Romania in the First World War 1914-1919: An Annotated Bibliography

by

Glenn E. Torrey
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Romania in the First World War
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by

Glenn E. Torrey*

INTRODUCTION

In most non-Romanian accounts of the First World War, Romania's role merits only brief mention. Her policy of neutrality, 1914-1916, is summarily portrayed as an opportunistict attempt to sell the country's military assistance to the highest bidder. Her brief, tragic military campaign of 1916, in which she was overrun by the Central Powers and besieged in Moldavia, is dismissed with a combination of pity and contempt. The fierce battles in the summer of 1917, when the Romanian army turned back a major German-led offensive despite the handicap of a disintegrating Russian ally, are generally ignored. On the other hand, Romanian historiography on the First World War has often demonstrated weaknesses of its own, tending to eulogistic emphasis rather than an analytic approach to the events of 1914-1918.

Some of the conditions which contributed to these problems have been altered. Barriers of academic and political isolation are being lowered. Concerning the latter issue, Romania's assumption of a more independent stance in the international arena has freed her scholars from certain ideological restrictions which influenced almost two decades of Romanian historical writing, including that on the First World War. As for the former issue, the twenty years that have elapsed since Romania moved into the mainstream of the international scholarly exchange program have yielded some impressive results, despite regrettable setbacks. Knowledge and even expertise in Romania's language, literature, and history can be found in many countries of Europe and America and even beyond. More important for the writing of Romanian history, which will always be dominated by natives, is the fact that scores of Romanian historians have been able to visit the most important archival

*Dr. Torrey is a Professor of History at Emporia State University. "Romania's Entry into the First World War: The Problem of Strategy" by Dr. Torrey appeared in The Emporia State Research Studies, XXVI, 4 [Spring, 1978].
repositories abroad. This fact is especially critical for the proper understanding and writing of the history of Romania in the First World War, which involved complicated relations with many different nations, grouped in coalitions both friendly and hostile. As examples, one might mention the diplomatic history of the period as well as the history of the occupation by the Central Powers. Many recent Romanian publications are characterized by multinational documentation which enhances the authority of their narratives and the credibility of their conclusions.

One purpose of this bibliography is to call to the attention of non-Romanians the existence of these recent contributions as well as to point out even lesser known Romanian works out of the past. Non-Romanian historians have been negligent in seeking out and using Romanian sources for aspects of the history of the First World War which touch on that country and its actions. The author well understands the problems that attend locating and utilizing Romanian sources. On the other hand, most, if not all, of the publications mentioned in the pages that follow are accessible with a little diligence. Perhaps this bibliography will remove one excuse for failing to consult Romanian sources before taking up the pen to write about Romania's role in the war.

Another purpose of this bibliography is to point out some of the lacunae that still exist, and they are many. Emphases in Romanian historiography on the First World War until recently were upon the socio-economic history of the period and upon special events whose anniversaries came up each decade. Only recently has the stream of publications widened to include monographs of breadth and synthesis. Diplomatic history, particularly for the period 1914-1916, has received considerable attention, with good utilization of foreign repositories in Vienna, Bonn, Paris, London, and Washington. But important gaps still remain, particularly about the political history of the entire period, 1914-1918, diplomacy 1916-1919, the Austro-German occupation 1916-1918, the detailed history of the military campaigns from December, 1916 to the end of 1917, and an objective account of the Romanian acquisition of Bessarabia early in 1918.

There will never be complete agreement between non-Romanian and Romanian historians in interpreting the events of 1914-1919. For the latter, it is the "War for Integration," the culmination of a long, difficult struggle to achieve the "national
ideal," the unification of all Romanians. The former, who do not participate in the patriotism of the latter [and who may have emotional involvements of their own], often question the inevitability or even the desirability of this achievement and express reservations about the manner in which it was carried off. It is hoped that this bibliography, by calling attention to the published materials which too often have been neglected by non-Romanians, will contribute to a more objective appreciation of Romania's role in the First World War. The importance of such objectivity is not merely historical and academic. The controversies surrounding Transylvania and Bessarabia in 1918-1919 still reach down to the present day and have important consequences which are not limited to Romanians only.

With only a few exceptions, the citations in this bibliography are limited to books and dissertations, together with a sample of representative newspapers and periodicals. Journal articles as a rule are not included. But, because of the lack of works of synthesis in monograph form, one must often turn to them for a tentative understanding of certain topics. For a guide to these articles, I refer the reader to the bibliographies in the first section of this work and to my recent bibliographical survey, "Some Recent Literature on Romania's Role in the First World War," *East European Quarterly*, Vol. 14 [2], June, 1980, pp. 189-206.

It was with great regret that I was unable to include more works in English or in Western European languages. Few such works on Romania exist and fewer still are worth consulting. A number of worthwhile articles in English exist and for these I refer the reader to my bibliographical article mentioned above.

A word about the format of this bibliography seems in order. Inasmuch as the subject classifications are, in most cases, rather specialized and contain relatively few titles, I felt no compulsion to alphabetize the entries. Instead, I used the following rationale in listing books within the subsections: the most important books are usually mentioned first; and, books relating to a particular person, group, battle or time period are generally grouped together. I did not think it useful to include the publisher, particularly as all books published in Romania in the last generation or so have been issued by state publishing enterprises.

I wish to acknowledge that the research and travel which made the compilation of this bibliography possible were supported by grants from the Fulbright Commission, the American Council of
Learned Societies, the International Research and Exchanges Board, the American Philosophical Society, and the Faculty Research and Creativity Committee of Emporia State University. I am likewise indebted to a host of individuals and institutions in Romania for their cooperation during four extended periods of residence and research there stretching back almost twenty years. My special expression of thanks is due to the "Institutul de istorie, N. Iorga" and the "Centrul de studii, şi cercetări de istorie şi teorie militară," both of Bucharest. I also wish to thank Professor Keith Hitchins of the University of Illinois for suggestions and for the loan of volumes from his magnificent personal library.

