

UNKNOWN SOURCES AND ARCHIVES OF MILITARY HISTORY: THE 1848-1850 TSARIST CAMPAIGN DIARY FROM THE ROMANIAN LANDS IN THE RUSSIAN STATE MILITARY-HISTORICAL ARCHIVE IN MOSCOW

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Abstract The present article approaches the ample Tsarist campaign diary (1,300 folios), describing Moldavia and Wallachia's 1848-1850 military occupation by the Russian 5th army corps led by general commander Alexander Nikolaevich Lüders, and the protecting power's armed interventions in Transylvania (1849). The echoes of this long military campaign were feebler at that time, than those of the much-clamored Russian campaign in Hungary (June-August 1849). Ignored so far by the Russian and Romanian historiographies (even if for different reasons), the 1848-1850 occupation of the Romanian Lands is minutely related by an unknown source, recently discovered in the Russian State Military-Historical Archive in Moscow and edited by us. Also analyzed the difficult conditions of access in the War Archive of the former Tsarist Empire, today Eastern Europe's largest military archive of medieval and modern history.

Keywords Tsarist campaign diary, Russian military occupation of 1848-1850, Romanian Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, Transylvania.

Introduction

The military campaign of the 5th corps of the Russian army, led by corps commander general Alexander Nikolaevich Lüders in the Romanian Principalities, resulted in the conquest and occupation of Moldavia and Wallachia, autonomous principalities under Ottoman suzerainty and Tsarist protectorate, between summer 1848 and autumn 1850. In fact, an operative army of the protecting power itself invaded and occupied the protected territories for two years. The echoes of this military

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campaign were feebler at that time, than those of the much-clamored Russian campaign in Hungary (June-August 1849).¹

Later on, the historical memory of the 1848-1850 Tsarist warfare in the Romanian Principalities has been ignored and almost erased by both parties involved, the Russians and Romanians equally, even if for different reasons.

The Russian historiography denies, until today, the existence of a Romanian 1848 revolution by itself and disregards the Russian military occupation beyond the Prut River in 1848-1850. Moreover, the old and new Russian integrationist theories, considering Bessarabia a component of the Tsarist Empire and the Danubian Principalities a corridor towards Constantinople, totally ignore not only the Romanian historiography but also their own Russian sources.²

On the other hand, the old and new Romanian historiography has investigated only tangentially the 1848-1850 Tsarist expansion, another one in a long row of military campaigns, wars and occupations of the Romanian territories between Dnejsr and Danube (1791-1792, 1806-1812, Bessarabia's annexation in 1812, 1828-1834, 1853-1854). For instance, after World War II, in communist Romania, political correctness obliged to hide armed conflicts, to struggle for peace, to praise the peoples' brotherhood, and most of all to spare the sensibilities of the Big Brother, by never mentioning the historical Romanian territory of Bessarabia, incorporated in 1812 by Tsarist Russia (forming today the Republic of Moldavia, as well as its former province, since 1991 an exclave of the Russian Federation, namely the separatist region of Transnistria occupied by Russian armies).³

Due to non-scientific reasons (whether ideological, political, or even military reasons, because either of indulgence towards the great Eastern neighbour, or of Russophobia), as well as due to a simple scientific reason (like the lack of key documents on this topic), only a few historical approaches of the 1848 Romanian revolution and even less Romanian military history works mention it timidly and partially.⁴

¹ For a comparative analysis of the 1848-1849 Tsarist campaigns in Hungary and the Romanian Lands, see Ela Cosma, Daniela Deteșan. "Afterword," in Ela Cosma, Daniela Deteșan, Angela Sticalin-Colin, Tatiana Onilov (eds.). *Armatele imperiale austro-ruse și românii la 1848-1849. Documente militare / The Imperial Austro-Russian Armies and the Romanians in the Years 1848-1849. Military Documents*, vol. II - *Corespondență și rapoarte militare / Military Reports and Correspondence* (Cluj-Napoca/Gatineau, Editura Argonaut / Symphologic Publishing, 2013), 311-315.

² It is the case of the recent synthesis on Bessarabia in the Russian Empire (1812-1917), signed by Andrei Kushko, Viktor Taki and Oleg Grom: Андрей Кушко, Виктор Таки, Олег Гром. *Бессарабия в Российской империи 1812-1917*. Москва, Новое Литературное Обозрение, 2012.

³ Larry Watts. *With Friends Like These... The Soviet Bloc's Clandestine War Against Romania* (Bucharest: Military Publishing House, 2010), 59-65.

⁴ L. Loghin, C. Ucrain. *Aspecte militare ale revoluției din 1848-1849 în Transilvania*. București, Editura Militară, 1970; Ela Cosma. "Planurile intervenției țariste în Banat, sub comanda generalului Lüders (mai-iunie 1849)," *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie "George Barițiu" din Cluj-*

In short, the topic is for both sides a gap in the historical memory.

Yet, recently we have found the missing pieces of the 1848-1850 warfare puzzle. In the Russian State Military-Historical Archive in Moscow we have identified a still unknown primary historical source, which reflects, minutely and exhaustively, the very Tsarist campaign unfolded in the Romanian Principalities between 1848-1850. The Russian *Oberquartiermeisters* of the 5th army corps, namely colonel Alexander Vissarionovich Komarov and colonel Arthur Adamovich Nepokoitchitski, assisted by colonel Glebov and lieutenant colonel Daragan, wrote a prodigious military diary of almost 1,300 pages of manuscript, describing step by step Moldavia and Wallachia's conquest and occupation by general Alexander Nikolaevich Lüders's army (from spring 1848 to autumn 1850), as well as the two Tsarist interventions (in winter and summer 1849) in Transylvania, the Great Autonomous Principality under Habsburg suzerainty.

Thanks to the effort of the editors Angela Stîcalin-Colin, Alexander Stykalin, Tatiana Onilov, we have processed about 650 manuscript pages of the military diary, in order to prepare the necessary critical edition. The importance of the discovered military archive source, but also the problems and difficulties met in the labour of editing the broad handwritten Russian documents are presented in the following.

The importance of the military-historical archive source

Based on this precious Russian source, whose originals are in the Military- Historical Archive in Moscow, we can now reconstruct, in detail, the two calendar years of the Tsarist campaign in the Romanian territories. As mentioned earlier, it includes not only the occupation of the Romanian Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia between 1848-1850, but the Russian military interventions in Transylvania, in February and in June-August 1849, too.

The military-historical diary of the 1848-1850 Tsarist campaign in the Romanian Principalities is a first-hand archive source of exceptional value, so much the more that it was never published before, during the 170 years passed since the depicted events.

The purpose of the military-historical diary was to send on the minute, to the higher superiors of the Imperial General Staff in Sankt Petersburg, detailed and accurate information about the number, march routes and actions of the detachments (units) composing the 5th corps of the Russian army on Moldavian, Wallachian and Transylvanian territory.

Napoca, tome LII, supplement no. 1, 2013, 317-328; Ela Cosma, Daniela Deteşan, Angela Stîcalin-Colin, Tatiana Onilov (eds.). *Op. cit.*, 317-328. A single foreign historian approached the issue: Barbara Jelavich. "The Russian Intervention in Wallachia and Transylvania, September 1848 – March 1849". *Romanian Studies*, 4 (Leiden, 1979), 16-74.

Other essential aspects were also presented, such as: maintenance of the Tsarist war machinery in optimal operational state; quartering the huge number of troops; supplying the Russian infantry, cavalry, artillery and sappers with food (*Proviant*, human supplies) and feed; establishing the military camps, the mobile hospitals and isolation hospitals for contagious diseases (*lazarets*); prevention, avoidance and cure of the soldiers' diseases.

