Yearbook of the George Barițiu History Institute of Cluj-Napoca
Series *Humanistica*

ISSN 1584-4404

humanistica.ro

On Mircea Eliade and "the terror of history"

Mihaela Gligor

How to cite this article:
Gligor, Mihaela (2019) *On Mircea Eliade and "the terror of history"*, Yearbook of the George Barițiu History Institute of Cluj-Napoca, Series Humanistica, Vol. 17, pp. 211–220. DOI: 10.5281/zenodo.22966764

© 2019: The Publishing House of the Romanian Academy.
Humanistica Yearbook is published online since 2003.
Submit your article to Humanistica Yearbook: secretariat.dcsu@acad-cj.ro

ON MIRCEA ELIADE AND 'THE TERROR OF HISTORY' *

Mihaela Gligor

Polish Institute of Advanced Studies, Warsaw
Polish Academy of Sciences

Institutul de Istorie „George Barițiu" din Cluj-Napoca
Departamentul de Cercetări Socio-Umane

Abstract. *Mircea Eliade believed ever since his youth that the destiny of his generation was to make culture, not politics. For him, politics was a 'barren' activity, unworthy of a true intellectual. Politics should be left to the 'political men'; the intellectuals have more important things to do. Beginning with 1935, Mircea Eliade wrote several articles which brought him closer to the Iron Guard in which he saw, as he often said, a political movement directly connected to the spirituality of the Romanian people. The expression 'the terror of history', used in his material, refers to Mircea Eliade's political implication in interwar Romania.*

Keywords: *politics, 'the terror of history', religion, fascist Iron Guard, interwar Romania.*

In his book *The Myth of the Eternal Return: Archetypes and Repetition,* Mircea Eliade coined the expression 'the terror of history' for the memory of group suffering endured without recourse to consoling myths.

He elaborated in these terms:

> We are concerned with the problem of history as history, of the 'evil' that is bound up not with man's condition but with his behaviour toward others. We should wish to know, for example, how it would be possible to tolerate, and to justify, the sufferings and annihilation of so many peoples who suffer and are annihilated for the simple reason that their geographical situation sets them in the pathway of history; that they are neighbours of empires in a state of permanent expansion. (Eliade, 1954, p. 151)

I won't use the term in this understanding. It is now well known that, as a young man, Mircea Eliade was an intellectual supporter of the fascist Iron Guard in

* A preliminary version of this material was presented at the Polish Institute of Advanced Studies (PIASt), Warsaw, on May 31, 2019, under the title *Mircea Eliade and the Terror of History. Reality and Representation*, as part of my lecturing activity as a Visiting Research Fellow at PIASt.

Anuarul Inst. de Istorie „G. Barițiu" din Cluj-Napoca, Series Humanistica, tom. XVII, 2019, p. 211-220

interwar Romania. Thus, here, 'the terror of history' refers to Mircea Eliade's political implication in interwar Romania and his affiliation to the fascist Iron Guard movement that ruled the country for some time.

Formative years

Between 1925 and 1928, Mircea Eliade attended the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters in Bucharest. In 1927, Eliade travelled to Italy[1], where he studied for his Licence thesis on philosophy and also met Giovanni Papini. In Rome, in the Library of Giuseppe Tucci's Seminar of Indian studies, young Mircea read the Preface of *History of Indian Philosophy* (1922), written by Surendranath Dasgupta[2], and found out about the possibility of a scholarship in Calcutta. It was a decisive moment, which offered him the possibility to spend three years in India (1928-1931). In the autumn of 1928, he sailed to Calcutta to study Sanskrit and philosophy with Surendranath Dasgupta at the University of Calcutta.

As he remembered in his *Journal*,

> In the autumn of 1928, a few weeks after having taken my Licence èn Lettres, I left Bucharest for India, and returned in January 1932, with a suitcase overflowing with notebooks and folders. (Eliade, 1993, II, p. 8-9)

He studied yoga techniques, Sanskrit, Bengali, and Indian philosophy, discovered the Hindu spirituality and symbolic representations, deepened into the knowledge of India's myths and mysteries, lived among and learnt from the people of India. He met Mahatma Gandhi and Nobel laureate Rabindranath Tagore and he travelled all over India, most of his experiences being described in his fiction writings and newspapers articles.