I. BACKGROUND AND REFERENCE WORKS

A. Bibliographies

General:
1. *Bibliografia istorică a României I 1944-1969* (Bucharest, 1970). A comprehensive bibliography of both books and articles published in Romania between the dates shown. Has several sections devoted to the first world war.


First World War:

5. Gheorghe Stoean, et. al., *România în primul război mondial: contribuții bibliografice* (Bucharest, 1975). The most comprehensive bibliography on Romania's role in the first world war currently available. It lists slightly fewer than 600 books and over 2000 periodical references but contains virtually no foreign titles. It has subject, author and periodical indexes which enhance its usefulness, as does a brief description of contents for items whose titles are not self-explanatory. The more substantial books have their table of contents reproduced. One drawback is that the
serious research articles tend to be buried in the mass of references to popular and superficial magazine and newspaper articles.


Special Topics:

7. Constantin Nuțu, et. al., *Contribuții bibliografice privind unirea Transilvaniei cu România* Bucharest (1969). Contains over 2600 references, the majority of which are newspaper or magazine articles of a contemporary nature. Includes Hungarian language sources.


B. Reference Works

11. C. C. Giurescu, *Chronological History of Romania* (Bucharest, 1974). The most important dates in Romanian history.


13. Lucian Predescu, *Enciclopedia Cugetarea* (Bucharest, 1940). A biographical dictionary which is absolutely indispensable for research on Romanian history in the twentieth century.

15. P. Constantinescu-Iași, et. al., *Istoria României*, 4 vols. (Bucharest, 1960-1964). Projected as the "official" history of Romania in six volumes, it has yet to be completed. Volume V (1878-1918) was printed and made available in certain scholarly circles but never publicly released.

**C. Background Works**


17. G. I. Brătianu, *Origines et formation de l’unité roumaine* (Bucharest, 1943). A classic statement of the Romanian claim to the national territory written at a time when it had been torn asunder.


21. *Pagini din șindirea militară româneasă 1821—1916* (Bucharest, 1969). Excerpts from the writings of Romanians (mostly military men) on military strategy and tactics, with the majority coming from the period of the first world war.

**D. Periodicals and Newspapers**

Periodicals:


25. *File din istoria militară a poporului român: Studii* (Bucharest: Editura Militară, 1973—). This annual serves as the "journal" of the Centrul de studii și cercetări de istorie și teorie militară, the
most important research institution for military history in
Romania.
26. România militară [Bucharest, 1921-1940]. The most important
military journal in the interwar period.
27. Revista artileriei [Timișoara, 1927-1940].
29. Revista intendenței și administrației armatei [Bucharest,
1921-1927].
30. România în timpul războiului 1916-1918 [Bucharest,
1920-1921]. A popular magazine with many pictures and "heroic"
istories.
31. Frontul Mărășești [Bucharest, 1936-1938].

Newspapers:
32. Monitorul Oficial [Bucharest-Iași, 1914-1918]. The official
gazette of the Romanian government.
33. Neamul Românesc [Bucharest-Iași, 1914-1918]. Professor
Iorga's newspaper which was moderately interventionist in support
of the Brătianu government 1914-1916 and passionately
nationalistic during the period of belligerency 1916-1918. An import-
tant influence in keeping Romanian resistance alive in the latter
period.
34. Universul [Bucharest, 1914-1916]. The nearest thing to an "in-
dependent" Romanian newspaper during the period of neutrality.
35. Adevarul [1914-1916]. The large, interventionist Bucharest
daily edited by Constantin Mille.
36. Lupta Zilnică [1914-1917]. Organ of the Romanian Social
Democratic Party.
37. La Roumanie [1914-1918]. The organ of the Conservative-
Democratic leader, Take Ionescu.
38. La Politique [1914-1915]. Organ of the Conservative Party fac-
tion led by Alexandru Marghiloman.
39. Moldova [1915]. The organ of P.P. Carp, Russophobe and ad-
vocat of the German alliance.
40. L'Indépendance Roumain [1914-1916]. Organ of Brătianu fam-
ily and Liberal party.
41. România [Iași, 1917-1918]. The organ of the Romanian general
staff, edited by M. Sadoveanu.
42. Lumina [1917-1918]. Organ of the Germanophile element that
remained in Bucharest under German occupation.
44. *Social Democrația* (1918). Successor to *Lupta Zilnică*.

II. WORKS RELATING TO THE ENTIRE PERIOD 1914-1919

A. General
45. Victor Atanasiu, Anastasie Iordache, Mircea Iosa, Ion M. Oprea, & Paul Oprescu, *România în primul război mondial* (Bucharest, 1979). Awaited for almost a decade, this volume is now the best introduction to the war period. It is well organized, with the chronological main divisions subdivided into topics. There is a good balance among military, diplomatic, political, and economic coverage. Its authors are leading Romanian specialists and they had access to a wide variety of primary and secondary source material. Although subsequent research and changing political conditions will dictate certain modifications, this will be the standard Romanian treatment of the subject for some time to come. It must be considered in connection with the books in every section of this bibliography.

46. Ion Rusu Abrudeanu, *România și războiul mondial. Contribuția la studiul istoriei războiului nostru* (Bucharest, 1929). A journalistic account with a hodge-podge of documents, comments, and other information. Some bias but also some helpful insights due to author’s role as a Transylvanian emigre in Bucharest and writer for *Adevărul* until 1916.

47. Ion Rusu Abrudeanu, *Pacatele Ardealului față de sufletul vechii regat* (Bucharest, 1930). Another pot-pourri of excerpts and comments on books, events and personalities of the war period, strongly polemical with Maniu and Vaida of the National Party in Transylvania receiving the strongest censure.


