



MIRCEA ELIADE'S UNPUBLISHED MANUSCRIPTS FROM PRIVATE COLLECTIONS III. NOTEBOOKS I & II (CALCUTTA, 1929-1931). COMMENTARY

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Abstract: The present series of contributions critically edits in Romanian and English, with concordances and commentary, a string of unpublished multilingual manuscripts written in South Asia, from 1929 to 1931, by the young Mircea Eliade, Indologist and historian of religions. Previously unknown, the manuscripts were purchased by a private collector, who most graciously contacted the editors in February 2023 and bequeathed them for the present publication. The series complements ECCE | The Complete Critical Edition of Mircea Eliade's Scholarly Works before 1945, under the auspices of the Institute for the History of Religions in Bucharest (first two volumes forthcoming). The first two instalments of MEUM | Mircea Eliade's Unpublished Manuscripts from Private Collections were published in *Transilvania* 51 [155] (2023), no. 1, pp. 1-22 (Critical edition) and no. 2, pp. 1-16 (Concordances A-E).

Keywords. Mircea Eliade, History of religions, South Asian studies, colonial India, Romanian culture, European culture, manuscript studies, critical editions, private collector.

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§1. Structure and scope of the Commentary.

Mircea Eliade's unpublished manuscripts are a treasure-trove for scholars of religion. They are *materialiter* a textual micro-universe full of readings and rereadings, of surprises, hesitations, and palpable growth. Those who have already frequented manuscripts of other historians of religions and Indologists handwriting their works during the last quarter of millennium, be they Eugène Burnouf or Constantin Georgian, know all too well the main differences. In Eliade's decades-long blocked and today partially retrieved archive, the amount of unpublished scholarly manuscripts is

of such a high order that a reconstruction month by month of his thinking (even at times week by week) is still possible. Of all of his thinking, one may dare say, especially during his intense Indic stay. Notebooks of various dimensions with hundreds of pages written in several languages and filled in with assorted pen(cil) colours, numbered, unnumbered and scattered folios of virtually all dimensions as well as surviving fragments or even crumbs of such folios, are all contributing to the nascence of a uniquely vast, generalist œuvre, carrying with them the last secrets, perhaps, of his formative period. In order to unearth and unfold their very content, a critical edition should be, we do think, critical not

only as philology, but as history of religions, Indology, history of ideas and cultural studies as well. This is to say, the reading and the concordances should not remain exclusively philological: the benevolent reader deserves an in-depth reading of their content and a full concordance of their ideas (topics, themes, arguments, references, etc.) expressed by that author in 1. all his published works, starting with those never republished since the 1920s-1930s and up to all his books, booklets, and pamphlets printed before 1945; 2. all the other relevant and at present still unpublished, yet available nowadays, manuscripts; 3. all the general scholarly library in several disciplines Eliade read. Such are the meaning, structure and scope of the present string of commentaries of MEUM, which fully complement the structure and scope of the commentaries in ECCE.

During his early years 1921-1940, in Romania, in Italy, in colonial India and then back to Bucharest, he remarkably covers all the criteria of the “intellectual appetite” – ‘curiositas’ (1), ‘world’ (2), ‘damage’ (3), ‘gift’ (4), ‘participation’ (5), ‘appetite’ (6), ‘wonder’ (7), ‘owning’ (8), ‘kidnapping’ (9), ‘spectacle’ (10), ‘novelty’ (11), ‘loquacity’ (12), and ‘gratitude’ (13) – excellently described and commented upon by Paul J. Griffiths (a

famed contemporary Buddhist Studies scholar more recently converted to Catholicism), in a book¹ simply ideal for understanding the very horizons, limits and failures of a 20th century *uomo universale*, proper embodiment of a Renaissance, bigger-than-life appetite for knowledge, as Eliade certainly considered himself from the very beginning. Thus, in Notebooks I and II, we met with a wide range of *curiositas* (and some *curiosa* as well), ‘world’, ‘wonder’ (“*Pseudo-Indika*” is wonder properly), ‘gift’, and ‘gratitude’ are intertwined (and then amalgamated in publications identified by *Concordances A-E*), as they were written in India (more specifically in colonial India) in order to acknowledge the personal, intimate and then universalized discovery of India. Characteristics 6, 10, 11 and 12 are actually all-pervading (for 3, see the part on Evola below).

Notebook I

§2. As already mentioned in the first two instalments of MEUM², there are some more fragments identified as textually transmigrating in published forms, from 1929 to 1932, 1933, and 1934. Three such fragments remarkably prove once again the author’s suppleness in using his own Indian Notebooks for subsequent Bucharest publications.

Notebook I	Published versions (1932, 1933, 1934)
[f. 2r] (2.) Pentru <i>Itinerariu ontic</i> E instructiv de cercetat sensul românesc al termenului „om” și „omenie”. Nu e sensul umanist, nici cel creștin. Îi lipsește valoarea cosmică, cu atât mai mult cea religioasă. E omul masselor. Absolut peiorativ: „păcatele omului” (dar nu cele teologice, ci instituționale), „își face nevoile ca omul”; „mai calcă alături ca omul” etc. E o solidaritate cu esențele animale, balcanice, rurale ale omenirii. În acest sens e uzat de Iorga.	“Fragmente nefilosofice”, <i>Vremea</i> , no. 293, June 25, 1933, 6 <i>Oceanografie</i> , 1934, 258-259. De mult mi-am propus să analizez [printed <i>analizeze</i>] sensul cuvântului românesc „om” și „omenie”. În limba noastră, cuvântul acesta nu are sensul umanist, nici pe cel creștin. Îi lipsește o valoare cosmică; îi lipsește orice nuanță majoră, orgolioasă. Când scrii <i>Om</i> cu majusculă, aproape că faci retorică. „Omul” limbii române este umil, anonim, șters, resemnat. Se spune: „păcatele omului” (dar nu cele teologice, ci instituționale, disciplinare); „își face nevoile ca omul” (o biologie rușinată de sine, cerându-și scuze); „mai calcă alături, ca omul!” (un soi de mediocrizare colectivă a păcatului, o încercare de scuză prin solidaritatea cu esențele animale, balcanice, ale omenirii). [...] Nicolae Iorga a făcut mult caz în jurul acestor două cuvinte: <i>om</i> și <i>omenie</i> . [...]
[f. 4r] Pentru Pseudo-Indika. Numai în India, unde sunt atât de multe, de intolerabile și definitive legături (familia, strămoșii, căsătoria) – se putea dezvolta spiritul și setea violentă de <i>liberare</i> (mukti). Numai aici, unde societatea și comunitatea [f. 5r] sunt suverane – se putea aprecia solitudinea. Pentru că senzualitatea e luxuriantă, de aceea asceza e violentă și inumană. De altfel, numai în India, unde căsătoria copiilor e obligatorie – e obligatoriu ascetismul în ultima etapă a vieții (vānaprāsthana, sannyāsi).	“Pseudo-Indika”. <i>Vremea</i> , V, no. 260, October 23, 1932, 7 (§1). 1. Numai în India, unde sunt atât de multe, de intolerabile și definitive legături (familia, strămoșii, căsătoria) – se putea dezvolta spiritul și setea violentă de „liberare” (<i>mukti</i>). Numai aici, unde societatea și comunitatea sunt suverane – se putea aprecia solitudinea. Pentru că senzualitatea e luxuriantă, de aceea asceza e violentă și inumană. De altfel, numai în India, unde căsătoria copiilor e aproape obligatorie – e obligatoriu ascetismul în ultima etapă a vieții (vānaprāsthana, sannyāsi).

<p>[f. 2r-3r] Pentru Ps.<eudo>-Indika Sculpturile zeilor indieni repugnă europenilor, iar cei mai îngăduitori spun că nu sunt [f. 3r] estetici. Adevărul e acesta: zeii indieni nu trăiesc în această lume, nu participă la Creație (<i>prakṛti</i>) – ca cei mediteraneeni și cei creștini. Ei sunt în ei înșiși; transcend formele reprezentăției umane (naturale, antropomorfe). Forma lor e simbolică, sau mai precis forma e subsumată simbolului. De aceea par grotesți, cruzi, desgustători. Ei conțin într-un grad maxim „iraționalul” de care vorbește R. Otto.</p>	<p>“Pseudo-Indika”. <i>Vremea</i>, V, no. 260, October 23, 1932, 7 (§3). Acum gândiți-vă la repugnantul aspect al ascezii indiene; care e de-a dreptul irațională, inumană, incoherentă, absurdă, inutilă și barbară. Zeul asceților indieni e Shiva, cu imensele lui potențe sacre, iraționale și primitive. Se neglijează orice echilibru; se trece peste orice limite. Dar e ceva mai mult: Shiva e, în același timp, zeul ascetismului violent și al orgiei violente. El e păstrătorul elementului non-uman care se revoltă împotriva cadrelor vitale, sociale, firești ale omului. El oferă o ieșire – pe oriunde – din umanitate. Căci are puncte de contact cu ceea ce e dincolo de conștiința diurnă, dincolo de orice valoare și experiență umană. Puncte de contact opuse, la dreapta sau la stânga, prin asceză atroce sau prin dezgustătoare orgii, amândouă excesive – dar amândouă efective, concrete, actualizare a iraționalului. De aceea Shiva posedă mai multă religiozitate decât multe alte divinități; pe cari le iubim pentru că apelează la omenescul, la esteticul și emoția noastră.</p>
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It thus appears the third fragment of *Pseudo-Indika* is a much rewritten form of the manuscript fragment from Notebook I, to say nothing about the 1932 mentioning of the ‘irrational’ without any reference to Otto. If the author’s dating of Notebook I is correct, then the first fragment from f. 2 (the first one still preserved) was written in 1929 and published in a book form only in 1934³. This five-year delay is thus introduced, as if writing to himself, by “De mult mi-am propus”: a rather long period, indeed, for Eliade’s intellectual effectiveness.