Interacting with all kind of people, from different religions, in his stay in India[3], Mircea Eliade became aware by the existence of common elements in all peasant cultures – for example, in China, Southeast Asia, pre-Aryan aboriginal India, the Mediterranean world, and the Iberian Peninsula. From these elements, many years later, he would derive the notion of 'cosmic religion'. In India, Eliade learned not only about the value of human beings, but also about the founding myths and religious pluralism, about Yoga and comparative study of religions.

In his *Memories*, Eliade mentioned several times about the importance of Yoga and why, even if he was so young, he worked on such a subject:

> I discovered in the Tantric texts that India was not entirely ascetic, idealistic, and pessimistic. There exists a whole tradition that accepts life and the body; it does not consider them illusory nor the source of suffering, but exalts incarnate existence as the only mode of being in the world in which absolute freedom can be won. From then on I understood that India has known not only the desire for *liberation* (*eliberare*), but also the thirst for *freedom* (*libertate*); India has believed in the possibility of a blessed and

[1] On Mircea Eliade and his stay in Italy, see Mihaela Gligor (2018).

[2] Surendranath Dasgupta (1887-1952), important Indian (Bengali) philosopher, the author of 5 volumes of *A History of Indian Philosophy*, professor at University of Calcutta.

[3] On Mircea Eliade and India, see Mihaela Gligor (2015).

> autonomous existence, here on earth and in Time. I was to develop these ideas in my doctoral thesis. (Eliade, 1997, p. 176)

In India, Mircea Eliade started to approach religion by imagining an ideally 'religious' person, whom he will call *homo religiosus* in his later writings. It does not mean that this is a real person; what Eliade is implying is that members of traditional societies actually thought like *homo religiosus.* In fact, what Eliade is saying is that sacred can be found everywhere and, through sacred, the manifestation of a supernatural entity (God) transcends us. He calls this a *hierophany*, i.e. the appearance of the sacred in the profane world. And we can understand the presence of sacred as manifested into an object or a person, since we have the ability to discern the supernatural or the divine, the sacred.

In any case, as Joseph Kitagawa (2005) wrote in the *Encyclopedia of Religions*,

> To him [Eliade], India was more than a place for scholarly research. He felt that a mystery was hidden somewhere in India, and deciphering it would disclose the mystery of his own existence. India indeed revealed to him the profound meaning of the freedom that can be achieved by abolishing the routine conditions of human existence, a meaning indicated in the subtitle of his book on Yoga: *Immortality and Freedom*. (p. 2754)

Or, as Natale Spineto (2009) considered,

> From 1936-1937, after his returning from India, dates the most significant turning point in Eliade's theoretical orientation, enriched with a sum of new conceptual tools. (p. 60)

Let us see how scientific work and politics mingled and what was the real result of Eliade's investigations in religious study and political implication during the Bucharest years.

'The terror of history' in interwar Bucharest

> *For me, Bucharest is the centre an inexhaustible mythology*
>
> (Eliade, 1984/1990, p. 34).

Returning from India, Eliade had already a different status among the members of his generation. He received his PhD in 1933, at Bucharest University, with a thesis on Yoga practices. The book, *Yoga: Essai sur les origines de la mystique indienne* (1936), which was translated into French three years later, had a significant impact in academia, both in Romania and abroad.

Very soon, he was appointed as assistant at University and received many invitations to speak about his experiences in India. From 1934 until the middle of 1938, Mircea Eliade worked as an unpaid assistant to Nae Ionescu, Professor of Metaphysics and Logic at the University of Bucharest. He had the responsibility

of lecturing a course and a seminar. As noted in his *Memories*, the topic of his course was *The Subject of Evil in the History of Religion.* His seminar was entitled *Dissolution of causality in medieval Buddhist logic*[4]. For Eliade, this interval was, as Mac Linscott Ricketts (1988/2004) recognized, "a period of maturation and success [...], in his work as a writer of fiction and religious historian" (vol. 2, chap. 18, p. 5).

