Mircea Eliade's Virtual Bibliography: Two Manuscript Folios Linked to Valkyries in the Library

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Abstract: This paper aims to demonstrate that two previously unknown manuscript folios from Mircea Eliade's youth, which emerged in 2022, are the drafted summaries of his unfinished editorial project Valkyries in the Library. The two folios are, in fact, two lists of article titles Eliade published in Cuvântul (22), Gândirea (2), and Sinteza (1), in 1926-1928. Arranged differently, the feuilletons address topics such the Romanian intellectual, the dependance towards French culture and literature, philology and synthesis, the lack of heroism in Romanian literature, Beatrice and Don Quixote, young writers, literary criticism, philosophy. The tone is polemical and radical, condemning the current state of Romanian literature, advancing the author's views, and urging his contemporaries to take action in order to create fundamental and authentic works. Just as Eliade recalls in his diary, the articles from Cuvântul mentioned in the two folios were a whirlwind, a cavalcade meant to take local culture and erudition by surprise and to change it forever.
Keywords: Mircea Eliade, articles, Valkyries in the Library, virtual bibliography, abandoned projects Cuvântul, Romanian literature, Romanian culture, interwar period

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The almost infinite possibilities of the unwritten or the unfinished fascinate readers and researchers alike by revealing an alternate bibliography that never came into being. In the case of Mircea Eliade, one can reconstruct a virtual bibliography just as rich as the one he managed to publish during his lifetime. These unfinished scientific and literary works or barely envisioned projects date mostly from his youth when, inspired by Nicolae Iorga's polygraphy, he dreamt of writing at least 100 books. In his *Autobiography*, he recalls several of them: a massive work in two volumes titled *The Origins of European Thought*[1] (inspired by the writings of Vittorio Macchioro on orphism), an *Education of Will*, a *Manual of the Perfected Reader*, a book about B.P. Hasdeu and another about Nicolae Iorga, a study on Romanian botanical lore. But he remembered this list to be much longer[2]. Based on his articles and correspondence, more titles could easily be added: *The Asian Spirit*, *Introduction to the History of Religions*, *Introduction to Buddhism*, *A Comparative History of Mysticism*, *A Critical Itinerary of Romanian Culture*, *The Origins of Agriculture*[3], to name but a few.

In recent years, numerous manuscripts dating from 1921-1940 have emerged and have been exposed for the first time to the public eye. Until 2019, when they first started to appear in significant numbers at public auctions, only Mircea Handoca, the main editor of Mircea Eliade's Romanian works after 1989, had discretionary access to his archive (given to him by the family after the death of Mircea Eliade's sister, and never recovered or even catalogued). Some of these manuscripts, as

one could expect, were completely unknown and full of surprises. Their emergence considerably changes the way scholars have perceived until now the works of M. Eliade. Together with the manuscripts preserved in public libraries, such the Library of the Romanian Academy and the Central University Library, they offer a more complete picture of Eliade's personal laboratory during the years 1921-1940. The new sets of book notes, drafts, scientific fragments, and essays help us redraw the intellectual itinerary of the young historian of religions and makes it possible to retrace the evolution of his views on the main topics that drew his attention over the years. I would like to present and discuss here for the first time two folios of these completely unknown documents.

Amongst the manuscripts that emerged in recent years, some of them acquired and donated by a benefactor in March 2022 to the Institute for the History of Religions of the Romanian Academy, there is a folder named by the young Eliade *What I am Going to Write. A Possible Bibliography* (*Ce am să scriu. Bibliografie potențială*). It contains previously unidentified lists of articles he actually wrote or wanted to write, mainly for the newspapers *Cuvântul* and *Adevărul literar și artistic*, but also the tables of contents of projected and unfinished books, such as his monograph on B.P. Hasdeu. These kinds of miscellaneous folders, composed of disparate pages or even scraps of paper, were called "monsters" by their author[4]. Many of the lists included in *Ce am să scriu. Bibliografie potențială* are of works in progress, Eliade marking with a cross or a check the articles he managed to write and publish, whilst others remained unwritten, thus unchecked. However, two of these lists, one written with a pencil, the other with a pen, lack such marks. The pen-written document is, with just one exception, a chronological list of several articles written by Mircea Eliade for *Cuvântul* (22), *Gândirea* (2) and *Sinteza* (1), between 29 November 1926 and 16 September 1928. The only title out of order is *On Words and Boldness* (*Despre cuvinte și cutezanță*)[5], published on 9 June 1928 in *Cuvântul*, but placed between two articles published on 15 and 17 August 1928. The second document, written in pencil on lower quality paper, has a different arrangement, which is no longer entirely chronological. After checking them against the newspaper articles Eliade published in 1926-1928, I discovered that the first 12 titles date from 14 December 1927 to 1 April 1928 (the same chronological sequence exists in the pen-written list), being followed by *On Words and Boldness* (9 June 1928), *Glory and Silence* (19 October 1928)[6], *The Conspiracy of Silence* (12 October 1928)[7], *The Psychology of the Feuilleton* (6 November 1928)[8], *Words on a Philosophy*[9] and *The Promoted Delight* (June-July 1928 and 1 July 1928)[10], *Documents and Synthesis* (20 December 1926)[11], *The Young Writers* (29 November 1926)[12], *The Past...* (17 August 1928)[13], *The Confusion of Methods* (15 August 1928)[14], *Incompetence* (16 September 1928)[15], *Fragments (II)* (11 August 1928)[16] and *Gratitude towards Futurism* (7 August 1928)[17]. One must note that there are twenty-five titles in each document, but with a slightly different content: *The Critic*[18] (present in the pen-written folio, absent in the pencil-written one) and *Documents and Synthesis* (present in the pencil-written folio, absent in the other one).

