26/27 June 1917, p. 9.

Călărași barrier. They entered the council chamber where they convened the Interim Commission. General Count von der Golz, surrounded by the General Staff, asked the mayor Nicolae Orășanu to guarantee him that there were no troops or deserters in the city. The mayor assured him that there were no troops in his city, but said he had no control over the deserters. Von der Golz took note of the statement and said that the city would come under the command of the German army. The Romanian authorities had retreated in time anyway. The county prefecture had been evacuated to Moldavia, where the presidents of the court, the police prefect (Florian Cristescu) and two members of the Interim Commission had also fled. The county was left headless, the city unguarded, justice was disorganized and the army gone<sup>13</sup>. Abandoned by the authorities, the people of Brăila remained exposed not only to the harassment of the occupation armies, but also vulnerable to the Russian air raids. While in Brăila under the command of the Donau Armee (the Danube Army), General Robert Kosch witnessed Russian bombing that terrified the city population. In letters to his wife in Berlin, he often succinctly captures the unfolding of such events. On March 22, 1917, he wrote in one of his letters: “Just as Russian airmen dropped bombs again, probably in revenge for today's bombing [by the Germans, our note, C.-L.T.] on their airfield; people run in all directions past my window, from the park to the house, the monitors are firing, it's a morbid spectacle”<sup>14</sup>.

On Monday, December 25, 1916 (OS), at approximately 3 o'clock in the morning, the city of Focșani was also occupied by the German troops. The enemy entered through the southern side of the city, and the troops marched on the bridge that ensured the crossing of the Milcov in Golești. Based on the orders received, the local authorities remained in place; the exception was the Putna Prefecture, which was evacuated to Sascut. The very next day (Tuesday, December 26, 1916), trying to calm the spirits, the mayor of the city, Ștefan Graur, wrote a communiqué urging the population to meet the German troops entering the city with “obedience and loyalty”, because they did not resort to bombing and other acts of destruction. The mayor had put his trust in the “chivalry and spirit of order” of the German occupiers, from whom he expected goodwill in the protection of persons, property and honour<sup>15</sup>. However, the behaviour of the occupants did not meet the expectations. In late December 1918, the Ministry of Interior returned to Bucharest and developed a standard questionnaire, which was then sent to the town halls in the country. It was a document intended to serve as a guide in centralizing information for the work of the international commission that established the amount of war reparations to be paid by Germany. The questionnaire consisted of

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<sup>13</sup> Nicolae Petrovici, barrister, *Brăila sub ocupațiune, 23 Decembrie 1916-10 Noembrie 1918* [Brăila under occupation, 23 December 1916-10 November 1918], Brăila, Tipografia Românească, 1938.

<sup>14</sup> Bundes Archiv – Militärarchiv Freiburg (BAMA), N 754/8. Robert Kosch, *Meine Erlebnisse während des Weltkrieges*, 8. Band, p. 27.

<sup>15</sup> Vrancea County Bureau of National Archives (DJVAN), fonds Primăria Orașului Focșani – Periodicals Collection, nr. 6.092, unnumbered leaf.