Although Eliade did not have much experience as professor, he was captivating. As one of Eliade's favourite students, Mihai Şora remembers that the young tutor had already an important group of auditors, although he entered 'into competition' with Nae Ionescu:

> During the university years, I had two great masters: Nae Ionescu and Mircea Eliade […]. I remember the course held by Eliade in 1935, with specific references to the Indian domain. The problem of 'to be', and of 'being'. Practically, it was also a course of metaphysics, of comparative metaphysics. […] Mircea Eliade had a rare eloquence.
>
> […] Eliade's seminar developed in a completely different manner than those of other professors. He did not ask for papers, but for text interpretation. One would read a fragment (the XIIth book of Aristotle's Metaphysics, Thomas Aquinas) sentence by sentence and would comment on it word by word. As compared to the course, frequented by several hundreds students, the seminar only gathered 10-12 participants, always the same people. Then there were free discussions (Handoca, 1998, p. 308).

Besides teaching at Bucharest University, Eliade was deeply involved in writing. To his articles published in daily magazines, he added plenty of articles about history of religions, especially during 1937-1938. In the summer of 1937, in one of his articles, he wrote: "My researches this year lead me to adopting a new method in explaining the rituals, symbols and ideas of all archaic cultures" (Eliade, 1937c, p. 5).

One important study written by Eliade in 1937 was "Cosmical Homology and Yoga", published in Calcutta, in the prestigious *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*. This article is mostly important because it introduces, for the first time, several important terms. According to Eliade, the yogi tries to replace his 'unreal' life with an existence which participates in the 'real'. In other words, the yogi makes "the Being identical with the non-Being", bringing the transcendental existence into his worldly life. Eliade uses for the first time the terms 'sacred' and 'profane' as equivalent to 'real' and 'unreal', 'Being' and 'non-Being'.

> The profane life is 'unreal', not only for the Vedic philosophy, but for any mystic or metaphysic system. Only the 'sacred' is 'real', whatever its meaning was throughout history. (Eliade, 1937a, p. 189).

As for the political side, Eliade believed from his youth that the destiny of his generation was the cultural rather than the political production. For him, politics was a barren activity, unworthy of a true intellectual. Still, concerns which were minor in 1932-1933 evolved during the following period. We can make the statement that Mircea Eliade's interest has changed from the individual to society and nation.

[4] On Mircea Eliade as Professor at Bucharest university, see Mihaela Gligor (2008, 2010).

***And suddenly, in that year* [1937], *the Guard appeared in my life*[5].**

At the beginning of the year 1937, being part of the Iron Guard started to represent for Mircea Eliade the real culmination of his 'generation' which had begun in 1927:

> None of the revolutions which have been made […] developed so completely under the sign of the spiritual, as that of the Romanian youth. Not one, especially, has attempted such a perfect 'reactualization' of Eastern Christianity […]. If it succeeds completely – that is, if it encompasses the entire Romanian community – it will be the greatest revolution of the century. (Eliade, 1937b, p. 1).

Because of his friendship with Nae Ionescu, Eliade – like almost all young intellectuals of his generation, including Emil Cioran and Constantin Noica – was involved in politics, being ideologically affiliated with the extreme right movement, applauding Corneliu Zelea Codreanu's political ideas and searching for a new Romania, and a new man. In fact, as Eliade himself stated, "the sympathy towards the Legion was indirect, through Nae Ionescu, and it did not have any influence whatsoever, in my thinking or my writings" (Culianu, 2004, p. 125; The reason for this declaration was the appearance of 'Mircea Eliade file', in 1972, in *Toladot* magazine[6], in Israel, and the reactions against him that started to appear all over the world).

