

BABEȘ BOLYAI UNIVERSITY CLUJ-NAPOCA
FACULTY OF HISTORY AND PHILOSOPHY
DOCTORAL SCHOOL OF POPULATION STUDIES AND HISTORY OF
MINORITIES

**From Duty to Desertion. The Phenomenon of Desertion among Romanians
in the Austro-Hungarian Army during World War I**
SUMMARY

Scientific coordinator:
Conf. Univ. Dr. Ana-Victoria SIMA

PhD candidate:
Anamaria-Alexandra POP

Cluj-Napoca
2023

Table of Contents

List of Tables and Figures	3
Introductory Considerations	5
Chapter 1. The Military Context of Desertion	22
Chapter 2. Desertion in World War I	56
Chapter 3. 1914. The First Months of War. Aspects of Desertion among Transylvanian Romanians in the Austro-Hungarian Army	97
Chapter 4. The Continuous War. Escalation of the Desertion Phenomenon. The War.....	123
Chapter 5. Between Duty, Personal Salvation, and Unity: Desertion in Romanian Memoirs	159
Conclusions.....	216
Bibliography	228
Appendix.....	243

Keywords:

World War I, desertion, Transylvania, memoirs, trauma, abandonment, emigration, legislation

Abstract

The theme of military desertion in the Austro-Hungarian Empire during the period of World War I was popularized in Romanian literature by the writer Liviu Rebreanu, through the character Apostol Bologa in the novel "Forest of the Hanged"¹. Inspired by the tragedy of his brother, Emil Rebreanu, the novel portrays the drama of an officer in the Austro-Hungarian army sent to fight on the Transylvanian front against the Romanian army. The internal struggle between loyalty to the Austro-Hungarian army and national sentiment tragically culminates in the protagonist's death sentence for attempting to desert to the Romanian enemy lines. According to the author's testimony, the moral dilemmas of the character Apostol Bologa encompass the turmoil of the wartime generation². Drawing inspiration from his brother's tragedy, numerous literary critics have overlaid the novel's story with the personal drama of Emil Rebreanu³. Although acknowledging the significant contribution this experience brought to shaping the novel, Liviu Rebreanu confessed to infusing Apostol Bologa with many characteristics of his own generation concerning national feelings and hesitations in fully embracing them⁴.

Nevertheless, the novel reflects major themes regarding loyalty to the Austro-Hungarian Empire among its soldiers. Throughout the novel, Apostol Bologa is depicted as a loyal soldier of the army and the cause of the war waged by the dual monarchy. However, as the war unfolds, he gradually begins to doubt the cause he faithfully served, until he decides to desert to those he considers kin while stationed with his troop on the Transylvanian front.

The theme of geographic proximity that either ignites or reignites the sense of national identity appears in most war memoirs that record acts of betrayal against the Austro-Hungarian army. Cassian Munteanu, Octavian Tăslăuanu, Ilie Stricatu, Pavel Jumanca, Vasile Branca, Enache Boțoacă, Enache Pop, Simion Zaharescu, Laurian Aron, and Petru Talpeș are just a small fraction of those who recorded desertion to Romania. Like Apostol Bologa, Petru Talpeș crossed into

¹ Liviu Rebreanu, *Pădurea spânzuraților*, Editura Minerva, București, 1978, *passim*.

² Idem, *Mărturisiri*, 1932 apud. Nicolae Gheran, „Prefață” în Liviu Rebreanu, *Pădurea spânzuraților*, p. XIV.

³ Nicolae Gheran, „Prefață”..., p. XIII.

⁴ Liviu Rebreanu, *Mărturisiri*..., p. XIV.

Romania after it began hostilities against the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Cassian Munteanu, Octavian Tăslăuanu, and Ilie Stricatu used their recovery and hospitalization periods in Transylvania to make their way across the mountains. Some deserted to Romania in the early years of the war while still stationed with their regiment in Transylvania, while others did so just before being incorporated. The documented memory of those who betrayed the imperial army shaped this tendency, which is supported by primary sources concerning the subject of desertion towards Romania.

The information gathered by the Romanian border guards, analyzed in chapters three and four of this work, provides new details intended to nuance the phenomenon of desertion towards Romania during the war. However, amidst these data arise questions and hypotheses that call for further research. One of the key observations is how the deserters' data were collected by the border guards. Apparently, this process revealed not only discrepancies in recording but also a possible lack of well-defined rules regarding the reception and management of deserters. In a period when borders were of paramount concern, border guard units and local gendarmeries worked together to ensure security. Nevertheless, the documents analyzed indicate that their area of expertise was not clearly delineated, and coordination between the two institutions was not finalized.

Within the complex context of war, the data provided by the border guard corps can only reconstruct a portion of the reality of this phenomenon, with the possibility that this information may not comprehensively reflect migration towards Romania during World War I. Furthermore, the interruption of deserter records in the summer of 1915 cannot be overlooked in the investigation of this subject. A decrease in the number of deserters due to the transfer of predominantly Romanian regiments to the Italian front could be one possible explanation. Subsequently, Romania's entry into the conflict and the occupation by the Central Powers could be among the factors that led to the Romanian authorities' lack of concern for this phenomenon. Another hypothesis regarding the cessation of records in the summer of 1915 involves changes in the responsibilities of border guard soldiers or the transfer of this activity to other institutions, such as local gendarmeries. The primary documents analyzed in the preceding chapters are of a military nature, with a strict hierarchical process. Therefore, similar statistics may exist in other archival sources from the Old Kingdom of Romania that remain unidentified for now.

Analyzing the information collected and reported by the Romanian border guard corps, several significant impressions regarding the migratory movement towards Romanian territory in

the early months of the war have emerged. A substantial portion of these civilian refugees or deserters from the Austro-Hungarian army shared a common trait: they were of Romanian nationality. Most of them originated from the bordering areas of Transylvania (or Bukovina, in the case of the border guard company in Dorohoi), usually from localities and counties located in the immediate vicinity of the Romanian border. Soldiers hailing from the mountainous and border regions of Transylvania grasped the scale of the unfolding war and sought refuge in Romania. The regiments to which these soldiers belonged were stationed in cities located near the Romanian border. It is likely that many of those who are listed in the border guard reports at the end of 1914 are those who did not experience the front's realities before arriving in Romania, deserting from their garrisons. The temptation to desert towards Romania was particularly pronounced in the border areas. The composition of the deserters' lists suggests that most soldiers collaborated to cross the border together. Details such as belonging to the same military unit, entering Romanian territory on the same date and through the same entry point, make it unlikely that these elements were mere coincidences in the reports compiled by the border guard soldiers. Additionally, desertion is a deeply social act. The camaraderie that inspired and united soldiers during the war had a similar effect in cases of desertion. Soldiers collaborating to plan desertion exposed themselves to the risk of being exposed to military authorities, which could have had fatal consequences. Some of these soldiers likely knew each other before the war, or perhaps a distinct event within the garrison or at the front brought them together and tied their destinies until the moment of desertion.

Transit routes towards Romania indicate a preference among soldiers for points closest to their regiment's garrison town. The majority of soldiers from the 23rd Honvéd and 31st Infantry regiments, stationed in the town of Sibiu, crossed into Romania through the bordering localities of Râul Vadului, Muntele Galbena, and Piscul Negru, all situated approximately 50 km away from their garrison town. The same distance seems optimal for soldiers stationed in Braşov as well. The entry points into Romania are on average around 50 km from their garrison town. When choosing to desert, opting for a shorter route may suggest that deserters aimed to minimize the stress level they would face on a longer journey. By selecting a shorter route, they sought to avoid encountering potential dangers or complex situations that could arise during a lengthier trip. Thus, choosing the shortest path not only allowed them to reach their destination faster but also reduced potential difficulties or uncertainties that might have arisen if their route required covering a

greater distance. This could have been a strategy to manage their emotional and psychological state during the desertion process, providing them with a sense of control and safety in a tense situation.