two sections. The first was assigned to the damages caused by the enemy (Germans, Bulgarians, Turks, Austro-Hungarians), and the second included damages caused by the Allies (the Russian troops), each section containing special subchapters for bombing, harassment and interference, requisitions, theft and destruction, levies and fines, crimes, abuse, etc.<sup>16</sup>. In Focșani, the mayor drew up an extensive report, accompanied by 62 annexes. The Putna Prefecture endeavoured to present a detailed picture of the tragedies that had occurred during the German occupation. Many testimonies were gathered, some reconstructed from memory, depicting the abuses of the Command and the desolation of the region. The conduct of the officers of the German army, led by Commander-in-Chief General Kurt von Morgen, towards the Romanian authorities, was described as rude and brutal, and the attitude towards the population, ruthless and inhuman<sup>17</sup>. Since their arrival in the city on the Milcov until February 3, 1917 (NS), the German troops requisitioned goods without issuing legal documents. Soldiers looted the property of citizens and public institutions. From February to June 1917, Focșani had operated a requisition bureau, an office opened by the Germans, to which Deputy Commissioner Iarca had been attached as Romanian delegate. The bureau requisitioned all kinds of goods in exchange for which it issued vouchers signed by the Command. Starting in June 1917, the Romanian Deputy Commissioner was withdrawn, and the bureau operated without any representatives of the civilian authorities. The efficiency of the activity decreased, until it became completely useless. The German soldiers felt they were given free rein. They committed robberies and abuses that went unpunished. When the troops crossed the city in their march to the front, the cattle, cereals, fodder, food, wine, requisitioned goods did not receive requisition receipts (Gutscheine), and the remaining troops in the city ruthlessly plundered the households. Even the lucky few who had obtained vouchers, were sometimes paid nothing. As the ultimate mockery, some citizens, who had had their goods irregularly requisitioned, were handed notes with derisive texts such as “Tsar Nicolae will pay” or “Tache Ionescu will pay”<sup>18</sup>. Despite the abuses committed by subordinates, the German commanders nevertheless tried to paint a balanced picture of the military occupation regime in the area of operations. Kurt von Morgen noted in his memoirs that what the German army had achieved in Romania and on other fronts in terms of cultivating the land, infrastructure works (roads and railways) will go down in history. To the west of Focșani he discovered the “land of wines” and significant supplies of cereals, riches that prompted him to

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<sup>16</sup> Ibidem, dossier 99/1918. Nr. 78. 605. From the Ministry of the Interior, Department for the General Administration of Personnel and Statistics, to the Mayor of Focșani, 21.12.1918, leaves 149-152.

<sup>17</sup> Ibidem. Nr. 248. Letter from the City Hall of Focșani to the Ministry of the Interior, Bucharest, 23.01.1919, leaves 158-160.

<sup>18</sup> Vrancea County Bureau of National Archives (DJVAN), fonds Primăria Orașului Focșani, dossier 99/1918. Nr. 248. Letter from the City Hall of Focșani to the Ministry of the Interior, Bucharest, 23.01.1919, f. 161.

write that Romania seemed to be at the time the most gifted country in Europe (*Rumänien das gesegnete Land Europas*)<sup>19</sup>.

Upon settling in Brăila, as everywhere in the area of the army of operations, the German Command issued ordinances that unsatisfactorily regulated the requisitions and affected the living of the locals. Examining carefully the actions of the administration of the 9<sup>th</sup> German Army, apart from the abusive confiscations, it is easy to notice that the controversial measures appeared justifiable to the occupants in order to ensure public order and hygiene. The occupation regime was proud that it had managed to combat the sale of alcoholic beverages to the population (wine could be sold in quantities of up to ½ liter per person, as per the order of January 8, 1917), that restaurants, pubs and cafes closed in the evening at 10.00, that traffic on the streets was allowed only until 11.00 (order of January 15, 1917) and the coffins of the dead were nailed shut the next day after death and was transported, with the lid on, to the church then to the cemetery. Of course, many of the actions taken were humiliating for the people of Brăila, for example, the order issued on November 1, 1917, regarding delousing (with certificates issued by the local authority) in exchange for bread vouchers.<sup>20</sup> A disgusted contemporary stated that the inhabitants of Brăila were not allowed to walk in the street without an *ausweiss*, were not allowed to take the train, send letters by mail or by private courier, or use the telephone or telegraph, and they could not even sit down in the park on the seats with the inscription “Nur Für Militärpersonen”<sup>21</sup>. Buzău and Râmnicu Sărat were conquered by mid-December 1916. The last Russian infantry divisions, made up of Cossacks, lost ground to the envelopment manoeuvres of the German troops and they were forced to retreat. The sub-mountainous area of Buzău county was placed under the administration of Stage 264, based in the township of Ungureni (Major Radtke), while in the Communes Palace in Buzău operated the command of Stage 271. The city halls of Buzău and Râmnicu-Sărat were not open to the public before the signing of the peace in Bucharest (1918). The administration and the judiciary were the responsibility of the military authorities. The Râmnicu-Sărat city hall housed the command of Stage 225, led by General Erich von Falkenhayn. The occupiers committed numerous abuses and caused significant damage to the communities. The schools suffered because their premises were used for housing occupation troops, who used the furniture as firewood to heat the rooms. Classes were destroyed, many books, paintings, teaching materials were lost. Hospitals were among the first to be occupied. Mattresses, blankets, linen etc. were confiscated. After the war, in Mihăilești, the hospital establishment needed renovation works for five years due to the damage caused during the months of military occupation.