The Legion of Archangel Michael, also known as The Iron Guard, was founded in 1927, based its actions on feelings and it declared itself, from the very beginning, a Christian movement, its symbol being the icon of the Archangel Michael. The Legion was constituted on 24 June 1927 by Corneliu Zelea Codreanu and four others: Ioan I. Moța, Ilie Gârneață, Corneliu Georgescu, and Radu Mironovici.

"The Legion is a movement of a Christian type, the first Legion's members being, all of them without exception, believers" (Codreanu, 1936, p. 332). Prayer, uttered at the beginning of every day, was part of the Legion's ceremony, being considered as "a decisive element of the victory". This prayer was addressed not only to God, but also to "the mysterious forces of the unseen world", which Codreanu believed to be "the departed souls, the souls of our ancestors".

Many priests embraced the Legion. The Legion used collective prayers, religious chants, and processions. But the Iron Guard also appealed to many idealistic urban intellectuals. Many of the best-educated members of the 'young generation' – believers in the 'priority of the spiritual' – became adherents. For them, too, Orthodox Christianity was an essential component of the Romanian

[5] Mircea Eliade, *Inedited Journal*, entry from March 9, 1947. Many Thanks to Professor Mac Linscott Ricketts for sending me this important information.

[6] *Toladot. Buletinul Institutului (Bulletin of the Institute) Dr. J. Niemirower* appeared in 1972, in Jerusalem, under the supervisor of Theodor Lavi Löwenstein, who created, in 1973, The Center for Research of Romanian Jewry within The Hebrew University of Jerusalem. More details about Eliade file, Theodor Lavi, Mihail Sebastian's *Journal*, and other related subjects can be found in Gligor and Caloianu (2012, 2013), and Gligor and Bordas (2012-2013).

fascist ideology, because it was considered one of the most important elements of the 'historical continuity' of the Romanian people. After the members have been perfected in the life of the *cuib* (*nest*, smallest organizational unit), the work camp, and the 'Legionary family', Codreanu sent his Legionnaires into the world to live, to fight, to work, to suffer, and to sacrifice themselves for the Romanian nation.

Nationalism was another important and unique component of the Romanian fascist ideology. Romanian nationalism was characterized by its chauvinism, romanticism, and racism. The Legion of the Archangel Michael practiced a harsh nationalism, which involved, from the beginning, xenophobia and anti-Semitism. Jews were considered an 'inferior and degenerate race' and were often blamed for the 'alteration' of the Romanian culture and for the socio-economic problems of the nation. Codreanu's xenophobia and his anti-Semitism were based upon his conception of the nation. For him, there are three distinct entities:

1. The individual.
2. The existing national collectivity, i.e. the totality of the individuals belonging to the same nation, living in the same state at one point in time.
3. The nation, that historical entity living throughout centuries with its roots well sunk in immemorial time and in an infinite future.

> When we speak of the Romanian nation we mean: all Romanians, dead and living, who have lived on this land from the beginning of time and also who will live here in the future. (Codreanu, 1936, p. 421-424)

Many intellectuals of that time were involved in sustaining and propagating the ideology of The Legion: Nae Ionescu, Nichifor Crainic, and Mihail Polihroniade were the most important personalities. They all were editors of important newspapers in Bucharest: Nae Ionescu was the Director of a popular daily newspaper, *Cuvântul* (until it was banned in 1934); Nichifor Crainic was the Director of the newspaper *Calendarul* and the magazine *Gândirea*, and Mihail Polihroniade was the director of the newspaper *Axa*. They put these newspapers at the disposal of the Legion and, through their own articles, they promoted it.

In favour of the Archangel Michael Legion, Mircea Eliade wrote several articles published especially in *Vremea* magazine between 1934 and the beginning of 1938. Eliade expressed his opinions on *Romanianism* and the duties of the Romanian intellectuals within society. He set the basis of a philosophy which advocated a 'higher patriotism', adequate for the young generation of intellectuals of the nation.

