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**DOCTORAL THESIS  
(ABSTRACT)**

***CONFIGURATIONS OF TOTALITARIANISMS  
IN THE EXILE MEMOIRISM OF SOME  
ROMANIAN WRITERS EMIGRATED IN THE  
ROMAN CULTURAL AREAL AFTER THE  
SECOND WORLD WAR***

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**Key words:** exile, memoirism, totalitarianism, literaturity, literarity, trans literature, para literature, arch texture, Romanity, Roumanianity (românitate), gender, sub gender, intergender, `histoire`, `discours`.

The doctoral thesis *Configurations of totalitarianisms in the exile memoirism of some Romanian writers emigrated in the Roman cultural areal after the second world war*, investigates with priority the fundamental contents of the memoires, journals together with the epistolary of the writers Monica Lovinescu, Vintilă Horia, Constantin Virgil Gheorghiu and Mircea Eliade, emigrated to France, Spain, Italy, etc. in the 1940s. We are particularly interested in the parameters of the totalitarianism during the 1930s and 1940s and after 1944, together with the occupation of Romania by the Soviet army, the abdication of king Mihai Ist of Romania and coming to power of a Stalinist Government.

Resorting to the deductive perspective, our intention was to obtain a (re)evaluation of the Romanian culture and literature in the Roman exile (Spanish, French, Italian, etc.) as it is reflected in the exile memoirism. The political, ideologic, literary, cultural, etc. premises have been objectively launched and approached, depending on a series of political-historic and cultural-literary parameters, with universal aesthetic validity.

Rooted in the political system and reported to essential historic moments, the starting hypothesis considers the fact that it is of absolute importance to review the intellectual exile phenomenon between 1940-1989 according to the memorial literature of some writers acknowledged in the Romanic `Heimat` and appreciated in the culture of the adoptive country.

We have mainly re(examined) the thematic coordinates, the way / to the extent they are recognised in the memoirs, journals, epistolary, etc. of four `uncountryed writers`: Vintilă Horia, Mircea Eliade, Monica Lovinescu, Constantin Virgil Gheorghiu that we have placed contextually, in agreement with the arch texture of the exile memoirism of some writers such as: Alexandru Ciorănescu, Alexandru Busuioceanu, Aron Cotruș, George Uscătescu, Martha Bibescu, Sanda Stolojan, Emil Cioran, Virgil Ierunca and so on, representative figures of the exile who populate and cross the basic body.

The objective of this research is biaxially concentrated: on an *en detail* presentation, meant to facilitate the perception of the effort of cultural adjustment of a considerable part of the interwar elite in Spain, France, Italy, Portugal, etc. la `saeculum`, together with an *in extenso*

analysis on the particular reaction way to the cultural-ideologic stimuli of the `inter-` interval, after war, respectively.

Thus, we have focused our attention on approaching the cultural and literary Romanian-European relations and, if case, Romanian-Soviet ones in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, re-analysed from the side of Romanism as a trans-literary phenomenon.

One of the priorities concerns the necessity of bringing forth such a theme with obvious trans- and/or interdisciplinary openness (literature, historiography, culturology, politology, imagology, etc.), starting from the premises of the presence of some cultural relations, decided by consent at cultural-political level between Royal Romania and Spain, France, Italy, Portugal respectively, antagonistically with regards to the non-adherence to the Soviet, Stalinist-Dejist model.

### **Motivations regarding the innovative character of the doctoral thesis**

The theme of this research is outside the sphere of interest regarding the dynamic outlining of the trans-literary phenomenon reflected in the exile memoirism in general and in its poetic versions – memoirs, journals, epistolaries, etc. – in subsidiary.

As a particular form, with a well outlined narratological design, the exile memoirism is ascribed to the subjective literature tensionally engaged between mapping of the auctorial identity *and* the pride of the verosimile reconstruction, dependent on the storing, rendering and memory processing capability, along various levels of the `time lived`: from the recollections in `Vaterland` to the experience of the exile and of the fixation in `Heimat`, etc.

The tiebreaker is based on the revelation of the retrospective character of the accounted facts, also considering the trans-literary positioning of the exile memoirism: *above* biographism, *beyond* the frontier between the subjective literature (confessional) and imagology, sociology, politology, historiography and so on or *between* fictional and factual.

The trans-literary option (that we opt for) anchors axiomatically on the allegation of the discontinuity according to which the literary reality is a palimpsestic construct, meaning each level of literarity depends on self-fictional laws.

Thus, the `level` of the memoirism differs by the fictional and factual (non-fictional) laws governing this type of writings, and this makes us approach them with specific measurement units; yet, without omitting the reality according to which the memoirs, autobiographies, journals, epistolaries, etc. belong to the same *literarity* level that can have, however, in its structure, several stages of *literaturity*. The thematic option does not imply the supposition that we refuse to understand the exile memoirism as a conceptual literary construct,

capable to resist our experiences, representations, descriptions, images, or our intermediary-aesthetic formalizations.

Discontinuity, that we plea, involves the existence, *between* the rifts of the memoirism and *beyond* them, of a 'non-resistance' zone – accepted by Eugen Simion as a tolerance space, as a 'fictionality of the non-fiction' – that cannot be comprised in its entirety by our experiences or formalities on the relation of the Self with the ipseity, with the history and with the world.

We consider that a *literary transparency* area is in stake, that makes it possible the translucidity of the narrative flux – fictionally and factually mixed – that goes through all levels of memorial writing – from the mnesic one to the anamnestic one – ensuring their coherence and their self-consistency, meaning that each level of literarity is what it is due to the other stages that exist in the arch text of the memoirism.

As a consequence, in the version that we have suggested, the exile memoirism shall be perceived transgressively, *beyond* the „ensemble” of the fictionality levels and the complementary are of 'non-resistance' and/or between the memorial subject, accepted as the 'unity' of the levels of perception of history and the 'complementary non-resistance zone', thus relativising the 'non-contradiction'. According to such 'conditional reasoning', fiction and non-fiction have the property to periodically re(update) and intensify so that the updating of one would condition, essentially, the intensification of the other.

Admitted as *trans literature*, the exile memoirism makes it possible, through the 'absolute transparency' area where it is placed, the communication between the 'information flux', crossing the outer world (History) and the 'flux of consciousness' that crosses the inner universe (the Self) of the writer-memorialist.

Epistemologically, we plea the acceptance of the 'complexity' of the memoirism as a possible sign of the *trans literary phenomenon* according to which Literature is an increasingly complex fictional reality, and our way to understand and decode it is not always proper considering the avalanche of confusing information and perspectives that we must cope with.

Anyway, according to Gh. Manolache (2005) the generic acceptance and the disciplinary approach of the Literature, in the version where each field – be it narratology, stylistics, rhetoric, semiotics, poetics and so on – claims a single level of *literarity* – according to which and for which they formulate their own functionality laws – it only narrows the manoeuvre territory of *literarity* and complicates the parallax of the *literaturity*, strangling or multiplying the dynamic of the 'viewpoints'.

Consequently, the certainty arises that 'arch textuality' would be 'the most abstract and implicit type', capable to cover 'the generic perception' of one text or another. In other words, it would be identified by the 'ensemble of general or transcendent categories – types of

language, ways to enunciate, literary genres, etc.– where every single text belongs` ( Genette 1979; 1994:7-11).

Therefore, placing the exile memoirism in the action area of trans literarity is based on what Gh. Manolache (2005) considered as being an acceptance of `complex plurality`, as it is revealed vertically, by the `recessivity` of the equation between *literarity* - *literaturity*.