49. Pamfil Șeicaru, *La Roumanie dans la grande guerre* (Paris, 1968). Hero of the war, editor of *Curentul*, a leading Bucharest daily during the 1930’s, Șeicaru’s book is disorganized and anecdotal but has important insights because the author was involved in the making of Romanian history.


B. Documents

52. The most important documentary series relating to Romanian military affairs, *Documente privind istoria militară a poporului román* (Bucharest, 1975- ), has not yet published volumes covering 1914-1918. In addition to the works listed below, a few collections of documents on specialized subjects may be found in other subsections of this bibliography.


60. Corneliu Tamaţ, et. al., *Judeătul Vlcea în anii primului război mondial* 2 vols. (Bƣleţti pe Topolog, 1980). Two volumes of
documents which reflect the history of one region of Romania during the war.


C. Domestic

No remotely satisfactory monograph on Romania’s political history 1914-1918 exists, so this section of necessity concentrates on economic and social history. For the political scene, one must turn to number 45 above.


63. C.I. Băicoianu, Istoria politicei noastre monetare și a băncii naționale 1914-1920. Neutralitatea-războiul-ocupațiunea. Volumul III (Bucharest, 1933). Băicoianu and Slăvescu (below) are the best guides to Romania’s tangled financial history during the war.


66. V. Liveanu, et. al., Relații agrare și mișcări țărănești în România 1908-1921 (Bucharest, 1967). The heart of this book is the impact of the war and its aftermath on the peasantry and the growth of peasant unrest. Its conclusions must be interpreted in light of its Marxist bias.

D. Biographical and Autobiographical

Until more works of synthesis appear, the following remain the best books on Romania’s political history, 1914-1919, apart from no. 45 above.

The dynasty:


68. Eugen Wolbe, Carmen Sylva. Der Lebensweg einer einsamen
Königin (Leipzig, 1933) Carol’s wife, Elizabeth, wrote under the pen
name “Carmen Sylva.” She died in 1916.
69. Eugen Wolbe, Ferdinand I. Der Begründer Grossrumâniens
(Leipzig, 1938). Wolbe utilized the Hohenzollern family archives.
Sympathetic.
70. Cuvintări de Ferdinand I regele României, 1889-1922
(Bucharest, 1922). Public speeches.
71. Marie, Queen of Romania. The Story of My Life (New York,
1934); Ordeal: The Story of My Life (New York, 1935). Composed
mainly of extracts from her journal. Accurately reflects her per-
sonality despite some departures from the original manuscript.
72. Terence Elsberry, Marie of Romania (New York, 1972). A re-
cent but uncritical biography by an amateur. Marie still awaits an
adequate biography.

Vignettes of Political Figures:
73. Jean Dragu, Profils parlementaires roumains (Bucharest, 1916).
Brief sketches of politicians active in 1916, together with pen and
ink drawings.
74. I.G. Duca, Portrete și amintiri (Bucharest, 1925). Duca, a
cabinet minister under Ion. I. C. Brătianu and one of his closest
associates, includes a number of wartime politicians in his “port-
traits” with several chapters on Brătianu.
75. St. Antin, Alte studii și portrete (Bucharest, 1939). Helpful
assessments of Romanian personalities of the war generation.

The Brătianu Family:
76. N. Bănescu, Ion I. C. Brătianu (Craiova, 1931). This admiring
account by a close associate is about the only thing available and
serves to point up the need for an adequate biography.
77. Constantin Kirițescu, Ion I.C. Brătianu în pregătirea răsboiului
de întregire (Bucharest, 1936). A defense of Brătianu’s policy during
neutrality.
78. Gheorghe I Brătianu, File rupte din cartea războiului
(Bucharest, n.d.). The son of the premier has recorded some of his
impressions from the war; a number of them give insight into the
thinking of his secretive father.
79. Sabine Cantacuzino, Din viața familiei I.C. Brătianu: Războiul
1914-1919, 2 vols. (Bucharest, 1937). The memoirs of Bratianu’s
sister.


Nicolae Iorga:


85. Nicolae Iorga, *Memorii, însemnări zilnice (mai 1917-martie 1920)* 2 vols. (Bucharest, 1931) Daily impressions, drawn from the center of political life of which the author was a part, provide valuable information and insight.


87. Nicolae Iorga, *Pentru întregirea neamului* (Bucharest, 1925). The speeches of Iorga during the war in which he advocates a moderate interventionism during neutrality and a passionate patriotism during belligerency.

Other Politicians (interventionists):


89. Constantin Xeni, *Take Ionescu 1858-1922*, 3rd ed. (Bucharest, 1933). The standard biography.

91. Vasile Netea, *Take Ionescu* (Bucharest, 1971). A short, uncritical biography in English, but of some importance for its reference to Ionescu's unpublished correspondence with his wife, 1918-1919, when he was in Paris working for the Romanian cause.


93. Nicolae Filipescu, *Pentru România Mare* (Bucharest, 1925). Speeches and other writings dating from the early months of neutrality, calling for intervention by the most passionate of Romanian irredentists.

94. Ion M. Oprea, *Nicolae Titulescu* (Bucharest, 1966). The best biography currently available of Titulescu whose prominence came after the war but who was active in propagandizing the Romanian cause in Paris in 1918 and at the peace conference.


97. Corneliu Mezea, *Dr. Vasile Lucaci. “Leul de la Sișești” 1852-1922* (Satu Mare, 1936). The standard biography of the Transylvanian emigre who worked incessantly during the war for the destruction of Austria-Hungary and the creation of Greater Romania.


Politicians (opponents of intervention):

100. Alexandru Marghiloman, *Note politice 1897-1924*. 5 vols. (Bucharest, 1927). Leader of the Conservative Party, Marghiloman favored neutrality and eventually became premier in 1918 when Romania signed a separate peace with the Central Powers. Large segments of his detailed diary, almost all of which deals with the first world war, are reproduced, with some sections also in French.
This is one of the most important personal documents for any period of Romanian history.