Just like his model, Nae Ionescu, Eliade believed that "nation is not a political instrument, but a cultural one" (Eliade, 1935a). Politics should not be put in first place, but the State should make the progress of culture its first duty. Thus, the first duty of the state – again, in Nae Ionescu's words – is to "allow and assist each person in creating" (Eliade, 1935b). Eliade had found the same idea in the duty of the state at Eminescu, Iorga, and Pârvan. Although culture came first for Eliade, nationalist politics slowly crept into his writings.

At the beginning of 1934, Mircea Eliade was still politically neutral and thought that most intellectuals were cowards because they rushed to align themselves with political parties and fashionable movements, in order to ascend. Writing towards the end of the year, he deplores the fact that:

> Any time there are politic psychoses floating in the air, any time something serious happens or is expected – a revolution, a severe reform, an attempt, an essential change of the social order –, the poor Romanian 'intellectual' loses his mind. All Christian intellectuals were afraid of the successes of the Iron Guard – and had begun to approve it, not because they liked the agenda of The Guard, but because they feared being suspected and prosecuted after an eventual victory. (Eliade, 1934, p. 2)

This statement is significant not only for the remark it makes about Eliade's attitude towards politics, but for what it reveals about his opinion regarding the Legionary Movement at that time. For Eliade, as he testifies in his *Memories*, the Legionary movement had "[...] the structure and vocation of a mystical sect, not a political movement". (Eliade, 1997, p. 352)

More than that, he believed that democracy was unsuitable for Romania. In an article from 1936, "The Democracy and the Problem of Romania", he wrote:

> Whether or not Mussolini is a tyrant is a matter of complete indifference to me. Only one thing interests me: that this man has in fifteen years turned a third-rate state into a leading power […] In the same way, I'm completely indifferent to what will happen in Romania after the liquidation of democracy. If, in overcoming democracy, Romania becomes powerful, national and well-armed, and aware of its powers and destiny – history will judge this act. (Eliade, 1936, p. 3).

Mircea Eliade was intensely anxious about the dominance of minorities in parts of Romania and about a presumed 'invasion' of Jewish immigrants spilling in from the north. His concern with the physical decline of the national stock was among the intellectual banalities of the era; in an article, he proclaims that Romania cannot assimilate foreigners as it did before, because the peasantry was weakened by pellagra (from a change of diet), alcoholism, and syphilis – all, he observes, due to foreign influence.

It is very important to mention that by that time (1935-1936), Romania had been infected for approximately a century by anti-Semitism and xenophobia. After the revolution from 1848, the concepts of 'country', 'people', and 'nation' set the basis for an ideology founded on the cult of native traditions and values. The peasant, with her/his spiritual universe, became the prototype of the Romanian. Suspicion of foreigners, justified by external dangers, was also directed upon national minorities. The regime, incapable of providing for the welfare of the country, sought scapegoats, and found them in the person of the Jew, the foreigner within, who, in the opinion of the intelligentsia and of the middle class, is to blame for the poverty of the entire people. In this context, the Legion of the Archangel Michael had come to save Romania and make it "proud as the Holy Sun in the sky". 'Romanianism' was affirmed as the main 'doctrine', and Orthodoxy became an end in itself.

Eliade fantasized of a coming spiritual revolution. By 1936, he was projecting a transfiguring 'mystical spirit' and 'Romanian messianism' on the Iron Guard, while writing for its press and being seen as its leading ideologue. In 1937, Mircea Eliade told his friend, Mihail Sebastian, that he supported the Iron Guard because he had "always believed in the primacy of the spirit". Sebastian, who was Jewish, recorded in his diary: "He's not a charlatan and not demented. He's just naïve. But how is such catastrophic naiveté even possible!" (Sebastian, 1996, p. 113).

By 1938, he was convinced his country was on the brink of transformation and the Christianity was about 'to dominate' Europe with its spiritual light. "I believe in the future of the Romanian people, but the Romanian state should disappear", Eliade told Sebastian in October 1939. In September 1940, Eliade's wish was fulfilled: Romania became a National Legionary State, with the Iron Guard ruling in alliance with the Romanian Army. By this time, Eliade was abroad, appointed cultural attaché to the Romanian Embassy in London in April 1940, then to the Embassy in Portugal, in February 1941.