As we can easily observe, the chronological principle of ordination is considerably altered after the first twelve titles. The pencil-written list seems to be a sketch, a work-in-progress piece of paper, most probably the summary of a book conceived as a selection of articles published during his university years. In his *Autobiography*, Mircea Eliade recalls four editorial projects he abandoned after his departure for India in November 1928: *The Spiritual Itinerary* (that Nichifor Crainic promised to print in the book collection *Cartea vremii*, but never did[19]; it was a series of 12 articles written by Eliade for *Cuvântul* and published between 6 September and 16 November 1927, which drew the attention of literary critic Șerban Cioculescu), a volume reuniting several feuilletons published in *Cuvântul*, entitled *Valkyries in the Library*, a selection of short stories and a book of essays starting with *The Apology of Virility*[20]. He also remembers this editorial project in his diary, in 1960: "I thought it expressed perfectly what I felt then, around 1927-1928; that I was entering culture, erudition, like a whirlwind, a cavalcade from *Valkyria* (it was the only piece of music I had managed to perfectly memorise at the piano)"[21]. The musical fragment was sung by the young Mircea Eliade when lighting started striking Pietrele Arse, in the Carpathian Mountains, and at sea, during the storm that inspired his short story *Răsărit, pe mare...* (*Sunrise, at Sea...*), as noted in his *Autobiography*[22]. He also used the name "Valkyria" for a female character in his later novel *The Forbidden Novel*, inspired, probably, by his former partner Sorana Țopa[23].

The first part of *The Apology of Virility* was most likely already written in 1927, according to Mac Linscott Ricketts, as Mircea Eliade refers to it in the first article of his *Spiritual Itinerary*, published on 6 September 1927[24]. Therefore, he would probably have included it in the two lists, if these were the summary of the book of essays he recalls several decades later. Moreover, the texts included in the two similar lists are short, polemical articles, very different from the essay form. In *Minor Thinking and Parasite Thinkers* (*Gândire minoră și gânditori paraziți*)[25], Mircea Eliade even clearly asserted that this literary genre was inferior to other types of texts: "Inferior because of the concessions made to the public by the author – even one such Valéry. Inferior because of **the literary structure** of the sentence, which makes it impossible to seize a philosophical train of thought. Inferior due to suppressing technical terms, those expressions which – in a conscience nurtured by philosophy – reveal notions inaccessible to amateur readers"[26]. From Eliade's point

of view, only essays written by authors such as Emerson, Unamuno, Valéry and Kierkegaard were worth reading[27]. One can thus presume that the two lists of titles are the etched summaries of another book – *Valkyries in the Library,* the selection of feuilletons from *Cuvântul.*

Most of the articles from the twin lists were indeed published in *Cuvântul*: 22 out of 25, with 3 exceptions: *Beatrice and Don Quixote* (*Gândirea*, no. 1, January 1928)[28], *Femininity* (*Sinteza*, no. 10-11, January-February 1928)[29] and *Words on a Certain Philosophy* (*Gândirea,* no. 6-7, June-July 1928). In addition, they touch on subjects such as the Romanian intellectual, the dependance towards French culture and literature, philology and synthesis, the lack of heroism in Romanian literature, Beatrice and Don Quixote, young Romanian writers, literary criticism, futurism etc. Seven of these articles were published in *Cuvântul* in the column *Letters to a Provincial*: *Purebred intellectuals* (*Intelectualii de rasă*)[30], *In Praise of Discredit* (*Elogiul compromiterii*)[31], *On Confessions* (*Despre confesiuni*)[32], *Minor Thinking and Parasite Thinkers* (*Gândire minoră și gânditori paraziți*), *Against Moldavia* (*Împotriva Moldovei*)[33], *The Meaning of Madness* (*Sensul nebuniei*)[34], *The Past...* (*Trecutul...*). Five other articles from this column would be included in Eliade's *Oceanography* (1934): *The Time of the Youth?* (*Ceasul tinerilor?*), *Why You Do Philosophy?* (*De ce faci filosofie?*), *Unspiritual Moment* (*Moment nespiritual*), *To do...* (*A face...*)[35]. That leaves only two out of thirteen texts of *Letters to a Provincial* unpublished later in books.