These findings were supported and complemented by news reports from 1914. Romanian soldiers from the Austro-Hungarian army who lived near the Romanian border and were part of regiments stationed in border towns like Caransebeș, Sibiu, and Brașov, offered details from the outset of the conflict. At the start of the war, the press highlighted these soldiers' loyalty to the Austro-Hungarian Empire and interpreted their desertion as a self-protective gesture against the Russian enemies. However, starting in the fall of 1914, press articles presented other motivations for desertion, such as national discrimination, shortcomings in the military system, and aspirations to join the Romanian army.

Beginning in 1915, the records of the border guards highlighted several opportune calendar periods for desertion towards Romania. The numbers significantly increased in January, as soldiers were granted leave to return home for winter holidays, as well as in the months of May and June. The fluctuations in the summer months of May and June could be interpreted as soldiers' reactions to the Austro-Hungarian army's Carpathian campaign, involving most of the Romanian regiments in Transylvania. Another factor influencing the decision of many to leave the borders beginning in May was the alteration of age limits for mobilization. Specifically, Imperial Ordinance 108/1 May 1915⁵ brought changes to Law 90/6 June 1886⁶ regarding military recruitment. Before this alteration, the law stipulated that during war, all men aged 19 to 42 were eligible for mobilization. However, due to the losses suffered by the dual monarchy in the first year of conflict and the necessity to send replacement troops to the front, an important change was introduced in May, extending the age range for mobilization from 18 to 50. The increase in the enlistment age is among the declared motivations of deserters who entered Romania under the jurisdiction of Company 6 Turnu Severin, part of the 1st Border Guard Regiment⁷. In addition to identifying information such as names, nationality, state, and the regiment from which they deserted, these lists also include the motivations underlying their decision to leave the Austro-Hungarian army. In fact, this is the only

⁵ Biblioteca Națională a Austriei, *ALEX Historische Rechts und Gesetzestext*, Biblioteca Națională a Austriei, *ALEX Historische Rechts und Gesetzestext*, <https://alex.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/alex?aid=rro&datum=1915&size=45&page=231>, accesat la 18 aprilie 2023.

⁶ Idem, <https://alex.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/alex?aid=rro&datum=1886&size=45&page=321>, accesat la 18 aprilie 2023.

⁷ DCAAMNR, Fond 1663-Corpul Grănicerilor, Dosar 76, ff. 64, 66, 131 și Dosar 82, ff. 38, 55, 80, 107.

border guard company that recorded the cause of desertion in its reports. Among the over thirty recorded deserters, nearly half emphasized the unfair treatment by superiors in the Austro-Hungarian army as a motive for desertion. Eleven of them mentioned lack of food and malnutrition as determining factors. The initial records, beginning on 8 January 1915, reveal that some soldiers deserted due to poor conditions on the battlefield and improper treatment in the hospitals where they were treated⁸. The most notable group of deserters, ten soldiers from Regiment 64 stationed in Orăștie, indicated "injustices against Romanians and persecutions by Hungarians"⁹ as reasons for desertion. Subsequent examples cited lack of food as the main cause for desertion¹⁰. Among those who avoided mobilization were Atanasie Dobraia, who crossed into Romania at the age of 49 due to the change in age limits, and Ion Stancu, called to arms despite being exempt from military service¹¹.

Unfortunately, in few instances did deserter soldiers reveal to the border guards the reasons that led them to abandon their positions within the Austro-Hungarian army. When questioned by the border guards, Romanian deserters mentioned only a few motives underlying their decision. These motives included chronic food shortages, changes in age limits for recruitment, and the demeaning behavior of Hungarian officers. These were the only explanations that deserters presented to the border authorities. These motivations were reiterated in press articles from 1915, which recounted the experiences of Austro-Hungarian army deserters who sought refuge in Romania. The reports on deserters emphasized the lack of military equipment and food¹², physical exhaustion¹³, national discrimination¹⁴, fear of returning to the front¹⁵, and lack of motivation to fight¹⁶.

In an attempt to broaden the spectrum of motivations influencing Romanians within the Austro-Hungarian Empire to desert from the imperial army, we investigated the written testimonies of Romanian participants in World War I who served in the Austro-Hungarian army. Reconstructing the motivations and feelings of Romanian soldiers in the context of World War I

⁸ *Ibidem*, Dosar 82, f. 38.

⁹ *Ibidem*, Dosar 76, ff. 64, 66, 131 și Dosar 82, ff. 38, 55, 80, 107.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, Dosar 82, f. 80.

¹¹ *Ibidem*, Dosar 76, f. 131.

¹² *Dimineața*, 7 ianuarie 1915, 18 mai 1915 și *Universul*, 15 aprilie 1915.

¹³ *Universul*, 8 iunie 1915.

¹⁴ *Universul*, 23 februarie 1915.

¹⁵ *Dimineața*, 25 ianuarie 1915.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*.

proves to be a challenging task when we focus exclusively on the written and published accounts of those events. This difficulty is compounded by the fact that most of these narratives come from educated individuals in 20th-century Romanian society, and these testimonies cannot be considered representative of the entire range of experiences and motives encountered among the Romanian population in Transylvania or within the broader Austro-Hungarian Empire.

Despite this lack of representativeness, testimonies related to World War I manage to capture a variety of aspects related to the phenomenon of military abandonment. These writings not only reflect the authors' personal experiences but also provide a voice for their comrades and their experiences, highlighting the various dimensions and forms of the decision to leave military service within the Austro-Hungarian army. From the memoirs of Coriolan Băran, we identified an atypical form of avoiding front-line service, orchestrated with the complicity of military courts¹⁷. For soldiers of Austrian or Hungarian origin, relatively minor sentences of 7-8 years of imprisonment were imposed in order for them to be eligible for rehabilitation on the front. Conversely, for individuals of other nationalities, such as Slovaks, Czechs, Romanians, or Ruthenians, the punishments were much more severe, ranging from 15-20 years and even more, effectively denying them the opportunity for front-line rehabilitation. This calculated and discriminatory approach to avoid front-line service is, in fact, the reverse of the military policies of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The imperial military measures of dividing nationalities into regiments and on the front weakened imperial identity and loyalty, fostering regional allegiances. In the context of significant losses and loyalty issues, insecure regiments received support from soldiers belonging to nations deemed loyal by the High Military Command, and deployment on the front-line was guided by the same considerations—sensitive positions were entrusted to Hungarian and German regiments and troops¹⁸. This action resulted in the formation of linguistically homogeneous groups within units, diminishing camaraderie and trust between officers and soldiers.

Another strategy for evading enlistment in the Austro-Hungarian army involved enrolling in higher education institutions in the field of theology. Young individuals thus benefited from

¹⁷ Coriolan Băran, *Amintiri*, în Valeriu Leu, Nicolae Bocșan, *op.cit.*, vol. I, p. 238.

¹⁸ Mark Cornwall, *Morale and patriotism in the Austro-Hungarian army...*, p. 178.

"favors"¹⁹ in terms of enlistment, being exempted from military service. For instance, Lucian Blaga, prompted by those around him, enrolled at the Faculty of Theology in Sibiu, under whose auspices he managed to evade conscription²⁰. Some families were proactive in protecting young individuals from enlistment, such as Aurel Cosma Jr.'s uncle, who facilitated his enrollment in the Orthodox theology institute in Arad to shield him from military service, even without informing the young man²¹. This "sabotage"²² system was also maintained due to the goodwill of professors who made efforts to protect students from enlistment. The reason Lucian Blaga resorted to this form of evading military duty was the desire to protect his own life from the whirlwind of the erupting war.

