

MIRCEA-GHEORGHE  
ABRUDAN

# World War I in the Memories of the Transylvanian Saxons

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*In their writings, the Transylvanian Saxons conveyed their own perspective on their personal, first-hand experience.*

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## **Mircea-Gheorghe Abrudan**

Postdoctoral researcher at the Faculty of History and Philosophy, Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca. Authors, among others, of the book **Ortodoxie și luteranism în Transilvania între Revoluția pașoptistă și Marea Unire: Evoluție istorică și relații profesionale** (Orthodoxy and Lutheranism in Transylvania between the Revolution of 1848 and the Great Union: Historical evolution and interdenominational relations) (2015).

**O**VER THE past few years, against the background of commemorative events marking a century since the outbreak of World War I, a large number of historians in the country and abroad have focused their attention on this event of great magnitude, out of a desire to retrieve new dimensions and perspectives on “The Great War” (“La Grande Guerre,” “der Große Krieg”) and to make them accessible not only to historiographers, but also to the public at large, seeking an active reconstitution of this historical watershed, as it has been preserved in the collective memory of Europeans to this day. By and large, inter-, pluri- and trans-disciplinary approaches to this phenomenon, primarily from the vantage point of cultural history, prevail and dominate European historiographical discourse: its representatives abandoned,

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decades ago, *factual* or *event history*, based largely on the analysis and interpretation of political-diplomatic and military sources, and channeled their attention toward exploring the social, economic, cultural and demographic impact of the war and the human dimensions it activated, launching projects of recovering and valorizing new or previously insufficiently exploited sources.<sup>1</sup> As fundamental sources for the cultural history of World War I, memoirs and the species pertaining to the memoiristic genre (diaries, memories, recollections, autobiographies and correspondence) represent a topic of great interest to contemporary researchers, given their capacity to retrieve both individual and collective destinies/mentalities from the mists of time.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, especially in the Romanian space, the importance of the genre also stems from the fact that the beginnings of a historiography of the Great War are found and must be sought in memoirs.<sup>3</sup>

This study presents a synthetic overview of part of the results I have obtained in a post-doctoral research project which has focused, in part, on identifying and analyzing the Transylvanian Saxons' memoirs about World War I. Reference will be made, with brief illustrations, to the content of both *published works*, which saw the light of print mainly in periodicals, and *unpublished works*, identified in the rich collection of documents preserved at Brukenthal—as part of the Sibiu County Branch of the National Archives—and in the archive of the Transylvanian Institute in Gundelsheim (Germany). These writings were authored by Saxon memoirists from Transylvania during the war, in its immediate aftermath and in the interwar period. Among these memoirists, there were certain differences as regards their social, professional and educational backgrounds: the authors of these war-related autobiographies, memoirs, memories and diaries included peasants, workers, teachers, officers, lawyers, members of the Evangelical clergy and journalists.

Transylvanian Saxons<sup>4</sup>—the German minority in Transylvania which, according to its own estimates, comprised 230,697 inhabitants on 31 December 1910<sup>5</sup>—experienced euphoria at the outbreak of the war. Their sense of loyalty and duty to the sovereign in Vienna was doubled by their national filiation, as well as by their strong belief in the invincibility of the German Empire, which they regarded as their true “Motherland” (*Mutterland*) and the benchmark of European states. Mobilization was carried out against a highly sentimental background and was supported by the elites, whose representatives were hoping for a swift victory of the Central Powers. This explains the population's prompt response to the call to arms launched by the emperor, conscription being reinforced by high numbers of volunteers and by donations in money, agricultural products and assets for the war loans.<sup>6</sup>

The protracted military operations, Romania's entry into war and the opening of the Transylvanian front,<sup>7</sup> which included mostly the regions inhabited by the Saxons, had a considerable psychological impact on this community. The emerging state of insecurity and panic generated a refugee phenomenon, in the sense that there occurred a massive evacuation of both the elites and the common people towards areas that were under lesser threat from the frontline. The victory of the Entente and the Tran-

sylvanian Saxons' burning aspiration to preserve their own identity within the newly created political framework led, in January 1919, to the adoption of the well-known Mediaș Proclamation, which acknowledged the Saxons' adherence to the Union of Transylvania with Romania.<sup>8</sup>

The Saxons' participation in Austria-Hungary's war effort and the impact of the global conflagration on the small German-speaking community in Transylvania are only known in very broad lines, as the only information in this respect was provided by Bishop Friedrich Teutsch<sup>9</sup> in a few pages of his works about the history of Transylvanian Saxons and the history of the Evangelical Church in Transylvania. Teutsch briefly outlined the casualties and the requisitions suffered by the Saxon nation during the war, emphasizing its social, economic and humanitarian contributions to the war effort and showing that the unexpectedly long protraction of the war had proved extremely burdensome for his fellow nationals: the 37,533 soldiers who had been sent to the front represented no less than 16% of the total Saxon population. The number of individuals who had lost their lives by the end of the war was presented as follows: of the 37,533 people who had enlisted in the army, 10,343 received military distinctions thanks to their bravery on the battlefields, 3,532 died in the theaters of war, 1,318 were reported missing, 4,779 were injured, 1,449 returned home as invalids, 4,840 became prisoners of war, 1,865 Saxon women took on the robe of widowhood and 4,346 children were orphaned. Besides these human sacrifices, the Saxons' material effort amounted to 3 million *korona*, excluding the damage incurred during the armed confrontations that took place in Transylvania in the months of August and September 1916, these battles having also caused the evacuation of 30,000 Saxons from the affected areas.<sup>10</sup>

Like other nations that had been forced by the major European powers to wage a war of attrition in the trenches, many representatives of the Saxon elites (generals) or middle classes (priests, teachers, lawyers, civil servants), who had fought on the front and returned to their homes, published their memoirs, campaign diaries and the letters they had sent from the front, either during the years of armed conflict or in those following the end of hostilities. In their writings, they conveyed their own perspective on their personal, first-hand experience from the terrible years of armed confrontations, on the various deprivations they had endured, on the plagues and epidemics they had been faced with, and on the horrors and terrors they had witnessed in those extreme moments of life, in the immediate presence of the final frontier: death.