### **Concise presentation of the `theory` that generates the idea at the foundation of the research theme**

In the context of the expansion of the Sovietizing plague in a geographically and politically mutilated Romania following the unfortunate and unfair political-historic treaty in Yalta, the memoirs, journals, epistolaries, etc. of some emigrant writers - Monica Lovinescu, Constantin Virgil Gheorghiu, Vintilă Horia, Mircea Eliade, Alexandru Ciorănescu, Alexandru Busuioceanu, Aron Cotruș, George Uscătescu, Martha Bibescu, Virgil Ierunca, Emil Cioran, Sanda Stolojan and so on bring forth – besides the inherent frustrations of cultural-political and mentality nature – a series of distinctive elements that converge to the exemplarity of the fundamental problematics, as they are ascribed to the forms of (re)construction of the individual and collective memory.

From the perspective of the time-space-memory dynamic, the exile memorial of the emigrant writers are capable of ensuring connection bridges between the faults of the literary field where they arrived and their expectations, outlining the coordinates of a `noosphere` activated owing to the complex gear of memory.

Conventionally, the writings recorded in the collection of the memoirism (memoires in exile, journals, epistolaries, etc.) are accepted as a sub-class of the `autobiographic genre` where the events (historic, personal, etc.) are (re)composed with the aid of recollection. Relying on the agreement between the fidelity and the truthfulness of the unmediated observation and the authenticity of the subjective experience lived with no censorship, this distinct type of literature calibrates the memory, moving its accents either towards the `exteriority` (in case of exile memoirs), or towards `interiority` and its ipseitary atenances (journals, epistolaries, etc.). In this way the movement of the exile memoirism around the transversal axis of the memory can be explained which, in the particular case of the memorizing corpus we considered, proves to be not only a mere `information storage` (Cosmovici 1996).

What concerns us in case of the exile memoirism, is found in the phrase `the memory of the spirit` that, according to Henri Bergson (1996) would preserve images, ideas, reasoning, individual feelings and so on. Obviously, none of the general perspectives on `forgetfulness`

admitted as 'sub-activation' shall be eluded, as a mechanism 'to protect the self', as a 'FAN effect' (Golu 2004) or Freudian (Freud 2010), as a content interdependency between the 'repressed' element and the 'new' one, a conditioning confirmed at thematic level by means of an 'exterior association'.

'Noosphere'-specific (Oancea 2005), the thematic coordinates of the exile memoirs are concentrated around some complex cognitive nuclei – of enunciation and relation- signaled at textual level by tempering – by means of the 'affective memory' touches, of prismatic volumes games – and mitigation of the austerity lines, sturdiness, or stylistic callosity. The teaching according to which, more important even than forgetting the 'evil suffered or committed' is 'talking about it' (Ricoeur 2001) pleads the thematic primacy of the recollection which, in case of some of the 'uncountryed writers', becomes a form of 'reconciled memory'.

Therefore, the memory as a support of the exile texts, belonging to some emigrant writers after the Second World War in the Romanic cultural space (France, Spain, Italy, Portugal), outlines a unitary problematic that, far from being a depositary-archiver one, needs to be 'patrimonially' developed and equally reforged, instrumental-cognitive and narrative (literary).

An illustration of the relation between 'noosphere' and 'rememorizing in correspondence and journal' is provided by Ileana Oancea in her work on the 'noosphere' (2005) as a form of reconstructing the memory (Ricoeur 2001). In the chosen version, the 'noosphere' is revealed as a space of confluence of the ethical, religious, aesthetic, political, ideological values and as an existential-spiritual project.

'Love-Energy', accepted by Pierre Teilhard de Chardin (1997) as a basis of the 'noosphere', is found in the exile memoirism as a radial axis of some obvious 'spiritual attractions' for 'Vaterland' (the country of origin, Romania) and „Heimat“ (the adoptive country: Spain, France, Italy, Portugal, etc.), for Romanianity (românitate) and Romanity (romanitate) with everything that implies the maintaining of the state of wake of the native 'land spirit' and of action in the home adoptive country.

To these spiritual abscises, the 'synthesis' of the individuals and kins is added, by recomposing the elements into which their image passed at the distance had been dismembered; in the given case, through 'paradoxical reconciliation' of the particular (Romanian) element with the (Romanic) whole; in other words, of the 'unity' with the 'multitude' and so on.

We insist mainly on the narratological thoroughness of this memorialist category making the distinction between the perspective of the way, focus or 'viewpoint' and voice on one hand, and on the thematic reconfiguration of the exile caught from the angle of the sociopsychology, culturology, imagology, politology, etc. This, without losing sight the

testimonial context where the memory is developed as a 'Cinetic process' and the revealed memory, as a 'depository of the past experience' that can open unwillingly and/or, according to case, forced by various circumstances. It is the case of the so-called 'involuntary memory' and/or voluntary, ordinary and/or 'extraordinary'.

This explains the fact that, during the doctoral research, a report clearly outlining is the one of the relation of the writer's self with the inner self, the history and the world undergoing obvious changes; more precisely, with the humanity burdened by the traumas of the two world wars, conflagrations that have permanently marked the imaginary of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

We mention that memorialist writers Mircea Eliade, Vintilă Horia, Constantin Virgil Gheorghiu, Monica Lovinescu were born in the historic proximity of the First World War, they blossomed and grew spiritually together with the forming of the modern Great Romania and found themselves involved in a form of aggression of the History or another. So, the collapse of some worlds and the fracture of the axiological landmarks in their historical-geographical array has been – emotionally and imaginary – felt to the same heights that the memorialists wished to be coincidental with the reality from that moment, together with their extension into the inner essence of the narrator.

Thus, Gareth Evans' (1982: 358-340) observations in relation with our tendency to assess the narrated fictional or non-fictional events as being depositions of the accredited witness and to judge them based on the credibility of the writer-witness, depending on the historic plausibility and truthful inner coherence, have been validated.

Re-examined from the angle of the semantics of the 'possible worlds' and of the 'counter factuality', the status of such 'fictionalization of the non-fiction' reveals the ability of these memorialists (Monica Lovinescu, Vintilă Horia, Constantin Virgil Gheorghiu, Mircea Eliade) to 'fictionally frame' a certain reality memorialistically resuscitated and historically identified, that the narrator-witness is to imagologically rebuild, predisposition that leads to the pre-supposition that both the attendant in *The Witness of the 25<sup>th</sup> Hour*, the 're-writer' in *At the Waters of Vavilon and Memoirs of a former Sagittarius* or the depositions of Eliade – the writer in *Memoirs* can be 're-read' as *buildugsromanian* writings, recordable in the category of the biographic genres.

In this context, the doctoral thesis aims to (re)examine the particular reflection and/or camouflage way of the totalitarianisms of the past century in the exile memoirism of some Romanian expat writers, after the Second World War, in the Roman areal (Spain, France, Portugal, Italy a.s.o.), with an extra interest regarding the mirroring of the journal pages, of some memorial sequences or of some epistolary paragraphs with the articles published in the

press of the time or in biography-based books (*The Man Who Travelled Alone, In Mântuleasa Street, Marta or the Second War* a.s.o.).

Therefore, we will investigate mainly the way in which the memorial literature captures the monozygotic development of the fascism and legionary movement with their twin variants - Stalinism and communism – instated in Central and Eastern Europe a.s.o. In the context of the expansion of the totalitarianisms, of the historical-political hybridized connections and of the emergency of some ideological affinities between fascism and communism, insufficiently explored, described and analyzed, the doctoral thesis is based on the background provided by the corpus of the memorial literature belonging to some Romanian writers who adhered to such ideology or, depending upon case, they are suspected to have sympathized with some of the spots on the `agenda of the time`.

Historian Oliver Jens Schmitt's (2017) research plea a hypothesis according to which `intellectuals` such as Emil Cioran, Mircea Eliade, Constantin Noica, etc., apart from some very close circles in Bucharest, had no impact in the `mobilization force of the legionary movement`. Therefore, the texts published by Mircea Eliade, Vintilă Horia, Constantin Virgil Gheorghiu, etc. were read mainly by the `smart ones` in the second half of the 1930s, formed mainly by students, priests, educators, etc., the circle of the workers and peasants being an `extremely limited` one. As for the `methods` and `purposes` of such movements, the historian Oliver Jens Schmitt appreciates that there is `a logic continuity between the legionary doctrines` and Ceausescu-style national-communism.