There were emphasized the great strategic qualities and the efficient organizational methods of the corps commander, general Alexander Nikolaevich Lüders, who imposed his control both upon his own army, and upon the local national militia, with the often-expressed clear intention, to exercise a moral influence and to put pressure upon the Romanian civilian population.

Actually, the ego- and ethno-centric Russian view, reflected in the pages of the 1848 Romanian campaign diary, was typical of the Tsarist operative army in general, an army experienced in expansionist campaigns in foreign territories. The locals were significant for the imperials only as far as they had to provide for the Russian military's needs or to meet their interests. This explains, for instance, the obligation imposed on the Romanian Principalities to ensure the maintenance of the huge Tsarist operative army, and the power relations established by the corps command, especially by general commander Lüders, with the Moldavian and Wallachian local authorities. Not being interested too much about the Principalities' inhabitants, the Tsarist campaign diary offers too little social, ethnographic and historical notices about the Romanians, compared to similar Austrian military reports, for example.⁵

Summing-up, the importance of the 1848-1850 Russian military archive source derives especially from its very contents, as the military diary includes a thorough and comprising relation about:

1. – the detailed deployment and march routes of the Tsarist units composing the 5th army corps, beyond the borders of the Russian Empire, starting with the moment when they crossed the Prut River into Moldavia (30 April 1848);
2. – the successive occupation of the Romanian Principalities, first Moldavia's occupation between the Prut River and the Siret River by the vanguard detachment of the 5th corps, led by general Daniil Alexandrovich Gerstenzweig (June-August 1848), then the entire Principality of Moldavia's occupation, under command of lieutenant general Moller, with headquarters in Iași (August 1848 – March 1850);
3. – the occupation of Southern Moldavia and Wallachia by the main detachment of the operative army, led by general Alexander Nikolaevich Lüders,

⁵ Friedrich Schwantz von Springfels. *Descrierea Olteniei la 1723*, ed. Mircea-Gheorghe Abrudan (Brăila / Cluj-Napoca: Muzeul Brăilei "Carol I"/Editura Istros, Academia Română, Centrul de Studii Transilvane, 2017), 221-289.

commander of the 5th corps (August 1848-1850); the occupation of the Wallachian capital city Bucharest by Lüders (September 1848);

4. – the first short intervention of the detachments led by colonel Grigori Iakovlevich Skariatin and major general Nikolai Feodorovich Engelhardt in Southern Transylvania, and their confrontations with the Hungarian military troops, in the area of the Transylvanian towns Braşov and Sibiu (February 1849);

5. – the second two months intervention in Transylvania of the operative detachment of the 5th corps, led by Lüders himself, and the defeat of the Hungarian army, led by general Józef Bem (June-August 1849);

6. – the reduced Russian manpower, led by general Gustav Hristianovich Hasford, left behind in Transylvania until peace achievement, at the return of the Austrian troops to the Great Autonomous Principality (August-October 1849);

7. – the continuous military occupation of Wallachia and Moldavia, by a contingent of the 5th corps led by Lüders, together with a smaller number of Ottoman troops, according to the provisions of the Balta Liman treaty (1 May 1849), until 1 March 1850;

8. – the 5th corps's preparation for withdrawal (March 1850) and the Russian military's departure from the territory of the Romanian Principalities (by October 1850).

Authors of the military-historical campaign diary

At the beginning of the Tsarist military campaign in the Romanian Lands, the order sent to the *Oberquartiermeister* of the 5th army corps to draw up a campaign diary, coming directly from tsar Nicholas I, was transmitted to the War minister, prince (*knyaz*) Alexander Ivanovich Tchernyshev (1786-1857), who had been appointed by the tsar on the significant position of chairman of the State Council of the Russian Empire. On 5 June 1848 minister Tchernyshev ordered general Feodor Feodorovich Berg, in his capacity of *Generalquartiermeister* and chief of the Imperial General Staff in Sankt-Petersburg, to charge his direct subordinate, namely *Oberquartiermeister* Komarov, to elaborate a historical and military campaign diary, in order to include the movements of the vanguard detachment of the 5th corps of the Russian army beyond the Prut River, that is beyond the 1848 political borders of the Tsarist Empire.⁶

The diary of the 1848-1850 Tsarist military campaign in the Romanian Principalities was written by several staff officers of the 5th Russian army corps. Its main authors are Komarov and Nepokoitchitski, the latter being seconded by Glebov and having Daragan as *locum tenens*. Hereinafter we portray a few biographical,

⁶ Russian State Military-Historical Archive, Funds 846 (abbreviated: RSMHA, 846), Opis 16, File 5332, no. 605, and Military-Scientific Archive of the General Staff Command, Department 2, no. 3285 (6), cabinet 115, shelf 1, fo. 1v.

military career and personality treats of the above-mentioned Tsarist high officers, who put their names to the analyzed campaign diary. Completing the picture, we make reference to further Russian commanders, like Lüders, Gerstenzweig, Duhamel, who played the leading role in the 1848-1850 military events developed on Romanian soil. Scholars have pointed out the great pressure exerted by the diplomat general Duhamel upon the actual military commanders Gerstenzweig and Lüders in order to force the invasion on a foreign territory under non-Russian suzerainty, in the Romanian Principalities, before receiving the tsar's approval.⁷

I. Lieutenant colonel *Alexander Vissarionovich Komarov* (1823 or 1830-1904) was, in summer 1848, *Oberquartiermeister* of the Tsarist vanguard detachment of the 5th army corps. He accompanied in mission artillery general Daniil Alexandrovich Gerstenzweig (1790-1848), commander of the vanguard made up of 6 divisions.

Gerstenzweig crossed the border of the Prut river, from Bessarabia belonging to the Tsarist Empire into Moldavia, upon the urgent call of general Alexander Osipovich Duhamel (1801-1880), Russia's extraordinary commissioner in both Romanian Principalities. The latter had accused the outburst of the revolution in Wallachia (7/19 June 1848 in Craiova, 9/21 June 1848 in Izlaz) and Bucharest (11/23 June 1848). The revolutionary events in Wallachia apparently determined the need of a swift intervention of the Tsarist armed forces.⁸

Oberquartiermeister Komarov was appointed by his superior, *Generalquartiermeister* general Feodor Feodorovich von Berg (1794-1874) from Sankt-Petersburg, to send him reports once a week, and to write a campaign diary, that he had to dispatch immediately to the imperial capital city. Komarov carried out the order, starting with 20 July 1848, when he sent the first part of his campaign diary. Here he described the arrival of the Russians in the Principality of Moldavia, delimited by the rivers Prut and Siret, during the period from 30 April 1848 to 30 June 1848.⁹

It seems that this untimely, unsuitable arrival of the Russian vanguard on a foreign territory under Ottoman suzerainty, merely upon Duhamel's insistence, with no highest approval, was disavowed by the tsar in the first instance. This led to general Gerstenzweig's quick dismissal. Abandoned to despair, the high rank officer, who was a man of honour, committed suicide by shooting himself on 14 August 1848 in Leova, on the Bessarabian border.¹⁰

The vanguard troops were subordinated to general Alexander Nikolaevich von Lüders (1790-1874), who was since 1837 commander of the 5th army corps, and

⁷ Barbara Jelavich, 20-22.

⁸ Gheorghe Bezviconi. *Călători ruși în Moldova și Muntenia* (Bucharest: Institutul de Istorie Națională, 1947), 387-389; Ivan Oreus: Иван Ореус. *Описание Венгерской войны 1849 года*. Санкт Петербургъ, Типография А. Траншеля, 1880.

⁹ RSMHA, 846, Opus 16, File 5332, fo. 1v, 3, 4-20.