His attachment to Nae Ionescu, together with the articles he wrote in support of the Legion, led to Eliade's arrest and his internment in the camp from Miercurea Ciuc. As he clearly recalls in *Memories*,

> I had been followed and arrested for my friendship with Nae Ionescu and because I was a regular contributor to a newspaper which had appeared with the government's authorization. (Eliade, 1997, p. 348)

He spent four months in the camp, along with other intellectuals who were in the favour of the Archangel Michael Legion / The Iron Guard.

As Sorin Alexandrescu has noticed:

> What Cioran, Noica, and Eliade admired in Codreanu was precisely the courage to live the political myths up to the end, which they, the true intellectuals, could live just as ideas. […] Eliade saw in them (Legionnaires) the most plenary Christian achievement of the Romanian people. We call this interpretation a naivety, from today's perspective. But, in their perspective, at that time, those desperados seemed to have the crazy courage to actually live the symbols. (Alexandrescu, 1998, p. 217)

Eliade's most disputed 'legionary' article was one he repeatedly denied having written. But the pseudonymous piece comprises many statements to which Eliade subscribed at that time. Entitled "Why I believe in the victory of the Legionary Movement", the article was part of the series of answers to the survey taken by the semi-official Movement newspaper, *Buna Vestire*.

> I believe in the destiny of our people; I believe in the Christian revolution of the new man; I believe in freedom, in personality, in love. (Eliade, 1937d, p. 2)

Although important and problematic, the political episode and all its consequences has not affected Eliade's perception as one of the greatest and most successful of Romanian authors and as an important personality in the field of history of religion.

Mircea Eliade's *Journal* is not published completely. And until we'll have all the cards on the table, the only thing we can do is to try to understand his past and his decisions. One thing is clear: we need to understand his life in order to understand his writings, because both are connected in many mysterious ways. Mircea Eliade had the ability to make lucid sense of myth and, at the same time, to disappear into a world of fantasy when touched by real events. 'The terror of history' followed Eliade his whole life. And this he recognised.

REFERENCES

Alexandrescu, S. (1998). *Paradoxul român* [*The Romanian paradox*]. Bucharest: Univers.

Codreanu, C. Z. (1936). *Pentru legionari* [*For legionnaires*]. Sibiu: "Totul pentru țară" Publishing House.

Culianu, I. P. (2004). Mircea Eliade's letter to Ioan Petru Culianu, 17 January 1978. In T. Culianu-Petrescu, & D. Petrescu (Eds.), *Dialoguri întrerupte, Corespondență Mircea Eliade – Ioan Petru Culianu* [I*nterrupted Dialogues. The Correspondence Mircea Eliade – Ioan Petru Culianu*] (pp. 125-129). Jassy: Polirom Publishing House.

Eliade, M. (1934, November 1). De ce sunt intelectualii lași [Why are the intellectuals cowards], *Criterion, I*(2), p. 2.

Eliade, M. (1935a, February 21). Cultură sau politică? [Culture or politics?], *Vremea, VIII*(377), p. 1.

Eliade, M. (1935b, October 13). România în eternitate [Romania in eternity], *Vremea, VIII*(409), p. 3.

Eliade, M. (1936, December 18). Democrația și problema României [The Democracy and the Problem of Romania], *Vremea, IX*, Christmas issue, p. 3.

Eliade, M. (1937a). Cosmical Homology and Yoga, *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art* (Calcutta), 5, 188-203.

Eliade, M. (1937b, June 27). O revoluție creștină [Christian revolution], Buna *Vestire, I*(100), p. 1.

Eliade, M. (1937c, August 15). Carnet de vacanță, I, Prin Italia [Vacation Notebook, I. In Italy], *Vremea, IX* (500), p. 5.