Notebook II

§3. *Asceticism in Eliade’s early thought (1928-1930)*

§3.1. *Asceticism and magical creation*

Before his departure for India, Eliade wrote extensively on asceticism on two occasions: in his *Apology for Virility* (two excerpts were published in January and March 1928⁴, followed by the full text in September, in *Gândirea*⁵) and in the two articles titled *Virility and Asceticism*, published in October in *Cuvântul*⁶. In his *Apology for Virility*, Eliade stressed the importance of abandoning both corporal and spiritual delights: the insignificant temptations used to lure the body⁷ and the gratifications of the spirit (*duh*)⁸. In his opinion, the masculine soul should be illuminated by a virile asceticism, which implied abandoning even the most irresistible temptation for man – glory: “How could one who desires everything be tempted by the pathetic appraisal of the elite?”⁹. Eliade also expressed his disdain of common glory (manifested through love letters from admirers and the authors’ portraits reproduced in the press) in “*Glory*” and “*Silence*”, an article published in October 1928 in *Cuvântul* and included in his projected, but never printed, book *Valkyries in the Library*¹⁰. In this text, he made a distinction between common and true glory, asserting that the latter (perceived as a form of spiritual elevation) may have never existed. Only

Virgil, Dante and Petrarca had experienced it partially, according to Eliade¹¹. Almost certainly, the glory referred to and criticized in *The Apology for Virility* was not this unattainable and spiritual variant, but the common, rather frivolous one.

The essay titled at first *Glory and Asceticism*, then *Gloss on Asceticism*, written in his third Calcutta notebook (recently uncovered and made accessible to us by a private collector, alongside the two notebooks already critically edited), must be situated in the direct descent of these pre-1930 reflections, especially of the final paragraphs from *The Apology*, where he first explored the dissociation between glory and asceticism. This essay – that will become, after returning to Romania, the second part of *Soliloquies* – encompasses in a coherent ensemble the ideas previously expressed in his 1928 writings. It abruptly starts with a dichotomy – if men were to act solely according to their human nature, they would only have to choose between two paths: that of glory and, of course, that of asceticism¹². As explained by Eliade, both of them were able to integrate the human being into eternity. Glory (the survival through the blood of descendants or in the memory of others) was even seen as sharing a significant number of features with asceticism. Nevertheless, on writing once again on this topic, Eliade quickly dissociated the way ancient Greeks perceived glory, transforming it into a delight and a philosophy¹³, and the way it was perceived by modern society. The myth and mystery associated with ancient heroes was no longer possible in a world where information circulated fast and where rumours lost their folkloric qualities and any trace of fantasy and invention¹⁴. Faithful to his ideas expressed in 1928, Eliade discerned once again between two types of glory, one inferior to the other: this time, the frivolous and disenchanting glory of modern society and the true glory of ancient times.

In *Virility and Asceticism*, his own critique of *The Apology for Virility*, Eliade also underlined that the asceticism he previously praised was of a magical kind

– a magical way of perceiving creation, as well as the expanded and exalted Self, foreign to any transcendence or logos¹⁵. The main weakness of *The Apology* was, in his view, the absence of God and its patent auto-theism¹⁶. Eliade stated, in *Virility and Asceticism II*, that his magical view on asceticism seemed, less than a year after publishing the first fragment of *The Apology*, “foreign, still, inaccessible”¹⁷. The essay *Gloss on Asceticism* encompassed these critiques, discussing separately magical and Christian asceticism. In *Soliloquies*, Eliade felt the need to dissociate them even more, from the very beginning, in an explanatory paragraph: “Asceticism can be magical or religious. It can be a free force, originating in man’s will and targeting his whim or his courage – and then it is a magical energy (like in India) – or it can be an act of mimicking divinity, of completely abandoning human condition, of submission and offering – and then it becomes a supremely religious act”¹⁸. Moreover, in *Virility and Asceticism I*, Eliade thought that *The Apology for Virility* expressed occasionally a “pagan attitude” and discussed Christ as a symbol of a way of living and of a personal experience, rather than as the Christ of Reincarnation. Both in *Gloss on Asceticism* and *Soliloquies*, the lengthiness of the paragraphs dedicated to Christian asceticism are meant to fill the gaps the author has identified in his first text on the topic.

In *Soliloquies*, Eliade pins once again the association between magical asceticism and creation while discussing *tapas*: “Like any magical force, it is beyond the laws of creation – it is amoral and free, it is a game. The privilege of being free, free of any alterity, of creating and destroying through play – is the core of any magical doctrine or technique”¹⁹. Only the first sentence was included in *Gloss on Asceticism*, Eliade adding most certainly the second one in order to clarify his assertions and to highlight the connection between asceticism, play, and magical creation. Both the excerpt from *Virility and Asceticism* and the manuscript fragment from *Gloss on Asceticism* are otherwise intimately linked to a fragment from *Monster no. 1*, folio 26²⁰. Writing on *śakti*, the creative power that transcends divine creation and ignores the law (being beyond the good and the evil), Eliade addresses in this fragment the relationship between play and creation: “Creation through play: but the work created (if it becomes separated from its creator, as a work of art etc.; but not when the «work» is the soul itself, as it happens with magic, Tantra etc.) is submitted, immediately after taking shape, to physical and social laws. A qualitative difference. The contribution of will or play”²¹. Play is also addressed in the third part of *Soliloquies*, where Eliade partially transposes the fragment from *Monster no. 1*. Just as asceticism, creation and play are a form of transcending one’s self, of creating a new world²². The fact that Eliade chooses to place the paragraphs on magical creation just after the second part of his book, dedicated to asceticism, is in itself a

proof that they are, to a certain degree, intertwined in Eliade’s thought.

§3.2. *Sexuality, magical asceticism, and Tantra*

As already seen in the *Concordances A-B*²³, in the main fabric of chapter two of *Soliloquies*, represented by the former *Gloss on Asceticism*, Eliade carefully inserted paragraphs from Notebooks I and II. The fragments were chosen, as he recalls, in the winter of 1931–1932²⁴, after returning from India, and marked with “For *Asceticism*” and “Put in *Asceticism*”, written in blue pencil in both notebooks. The paragraphs inserted in *Soliloquies* are the note on purity from ff. 12^r–14^r (Notebook I) and the one on renunciation from f. 49^r (Notebook II).

In *The Spiritual Itinerary*, Eliade stated that illumination may mean, for some individuals, the decision of rejecting life. For him, this rejection was a heroic renunciation, that everybody should aspire to attain and that only authentic personalities who have undergone harsh experiences could actually reach²⁵. In addition, the last part of *The Apology for Virility*, titled *Renunciation*, praises asceticism and the figure of the ascetic (“pustnic”), seen as the “worthy man” (“vrednicul bărbat”) capable of putting aside pleasure and temptation, and of expressing, in a quasi-Nietzschean way, his invincible will²⁶. But it is at the beginning of *Virility and Asceticism II* that Eliade wrote several lines very similar to the fragment from f. 49^r in *Monster no. 1* and *Soliloquies*: “Asceticism should not be immediately understood as a sexual abdication. This sexual abdication itself should not be translated as a *lèse-humanité* because of its renunciation to having children (the foundation of pagan glory; the flesh lives on in its descendants) – but explained through the awareness of sin, through that dramatic initial core that leads to conversion and salvation. Asceticism means cleansing oneself from the traces of degenerate living, be it corporal or spiritual”²⁷.

Likewise, Eliade highlights in f. 49^r from *Monster no. 1* the fact that sexual asceticism does not imply a rejection of sexuality, but its integration in the individual’s conscience and will; a conscious mastering of its temptations. Sexual asceticism implies abandoning a limited and obscure sensuality in favor of a “glorious, victorious and divine”²⁸ one. In the latter, the spirit is not subjugated, dominated by instincts or “the imperialism of flesh”²⁹. These reflections must be linked to Eliade’s interest in Tantra at the time, also expressed by his literary productions, namely his novel *The Light That Failed* which he started writing in the summer of 1930 (see f. 14^r from *Monster no. 1*)³⁰. The fact that Eliade included the fragment in his commentary on magical asceticism from *Soliloquies* seems to confirm this association: “For example, in magic, sexual asceticism is temporarily cultivated for the psychological energy it produces. But this a provisional discipline; the purpose is



not purity, that is, abandoning sexuality completely, but the integration of sensuality in the conscience and the will of the operator. [...] In magic, pleasure is acquired consciously and mastered voluntarily. The obscure and limited nature of sensuality explains the message to abandon its humiliations – and the pledge for a glorious and victorious sensuality”³¹. In addition, the note from f. 10^r, in *Monster no. 1*, on the magical realization of the Tantric ritual³² seems to link the fragment on sexual asceticism to Tantra and, as we will see in the next section of our commentary, to the “magical fact”.