Situated at the crossroads between professional historical writing and the literary genre of the memoir is a very interesting book, which, despite being intensely popularized among the Saxons at the time of its publication (it had three successive editions over the course of a single year, 1917, all the copies having been sold by early 1918),<sup>11</sup> is little known of and exploited in scholarly literature. This is a work consisting of 14 memoiristic articles, edited by Emil Sigerus<sup>12</sup> under the title *From the Romanians' Time: A Book of Remembrance about Those Tempestuous Days*.<sup>13</sup>

The volume is a testimony from that epoch about the way in which 13 influential opinion leaders from the Saxon society (Bishop Friedrich Teutsch, Evangelical pastors, teachers, lawyers, writers and two pastors' wives) perceived the period of the "Romanian occupation" or of the armed confrontations between the Romanian and the German-Austro-Hungarian forces in Transylvania. The very first sentence of the introduction, signed by the editor of the collection on 24 November 1917, emphasized the fact that "this book is a volume of remembrance, of memories about a terrible period of time!" Sigerus went on to evoke the fears, anxieties, dangers and the dramatic atmosphere experienced by the Saxon population during the months of August and September 1916, when, after two years of ongoing warfare, "its destructive maelstrom also engulfed our country from the east." Even though more than a year had passed since these events, the writer insisted that "they have become deeply entrenched in our minds," readers now having the opportunity to acquire more in-depth knowledge about the experiences and destinies of his fellow nationals from the bygone days of fear and terror, as well as about those "never to be forgotten deeds of benefaction to our Saxon people, who were exposed to so many ordeals during that time." At the end of his introduction, Sigerus mentioned that the funds raised through the sale of this book would be distributed to the war widows and orphans of the Saxon nation. He also admitted that because of the shortage of paper and printing materials, he had been forced to make a selection of the texts received for publication, expressing his hope that under more favorable future circumstances, a revised and complete further edition could see the light of print.<sup>14</sup> Besides the editor's introduction, two patriotic poems and a sorrowful poem of longing, signed by Josef Lehrer, the volume includes five texts that recall the "Romanian period" in Braşov, Râşnov, Codlea, Cîsnădie and Cincu Mare, six texts that describe the generalized mayhem and the exodus of the Saxons away from the frontline or the atmosphere surrounding their return home, and two others, signed by the journalist Viktor Zyske and Bishop Friedrich Teutsch, which present the situation of the Saxon refugees in Budapest and, respectively, of the "national Church during the days of the Romanian invasion."

While discussing military events, tragedies and horrors that could have occurred in any war theater and would be rightly condemned by any rational human being, the tone of the articles and the orientation of the volume were overtly anti-Romanian. Conclusive statements such as "the Phantom of Greater Romania has been dispelled forever"<sup>15</sup> or "Let the dream of all-encompassing Romanian glory remain forever a dream and nothing more"<sup>16</sup> revealed the surfacing of older antagonisms between the Romanians and the Saxons, especially in the area of the former "Royal Land,"<sup>17</sup> but also signaled the fact that the contributors to the volume had assumed the slogans and clichés commonly used and disseminated by the propaganda of the Central Powers<sup>18</sup> against the belligerent states and nations that had coagulated on the other side of the barricade.<sup>19</sup>

The category of memoirs about the Romanian military invasion and occupation and about the Transylvanian front includes three other texts: one was published in the 1918 issue of *Kalender des Siebenbürger Volksfreundes*, while the other two are unpublished texts, preserved in the Brukenthal Collection of the National Archives in Sibiu. The former text was written by the Sibiu-based historian and journalist Georg Adolf Schuller (1862–1939), under the title “Two Images from the First Romanian Days,”<sup>20</sup> while the other two were authored by Major Adolf Reiner, who completed his memories about the “Defense and Evacuation of Sibiu in September 1916” on 2 May 1917<sup>21</sup> and, respectively, by the civilian Ferdinand J. Roth, who, five years after the events, recalled the atmosphere in Făgăraș under the title: “My Memories from the Time of the Romanians, from 27 August to 7 October 1916.”<sup>22</sup> These texts provide valuable details about the daily life of the population behind the front, the exodus of civilians away from the frontline, the Romanian and the German military maneuvers in the Sibiu and Făgăraș areas, and the personal experiences of the authors and their families in the maelstrom of these events.

**T**HE MOST comprehensive memoirs, aiming to provide an all-encompassing overview of the war, belong to one of the “heroes” fighting on the fronts of the Central Powers, General Arthur Arz von Straussenburg, the “winner in the Battles of Limonova and Brest-Litovsk,” as he was eulogized in an article published in *Kalender des Siebenbürger Volksfreundes* in 1917.<sup>23</sup> The general was born in Sibiu on 16 June 1857, in an old family of Saxon patricians, whose roots went down to the 16<sup>th</sup> century and which had given the Saxon nation six generations of well-known Evangelical pastors, numerous tradesmen, politicians, lawyers and officers; two of the general’s great-grandfathers had been knighted by the Court of Vienna in the years 1701 and 1743, the title being confirmed under the Imperial Diploma of 31 May 1835, granted to his grandfather, Martin Samuel von Straussenburg (1798–1851). After studying legal sciences in Sibiu and Dresden, Arthur Arz von Straussenburg enrolled in the military school in Vienna, which he graduated in 1887. He served as a senior officer in various command positions with the Austro-Hungarian General Staff and the Ministry of War in Vienna. His military career continued its upward course during World War I, the command positions he filled and the military missions he successfully accomplished propelling him among the leaders of the Austro-Hungarian Imperial-Royal Army. Thus, following his military success in the battles that were waged on the Galician front and Romania’s entry into war in August 1916, he was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the new Austro-Hungarian 1<sup>st</sup> Army in Transylvania. Straussenburg recounted, in dismay, that on his arrival at the headquarters of this army, located inside the main building of Francis Joseph University in Cluj,<sup>24</sup> he was like an “army chief without an army,” as his fighting units actually had a far lower capacity compared with the Romanian forces; hence, faced with the Romanian invasion, he had no