¹⁰ *Amintirile colonelului Lăcusteanu*, ed. Ioan C. Filitti, Radu Crutzescu (Bucharest: Editura Humanitas, 2015), 144-145.

who had led his corps in the Caucasus war (1843-1845).¹¹ In August 1848, accompanied by the staff officers of his army corps, headed by Nepokoitchitski, Lüders arrived from Odessa in Bessarabia, and, from here he crossed the Prut to Southern Moldavia. In between, Lüders conquered Wallachia (since September 1848), and in June 1849 he invaded Transylvania with a large army.

Lieutenant colonel Komarov did not take part in the Transylvanian military campaign in summer 1849, as he was busy with the occupation army in Moldavia, as *Oberquartiermeister* of the detachment in Iași. His services were acknowledged by his being promoted to the rank of colonel (1849). He diligently and, sometimes, with much talent did his job to write down the Moldavian military diary, until September 1850.

Later on, Komarov was transferred to the Caucasus (1856). He was promoted major general (1868) and lieutenant general (1878). He fought in the Caucasian provinces of Chechnya and Dagestan (1877), then he was appointed supreme commander of the Trans-Caspian territory (1882) and commander of the Russian troops on the border with Afghanistan (1885). As infantry general, he retired in 1891 and died in 1904.

The writer of the 1848-1850 diary of the Russian campaign in the Romanian Principalities, Alexander Vissarionovich Komarov, was most probably the son of the cavalry major general Vissarion Savich Komar(ov), who took part as well in the 1848 campaign in the Romanian Lands, as head of the Ahtyrsk *hussar* regiment in Bucharest (1848-1850) and commander of the 1st brigade of the light cavalry (*uhlan*) division no. 5 in Transylvania (summer 1849). *Oberquartiermeister* Alexander Vissarionovich Komarov had three younger brothers, who also acquired high military ranks: infantry general Dimitri Vissarionovich Komarov (1831-1881); infantry general Constantin Vissarionovich Komarov (1832-1912), and Vissarion Vissarionovich Komarov (1838-1907), colonel in the Russian army and general in the Serbian army.¹²

II. Colonel *Arthur Adamovich Nepokoitchitski* (1813-1881) was, between 1848-1850, the *Oberquartiermeister* of the corps led by general Lüders, after he had spent 15 years in the 5th infantry corps of the Russian army, as corps staff officer (1834), then as division *Quartiermeister* and main *aide-de-camp* (adjutant) of the respective corps staff. In 1836 he became lieutenant (*поручик*) and staff captain (1839).

His relationship with Lüders dated from 1843, when the 5th army corps moved to the Caucasus, and Nepokoitchitski fought in Dagestan under general

¹¹ Arthur Adamovich Nepokoitchitski: Артур Адамович Непокойчицкий. "Граф Александр Николаевич Лидерс. Биографический очерк." *Русский инвалид*, no. 50, Санкт Петербургъ, 1874.

¹² Idem: Артур Адамович Непокойчицкий. *Описание войны въ Трансильвании въ 1849 году составлено при Генеральном Штабе 5-го Пехонного Корпуса, с картою Трансильвании и с семью планами.* Санкт Петербургъ, Типография Юлия Аид, Бокрама, 1st ed. 1858, 2nd ed. 1866, 290; *Amintirile colonelului Lăcusteanu*, 187-188.

Lüders's command. In August 1845, he was appointed *Oberquartiermeister* of the 5th infantry corps and sent to Stavropol. He was promoted colonel (*полковник*) in 1847.

In capacity of *Oberquartiermeister*, namely as the staff commander of the 5th corps of the Russian army in the Romanian Principalities and Transylvania, colonel Nepokoitchitski participated to the Russian campaign in the Romanian Lands (1848-1850). For special merits in the battles of Sebeş and Sighișoara (31 July 1849), he was promoted by tsar Nicholas I major general (August 1849). After the withdrawal of the Tsarist occupation troops from Moldavia and Wallachia (October 1850), he stayed in the staff command of the 5th infantry corps (until 1852).

Nepokoitchitski wrote the *Описание войны въ Трансильвании въ 1849 году* (Description of the War in Transylvania in 1849), published in Sankt-Petersburg in 1858 and republished in 1866.¹³ The cover and front page of the second edition ascribe the book to the staff of the 5th Russian infantry corps.¹⁴ Its actual editor is, in fact, as mentioned in the first edition, Arthur Adamovich Nepokoitchitski, who had all the proper information at hand, not only as eyewitness and participant to the Transylvanian war of 1849, but also as one of the authors who had drawn up the military-historical diary of the Tsarist campaign in the Romanian Lands. The Russian colonel wrote this volume in the years following the Transylvanian war (1849-1852), but, because of the Crimean war (1853-1856), his work could not be immediately published. The book is dedicated to the major battles fought, in summer 1849, by general Lüders's intervention troops against the Hungarian army led by Polish general Bem on Transylvanian soil.

Dealing with the already published Russian war diaries and memoirs of 1849, reflecting strictly the military events in Transylvania, Tatiana Onilov typified and included Nepokoitchitski's book among the objective sources that registered historical facts and data with a high degree of objectivism.¹⁵ Being of great importance, this volume adds value to the unpublished archive documents

¹³ The first edition of 1858 mentioned A. Nepokoitchitski as editor: *Описание войны въ Трансильваніи въ 1849 году, составлено при генеральномъ штабѣ 5-го пехотнаго корпуса*, изд. А. Непокочичицкии. Санктпетербург, 1858.

¹⁴ The second edition of 1866, including Transylvania's map and 7 plans, strictly referred to the staff of the 5th Russian infantry corps: *Описание войны въ Трансильвании в 1849 году, составлено при Генеральном Штабе 5-го Пехоного Корпуса, с картою Трансильвании и с семью планами*. Санкт Петербургъ, 1866.

¹⁵ Tatiana Onilov, "Russian Military Diaries of the 19th Century Reflecting the Historical Events from 1848 -1849 in Transylvania". *Armies, Commanders, Leaders in Transylvania (1848-1849) / Armate, comandanți, conducători în Transilvania (1848-1849)*, ed. Ela Cosma (Cluj-Napoca/Gatineau, Editura Argonaut / Symphologic Publishing, 2013), 169-170.

presented in our critical edition dedicated to the Russian campaign in the Romanian Lands (1848-1850).¹⁶

Lately (1999), Nepokoitchitski's *Description of the War in Transylvania in 1849* has been made known in Hungary as well, due to Rosonczy Ildikó's efforts, who partially edited and published in Hungarian translation Nepokoitchitski's volume printed in 1858.¹⁷ But the Hungarian researcher did not at all take into account unedited archive documents, among which there is exactly the military diary written by Nepokoitchitski in 1848-1850.¹⁸

Rosonczy's recent enterprise confirms both the authenticity of the Tsarist campaign's diary we are dealing with, and its originality until the present days, which emphasizes once more the need of an integral edition of this still unpublished archive source.

Returning to Nepokoitchitski's life, in 1855 he became lieutenant general and *Oberquartiermeister* of the Southern Tsarist army, and of the maritime and pedestrian troops in Crimea. Then he was staff *Oberquartiermeister* of the 2nd Russian army corps (1856). He was promoted infantry general (1868) and *aide-de-camp* general (1874).