§4. *Monster no. 1* and Eliade’s (not quite) lost article *The Magical Fact*

§4.1. “Magical creation” and the “magical fact”

Mircea Eliade’s interest in magic can be retraced to his youth and the discovery of Sir James George Frazer’s *Golden Bough* in 1924 (at the age of 16-17), as he recalls in his diary (2 January 1960) and then in his *Autobiography*³³. Almost equally important was at that time the influence of Nicodim Locusteanu, his teacher of Latin, with whom he shared a fascination for anthroposophy, versions of esotericism, and magic, and who moreover encouraged his pupil’s enthusiasm. As Eliade remembers several decades later, Locusteanu not only was the translator of Latin Cantemir, but also had a curious theory on the role of charms in Romania’s political life³⁴. Shortly after, as a first-year student, in February 1926, Eliade published in *Foia tinerimii* an article titled *Magic and the Metapsychic Researches*, where he underlined the importance of magic in the spiritual, cultural, and social evolution of man(kind). He stressed that magical forms of organization could be found at the starting point of every “primitive” society³⁵. The influence of Frazer’s theory on the three stages of culture (magic, religion, and science) is patent in Eliade’s article. In fact, the then young student names him twice: first, in an enumeration of scholars who proved the importance of magic in “primitive” societies (Frazer, Lang, Durkheim)³⁶; secondly, after writing on the magical origins of royalty and the importance of magical practices in the development of science³⁷ – which reveals that Eliade first read Frazer’s book not in English, but in its shortened French translation. The use of metapsychic research in understanding magic was once again discussed by Eliade in *Magic and Metapsychic*, an article from 1927, where he pledged for a comparative approach of “spiritual” domains³⁸. Furthermore, a reference to art’s magical origins can be found a month later, in the same newspaper³⁹.

During the summer of 1928, just before his departure for India, he published another extensive article on magic, *Words on a Certain Philosophy*, where he asserted that there were only three types of individual survival methods: through dehumanization (“abrutizare”),

magic and mysticism⁴⁰. Eliade also underlined that Indian and pre-Socratic philosophy were both late stages of a magical mindset’s dissolution and rational reconstruction⁴¹. He then sums up the magical itinerary’s major characteristics: “monism, immanentism, self-creation and creation of the World through personal effort, the absence of any ethical function, self-support, the rejection of objective existences (if I am not the cause – there is no reason for me to believe *somebody* else is; if I am not the cause, why should I conclude there is an alien cause that opposes me?), the cosmos understood as the wrath of impersonal forces, and the meaning of existence seen as a magical realization, an actualization of internal and universal possibilities, disciplined and lead by a process that ends in my affirmation as God”⁴². For Eliade, modern philosophy was, in 1928, just a disenchanted form of magic, one that lost its courageous objectives and became mediocre, almost passable. Philosophy should not have been thought, but *experienced*, according to the young Eliade. Idealism as a whole was seen by the author as a magical attitude⁴³. We can already identify in this article two essential concepts and ideas from the Notebook *Monster no. 1*, written in 1930: “magical realization” (f. 16^r: “What is art, if not transcending the object? Its projection in another dimension – the creature-feeling, the magic realization, liberation”⁴⁴), and partially his vision on idealism (f. 4^r: “I find magic not only in idealism and pragmatism, but also in realism, who accepts the objective reality of the exterior world and accepts the possibility of a cognoscitive relation between it and the mind”⁴⁵).

Eliade briefly addressed the topic of magic in several other articles⁴⁶ before his leaving Bucharest, and even asserted, in *Call to Order*, an unpublished text from 1928, that he introduced in Romanian philosophy the *magical fact*, discussed in regard to the origins of aesthetic emotion, the origins of philosophy (in *Gândirea*), alchemy, tantrism and “occultism” (referring to his article for *Duh și slovă*)⁴⁷. Yet fundamental to the understanding of Eliade’s reflections on magic from *Monster no. 1* is another unpublished manuscript – *Notes on the ‘Roots of Magic’ and ‘Religious Psychology’* (ms. 1819) – preserved at the Central University Library in Bucharest. This folder that bears the year 1929 on its front cover is directly mentioned by Eliade in *Monster no. 1* (f. 4^r): “To be compared to religion. See the previous notes (1928-29) on *The Magical Roots*”⁴⁸. Furthermore, as proven by ff. 15 and 33 of this 37-folios manuscript, it is intimately linked to the article “The Magical Fact” written in 1928, while on board from Port Said to Sri Lanka, for the magazine *Duh și slovă*. Never published, this text was ultimately lost – but fortunately traces of it were discovered as preserved in BCU ms. 1819⁴⁹. The notes written feverishly on folio 15, on the characteristics of the magical fact, might actually have been a sketch of the article itself or of its beginning:

Originile istorice ale faptului magic

- 1) puterile⁵⁰
- 2)cauzalitatea⁵¹

3) suprimarea non-eului

Asemănări cu *Dezvoltări*:

1) potențele, mantra, semnificația, riturile, Kabbalah etc. Doctrina potențelor și a riturilor

2) cauz.<alitatea> magică și cauz.<alitatea> științifică. Deosebiri religie; deosebiri între ele; datul fizic, datul metafizic și știința creativă⁵²

filosofia Eului | Id. magiei etc.⁵³

Structura estetică magică a magiei emoției estetice

- 1) Creatural și creat
- 2) Cele două feluri de emoții ; ceea ce e substanța em.<oției> estetice și a ritului.<ui>
- 3) Visul, muzica, semnele⁵⁴

The last lines of this folio are of direct interest for us and for the understanding of *Monster no. 1*. In folio 16^r of this Notebook, where he inserted a reference to *The Roots of Magic* (now BCU ms. 1819), Eliade used Rudolf Otto's "creature-feeling" ("creatural" in Romanian) and the concept of "magic realization" when trying to define art as the transcendence of the object, as seen above. He enumerates plastic arts, music, and dreams as expressions of man's desire to obtain this transcendence and to liberate himself from his own individuality⁵⁵. In *Soliloquies*, Eliade goes one step further, asserting that art is a "magical" transcendence of the object, its liberation through "magical realization" and "creation". Aesthetic emotion is nothing less than a "magical rejoicing"⁵⁶. In a letter to Vittorio Macchioro from 1928, Eliade wrote about his association of aesthetic emotion to magic: "C'est un élément 'magique', qui s'op[er]ose à son *Heilige* et qui n'est [pas] le sentiment de se sentir créature minime – mais le sentiment qui résulte de la contemplation d'une création humaine. Je compare le rêve et l'émotion esthétique et la magie"⁵⁷. In *Soliloquies*, he opposes the two concepts in a similar way: "whilst the creature-feeling, experienced by man in any religious emotion, reveals his dependence on God, as one of his creatures – the prevalent feeling in aesthetic emotion is completely different: the joy that *a man* created, imitating God's work, redeeming himself from his insignificance, breaking the walls of helplessness, of limitation"⁵⁸.

Of equal interest, in BCU ms. 1819, are ff. 28^r and 1^r. In a letter to Mircea Vulcănescu from 23 January 1929, where he mentioned his article for *Duh și slovă*, Eliade reports to his friend that an *Essai sur l'histoire et la signification de la magie* would be welcome in a few years: "Studiul meu e cam neglijent. Știu că nu va mulțumi pe toți. Dar, în împrejurările în care l-am scris, nu-l puteam face mai bun. Problema o continuu aici. Adun material pentru explicația magiei ca formă a visului. Poate că, peste mulți ani, un *Essai sur l'histoire et la signification de la magie*