Furthermore, soldiers in the Austro-Hungarian army developed ingenious strategies to evade military service on the battlefield through practices of self-mutilation and simulating serious ailments. An example was shooting their own arms using various methods to conceal the wound, such as placing a piece of bread or any other hard object between the rifle barrel and the hand²³. Other forms included simulating burns or other types of wounds using objects or substances to create the appearance of injuries²⁴. Alexandru Vaida-Voevod recounts how he induced a soldier to experience severe weakness and heart palpitations by consuming a quantity of tobacco with water to avoid enlistment²⁵. The practices of self-mutilation and simulation demonstrate not only the disillusionment and disappointment of soldiers regarding the conditions of war but also their determination and meticulous planning in their efforts to maintain their freedom and avoid the risks and dangers of the front.

Suicide represents the most drastic form of military abandonment. This gesture appears in war memoirs attributed to Petre Ugliș and Dr. Dominic Stanca. The way these accounts are included in the memoirs of the two provides two distinct perspectives on suicide. The suicide of

¹⁹ Biblioteca Națională a Austriei, *ALEX Historische Rechts und Gesetzestext*, Biblioteca Națională a Austriei, *ALEX Historische Rechts und Gesetzestext*, <https://alex.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/alex?aid=rro&datum=1889&size=45&page=137>, accesat la 18 aprilie 2023.

²⁰ Lucian Blaga, *Hronicul...*, p. 159.

²¹ Aurel Cosma Jr, *Începuturile activității mele...*, p. 669.

²² Lucian Blaga, *Hronicul...*, p. 159.

²³ Octavian Tăslăuanu apud Vasile Dudaș, Ioan Traia, *Un caz de sustragere de la îndatoririle militare în anii Primului Război Mondial și consecințele sale asupra unui tânăr bănățean*, în *Banatica*, nr. 21, 2011, p. 356 și Coriolan Băran, *Amintiri în Valeriu Leu, Nicolae Bocșan, op.cit., vol. I*, Presa Universitară Clujeană, Cluj-Napoca, 2012, p. 213.

²⁴ Vasile Dudaș, Ioan Traia, *Un caz de sustragere...*, p. 356.

²⁵ Al. Vaida-Voevod, *Memorii, vol. I*, ed. Dacia, Cluj-Napoca, 1994, p. 261.

Istrate, Petre Ugliș's comrade, despite the seemingly humorous tone and the admiration stirred within his troop, highlights the depth of despair and trauma that affected him. Additionally, the offensive speech directed at his commander in his farewell note may reveal some form of rebellion against authority, perhaps even an attempt to express discontent or disapproval, even though it is a final one²⁶. Istrate's case is humorously mentioned by Petre Ugliș, but even the mention of it reveals that the soldiers' suffering pushed them towards extreme actions. Dr. Dominic Stanca mentions the case of a soldier, whose anonymity is preserved throughout the narrative, who requested medical leave on the grounds that he wanted to return home to get married²⁷. For the soldier in question, marriage was meant to free him from the feelings of fatigue, exhaustion, and fear he experienced on the front. His desire to marry and find solace in love and family reflects the human need to find refuge and a reason to carry on amidst the chaos of war. Upon returning home, he committed suicide on the very day of his wedding. Dominic Stanca mentions this event without providing any interpretation, yet indications of his acute state of exhaustion and his burning desire to return home from the front reveal a profoundly psychologically affected state due to the traumas and stress of the front-line experiences.

The memoirs of former soldiers from the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, primarily written in the interwar period, bring to the forefront an interesting dynamic in addressing their experiences in World War I. In these memoirs, the suffering experienced on the front and participation in the war often serve as a prologue to the central subject of memories: the formation of Greater Romania. If we closely examine the accounts of those who deserted, such as Octavian Tăslăuanu, Cassian R. Munteanu, Ilie Stricatu, Pavel Jumanca, Petre Ugliș, Petru Talpeș, Teofil Moraru, they all invoke the call of national identity as the primary reason for desertion; however, upon closer analysis, the subtext of their memoirs also reveals a personal motive. The horrors of the front affected Tăslăuanu so deeply that he was unwilling to return²⁸. Cassian R. Munteanu was to be tried by a court-martial for the content of his articles before deserting to Romania²⁹. And Pavel Jumanca emphasizes the general tragedy of the war and the grim prospect of losing his own life in its name³⁰.

²⁶ Petre Ugliș Delapescica, *Jurnal de război din anii...*, pp. 116-117.

²⁷ Dr. Dominic Stanca, *Între două fronturi...*, p. 94.

²⁸ Octavian Tăslăuanu, *Trei luni pe câmpul...*, p. 308.

²⁹ Cassian R. Munteanu, *Bătălia de la Mărășești...*, p. 65.

³⁰ Valeriu Leu, Nicolae Bocșan, et.al., *Marele Război în memoria bănățeană 1914-1919, vol. II...*, p. 235.

In the case of Romanians who evaded military obligations or deserted from the Austro-Hungarian army during World War I, an undeniable sense of disconnection with the mission and cause of the army they were enlisted in is observable. The lack of identification with the agenda and goals of the Austro-Hungarian army prompted some to defy orders and choose to endanger their lives through desertion or surrender to the enemy. Memory and subsequent historiography have interpreted and depicted these actions through the lens of the Great Union of 1918 as acts of patriotism and loyalty to the new national entity.

Soldiers who wrote memoirs about their own desertion, such as Petre Ugliș or Petru Talpeș, paid special attention to the difficulties and risks associated with their actions. They emphasize the severe punishments they could have faced if captured by the Austro-Hungarian army. Accounts of violence against deserters abound in Romanian memoirs as well, with Lae from Banat providing one of the most descriptive episodes of punishment of a group of Czech soldiers captured by the Austro-Hungarian army³¹.

Desertion, as an action of abandoning military obligations and duty in an army, has a profound impact on its functioning and effectiveness. It undermines essential foundations of military structure and service, such as subordination, discipline, and personal sacrifice³². Therefore, coercion was necessary to maintain the functionality of the army. Throughout history, regardless of the political regime, attempts have been made to prevent desertion through the imposition of capital punishment. This was seen as a method of deterrence, aimed at conveying a clear message about the seriousness and consequences of abandoning military duty. However, during war, when human resources became limited and the need for soldiers became critical, many armies had to resort to alternatives to capital punishment. Lesser corrections and sanctions, as well as rehabilitation to the front, as was the case with Teofil Moraru³³, were preferred to keep as many soldiers in service as possible.

The phenomenon of desertion also affected detachments of Romanian Transylvanian volunteers, seen as expressions of Romanian nationalism during World War I. In December 1917, in Galați, four Romanian deserters from the volunteer detachment in Russia were captured and tried: Alexandru Bartă, Curpeș Vasile, Gheorghe Gheorghe, and Bere Gheorghe³⁴. They explained

³¹ Lae din Banat, *La Regimentul 43 nimic nou!?*..., p. 356.

³² Serhiy Choliy, *Military Desertion as a Counter-Modernization...*, p. 277.

³³ Gheorghe Cernea, *Voluntarul Teofil Moraru...*, passim.

³⁴ DCAAMNR, fond 1668 Corpul voluntarilor, Dosar 4, fila 142.

that they deserted due to abuses committed by the commanders of these detachments³⁵. The platoon leader accused these volunteers of arriving from Russia to secure their livelihood and prolong the war³⁶. There are verbal accusations that some volunteers joined these detachments with the clear intention of deserting³⁷. This critical perspective is partially justified, as those volunteers who had previously abandoned their army or deserted might repeat the same behavior in another army. Other documents highlight a hostile and suspicious attitude towards Transylvanian Romanians who fought in the Austro-Hungarian army and returned to Romania. They were viewed with skepticism and often blamed for desertion and lack of discipline³⁸. As emphasized in the preceding chapters, soldiers who became prisoners accumulated battlefield experience, providing them with a subjective perspective on the war. Those who hadn't found their motivation to fight within the Austro-Hungarian army and opted for captivity, refuge, or desertion had a chance to rediscover their identity within the Romanian army. However, if captured, surrendered, or deserted for reasons such as exhaustion, fear of death, or any other emotion related to conflict, the desire and necessity to escape the present reality remained constant regardless of the army they were in.