other choice but to manage an organized retreat, until the arrival in Transylvania of the reinforcements promised by the Austro-Hungarian and the German General Staffs. His actions in Transylvania, the situation of the warring armies, the evolution of the front and the atmosphere among the Transylvanian civilians are described in detail by Straussenburg in a chapter, suggestively entitled “In Transylvania,” from his first book of memoirs about the war.<sup>25</sup> Following the discharge of Conrad von Hötzendorf,<sup>26</sup> Emperor Charles I (1916–1918, known in the memoirs of the Transylvanian Romanians as King Charles IV of Hungary), promoted Arz von Straussenburg, on 1 March 1917, to the position of Chief of the General Staff of the Danubian Monarchy,<sup>27</sup> a dignity that he would maintain until the end of the war and the dissolution of the Dual Monarchy.<sup>28</sup> Involved at the highest level in the military strategy of the General Staff of the Dual Monarchy, the Transylvanian Arz von Straussenburg was, in fact, the representative of the Saxon nation who not only occupied the highest military position in the Austro-Hungarian Army and in the Ministry of War in Vienna, but who can also be considered, alongside Baron Samuel von Brukenthal (1721–1803), as the Transylvanian Saxon who was granted the highest political credit by the sovereigns in Vienna, reaching one of the most prominent and prestigious hierarchical positions in the Habsburg Monarchy. His personal experiences, supplemented with information extracted from official documents and from his private or secret correspondence with various political leaders and military commanders, were synthesized by the general in two massive volumes published in Vienna in 1924 and 1934.

Suggestively entitled *On the History of the Great War 1914–1918: The Notes of Colonel General Arz*,<sup>29</sup> the first volume has, from the very beginning, a strong memoiristic character and it is dedicated by the general to “my brave comrades in arms and my faithful collaborators from the good and the hard days of the World War, 1914–1918. May these pages contribute to keeping awake the memory of the brave old army.” Moreover, in the short foreword of the book, von Straussenburg indicated quite clearly that this volume of “notes” was not intended as “a history of the war,” but as a sum of “contributions to the history of the war,” based on his personal notes and drafts from the time of the conflagration, which was also the reason why he had preserved the descriptive style of a diary in this work. Amounting to nearly four hundred pages, the volume is divided into two parts. The first part is subdivided into five chapters dedicated to his life before the war and to the military campaigns in Galicia and Transylvania during the first two years of the war, while the second part provides a retrospective overview of the years 1917–1918 from his vantage point as head of the Austro-Hungarian General Staff, a position he had occupied since 1 March 1917. Thus, while the first part insists on details referring to his military actions, to the movements, composition, equipment, supplies and shortages of the military units he commanded, to the situation in the immediate proximity of the front, and to the way in which everyday life unfolded in the dangerous war

zones, the second part offers a more general description of the situation on all the fronts where the Austro-Hungarian troops fought, paying particular attention to the events that had taken place both on the national political stage (with emphasis on the diplomatic actions undertaken by Emperor Charles I and the political-military circles around him for concluding the peace) and on the international one (with numerous insightful comments on the social and political transformations in Russia, the administration of the territories conquered in Italy and Ukraine, the signing of the Peace of Buftea with Romania, and the evolution of events on the Italian, Balkan and Western fronts. The last chapters outline Straussenburg's outlook on the military and political collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. The events recalled include the internal centrifugal movements, the peace offer of the allies, Emperor Charles I's political manifesto of October 1918, the conclusion of the armistice and, under the suggestive title "the last days in Schönbrunn," the abdication of the sovereign, the demobilization of the army and the birth of the national states, successors to the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. Praise is brought to the brave army, which could not be blamed, in his opinion, for the final political outcome. The recollection of events concludes with an epilogue referring to the former sovereign's unsuccessful attempts to take over power in Budapest, followed by his exile and death on the Portuguese island of Madeira in 1922.

The second volume, entitled *The Battle and Fall of Empires*,<sup>30</sup> was completed in October 1934, one year before his death. By publishing this new, more condensed book, which combined the genres of historical narrative and memoir, General von Straussenburg wanted to mark the twenty years that had passed since the outbreak of the Great War. Like the preceding volume, it was dedicated to his comrades in arms and to maintaining alive the memory of the heroic deeds committed by the Imperial-Royal Army. However, unlike the previous text, this volume was enriched with numerous depictions of the main political and military leaders of the Central Powers, being divided into two distinct parts: the first section is historical and the second contains memoirs. The historical section is divided into four chapters, dedicated to each of the war years and preceded by a more extensive introduction. This introductory section presents the causes that led to the outbreak of the war and the way in which the events unfolded. The text illustrates the personality of Emperor Francis Joseph I and discusses the causes that led to the outbreak of the war, the Balkan problem, the consequences of the attack on Archduke Francis Ferdinand, heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne,<sup>31</sup> the von Schlieffen military plan<sup>32</sup> and the first days of armed clashes. The same methodology of clear statement and argumentation is employed in the chapters devoted to the years of the war, which address both the major military battles waged on all the fronts and the political events that occurred in the belligerent countries. In the second part, entitled "Memories and Addenda," von Straussenburg started by evoking a series of political and military Austrian personalities from the time of the war and went on to talk about his military activity on the battlefronts of Galicia, the Carpathians and Transylvania and his

leadership of the General Staff in Vienna. Finally, he discussed a series of “questions and answers about the Austro-Hungarian offensive from the summer of 1918,” expressing some thoughts in commemoration of the army he had led, an army that, as von Straussenburg emphasized, “cannot be blamed for the disintegration of the monarchy,” because its troops had fought bravely, protecting the frontiers of the state and also advancing deep into enemy territory. This explains why in the very last sentence of the volume, the general insistently stated that the memory of this army deserved to be honored.

Much like his German, French, British, American and Romanian counterparts, Arthur Arz von Straussenburg wrote, in these two volumes, not only pages of personal history in relation to World War I, illustrating autobiographical memory as one of the foremost military actors in the events occurring on the Eastern Front and in the chancellery of the General Staff in Vienna. He also contributed significantly to the consolidation of the knowledge about the military and political history of this period of global conflagration, not only through his numerous evocative and detailed descriptions of the situation on the Eastern Front and its hinterlands, but also through the documentary sources (telegraphic dispatches, telegrams, letters, military plans) he reproduced. As a work that belongs equally to the genre of the memoir and to traditional historiography, Arz von Straussenburg’s memories are relevant for understanding the history of World War I in the area of Central-Eastern and Southeast Europe.

The same category of war memoirs includes an entire series of shorter or longer texts, written by former military men or civilians who were Transylvanian Saxons. These texts were published either in the Saxon periodicals of that time, with subsequent reprints of these excerpts, or in volumes of varying lengths. In terms of the content of these memoirs, they can be divided into three groups: 1) texts charting a comprehensive overview of the combatants’ experiences in the war; 2) texts presenting the memories of soldiers who were captured by the enemy on the front, being deported to different areas on the territory of the Entente Powers; and 3) texts drafted by non-conscripted civilians in Transylvania.