101. *Omagiu lui Alexandru Marghiloman* (Bucharest, 1924). Commemorative volume by his friends on the occasion of his death, emphasizing some of his positive accomplishments at a time when Marghiloman was under a cloud because of his stand for neutrality 1914-1916 and his cooperation with the Central Powers in 1918.

102. C. Gane, *P.P. Carp și locul său în istoria politică a țării*. 2 vols. (Bucharest, 1936). The standard biography of Carp, the elder statesman of the Conservative Party whose intense Russophobia led him to advocate wholehearted commitment to the Central Powers.

103. Constantin Stere, *Marele războiu și politica României* (Bucharest, 1918). Articles criticizing Romania’s entry into the war and her alliance with Russia by the advocate of peasant populism and member of the Liberal Party.

104. Pamfil Şeicaru, *Un singurarec: Constantin Stere* (Madrid, 1956). Random observations and incidents which are helpful because of the author’s personal acquaintanceship with Stere. Shows how his intense Russophobia (he was a Bessarabian exile) conditioned his actions 1914-1918.

105. Damian Hurezeanu, *Constantin Dobrogeanu Gherea. Studiu social-istoric*. (Bucharest, 1973). A recent full-length treatment of the intellectual giant of the Romanian socialist movement. Gherea, a fugitive from Tsarist persecution, was Russophobe and an advocate of neutrality, but avoided compromising himself openly with the Central Powers. The full story of his wartime activity is yet to be told.

106. Constantin Dobrogeanu Gherea, *Război sau neutralitate* (Bucharest, 1914). Speeches and writings from the early days of the war.


108. Francis Conte, *Christian Racovski (1873-1941). Essai de biographie politique* (Paris, 1975). A massive, published doctoral dissertation which recounts Racovski's career in detail and is therefore helpful, but which is disappointing because it utilizes few Romanian sources and almost no archival material. There is more to be said about Racovski who edited the Socialist newspaper and
compromised himself with first the Germans and then the Bolsheviks.


Foreign:


III. ROMANIA’S NEUTRALITY 1914-1916

A. Immediate Political and Diplomatic Background

113. Anastasie Iordache, *Viața politică în România 1910-1914* (Bucharest, 1972). One of a series of surveys, each covering a decade more or less, of Romania’s political history from 1878 to 1914.

114. Lilio Cialdea, *La politica estera della Romania nel quarantennio prebellico* (Bologna, 1933). Utilizes published sources available as of 1933 only but helpful for its Italian perspective.


116. Șerban Rădulescu-Zoner, *România și Tripla Alianță la începutul secolului al XX-lea 1900-1914* (Bucharest, 1977). Utilizes much unpublished archival material, especially from the Haus-, Hof-, and Staatsarchiv in Vienna. Currently the best available handling of the topic and extremely important for understanding Romania’s foreign policy during the period of neutrality.


B. The Diplomacy of Neutrality

120. Lilio Cialdea, *L’intervento romeno nella guerra mondiale (guigno 1914-Agusto 1916)* (Pavia, 1941). Another helpful account by the Italian historian, but must be supplemented by the more recent accounts that follow.

121. Constantin Nuțu, *România în anii neutralității 1914-1916* (Bucharest, 1972). The best general account presently available on Romania’s neutrality. Relies heavily upon unpublished Austrian archival material, hence it is stronger on Romania’s relations with the Central Powers than those with the Triple Entente. Places Romania in the contest of the larger issues of the war.

122. Ema Nastovici, *România și Putele Centrale în anii 1914-1916* (Bucharest, 1979). Based on Austrian archives like Nuțu but has more extensive documentation from Romanian archives and consequently a greater emphasis upon domestic developments. Especially helpful in understanding the political tensions and economic problems which beset Romania 1914-16.


124. Gerard Silberstein, *The Troubled Alliance: German-Austrian Relations 1914-1917* (Lexington, KY, 1970). Chapters eight, nine, and ten are an excellent re-creation of the diplomatic negotiations between the Central Powers and Romania but make no use of Romanian materials.

C. Political, Economic, Social

As mentioned earlier, apart from *România în primul război mondial* (no. 45 above), there are few satisfactory secondary works on wartime domestic history. For additional information see the Torrey bibliography for the few journal articles that exist and the Stoean bibliography for the pamphlet literature that issued from the political conflict over intervention.

126. Georgeta Tudoran, 13 junie 1916. 50 de ani de la eroica demonstrație a muncitorilor din Galați (Bucharest, 1966). A detailed account of the bloody strike and anti-war demonstration inspired by the socialists in Galați on the eve of war.

127. Gr. Crăiniceanu, O luptă pentru întregirea neamului; 1914-1917 (Bucharest, 1928). A former chief of the general staff and minister of war, Crăiniceanu was on inactive duty 1914-1916 (serving for a time as editor of Universul) then called to command an army in 1916.

128. Ion Bulei, Zile de vara (Bucharest, 1976). Characterizes Romania on the eve of her entry into the war in the summer of 1916, in the words of contemporaries.


D. Military Preparations

130. Victor Atanasiu, "Atitudinea și rolul militar al României în perioada neutralității și în campania din anul 1916" (dissertation, Bucharest, 1976). A pioneering study of the actual state of Romania’s military preparedness, based on extensive archival research. Atanasiu concludes that Romania’s army was better prepared than has hitherto been assumed, but still markedly inferior to its enemies.

131. Dimitriu Iliescu, Documente privitoare la răsboiul pentru întregirea României (Bucharest, 1924). Disgraced by Romania’s quick defeat in the campaign of 1916 the former Romanian chief of staff defends his preparations and conduct of the war.

132. M. Cioc, Contribuțiunea industriei naționale la fabricarea material de război (Bucharest, 1928). Details of Romania’s small and primitive war materials industry.