Upon general Alexander Nikolaevich Lüders's death, on 2 February 1874, his old subordinate staff officer and collaborator Nepokoitchitski wrote an ample necrologue dedicated to the former general commander of the 5th corps of the Russian army (1790-1874). The laudatory writing, precious due to numerous biographical details regarding Lüders, was published in no. 50 of the Sankt Petersburg military journal "Русский инвалид" (1874).¹⁹

Nepokoitchitski also took part in the Russian-Turkish war (1877-1878), but, on the eve of this war, he was appointed titular holder of the Minsk infantry regiment no. 54. Infantry general Arthur Adamovich Nepokoitchitski died in 1881.²⁰

Speaking about the Russian-Turkish war of 1877-1878, here we have a good example of war instrumentalization by various historiographies. With reason it is called by Romanians and Bulgarians the Independence War of 1877-1878, as it

¹⁶ Ela Cosma, Tatiana Onilov, Angela Stîcalin-Colin, Alexandr Stykalin (eds.). *Campania militară țaristă în Țările Române. Documente militare*, vol. III - Komarov & Nepokojchitski: *Jurnal de campanie* (Cluj-Napoca/Gatineau, Argonaut Publishing / Symphologic Publishing, 2017).

¹⁷ Excerpts from Nepokoitchitski's first edition of 1858, translated into Hungarian, edited and provided with an introductory study by Rosonczy Ildikó, are published in the volume entitled *The Transylvanian Campaign from the Russians' Perspective, 1849*, namely: Nyepokojcsickij 1999.

¹⁸ Rosonczy Ildikó. "Bevezető tanulmány," in Artur Adamovics Nyepokojcsickij. *Az Erdélyi hadjárat orosz szemmel 1849*, ed. Rosonczy Ildikó (Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 1999), 7-22.

¹⁹ A.A. Непокойчицкий. *Op. cit.*, 1874. Lüders's necrologue written by Nepokoitchitski is reproduced, in Russian and Romanian translation, in Ela Cosma, Tatiana Onilov, Angela Stîcalin-Colin, Alexandr Stykalin (eds.), 481-496.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 536-537.

determined Romania and Bulgaria's national state independence. In Russian historiography it is known as the Great War for the Homeland's Defense, even if its decisive battles were fought far beyond the Russian homeland, in Bulgaria, south of the Danube River, where, after the tsar's military defeat, prince Carol von Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen (since 1881 Romania's king Carol I) led the Romanian troops, with major blood sacrifice, to the final victory against the Ottomans.

III. About the Tsarist colonel *Glebov*, secondary author of the Tsarist military diary of 1848-1850, we know only that he was lieutenant colonel and *aide-de-camp* superior of the 5th corps staff of the Russian intervention army in the Romanian Principalities between 1848-1850.

Together with Nepokoitchitski, Glebov was co-writer of the military-historical campaign diary, mainly concerned with the occupation of the Principality of Wallachia.²¹

In 1849-1850, Glebov drew a cartographic plan of the Wallachian capital city Bucharest.²²

IV. Little we know, too, about the Tsarist staff lieutenant colonel *Daragan*, general Lüders's *aide-de-camp*, who also joined the Russian campaign in the Romanian Principalities and Transylvania (1848-1850). As *locum tenens* of the *Oberquartiermeister*, in the latter's absence from the Wallachian capital city, Daragan took over the duty to write the diary, starting with mid-October 1849 until March 1850.²³

Just like Nepokoitchitski, Daragan described the experience of the 1848 military campaign in a book, providing abundant information about the battles of the Tsarist army, which were presented by the author in a pretty objective manner. His *Записки о Войнѣ въ Трансилваніи въ 1849 году* (Notes on the War in Transylvania in 1849), signed by colonel Daragan, were published, together with a map and 9 plans, in Sankt-Petersburg in 1859, ten years after the end of the 1848-1849 revolution and one year after the publication of Nepokoitchitski's description of the same war.²⁴ In the volume's forward, Daragan openly revealed his methods and sources:

²¹ RSMHA, 846, Opis 16, File 5332, fo. 127-158v.

²² *Plan goroda Bukaresta i ego okrestnostej snjatyjinstrumental'no pod rukovodstvom general' nago štaba podpolkovnika Glebova v 1849 i 1850 godah*, Bucharest, 1849-1850, original cartographic plan in RSMHA, Funds 438, map compartment, no. 19, apud Virgil Câdea. *Mărturii românești peste hotare. Creații românești și izvoare despre români în colecțiile din străinătate. IV. Polonia-Rusia*, ed. Ioana Feodorov, Andrei Timotin. București, Editura Bibliotecii Bucureștilor, 2012, p. 285; Ion Ionașcu. "Condițiile edificării Palatului Academiei (Universității) din București în anii 1857-1864". *Materiale de istorie și muzeografie*, vol. III (Bucharest: Muzeul de Istorie a orașului București, 1965), 106.

²³ RSMHA, 846, Opis 16, File 5357, fo. 285-320.

²⁴ Colonel Daragan: Дараган. *Записки о Войнѣ въ Трансилваніи въ 1849 году съ карто и 9-ю планами*. Санкт Петербургъ, Нздание Якова Алексѣевича Исакова, 1859.

“I consider as a duty to add that, when describing the Transylvanian campaign as a witness and participant, besides the official documents that were available to me, as an officer of the General Staff, I also used live stories of the people, who were often directly involved in the events. I considered keeping impartially and presenting the situation with perfect frankness as the most sacred obligation of mine, in front of my countrymen, in front of history and in front of the military science.²⁵”

Tatiana Onilov analysed Daragan’s book, which provides an important amount of information about the crucial battles that involved the 5th corps of the Russian army in summer 1849, as well as the description both of Transylvania, with its various villages and towns, and of the key locations or war arenas, where military confrontations and interventions of the Tsarists took place.

Using the descriptive method and also including extra-military data in his narration, colonel Daragan often showed his admiration for Transylvania, underlying that everything in this province was of higher quality: air, water, mountains, cereals, which explained the Habsburgs’ and the Hungarians’ eagerness to dominate the country. After accurately and objectively describing each event, the author never hesitated to issue his own subjective assumptions and conclusions. Thus, the account added to the factual historical information also Daragan’s personal interpretations of the events.²⁶

Quartermaster staff, headquarters and manpower of the 5th Tsarist infantry corps in the Romanian Lands (1848-1850)

In recent years, we have referred to the Tsarist diary, promising the processing and the publication of this valuable source.²⁷ In the 2nd volume of military documents, dedicated to *The Imperial Austrian-Russian Armies and the Romanians in the Years 1848-1849*, we showed that, during the military campaign led by general Alexander Nikolaevich Lüders in the Romanian Principalities (1848-50) and Transylvania (1849), the 5th corps of the Russian army was accompanied by the corps staff. This was

²⁵ “Считаю обязанностью прибавить, что описывая трансильванскую кампанию как очевидец и соучастник, я пользовался кроме того официальными документами, которые были мне доступны, как офицеру Генерального Штаба, и живыми рассказами самых действователей, часто на самом месте события. Сохранить беспристрастие и изложить дело с совершенным прямотушием я считал самым священным для себя обязательством перед соотечественниками, перед историею и перед военною наукою.” Apud Tatiana Onilov, *Russian Military Diaries*, 168-169.

²⁶ Ibid., 173-174.

²⁷ Ela Cosma. *Austrian Consular Representative Offices in Moldavia, Wallachia and Serbia, 1782-1848* (Cluj-Napoca/Gatineau, Editura Argonaut/Symphologic Publishing, 2014), 52-53.

headed by the corps *Oberquartiermeister*, who was in charge not only with questions of military supplies and quarters.²⁸

But who was actually the *Oberquartiermeister*? What were his scope and account in the frame of the 5th Tsarist army corps?