The first group of texts outlined above stands out through the richness of the information conveyed in four memoirs, two published and two unpublished. The first I would like to discuss was published in the editions of the years 1916, 1917 and 1918 of *Kalender des Siebenbürger Volksfreundes*, under the title “Diary of the World War.” Its author, Colonel Wilhelm Teutsch, belonged to the famous Teutsch family of Saxon bishops, being the younger son of Georg Daniel and the brother of Friedrich Teutsch. Having retired in 1911 with the rank of colonel, after a military career in the 31<sup>st</sup> Honved Regiment, Wilhelm Teutsch enlisted as a volunteer in September 1914, at the age of 56, and was assigned by the military command in Sibiu to the 63<sup>rd</sup> and, then, to the 82<sup>nd</sup> Infantry Regiments, with which he fought on the fronts of Galicia in the years 1914–1916. His diary consists of daily chronological notes from the years 1914–1917 about the events he experienced personally



and about the most important events on other fronts in the Balkans, in Romania and in the West. The text is accompanied by a rich illustrative material, comprising portraits of Austro-German military and political figures, military sketches and plans, and panoramic overviews of the battlefronts. His approach to the war-related phenomena he describes is strongly positivistic and, occasionally, downright propagandistic: the text brings excessive praise to the heroism, victories and successes of the Central Powers' armies, betraying the author's intention of imparting a message of encouragement and hope for a happy ending to the readers, which explains its publication in the Saxon almanac, but considerably diminishes its documentary and informational value.<sup>33</sup>

The following text is simply entitled *War Memories* and was written by Paul Eder, being published by Bishop Friedrich Teutsch, at the author's personal behest, in the late 1920s. Eder, whose biographical trajectory was quite interesting (he was the nephew of Georg Daniel Teutsch, a lawyer, adviser to the statistical department of the Ruling Council), has remained virtually unknown in historiography. His memoirs convey his personal insights into the situation of the Bukovinian front from the years 1914–1916, exploring the conditions in the Hungarian hospitals and the impact of Emperor Francis Joseph's death on the soldiers and the officers of the Honved Army.<sup>34</sup>

Another text that deserves special attention and presentation is the unpublished war diary of the Saxon historian and man of culture Otto Folberth (1896–1991)<sup>35</sup>, recently mentioned by Horst Schuller in the pages of the Munich-based scientific journal *Spiegelungen*, edited by the Institute for German Culture and History in Southeast Europe.<sup>36</sup> Consisting of 58 notebooks, each of which contains 25–30 pages, the manuscript of Folberth's diary is preserved in the archives of the Siebenbürgen-Institut in Gundelsheim, Germany, and includes the diary entries written by the author throughout his entire life, from the early age of 14 years to the patriarchal age of a little over 90 years. Nine of the 58 notebooks of the young Lieutenant Otto Folberth's diary, from the period July 1915–September 1918, filled in while he was stationed on the Eastern Front of the great conflagration, are gathered under the title "My Participation in World War I."<sup>37</sup> Accompanied by photos from that period and by military and campaign sketches, Folberth's notes represent a still unpublished source that refers not so much to military scenes as such, but to the lives of the soldiers and civilians from behind the front and from its immediate proximity. The young lieutenant addresses political, military, ideological, philosophical, religious, social and anthropological topics, which he develops by using quotations from his private correspondence, as well as from his comrades' letters, from official dispatches, from discussions with civilians (Ukrainians, Poles or Hungarians), but also with the enemy, from anonymous army poems and songs, or from texts and stories that he passes through his own psychological and emotional filter. In addition to the facts and events it depicts, Folberth's diary impresses the reader with its profound rhetorical interrogations referring to the "madness of war," the desire for

peace, the destruction and death that war wrought among people, the illusions of military heroism, the last moments in the lives of anonymous suffering soldiers.<sup>38</sup> The publication of this war diary in the future will certainly lead to a rediscovery and a recalibration of the image of this war, seen and assessed through the eyes of a twenty years-old Saxon lieutenant, who wrote about his everyday experiences in the heat of the moment, his reflections being thus protected from the polishing interferences that are inherent in any post-event descriptive effort.

The next unpublished text, entitled “The War Diary of a General Staff Officer from the Years 1914–1918,” was written by the Saxon Lieutenant-Colonel Carl Poppi from Sibiu, an officer of the Austro-Hungarian Army in Transylvania. Completed by the author on 1 May 1933 and donated to Brukenthal Museum in Sibiu, the diary is preserved today in the rich Brukenthal documentary collection of the Sibiu County Branch of the National Archives.<sup>39</sup> The text was compiled based on the notes taken by the officer during moments of respite during the war, being subsequently enriched “with accuracy” from memory, so that the text might be of service “to myself and to posterity” in reconstituting and commemorating the facts, the events and the combatants of the Great War. Unlike the diaries of Wilhelm Teutsch, Paul Eder and Otto Folberth, whose narratives have a chronological, day-by-day thread, Poppi’s diary consists of several parts which are independent from one another and contain descriptions of military operations, sketches of battlefields, telegraphic dispatches, telegrams, letters and secret reports circulating between the author and the various military commanders or members of the General Staff of the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> Austro-Hungarian Armies on the Eastern Front. The officer’s diary also contains a series of annexes, which include twenty-five truly hilarious humorous texts, entitled “war jokes,” invented by the lieutenant-colonel’s comrades in arms and subordinates from various regiments of the Austro-Hungarian Army. Most of these jokes made ironic reference to and ridiculed the enemy; hence, their role was to brighten the sullen faces and relax the troubled minds of the combatants engaged in this war of attrition in the trenches. Another major difference between the diary written by Carl Poppi and those drafted by Teutsch, Eder and Folberth is the style of expression and the quality of language. Whereas in the case of the latter two, the discourse is refined, interspersed with genuine literary tropes and devices that enrich and embellish these texts, Poppi’s linguistic style is poor, technical, even arid at times, betraying, on the one hand, his flimsy humanistic educational background and, on the other hand, a propensity for quoting various sources and an inability to escape the constraints of the military lexicon.