133. Alexandru Averescu, Notețe zilnice din războiul 1914-1916 (Bucharest, 1937). Disappointing diary entries, but which give some insight into the lack of coordination between the political and military leaders, 1914-1916.
134. Alexandru Iarca, Memoriałul meu (Bacău, 1922). A pre-war inspector general of the army, Iarca discusses deficiencies in its organization and preparations.

135. Vasile Rudeanu, Albert Thomas (Bucharest, 1934). In this memoir about Albert Thomas, the French minister of munitions, Rudeanu tells of his own labors in Paris as head of the Romanian armaments procurement mission, 1915-1916.


140. Marian Mihalache, Prima unitate română de geniu (Bucharest, 1973). Engineers.


IV. MILITARY CAMPAIGNS 1916-1917

The most glaring lacuna here is that 1917 has not received the same meticulous coverage given 1916. Apart from semi-popular accounts of the famous battles of Mărăști, Mărășești and Oituz (July -August), little attention is given to the period January-June, 1917, when the Romanian army was in the process of reorganization, or to the period October-December, 1917 when the crucial decision was made to sign a separate peace.

A. General Accounts of the Military Operations

143. Ministerul Apărării Naționale, Marele Stat-Major, serviciul istoric, România în războiul mondial 1916-1919, 4 vols. text, 4 vols. annexes (Bucharest, 1934-46). The “official” history, based on the Romanian military archives and incorporating some materials from the Austrian and German military archives. Never finished, it car-
ries the story only to December, 1916, and does not deal with the important events of 1917-1918. Some Romanians feel that it is too "sober," i.e., does not eulogize Romanian heroism enough, and that it contains too much admiration for the German army, an understandable tendency given the period in which it was written. Still it is indispensible because of the documents it uses (many are reproduced) and the detail with which it reconstructs the military action.

144. Gheorghe A. Dabija, *Armata română în războiul mondial, 1916-1918*, 4 vols. [Bucharest, 1937]. The author was chief of the "service istoric" that produced the "official history" above and had access to its vast documentation. Dabija offers helpful interpretation and criticism but tilts his views in favor of General Averescu under whom he served in the war. Volume IV covers the battles of 1917.

145. Alexandru Ioanătiu, *Războiul româniei 1916-1918*, 2 vols. [Bucharest, 1928]. Also a member of the "service istoric," Ioanătiu is more objective and more descriptive than Dabija but offers little interpretation. His coverage of the campaigns of 1917, though brief, helps to supplement the official history.


150. Florian Tucă, *În memorium. Intinerar eroic* (Bucharest, 1971) Itinerary of the most important battlefields of the war and their memorials.

in evaluating the Romanian war plan and its execution as well as the Austrian operations against Romania.

152. Germany, Reichsarchiv, Der Weltkrieg, 1914-1918, Vols. XI, XIII (Berlin, 1938, 1942). Shorter than the Austrian account but helpful in ascertaining and identifying the German units operating against Romania at each stage of the war.


B. Interpretation

154. Ion Anastasiu, Războiul pentru întregirea neamului: Studiu critic (Bucharest, 1936). Based on a diary kept by the author throughout the war, this account analyses such things as training, planning, decision making and mistakes in judgement more than discussing actual military operations. Concentrates on the 1916 campaign.

155. C. N. Herjeu, Din învățămintele războaielor din 1913 și 1916-1918. Studii și critice militare. 2 vols. (Bucharest, 1921). The author was minister of war in the Marghiloman government that led Romania after the separate peace with the Central Powers in 1918.

156. Alexandru Lupașcu-Strejar. Din războiul României ... În lumina adevarului. Lucrare critică-științifică-morală (Bucharest, 1921). A detailed memoir of a regimental commander.


C. Campaigns of 1916

The Northern Front:

158. Alexandru Pelimon, Studiul operațiunilor de la Sibiu, 1916 (Sibiu, 1937). Detailed analysis of the first German-Romanian engagement in Transylvania which initiated the defeat of the Romanian army.

159. Ioan Culcer, Note și culegeri asupra campaniei din 1916 (Iași, 1918). Recollections and comments on the operations of 1916 by
the commander of the Romanian First Army who was relieved of his command, unjustly he believes.


161. Fritz Ortlepp. *Luptele din regiunea Bran și Dragoslavele* (Câmpulung Muscel, 1933). Translation of a German account of the breakthrough into Wallachia at the Bran pass. Ortlepp published many periodical articles on the Romanian campaign, mostly in German military reviews.

162. Victor Atanasiu, *Bătălia din zona Bran-Câmpulung* (Bucharest, 1976). A recent Romanian account, based on archival research, of the same battle described by Ortlepp.

163. Vasile Iosipescu and Gheorghe Preda, *Generalul David Praporgescu* (Bucharest, 1967). Praporgescu's energetic action as a divisional commander helped to stabilize the Romanian defenses at the Olt defile through the Carpathians and thus prevented Falkenhayn from exploiting immediately his victory at Sibiu. Praporgescu died from a shrapnel wound on 30 September 1916.


165. N. Pătrașcu, *Bătălia de la Jiu* (Bucharest, 1937). A participant's account by a participant of the heroic but futile Romanian attempt to prevent the Austro-German army from penetrating Wallachia via the Jiu valley.


168. Nicolae Popescu, *Generalul Ion Dragalina* (Bucharest, 1967). This officer, who died leading the Romanian counterattack in the Battle of the Jiu, became one of Romania's greatest heroes.

169. Alexandru Socec, *Zile de restrîște din anii 1916-1918 și episodul din bătălia de pe Argeș* (Bucharest, 1928). Socec, a division commander in the crucial battle of Argeș, gives a detailed defense of his unauthorized retreat for which he was charged with treason.
The Southern Front:
172. Andrei Toschev, *Deşvitiata na III armie vă Dobrudža prez 1916 godina* (Sofia, 1921). A view of the operations in the south by the commander of the Bulgarian forces.
177. Constantin Zagoriț, *Turtucaia* (Ploiești, 1939). An exhaustive study of the background, course and causes of the Romanian loss of the Dobrudgean fortress of Turtucaia in the first few days of the war, a loss which initiated the military disaster on the southern front and thereby compromised the entire conduct of the war.