<sup>19</sup> Kurt von Morgen. *Meiner Truppen Heldenkämpfe*, Berlin, Mittler & Sohn, 1920, p. 117-118.

<sup>20</sup> Ioan Munteanu, *Robia germană. Brăila sub ocupația dușmanului 23 decembrie 1916 – 10 noiembrie 1918* [Enslaved by Germany. Brăila under enemy occupation, 23 December 1916 – 10 November 1918], Brăila, Proilavia, 2016, p. 2-26.

<sup>21</sup> Mircea Vasiliu, *Ape tulburi* [Troubled waters], Brăila, Brăila Museum, Istros, 2011, p. 59.

The requisitions caused here the most lasting echo in time, as they did everywhere else. The German occupiers seized goods from shops, emptied food depots, and confiscated vital food resources from the impoverished peasants. The pharmacies were strictly supervised, many of them were closed down, and therefore medical supplies could only be procured clandestinely, sometimes sold by the pub owners under the protection of the German authorities<sup>22</sup>.

For the rigorous control of the movement of persons and as an instrument of repression on the population in the areas adjacent to the front, the military administration set up a network of agents that covered the entire border region. Especially for the area of operations of the 9<sup>th</sup> German Army, the Secret Campaign Police (Geheime Feldpolizei) was set up. It seems that the institution worked efficiently, occasionally with the support of the locals. According to the records of the Putna Rural Gendarmes Company, over 200 Romanians collaborated with the German authorities, acting as *Dolmetsch* (interpreters – especially the Jews in the county), guides, supply commissioners, communal councilors, mayors and secret agents<sup>23</sup>. However, other Romanians refused to cooperate with the German enemy. In the Vrancea Mountains, a group of four villagers (Vasile Chilian and Toma Cotea from Vidra; Dumitrache Pantaziță from Tichiriș; Ștefanache Săcăluș from Păulești) acted subversively, aiding the Romanian soldiers who had escaped from the prison camps to cross into Moldova. The network was discovered on May 21 / June 3, 1917 following a failed attempt to cross the border by a group led by Captain Barbu Pârâianu. The detainees were taken into pre-trial detention in Focșani, then tried by the German military court and sentenced to death. They were executed by shooting on 17/30 August 1917 on the firing range of the Focșani Garrison and buried in the yard of the 10<sup>th</sup> Putna Infantry Regiment<sup>24</sup>. A similar case happened in Brăila. The command prosecuted Stela Popovici, arrested together with her 52-year-old mother, on November 8, 1917, because she had hosted a Romanian lieutenant (Ion Grigorescu from the 34<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment), who had escaped from the Slatina camp and aiming to cross into Moldavia. After the lieutenant was arrested by the German police, having been denounced by a Romanian commissioner, the women were detained for complicity and their home was searched. Accused of espionage, they were detained pending trial. Stela Popovici was sentenced to three years in prison and her mother to six months. The elderly woman was pardoned due to her illnesses, so she served only four and a

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<sup>22</sup> Constantin I. Stan, *Buzăul și Rm Sărat în anii ocupației germane (1916-1918)* [Buzău and Rm Sărat in the years of German occupation (1916-1918)], Buzău, Editgraph, 2008, p. 62-102.