In *Purebred Intellectuals*, Mircea Eliade denounces the well-raised, "cute"[36], cautious writers and critics from Bucharest and Jassy, familiar only with French culture and literature. Despised by Eliade, they are the opposite of his conception of the ideal intellectual, defined by the courage to express his personal opinions on a book or an author, even if they are negative[37]. But, according to the article, the literary establishment treats the writings of such an individual with disdain and considers him "rude", "ridiculous", and "the demolisher of idols"[38]. In that last turn of phrase, one can easily identify Eliade's frustration after the public reactions caused by his negative review of Nicolae Iorga's *Essai de synthèse de l'histoire de l'humanité*[40]; in *Flamura*, in the spring of 1927, V. Neagu had described Mircea Eliade in exactly those terms – "Iorga's demolisher"[41]. Eliade praises, therefore, this provocative, doomed, and excluded prototype of the intellectual in the article *In Praise of Discredit*[42]. The text is not deprived of a certain poetic and prophetic exaltation: "Discredit yourself permanently, voluntarily, boldly, completely, definitively. Be sure this is the only way you will conquer each day shreds, heads, torsos, entrails of the monstrous creature of the great Unknown called truth"[43]. Eliade advises his correspondent (from the *Letters to a provincial* column) and, indirectly, his readers, to write freely and in a novel, original manner – the essential premises of finding one's authentic self and of creating any opus[44].

These ideas are further developed in *On Confessions,* where writing is intimately linked by Eliade to authenticity and experience[45]. We can easily identify in this text the mature novelist in the making, as well as the teenager who wanted to document his adolescence in a rather unusual novel, *The Diary of a Short-Sighted Adolescent.* One can also find the foreshadowing of his later 'trăirism'/ 'existentialism' avant la lettre: "Experiences are, on the contrary, existences. A spiritual life fed only with possibilities will fail. Unity, confluence, creative incentives – all are born from the sediments brought by experience"[46]. Echoing the ideas he had already highlighted in his unpublished novel *Gaudeamus*[47], Eliade also writes on the virtue of heroism – seen as the courage to express even the most embarrassing experiences. According to him, great acts of courage help individuals find the heroic meaning of life: "All which is not poetry is literature, in other words, a mosaic of more or less lucid spiritual attitudes. And literature is always surpassed by great acts of courage. They are an aid, a rope tossed for those who want to find the heroic meaning of life, in other words, the tragic meaning, the daily agony. Because – is it not so? – we live to become heroes, to be born again, within the life of the spirit (*viața duhului*)"[48]. Heroism is once again extolled in *Beatrice and Don Quixote*, where exaltation and madness are seen as ways of living continuously and intensely a life that surpasses the normal human being[49].

Madness as a heroic state is further explained in *The Meaning of Madness*, published in February 1928. The organic loss of lucidity, due to physical, neurological, deficiencies, does not interest Eliade. His attention is drawn by spiritual causes, by decisions and ambitions that derail and raise the individual above mediocrity. For Eliade, "nebunia duhului" – the "madness of the spirit", would help his generation (he uses a collective 'we' all the time) to work, to take any risk, to carry on through to the end[50]. Insanity is, moreover, the main subject of several stories written by Eliade in 1927-1928, such as *În întunerec* (*In the Darkness*) and *Celalt* (sic!) (*The Other*)[51].

For Eliade, virility is the main attribute of creation and of authentic literature – he therefore denounces the "feminine" softness of Romanian literary works in his article *Against Moldavia.* Half Moldavian himself through his father, he thought his nostalgia, melancholy, and sentimentalism came from this side of his genetic heritage. Eliade perceived Moldavia as the land of sweetness and romanticism, of unending and sterile sadness and of defeated characters. The biggest flaw of both Moldavia and Romanian literature was the absence of heroism: "I hated Moldavia because she lacks heroism. Our entire literature lacks heroism (my article *Femininity* in *Sinteza* issued in February). Its characters surrender themselves, humiliated, before pain, before love. We grow up in the atmosphere of these defeated characters,