The German term (*Oberquartiermeister*), taken over in Russian (*Оберквартирмейстер*), sends to the German or Austrian prototype of the function that, however, was not limited to the military victualling and quartering, but also implied the properly staff command. The Habsburg army held in 1848 the General Staff of the Quarter Master (*General-Quartier-Meister-Stab*), with the seat in Vienna and lead by fieldmarshall of cavalry Heinrich Hess. Despite its confusing title, the Austrian General Staff of the Quarter Master fulfilled precise functions in topography, cartography, statistics, organizing the War Archive (*Kriegsarchiv*), coordinating works of military history and military geography.²⁹

The military forces of the Tsarist Empire were organized in several army corps and subordinated to the Ministry of War in the Russian capital city, which was in 1848 Sankt Petersburg. Each army corps had its own *Оберквартирмейстер Штаб* or with the genuine German term *Oberquartiermeister Stab*, that we translated none the less as *Oberquartiermeister staff*, in order to distinguish it from the Imperial General Staff of the Quarter Master. The latter formed a special department (*Департаментъ Генеральнаго Штаба*), within Russia's War Ministry (*Министерство Военное*).

The Tsarist corps *Oberquartiermeister* was, like his Habsburg counterpart, commander of the respective army unit (corps) and chief in matters of military supplies and quarters. Moreover, from the Russians' arrival in the Romanian Principalities, it is exactly the *Oberquartiermeister*, who was commissioned to elaborate the campaign diary, as the events unfolded, and to send it without delay to the Imperial General Staff Department in Sankt Petersburg. Besides writing out regular reports addressed to his immediate superior the *Generalquartiermeister* and drawing up the epic campaign diary, the 5th corps *Oberquartiermeister's* task also was to draw up military plans, layouts and maps of the territories occupied by the Russian armed forces.

Because of the extensive Romanian occupation area, on the one hand, and the large amount of Tsarist manpower coming here with the 5th infantry corps in 1848-1850, on the other hand, at first Komarov was responsible with the military diary as an appointed *Oberquartiermeister* of the vanguard detachment in Moldavia.

Afterwards Nepokoitchitski joined him, as staff commander and *Oberquartiermeister* of the 5th corps that invaded Wallachia. When general Lüders entered Southern Moldavia (August 1848), the Russian vanguard detachment turned

²⁸ Ela Cosma, Daniela Deteşan, "Afterword," 299-300.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 294-295.

into a regular occupation detachment of the Moldavian Principality (until October 1850), having its headquarters in the country's capital city Iași. In the meantime, the Tsarist main army of the 5th infantry corps led by Lüders himself took over control of the Wallachian Principality and established its headquarters in the capital city Bucharest (September 1848 – September 1850).

Colonel Nepokoitchitski carried out and signed a map of Southern Moldavia and North-Eastern Wallachia, indicating the marchroute and advance of the Russian army corps towards the towns Focșani, Râmnicu Sărat and Buzău (1848).³⁰

He also made another useful map, that showed the deployment of the Tsarist troops in the mountain areas of Moldavia (*Молдавия*) and Wallachia (*Валахия*). The second map comprised, *de facto*, the Romanian Principalities entirely, including Moldavia, Great Wallachia (*Большая Валахия*) and Small Wallachia (*Олтения, Малая Валахия*), but also the Transylvanian, Banat and Hungarian border provinces, itemizing the lands of the Szekler (*Шеклеры*), Saxons (*Саксонцы*), Hungarians and Romanians (*Венгерцы съ Волохоий*).³¹

In a couple of detailed plans Nepokoitchiskiy sketched the Russian troops deployed about Bucharest.³²

On his turn, lieutenant colonel Komarov attached to the written diary the layouts drawn by him, among which: the position plan of the military camp of the Russian army near Leova; the plan of the camp of the Ahtyrsk hussar regiment and of the light cavalry battery no. 10 near Semila, by Bârlad; the plan of the Tsarist reserve artillery park no. 15 in Bârlad (1848).³³

Komarov also drew a toponymical and hydronymical map of the Moldavian Principality, comprising the information collected by the Tsarist vanguard army in summer 1848.

In order to better understand the large responsibilities taken by the *Oberquartiermeisters* and the corps staff of the 5th Russian army, let us briefly

³⁰ Colonel Nepokoitchitski. *Map with the surroundings of the towns Focșani, Râmnicu Sărat and Buzău, indicating the march route and advance of the Russian main army of the 5th corps (1848)*. In RSMHA, 846, Opus 16, File 5332, fo. 90.

³¹ Colonel Nepokoitchitski. *Map of the mountain areas in the Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, showing the deployment of the Tsarist 5th army corps (1848)*. RSMHA, 846, Opus 16, File 5332, fo. 129.

³² Colonel Nepokoitchitski. *Plan of the Russian troops deployed near Bucharest (1848)*. RSMHA, 846, Opus 16, File 5332, fo. 95.

³³ Lieutenant colonel Komarov. *Position plan of the military camp of the Russian army near Leova in Bessarabia (1848)*. RSMHA, 846, Opus 16, File 5332 (17604), fo. 1. Lieutenant colonel Komarov. *Position plan of the military camp of the Ahtyrsk Hussar regiment and of the light cavalry battery no. 10 near Semila, by Bârlad*. RSMHA, 846, Opus 16, File 5332 (17604), fo. 22A. Lieutenant colonel Komarov. *Plan of the camp of the reserve artillery park no. 15 in the town Bârlad in the year 1848*. RSMHA, 846, Opus 16, File 5332, fo. 22B.

explain the tactical units of the operative Tsarist army in 1848-1850, as well as the structure and manpower of the 5th infantry corps.

According to Ivan Oreus, Russia's regular forces or standing army (*регулярные русские войска*) were divided in active forces (*действующие войска*), that existed in peacetime and increased their number before the war, and military reserve forces (*резервные войска*), which were scarce in peacetime, but increased considerably in wartime. The actual standing army was composed of the following corps (*корпуса*): a guard infantry corps (*гвардейские пехотные корпуса*); a guard cavalry reserve corps (*гвардейские резервные кавалерийские корпуса*); a grenadier corps (*гренадерские корпуса*); 6 infantry corps (*6 пехотные корпуса*); 2 cavalry reserve corps (*2 резервные кавалерийские корпуса*). Besides these, there were some separate corps: the Caucasian corps (*кавказский корпус*); the Orenburg corps (*оренбургский корпус*); the Siberian corps (*сибирский корпус*) and a few training corps (*учебные войска*).³⁴

Tatiana Onilov synthesized data offered by Russian military authors of the 19-20th centuries like Ivan Oreus (1880), Aleksandr Voronov, Revekka Abramovna Averbuch (1935), Pavel Markovich Adrianov and others, concerning Russia's intervention forces in Austria (1849), insisting on the operative units of the Tsarist army in Transylvania.³⁵

Onilov explains that each Russian infantry corps, among which the 5th infantry corps is to be counted, too, had 3 infantry divisions. Each division consisted of (at least) 2 brigades. Each infantry brigade had 2 regiments. Yet one of the 4 regiments from each division was a light infantry regiment of *Jägers* (*Егерь*) or hunters. There were 4 battalions per regiment, namely a rifle battalion, a sapper battalion and a light cavalry division. Each infantry battalion was formed of 4 or more companies or *rotas* (*рота*). Usually a battalion numbered 600-800 men, depending on its number of companies. While a complete company had 250 soldiers, a riflemen company had 180.

So, an infantry corps totalized up to 50,000 men.³⁶

In 1849, the 5th Russian infantry corps led by Lüders and the 6th corps were under direct command of the Ministry of War, while the infantry corps no. 1-4 made up the so-called active army (*действующая армия*), led by marshal prince Paskevich.