**D. The Campaign of 1917**

184. Ion Cupaș, *Mărăști, Mărășești, Oituz* (Bucharest, 1967). An anniversary account by one of contemporary Romania’s most competent military historians of the three crucial battles in the summer of 1917 in which the Romanians defeated an Austro-German attempt to wipe out the Moldavian sanctuary where the revitalized Romanian army was holding out.


190. Zefira Voiculescu, *Întru slava eroilor neamului. Istoricul masoleului de la Mărășești* (Bucharest, 1971). Description and history of one Romania’s most sacred monuments of the first world war.

**E. Personal accounts**

191. Erwin Rommel, *Infanterie greift an* (Potsdam, 1937). In English as, *Infantry Attacks* (Washington, 1944), and *Attacks* (Vienna, Virginia, 1979). A large portion of this book is a detailed recounting of Rommel’s experiences as a company grade officer in the Romanian campaigns of 1916-1917. Extremely interesting and informative concerning the Romanians as well as the Germans. The 1979 edition is an enlarged and improved translation, but unfortunately the opportunity was missed to include explanatory notes.
which would have made the Romanian section more meaningful to the general reader.
192. August von Mackensen, *Briefe und Aufzeichnungen des Generalfeldmarschalls aus Krieg und Frieden*, edited by Wolfgang Foerster (Leipzig, 1938). Von Mackensen commanded the armies of the Central Powers on the southern front and was the initial military governor of Romania under German occupation.
195. Alexandru Averescu, *Notițe zilnice din războiul 1916-1918* (Bucharest, 1937). Considered by a number of foreign observers to have been Romania’s most talented military leader, Averescu’s strategic decisions have been open to question.
196. Mihail Vagănescu, *Viața în război. Însemnări zilnice de pe front 1916-1918* (Bucharest, 1925). Author was later active in organizations of invalid soldiers.
204. C. Găvănescul, *Fapte mari în zile grele 1917-1918* (Bucharest, 1921). Author was an adjutant at the Romanian court, attached to Prince Carol.
207. Ioan Missir, Fața moartă 2nd ed. (Bucharest, 1937). Account of one regiment's experience in battles of 1917.
208. Barbu Delavrancea, Jurnal de război (Bucharest, 1972). Selections from the war diary of one of Romania's leading writers who died before the outcome was clear.

F. Casualties, Prisoners, Medical
209. Eftimie Antonescu, ed., Sacrificiile românesti (Les sacrifices roumain) (Bucharest, 1924). A bilingual Romanian-French compilation, by administrative district, of the civil victims of the war and occupation: deaths, orphans, imprisonments, deportations, etc.
211. C. Sândulescu, Istoria Serviciului sanitar al armatei române în campania 1916-1919 (Bucharest, 1940). A medical officer describes the medical service during the war.
212. Ecaterina Fulmen (Raicoviceanu), Jurnalul unei surori de caritate 1916-1918 (Bucharest, 1920). The memoirs of a nurse.
215. I. Gr. Oprisan, 21a de lumi de caile robiei (Bucharest, 1920). Journal of a Romanian prisoner of war held at various camps in Austria-Hungary and in Germany.
216. Arhibald [G. Rădulescu], Cimitirul prizonierilor români (Bucharest, 1921). A Romanian journalist, who wrote prolifically on the period of German occupation, comments on the treatment of Romanian prisoners of war.
217. Wolfgang Müller, Aus Russland Entflogen: In Rumänien Gefangen (Bucharest, 1918). A German accuses the Romanians of maintaining onerous conditions in their own prison camps. Includes details of the infamous prison at Sipote.

**G. Naval Operations**

219. N. Negresco, *Comment on fit la guerre sur le Danube 1916-1918* (Bucharest, 1938). The best account of the Romanian part in the naval operations on the Danube by the commander of the Romanian naval forces. Projected in several volumes, only volume one was published, carrying the story to December 1916.


**H. French Military Mission**


**I. The Literature of the War**


227. Silvia Burdea, *Romanul primului război mondial: Antologie și comentarii critic* (Bucharest, 1977). An anthology which includes important non-Romanian writers, but emphasizes the most impor-
tant Romanian authors, including most of those mentioned below. Includes helpful biographical and critical comment.
229. Cassian R. Munteanu, Bătălia de la Mărășești (Timișoara, 1977). A selection of prose and poetry of a prominent Romanian writer who began the war as an Austrian soldier but then defected to Romania.
230. Camil Petrescu, Ultima noapte de drăguțe, întâia noapte de război (Bucharest, 1930). This and the following books are representative war novels by Romania’s leading novelists of the period.
231. Cezar Petrescu, Întunecare (Bucharest, 1927).
232. Liviu Rebreanu, Catastrofa (Bucharest, 1921); Calvarul (Bucharest, 1919); Pândarea spânzurăților (Bucharest, 1964).
233. Eugen Todie, Hardaul lui Satan (Bucharest, 1926).
234. Ion Minulescu, Roșu, galben și albastru (Bucharest, 1924).
236. Mihai Sadoveanu, Strada Lapușneanu. Cronica din 1917 (Bucharest, 1921).