<sup>23</sup> Bogdan Constantin Dogaru, *Structurile Ministerului de Interne în războiul de întregire a neamului (spionaj, contraspijonaj și acțiuni speciale în județul Putna-Vrancea) 1916-1919* [The structures of the Ministry of Interior in the war for remaking the nation (espionage, counterespionage and special action sin the county of Putna-Vrancea) 1916-1919], Focșani, Atec, 2015, p. 44-45.

<sup>24</sup> Ionuț Iliescu, *Contribuții privind activitatea eroului martir Ștefanache Săcăluș în timpul Primului Război Mondial (1916-1918)* [Contributions regarding the activity of the martyr hero Ștefanache Săcăluș during World War I (1916-1918)], in “Cronica Vrancei”, volume VIII, coordinated by Horia Dumitrescu, Focșani, Pallas, 2008, p. 96-119.

half months in custody. The daughter, on the other hand, was sent to the Delitzsch prison in Germany, where she found more than 300 women of all nationalities (mostly French and Belgian)<sup>25</sup>. In Buzău and Râmnic, due to the strict food confiscation policy, the main form of disobedience among the inhabitants was to boycott the requisitions imposed by the authorities. Entire townships could only pay their dues at the cost of starving their villagers. Throughout 1917, no less than 11 townships in Buzău paid a total fine of 22000 lei for not delivering food, cattle, fowl and wool in the amounts requested by the German command. However, it was the obligatory nature of work hours that caused the deepest irritation among the population. In the church in the Dărămați village, near Râmnicu Sărat, there was a detention facility, where the occupants kept those who resisted the orders. Those trying to escape because of the squalid living conditions were shot on the pretext that they had tried to flee while under escort. Any form of resistance to abuse faced the immediate response of the authorities. Some people from Buzău lost their lives because they tried to resist the ill-treatment. Ștefan Moscu from Cărligele paid with his life because he could not bear to see his wife raped by a group of German soldiers, Grigore Popa from the Buda township was wounded by a bullet because he did not allow the Germans to drink water from the fountain in his yard, Grigore Gogoasă from the Jideni township (Râmnic) was shot because he opposed a German patrol entering the room where his daughter was lying on her sickbed<sup>26</sup>. Thousands of civilians were interned in camps within the country, such as those in Zilișteanca, Lipia, Mizil, Alexeni, Boboc, Silișteea. Many others worked in the fields, digging trenches, or in the Saturn and Fulga factories. Some deportees to Germany (such as Ioan Eremia Călugăru from Buzău) survived eating grass stew and suffered from malnutrition<sup>27</sup>.

The regions near the front faced the refugee issue in more acute fashion than those assigned to the Military Administration (*Militärverwaltung*). The villages in the vicinity of the area of operations were brutally evacuated by the German officers. However, the Romanian authorities had acted somewhat similarly. In Putna County, the government from Iași still controlled 30 townships out of a total of 80. On August 11, 1917 (OS), the Bacău County Prefecture had been notified about the order issued by the 5<sup>th</sup> Army Corps regarding the evacuation of the civilian population from Mărășești village. The people who went into exile took with them few clothes and food for only a few days. They practically left their households with all their wealth (some of the wealthier ones

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<sup>25</sup> Mirela Florian (ed.), *Scrisori de pe front* [Letters from the frontline], Bucharest, Martor, 2017. Stela Popovici's memorandum, pages 370-380.

<sup>26</sup> Constantin I. Stan, *op. cit.*, p. 103-119.