Ivan Oreus noted that, during the 1849 events in Transylvania, in the Romanian Principalities and in Hungary, the Russian regular forces of the standing army were completed by the irregular forces of the Don Cossack troops. These light cavalry troops were organized in Cossack regiments, including each 6 *sotnias*

³⁴ Ivan Oreus. *Op. cit.*, pp. 10-11.

³⁵ Tatiana Onilov. "Organization, Terminology and Structure of the Russian Army in 1849," *Transylvanian Review*, vol. XXIII, supplement no. 1 (Cluj-Napoca, 2014), 229-242.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 233-236.

(*comhu*). A sotnia was a smaller Cossack unit of 100 soldiers. Under infantry general Lüders, as general commander of the 5th corps, there fought 3 Cossack regiments, namely regiments no. 1, 43 and 48 of the Don Cossacks.³⁷

From this, it follows that, in 1848-1850, the manpower of Lüders's 5th corps in the Romanian Principalities numbered at least 50,000 infantrymen (like an ordinary infantry corps) and 18 *sotnias* or 1,800 Don Cossacks, which makes a total of about 52,000 men, as a maximal number.

But, processing the documents of the Tsarist campaign diary, we came across the situation described by Komarov on 4 June 1849, when a part of the 5th corps was dislocated to Transylvania, while in the Romanian Principalities there still remained: 16 infantry battalions, 16 cavalry squadrons, 40 artillery cannons, 6 Cossack *sotnias*.³⁸ That made a total of: 12,800 infantrymen (as a battalion had 800 men), 2,720 cavalrymen (per squadron there were 170 men), 600 Cossacks, thus a manpower of 16,120 soldiers, 3,320 horses and 40 cannons. To these forces left in Moldavia and Wallachia, under command of lieutenant general Dannenberg, there is to be added the Russian army led by general Lüders, from Wallachia across the Carpathians to Transylvania, consisting of 26 battalions, 16 squadrons and 18 *sotnias*, summing up a total of almost 25,320 soldiers and 56 cannons.³⁹

Thus, we can now appreciate that the Russian manpower in the Romanian Principalities in June 1849 totaled, as a minimal number, 41,440 men, 6,040 horses, 96 cannons. Proving a better accuracy, these figures show that our previous estimations of 2013 were overrated.⁴⁰

Discovery and research of the military-historical archive source

During a documentation stage at the Military-Historical Archive in Moscow (2008), historians Daniela Deteșan from Cluj-Napoca and Flavius Solomon from Iași, helped by their colleagues Angela Stîcalin-Colin and Alexander Stykalin from Moscow, identified several archive funds that are vital for the Romanians' modern history, among which the object of the present investigation. The Moscow archival source was revealed by Daniela Deteșan (2011), in an article presenting the numerous

³⁷ Ivan Oreus, 15.

³⁸ Ela Cosma, Tatiana Onilov, Angela Stîcalin-Colin, Alexandr Stykalin. *Campania militară țaristă în Țările Române*, 370.

³⁹ Tatiana Onilov. *Organization, Terminology and Structure of the Russian Army in 1849*, 237.

⁴⁰ Ela Cosma, Daniela Deteșan. "Afterword," 311. Based on vintage rumours received by the French and Habsburg consuls, we considered that 60-70,000 Russian soldiers spent the years 1848-1850 in Moldavia and Wallachia.

documents regarding the Tsarist armed forces in the Romanian Principalities in 1848. The author insisted upon the need for an extensive research on this topic.⁴¹

Fortunately, in the frame of a scientific project dedicated to *The Imperial Armies and the Romanians. Secret Military Testimonies from the Russian and Austrian Archives (1848-1849)*, under the aegis of “George Barițiu” History Institute of the Romanian Academy in Cluj-Napoca, the grant of the Romanian National Authority for Scientific Research in Bucharest enabled us to conduct a far-reaching exploration of the considered Russian archive funds (2011-2016). All the needed requirements were met, in order to perform such a complex and large-scale endeavour, indeed unique to the Romanian historical research. The grant covered budget and logistics (team research stays in Moscow imply high costs and restrictive archive access). It also ensured generous human resources.⁴²

Merely from the Military-Historical Archive in Moscow, we have identified, photocopied, scanned and transcribed a vast archive material. Excepting the diary of the Tsarist campaign, but including documents from further archives from Russia, Ukraine, Austria and the Republic of Moldova, only a few of the documents identified in the Military-Historical Archive from Moscow have been processed and edited in our first two volumes of military documents regarding *The Imperial Austro-Russian Armies and the Romanians in the Years 1848-1849*.⁴³ In order to achieve a

⁴¹ Daniela Deteșan. “Generalul Alexander Nicolaevici Lüders și invazia rusă în Transilvania (1849) în Arhiva Istorico-Militară de la Moscova”. *Biografii pașoptiste (3). Culegere de studii*, eds. Gelu Neamțu, Ela Cosma (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Argonaut, 2011), 319-325.

⁴² The grant was supported by the Romanian National Authority for Scientific Research (CNCS-UEFISCDI). Project number: PN-II-ID-PCE-2011-3-0064, project title: *The Imperial Armies and the Romanians. Secret Military Testimonies from the Russian and Austrian Archives (1848-1849)*, project leader: Ela Cosma. The grant team of experts in modern history and Russian, German, French, Romanian palaeography was made up of: Ela Cosma, Daniela Deteșan, Angela Stîcalin-Colin, Tatiana Onilov from the “George Barițiu” Institute of History in Cluj-Napoca; Ramona Preja from the Arts University in Târgu Mureș; Ion Varta from the State Archives of the Republic of Moldova in Kishinev; with the help of Alexandr Stykalin from the Institute of Slavistic and Balkan Studies of the Russian Academy in Moscow, and Tatiana Varta from the History Institute of the Moldovan Academy in Kishinev as external collaborators. Research stages at the Military-Historical Archive in Moscow: May-June 2012 (Angela Stîcalin-Colin, Ela Cosma, Daniela Deteșan, Tatiana Onilov, Ramona Preja), July 2012 (Ion Varta and Tatiana Varta), October 2012 (Angela Stîcalin-Colin), 2013-2016 (Angela Stîcalin-Colin), 2016-2017 (Alexander Stykalin).

⁴³ Ela Cosma, Daniela Deteșan, Angela Stîcalin-Colin, Tatiana Onilov (eds.). *Armatele imperiale austro-ruse și români la 1848-1849. Documente militare / The Imperial Austro-Russian Armies and the Romanians in the Years 1848-1849. Military Documents*, vol. I – *Descrieri generale și militare / General and Military Descriptions* (Cluj-Napoca/Gatineau, Editura Argonaut / Symphologic Publishing, 2012); Ela Cosma, Daniela Deteșan, Angela Stîcalin-Colin, Tatiana Onilov (eds.). *Armatele imperiale austro-ruse și românii la 1848-1849. Documente militare /*

wider dissemination of the edited documents, these were published in a multilingual and critical edition (2012, 2013), that presents the forward, afterword, notes and expanded *regesta* (document abstracts) in Romanian and English language, while the original documents are transcribed in Russian, German, Romanian, French and fully translated into Romanian.

We ought to mention, at this point, that the above presented volumes also include 31 documents, preserved in 6 different files of the Russian Military-Historical Archive.⁴⁴ Here we have also published 8 maps from 1848, with originals in the same archive.⁴⁵

As concerns the unpublished manuscripts of the Russian campaign diary worked out by colonel Nepokoitchitski and lieutenant colonel Komarov, from the Military-Historical Archive in Moscow we have fully processed file 5332 (213 folios) and partially processed file 5357 (folios 285-368), both from Fund 846, opis 16.⁴⁶

The Imperial Austro-Russian Armies and the Romanians in the Years 1848-1849. Military Documents, vol. II – *Corespondență și rapoarte militare / Military Reports and Correspondence* (Cluj-Napoca/Gatineau, Editura Argonaut / Symphologic Publishing, 2013).