**T**HE SECOND group includes the majority of memoiristic texts. Among these, perhaps the most spectacular is the volume written by the schoolmaster Friedrich Georg Wagner, entitled *In Siberian Captivity: The Experiences and Memories of a Saxon Schoolmaster from the Years 1914–1920*.<sup>40</sup> In the three hundred pages of this text, the author, who was a non-commissioned officer in one of the

line battalions of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Austro-Hungarian Army on the Galician front, described how he had been taken prisoner after a minor injury on 18 October 1914, being deported by the Russians and interned in several prison camps in Siberia, east of Lake Baikal, where he spent five and a half years. On his return to Transylvania in the spring of 1920, with a “Romanian legion,”<sup>41</sup> Wagner recounted the battles he had taken part in, focusing on moments of everyday military life, the hardships endured by the masses and the destinies of anonymous soldiers who fought in the front line. The novelty and the exoticism of this schoolmaster’s experiences were highlighted by the ecclesiastical periodical of the national Saxon Church, *Kirchliche Blätter*, which, in late December 1922, reviewed and welcomed the publication of the book, recommending it for reading on winter evenings.<sup>42</sup>

The same category of “exotic” memoirs also includes the following less extensive works: the text authored by Michael Walesch, a teacher from Cisnădie, and entitled *Memories of a Difficult Period 1914–1918*,<sup>43</sup> Gustav Welzer’s “My Experiences in Russian Captivity”<sup>44</sup> and Ein Rothberger’s “On My Four-Year Russian Captivity.”<sup>45</sup> All these memoirs convey the equally tragic and “exotic” experiences of Transylvanian Saxons who were taken prisoner on the Galician front and were deported to the banks of the Volga River and beyond the Urals, in the steppes of Siberia, on the shores of the Caspian Sea and of the lakes surrounding Tashkent, the present-day capital of Uzbekistan. Their autobiographical notes abound in suggestive images and descriptions of geographical areas that most of their fellow citizens back home had never heard of or could hardly imagine or visualize.

Less exotic, but belonging to the same literary genre that recounted similar destinies, were the memories of the Lutheran pastor Engel Misch gathered under the title *The Experiences of a Saxon Pastor in Romanian Civil Captivity*<sup>46</sup> and the recollections of Otto Mangesius entitled “On My Captivity in Sicily,”<sup>47</sup> both published in popular Saxon periodicals: *Landwirtschaftliche Blätter in Siebenbürgen* and, respectively, *Deutsche Tagespost*.

The third group comprises a series of memoiristic texts authored by different Transylvanian Saxons, who wrote their memoirs towards the end of their lives, focusing on their individual and collective experiences during the four years of World War I. Two of these texts have retained my attention, given the richness and uniqueness of the information they provide about the course of events in their social, urban and rural environments. The first is the autobiographical work authored by the mayor of Braşov, Ernst Karl Schnell, entitled *On My Life: Memories of Times Old and New*, published in the city at the foot of Tâmpa Mountain in 1934.<sup>48</sup> In these memories, Mayor Schnell confirms the plans of the Hungarian Government and the strategy of the Saxon political leaders to change the ethnic and confessional configuration of Transylvania at the end of the war, acknowledging that during the global conflagration, the Saxon Bank in Braşov, Kronstädter Allgemeine Sparkasse,<sup>49</sup> had been involved in a vast program of purchasing land along the Olt Valley in the Land

of Făgăraș, where Lutheran Germans, brought from the south of Russia, were to be later colonized.<sup>50</sup> The second text that deserves attention is the diary of the peasant composer Carl Reich from Cârța, a village on the banks of the River Olt where the ruins of the famous 13<sup>th</sup>-century Cistercian monastery are located.<sup>51</sup> Entitled *How War Came Upon Us, Too*,<sup>52</sup> the text is written in the form of a chronicle of the village of Cârța. Reich's diary describes the tumultuous rural life of the Saxons and the Romanians in the village during the months of August through October 1916, integrating this period of turbulence within a chronicle of Cârța during the period 1905–1930.

Belonging to same memoiristic genre, the last category of sources we should mention is war correspondence, “still insufficiently exploited in the Romanian historiography dedicated to the Great War,” as Professor Ioan Bolovan has recently highlighted in his book on Transylvania during World War I.<sup>53</sup> Epistolary exchanges, telegrams and postcards were the soldiers' sole means of communicating from the front with the people back home and the only source of information for the civilians on the “home front” about the combatants in the trenches. Even though the correspondence passed through the hands of the employees of the War Censorship Office, which monitored the flow of incoming and outgoing information on the front, these letters and postcards represent a generous source of knowledge on the situation of the soldiers on the frontline and of their relatives back home, as well as for understanding these collective mentalities. War correspondence began to be published in the pages of Saxon periodicals in Transylvania during the years of armed confrontations. Moreover, the volume *Transylvanian Saxons in the World War. Festive Letters and Sketches of the War* was published in Vienna in 1916.<sup>54</sup> Notwithstanding all this, the vast majority of the sources of this kind are still unpublished, being preserved in the section entitled “Memories of World War I: Letters and Postcards of the Saxon Soldiers 1914–1918,” part of the Brukenthal Collection of documents at the Sibiu County Branch of the National Archives, where they are awaiting their potential editors.<sup>55</sup>

In conclusion, I must emphasize that any assessment of memoirs in general and, as the present case suggests, of Saxon memoirs in particular is a difficult undertaking, because each and every title in the categories outlined above brings into discussion a different destiny, presenting the narrative of a unique—individual or collective—life, revealing various facets of human beings in the context of war, discussing the myriad avatars of human personality at the time of armed confrontations, both on the front and behind the lines, and conveying a diverse array of aspects and perceptions related to what has remained entrenched in the memory of humanity as “The Great War.”