We also mention that we shall not lose sight of the entwining of the emergence of the cultural heritage and the radiations of the literary influences experienced by some of the writers -Mircea Eliade, Vintilă Horia, Constantin Virgil Gheorghiu, Monica Lovinescu (`the prose writer` that adheres to a type of writing that is built on the foundation of memory) – fixed in the `noosphere` with shaping virtues of the adoption spiritual universes in `Heimat`.

A (re)shaping of the exile memoirism as compared to the (re)configuration of the general paradigm of the subjective literature, it has been proven as useful while, by extension, the memorial literature (memoirs, journals, epistolaries, etc.) has been absorbed by the history of the post-Decembrist literature, this literary form being intensely required and involved, to a considerable extent, also in the cultural and imagology studies or the historical, sociological, politological ones.

The exile memoirism, tensionally *de-* and (*re*)built through memoirs, journals, epistolaries, etc. is (re)shaped as a nodal point between the writer's narrative identity and the historic truthfulness of the registered facts, both in the magnetic array of a horizon of

expectation where the subjectivity and objectivity, fiction and non-fiction mutually condition their limits and advantages.

By means of an extra attention invested in the way that totalitarianisms infiltrate their ideologies in the texture of the Romanian exile memoirism, we, in fact, target the manner in which the magma of the imaginary of some of the 'uncountryed writers' is involved in building new 'mythologies' in the self-legitimated parallax of which the history, after undergoing a 'recessive fictional forge' (Manolache 2004 :175-216) proved to be, in some given circumstances, a cohesive phenomenon.

Just as it has been revealed by the Romanian and foreign literary and cultural terms dictionaries, together with the explorations in the field of literary theory (Todorov 1997; Martin 2006; Bal 2008; Lintvelt 1994), the memoirism is presented as a genre, sub-genre, species or as intra-genre, generic hybrid, mixt form or *trans-literature* (semantically close by the studies dedicated to Vintilă Horia by (2008; 2011).

### **Specification of the research issue (methodology)**

As it results from the title of the doctoral thesis - *Configurations of totalitarianisms in the exile memoirism of some Romanian writers emigrated in the roman cultural areal after the second world war* - our purpose was to develop the trans-literary facets of the Romanian exile memoirism within the Latin areal, based on the fact that Vintilă Horia, Monica Lovinescu, Mircea Eliade and Constantin Virgil Gheorghiu have been involved in reshaping the cultural identity of Romanians and intermediated connection bridges between the culture of the 'motherland' and the one of their adoptive countries.

Of course, the reality when the writers selected by us activated imposed a completely different vision on the cultural heritage that these memorialists felt they had to maintain, to resuscitate and to promote in European context in the 1930s, 1940, 1950s. Setting up magazines and publishing houses, university departments, cultural societies, Romanian libraries, etc. they provide a recovery of the 'motherland' from the exile and a connection of the Romanianity (românitatea) with the cultural and literary network of the Western Europe.

As a consequence, investigating such a 'literary phenomenon closed from the historical point of view', represents a 'special challenge' for an observer and exegete as Eva Behring, suggesting the impression of the 'direct participation in the artistic process.' (Behring 2001: 9). Thus, the publications and the books published in exile are, together with the memorials, the faithful mirror of the cultural-literary recovery, reconnection, and promotion phenomenon that these writers undertook, without the presence of whom the modernist canon is incomplete.

Within this research we are about to perform also an essentialized presentation of the memoirs, journals, and exile letters, convinced that that forced migration phenomenon is traumatically felt by all the writers, being sure that, against their will, they have been involved in a process of identity disintegration felt as an effect and cause that are specific to the fundamental transformations that have been found in the mentality of the exiled.

Therefore, this project is presented as a mirror that reflects those who, at the cost of their exile, wrote their memoirs, journals, work in freedom, granting a certain continuity of the cultural flow of their roots in the motherland: Romania of the ancestors. We consider that the stake is an operation that relies on a 'fidelity pact' subscribed to the cultural vocation of the emigrant writers and accepted as a possibility to maintain alive the historic responsibility undertaken in front of those beyond frontiers.

According to us, the thematic of the memoirs and journals that we have observed is focused on two circles with a politically-ideologically determined covering area, by the extreme forms of the totalitarianism: the legionary movement and the communism. Therefore, what the memoirism (in general) and the literary (in particular) suggest, is the rediscovering of some endless 'message flow' that the history constantly delivers towards us. It is about 'plural signals' that, according to Gh. Manolache (2004: 165-221), can be accepted as 'fiction fueled by its own reality', in other words as 'fictional realities' mixed into a narrative alloy where the truth is recognized in what White calls „Historical Pluralism”.

### **Hypotheses specification**

What needs to be noted can resume to the central hypothesis that the interaction between recollection and memory is claimed as a major theme of the literary memoirism, this being accepted as one of the 'actual construction elements' of our collective memory as we find them, otherwise, included in recollections, journals, confessions, epistolaries, etc.

Another hypothesis stemming from the pivot of the doctoral thesis is the one according to which the cultural and literary heritage of the exile in the Romanic (Western) areal needs to be approached from various congruent perspectives: thematic, historiographic, and cultural and not least, narrative. One of the reasons is that the exile memoirism during 19030s, 1940s, 1950s is a voluntary carrier of trans-literary brands and, as a consequence, it can be considered as an integrated part of the history of the Romanian literature, unaffected by the political censorship or conditioned by the belletristic status.

## **The essentialized structure of the contents of the doctoral thesis by chapters and sub-chapters**

The perspective option on the memoirism as an insurgent and changeable literary form stated in the introduction on conventional and actual in the approach of 'biographic genres' is resumed to the highlighting of some auctorial 'recording' procedures and to the fixation of the particularized formulae (memoirs, journal, epistolary, etc.) to witness in writing some life experiences extended over a longer or shorter period of time, to which the author took part or has been a 'witness', being driven by the feeling of irreversible, of the significance and of the unusual .

Basically, we plea for the hypothesis that the memorial literature maintains its interest constantly in the past and the present of the individuals and of the communities, of the society in general, the memoirs and the journals being involved in the reconstruction of the pattern of some collective existences or, according to case, individual. Equally, the memorial writings prove their concern to feed the history of literature with elements regarding the morphological configuration and the dynamic of the form(ulae) of narrative expression. Speaking about the poetic of the subjective literature E. Simion brings forth the underlying problem in relation with the literary legitimacy of such a narrative genre, equally soaked in biographic, imaginary, and history.

Just like the memorial literature of the exiled writer proves it, mainly the one of Constantin Virgil Gheorghiu, Vintilă Horia, Monica Lovinescu or Mircea Eliade on who we shall focus our exegesis, a phenomenon mainly based on the reconstruction ability of the double face of the totalitarianism and on the narrative reorchestration of the effect of fascination power projected and focused on some charismatic and/or dictatorial leaders is at stake. As, in their essence, the memoirs and the journals are depositions regarding what Monica Lovinescu appreciated as drilling the 'unity in terror of the 20<sup>th</sup> century', a 'sufficient and insane' century to attempt the precise fixation of the utopias and dystopias, until then 'locked between the covers of some books'.

The hypothesis that we started from is supported by the pre-supposition that the radiant nucleus of the memorial corpus that we had under observation is formed, in its substantial part, from buildungsromanian fragmentations forged in hybrid(isant) (re)writings, authentic-biographical. We are talking about *At the Waters of Vavilon*, *The Witness of the 25<sup>th</sup> Hour*, *Memoirs of a Former Sagittarius*, *Memoirs* ('unpolished') of Mircea Eliade, together with/besides 'journals' having as a background theme the intimist experience of the exile and

the marks of the collision with the exposed History on the slope of totalitarianism present in the Romanian version of the legionary movement and of the Stalinism.