⁴⁴ In round bracket we indicate the volume number and pages of the documents from the Russian Military-Historical Archive in Moscow published in volume I (2012) and vol. II (2013) of the edition *The Imperial Austro-Russian Armies and the Romanians in the Years 1848-1849. Military Documents*: a) RSMHA, Funds 219, Opis 540/1, File 861 (doc. 74, vol. II, 162-163; doc. 82, vol. II, 178-181); b) RSMHA, Funds 438, Opis 1, File 53, microfilm, 4 un-numbered pages at the beginning of the file (doc. 105, vol. II, 245-249); c) RSMHA, Funds 846, Opis 16, File 535, fo. 71 (doc. 91, vol. II, 211); d) RSMHA, Funds 846, Opis 16, File 5333, fo. 115-116, 133-135, 236-239, 395-397, 451-452, 477-499, 521, 526-527, 544-547, 591-594 (doc. 19, vol. II, 35-37; doc. 29, vol. II, 71-74; doc. 30, vol. II, 75-79; doc. 31, vol. II, 80-85; doc. 32, vol. II, 85-89; doc. 33, vol. II, 89-91; doc. 36, vol. II, 100-101; doc. 34, vol. II, 91-97; doc. 35, vol. II, 97-100; doc. 37, vol. II, 102-103; doc. 38, vol. II, 103-106; doc. 42, vol. II, 110-111; doc. 47, vol. II, 119-120; doc. 44, vol. II, 113-115; doc. 51, vol. II, 124-126; doc. 52, vol. II, 126-129; doc. 62, vol. II, 145-146; doc. 63, vol. II, 146-152); e) RSMHA, Funds 846, Opis 16 (1), File 5349, fo. 114-115, 170-172, 263-264, 866, 909-910 (doc. 86, vol. II, 187-191; doc. 7, vol. I, 210-213; doc. 95, vol. II, 226-229; doc. 92, vol. II, 211-213; doc. 93, vol. II, 213-214); f) RSMHA, Funds 846, Opis 16, File 5351, no. 605, 626, 639 (doc. 94, vol. II, 214-226; doc. 100, vol. II, 239-240; doc. 98, vol. II, 236-237).

⁴⁵ RSMHA, 846, Opis 16, File 5332 (old no. 3285), fo. 1, 22, 22a, 35, 72, 90, 95, 129 – maps of the: Russian military camp in Leova (vol. I, 283, map 19); Russian reserve artillery park in Bârlad (vol. I, 279, map 15); Russian camp in Bârlad (vol. I, 278, map 14); march route of the Russian vanguard detachment with the map of the Principality of Moldavia (vol. I, 281, map 17); Russian military camp of the 5th corps in Bucharest (vol. I, 273, map 9); towns of Focșani, Râmnicu Sărat, Buzău and the surroundings (vol. I, 277, map 13); dislocation of the Russian line troops to Bucharest (vol. I, 280, map 16); mountain areas in the Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia (vol. I, 282, map 18).

⁴⁶ RSMHA, a) Funds 846, Opis 16, File 5332, no. 605, and Military-Scientific Archive of the General Staff Command, Department 2, no. 3285 (6), cabinet 115, shelf 1, fo. 1v, 3, 4-20, 24-25, 26, 27, 28-64, 65, 66-71, 73, 74-88v, 92-101, 102-103, 107, 108-114, 116-118, 121-123,

Editing the Russian campaign diary of 1848-1850

The Russian manuscript of the campaign diary was transcribed and translated into Romanian by Tatiana Onilov, Angela Stîcalin-Colin and Alexander Stykalin, while German documents and tables were processed by Ela Cosma. Volume III of military documents, dealing with *The Tsarist Campaign in the Romanian Lands in 1848-1850. Komarov and Nepokoitchitski's Campaign Diary*, was printed in Romanian.⁴⁷

From the Military-Historical Archive in Moscow, Funds 846, opis 16, we fully processed 44 archive documents, adding further two memoirs, Russian and German tables reflecting march routes, manpower and statistical data related to the imperial Tsarist and Habsburg armies, as well as to the revolutionary Hungarian army. We transcribed 300 Russian pages of archive documents (213 folios from file 5332, 83 folios from file 5357), translated other 300 Romanian pages, added 50 pages of biographical indexes, which means 650 typed pages.

In our critical edition of military documents on the imperial armies and the Romanians in 1848-1850, we have tried, as much as possible, to arrange the documents in the chronological order of their issuing date.

Thus, we included the reports of *Oberquartiermeisters* Komarov and Nepokoitchitsky to *Generalquartiermeister* Berg, followed by the military-historical diary in its continuation. Usually the military reports were dated; on the contrary the diary records were not. Since each report from Moldavia, Wallachia and Transylvania included the date and place of issue, but also the reception date in Sankt Petersburg, we dated and placed consequently the diary continuation that followed the given report. For instance, Komarov's report to Berg, issued in Leova on 31 August 1848, was followed by the *Continuation of the general diary on the troops' movements of the vanguard detachment from 28 June until 13 August 1848*. As the diary was signed by Komarov, too, assumingly at the same place and time as the corresponding report, we registered the diary as follows: "[Leova, 31 August 1848]".

Yet, judging by page numbering of file 5332, we found that the diary structure does not always comply with the chronological criterion. The Russian military diary seems to have been archived after the campaign, indeed, but not much later after 1848-1850.

Being aware both of the importance of the historical and military source that we are revealing to the general public for the first time, and of the fact that our initiative

124-125, 127, 128-134v, 135, 136-140, 142-158v, 160-185, 187-192v, 193-198, 199, 200-213; b) Funds 846, Opis 16, File 5357, fo. 285-296, 297-302, 303-307, 308-312, 313-316, 317-320, 321-330, 331-339, 340-368.

⁴⁷ Ela Cosma, Tatiana Onilov, Angela Stîcalin-Colin, Alexandr Stykalin (eds.). *Campania militară țaristă în Țările Române. Documente militare*, vol. III - *Komarov & Nepokojchitski: Jurnal de campanie* (Cluj-Napoca/Gatineau, Argonaut Publishing / Symphologic Publishing, 2017).

will hardly be resumed and completed in the future by other researchers, we initiated this undertaking with the intention to make a complete edition of the diary of the Tsarist military campaign in the Romanian Principalities between 1848-1850.

Notwithstanding our efforts – that were voluntary and unpaid after the termination of the grant (in October 2016), exceeding the initial schedule -, we could not close the edition. We kept on working, adding more and more relevant Russian archive material. However, we did not manage to edit the whole contents of Nepokoitchitski and Komarov's diary, because of the extremely rich archive material composing the 1848-1850 Tsarist military diary in the Romanian Principalities. On one hand, the large-sized volume III comprises only in Romanian 580 print pages. On the other hand, there still remained unprocessed archive documents, as shown below, that would require about 2 more supplementary tomes.

Final remarks on researching the Moscow Military-Historical Archive and editing the Tsarist campaign diary of 1848-1850

Our research project created in 2012 an absolute precedent by massive consultation of the Russian State Military-Historical Archive (*Российский Государственный Военно-Исторический Архив*) in Moscow. This place, that concentrates all the military documents of our continent's oriental parts, from Middle Ages until the Bolshevik revolution (1917), is now Eastern Europe's largest military archive of medieval and modern history.