ar fi binevenit"⁵⁹. The title of BCU ms. 1819, as well as the fragments meant for *Religious Psychology*, which we will discuss in a study dedicated entirely to the ms. 1819, seem to indicate that he was preparing two books at once – and that Eliade was already working on a kind of *Essai*, titled *The Roots of Magic (Rădăcinile magiei)*. Fairly similar to f. 16^r, but without a direct reference to the "magical fact", f. 28^r contains, indeed, genuine formulations intended for this study: "Mentalitatea magică primitivă nu ne interesează aici, nefiind neavând dezvoltate toate caracterele de magie rituală și gnoseologică. | Vom cerceta câteva aspecte istorice, interesând *originile* viziunii concepției magice – și apoi teoriile magice"⁶⁰. He subsequently enumerates elements already found in f. 15^r, viz. the forces, the ritual, mantra, and Kabbalah. Eliade wrote extensively on *mantra* and "its magical, creative power (*potență*)" before his Indian experience, on July 11, 1928, in a review of Arthur Avalon *alias* Sir John Woodroffe's *Garland of Letters*⁶¹, where he also mentioned Kabbalah. We cannot completely leave aside the possibility that these formulations might have been etched earlier than 1929, the date written on the cover of BCU ms. 1819, and meant for his lost article⁶². The beginning of f. 28^r is very similar to the manuscript of a lecture on primitive music held by Eliade in October 1933, with musical samples and dance intermezzos by Floria Capsali and Gabriel Negri⁶³. One of the folios includes the plan of the lecture, which started with the same question: "What is magic?", followed by the origins of aesthetic emotion (ryhtm, extasy) and the characteristics of "primitive music". It also resembles greatly the second part of f. 10^r and f. 20^{r-v} from *Monster no. 1*⁶⁴. Another sample from the very same period was published in 2008 and reads: "Magia și Religia; două atitudini primare ale spiritului omenesc. Magia [printed 'Maria'], voința de a crea, de a stabili punți invizibile între diferite obiecte; credința că viața sufletească poate trece dincolo de om, poate depăși limitele timpului și ale spațiului cantitativ; Spațiul calitativ, adică acela în care libertatea omului e stăpână, care dă proporții lucrurilor după valoarea lor subiectivă, care ignoră valoarea neutră și ierarhia naturală a lucrurilor"⁶⁵. Such particular persistence on "qualitative space", "qualitative time", and "subjective value" adopts the views expressed in two quasi-similar manuscripts now in ECCE and MEUM⁶⁶.

The two related summaries from f. 15^r and f. 28^r are accompanied and completed by f. 1^r, where Eliade discusses the differences between theist and pantheist systems, stating that, in the first, Creation is completely subordinated to its Creator, whilst in the later any man can repeat the originary act, the roots of magic being also identifiable in the "pantheist emotion": "În timp ce în sist.<emele> panteiste – identitatea, încai potențială, e afirmată. Virtualitatea e pretutindeni, actul îl poate repeta oricine prin luarea de conștiință a ecuației Creator-Creație. Rădăcinile magice se recunosc



și în emoția panteistă, sentimentul creatură-creatural, care conduce la speculațiile ātman-brahman⁶⁷. His dichotomy *theism vs. pantheism* from this folio is similar to Nae Ionescu's distinction between mysticism and magic, the first associated to contemplation, the second to creation⁶⁸. In Eliade's thought, "magical asceticism" and "magical creation" are, thus, closely intertwined, the "magus" (he employs three times this term in *Soliloquies*⁶⁹) being an exponent of the first and his acts, repeating the primordial act of creation, the illustrations of the second concept. As one can see, Eliade significantly reuses his notes on "creature-feeling" and magical creation from BCU ms. 1819, written in 1928-1929, in *Monster no. 1* and *Soliloquies*. Their direct association to the "magical fact" in folio 15 of ms. 1819 may indicate their use in the 1928 article for *Duh și slovă* (even though he wrote „1929” on the cover of the manuscript, Eliade dates it „1928-29” in *Monster no. 1*). Furthermore, one can deduct that aesthetic emotion, as a form of "magical rejoicing", is intimately linked to the "magical fact" – or even one of its avatars.

§4.2. The dream as ultimate goal

Folio 33^r from BCU ms. 1819 contains a short reference to the "magical fact", this time in connection with "the dream": "În fapitul magic: riscul de a cădea pradă vrăjei estetice. De a-ți închipui că așa este, de a crea fantastic, de a viețui în vis" ("In the magical fact: the risk of being mesmerized by the aesthetic spell. Of imagining it is real, of creating fantasy, of living in the dream"). By creating, man could end up believing in the reality of the world he created. Eliade already wrote on this danger in 1928, in almost the same terms, in his article "Soliloquy", published in *Gândirea*⁷⁰. Besides these theoretical reflections, Eliade published in 1929 a literary text called *The Dream (Visul)* in *Contemporanul* (being, thus, contemporaneous with ms. 1819), where a young woman condemns the audacious gestures her partner made in a dream, as if they were real⁷¹.

F. 26^r of the same manuscript also refers partially to the oniric state, but in a positive manner: magic is seen as the origin of the human's spirit works and functions. It can be identified in every manifestation, reaching the brink of absolute and of "the Dream". But magic is nevertheless unable of understanding God, Eliade making once again the difference underlined in his critique of *The Apology of Virility*, between magical and religious asceticism, inherited, mainly, from Frazer's three stages theory (magic, religion, science). Only religion (and religious asceticism) can attain God. Such perspective is actually reminiscent of the critique of Julius Evola expressed in his 1927 article on "occultism in the European culture"⁷². Magic can only master the forces, conquer the medium, create: "Magia – activitate umană, din care se nasc funcțiunile și operile spiritului uman.

Caracterul magic se recunoaște în toate manifestările, ajunge până în pragul absolutului, până la Vis. Greșeala mare, neînțelegerea lui D<umne>zeu. Nu se poate ajunge la D<umne>zeu prin evoluție lăuntrică. Ci, cel mult, la înstrunarea forțelor, la cucerirea mediului, la creație. Caracterul magic al creației, de orice fel. | De ce magia nu înțelege pe D<umne>zeu". Dream is, thus, in this fragment, associated with the absolute, and magic, conceived as a "form of dream", as he wrote in the letter for Vulcănescu from January 1929⁷³.

In *Monster no. 1*, we encounter an equivalence between art and dream in f. 16^r, where they are both seen as a way of transcending the inner circle of individuality: "What defines man and distinguishes him from animals and God (if we assume he exists) – is his instinct to transcend, his desire to liberate himself, to break the iron circle of individuality. These are the social origins of art. Of the dream, the relief [Rom. supapă, 'valve'] of this desire to transcend"⁷⁴. In *Soliloquies*, Eliade also discusses a certain "dimension of the dream"⁷⁵ – a point of reference for absolute freedom, where the categories of existence are overlooked, and destiny suppressed. Moreover, the dream, perceived as a relief of humans' incessant desire to transcend, is at the core of f. 26^r from *Monster no. 1*. As we have previously noticed, Eliade discusses Sk. *śakti* – human's creative power, and the connection between creation and play. The main objective of creation is, according to Eliade, achieving the dream: "The purpose: to realize the dream, where absolute freedom reigns, ignoring reality and even the essential categories of existence"⁷⁶.

By bringing together these disparate writings from 1928-1930 (ff. 1^r, 15^r, 26^r, 28^r, 33^r from the unpublished BCU ms. 1819, the paragraphs from *Monster no. 1*, ff. 16^r and 26^r, as well as the extended commentary from *Soliloquies*), we notice that the act of creation is seen by Eliade as a form of magical realization intimately linked to the magical fact – we dare say even one of its ways of appearing into the world and transcending it. We can also observe, with the aid of f. 15 from BCU ms. 1819, the magical structure of aesthetic emotion, described by Eliade in the letter sent to Vittorio Macchioro as "le sentiment qui résulte de la contemplation d'une création humaine" and "élément magique", opposed to Otto's "creature-feeling". Of equal importance, for the virtual bibliography of Mircea Eliade, is the fact that the presence of these concepts in f. 15, which seems to contain the sketch of the magical fact's origins and developments, indicates that the young historian of religions may have also discussed the topic of magical creation and the magical structure of aesthetic emotion in his lost article for *Duh și slovă*.

§4.3. From "esoteric cookies" to lethal Fascists.

In his "The Occultism in the European Culture" published on 1 December 1927 in *Cuvântul*, Eliade has

reviewed an article by Julius Evola (1898-1974; once printed there “*Juan Evola*”) recently published in *Bilychnis*⁷⁷. The occult, the esoteric, and various forms of Traditionalism are present in Eliade’s scholarly production from the time of composing the material of the first two Notebooks. He obviously abandoned in 1927 what he charmingly coined “pișcotul esoteric al lui Schuré”⁷⁸ (“Schuré’s esoteric cookie”), his high-school reading and lecture topic. Yet more poisonous cookies (or grander cakes) are already interspersed⁷⁹ in his writings on magic, including in the manuscripts here discussed and in another group of manuscripts from ECCE and/or revealed by recent public auctions, which will be discussed later, a reading of Evola⁸⁰.

“I started this Notebook on 2 June 1930, in Calcutta (Bhowanipore), in a period when I was terribly busy and troubled”, writes Eliade on the first manuscript page of Notebook II. Three days later (while commenting upon number 49), he adds: “I am waiting for hermetic materials”. On 6 June, again, he opens a fragment connecting ‘knowledge’ with ‘magic’. On 17 June, he writes a page on *Faptul (to be added)*, and we have plain reasons to suppose this implied a reworking of his *Faptul magic* (cf. *supra*). After 25 June, he mentions the manuscript of *The Magical Roots*. Then on 10 July 1930 he cites *Krur*, the esoteric magazine of Julius Evola. What happened with Eliade’s reading, thinking and writing in June-July 1930, during that very busy period indeed in Bhowanipore when he continued to study Indic religions and philosophies while certainly seeing – ‘troubled’ – Maitreyi on a daily basis?