What needs to be noted resumes to the observation that the interaction between recollection and memory claims itself as a major theme of the literary memoirism, being accepted as one of the narrative 'construction elements' as we can find them, otherwise, inserted in recollections, journals, confessions, epistolaries, etc. Bringing about the notion of intertext, Renate Lachmann (1997) considers that the literature 'represents the mnemonic art, by excellency' meaning that, through inter-textuality, 'literature remembers itself' co-existing with History under the protective umbrella of the ipseity.

Structurally, non-exhaustive research of the totalitarian configurations identified in the exile memoirism of some emigrant Romanian writers after the Second World War in the cultural Romanic areal, four essential sections have been attributed to it having the status of chapters divided in sub-chapter. Thus, each chapter marks a fundamental coordinate of the research of the totalitarianisms.

**Chapter I.** [Memoirism – between a conventional form of the 'frontier literature' and a dual perspective: 'trans' and 'para-literary'] builds on theoretical and pragmatic option about acceptance or elimination of the memoirism from literature. Placed on the frontier of the literary with the extra-literary, a territory where the aesthetic enters a 'sui-generis synthesis' with the real fact, with the physical or biological law, with the philosophical enunciation or with the 'character observation', memoirism is presented by Silvian Iosifescu (1971) as a cohesive phenomenon, interferent, under a 'double alignment': of the verosimile with the verdict (thematically) and of the fictional with the factual (in narratological perspective).

Even if Silvian Iosifescu (1969) does not clearly trench the matter of the literarity of the memorial text, the point of view meets Gérard Genette's opinion regarding the 'arch textuality' as a literary resource; or, in the French poet's version, as an 'inclusion relationship' and a process of cohesion that 'unifies each text with various types of language that it belongs to'. More precisely, the suture (fusion) considers the bringing together of the 'genres' with their thematic, modal, 'formal' 'determinations'.

Traditionally, the memoirism provides us with a 'fictionless literature', which determined Croce to 'chase it away from the territory of the poetic, together with history'. Yet, Silvian Iosifescu considers that the memorial texts, literary eloquent, 'do not lose their quality as historic documents', to register the real, the 'real fact' despite their being presented in a literary form.

In an all-true variant, memoirs are a category of the subjective literature (autobiographic), where a series of events (historic, personal or of other kind) are recomposed

depending on the individual experiences and strictly personal observations, at the foundations of which there is the fixation, depiction, or personalist interpretation.

Therefore, the literature of the memoirs is accepted as a form of a 'complex discourse of the individual or collective memory' or, according to researcher Aleida Assmann, as a 'memory of the culture' (Assmann 2013). Regarding the plea in favour of a dual perspective: 'trans'- and 'para-literary' we will consider the supposition that, benefitting from a properly outlined narratological design, the exile memoirism is considered a subjective literary writing, tensionally engaged *between* the mapping of the auctorial identity *and* the ego of the truthful reconstruction, dependant on the storage, rendering and processing capacity of the memory on various levels of the 'lived time': recollections from 'Vaterland', various events from the exile experience in 'Heimat', etc.

Discontinuity, whose solutioning we plea, involves the existence *between* the fault lines of the memoirism and *beyond* them, of a zone of 'non-resistance' (accepted by Eugen Simion (2018) as a space of tolerance, 'of fictionality of the non-fiction') that cannot be completely encompassed by the experiences or our formalisms about the relationship between the Self with the History and with the World.

As a result, the exile memoirism shall be perceived transgressively, *beyond* the 'ensemble' of the fictionality levels and the complementary area of 'non-resistance'. Or, para-literary perceived, *between* the memorial topic, accepted as the 'ensemble' of the levels of perception of the History and the 'complementary zone of non-resistance', thus relativising the 'non-contradiction'.

According to such conditional reasoning, fiction and non-fiction have the characteristic of (re)updating and 'potentialize' periodically, so that the updating of one should, invariably, condition the 'potentialization' of the other.

**The 2<sup>nd</sup> chapter** [Exile memoirism – inter-generic and hybrid options] is concentrated on one less used perspective: the trans-literary option as an alternative to the approach through a specialised grid: 'mono-', 'inter-' or pluri-disciplinary.

As for the pluri-disciplinary perspective on the memoirism, in our opinion it includes the study of a 'field' of a single discipline – the exile, in this case – approached by several disciplines at the same time: history, politology, culturology, imagology, etc. The pluri-disciplinary research of the exile memoirism brings a surplus of 'added value' to literature or history, but this addition is assigned to the exclusive service of the same discipline (history, politics, imaginary, culturology, etc.) that we consider as fundamental (prioritary) in the case of approaching the memorial literature of the Romanian writers exiled in the Romanic space.

The hypothesis that we launch concerns the reality according to which with these writings we are facing an extensive literature phenomenon with a predisposition to alliances and, depending on certain conditionings, to thematic, semantic, generic, stylistic, rhetorical separations.

In the sub-chapter dealing with the 'tough' perspectives and the 'relativist' choices on the memorial phenomenon, we mention contributions of the Romanian theorists interested in the canonical status of the genre: Silvian Iosifescu (1971), Paul Cornea (1988), Mircea Angheliescu (2015), Florin Faifer (1993), Ion Manolescu (1996), Eugen Simion (2001; 2002; 2018) a.s.o. With their point of view, we note reactions of those researchers specialized in the factual function of the memorial literature, exegetes who consider, on one hand, the equation between the type (theme), field and degree of expressivity of the memorial writings, and on the other hand do not lose sight of the pure relation targeting a particular type of confidential-retrospective communication.

In the light of such approaches, the exile memoirism is revealed as a self-preferential music sheet with the aeriels calibrated on the rebound in posterity as a 'kingdom of memory' where the object of the discourse is focused on the cultural-historic context that the memorialist writer crosses and re-orchestrates as a dialogue.

A viewpoint that needs to be detailed is the one provided by Ion Manolescu, who pleads for shapes and types that are specific to the 'central area' of the fictionality and literarity and, according to case, for the 'precarious literarity' - 'littérarité précaire'-(Genette 2002).) in the second space, 'uncertain and lax', somehow situated *between* the two 'fields': the literary and the transitive. It is about an equivalent of the idea of literary mixture, of 'genre mélangé ou mixte' (Todorov 2011; 2015), mixture that Ion Manolescu, Andreea Mironescu, Lăcrămioara Petrescu *et. al.* assign to the literary 'hybrid'.

Both theoretical horizons relate to consecrated phrases, such as 'frontier literature' (Iosifescu 1971), 'the genres of the biographic' (Simion 2002), 'para literature' (Marino 1998) etc., perspectives that gained, on this occasion, in stability, notoriety and pertinence.

In the light of such option there will be a possibility to observe that, related to the exile memoirism in particular, in the version performed by Constantin Virgil Gheorghiu, Mircea Eliade, Vintilă Horia, Alexandru Ciorănescu, Alexandru Busuioceanu, Martha Bibescu, Monica Lovinescu, Aron Cotruș a.s.o., the memorialists place themselves on the movement direction of the history, face towards the events, accounting for and reinterpreting episodes and sequences (cultural and/or politico-historic, military, etc.) whose accredited 'actor' and 'credible' witness they had been in a certain period, historically determined. Thus, facts mentioned in memoirs, journals, epistolaries by the above-mentioned writers, following their

settling in the 'Heimat' (adoptive country), are relived „après coup”, with the mention that this time, history is the 'frame' of those 'acts (events) of the interiority' and not their actual object.