Compared to other ethnic and national groups in the Austro-Hungarian army, the behavior of Romanian deserters can be understood in the broader context of desertions that occurred during World War I. Internal tensions, cultural diversity, national discrimination, and differences in treatment by Austro-Hungarian military authorities created a conducive environment for desertions among nations considered minorities: Serbs, Czechs, Poles, Ruthenians, Italians, and Romanians. These "national" predispositions toward desertion were essentially the consequences of the Empire's military policies that created and reinforced the notions of "loyal" and "disloyal" nations within the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

One of the objectives of the doctoral research was to identify a source that would provide a quantitative dimension to the phenomenon of military abandonment. To analyze and synthesize the information extracted from the archival records of the Border Guard Corps, a data analysis program was used, where the information collected and reported by border guard soldiers

³⁵ *Ibidem*,

³⁶ *Ibidem*.

³⁷ DCAAMNR, fond 1668 Corpul voluntarilor, Dosar 2, fila 17.

³⁸ 1917, noiembrie 6. Raportul lt. colonelului adjutant Stîrcea în Radu Stancu, Florica Bucur, *Sub cenușa imperiului. Soldați români în armata austro-ungară*, Arhivele Naționale ale României, București, 2018, p. 296.

regarding the crossing of the Romanian border from the Austro-Hungarian Empire was input. All this data was centralized and is available in Annex 3 of the doctoral thesis.

Based on the centralizations made by border guards on Romanian territory, from the outbreak of the global conflict until June 30, 1915, a total of 3304 individuals³⁹ entered, including military and civilian refugees. Some companies make a distinction between military deserters and civilian refugees, although in the case of the latter, it is not possible to clearly determine how many of the men registered as civilian refugees are actually individuals who deserted to avoid incorporation or temporarily used permits to escape military status and cross into Romania as refugees. This is especially true as many of them were of active age. Unfortunately, we have no information about the criteria used to distinguish between civilian and military refugees. It is possible that the latter were dressed in uniform, armed, or possessed military documents, while men who managed to avoid such identity indicators may have declared themselves civilians. However, the sources do not provide an explanation regarding this aspect.

To ensure a balanced perspective and comparative analysis, two other relevant archival sources were included: the Directorate of Justice and the Statistical Service of the Ministry of War. These sources contributed to revealing the phenomenon of desertion within the Romanian army, thus allowing for a more comprehensive assessment of the motives and factors that influenced soldiers' decisions to abandon. Through this methodological approach, the aim was to provide a balanced picture of desertion in the context of war, avoiding a one-sided perspective that would limit the analysis only to Romanian soldiers in the Austro-Hungarian army. This research aimed to uncover the challenges faced by Romanian soldiers in the Romanian army who were also involved in a prolonged and devastating conflict.

Another fundamental pillar of this doctoral research involved the meticulous mapping of routes and entry points into Romania for refugees from the Austro-Hungarian army. This was an essential step to clearly and visually illustrate how the phenomenon of abandonment manifested within the war and how the migrations of these individuals unfolded. This cartographic approach provided added clarity and understanding of the geographical dimensions of abandonment during World War I. By creating detailed maps, the routes that Austro-Hungarian army deserters followed

³⁹ DCAAMNR, Fond 1663-Corpul Grănicerilor, Dosar 46, ff. 380-383, Dosar 76, ff. 1, 4-8, 15, 17, 19, 25, 27, 31, 36, 41- 42, 45- 47, 49, 51- 52, 56, 58, 61- 62, 64, 66, 70, 73, 78-80, 83, 85, 88, 90- 92, 94, 98, 100- 101, 103, 108, 110- 112, 114- 115, 118, 121, 129, 131, 133, și Dosar 82, ff. 5, 7, 9, 11-12, 15, 18, 19- 23, 27- 35, 38, 43- 44, 51, 55, 57, 59, 64, 67, 75, 80-87, 90, 101, 107, 110, 114, 116.

to reach Romania could be reconstructed. These maps highlighted crossing points, main roads, and access routes used by them in crossing the border. Thus, a more complete and concrete image of the paths these refugees undertook in their attempt to escape the front and reach safety in Romania was obtained.

This form of graphical data representation allowed me to observe patterns and trends regarding the preferred routes of deserters and the most frequented crossing points. Consequently, I gained a more tangible perspective on how abandonment was practiced and organized by those involved in this phenomenon. Creating these maps not only contributed to a clearer visualization of the abandonment phenomenon but also added an interactive and accessible dimension to the research. Readers and researchers consulting this work will have the opportunity to easily track the routes and crossing points I identified, enhancing their understanding of the migration flows generated by this complex phenomenon.

Another objective that, unfortunately, I was not able to achieve, was identifying documents related to the courts-martial that operated within the Romanian regiments of the Austro-Hungarian army. Despite initiating correspondence several times with the War Archives in Vienna, the pandemic and the evolving digitalization context, which necessitated fund reorganizations and limited access to research facilities, restricted the possibility of exploring this avenue in detail. However, this aspect only serves to open new perspectives for future research regarding the legal and official dimension of the abandonment phenomenon within the Austro-Hungarian army.

My hope is that this research endeavor has managed to add nuance to the domestic historiographical discourse concerning the motivations and experience of desertion, while also opening new subjects and perspectives on the abandonment phenomenon in World War I.

Bibliography

Primary Sources:

Unpublished Archival Documents:

Depozitul Central de Arhivă al Arhivelor Militare Naționale Române

Fond 1663 Corpul Grănicerilor

Dosar 38

Dosar 39

Dosar 46

Dosar 67

Dosar 76

Dosar 79

Dosar 81

Dosar 82

Dosar 127

Fond 5465 Direcția Justiției

Dosar 30

Fond 5470- Ministerul de Război, Serviciul Statistic

Dosar 110

Dosar 1482

Dosar 1487

Dosar 1595

Fond 4550 Regimentul 7 Artilerie

Dosar 6

Periodicals:

Adevărul 1914- 1918

Dimineața 1914- 1918

Gazeta Transilvaniei 1914- 1918

Memoirs:

Băilă, Ion, *Zbuciumul Ardealului, Poezii din Războiul pentru întregirea neamului*, Tipografia Ion C. Vpărescu, București, 1928

Băran, Coriolan, *Reprivire asupra vieții. Memorii*, Vasile Goldiș University Press, Arad, 2009

Blaa, Lucian, *Hronicul și cântecul vârstelor*, Ed. Humanitas, București, 2012

Cernea, Gheorghe, *Voluntarul Teofil Moraru, un exemplu strălucit de felul în care românii ardeleni au știut să lupte pentru unitatea noastră națională 1916-1918*, București, 1934

Ciorogariu, Roman R., *Zile trăite, războiul mondial până la armistițiu*, Fundația Culturală „Cele trei Crișuri”, Oradea, 1994

Ciumbrudean, Dumitru, *Jurnal de front 1914- 1918*, Editura Politică, București, 1969

Ciura, Alexandru, *Sub steag străin. Schițe și povestiri din Ardeal*, Ed. Librăriei H. Steinberg, București, 1920

Clopoțel, Ion, *Însemnări pe război*, Ed. Tipografiei și Librăriei Diecezane, Arad, 1916

Curta, Virgil, *Growing with the war. A Romanian Volunteer on the Austrian-Italian Front*, Argonaut, Cluj-Napoca, 2006

Deak, Horațiu D., *Ziarul unui erou*, Editura Argonaut, Cluj-Napoca, 2018

Ghibu, Onisifor, *Pe baricadele vieții. În Basarabia revoluționară*, Ed. Universitas, Chișinău, 1992

Ghibu, Onisifor, *La o răscruce a vieții mele- un bilanț și o mărturisire*, Cluj, 1938

Ghibu, Onisifor, *Amintirile unui pedagog militant*, Editura Institutului Cultural Român, București, 2004

Goga, Octavian, *Strigăte în pustiu. Cuvinte din Ardeal într-o țară neutră*, Editura Librăriei Școalelor C. Sfetea, București, 1915

Goga, Eugen, *Două Siberii*, Ed. Librăriei C. Sfetea, București, 1916

Gomboș, Constantin C., *Nicolae Munthiu Ofițer de naționalitate română din armata austro-ungară. Scrisori de pe frontul din Galiția*, editura Marineasa, Timișoara, 2007

Iledrim Rebreanu, *Scrisori în umbra ștreangului*, Ed. 100+1 Gramar, București, 2002

Lae din Banat, *La Regimentul 43 nimic nou!? Luptele de la Loffcin, Danilovgrad, Isonzo, Doberdò și Piave*, Tipografia Union, Lugoj, 192?