V. INTERNAL AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS 1916-1917

A. Political, Economic, and Social
See România în primul război mondial (no. 45 above.) Beyond this, except for the revolutionary movement, this category boasts few competent studies.
237. David Mitray, The Land and the Peasant in Rumania; the War and Agrarian Reform 1917-1921 (New Haven, 1930). Long considered the standard account of the “peasant problem” and agricultural reforms 1917-1921, it must now be supplemented with more recent research.
241. W. Filderman, Adevărul asupra problemei evrești din România în lumina textelor religioase și a statisticii (Bucharest, 1925). Most of the volume deals with the contributions of Romanian Jews to the Romanian war effort.
242. William Rodney, Joe Boyle: King of the Klondike (Toronto, 1974). Boyle was a Canadian who served on the Russian front and two-thirds of this book concerns his Red Cross and railroad activities in Romania. Based on a wealth of archival sources, it gives valuable insights into the court circle at Iași (Boyle was reputed to be a lover of Queen Marie) and into the chaotic situation in Romania and South Russia in 1917-1918.
243. Vasile Liveanu, 1918: Din istoria luptelor revoluționare din România (Bucharest, 1960). Although focusing on (and exaggerating) revolutionary unrest, Liveanu had detailed coverage of political developments as well as the armistice and peace negotiations of 1917-1918.

B. Relation with Russia
244. Marea revoluție socialiștă din octombrie și România (Bucharest, 1967). A collection of articles.
247. D.I. Afteniuk, et. al, Revoliutsionnoe dvizhenie v 1917 godu i ustanovlenie sovetskoi vlasti v Moldavii (Kishinev, 1964). This book and the one following are Soviet Marxist accounts of the revolutionary movement in the Romanian-inhabited areas of Russia and among the Russian troops on the Romanian front.
248. M.S. Frenkin, Revoliutsionnoe dvizhenie na rumyanskom fronte 1917 g.-mart 1918 g. (Moscow, 1965). The Russian revolution on the Romanian front.


C. Armistice and Peace of Bucharest
(December, 1917-May, 1918)

252. Elke Bornemann, *Der Frieden von Bukarest 1918* (Frankfurt, 1978). Despite the fact that this book is based largely on source materials in the German language, and, consequently, has a decidedly German perspective, it is easily the best account of the negotiation of Romania’s separate peace. Its strongest point is its detailed description of the inter-play among the various echelons of German political and military authorities which led to the formulation of the German terms which Romania was forced to accept. An absolutely essential book.

253. Ingeborg Meckling, *Die Aussenpolitik des Grafen Czernin* (Munich, 1969). Although this book has a larger perspective, it contains much about Austro-Hungarian policy toward Romania 1917-1918. The author was the Habsburg minister in Bucharest (1913-1916) who was elevated to the position of foreign minister by Kaiser Karl just after Romania entered the war. Its Austrian perspective complements the Bornemann book.


256. C. Hâlâceanu, *Pacea de la București și chestiunea petrolului* (Bucharest, 1919). A condemnation of the terms of the Peace of Bucharest as they related to the Austro-German control of Romania’s most vital resources.


258. Gencho Kamburov, "Raznoglasia v Chetvornia suizui pri predgovorite v Brest-Litovsk i Bukuresht Prez 1918 g." *Istoricheski Pregled*, 1971, 48-58. A Bulgarian assessment which is critical of the
reluctance of the Central Powers to assign all of Dobrugea to Bulgaria.
259. Fritz Fischer, Griff Nach der Weltmacht [Duesseldorf, 1961]. Contains an important discussion of the Peace of Bucharest which Fischer indicts as a prime example of German imperialism.
261. Actele tratatului de la Bucureşti, 24 aprilie/7 mai 1918 [Bucharest, 1918]. The Romanian text of the final draft of the treaty.

D. The Annexation of Bessarabia
263. Ștefan Ciobanu, Unirea Basarabiei. Fapte și documente [Bucharest, 1929]. A member of the government of the Independent Moldavia (Bessarabian) Republic 1917-1918, the author became director general of education for Bessarabia after it was incorporated into Romania. Prolific writer on Bessarabian history and culture.
264. Ștefan Ciobanu, Unirea Basarabiei. Studii și documente [Chișinău, 1933]. More of the same.
265. Alexandru Boldur, Unirea [Chișinău, 1928]. A native Bessarabian, the author was a professor at the University of St. Petersburg and later at the University of Iași.
266. Alexandru Boldur, Basarabia românească [Bucharest, 1943]. The events of the early 1940’s called forth a new statement of the Romanian claim to Bessarabia.
268. P. Cazacu, Zece ani dela unirea 1918-1928 [Bucharest, 1928]. The author was a medical doctor who served on the famous Bessarabian Staful Țării which voted to unite with Romania (2 March 1918). Later a prolific publicist for the Romanian cause.
269. Gh. V. Andronachi, Albumul Basarabiei în jurul marelui evenimente al unire [Chișinău, 1932]. Documents, comments, photographs of most important Bessarabians of the period. Helpful in understanding the atmosphere.
270. Onisifor Ghibu, *De la Basarabia rusească la Basarabia românească* (Cluj, 1926). Romanian nationalist from Transylvania who emphasizes the Transylvanian contribution to the annexation of Bessarabia.


272. A. Crihan, *Cum s'a făcut unirea Basarabiei cu România* (Madrid, 1969). A Romanian emigre, who was the minister of agriculture in the Independent Moldavian Republic which declared independence from Russia on 24 January 1918, remembers these events on their 50th anniversary.


### VI. OCCUPIED ROMANIA 1917-1918

#### A. The Austro-German Administration


285. Fritz Mann, *Kriegswirtschaft in Rumänien* (Bucharest, 1918). Describes the measures taken under occupation to get the Romanian economy back in production.


### B. The Collaborators

287. Alexandru Tzigara-Samurcaș, *Marturisiri si-li-te* (Bucharest, 1920). The former director of the Royal Foundation defends his conduct as prefect of police under the German occupation.

288. Ion Slavici, *Închisorile mele* (Bucharest, 1921). The noted author explains his literary collaboration and his later punishment for being a writer on Ziua and *Gazeta Bucureștilor*, Austro-German propaganda organs.