Entrusted that the author of the literary works is more than the 'paper man', Florin Faifer, together with Silvian Iosifescu, Eugen Simion, Paul Cornea, Mircea Angheliescu, Ion Manolescu a.s.o. dissolve the persistent preconception of our historians and literary critics regarding the secondary aesthetic signification hold by the memorial literature on the ground that the ratio of the factuality and the revelation of the confession as compared to the fictionality as mutual elements of both memoirism and literature, are predominant. This is how the plea for the critical and theoretical exploitation of such a 'recessive narrative seam' (Manolache 2004) is motivated, where the originality and the unusual admit their complementarity and competitiveness in 'mirroring the inner expressivity of the one who writes'.

The third sub-chapter is interested in the way a possible annexation of the exile memoirism can be debated in the range of attraction of the narrative hybrids, respectively of the 'trans' and 'para literary' texts. In the systematisation of the traditional and actual viewpoints in approaching the memorial literature (in general) and of the exile memoirism (in particular), we wagered on a topographic restauration recognized in the 'annexation' of the memoirs, journals, epistolary, recollections, etc. in the sphere of interest of the narrative hybrids, of the 'frontier literature', respectively of the 'para literary' texts. To this procedure a necessary typological determination is added, by placing the 'subjective literature' at the crossroads between trans-literary narrative pacts (as brands of the 'literary secondary') and the challenges of the cultural studies, of history, cultural anthropology, etc.

**The third chapter** [Landscapes of the totalitarianism in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century] motivates its utility by bringing forth the communitarian-European in relation with totalitarianism as a doctrine and way of dictatorial manifestation, the exegetic interest being focused on the elements involved in the consolidation of the European consciousness by recording and commenting on the personal and collective events, cut from the memoirism focused on the interval during which totalitarian and non-democratic regimes alternated and perfected their abusive strategies against the liberty of expression and democratic manifestation (independent) of the human condition, of the ethnic profile and of the memory, as presences of the past.

The belief on which it is substantiated and from where it is fueled, the research on the bifrons - Stalinist and Hitlerite- barbary stems from the preliminary supposition according to which the conservation, popularization and studying of the documentary evidence and of the memoirs of the dark past of Europe there is no room for reconciliation and fair historical representation of the totalitarianism in its double hypostasis: Bolshevik and Nazi.

Hence our involvement in researching of the personal archives: Vintilă Horia (Foreign Affairs Ministry), Vintilă Horia și Corneliu Zelea Codreanu (Ministry of Justice), Constantin Virgil Gheorghiu, Vintilă Horia, Monica Lovinescu, Mircea Eliade (Internal Affairs Ministry).

Upon studying the memorial writings of some writers civically, politically and culturally involved - Monica Lovinescu, Vintilă Horia, Constantin Virgil Gheorghiu, Mircea Eliade – together with the memorial literature of the exiled Al Busuioceanu, Aron Cotruș, Al. Ciorănescu, Virgil Ierunca, Emil Cioran, Sanda Stolojan, Marta Bibescu a.s.o., we can notice that, as hybrid registers are at stake, with treats of both literary and political-historic nature, a monopolization in `interpreting` the facts and events recorded in memoirs and journals unidirectionally and fully objectively is not possible.

The novelty resides in the particularity of the referring, with priority, to the validity of the way journals, memoirs, epistolary, `frontier literature` -para literature in general - can be (re)read according to the `feeling of appositeness of the reading` to the profile of the memorial music sheet.

As for the decoding of the configurations of the totalitarianisms present in the exile memoirism, we count on the probability of performing a narrative syntax to identify and to highlight the opposing elements and the rules to combine the `histoire` and `discours`, provisions that govern at the level of the memorial corpus .

As far as we are concerned, in case of the Romanian memoirism, we have paid extra attention to the events that occur at the `histoire` level. Methodologically, we have introduced in the equation a series of initiatives that are concentrated on mainly synchronic approaches in the circumstances that our aim is to identify recurrent structures in a given body of memorial writings conditioned by a diachronically localized interval in the past century covering area.

The sub-chapter centered around the mapping of the totalitarianisms' configurations in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century considers localizing the proximity points between fascism and communism, proximity that has fueled the famous `historians' argument` amplified around the attempts to equalate the Auschwitz and Kolyma camps.

As for the `definition of fascism` suggested by Roger Eatwell (2018), it is one of those presenting an interest, Eatwell's line being important in decrypting the `attitude` of the `so-called` extremists (Vintilă Horia, Mircea Eliade, Constantin Virgil Gheorghiu a.s.o.) because, as far as we are concerned, the `difference` between the `fascist theory` and the way the fascist and Nazi ideology manifested in the Romanian reality in the given situation is explained.

The particularities of the totalitarian ideologies impregnated in the last century' Romanian culture and literature are approached in the fourth sub-chapter where the double towards the Romanian totalitarianism is being referred to, considering the political-military

circumstances that lead to the `implant` of the Leninist-Stalinist communism and to the organic reaction, nationalist-fascist, of mystical-religious nature (Christian-Orthodox), anti-communist, antisemitic, anti-capitalist and anti-masonic, of the `Michael the Arch Angel` Legion and its derivatives: `The Legionary Movement` or the `Iron Guard` and of the `National Legionary State`. The press articles of the time bring a plus of clarity regarding the agreement between the intimacy of the confession and the public presentation of the interbelic journalist.

**Chapter 4** [Configurations of the totalitarianism in the exile memoirism of Monica Lovinescu, Vintilă Horia, Mircea Eliade and Constantin Virgil Gheorghiu: a thematic perspective] is focused on a plethora of memorial writers caught at first among the *fault lines of the totalitarianism* and, after the installation of the Stalinist-Dejist dictatorship, *beyond the frontiers*. The four writers that we deal with represent the nucleus of an exiled community formed by former officials in diplomatic missions (Mircea Eliade, Vintilă Horia, Constantin Virgil Gheorghiu a.s.o.), students who went West with scholarships, journalists, missionary priests, etc., of course, the `fugitives` from the `socialist camp` - in this case we refer to the journey of the `grant holder` Monica Lovinescu – or of those who saved themselves on their own from the `allies` prisons, just like the case of the writer Constantin Virgil Gheorghiu (episode that fuels the background theme of the volume *The Temptation of Liberty*).

A special attention is paid to the `dissidence` as a public disagreement towards the politics of Zelea Codreanu, Carol al II-lea, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej or Nicolae Ceaușescu, an attitude that is incomparably more obvious outside the borders, being visible mainly in the case of the writers, journalists, former officials, etc., most of them becoming collaborators of the radio stations Europa Liberă, Deutsche Welle, Vocea Americii, members in various cultural-humanitarian associations and foundations a.s.o. As for the emigration, it should be mentioned under the chapter of some of the citizens' refusal to be involved, in any way, with the totalitarian regime, mainly the Stalinist one and with its communist structures in the country.

The content comprising the memoirs, journals, epistolary, etc. of the four writers would be suitable to a symphonic approach, the `instrumental suite`-type consisting of (here) four parts created on the same pitch but contrasting in `character` and `movement`. It is a technique that is specific to the art of the counterpoint that we counted on in dividing by author and structuring by thematic coordinates -independent in outline and rhythm but interdependent in harmony – guided by the contestation option unambiguously stated by the memorialists Monica Lovinescu, Vintilă Horia, Constantin Virgil Gheorghiu, Mircea Eliade *et. al.* regarding the two stances of the totalitarianism: fascism and Stalinism, namely legionary movement and the sovietism mainly considering the situation in the inter-and postbellum Romania.

In the sequence centered on decrypting the `conformation of the totalitarianisms found in the `journal of a journal` -*At the Waters of Vavilon*` - we fructify and confirm the validity of the hypothesis launched by Antonio Patraş (2011/160) about the approach of the memorial text as `the most authentic form of political novel`. Thus, the changing nature of the memorial literature is highlighted, meaning that `the reflections about history and politics, philosophy and moral, individual, state, power` are the fruits of some singular developments and (subjective) observations and revelations of (various) facts in the daily life, options that give this type of writing the status of `political novel`.