Leu, Valeriu, Bocșan, Nicolae, *Marele Război în memoria bănățeană, vol. I*, Presa Universitară Clujeană, Cluj-Napoca, 2012

Leu, Valeriu, Albert, Carmen, *Banatul în memorialistica măruntă sau istoria ignorată*, Muzeul de Istorie al Județului Caraș-Severin, Caietele Banatica, Reșița, 1995

Leu, Valeriu, Bocșan, Nicolae et.al., *Marele Război în memoria bănățeană 1914-1919, vol. II*, Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2013

Leu, Valeriu, Bocșan, Nicolae et.al, *Marele Război în memoria bănățeană 1914-1919, vol. III*, Presa Universitară Clujeană, Cluj-Napoca, 2015

Măcelariu, Emil D., *Flori de sânge. Din carnetul unui preot militar*, Editura Cosânzeana, Institutul de Arte Grafice, Cluj, 1920

Mihai, Dan, *Istoria ce am petrecut în crâncenul război*, Editura Muzeului Sătmărean, Satu Mare, 2008

Mihu, Ioan, *Spicuri din gândurile mele*, Tiparul Tipografiei Arhidiecezane, Sibiu, 1938

Munteanu, Cassian R., *Atacul*, Ed. Librăriei A.A. Stănciuleascu, 1915

Munteanu, Cassian R., *Bătălia de la Mărășești*, Editura Facla, 1977

Nemoianu, Petre, *Prima Alba Iulie. Voluntarii români în războiul pentru întregirea neamului*, Institutul de Arte Grafice Poporul, Timișoara, 1922

Nemoianu, Petre, *Prizonieri la ruși, rob la unguri*, Librăria Pavel Suru, București

Nemoianu, Petre, *Prizonier la ruși, rob la unguri*, Librăria Pavel Suru, București, 1933

Pop, Demetriu, *Versul unui soldat din război*, Tipografia Aurora, Gherla, 1917

Pușcariu, Sextil, *Memorii*, ed. Minerva, București, 1978

Sohorca, Iustin, *Jurnal de front (1914-1915) în Biblioteca Central Universitară „Lucian Blaga”, Memoria războiului. Manuscrise*, <https://dspace.bcuccluj.ro/handle/123456789/118741>, accesat în 24 iunie 2023

Stanca, Dominic, *Între două fronturi 1914-1918*, editura Patria, Cluj, 1935

Stricatu, Ilie, *Pe cărările destinului. Romanul unei vieți trăite*, Sibiu, Tipografia Cavaleriei, 1940

Talpeș, Petru, *Amintiri*, Editura Mirton, Timișoara, 2008

Tăslăuanu, Octavian, *Sub flamurile naționale. Note și documente din războiul de întregire a neamului*, Sighișoara, 1939

Tăslăuanu, Octavian, *Trei luni pe câmpul de război. Ziarul unui român, ofițer în armata austro-ungară*, Librăria Stănciulescu, București, 1915

Tăslăuanu, Octavian, *Hora Obuzelor*, Institutul de Arte Grafice C. Sfetea, București, 1916

Țăudan, Dumitru, *Jurnal de război*, Editura Caiete Silvane, Zalău, 2003

Turtureanu, Constantin, *În vâltoarea războiului, 1914-1919*, Cernăuți, ed. Litera Românească, 1938

Ugliș Delapecica, Petre, *Jurnal de război din anii 1914-1919*, Editura Altip, Alba-Iulia, 2015

Vaida-Voevod, Alexandru, *Memorii, vol. IV*, ed. Dacia, Cluj-Napoca, 1998

Vaida-Voevod, Alexandru, *Memorii vol. I*, ed. Dacia, Cluj-Napoca, 1994

Vintilă, Petru, *Omul născut pe brazdele plugului. Viață de Orfan*, Editura Academia Română Centrul de Studii Transilvane, Cluj-Napoca, 2013

Zambory-Modován, Béla, *The Burning of the world- a memoir of 1914*, New York Review Books, New York, 2014

Electronic Sources:

Biblioteca Națională a Austriei, *ALEX Historische Rechts und Gesetzestext*, <https://alex.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/alex?aid=rro&datum=1914&page=875&size=45>

Impiccagione di Cesare Battisti, <http://lagrandeguerra.provincia.teramo.it/evento/elementi-mostra/impiccagione-di-cesare-battisti/>, accesat 03.04.2023

Secondary Sources:

Monographs, Syntheses, Doctoral Theses:

Andronic, Mugur, *În umbra marilor imperii ucigașe*, Societatea Culturală Ștefan cel Mare, Suceava, 2005

Băgulescu, G., *Dezertorul, Nuvelă din volumul Zile triste*, București, Institutul de Arte Grafice al M.C. General, 1919

Bârlea, Eugenia, *Perspectiva lumii rurale asupra Primului Război Mondial*, Argonaut, Cluj-Napoca, 2004

Bassett, Richard, *For God and Kaiser. The Imperial Austrian Army 1619-1918*, Yale University Press, New Haven, London, 2015

Bolovan, Ioan, *Primul Război Mondial și realitățile demografice din Transilvania*, Ed. Școala Ardeleană, Cluj-Napoca, 2015

Boyd, Douglas, *The Other First World War- The Blood-Soaked Russian Fronts 1914–1922*, The History Press, Cheltenham, 2014

Buttar, Prit, *Collision of Empires: The War on the Eastern Front in 1914*, Osprey Publishing, London, 2014

Buttar, Prit, *Germany Ascendant: The Eastern Front 1915* (General Military), Osprey Publishing Limited, London, 2017

Buttar, Prit, *The Splintered Empires. The Eastern Front 1917–1921*, Osprey Publishing, London, 2017

Buttar, Prit, *Russia's Last Gasp. The Eastern Front 1916-1917*, Osprey Publishing, Londra, 2016

Caracostea, Dumitru, *Aspectul psihologic al războiului*, Ed. Universității Alexandru Ioan Cuza, Iași, 2015

Cole, Laurence, *Military culture and popular patriotism in late imperial Austria*, Oxford University Press, 2014

Colecțiune de legi, regulamente, decrete, decizii ministeriale, Imprimeria statului, Iași, 1918

Colecțiunea legilor din anul 1878, Editura Ministerului Regatului Ungariei de Interne, Budapesta

Colecțiunea legilor din anul 1879, Editura Ministerului Regatului Ungariei de Interne, Budapesta

Cornwall, Mark, *The Undermining of Austria-Hungary: The Battle for Hearts and Minds*, Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2000

Csokor, Franz Theodor, *3. November 1918. Der verlorene Sohn Gottes General*, Ephelant Verlag, Wien, 1993

Deak, John, *Forging a Multinational State: State Making in Imperial Austria from the Enlightenment to the First World War*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, 2015

Di Michele, Andrea, *Tra due divise: La Grande Guerra degli italiani d'Austria*, Editori Laterza, 2018

DiNardo, Richard L., *Invasion- The Conquest of Serbia, 1915*, Praeger, Santa Barbara, Denver, 2015