Unlike the Austrian War Archive (*Kriegsarchiv*) from Vienna, with normal archive regime in consulting documents, the access in the war archive of the former Russian Empire is physically and psychically conditioned, bureaucratically, technically and financially very much restricted. Thus, physical requirements to enter the Russian State Military-Historical Archive were: body search by armed watches, personal effects (cell phones, photo cameras, writing implements) stored in the cloakrooms, surveillance cameras all over the place (even in the ruined wash rooms), long entrance queues to the reference sections, unaerated reading rooms, unkind and repulsive attitude of the archivists towards non-Russian researchers, their flat denial to speak any other language but Russian, their rough behavior and vocabulary in order to turn off the foreign visitors. Psychological pressure at the Military-Historical Archive determined stress-related health problems affecting 3 of the 5 team members during our research stage of May-June 2012. Unappropriate technical requirements at the Military-Historical Archive in Moscow included: insufficient chairs, desks and microfilm readers, no photo-taking of documents, but notebooks and laptops allowed. There were extremely demanding bureaucratic requirements, prevarication about allowing the visiting request and then delaying the approval. Official approvals from home are never enough, that is why intercession and intervention of colleagues from the Academy of Sciences of the Russian Federation

become unavoidable and weight heavier than gold, as the Russian researchers must personally vouch for the integrity and good intentions of the foreign researchers. Substantial financial requirements are also involved: as a general rule costs are higher in Moscow than in London, in particular accommodation facilities are expensive and needed for a longer time period, as nothing can be solved in 2 weeks at the Military-Historical Archive. The transcriptions of the received documents are usually written by hand with pencil on paper or typed on the laptop. Documents may be scanned, but only by the Military-Historical Archive when higher approval is obtained. In this case, there are stiff prices and the waiting time is excessive, as we experienced.⁴⁸

In spite of the harsh conditions and high costs supported by our grant, notwithstanding the obligation imposed by the patriotic host archivists from the Moscow Military-Historical Archive to use Russian as compulsory and only language of communication,⁴⁹ our team documentation (that involved 8 historians, between 2012-2017) was the first Romanian private initiative (that is non-ministerial, and not at national level), assumed by researchers from the “George Barițiu” Institute of History in Cluj-Napoca, Branch of the Romanian Academy of Sciences, during a grant generously sustained by the Romanian National Authority for Scientific Research. It revealed astonishing unedited documents, among which the military campaign diary presented in this study.

Such a large-scale Romanian team undertaking is unlikely to be continued, unless new funding possibilities occur and the political status of the archives in the Russian Federation deteriorates. We were aware and took advantage of the high point of openness and publicity (*glasnost*, *гласность*) manifested by Russia in 2012, keeping in mind what our forerunners had confronted with on the general subject of access to the Russian archives. For instance, the Romanian historian Silviu Dragomir complained in 1910 about the obstacles that obstructed him (albeit he was endowed with countless approvals) to enter another famous Moscow archive, that of the Foreign Ministry of the Russian Empire, asking the Russian historian and Romanist Alexandr Iatsimirski for help.⁵⁰ After the fall of the Soviet Union, the Romanian

⁴⁸ Per contract no. 520 of 3 October 2012, signed between the contracting parties: Military-Historical Archive in Moscow and Angela Stîcalin-Colin, 362 leafs (double pages) and 7 maps were scanned for the sum of 33,160 Russian rubles (3,730.5 Romanian lei or 1,055 US dollars to the level of 2012). The sum was paid by the grant, according to receipt of 18 October 2012. The scanned archive material was received in May 2013. Reproduction and publication of the scanned documents and maps is not forbidden.

⁴⁹ The rudeness of the Military-Historical Archive’s staff is not general in all Russian archives and concerns not only foreign visitors (but also Russian citizens from the provinces).

⁵⁰ Letter of Silviu Dragomir to Alexandr Iatsimirski, 19 December 1910, Moscow, in Russian State Archive for Literature and Arts (Российский Государственный Архив Литературы и Искусства), Funds 584, Opis 1, File 70, fo. 1-1v. Apud Angela Stîcalin-Colin, Alexandr Stykalin. “Relațiile profesorului Alexandr Iațimirschi cu intelectualii originari din spațiul românesc și

National Archives feverishly involved themselves in the research and recovery of numerous funds of Romanian documents from the archives of the Russian Federation.⁵¹ Even if the results during 1992-2004 were rather modest, it was clear to anyone that:

“This favourable moment has neither to be wasted, nor can we consider that it will last too long, mostly as we experienced Russia’s archives opening at the end of the year 1917, followed in 1920 by their almost total lockup, until August 1991.”⁵²

Our own experience in the Russian State Military-Historical Archive showed that the 1848-1850 diary of the Tsarist campaign in the Romanian Principalities represented a pristine fund, as, after it was created, it remained completely untouched by researchers until our documentation stage in 2012.

There are several proofs in this respect, like: a) the existence of Forty-Eighter bugs, that we found pressed and well conserved between the pages of the diary; b) the belated inclusion of larger parts of the 1848-1850 diary from Wallachia, Moldavia and Transylvania in an unsuitable, limited fund, dedicated only to Hungary in 1849; c) the deliberate mingling of the files concerning the two year Russian campaign in the Romanian Principalities, among the funds registered as containing documents about the Hungarian war of 1849; d) in the description of the archive funds and files, the tacit ignoring of the Romanian phenomena, that as a matter of fact were carefully presented in the Russian campaign diary, and the systematical omission of phrases such as: the Romanian revolution in Moldavia, Wallachia and Transylvania, the Tsarist military occupation of the Romanian Principalities; e) “trace deletion” in inventory and opis lists, in order to cover up any hint that could betray the real contents of the Romanian files.

The 1848-1850 campaign diary of the 5th Tsarist army corps in the Romanian Principalities was neither secret, nor classified. So, the access to it was not more difficult than access to further sources from the Military-Historical Archive in Moscow. However, the manuscript documents that make up the respective military diary of the Tsarist campaign in Moldavia, Wallachia and Transylvania between 1848-

activitatea sa științifică în studierea culturii române”. *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie “George Barițiu” din Cluj-Napoca*, tome LXVII (Bucharest, 2018), 507-523.

⁵¹ Octavian Dascăl. “Demersurile Arhivelor Naționale ale României pentru cercetarea și recuperarea unor fonduri de documente românești din arhivele Federației Ruse (1992-2004),” *Revista Arhivelor*, no. 1 (Bucharest, 2009), 28-52.

⁵² “Acest moment favorabil nu trebuie pierdut și nici nu putem considera că el se va prelungi pentru multă vreme, mai ales că avem experiența deschiderii arhivelor Rusiei la sfârșitul anului 1917, urmată în 1920 de o închidere aproape totală a acestora, până în august 1991.” General Direction of the Romanian National Archives. *Raport nr. 3642/29.04.1992 privind vizita delegației Direcției Generale a Arhivelor Statului la Moscova (17-24 aprilie 1992)*, manuscript, Bucharest, 1992. Apud Octavian Dascăl, 40.

1850, continue to be well hidden among other archive funds. That is why its discovery was a happy combination of intuition and chance.

Scarcely visited by Romanian historians because of the above-mentioned obstacles, the Military-Historical Archive in Moscow undoubtedly accommodates a treasure of extremely precious information regarding the military history of the Romanian Lands in the mid-19th century. Most of the primary archive sources were minutely written down by the occupying Tsarist army itself. This is also the case of the Tsarist campaign diary of 1848-1850, that proves and confirms in every respect Tatiana Onilov's statements:

"One thing is certain, in 1849 once again the occupied Romanian Lands, including the Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, as well as Transylvania, became a military arena used for Russia's own political interests. All the damages, disorders, spoliation, and losses were endured by the population of these regions, who received in return mere political lies and deception.⁵³"

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⁵³ Tatiana Onilov. *Russian Military Diaries*, 240.