As for our manuscript, the answer is now overt: he reads Evola anew. We may adduce a strict chronological proof. A letter of Evola to Eliade, a French letter sent from Rome to a Romanian in Anglophone India and dated 28 May 1930. Was he waiting for ‘hermetic materials’ indeed? Evola’s letter is a *reply* to a (now lost) letter by Eliade, in French as previously written to many other Italian correspondents, some – as Formichi and Tucci – strongly related to Bengal. Eliade informed Evola he is now living in Dasgupta’s own house (since 2 January 1930), as Evola mentioned in a postscript “prof. Dasgupta chez qui vous logez”. Presumably arriving sometime in June 1930, Evola’s letter reads: “Je vous envoie : | Un des derniers exemplaires qui encore existent de la collection complète *Ur* 1928. | La collection complète *Krur*. | Mon livre sur les Tantras. [...] À présent je dirige *La Torre* dont j’unis deux numéros”⁸¹. His book on “the Tantras” certainly is *Uomo come potenza*⁸². The content of these 1930 manuscripts cannot be divorced from at least the perusing, if not the very careful reading of all this esoteric material just received.

There are 73 references to ‘magic’ in *Psihologia meditației indiene*, the Romanian form of Eliade’s Bucharest PhD. In *Yōga. Essai sur les origines de la mystique indienne* (May 1936) there are no less than 142

references to ‘magic’⁸³. Even parts of the interpretive vocabulary are at times markedly derived from Evola. A 1932 passage reads: “Yoga e magie întrucât acceptă un univers magic – o relație infinită între forțe concrete, orchestrate de o lege obiectivă, *karma* – și afirmă, în același timp, posibilitatea de depășire a acestui univers de transcendență prin izolare și dominare”. Or, even this very *dominare* (‘dominance’) echoes the recurrent *dominanza* from Evola’s various writings in the late 1920s⁸⁴.

Many other historical facts and connections are still missing from a fuller picture, yet one cannot refrain from mentioning here some from the same period: the harsh critique of Catholicism (during the late 1920s) and of Buonaiuti (1933) by Evola (incidentally: two partners of Eliade in defining and describing magic, cf. *supra*), still unknown to Eliade (as in his 1927 article on Evola he proposed a third layer ‘Christ’); or the translation into Bengali of Mussolini’s selected speeches by Giuseppe Tucci (1928), who moreover knew Evola from early 1920s and contributed to the same volume of *Bilychnis* reviewed by Eliade in 1927⁸⁵.

Eliade’s references to magic, as present in this group of still partially edited manuscripts from 1927-1932 (and perhaps in some others), are all conducive to a re-examination of the history of religions as practiced during the interwar years in Europe as well as in India under the problematic spell of esoterism and of personal esoteric beliefs⁸⁶. For this argument one would require a much larger 21st century library of relevant researches, which would include Gregory D. Alles, Philippe Borgeaud, Carlo Ginzburg, Wendy Doniger, Cristiano Grotanelli, Bruce Lincoln, Jonathan Z. Smith, Michael Stausberg, Guy S. Stroumsa, and Steven Wasserstrom, among others. While these and many other chief contemporary scholars of religion and of esotericism are discussed since 1997 in our publications on the history of the study of religions worldwide, a fuller conversation would be easier achievable in the forthcoming volumes of ECCE & MEUM.

More or less camouflaged adherents and aficionados of Evola in Italy and Romania have frequently aired very odd interpretations of Eliade, to start with their first collateral casualty – the academic study of religions. A proper distancing from them must not be seen as a contemporaneous reading, nor as a sort of anachronism, but as a permanent requirement. Indeed, while very briefly discussing Evola’s 1934 book *Rivolta contra il mondo moderno* and very differently from Eliade’s 1935 review⁸⁷, Raffaele Pettazzoni simply notes: “l’autore cita quasi in ogni pagina opere scientifiche di storia religiosa, ma sostiene che «il cosiddetto punto di vista ‘scientifico’ e ‘positivo’ con le sue varie e vane pretese di esclusivismo, noi, nel migliore dei casi, lo consideriamo semplicemente come quello dell’ignoranza»; e allora – si chiede Pettazzoni – perché ricorrere a Frazer, Reville,



Wallis Budge, Moret, Langdon, Ridgeway, e tanti altri?”⁸⁸. An excellent question for Pettazzoni’s distant pupil and Evola’s keen reader, who knew how to respond, albeit he practiced simultaneously both scholarly and esoteric approaches⁸⁹.

We know at least since quart of a century, since a contribution of Paola Pisi⁹⁰, that Eliade has duly plagiarized or quasi-plagiarized ‘Traditionalist’ writers as A.K. Coomaraswamy in two central chapters of *Mitul reintegrării* (1942). No “anxiety of influence” would be detectable in such free adoption of text, references, and interpretation (then from a 1935 Indological article by Coomaraswamy from *Journal of American Oriental Society* probably read in Berlin), where Eliade has “lunghe brani ripresi letteralmente”, or more specifically a couple of thousand words. We have suggested this also happened with a (again) 1935 Indological booklet by Sigurd Lindqvist⁹¹. The same should be considered regarding Evola, this time in a more virtual stage, yet with a less obscure conduct of scholarly – or much less than scholarly – appropriation. Such features were concealed by the author himself, with his habitual (and very early) disguising strategies. Yet in all matters pertaining to biographical and theoretical secrecy, concealment, and camouflage, the first *épreuve* was not his infamous political past during the 1930-1940s in Romania, but the very story with Maitreyi in colonial India. Precisely where and even when he (re)reads Evola, takes notes, plans for works on magic. Nevertheless, for the present context, a link would have been it goes without saying impossible to establish solely with M. Handoca’s poor transcript of 1994, as he excised not only large parts from the very manuscripts, but Eliade’s careful *dating* indeed.

§5. Between Orthodoxy and Orthodox Christianity

At the beginning of *Virility and Asceticism I*, Eliade confessed his former belief that *The Apology for Virility* expressed and affirmed the ‘right faith’ – the Christian Orthodoxy any conscience would in the end attain, in his view, after a self-illuminating initial drama⁹². He was disappointed to discover, ten months after having written it, that this text was instead imbued with a rather pagan and magical attitude well outside the doctrinal foundations of Christian Orthodoxy. In *The Spiritual Itinerary*, published as a series in *Cuvântul* in 1927, Eliade dedicated episode XI to ‘Orthodoxy’, seen as the only authentic and valid form of Christianity for his generation⁹³. All of his fellows from the post-World War I generation would reach it someday, viz. all those who “tasted”, as he writes, the metaphysical meaning of life⁹⁴. The most beautiful quality of his generation was, according to Eliade, its continual *quest* – they were not eager to find Christianity through the words of priests, but by themselves⁹⁵ (which understandably falls within

heresiology). For him, true, fully-fledged Christianity (“creștinismul efectiv”) was the result of experience – “fresh, full of life and meaning, shining with gifts”⁹⁶ – able to turn them from simple human beings into the people of God, that is, into Christians.

Șerban Cioculescu criticized Eliade’s generalizations and the one-sided perspective – from his point of view, the proponent of the young generation linked spirituality exclusively to Orthodoxy and the Church. He rightfully opposed to this perspective his materialistic monism and argued that the spirit had not other purpose than itself⁹⁷. In his response to Cioculescu’s first article, Eliade announced *The Apology for Virility*, stating that only a spiritual sense could fulfil his generation’s equilibrium and expectations⁹⁸. Such equilibrium, rooted in “experience” and capable of attending a “synthesis between contradictory happenings”, was coined by Eliade *personality*⁹⁹. *The Apology for Virility* proves, according to him, that only this *personality* could solve conflicts and crisis, and that his generation would not survive without it¹⁰⁰. Only several months later, he would almost repudiate the same *Apology* for the absence of a religious dimension and the lack of an authentic figure of Christ¹⁰¹. As we already mentioned in our analysis of Eliade’s writings on asceticism before 1930, he attempted to compensate these deficiencies by clearly differentiating magical and Christian asceticism, and by writing extensively on the latter in *Gloss on Asceticism* and *Soliloquies*.

Several fragments left aside by M. Handoca in his two transcripts of *Monster no. 1* are related to Orthodoxy. They were integrated by Eliade (with one exception, f. 12^r) into his Spring 1932 booklet *Soliloquies*. But even though the second part of his first non-literary book discusses at some length Christian asceticism, the term “Orthodoxy” is used both in its broader sense, of manifest (and strict) religious doctrine, and in its narrower, Christian, sense.