(Translated by CARMEN-VERONICA BORBÉLY)

## Notes

1. On the historiography of the war, see Petra Ernst, Sabine A. Haring, and Werner Suppanz, eds., *Aggression und Katharsis: Der Erste Weltkrieg im Diskurs der Moderne* (Vienna: Passagen Verlag, 2004); Jay Winter and Antoine Prost, *The Great War in History: Debates and Controversies, 1914 to the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Toader Nicoară, “Istoriografia ‘Marelui Război’: de la istoria politico-diplomatică la noua istorie culturală,” in *Războiul și societatea în secolul XX/Guerra e società nel XX secolo*, eds. Gheorghe Mândrescu and Giordano Altarozzi (Cluj-Napoca–Rome: Accent, 2007), 34–44.
2. Nicolae Bocșan and Valeriu Leu, “Memorialiști români din Banat despre Marele Război: Motivația redactării scrierilor,” in *Primul Război Mondial: perspectivă istorică și istoriografică/World War I: A Historical and Historiographical Perspective*, eds. Ioan Bolovan, Gheorghe Cojocaru, and Oana Mihaela Tămaș (Cluj-Napoca: Academia Română, Centrul de Studii Transilvane/Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2015), 42.
3. Valeriu Leu, “Memorialistica românească din Banat referitoare la Primul Război Mondial și la Unirea din 1918,” in *Marele Război în memoria bănățeană (1914–1919)*, anthology, edition, studies and notes by Valeriu Leu and Nicolae Bocșan (Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2012), 12.
4. On the history of Transylvanian Saxons, see Michael Kroner, *Geschichte der Siebenbürger Sachsen*, 2 vol. (Nuremberg: Verlag Haus der Heimat, 2007–2008).
5. Friedrich Teutsch, *Die Siebenbürger Sachsen in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart* (Leipzig: Verlag von K. F. Roehler, 1916), 350.
6. For details concerning the attitude of the Saxon ecclesiastical elite towards the outbreak of war and the actions undertaken in the community during the first months of the war, see: Mircea-Gheorghe Abrudan, “Atitudinea conducerii Bisericii Evanghelice din Transilvania față de izbucnirea Primului Război Mondial,” in *Sebeș, timp regăsit... Lucrările Conferinței “100 de ani de la declanșarea Primului Război Mondial: Contribuția sebeșenilor la război și Marele Unire” (5 decembrie 2014)*, ed. Rodica Groza (Sebeș: Emma Books, 2014), 65–82.
7. On the Romanian Kingdom’s participation in the war, see the very good study written by American historian Glenn E. Torrey, *The Romanian Battlefield in World War I* (Lawrence: Kansas University Press, 2011).
8. For details about the Saxons’ adherence to the union with Romania and about the conference held in Mediaș, see Vasile Ciobanu, *Contribuții la cunoașterea istoriei sașilor transilvăneni 1918–1944* (Sibiu: Hora, 2001), 29–67; id., *Germanii din România în anii 1918–1919* (Sibiu: Honterus, 2013).
9. He was born in Sighișoara in 1852, in the family of Georg Daniel Teutsch, who was headmaster of the Saxon Evangelical Gymnasium in that town. He studied theology and history at Heidelberg, Leipzig and Berlin. From 1906 to 1930, he was bishop of the Evangelical Church of Augustan Confession in Transylvania. After the Great Union, he was elected senator in the Bucharest Parliament and became a titular member of the Romanian Academy. He is considered the most prolific 20<sup>th</sup>-century historian of the Saxons, his bibliography totaling 1,351 titles. He passed away in Sibiu in 1933. For bibliographical details, see Rudolf Spek, “Bibliographie Friedrich Teutsch,” *Archiv des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, n.s., 47 (Hermannstadt, 1933): 81–125; Karl

- Kurt Klein, "Sachsenbischof Friedrich Teutsch," *Südostdeutsche Heimatblätter* (Munich, 1953): 5–18; Eduard Eisenburger, "Friedrich Teutsch," in *Taten und Gestalten: Bilder aus der Vergangenheit der Rumäniendeutschen*, ed. Dieter Drotleff, vol. 2 (Hermannstadt: Hora Verlag), 116–119.
10. Friedrich Teutsch, *Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche*, vol. 2, 1700–1917 (Hermannstadt: W. Krafft Verlag, 1922), 587–615; id., *Die Siebenbürger Sachsen in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, second expanded edition (Hermannstadt: W. Krafft Verlag), 1924, 280–287.
  11. Cf. Hermann Hienz, "Bücherkunde zur Volks- und Heimatforschung der Siebenbürger Sachsen: Zweite, erweiterte Auflage der 'Quellen zur Volks- und Heimatkunde der Siebenbürger Sachsen,'" *Buchreihe der südostdeutschen historischen Kommission* 5 (Munich: Verlag R. Oldenbourg, 1960): 60.
  12. Emil Sigerus (1854–1947) was an ethnographer, a collector, a historian and a publicist. He was born in Sibiu in the family of Senator Karl Sigerus. For a period, he followed the profession of bookseller; then he dedicated himself to collecting folklore and folk traditions. In 1885, he founded the Carpathian Museum in Sibiu, based on his own collection of about 500 objects, especially pitchers, plates, tin vessels and textiles. He was also one of the founding members of the Transylvanian Carpathian Association. For a while, he was editor of the Sibiu-based daily *Siebenbürgisch-Deutsches Tageblatt*. For details, see Brigitte Stephani, ed., *Emil Sigerus: Volkskundliche und kunstgeschichtliche Schriften* (Bucharest: Kriterion, 1977).
  13. Emil Sigerus, ed., *Aus der Rumänenzeit: Ein Gedenkbuch an sturmbelegte Tage. Zugunsten der siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Kriegswitwen und-weisen* (Hermannstadt: Druck und Verlag von Joseph Drotleff, 1917).
  14. Emil Sigerus, "Zur Einleitung," in *Aus der Rumänenzeit*, 3–4.
  15. Wilhelm Morres, "Kronstadt und Großrumänien," in *Aus der Rumänenzeit*, 122.
  16. G. Lander, "Die Rumänenzeit in Rosenau," in *Aus der Rumänenzeit*, 142.
  17. The phrase designates the territorial entity constituted under the *Diploma Andreanum* (1224), which included the Transylvanian geographical area bounded by the Mureş River to the north, by the Olt River to the south, by the village of Drăușeni to the east and by the town of Orăştie to the west. The German colonists who came to Transylvania in the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries settled on this territory, subsequently organizing it into specific structures. The territory included larger or smaller settlements, inhabited by Romanians, Saxons and Szeklers, and it enjoyed a broad autonomy, but only the Saxons or the followers of the Evangelical confession had the right of citizenship. The area was under the legal administration of the Saxon University, with the headquarters in Sibiu; it operated as a political and administrative division led by the Saxon *comes* up until 1876, when the Budapest authorities decided to dismantle this entity and to restructure entire Transylvania from an administrative perspective, by applying the traditional Hungarian model. Walter Myß, ed., *Lexikon der Siebenbürger Sachsen* (Thaur bei Innsbruck: Wort und Welt Verlag, 1993), 424.
  18. For details on the war propaganda of the Central Powers, see Ulrike Oppelt, *Film und Propaganda im Ersten Weltkrieg: Propaganda als Medienrealität im Aktualitäten- und Dokumentarfilm* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2002); Eberhard Demm, *Ostpolitik und Propaganda im Ersten Weltkrieg* (Frankfurt am Main–Vienna: Peter Lang, 2002); Klaus-Jürgen Bremm, *Propaganda im Ersten Weltkrieg* (Darmstadt: Theiss Verlag, 2013);