we valorize their lives, we identify with them because of pose or autosuggestion, without understanding that we embrace a feminine and enticing mediocrity"[52]. He also condemns, in an exalted and harsh tone, the absence of tragic literature. In his article published in *Sinteza*, Eliade indeed developed even further his disdain of literary femininity, classifying individuals as aristocrats (aristocracy is masculine, creates values and imposes them) and snobs (snobbery is the manifestation of a "failed, hybrid, perverted feminism"[53]). In his view, snobs will prevail: Romanian literature and culture has not known heroism, because it is dominated by mediocrity and comfort, instead of experiences and technique. The influence of French spirituality and badly written novels maintains it that way[54]. Instead, Eliade pleads for a rough, virile, spiritual, and tragic vision on literature. Beyond the definition of the masculine and feminine principles, Eliade proceeds by making remarks on men and women's psychologies and capabilities: "We love society; women can't stand solitude. An isolated woman becomes neurasthenic. A male who isolates himself voluntarily – grows. [...] We ignore conscience and ethical values. Only men can fulfil the ethical ideal, Christianity, through will. Women borrow from elsewhere". These male-centered observations radically end with a general disdain for literature-centred cultures, preferring those founded on a religious crisis, a philosophical movement, or a political battle[55]. A praise of cultural asceticism can also be found in *The Punishment of Clerks*, where Eliade identifies the main effects of the elite's indifference and silence: 1) the supremacy of mediocrity, paired with the feminization (once again discussed by Eliade) of culture and literature and the "tyranny" of French books; 2) the valorization of incompetence; 3) the minimization of scientific vocabulary by uneducated columnists; 4) the lack of involvement enhancing cultural values[56].

The denunciation of the French cultural model is also at the heart of the article *Minor Thinking and Parasite Thinkers*. From Eliade's point of view, young graduates and amateur scholars use the pleasant, but inconsistent French works to fill their diaries with citations or to compile critical reviews. Instead of a mind "shredded" by French books, Eliade expresses his preference for authenticity[57]. Every critical statement is also a call to action, and in many texts included in the two lists, Eliade's tone is ironical, radical, polemical. One could say that the so-called "feminine softness" of contemporary Romanian culture and literature, condemned by Eliade, was meant to be countered by Valkyries, warrior apparitions in the library, ready to guide brave cultural soldiers to Valhalla. The title *Valkyries in the Library* seems less unusual when associated to the placid, sentimental, and inactive femininity Eliade thought he identified and criticized in his article. It also seems to complement his book of essays which should have opened with *The Apology of Virility*.

Other calls to action and radical statements can be found in "*Anno Domini*", where he pledges a systematic, almost ascetic vow to work and creation (16 hours a day), as if 1928 should be the last year of his readers' lives. For the first time, the terror of history manifests itself through the specter of war and the example of the previous generations, mutilated by artillery and violence[58]. As he recalls in his *Autobiography*, there was a constant fear that the freedom granted to his generation, the first one with an exclusively cultural destiny, with no historical ideal to accomplish (the independence and unification of the country being the main goals of their fathers and grandfathers), would be stolen from them[59]. This anxiety made him write and publish feverishly between 1927 and 1939 – hundreds of articles, scholarly and literary works, and a considerable number of abandoned projects.

Several feuilletons included in Mircea Eliade's two lists discuss the writer's condition in Romanian contemporary literature. Just as before, Eliade condemns the world of literary cafes, abundantly immersed in useless conversation and "șvarț" (a combination of coffee and chicory very popular at that time), ready to exclude any youngster who dared to contest the cultural establishment, to express his own opinions, to tell the virulent truth about the literary value of a novel or a book of poems. *The Conspiracy of Silence*, inspired by the works and life of Ernest Hello, counters this hostility, and asserts that a real talent will always prevail, despite the desperate attempts of the establishment to ignore or ban him from its circles[60]. *Glory and Silence*, intimately linked to this article, is ironic about the contemporary meaning of glory, quantified in appraisals from the press and love letters from readers. For Eliade, true glory is spiritual and experienced only by literary figures such as Dante or Petrarch and could have been experienced in modern times only by someone like D'Annunzio[61]. Dreaming about glory is specific to the "petty" Romanian writers, nourished by Lamartine in their teenage years and with poor literature ever since[62]. Eliade's attitude is one of revolt: no one had stood against or above this world, seeking something else, more foolish, impossible, far away, inaccessible, and fascinating, almost implying that such an individual must appear or is, maybe, himself[1]. At the end of the article, he reiterates that an authentic talent will always be recognized by readers and the press of the next generation. Defying tradition and the establishment, Eliade uses, once again, a collective "we", indifferent to any conspiracy of silence, strong, and determined to follow their own, innovative, and fearless wayJust as radical, *Young Writers* ends up seeing obstacles as positive elements in the development of an intellectual. Eliade dismisses the idea of creating an "Association of young writers" as being too encouraging. According to him, most of them have little or no talent, and the only way they could be motivated to improve their writings is by the means of persecution: "We

would propose a continuous and fierce persecution of young poets and novelists; a harsh selection of young collaborators by important journals; and a ruthless scrutiny of 'literary magazines' which publish poems with discreet dedications and short stories with a revolting lack of common sense"[63]. Eliade's proposal is meant, he explains, to counter the overwhelming number of mediocre literary productions and to push young writers to perfect their style. The battle against mediocrity is also at the center of *The Promoted Delight*, where he draws a mordant portrait of the ordinary, self-satisfied intellectual[64]. From Eliade's point of view, contrary to an imbecile, a mediocre individual thinks of himself as a profound, complex human being. The factors that contribute to the reign of mediocrity are literature and salons, professors and columnists, cultural politics and, once again, women[65].