Eliade, M. (1937d, December 17). De ce cred în biruința Mișcării Legionare? [Why I believe in the victory of the Legionary Movement?], *Buna Vestire*, p. 1-2.

Eliade, M. (1954). *The Myth of the Eternal Return: Archetypes and Repetition*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Eliade, M. (1990). *Încercarea labirintului, Convorbiri cu Claude-Henri Rocquet* [Ordeal by Labyrinth: Conversations with Claude-Henri Rocquet] (D. Cornea, translator and notes). Cluj-Napoca: Dacia Publishing House (Original work published in 1984).

Eliade, M. (1993). *Jurnal* (2 volumes) [Journal]. Bucharest: Humanitas Publishing House.

Eliade, M. (1997). *Memorii, 1907 – 1960* [Memories, 1907 – 1960]. Bucharest: Humanitas Publishing House.

Gligor, M. (2008). Mircea Eliade, Professor in History of Religions at University of Bucharest. *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie „George Barițiu" din Cluj-Napoca, Seria Humanistica, VI*, 2008, 409-414.

Gligor, M. (2010). Eliade's Romanian Past: Religion and Politics. *Theory in Action. Journal of the Transformative Studies Institute*, *3*(1), 51-74.

Gligor, M. (2015). Searching for *Homo Religiosus* with Mircea Eliade in India. In E. Marino, & T. E. Tunc (Eds.), *The West and Asia/Asia and the West: Essays on Transnational Interactions* (pp. 235-243). Jefferson, NC: McFarland Publishers.

Gligor, M. (2018). Întâlnirile italiene ale tânărului Mircea Eliade [Gli incontri italiani del giovane Mircea Eliade/ Italian Encounters of the Young Mircea Eliade]. In A. Sinagra, & F.Tudor

(Eds.), *Romania e Italia, la cultura della memoria condivisa degli ultimi cento anni. Memoria e identità nel dialogo romeno–italiano: spazi simbolici, aspetti giuridici, storici e filosofici* [Romania and Italy, the: Culture of the Shared Memory of the Last Hundred Years. Memory and Identity in the Romanian-Italian dialogue: Symbolic Spaces, Juridical, Historical, and Philosophical Aspects] (pp. 135-144). Rome: Aracne Editrice.

Gligor, M., & Bordas, L. (Eds.) (2012-2013). *Postlegomena la Felix Culpa. Mircea Eliade, evreii si antisemitismul* [Postlegomena at Felix Culpa. Mircea Eliade, the Jews and the Anti-Semitism] (2 volumes). Cluj: Cluj University Press.

Gligor, M., & Caloianu, M. (Eds.) (2012). *Theodor Lavi în corespondenţă* [Theodor Lavi in Correspondence]. Cluj: Cluj University Press.

Gligor, M., & Caloianu, M. (Eds.) (2013). *Intelectuali evrei şi presa exilului românesc* [Jewish Intellectuals and the Press of Romanian Exile]. Cluj: Cluj University Press.

Handoca, M. (1998). Dialogue with Mihai Şora. In M. Handoca, *Dialoguri cu şi despre Mircea Eliade* [*Dialogues with and about Mircea Eliade*]. Bucharest: Humanitas Publishing House.

Kitagawa, J. (2005). Mircea Eliade. In J. Lindsay (Ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Religion, second edition* (vol. IV, p. 2754). Detroit: Macmillan.

Ricketts, M. L. (2004). *Rădăcinile româneşti ale lui Mircea Eliade* [*Mircea Eliade. The Romanian Roots, 1907-1945*] (2 vol., V. Stănescu, M. Gligor, I. Petraş, O. Iacob, & H. I. Groza, translators). Bucharest: Criterion Publishing House (Original work published in 1988).

Sebastian, M. (1996). *Jurnal, 1935-1944* [Journal, 1935-1944]. Bucharest: Humanitas Publishing House.

Spineto, N. (2009). *Mircea Eliade. Istoric al religiilor*. [Mircea Eliade. Historian of Religions]. Bucharest: Curtea Veche Publishing House.