- Elisabeth Buxbaum, *Des Kaisers Literaten: Kriegspropaganda zwischen 1914 und 1918* (Vienna: Eduard Steinbauer Verlag, 2014).
19. On the dissemination channels and the instruments used for this propaganda, see Tudor Valentin Neamțu, “Propagandă și cenzură în Transilvania ‘Marelui Război,’” in *Scrieri pe alete: Lucrările Conferinței Naționale O filă de istorie: om, societate, cultură în secolele XVII–XXI*, eds. Anamaria Macavei and Roxana Dorina Pop (Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2012), 353–368.
  20. G. A. Schuller, “Zwei Bilder aus den erstem Rumänentagen,” in *Kalender des Siebenbürger Volksfreundes für das gemeine Jahr 1918* (Hermannstadt: Verlag und Druck von Jos. Drotleff, 1918), 135–147.
  21. Adolf Reiner, “Verteidigung und Evakuierung von Nagyszeben (Hermannstadt) im September 1916,” in the Sibiu County Branch of the National Archives (hereafter cited as SJSAN), *Brukenthal Collection*, Inv. 106, L. 1–8, doc. 123.
  22. Ferdinand J. Roth, “Meine Rückerrinnerung aus der Rumänenzeit vom 27. August bis 7. October 1916,” in SJSAN, *Brukenthal Collection*, Inv. 106, L. 1–8, doc. 132.
  23. “Arthur Arz von Straußenburg, der Sieger von Limanova und Brest-Litowsk,” in *Kalender des Siebenbürger Volksfreundes für das Jahr 1917* (Hermannstadt: Verlag und Druck von Jos. Drotleff, 1917), 75–78.
  24. For details about this academic institution, see ed. Ovidiu Ghitta, *Istoria Universității ‘Babeș-Bolyai’* (Cluj-Napoca: Mega, 2012).
  25. *Zur Geschichte des grossen Krieges 1914–1918: Aufzeichnungen von Generaloberst Arz* (Vienna–Leipzig–Munich: Rikola Verlag, 1924), 102–120.
  26. He was Chief of the Austro-Hungarian General Staff from 1903 until 1916. After the war, he wrote his memoirs, publishing them under two titles: *Mein Anfang 1878–1882* and *Aus mein Dienstzeit 1906–1918*, in five volumes. For more information about Conrad von Hötzendorf, see Wolfram Dornik, “Des Kaisers Falke: Wirken und Nachwirken von Franz Conrad von Hötzendorf,” postface by Verena Moritz and Hannes Leidinger, in *Veröffentlichungen des Ludwig Boltzmann-Instituts für Kriegsfolgen-Forschung* 25 (Innsbruck-Vienna: Studien Verlag, 2013).
  27. *Wiener Zeitung* 51 (4 March 1917): 1.
  28. *Arzisches Stammbuch*, in SJSAN, *Brukenthal Collection*, Inv. 111, 1–5, doc. 151; “Arthur Freiherr Arz von Straussenburg,” in *Kalender des Siebenbürger Volksfreundes für das Schaltjahr 1928 59* (Hermannstadt: Druck und Verlag der Krafft & Joseph Drotleff, 1928), 103–110.
  29. *Zur Geschichte des grossen Krieges 1914–1918: Aufzeichnungen von Generaloberst Arz*, 397.
  30. Generaloberst Arthur Baron Arz, *Kampf und Sturz der Kaiserreiche* (Vienna–Leipzig: Johannes Günther Verlag, 1935), 253.
  31. Jean-Paul Bled, *François-Ferdinand d’Autriche* (Paris: Tallandier, 2012); id., *Franz Ferdinand: der eigensinnige Thronfolger*, trans. Susanna Grabmayr and Marie-Therese Pitner (Vienna–Cologne–Weimar: Böhlau Verlag, 2013).
  32. Named after Count Alfred von Schlieffen (1833–1913), this was the strategic plan adopted by the German General Staff. It was drafted at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and concerned the possibility that the Reich might be forced to fight on two fronts, against France and Russia. The plan was based on exploiting the advantage derived from the different speeds at which the three countries could prepare for war. In short, the plan was intended to avoid a war on two fronts, through an initial concentration of the German troops in the west, the rapid defeat of the French and then, if necessary, the rapid