As for the poetics `of the journal of the absence of the absence of a journal`,”, Monica Lovinescu engages in a long and whimsical reenactment „après coup” of a period mutilated by the communist and fascist barbary. Debating, concentrating, and reorchestrating in the dynamic flow of the memory of literary and cultural era, personalities of the century, victims and survivors of totalitarianisms, torturers and saviors, etc., Monica Lovinescu transfers the text of the book *At the Waters of Vavilon* (I: 1999; II: 2001) from the sphere of the memoirism in the interest zone of trans-literature.

The polyphonic character of the narrative puzzle *At the Waters of Vavilon* where the narrator insists in reconstructing deviant ages and failed worlds run by the deities of the historic evil (Stalin, Hruscirov, Dej, Ana Pauker etc.) stands out from the fragments of this history brutally broken and of the crisis moments of the people and characters surprised by the avalanche of the events that revive the design of a generalized trauma. The uncensored memory, the abundant and informed referrals to the historic, political, and cultural unmystified moments, the annotations and the comments to the books, concerts, exhibitions, Parisian publishings and so on are the ones that ensure the survival of a failed humanity in an ideologically incapsulated `saeculum`. Apparently cut, they combine in a narrative design of the exile without creating the feeling of discontinuity and pretentiousness.

As for Monica Lovinescu, during 1958-1964 is, maybe, the most dramatic expression of the exile through the failed attempts to `recover her mother` from the carceral inferno, following the failure the memorialist stating that `she will not be able to write but for the mass grave of the century`. The gap 1964-1981 is considered a `blank`, an absence of the journal, where the memorialist texture, considerably thickened as is, gives in under the weight of the burden as a victim. It is the part of the memoirs that is the closest to the novel where the art to fill an existential void is recognized in the predisposition and persisting concern to be repopulated with a world made of pieces of real(ity), with the actors of a desolate and mutilated humanity by the last century’s totalitarianisms.

The notation is the well-known to the modernist ones starting with Proust, Gide, Joyce a.s.o. and targets the *(re)writing*, as a process of (re)construction of a 'journal of the Journal' or, at least, an attempt to (re)check the equation between 'biography' and 'history', in the cardinal data of some individual and collective tragedies.

The central theme will stay essentially the same: swinging between the 'Heimat' and the nostalgia of the *Country in the mind*, the 'Vaterland' 'where shadow fell next to the man,/where the man falls next to the shadow' (Al. Busoicenu).

The same option concentrated on the counter-poit approach is to be found in the sub-chapter 'Aspects of the totalitarianisms found in the memorialism of Vintilă Horia: *Memoirs of a Former Sagittarius, The Journal of a Peasant at the Danube*' where we clear both issues concerning the trans-literary status of the memorial narrative and the condition of an exiled of the memorialist accused of cultural collaborationism; more precisely of adhering to the ideology of the legionary movement.

*Memoirs of a Former Sagittarius, The Journal of a Peasant at the Danube*, the 'documentaries' *The Return of Vintilă Horia* and *100 Years from the Birth of the Writer Vintilă Horia* or *Vintilă Horia in Securitate*' Files etc. as well as the 'Basarab Nicolescu's depositions (2016; 2017) persuasively plea for a 'different Vintilă Horia': more precisely, of the writer in the hypostasis of a Stalinist-Dejist-Ceausist victim. As for the genocide, legionarism, antisemitism, fascism, etc., allegations, as can be noticed in the diplomatic correspondence (that we have examined in detail: File Vintilă Horia No. 29209). The best is to develop writer's 'attitude' in the memorial – *Journal of a Peasant at the Danube, Memoirs of a Former Sagittarius* -, from the numerous self-defensive parts where Vintilă Horia publicly separated himself (already during the 1940s) from these forms of totalitarianism. Openly, Vintilă Horia even separated from the sympathy for the ideology promoted by Corneliu Zelea Codreanu, writing (black-on-white!) that mysticism has nothing to do with violence. It is the crossroads with another Christian memorialist: Constantin Virgil Gheorghiu.

Situated at the frontier of the literary with the extra-literary, territory where the 'aesthetic enters a sui-generis synthesis with the real fact, with the physical or biological law, with the physiologic discourse or with the character observation' (Silvian Iosifescu), Vintilă Horia's memoirism is accepted as a cohesive phenomenon, interferent, under 'double possession': of the plausible and truthful, of the fictional and factual or of the intro-apathic succession of the 'Vaterland' and of the 'Heimat'. In the version suggested by Silvian Iosifescu we deal with a 'border territory', where the literature 'enters combinations more or less fused' with the historic document, with the science and with the philosophy, religion, politology, culturology, etc.

In the light of a generally true approach, Vintilă Horia's memorial writings belong to a version of the subjective literature (autobiographic), where a series of events (historic, personal or of other nature) are mnemonically recomposed depending on the memorialist's cultural experience and of the fixation, description or personal (re)interpretation 'intent'. The memorial narrative accepted as a separation between the 'experimenting self' and the 'narrating self' (Paul Ricœur), stays umbilically connected with the individual memory of the exiled and with the convergent relations they he/she (re)invests in the 'Heimat' and preserves them in the 'Vaterland'.

Starting with these prerequisites, the research of the nexus of the exile memoirism in the version performed by Vintilă Horia, is getting stuck in recovering a genre in which 'the entwining that is characteristic to the objective and of the subjective', of the recording of the 'current fact' and of the one in the sphere of 'self-communication' have the same 'scriptorial proximities'. The revealing of the forms of political cannibalism proclaimed in the Bolshevik and legionary totalitarianism is conjugated with the revelation of a homo duplex problematic translated into the restlessness preceding the experiencing the state of affairs. Like most of the exiled, Vintilă Horia remains indestructibly attached to the 'Vaterland', being aware he could under no circumstance give up the cultural treasure inherited and reactivated in the axiological plan in the 'Heimat' through the cult of the 'Danube peasant' of Ovidiu and Eminescu, Nichifor Crainic a.s.o.

The approach procedure in intersecting circles is experimented in the case of Vintilă Horia, Constantin Virgil Gheorghiu and Mircea Eliade and it will lead to the conclusion that the dominant trait of the third decade is the 'charismatic impersonalism' as an explanation for 'the Bolshevik' veneration, with no limits and quasi-ecstatic' of the Communist Party and Stalin, as messianic agents predestined to accomplish 'the postulates of History' (Tismăneanu 2015). Just like in case of the legionaries, the totalitarian ethos will be reactivated by presenting the self-sacrifice for the Guard and for the Captain, as incarnations of the one who 'loves death', being to the creation of the legionary Romania' (Codreanu 1933).

Synthesizing in a counter-point manner, *Memoirs of a Former Sagittarius* are crossed by four super-themes – memory, history, forgetfulness, and forgiveness – a part of them being eloquently theorized in Paul Ricœur's books (2006; 2011).

The third sub-chapter [The Memorism of Constantin Virgil Gheorghiu between deposition and indictment about the states of the totalitarianism] is conceived in agreement with the approach of the totalitarianism, from the perspective of 'Legitimacy language' (Jean-François Lyotard).

Circumscribed between the two world wars, Constantin Virgil Gheorghiu's memoirism surprises the morphology of a historic gap – marked by internal and external political convulsions – accounted mainly in his war memoirism, literature and reports. It is about a segment of obvious historic and literary importance recorded by the writer in the autobiographic novel *The Man who Travelled Alone* (edited between 1953-1954, trad. fr. *L'homme qui voyagera seul* 1954) and developed between the two volumes of *Memoirs: The Witness of the 25th Hour* (fr. 1986, trad. ro. 2017) and *The Temptation of Freedom* (fr. 1995, trad. ro. 2019).

Regarding the background theme of the volumes focused on war topics, we can find details even in the autobiographic novel *L'homme qui voyagera seul* (1954).