Mediocrity is, of course, paired with ineptitude and, in the article bearing the title *Incompetence*, Mircea Eliade vituperates against professors who plagiarize foreign authors, doctors who compile several medical treatises to print a brochure, and critics who formulate historical judgements based on poor sociological data[66]. He deplores the realm of impostors in Romanian society and even confesses that he has, in a drawer, a list of all the important figures of Romanian literature and culture whose death he desires and awaits[67]. Eliade seems to present himself as the voice of a rebellious generation, an emissary of innovation and change, not far from the radical modernism of the avantgarde. It is interesting to note, in this context, the article *Gratitude towards Futurism*. Although he expresses a strong dislike of futurist poems and of futurism as an avantgarde movement, Eliade writes on an inner futurism, that shares the same rebellious and courageous attitude towards life and tradition: love for freedom, the taste for volte-face, courage, the absence of moderate positions, the cult of force, of a cosmic and individual virility, the disdain for feminine literature, for mediocre morals, the praise of heroism, sanctity, and madness[68].

Frequently anchored in literature, M. Eliade discussed in these articles general matters regarding Romanian culture and even topics that surpassed a purely national level, such as heroism, insanity, creation. The titles contained in the two previously unknowns lists revolve not only around literature and writers, but also touch upon philosophical and philological questions, that is, scientific subjects. In *Words on a Philosophy*, starting with the character Kirilov from Dostoyevsky's *The Demons*, Eliade identifies only three ways of salvation: dullness, magic, and mysticism[69]. For him, the philosophical attitude in life is a mediocre version of the ancestral, magical one, because philosophy is neither science, nor organization of knowledge, nor discussion on the value of knowing. Philosophy studies and creates the relation between the self and knowledge. For Eliade, idealism was therefore a magical attitude, and one can find magic in the entire history of philosophy. Furthermore, philosophy should not be studied (for it is not a science), but experienced. In the end, Eliade concludes that there are only two spiritual paths: philosophy (magic) and mysticism[70]. Less speculative, his article *Documents and Synthesis*[71] starts by criticizing the editorial plan of Casa Școalelor, which included the publication of several collections of documents. Eliade pleads, instead, for the creation of historical syntheses, more modern than Iorga's *Geschichte des rumänischen Volkes* and *Histoire des Roumains* or Xenopol's *Istoria românilor din Dacia Traiană.* Documents cannot be a purpose in themselves, but only a means to prove or reject a hypothesis. The philological study of the document, in Eliade's view, disciplines and strengthens one's scientific background, but can only create a tool, not an opus. He will continue to assert these ideas more than forty years later, in his *The Quest. History and Meaning in Religion*, where he calls historians of religions to write syntheses, rather than analytical works[72].

But the most important argument for our hypothesis is the presence of the title *The Psychology of the Feuilleton.* Contrary to the essay, considered in *Minor Thought and Parasite Thinkers* an inferior genre, the feuilleton is praised by Eliade in this text and its virtues are thoroughly highlighted. The author starts by dismantling the common prejudice that articles published in weekly literary magazines are better written and structured than feuilletons published daily or several times a week. But the fact of having to write each day (or almost) doesn't imply, according to Eliade, a hasty and superficial composition – on the contrary, the feuilleton forces its author to be witty, intellectually agile, bright, and spontaneous[73]. It also eliminates useless stylistic ornaments and offers a vibrant and original perspective on matters of public interest. That brings us to another benefit of the feuilleton identified by Eliade – it forces its author to commit himself to an idea, and the readers to react vividly. The nerve and poignancy of the text encourage debate and polemics, bring certain topics into public attention, open the path to change. Moreover, the daily stimulation of creativity and intelligence disciplines the author, helps his ideas come together in coherent formulas, brings him several steps closer to self-awareness[74]. On the other hand, in Eliade's view, not everybody can think sharply every day and feuilleton authors run the risk of becoming self-satisfied, weak, trivial. Few survive and those who do are perceived by the readers as posers or lunatics[75]. This praise of the feuilleton must be linked with Eliade's enthusiasm and admiration for the press during his first years as a collaborator at *Cuvântul*, which he transposes in his novel *Gaudeamus*, also written in 1927-1928, through the voices of Trăznea and the logic professor, characters inspired by Pamfil Șeicaru and Nae Ionescu: „Don't insult

journalism, because it's sacred, started Trăznea. The journalist is born every morning, is inexhaustible and original, lives in *medias res*, is the heart and the brain of the nation. All our great figures were journalists... The journalist is a hero. – On the condition he writes for twenty-four hours, and not for a year or a month, added the logic professor. The journalist must save himself from the stupid concept of an eternity gained through writing. Articles should be ephemeral. The perfect journalist is the anonymous reporter"[76].