- transportation of the troops by train to the east, so as to face the Russians before they could reach full mobilization. For details, see Terence Zuber, *Inventing the Schlieffen Plan: German War Planning, 1871–1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).
33. Wilhelm Teutsch, "Weltkriegstagebuch," in *Kalender des Siebenbürger Volksfreundes für das Jahr 1917* (Hermannstadt: Verlag und Druck von Jos. Drotleff, 1917), 158–188; Wilhelm Teutsch, "Weltkriegstagebuch," in *Kalender des Siebenbürger Volksfreundes für das Jahr 1918* (Hermannstadt: Verlag und Druck von Jos. Drotleff, 1918), 149–172.
  34. Paul Eder, *Kriegserinnerungen: Aus dem Nachlaß herausgegeben mit Unterstützung der Siebenbürgisch-deutschen Verlags-Aktiengesellschaft* (Hermannstadt: Kommissions-Verlag und Druck von der Honterus-Buchdruckerei, n.d.), 236.
  35. Born in Mediaş on 10 July 1896, he earned a prominent place in the cultural history of the Transylvanian Saxons thanks to his strenuous efforts to publish the complete works of Stephan Ludwig Roth, the Lutheran pastor who lost his life in the 1848 Revolution, but who had achieved recognition in Transylvanian culture for his work *The Language Struggle in Transylvania*. In this text, he advocated the equal rights of the three Transylvanian languages, Hungarian, German and Romanian, stating that the latter was spoken by all the inhabitants of Transylvania. Folberth passed away at the venerable age of 96. On his bibliography, see Hermann A. Hienz, *Schriftsteller-Lexikon der Siebenbürger Deutschen: Bio-Bibliographisches Handbuch für Wissenschaft, Dichtung und Publizistik*. vol. 6, D–G (Cologne–Weimar–Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 1998), 93–139.
  36. Horst Schuller, "Selbstzeugnis und Zeitdokument. Die als Quelle noch nicht genutzten Kriegstagebücher Otto Folberths," *Spiegelungen: Zeitschrift für deutsche Kultur und Geschichte Südosteuropas* 7, 61 (2012): 279–294.
  37. For details on the evolution of this front, see: Norman Stone, *The Eastern Front, 1914–1917* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1975).
  38. The typed version of Folberth's journal can be accessed in electronic format on the website of the Transylvanian Institute in Gundelsheim: <http://siebenbuergen-institut.de/de/special-menu/span-stylecolor000000-text-decorationunderline-transylvanicaspan/die-tagebuecher-von-otto-folberth/>, accessed on 17 September 2015.
  39. Carl Poppi, "Das Kriegstagebuch eines Generalstabsoffiziers aus den Jahren 1914–1918," in SJSAN, *Bruckenthal Collection*, Inv. 83, Lit. B. 6–9, doc. 299.
  40. Friedrich Georg Wagner, *In sibirischer Kriegsgefangenschaft. Erlebnisse und Erinnerungen aus den Jahren 1914–1920* (Hermannstadt: W. Krafft, 1922), 296.
  41. For details on these troops, see Ioan I. Şerban, *Voluntarii transilvăneni și bucovineni din Rusia în războiul pentru întregirea neamului* (Alba-Iulia: Aeternitas, 2003).
  42. *Kirchliche Blätter* (Hermannstadt) 14, 51 (21 December 1922): 422.
  43. Michael Walesch, *Erinnerungen aus schwerer Zeit 1914–1918: Sonderabdruck aus "Heltauer Nachrichtenblatt"* (Hermannstadt: Honterusbuchdruckerei und Verlagsanstalt, 1936).
  44. Gustav Welzer, "Meine Erlebnisse in russischer Kriegsgefangenschaft," *Sächsisch-Regner Nachrichten* 6–8, 1921, apud Hermann Hienz, *Bücherkunde zur Völk- und Heimatforschung*, 61.
  45. Ein Rothberger, "Aus meiner vierjährigen russischen Kriegsgefangenschaft," *Landwirtschaftliche Blätter in Siebenbürgen* (Hermannstadt, 1919), 133–134, 141–142, 163–166, apud Hermann Hienz, *Bücherkunde zur Völk- und Heimatforschung*, 61.
  46. Misch Engel, *Erlebnisse eines sächsischen Pfarrers in rumänischer Zivilgefangenschaft, Sonderabdruck aus der Landwirtschaftlichen Blätter* (Hermannstadt: W. Krafft, 1918).



47. Otto Mangesius, "Aus meiner Kriegsgefangenschaft aus Sizilien," *Deutsche Tagespost: Allgemeine Volkszeitung für das Deutschtum in Großrumänien* (Hermannstadt) 243 (10 November 1920): 1–2; *Deutsche Tagespost* (Hermannstadt) 244 (11 November 1920): 1–2.
48. Ernst Karl Schnell, *Aus meinem Leben: Erinnerungen aus alter und neuer Zeit* (Kronstadt: Verlag der Markusdruckerei, 1934), 247.
49. For details on the history of this institution, see Măriuca Radu, "'Kronstädter Allgemeine Sparkasse' prima bancă din Braşov şi din Transilvania," *Țara Bârsei* (Braşov), n.s., 3 (2004): 89–94.
50. Ibid., 91, n. 8. For details on these plans, see Gábor Egry, "Debates on Colonization Plans among the Transsylvanian Saxon during the First World War," in *Mișcări de populație și aspecte demografice în România în prima jumătate a secolului XX: Lucrările Conferinței internaționale "Mișcări de populație în Transilvania în timpul celor două războaie mondiale," Cluj-Napoca, 24–27 mai 2006*, eds. Sorina Paula Bolovan, Ioan Bolovan, Rudolf Gräf, and Corneliu Pădurean (Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2007), 57–69.
51. Michael Thalgott, "Die Zisterzienser von Kerz. Zusammenhänge," in *Veröffentlichungen des Südostdeutschen Kulturwerks*, B, *Wissenschaftliche Arbeiten* 50 (Munich: Verlag Südostdeutsches Kulturwerk, 1990).
52. Carl Reich, *Wie der Krieg auch zu uns kam. Tagebuch 1916 + Kerzer Chronik, Schriften, Briefe*, ed. Friedrich Schuster (Sibiu/Hermannstadt: Honterus Verlag, 2011).
53. Ioan Bolovan, *Primul Război Mondial și realitățile demografice din Transilvania: familie, moralitate și raporturi de gen* (Cluj-Napoca: Școala Ardeleană, 2015), 95–123.
54. Adolf Höhr, *Siebenbürger Sachsen im Weltkrieg: Festbriefe und Kriegsskizzen. Mit Geleitwort vom Geheimrat Prof. Dr. R. Gucken in Jena* (Vienna: Seidl und Sohn, 1916).
55. "Amintiri din Primul Război Mondial. Scrisori și cărți poștale ale soldaților sași 1914–1918," in *SJSAN, Brukenthal Collection*, Inv. 122, Lit. U. 1–7, doc. 3, 4, 5 and 6.

## Abstract

### World War I in the Memories of the Transylvanian Saxons

As fundamental sources for the cultural history of World War I, memoirs and the species pertaining to the memoiristic genre (diaries, memories, recollections, autobiographies and correspondence) have long represented a topic of great interest to researchers, given the capacity of such writings to retrieve both individual and collective destinies/mentalities from the mists of time. For Romanian scholars, in particular, the importance of the genre also stems from the fact that the beginnings of the historiography of the Great War are to be found in memoirs. This study presents a synthetic overview of the Transylvanian Saxons' memoirs about World War I. The sources reviewed include longer or shorter published texts, as well as unpublished material which has been identified in the rich collection of documents preserved at the National Archives in Sibiu and in the archive of the Transylvanian Institute in Gundelsheim, Germany.

## Keywords

First World War, Transylvania, collective and individual memory, war memories, war diaries