The first occurrence of the term in *Monster no. 1* is at folio 12^r. In this fragment, Eliade promotes a universalist approach, stressing that “Orthodoxy” should be founded on eternal, spiritual principles, instead of historical revelation or racial and elitist organization (the Church)¹⁰². He also suggests the possible benefits of assimilating the results of Asian religious experiences, and of creating a “universal Orthodoxy”, where ritual and liturgy would become ways of connecting with God instead of self-sufficient, superficial practices¹⁰³. At the end of the fragment, Eliade rejects the idea of a universal religion, seen as a rather Protestant utopia and even as a form of Theosophy, while equally asserting the universality of religiousness¹⁰⁴. After pleading for a form of universality, Eliade paradoxically praises (f. 18^v) Christian Orthodoxy’s general intolerance towards other religions: “Orthodoxy, of any kind, has a firm position when put in an assembly of foreign religions. It doesn’t say ‘I respect everybody’s beliefs’, because any other ‘belief’ is for Orthodoxy an

‘unbelief (“necredință”). This is Orthodoxy’s greatest quality: its irreducibility to religious polymorphism, its intolerance, revelation. These attributes help it preserve its treasured *sacredness* untouched [...]. Otherwise, this treasure is debilitated, atomized, and altered by “theosophies” and reforms”¹⁰⁵. We can easily see in this fragment Eliade’s inconsistencies from the *Spiritual Itinerary* as perpetuated during his Indian experience. One can also recognize the radical and “scandalous” Eliade from 1927-1928, who frequently used paradox in his articles in order to irritate or puzzle a certain part of his public¹⁰⁶.

In folio 34^r, Eliade returns to a more moderate perspective, identifying submission and asceticism as the main qualities of Orthodoxy. From his point of view, dogmas are obsolete and have only ritual value¹⁰⁷. The reference to Christ indicates the fact that Eliade discusses once again Orthodoxy in its narrow and more specific sense, that of Orthodox Christianity: “The value of Orthodoxy: submission, asceticism. All coherent religions have their permanent value in the experience of revelation (Christ and salvation through imitation; Muhammad and salvation through submission; India and the Gnostic soteriology revealed in the identification ātman-brahman) and its reiteration through asceticism (monachism etc. *zīkr*; yoga). Dogmas are their obsolete part, because they are limited and conditioned not by the experience the Divine orientated towards Man, but by the reaction (idiosyncrasy) of man to this experience. [...] The only real and eternal value of a dogma is its ceremonial, ritualistic, ascetical possibility”¹⁰⁸.

The conclusions one can draw from the occurrences of the term “Orthodoxy” in *Monster no. 1* and then in *Soliloquies* are quite paradoxical. Whilst trying to compensate the former deficiencies of his “pagan” *Apology* through a more thorough and extended commentary on Christian asceticism in *Gloss and Asceticism* and *Soliloquies*, Eliade hesitates to engage once again in personal reflections on Orthodox Christianity, as he did in *Spiritual Itinerary* as well as in *Theös éghènou*¹⁰⁹, before his departure for India. He no longer discusses it as the meaningful purpose of his generation, but for its two most important qualities, submission and asceticism, intimately linked to his intellectual preoccupations at the time. Some occurrences of the term “Orthodoxy” address its broader meaning, of religious doctrine and traditional beliefs. More moderate, less exalted, the younger Eliade resurfaces nonetheless at times through paradoxical reflections written in the same notebook, such as those on the possibility of a universal Orthodoxy and on the main merit of Orthodoxy – its intolerance to other religions.

Moreover, even though he continued to address the topics he discussed before leaving Romania on 22 November 1928, trying to fill the gaps and compensate his former inconsistencies, Eliade continued to

perpetuate some of them. It is also evident that Christian Orthodoxy was far from being his main object of study in Calcutta – whilst references to Indian philosophy and religious practices are detailed, with the use of several fundamental concepts in *Monster no. 1*, his reflections on Orthodoxy are only maladroit generalizations. From Leach, Saliba and Penner to Strenski, Dubuisson, and Ginzburg, not to mention Girardot, Ricketts and Rennie, the historic-religious detailed analysis of Eliade’s theoretical vocabulary has dozens of times underlined the impreciseness, variability, and contradictions of a scholar who during that early period dreamed of writing a *Technical Lexica of Yoga*. Such abusive inconsistencies and terminological failures were not sanctioned by contemporary philosophers as Constantin Rădulescu-Motru, who *e.g.* rightly expressed a neo-Kantian critique of ‘creation’ and related concepts in an article from *Revista de Filosofie* of January-March 1931¹¹⁰ where he also published an Indological article by Eliade. Rădulescu-Motru aptly evaluated some uses of ‘creation’ in a sense of post-Romantic magical idealism in the post-WWI works of Spengler, Keyserling, Berdyaev, and even Bergson (but starting with Drăghicescu). ‘Creation’ in young Eliade is as nebulous as in Rădulescu-Motru’s other philosophical references. The problem with “nepreciziunea termenilor”¹¹¹ is rather massive in Eliade’s early writings, be they scientific or literary, and is in great need of proper scrutiny, starting with the collections of his own unpublished manuscripts, where multiple options and erasures, terminological vacillations and more mature rejections are all-pervading. However, Rădulescu-Motru and many other readers unintentionally or purposely forgot here the linkage to Evola’s magical idealism¹¹², with all its consequences – scholarly, biographical and political – for Eliade. They may be described with the help of newer, more sophisticated tools, as *e.g.* the “perennial conceptual placeholders” recently proposed by Eduard Iricinschi¹¹³.

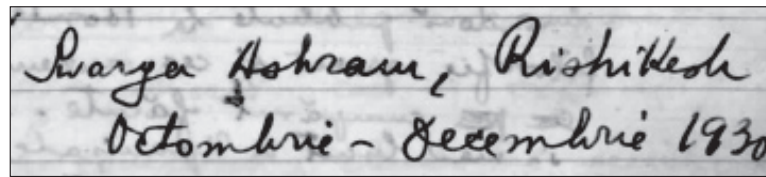
§6. As in many other circumstances, in Eliade’s writings there is a substantial *mélange* of reminiscences which transgress textual genres and forms. One such transgression is present in *Întoarcerea din Rai* and may help the reader gain some knowledge of the author’s own use of manuscripts – through the monologue of a literary doppelgänger – including indirect testimonies on their location, quantity, reuse, and meaning: “Se ridică și începe să-și aranjeze hârtiile și mapele. Deșartă sertarele mesei. Își alege câteva caiete de care va avea nevoie, poate, în scrisul cotidian. Și deodată își dă seama că toată munca aceasta e de-acum inutilă. Un vraf de manuscrise pentru tratatul de etică; le privește cu puțină ciudă, fără să se îndure să le arunce în ladă, printre cărți. Foi scrise, în libertate, într-o altă viață. Dar nu poate gândi nimic, abia își simte tristețea. Își amintește de o sumă de lucruri, cari toate i se par visate, ireale. Senzația de



ireal îl extenuază, îl deprimă, încearcă să se întoarcă în prezent. Deschide un caiet și-și aruncă ochii pe rândurile scrise. Citește fără să fie atent. I se pare o datorie să facă acest gest, să-și frunzărească manuscrisele în ziua mutării. «Despre superstițiile legate de noțiunea de om». Un titlu de capitol. S-ar putea face și altceva cu acest titlu... Scutură capul. Își dădu deodată seama că [afară] se întunecă¹⁴. Towards the end of the 1934 novel, another indirect evidence of nostalgia for a very early manuscript (8th grade, *viz.* at the beginning of his publishing career) may place in front of the reader a more historical aroma of his cherished or discarded manuscripts: “Simte că o memorie prea plină încearcă să-i rupă hotarele prezentului, să-l inunde cu aduceri-aminte, cu icoane și drame de altădată. Manuscrisul lui din clasa a opta, de pildă... Nu, nu, toate acestea nu mă interesează, n-au ce căuta în conștiința unui om liber, întreg. Aceeași luptă, împotriva dramaticului, a rusismelor, a lacrimilor¹⁵”. Within the projected ensemble of critical editions, other occurrences of such continuous intermingling between literature and scholarship may offer the reader a realist,

if not a definitive indeed image of Eliade’s archive.

Here ends the critical editing, full identification of concordances with the printed works and commentary of the unpublished manuscripts Notebook I and II, as offered for publication by the private collector for MEUM, which complements ECCE. The high-mindedness of the private collector has initiated, since February 2023, a new period in editing, reading and understanding Eliade’s early scholarly works. As already mentioned here, a third Notebook of Eliade written in India, unpublished as the first two as well as pertaining to a second, unpublished *Santier*, was received by the editors and should be critically edited as soon as possible indeed. In addition to these three, two more full Notebooks – IV and V –, with a Notebook VI less possible (or desirable) to be edited in its entirety (Sanskrit vocabulary and exercises), will compose the manuscript material of several forthcoming instalments of MEUM. The first two unpublished Notebooks critically edited and published in less than two months have 87 pages. The next four yet unpublished Notebooks have 233 pages.



Sample from the cover of Notebook IV. © Private collection.