290. Constantin Stere, *Un caz de conștiință* (Bucharest, 1921). A defense of his opposition to joining the Entente and his cooperation with the Central Powers. Stere was the editor of *Lumina* which was distributed by the Germans in the Romanian trenches to encourage disaffection.


295. Ioan Lupuș, *Un episod istoric din anul 1917* (Bucharest, 1932). Discusses the plan of Carp, Stere and other Germanophiles to replace the dynasty and make Romania a client state of Germany.

296. Valeriu Kapri, *Cazul fostului Colonel Alexandru Sturdza* (Oradea, 1926), A condemnation of the desertion of Romanian Colonel Sturdza (while commanding a Romanian division early in 1917) by a former Austro-Hungarian officer who was an eyewitness.


C. The Opposition


301. Constantin Bacalbașa, *Capităla sub ocaupația dușmanului 1916-1918* (Brăila, 1921) Journalist and long-time editor of Universul, Bacalbașa adds his negative assessment of the enemy control of Bucharest.


**VII. THE COMPLETION OF ROMANIAN INTEGRATION 1918-1919**

**A. The Union of Transylvania and Banat with Romania**
306. *Unirea Transilvaniei cu România: 1918* (3rd ed. Bucharest, 1978). A collective volume that first appeared in 1970 but was completely revised and enlarged for the 1978 anniversary. Introductory chapters describe the evolution of the Romanian national movement, but the heart of the book is the war period culminating in the unification proclamation at Alba Iulia 1 December 1918. This is the definitive official statement of those events and usually inaccessible archival material was made available for it. Most of the contributors are associated with the Institute of Party History.
307. Miron Constantinescu, Ștefan Pascu, eds., *Unification of the Romanian National State: The Union of Transylvania with Old Romania* (Bucharest, 1971). An English translation of an anniversary volume that first appeared in Romania in 1968. Covers much the same ground as the above but in less detail. Most of the contributors are historians associated with institutions under the Romanian academy.
310. *Marea adunare națională întrunită la Alba Iulia în ziua de 1 decembrie 1918: Acte și documente* (Bucharest, 1943). The twenty-fifth anniversary of the union occurred when part of the province was again under alien rule and this volume remembers and reasserts the Romanian claim.
311. Ion Clopoteț, Revoluția din 1918 și unirea Ardealului cu România [Cluj, 1926]. A leading Transylvanian journalist recounts in this book and the one that follows the events of 1918 from his vantage point.

312. Ion Clopoteț, Frământările unui an 1918 [Sibiu, 1919].


314. P. Ciobanu, Unirea Banatului și încorporarea Timișoarei în România Mare [Timișoara, 1934]. A 25th anniversary volume.


316. Trofin Hăgan, Ioan S. Mureșan, Valeriu Achim, Vasile Căpîlnean, Maramureșul și unirea (1918) [Baia Mare, 1968]. A 50th anniversary volume relating to Maramureș.

B. Union of Bukovina with Romania

317. Erich Prokopowitsch, Das Ende der Oesterreichischen Herrschaft in der Bukovina [Munich, 1959]. The standard work from the Austrian viewpoint written on the basis of archival material. Prokopowitsch, a resident of Cernăuți under Romanian rule and librarian of the university there until 1940, is fair to the Romanians.

318. Teodor Bălan, Bucovina în războiul mondial [Cernăuți, 1929]. Survey of the war period with documents.


320. Ion I. Nistor, Amintiri răzlește din timpul unirii 1918 [Cernăuți, 1938]. Memoirs and pictures of virtually every significant Romanian in Bucovina at the time of union.

321. Ion I. Nistor, Unirea Bucovinei 20 noiembrie 1918. Studii și documente [Bucharest, 1928]. Background to the act of union, together with several hundred pages of documents concentrated on the events of October 1918 to December 1918. Nistor served as the delegate from the Bucharest government to the National Council in Bukovina at the time.

C. Romanian Activity Abroad

322. Vasile Stoica, În America pentru cauza românească [Bucharest, 1926]. Describes the activity of the author and other Romanians (in-
cluding Father Vasile Lucaciu) in the United States (1917-1919) on behalf of the Romanian national cause.
323. Simon C. Mîndrescu, În serviciul unității noastre naționale (Bucharest, 1929). An account of the work of a Romanian professor for Romanian interests in Western Europe in the last stages of the war.
324. Simon C. Mîndrescu, În Franța și Italia pentru cauza noastră (27 Septembrie 1917-1 Januarie 1919} (Bucharest, 1919). Newspaper articles and documents which reflect the activity of the author and other Romanian émigrés.
327. P. Nemoianu, Corpul voluntarilor români în Rusia (Lugoj, 1921). Volunteers in Russia.
328. Elie Bufnea, Formațiile de voluntari în Transilvania, Banatul și Bucovina, vol. 1 (Bucharest, 1929). Transylvanians, prisoners in Russia, incorporated into Romanian army.
329. Mihail Dragomirescu, Amintiri din propaganda din Russia (1917) (Bucharest, 1928). Distinguished professor of esthetics recounts his service on behalf of the Romanian cause.

**D. Romania and the Period of the Peace Conference**

331. V. V. Tilea, Acțiunea diplomatică a României, noiembrie 1919 - martie 1920 (Sibiu, 1925). History (with documents) of the negotiations of the Romanian government over the issues of Transylvania and Bessarabia after the conclusion of the conference at Versailles.
332. Gheorghe I. Brătianu, Acțiunea politică și militară a României în 1919 (Bucharest, 1939). Brătianu’s son uses his father’s correspondence to document Romania’s policy at Paris Peace Conference and in her occupation of Hungary.
334. G. D. Mădărescu, Campania pentru desroblirea Ardealului și ocuparea Budapestei 1918-1920 (Bucharest, 1921). An account of the
Romanian occupation of Hungary by the commander of the Romanian forces.


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