<sup>27</sup> Valeria Soroștineanu, *Războiul de acasă pentru românii din teritoriul ocupat (1916-1918)* [The home war for the Romanians in the occupied territories (1916-1918)], in the volume *Între război și pace. România și Europa Central-Răsăriteană la finalul primei conflagrații mondiale* [Between war and peace. Romania and Central-Eastern Europe at the end of the first World War], edited by Oana Mihaela Tămaș, Ioan Bolovan, Cluj Napoca, Romanian Academy, Centre for Transylvanian Studies, 2020, p. 79.

richer even drafted inventories!), retreating to Tecuci county. Too few remained in the villages around Mărășești, in Pufești and Pădureni. The same thing happened to the villagers from the communes of Fitionești, Diocheți, Mănăstioara and Movilița, whose evacuation was done with great difficulty, in the absence of means of transport. Wherever they went, the refugees lived at the limit of subsistence. The inhabitants of Irești commune, also in Putna county, evacuated by the army on April 14, 1917, were housed in the communes of Căntălărești and Telejna in Vaslui county. Once there, they sent a petition to the prefect of Putna, stating that the place they had been sent did not provide the food resources necessary for survival. People lived in truly inhumane conditions, scattered through obscure hamlets and deprived of any means of livelihood. Ill-treated as “non-humans”, they had been used for all sorts of hard labour. Although evacuation was not an option, the people of Putna County were sorry they had left their villages: even risking being subjected to enemy bombing, at least they could have provided their daily food<sup>28</sup>. On the other hand, the villages on the right bank of the Siret were evacuated by the Germans in the middle of the winter of 1916 when severe frost had hit. The villagers went through terrible torments. Men and women, hunchbacked old men, healthy, sick or dying children were forced, at gunpoint, to flee, without any of the wealth they had managed to acquire. Piled up in carts, frozen, hungry, beaten, fleeced of their last money, many died on the road. Children asleep forever in their mothers’ arms would end up cruelly thrown by the enemies into ditches or in the rivers they crossed in their march. Brought forcibly to Focșani, the refugees from the villages near the city were left to their own devices, many begging for food and a bed to rest their heads from the merciful and patriotic Romanian citizens<sup>29</sup>. Unlike Focșani, in Brăila most of the refugees arrived from Dobrogea. The conditions of the exile were very harsh, but preferable, in the eyes of many, to the savageries committed back home by the Bulgarians. Leaving the villages in a hurry, the poor people left what little they had in the hands of the enemy. Going on the road in cold, rainy weather, on muddy, impracticable roads, without warm clothes and proper shoes, hungry and sick, many of them, especially the elderly and children, perished before reaching their destination. But even when they reached their destination, they did not find adequate housing there, nor food, living from hand to mouth, at the mercy of fellow Christians. Not coincidentally, out of the total of 1374 deaths registered in Brăila in December 1916 and February 1917, more than 525 came from the ranks of refugees<sup>30</sup>.

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<sup>28</sup> SJVAN, fonds Prefectura Județului Putna, dossier 9A/1917. Leaf 106-125.

<sup>29</sup> Ibidem, fonds Primăria Orașului Focșani. Nr. 248. Letter from the City Hall of Focșani to the Ministry of the Interior, Bucharest, 23.01.1919, leaves 158-160.

<sup>30</sup> Brăila County Department of National Archives [SJAN Brăila], fonds Primăria orașului Brăila, dossier 66/1916. Nr. 1857/ Brăila City Health Service. Report to the City of Brăila, 9 March 1917, leaves 66-70.