Notes

1. Paul J. Griffiths, *Intellectual appetite: a theological grammar* (Washington DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2009).
2. Ciurtin-Apostu 2023a, 2; and Ciurtin-Apostu 2023b, 18.
3. This was the single identification from Notebook I by M. Handoca in 1994: “Fragment dezvoltat într-un microeseu din *Oceanografie*” (Eliade 1994: 162 n. 1). In R. Reschika’s translation, this note was adapted as well: “Ein Fragment, das in einen Mikroessay der Aufsatzsammlung Eliades mit dem Titel *Oceanografie*, Bukarest 1934, S. 258f. Eingang gefunden hat” (Eliade 2012: 307 n. 2).
4. “Tragicul masculin”, *Cuvântul*, IV, no. 982 (January 11, 1928): 1 and “Din ‘apologia virilității’”, *Pământul*, I, no. 1 (March 1, 1928): 3.
5. “Apologia virilității”, *Gândirea*, VIII, no. 8-9 (August-September 1928): 352-359.
6. “Virilitate și asceză I”, *Cuvântul*, IV, no. 1247 (October 11, 1928): 1-2 and “Virilitate și asceză II”, *Cuvântul*, IV, no. 1253 (October 17, 1928): 1-2.
7. “Apologia virilității”, 359: “E demn să renunți, disprețuitor, la firimiturile întinse trupului”.
8. *Ibid.*: “Și e curajoasă renunțarea la desfătările și răsplătirile duhului”.
9. *Ibid.*
10. “‘Glory’ and ‘Silence’”, *Cuvântul*, III, no. 900 (October 19, 1927): 1-2.
11. *Ibid.*, 1.
12. Notebook III: “Omul, întrucât activează ca om, poate alege unul din aceste două drumuri: glorie sau asceză. Restul e biologie”. Transcribed quasi-identically in *Soliloquies* (1932): 21.
13. Notebook III (critical edition forthcoming in MEUM): “Se pare că Grecii au luat cei dintâi cunoștință de imensele posibilități ale gloriei, și dintr-un instinct obscur (cum probabil că l-au cunoscut despotii orientali) au făurit o voluptate și o filosofie”. Transcribed identically in *Soliloquii* (București: Carte cu semne, 1932), 28.
14. “Nu mai circulă zvonuri, iar când circulă ele nu sunt produsul unei experienții colective, nu sunt agonii sau profeții – ci simple

- tactice individuale. În loc de legende și eroi, ele produc surmenaj sau dezgust și neîncredere. Iar zvonurile au pierdut orice valență folclorică; nu mai poartă legende de eroi, ci stupidități politice sau economice”. Transcribed with several modifications in *Soliloquies* (1932): 30. In *Soliloquies*, Eliade added “orice urmă de creație fantastică” after “valență folclorică”.
15. “Virilitate și asceză I”, 1: “Apologia trădează o astfel de gândire magică, a actului creator, a Eului dilatat și exaltat prin restrângere asupra-i, în afară de orice transcendent sau de «logos»”.
 16. Ibid.
 17. Ibid.: “această viziune magică a ascezii mi se pare, acum, streină, înghețată, inaccesibilă”.
 18. *Soliloquii*, 24.
 19. Ibid., 24-25.
 20. Ibid., 11.
 21. Ciurtin-Apostu 2023a, 11-12.
 22. *Soliloquies*, 50.
 23. Ciurtin-Apostu 2023b, 5-12.
 24. M. Eliade, *Autobiography*, I, 223.
 25. “Itinerariu spiritual. XI. Ortodoxie”, 1.
 26. “Apologia virilității”, 358-359.
 27. “Virilitate și asceză II”, 1.
 28. Ciurtin-Apostu 2023a, 15.
 29. Ibid.
 30. Ibid., 9-10.
 31. M. Eliade, *Soliloquii*, 25.
 32. Ciurtin-Apostu 2023a, 9.
 33. M. Eliade, *Țurnal I* (Bucharest: Humanitas, 1993): 351; and M. Eliade, *Autobiography*, I, 85.
 34. Eliade, *Autobiography*, I, 84.
 35. Eliade, “Magie și cercetările metapsihice,” *Foaia tinerimii* X, no. 4 (February, 1926): 59, signed “Mircea Eliade”.
 36. Ibid.
 37. Ibid.
 38. M. Eliade, “Magie și metapsihică,” *Cuvântul*, III, no. 786 (June 17, 1927): 1-2.
 39. Eliade, “Metodele gourmontiene,” *Cuvântul*, III, no. 829 (August 6, 1928): 1-2.
 40. Eliade, “Cuvinte despre o filosofie,” *Gândirea*, VIII, no. 6-7 (June-July, 1928): 299.
 41. Ibid., 300.
 42. Ibid.
 43. Ibid.
 44. Ciurtin-Apostu 2023a, 10.
 45. Ibid., 8.
 46. M. Eliade, “Fragmente,” *Cuvântul*, IV, no. 1057 (April 1, 1928): 1 („The process of recreation is a magical process. Theatre and social imitation are magical reminiscences.”); M. Eliade, “Varnamăla sau Ghirlanda literelor,” *Cuvântul*, IV, no. 1155 (July 11, 1928): 1-2. Eliade also wrote positively on magic in the fifth article of his series “The Spiritual Itinerary”, titled “The Experiences”, *Cuvântul*, III, no. 874 (September 23, 1927): 1-2.
 47. Eliade, “Chemare la ordine”, in *Scrisori de tinerete*, vol. IV, *Virilitate și asceză* (Bucharest: Humanitas, 2008): 392-393.
 48. Ibid, 5.
 49. Forthcoming critical edition by Andreea Apostu.
 50. Preceded by two erasures.
 51. Followed by an erased word.
 52. Illegible word.
 53. An erasure underneath the two words.
 54. The origins of the magical fact: 1) the forces 2) the causality 3) the suppression of the non-Self. ~~Similar to~~ *Developments*: 1) the potences, mantra, the signification, the rituals, Kabbalah etc. The doctrine of the potences and rituals 2) magical and scientific causality. The differences religion; differences between them; the physical given, the metaphysical given and creative science | 3) the philosophy of the Self | The identity of magic etc. The magical aesthetic structure of magic aesthetic emotion 1) creature-feeling and created 2) the two types of emotions; what makes the substance of aesthetic emotion and ritual 3) the dream, music, the signs.
 55. Ciurtin-Apostu 2023a, 10.
 56. M. Eliade, *Soliloquies*, 47.
 57. Eliade, *Europa, Asia, America*, vol. 2 (Bucharest: Humanitas, 2004), 162.
 58. Eliade, *Soliloquies*, 48.