DiNardo, Richard L., *Turning Points- The Eastern Front in 1915*, Praeger, Santa Barbara, Denver, 2020

Dudaș, Vasile, *Voluntarii Marii Uniri*, ed. Augusta, Timișoara, 1996

Dudaș, Vasile, *Voluntari bănățeni în armata română în anii Primului Război Mondial*, Teză de doctorat, Cluj-Napoca, 1994

Dudaș, Vasile, *Legiunea română din Franța 1918-1919*, Ed. Mirtar, Timișoara, 1996

Feltman, Brian K., *The Stigma of Surrender- German Prisoners, British Captors, and Manhood in the Great War and Beyond*, University of North Carolina Press, 2015

Fulbright, J. William, *The arrogance of power*, Vintage Books, New York, 1966

Galántai, József, Grusz, Éva, *Hungary in the First World War*, Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest, 1989

Gatrell, Peter, *A Whole Empire Walking, Refugees in Russia during World War I*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington and Indianapolis, 1999

Gibelli, Antonio, *L'officina della guerra. La Grande Guerra e le trasformazioni del mondo mentale*, ed. Bollanti Boringhieri, 2007

Gibelli, Antonio, *La Grande Guerra degli Italiani*, BUR Storia, Milano, 2014

Gooch, John, *The Italian Army and the First World War*, Cambridge University Press, 2014

Grinchenko, Gelinada, Narvselius, Eleonora, *Contemporary European Politics of Memory Formulas of Betrayal*, Palgrave Macmillan Memory Studies, 2018

Hartular, Anca, *Merem la America. Începuturile comunității românești în America*, Editura Fundației Culturale Române, București, 1996

Hasek, Jaroslav, *Peripeșiile bravului soldat Svejek în Primul Război Mondial, vol. II*, Adevărul Holding, București, 2010

Herwig, Holger H., *The First World War- Germany and Austria-Hungary 1914-1918*, Bloomsbury Academic, London, 2014

Hetherington, Andrea, *Deserters of the First World War: The Home Front*, Pen and Sword Military, Barnsley, 2021

Ignat, Ioana Elena, *Mobilizare și participare în Transilvania în Primul Război Mondial: perspectivă socio-economică și demografică*, Teză de doctorat, Cluj-Napoca, 2013

Ignat, Ioana Elena, *Viața cotidiană în Făgăraș în anul 1916: Însemnările vicarului Iacob Popa*, Ed. Academiei Române, Centrul de Studii Transilvane, Cluj-Napoca, 2011

Iosifescu, Silviu, *Literatura de frontieră*, Editura Enciclopedică română, București, 1971

István Deák, *Mai presus de naționalism. O istorie politică și socială a corpului de ofițeri habsburgici*, Editura Academiei Române, Cluj-Napoca, 2009

Jay Winter, Antoine Prost, *The Great War in History, Debates and Controversies, 1914 to the Present*, Cambridge University Press, 2005

- Jones, Edgar, *Shell Shock to PTSD. Military Psychiatry from 1900 to the Gulf War*, Psychology Press Taylor & Francis Group, Hove and New York, 2005
- Kramer, Alan, *Dynamic of Destruction. Culture and Mass Killing in the First World War*, Oxford University Press, USA, 2007
- Maior, Liviu, *Doi ani mai devreme. Ardelenii, bucovinenii și basarabenii în Război 1914-1918*, Editura Școala Ardeleană, Cluj-Napoca, 2016
- Maior, Liviu, *Românii în armata habsburgică. Soldați și ofițeri uitați*, București, editura Enciclopedică, 2004
- Maior, Liviu, *Habsburgii și români: de la loialitatea dinastică la identitate națională*, Editura Enciclopedică, București 2006
- Mircea, Gabriela, *Autobiografia generalului Vasile Barbu- fost comandant adjunct al Gărzilor Naționale de la Alba-Iulia din 1 decembrie 1918 ca izvor istoric*, editura Astra - Despărțământul "Timotei Cipariu", Alba Iulia, 2011
- Morrissey, Susan K., *Suicide and the Body Politic in Imperial Russia*, Cambridge University Press, 2007
- Mosse, George L., *Fallen Soldiers. Reshaping the memory of the World Wars*, Oxford University Press, 1991
- Muntean, Dacian, *Aventurile și călătoriile Baronului Nopcsa- o monografie*, Societatea de Educație Nonformală și Socială, Deva, 2013
- Păcățian, Teodor V., *Jertfele românilor din Ardeal, Banat, Crișana, Sătmar și Maramureș, aduse în războiul mondial din anii 1914-1918*, Editura Asociațiunii, Sibiu, 1923
- Pop, Marius-Nicolae, *Armata Română de la un război la altul 1914-1945- legislație, organizare, operațiuni*, ed. Argonaut, Cluj-Napoca
- Pop, Iulia, *Memorie și suferință. Considerații asupra literaturii memorialistice a universului concentraționar comunist*, Editura Argonaut, Cluj-Napoca, 2010
- Procacci, Giovanna, *Soldati e prigionieri italiani nella Grande Guerra*, Saggi, 2016
- Purseigle, Pierre, *Perspectives in First World War Studies*, Leiden, Brill, 2005
- Puțuri, Ioan-Popescu, Deac, Augustin, *Unirea Transilvaniei cu România*, Institutul de Studii Istorice și social-politice, București, 1972
- Rachamimov, Alon, *POWs and the Great War: Captivity on the Eastern Front*, Oxford International Publishers, 2002

- Rauchensteiner, Manfred, *The First World War and the End of the Habsburg Monarchy, 1914 – 1918*, Böhlau, Köln, 2014
- Roshwald, Aviel, *Ethnic Nationalism and the Fall of Empires. Central Europe, the Middle East and Russia, 1914-1923*, Routledge, London, New York, 2001
- Rothenberg, Gunther, *The Army of Francis Joseph*, Purdue University Press, Indiana, 1999
- Schindler, John R. *Fall of the Double Eagle: The Battle for Galicia and the Demise of Austria-Hungary*, Potomac Books, Sterling, 2015
- Sidney Lucas, James, *Austro-Hungarian infantry, 1914-1918*, Almark Publishing, Londra, 1973
- Sigarteu, Ionel- Simion, *Voluntarii transilvăneni și bucovineni în Războiul Civil din Rusia*, teză de doctorat, Cluj-Napoca, 2020
- Silvia Burdea, *Romanul Primului Război Mondial*, Ed. Didactică și pedagogică, București, 1977
- Stancu, Radu, Bucur, Florica, *Sub cenușa imperiului. Soldați români în armata austro-ungară*, Arhivele Naționale ale României, București, 2018
- Stelian Rusu, Mihai, *Memoria națională românească. Facerile și prefacerile discursive ale trecutului național*, Institutul European, Iași, 2015
- Stephane Audoin-Rouzeau, Annette Becker, *Războiul redescoperit*, editura Corint, București, 2014
- Stevenson, David, *1914-1918 The History of the First World War*, Penguin Books, Londra, 2005
- Stoika, Constantin T., *Însemnări din Zilele de luptă*, Tip. Profesională Dimitrie C. Ionescu, București, 1921
- Stone, Norman, *The Eastern Front 1914-1917*, Penguin Books, London, 1998
- Taylor, A.J.P., *Monarhia Habsburgică (1809-1918)*, Ed. Alfa, București, 2000
- Thompson, Mark, *The White War. Life and Death on the Italian Front 1915-1919*, Faber and Faber, London, 2008
- Toma, Radu, *Românii în cele două Americi: o experiență etnică și istorică*, Globus, București, 1998
- Traducțiunea autentică a legilor din anul 1912*, Budapesta
- Tunstall, Graydon A., *The Austro-Hungarian Army and the First World War*, Cambridge University Press, 2021
- Tunstall, Graydon A., *Blood on the snow The Carpathian Winter War of 1915*, University Press of Kansas, 2010