## Conclusions

The German military occupation settled comfortably in two thirds of the country after the retreat of the Romanian army and authorities to Moldavia. Without the explicit intention of favouring some over others, the Germans abused their power and created inequalities of opportunity in the space of war-specific deprivations. Simply put, the Romanians living in the area of operations were less fortunate. Fate was less gracious with them. They had to put up with requisitions carried out by three successive armies. The Romanians, their Russian allies, then the Germans. Perhaps it is not difficult to imagine what could remain of the villages of Putna after the “visit” of the Russian comrades. A famous wine-growing area, the region seemed to them a true alcohol paradise. After the Russian “visitors”, then came the Germans, and the soldiers’ conduct (at least in the first months after the establishment of the Stage commands) was brutal and vindictive. The heroic battles of the summer of 1917 also took place in Putna County. Inevitably they left their mark on the region that had become a theatre of war. Mărăști had been destroyed. Entire villages had almost disappeared. Returning locals could no longer find their households. The images of the ruined Negropontes mansion (belonging to George Ulise Negropontes) and the photos of the destroyed Mărășești train station, or of the sugar factory, completely razed, remain emblematic. The bridge in Cozmești-Doaga had also been blown up by the retreating Romanian troops, and the Germans tried only after the armistice to remake the connection over the Siret. The land seemed unrecognizable. Unexploded projectiles, shrapnel and chunks of metal left on the battlefield would have to be carefully removed. The fields could no longer be cultivated, even the dead had not been properly buried. This apocalyptic landscape survived in the Putna area many years after the war. Nowhere else in Romania had the war wreaked similar disaster. However, the region did not receive the attention it deserved from the government. As proof, there is the example of Mărășești, a village that after the war was declared an urban township<sup>31</sup>. Collateral victims of the battle, the locals received beautiful words and promises. In an article published in “Neamul Românesc” (no. 343), historian and politician Nicolae Iorga wrote he would have liked to see Mărășești rebuilt from the ground up, as a city of victory. The centre would have to be the battlefield, including the church dedicated to the heroes. Greater factories than the ones that burned down, institutions for raising orphans, shelters for the disabled, homes for veterans and new urban projects were to permanently remind the passer-by of the sacrifice of the nation’s heroes. Like our Roman ancestors, Iorga said, let us have our veterans colonize right where they

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<sup>31</sup> The city’s coat of arms, representing the archangel Michael striking down Lucifer, carried the slogan ‘They shall not pass’. On 20 August 1920, general Joffre (the hero from the Marne) visited the city and awarded it the French “War Cross”.

obtained their victory<sup>32</sup>. But the historian dreamed too big. In the years after the war, there were parliamentary interpellations, accusations were made, and appeals were made to the king and the prime minister. From their content it emerged that the funds collected (15,697,000 lei) over the years for the restoration of the city were transformed into government securities (rural and urban documents) and, in the end, were useless. The long-awaited school was not built, and the city continued to remain in a deplorable state. No pavement, no running water, no public square, almost no lighting. This is what Mărășești looked like after 15 years since the moment of the legendary battle<sup>33</sup>. But its fate was shared by much of the country. Moldavia had not been under German military occupation, but its cities had suffered from overcrowding with refugees and from the severe shortages. The compensations were symbolic and always insufficient. The war had left many wounds open, all of them deep and difficult to heal.

**German administration in Romania under military occupation:  
everyday life in the vicinity of the operations army  
(1916-1918)**

*Abstract*

*My research focuses on the impact of military occupation in the area of the German operations armies. The documents in the local archives show significant differences between the everyday life of the population in the counties integrated to the Militaerverwaltung in Rumaenien structure by comparison to the region allotted to the operations zone. In the latter case, the traffic restrictions were harsher, and everyday needs (food, fuel, shelter) were extremely difficult to meet. The examples that serve to form a picture of life in that era are related to the administration of some districts (Brăila, Putna, Buzău) that Romanian historiography does not discuss so much nowadays. It is about everyday life in these regions under occupation, the troubles people had, their needs and the memory of those hard times.*

*Keywords: operations army; Romania; German administration; First World War.*

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<sup>32</sup> Dr. Vasile Bianu, *Însemnări din Răsboiul României Mari* [Notes from the War for Greater Romania], tome I, p. 290. Note from 14/27 December 1917.

<sup>33</sup> *Chestiunea Fondurilor Refacerei Orașului Mărășești* [The question of funds for rebuilding the City of Mărășești], Focșani, Cartea Putnei Press, 1933. See chap. I: *Pentru înfrumusețarea Mărășeștilor. Discursul în Camera Deputaților al domnului N. Șt. Graur* [For the embellishment of Mărășești. Speech in the Chamber of Deputies by N. Șt. Graur], p. 3-5.