As we have noticed analyzing most of the articles included in the two lists, Eliade brought together rebellious texts regarding Romanian culture, literature, philosophy, and history. His attitude is always polemical, and radical, sometimes even revolutionary, writing not only for an ordinary public, but for his generation of intellectuals, and urging them to take action. The nature of these feuilletons perfectly matches the description of the projected book made by Eliade on 2 November 1960 in his unpublished journal – each of them enters the field of culture with a warrior cavalcade, criticizing, reversing values, promoting radical ideas. They resemble a whirlwind and embody a prophetic voice, calling his readers to action in a crucial year, that will lead him to one day be acknowledged as the leader of his generation.

Notes:

1. In his *Autobiography*, Eliade remembers the name *The Origins of Europe* – see Mircea Eliade, *Autobiography*, vol. I, *1907-1937 Journey East, Journey West*, translated by Mac Linscott Ricketts (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1981), 94. In his article "Heraclitus' Orphic Mysticism," published in 1927, he gives the title of the book as *The Origins of European Thought* – see "Heraclitus' Orphic Mysticism," *Adevărul literar și artistic*, VIII, no. 320 (January 1927: 5). In the manuscript of the article (mss 1877, *Misticismul orfic al lui Heraclit*), preserved at the Central University Library of Bucharest, Eliade's first version of the title is *Originea și dezvoltarea gândirii europene* [The Origins and the Development of European Thought], "the Development" being afterwards crossed out. Twenty-five years later, R.B. Onians published a book with a similar title: *The Origins of European Thought: about the Body, the Mind, the Soul, the World, Time and Fate. New interpretations of Greek, Roman and kindred evidence, also of some basic Jewish and Christian beliefs* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951).
2. M. Eliade, *Autobiography*, 94.
3. Eugen Ciurtin, "Proiectele abandonate: o circumscriere," in Mircea Eliade, *Yoga. Eseu asupra originilor misticii indiene*, critical edition by Eugen Ciurtin (Bucharest: Institutul de Istorie a Religiilor, Academia Română, 2016), 39-43.
4. M. Eliade, *Șantier* (Bucharest: Cugetarea, 1935), 233.
5. M. Eliade, "Despre cuvinte și despre cutezanță," *Cuvântul* IV, no. 1123, June 9, 1928, 1-2.
6. M. Eliade, "'Glorie' și 'Tăcere'," *Cuvântul* III, no. 900, October 19, 1927, 1-2.
7. M. Eliade, "Conspirația tăcerii," *Cuvântul* III, no. 893, October 12, 1927, 1-2.
8. M. Eliade, "Psichologia foiletonului," *Cuvântul* III, no. 918, November 6, 1927, 1-2.
9. *Idem*, "Cuvinte despre o filosofie," *Gândirea* VIII, no. 6-7, June-July 1928, 299-300.
10. *Idem*, "Voluptatea promovată," *Cuvântul* IV, no. 1145, July 1, 1928, 1-2.
11. *Idem*, "Documente și sinteze," *Cuvântul*, "Cuvântul literar și artistic" III, no. 642, December 20, 1926, 3.
12. M. Eliade, "Scriitorii tineri," *Cuvântul*, "Cuvântul literar și artistic" III, no. 624, November 29, 1926, 3.
13. M. Eliade, "Trecutul...," *Cuvântul* IV, no. 1192, August 17, 1928, 1-2.
14. M. Eliade, "Confuzia metodelor," *Cuvântul* IV, no. 1190, August 15, 1928, 1-2.
15. M. Eliade, "Incompetența," *Cuvântul* IV, no. 1222, September 16, 1928, 1.
16. M. Eliade, "Fragmente," *Cuvântul* IV, no. 1186, August 11, 1928, p. 1.
17. M. Eliade, "Recunoștință futurismului," *Cuvântul* IV, nr. 1182, August 7, 1928, 1-2.
18. M. Eliade, "Criticul," *Cuvântul* III, no. 678, February 6, 1927, 1-2.
19. M. Eliade, *Autobiography*, 153.
20. Ibid.
21. M. Handoca, *Jurnalul inedit al lui Mircea Eliade* (Bucharest: Criterion Publishing, 2010), 81: "Credeam că exprimă perfect ce simţeam eu atunci, prin 1927-1928; că pătrund în cultură, în erudiţie ca un iureş, ca o cavalcadă din Walkiria (a fost singura bucată pe care o putusem memora perfect la pian)."
22. M. Eliade, *Autobiography*, 87: "In those days I loved the lightning. About two years earlier, an extraordinarily violent storm had overtaken us in the Carpathians on Pietrele Arse. When lightning started striking a dozen meters or so from us, I was elated. I climbed on a rock and began to sing, or rather to scream, the 'Cavalcade' from *Die Valkyrie*. Even that night on the sea I was not afraid of the lightning. There again I sang the 'Cavalcade'."
23. Eliade described Sorana as a Valkyrie in his *Autobiography*, p. 258: "With good reason my egotism exasperated her. In a moment she had become again the Valkyrie I knew all too well. Now she was thirty, and pacing the floor she flashed like lighting".