Tunstall, Graydon A., *Written in Blood. The Battles for Fortress Przemyśl in World War I*, Indiana University Press, 2016

Unowsky, Daniel L., *The pomp and politics of patriotism*, Purdue University Press, Indiana, 2005

Vlad, Ioan, *Braşovul în lupta pentru unitatea politico-statală a poporului român în anii Primului Război Mondial: 1914-1916*, Cluj-Napoca, 1991, teză de doctorat

Von Sonnenfels, Joseph, *Über die Liebe des Vaterlandes*, Viena, Joseph Kurzböck, 1771

Watson, Alexander, *Ring of Steel- Germany and Austria-Hungary in World War I*, Penguin Basic Books, London, 2014

Watson, Alexander, *The Fortress- The Great Siege of Przemyśl*, Penguin Books, London, 2019

Wilcox, Vanda, *Morale and the Italian Army during the First World War*, Cambridge University Press, 2016

Zeman, Zbyněk A. B., *The Break-up of the Habsburg Empire, 1914-1918: A Study in National and Social Revolution*, Oxford University Press, London, 1961

Zolberg, Aristide R., Suhrke, Astri et. al., *Escape from Violence. Conflict and the Refugee Crisis in the Developing World*, Oxford University Press, New York, Oxford, 1990

Studies, Articles, Chapters from Collective Volumes:

Becker, Sascha O., „Forced displacement in history: Some recent research”, în *Australian Economic History Review*, Economic History Society of Australia and New Zealand and John Wiley & Sons Australia, 2022

Beneš, Jakub S., „The Green Cadres and the Collapse of Austria-Hungary in 1918” în *Past & Present*, Volume 236, Issue 1, 2017

Bourke, Joanna, „Fear and Anxiety: Writing about Emotion in Modern History” în *History Workshop Journal*, Issue 55, 2003

Brnardić, Teodora Shek, „Modalities of enlightened monarchical patriotism in the mid-eighteenth century Habsburg Monarchy” în Balázs Trencsényi, Márton Zászkaliczky, *Whose love of which country?*, Boston, Leiden, 2010

Buggle, Johannes, Mayer, Thierry et. al., „The Refugee’s Dilemma: Evidence from Jewish Migration out of Nazi Germany” în <https://www.unil.ch/files/live/sites/de/files/working-papers/20.01.pdf>, accesat la data de 27 mai 2023.

Cabanes, Bruno, „Violence and the First World War” în ed. by Louise Edwards, Nigel Penn, Jay Winter, *The Cambridge world history of violence, vol. IV*, Cambridge University Press, 2020

Čapo, Hrvoje, „Identifiability in Warfare: Croatian soldiers - multinational ambiance of service (1914-1918)”, în *Review of Croatian history*, Vol. X, No. 1, 2014

Choliy, Serhiy, „Military Desertion as a Counter-Modernization Response in Austro-Hungarian Society, 1868-1914” în *Revista Universitaria de Historia Militar*, Centro de Estudios de la Guerra, Teruel, Espana, Volumul 9, nr. 18, 2020

Cornwall, Mark, „Morale and patriotism in the Austro-Hungarian army, 1914-1918” în John Home, *State, society and mobilization in Europe during the First World War*, Cambridge University Press, 1997

Deak, John, Gumz, Jonathan E., „How to Break a State: The Habsburg Monarchy’s Internal War, 1914–1918”, în *The American Historical Review*, Volume 122, Issue 4, 2017

Deak, Istvan, „The Ethnic Question in the Multinational Habsburg Army, 1848-1918” în N. F. Dreisziger, *Ethnic Armies Polyethnic Armed Forces from the Time of the Habsburgs to the Age of the Superpowers*, Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1990

Decsy, János, „The Habsburg army on the threshold of total war” în Béla K. Király, Nádor F. Dreisziger, *World War I*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1985

Dornik, Wolfram, „Conrad von Hötzendorf and the “Smoking Gun”: A Biographical Examination of Responsibility and Traditions of Violence against Civilians in the Habsburg Army” în ed. Günter Bischof, *Contemporary Austrian Studies*, University of New Orleans Press, New Orleans, Louisiana, 2014

Dornik, Wolfram, „Torn apart between time and space? A Collective Biography of Austro-Hungarian Military Personnel on the Eastern Front, 1914-1918” în ed. coord. Günter Bischof, Fritz Plasser, et al, *Contemporary Austrian Studies*, vol. 21, 2012

Dudaș, Vasile, Traia, Ioan, „Un caz de sustragere de la îndatoririle militare în anii Primului Război Mondial și consecințele sale asupra unui tânăr bănățean”, în *Banatica*, nr. 21, 2011

Duménil, Anne, „Soldiers Suffering and Military Justice in German Army of the Great War” în Jenny Macleod, Pierre Purseigle, , *Uncovered Fields. Perspectives in First World War Studies*, History of Warfare, Volume 20, Brill Academic Publishers, 2004

Enea, C., „Aspecte ale descompunerii armatei austro-ungare (dezertori și răscoale ale soldaților din Transilvania 1914-1918)” în *Acta Musei Napocensis*, 1968, p. 279.

Engle, Jason, „This monstrous front will devour us all, The Austro-Hungarian Soldier Experience, 1914-1915” în ed. Günter Bischof, *Contemporary Austrian Studies*, University of New Orleans Press, New Orleans, Louisiana, 2014

Ermacora, Matteo, *Assistance and Surveillance: War Refugees in Italy, 1914–1918* în *Contemporary European History*, 16, 2007

Frizzera, Francesco, „Population Displacement in the Habsburg Empire During World War I” în Judith Devlin, Maria Falina et al., *World War I in Central and Eastern Europe. Politics, Conflict and Military Experience*, Bloomsbury Academic, London, 2018

Gatrell, Peter, „Refugees and Forced Migrants during the First World War”, în *Immigrants & Minorities*, Vol. 26, Nr. 1/2, March/July 2008

Gatrell, Peter, „Refugees” în <https://encyclopedia.1914-1918-online.net/article/refugees>, accesat la data de 27 mai 2023

Gooch, John, „Morale and Discipline in the Italian Army 1915–1918” în Hugh Cecil, *Facing Armageddon: The First World War Experienced*, Pen & Sword Books, London, 1996

Haslinger, Peter, „Austria–Hungary”, în Robert Gerwarth, Erez Manela (coord.), *Empires at War: 1911–1923*, Oxford University Press, 2014

Hofer, Hans-Georg, „War Neurosis and Viennese Psychiatry in World War One”, în Jenny Macleod, Pierre Purseigle, *Uncovered Fields. Perspectives in First World War Studies*, History of Warfare, Volume 20, Brill Academic Publishers, 2004

Kramer, Alan, „Surrender of soldiers in World War I” în ed. Holger Afflerbach, Hew Strachan, *How Fighting Ends A History of Surrender*, Oxford University Press, 2012

Laurent Tatu, Julien Bogousslavsky, „World War I Psychoneuroses: Hysteria Goes to War” în ed. Bogousslavsky J, *Hysteria: The Rise of an Enigma. Front Neurol Neurosci*, Basel, Karger, vol 35, 2014

Lein, Richard, „A Train Ride to Disaster: The Austro-Hungarian Eastern Front in 1914” în ed. Günter Bischof, *Contemporary Austrian Studies*, University of New Orleans Press, New Orleans, Louisiana, 2014

Lewis, Mark, „The Failed Quest for Total Surveillance: The Internal Security Service in Austria-Hungary During World War I”, în ed. Judith Devlin, Maria Falina, et al., *World War I in Central and Eastern Europe. Politics, Conflict and Military Experience*, Bloomsbury Academic, London, 2018

Loez, André, „Tears in the trenches: a history of emotions and the experience of War” în Jenny Macleod, Pierre Purseigle, *Uncovered Fields. Perspectives in First World War Studies*, History of Warfare, volume 20 , Brill Academic Publishers, 2004