Through the countless examples provided, we consider Constantin Virgil Gheorghiu's memoirism pleads eloquently in favor of respecting the individual's human condition in writings, for the literary and documentary dimension of the text. This is how it is explained that, in memorialist's view, the Nazi/Hitlerite totalitarianism shall build its emancipatory legitimacy on the 'Civilizer's Saga' or, in the situation of the Iron Guard, the one of Romainianism anchored in the land orthodoxy.

What concerned us in this segment of the doctoral research comes down to presenting the 'witness quality' of the great collective traumas of the past 'century', as they have been presented to the Western public by Constantin Virgil Gheorghiu, in a journalistic style, the epic expression repurposing according to other rules than the ones of the conventional narrative in the irradiation area of the 'identity fable' (Pütz 1995).

From trans-literary perspective, this memorial body rather sketches a mostly Romanian narrative texture where the memoirism entwines with the cinematic screenwriting of the events.

We mention that Constantin Virgil Gheorghiu's memoirism is interested in legionarism as a state of mind and actional binder, factions such as 'The Group Corneliu Z. Codreanu', 'Everything for the Country Party' or the 'Iron Guard' not being presented as 'equivalents' of the Legion but in accordance with the historic reality of the time, as 'contextual formations' through which the Legion shall be ideologically legitimated, and it will express itself politically and electorally. The maintaining of an adequate equidistance between admiration and consideration is the secret of such 'frontier literature'. The respect for the historic truth is combined with presenting some moments of the involvement of the legionary spirit in the national-Cristian resurrection, recognized in the attempts of the 'new criterions' generation', admitted as essential in coagulating the nationalist forces in pre-legionary student environments.

We have noticed that the particular touch of Virgil Gheorghiu's memoirism comes down to the art of the documentary whose poetics is revealed by the memorialist himself, who

states that he had 'invented' a new way to present the various facts. He begins his presentation with a 'catch phrase' that startles the reader and after that he 'exposes' the facts through a 'lyrical accumulation', increasing the suspense. This makes a short story out of every 'fun fact' that the writer edits - 'to be effective, penetrating', with a 'direct and immediate effect on the reader' - stressing the 'concrete, sensorial detail' and avoiding 'all abstraction'.

In the same manner it is presented the chronicle of the events that unfolded in the presence of the writer, thus the memoirs becoming a 'narrative-symphonic suite' formed following the classical pattern of hybridization between the registers of the literaturized writing and of the journal-type ones.

The 4<sup>th</sup> sub-chapter [Hypostases of the totalitarianisms in the first half of the 20th century, mentioned in Mircea Eliade's memoirism: *Journal 1941-1969* (vol. I.); *Portuguese Journal; Memoirs: Harvests of the Solstice*, vol. II. (1937-1960)] has as a foundation the hypothesis according to which Mircea Eliade's memoirism can be a good example of essential transmutation regarding the ratio between the avatars of the memory and the configuration of history with everything it implies considering the aseptic role that the 'self-imposed forgetfulness' (in reality, a form of protection in direct connection with some moments of the 'legionary adventure') accomplishes.

In Eliade's memorial work that we called upon, between 'the abuses of memory' (considered by Paul Ricœur), we recognized some characteristic forms of manifestation among which we have identified the ones of the 'wounded or tripped memory' („empêchée”), noticed following some personal and/or collective traumas (such as 'wounds' caused as a consequence of the retaliation instituted by the Carlist dictatorship against the legionaries) and failed in an 'instrumentalized memory', manipulated by the interference of the ideology in the 'memory field' or by crossing during the process of 'legitimizing of the political authority systems'. Just as we can equally well also identify hypostases of the 'forced memory' that, due to 'symbolic domination' reasons is instrumentalized for the ethical involvement that the memorialist needs to undertake so that he prevents 'the abuse of oblivion' or emotional distancing.

Anyway, the importance of the legionary episode cannot be neglected as long as it 'triggered the inner crisis' reflected in the pages of the journal. This is not the place to 'condemn' or to 'absolve' Eliade the memorialist, but to try to understand the 'Eliade case' which, otherwise, is not a singular one, according to Matei Călinescu (2002). We reiterate, asserting that in this synopsis Constantin Virgil Gheorghiu, Vintilă Horia a.s.o. have also been localized.

What impresses about the (re)reading of the *Journal of a Portuguese* are the 'depth of the identity crisis' and the 'energy' that overflows from this dynamic 'very vivid, with

arrhythmias, palpitations and seldom interrupted breathing` text. The Journal needs to be (re)read as an uncensored testimony of the overflowing vitality specific to `such a complex, powerful and gifted personality` like the principal Eliade was, a figure frightened, however, by the `feeling of ephemerality of the Romanian culture` and of the European one, as well.

As for the `new life`, the proletkultural (!) one, imported by Ana Pauker directly from the `source` - Stalin`s Russia -, the unfolded events during the troubled period between 1945-1950, as they are noted in the journal, memoirs and epistolary, with no `safety interventions`, rebuild the picture of a divided Europe, among the fault lines (Hitlerite, Stalinist, fascist, legionary, etc.) of which they are caught altogether countries, intellectuals, political people and ordinary people, a humanity marked by its new condition if victim of the history and terror, a world betrayed, become captive in the empire of `barbarity with a human face` (Levy 1992).

The complicity between fascism and communism is explained by the mutual option regarding the democracy as their mutual `enemy`, but whom both doctrine minimize considering it as being obsolete and, as a consequence, harmless, in agony. Exemplary in this direction proves to be Mircea Eliade`s article `Against the right and against the left` (Eliade 1934/59: 2) that brings extra light in the argument regarding the extremes in the Romania of the 1930s: `the Marxist left` and the `communism`, namely the `fascist-Hitlerite ideology, based on the fight between races and religions, on chauvinism lacking humanity and on a ridiculous patriotism` - can be more dangerous than the bolshevism. Anyway, both of them are `borrowed ideologies, copied from the foreign models (Western or Russian), with no understanding for the realities in Romania, a clear example of inadequacy of the basic forms.

In Mircea Eliade`s *Memoirs*, the `criterionist spirit` is depicted as a tendency of emancipation towards the `provincial complexes` of the Romanian culture by calling on `the livingness` as a vivid experience of the cultural act in the manner promoted by Nae Ionescu. Hence the crediting of the `creation possibilities of the Romanian genius` in the direction of a `major culture` in the context of ignoring the `imposed tabus` in the public discourse by the phobia of the `unfortunate influences` or of the `subversive ideas` reported as `childish defense mechanisms` inherent to the `cultural minority`.

Personalities dominating this space of the cultural agnostic in the 1930s are professor Nae Ionescu, found in Mircea Eliade`s Journal and Memoirs -mainly in the `Promises of the Equinox` (III: 217-330) and `When Death Camouflages its Mythologies` (IV: 331-339)-, Nichifor Crainic, Al. Busuioceanu, Pamfil Şeicaru a.s.o., present in the memoirism of Vintilă Horia or Radu Gyr, Nae Ionescu or Tudor Arghezi who will populate the memoirs of Constantin Virgil Gheorghiu.

We are underwriting Matei Călinescu's observation according to which Eliade's attitude to keep his 'Codrenist' beliefs is rather a way to declare his 'dissidence' towards the 'ghost of the Legion' led by Horia Sima, such a manifestation being compared to 'symmetrical contrast', with the one of the communists who rejected the Stalinism, claiming themselves from 'Trotki's exile'.