24. Mac Linscott Ricketts, *Mircea Eliade: The Romanian Roots, 1907-1945*, vol. I (Boulder & New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 181-182.
25. M. Eliade, "Gândire minoră și gânditori paraziți," *Cuvântul* IV, no. 979, January 8, 1928, 2.
26. Ibid.: "Inferior prin concesiile făcute de autor – chiar de un Valéry – publicului. Inferior prin **structura literară** a frazei, care împiedecă surprinderea gândirii elaborată filosofic. Inferior prin eliminarea vocabularului technic, a acelor expresii cari – într-o conștiință nutrită filosofic – aduc noțiuni inaccesibile cetitorilor amatory."
27. Ibid.
28. M. Eliade, "Beatrice și Don Chuichotte (sic!)," *Gândirea* VIII, no. 1, January 1928, 31-32.
29. M. Eliade, "Feminitate," *Sinteza*, no. 10-11, January-February, 1928, 8-9.
30. M. Eliade, "Intelectualii de rasă," *Cuvântul*, III, no. 956, December 14, 1927, 1-2.
31. M. Eliade, "Elogiul compromiterii," *Cuvântul*, III, no. 960, December 18, 1927, 1-2.
32. M. Eliade, "Despre confesiuni," *Cuvântul*, III, no. 964, December 22, 1927, 1.
33. M. Eliade, "Împotriva Moldovei," *Cuvântul* IV, no. 1021, February 19, 1928, 1-2.
34. M. Eliade, "Sensul nebuniei," *Cuvântul* IV, no. 1027, February 25, 1928, 3.
35. M. Eliade, "Ceasul tinerilor?," *Cuvântul* VIII, no. 2708, November 4, 1932; "De ce faci filosofie?," IX, no. 2774, January 14, 1933, 1-2; "Moment nespiritual," IX, nr. 2910, June 3, 1933, 1-2; "A face," X, no. 3098, December 9, 1933, 1-2.
36. Eliade, "Intelectualii de rasă," 1. Eliade uses the word "drăgălaș".
37. Ibid.
38. Ibid.: "Când încerci o valorificare integrală a operei sau mărturisești sincer rezervele față de un autor – atunci nu mai ești personal, ci 'unul', 'mojic', 'zăpăcit', 'ridicol', 'gazetar', 'dărâmător de idoli' etc."
39. M. Eliade, "Sinteza istorică a dlui Iorga," *Revista universitară* I, no. 3, March 1926, 85-90. Iorga himself reacted to this negative chronicle, without naming Eliade, in a short article, "Mai multă omenie!", *Neamul românesc* XXI, no. 75, April 1, 1926, 1. Mihail Dragomirescu published in *Ritmul vremii* – I, no. 4, April, 1926, 126 – a ruthless text against the "Bolshevik" attitude of such students, a sign of anarchy. Vasile Bogrea followed, with an acid reaction to Eliade's presumed superiority, in "Domnul Mircea Eliade, 'Student Filosofie' și Essai de synthèse de l'histoire de l'humanité al dlui N. Iorga sau Ce n-a cetit d. Iorga și a cetit d. Mircea Eliade. O glumă tristă," *Societatea de mâine* III, no. 33-34, August 15 and 22, 1926, 557. Dimitrie Sandu also wrote about anarchism in "Anarhie morală și echilibru în aceeași generație," *Datina*, IV, no. 7-8, September-October, 1926, 150-151.
40. Vasile Neagu, "Însemnări," *Flamura*, no. 3-4, March-April, 1927, 159.
41. M. Eliade, "Elogiul compromiterii," 1.
42. Ibid.: "Compromite-te permanent, voluntar, provocator, integral, definitiv. Fii sigur că numai astfel vei cuceri zi de zi fășii, capete, trunchiuri, viscere din monstruoasa făptură a marelui Necunoscut ce se numește adevăr."
43. Ibid.
44. Eliade, "Despre confesiuni," 1.
45. Ibid.: "Experiențele, dimpotrivă, sunt *existențe*. O viață spirituală hrănită numai cu posibilități naufragiază. Unitatea, convergența, fermentul creator – izvorăsc din aluviunile aduse de experiențe."
46. See M. Eliade, *Romanul adolescentului miop*, ed. Mircea Handoca (Bucharest: Minerva, 1989), 286-289, 353, 370-373.
47. Eliade, "Despre confesiuni," 1: "Tot ce nu e poezie e literatură, adică mozaic de poziții spirituale mai mult sau mai puțin lucide. Iar literatura e întotdeauna întrecută de marile fapte de curaj. Ele sunt un ajutor, o frânghie întinsă celor ce vor să găsească sensul eroic al vieții; adică sensul tragic, agonia cotidiană. Pentru că – nu e așa? – trăim ca să ajungem eroi, ca să ne naștem din nou, în viața duhului."
48. Eliade, "Beatrice și Don Chuichotte (sic!)," 32.
49. Eliade, "Sensul nebuniei," 3.
50. M. Eliade, "În întunerec," *Universul literar* XLIII, no. 21, May 22, 1927, 326-327; M. Eliade, "Celalt," *Viața literară*, III, no. 83, May 5, 1928, 3.
51. Eliade, "Împotriva Moldovei", 1-2: "Am urât Moldova pentru că e lipsită de eroism. Literatura noastră întreagă e lipsită de eroism (articolul meu «Feminitate», în *Sinteza* pe luna februarie). Personagiile ei se predau, umilite, în fața durerii, în fața dragostei. Creștem în atmosfera acestor personagii învinse, le valorificăm în viață, ne contopim cu ele din poză sau autosugestie, fără să înțelegem că strângem la sân o femeninâ și ispititoare mediocritate."
52. Eliade, "Feminitate," 8: "snobismul e mediocru, ca orice manifestare a unui feminism ratat, hibrid, pervertit".
53. Ibid.
54. Ibid., 9: "Iubim societatea; femeile nu suportă solitudinea. O femeie izolată se neurastenizează. Un mascul izolat prin propria-i voință – crește". [...] Ignorăm conștiința și valorile etice. Numai masculii pot realiza idealul etic, creștinismul, prin voință. Femeile împrumută."
55. M. Eliade, "Osândirea clericilor," *Cuvântul*, IV, no. 1051, March 26, 1928, 3.
56. Eliade, "Gândire minoră și gânditori paraziți," 2.
57. M. Eliade, "Anno Domini," *Cuvântul*, IV, no. 973, 2 January 1928, 3.