## 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 <sup>a</sup> edițiune, 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 Istorică a României
<i>AIAC</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 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>	= Acta Poloniae Historica, Varșovia
<i>AqLeg</i>	= <i>Aquila Legionis. Cuadernos de Estudios sobre el Ejército Romano</i> , Salamanca
<i>AR</i>	= Arhiva Românească
<i>ArchM</i>	= Arhiva 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

- 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 int. ser. = British Archaeological Reports, International Series  
 BBR = Buletinul Bibliotecii Române  
 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 Istorice  
 CartNova = *La ciudad de Carthago Nova 3: La documentación epigráfica*, Murcia  
 CB = Cahiers balkaniques  
 CC = Codrul Cosminului, Suceava (ambele serii)  
 CCAR = Cronica cercetărilor arheologice din România, CIMEC, București  
 CCh = *Corpus Christianorum*, Turnhout  
 CChSG = *Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca*  
 CCSL = *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina*, Turnhout, Brepols  
 CDM = *Catalogul documentelor moldovenești din Arhivele Centrale de Stat*, București, vol. I-V; supl. I.  
 CDȚR = *Catalogul documentelor Țării Românești din Arhivele Statului*, 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 = *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Berlin  
 CL = Cercetări literare  
 CLRE = *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire*, eds. R. S. Bagnall, A. Cameron, S. R. Schwartz, K. A. Worp, Atlanta, 1987  
 CN = Cercetări Numismatice  
 CNA = Cronica Numismatică și Arheologică, București  
 CSCO = *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*, Louvain  
 CSEA = *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiae Aquileiensis*, Roma, Città Nuova Editrice  
 CSEL = *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, Wien, De Gruyter  
 CSPAMI = Centrul de Studii și Păstrare a Arhivelor Militare Centrale, Pitești  
 CT = Columna lui Traian, București  
 CTh = *Codex Theodosianus*. Theodosiani, Libri XVI cum constitutionibus Sirmondianis, I, edidit adsumpto apparatu P. Kruegeri, Th. Mommsen, Hildesheim, 1970-1971  
 Cv.L = Convorbiri literare (ambele serii)

„Dacia”, N.S.	= Dacia. Nouvelle Série, Revue d'archéologie et d'histoire ancienne, București
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> ( <a href="http://www.manfredclauss.de/">http://www.manfredclauss.de/</a> )
EDR	= <i>Epigraphic Database Roma</i> ( <a href="http://www.edr-edr.it/default/index.php">http://www.edr-edr.it/default/index.php</a> )
EpigrAnat	= Epigraphica Anatolica, Münster
ERAsturias	= F. Diego Santos, <i>Epigrafiya 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
„Hierasus”	= <i>Hierasus</i> . Anuarul Muzeului Județean Botoșani, Botoșani
HM	= Heraldica Moldaviae, Chișinău
HU	= Historia Urbana, Sibiu
HUI	= Historia Universitatis Iasiensis, Iași
IDR	= <i>Inscripțiile din Dacia romană</i> , Bucurști-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
ILLPecs	= 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>Inscripții latine din Dacia</i> , București
ILN	= <i>Inscriptions latines de Novae</i> , Poznan
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

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

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<i>SAHIR</i>	= Studia et Acta Historiae Iudaeorum Romaniae, București
<i>SAI</i>	= Studii și Articole de Istorie
<i>SCB</i>	= Studii și cercetări de bibliologie
<i>Sch</i>	= <i>Sources Chrétiennes</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>SCȘI</i>	= Studii și cercetări științifice, Istorie
<i>SEER</i>	= The Slavonic and East European Review
<i>SHA</i>	= <i>Scriptores Historiae Augustae</i>
<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&amp;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 viața, Iași
<i>ZPE</i>	= Zeitschrift für Papyralogie und Epigraphik
<i>ZSL</i>	= Zeitschrift für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde