

Final research report

Project Code: PN-II-RU-TE-2012-3-0078

Project Title: **Visions and Perceptions of Romania in the Russian Imperial Discourse and Public Sphere in the Late 19th and Early 20th Century**

Project Director: Dr. Andrei Cușco

Reporting period: May- December 2013 (first stage)

According to the general goals outlined for the project's first stage (May – December, 2013), the activities of the research team members focused on the analysis and systematization of the existing secondary literature and on the planning and organization of several research trips to Romanian and foreign libraries and archives (in the Russian Federation, the Republic of Moldova, Austria). An important totalizing activity within the first stage of the project was marked by the International Workshop *Diplomacy and Society in Eastern Europe: Directions, Sources, Research Methods*, organized on November 21-22, 2013, together with the research team involved in the project PN II-RU-TE-2012-3-0288 (*Foreign Diplomats in the Kingdom of Romania. Ways of Socialisation and Mundanity Experiences (1881-1914)*). In what follows, we will present a synthetic image of the project members' main activities and of the results achieved.

Research trip to St. Petersburg (Andrei Cușco). Between August 25 and September 27, 2013, the project director went for a research trip to St. Petersburg, where he worked in the collections of the Russian State Historical Archive (RGIA), as well as in the relevant manuscript and publication collections of the Library of the Russian Academy of Sciences and the Russian National Library (RNB). The general aim of the research trip was to thoroughly investigate the archival and press materials concerning the Russian-Romanian relations and the Russian images and perceptions of the Romanian state during the period 1860-1916.

In this respect, the Russian State Historical Archive contains a rich documentary material related to various aspects of the Russian-Romanian diplomatic relations, but also specific funds concerning certain particular dimensions of the Russian and Romanian mutual images and

perceptions (mostly on topics related to the religious sphere and the ‘church question’ in Romania). The project director had access to all the main archival holdings pertaining to Romania. Concretely, the archival collections consulted at the St. Petersburg archives fall into several main categories: 1) ceremonial and official collections of the Imperial Court which reflect King Carol I’s visit to Russia in 1898, the meeting between Carol I and Nicholas II at Constanta in June 1914, as well as the sporadic visits by other members of the Romanian Royal family to Russia in the early 20th century. Overall, these collections comprise around 30 archival funds; 2) archival collections regarding various aspects of the Russian-Romanian diplomatic relations in the late 19th and early 20th century. Although the majority of such materials are held at the Archive of the Foreign Policy of the Russian Empire (AVPRI), in Moscow, which is currently inaccessible to researchers, A. Cușco identified approximately 15 *fondy*, linked to the appointment of Russian diplomatic representatives to Romania, but also featuring extensive reports of the Russian consuls and envoys to Romania, which frequently proved rather relevant for the project’s topic; 3) around 15 *fondy* dedicated to various border issues and legal aspects; 4) around 10 *fondy* that were especially interesting to us, since they comprised certain materials related to (geo)political and national aspects, reflecting the increasing interest of the Russian Empire towards the Romanian nation-state in the early 20th century. The growing Russian preoccupation for Romania acquired a systematic character during World War I, when different Russian nationalist organizations, but also the Petrograd officials become aware of the relevance of the “Romanian question” in the context of the projects aiming at the geopolitical transformation of the East European space. A fascinating example in this sense is *fond* 1470, *opis* 1, *delo* 323-324, which holds over 1500 pages of translations from the Romanian press, from the 1914-1916 period, providing a detailed and comprehensive view of the central debates raging in Romania during the neutrality period; 5) Finally, one should emphasize the substantial information from the holdings of the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church (especially *fondy* 796, 797 and 799), which cover the ‘church question’ in the United Principalities and the Romanian Kingdom starting from the reign of Al. I. Cuza and up to the first decade of the 20th century. Beyond these specific *fondy*, the following materials were especially relevant for the project’s topic: *fond* 832, *opis*’ 1, *delo* 108: „On the Situation of the Orthodox Church in the Danubian Principalities” (1860-1867), consisting of 38 documents (mostly diplomatic

dispatches, but also letters of the Romanian church hierarchs addressed to their Russian counterparts). The project director consulted over 80 archival funds, which can serve as a good starting point for a synthetic approach towards the project's topic throughout the following years. These materials will also be included in a number of publications planned for the project's next stages.

The collections of the St. Petersburg libraries were relevant for the project's focus mostly due to the intensive research efforts devoted to the central and local press incorporating materials about Romania. Besides central publications, such as *Sankt-Peterburgskie Vedomosti* and *Novoe Vremia*, a number of Bessarabian Russian-language newspapers were under systematic scrutiny (especially *Bessarabskaia Zhizn'*, *Bessarabets* and *Drug*), which frequently allowed space for Romania-related subjects, reflecting various ideological positions. Dr. Cusco also looked at other regional newspapers published in Southern Russia (e.g., *Odesskii Listok*), that had been usually neglected by the historiography of the region due to their small impact in that period. Certain important moments in the discourse articulated by the Russian press vis-à-vis Romania were emphasized (e.g., the 1907 peasant uprising or the 1914-16 debates and foreign policy polemics). The complete collections of these newspapers can be found both at the Library of the Russian Academy of Sciences and at the Russian National Library. The project director also consulted over 50 printed volumes at the library of the Russian Academy of Sciences (travelogues, historical works, memoirs, political brochures, general publications, polemical writings from the period of the Great War) that offer a more complete understanding of the Russian visions and perceptions (either official or unofficial) towards Romania and its people. In the same context, Dr. Cusco also had access to around 30 similar publications stored in the funds of the Russian National Library. All these materials were either copied or digitalized, thus contributing to enriching the source base of our project.

Research activities: Flavius Solomon. During the project's first stage, dr. Flavius Solomon focused his research activities on two main aspects: 1) the articulation of the visions and perceptions of the Russian diplomacy regarding Romanian society during 1881-1914, as reflected in that period's diplomatic reports and dispatches; 2) the paradigmatic change in Russia's attitude towards Romania at the end of World War I. Both aspects have been

approached through the collection and analysis of important documentary sources, identified during several research trips to the Romanian National Archives (Bucharest), the National Archive of the Republic of Moldova (Chişinău), the Russian National Library (Sankt Petersburg), the State Archive of the Russian Federation – GARF (Moscow), the State Archive of Social and Political History (the „Comintern Archive”) – RGASPI (Moscow), The State Archive (Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv) (Vienna), the Romanian State Archives in Iaşi.

Regarding the first cluster of problems, Dr Solomon came to the conclusion that the Russian diplomatic reports are a crucial source not only for the narrower topic of the Russian-Romanian relations, but also for a better understanding of the mechanisms for the production and transfer of the Russian-generated perceptions concerning Romania and Romanian society. Given the particular importance of these sources, they will not only be used in a number of articles, but will also be published as a series of three or four bilingual, Russian-Romanian, documentary volumes, with detailed interpretive introductory essays and appropriate historical commentaries. The project members have already started working on the first volume in the series (coordinated by Flavius Solomon), which would cover the years 1888-1898 (please see more details below). Also, together with the similar Austro-Hungarian and German documents, partially explored during this year, they will represent a serious starting point for a comparative approach towards the competing visions of the Russian, Austro-Hungarian and German Empires regarding Romania, on the eve and during the early phase of World War I.

The second aspect of special interest for Dr. Solomon concerns the change of paradigm undergone by the Russian diplomacy (especially in connection with Romania) during the 1917 revolutionary turmoil and particularly after the Bolshevik seizure of power. The archival documents identified during the initial project period (Russian diplomatic and military reports covering Romania; documents produced by Soviet organs, including their correspondence with the Romanian Social Democrats; reports sent back home by the Romanian diplomats in Russia; French, Austro-Hungarian, German, Swedish, American diplomatic documents pertaining to this period) proved that Romania represented, during late 1917 and early 1918, one of the first testing grounds for the radical new strategies of Bolshevik foreign policy. These sources, analyzed in the context of the arrest of the Romanian diplomatic mission in Petrograd, the break of diplomatic relations and the formation of an abortive ‘Soviet Romanian’ government in Russia, point to the

conclusion that the transition from the ‘classical’ Russian diplomacy to the ‘proletarian’ Soviet diplomatic model was quite rapid, being based on the Trotskyist theory of ‘permanent revolution.’ The first results of this research were presented at the November Workshop. The presentation will serve as a basis for an article, to be published in a „Web of Science” or „ERIH, A”-indexed journal (see details below).

The International Workshop *Diplomacy and Society in Eastern Europe: Directions, Sources, Research Methods*. The Workshop, held on November 21-22, 2013, was an exploratory event that, on the one hand, served as a totalizing activity for the project’s first stage and, on the other hand, sketched several priorities linked to the comparative context of the activities planned for the next three years. The project members presented the first conclusions and direct results that emerged after this year’s research trips. Panel 2 within the workshop, reserved for our project, (‘Romania and the Great Powers: Visions, Perceptions, Identities’), included several researchers specializing in the field of the history of diplomacy, but also in cultural history and imagology. The participants emphasized the link between the sphere of the political imaginary and the Great Powers’ practical policies. The project director presented a paper on *The ‘Church Question’ in the United Principalities and the Romanian Kingdom in the Mirror of Russian Imperial Discourse (1860-1914): Between Continuity and Transformation*, attempting to analyze Russia’s position towards the Romanian Orthodox Church in the context of the Church-State relationship practiced in the Russian Empire, but also taking into account the priorities of the Russian imperial policies in the borderlands. He emphasized the link between the religious dimension, the (geo)political strategies and the various and competing nation-building projects. The members of the research team, Dr. Flavius Solomon and Dr. Bogdan Ceobanu, presented a paper on *“World Revolution” and the Infancy of Soviet Diplomacy: The Closing of the Romanian Legation in Petrograd in January 1918*, in which they analyzed the first major diplomatic incident resulting from the specific model of Soviet diplomacy. They concluded that the doctrine of ‘world revolution’ signified not only a radical rupture with regard to the classical diplomatic practices, but also a fundamental change in the strategy of the new Russian authorities towards the entire zone of East European contested borderlands. The workshop also included papers by several Romanian (Sorin Cristescu), Moldovan (Virgil Pâslariuc, Ion Varta, Tatiana Varta) and Russian (Oleg Grom) historians, who were closely associated with the project’s topic and goals.

The complete program of the workshop is available on the departmental website at: <http://history.uaic.ro/4566/21-22-noiembrie-2013-workshop-international-diplomatie-si-societate-in-europa-de-est/>, and on the project's own webpage.

The workshop proceedings will be reflected in a series of articles and other scholarly texts, to be elaborated by the project team members during next year.

Reporting period: January – December 2014 (second stage)

During the current year, the activity of the project's research team envisaged three major objectives. First, we invested considerable time and efforts in the documentary publication series planned last year. This series could hopefully serve as a useful research tool not only for the interested area specialists, but also for the wider public. Thus, within the *Documenta diplomatica* collection, hosted by the "Al. I. Cuza" University Press, the first volume of Russian diplomatic reports on Romania (covering the 1888-1898 period) has been published. For the next stages of the project, we are planning to publish a separate volume of sources related to Emperor Nicholas II's visit to Constanta (in June 1914), as well as another installment of the collections of diplomatic dispatches / reports of the Russian representatives to Romania. We are already working on the next volume, which is to cover the period 1899-1905. Both volumes mentioned above are to be published during next year. Second, the project members focused their efforts on the publication of their research materials in internationally recognized journals (including in ISI- or ERIH-indexed periodicals). Please see more details below. Third, the project members continued to work on the collection and systematic analysis of primary documentary sources relevant for the project's topic. The team members undertook several research trips abroad (Turkey, the UK, France, the Republic of Moldova etc.). This effort was determined, up to a large extent, by the necessity to contextualize the narrower topic of the Russian-Romanian relations in the late 19th and early 20th century, by placing them within the broader framework of the general process of transformation of the political sphere and of the collective imaginings, characteristic for this period as a whole. .

Research activities: Andrei Cușco. Throughout 2014, the project director coordinated and was involved in all three kinds of research activities described above. As a result of the earlier

investigations in the St. Petersburg archives (see above), but also due to the analysis of a wide array of sources from the Archive of the Foreign Policy of the Russian Empire (AVPRI; Moscow) and from the Russian State Historical Archive (RGIA, St. Petersburg) Dr. Cusco co-wrote, together with his colleagues, Dr. Flavius Solomon and Oleg Grom, a lengthy article on: *Discourses of Empire and Nation in Early 20th-Century Bessarabia: Russian-Romanian Symbolic Competition and the 1912 Anniversary*. This article is currently under review at the ERIH-indexed journal *Ab Imperio*, one of the most high-quality and innovative specialist publications devoted to the Russian and East European space. The article traces, in detail, the manifestations of the Russian-Romanian ‘symbolic competition’ for Bessarabia, on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of this province’s accession to the Russian empire, in May 1912. This moment represented a crucial stage in the crystallization of the opposing Russian and Romanian visions on the Bessarabian periphery. Bessarabia became an object of mutually exclusive Russian and Romanian claims at a moment when mass politics entered the region. Despite the weak effect on the local population, the anniversary celebrations were an opportunity to articulate the criteria for collective identity and belonging within the Russian imperial and Romanian national setting, highlighting both states’ priorities and concerns in this sphere. The peripheral Bessarabian context acted as a mirror for the dilemmas of state-building and identity construction at a crucial juncture in both cases. On the Russian side, the older concepts of dynastic loyalty and Orthodox unity had to adapt to the nationalizing vocabulary of ethnicity and ‘populist’ rhetoric; on the Romanian side, the broadly shared national consensus was questioned in terms of priorities and ultimate goals. These larger processes intersected in May 1912, when the Russian and Romanian ‘scenarios of belonging’ were enacted on the occasion of the festive ceremonies in Bessarabia and the opposing ‘rituals of commemoration’ in the Romanian Kingdom. Beyond the sometimes narrow perspective of diplomatic history, this article attempts to provide a more complex interpretation of the mutual Russian and Romanian visions through the analysis of the Bessarabian case.

In the fall of 2014, Dr. Cusco undertook two research trips to the British and French archives, which allowed for the collection and analysis of important documentary sources. During his work at the British National Archives in London (Kew), between September 2 and 17, he explored the British diplomatic documents (reports, dispatches, telegrams) concerning Romania

during the last prewar years (especially 1911-1914) and during World War I. Given the broader framework of the Anglo-Russian and Anglo-Romanian relations in this epoch, the last prewar years and the period of neutrality (1914-1916) is a particularly relevant time frame for our project. The British sources offer a much needed 'counterweight' to the Russian diplomatic documents, thus allowing a more thorough analysis of Romania's international status in the East European context. The project director focused his attention on the following funds stored in the British National Archives concerning Romania: the general diplomatic correspondence for 1909 (FO 371/724), 1910 (FO 371/975), 1911 (FO 371/1212), 1912 (FO 371/1464), 1913 (FO 371/1742), 1914 (FO 371/2089), 1915 (FO 371/2443), 1916 (FO 371/2740) and 1917 (FO 371/2993). Dr. Cușco was especially interested in the British diplomatic correspondence during World War I, that reflects the negotiations between the Romanian government and the Entente Powers, as well as Romania's situation in comparison with other major regional players (Russia, Germany, Austria-Hungary). Thus, the special collection of wartime documents was of major importance for Dr. Cusco's research. He reviewed and digitalized the following archival funds: FO 371/1900-1906 (Romania in 1914), FO 371/2241-2282 (Romania in 1915), FO 371/2602-2634 (Romania in 1916), FO 371/3140-3160 (Romania in 1917-1918). Overall, more than 3750 pages of archival documents have been processed and photographed. This represents a solid basis for a complex and nuanced reading of the contemporary sources, transcending the (sometimes biased) interpretation of the Russian and Romanian sources of the time.

The same goal, this time with reference to the French diplomatic sources, was pursued by the project director during his research stay at the Diplomatic Archives of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Paris / Courneuve (October 27 - November 2, 2014). Most of the French diplomatic sources regarding Romania are available on microfilm. Dr. Cusco was mostly interested in the French diplomatic correspondence on Romania between 1896 and 1914 (code: 194 CPCOM), and especially in the files concerning Romania's relations with France, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Russia and the Balkan countries. These documents are available in the microfilm collection under the headings P18709- P 18717 (especially interesting is P 18711). Another major research area was the vision that the French diplomacy articulated with respect to Romania during World War I (from the documents stored in the microfilm collection "La Grande Guerre", code 1CPCOM). The files directly covering Romania (nr. 337-369) are available in the

microfilm collection under the headings P 17601-17609. In sum, over 2500 pages of archival documents have been processed and photographed. The investigations in this field will be pursued during the next year as well. The French and British diplomatic documents are a valuable addition to the thematic focus of the project and will surely allow a more complex and comparative analysis of the Russian-Romanian relations and mutual images.

The project director, together with Dr. Bogdan Ceobanu, was also involved in the editorial process that led to the publication of the collection of Russian diplomatic documents coordinated by Dr. Flavius Solomon (see details below). The publication of this volume represented one of the main priorities of the project activities during the current year.

Research activities: Flavius Solomon. In 2014, dr. Flavius Solomon focused his activities on the analysis and interpretation of the documentary sources identified and collected during the previous year.

The first research track in this sense involved the systematization and publication of the Russian diplomatic reports of the late 1880s and 1890s, which had been partially identified, transcribed and translated in 2013 (see above). The result of this activity was the editing and publication of the documentary collection *Rapoarte diplomatice ruse din România (1888-1898)*, which has just been printed by the Alexandru Ioan Cuza University Press. The sources gathered in this volume open a broad perspective on the role of the Russian diplomatic representatives in Romania in the elaboration of the Russian foreign policy in the Balkan region, as a whole, and in the Romanian setting, in particular. Another level in the interpretation of the published documents concerns the issue of the Russian diplomats' contribution, through their dispatches and letters, to the crystallization of certain images with respect to Romania in the Russian imperial context. A related problem is the way in which these, often stereotypical, but nevertheless always fluctuating, images contributed to the emergence of a general Russian attitude towards Romania. If analyzed in the context of the historiographical debates on the origins, outbreak and progress of the 'Great War', the reports and dispatches of the Russian diplomats from the period 1878-1916 also provide a consistent chronicle of the profound changes Romania's image underwent in their eyes: from a hostile country, tightly bound to its alliance with Germany and Austria-

Hungary, to a country which, both because of its history and its ‘natural’ interests, essentially belonged to an alliance system of which Russia was also a part.

Another outcome of the documentary dimension of Dr. Solomon’s activities was the publication of the article *In Search of a Dynasty or a Republic: Romania in the Postwar Projections of the Central Powers and of Soviet Russia. Documents from the Political Archive of the German Foreign Ministry, December 1917- January 1918*, in the Yearbook of the “George Baritiu” Institute of History in Cluj-Napoca (Series Historica), 2014 (indexed in CEEOL). These documents, stored in the Political Archive of the German Foreign Ministry, reflect the collaboration between the Central Powers and Soviet Russia and include valuable information on the German and Soviet plans to remove the Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen dynasty from the Romanian throne and to replace it with a Soviet Romanian government (according to the immediate plans of Soviet Russia) or with a new German dynasty (following the designs of the Central Powers).

In connection with the same subject of the Russian-Romanian relations in the final period of World War I, Flavius Solomon wrote, with Andrei Cusco’s collaboration, a piece entitled *How much Ideology can Diplomacy Endure? The Early Phase of Soviet-Romanian Relations, November 1917- February 1918*, which is currently under evaluation at the ISI-indexed German journal „Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas“. Based on the most recent publications in the field of the history of international relations and of World War I and using a series of documentary sources hitherto partially or totally ignored by historians, the article examines the relationship between ideology and diplomacy during the first months of the Soviet state’s existence. This case study reveals interesting patterns in the interaction between different perspectives which co-existed at the level of Bolshevik leadership regarding the role of diplomacy in the ‘proletarian state,’ the mechanisms of constructing its foreign policy, and the principles for interaction with foreign states viewed as ideological enemies. The authors conclude that revolutions represent crucial moments leading to profound changes within the system of international relations. On the one hand, the ideological factor has a very significant role in this process. On the other hand, from the point of view of its relations with other states, any successful revolutionary movement attempts to find a compromise between the strongly

ideological revolutionary discourse and certain elements, techniques and strategies characteristic for traditional diplomacy.

The Russian-Romanian relations, this time during Romania's neutrality in the Great War (1914-1916), were the object of the public lecture *1914: Rumänien und der Kriegsausbruch*, delivered by Flavius Solomon in front of the professors and students of the Department of History (Institute of East- and Southeast European History) at the University of Vienna, on June 16, 2014. The lecture was an excellent occasion for an exchange of opinions on the role of mutual perceptions in the field of international relations on the eve and in the initial period of World War I.

Research activities: Adrian-Bogdan Ceobanu. Throughout the current year, Dr. Ceobanu's project activities were structured on several levels. During his two research trips to Chisinau and Istanbul, his attention focused on the archival materials that contained relevant information regarding the evolution of Russian-Romanian relations during the late 19th and early 20th century. On the other hand, as a part of his ongoing research at the Central University Library in Iasi, he concentrated his efforts on studying the central press organs that analyzed Romania's policy towards Russia at different crucial moments in the evolution of the bilateral relationship.

Another aspect of Dr. Ceobanu's activities was his participation at scholarly conferences. In this sense, he took part in the international symposium *World War I: Historical and Historiographical Perspectives*, Cluj-Napoca, June 3-5 2014, where he presented a paper on *Russian-Romanian Relations in the Context of the Outbreak of World War I*. In this paper, dr. Ceobanu emphasized the debates in historiography, the evolution of the bilateral relations as revealed by new documents from the Romanian, Turkish and French archives, but also the way in which the Russian press reflected on the various moments of the escalating crisis in the summer of 1914, according to its ideological orientation. Dr. Ceobanu also participated at a round table on *The Visit of Tsar Nicholas II to Constanța (in 1914)*, organized by the Slavic Studies Chair „P. Caraman” at the Faculty of Letters of the “Alexandru Ioan Cuza” University of Iași on October 27, 2014. On this occasion, he presented a paper on the attitude of the Russian

and Romanian press, but also of the foreign diplomats accredited in Romania, towards Nicholas II's visit to Constanta on June 1/14, 1914.

Last, but not least, dr. Ceobanu devoted some efforts to the publication of his research results. Thus, his article *N. Shebeko e le relazioni romeno-russe nel contesto dello scoppio della Prima guerra balcanica* (p. 71-86) was published in the collective volume *Fra neutralità e conflitto. L'Italia, la Romania e le Guerre balcaniche*, a cura di Antonio D' Alessandri e Rudolf Dinu, Società Editrice Dante Alighieri, Roma. Also, another recent article, *Some Ottoman Documents Concerning the Russian-Romanian Relations (May – June, 1914)*, is forthcoming in the Yearbook of the "A.D. Xenopol" Institute of History, Iași, vol. LI, 2014.

Reporting Period: January – December 2015 (third stage)

According to the general project objectives and to the concrete priorities sketched throughout the preceding period of research activities, during 2015 the members of the research team structured their activities along the three basic tracks outlined previously, i.e., the launching of a documentary series, the publication of articles in specialized scholarly journals and the further collection of materials in domestic and foreign archives (see the relevant section in the 2014 report). Thus, the project's members continued to work on the collections of Russian diplomatic sources (reports) pertaining to Romania. In the first half of 2015, the project's team focused its efforts on the transcribing and translation of the sources to be included in the next volume of the series (covering the period 1899-1905). At present, the basic text of this volume (including the reference matter) is almost ready. Over 90% of the editorial and substantive work has been completed. Unfortunately, the publication of these materials had to be postponed due to unforeseen obstacles, linked to the limited access of the editors to Russian archival sources. Specifically, the project members do not have access to the Russian diplomatic reports for the year 1899, which made the publication of the next volume in the series impossible (at least this year). Despite the official requests and letters addressed by the editors to the Russian archives in order to gain access to a number of relevant documents covering the year 1899, these attempts failed. We intend to pursue our work on the prospective volumes of Russian diplomatic documents concerning Romania. Our aim for next year is to cover the subsequent (1909-1913)

period. Our future plans also depend on the more systematic access to the archival collections in Russia, which will hopefully be improved once the Moscow-based Archive of the Foreign Policy of the Russian Empire (AVPRI) is reopened, in the near future.

The International Conference *Romanians during World War I: Temptations, Opinions, and Actions during the Period of Romania's Neutrality* (with a Special Section: *Russia and Romania in 1914-1916. Visions, Perceptions, Interpretations*). The entire project team has been closely involved in organizing the international conference *Romanians during World War I: Temptations, Opinions, and Actions during the Period of Romania's Neutrality*, with a special section concerning the Russian-Romanian relations during the first two decades of the 20th century. The symposium, held in Iași, on October 8-9, 2015, featured a number of participants from various university centers in Romania, the Republic of Moldova and the Russian Federation. The significant contribution of Dr. Flavius Solomon and Dr. Bogdan Ceobanu to the organization of the event should be particularly emphasized. Their efforts were decisive for the successful outcome of the conference proceedings. The conference materials will be published in 2016, in a special supplementary issue of the Yearbook of the "A. D. Xenopol" Institute of History in Iași (a CEEOL-indexed journal).

Research activities: Andrei Cușco. During the current year, the project director participated at two academic events, where he presented certain research results and materials relevant to the project's thematic focus. Thus, on May 31 and June 1, 2015, A. Cușco presented a paper on *Constantin Stere, "the Bessarabian Question" and the Neutrality-Era Debates in Romania (1914-1916)* at the international symposium "Constantin Stere: Prozator, publicist, jurist și om politic. La 150 de ani de la naștere", organized in Chisinau by the Moldovan Academy of sciences on the occasion of the 150th anniversary of Stere's birth. A. Cușco also submitted a paper (*From Enemies to Allies: Mutual Images and Discursive Practices in the Russian-Romanian Relations before and during World War I*) to the Special Section on *Russia and Romania in 1914-1916. Visions, Perceptions, Interpretations* within the International Conference *Romanians during World War I: Temptations, Opinions, and Actions during the Period of Romania's Neutrality*, held in Iasi on October 8-9, 2015 (see above). The paper discussed the course of Russian-Romanian relations in the period immediately preceding and during World

War I. In this interval, a transition occurred from the 1912 moment, marked by a heightened symbolic tension, to the gradual “normalization” of the neighboring empire’s image in the last two prewar years. This subject was approached through three representative cases that epitomize the mutual “gaze in the mirror” of the Russian and Romanian elites during World War I. From the Romanian side, the paper examined the little-known work of Vasile D. Moisiu, published in 1915. On the Russian side, it discussed the positions expressed, during 1914-16, by some of the most active Russian nationalist and irredentist activists and thinkers of that era – D. N. Chikhachev and D. N. Vergun. Chikhachev appears, in his travel notes, as a supporter of a hard, “realist” approach in Russian foreign policy, which also had an impact on his image of Romania. Despite his criticisms of the Westernizing tendencies he perceived within Romanian society, he believed that Romania was not “lost” for the Russian cause and also that the two states had an obvious “commonality of interests” in the strategic and economic sphere. This was a precondition for their eventual rapprochement. Vergun, who advocated Bukovina’s annexation to the Russian Empire, displayed an explicit interest in Romania’s place within the new post-war order. He fervently supported a “permanent alliance” between Russia and Romania, which would result in a customs union and in the effective subordination of Romania’s foreign policy to Russian imperial hegemony. This was to be achieved through the two elements within Romanian society perceived as “pro-Russian:” the clergy and the peasantry. Thus, Romania entered the general schemes and plans for post-war border revision, serving as a perfect illustration of the entanglements between domestic and foreign policy that framed the actions of the region’s rival imperial players.

The results of some project-related research activities have been synthesized by A. Cușco in an article (*The „Church Question” in the Romanian Principalities and the Romanian Kingdom in the Mirror of Russian Imperial Discourse (1860-1914): Between Continuity and Change*) that is forthcoming in the Yearbook of the “A. D. Xenopol” Institute of History in Iasi (in December 2015). This article discusses the link between the domestic and foreign policy of the Russian Empire through the lens of the religious aspect. It is based on the case study of the „church question” in the United Principalities/Romania, highlighting the perceptions of this issue within Russian official and diplomatic circles. The argument is built upon the premise that religion was

one of the main elements of the Russian imperial project, not only for legitimizing imperial expansion, but also for constructing and reproducing difference. The dangers of ‚contamination,‘ apostasy and uncertain loyalty lurked in the background of imperial policies and often framed the authorities’ attitude towards ‚suspect’ religious communities. Just as frequently, the Russian observers transferred their own fears and phobias generated within the empire to external contexts. The Russian perceptions of the Romanian case are a revealing example of this logic. The language and conceptual categories that emerged during the 1860s in the Russian Empire’s Western borderlands in connection with the ‚Polish Question’ and the role of the Catholic clergy were reproduced in the Romanian case. The religious dimension provides a unique basis for an *entangled history* of the mutual Russian and Romanian perceptions. The quasi-obsessive threat of ‚Latinism’ and the cliché of the pervasive danger of Catholic propaganda that dominated the Russian images of the Romanian church and society allowed the Russian observers to project the ideal vision of the Self through the inverted mirror of the Other. In the first decade of the 20th century, as the Russian-Romanian relations gradually improved, these discursive elements faded away, but they never disappeared entirely. Only the fundamental changes brought to the region by World War I radically altered the earlier discursive patterns in this regard.

Between August 3 and 9, the project director left for a research trip to the British National Archives in London (Kew). Pursuing the line of research initiated last year, A. Cușco focused his attention primarily on the British diplomatic correspondence on Eastern Europe during the period of World War I, which is a part of the greater War collection. A. Cusco examined, specifically, the holdings of the following archival units: FO 371/1900-1906 (Romania in 1914), FO 371/2241-2282 (Romania in 1915), FO 371/2602-2634 (Romania in 1916), FO 371/3140-3160 (Romania in 1917-1918). Overall, over 2200 pages of archival documents have been photographed. These sources contribute significantly to the picture of the wartime diplomatic negotiations and of Romania’s relations with the Entente Allies (including Russia) during the period of Romania’s neutrality and active belligerent status. The materials concerning the course of events during 1918, when the country’s situation is very closely followed by the British diplomats, are particularly interesting. This is connected to the dramatic shifts in Romania’s international status and foreign policy, which reflected the larger developments on the Eastern

Front. A. Cușco was also interested in the attitude and positions articulated by British diplomacy towards the situation in the Western borderlands of the Russian Empire, in the context of the region's national movements and of the occupation policies introduced by German armies on these territories (or, conversely, of the Russian occupation policies in Galicia). These aspects allow the application of the comparative approach to the Romanian case and further complicate the connection between the domestic and foreign dimensions of Russia's (and its rivals') actions and decision-making on the fronts of the Great War.

Research activities: Flavius Solomon. During the current year, Flavius Solomon's activity within the project team was structured along the following lines: 1. Transcribing and translation of the Russian diplomatic documents and sources pertaining to Romania (1888-1916); 2. Participation at scholarly conferences and symposia; 3. Finalizing and publishing an article in a WoS-indexed journal and another article in an ERIH (A)-indexed journal; 4. Organization of an international conference within the project's thematic area; 5. Collection of documentary sources in various libraries and archives.

Flavius Solomon presented original papers related to the overall topic of the project at two international scholarly events. Thus, in the framework of the conference *Constantin Stere – jurist, profesor universitar, publicist, prozator și om politic. La 150 de ani de la naștere* (Chișinău, May 31 – June 2, 2015) Dr. Solomon gave a talk on *Constantin Stere, Germany, and Romania's Neutrality, 1914-1916*. In the framework of the symposium *Romanians during World War I: Temptations, Opinions, and Actions during the Period of Romania's Neutrality* (Iași, October 8-9), Dr. Solomon presented a paper on *Romania in the Foreign Policy Representations of the Russian Empire on the Eve of World War I*.

During the current year, Flavius Solomon, together with Andrei Cușco, worked on the appropriate revisions and adjustments for the article *How Much Ideology Can Diplomacy Endure? The Early Phase of Soviet-Romanian Relations, November 1917–February 1918*, according to the comments and suggestions formulated by the anonymous reviewers. The article is now published in Issue 63 (2015), Volume 3, of the WoS – ISI-indexed journal „Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas”, which is rated as one of the most important publications worldwide

specializing in the history of Eastern Europe. Also, during the reporting period Dr. Solomon was closely involved in revising and finalizing the article *Discourses of Empire and Nation in Early 20th-Century Bessarabia: Russian-Romanian Symbolic Competition and the 1912 Anniversary* (co-authored with Andrei Cusco), which is forthcoming in Nr. 4 (2015) of the ERIH (category A)-indexed journal „Ab Imperio”.

Finally, during the current year, Flavius Solomon further pursued his research activities in various archives and libraries within Romania (The Romanian National Archives, in Bucharest; The State Archives in Iași; The Central University Library in Iași), but also in Austria (Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna) and Germany (Politisches Archiv Berlin). Dr. Solomon was particularly interested in the evolution of the Russian-Romanian relations immediately before and during World War I. The main emphasis during the course of the research rested on the interaction between the Great Powers and its impact on Romania.

Research activities: Adrian-Bogdan Ceobanu. Adrian-Bogdan Ceobanu’s research activity in the framework of the project was pursued on several interconnected levels. One of these aspects concerned the dissemination of research results. Dr. Ceobanu participated at three scholarly conferences, including a national symposium, held in Iași, and two international events, organized in Sofia and Cluj-Napoca. At the national colloquium *Biography – Prosopography – Genealogy: Methodological Debates and Case Studies from Antiquity to the Present*, which took place on May 16, 2015, he presented a paper on *Gheorghe Rosetti-Solescu- A Diplomat of the Old Kingdom*. The topic was far from accidental, being highly relevant to the project’s focus. Rosetti-Solescu was the longest-serving among the chiefs of the Romanian diplomatic missions in Saint-Petersburg, holding this position for around 16 years. He also married into the milieu of the Russian elite: his wife was Olga Giers, the daughter of the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, N.K. Giers. Using Rosetti-Solescu’s personal and diplomatic correspondence, Dr. Ceobanu was able to trace not only his diplomatic career, but also the personal relations and networks he developed within Russian high society. He was also able to examine the way in which Russian imperial diplomacy perceived the main domestic and foreign policy issues pertaining to the Romanian state. Within the *11th CONGRESS OF SOUTH-EAST EUROPEAN STUDIES*, SOFIA 2015, Dr. Ceobanu submitted a paper with the following title: *From Berlin to*

Sarajevo: Romanian-Russian Relations, 1878-1914. The author attempted to discuss the evolution of the political and diplomatic relations between the two countries during the period from the Berlin Congress to the Sarajevo murder. Dr. Ceobanu emphasized the transition from the initially tense and cold Russo-Romanian relations to a phase of normalization. He pointed out several important stages in this process: the proclamation of the Romanian Kingdom and Russia's attitude in the matter, the Franco-Russian alliance and its impact on Romania, the official visit of King Carol I to Russia, in the summer of 1898, the attitude of the Russian Empire towards Romania in the context of the Balkan Wars. Pursuing the same research track and building on his earlier scholarly interests, Dr. Ceobanu presented a paper, in October 2015, on the topic of "*The Diamandi Incident*": *The Situation of the Romanian Diplomats in Russia (1917-1918)*, at the international conference *World War I - The Other Faces of the War*, organized by the Babeş-Bolyai University of Cluj Napoca. Closely looking at the moment of the arrest of the Romanian diplomats in the Russian capital on New Year's Eve of 1918, Dr. Ceobanu concluded, based on previously unpublished documents, that this was not the only case in which Romanian diplomats had been arrested in Russia before 1918. Instead of focusing on Bolshevik ideology, the author emphasized the importance of the outbreak, the course and the major implications of World War I for the evolution of European diplomacy.

Another important aspect of Dr. Ceobanu's research activity within the project was the further collection of documentary sources. During several research trips to the Romanian National Archives in Bucharest, he examined the official correspondence of the Russian diplomats accredited in Bucharest in the early 20th century. Dr. Ceobanu continued his earlier research on the *Microfilm Collection. Russia*, held in the Bucharest archives. He also investigated the personal fund of Constantin Diamandi, who was the Romanian envoy to St. Petersburg during the period 1914-1918. Both the personal and the diplomatic correspondence of this figure could contribute to opening new avenues for further research. Dr. Ceobanu's other research trips focused on the archival funds preserved in the Library of the Romanian Academy (in the Manuscript Division) and in the Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Bucharest (e.g., *Fund Historical Archive*, *Fund Petrograd*, *Fund World War I*).

Reporting period: January – September 2016 (final stage)

During the project's fourth stage, the research team focused on the completion of the final collective volume, which encompasses the results of the conference organized in Iasi in October 2015 (please see the report for the previous year). The project members also undertook several research trips to Romanian and foreign archives and libraries in order to finalize their scheduled activities. They also participated at a number of scholarly events relevant to the project's topic. As a result, during the current year we published two edited volumes and several articles and book chapters (please see details below).

Research activities: Andrei Cușco. Between May 16 and May 28, the project director had a research trip to the Romanian National Archives (Bucharest). This trip proved to be particularly important for achieving a comparatively coherent and complete image of the Russian and Romanian diplomatic strategies and actions during World War I. The information collected as a result of his work in the Bucharest archives was systematically confronted and juxtaposed with the sources previously consulted during A. Cusco's research trips to the UK and France. Thus, a complex picture of the Russian-Romanian negotiations and of the functioning of the Russian-Romanian alliance between 1914 and 1917 gradually emerged. Concretely, A. Cusco consulted the following files preserved in the collections of the Romanian National Archives: Fund Constantin Diamandi (inv. nr. 1350), files 27, 29, 30, 33-35; Fund Royal House (Casa Regală), (inv. Nr. 726), files 6/ 1916, 12/ 1916, 1/ 1917, 6/ 1917, 14/ 1918; Fund Royal House (Casa Regală) – Miscellaneous (inv. nr. 2576), file 5 / 1918; Fund Presidency of the Council of Ministers (inv. nr. 299), files 28/ 1917, 33-38/ 1917, 6/ 1918, 19/ 1918; as well as several personal funds belonging to Bessarabian national activists of that era. These funds comprise interesting and significant data concerning the military and political situation on the Romanian Front during 1917, but also some important information concerning the unfolding of events in Bessarabia during that period (Fund 2227 (Daniel Ciugureanu), Fund 2126 (Pan Halippa), Fund 1646 (Gh. Pântea), Fund 1449 (Ion Pelivan). Another collection consulted in the Romanian National Archives was Fund 1115 (The League for the Cultural Unity of All Romanians). As a result, over 2500 pages of archival documents have been photographed. These documents contribute to the clarification of the main developments occurring during the period of Romanian

neutrality and belligerence. The materials pertaining to the 1918 events are of particular interest, especially those related to the establishment and consolidation of Romanian administration in Bessarabia, in the context of the deep geopolitical transformations of the East European space during that period.

During this reporting stage, the project director participated at four scholarly events, where he presented several papers related (directly or indirectly) to the project's thematic focus. Thus, on April 14 – 15, 2016, A. Cusco participated at the International Colloquium *Romania between Allies and Enemies: 100 Years after the Entry into the War (1916-2016)*, organized by the Center for the History of International Relations of the History Department at „Al. I. Cuza” University of Iași, together with the German Cultural Center in Iași. On this occasion, he presented a paper on “The Controversy over the ‘Bessarabian Question’ in the Romanian Kingdom (1914-1916),” which he co-authored with his fellow project member, Flavius Solomon. This text will be published in the collective volume to be printed by the conference's organizers by the end of 2016. On May 20 and 21, 2016 (during his research trip to Bucharest), A. Cusco took part in the international symposium *Mobilities in the Black Sea Region*, organized by the New Europe College (NEC). The topic of his presentation was “Marginality, Stigma, and Uncertain Identities: Trajectories of Bessarabian Emigrés in Romania.” It focused on four cases of important Bessarabian-born émigrés that left their imprint, in various ways, on the Romanian national discourse (B. P. Hasdeu, D. Moruzi, C. Stere and Z. Ralli-Arbore). The next international scholarly event within which A. Cusco had the opportunity to present the results of his recent research was the International Colloquium “The Epoch of Wars and Revolutions, 1914-1922” («Эпоха войн и революций (1914-1922)»), organized by the European University at St. Petersburg, Russia, on June 9-11, 2016. On this occasion, the project director presented a synthesis of the main developments and processes occurring in Bessarabia during 1914-1918, in the broader context of the Great War and of the events unfolding on the Romanian Front. Finally, between June 26 and 28, 2016, A. Cusco participated at the Association of Slavic, East European and Eurasian Studies (ASEEES-MAG) Joint Regional Summer Convention, held at the Ukrainian Catholic University in Lviv, Ukraine. The subject of his paper was the case of Southern Bessarabia between 1878 and 1914, from the point of view of the Russian-Romanian

relations. All these symposia and conferences were excellent occasions for disseminating the project's research results. Also, in March 2016, the article *Discourses of Empire and Nation in Early 20th-Century Bessarabia: Russian-Romanian Symbolic Competition and the 1912 Anniversary*, was published in Nr. 4 (2015) of the „Ab Imperio” journal (pp. 91-129, also see above). Finally, the project director published the article / book chapter „From Adversaries to Allies: Mutual Images and Discursive Practices in the Russian-Romanian Relations Before and During World War I.” This text was included in the project's final volume, co-edited by Flavius Solomon, Andrei Cușco and Mihai-Ștefan Ceașu (pp. 265-293). Please see below more details on this volume. The article seeks to analyze the discursive dimension of the Russian-Romanian relations in the context of World War I. It discusses four case studies which illustrate, in a different but also complementary way, the transformation of the image of the „Other” under the conditions of total war. This text was based on the paper presented by A. Cusco in the framework of the conference organized by the project's team in Iași, in October 2015 (please see details in the report for 2015).

Research activities: Flavius Solomon. During January – September 2016, dr. Flavius Solomon pursued his research in various Romanian and foreign archives and libraries, focusing, in particular, on the sources linked to the Russian-Romanian relations during the decades leading up to World War I and in the initial phase of the Great War. Dr. Solomon was especially interested in the documents held by Romanian and German archives and libraries. To achieve this goal, he undertook several research trips to Bucharest and Berlin (including to the Romanian National Archives, the Archive of the Romanian Foreign Ministry, the Manuscript Division of the Library of the Romanian Academy, and the Political Archive of the Foreign Ministry of the Federal Republic of Germany). Unfortunately, due to the postponement of the re-opening of the Archive of the Foreign Policy of the Russian Empire, the planned documentary investigations in Moscow could not be pursued during the final stage of the project.

The results of Dr. Solomon's previous and current research found their reflection in his participation at several conferences, at which he presented scholarly papers. Thus, he attended the conference *Romania between Allies and Enemies: 100 Years after the Entry into the War (1916-2016)* (April 14-15, 2016), delivering a paper co-authored with Andrei Cusco (see above).

He also took part in the symposium *100 Years From the Opening of the Romanian Front in World War I (1916-2016)* (March 22-23, 2016), which was held in Iași under the auspices of the Institute of Political, Defense, and Military History Studies. A part of the sources identified during Dr. Solomon's archival research trips were also used during his preparatory work for the lecture „*An wessen Seite sollen wir ziehen?*“ *Rumäniens Eintritt in den Ersten Weltkrieg 1916*, which will be delivered on October 10, 2016, at the Bavarian State Library (Munich), during the opening of the exhibition *Durch Niederlagen zum Sieg? Rumäniens Eintritt in den Ersten Weltkrieg 1916*.

During the reporting period, Dr. Flavius Solomon was rather actively involved in the editorial work on the project's final collective volume (see details below). This volume includes the papers presented at the international symposium *Romanians during World War I. Temptations, Opinions and Actions during the Period of Romania's Neutrality*, organized in Iasi in the framework of the project on October 8-9, 2015 (please also see the report for 2015). Dr. Solomon published, within this collective volume, the article *An Enemy, Neutral or Allied Country? Russian Visions of Romania during the Prewar Years and in the Early Phase of the Great War*. In this text, Dr. Solomon discusses the way in which the Russian perceptions of Romania developed within the academic, political, and military milieus of the Romanov Empire in the late 19th and early 20th century.

Research activities: Adrian-Bogdan Ceobanu. During the first nine months of 2016, Adrian-Bogdan Ceobanu pursued several objectives in the framework of his research activity. First, he undertook several research trips to the Romanian National Archives in Bucharest and to several universities, libraries and archives in Chisinau. During his work in the Romanian archives, he was interested in the diplomatic correspondence produced by the Romanian envoys to St. Petersburg, especially by Gheorghe Rosetti-Solescu and Constantin Diamandi. While working in the National Archive of the Republic of Moldova, he was able to identify numerous reports authored by the Romanian envoy to Russia, Rosetti-Solescu, in connection with the Potemkin cruiser incident in 1905. He also had access to the archive's rich photo collection, being particularly interested in photographs depicting Tsar Nicholas II and the imperial family, but also other high Russian dignitaries. As a result of the research trips he made during the

current and previous years, Adrian-Bogdan Ceobanu edited, together with his fellow researcher Rudolf Dinu, the volume *Gheorghe Rosetti-Solescu. Corespondență diplomatică personală și oficială (1895-1911)*. Petersburg, published at the "Alexandru Ioan Cuza" University Press in Iași, in September 2016, within the *Documenta* collection. The 107 documents published in this volume mostly come from various Romanian archival and library collections (Library of the Romanian Academy, Romanian National Archives, The National Library of Romania, Brașov District Service of the National Archives). Some materials have been selected from the archives in the Republic of Moldova and from the State Archive of the Russian Federation in Moscow. Within this volume, Bogdan Ceobanu wrote the introductory study, both in its original Romanian version (p. 9-46) and in French translation (p. 47-87). This text, entitled *Gheorghe Rosetti-Solescu. Diplomat of the Old Kingdom*, discusses the career of the Romanian diplomat, from his humble beginnings as a simple attaché to his becoming chief of the Romanian diplomatic mission to St. Petersburg, between 1895 and 1911. Rosetti-Solescu was one of the longest-serving diplomats of the Old Kingdom, remaining at his Petersburg post for roughly 16 years. The publication of his correspondence is a very useful tool for all the researchers interested in the evolution of the Russian-Romanian relations in the late 19th and early 20th century. Bogdan Ceobanu also published, in the framework of the project, a study on *Continuity vs. Discontinuity: Romanian Plenipotentiaries during World War I*. This text was published in the project's final collective volume, co-edited by Flavius Solomon, Andrei Cușco and Mihai-Ștefan Ceașu (p. 107-134, see details below). In this text, the author analyzed, on the one hand, the relationship between the decision-makers in Bucharest and Romania's diplomatic envoys. On the other hand, he discussed the way in which Romania's entry into the war, in 1916, led to significant changes in the diplomatic corps and to the creation of several new diplomatic missions.

The collective volume *România și statele vecine la începutul Primului Război Mondial: Viziuni, percepții, interpretări* (editors: Flavius Solomon, Andrei Cușco, Mihai-Ștefan Ceașu). During the last project year, one of the priorities of the project's research team was the editorial work on and publication of the final collective volume, which includes the materials of the conference organized in October 2015. This work, comprising 18 texts, was printed in a period when the Romanian academic community and civil society commemorate the centenary of Romania's

entry in what would later come to be known as the “Great War.” This volume had the aim to analyze and discuss the history of the initial phase of World War I in Romania and in its neighbor states, from a diversity of perspectives. These include both more familiar approaches, such as certain aspects concerning international relations and the history of diplomacy, and a number of more innovative analyses, from a methodological point of view. Thus, for example, the authors examine the war’s impact and legacy in the sphere of mutual perceptions and images, as well as its influence on everyday life and practices. We are certain that, due to its challenging theoretical and methodological perspectives and due to the careful selection of its subject matter, this volume represents a significant contribution to the great historiographical debates around the genesis and regional specificity of the “Great War.” This volume was published at the ”Al. I. Cuza” University Press in Iași, in September 2016. (428 pp. ISBN: 978- 606- 714- 291- 4).

The project essentially achieved its major initial goals. However, certain project objectives (specifically, those related to the publication of the next volume in the series of Russian diplomatic sources pertaining to Romania, as well as the quantitative scholarly output measured in the number of articles published in scholarly journals) had to be partially adjusted, due to unforeseen circumstances. The changes in the project agenda are also linked to the extension of its duration (by 10 months) due to certain budgetary adjustments in 2014.