58. Eliade, *Autobiography*, 135.
59. Eliade, "Conspirația tăcerii," 1.
60. Eliade, "'Glorie' și 'Tăcere'," 1.
61. Eliade, "Gândire minoră și gânditori paraziți," 2.
62. Ibid.
63. Eliade, "Scriitorii tineri," 3: "Am propune o dârză și necontenită persecutare a tinerilor poeți și prozatori; o aspră selecție a colaboratorilor tineri la marile publicații periodice; și o aprigă urmărire a 'revistelor literare' în cari se publică poezii cu dedicații discrete și nuvele de o revoltătoare lipsă de bun simț".
64. Eliade, "Voluptatea promovată," 1.
65. Ibid.
66. Eliade, "Incompetența," 1.
67. Ibid.
68. Eliade, "Recunoștință futurismului," 2.
69. Eliade, "Cuvinte despre o filosofie," 299.
70. Ibid., 300.
71. Eliade, "Documente și sinteze," 3.
72. M. Eliade, *The Quest: History and Meaning in Religion* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969), 60: "For the history of religions, as for many other humanist disciplines, 'analysis' is equivalent to 'philology'. One does not consider a scholar responsible unless he has mastered a philology (understanding by this term knowledge of the language, history, and culture of the societies whose religion he studies). Justifiably, Nietzsche spoke of philology (in his case, classical philology) as an 'initiation': one cannot participate in the 'Mysteries' (i.e., in the sources of Greek spirituality) without first being initiated, in other words, without mastering the classical philology. But none of the great classicists of the nineteenth century, from Frederich Welcky to Erwin Rohde and Willamowitz-Moelendorff remained within the bounds of philology *stricto sensu*. Each, in his own way, produced magnificent works of synthesis which have continued to nourish Western culture even when, from a strictly philological point of view, they have been surpassed. Certainly, a considerable number of scholars belonging to various humanist disciplines have not attempted to go beyond 'philology'. But their example ought not to preoccupy us, for the exclusive concentration on the exterior aspects of a spiritual universe is equivalent in the end to a process of self-alienation." Frederich Welcky (written "Welckey" in the first French edition) is most probably the German philologist Friedrich (Gottlieb) Welcker. Also, the name of Wilamowitz-Moellendorf is misspelt in the first edition of *The Quest.*
73. Eliade, "Psichologia foiletonului", 1.
74. Ibid.
75. Ibid., 2.
76. See M. Eliade, *Romanul adolescentului miop*, 317: "– Nu insulta gazetăria, că e sfântă, începu Trăznea. Gazetarul se naște în fiecare dimineață, e inepuizabil și inedit, trăiește *in medias res*, e inima și creierul țării... Toți oamenii mari ai noștri au fost gazetari... Gazetarul e un erou. – Cu condiția să scrie pentru douăzeci și patru de ceasuri, iar nu pentru un an sau o lună, vorbi profesorul de logică. Gazetarul trebuie să se mântuie de stupida noțiune a eternității prin scris. Articolele să fie efemere; gazetarul perfect e reporterul anonym."

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