In relation to the presence of the Gândirist Nichifor Crainic, fixated in the 'comprehensive' expectation horizon of the young nationalists, Vintilă Horia's journal and memoirs offers equally generous pages like the pages dedicated by Mircea Eliade to Nae Ionescu. With the mention that in what Crainic is concerned, the objective is focused on the Gândirism as a cultural and spiritual opening towards Romanianism (românism) and Romanianity (românitate), (obviously, in their traditionalist form) or, in case of professor Nae Ionescu, on the 'Socratism', coordinate through which the 1922 – 1930 spiritual moment ventured in rediscovering the authenticity of the 'Romanian being' accepted as an 'ontologic problem prior becoming a historic one'. Because, just as Mircea Eliade mentions (1936/463: 7-9), 'we are unable to talk about what we are not yet' and, as a consequence, 'we cannot debate the Romanian realities until we meet the real'. Therefore, the Socratic Nae Ionescu initiated his disciples in finding 'the way to the real': a path 'prophetically and mystically attacked' by the traditionalists Nicolae Iorga and Vasile Pârvan. What Mircea Eliade and Vintilă Horia notice about the catalyst role of the Professor is the fact that Nae Ionescu did not set basis of a certain 'philosophy *system*', but provided 'a *philosophy*'; that is, a method to know reality and a technique to formulate this knowledge'.

In our view, this is the very core of the admiration of the two memorialists and not in the pretext of propagandistic promotion of the legionary ideas that germinated like many others (!) in the light of this Romanian philosophic option ideologically confiscated by the Legion. From what we noticed, 'interested by *Soteria*, Nae Ionescu identified where the history was heading towards' and, as a consequence, in the last years he gave more importance to the 'sympathy, to the man in the world', 'to the loss in the other'. It is one of the most eloquent paideic exercises in which 'love', the legacy of Jesus Christ, becomes an instrument of knowledge and organic formation of a generation having as a logo the lily flower. Mircea Eliade brings in discussion Nae Ionescu's activity with A.S.C.R. where the Professor ardently fought for the idea that the Orthodoxy tried to unify the two great spiritual axes, *Soteria* and *sympathia* for the reason that 'salvation' in the view of Eastern Christianity is to be conquered *inside* the love community, *together* with the other people.

It has been discussed about the 'vocation of death' as one of the pivots of the legionary movement, the problematic of death also being encountered in the conversation Eliade had with

Lucian Blaga in Berna. We consider it would be appropriate to separate waters from the land, more precisely, Nae Ionescu's 'Socratism' from Nichifor Crainic's Christianity and Orthodoxy and, especially from the legionarism in its totalitarian form of manifestation.

Speaking about the philosophic 'system' as the 'philosopher's tomb stone', Nae Ionescu was talking about the individual who, just like the squandering son (in an approximate version projected by Constantin Noica) 'understood and justified everything' managing to 'make peace with the world and with God'. The image of the chained Captain with the seal of death imprinted on his face, depicted as in a painting by Constantin Virgil Gheorghiu, is projected according to the perspective induced by the philosopher Nae Ionescu about the 'certainty of the suffering' as a hope for 'salvation' and 'heavenly rest'. And, indeed, looking closely by the 'reporter-witness', the behavior of the Captain leaves room to understand that Nae Ionescu's philosophy is not estranged to him. On the contrary: it confirms a way of being that is rational in faith: 'I live so I suffer; I suffer so I hope in salvation!' Therefore, for Zelea Codreanu, 'life cannot produce any surprise; no risk; there is no more drama, no doubt. He entered death while being alive. For life is in continuous blossoming, continuous transformation'. It is not about an 'endless' evolution and nor about a Bergsonian flow into the world. 'Transformation and order in life mean, above all, the certainty of the suffering' (Mircea Eliade).

## **Conclusions**

The selective outlining the totalitarianism forms of conservation in the exile memoirism of the four Romanian writers refugeed in the Romanic cultural areal of the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Monica Lovinescu, Vintilă Horia, Constantin Virgil Gheorghiu, Mircea Eliade) resorted to the thematic perspective where we tried to probe our ability to (re)read and (de)classify the 'hidden treasure' of the left totalitarianisms (Stalinist, communist) and/or the right ones (legionary, fascist) by unilateral highlighting or interference of the doctrines with their extreme forms of manifestation: Leninism-Stalinism and Hitlerism-Legionarism, as derivatives of the totalitarianism.

Their keeping under observation and revealing the conditions and circumstances that could fuel such 'exclusive policies' that stirred towards segregation, hatred, aggression and murder was facilitated, in this case, by the appeal to a poetic of the (re)reading of the memorial literature of the exile writers (Monica Lovinescu, Vintilă Horia, Constantin Virgil Gheorghiu and Mircea Eliade), mainly revealing the 'secrecy' regarding this theme in the 'frontier texts'.

By the grid patented by Matei Călinescu (2007), we tried and validated, in subsidiary, the ways journals, memoirs, epistolary, 'frontier literature' in general can be (re)read. By the

`secrecy` of this category of texts we understood `the calculated and selected securitization` of some `secrets` deliberately placed under the literarity umbrella by Vintilă Horia and Constantin Virgil Gheorghiu or, in `Eliade case` we have followed his indecision to display `the Legion skeleton in his closet`.

Beyond the background aspects focused on the revealing the forms of manifestation of the last century totalitarianisms, we tested the way the `(re)reading poetic` can be practiced using a `set of rules` that is mandatory in order to build a `good, efficient, enjoyable reading` tried on the material formed by Monica Lovinescu, Mircea Eliade, Vintilă Horia, Constantin Virgil Gheorghiu's journals, memoirs or epistolary.

Therefore, we are witnesses of the dilatation of the idea of literature, the memorialist segment that we have dealt with being a plea for the trans-literarity of the exile memoirism in advantage due to the transfiguration of the situations that favor the meeting, intertwining or the recessive confrontation with the (belletristic) literature and the changes fueled by/through the `cultural mutations` favored by the Romanic `Heimat`.

X-rayed, the `frontier text` in the version practiced by the memorial novelists (NB. Monica Lovinescu is the author of two novels: *Counterpoint* and *The Word within the Words*), adhere to a type of writing that is built on the `foundation of the memory` and extends its roots into the literature *God Was Born in Exile, 25<sup>th</sup> Hour, In Mântuleasa Street, Midsummer's Night, The Word within the Words, etc.*

The investigated literary landscape points out the morphology of a body thematically coagulated around the testimony and literary configured under the form of some narratives that entwine the real event with the witness' attitude reminding, as a humanist involvement, of the columnist's attitude towards the accounted event. The referent, the exterior perspective, the point of view generates meta-literary, historical, political, axiological reflections, some of them direct, others allusive, pertaining with the condition of the inhabitant in the Romanic `Heimat`.

The signified, the inner perspective is cabled in reflections that cover the expanded map of some `physical and psychical realities` in the mapping of whom they recognize and find each other: identity and/or alterity; deconstruction and/or reconstruction of the ipseity depending on the recessive relation between center and outskirts, main and secondary, marginalization and integration, extraneity and a-culturation, `Heimat` and `Vaterland`.

In the foreword of the novel *The Word within the Words* (1955; reed. 1995), Ioana Pârvulescu was wondering `Whatever would have become of Monica Lovinescu and her peers squandered all over the world or dead in prisons, if the history had pursued its calm flow, without the war, without the Iron Guard, without the Iron Curtain, without dictatorship or exile, and the interbelic had not been called like this but it would have been just a normal period after

the Great War, the one and the only'. In relation with the novel *The Word Within the Words*, Ioana Pârvolescu (1995) noticed in this book 'with a high stake', 'stylistically bold' the parable of a totalitarian world where Romania between 1948 and 1989 can be recognized. 'It could have outlined a black utopia unless it was, basically, a realist novel hidden in Aesopic language. It is, probably, the first political Aesopic novel written in the Romanian modern literature. The reader must discover the reality between the lines, to search for the sub-text<sup>1</sup>, Ioana Pârvolescu mentions (1995).

If the answer about a different face of an irenic History can be found only in a utopically re-approximated version, the memoirism that we have dealt with re-replaces onto the table the credible alternative of a particular form of heteronomy of the idea of literature through which the reconstructive power of the spatial, temporal, cultural, historic, political, religious and affective memory is valued.

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