Meyer, Jessica, „Gladder to be going out than afraid: Shellshock and Heroic Masculinity in Britain 1914-1919” în Jenny Macleod, Pierre Purseigle, , *Uncovered Fields. Perspectives in First World War Studies*, History of Warfare, Volume 20, Brill Academic Publishers, 2004

Miodowski, Adam, „Escapes by prisoners of war taken on the Eastern Front from Russian captivity (August 1914 – February 1917)”, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/357836912_Escapes_by_prisoners_of_war_taken_on_the_Eastern_Front_from_Russian_captivity_August_1914_-_February_1917, accesat la 20 aprilie 2023

Mosse, George L., „Shell-shock as a Social Disease” în *Journal of Contemporary History*, SAGE Publications, London, Vol 35(1), 2000

Neagoe, Sever, Tatu, Constantin, „Organizarea trupelor de grăniceri pe baze moderne și participarea lor la Războiul Balcanic (1904-1916)” în Sever Neagoe, Ilie Tender et. al, *Istoria grănicerilor și începutul poliției de frontieră*, editura Sacaiul, București, 2004

Neagoe, Sever, Tatu, Constantin, „Grănicerii români în Marele Război de întregire a neamului (1916-1920)”, în Sever Neagoe, Ilie Tender et. al, *Istoria grănicerilor și începutul poliției de frontieră*, editura Sacaiul, București, 2004

Newman, John Paul, „Post-imperial and Post-war Violence in the South Slav Lands, 1917–1923” în *Contemporary European History*, volume 19, Issue 3, 2010

Petersen, Roger, Liaras, Evangelos, „Countering Fear in War: The Strategic Use of emotion” în *Journal of Military Ethics*, Vol. 5, No. 4, Routledge, Taylor& Francis Group, 2006

Prott, Wolker, „Challenging the German Empire: Strategic Nationalism in Alsace-Lorraine in the First World War”, în *Nations and Nationalism*, 27(4), 2021, 1009-1025, <https://doi.org/10.1111/nana.12665>, accesat 16.07.2023.

Rachamimov, Alon, „Arbiters of Allegiance: Austro-Hungarian Censors during World War I” în Ed. Pieter M. Judson, Marsha L. Rozenblit, *Constructing Nationalities in East Central Europe*, Berghahn Books, Oxford, 2005

Rauchensteiner, Manfred, „A School of Violence and Spatial Desires? Austro-Hungarian Experiences of War in Eastern Europe 1914–1918” în ed. Joachim Bürgschwentner, Matthias

Egger, et al, *Other Fronts, Other Wars, First World War Studies on the Eve of the Centennial*, Brill Academic Publishers, Leiden, 2014

Rauh, Philipp, and Prüll, Livia, *Other Fronts, Other Diseases? Comparisons of Front-specific Practices in Medical Treatment* în ed. Joachim Bürgschwentner, Matthias Egger et al, *Other Fronts, Other Wars, First World War Studies on the Eve of the Centennial*, Brill Academic Publishers, Leiden, 2014

Rose, Arnold M., „The Social Psychology of Desertion from Combat” în *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 16, No. 5, Oct., 1951

Rothenberg, Gunther E., „The Shield of the Dynasty Reflections on the Habsburg Army, 1649-1918”, în *Austrian History Yearbook* 32, 2001

Scheer, Tamara, „Habsburg Languages at War «The linguistic confusion at the tower of Babel couldn't have been much worse»”, în J. Walker et al., *Languages and the First World War: Communicating in a Transnational War*, 2016

Schindler, John R., „Austria-Hungary in the First World War” în Sanders Marble, *King of Battle. Artillery in World War I*, Brill Academic Publishers, Leiden, Boston, 2016

Senft, Gerhard, „Resistance against the War of 1914-1918” in ed. Günter Bischof, *Contemporary Austrian Studies*, University of New Orleans Press, New Orleans, Louisiana, 2014

Șerban, Ioan I., „Românii în armata austro-ungară în anii primului război mondial”, în *Annales Universitatis Apulensis*, Series Historica, 2-3 (1998-1999)

Shils, Edward, *A profile of Military Deserter* în *Armed Forces and Society* vol. 3 nr. 3, 1977

Showalter, Dennis, „By the book: Commanders surrendering in World War I” în coord. Holger Afflerbach, Hew Strachan, *How Fighting Ends A History of Surrender*, Oxford University Press, 2012

Simmons, Paul, „Combating Desertion and Voluntary Surrender in the Russian Army During the First World War” în Joachim Bürgschwentner, Matthias Egger, et al, *Other Fronts, Other Wars, First World War Studies on the Eve of the Centennial*, Brill Academic Publishers, Leiden, 2014

Sked, Alan, „Austro-Hungary and The First World War in Historiographies étrangères de la Première Guerre mondiale” în *Revue histoire politique*, vol. 22, 2014, <https://www.cairn.info/revue-histoire-politique-2014-1-page-16.htm>, accesat la 29.04.2023

Smith, Leonard V., „The Disciplinary Dilemma of French Military Justice. The case of the 5e Divicion d'Infanterie” în *Journal of Military History*, vol. 55, nr. 1, ianuarie 1991

Spitzer, Yannay, „Pogroms, Networks, and Migration. The Jewish Migration from the Russian Empire to the United States 1881–1914”, în https://falk.huji.ac.il/sites/default/files/falkheb/files/dp_21-03.pdf, accesat la data de 27 mai 2023.

Suciu, Ionuț, „Ființa-cometă” în *Scena* nr. 4, 2021-2022

Tatu, Constantin, „Paza și apărarea hotarelor României în primele două decenii ale secolului al XX-lea. Participarea grănicerilor la războiul de eliberare națională și reîntregire statală” în *Istoria Trupelor române de grăniceri*, Editura Militară, București, 1987

Travglino, Giovanni A., „How groups react to disloyalty in the context of intergroup competitions”, în *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, nr. 54, 2014

Tunstall Graydon A. Jr., „Austria-Hungary” în Richard F. Hamilton, Holger H. Herwig, *The Origins of World War I*, Cambridge University Press, 2003

Von Andrian-Werburg, Viktor, „Austria and her future” în Balázs Trencsényi, Michal Kopeček, *Discourses of collective identity in Central and Southeast Europe(1770-1945)*, vol.II, Central European University Press, Budapest, 2006

Watson, Alexander, „Mutinies and Military Morale” în Hew Strachan, *The Oxford Illustrated History of the First World War*, Oxford University Press, 2014

Watson, Alexander, „Morale” în coord. Jay Winter, *The Cambridge History of the First World War*, Volume 2, The State, Cambridge University Press, 2014

Wawro, Geoffrey, „Morale in the Austro–Hungarian Army: The Evidence of Habsburg Army Campaign Reports and Allied Intelligence Officers” în Hugh Cecil, *Facing Armageddon: The First World War Experienced*, Pen & Sword Books, London, 1996

Wilcox, Vanda, „Encountering Italy: Military Service and National Identity during the First World War” în *Bulletin of Italian Politics*, Vol. 3, No. 2, 2011

Wilcox, Vanda, „Discipline in the Italian Army 1915-1918” în ed. Pierre Purseigle, *Perspectives in First World War Studies*, Leiden, Brill, 2005

Wilcox, Vanda, *Between Acceptance and Refusal - Soldiers' Attitudes Towards War*, în http://encyclopedia.1914-1918-online.net/article/between_acceptance_and_refusal_-_soldiers_attitudes_towards_war_italy, accesat în 25 mai 2023

Woodbury, E.N., „Causes for military desertion a study in criminal motives”, în *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, vol. 12, număr 2, 1921

Zürcher, E.J., „Between Death and Desertion. The Experience of Ottoman Soldier in World War I”, in *Tuiuia*, volume 28, 1996