59. Eliade 1999-2004, vol. 3, 243.
60. “The primitive magical mentality does not interest us here, in the absence of a full development of ritualistic and gnoseologic magic’s characteristics. We will analyze several historical aspects, regarding the *origins* of the conception of magic – and then the theories of magic”.
61. M. Eliade, “*Vārnāmālā* sau *Ghirlanda literelor*”, cf. supra n. 46. He read John Woodroffe (1865-1936) in *The Garland of Letters (Vārnāmālā): Studies in the Mantra-Shāstra* (Madras: Ganesh, Luzac, 1922), on which see Kathleen Taylor, *Sir John Woodroffe, Tantra and Bengal. ‘An Indian Soul in a European Body?’* (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 2001) 215-222 and Julian Strube, *Global Tantra: Religion, Science, and Nationalism in Colonial Modernity* (Oxford-New York: Oxford University Press, 2022), 233 ff.
62. The manuscript reads: “Ce e magia | 1) o mentalitate (a primitivilor) | 2) o tehnică, având istorie | 3) o teorie generală, cu atitudini, o Weltanschauung [...] | Din riturile și experiențele generale împărtășite de magia primitivă – s-au desprins câteva nuclee cari nu sunt decât dezvoltarea și ordonarea materialului primitiv | 1) Simbolul – puterile | 2) Ritul – actualizarea | 3) Mantra Kabbalah”.
63. M. Eliade, *Autobiography*, I, 277-278.
64. Ciurtin-Apostu 2023a: 9 and 10-11.
65. M. Eliade, “Magia și originile muzicii [Magic and the Origins of Music, 1933]”, in M. Handoca, *Mircea Eliade – pagini regăsite – [Retrieved Pages]* (Bucharest: Lider, 2008): 300-305 (here 301).
66. See ECCE I, MS 23 and Ciurtin-Apostu 2023a: 5-6, 10-11, 14 *cum* 16 n. 39.
67. “Whilst in pantheist systems – the identity, at least potential, is affirmed. Virtuality is everywhere, anybody can repeat the act by becoming aware of the equation Creator-Creation. Magical roots can also be identified in the “pantheist emotion”, the creature-creatural feeling, that leads to the speculations ātman-brahman”.
68. Nae Ionescu, *Curs de metafizică*, ed. M. Diaconu (Bucharest: Humanitas, 1991), 140.
69. M. Eliade, *Soliloquii*, 25, 41, 56.
70. M. Eliade, “Solilocviu”, *Gândirea*, VIII, no. 11 (November, 1928): 454.
71. *Idem*, “Visul”, *Contemporanul*, no. 78 (January 1st, 1929): 2.
72. Eliade, Mircea. “Ocultismul în cultura europeană”, *Cuvântul*, III, 1 December 1927: 1-2 (here 2). See also “Experiențele”, *Cuvântul*, anul III, nr. 874, 23 September 1927, 1-2.
73. Eliade 1999-2004, vol. 3, 243.
74. Ciurtin-Apostu 2023a, 4.
75. M. Eliade, *Soliloquies*, 49.
76. Ciurtin-Apostu 2023a, 11-12.
77. J. Evola, “Il valore dell’occultismo nella cultura contemporanea”, *Bilychnis*, XXX, 11 (1927): 250-269.
78. M. Eliade, “Ocultismul în cultura europeană”, 1927: 2 (printed ‘Schurè’).
79. Just for remembering his intellectual appetite: in the same issue of *Cuvântul* Eliade publishes a short note on the last volume of *Archeion* edited by Aldo Mieli, mentioning *ubi alia* a contribution of historian of science Laignel-Lavastine, who would come to Bucharest for the international congress for the history of medicine in 1932.
80. As one of the present writers has had the occasion to lay some emphasis, more than twenty years ago, on the character of Evola’s later letters to Eliade back then unpublished, a too close theoretical or ideological association of these two authors is “neither the best solution, nor the correct one”. See Eugen Ciurtin, “Other Unpublished Letters of Eliade [I. Edmund von Lipmann. II-V. George Sarton. VI-VIII. Rudolf Otto. IX. Pierre-Maxime Schuhl. X-XII. Theodore Stcherbatsky. XIII-XV. Louis Renou. XVI-XXIV. Julius Evola]”, *Archaeus* 6, no. 3-4 (2002): 362-380 (here 363), with first publication of nine Evola letters from 1952-1953 in *ibid.*, 371-377). On Evola’s long and close relationship with Fascism and Nazism, see especially Mark Sedgwick, *Against the Modern World: Traditionalism and the Secret Intellectual History of the Twentieth Century* (New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 98-109, 179-187; Horst Junginger, “From Buddha to Adolf Hitler: Walther Wüst and the Aryan Tradition”, in *The Study of Religion under the Impact of Facism*, ed. H. Junginger (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2008), esp. 127-140 and 166-170; Moshe Idel, *Mircea Eliade: From Magic to Myth* (New York: Peter Lang, 2014), 8, 51-56, 106, and 254-256 (three leading scholars hardly discussed by Evolian addicts).
81. Here from Giovanni Casadio, *Lo sciamanesimo. Prima e dopo Mircea Eliade* (Roma: Il Calamo, 2014), 93. Translated into Italian in an Evolian publication: J. Evola, *Lettere a Mircea Eliade (1930-1954)* (Napoli: Controcorrente edizioni, 2011), 22-23.
82. J. Evola, *L’uomo come potenza. I Tantra nella loro metafisica e nei loro metodi di autorealizzazione magica* (Todi-Roma: Casa editrice Atanòr, 1926).
83. See M. Eliade 1992 and Eliade 2016.
84. Eliade 1992, 166-167.
85. See for instance Enrica Garzilli, *L’esploratore del Duce. Le avventure di Giuseppe Tucci e la politica italiana in Oriente da Mussolini a Andreotti, con il carteggio di Giulio Andreotti*, vol. I, seconda edizione (Roma & Milano: Memori | Asiatica Association, 2012), 176-185 and 234.
86. See e.g. the observations of Mac Linscott Ricketts, “Glimpses into Eliade’s Religious Beliefs”, *Archaeus* 14 (2010): 27-40 (especially 34-35).

87. M. Eliade, "Revolta contra lumii moderne", *Vremea*, VI, no. 382 (31 March 1935): 6. This essay was partially translated into Italian by Paola Pisi, "I 'tradizionalisti' e la formazione del pensiero di Eliade", in *Confronto con Mircea Eliade: Archetipi mitici e identità storica*, ed. L. Arcella, P. Pisi, and R. Scagno (Milano: Jaca Book, 1998), 43-133 (here 45) and fully by Roberto Scagno in 2007, in Julius Evola, *Rivolta contra il mondo modern*. Nuova edizione riveduta, con un saggio introduttivo di Claudio Risé (Roma: Edizioni Mediterranee, 2007), 445-446. A 1988 French translation (*non vidi*) is cited by Junginger (cf. supra n. 79) 2008: 140 n. 86.
88. Raffaele Pettazzoni, *Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni* 10 (1934), 124, with Mario Gandini's paraphrase in his masterful *Raffaele Pettazzoni. Materiali per una biografia*, see "Raffaele Pettazzoni dal gennaio 1934 all'estate 1935", *Strada Maestra*, 51, 2^o sem. (2001): 101.
89. See Davide Ermacora, "Mircea Eliade e la realtà dei poteri paranormali. L'articolo del 1937", *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni* 81, no. 2 (2015): 689-757 and the esoteric landscape described in Hans Thomas Hakl, *Eranos: An Alternative Intellectual History of the Twentieth Century*, second edition (London & New York: Routledge), 2014. The scholarship on 'Eliade and Evola' is large, repetitive, and potholed. See however H. Th. Hakl, "Julius Evola and the Ur Group", *Aries* 12, no. 1 (2012): 53-90; Enrico Montanari, "Eliade ed Evola. Aspetti di un rapporto «sommerso»", in *Mircea Eliade: Le forme della Tradizione e del Sacro*, eds. G. Casadio and P. Mander (Roma: Edizioni Mediterranee, 2012), 93-111. As for Marcello de Martino's *Mircea Eliade esoterico. Ioan Petru Culianu e i "non detti"* (Roma: Edizioni Settimo Sigillo, 2008), see the reviews by Radu Drăgan, "Încă o carte despre Mircea Eliade", *Dilema veche*, no. 356 (9-15 December 2010) and E. Montanari, "Mircea Eliade: interprete di segreti, segreti di un interprete", *Historia religionum* 7 (2015): 109-123.
90. P. Pisi (cf. supra n. 87), 43-133 (here 54-57). See also Natale Spineto, "Mircea Eliade and Traditionalism", *Aries* 1, no. 1 (2001), 62-87 (here 67-68) and Roberto Scagno, *Libertà e terrore della storia. Con altri studi sull'opera e il pensiero di Mircea Eliade* (Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 2022), 179ff., 192.
91. Eugen Ciurtin, "Secretul doctorului Honigberger: verificarea în concret", in Johann Martin Honigberger, *Treizeci și cinci de ani în Orient*. Cuvânt înainte de Arion Roșu, Iași: Polirom, 2004, 412-413.
92. M. Eliade, "Virilitate și asceză I", 1: "Mărturisesc – nu umilit – că socotisem multă vreme *Apologia* afirmarea dreptei-credințe, a acelei ortodoxii la care cred că va ajunge orice conștiință în care s-a luminat drama inițială."
93. M. Eliade, "Itinerariu spiritual, IX. Ortodoxie", *Cuvântul*, III, no. 924 (November 12, 1927): 1-2.
94. *Ibid.*, 1: "Așadar, noi, cei tineri, vom ajunge, nu ne interesează când, creștini ortodocși. Nu va lipsi nici unul, dintre acei cari au gustat sensul metafizic al vieții".
95. *Ibid.*
96. *Ibid.*
97. Șerban Cioculescu, "Un 'Itinerariu Spiritual'", *Viața literară*, no. 86 (May 26, 1928): 2.
98. M. Eliade, "Sensul 'Itinerariului Spiritual'", *Viața literară*, III, no. 87 (June 9, 1928): 2.
99. *Ibid.*
100. *Ibid.*
101. M. Eliade, "Virilitate și asceză I", 1.
102. See Ciurtin-Apostu 2023a, 9.
103. *Ibid.*
104. *Ibid.*
105. *Ibid.*, 10.
106. See his articles on cultural and literary topics, that he wanted to include in *Valkyries in the Library*, cf. Andreea Apostu, "Mircea Eliade's Virtual Bibliography: Two Manuscript Folios Linked to *Valkyries in the Library*", *Transilvania*, no. 11-12 (2022): 71-79.
107. *Ibid.*, 12-13.
108. *Ibid.*, 13.
109. "Theös Éghènou..."; *Gândirea*, VII, no. 12 (December 1927): 353-357.
110. Constantin Rădulescu-Motru, "Creație și vocație" [Creation and vocation]. *Revista de Filosofie*, n.s. XVI (1931), no. 1 (January-March): 1-12 (here 4: "Romanticii au ajuns la idealismul magic, adică la un fel de confuzie totală între vis și realitate. Iar după romantici, cu toate progresele științelor experimentale și cu toate progresele psihologiei, sunt și astăzi filosofi cari întrebuintează cuvântul de creație în mod abuziv").
111. Rădulescu-Motru 1931: 8.
112. J. Evola, *Saggi sull'idealismo magico* (Todi-Roma: Casa editrice Atanòr, 1925).
113. E. Iricinschi, "Mircea Eliade's Perennial Conceptual Placeholders: An Eranos Intellectual Itinerary", *Asdiwal* 16 (2021): 125-140.
114. Mircea Eliade, *Întoarcerea din Rai*, second, revised edition (Bucharest: Cugetarea – Georgescu Delafraș, 1943), 314-315.
115. *Ibid.*, 372.

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